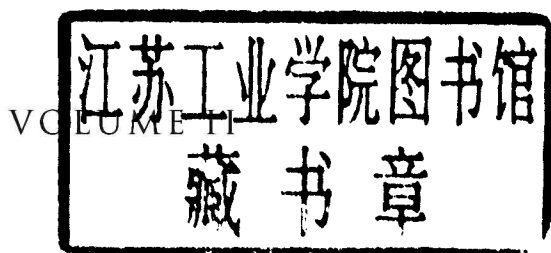


JOHN PAYNE COLLIER

Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century

Arthur Freeman & Janet Ing Freeman



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James Perry

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Henry Crabb Robinson

Francis Egerton, first Earl of Ellesmere

William Cavendish, sixth Duke of Devonshire

Sir Frederic Madden

Alexander Dyce

Richard Heber

William Henry Miller

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Joseph Hunter

Peter Cunningham

Samuel Weller Singer

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following page 1056

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Forged document of 1608 naming Shakespeare

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PART ELEVEN

After Perkins

With the marriage of Henrietta to her cousin Charles Jones, the household at Maidenhead was reduced to two Colliers: John, aged seventy-two in January, and his unmarried fifth child, late-lifetime companion, and caretaker Emma Letitia ('Tish'), who was now thirty-five. Never a recluse, John occasionally visited with the newlywed Joneses, or with the Ouvrys or his two sons in London (HCR Diary, 12 and 13 December 1861), and in August 1862 he 'changed houses' with John Pycroft so that the latter's eight children might benefit from the riverside air while their grandfather took in the municipal exhibitions and theatre.¹ He was no more afflicted physically than usual—indeed he told Halliwell that 'as regards my health & strength, it could hardly be [better]'—but John's spirits were low, and he spoke of himself as 'not a little changed for the worse', and 'old and disinclined to any exertion'.² The reason was not far to seek: 'within the last twelve months', he informed his American correspondent F. J. Child, 'I have lost all, or nearly all, my wonted (and not now wanted) activity and energy of mind; and you perceive that my handwriting is not by any means what it was. All I at present undertake, or do, is a task, and what used to be a pleasure has become an annoyance. . . . My "Spenser" (if I live to complete it, and it is very nearly finished) will be my last contribution.'³ And to Halliwell again, whom he had not in fact met face-to-face in eight years, he poured out his disappointment over 'friendships I once thought sincere, but which turned out to be detestably hollow & selfish'. To the modern reader John's renewed self-pity is painful indeed, the more so for exposing itself to a correspondent whose sympathies he had long thought unreliable; loneliness, in the wake of his 1860–61 public and personal silence, must have contributed to such vulnerable soul-baring. 'I find literature altogether a very thankless pursuit', he wrote in March 1862, 'engendering rather jealousies & animosities than mutual friendships', and within two days rehearsed the old litany of one-sided malice ('The undisguised openness

1. JPC to John Noble, 13 August 1862, Bodl. MS Autogr.c.17, fols. 397–98.

2. JPC to JOH, 27 and 22 November 1861, SBT-RO ER34/2/9 (4) and ER34/2/2 (54).

3. 2 May 1861, Houghton MS bMS Am 1922 (41).

of my own nature was most cruelly employed against me. My confidence was abused, and my honest meaning grossly misrepresented.' and reassumed his posture of tragic forbearance: 'had I not been born of a cheerful, & I will say, kindly disposition, I should by this time have been a sort of temperate Timon.'⁴

In April 1861 Collier resigned his modestly lucrative post as treasurer of the Camden Society—because of 'increasing age', he told Child, after twenty years' service—and in December, though in town with the Ouvrrys, he avoided a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries. 'No wonder, no wonder', the historian E. S. Beesley told Robinson, 'he did not like to show his face', adding that 'every one was against Collier'.⁵ Even the oddly supportive Americans proved undependable, from John's standpoint, with Richard Grant White in September lamenting Ingleby's 'uncompromising hostility', but observing that Collier's cause had been 'damaged almost as much by his own conduct, and by the tone of his defense, as by the attacks of his accusers',⁶ although C. W. Frederickson loyally added a gift of a ceremonial pen, made of California gold and Mount Vernon oak, to the Balmanno inkstand.⁷ But John's attempt to make a gesture in return—the gift of Hakluyt's rare *Divers Voyages*, 1582 ('a book especially relating to America, & quite perfect'), to the Astor Library in New York ran afoul first of

4. IPC to JOH, 19 and 21 March 1862, SBT-RO ER34/2/1 (26) and LOA 68/40.

5. HCR Diary, 13 December 1861. Robinson stoutly defended his friend: 'I said that I believed Collier entirely free of the imputations cast on him'.

6. White's review article in the September 1861 *Atlantic Monthly*—delayed, he told Ingleby on 8 June, because (as a volunteer rifleman) 'the bombardment of Fort Sumter broke in upon my critical studies' (Folger MS C.a.14 [34])—argued, once more, that some of the Perkins annotations were genuine and old, but conceded that others were 'undoubtedly the work of a modern hand', and that only two explanations would do: either Collier himself ('alone or by the aid of an accomplice') introduced spurious readings ('for the purpose of obtaining for them the same deference which he supposed those already there would receive for their antiquity'), or 'Mr. Collier is the victim of a mysterious and marvellously successful conspiracy', conceived 'in the British Museum by some malicious person who desired to inculpate him in a forgery'. White did not attempt to exonerate Collier from the Dulwich and Bridgewater House charges, and Madden (Diary, 2 January 1862) thought that 'Mr C. . . . has little reason to thank Mr Grant White for his partial defense'. That 'partial defense' was further eroded in a misleading summary of White's article for the *Critic* of 4 January—by W. S. W. Vaux, according to Madden—in which the 'mysterious and marvellously successful conspiracy' option did not appear. This was 'done very well', Madden gloated, 'and gives Mr Collier the character he deserves'. A. E. Brae's reaction to White's article may also be noted: 'I found it thoroughly Yankee—that is, thoroughly conceited, self glorifying and illogical; full of ridiculous and ill supported assumptions suggestive of Britishers having done nothing at all towards the discrediting the Collier folio, while Yankee cleverness, in general, and Mr White's in particular, had completely floored it'; Brae to CMI, 20 February 1862, Folger MS C.a.27 (1).

7. *Athenaeum*, 3 May 1861. G. H. Kingsley remarked that 'a pencil case with an unlimited supply of black lead would have met the requirement of the case better'; undated letter to CMI, Folger MS C.a.24 (2).

dislike or distrust, and then of the North-South hostilities: Astor's distinguished curator, Joseph Green Cogswell, turned out to be 'an enemy of mine, or not well disposed toward me' (or so Balmanno informed John, who elsewhere called him 'Cogsdon'), and did not want the book;⁸ and a subsequent offer of the volume to Harvard was put off 'till more peaceable times'⁹—and ultimately rescinded.

Perhaps still minded, in mid-November, to make a significant gift to a more appreciative recipient, John responded to Halliwell's appeal on behalf of the Shakespeare House Fund with a formidable pledge. Dyce had subscribed £5, and Collier 'beg[ged] you to add *nought* to the "5" of the rev. gentleman to whom you refer; thus making me a contributor to the extent of £50. . . . You are aware that, even in these times, the pockets of literary men do not generally overflow; but if mine were as full of money, as my heart is full of love and admiration, I do not know the amount I would not send'. He felt that no further memorials to Shakespeare at Stratford-upon-Avon were appropriate, especially in the form of 'ostentacious [*sic*] edifices', and instead recommended the construction of 'some four or six compact & convenient dwellings, to be presented as residences to as many deserving authors or actors. . . . These abodes I would give for life, not as a charity, but as a testimony to the merit of individuals in the particular department of the Stage.'¹⁰ However insecure his tenure at Maidenhead might sometimes seem, John at seventy-two could hardly have craved or envisioned exchanging his river-front home for a 'compact' cottage at Stratford; yet there is a ring of sentimental self-application to the terms of such a project—the retreat to an honorary hermitage, whence 'to crawl into his welcome grave, his crotches age and paine'. But like Dickens's notion of a Stratford sinecure for James Sheridan Knowles, nothing came of it, and Halliwell marked Collier's receipt 'towards the purchase of the Great Garden of New Place', which John remarked 'is not exactly what I meant', but let pass. If a library were to be established at Stratford, he had books to donate.

8. JPC to F. J. Child, 15 February and 30 March 1861, Houghton MS bMS Am 1922 (39) and (40); JPC to Balmanno, 4 April 1861, Folger MS Y.c.1055 (6).

9. JPC to Child, 2 May 1861 (Houghton MS bMS Am 1922 [41]), selecting Harvard 'mainly out of respect to you, my old and accordant correspondent', and wishing for no publicity; but a postscript dated 7 May worried about the 'calamitous news' of the war, because of which he would 'defer till more peaceable times my gift of the book in question'. He described it as unbound, and 'exactly as I bought it in a volume of rare tracts', but its fate is mysterious: it never went to Harvard, nor to the New York Public Library, and in his diary (22 March 1877) Collier wrote that he had charged Ouvry £20 for the Hakluyt alone. If so, Ouvry also dispensed with it, for it does not appear in his 1882 sale.

10. JPC to JOH, 19 November and 10 December 1861, SBT-RO ER34/2/11 (22) and ER34/2/8 (53).

Halliwell and the Collier Shelves

Funding such largess as the Shakespeare House contribution, as well as a stately wedding and mere day-to-day subsistence for John and Emma Letitia, may have called for a new source of income in 1861. For while John told Halliwell in January that 'I do not happen to want money', still 'I have no thousands to dispend', and the accumulated rarities on the Riverside shelves represented a tempting resource. Five decades of assiduous and knowledgeable book collecting, benefiting as well from his role as agent for Devonshire and Ellesmere, had left Collier with an eminently convertible asset, if he could bear to part with it, and avoid the stigma of trading for profit in literary material. Of course he had sold books before, when moving house or when needy, both at auction and privately—Frederic Ouvry, later to purchase extensively from his uncle's collection, had already acquired at least one Collier bijou, the unique 1608 *Cobbler of Canterbury, or an Invective against Tarltons News Out of Canterbury*.¹¹ This volume Halliwell had borrowed and extracted at length in 1844,¹² but when he enquired after it in January 1861 it was gone. 'I have no false delicacy about buying and selling books', John declared, and while *The Cobbler* was now 'unattainable', he had others that Halliwell might like to possess, and 'that I have, in a manner, done with'. Confessing teasingly to being a 'bad bargainer' ('I . . . have disposed of many books that I would now give twice the sum to have back again'), John volunteered to send Halliwell 'a list of a few, & you may put your prices against them & return it to me. If we agree, I will say so at once & transfer the property for the money.' He specifically mentioned his 'B. L. Ballads . . . beginning in 1584, if not earlier', and 'some very queer *Chaps*—i.e. Chap-books, by Martin Parker, Lawr. Price, Guy and others, & two or three odd *Jest-books*'.¹³

Clearly, then, and despite what John was later to claim, the 1861 book-sale transactions with Halliwell were initiated by Collier himself, who chose what to offer and laid out his own ground-rules. Before submitting his first list—in 'a continual bustle' with American correspondence, birthday visits from grandchildren and others, and proofs of his new *Spenser* to correct—he re-emphasized the latter: 'I conclude that you understand that I am to have the option of keeping or parting with a tract or book at the price you put upon it. I only want to be quite clear, and to make an arrangement of which neither of

11. STC 4580: Collier had paid twelve guineas for it in 1834 (Heber IV, lot 510). Ouvry reprinted it privately in 1862, his own first editorial labour.

12. In *Tarlton's Jestes, and News Out of Purgatory* (Shakespeare Society, 1844), pp. 107–25. In 1843 Collier assured him that 'you shall always be welcome to the use of any books I have', although 'my "Cobler of Canterbury," 1608, cost me £12. and I do not like to send it anywhere by parcel, if I can help it'; JPC to JOH, 6 November 1843, LOA 23/38.

13. 7 January 1861, LOA 71/34.

us shall have reason to complain, or damage our intercourse upon literary matters', adding that 'if I thought it would, I would at once stop; as I do not happen to want money'.¹⁴ Nor was there any understanding at the outset that Halliwell should never re-offer his purchases, although *after* the first of three separate sales Collier did raise the point: 'I presume that you intend to keep the pieces in your own hands', he now wrote, as 'I have supposed all along', for 'you will find some of them full of my marks & remarks in pencil, which I should not like to go out to the world', and 'if the tracts &c. are to go to auction, I should wish to dispose of them (if at all) in that way myself, and then I could see to the MS. notes in them'. Furthermore, he made 'one stipulation [that] I hope that you will not object to'—but which Halliwell, who habitually re-sold his *rariora* after 'use' could hardly accept—'viz., that should I need the loan of one or two things, that I may have parted with incautiously, *you will lend it, or them to me only for a single day*'.¹⁵

Halliwell's side of this flurry of correspondence is lost, and perhaps he did acquiesce to the vendor's after-the-fact demands, although he no doubt regarded Collier's ubiquitous pencillings as blemishes, and could (and probably did) erase them himself: none of Collier's 'marks & remarks' in the works that Halliwell purchased have come home to haunt their author, or, from the titles involved, were likely to do so. Clearly, Halliwell gave some sort of reassurance at once, for on 29 January John wrote that 'I was not at all suspicious of a re-sale, & I am glad that you mean to keep the books, as I shall know where they are, and with your permission resort to them in case of necessity'.¹⁶ But John's primary concern was more likely that Halliwell, with his up-to-date market experience, could turn a quick and effortless profit on whatever he chose, at the prices he himself volunteered. Still, the arrangement—along with ready payment and a modicum of secrecy¹⁷—was what Collier had prescribed, although he might like to imagine his books as on some kind of permanent lease. Halliwell did just as invited to do: he marked up Collier's lists with a range of three figures against each item desired, for a 'poor' copy, a 'moderate' one, and for one 'very good', normally at a ratio of about 2:3:4, Collier himself to determine which price should apply.¹⁸ Such caution was not inappropriate, as Halliwell must have known how physically unprepossessing Collier's rare books could be, most of

14. 12 January 1861, LOA 79/12.

15. 23 January 1861, LOA 88/4.

16. LOA 86/11.

17. Subsequently Halliwell assured Collier that 'I particularly hope that no one will hear of the purchases', and that 'no one certainly will from [me]', although Collier replied that he didn't mind; JOH to JPC, 14 December 1865 (copy), LOA 101/26; JPC to JOH, 15 December, LOA 101/12.

18. The three lists (the first of them apparently Collier's retained copy, for it contains no prices) survive as Folger MS Y.d.582 (39a-c).

them 'taken out of volumes of tracts for the rest of which I did not care', 'unbound, as I commonly bought them', preserved 'in drawers & packages',¹⁹ and frequently trimmed, stained, or bescribbled.

That said, Halliwell found many to covet. From Collier's first 'hasty list' of twenty-seven titles, posted on 14 January, he offered for nineteen; from the second (23 January, thirty-two titles), sixteen more; and from a third (7 March, twenty-seven titles, including five repeats from the first list), a final nine. Collier rejected at least six of Halliwell's offers, including those for two of his prized Thomas Lodges (*Rosalynde* [1598] and *William Longbeard* [1593]), three scarce pamphlets of the 'City Poet' Thomas Jordan, and Richard Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia* (1598); two other tenders (for Riche's *Greene's News Both from Heaven and Hell* [1593] and Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* [1602]) he initially refused but later revived; and in two instances Halliwell agreed to a price higher than his maximum.

John's demurrers were hardly those of an innocent ('I am not a bookseller, though in this instance a seller of books'), for he could puff wares and bandy figures with the best of tradesmen: declining Halliwell's offer for *Rosalynde*, *Lady Pecunia*, *Greene's News*, and *Salmacis*, he claimed that 'I was offered £60 for the four *more than a year ago*, that they might be secured to America', which 'I refused, as now, not wanting the money, and being reluctant that the rarities should be for ever lost to us'.²⁰ For *Salmacis* alone, which Halliwell had put down at a £15 maximum, 'I was offered £25 many months since, and would not take it',²¹ although later John relented and sent it for £15—whereupon Halliwell sent it back. Improbably too, 'The fact is that, in one or more instances, I gave for the chap-books a larger sum than you put them down at. This was in *my mad day*.'²² And lest Halliwell take anything for granted, John harped on his own ambivalence in selling—as if to suggest that the doors of the fabled cave might swing shut at any moment. 'I never yet parted with a book, of any curiosity, that I did not repent it soon afterwards. I dare say this will be one result of our present negotiation', he wrote, and on posting the first fifteen items he added: 'I am afraid of repenting, & dare not look again at the contents of this parcel'.²³

All the while, however, there were hints of more riches to come—'many more tracts and chap-books', a 'very rare' comedy (*The Prince of Priggs Revels*, 1651), and above all the black-letter ballads 'from 1584 if not earlier'²⁴—and in March

19. JPC to JOH, 14 January 1861, LOA 88/52.

20. 18 January 1861, LOA 95/44.

21. 21 January 1861, LOA 65/40.

22. 23 January 1861, LOA 88/4.

23. JPC to JOH, 18 and 21 January 1861, LOA 95/44 and 88/55*.

24. Collier dangled these at the outset ('Do you care about B. L. Ballads?' (7 January 1861, LOA

John re-submitted titles he had earlier withdrawn, or that Halliwell had not offered for. 'If I do not at once always accept your proposals', he now wrote, 'it is only that I have a mistaken value for some of my trifles.'²⁵ And although Frederic Ouvry came later to serve as his client of choice, Collier attempted to re-open his stall to Halliwell in December 1865, offering a new list of 'tracts &c. that you may want', under the same arrangement as before: Halliwell to 'put *your own prices* upon them', and 'if I think they are worth more than their offer, why, I shall keep them'.²⁶ These included four further rarities, by Greene, Nashe, Robert Armin, and — yet again — Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, but by now Halliwell was intent only on stockpiling such purchases ('my bookcases will not hold any rarities you kindly let me have. . . . Any tracts thus obtained will, as I said before, be shut up from view at least during our joint lives'), and in the event he purchased no more.²⁷

Halliwell's trawl of the Collier offers in January and March 1861 yielded thirty-seven volumes, for which he gave £328.²⁸ He was entirely paid up by 5 April; Collier thanked him, although 'there is not a book that you have that I do not wish back again'. Among them were many that harked back to the Heber (or pre-Miller) era for rarity: tracts by Nashe, Harvey, Greene, Dekker, Samuel Rowlands (*Doctor Merrie-man*, 1618, unique), William Rowley (*A Search for Money*, 1609, thought unique), Laneham's *Letter* (1575), *Pasquil's Jests* (1604, unique), *The First Part of Pasquil's Apology* (1590), *The Pleasant and Sweet History of Patient Grissel* (ca. 1640, unique), and John Nicholl's *Hour Glass of Indian News* (1607); verse by Bernard Garter, Martin Parker (five, all very rare or unique), and Thomas Churchyard (*Farewell to Essex*, 1599, ex-Heber); *London's Vacation* by 'H. C.' (1637, unique); Richard Johnson's *Look on Me London* (1613), and John Ford's *Honour Triumphant* (1606), each now known in three copies; and other very rare jest or riddle books, *facetiae*, and what John called 'chap-books' (e.g.,

71/34)), and returned to them a fortnight later: 'Are you a ballad-hunter? If so, some of mine are curious, and others, I think, unique, but they are the last things I like to part from. . . . I almost hope that you do not care for them' (23 January, LOA 88/4). Collier subsequently sold most of his remaining broadside ballads to Ouvry.

25. 7 March 1861, LOA 88/51.

26. 10 December 1865, LOA 104/11.

27. JPC to JOH, 8 and 19 December 1865; JOH to JPC (copy), 14 December 1862, LOA 101/39, 102/32, and 101/26.

28. One further volume passed from Collier to Halliwell at a much later date. *A Larum for London*, with its forged verse attribution to Marlowe, bears a kind of recantation by Collier in his very late hand, and a flyleaf note by Halliwell that 'this was sold to me as perfect, but I now observe that a small portion of the text [two leaves, in fact] is made up by a reprint'; Halliwell also dismissed the Marlowe attribution as 'clearly a forgery'. This volume does not appear in Collier's posthumous sale, and may have gone to Halliwell directly from the executors, during the period of his vetting the material sent to auction.

The Historie of Faustus, 1648, unique). But Halliwell can never have intended to keep all these permanently on his shelves, for in February 1862 he included no fewer than twenty-seven of them in his *Brief List of Some of the Rarer and Most Curious Old-Book Rarities in the Library of J. O. Halliwell, Esq., Illustrative Chiefly of Early English Popular Literature . . . for Private Circulation Only*, effectively a stock-catalogue aimed at the British Museum, which in October purchased sixty-eight of the seventy books listed.²⁹

While Halliwell apparently retained, for the moment, ten of Collier's books—including Greene's *Orpharion* (1599), Laneham's *Letter* (1575, the seminal account of the Kenilworth Entertainment, and of the ballads of 'Captain Cox'), and others by Nashe, Harvey, Dekker (*A Knight's Conjuring*, 1607), Garter, Parker, and Henry Peacham, and Nicholl's *Indian News*³⁰—it is hard to imagine that his selection from Collier's lists was not based in part upon what the British Museum did not possess, in the knowledge that John no longer frequented that library, nor would himself offer books to Panizzi or Jones. But Halliwell most certainly did not profiteer grandly at his old friend's expense: the cost of the Collier books among the sixty-eight titles transferred cannot have been much under £230, and the motive behind the entire operation may have been curiosity—a chance to examine and extract otherwise inaccessible texts—as much as anything else.³¹

John must have got wind of the resales at some point, for in 1865 he reminded Halliwell of the difference between a 'gentleman' and a 'tradesman', with a tale of a man who had passed himself off as the former (and a biographer of Sir John Davies), chivied a book from Collier at £8, and re-sold it '*the very next week*' to a collector for £12: Halliwell, he conceded, might dispose of his purchases as he liked, 'but as a gentleman you ought not, & would not, make a profit by them as if you were a bookseller'.³² This ethical distinction did not seem to apply to John

29. The price paid by the British Museum was £450, and although the ex-Collier items probably made up more than half of the value, it is impossible to calculate Halliwell's profit or loss on each one. He may well not have profited at all, as he represented his average cost as £8 per item, and that figure seems reasonable (even low) for the Collier tranche. At the time Sir Thomas Phillipps attempted to sabotage the transaction, ridiculing Halliwell's claim of his costs (see Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, ii:83–87); but according to Henrietta Halliwell, James had told John Winter Jones of the Museum (who was unaware of the Collier provenance) 'the prices he had given Mr C.' (diary, 23 October 1862; printed in Spevack 1999, pp. 208–09).

30. Of the ten retained, Halliwell sold one further volume, Parker's *King and a Poor Northern Man* (1640, unique), to the British Museum on 3 January 1864 for the price he had paid Collier (£7), but the Museum rejected *Pasquill's Apology*, so that Halliwell's final tally of Collier's books remained at ten.

31. Halliwell reprinted two of the tracts, the 1673 *Sackfull of News* (then thought unique) and the 1660 *Book of Merry Riddles* (unique). Both originals went to the British Museum.

32. JPC to JOH, 15 December 1865, LOA 101/12.

himself, who repeatedly cited 'market value' as his standard in selling; but of course most of Collier's costs were lost in the murkiness of time and in multiple-title tract volumes. Late in life, however, he remembered the old transaction with bitterness, and in a way that effectively demonstrates that Halliwell lied to him at the time: 'Twenty years ago I was *done* out of a few of my rarer [books]', he wrote in his retrospective diary (31 January–1 February 1881), blaming an unidentified 'gentleman who was [supposedly] collecting a library'. Halliwell, he recalled, 'who knew my books and my pressing wants just then came to me' — not quite the sequence we have observed — as 'the innocent Go-between', and procured some '30 or 40 . . . of my very rarest' on behalf of this imaginary principal, 'who made use of Halliwell [and] went to the British Museum & they gave two or even three times as much as I obtained through Halliwell. Halliwell was not benefitted, but was himself done out of the books, not thinking that the great national library was to be the final place of deposit, and now there they are'. As one 'specimen' of the chicanery, Collier believed, Halliwell gave three guineas for Andrew Borde's *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (the 1690 edition, Wing B 3749), and received the same sum for it, but the British Museum paid £10: 'I do not blame Halliwell: he was imposed upon and so was I.'

How Collier, even at ninety-two, could square this scenario with Halliwell's repeated assurances in 1861–65 that he would 'keep' what he bought is a mystery, as are the rosy ideas of what the British Museum would then pay for such books. But there can hardly be any doubt that Halliwell himself put these notions in Collier's head, in the confidence that the old man could not learn otherwise. Perhaps such disinformation post-dated the death of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1872), who, if ever he could, would of course have been pleased to correct it.

The Works of Edmund Spenser

In March 1857 the publishers Bell and Daldy approached Collier, through W. J. Thoms, seeking an editor of Spenser for their new 'Library of English Worthies', a series of 'reprints of the best Authors, carefully edited and collated with the Early Copies, and handsomely printed by Whittingham in octavo'.³³ John

33. *Messrs. Bell and Daldy's Catalogue of Bohn's Various Libraries and of Their Other Collections* (1864), pp. 42–43; on the series, see Ing 1985, pp. 209–13. Already published was Reinhold Pauli's three-volume edition of Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, which Collier obligingly reviewed as 'a fine specimen of modern typography' and 'a production [in which] we see nothing that does not merit praise and admiration' (*Athenaeum*, 11 April 1857); to follow were editions of Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, and George Herbert's *Poems and Remains* — rather a mixed list of 'worthies' — which Bell and Daldy normally issued as part of their smaller-format 'Aldine' series. Thoms also tried to recruit Sir Frederic Madden to edit Chaucer, but the £100 offered seemed to the Keeper 'too small for the *work* really required'; Diary, 6 January 1858.