seven seventeenth-printed editions. The result has obviously important ramifications for the study of Donne, psalms, and attribution. Indeed, the chapter (and perhaps some of the responses that it eventually elicits) could serve as a model reattribution argument.

Kirk Melnikoff. *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. xiii + 279 pp. + 10 illus. $70.00. Review by Steven W. May, Emory University.

Kirk Melnikoff argues in this book that the nature and development of Elizabethan literary culture cannot be fully understood without recognizing the important role of the publishers who made it available to contemporary readers in printed books and pamphlets. This study's particular focus is upon "book-trade publishers that were not printers" (10), that is, the stationers and members of other London craft guilds who acquired the copy, edited, and financed the books that printers in turn saw through the press. While the "New Bibliography" has taught us a great deal about how printers turned their copy into printed artifacts, how those manuscripts were prepared for the press in the first place is largely unexplored territory.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the various tasks performed by these publishers, from acquiring the manuscript to what we would today term press styling and copy editing the work for the printer. This process might include wording the title page, commissioning the book's dedication, commendatory verses and marketing blurbs, supplying the work with chapter divisions, marginalia, a table of contents, topical indexes (tables), and illustrations. Publishers also arranged for translations of foreign language works; in some instances they supplied their own copy. Melnikoff notes that a number of publishers came to specialize in certain types and genres of imprint without holding patents of monopoly (as did a number of printers, including Richard Tottel and John Day).

The remaining chapters analyze the output of individual Elizabethan publishers. Chapter 2 concerns Thomas Hacket, whose contributions to literary culture are somewhat marginal. The son of a French bookbinder, Hacket became a London stationer for whom publishing

was something of a sideline. Before 1562 he seems to have concentrated on protestant tracts with a Calvinist slant. Thereafter he made use of his family background to translate French works, including French romances. He also supplied his own copy by translating and publishing French travel narratives, building on the pioneering work of Richard Eden toward popularizing this prose genre. Chapter 3 focuses on a far more literary publisher, Richard Smith. Smith sponsored virtually all of George Gascoigne's poetic works, and those of Henry Constable and George Chapman among other well-known English poets. In addition, Smith himself rendered Robert Henryson's Scottish *Tales of Aesop* into English verse and published his edition in 1577. Of particular interest here is Melnikoff's argument that Smith organized his second, expanded edition of Constable's *Diana* into "Decades," each with its own theme.

Chapter 4 deals with Thomas Woodcock's edition of Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* (1594), the rights to which were transferred to Paul Linley and John Flasket. These publishers also brought out the first edition of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* in 1598 and apparently planned to reissue *Dido* in combination with John Dickinson's Mediterranean romance *Arisbas* as, Melnikoff argues, a publication unified by its Ovidian content. Chapter 5 treats Nicholas Ling's interest in publishing collections of *sententiae*, such as his bestseller *Politeuphuia* (1597), along with an overarching interest in republican as opposed to monarchial government. Melnikoff finds both these interests combined in Ling's sponsorship of the first two editions of *Hamlet*, Q1 (1603) and Q2 (1604). In the play it is Corambis (Polonius), whose often-mocked words of wisdom are actually punctuated to attract the reader's notice as worthy of particular consideration or even copying into a commonplace book. As a literary publisher, Ling also sponsored a number of other works, including two by Nicholas Breton, *The Figure of Four* and *Wit's Trenchmour* in 1597, and *England's Parnassus* and Christopher Middleton's *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* in 1600.

Throughout this study we find an emphasis on how publishers attempted to enhance the marketability of the titles they sponsored. This included the reissue of unsold sheets under different title pages as well as combining entire works as in the case of *Dido* with *Arisbas*.

Publishers routinely added timely information to title pages touting the expansion and updating of content in revised new editions. Financial risk was minimized in a number of cases by joint publishing. Hacket, for example, collaborated with other publishers in four of his eight editions between 1560 and 1562. In two useful tables (41), Melnikoff charts publishers' expanded use of another marketing ploy, dedications, broken down by numbers of dedicatory epistles and dedicatory poems. Presumably, readers would equate dedications with endorsements of the work, while dedications also garnered additional income in the form of rewards from the dedicatees. *Elizabethan Publishing* provides an insightful cross-section of publishers' practices, concentrated on those who specialized in literary works or who published especially noteworthy authors and titles.

Just how publishers of whatever stamp acquired and edited the works they sponsored is an intriguing, largely unstudied question, but one that will probably never be answered in satisfactory detail. In this study, the evidence for how publishers tailored the manuscripts they acquired into the printed books produced from them derives, necessarily, from the books themselves. Only two examples of manuscripts actually used in the printshop have survived from the early modern period. We cannot otherwise be sure how publishers edited, perhaps even wholly recopied authorial manuscripts for delivery to printers. Did Gascoigne add the often lengthy titles to the poems in his *Hundreth Sundry Flowers* or are they the editorial interventions of publisher Smith? Nor do we know to what extent publishers (who were not themselves printers) consulted with authors and their printers, perhaps even with other booksellers and makers of engravings and woodcuts, in order to turn out the final printed copy. Melnikoff excludes from his discussion the "rare literary project funded by an author or a patron" (6). Unfortunately, this causes him to omit perhaps the best known instance of an Elizabethan publisher's interaction with his printer, Sir John Harington's instructions to Richard Field. Harington's note occurs in the printer's copy for Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, British Library Add. MS 18920, where he asks that Field set part of the book "except the table in the same printe as Putnams book." The relevant point here is that Harington seems to have allowed Field to determine most of his book's format, at least with regard to type

face and ornaments. But was this the norm for publishers generally? Melnikoff shows that errata lists were an increasingly common addition in Elizabethan books, but where publishers were not themselves printers, it seems unlikely that they would have compiled these lists. The frequent insertions into STC books of notes headed "The Printer to the Reader" also suggest that book contents may have been more of a collaborative effort than *Elizabethan Publishing* suggests.

Equally fascinating for want of evidence is the question of how publishers acquired the texts they published. Richard Robinson and a few other writers, as Melnikoff notes, left records of the sums they received from publishers. Overall, however, the nature of these transactions, or even how publishers became acquainted with the authors they sponsored remains a mystery. Melnikoff, wisely perhaps, avoids speculating about how Smith, for instance, obtained publication rights to the works of Gascoigne, Constable, and Chapman, or how Ling acquired two very different versions of *Hamlet*. He mentions the printer John Danter, but not Danter's appearance in the anonymous play *The Returne from Parnassus* where a Cambridge student persuades him to purchase a manuscript copy of his "Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds" for forty shillings. Danter foresees so keen a market for this poem that he vows to acquire it no matter what the cost. Here we have what is no doubt a parody of a printer-publisher's acquisition of copy, yet it must represent at some remove how publishers obtained works by such university students as Robert Greene, Marlowe, Nashe, Constable, and the rest. In these transactions, some Elizabethan publishers made a good deal of money (as the theatrical Danter in the Cambridge play expected would be the case). *Elizabethan Publishing* leaves open numerous opportunities for further research into the biographies of publishers and their relationships with the authors of the literary works they sent to the press.

Elizabethan Publishing would itself have benefitted from a publisher that paid more attention to the details of this book's presentation. Quotations from Elizabethan books are in old spelling, not without a number of misprints such as "loues loue" for "loues lore" (151) and "feazd" for "seazd" (152). "A Note on the Text" explains that "Abbreviations in early modern texts have been expanded" (xiii), but on p. 15 we find "man'" for 'manner' and "pfect" for 'perfect'. Barnabe

Rich's 1581 title *Farewell to Militarie Profession* appears as *"Farewell to the Military Profession"* (42. Neither this book nor Rich are cited in the index). For "Dickinson" the author of *Arisbas*, read "Dickenson" *passim*. *Elizabethan Publishing* makes a genuine contribution to our understanding of how publishers influenced the early modern literary texts that have come down to us in print—it deserved much better copy editing and proofreading.

The Works of Henry Vaughan: Volume I. Introduction and Texts 1646-1652*; Volume II. Texts* 1654-1678*, Letters, & Medical Marginalia; Volume III. Commentaries and Bibliography*. Edited by Donald R. Dickson, Alan Rudrum and Robert Wilcher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. cii + 1444 pp. $350. Review by Jonathan Nauman, Vaughan Association.

When the Reverend Henry Francis Lyte presented a full volume of Henry Vaughan's *Sacred Poems* to the public in 1847, reviving the work of a seventeenth-century author whose books had seen no reprints since their first editions, the only commentary he supplied was a thirty-eight-page "Biographical Sketch," in which he aimed primarily to explain and reverse the Anglo-Welsh poet's lack of public recognition during the neoclassical eighteenth century. The Reverend Alexander Grosart's Fuller Worthies edition,[1] which emerged in four volumes twenty-four years later, included Vaughan's prose as well as his poems, and also provided some footnoting, mainly to identify Biblical, classical, and patristic allusions, and to argue for and against emendations to Vaughan's texts. Grosart was largely concerned to characterize Vaughan as an early Romantic, an inclination certainly reinforced by his being caught up in the late-nineteenth-century rumor that Wordsworth had owned a copy of Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, a piece of literary news that

1 A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose Complete of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*, 4 vols. [Blackburn, Lancashire: The Fuller Worthies Library,] 1871. Citations