

JOHN MASEFIELD (1878-1967)
A COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A thesis submitted to the University of London
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by
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September 1999

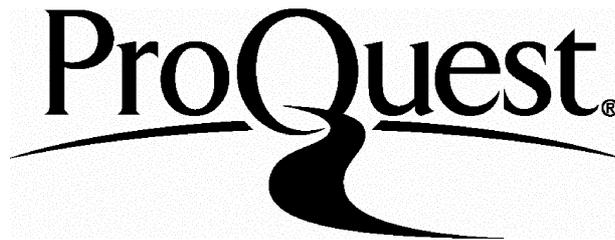
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ABSTRACT

The core of the electronic thesis comprises a descriptive bibliography of John Masefield (1878-1967) including books and pamphlets entirely by Masefield, collections of letters, books edited or with contributions by the author, and anthologies. Contributions to periodicals are considered, in addition to entirely new areas within Masefield bibliography: privately printed poetry cards, translations, broadcasts and recordings. An extensive section also considers manuscripts and letters. The thesis is constructed in HyperText Markup Language (HTML) and demonstrates several computer applications within the discipline of bibliography.

The paper-based introduction supplies a publishing context by presenting a narrative history of Masefield's publishing career, in which author-publisher relations are examined. The issue of self re-invention is addressed with new evidence about the author's suppression of published work and statements which reveal his intentions. This concludes that Masefield was unable to suppress certain work, failed to respond to the publishing climate and inadequate self-perception may have damaged his reputation. An investigation of Masefield's literary agent, C.F. Cazenove, demonstrates a successful commercial relationship during the infancy of literary agencies; however, an examination of private publications and presses also shows Masefield's interest in non-commercial publishing. There is also a consideration of the writer accepting publishing advice from Shaw and Hardy. A new chronology of works in the period before 1911 has been produced through an assimilation of bibliographical and manuscript research.

The second part of the introduction, after assessing previous Masefield bibliographies, considers the electronic aspect of the thesis, discussing several issues concerning computer applications within bibliography. In addition to addressing aspects of bibliographical methodology, it states that the project is only viable in an electronic form if the comprehensiveness and applications of the thesis are not to be lost.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was funded by the EPSRC and I am most grateful for their support. I also wish to thank my parents and brother for their encouragement.

Were it not for financial assistance for my M.A. this project would not have been realised. I therefore thank again those who provided crucial early support. My parents, brother and grandmothers assisted, as did an award from the UCL access fund. Help from friends included Angela Crispe, Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, Jon McLachlan and John Partington. The majority of financial assistance came from a legacy from my great aunt, M.A. ("Nancy") Graham in whose memory my M.A. was dedicated.

The Masefield family has been especially kind. Rosemary Magnus, a niece of John Masefield, provided unfailing kindness and liberal hospitality when allowing me access to family papers. Mr. and Mrs. William Masefield have also shown interest.

Geoffrey Handley-Taylor has been unstinting in his supply of books, information and anecdote. The late Crocker Wight kindly provided an inscribed copy of his bibliography and Dame Muriel Spark assisted with an ambiguity in her study of Masefield. Prof. Fraser Drew has similarly been most helpful and encouraging. Connell B. Gallagher, of Vermont University, which now holds the Drew collection, has also been of much assistance.

Personal friends of Masefield have been kind and helpful. Eileen Colwell and Barbara Gregory ("Brangwen") allowed me to interview them and consult their collections. Audrey Napier-Smith ("Reyna") provided encouragement.

Jeremy Crow and the late Roma Woodnutt of the Society of Authors, the literary representative of the Estate of John Masefield, have been most co-operative. The Society of Authors has granted me permission to include all Masefield copyright material in this thesis.

Nancy Paice, former librarian of Ledbury Library, deserves special mention for her kindness to an eager ten-year old. Caroline Huckfield, current librarian of Ledbury Library, has continued the example of her predecessor.

From the John Masefield Society I would especially like to thank Peter Carter, Linda Hart, Brian Nixon, Roy Palmer, George B.T. Smith and the late Peter Smith. Bob Vaughan, secretary of the John Masefield Society, has been unstinting in encouragement, enthusiasm and supply of books.

Dr. Hilary Pyle has been helpful in detailing Masefield's connections with Jack B. Yeats. She also provided a large quantity of useful manuscript photocopies. I would especially like to thank the editor of the *Yeats Annual*, Prof. Warwick Gould, for publication of my first scholarly paper. Prof. Alison Lurie, after her 1995 Clark lecture in Cambridge, kindly provided her lecture notes for my information.

Of the staff at University College London I would like to thank Prof. Rosemary Ashton and Dr. Alison Light for interest in the project. Graduate tutors Prof. René Weis and Dr. Peter Swaab have been helpful and Prof. Robin Alston gave many valuable suggestions. Prof. Michael Worton was especially helpful in dealing with college examination requirements. Finally I would like to thank Prof. H.R. Woudhuysen, my primary supervisor, and Prof. John Sutherland, my secondary supervisor, for their assistance. The Graduate School provided financial assistance for a research trip to New York and Boston in September 1998.

Dr. Julia Walworth and the special collections staff of the Sterling Library within the University of London Library have been most co-operative and kind. Susan Halpert of the Houghton Collection, Harvard University, Dr. Stephen Crook of the Berg Collection, New York Public Library and Nicholas Mays of News International plc Archives also deserve special acknowledgement. G. Michael C. Bott of the University of Reading Library has been exceptionally helpful. Lesley Budgen has worked miracles within the inter-library loan department of University College London Library.

The following libraries and institutions have also provided help and assistance: Auckland Central City Library (New Zealand), Bath Central Library, BBC Written Archives Centre, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University), Birmingham Central Library, The Bodleian Library, The Boston Athenaeum, The British Library, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Brotherton Library (University of Leeds), Cheltenham Ladies' College, Churchill College Archive Centre, Columbia University Libraries, Devon Record Office, Dorset County Museum, English Folk Dance and Song Society (Vaughan Williams Memorial Library), Eton College Library, Fales Library (New York University), Fitzwilliam Museum Library, Glasgow City Council Libraries and Archives, Isle of Wight County Records Office, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Keswick Museum and Art Gallery, King's College Cambridge Modern Records Centre, The King's School Canterbury, Lambeth Palace Library, Liverpool Central Library, The London Library, London Metropolitan Archives, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Merton College Oxford Library, National Library of Ireland, National Library of Scotland, National Sound Archive, Percival Library (Clifton College), The Public Record Office, The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, The Queen's University of Belfast Library, Royal Naval Museum (Portsmouth), The Royal Society of Literature, Ruskin College Oxford, Ruskin Library (University of Lancaster), Sheffield City Archive, Somerville College Oxford Library, St Edmund Hall Oxford Archives, Street Public Library (Somerset), The Tate Gallery Archive, Taylor Institution Library, Theatre Museum (Victoria and Albert Museum), Trinity College Cambridge Library, Trinity College Library Dublin, University College London Library, University of Aberdeen Library, University of Arizona Library, University of Birmingham Library, University of Bristol Library, University of Cambridge Library, University of Durham Library, University of Edinburgh Library, University of Exeter Library, University of Glasgow Library, University of Kent at Canterbury Library, University of Liverpool Library, University of

Reading Library, University of Stirling Library, University of Southampton Library, University of Sussex Library, University of Wales (Bangor) Library, University of Warwick Modern Records Centre, Victoria and Albert Museum (National Art Library), Westminster Abbey Muniment Room and Library, West Sussex Record Office, West Yorkshire Archive Service in Bradford, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Wigan Record Office, Wolverhampton Art Gallery and Worcester College Oxford Library.

Other individuals to acknowledge include: Alaric T. Barrie, Paul Binding, Paul Chown, J.S. Dearden, Nic Doodson, Richard Emeny, Philip Gaskell, Terry Halladay, John Handford, Rupert Hart-Davis, Angus Henderson, Arnold Hunt, John Wyse Jackson, Philip Kelley, Donald Kerr, Scott Lewis, Katharine Macdonald, Don McKenzie, Simone Murray, Philip Nind, Janine Rymer, Ronald E. Shields, Keith Smith, G. Thomas Tanselle, Compton Whitworth, Stephen Wildman and Shelia Woolf.

Finally, I wish to record my gratitude to my brother, Graham Errington. Within two months of submitting my thesis the computer provided by University College London developed an error, corrupted files and, finally, refused to work. It was my brother who managed to retrieve files and lend me a computer with which to complete the project. To him I owe everything, including my sanity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AL	-	autograph letter (signed status unknown)
ALS	-	autograph letter signed
ALU	-	autograph letter unsigned
APC	-	autograph postcard (signed status unknown)
APCS	-	autograph postcard signed
c.	-	circa
f. / ff.	-	folio / folios
p. / pp.	-	page / pages
MS	-	autograph manuscript [<i>manuscript listing only</i>]
s.	-	sheet(s)
TL	-	typed letter (signed status unknown)
TLS	-	typed letter signed
TLU	-	typed letter unsigned
TS	-	typescript manuscript [<i>manuscript listing only</i>]
	-	line break
...	-	compiler's ellipsis
[]	-	square brackets denote conjectural additions, or omissions

Library Abbreviations

BL	-	British Library
UCL	-	University College London Library
ULL	-	University of London Library
ULL (Sterling)	-	University of London, Sterling Library

[*Note that several owners of private collections are not fully identified*]

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INTRODUCTION

I. John Masefield – An Introduction

In 1958 John Masefield observed that of three hundred million readers of English, three read his work and four criticized it.¹ By 1978 a later Poet Laureate, John Betjeman, noted that ‘Sea-Fever’ and ‘Cargoes’ would be ‘remembered as long as the language lasts’.² These examples illustrate two views during the decline of a reputation for Masefield had once been a best-selling author and a publishing phenomenon. He was critically acclaimed and internationally honoured. Today the decline is perhaps complete. A major literary figure lingers on only in poetry anthologies of a conservative nature.

Today Masefield’s former popularity, Edwardian multiplicity and prodigious output count against him. His works are largely out-of-print and academia ignores him. It need not have been the case. Masefield was a writer who attempted to redefine himself, particularly in the 1920s, and in his suppressing (or attempting to suppress) work made a number of errors. He also found himself unable to act, tied to contracts and powerless to buy back early titles. Masefield was aware that his self-perception was in opposition to public taste and the wishes of his early publishers. The writer therefore made concessions, or was denied rights, and his attempted re-invention did not succeed. In composing new works he followed an agenda neither Edwardian nor Modernist in his perception and became a mixture of intense creative artist and popular balladeer. It is this combination that now damages his reputation.

With a long career Masefield was offered a second chance as the popular publishing culture of the 1960s attempted to embrace him. Now the aged Laureate, he again took imperfect decisions and rejected the modern populist market. Masefield’s status today is not perhaps a result of literary achievement or failure, it is due to an inability to manipulate economic or publishing trends and a resulting failure to demand academic or widespread populist respect.

Masefield is indeed a neglected figure but he can also be seen as a way of entry into the publishing history of popular literature of the twentieth-century. His poetry was respected by W.B. Yeats, Thomas Hardy, Philip Larkin and A. Alvarez.³ His plays were praised by George Bernard Shaw and his novels by Graham Greene.⁴ There are few writers in the twentieth-century who were first read by late Victorians and died in the midst of nuclear cold war politics. He had witnessed the coming of the railways at the border of his childhood garden and also commemorated the assassination of J.F. Kennedy in verse. Masefield provides us with a publishing context or figure for comparison in the twentieth-century and, as a prolific author, demonstrates a model for other writers in the literary market.

My introduction is in three sections. First I provide a narrative history of Masefield's publishing career and concentrate on a number of issues that assist in placing this history in a context. Masefield's attempted re-creation of literary identity demonstrates the author bound by former contracts. A discussion of his literary agent investigates the role of mediator between author and publisher. Masefield's interest in private publications then places the author in an environment away from the commercial world. The advice of other writers (particularly Shaw and Hardy) reveals Masefield receiving advice on the commercial aspects of his profession. An indication of a new chronology and account of aborted plans describes the writer in the process of composition or seeking a subject. A tentative investigation into Masefield's finances then addresses the economics of authorship.

Secondly, I shall address the need for a new bibliography of Masefield and suggest some advantages of computer technology. I shall finally provide details and explanations of my bibliographical procedure.

II. Masfield's Publishing History

Masfield is a significant figure in the literary market place and representative of many publishing concerns. His first poem was published in a periodical in 1899 and the last volume published during his lifetime appeared in 1967.¹ Posthumous works have been printed since 1972.² Joseph McAleer in his study of *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-1950* notes that the firm of W.H. Smith regarded Masfield as one (of three) 'firm favourites' with the book buying public of 1912,³ and a cultural historical assessment of Masfield would, I suggest, construct a major figure with a large influence and a popular readership that caused his works to out-sell many contemporaries. As tastes and technologies changed, however, so did Masfield's claims on public consciousness.

A Narrative History

When Masfield returned to England from America in July 1897, vowing 'to become a writer come what might', it was journalism and literary contributions to periodicals in which his immediate future lay. His first published poem appeared in *The Outlook* in June 1899 and the interim was a period of development, with W.B. Yeats as his primary mentor. The traditional biographical view that Masfield's first published volume of poetry in 1902 marked his arrival on the literary scene is erroneous; journalism and periodical contributions provided Masfield with a living during the next decade, and beyond. Masfield wrote on a regular basis for *The Speaker* and was on the permanent staff of *The Manchester Guardian* for a time, writing a prodigious number of book reviews. Indeed, the importance of periodicals and newspapers to Masfield was such that it was not until September 1905 that a volume was published which did not owe its genesis to material previously published in a more ephemeral medium. Of the nine poems (including four major narrative poems) printed between June 1911 and September 1914 in *The English Review*, each poem was published in a volume by Masfield only after periodical publication.

If Grant Richards's own account of events can be trusted, Masfield did not find a publisher for his first book; the publisher actively found him.⁴ After reading one of Masfield's poems in a periodical (the details are disputed),⁵ Richards wrote proposing a volume of verse which materialised as *Salt-Water Ballads*. Richards was thus to credit himself as the publisher who discovered Masfield, but although the two entered a lengthy period of book production it was not one that continued long enough for Richards to receive a substantial financial return. Masfield's early relationship with publishers shows him as a shrewd author seeking the best vehicle for himself.

Grant Richards is, nevertheless, the most important of the early publishers. After *Salt-Water Ballads*, he encouraged Masfield to pursue other directions and provided a series of four books to edit and introduce: these were named 'The Chapbooks'. While this series was in progress a two-volume edition of William Dampier's *Voyages* was published before Masfield abandoned his editorial rôle with Richards to return to his own literary voice with *A Tarpaulin Muster*, then followed by his first novel and volume of plays. It is apparent that Masfield's output during this time was not confined, as simplified Masfield bibliographies tend to suggest, to volumes of sole authorship. An ability to edit, select and introduce a range of material demonstrates a more versatile writer than is frequently acknowledged.

In publishing Masfield's first attempts at poetry, novels and plays, Richards was confident in Masfield's future success, but the financial returns were modest. The publisher's archive from this time finds Richards encountering substantial difficulties in securing American publication. Richards frequently told Masfield:

... there is nobody whose work we would sooner publish, or in whose ultimate success we have a greater belief ...

(Grant Richards, letter to John Masfield, 11 January 1907)⁶

but despite telling Messrs. B.W. Dodge and Company: 'Masfield is going to be one of the greatest modern English writers: of that I am sure'⁷ and:

Masefield is rapidly becoming a very big man over here; he is one of the men whose work is watched most carefully and of whom the greatest things are expected.

(Grant Richards, letter to B.W. Dodge, 29 April 1908)⁸

Richards was finding that Masefield was not the successful literary property that he hoped. Indeed, when offered Masefield's second play volume, *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*, Richards was beginning to doubt Masefield's financial potential. The market for plays was less attractive than that for novels or poetry and Richards was faced by a work that would be difficult to sell.

The Tragedy of Pompey the Great caused Masefield to leave Richards and the details of the separation demonstrate the manoeuvring and negotiations of the trade. The publisher's archive also tells a different story from what Richards recounts in *Author Hunting* when he states that Masefield had 'no further patience' with his deliberations over whether to publish. The archive reveals that C.F. Cazenove (Masefield's agent) first wrote about *Pompey* in June 1909 and Richards requested the play on 17 September claiming 'It is the kind of publishing that makes me proud'.⁹ He received the manuscript by 20 September. Writing to Cazenove on 12 October, he reported that the costs of securing American copyright, by arranging a setting of type across the Atlantic, were one financial consideration:

Glad as I am pretty certain to be to publish the book in England, I do not think I shall be able to secure the American copyright at my own expense. I have not so far been able to get an American publisher to take up "The Tragedy of Nan", and the setting of it in America and making plates proved a costly business ...

(Grant Richards, letter to C.F. Cazenove, 12 October 1909)¹⁰

and by the beginning of November he had decided not to publish, explaining to Masefield:

I suppose most publishers constantly return manuscripts saying falsely that they wish they could publish them but, etc. Sometimes, though, it happens to be true. Your Tragedy of Pompey the Great is very big and noble, and very much affected me in the reading. It is an achievement to be proud of and I should be proud to publish it, and if I do not do so it is only because I dare not, with the trade in its present rotten condition, lock up money in a book which appeals to me as much as this does. I have been a long

time coming to a conclusion and you will be justified in complaining, but I have been watching the sales of "Nan" ...

(Grant Richards, letter to John Masfield, 8 November 1909)¹¹

After informing Masfield that his plays did not sell, the author must have been bemused to receive another letter the following day stating that Richards wanted 'the chance of printing it later on'. Richards also indicates his preference for poetry as he asks Masfield whether he had 'a sufficient body of verse to make up a slim volume'.¹² If relations had cooled, they had not been irrevocably harmed, for Cazenove made overtures about Masfield's new novel in December. Richards's secretary replied stating that he had:

not seen anything of Masfield's new novel and we could hardly undertake to set it up quickly without knowing more about it.

(Grant Richards's secretary, letter to C.F. Cazenove, 13 December 1909)¹³

and this seems to have caused offence for there is no further correspondence until Richards writes to Cazenove in February asking about *Pompey*. The next few months saw exchanges regarding the American publisher of *Captain Margaret* who wished to remainder the book: this can only have lessened good relations since Richards had organised the American business. Richards's delay over *Pompey* was combined with potentially outspoken comments on Masfield's commercial value and an inability to deal with American issues.

Masfield subsequently moved, if only temporarily, to Sidgwick and Jackson (the Shakespeare Head Press connection between Frank Sidgwick and A.H. Bullen, and thus W.B. Yeats, may have been of importance). Although Richards had actively nurtured Masfield's reputation, Sidgwick and Jackson experienced major success by publishing *The Everlasting Mercy* (after *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*). That Sidgwick and Jackson later lost Masfield to Heinemann with whom he continued for the rest of his life demonstrates what an attractive publishing proposition Masfield had become. Richards had written to Masfield in April 1910 stating:

It seems to me that I have had the good fortune either to publish all your books or to have them given me by you.

(Grant Richards, letter to John Masfield, 27 April 1910)¹⁴

In reality, Richards had published a sizeable number of Masefield's works and, significantly, many of his 'landmark' volumes, but the impression that he liked to promote as Masefield's sole publisher was erroneous. He was merely one of several. In the 1920s Richards attempted to realise substantial sums of money when Masefield tried to buy back titles which he had previously sold outright. Masefield then stated that he did not feel sentimental about the firm.

Despite financial problems, Grant Richards owned a respected publishing firm. He was also A.E. Housman's publisher and had published George Bernard Shaw and G.K. Chesterton. The publisher of Masefield's second volume of original work also had a high reputation, but for a specific audience. Masefield's connections with Elkin Mathews predate the publication of *Salt-Water Ballads*: Mathews had published several of Masefield's verses in Jack B. Yeats's periodical *A Broad Sheet* from October 1902. Moreover, Mathews was associated with W.B. Yeats, the Rhymers' Club and authors of the Celtic movement. Masefield's association is therefore unsurprising. If Richards chose Masefield, then Mathews was the publisher Masefield is most likely to have chosen himself. *Ballads* was published as number thirteen in the 'Vigo Cabinet Series' which Mathews was later to claim became 'the longest series of original contemporary verse in existence',¹⁵ and in this series Masefield was both in a good company of writers and with a publisher with a reputation for well-designed yet cheap books of high-quality desirable poetry. Mathews had already published Bridges, Newbolt, and Yeats and was to issue works by Joyce and Pound. Masefield's third volume, *A Mainsail Haul*, was similarly published by Mathews, this time in the 'Satchel Series' in which Masefield had already collaborated with Jack B. Yeats on a reprint of Reynolds's *The Fancy*. Masefield appears to have relished publication of his poetry by Mathews and his third volume of verse from 1910 (derived from two earlier volumes) was also issued by the firm. Mathews's was, nevertheless, a small business dealing primarily with poetry and it is not surprising that Masefield's novels and plays were to originate from Richards. Nevertheless, as late as 1913 (when Masefield had been published by Heinemann) he was still using Mathews

for a revised edition of *A Mainsail Haul* and a reissue of *Salt-Water Ballads* and the collaboration between writer and publisher was, apparently, successful.

That other firms besides Richards and Mathews should have published significant work by Masefield before Heinemann is the result of Masefield's large output and the types of work with which he was concerned during his literary apprenticeship.

Methuen acquired Masefield's assistance on an edition of Keats in 1903. Laurence Binyon (who had been introduced to Masefield by Yeats) was already involved with the volume and brought Masefield in himself. The volume demonstrated to Methuen (and other publishers) that Masefield had an aptitude for this type of work. *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* and *On the Spanish Main* were published by Methuen since these original historical sketches were desirable to a large publishing firm whose catalogue represented diverse interests. (In contrast, when Richards's smaller firm supported Masefield's edition of Dampier he found he had been over-ambitious and in July 1908 was offering remaining stock to any interested buyers.) The anthologies Masefield published with Methuen (*A Sailor's Garland* and *An English Prose Miscellany*) were, again, the result of a large publisher expanding their catalogue, but also a consequence of Masefield's evident ability to produce this kind of work. Indeed, Richards's Chapbook series was beginning to demonstrate Masefield's aptitude for editing and selecting material. All of these titles were probably sold outright to Methuen, and Masefield nurtured a sense of being ill-treated. In March 1927 Methuen requested the inclusion of a number of Masefield's poems in an anthology and Masefield wrote to G.H. Thring, of the Society of Authors, that:

The firm in question was, formerly, not generous to me. I would be glad to charge them handsomely for what they ask now.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [24 March 1927])¹⁶

£26.5.0 was eventually received by the Society of Authors for Methuen's use of six poems and Masefield therefore wrote to Thring congratulating him and stating the fee was 'in some degree a consolation for the past'.¹⁷ Masefield did not stay with Methuen – he merely published occasional titles and the firm provided a modest

income, but Masfield was seeking a publisher responsive to his requirements and who paid well.

J.M. Dent also obtained the services of Masfield largely due to his specialist knowledge. Contributions to the 'Everyman Series' reveal Masfield's interest in exploration and naval history and it may be that success with editions of Hakluyt, Marco Polo and Nathaniel Morton led Masfield to offer them his novel *The Street of To-Day*.

The number of publishers used by Masfield demonstrates an author willing to experiment with different firms, but also offering work to any potential buyer. Other work (discounting inclusion in anthologies) for Wells Gardner Darton and Company, Nelson, George Bell, the Woman's Press, the Ballantyne Press, Williams and Norgate, Gibbins and Company, and Stephen Swift substantiate this view. Masfield's multiplicity of artistic voices was presented by different publishers as he attempted to forge his identity, earn a living and also search for a sympathetic publisher.

As previously noted, *The Everlasting Mercy* was first published in *The English Review*. A Masfield poem took pride of place, with D.H. Lawrence, George Moore or John Galsworthy in lesser positions and *The Widow in the Bye Street*, *Dauber* and *The Daffodil Fields* were also first published in that periodical. It appears that Masfield intensely disliked the *Review*, however, and suffered publication for his own advantage of payment, good publicity and an opportunity to assess critical reaction to a work before revision for volume publication. *The English Review* declined to print the word 'bloody' within *The Everlasting Mercy* and this, in addition to other cautiousness, infuriated Masfield. Writing to Frank Sidgwick prior to Sidgwick and Jackson's edition of the poem he notes:

The adult review has boggled at my words, in spite of an express undertaking to include them. As ... I want you to include them all, please ... Will you very kindly tell me if, in the proofs in your hands, the Editor or Mr Harris[on] or somebody has persisted in including a line of his own? Towards the end of the parson's speech, I write

"The Bible is a lie say you.

Where do you stand, suppose it true?"

by which I express my parson + my meaning. Somebody altered my second line to

"Have you got faith as good and new?"

which is a piece of impertinence + interference not to be permitted. As they will not send me a clean pull of the poem I am not sure that they aren't sticking to their version, + of course that won't do. The final lyric I cut out of the Review. If they put it in it'll be against my expressed wishes. It is meant solely for the book. Otherwise, I fancy the poem as it appears won't need much revision unless they neglect my wishes about spacing as well.

(John Masefield, letter to Frank Sidgwick, 22 September 1911)¹⁸

In the event, Masefield's own lines were printed in the parson's speech, but the 'final lyric' was also included and 'spacing' was probably neglected, for when the Sidgwick and Jackson edition appeared, despite an agreement to print straight from *The English Review's* type, it had heavier leading than that in the periodical. Writing to Cazenove in October 1911 Masefield registers 'dislike' of *The English Review's* methods and states that the periodical could only have *The Widow in the Bye Street* for fifty guineas. Austin Harrison, the editor, presumably paid; indeed he later claimed that publication of Masefield saved the periodical from extinction.¹⁹ Writing to his brother, Harry, Masefield noted that *Dauber* would be heavily revised before volume publication and an *English Review* proof printing of *The Daffodil Fields* sent to Sydney Cockerell suggests that Masefield sought critical pre-publication advice. Masefield, at least with *The English Review*, was therefore manipulating the market: making money and assessing critical reaction before mainstream volume publication.

To return to mainstream publication, Sidgwick and Jackson were important as publishers of *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*, *The Everlasting Mercy* and *The Widow in the Bye Street*. Although retaining at least one of these titles on their list until the mid-1950s, subsequent work was lost to William Heinemann as Masefield's primary English publisher. Evidence within the publishers' archives indicates that although Sidgwick and Jackson expressed a willingness to take up *Dauber* and *The Daffodil Fields* in December 1912 they suggested that Masefield should sell his rights in these works outright.²⁰ There was the possibility that Masefield would be given an option to repurchase sometime later. After the

success of *The Everlasting Mercy* and *The Widow in the Bye Street* this was evidently one condition (among others) that Masefield was not prepared to accept and Heinemann presumably offered terms by which Masefield could more fully control his work. Heinemann published Masefield's work in England until his death (with occasional titles originating from private or specialist presses). The Macmillan Company of New York issued Masefield in the United States.

The first work Masefield published with the firm of William Heinemann was *Dauber* in 1913. The surviving files of William Heinemann²¹ preserve comparatively little material, considering the length of time Masefield was with the firm and the number of his volumes they issued. From an archival perspective they are jumbled with no foliation. The earliest document is a letter from Masefield dated 22 April 1915 and the most recent publication with a major quantity of material is from 1971-1972 relating to the posthumous edition of *The Twenty-Five Days*. Nevertheless, the archive provides details of Masefield's productive publishing relationship with the firm and demonstrates a successful author and able publisher working to mutual advantage.

The beginnings of Masefield's association with the firm reveal an author claiming awareness of his market and attempting to convince a publisher of his worth. Heinemann presumably had reservations over *The Faithful* and this prompted Masefield to admit:

I daresay that it does seem a depressing market to launch a prose play on, but the market will improve, you will see. It will not be good for some years, but it will slowly improve. The play itself may not be much, but it is better reading than my other prose play of Pompey, which has had a slow steady sale of 500 copies a year. Will you therefore think it over + let me know your views. My readers are few but faithful, + I feel that you will not lose by the book.

(John Masefield, letter to William Heinemann, 27 April 1915)²²

Masefield, it seems, was convincing, even to an experienced publisher with a greater knowledge of the market. Having received a hundred pounds advance and twenty-five per cent royalty for *Philip the King and other Poems* in October 1914

Masefield suggested the same deal for *The Faithful*. This was negotiated down to a mere twenty-five pounds advance, but having struck this deal to his advantage Heinemann was prepared to trust Masefield's view of potential sales: the print-run for *The Faithful* was an additional 350 copies above the initial 3000 print-run of *Philip the King and other Poems*. Heinemann and Masefield were therefore willing to negotiate and concede to their mutual advantage. The archives reveal honest and open discussion leading to considerable trust and goodwill.

One example of this is over publication dates. In April 1915 Masefield attempted to stipulate when Heinemann should publish *The Faithful*:

Speculative drama cannot be performed while the streets are dark at night, + *The Faithful* won't be performed here yet a while, but I want it published here because I want to get it performed + published in America. There is a strong likelihood of its being performed in New York soon. And then I don't want to put it off till the Autumn, because I may then be wanting you to publish a book of verse.

(John Masefield, letter to William Heinemann, 27 April 1915)²³

Heinemann must, Masefield explains, publish the play to fit his plans and suit his convenience. In 1939, however, sending the second part of the *Ned* trilogy Masefield asks the advice of C.S. Evans, chairman of the Heinemann firm, about publication date:

You may feel, that it will be useless, or wrong, to print this batch of the story by itself; you may prefer to wait for a third volume ... Will you, very kindly, read the tale and let me know what you think about this?

(John Masefield, letter to [C.S.] Evans, [February 1939])²⁴

Having taken the afternoon off work in his excitement to read the novel (which he did 'without stopping') Evans suggested:

... it would be better if we kept this book until you have the third part ready and then publish the two together in the early autumn ...

([C.S. Evans], letter to John Masefield, 21 February 1939)²⁵

Masefield accepted this advice and the final two parts of the trilogy appeared in a single volume in October 1939. Masefield, on this occasion, trusted entirely to the advice of his publishers and agreed to their proposals.

Such open negotiations are a feature of Masfield's dealings with Heinemann. Mutual trust and respect are obvious. In 1945 the company decided that it would be difficult to offer Masfield his usual twenty-five per cent royalty (for *A Macbeth Production*) without inflating the price of the volume. The firm therefore proposed to publish the title at six shillings and offer Masfield a twenty per cent royalty. Failing that, the price would have to be increased to seven shillings and six pence to cover a royalty of twenty-five per cent. Masfield's views were important and the firm invited discussion. A letter dated 31 January 1945 to Masfield included the courteous request: 'May I have a line from you saying what you would like us to do?'²⁶ Courtesy and open discussion were evidently tactics in appeasing Masfield for he readily accepted the proposal. Discussion over lucrative limited signed editions was also open. Writing early in 1937 Masfield's style of negotiation appears to be a combination of concession and provocation:

... the limited edition has been really worked to death by too many people. At the same time, it is as well to remember, that I may be getting old.

(John Masfield, letter to C.S. Evans, [11 March 1937])²⁷

Heinemann assessed the sales of Masfield's limited signed editions during March and concluded 'the position is not too bad ... I think that we ought to go on doing them'.²⁸ In returning the agreement for *The Square Peg* in September 1937 Masfield asked:

I suppose that you do not wish to issue a limited edition of it. Doubtless the large paper racket has been done to death.

(John Masfield, letter to [C.S.] Evans, [September 1937])²⁹

Masfield's style is non-confrontational, clearly indicating sympathy with his publisher while suggesting his own position in wanting a limited edition. Heinemann's investigations led them to decide against a limited edition, yet this was communicated to Masfield in conciliatory terms with particular reference to the state of the book market and the position of other authors:

You are quite right: there is very little enthusiasm on the part of the booksellers or public for limited editions these days. I made some enquiries about the possibilities of *The Square Peg* from people in London who deal in such things but got very little encouragement, and our records show that the last two or three limited editions of your books have not sold out. A good many of them are still in the booksellers' hands. This applies not only to your books but to the books of other authors as well, mainly when two editions of a

book are issued. The real collector nowadays goes for the first ordinary edition of a book, but he will still buy a book which appears only in a limited edition. That was the reason why we disposed of every copy of *Ode To Harvard*: it was oversubscribed and we had to ration it.

([C.S. Evans], letter to John Masefield, 28 September 1937)³⁰

By these means good relations and productive publishing were maintained. Writing to A.S. Frere of Heinemann in 1952 Masefield questioned the royalties on a proposed edition and explained that he could only ask these questions of a publisher he could trust:

You have ever been very frank in discussing these matters, + I hope you will acquit me of any blindness of overmastering greed. It is a question of modern conditions ...

(John Masefield, letter to [A.S.] Frere, 14 December 1952)³¹

As a result of being 'very frank' Masefield and Heinemann developed considerable loyalty to each other. Letters preserved in the Heinemann archive reveal that the books in which Masefield collaborated with Edward Seago were published by William Collins because Heinemann readily admitted that their own production techniques could not do justice to Seago's artwork. Heinemann wrote to Masefield telling him of their unwillingness to let *The Country Scene* go to another publisher and also reminding him to retain the rights for a future collected edition issued by Heinemann:

You know how unwilling I am to let any book with which you are associated go elsewhere ...

... I hope, however, that you will make arrangements with the other publishers to let us include the verses you will write for Seago's pictures in the collected edition of your work.

([C.S. Evans], letter to John Masefield, 27 April 1937)³²

Early discussion in 1915 with William Heinemann over the format for *The Faithful* prompted Masefield to write:

I prefer to keep the 3/6 format of the three other books you have published for me. They make nice handy volumes + I like uniformity.

(John Masefield, letter to William Heinemann, 29 April 1915)³³

and one result of Masefield's loyalty to Heinemann was presumably his ability to control such 'uniformity'. Across the Atlantic the Macmillan Company of New York published Masefield in a variety of attractive bindings and bold designs, in

contrast to the comparative austerity of Heinemann's. In 1949 Masefield responded to a proposal from Pan Books to issue paperback editions of *Sard Harker* and *Odtaa*. Although paperback editions of these were eventually to be issued by Penguin, Masefield disliked the idea of his work appearing without Heinemann (and the Heinemann publishing device):

I have thought over this, but am not attracted to the scheme. I am, as it were, one of the Windmill people, and shrink from a new imprint.

(John Masefield, letter to Louisa Callender, 15 January [1949])³⁴

Masefield's loyalty was eventually to restrict his sales and popularity. The Heinemann archive reveals that in the 1960s Penguin proposed to issue a set of Masefield's verse in paperback but that Masefield rejected the suggestion. In the very years that Masefield could have appealed to a new readership with a new publishing style he stuck to the firm that had made him a bestseller between the wars. If Masefield had successfully redefined himself, as his publishers were keen for him to do, posterity may have received a different impression of the author whose works congest the shelves of secondhand bookshops in their blue uniformity.

Three final matters of interest are apparent in the Heinemann archives. Naming of titles is discussed with both author and publisher involved in the process: for example *Gallipoli* was preferable to *The Gallipoli Campaign*. Masefield suggested the sub-title of *Live and Kicking Ned* might be termed a 'continuation' rather than 'conclusion' which, he explained, would leave him free to write a sequel if he so chose. In each example Masefield was receptive to the opinion of his publisher. Regarding the revised edition of *Collected Poems* he writes:

In working over the *Collected Poems*, I judge that about 100 pages will come out ... perhaps you would not mind calling the new edition *Poems* (not *Collected Poems*) for it will be by no means a complete edition, and "collected" might be misleading.

(John Masefield, letter to Louisa Callender, [April 1945])³⁵

The suggestion was one that Heinemann evidently did 'not mind'. Negotiations over potential work are also recorded in the archives. Heinemann suggested, for example, an edition of *The Lives of the Pirates* and invited Masefield's tribute to the publisher C.S. Evans.³⁶ Masefield, in turn, suggested revised editions of his *Selected*

Poems and William Shakespeare. On balance the relationship between the firm of Heinemann and Masefield was particularly successful and Masefield frequently introduced potential authors to the firm. Such introductions appear to have been encouraged, suggesting that Heinemann valued Masefield's critical abilities. John St John in his history of Heinemann concludes that Masefield was financially important to the firm and, in turn, we can conclude that Heinemann was important to Masefield.

Among Masefield's papers sorted after his death in 1967 was correspondence from the Macmillan Company of New York. This apparently conveyed an 'impression of mutual trust and goodwill'.³⁷ Two contracts (and selected correspondence on each) have been located (within papers at the Bodleian Library) and these confirm good relations.

The Macmillan contract for *Victorious Troy* (dated 15 June 1935)³⁸ reveals a special addition to the standard printed agreement. Contrary to normal practice with other authors, Masefield only granted the company 'a license to publish in volume form in the United States of America and Canada'. This presumably allowed Masefield to use Heinemann as his publisher in England and carefully guard his rights. Copyright was secured in the name of the author, not the publisher and Masefield is named as 'the sole owner of said work'. The negotiated royalties were highly favourable. Masefield was to be paid fifteen percent 'on the retail price of each copy of said work'. Added, at the foot of the contract was a clause for an additional royalty in the event of the work becoming a best-seller:

After the sale of five thousand (5000) copies of the said work the Company agrees to increase the royalty provided for in Section 2 to twenty percent (20%) on all further copies by it sold.

The Company elsewhere agreed that the retail price of the novel would not be less than one dollar fifty cents. Another addition to the standard printed form was a clause regarding a collected edition. The work could be included in a collected edition, but Macmillan stipulated that they should have the first offer of book publication in the United States of such a collection. Such a contract reveals Masefield receiving a good deal.

Sixteen years later the Company entered negotiations over *So Long to Learn* (sending a draft contract on 6 July 1951). Harold Latham, of the Macmillan company, received Masefield's opinion on a variety of issues, including serialization and book club publication:

I do not like the notion of serializing after book publication ... and have always been against the inclusion of any book of mine in the list of any Book of the Month Club or any similar organisation ... I hope that the book may win a fair place without these methods.

(John Masefield, letter to Harold Latham, 10 July 1951)³⁹

Latham replied on 26 July 1951 stating he had 'drawn up a fresh form which more nearly follows the previous contracts'. Asking to be permitted to omit reference to selling price (wishing it to 'be left to later determination'), Latham agreed to all of Masefield's other requirements. Masefield responded on 3 August 1951 signing the contract, and Latham replied on 7 August 1951 sending a duplicate contract with his signature. He notes:

Once more, let me tell you how delighted I am with this book and how hopeful we are about its publication. We trust that we shall be able to interest a large number of American readers in it. We know that they will enjoy it and profit by it.

I have such pleasant memories myself of our tea party that I wish I could have another one soon. That is something I shall look forward to enjoying at the first opportunity.

(Harold Latham, letter to John Masefield, 7 August 1951)⁴⁰

In addition to these pleasantries, Masefield had secured an advantageous royalty rate. He was to receive ten per cent on the retail price of each copy sold, with a royalty increase to fifteen per cent after the sale of 5000 copies. However, if 10,000 copies were sold during the first year of publication, Macmillan agreed to pay Masefield fifteen per cent of the retail price for the original 5000 copies. The Macmillan Company evidently counted Masefield as an asset and was willing to agree to whatever terms (within reason) Masefield required. In return, Masefield placed his faith in the quality of his work. Collaboration was successful and mutually profitable.

In recording the publication of Masefield in America and England bibliographers have previously been content to note occasional changes in book titles (*The Story*

of a Round-House for *Dauber*, for example) or different publication dates. I suggest, however, that closer attention is required. Reporting Masfield's appointment as Laureate in 1930, the *Evening News* records Masfield's delight in the creative process, but not the mechanics of preparation for the press. Masfield states:

While I am writing my poems I rejoice in the task. It is the work that is being done that appeals to me. But when it is finished I have no further interest in it. I never read it again, and the correction of proofs is a bore to me ...⁴¹

(*Evening News*, 10 May 1930)

Whether entirely true or not, the matter of proof-correction is interesting and has a bearing on American publication. There are examples of Masfield scrutinizing typographical errors in proof printings at both ends of his career. It was, however, a chore he evidently did not enjoy. A letter regarding a reissue of *Pompey the Great* prompted Masfield to write to Frank Sidgwick:

Details of the *Nan* production + of the *King's Daughter* production are printed with those plays, but I've no record of the rest, so these might well be omitted. The Argument, Notes + verses attached to *Pompey* might well be omitted. And I'd be glad not to see proofs, if you could omit them, too.

(John Masfield, letter to Frank Sidgwick, [n.d.]⁴²)

Given Masfield's apparent lack of interest in proofs, a number of features are evident from comparing American and English publications. Invariably minor punctuation is different (perhaps resulting from publishers' house style), but there are also examples that suggest American publications may represent earlier (or at least different) textual states. This is presumably the result of the time copy took to cross the Atlantic. Dedications (often lacking in English proof copies) are similarly omitted in American publications, although present in English publications. *Gallipoli* reveals some of the greatest differences. The American edition was issued less than a month after the English edition but there are numerous textual variants. The second paragraph concludes, in the American edition:

I answered questions and criticism as best I could, but in the next town they were repeated to me, and in the town beyond reiterated, until I felt the need of a leaflet printed for distribution, giving my views of the matter.

In the English edition, this passage reads:

I answered questions and criticism as best I could, but in the next town they were repeated to me, and in the town beyond reiterated, until I wished that I had a printed leaflet, giving my views of the matter, to distribute among my questioners.

I therefore suggest that, despite Masfield's professed lack of interest in proofs, revisions did occur and, in this example at least, there are major differences. Closer attention to textual states, particularly across the Atlantic, may result in further discoveries. Macmillan probably received an earlier textual state than that eventually published in England.

The history of Masfield and his publishers is therefore one of experimentation until success and loyalty contributed to long associations with Heinemann and Macmillan.

Masfield and re-invention

The widely accepted view of Masfield is of a writer whose long career produced a vast number of successful titles, many of which received frequent reprints. Masfield's own perception of his development as a writer has, however, been omitted.

Writing to Henry W. Nevinson in the 1920s, Masfield states his acceptance of one of William Rothenstein's views:

Rothenstein used to say a wise thing: "A man's only rival is his early work".

(John Masfield, letter to H.W. Nevinson, 31 October 1928)⁴³

It is in the 1920s as Masfield achieved financial prosperity that he felt able to reassess his early work. His conclusions were highly critical. Copies of early titles thought to have been inscribed to the Lamont family in the late 1920s included self-criticism in the form of banal couplets. Rhyming couplets suggest that the works fell below the standard required for intelligent criticism. In a copy of *Captain Margaret* Masfield writes:

Forget this tale, forget it, only say

He did it wearily in a weary day.⁴⁴

On the front free end-paper of a copy of *On the Spanish Main* the author instructs the reader to:

Put this aside beneath the tedious tomes
That the lean worm the soonest honeycombs.⁴⁵

and within a copy of *Jim Davis* Masfield tells the reader to:

Let dark oblivion be this story's portion
Headache's un-natural son, fatigue's abortion.⁴⁶

These comments are not, as might be thought, *merely* flippant dismissals. Masfield actively sought to suppress work. A letter to G.H. Thring, dated 26 February [1922] notes, with reference to *The Street of To-Day*:

I should be very glad if this book could now be allowed to die a natural death. Perhaps Mr D[ent] could be persuaded not to reprint.

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, 26 February [1922])⁴⁷

and after much discussion and negotiation Masfield signed a cancellation agreement in May 1922, sending a cheque for £5.5.0 as a goodwill gesture to Dent hearing that the cost of stereo-plates had been expensive.

Public taste was one factor that appears to have influenced Masfield against suppression of work. In 1925 the firm of W.R. Deighton and Sons approached the Society of Authors for permission to publish an illustrated edition of 'Sea-Fever'. A suggestion was made that 100 copies might be signed by the author. Masfield, it seems, did not regard that action to be fair to the publishers of the original volume but, in explaining this to Thring, he dropped his guard and revealed his true inclination towards the poem:

I do not feel that I can sign the copies of this poem. The verses were published many years ago, + are still available in book-form. I feel that the publishers of the books would object to my signing them, + though I have an absolute right to do so, I think it would not be quite fair to them: anyway, I loathe the verses sufficiently to hate the thought of signing them.

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [20 January 1925])⁴⁸

And thus Masfield states his opinion in 1925 of the poem to which he owes much of his reputation, popularity and, in view of the number of anthologies, musical settings and performances, a substantial part of his income. Masfield included the poem in his own selections of poetry (from 1922 and 1950) but this, as evidence

suggests, was merely a concession to public taste. Publishers and fame had tied Masfield to own work which, given greater freedom, he would have chosen to suppress. Masfield's attempts to re-invent himself and kill certain works were never fully achieved, perhaps due to the economic aspect of publishing contracts and early financial necessity, but also due to public affection.

By 1952 Masfield, now financially comfortable, found works which he had tried to kill still held highly in public esteem. On one occasion he noted the futility of his attempts at suppression. Writing to the Society of Authors he states:

The enclosed application is for some early lines now omitted from my collected verses.
As I seem unable to kill the verses, please, will you give the applicant leave to print them:
but free of charge? (The dead ought not to pay taxes.)

(John Masfield, letter to the Society of Authors, 25 January [1952])⁴⁹

This shows a considerable relaxation from Masfield's position only four years earlier. Writing to the Society of Authors he states:

It would be best, henceforth, to refuse a licence to reprint any of the verses scrapped from the old Collected [Poems] volume.

Please let me quote to you some lines by Mr Yeats.

“Accurst, who bring to light of day
The writings I have cast away,
But blest be he who prints them not
And lets the kind worm take the lot.”

Treble blest be she who thus gives the kind worm a chance.

(John Masfield, letter to Miss [S.M.] Perry, [February 1948])⁵⁰

Had Masfield been freely permitted to suppress works (and accurately select the works to suppress), posterity would have a different perception of the author. Masfield's reputation may indeed be a victim of the business and laws of the early twentieth-century. Such statements may additionally suggest answers to oddities of Masfield's publishing history. The private edition of *Animula* may, for example, represent his unwillingness to allow the commercial press to control a work before he had first assessed its reception. The suggestion may identify a mistrust of commercial forces.

Grant Richards, in contrast to J.M. Dent, was not so ready to yield to the author's wishes. Having achieved financial success and widespread critical appreciation Masfield was, by the 1920s, concerned with the potential damage that his earliest work could have on a hard-won reputation. The victim of former publishing contracts, he had sold many titles outright. This fact alone provides detail in Masfield bibliography; reprints of *Captain Margaret* and *Multitude and Solitude*, for example, were against the author's wishes and new information reveals several attempts to suppress them. A lengthy history demonstrates Masfield's endeavours to control early work.

Amidst rumours of another bankruptcy of Grant Richards's firm, Masfield wrote to G.H. Thring:

I do not know how Mr Richards' business stands, nor whether he would be disposed to deal, but there are several books of mine on his list which I should be quite glad to get from him if it could be arranged. Would you let me know, in all confidence, if the business be considered near another collapse, + whether, in that case, the Society could negotiate for me?

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [13 January 1924])⁵¹

Masfield elaborated in a subsequent letter. The American arrangement reveals Richards's power and suggests that Masfield had signed the type of harsh agreement to which young writers were particularly exposed:

The 3 books *Nan*, *Multitude + Solitude* + *Captain Margaret* are now all published by the Macmillan Co in America. G. Richards receives half the proceeds on the American sale of the novels + ¼ the proceeds on the sale of the play ...

Besides these books, GR has of mine some early newspaper tales which he bought outright from me. The book is called *A Tarpaulin Muster*. He also owns 4 beastly little anthologies made by me. I would like to regain control of all these vols (they cannot bring him much return) in order to purge them or suppress them.

He may take the view that I will pay handsomely to kill these works. I will not. They are worth little to him as selling books, + nobody would give him much for them. I would perhaps give him a pound or two more than another: no man can sell them: I am sure he can't himself.

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [January 1924])⁵²

Masefield then asked Thring to represent him and, consequently, Thring received a letter from Richards. Richards's devious statement suggests that Masefield's fear of paying 'handsomely' was probably accurate:

Frankly, we are not inclined to sell our property in Mr. Masefield's books, and certainly we are not prepared to make any offer. If, however, Mr. Masefield care to make any offer we should be willing to consider it, although I doubt whether he is likely to make any offer which would overcome our natural reluctance to part with such ornaments.

(Grant Richards, letter to G.H. Thring, 9 January 1924)⁵³

Reference to 'ornaments' incensed Masefield. The term was, presumably, inoffensive in itself to Masefield since these were works he wished to suppress; yet Masefield's scorn is evident:

If Mr Richards regards the books as "ornaments", there is no more to be said. It is the landlady and the china dogs again. I want to buy to destroy.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [10 January 1924])⁵⁴

Masefield's first attempt to buy back his rights was therefore unsuccessful and, hoping that the books would die a natural death by themselves, he allowed the matter to drop. Richards, however, did not. A letter to Thring dates from September 1925:

In January of last year you wrote to us on behalf of Mr. Masefield asking on what terms we would give up to him our rights in those books of his that we publish. We told you then that we did not in any case care to name a figure, and we think we made it clear that we did not want to part with the books, which we valued highly then, and do still. We might, however, find it advisable to part with them if we received an advantageous offer. We wonder if Mr. Masefield would care now to make an offer?

(Grant Richards Ltd, letter to G.H. Thring, 22 September 1925)⁵⁵

Thring sought further information and requested details of current stock, in addition to the arrangements over American publication. Richards replied:

Here is the information in regard to stock of the four books:-

MULTITUDE AND SOLITUDE: 186 copies bound; 265 copies in sheets; no moulds or plates

CAPTAIN MARGARET: 122 copies bound; 1750 in sheets; plates

TRAGEDY OF NAN: 67 copies bound; plates

TARPAULIN MUSTER: No stock at present, bound or in sheets; plates

We should in the ordinary course be reprinting "A Tarpaulin Muster" now ...

The American arrangements for the first three titles were made by Mr. Masefield's agent some years ago, with our approval. Mr. Masefield will no doubt remember the details of the transaction. He was anxious that all his books should be in the hands of the Macmillan Company. He receives his share of the American royalties direct. The Macmillan Company did not care to take "A Tarpaulin Muster", and we therefore arranged for its issue ... We do not think there would be any difficulty about freeing the book, although we cannot speak with certainty ...

We hope we have made clear this matter of the Macmillan Company. We assigned to Mr. Masefield the right to make what arrangements he liked with them; the agreement is with him, and we receive a share of the royalties. You will understand, therefore, that he knows as much about the matter as we do.

(Grant Richards, letter to G.H. Thring, 28 September 1925)⁵⁶

Publisher-loyalty was valued by Masefield, and this letter reveals Masefield's inclinations towards Macmillan. Richards, feeling that he might achieve little through Masefield and the Society of Authors, commenced negotiations with Heinemann.

Writing to Thring, Masefield makes it clear that his primary intention was not to revise or republish, but to eliminate:

G.R. approached or talked with the firm of Heinemann on this question quite recently, and asked the sum of £2000 for the four books in question.

I made it clear to Messrs Heinemann that this was an absurd figure; that I only wanted 3 of the books in order to suppress them, while the 4th I could do without. Perhaps some echo of this talk has come to G.R.

I should think that £400 for the lot, including stock, good will + the American interest, would be a fair price. It would be about the sum I have received from the books in the last 16-17 years, + probably a good deal more than they will make for me in the future. I name £400 as a fair price. I do not offer any sentimental price: because I do not look on these books with sentiment. I should hesitate before including any one of them in any collected edition of my work. I would like to suppress 3, + part of the 4th; + for that £400 seems fair.

I don't think that any other publisher would offer more than this.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [31 September 1925])⁵⁷

Thring required further clarification from Masefield, who responded:

I meant the offer of £400 to include whatever royalty or share in the 4 books R now has

in the United States. I do not suppose for a moment that he will accept the offer: but I fail to see how anyone can profitably make him a better one.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [4 October 1925])⁵⁸

Grant Richards Limited wrote to Thring on 13 October 1925 acknowledging the offer and stating that it would be considered. At this point the files of the Society of Authors fall silent and it can be inferred that Richards was making independent enquiries to Heinemann. The archives next include a telegram from Masefield to Thring:

GRANT RICHARDS IS MAKING OFFER FOR NAN TO HEINEMANN WILL
YOU KINDLY DEAL FOR ME WITH HEINEMANN THEY WANT TO SETTLE
MATTER TOMORROW WILL AGREE ANY REASONABLE PROPOSAL

(John Masefield, telegram to [G.H. Thring], 9 December 1925)⁵⁹

Richards explained the deal in a letter dated 11 December 1925 noting he had sold all his rights in *The Tragedy of Nan* to Heinemann. Subsequent correspondence suggests that the title was sold for £200, with Masefield and Heinemann contributing equally. Richards then states willingness to 'continue negotiations' for *Captain Margaret*, *Multitude and Solitude* and *A Tarpaulin Muster*. The issue was complicated by an old agreement between Richards and Nelson for their cheap editions; nevertheless, Masefield wrote to Thring in December 1925 offering £100 for the rights of the books, and £10 'for the rights of four small anthologies which my wife + I made for him many years ago'.⁶⁰ Masefield enclosed cheques so that Thring could offer instant payment. The offer was made at an inopportune time: Richards was absent from the office and his secretary was in hospital. Nevertheless, in the interim the firm wrote to Thring suggesting the offer was 'entirely inadequate'.⁶¹ It was subsequently rejected.

Although Masefield allowed the matter to drop (hoping the volumes would die without assistance), Richards was negotiating with the firm of Jonathan Cape. Richards took the view that, as he owned the rights of the books, he was justified in making money from them. Masefield appealed to Thring in July 1926:

I shall be glad if you will take legal opinion on the transfer of the two books to Messrs Cape, if you feel that there is a likelihood of stopping the transfer. I do not like the two books + would gladly kill them.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [16 July 1926])⁶²

Thring supported Masfield and pledged the full weight and assistance of the Society of Authors. Masfield, with characteristic self-depreciation, had reservations:

I feel that the transfer had better be stopped; but ask you not to fire off the powder + shot of the Society unless you yourself + the Chairman should be convinced that the case justifies the expense. ... there may be pending many disputes, involving more important points, on which the Society's money could more profitably be spent; so I will leave it to you.

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, 26 July [1926])⁶³

Masfield's statement to Thring (in a letter conjecturally dated 30 August 1926) that 'My own wish is to kill the books as far as possible ... I hate the thought of their being still on the market'⁶⁴ is in contrast to the opinion of Jonathan Cape.

Cape wrote to Thring in September 1926:

I have been taking another look at these two books as it is a good many years since I read them. I must say that I was very much impressed by the poetic quality of CAPTAIN MARGARET which is, I think, quite first class, and is certainly equal to Mr Masfield's most recent prose work. I do not consider MULTITUDE AND SOLITUDE is as good but I do not agree that Mr Masfield is justified in suppressing it. I mentioned the matter to-day to my reader, Mr Edward Garnett, whose opinion is important and divorced from ordinary business considerations. He expressed himself very strongly as to the quality of CAPTAIN MARGARET: he does not know MULTITUDE AND SOLITUDE.

May I suggest that a way out of the present difficulty might be found by Mr Masfield agreeing to our bringing out in the near future CAPTAIN MARGARET. We would postpone MULTITUDE AND SOLITUDE for further consideration, but we should regret very much if we were unable to include it in the Series. Unfortunately we have commenced to set MULTITUDE AND SOLITUDE and if we were to abandon the book entirely we should have incurred the cost of setting half the book to no purpose. We would however be prepared to agree to discontinue publication of the book after our first edition of 5000 copies had been disposed of should Mr Masfield wish to suppress the book.

(Jonathan Cape, letter to G.H. Thring, 23 September 1926)⁶⁵

Masfield responded to Thring in October. Heinemann had assisted Masfield over *The Tragedy of Nan* and Masfield, amid confusion, thought the firm might prove a useful ally again:

... I am perplexed about the business of Messrs Cape + Co. ... I hardly know what to say: but since they are determined to proceed + I am eager to get hold of these books I suppose my only chance is to try to buy them. I had honestly hoped that they were dead.

I would, I suppose, have to make the offer to Messrs Richards, + they, if they took it, would have to satisfy Messrs Cape. Afterwards, to recoup myself, I suppose I should have to revise both books; let Messrs Heinemann issue a small edition of both, + then they could be suppressed. I suppose I shall have to offer £200 for each book, as in the case of Nan. If this course seems possible to you, I shall be glad if you will see what can be done.

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [3 October 1926])⁶⁶

Masefield then left for a long trip to the United States. In his absence the solicitors of the Society of Authors managed to limit Cape's edition, but precise details are unknown and no real victory was achieved: both *Captain Margaret* and *Multitude and Solitude* were issued by Jonathan Cape in their 'Travellers' Library' series in 1927.

In the mid 1920s Richards suffered, once again, financial difficulties which resulted in bankruptcy. In 1926 the directorship was assumed by a board and in February 1927 the firm became The Richards Press. Masefield, now using Heinemann as an ally as well as the Society of Authors made approaches, but to no effect. Martin Secker was active in the firm around this time (eventually buying it in 1937).

By 1929 Thring had arranged the end of the Cape edition but outright sale by Martin Secker and The Richards Press was still remote. Masefield still had rights, however, in negotiating the price of the Richards edition and when The Richards Press wrote to him in February 1930 requesting authorization to reduce the price of *Captain Margaret*, Masefield refused.

One year later Masefield, now Poet Laureate, wrote to Kilham Roberts of the Society of Authors requesting another attempt (and citing *A Tarpaulin Muster* as a likely candidate for sale):

There is a book of mine which I sold to Grant Richards 25 years ago. It is called *A Tarpaulin Muster*, + is (I believe) not in print. If he + his firm should wish to get rid of their interest in my books including this, I should be glad to hear their terms.

(John Masefield, letter to Kilham Roberts, [19 February 1931])⁶⁷

The Richards Press replied in April 1931 (with sentiments reminiscent of Grant Richards's letter of 9 January 1924):

Our Directors have no desire to dispose of their rights in these books and they regard them as being of considerable value; they would however be willing to consider any offer you may be disposed to make.

(The Richards Press, letter to the Society of Authors, 11 April 1931)⁶⁸

Masefield therefore wrote to Kilham Roberts stating:

I am willing to offer two hundred pounds for the entire Richards interest + stock in + of the three books *Capt Margaret*[,] *Tarpaulin Muster* + *Multitude* + *Solitude* (£200). The books aren't worth it, but I offer it.

(John Masefield, letter to Kilham Roberts, [20 April 1931])⁶⁹

Previous contracts between Richards and other firms regarding these books caused Kilham Roberts to pause and he concluded that it would prove highly problematic to acquire *A Tarpaulin Muster*. Masefield therefore retracted all offers and let the matter drop once more. In 1932 he was able to prohibit Jonathan Cape from publishing *Captain Margaret* and *Multitude and Solitude* in their new 'Florin Books' series.

In 1938 Masefield tried again. Writing to E.J. Mullett of the Society of Authors, Masefield suggests:

it might be a good thing to find out from Richards, or the Richards firm as at present constituted, what sum they would ask for the complete extinction of their rights in these books, *Captain Margaret* and *Multitude and Solitude*. Both books are dead, Secker's editions are almost exhausted, and it seems a fair moment for extinguishing both books utterly, if this can be done cheaply. In any case, neither work shall ever figure in any collected edition of my books, if words and wishes of mine can prevent it.

(John Masefield, letter to E.J. Mullett, [13 March 1938])⁷⁰

Mullett, however, had bad news:

I am sorry to have to report that Martin Secker of the Richards Press writes to me to-day to the effect that he regrets he does not see his way to surrender his rights in these books. He adds that he still thinks it a pity that the two novels are unavailable at a lower price than 7/6, but that if you will not agree to the proposed 3/6 editions there is nothing further to be done.

(E.J. Mullett, letter to John Masefield, 21 April 1938)⁷¹

And so, yet again, the matter was dropped. The next advance, the following year, was from Martin Secker. He wrote to Mullett:

I should be glad if you would ascertain whether Mr Masefield is still desirous of purchasing our publication rights in "Captain Margaret" and "Multitude and Solitude",

together with the copyright of "A Tarpaulin Muster". If he is still of the same mind we might consider the matter and if possible fall in with his wishes.

(Martin Secker, letter to E.J. Mullett, 22 March 1939)⁷²

Responding to Mullett's enquiries, Martin Secker noted that only the two novels could be offered as the firm of Messrs Secker and Warburg Ltd were unwilling to relinquish a licence for *A Tarpaulin Muster*. Secker then costed stock and invited negotiation:

We have of "Captain Margaret" 1238 copies in flat sheets and 83 bound. Of "Multitude and Solitude" we have 153 copies, all bound. The actual cost price of these books amounts to £87-16-0 and we should ask this sum for them. If Mr. Masfield is willing to take over the stock at this figure, what additional sum would he offer for the cancellation of the agreements and the transfer of our interest in the American editions to him?

(Martin Secker, letter to E.J. Mullett, 24 April 1939)⁷³

Mullett advised Masfield that the offer was 'preposterous' and Masfield shared the view. Although willing to pay for the novels when they still had a moderate sale, Masfield had only ever intended to kill the books and this had seemingly been achieved through their high price. Secker persisted, however, and wrote directly to Masfield:

I am venturing to write to you direct on the question of your two books, "Captain Margaret" and "Multitude and Solitude", for we seem to get very little further in negotiations through the Society of Authors.

The position is that it is very little practical use our having the publication rights of these books restricted to 7/6. And although naturally reluctant to lose them, w[e] have made a proposal for you to acquire them, so that they shall be solely in your control. In a letter dated April 24 last we informed you that the cost price of the stock of the two titles was £87.16, and the figure cannot have varied to any extent since then. We also asked what additional sum would be offered for the cancellation of the agreements and the transfer of our interest in the American editions. I am writing to suggest that if the total figure were brought up to £100, this would be a reasonable proposal which we should entertain.

Alternatively, I would ask that you should give us permission to issue or cause to be issued editions of these books at a cheaper price, on royalty terms to be mutually agreed. As matters remain at present, the books are doing very little good to anybody, and are in the unsatisfactory position of being what are termed frozen assets.

(Martin Secker, letter to John Masfield, 30 October 1939)⁷⁴

Masfield's attitude had, indeed, changed as he explained to Mullett:

Personally, I regard the books as dead, and not to be revived. If they were re-issued in new and cheaper editions, they would probably not sell 300 copies each; and I am not disposed to buy them back, because I believe them to be dead.

I should not dream of including them in any collected editions of my books, and I feel that the best thing to do with them is to pulp them and wipe them off the map. The immediate reward might not be apparent, but the gratitude of posterity should be remembered.

(John Masefield, letter to E.J. Mullett, [5 November 1939])⁷⁵

And so Masefield concluded negotiations in the 1930s. A decade later Masefield once more asked the Society of Authors to negotiate for *A Tarpaulin Muster*, receiving the reply:

As regards Dr Masefield's suggestion for his re-purchase of the copyright in "A Tarpaulin Muster" we feel that as this book has been our property now for such a great many years we would prefer at this late date not to make any alteration in the position.

(Martin Secker, letter to S.M. Perry, 5 August 1949)⁷⁶

Entering the 1950s, Masefield attempted to adapt to a new publishing market. No longer a publishing phenomenon, many of his works were out-of-print. An approach from Rupert Hart-Davis requesting permission to reprint the short-story anthology *A Mainsail Haul* was therefore an attractive proposition. The opportunity to combine his two short-story collections may have suggested itself and Masefield therefore wrote to Anne Munro-Kerr, of the Society of Authors:

The early book, *A Mainsail Haul*, was printed by Elkin Mathews, + reprinted by his successor. I expect that it is now out of print, + that I could licence a reprint, as suggested by Mr Hart Davis? Please, is this so?

The question raises the problem of another early book, *A Tarpaulin Muster*, sold outright to Grant Richards many years ago, + now long since out of print, I expect.

Long since, I tried to buy this book back from G. Richards' successors, but they asked a preposterous price, + nothing happened. Now that the worthless book is of use to nobody, perhaps I could buy it back for the £20 they gave me for it? Nobody in his senses will ever reprint it, so, please, do you think that the question could be raised?

(John Masefield, letter to Anne Munro-Kerr, 11 April [1953])⁷⁷

Negotiations commenced and The Richards Press asked for £100 leading Masefield to lose interest. However, as Hart-Davis's scheme came to fruition, Masefield

requested the Society of Authors to make a further approach. Anne Munro-Kerr reported:

When I made the further suggested approach to The Richards Press about the copyright of *A Tarpaulin Muster* they first replied that they were not now disposed to sell. In my reply I reminded them of their letter to me of May 14th, 1953, in which – as you will remember – they named £100 as their price. They have now answered:-

“Had the proposal made in our letter to which you refer been accepted at the time, the matter would no doubt have been completed.”

“Our interest in Dr. John Masefield’s work is not confined to this book, as you will know, for we also control the publication rights for the full term of copyright in the two novels, *Multitude and Solitude* and *Captain Margaret*. If we became the reluctant sellers of one of these titles we should prefer to part with all our interest in this author’s work, and the price for all our rights in the three books is £200. This is an offer which remains open until December 1st.”

(Anne Munro-Kerr, letter to John Masefield, 18 November 1954)⁷⁸

Masefield responded:

I am prepared to pay one hundred pounds for the complete purchase of *A Tarpaulin Muster*: but the other two books are not at present regarded with any interest by me, + may be omitted from the question.

(John Masefield, letter to Anne Munro-Kerr, 19 November [1954])⁷⁹

This was accepted by The Richards Press and Masefield regained control in November 1954 of a book for which he had signed a contract almost half a century earlier. In the event, Masefield did nothing with his new property and it went to a quiet grave. He explained, in 1964, that he:

bought back the book some years ago, but have left it to moulder, + hope it speedily may.

(John Masefield, letter to Anne Munro-Kerr, [September 1964])⁸⁰

In 1955, prompted by a request to include extracts from *Captain Margaret* in an anthology, Anne Munro-Kerr examined the rights held by The Richards Press and explained to Masefield:

I have now examined the contract relating to *Captain Margaret* and I find that while the publishers, the Richards Press, acquired the exclusive right of publication in volume form in the English language it was provided that if the work were allowed to remain out of print for six months after notice from the author to reprint the right of publication would revert to the author. If *Captain Margaret* is in fact out of print I would suggest that

the required notice should be sent to the publishers forthwith and that if you are in any doubt on the point the Richards Press should be asked what the position is ...

The position is the same in the case of *Multitude and Solitude* and if this book is also out of print notice might be given for it at the same time.

(Anne Munro-Kerr, letter to John Masefield, 27 July 1955)⁸¹

The plan back-fired. *Multitude and Solitude* was still in print and Masefield's action led The Richards Press to state they would reprint *Captain Margaret*. In 1962, Icon Books published a paperback edition of *Captain Margaret* 'by kind permission of Mr. Martin Secker'.

Masefield had failed to regain control over his earliest two novels. His efforts spanning more than three decades reveal an author reacting against the contract he had signed as a new writer: it is clear why he took his duties as President of the Society of Authors seriously. Had Masefield been able to manipulate his own canon as he wished, public perception of his work might have been different. Suppressing *some* titles would have been advantageous. Yet Masefield was denied full control and certainly suppressed work that could have added to his long-term reputation. It appears that Masefield even attempted to negotiate for his early work for children: advances were made in 1927 to Wells Gardner Darton and Company for *Jim Davis*, *Martin Hyde* and *A Book of Discoveries* but these negotiations came to nothing.⁸²

Masefield's long career therefore reveals an author with changing perceptions and requirements. The unknown writer obviously received a different type of contract from that signed by the Poet Laureate and these early contracts proved troublesome. Given absolute freedom, Masefield may well have suppressed all work before 1911 (the date at which he notes he 'began as a writer').⁸³ In the event, Masefield's actions were restricted. He had an inaccurate perception of his own work, not helped, in the opinion of W.B. Yeats, by the views of Constance Masefield.⁸⁴ With hindsight a revised *Captain Margaret* and the suppression of *Multitude and Solitude* might have been advantageous to Masefield's reputation. But these were decisions Masefield did not intend, and was legally unable to make, even had the inclination been present. *The Street of To-Day* is a fascinating and out-

spoken Edwardian novel that was suppressed before Masfield had been discovered as a social critic.

Masfield was, however, not alone during business negotiations over his early work. He employed an agent and it is this rôle which now requires attention.

The Literary Agent

Literary agencies first saw commercial development at the end of the nineteenth-century. Frequently regarded as a parasite on an author, and often as a promoter and necessary ally against the publishing profession, the early twentieth-century saw significant development of (and discussion about) the rôle. In 1913, for example, H.G. Wells led an attack (within the correspondence pages of *The Author*) lamenting the 'increasing nuisance of agents'⁸⁵ and yet praised the firm of A.P. Watt in 1926 for its 'great and increasing value'.⁸⁶ At a time when the profession was viewed with suspicion, Masfield was represented by the Literary Agency of London (and C.F. Cazenove in particular). Evidence suggests that approximate dates for the association were from 1906 until some time between 1914 and 1915 – and thus the period in which Masfield is considered to have made his arrival on the literary scene. The agency itself was founded in 1899 and was taken over in 1916. A brief analysis of the relations between Masfield and Cazenove reveals the agent as a significant factor in the history of Masfield's writing and publishing career.

Reconstructing the history of Masfield and his literary agent is hampered by scattered material – there are letters, or copies of letters, from Masfield to Cazenove located in the University of Arizona Library, Harvard University Library, New York Public Library, the State University of New York Library, Columbia University Library, Indiana University (Lilly Library), the British Library, the Bodleian Library and Wigan Record Office.

It is likely that Masfield first approached Cazenove in 1906. Arthur Ransome notes in his autobiography that the meeting may have resulted from personal recommendation, or at least acquaintance:

At the Covent Garden end of Henrietta Street ... were several literary agents. My first friend among them was C.F. Cazenove, and I mentioned his name to Masfield, whose agent he became. I was not myself much use to any agent, nor could any agent do much for me ...

(*The Autobiography Of Arthur Ransome*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976, p.113)

Having published his first volume in November 1902 and his second in October 1903, Masfield may have thought 1905 a promising year, with volumes published in June and September. May 1906 saw the publication of his fifth volume but after this there occurred a fallow period of just under a year. Moreover, the last two volumes were of a historical marine nature and Masfield may have considered his literary career to be going awry. His first volumes of 'literary' work were also derived from earlier periodical publications and Masfield was seeking a contract to write original work for the book market. The approach to Cazenove in 1906 was presumably an attempt to engineer a more traditional 'literary' career. Subsequent work comprised a volume of short stories and Masfield's first two novels. Certainly Cazenove assisted choices of genre, for Grant Richards in *Author Hunting* was to write of 'conspiracy' with Cazenove to beget the novels:

I think I may say that Masfield entered on the experiment of novel-writing at my suggestion.

If it was not mine, then it was that of C.F. Cazenove, his agent. We used to conspire together, Cazenove and I, and as a result of our conspiracies the two novels came into being.

(Grant Richards, *Author Hunting*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934, p.229)

Certainly *after* 1906 Masfield's publications comprise his first two novels, then a volume of plays – all of which were generically new for Masfield.

Masfield worked his literary agent hard. Negotiations over subject, payment, timing, complimentary copies, revisions and copyright are present in correspondence. One example, dated 8 September 1910 finds Masfield unimpressed with Cazenove's suggestion of subject:

I am not at all sure about this book of Master Mariners. But I will wait till I hear more about

it, + what it is that you will want of me. I am sorry; but Master Mariners are millstones round my neck. They were tied there in my youth, + though I long since shook them off, they keep bobbing up un-naturally. I meet a press-gang of them whenever I enter a publisher's office. Still, do not be vexed. Perhaps, if this cannot be, another, better book, may be.

(John Masefield, letter to C.F. Cazenove, 8 September 1910)⁸⁷

Masefield also regarded Cazenove as a useful bargaining tool – negotiations for a volume of Defoe selections for George Bell and Sons commenced with exchanges between Masefield and the publishing firm. When the author decided to ask for additional payment, however, it was Cazenove whom he asked to write on his behalf (the letters over payment for extra ‘uncovenanted work’ survive from Masefield to Cazenove, and Cazenove to Bell). Cazenove also appears to have assisted Masefield through his general helpfulness – the letter dated 8 September 1910 begins with thanks ‘for so kindly typing the ms for me’. Yet Masefield was also trying to further his career himself. Publication of *The Everlasting Mercy* was a deal made by Masefield, with no contribution from Cazenove. Masefield explained:

The English Review by a personal arrangement has just printed a poem of mine called *The Everlasting Mercy*. My friend Mr Sidgwick has arranged with the Review to issue it in book form, using the Review's type; he is at the same time securing copyright in America. He suggests an agreement based on the Pompey agreement ... So far, as you will see, the arrangements made as far as they have been made have been made among more or less intimate personal acquaintances, and you must not feel vexed ... I have another longer poem now under revision. Mr Sidgwick has seen it, + likes it less than the other. It is less happy, but a bigger thing. I will write to you about it later.

(John Masefield, letter to C.F. Cazenove, 1 October 1911)⁸⁸

Vexed or not, Masefield had found without Cazenove's involvement the periodical and publisher that would launch his true literary career. Recognition came, but Masefield was evidently dissatisfied with some aspect of his arrangements. Cazenove was asked to negotiate for the ‘less happy’ poem:⁸⁹

This is the second poem. Will you please try to place it in an American + in an English periodical (so as to secure my American copyright to myself) and then try to get

publishers both here + in America for it as a separate book. The English Rev are asking for it, but speaking confidentially I dislike their methods. If some other English paper would take it + pay well for it all the better; but I fear none will.

The Eng Rev, if they have it, must pay fifty guineas. So must any other English magazine. As to America, that generation of prudes and parasites will probably find it too outspoken.

(John Masefield, letter to C.F. Cazenove, 19 October 1911)⁹⁰

The English Review nevertheless published the poem in February 1912 but if Cazenove was responsible for dealing with the American ‘prudes and parasites’ then Masefield benefited considerably until the end of his life, for the poem was published in book form (with *The Everlasting Mercy*) by the Macmillan Company of New York. Thus Masefield’s American publisher was established: it came to publish almost all of his subsequent work in the United States, and also took over American publication of many titles from Masefield’s earlier writing.

The exact circumstances relating to Masefield’s move in England from Sidgwick and Jackson to the firm of William Heinemann are unknown: John St John in his history of Heinemann merely lists Masefield’s previous publishers and then notes that *Dauber* ‘was the first on the Heinemann list’.⁹¹ There are no clues retained in the extant Heinemann archive. However, it is likely that Cazenove was partly responsible. If so, then both Masefield and Heinemann benefited considerably from Cazenove – John St John notes Masefield’s value to the Heinemann company: between January 1922 and June 1923, for example, twenty volumes of poetry by various authors were published by the firm. Two made a profit, nine ‘came home’ and nine were a ‘dead loss’. The two profitable volumes were both Masefield’s.⁹²

Masefield’s biographer, Constance Babington Smith notes that Cazenove died ‘during the First World War’. Grant Richards refers to an ‘untimely’ death:

Cazenove - to the great regret of everyone who knew him - died untimely, as did his partner in The Literary Agency of London, the amiable G.H. Perris.

(Grant Richards, *Author Hunting*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934, p.235)

and James Hepburn in his study of the rise of literary agencies merely notes that the Literary Agency was ‘later absorbed by Curtis Brown’.⁹³ Masefield did not use

another literary agent for any significant length of time, although some of his affairs were carried on by business successors to Cazenove. By 1914 Masfield had become dissatisfied with arrangements and explained to G.H. Thring that clauses which the Society of Authors considered 'objectionable' were still signed by him:

My existing Agency contract, which has served for seven or eight years, is very imperfect, and I wish to substitute a much more stringent document for it. Under the old contract most of my books have been placed with publishers, and in some cases, partly through too great trust in my Agent, partly from a feeling, engendered by years of failure, that the book would never sell, I have signed the objectionable clause mentioned in your pamphlet, empowering the agent to collect + receive.

(John Masfield, letter to [G.H. Thring], 9 January 1914)⁹⁴

Evidence within the archives of the Society of Authors suggests that Masfield negotiated a new contract with Cazenove shortly before Cazenove's death. In February 1915 he wrote to Thring enquiring about the standing of other agents ('Messrs Pinker, + Messrs Curtis Brown + Massie ...')⁹⁵ while in May 1915 a letter from Constable and Company to Thring regarding Masfield stated that they were 'under the impression that he no longer has an agent'.⁹⁶ Certainly, a letter dated 11 July 1915 preserved in the archives of the Heinemann firm reveals that Masfield intended to deal directly with publishing firms:

Will you please note that the Literary Agency of London is not now acting for me, + that in this instance + for the present I hope to deal with you direct.

(John Masfield, letter to [Sydney] Pawling, 11 July 1915)⁹⁷

A letter from Masfield to Thring dated 20 September 1920 explains that upon Cazenove's death Curtis Brown 'succeeded to Mr Cazenove's business' with Paul Reynolds as agent in the United States.⁹⁸ Although 'not employed' by Masfield they continued to collect royalties on books which had been placed during Cazenove's life (indeed, a royalty statement from Curtis Brown for 30 June 1915 is included in the Society of Authors' archives). Masfield ended this arrangement in March 1921 (paying £198.10.1 under the agreed terms of settlement) leaving the Macmillan Company of New York to deal with American publications and approaching the Society of Authors for advice on English publications when necessary. The Society of Authors also collected royalties for Masfield (charging a

commission of five per cent in 1921) and this favourable rate may also have made Masefield decide to cancel his agency agreement. The agency charged ten per cent.

In 1930 Arthur Waugh in *A Hundred Years of Publishing* specifically praises three agents: A.P. Watt, J.B. Pinker and C.F. Cazenove.⁹⁹ Other authors who counted Cazenove as their agent included Edward Thomas. It may be that Cazenove's abilities had secured Macmillan and Heinemann as Masefield's publishers and, as such, Masefield had been established for the rest of his career. The last book published during Masefield's lifetime in 1967 by Heinemann in London and Macmillan in New York may have been the legacy of Masefield's literary agent over half a century earlier.

In contrast with mainstream publishing, Masefield also experimented with, and nurtured an interest in, specialist and private means of publication.

Private Publications and Presses

Masefield held William Blake and William Morris in high esteem – not only for their literary works but for their means of disseminating their writing. In printing their own works both produced items of artistic value (in addition to literary worth) – for there is an aesthetic impetus to their production. In writing of Blake,¹⁰⁰ Masefield mentions the etching, printing and colouring of Blake's prophetic books and his admiration is obvious. With the founding of the Dun Emer Press (later the Cuala Press) in 1902 by Elizabeth C. Yeats, Masefield's close friendship with Charles and Janet Ashbee (of The Essex House Press) and C.H.O. Daniel of the Daniel Press he also had a strong personal interest in private presses. Thus a best-selling author also employed private publication and private presses. This aspect is especially important in assessing Masefield's concept of audience and suitable vehicles for disseminating material.

Masefield's first real entry into private publication was through the Cuala Press.¹⁰¹ In June 1915 that press published in Ireland his *John M. Synge* (Masefield had

previously contributed the entry on the writer to the *Dictionary of National Biography*). Subject-matter and the Cuala's Irish preferences were entirely complimentary, while war-time may have caused certain restrictions (either in printing or merely desirability) within mainland Britain.

We have little evidence, but Masfield presumably saw the attractions of the private press for publication of this title in Britain. Although Heinemann was now his publisher, the 1916 Easter Rising may have encouraged Masfield to issue this work himself using the Garden City Press in Letchworth. Four works were issued by 'Letchworth Garden City Press Limited' (in editions of 200 copies) and three by 'John Masfield at Lollingdon, Cholsey, Berkshire' (printed at Letchworth). *John M. Synge, Good Friday, Sonnets and Poems* and *The Locked Chest [and] The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* gave Masfield an opportunity to gain English publication for works previously printed (or in the case of *The Locked Chest [and] The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* planned to be printed) in Ireland or the United States. However, the private press was not merely a means of printing material in England; it also provided Masfield with an incentive to issue old work. (Both *The Locked Chest* and *The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* were written in 1906 and 1905 respectively.) Subsequent publication by Heinemann suggests that Masfield wanted to assess the reception of these plays by a limited audience before general commercial publication. An advertisement slip issued by Masfield reveals that a number of his recent works (never actually published) were also to be printed: a translation of *The Song of Roland*¹⁰² and Masfield's American lectures on Chaucer and Shakespearian tragedy:

IN PREPARATION.

To be had of

JOHN MASEFIELD,

Cholsey, Berks.

SONNETS AND POEMS, WITH GOOD
FRIDAY, *a play in verse*; crown 8vo,
boards, 5/-.

THE LOCKED CHEST AND THE
SWEEPS OF NINETY-EIGHT, *two*
plays in prose; crown 8vo, boards, 5/-.

THE SONG OF ROLAND, *a translation in*
verse and prose; crown 8vo, boards, 5/-.

PERSONAL MEMORIES OF JOHN M.
SYNGE; crown 8vo, boards, 3/6.

CHAUCER AND SHAKESPEAREAN
TRAGEDY (Hamlet, King Lear, and
Macbeth), *two Lectures*; crown 8vo,
boards, 5/-.

Also the Lollington Monthly, a little booklet of
verse to be complete in twelve numbers, commencing
April, 1916, to subscribers only, 7/6 the set, post free.

(Illustration I: advertisement slip issued by Masefield)

[Source: Ledbury Library]

A periodical, the *Lollington Monthly*, was also planned. Correspondence survives offering the Letchworth publications to friends and it is likely that Masefield was addressing a select audience – possibly aware that, at this time, wider public tastes were focused on war.

Masefield's poetry cards reveal the private press as a means of issuing material to a select body of people. (Evidence suggests that Thomas Hardy was one recipient.)¹⁰³ The term 'poetry card' is here used to include a varied group of items. There are Christmas cards comprising a poem and greeting; illustrated sheets with a poem, but no greeting; and cards commemorating a specific occasion. The verse is frequently original (often comprising the only published state) or reprinted verses (old favourites or recent work). These items have never been included in a Masefield bibliography (except, in one example, as an illustration).¹⁰⁴ As a group

they offer interesting insights into Masfield's concept of audience, posterity and fund-raising – among other issues. I shall consider two types. The first is common: a poem never re-published, distributed to private friends. An example is 'A Christmas Thought' from 1945. However, there are other examples with no Christmas associations which may have been used for a different purpose (a card with the meditation of Highworth Ridden from *Odtaa* is one example). These were presumably produced by Masfield as attractive collectibles – the presentation being as important as the content. My second type is more curious. E.H. Blakeney printed Masfield's couplet on the death of Rudyard Kipling in 1936. This was originally composed by Masfield in his capacity as Poet Laureate,¹⁰⁵ and a letter from the printer (to Maurice Buxton Forman) suggests it was at Masfield's request that private printing occurred.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps newspaper publication was considered too ephemeral; or separate publication was part of Masfield's tribute. That Masfield never subsequently collected the poem in any volume of poetry, yet troubled to arrange private publication suggests the allure and respectability of private publication. Other cards include those for the Oxford Summer Diversions in 1939, the unveiling of a new figurehead on H.M.S. *Conway* and the opening of the National Book League premises; similar commemorative elements are evident in each. Privately printed cards were therefore desirable ephemera (Masfield used one to raise funds for the London Library in the 1960s). The limited and personalised nature of these items appealed to Masfield – in addition to supporting the private press they provided an opportunity to commemorate an event or occasion.

Such a view is supported by numerous privately printed works (often reprinted from standard editions) longer than a card. In 1920 Masfield had his poem (or narrative sonnet sequence) *Animula* printed at the Chiswick Press. It was also included in the Heinemann edition (published during the same year) of *Enslaved and other Poems*. That Masfield was still signing copies and found an unopened packet of copies as late as 1960 suggests that he used this private press publication as a gift for friends. The same may be true of the reprinted *Shopping in Oxford* seven years after the Heinemann edition or the various publications of poems

from *The Wanderer of Liverpool*.¹⁰⁷ Booklets that commemorate events or occasions include those printed on Masfield's receiving the freedom of the city of Hereford, a festival of W.B. Yeats's work and words on George Herbert.¹⁰⁸ These were printed at his direct request. Other booklets of a similar nature (although Masfield's *direct* involvement is not proven) include words upon the opening of a gateway at a nature reserve, words in memory of Ronald Ross and a memorial address for Gordon Bottomley.¹⁰⁹ All these are of a commemorative nature. One private publication (printed by Hall of Oxford) is interesting as an appeal for change. *An Elizabethan Theatre in London* suggests the building of a purpose-built reconstructed Shakespearian theatre and perhaps Masfield had in mind Harley Granville-Barker and William Archer's privately circulated estimates and schemes for a National Theatre in 1904. The appeal was to have been serialised in England and although this was abandoned, Masfield had always intended separate private publication.¹¹⁰

My attempt to reconstruct Masfield's private library¹¹¹ reveals he owned a sizeable number of books from the Cuala Press, in addition to other private presses. Masfield had, for example, a complete thirty-nine volume set of the Vale Press Shakespeare. Large-scale commercial printing was very different from ephemeral, personalised and limited distribution and Masfield employed both as a means of publication, aware of the distinct features of both.

Advice from Others

Having considered Masfield and his publishers (both commercial and private), in addition to Masfield and his literary agent, a further context of importance should be addressed. As Poet Laureate (and before) Masfield received requests from authors on improving their work and how to get published. Masfield assisted J.M. Synge into print (and Judith Masfield suggests that her father was partly responsible for Beatrix Potter's published status.)¹¹² Of special interest, however, is evidence of Masfield receiving advice from contemporaries. I shall briefly introduce two examples.

George Bernard Shaw wrote to Masfield on 27 July 1907 comforting the author on a disastrous performance of *The Campden Wonder*. After praising the play itself ('... there is nothing in all literature like the scene before the execution ...'), he gives specific advice about publication:

Is the C.W. published? If not, hold it back until you have a couple more plays to go with it, and then write a preface, just as I do. The reason for this is that plays do not circulate widely enough as yet to make really cheap editions commercially practicable; and when it comes to six shillings the bookbuyer can only afford it on condition that the book lasts him (and probably his family) a fairish time. If he has to buy a new book next day, he exceeds his income. The secret of my six shilling volumes of plays is quantity. Publish the C.W. by itself; and the buyer, asking always "How long will it last?" will put it down sorrowfully in the shop and buy a novel by Mrs Humphrey Ward instead.

(George Bernard Shaw, letter to John Masfield, 27 July 1907)¹¹³

Masfield followed this advice almost exactly. *The Campden Wonder* was eventually published in 1909 with 'a couple more plays': *Mrs Harrison* and the successful *The Tragedy of Nan*. The first edition did not include a preface, but this was remedied in later reprints. Shaw's advice reveals an astute perception of the book-buying public in financial terms and gives advice on economic, not literary grounds. Shaw therefore assisted Masfield in the literary market-place.

A second example reveals Masfield actively seeking advice – and perhaps aspiring to the success of the author he approached. An undated letter from Masfield to Thomas Hardy states:

I am writing to ask you to be so very kind as to give me the benefit of your experience in a matter of publication.

My publishers wish to issue my collected poems in a single fat volume at 8/6. I hesitate about it, lest the single collected volume should entirely kill the sales of the separate little volumes, + therefore be a disadvantage to me.

Would you, who have published your collected poems in a single volume, tell me whether this tends to be the case, or whether (as my publishers maintain) the single bulky volume helps to increase the sales of the little volumes?

I hesitate to ask you, but I think that you are the one living poet who has published work thus, + could inform me.

(John Masfield, letter to Thomas Hardy, [March 1923])¹¹⁴

Masefield was evidently concerned about taking any measure that would affect sales. Hardy replied in a letter dated 3 April 1923 with advice on fame:

My experience is that the more editions there are the better: the announcement of any new edition waking up readers to the fact that you are still alive. So that I think your publishers are right, as they consider the commercial side of a book very thoroughly. In my case the separate volumes have been issued by the same publishers as the collected volume, and at only a shilling cheaper; if in your case the little volumes are by other publishers the collected [*two words torn away*] probably stir them up to push the little ones, which is to your advantage.

The British Public is a greedy creature, always thinking of what *quantity* is to be got for its money. My opinion is that Tennyson should have had a collected volume years before he did, and poor Swinburne suffers to this day from there being no one volume collection of him - suffers I think in popularity and sale. For though the collected volume is the one they buy at the free libraries, and therefore one copy goes a long way among readers, you should I think remember that it is better to be read, even for nothing, than not to be read at all.

I should perhaps remind you that my own verse is in two volumes. I. the short poems, 2. The Dynasts. But I had hoped at first it would all go into one.

So that you see I agree with your publishers. I am not sure if I have answered you clearly: Anyhow, don't mind asking me anything more of the sort, as I have had 50 years experience, and it is a pity it should all "go down into silence" with me.

(Thomas Hardy, letter to John Masefield, 3 April 1923)¹¹⁵

Contrasting with Shaw's economic view of book sales, Hardy therefore advocated that merely being read was important. Masefield was not entirely convinced and asked a further question:

It was most kind of you to write so full a reply to my enquiry: thank you very much for taking such trouble.

The one other point that I would like to ask, if it would not be too great an intrusion, is, whether, when a single collected volume appears, it actually stimulates the sales of the small single volumes which preceded it? May I ask if you have found that it has this effect, or the opposite?

(John Masefield, letter to Thomas Hardy, [April 1923])¹¹⁶

Hardy replied having researched his own sales figures and suggested Masefield should trust his publishers:

Since receiving your letter I have looked at the returns on Sales in past years (which I hardly ever do look at!), and I find that the separate editions have gone on selling since we

produced the Collected Edition - particularly the Pocket Edition of each separate volume of Poems.

But then, I do not know how much more or less, these small ones would have sold, supposing the Collected Edition had not been brought out. And I do not see how this can be discovered, even by yourself, (assuming that you publish the Collected volume), since if the cheap ones decrease in their sales afterwards they may have done so, owing to some freak of the public, if you had not published the Collected volume. As I said last time, I think the publishers know best.

(Thomas Hardy, letter to John Masfield, 5 April 1923)¹¹⁷

Hardy's advice proved sound: Masfield's *Collected Poems* was a phenomenal success. Moreover Masfield's concern over individual volumes was, as Hardy suggested, ungrounded, for the smaller volumes continued to sell and be reprinted. A letter to G.H. Thring suggests that Heinemann were guarding their own interests over the volume anyway and that success was by no means assured:

The collected edition will be put off the market very quickly if found to be unprofitable...

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [September 1923])¹¹⁸

First published in 1923 (in cloth bound, leather-bound and limited signed editions) a new impression of the *Collected Poems* was required by the end of the year. The only year in which at least one new impression was not printed was 1931 and a new and enlarged edition was published in 1932. Sales figures are not entirely clear – John St John refers to:

two volumes of *Collected Poems* (1923 and 1926) - the first sold over 80,000 copies.

(John St John, *William Heinemann - A Century of Publishing 1890-1990*, Heinemann, London, 1990, p.289)

and thus cites incorrect dates. William Buchan states, however, that 100,000 copies sold in the first seven years of publication.¹¹⁹

Shaw provided economic and Hardy more pragmatic advice on being read. Masfield combined the two and constituted a publishing phenomenon of the early twentieth-century. His work was accessible, popular and when he was appointed Poet Laureate in 1930 it was an appointment supported by the literary world. He had achieved both economic and literary success. His first novel

published after being appointed Laureate had to be reprinted prior to publication date.¹²⁰

Masefield's Canon – A New Chronology

Research with primary sources has yielded substantial detail about the business, manoeuvres and obligations of authorship in the twentieth-century. It is only, perhaps, with surviving publishers' archives and the history of the book as a discipline that this material can be accessed and analysed. I wish here to introduce two aspects: the chronology of works in the period until 1911, and abandoned plans or publishers' suggestions that never developed into print. With these we can see an author concerned with authorship, not merely a writer with a published canon of works.

Manuscript research has suggested dates when Masefield began new projects and dates during the development of work. In view of this new evidence, as yet still fragmentary, a new chronology begins to emerge as detailed below. For illustration I shall concentrate here on the early period until 1911.¹²¹ A new chronology reveals for the first time the length of gestation for many works.

The evidence presented is of different kinds from many varied sources. They range from merest suggestions of new work to definite publishers' agreements, and from incidental comments for personal friends to business discussions with publishers. The chronology is therefore to be taken as a flexible framework and considerable variation resulting from as yet unknown evidence is highly possible. Additionally, many volumes are unrecorded since no references to their evolution have been found. The chronology is as follows:

- June / July 1902 - suggestion from Grant Richards to publish a volume of poetry (appeared as *Salt-Water Ballads*)
- [1903-1904] - reference from Masefield to Jack B. Yeats about Bullen's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher

- 24 August 1904 - reference from Masfield to W.B. Yeats about 'my buccaneer book' (presumably *A Mainsail Haul* or *On the Spanish Main*)
- 1905 - *The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* 'written in 1905' marked on copy in the Lord Chamberlain's Play collection and also noted in Heinemann edition
- 12 April 1905 - reference by Masfield to Jack B. Yeats about proofs of *A Mainsail Haul*
- [May 1905] - reference by Masfield to Jack B. Yeats about researching an 'obscure fight' and the book growing 'apace' (presumably *Sea Life In Nelson's Time*)
- 15 September 1905 - suggestion from Richards to publish three 'chapbooks'
- 12 October 1905 - reference from Masfield to Bertram Dobell about the introduction to Reynolds's *The Fancy*
- 7 December 1905 - Richards tentatively agrees in theory to Masfield's edition of *Dampier*
- 26 December 1905 - Masfield tells Gilbert Murray that *The Campden Wonder* is finished
- 1906 - *The Locked Chest* 'written in 1906' noted in Heinemann edition
- 6 January 1906 - Richards first suggests *Herrick* chapbook
- February 1906 - decision to publish Masfield's edition of *Dampier* reached by Richards
- 23 March 1906 - reference by Masfield to Jack B. Yeats of copyrighting play (*The Campden Wonder*)
- 15 August 1906 - reference by Masfield to Jack B. Yeats of wanting 'to do a prose play on Pompey the Great'
- 22 January 1907 - Richards and Cazenove about to reach agreement on *A Tarpaulin Muster*
- 5 February 1907 - reference by Masfield to Cazenove of *A Tarpaulin Muster* being 'practically ready'

- 4 April 1907 - possibility of Masfield writing a novel first mentioned in the Grant Richards archive
- 26 May 1907 - detailed reference from Masfield to Jack B. Yeats about 'a boy's book for *Chatterbox*' (*Jim Davis*)
- 1 July 1907 - Richards responds to Cazenove's questions regarding another play (presumably one of those in *The Tragedy of Nan and other Plays*)
- 16 July 1907 - Masfield sends Jack B. Yeats the introduction to Hakluyt
- 14 October 1907 - Richards thinks he will publish 'the plays' (*The Tragedy of Nan and other Plays*)
- 14 November 1907 - Richards pleased that Masfield is 'getting on with [his] new novel' (*Captain Margaret*)
- 10 December 1907 - possible reference by Masfield to Cazenove regarding *Martin Hyde*
- 19 December 1907 - note by Masfield to Jack B. Yeats referring to when *Jim Davis* goes into proof
- 7 March 1908 - Masfield informs G. Bell and Sons of willingness to edit a volume of Defoe selections
- 11 June 1908 - reference by Masfield to Annie Hanford-Flood of starting work on 'another play' (presumably *Pompey*)
- 7 September 1908 - Masfield tells Annie Hanford-Flood of problems: 'I am much worried with an inability to conceive + write which checks my new play horribly' (presumably *Pompey*)
- 7 October 1908 - Masfield sends last act of *Pompey* to Gilbert Murray for criticism
- 3 December 1908 - Masfield tells Granville-Barker that 'novel stuck' and 'boy's book about pirates, stuck, but a third finished' (presumably *Multitude and Solitude* and *Jim Davis*)
- 23 December 1908 - reference by Masfield to Granville-Barker regarding completion of *Pompey*

- 8 April 1909 - reference by Masfield to Annie Hanford-Flood of finishing
Multitude and Solitude
- 5 June 1909 - Masfield tells Gilbert Murray he hopes 'to finish *Pompey*
this month'
- 14 June 1909 - Masfield tells Granville-Barker he is 'thinking over Anne'
(H. Wiers-Jenssen's *The Witch*)
- 9 November 1909 - Richards suggests 'a slim volume' of verse (which may
eventually have yielded *Ballads and Poems* for Elkin
Mathews)
- 13 December 1909 - Richards refers to 'new novel' (possibly *Lost Endeavour*)
- 5 September 1910 - Masfield wishes Lillah McCarthy luck when performing
The Witch
- 9 October 1910 - Masfield tells Gilbert Murray he is 'willing to do the work'
(presumably *William Shakespeare*)
- 29 December 1910 - Masfield tells H.W. Nevinson he is 'reorganising' *Pompey*
- 12 January 1911 - Masfield informs Annie Hanford-Flood he is 'writing a
book on William Shakespeare'
- 21 September 1911 - Frank Sidgwick asks how 'the Philip II play' progresses
(presumably *Philip the King*)
- 1 October 1911 - reference by Masfield to Cazenove that *The Widow in the
Bye Street* is under revision
- 6 October 1911 - Masfield tells Lillah McCarthy he has sent 'the poem about
Ledbury' to Granville-Barker (*The Everlasting Mercy*)
- 16 October 1911 - Masfield writes to Harry Ross (his brother-in-law)
requesting legal advice over *The Everlasting Mercy*
- 9 December 1911 - Masfield writes to Norah Masfield about a play entitled
Animula (possibly an early dramatic version of
Animula)

Comparison with publication dates (or, in the case of plays, dates of first performance) reveals a number of features. Of particular note is the long development of *Jim Davis*.

First mentioned in May 1907, Masfield was looking forward to proofs of *Jim Davis* by the end of the year. This would appear over-anticipatory for one year later the 'boy's book about pirates' was only a third finished and Masfield declared he was 'stuck'.¹²² The novel eventually appeared in *Chatterbox* for 1910 before separate volume publication in October 1911. These dates suggest that only through a thorough study can we start to assess and understand the Masfield canon and its chronology. Until now *Jim Davis* has occupied a curious position, for its appearance immediately *after* the success of *The Everlasting Mercy* suggests Masfield had failed to discover a new direction as he returns to children's literature. Extracting the work from its previously accepted place in the chronology we can see that Masfield's triumph with *The Everlasting Mercy* produced, rather, an unpolluted flow of long narrative poems with *The Widow in the Bye Street*, *Dauber*, and *The Daffodil Fields* in direct succession. The separate volume appearance of *Jim Davis* reflects most on the delay of printers, but also on Masfield's problems when writing. In style and content the book belongs before *The Everlasting Mercy* and this is, indeed, where it can now be placed.

Our new chronology also shows that *The Widow in the Bye Street* (first published in 1912), *Philip the King* (first published in 1914), the two plays *The Locked Chest* and *The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* (both first published in 1916) and Masfield's translation of Wiers-Jenssen's *Anne Pedersdotter* or *The Witch* (first published in 1917) similarly belong to a period as much as eleven years before publication. Masfield's statement in 1951 that he 'began' as a writer in 1911 does not allow us to make the clear distinction he implies unless we investigate beyond publication dates.

In comparison with the problems experienced over *Jim Davis* are examples of instant creativity and speedy publication. *William Shakespeare* appeared only six months after Masfield had stated his willingness to do the work, but this is an exception to Masfield's usually slow and tortuous process of writing. The references above indicate that he experienced excessive problems over *Captain*

Margaret and *Pompey the Great* (the idea of which is first recorded in 1906, but which was still being revised by the end of 1910). These matters do not, of course, always reflect on Masfield but often on his publishers, as Richards's cautious approach to *The Tragedy of Nan and other Plays* demonstrates: the volume was gaining shape in mid-1907 but did not appear (admittedly hampered by problems in shipping American plates) until September 1909. Whatever conclusions we draw from the evidence presented here, such additional detail is integral to understanding Masfield's creative process and these details are complimentary to a bibliography of published works.

Of additional interest are details of Masfield's own aborted plans, or those suggested by his publishers. These are most numerous at the beginning of Masfield's career and, as a complement to the listing above, I have restricted my scope to the same period. The sheer number of suggestions suggest that Masfield was, perhaps for monetary reasons, willing to consider many proposals, of which the following are now only tantalizing titles or ideas. They do, however, help to define Masfield's literary horizons and development. Works intended only for a private readership are not included for we are concerned here with Masfield as a publishable property. They are listed in approximate chronological order:

Autobiography

Masfield produced an autobiographical account of his early life at the suggestion of W.B. Yeats. Jack B. Yeats was to illustrate the volume.

Theodore volume

References within correspondence to Jack B. Yeats suggest that a volume of verse (with illustrations) was to chronicle the adventures of the imaginary pirate cabin-boy Theodore. This never appeared although numerous verses in letters to Jack B. Yeats are extant.

Early plays

References in letters suggest that 1902-1904 saw an early period of writing drama, with titles including *The Wrecker's Corpse* and *The Buccaneer*. Three 'lyrics from *The Buccaneer*' appear in *Salt-Water Ballads*.

King Conal

This title is mentioned in a letter to Jack B. Yeats with the information that Elkin Mathews would not publish it for Christmas.

The Jolly Londoners

A reference to a book of 'London Sports' (recorded in the Grant Richards archive in November 1905) refers to a volume in which Masefield was to contribute prose and Jack B. Yeats illustrations. The project (not necessarily including Masefield) can be traced back to 1900 with Ernest Oldmeadow's Unicorn Press. Plans for the book (also called 'the Low Life book', 'the London book', and *The New Corinthians*)¹²³ were finally abandoned in 1906 when Jack B. Yeats refused to surrender rights in his drawings for 100 guineas.

Coryat

Either an edition of Coryat or a study of the traveller were discussed with Richards in 1906, but abandoned.

A pirate book

Richards dismisses Masefield's plans for a book of pirates in early 1906 and suggests, instead, 'a Book of Heroism on the Sea.' Richards got neither.

The "Royal George"

A book on the life of the "Royal George" was suggested by Masefield, but rejected by Richards in late 1906.

Darien Colony

Early 1907 saw discussions between Richards and Cazenove for a book variously referred to as 'the Darien Idea', 'the Darien Colony Book' and 'the Darien book'.

Two sea plays

Two synopses of plays (both set at sea) were sent to Granville-Barker in early 1907. The synopses survive, but the plays were, seemingly, never written.

Life of Anson

Masefield had written some of his life of Anson for Richards before it was abandoned (in preference for a novel). This aborted book from 1907 shows interest in Anson long before Masefield edited Anson for J.M. Dent.

Campden lecture

References in correspondence with Charles and Janet Ashbee indicate that Masefield delivered a lecture at Chipping Campden in May 1907. The subject is unknown.

Wilkinson's sea book

In late 1907 and early 1908 Richards opened negotiations about 'that Sea book' in which he wanted Masefield to collaborate with Norman Wilkinson. Masefield refused.

Pagan woodland play

A letter to Granville-Barker in May 1908 finds Masefield making references to 'my pagan woodland play, which I shall think on as I finish Pompey'. No further detail is known.

History of Spanish Conquistadores

Masefield signed an agreement with Constable and Company for this title in June 1909. The manuscript was to be delivered in August 1910 but Masefield failed to provide the work stating he would need to undertake research in Spain. By 1915 Constable were writing to the Society of Authors for legal guidance.

Animula

As noted above, Masefield mentions a play about *Animula* in a letter dated 1911 to Norah Masefield. A sonnet sequence of that title was published in 1920, but a holograph scenario of the play's last act (conjecturally dated September 1909) is located in the Berg Collection of New York Public Library.

The Peacock

Grant Richards states in *Author Hunting* that nothing came of plans between Masefield and John Galsworthy to produce a quarterly publication entitled *The Peacock*.

Suffragette tragedy

Henry W. Nevinson writing in *More Changes More Chances* notes an abandoned collaborative effort: 'my friendship grew first beside the canal of Maida Vale, where we each thought out a scenario for a combined play upon the Suffragette persecution, but discovered that the two could never meet though extended to infinity, mine being a satiric farce and his a solemn tragedy.'¹²⁴

Lost Things

Masefield sent an outline of a novel of this name to Elizabeth Robins in the Spring of 1910. Commencing during the American war of secession, the story tells of a forthright adventurous woman and the loss of her family until she meets her son years later.

Story of monarchs

Frank Sidgwick wrote to Masefield in June 1910 to ask whether he was interested in writing 'a collection of the romantic stories of men who have become monarchs in a small way by imposing on niggers'. Masefield was uninterested.

Blake's fourfold system

In October 1910, discussing the forthcoming *William Shakespeare*, with Gilbert Murray, Masefield also stated his wish to write a book on 'Blake's fourfold system from the Prophetic Books'.

1911 plays

Masefield told Annie Hanford-Flood in April 1911 that he was 'trying to start a play'. Writing to Gertrude Kingston in May 1911 he explains 'the play of which I spoke is laid aside for the time and I am at work on another'. In August 1911 he sent a draft of Act I. No further details are known although *Philip the King* is one possibility. There are also plays (conjecturally dated 1910) entitled *King John*, *The Play of Austrian Short*, and *St. George and the Dragon* (presumably a much earlier treatment than the 1948 play called *A Play of St. George*) located in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

These titles and ideas help demonstrate Masfield in the literary market-place as his suggestions are abandoned, or he refuses to write what his publishers asked. For obvious reasons we tend to assess authors from their published output yet this invariably restricts our view of a writer. Abandoned ideas, aborted plans and uncooperative publishers cause much of a writer's literary history to be lost. This type of information is, however, recoverable. These initial indications of a new chronology for published works and brief details of 'ghosts' provide a more comprehensive picture of Masfield the writer than previously possible: although more naturally suited to literary biography than bibliography, these details help to show more of Masfield the writer than the hitherto known view of Masfield the published author. The financial aspect of writing and publishing can now be considered.

Masfield's Finances

John Betjeman stated in 1950 that Masfield was the only poet since Tennyson to make money out of poetry.¹²⁵ Indeed, in later life Masfield was judged to be financially successful – at his death in 1967 he left a sum of £92,404 gross.¹²⁶ At the height of popularity he commanded large payments: in June 1930 the New York *Cosmopolitan* magazine paid £2000 for the serialization rights of *The Wanderer*.¹²⁷ A brief examination suggests that Masfield's financial success was built upon his prodigious output and, especially in the beginning, upon work for periodicals.

After returning from America to England in 1897 with only six pounds, Masfield became destitute before gaining employment as a junior bank clerk at a pound a week. A subsequent move increased his pay, but by the summer of 1901 he had decided to embark upon a career as a freelance writer. Babington Smith notes that Masfield decided he would have to earn £75 a year to survive.¹²⁸ The start of 1902 thus finds Masfield contributing to *The Speaker* on a regular basis, but finances were evidently a source of concern to family and friends (his sister Ethel sent £25 whilst Binyon arranged for Masfield's assistance on his Keats edition and helped secure a temporary position working on the Wolverhampton Art Exhibition). His

devotion to Constance de la Cherois Crommelin whom he met at the end of 1901 forced Masfield to assess his financial predicament. Writing to Mrs Jack Yeats, Masfield described his marriage prospects:

I am now going to grind out work like a barrel-organ ... and if I can I'm going to the parson with herself in July. It's mostly a question now, alas, of dollars.

(John Masfield, letter to Mrs Mary Cottenham Yeats, [1903])¹²⁹

A friend working for *The Speaker* advised Masfield that £250-£300 per year was attainable through journalism and an occasional book could make it up to £400.¹³⁰ Masfield therefore committed himself to journalism and at the time of his engagement in 1903 gained a position on *The Speaker*. Journalism was to provide the initial backbone of Masfield's income, first with *The Speaker* and then with the *Manchester Guardian*. The large quantity of book reviews he wrote suggests this was a fundamental source of income (302 individual book reviews have been traced between August 1903 and December 1911 in the *Manchester Guardian* alone and there are likely to be a similar number in the *Daily News*). Unfortunately, archives for periodicals, if extant, provide little detail of earnings. One exception is that for *The Times Literary Supplement*.¹³¹

Between June 1904 and June 1905 Masfield was paid £3.18.0, £3.0.0 and £1.17.0. These payments presumably relate to the first three of Masfield's book reviews in that paper. (Despite the anonymity of published reviews in *The Times Literary Supplement*, authorship can be confirmed by contemporary marked-up copies held in *The Times* archives.) Using these figures (an average of £2.18.2 per review), Masfield would need to have reviewed 86 books each year to produce an income of £250, yet these figures are problematic. The payments may not have been for book reviews alone, periodicals would have different rates of pay (income from *A Broad Sheet* and *A Broadside* must have been little, if anything) and Masfield contributed numerous articles and poems in addition to book reviews. With a lack of definite figures we must depend on Masfield's biographer to sum up his financial position in late 1903 (noting her evocative terms such as 'clutching' and 'drove'):

Perforce depending on his wife's income, he drove himself mercilessly. Clutching at anything he could in the way of journalism, he churned out articles for the *Speaker* and

the *Manchester Guardian* (especially narratives based on his experiences at sea and in America) and at the same time contributed to the *Daily News* and various other newspapers and magazines. He also did an astounding amount of reviewing, mainly of novels. In a letter written at about this time he mentioned that he had got 'a page of reviewing 20 books weekly', and in others he referred to '24 books to review at once' and 'over 80 books to review'.

(Constance Babington Smith, *John Masefield – A Life*, OUP, Oxford, 1978, pp.85-86)

(His wife's income was from a modest school which she ran jointly with her friend Isabel Fry.)

A move to Greenwich in the summer of 1904, coupled with the birth of their first child the previous spring, caused the Masefield family finances additional strain. In addition to journalism, Masefield increased his efforts with published books. The Grant Richards archive provides most of the fragmentary evidence available here. 'The Chapbooks' series is the best documented and a letter from September 1905 states the financial understanding:

... you will prepare the books and be paid for them as follows-

For the editing of the collection of lyrics of Beaumont and Fletcher, including index, etc., the sum of five pounds (£5)

For the volume of Lyrics of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Century, the sum of seven pounds ten shillings (£7.10s); and the same sum for the Prose volumes of the same period.

These payments will cover the complete copyright of the work.

(Grant Richards, letter to John Masefield, 15 September 1905)¹³²

A subsequent letter (dated 29 January 1906) reveals that the Herrick volume was also to fetch seven pounds and ten shillings. Although royalties on sales would bring extra income, the editing and introduction of works was not particularly remunerative and, in addition, the copyright of the editions would be sold outright.

Nevertheless, finances were becoming comparatively stable for the Masefields moved to the Paddington area of London in October 1907 and additionally acquired a country residence in Buckinghamshire in 1909. The improvement to their financial situation which these developments suggest was the result of

Masefield's concentration on original work. Finances were still tight, however, for Richards replied to a suggestion from Cazenove:

You were asking me the other day whether we should have any objection, in the event of royalties piling up for Mr. Masefield and his being in need of money before it was actually due, to pay him from time to time sums on account. The agreement goes as far as we will bind ourselves to go, but I see no reason why we should not, when the time comes, do everything we can to meet Mr. Masefield's convenience.

(Grant Richards, letters to C.F. Cazenove, 29 May 1907)¹³³

It is not easy in the Richards archive to acquire details of the income to be made from novels. The only specific notes are royalties paid for *Captain Margaret* on 29 November 1907 (£25) and 7 February 1908 (£35) in addition to an advance of £25 from Thomas Nelson for their cheap edition. The only other unambiguous mention of payment for novels was £25 paid on 15 April 1909 for the delivery of the first part of the manuscript of *Multitude and Solitude*. Assuming that *Captain Margaret* received a similar payment then the novel earned in excess of £110 for Masefield. £140 was paid between 19 April 1907 and 4 June 1909 by Richards and, although the reason is not noted, it is likely to represent accumulated royalties on all Richards's Masefield books. In *Multitude and Solitude* it is perhaps significant that the fictional writer Roger Naldrett's post is described:

His agent sent him a very welcome cheque for £108, for his newly completed novel ...

(John Masefield, *Multitude and Solitude*, Grant Richards, 1909, p.48)

These tentative figures indicate that although Masefield's financial situation improved, financial security was elusive. A letter to Cazenove (presumably referring to *Jim Davis*) indicates that Masefield's situation was precarious, and loyalty to one publisher would be dismissed in return for ready payment:

I have half done my pirate book; + very much want some money. Could you, do you think, get some from Wells Gardner. Or, if they do not care to go on with the business, could you approach Messrs Hodder + Stoughton, who have been asking for a boy's book from me.

(John Masefield, letter to C.F. Cazenove, [26 November 1908])¹³⁴

Masefield's copious output in the period until *The Everlasting Mercy* and the variety of his publishers can thus be explained by financial necessity. Edward Thomas provides a similar context: his forty-five books published between 1897

and 1916 (including essay collections, volumes of selections from other authors with an introduction by Thomas, prose commentaries with illustrations and biographies) were issued by nineteen different publishers.

Financial problems only began to recede after *The Everlasting Mercy*, as a move to a highly desirable Hampstead address in 1912 testifies. Before this literary and financial landmark in Masefield's career, he despaired that improved artistic success did not correlate to financial return:

... the better one writes the worse one sells, so by the time I'm a real genius I shall perhaps be a real pauper. Still, I'm going to write, + if I starve it'll be one in the eye for posterity.

(John Masefield, letter to Harry Ross, 18 October 1911)¹³⁵

Eleven years previously Masefield had described W.B. Yeats as:

the only living poet whose heart has not got the money-grubs and who writes from sheer joy much as a lark might sing.

(John Masefield, letter to Norah Masefield, 24 October 1900)¹³⁶

In his period of emergence into the literary scene Masefield had to balance artistic success against financial return. Journalism and editing enabled a financial basis while Masefield developed his art elsewhere.

The success of *The Everlasting Mercy* brought Masefield a new saleable status. Yet even in 1912 Masefield appears to have had little idea about what sums he should ask. Writing in March 1912 to the Society of Authors he enquires:

I shall be very grateful to you if you will kindly advise me as to the financial side of the agreement, + whether the rates are those usually obtained by the best known dramatists at the height of their popularity; it would be wicked to undersell in a market so limited.

(John Masefield, letter to the Society of Authors, 1 March 1912)¹³⁷

Unfortunately, there are no further clues as to the title of this work. It does, however, demonstrate Masefield's anxiety to make as much money as possible. Once again, in July 1913, regarding a proposed American tour by Frank Benson of *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great*, Masefield is unsure of his commercial dramatic value:

... I should be much obliged if you would let me know what advance I ought to ask from him on account of royalties. The pamphlet which you were so kind as to send me for my

guidance says that I should ask for “a considerable sum”. If you would let me know roughly what to ask I should be much obliged.

(John Masefield, letter to the Society of Authors, 13 July 1913)¹³⁸

Correspondence with James B. Pinker (Masefield’s temporary agent for a time after the death of C.F. Cazenove) reveals much about prices before and during the First World War. Sending five sonnets on 27 February 1915, and after agreeing a ten per cent commission to Pinker should they get placed, Masefield states:

Probably the market here is in a deplorable state. In peace time, I suppose these would fetch 3 or 5 guineas each here, + in America from 25 to 60 dollars each. I hope that you will be able to get good prices for them still.

(John Masefield, letter to James B. Pinker, 27 February 1915)¹³⁹

By late April Pinker had received an offer from the American *Scribner's Magazine* which Masefield accepted, though noting the offer was low:

I am willing to accept one hundred dollars for the five sonnets from Scribners, but before I do so I must know when they propose to publish them ... The price they offer is low for both markets + the things should not be hung up too long.

(John Masefield, letter to James B. Pinker, 22 April 1915)¹⁴⁰

Two of the sonnets in question were published in August 1915 with the remaining three published in October 1915.¹⁴¹

Regarding his dramatic poem ‘The Frontier’ (first published in book form in *Lollingdon Downs and other Poems* (Macmillan, 1916)), Masefield notes:

I am not sure what to ask for the Frontier. Before the war I should have been able to obtain from £20 to £50 for it, but as prices are all down I can only ask you to get what you can.

(John Masefield, letter to James B. Pinker, 14 December 1915)¹⁴²

The poem, just under ninety lines in length reveals how expensive Masefield had become. If *The Widow in the Bye Street* was sold in 1911 for fifty guineas,¹⁴³ then Masefield was doing well to contemplate £20-£50 for a moderately short poem. However, the price range is rather wide and Masefield is presumably giving his agent an idea of the worst and best possible deals.

Despite the war Masfield was obtaining high prices. Having stated in February 1915 that a sonnet was worth three to five guineas, Masfield received just under double his upper estimate in June 1915:

I have received a cheque for ten pounds from the Treasurer of the New York Independent, for one of the sonnets placed by you. I enclose with pleasure herewith my cheque for £10:- + congratulate you on the price obtained.

(John Masfield, letter to James B. Pinker, 23 June 1915)¹⁴⁴

As royalties from his books started to accumulate, Masfield began to rely less on publication in periodicals, yet these figures demonstrate that following *The Everlasting Mercy* his commercial value rose in conjunction with his reputation.

In the early 1920s it appears from the archives of the Society of Authors that Masfield had a standard charge of £2.2.0 for each short poem reprinted in an anthology. Enquiries about anthologies increase from the 1920s and were numerous throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The archives contain documents that suggest in a typical one month period (between the end of September 1923 and October 1923) there had been six requests to include a total of nine poems (and one short prose extract). At least one anthologist decided the fee was too expensive, but these figures nevertheless suggest that interest was large and Masfield's income from this source probably substantial (the same fee was charged for allowing words to be set to music and all manner of known and unknown composers paid for permission). Anthologies were not even an attractive means of publication for Masfield and he discouraged his appearance in them.

Masfield's first poem printed in a periodical was reprinted in an anthology the same year (and two years before *Salt-Water Ballads*);¹⁴⁵ yet Masfield did not approve of the form of publication. A single payment to an author left a publisher and editor free to receive substantial returns if an anthology proved successful. In 1944 Masfield offered himself as a figurehead in the event of the Society of Authors deciding to pursue the matter:

I am inclined to the belief, that someone sooner or later will have to stand out for a change in the attitude of writers towards anthologies. I am inclined to be one so standing,

though I do not expect that many will follow just yet ... Of course, to a young poet, the anthology is, as it were, a crown of recognition. He will be the last to approve, who should be among the first.

(John Masefield, letter to E.J. Mullett, [30 January 1944])¹⁴⁶

The Society did not, on this occasion decide to agitate. Yet this, and other examples, reveal Masefield attempting to realise his full market value in negotiation. Low payment in the name of education was particularly offensive and, in a letter to G.H. Thring, Masefield states his dislike of educational selections:

There seems to be a growing tendency among certain kinds of publisher to the systematic sweating of authors in the supposed interests of education. ... They endeavour to secure known work on skin-flint terms, then issue it to schools, sell some hundreds of copies, prejudice the minds of children against that work forever, + then repeat the process...

(John Masefield, letter to G.H. Thring, [25 March 1925])¹⁴⁷

A decade later Masefield had not changed his view. In a letter to E.J. Mullett he writes:

Educational authorities will sweat any writer that they can in their life's task of tormenting the helpless young.

(John Masefield, letter to E.J. Mullett, 22 February 1935)¹⁴⁸

For Masefield the educational anthology was both a monetary issue, but also a matter of reputation. Masefield made a substantial sum from anthologies and educational selections yet he also frequently denied permissions. This attitude may have been misguided given Masefield's conscious attempt to construct and protect his artistic personae. Betjeman's comment on Masefield's poetry was, to an extent, a consequence of Masefield's appeal in schools. For a writer to state:

... I am opposed to the practice of allowing large quotations in educational works ... It is not the way to teach literature: and anyway I had rather not be taught.

(John Masefield to G.H. Thring, [23 January 1927])¹⁴⁹

is to reveal a certain monetary and intellectual aloofness. Perhaps Masefield did not eventually need the money educational anthologies brought him. Yet as noted, Thomas Hardy suggested in a different context it was 'better to be read, even for nothing, than not to be read at all'.¹⁵⁰

A statement of 'Commission paid to Literary Agency & Mr. Paul Reynolds for the five years ended 30th June 1915' (produced by Curtis Brown Ltd) survives in

the archives of the Society of Authors.¹⁵¹ This represents both English and American commission on books placed with publishers between approximately 1906 and 1915. The commission rate, taking that noted above paid to James B. Pinker as a guide, would have been ten per cent (or less). The commission paid was as follows:

Literary Agency (English agency)	£233.2.0
Paul Reynolds	£52.8.1

This was not, it appears, an *entirely* accurate figure (a firm of accountants was asked in 1921 to verify the figures in preparation for Masefield's cancellation of his agency agreement). Avoiding difficulties (noted in 1921) over exchange rates, we can accept these figures for a rough calculation however; the accountants eventually noted that the figures 'may be taken as correct for all practical purposes'.¹⁵² We can therefore suggest that in the period 30 June 1910 to 30 June 1915 Masefield earned approximately £571 a year from English and American markets for published books of sole authorship. The addition of periodical contributions, lecture fees, royalties from anthologies, sale of musical rights, etc. suggests that Masefield's income was secure, dependent on continued sales and output of new work. In comparison, Edward Thomas earned an average of £340 a year from 1909 to 1913 for all work.¹⁵³

Later evidence contained in the archives of the Society of Authors shows that, after deduction of commission, Masefield received £438.13.6 as collected by the Society for April 1932 to April 1933.¹⁵⁴ This figure did not include income from America. Additional figures suggest that the American market paid particularly well. An average of approximately \$8500 per year was probably realised after tax during the mid 1930s.¹⁵⁵ A decade later the Society of Authors collected a gross sum of £720.1.5 for the income tax-year ending April 1946. The tax year ending April 1951 yielded more than twice that amount, as collected by the Society of Authors. (The sum of £1824.14.2 is recorded in the Society archives.)¹⁵⁶ These figures, even with their considerable variation suggest that Masefield's financial income was securely founded upon his prodigious output and reliable sales. Betjeman was not entirely accurate, however. Masefield undoubtedly made money

from poetry, but his income was also based on his Edwardian multiplicity. Masefield's financial prosperity was founded on a prodigious quantity of work (published in both volume and periodical form) and that output, across Masefield's entire career, has never been listed.

Masefield from a publishing and financial perspective is therefore a figure inseparable from the literary persona he attempted to create. There are few facets of Masefield that survive in isolation and the history of the book illuminates both Masefield biography and his reception. Having addressed a number of issues omitted from standard biographical or critical assessments it can be demonstrated that Masefield is a product of his time, manipulated by and manipulating commercial forces. Bibliography and book history are therefore of major importance to an accurate understanding of Masefield.

III. A New Bibliography of John Masefield and Computer Applications

A traditional, published bibliography is a work born of the study of books as physical objects. The carrier of text becomes an important object in itself, distinct from the information it carries. Our culture decides that books are objects of some worth. Presumably due to religious texts, books have a sacred value. Bibliography is perhaps the ultimate veneration of the book. This is linked to veneration of words – the carrier may assist those who wish to get *behind* the physical codex to confront the text, the author, the author's intentions, a different textual state, or many other agenda. Author and public are usually distanced from each other by series of mediators including publishers, economics, distributors, printing technologies and books. To provide a bibliography in an electronic, computerised form is therefore a perverse anomaly. It is to venerate an object, but also to reject it.

The death of the book is greatly exaggerated and yet there are features of electronic text of which the traditional book is incapable. Hyper-text, copious illustrative material, freedoms of space and comparison all demonstrate electronic text to be perfectly suited to replacing traditionally published bibliography.

If, in the crudest term, a bibliography is a list, electronic text allows us to construct an intelligent list, and a list that contains expandable features. The text becomes layered with levels of enquiry, and can be read or explored in an almost infinite number of ways. A bibliography need not now only transcribe a title-page, it can present an image from one consulted copy. A textual state need not merely be noted, it can be presented (with additional freedoms of comparison) with other states. Information over-load is upon us, and, with a prolific author, detailed bibliography is perhaps only possible through the electronic medium. Bibliography in an electronic form is therefore a celebration of the book, but in its very being, an implied replacement of it in one form.

In 1952 L.A.G. Strong described Masefield as 'a copious writer'¹ and scope is the predominant characteristic of Masefield bibliography. A conservative listing of 46

volumes of poetry or verse plays, 21 novels, 8 prose plays and over 30 volumes of miscellaneous prose fails to consider the vast body of work which Masefield contributed to periodicals and to the work of others (introductions and prefaces, for example). With manuscripts (and letters in particular) we encounter further evidence of a prodigious output: he wrote, for example, over 2000 letters to Florence and Thomas Lamont and over 1000 letters to Audrey Napier-Smith.² Any bibliographical project that attempts to include Masefield's published and unpublished output therefore not only requires assistance from, but can be regarded as only viable with, computer technology.

Historiographical Survey and Bibliographical Scope of Project

To date there have been three serious attempts at Masefield bibliography, each praiseworthy but flawed. Other bibliographical works include a publicity booklet by Henry W. Nevinson (including a bibliography compiled by Rupert Hart-Davis)³ issued by Heinemann in 1931.

Charles H. Simmons's 1930 *A Bibliography of John Masefield* (published only in a limited edition) comprised three parts: books by Masefield, publications containing contributions by Masefield, and books and articles about Masefield. There were, naturally, errors and omissions but the volume was the first, and last, to attempt to note something approaching Masefield's *entire* output at the time. The first section is detailed, providing title-page transcriptions, sizes, physical make-up, accounts of page content, bindings, volume contents, and brief publication details. Generally, however, only the true first edition (English or American) was described although limited signed editions were considered. Simmons's level of description was not retained in his second section which, arranged chronologically, suffers from combining contributions to books with contributions to periodicals. The second and third sections have omissions and errors but are generally praiseworthy attempts.⁴ The major limitation of Simmons today is the year in which it was published, for its scope is limited to addressing less than half of Masefield's career. Curiously, although Masefield is thanked for

his 'assistance' with the work, he may not have seen a copy. E.J. Mullett wrote to Masfield in 1936 stating:

I notice that the Oxford Press published in 1930 a Bibliography of your works. Do you consider that I might avoid troubling you, as I fear I have so often lately, for information about some of your works, if I had this Bibliography, or any other Bibliography which you might consider more useful ...

(E.J. Mullett, letter to John Masfield, 17 December 1936)⁵

Masfield replied with a tone of slight uninterest:

I have not seen the Oxford Press Bibliography. If it would help you, and you would care to get it, please do so and charge it to me.

(John Masfield, letter to E.J. Mullett, [20 December 1936])⁶

But whether Masfield had seen the bibliography or not remains, ultimately, of little consequence.

Geoffrey Handley-Taylor published his work (*A Bibliography and Eighty-First Birthday Tribute*) in 1960. Upon publication, the *Times Literary Supplement* suggested the book should have been called a handlist and Handley-Taylor has (in private correspondence) indeed suggested it should only be 'loosely described as a bibliography'. The publication is a guide to books and pamphlets written by Masfield and also to publications wholly relating to him. Reprint information provided for Masfield volumes is imprecise (and I have largely chosen to omit Handley-Taylor's reprint dates in my bibliography). As a bibliography for the (so-called) general reader the information is sufficient (date of publication, title and publisher) but the limitation in date (material is only included until 1959) and the inclusion of only publications solely by Masfield regrettably limit the usefulness for the Masfield scholar.

Crocker Wight states in his introduction that he intended 'to continue the work of Charles H. Simmons' with his bibliography entitled *John Masfield – A Bibliographical Description of his First, Limited, Signed and Special Editions* (published in 1986, second edition 1992). He only considered, however, books entirely by Masfield and ignored what had been Simmons's final two sections. Nevertheless, Masfield's full (and even posthumous) career is addressed. The

standard of bibliographical description is variable and the choice of material eclectic. Simmons had, admittedly, excluded the 1923 *Collected Poems* but, (available in both standard and limited signed editions), exclusion from Wight is curious. Entirely new editions are often similarly omitted (the 1954 rewritten *William Shakespeare*, for example) although a post-1930 illustrated edition of *Jim Davis* of no special interest or merit *is* present. The scope is thus extensive but not comprehensive. General accuracy is poor and bibliographical descriptions are littered with errors and inconsistencies. The greatest omission, however, was the exclusion of Masefield's contributions to books and periodicals. As a result, Wight's claims to have continued Simmons's work are not borne out.

Given Wight's scope, no attempt has ever been made to compile a comprehensive bibliography of books by Masefield, books with contributions by him, and contributions to periodicals across the writer's entire career. In addition, it is important to expand the scope beyond the work of Simmons to produce a bibliographical work embracing new areas never before considered by Masefield bibliographers. The reason is two-fold. First, Masefield bibliography compares poorly with bibliographical works on contemporaries. Secondly, Masefield scholars and collectors know of many additional areas on which information is unavailable. Privately printed poetry cards exist but detailed information does not. Commercial recordings of Masefield performing his work also remain neglected. To these, one can add manuscripts, works dedicated to Masefield, and a limited quantity of ephemera (I know of calendars, posters, bookmarks and am ever hopeful of cheap tin trays).

In addition to these areas, this project also newly addresses material previously considered, aided by the freedoms of space (and hence comprehensiveness) that a computer can provide. In an expansion of scope made possible by abandoning paper, all first editions, subsequent new editions and reprints can be noted, if not fully described. This would therefore record *every* reprint and not just textually substantive editions. The first principle behind my project is therefore to produce a bibliography of Masefield that consolidates and replaces all previous Masefield

bibliographies through an expansion of scope but also through revision of known areas. There are, of course, omissions but even here the freedom of electronic presentation allows easy revision. I have, for example, excluded critical works about Masfield and book reviews of his work.

The rôle of the Computer

The computer, far from being merely a convenient means of presenting material, becomes the agent that enables comprehensiveness and accessibility. The ability to store, access and compare large quantities of data surpasses the potential of paper-based bibliography. The portability of a lap-top computer also allows these large quantities of data to be accessible for comparison and revision in a library or manuscript room where reams of paper would be unwieldy. A fundamental distinction is, however, vital. The work described here comprises a computerized project, not a computing project: existing software is merely *used*, not adapted or devised. It does however demonstrate some of the applications of existing technology to the practice of bibliography. Programming so as to enable searching for a specific first-line or feature has been ignored. The level of programming required and the increase in the quantity of text requiring encoding would have had an adverse effect on the scope of material considered within the project. Moreover, advanced search-engines are being commercially developed which may, in time, enable highly sophisticated searches. This inability to search could therefore be regarded as an issue of software. At the moment even the simplest 'Notepad' type of program can search and locate characters (or words) within a file.

Paper-based bibliographies are linear texts in which a sequence of entries follows each other. This project produces a text in which the reader can access information via web-like connections. The project is encoded in hyper-text mark-up language (HTML), read and presented via a browser intended for the world wide web (such a browser might comprise 'Netscape' or 'Internet Explorer'). There are a number of significant advantages in employing this system. Not only

is the need for creating an original interface between reader and HTML files eliminated, it also allows the entire project to go 'on-line'. There are, of course, several reservations about the status of 'publishing on the web' and placing the entire project 'on line' may, in fact, be wholly undesirable. The use of 'hot spots' to connect text makes it highly necessary, however, that the architecture of the project is established from the beginning so that subsequent work can be added without unbalancing effects. I shall now describe this structure.

An initial screen gives the reader six options: acknowledgments, a list of abbreviations, an introduction, appendices, a bibliography of works consulted during the project, and the core bibliographical matter accessed as "The Works of John Masefield". Clicking this option calls up the next contents page. This contents page connects to further contents pages, thus creating a system where stems branch out.

Each component or avenue of enquiry is progressively broken down into smaller components, creating a structure similar to a family tree. As an example, readers (should they wish to access a bibliographical description of Masefield's first book) would click on the 'Book and Pamphlet Publications' to acquire a complete listing of such works before clicking on the first item. (The chronological listing has internal 'short-cuts' to different decades and is also available as an alphabetical listing.) Clicking on the first item will then call up what is designated a home page for the title. Each title in the listing of book and pamphlet publications solely by Masefield has such an individual page. Other titles in different sections usually comprise a single edition and individual 'home pages' may not be necessary. The title home page provides a brief note about the work before listing (as clickable links) the editions described. It is by clicking on one of these that the full bibliographical description is displayed. 'Hot Spot' technology is particularly useful within a title's home page since connections can be made which would be cumbersome in a paper-based work. For example, the home page for Masefield's autobiographical *So Long to Learn* includes links to the home pages of his other major autobiographical writings. Listings now become uncluttered and

information can be clearly presented whilst concealing additional information until required.

Pages are viewed using a 'frames' format (a horizontal bar appears at the foot of the screen). This allows the user to jump between categories or return to the root of a category. Although the 'back' function button of a web browser is heavily relied upon to allow the reader to back out from ends of connected links, the frames feature gives flexibility and a map of the possible areas permanently available on screen.

'Hot spots' also enable a limited number of texts to be accessed from within the bibliographical description. This is one area that is problematic, yet it expands the realm of bibliography. Paper-based bibliographies generally constitute guides as to what material physically exists (or existed). With computer technology it is now possible to access these actual texts. An old-style work would, for example, merely list the contents of *Salt-Water Ballads* and note, if appropriate, previous appearances of the individual poems in periodical publications. This new computerized project allows (for a few examples) the text of a poem to be available from a specific edition in addition to variant states from periodicals. Thus, far from merely stating that the poem 'Sea-Fever' appeared first in *The Speaker* and *The Living Age* before publication in *Salt-Water Ballads* these different versions are instantly accessible at the click of a mouse button. In this example, to demonstrate potential applications, a scanned image of the original manuscript draft is also included in addition to a sound recording of Masefield reciting the poem. (In the 1960s Masefield made a number of commercial recordings, and I have traced archive copies of radio broadcasts back to 1935; however, there are few sound files included in this project due to copyright issues and hardware problems.) Should this example of 'Sea-Fever' be applied to the entire project, the work of tracking down rare and elusive texts would be eliminated and a full-text database of Masefield would be accessible via a bibliographical interface. Bibliography thus becomes a real tool for *acquiring* texts, not just an indication of what is known to exist. The Utopian scope of transcribing or scanning images of

all texts (especially when dealing with the Masfield canon) is, of course, not possible within the narrow confines of a three-year project. Only a limited number of rare texts (either as transcripts or images) are included to demonstrate the application. Comprehensive hot-spot links would enable all related items to be linked. However, within this project I have decided to omit many potential links.

As a mark-up language HTML has many applications and features, but this project employs only the most basic. There are two reasons for this approach. First, my primary interest is in Masfield's work and tracing and describing vast quantities of material. Basic HTML allows this data to be simply and quickly encoded before progressing on to further works. Secondly, the competition between software manufacturers creates a range of incompatibilities. All browsers will support basic HTML instructions while more detailed encoding may not be universal. Java programming for 'special-effects' has been intentionally omitted as this is more universally rejected by older browsers and slower machines. I have also been restricted by hardware specifications – although it might also be thought that an animated Masfield reciting poetry on screen may have no practical application and be out of place in an academic project. Computers enable a new means of presentation and accessibility, but the core of this project is essentially still an exercise in descriptive bibliography.

The vast quantity of data generated suggests that, ultimately, the project can only be fully realized when presented on a CD-ROM. The entire project should be regarded as one of two parts (but not halves). The bibliographical aspect is paramount and the computing aspect a new means of presentation.

The use of computers in descriptive bibliography has the potential to enlarge the scope and applications of the traditional bibliographical discipline. The computer is no longer therefore an assistant to the task, but a necessary and powerful tool. The range of information is not only increased but access is made easier and quicker. There are, however, potential pitfalls and reservations connected with the employment of computer technology in the study of English literature. Hasty or

badly designed packages in addition to errors of transcription can subvert as well as assist. There are additional copyright problems where an author or even an edition cannot be used. In such examples it seems that the law and a traditional sense of publishing have failed to consider the applications of modern technology and it is ominous that the speed at which computer applications are developing may be too fast for their own structured and self-reflective development.

IV. Bibliographical Procedure

It is now necessary to provide details and explanations of my bibliographical procedure. The first term to define is 'The Works of John Masefield'.

There are few problems of attribution with Masefield. In most cases authorship is undisputed and I have accepted the canon detailed by the *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 600-1950* with additions from the bibliographies of Simmons, Handley-Taylor and Wight. My own research has added to these sources.

Single volumes bearing the name of Masefield as author or translator on the title-page are uncomplicated. Work signed by John Masefield in periodicals can also be assumed to be by the author and much of this material was later collected by Masefield for volume publication. An article merely signed by initials causes problems, and this is addressed in the 'Periodicals' section. Only three pseudonyms are known (Pete Henderson, Wolfe Tone McGowan and Robert Emmet McGowan) and these are also discussed in the section on periodicals. With manuscripts, relevant information supporting Masefield's authorship is provided for each entry, if necessary.

There are few examples of incorrect attributions. Simmons includes the following as one of Masefield's contributions:

SONNET ON THE NONPAREIL, signed "Peter Corcoran". In "A Broad Sheet," No. 21, London, Elkin Mathews, Sept. 1903

(C.H. Simmons, *A Bibliography of John Masefield*, Oxford University Press, Oxford / Columbia University Press, New York, 1930, p.128)

and was evidently not particularly well acquainted with all the material he described. The Elkin Mathews 1905 edition of Reynolds's *The Fancy* (with an introduction by Masefield and illustrations by Jack B. Yeats) reprinted a poetry collection first published in 1820 under the pseudonym 'Peter Corcoran'. The 1905 edition even reproduces a facsimile of the original title-page and the poem occurs in both 1820 and 1905 editions in the same form as that reprinted in *A Broad Sheet*. The bibliographer who neglects to read and digest the material with

which he deals is restricting the accuracy of his research. Simmons also claims Masfield's authorship of a parody by Charles Powell and this is noted above. Muriel Spark in her study *John Masfield* notes *Agriculture in the Colonies* as probably 'excellent and valuable'¹ and G.B. Masfield, the author of *A Short History of Agriculture in the British Colonies*, probably did consider his work worthy of such praise. There are also errors in titles: Handley-Taylor notes *The End and Beginning* for *End and Beginning* and such examples are recorded under the correct citation where relevant.

Simmons curiously includes an unpublished, destroyed manuscript in his bibliography as item 70. *The Condemned Cell* is also recorded by Handley-Taylor and Wight. However, unpublished and destroyed manuscripts are not included in this project.

A listing of works mentioned as being by Masfield in secondary sources would be a useful addition to the bibliography. This would include, however, numerous manuscripts and I have decided that as the manuscripts listing requires additional research in America such a listing would be undesirable. All material included in this bibliography is extant and locations are cited.

An Introduction to Sections

'The Works of John Masfield', used as an all-encompassing term, is structured into component sections:

- Book and Pamphlet Publications

Items entirely by Masfield published as a book or pamphlet. Most items consist of more than two leaves, or issued by a publisher for distribution to the public. Privately printed poetry cards are therefore omitted although private press books or pamphlets are included.

- Published Collections of Letters

Editions presenting letters by Masfield.

- Books edited, or with contributions (excluding anthologies)

Volumes which Masfield either edited or for which he provided contributions including, for example, prefaces and introductions. Anthologies are listed separately.

- Anthologies

Volumes containing the work of a number of authors are described here. A volume including Masfield's introduction to an anthology of poems would be included here rather than in the previous section. It can be seen that this type of anthology is of greater interest than a volume that reprints a Masfield poem from another source. Consequently, volumes that contain the first publication (or 'significant' publication) of work in book form are generally described in detail and separately from volumes that reprint from a previous source. The listing of this second category is far from detailed or comprehensive due to the quantities of material involved.

- Contributions to Periodicals

Masfield's contributions to newspapers, magazines and other periodical publications are listed.

- Privately Printed Poetry Cards

Poetry cards and broadsheets, usually privately printed or at least for a limited and specific audience.

- Translations of Masfield's Work

A listing of translated works is presented here. Evidence in the archives of the Society of Authors suggests that Masfield took an active interest in the translation of his work often requiring samples of a translator's work before discussing potential contracts.

- Broadcasts and Recordings

Broadcasts and recordings (both commercial and non-commercial) are listed or described.

- Manuscripts

Masfield's prodigious output creates problems, here, of scope. As one means of imposing an artificial limit, all material included within the

Location Register of Twentieth-Century English Literary Manuscripts and Letters (British Library, 1988) is described in greater detail than previously available. General headings comprise letters, verse, prose and proof copies. Other sources (including several private collections) are also added, but this is far from comprehensive. Material located in the United States is largely omitted. Several letters used in this introduction are also omitted as they are excluded from the *Location Register*.

- Miscellaneous

Material not described or listed in any of the sections listed above may appear here.

Book and Pamphlet Publications

The first section of this bibliography, as noted, provides a list of books and pamphlets solely by Masfield. Each title (or in some cases, title of a series) is provided with a home page from which different editions can be accessed. The home page also provides a brief introduction to the title. Editions are listed in chronological order of publication.

It has been my intention to record every edition or reprint. This has been facilitated by computer technology. Entirely unrecorded editions are common, but unsurprising as presumably excluded from the scope of Simmons and Wight. The omission, however, of titles such as the Heinemann *Collected Poems* (available in a limited signed edition) from Simmons and Wight (curiously contrasted with their inclusion of *Selected Poems*) is rectified here.

The description of each edition comprises a pattern combining the procedures of Simmons and Wight and incorporating aspects of Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. A description commences with a list of references to previous Masfield bibliographies, allowing comparison with these sources. Abbreviations are as follows:

Danielson

Danielson, Henry, *Bibliographies of Modern Authors*, The Bookman's Journal, London, 1921, pp.129-53.

Williams

Williams, I.A., *Bibliographies of Modern Authors No.2 – John Masefield*, Leslie Chaundy and Co., London, 1921

Simmons

Simmons, Charles H., *A Bibliography of John Masefield*, Oxford University Press, Oxford / Columbia University Press, New York, 1930

Nevinson

Nevinson, Henry W., *John Masefield – An Appreciation... Together With A Bibliography*, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1931

Handley-Taylor

Handley-Taylor, Geoffrey, *John Masefield, O.M. The Queen's Poet Laureate. A Bibliography and Eighty-First Birthday Tribute*, Cranbrook Tower Press, London, 1960

Wight

Wight, Crocker, *John Masefield – A Bibliographical Description of his First, Limited, Signed and Special Editions*, Library of the Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass., second edition, 1992

No additional numbering system has been imposed by this project. Previous systems show inconsistencies and, in several examples, errors. The same number and letter code given by Simmons and adopted by Wight may, for example, refer to different editions. Given this confusion I have felt that this bibliography should prove itself to comprise a fully working resource before adding numbers. Should this be considered unhelpful then it should be recognized that every edition described in the 'Books and Pamphlets' section has an individual HTML file and thus a unique file name.

A transcription of the title-page is provided, using standard bibliographical procedure. All printing is assumed to be printed in black unless otherwise noted (in square brackets). No differentiation between large and small upper- or lower-case letters is made. An italic font is used for any sloping type.

A page-by-page description of the volume is then presented. I have chosen Wight's revision of Simmons's system here, avoiding terminology of rectos and versos and preferring a simple account of page numbers and details of page content. Page

numbers noted in square brackets correspond to numbers inferred, but not printed. Describing page content often comprises transcription, sometimes at great length. Lengthy transcription is facilitated by computer presentation and is frequently justified. Compare, for example, the dedication of *The Nine Days Wonder* in the first English edition (Heinemann, 1941):

This tale is dedicated | to | Vice-Admiral Sir BERTRAM RAMSAY, K.C.B., M.V.O., |
to | The Officers, Warrant-Officers and Ratings, | and to all others who bore a hand | in
the Operation Dynamo.

with that in the first American edition (Macmillan, 1941):

This tale is dedicated | to | Vice-Admiral Sir BERTRAM RAMSAY, K.C.B., M.V.O. |
to | The Officers, Warrant-Officers and Ratings, | and to all others who bore a hand | in
the Operation Dynamo.

The omission of a single comma suggests that the American edition employed a different setting of type from the English edition. Bibliography in the machine-press period is frequently the study of individual type characters. Tanselle has written of considerable variations in books of the machine-press period (even within apparently identical printings) and the freedoms of computer technology allow greater comparison.²

Gatherings and physical make-up of the book are considered in the next section. The collation of a volume, comprising a register of signatures, is provided and, like Wight, omitted letters from the sequence (usually J, U or V and W) are noted. Inferred signatures are given in square brackets rather than noted in italics. Duplicated signatures appear as printed (hence AA rather than 2A) and are described separately from single signatures. Therefore, although the first English edition (Heinemann, 1939) of *Live and Kicking Ned* might usually be described as:

$A^8 B-2E^8 2F^4$

it has been found that many consider

$[A]^8 B-Z^8 AA-EE^8 FF^4$ (J and V not used)

an easier description to understand. A number of Masefield collectors have given their opinion on this and all requested the latter version. This may not be exactly what Fredson Bowers would recommend, yet Bowers's system is, to an extent, a practice which saves space. The expansiveness permitted by the computer allows

clarity. The location of signatures (and additional prefixes where appropriate) is also noted. Early American editions published by Macmillan frequently give signatures entirely unconnected to the arrangement of gatherings. G. Thomas Tanselle, Philip Gaskell and the late Don McKenzie have been particularly helpful here and their suggestions are adopted that *actual* gatherings are described before a second description provides details of the signatures.³ A note regarding American signatures is accessible from descriptions of volumes to which it applies.

The pagination of a volume is provided (with inferred page numbers listed within square brackets). Catalogues or listings are not described separately when integral to the volume. When such matter comprises an entirely separate gathering this is treated in isolation. Paper type, whether laid or wove is noted with details of watermark where present (or detectable).

An indication of running titles is then noted. Of most use here is the running title, or titles, which are predominant throughout a volume and their length, measured in centimeters. I have felt it unnecessary, to a large extent, to note running titles within preliminaries, or indeed to record all pages where a running title is omitted. A full-page illustration will frequently omit a running title and this convention is not specifically noted.

The next section describes the binding of a volume. Full-binding is normal. 'Quarter-binding' is also noted, comprising a spine bound in different material from that of the covers (with a section of the spine material appearing on the covers). The colour of bindings is then described. This has caused considerable difficulties. Simmons and Wight are both unsatisfactory here but I have felt it unwise to abandon entirely their descriptions in favour of Tanselle's 'A System of Color Identification for Bibliographical Description'.⁴ Moreover, many copies of volumes consulted for this project were not in mint condition. Cloth bindings show varying hues due to fading and colours described in 1929 by Simmons should not be wholly abandoned because Tanselle's system is now standard. My

descriptions are therefore based on those of Simmons and Wight with adoption of Tanselle's practice, where appropriate.

Text (and illustrations) appearing on the binding is described in addition to the cut state of edges. Upper outside, lower outside and fore edge are the names adopted here. Uncut and trimmed are the usual terms employed although 'roughly trimmed' has also been used to describe American editions which have been processed by machine trimming which creates edges which are far from smooth. Gilt edges are noted as are those which are 'stained'. A 'stained' edge, where the binder has added a coloured edge to a volume may be provided with additional detail of colour. However, as with binding colours, discolouration and dirt have frequently obscured the original colour and an edge may merely be described as 'stained'. Marker ribbons are also noted (with their colour) as are sewn head and foot bands, where present. Binding measurements (in centimetres) are provided before the type of paper used for end-papers (laid or wove) concludes the binding description.

Where date of publication is cited by previous Masefield bibliographers this is noted in addition to print-run. Simmons is helpful in noting the size of print-runs. Simmons therefore informs us that *The Midnight Folk* was published in a first standard edition of 15000 copies, for example. Handley-Taylor and Wight repeated information available in Simmons (often corrupting figures) but did not research limitations of print-runs for volumes published after Simmons's bibliography. This has been a serious omission since 1930. Research into the Heinemann archives has enabled many of these missing details to be presented for the first time. Only with this new information can we compare the initial print-run of *The Box of Delights* (of which there were only 7500 copies) against *The Midnight Folk*, for example. Many of Simmons's original figures were also checked and found, largely, to be accurate. Notes are provided where variant figures have been identified.

The sales ledgers held in the Heinemann Archive are reasonably clear from 1930 onwards, but those which cover the period before this (and therefore overlap information cited by Simmons) are frequently confusing due to the addition of reprint information. Reprint figures are often added to original printing information and further confusion arises with additional details of bindings and differently priced editions. The general rule has therefore been to trust information provided by Simmons, with an occasional query. Further investigation into this matter would undoubtedly cause further queries to be identified but at least now, even in the present form, one major omission in Masfield bibliography has started to be rectified.

Information (when present) in the *English Catalogue of Books* or *Whitaker's Books in Print* is cited giving month and year of publication, in addition to price.

The next section provides details of volume contents. These are listed in the order in which they appear in the volume with first lines, or openings, provided. With material until 1911 a substantial quantity of material is cited with details of first appearance. A poem, therefore, which was first published in periodical form will be noted as such. After 1911 material is less well documented and represents an area for future work.

In quoting first lines considerable variation has been found in punctuation. Contrast, for example, the opening of 'Live Ned' in the first English edition (Heinemann, 1939) of *Live and Kicking Ned*: 'If you have not read my story, let me tell you, that I am a doctor, the son of ...' with the same lines as they appear in the first American edition (Macmillan, 1939): 'If you have not read my story, let me tell you that I am a doctor, the son of ...' The additional English comma creates a staccato rhythm and provides an uneasy start to the novel. Within verse such changes are even more apparent. There is the famous addition or omission of 'go' in 'Sea-Fever' and freedoms of space within this project allow the history of this to be pursued.

The 'Notes' section provides an opportunity to record additional information about the title or edition. Substantial use has been made here of the Heinemann archive and the archive of the Society of Authors. Both sources are used for the first time in Masefield bibliography.

Also entirely new to Masefield bibliography is the final section, recording copies examined for the description. It is thought that Simmons relied heavily on a collection now deposited in Columbia University⁵ and that Wight predominantly used the collection of Harvard University. I have noted all copies examined, including those from private collections. Those from my own collection are given the initials PWE and occasionally an accession number ('ACC265' for example). Given the scope of the project it has not always been possible to trace multiple copies for comparison. Several editions are described on the authority of one copy. Frequently this is due to rarity in this country. The publishing history of Masefield is such that American editions, though common in the United States, are rare in the United Kingdom. Curiously English editions are relatively common in the States, however. More work has to be done on comparing the same issue of an edition.

Details of reprints are provided (with reference, once again, to copies consulted). A consulted copy receives an asterisk, which usually refers to a copy in a second-hand bookshop. Copies owned by libraries or present in private collections are noted as such. In a few examples where a later edition specifically replaced reprints (particularly with *Collected Poems*) a clickable link will often be provided to the later edition.

Published Collections of Letters

This system of description is followed in the next section of the bibliography: 'Published Collections of Letters'. Wight, in his bibliography, includes a number of these volumes but I have felt it necessary to devote a separate section to these

titles. In his poem 'Sweet Friends'⁶ Masfield mentions letters (in addition to potential biographers):

Print not my life nor letters; put them by:
When I am dead let memory of me die.
Blessed be those who in their mercy heed
This heartfelt prayer of mine to Adam's Seed;
Blessed be they, but may a curse pursue
All who reject this living prayer, and do.

(John Masfield, 'Sweet Friends', *A Letter from Pontus and other Verse*,
Heinemann, London, 1936, p.109)

As early as 1927 Masfield wrote to G.H. Thring asking about copyright 'in letters sent by myself to friends'.⁷ In May 1955 he stated to Miss Barber, of the Society of Authors that he 'greatly loathe[d] the publication of private personal letters'.⁸ It therefore seems appropriate to create an entirely separate section for editions of Masfield's letters.

Books edited, or with contributions (excluding anthologies) and Anthologies

Identical bibliographical procedures are adopted for the next two sections: 'Books edited, or with contributions (excluding anthologies)' and 'Anthologies'. Most titles, within these sections, were only published in a single edition. Consequently, no home page exists and additional editions, where appropriate, can be accessed from the page describing the first publication of a title. As noted within the 'Anthologies' section a distinction is made between volumes containing an original contribution by Masfield (*Essays in Honour of Gilbert Murray*, for example) and a volume which merely reprints from a previous volume appearance (Yeats's *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse 1892-1935*, for example). This last section is not fully described with merely a note providing basic information.

Contributions to Periodicals

In 1958 *The Times* Bookshop celebrated Masfield's eightieth birthday with an exhibition. The catalogue for that event explained a limitation in scope:

Some considerable amount of writing by Dr. Masfield has been done for periodicals, and for reasons of space these contributions have been omitted.

(John Masfield - An Exhibition of Manuscripts and Books in honour of his Eightieth Birthday June 1 1958, The Times Bookshop, London, 1958, p.7)

As stated, Simmons made an attempt to include Masfield's contributions to periodicals, but this was far from complete. Acquiring information is difficult: rarely indexed and largely ephemeral, periodicals present a specific set of problems that frequently result in the entire area remaining neglected. It is perhaps significant to state that the only extensive listing of Masfield's laureateship verse in *The Times* was not published until 1995.⁹ With Masfield the importance of publication in periodicals is too great to ignore. Numerous contributions constitute the earliest printed appearance of many works. The author extensively revised his material and contributions to periodicals often provide unique examples of a text in an earlier state than that generally accessible. Indeed, even a cursory comparison of first lines as listed in this section with those in any volume of collected poems will reveal substantial changes. The quantity of material is immense and the importance to Masfield studies significant.

The first question to confront is 'what constitutes a periodical?' The logical definition of 'a magazine, newspaper, etc. issued at regular intervals, usually monthly or weekly' might, for our purposes, be replaced by 'any published form of an essentially ephemeral nature, that is not a book, intended to be published at regular (or irregular) intervals'. Various types of periodical are therefore identified in the Masfield canon:

- Newspapers

(e.g. *The Manchester Guardian, The Daily News, The Times*)

- Magazines

(e.g. *Country Life, The Gentleman's Magazine*)

- ‘Literary’ Periodicals
(e.g. *The English Review*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The Venture*)
- ‘Political’ Periodicals
(e.g. *The Englishwoman*, *The Speaker*)
- Children’s Periodicals
(e.g. *Chatterbox*)
- School Magazines
(e.g. *The Cadet*)
- ‘Collectibles’
(e.g. *A Broad Sheet*, *The Green Sheaf*, *A Broadside*)

Such a listing helps define scope, and also highlights diversity. The scope is thus largely self-evident with one specific exception. *The Essex House Song Book*, published by the Essex House Press appears to have been published in ten parts, each available in a separate portfolio. No single bound volume was apparently produced and the mode of publication suggests a part-work. This publication has obvious claims, therefore, to be included as a periodical publication. It is not, however, included here but listed within the body of the main bibliography for, perhaps, no better reason than the title of the work. However issued, the intention was to produce a single book, (rather than ‘The Essex House Song Books’) and this fact suggests it should not be classified as a periodical. This example does, however, demonstrate difficulties of scope and the problems encountered when the confines of terminology are at variance with specific examples.

Tracing material largely relies on secondary sources. Such sources include previous bibliographies, bibliographical articles, and indexes. All material listed in the *American Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature* (published by H.W. Wilson) has been included. Other sources include references in manuscripts, the archives of periodicals, and published works that contain material reprinted from a periodical along with an acknowledgement note.

Fraser Drew's bibliographical articles ('Some Contributions to the Bibliography of John Masefield')¹⁰ included 'Book Reviews Published in the "Manchester Guardian". Additionally, the 'Selected Bibliography' that concludes Drew's study of national themes in Masefield, *John Masefield's England*¹¹ also presents significant quantities of material. These have been vital, yet problematic sources. Drew's limitations relate to accuracy and necessitate thorough verification. References to material should always be checked by examining the periodical itself and this has been my standard practice throughout this listing. Material that has not been checked is listed in an italic type with an explanatory note regarding my source of information. Verification from primary sources implicates predecessors who have been less thorough. Drew is one example. Often part of his information is incorrect or inaccurate: extract (a) presents Drew's listing of a periodical article, extract (b) presents my accurate, verified information and includes citation of the opening words:

- a) 9 Apr. 1908 Sport of the Pacific Coast unsigned

- b) Apr 9, 1908, p.5 [Book Review: Horace Annerley Vachell, *Sport And Life On The Pacific Slope*]
 In Sport And Life On The Pacific Slope...
 [unsigned]

Another example finds a review of Norman Duncan's *The Cruise Of The Shining Light* listed as a review of *The Way Of The Sea* presumably because the untitled article commences:

Mr. Norman Duncan, the writer of "The Way of the Sea," a book of tales of the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, has not preserved his early qualities. He had a feeling for style and a sense of the terrors of the sea, but in his new book, *The Cruise Of The Shining Light* ... his style has become affected and his sense of tragedy has disappeared.

(John Masefield, [untitled book review of *The Cruise Of The Shining Light*],
Manchester Guardian, October 9, 1907, p.5)

Additional errors include details of 19 April 1911 exchanged with those of 26 April 1911, and inaccurate renderings of date (10 March 1911 cited in error for 16 March 1911, for example). Above all, the practice of a 'Selected Bibliography' in *John Masefield's England* allows Drew artificially to construct the author his study

requires by listing only those articles with a marine basis. Drew does not claim to be comprehensive but by *excluding* material of which he was aware, the bibliography artificially confirms the conclusions of his study. The practice of checking references against a more comprehensive listing therefore uncovers hidden critical positions and shows, in this example, bibliography as a powerful ally in assisting an argument.

Other sources which have helped to access and uncover material include manuscripts and the archives of periodicals. While working with manuscripts I have tried to be aware of clues the content may throw in other directions, but also the perils. A letter from Masfield to Norah Masfield, his sister, states:

I hope the Outlook will soon publish my ballad 'The Golden City Of St. Mary'

(John Masfield, letter to Norah Masfield, 26 December 1901)¹²

The poem does not, however, appear to be present in *The Outlook*. Such evidence is often erroneous or misleading, but this example also shows the limitations of traditional bibliography. When such material is not present in a periodical any note to this manuscript reference has little justification to be included.

Archives are one of the most potentially useful sources of information, although the archive is only as good as generations of archivists have preserved, maintained and indexed material. The archive of *The Times*, with its holdings of marked-up copies of *The Times Literary Supplement* in addition to a card-file of contributors and contributions, has been particularly useful. Marked-up copies and the card-file index verify each other (assuming each was independently produced); however, even if these two sources *are* derivative the marked-up copies no longer constitute a complete run and here the card-file may preserve the information of a lost witness. I have thus identified and traced seven unrecorded, anonymous articles by Masfield in *The Times Literary Supplement* and these are listed here for the first time.

One major aspect of this work with periodicals has been the issue of attribution and anonymity, as suggested by the discovery of *T.L.S.* articles. Another example

of attribution and anonymity is the authenticity of Drew's *Manchester Guardian* listing. Drew explains 'many [book reviews] are unsigned, but in each case Masefield's authorship has been authenticated by the *Manchester Guardian* (in a letter of 3 Aug. 1951)'. The present archivist of the *Guardian* has indicated the impossibility today of tracing unsigned articles and our curiosity must be raised as to what means the paper used for authenticating material in 1951 that is now no longer possible (except, perhaps, Masefield himself). However, since there is little alternative to accepting Drew's listing in full, this course must be followed, but with reservations. In addition to Drew we can employ the index to *The Guardian* as maintained by the paper (until the end of 1928 this comprises manuscript index ledgers available on microfilm and from 1929 until 1972 microfiche now makes a typed card index available). It is hard to imagine a less user-friendly index and to trace material one must consult a chronological listing of reviews then articles. The index does not provide any additional details of authorship which are not already present in the paper itself (unsigned book reviews remain anonymous and frequently the index fails to record details of authorship even when they *are* present in the paper). Moreover, the handwriting is frequently illegible. Rather than using this index to confirm material already traced, my procedure has been to search the index without initial reference to Drew's listing. This procedure identifies a substantial number (in excess of thirty) contributions signed 'J.M.' or 'J.E.M.' not recorded by Drew. Why Drew's sources failed to include these is unknown since the exact means of authentication employed by Drew, as noted above, remain a mystery. The possibility must be acknowledged that some of these articles are *not* by Masefield (a reviewer with the initials 'J.H.M.' is known to have been working for the paper during 1908), however, 'J.M.' appears to have been Masefield's established set of initials and the style in several contributions not recorded by Drew is unmistakably Masefield's. The *Guardian* index has also assisted in the tidying of Drew's errors: incorrect dates, for example (the unsigned review of *In Search Of El Dorado* does not appear on 10 October 1905 and searching the index for this title produces the date of 13 October 1905 which was then verified by reference to a copy of the paper). The index for *The Guardian* has also enabled the tracing of one piece of prose whose source eluded both Simmons

and Drew (the sketch of 'Captain Robert Knox' on 9 June 1911) which, although reprinted in the second edition of *A Mainsail Haul* has remained unknown in its original periodical state until now. In view of all the issues concerning *Manchester Guardian* articles, they are presented in this project primarily on Drew's authority or because they are noted as being by 'J.M.' in the paper's index and these articles are listed with reservations.

Additionally, Masfield is known to have been responsible for the paper's 'Miscellany' column, primarily presenting 'items of interest or amusement' from 'the world press' (as described by Babington Smith).¹³ This also contains original authorial material, much of which has a Masfield flavour. A hitherto neglected area of research, for example, is Masfield and the smock-frock. The 'Miscellany' column for August 2, 1907 includes the statement:

... the smockfrock is not only a useful garment but a handsome one, and it is a pity that, instead of dying out in the country, it did not spread to the towns.

(‘Miscellany’, *Manchester Guardian*, August 2, 1907, p.5)

while a letter to Jack B. Yeats singles out one specific item of antiquity:

But perhaps thirty years hence, when we begin to blow about remembering the times before motor-cars (I can even remember smock frocks) the young men will nudge each other + think us "links with the past", + write articles about us.

(John Masfield, letter to Jack B. Yeats, 19 December 1907)¹⁴

Given the proximity of dates and the attention to an uncommon garment (although popular in Hardy's Wessex) it seems likely that Masfield was responsible for the 'Miscellany' column on 2 August 1907. The justification is, however, problematic for including details of the 'Miscellany' column in the bibliography and we must merely be content with noting the material here.

A final example of attribution and anonymity is, by contrast, a success. Hilary Pyle in her biography of Jack B. Yeats states, with reference to the pseudonym 'Wolfe Tone MacGowan' that:

the evidence among [Jack B.] Yeats's papers and the crude quality of the verse tends to indicate [Jack B.] Yeats as the author.

(Hilary Pyle, *Jack B. Yeats - A Biography*, André Deutsch, London, 1989, p.96)

Dr. Pyle replied to my enquiries and stated that 'it was widely accepted in Dublin that the Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet pseudonyms were adopted by Jack B. Yeats'. One source to which Dr. Pyle refers finds Liam Miller stating, with reference to *A Broadside*:

Jack B. Yeats contributed several verses, some anonymously and some signed with his pseudonyms 'R.E. MacGowan' and 'Wolfe Tone MacGowan'.

(Liam Miller, *The Dun Emer Press, Later The Cuala Press*,
Dolmen Press, Dublin, 1973, p.120)

Unknown evidence, however, suggests the traditional view of the pseudonym requires revision. A letter from Elizabeth C. Yeats to an unknown correspondent dated 31 June 1924 states:

I enclose a list of any verses written by John Masefield in "The Broadside" [sic]. I think these are all - + I am not quite certain of one called "Captain Kidd" - my brother Jack B. Yeats ... compiled the Broadsheets - so he will of course know where he got each ballad - but I fancy he would not like to tell you which was Masefield's without Mr Masefield's permission - I don't think the thing of any great importance so I do not mind giving you what information I have ...

(E.C. Yeats, letter to unknown correspondent, 31 June 1924)¹⁵

there then follows a listing in which *all Broadside* verses with the MacGowan name is attributed to Masefield. Regarding the 'Captain Kidd' verse, a letter to Jack B. Yeats from Masefield includes verse about the *Broadside* which contains the stanza:

And underneath the picture, where the salt waves shake,
There is the bulliest ballad a man did ever make
It is the bulliest ballad that poet ever did
It is all of Admiral Morgan and of Captain Kidd

(John Masefield, letter to Jack B. Yeats, 15 August 1906)¹⁶

We can therefore add eight pseudonymously signed poems, on the authority of E.C. Yeats, to the Masefield canon. All examples of attribution are not, however, as involved as this. *The Gentleman's Magazine* provides one illustration. Masefield is not included in the editorial papers held at the Folger Library and here the bibliographer has to employ, once more, a knowledge of Masefield, tracing these examples to their republication in a variety of subsequent books.

The 'Contributions to Periodicals' section presents the most comprehensive listing of contributions to periodicals yet produced. Significantly, the earliest appearance is pushed back from June 1899 (as cited by Simmons for 'Nicias Moriturus' in *The Outlook*) to March 1895 with a letter in *The Cadet*. Admittedly the appearance of the poem is more important to Masfield's career but the bibliographer must list *all* authenticated material and, in this example, pushing the earliest contribution back four years is a notable expansion of range.

The intention has been to present data in the clearest way that suits the material. A home page detailing all periodical titles additionally notes place of publication. Links are then provided to individual pages relating to a periodical. Following date, volume number (if desirable) and page reference is the title of the contribution (in square brackets if untitled). An indication in italics and square brackets is given as to the genre of the material. The opening of the contribution is then presented before the entry concludes with details of how the article is signed. Material is arranged within the periodical home page in the chronological order of the first contribution to appear. Where necessary, a brief paragraph follows giving details of attribution or specific sources of information. A short list is included presenting unlocated material.

In this section it is to be hoped that the Masfield scholar researching smock-frocks or whippet racing,¹⁷ for example, will have had their task facilitated.

Privately Printed Poetry Cards

The term 'printed poetry card' is used in this section to comprise any ephemeral publication of two leaves (or fewer) printed for a specific purpose or audience in a limited print-run. Most examples therefore comprise Masfield's own Christmas cards ('In darkest London many years ago', for example). However, oddities such as 'Friends, we are opening at this solemn time,' are probably better defined as 'broadsheets' and also included in this section.

This component of the bibliography demonstrates one application of computer technology in that every example of a privately printed poetry card is illustrated. Examples are listed in alphabetical order of their first lines, with titles (or conjectural titles) where present, followed by date (or conjectural date).

After the illustration, a description is given of printed matter, adopting the same procedure as used in previous sections. It is worth noting here that many of Masfield's privately printed items (including pamphlets) used only italic type. For Masfield italics may have represented a more calligraphic form. The physical object is then described and a date suggested. A 'notes' section provides an opportunity to comment on the material or detail where volume or periodical publication occurred.

Of great interest is the listing of consulted copies. This shows that items were sent to Masfield's friends and admirers often over a period of several years. There are several items of which only one copy is known.

Translations of Masfield's Work

Volume translations of Masfield's works have, hitherto, been an entirely neglected area.¹⁸ The earliest appearance currently traced is 1913 and the latest translation is dated 1990. This is not unexpected and merely serves to demonstrate that Masfield was a major literary figure, both nationally and internationally. Languages into which he was translated range from Greek to a vernacular tongue of South India. The range of genre includes novels, poetry (both long narrative poetry and shorter lyrics) and plays. Even Masfield's novels for children have been translated.

This section of the bibliography does, however, suffer from a lack of consulted copies. Most citations originate from evidence contained in the archives of the Society of Authors. Of actual copies consulted, many were formerly from Masfield's own library – suggesting that copies are scarce, in this country at least.

Given the problems in verification of detail, many entries include square brackets to indicate conjectural information. An entry commences with the date of the edition and the title in translation (or, where this is not available, the original English rendering). At risk of repetition the original English title is then provided with the name of the translator (if known). Publication information follows providing name of publisher, place of publication and date. Rarely are all three present, however. A note then states the language into which the work is translated before the entry concludes with a listing of copies or a note on the source of information.

Given a lack of information this section is necessarily brief and presented as a short list. It is, however, the first attempt to record such details within the Masfield canon.

Broadcasts

In February 1924 G.H. Thring wrote to Masfield stating that the British Broadcasting Company were interested in broadcasting *Right Royal*. Masfield replied:

Generally speaking, I would say to you, authorise the broadcasting of my shorter poems on the usual terms, without reference to me, but these long poems are not easy to speak + I would like to have some assurance that the speaker will stay the course + not garble my work out of all knowledge.

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [11 February 1924])¹⁹

The matter was discussed and Masfield even provided Thring with a list of recommended speakers. The issue of the poet's own reading was then raised. Masfield wrote stating he would 'gladly do some broadcasting ... if my engagements permit',²⁰ and later enquired about fees:

If the Br Broadcasting Co would like me to broadcast my work I would do it, for a fee. What fee would they offer, + what amount of work would they expect for it? Would you very kindly ask for me?

(John Masfield, letter to G.H. Thring, [25 February 1924])²¹

Negotiations continued and 12 May 1924 (at 7.45pm) was arranged as a suitable date and time. Presumably unsure of broadcasting copyright it appears that Masfield applied to Thring for permission to use his own words! We therefore see interest in Masfield as a broadcaster in the early days of radio and long before his appointment as Poet Laureate.

By August 1924 Masfield was unhappy with broadcasting, believing that fees to poets and performers were unfairly low. In December 1927 he informed the Society of Authors that he was inclined to be 'uncharitable', blaming broadcasting for diminishing 'the reading public by a quarter'.²² A letter from the Society of Authors to Masfield in November 1931 notes that terms with the BBC:

... on which they may broadcast your Poems are One guinea for a single performance of any Poem up to 100 lines and pro rata for any Poem exceeding 100 lines – not less than One guinea being payable for any Poem which is less than 100 lines.

(The Society of Authors, letter to John Masfield, November 1931)²³

This arrangement was renewed by Masfield, who took the opportunity to state 'the only poem wh[ich] I w[oul]d rather not have broadcast is *August, 1914*'.²⁴

Tracing broadcasts is problematic and I have largely relied on surviving archival recordings. In the infancy of radio few recordings were made and programmes comprised live broadcasts without manufacture of an archival copy. Broadcasts therefore prove difficult to trace. This section is therefore an initial listing of radio broadcasts made by Masfield, in chronological order. Programmes with which Masfield was involved, but did not speak (two selections from Chaucer broadcast on 6 January 1937 and 13 January 1937, for example) are omitted, with one exception (see 26 December 1938). One example of a television broadcast is included.

The date is noted preceding the title of the broadcast. The name of the organisation which made the broadcast is then provided. (Such is Masfield's early involvement that his first radio broadcast is for the British Broadcasting Company.)²⁵ Information is then noted as to stations (or programmes) to which the broadcast was made and the time. References are given to printed evidence

(usually the *Radio Times*) and appropriate entries transcribed. Where applicable, links are provided to the listing of Archival Recordings.

Recordings

The last item Handley-Taylor notes in his bibliography under works entirely by Masefield is a forthcoming publication of 'The Story Of Ossian', stating that it had already been released on record. Single-volume publication never occurred,²⁶ but Handley-Taylor's bibliography closes with an indication of a new area in Masefield studies. Beyond this brief reference recordings have never been addressed.

Recordings by Masefield are of two types. There are commercial recordings, or at least recordings issued for distribution. These include recordings made for Argo and Caedmon in addition to less public recordings (for the John Masefield Story-telling Festival or for Corliss Lamont) which were later issued on record (by Toronto Public Libraries and Lamont respectively). The other type of recording is a purely archival recording never released to the public. These include BBC recordings or recordings made for specific occasions (a Society of Authors banquet in 1964, for example).

Commercial recordings are described with details of content followed by a description of record sleeve (or cassette inlay). Details of record speed and matrix numbers in addition to the recording location are noted. As with previous sections of the bibliography, there are notes included and a listing of consulted copies. A limited number of sound files are available in WAV format.

Archival recordings are listed in chronological order with details of title, recording date and venue. Timings are noted in addition to copies (or source of information).

Manuscripts

Masefield's report of handling Dürer drawings captures the thrill of examining original manuscripts:

Yesterday I had a singularly pleasant afternoon in the Print Room of the British Museum with little Laurence Binyon and Mr. Sturge Moore ... I read Mr. Binyon's new play in manuscript and saw some genuine drawings of Albrecht Dürer, held them in my hand, and touched paper that Dürer himself must have held nearly four hundred years back.

(John Masefield, letter to Norah Masefield, 17 February 1901)²⁷

There are, of course, differences between drawings and literary manuscripts, nevertheless both hold a certain aura. Beyond their physical presence as material objects which directly link us with their creators (perhaps an overtly Romantic notion), authorial manuscripts are of crucial importance in providing evidence of authorial intention – whether handwritten or typed, the author has had direct and immediate control on his material, whereas a printed book has been a collaborative effort on the part of many people, any one of whom might change (if only slightly) an author's intention. A manuscript demonstrates the author in sole control. Manuscripts may also present material that never appeared in print, or was never intended for publication: letters, synopses, and early drafts for example. Rarity is another component of the mystique of manuscripts.

It is firstly necessary to define our term. Although the etymology of 'manuscripts' presents close connections with scribal or handwritten origins, today the term is expanded to include both an author's autograph and typed texts. Letters, verse and prose are therefore listed here. A final section lists proof copies of some authorial interest. Ordinary pre-publication proof copies are excluded.

My primary source has been the *Location Register of Twentieth-Century English Literary Manuscripts and Letters* (British Library, 1988). All Masefield material listed in the *Location Register* is included. In addition, leads provided by the database of archives maintained by the National Register of Archives have been pursued. In 1967 upon Masefield's death, a firm of dealers was brought in by the Masefield family to produce an inventory of his papers.²⁸ A full copy of this typescript is included as an appendix. It was never intended for public scrutiny.

As the first extensive attempt to note Masfield's manuscripts, this listing has many acknowledged faults and limitations. It is hoped that time, whose vicissitudes so often impair manuscripts, will enable future clarification.

Of the traced and examined extant manuscripts there are few complete works which apparently survive. The Berg Collection of the New York Public Library possesses a *fragmentary* manuscript of *Salt-Water Ballads* and one of the most significant discoveries I have made has been the location of a revised typescript of one poem ('Nicias Moriturus') in *Salt-Water Ballads* which is not included in the Berg's manuscript bundle. *Reynard the Fox*, *King Cole*, and *The Dream* are located in the Bodleian Library but it is thought that most major works are now located in America. The University of Texas is known to hold significant material. Limited use has been made of the British Library's Lord Chamberlain Play Collection. Until the Theatres Act of 1968 abolished censorship of plays, it was necessary (under the Stage Licensing Act of 1737 and the Theatres Act of 1843) to submit a copy of every play intended for public performance to the Lord Chamberlain's Office. The manuscript listing includes some, but not all, Masfield examples. Significantly it does include *The Empress of Rome*, an unpublished verse drama performed in 1937.

In contrast to the lack of entire works, the manuscript listing is notable for the number of single pieces of verse. Some of the very earliest attempts at verse have been preserved (largely thanks to Masfield's sister who transcribed them into a notebook) and this collection – still in the private hands of the Masfield family – has yielded substantial quantities of unknown, unrecorded verse. Additionally, most letters to Jack B. Yeats contain nonsense verse and this too has never been listed.

Of all the sections employed in this listing, that detailing letters is the largest, for Masfield corresponded on a regular basis with a considerable number of people.

Donald E. Stanford, writing a general survey of Masfield's career, specifically mentions correspondence:

Masfield was an indefatigable letter writer throughout his career ... [his] epistolary style is lively, picturesque, entertaining, and warmly human. His letters would be a contribution to the literature of his period if they were available to the general reader, but most of them lie scattered, unpublished, among private collections and research libraries.

(Donald E. Stanford, 'John Masfield', *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Volume 19, Gale Research Co., Detroit, Mich., 1983, pp.301-302)

Masfield's letters are indeed deserving of attention. Recent publications have presented letters to the Lamonts, letters from the Western front of the Great War to his wife, letters to Margaret Bridges, letters to 'Brangwen' (a ballet dancer) and letters to 'Reyna' (a musician),²⁹ but these have only provided a fraction of available material. June Dwyer in her study *John Masfield*³⁰ made use of letters to Elizabeth Robins (of which over 260 are known to survive) and it is to be hoped that new interest in Masfield's correspondence will continue. Writing of letters in *The Street of To-Day*, Masfield states:

Only those who have lived in exile, or in the loneliness of a big town, can know the pleasure of letters. They add a grace to life not to be understood by the fully fed, or drugged. They are all that life has withheld, companionship, tenderness, unselfishness.

(John Masfield, *The Street of To-Day*, J.M. Dent, London, 1911, pp.79-80)

His own letters are sometimes purely the business-like purveyors of information, but they are also frequently rich outpourings of 'companionship, tenderness, [and] unselfishness'. With such rewarding content and the sheer quantity of material, it is important to embark upon a calendar of letters. My initial model in this task has been the example of Mary Lago's *Calendar of the Letters of E.M. Forster* (Mansell Publishing Ltd., London, 1985). Such a calendar would start to impose order on the 'scattered' state to which Stanford refers. Masfield's letters fall out of volumes in second-hand bookshops (I own several acquired in such a manner), whilst I have also seen the contents of a suitcase kept under a bed which contains Masfield family letters now almost a century old.

Letters are listed by names of individual recipients where this is possible without confusion. Several large manuscript collections have caused problems, however, and certain collections (letters to the Royal Society of Literature, for example) are

retained as an entire archive since many examples are addressed merely to 'Dear Sir'. Where names *are* present, in these collections, they are included in the listing of recipients with links to the larger collection.

Within each recipient listing, letters are provided with a unique identification code (comprising numbers and three letter characters). If an identification code cannot be deduced or a large collection is known, but has not been consulted, only letter characters are given. Therefore ELR1 comprises a letter to Elizabeth Robins dated 1 March 1910 and held at the University of Sussex library. A collection of letters to Robins held in the New York Public Library, Berg Collection is merely listed as ELR--.

The date is then provided before details of address. Addresses have been standardised. Although Masefield may variously use 'Great Hampden, Bucks', 'Rectory Farm, Great Hampden', 'Rectory Farm, Great Hampden, nr. Great Missenden', for example, retaining these variants would lead to confusion. All addresses have therefore been standardised. Clarity and consistency have here been considered above detail. Despite the obvious advantages of noting whether paper is printed headed writing-paper or merely hand-written with an address, this has not been detailed, beyond two specific examples of writing-paper associated with Masefield's theatricals since no address is provided. These comprise paper for The Cotswold Players:

President :
JOHN MASEFIELD
General Director :
T. HANNAM-CLARK
Art Director :
HILDA LEWIS
Musical Director :
D. W. GROVER



STROUD, GLOS.

Secretary :
FRANCES BROWN,
The Little House
Redborough Common,
Stroud, Glos.
Treasurer :
WALTER HOOPER,
51 London Road, Stroud
Publicity Manager :
FERNANDA FAIRLIE

Founded in 1913 by Constance Smedley and Maxwell Armfield

(Illustration II: 'The Cotswold Players' writing-paper)

[Source: *Private Collection (Rosemary Magnus)*]

and for The Hill Players:³¹

President:
Miss PENELOPE WHEELER.

General Director:
JOHN MASEFIELD.

Costume Director:
Mrs. HARRISSON.

Properties Director:
Miss J. MASEFIELD.



Publicity Manager:
R. A. W. HUGHES.
Miss ADDIS.

Vice-Presidents:
THOMAS LAMONT.
JOHN GALSWORTHY.
JOHN DRINKWATER.
Miss LILLIAN Mc.CARTHY.

Musical Director:
Mrs. PEARCE.

Hon. Treasurer & Secretary:
Mrs. MASEFIELD.

Subscription 10/- per annum.

(Illustration III: 'The Hill Players' writing-paper)

[Source: Isle of Wight County Record Office]

Variations in the type of writing-paper have not been noted. There are at least six different types of headed writing-paper giving Masefield's Boars Hill address and these variations, at least for the present, remain unrecorded in the listing. These paper types have, however, been employed in dating correspondence.

The type of letter is then noted. Abbreviations are as follows:

AL	-	autograph letter (signed status unknown)
ALS	-	autograph letter signed
ALU	-	autograph letter unsigned
APC	-	autograph postcard (signed status unknown)
APCS	-	autograph postcard signed
f. / ff.	-	folio / folios
p. / pp.	-	page / pages
s.	-	sheet(s)
TL	-	typed letter (signed status unknown)
TLS	-	typed letter signed
TLU	-	typed letter unsigned

A number of examples are defined as 'printed letter'. These are printed by a press. One comprises a letter printed for Masfield to send to well-wishers after he received the Laureateship, for example. However, there are other examples which commence as printed letters ('I thank you for your letter ...') to be concluded in autograph.

In all examples an autograph signature only comprises a 'signed' letter. A typed letter with a typed 'signature' therefore constitutes a TLU.

Length of letter is recorded in sheets and pages. A sheet is the unfolded state of the paper while pages note how many sides have been written upon. Consequently one sheet of paper with writing on both sides comprises 1s.(2p.), as does a sheet of paper folded once on which only two (out of four) sides have been written upon.

A letter's mode of address is noted in addition to the form of signing off. For postcards, the name of the recipient is not included if this only appears in the postal address section. An exception to this rule occurs with examples of larger collections not split between individual recipients. The opening of a letter's content is provided before a final line notes the location of the letter. Information provided within square brackets is conjectural.

A listing arranged alphabetically by recipient and then date order as presented here has many inherent problems. One is scope. With letters there are five major ways of acquiring information:

- CATALOGUES AND REGISTERS

Library catalogues and auction or sale catalogues have provided additional information to that recorded in the *Location Register*. Sale and auction catalogues have proved particularly useful in considering private collections; however this aspect, it is acknowledged, would benefit from additional investigation which restrictions of time have denied.

- PUBLISHED LETTERS

Letters to *The Cadet* survive in printed periodical form, for example, and although the originals are lost these examples have been included courtesy of the fixity of print.

- REFERENCES IN BOOKS

Volumes of reminiscences, or diaries often refer to, or quote letters (Lady Gregory's *Journals*, for example).³² Scholarly works may also allude to a manuscript source (Saddlemyer's edition of the letters of J.M. Synge, for example).³³ These have, similarly, been included or used for initial leads.

- CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTIONS

Although a valuable method, this has been sparingly employed. Letters to a Miss Moore and H.M. Paull are included as Masfield copied or drafted versions in other correspondence.³⁴

- PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Manuscripts within libraries or similar institutions could be termed publicly accessible (in theory, at least). Those in private collections are not and I have been fortunate in being allowed access to the collection of Masfield's niece, Mrs. Rosemary Magnus who owns many family papers. This listing cannot, of course, include many private collections in full and this is another regrettable limitation due to time and resources.

Another inherent problem when dealing with all manuscripts, and manuscript letters in particular, is the problem of dating.

Methods for attributing dates to undated letters, if such methods can be defined, are time-consuming and require an extensive knowledge of the writer, and often the letter's subject. At the risk of banality, two crucial factors in dating letters are the address³⁵ and the contents (we must always consider these in addition to a sequence and the likelihood of accommodating our attribution within such a sequence). There are, of course, additional aids (including, for example, paper

watermarks), however these two aids provide an initial start. For letters without notable contents or address, recognition of handwriting styles (Masefield's archaic long 's', for example) and even pen is helpful (after a serious illness in later life Masefield temporarily abandoned his fountain pen and used a ball-point pen). Above all, a sequence of letters as bound and presented by a library cannot be regarded as infallible, and the smallest detail should be investigated. A few case studies will, I hope, demonstrate examples of a few techniques employed. Every manuscript letter is, however, unique as are its problems and we must not underestimate this fact. Letters are placed in a tentative sequence but, faced with Masefield's habit of omitting dates, the scope for error is large and mistakes likely.

A first example demonstrating the use of both address and contents concerns a letter to Jack B. Yeats commencing:

It was very good of you to write so generously about poor Piecrust.

(John Masefield, letter to Jack B. Yeats, undated)³⁶

Sufficient information is present within the letter to make an informed suggestion as to date. The first evidence is the paper itself comprising printed headed writing-paper for Diamond Terrace. There are two types of headed paper for this address so far examined: one with a comma and one without. The latest use of '1, Diamond Terrace' currently noted is 28 May 1906 and the earliest use of '1 Diamond Terrace' is 3 September 1906. (This does, of course, assume that the entire stock of one paper type was entirely exhausted before commencing on the next.) The example encountered here could therefore be tentatively dated sometime after August 1906. Turning to the content of the letter, two items seem to be of most importance. The first is Masefield's statement 'I hope you will have a great show in Dublin'. In her biography of Jack B. Yeats, Hilary Pyle includes a listing of Yeats's exhibitions and, coupled to the date already suggested, there is only one listed possibility – that of 1-20 October 1906. The second clue from letter content is the statement 'Tell your brother I have half done another play, since I sent him the papers'. *Mrs. Harrison*, Masefield's earliest published play predates *The Campden Wonder* which was performed in January 1907 whilst *The Tragedy of Nan* was performed in May 1908. The late 1900s thus comprise a time

of dramatic activity for Masfield and the reference to '*another play*' (my italics) suggest *The Campden Wonder*. All these indications suggest a date of September/October 1906. Moreover, this date is accommodated in a sequence in which there is a gap of a few months and presumably a number of undated letters should fill the apparent interruption.

An example of content being of greater use than address can be found in a letter from Greenwich in which Masfield refers to the proofs of *A Mainsail Haul*, thus giving the publication date of that book as an upper date limit (June 1905). Masfield also writes, however:

I shall top my boom at Paddington next Thursday (not tomorrow but ... Maundy Thursday) + take the excursion train starting at 9.40.

(John Masfield, letter to Jack B. Yeats, undated)³⁷

Using such aids as calendar listings (that, for example, which appears as an appendix to *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*) we can deduce that Easter Day fell, in 1905, on 23 April. Maundy Thursday was therefore 20 April and this letter presumably written on 12 April 1905. Addresses by themselves only indicate a wide date range; however, as with this example, it can be used for additional confirmation having had no previous rôle in our investigations.

Content by itself can, of course, be just as useful even if the absence of an address denies one means of verification. One undated letter without an address includes two useful pieces of evidence. Masfield writes:

The Academy is not yet open, so you will not see my mug by Strang this time. It is a good picture: but Strang says it has been very badly hung in a corner ... I hear that Lady G is going to complete Synge's *Deirdre* ...

(John Masfield, letter to Jack B. Yeats, undated)³⁸

J.M. Synge died during March 1909 (*Deirdre of the Sorrows* was finished by Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats). Additionally a letter from Masfield to his godmother, dated 8 April 1909, finds reference to both 'poor J.M. Synge ... a dear fellow + a valued friend' and the statement:

I have just been painted (by Wm Strang) standing on one leg with a hat on my head + an

overcoat on my shoulder ... It goes to the Academy; but it may not get in.

(John Masefield, letter to Annie Hanford-Flood, 8 April 1909)³⁹

The evidence, as gathered, therefore suggests 'Spring 1909'.

In demonstrating here some of the difficulties of dating, I hope to have indicated some means of addressing the problems. As to defining a methodology I doubt this is possible, or if possible, not desirable since every letter from every author to every correspondent has claims to a unique status.

One significant aspect of all work to date has been the ability to construct either more accurate or more detailed accounts of several issues within Masefield studies. Due to the collection of information in one place, assimilation of material has been enabled. One example shows the ease with which types of letter fit neatly into a sequence which aids examination of Masefield, his literary agent and publishing relations. This relates to Masefield's selection of Defoe as published by George Bell and Sons in 1909. The University of Reading preserves the Bell archive and the following:

1. A letter from Masefield to George Bell and Sons dated 7 March 1908 agreeing to edit a volume of Defoe for thirty guineas.
2. A letter (presumably from the letter-books) from George Bell to Masefield dated 12 March 1908 agreeing to Masefield's terms, enclosing source material and instructing Masefield that any additional Defoe material could be borrowed from a library.
3. A letter from C.F. Cazenove (Masefield's literary agent) to George Bell dated 19 June 1908 reporting a letter Cazenove had received from Masefield regarding payment for extra 'uncovenanted work'.
4. A letter from Masefield to George Bell dated 28 June 1908 thanking the firm for a letter of 23 June 1908 and giving future plans regarding matters of additional cost.

It is obvious that some material is missing (Bell's letter to Masefield of 23 June 1908), but what has been particularly useful to add to this exchange is the letter from Masefield to Cazenove to which Cazenove refers. This letter, located at

Harvard University, thus demonstrates the worth of a listing which enables the insertion of material into a correspondence, the component parts of which exist across two continents. An extra element has thus been added: Masfield writing to his agent is a useful addition to the material. Such detail can only be gained through the type of listing which this work comprises.

Turning to verse and prose these are listed alphabetically using first lines. Following the first line (in single quotation marks) the title is noted (provided in parentheses, and square brackets if conjectural). The type of manuscript is then noted: 'MS' represents 'Autograph Manuscript' and 'TS' denotes 'Typescript'. Verse described as "Ethel Collection" is in the hand of Masfield's sister, unless otherwise stated. A separate index of titles provides an alphabetical listing that refers to the indexes of first lines for additional detail.

Listing verse in this way has led to the correction of facts and the traced existence of manuscripts formerly considered lost. *Salt-Water Ballads* contains the poem 'The Galley-Rowers'. In August 1980 the *Times Literary Supplement* published 'A Study for the Galley-Rowers', noting the draft version was:

... made available to the TLS by Mr A. Spencer Mills... The manuscript was given to Mr G. McGregor Craig in the mid-1960s, in return for a drawing of the author by William Strang which Craig had sent him.

(*The Times Literary Supplement*, 1 August 1980, p.872)

Manuscripts in the British Library, presented by Spencer Mills, are typescripts of both this poem and one untitled verse (which comprises the first of the 'Lyrics from *The Buccaneers*', also from *Salt-Water Ballads*). Bound with the verse is a letter of presentation to the British Library:

I am enclosing typewritten copies of two poems ... These came into my possession in the following way. A friend of mine, Mr. G. McGregor Craig, was the executor of Mr. David Strang, the son of ... William Strang. ... Amongst his effects were a large number of William Strang's etchings, including one of John Masfield. Mr. Craig sent this to Masfield, and in return the latter sent these two manuscript poems. I was discussing this circumstance recently with Mr. Craig and he told me that unfortunately the original manuscripts in John Masfield's handwriting had been inadvertently destroyed. Luckily, however, when he received the originals I happened to be with him and persuaded him to

let me make typewritten copies ... Mr. Craig has now sent these copies to me and has kindly said that I may make what use I like of them, and I can think of nothing better than to send them to you ...

(Spencer Mills, letter to The British Library, 16 August 1978)⁴⁰

Creating an alphabetical listing of verse has, however, revealed the existence of the 'inadvertently destroyed copies'. Due to the nature of entries in the *Location Register* such detail is entirely masked. The Bodleian Library holds three letters of relevance here. The first dated 26 May 1902, to William Strang opens:

Here is a Study for a ballad of The Galley Rowers. It lacks of course the colour of the completed picture, and it[']s ill-drawn, and quite beastly ...

(John Masefield, letter to William Strang, 26 May 1902)⁴¹

there then follows the poem in Masefield's hand. Two further letters written a few months before Masefield's death are addressed from Masefield to McGregor Craig. That dated 2 February 1967 states:

I thank you for your kind letter + for the most generous gift of the portrait. It is odd to see so much hair on my head, and so dark. I am not sure that I have seen this portrait since it was done, sometime about 1901? It was generous of you to give me a copy, + I sincerely thank you.

(John Masefield, letter to McGregor Craig, 2 February 1967)⁴²

McGregor Craig had obviously a few copies of the portrait, for one is bound with the manuscripts. The last (undated) letter is the most interesting and suggests Spencer Mills's report to be suspect. Again from Masefield to McGregor Craig, it commences:

I thank you for your letter with its enclosure ... I will return the verses in a few days. I have no memory of writing them, but have not yet read them through, being now very short sighted.

(John Masefield, letter to McGregor Craig, [1967])⁴³

The evidence thus seems to indicate that McGregor Craig had found the 1902 letter and the portraits in the effects of Strang's son and had sent both to Masefield, one as a gift and the other for further information. Not only has the original manuscript of 'The Galley-Rowers' sketch been located but the implied suggestion that Masefield was distributing original drafts of his earliest poems in the late sixties can be discounted. Spencer Mills, posing as the saviour of Masefield manuscripts, thus demonstrates he had an impartial knowledge of the full details and the British Library typescript copies (given such prominence in the *Location*

Register) are rendered practically worthless. The other poem (the first lyric from *The Buccaneers*) is also deposited in the Bodleian Library, although bound in an entirely different collection of manuscripts.⁴⁴ On this score alone I hope that the following listing demonstrates obvious assistance within the area of Masefield manuscript material.

I hope that the worth of such a listing is complementary to the worth of manuscripts themselves. This work must act as an aid for their examination and use. I hope that the manuscripts section will provide some means of imposing order on what has been, until now, a neglected area, although one of major importance and interest. Masefield scholars may quite understandably ignore manuscript material due to its inherent problems and difficulties, and the quantity of Masefield's *printed* work often proves so overwhelming that manuscripts are indeed neglected. This does, however, refuse to acknowledge the existence of documents of major significance and materials which connects us directly and unequivocally with their creator.

Miscellaneous

The last section in the bibliography is termed 'Miscellaneous' and includes items not easily included in other sections: printed letters, calendars, programmes, bookmarks and other similar material.

These are listed in chronological order and, given the various different types of material, described as consistently as possible.

Many large 'manuscript' collections include additional 'Masefieldiana'. If these comprise poetry cards or other printed material they are included under the relevant section (without cross-reference). True Masefield ephemera (watercolours, booktokens, photographs, etc.) are not included.

Appendices

There are four appendices. The first records works dedicated to Masfield. This assists in placing Masfield in a context. Writers who dedicated work include Gordon Bottomley, Arthur Ransome and Siegfried Sassoon.

Secondly I attempt to reconstruct Masfield's private library. Once again, this assists the placing of Masfield in a publishing and literary context. The inclusion of a sizable number of books from the Vale and Cuala presses in addition to examples of poetry printed in the University of Reading School of Art, reveal a keen interest in the private press. Presentation copies of work by Lascelles Abercrombie, Laurence Binyon, Gordon Bottomley, John Drinkwater, John Galsworthy, Lady Gregory, Gilbert Murray, Hugh Walpole, Jack B. Yeats and W.B. Yeats are unsurprising and comfortably fit the 'traditional' biographical view of Masfield. Inscriptions from W.H. Auden, Christopher Hassall, Siegfried Sassoon and Osbert Sitwell do not so easily fit. In noting, further, that Masfield owned copies of work by Christopher Fry, Ted Hughes, Stephen Spender, Dylan Thomas, John Wain, and Evelyn Waugh we can appreciate that Masfield's reading was eclectic, and often quite adventurous (for a 'Georgian relic').⁴⁵ Masfield even received an inscribed copy of work from Bram Stoker.

This listing of Masfield's library can assist in assessing the thoroughness of other sections of the bibliography. Noting that the library contained an inscribed copy of Thomas Moul's *Down Here The Hawthorn* it is reassuring to note that a letter conjecturally dated 20 November [1921] from Masfield to Moul has been located including the statement:

Ever so many thanks for the gift of your book + for the charming inscription in it. ... It was jolly of you to think of sending it.

(John Masfield, letter to Thomas Moul, 20 November [1921])⁴⁶

A third appendix provides a chronological listing of Masfield's addresses to assist in dating correspondence. A number of entirely unknown addresses are included here for the first time. A number of properties are illustrated.

Finally, the inventory of papers compiled in 1967 upon Masfield's death provides a vital research document, as discussed earlier.

V. Conclusion

B.C. Bloomfield, in writing on W.H. Auden, noted that 'bibliography, apart from its proper role, may also provide facts for the literary and textual critic'.¹ The uses and roles of bibliography are vast and a single author bibliography should provide an informed position from which all consequent work can start. Handley-Taylor notes that 'a bibliography rarely achieves a headline, but ... it does attract the perennial footnote ...'.² Bibliographies are, therefore, enabling and the study of Masfield requires as many facilitating factors as possible.

With individual writers there is, perhaps, a league table of authors with the famous at the top and the forgotten at the bottom: John Milton is much removed from John Todhunter. It would be a mistake, however, to superimpose additional labels on the same table. Although there may be many similarities, I suggest that a *different* table would exist for the 'literary merit' of an author, or the 'commercial power' of a writer, or any other factor. Each is different and potentially impossible to define – how *does* one assess the 'greatness' of a writer without other factors entering the debate? Is Shakespeare so much greater than Marlowe? Or does the 'Shakespeare industry' of the theatre, the cinema, the bookshop and the tourist trade alter our perception? In a league table with the best-selling authors at the top and the out-of-print writers at the bottom (or the famous at the opposite end to the great unread unknowns) there is a middle ground. Between John Milton and John Todhunter is John Masfield. His presence in the middle is a result of academic, commercial and societal forces reacting, avoiding and co-existing with each other.

With the entry of new critical approaches within literary studies in the latter half of this century, Masfield's appeal has steadily declined. Not a Modernist, Feminist, Symbolist, or falling within any other useful category he was regarded as a stale Georgian poet. His long career, prodigious output and progressive conservatism have prevented adoption by any critical school. When an academic reputation is ignored it is too easy (and less work) to pass over the writer, rather than assess. The value of academic study is that it should be widely researched and

shun commercial or perceived impressions. A refusal to consider Masfield is simplifying and reductive in scope.

Trends or changes in the requirements of society have failed to find lasting appeal in Masfield. The 1978 biography presented a successful writer, morally correct with a comfortable life, home and family. Larkin's cupboard of pornography, Orwell's political stance and Eliot's anti-Semitism have no parallel with Masfield. Additionally, most writers re-invent. When Masfield should have re-invented himself he took flawed decisions, or was forced into incorrect judgements. The perception is now that Masfield was re-invented by royalty and his appointment as Poet Laureate was a major disadvantage. It is now with the study of the history of the book as a discipline that Masfield may find a newly sympathetic audience. His career and output are significantly linked with twentieth-century publishing concerns. Masfield is representative of a best-selling and popular author, a victim of publishing contracts, an early employer of a literary agency, a patron of private presses and a figure particularly active in the literary world. His presidency of the Society of Authors and National Book League, work for the Royal Society of Literature, role as instigator of the Royal Medal for Poetry and champion of verse speaking festivals demonstrate this position. His longevity and literary friendships present him as a notable figure of his time.

If we are to reassess Masfield, it is appropriate to produce a new bibliography. It is also appropriate to use new technology to produce this work. There is no anomaly in a computerized bibliography of John Masfield. Using fashionable technology for an unfashionable author is of no consequence. Inclusiveness requires the medium.

This work aims to have produced the most comprehensive bibliography of Masfield to date. Errors in previous work have been corrected, material has been described from scratch, unplundered archives have been employed, entirely new areas have been included, the canon has been expanded and accepted limits pushed back. A new resource for Masfield studies, with potentially wider applications

has been created employing new technology. The literary and textual critic may find information of use and Masefield's role within book history has been suggested, both within the bibliography and this introduction. In 1952, writing of second-hand bookstalls, Masefield stated that the 'out-of-fashion is always cheap, and usually much better than the fashion has the wit to think'.³ This would serve as an epitaph on Masefield's work. This project aspires to present the 'out-of-fashion' in a fashionable format.

VI. Notes

Notes to Part I: John Masefield - An Introduction

1. See illustrations in Peter Vansittart, *In the Fifties*, John Murray, London, 1995 (between pp.122-24).
2. John Betjeman, 'Preface' to John Masefield, *Selected Poems*, Heinemann, London, 1978, p.vii. Despite the claim on posterity, Betjeman demonstrates the reduction of Masefield's canon to a mere six stanzas.
3. Lady Gregory reports that W.B. Yeats once told Masefield 'You'll be a popular poet – you'll be riding in your carriage and pass me in the gutter' (see *Lady Gregory's Journals*, ed. Daniel J. Murphy, two volumes, Colin Smythe, Gerrards Cross, 1978-1987, volume one, p.385). Hardy was a frequent correspondent. Larkin, when awarded the Hamburg University Hanseatic Shakespeare prize in 1976, described Masefield (a former recipient) as 'a writer whose strength and simplicity I have long admired' (see Philip Larkin, *Required Writing – Miscellaneous Pieces 1955-1982*, Faber and Faber, London, 1983, p.87). A. Alvarez reviewing *Old Raiger And Other Verse* found the verses 'agreeably soothing'.
4. George Bernard Shaw wrote to Masefield in a letter dated 27 July 1907 praising *The Campden Wonder* (see Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.142). But for the ending, Graham Greene thought *Sard Harker* 'the greatest adventure story in the language' (see Norman Sherry, *The Life Of Graham Greene*, in progress, Jonathan Cape, London, 1989— , volume one, p.312).

Notes to Part II: Masefield's Publishing History

1. Masefield's first published poem ('Nicias Moriturus') was published in *The Outlook* on 3 June 1899. The volume *In Glad Thanksgiving* was published by Heinemann on 13 March 1967.

2. *The Twenty-Five Days* was published by Heinemann in October 1972.
3. Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-1950*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, pp.33-34.
4. See Grant Richards, *Author Hunting*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934 for Richards's account of his publishing career.
5. Richards, in *Author Hunting* states:

It was *The West Wind*, a poem that I read in the *Nation*, which first drew my attention to the work of John Masefield.

(Grant Richards, *Author Hunting*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934, p.226)

The earliest poem published by Masefield in *The Nation* is dated 20 July 1907 (and is entitled "The City Of The Soul"). The earliest periodical appearance of 'The West Wind' was in *The Speaker* dated 28 June 1902 when the poem was entitled "There's A Wind A-Blowing".
6. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A10, f.455a).
7. Grant Richards, letter to B.W. Dodge, 28 May 1908. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A13, f.648).
8. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A13, f.432).
9. Grant Richards, letter to John Masefield, 17 September 1909. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A16, f.90).
10. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A16, f.256).
11. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A16, f.375).
12. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A16, f.377).
13. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A16, f.536).
14. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A17, f.87).
15. Reported by James G. Nelson, *Elkin Mathews - Publisher to Yeats, Joyce, Pound*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis., 1989, p.55.
16. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56584, f.116.
17. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56585, f.118.
18. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *57M-54.
19. See Austin Harrison, "The Old "English"", *The English Review*, June 1923, pp.512-515.
20. Bodleian Library, MSS.Sidgwick and Jackson.228, f.113b.
21. Located at Reed International Books Library, Rushden.

22. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
23. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
24. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
25. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
26. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
27. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
28. William Heinemann Ltd, letter to John Masefield, 12 March, 1937.
Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
29. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
30. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
31. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
32. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
33. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
34. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
35. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
36. *The Lives of Pirates* was not an idea adopted by Masefield. He did, however, contribute to the publication entitled *C.S. Evans* issued as a tribute by Heinemann in 1945.
37. See Appendix IV ('An Inventory Of The Papers Of John Masefield') comprising an inventory of papers found after Masefield's death.
38. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, ff.204-205.
39. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.207-208.
40. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.211.
41. See Constance Babington Smith, *John Masefield – A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.196.
42. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *57M-54.
43. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.269.
44. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *EC9.M277.908c(A).
45. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *EC9.M377.905aa.
46. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *EC9.M377.911j.
47. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56577, f.26.
48. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, ff.16-17.

49. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56623, f.89. The title of the lines to which this letter refers is unknown.
50. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56620, f.169.
51. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, f.50.
52. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, ff.52-53.
53. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, f.57.
54. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, f.59.
55. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, f.193.
56. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, f.197.
57. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, ff.200-201.
58. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, f.202.
59. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56582, f.42.
60. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56582, f.48.
61. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56582, f.52.
62. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56583, f.59.
63. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56583, f.65.
64. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56583, f.89.
65. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56583, f.104.
66. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56583, ff.117-118.
67. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56592, ff.218-219.
68. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56593, f.104.
69. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56593, f.122.
70. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56609, f.20.
71. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56609, f.82.
72. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56611, f.188.
73. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56612, f.24.
74. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56612, f.126.
75. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56612, f.132.
76. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56621, f.138.
77. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56624, f.90.
78. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56625 f.173.
79. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56625 f.174.

80. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56626, f.149.
81. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56626, f.85.
82. See British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56584, f.180.
83. See John Masefield, *The Ledbury Scene*, Jakemans Ltd, Hereford, [1951], p.5.
84. John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard note that Yeats's 'reservations' about Constance Masefield 'increased after the marriage, and he came to feel that her opinionated views and overbearing manner impaired Masefield's creativity'. See *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats*, ed. John Kelly *et al*, in progress, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986— , volume three, p.352.
85. See H.G. Wells's letter (entitled 'Author And Agent') in the correspondence column of *The Author*, 2 June 1913, p.277.
86. H.G. Wells, letter to A.P. Watt, 5 October 1926. Quoted in James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p.92.
87. Wigan Record Office, MMP 3/6.
88. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *61M-93.
89. Presumably *The Widow in the Bye Street*.
90. State University of New York at Buffalo Library.
91. John St John, *William Heinemann – A Century of Publishing 1890-1990*, Heinemann, London, 1990, p.131.
92. *ibid.*, p.180.
93. James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, pp.92-93.
94. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, ff.55-56.
95. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, f.67.
96. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, f.72.
97. Heinemann Archive, Reed International Books Library, Rushden.
98. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, ff.167-68.
99. Arthur Waugh, *A Hundred Years of Publishing – Being the Story of Chapman and Hall, Ltd.*, Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1930, pp.204-205.
100. John Masefield, 'William Blake', *Recent Prose*, Heinemann, London, 1932, pp.280-304.

101. Masfield had verses first published by the Cuala Press in June 1908 when he contributed 'Campeachy Picture' to *A Broadside*.
102. *The Song of Roland* never appeared. Masfield, however, prefaces each of the six parts of *Gallipoli* with translated excerpts from the French epic.
103. A letter from Hardy to Masfield, dated 30 December 1922, states 'many thanks for Xmas poem'. See *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, seven volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978-1988, volume six, p.174.
104. The poetry card commencing 'It's Christmas Eve, and dogs do bark,' is illustrated within Geoffrey Handley-Taylor's bibliography. See Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, *John Masfield, O.M. The Queen's Poet Laureate. A Bibliography and Eighty-First Birthday Tribute*, Cranbrook Tower Press, London, 1960, p.8.
105. It was published as 'To Rudyard Kipling' in *The Times*, 23 January 1936.
106. A copy of the poetry card within the University of London Library (Sterling Library) is accompanied by a letter from the printer to Mr [Maurice] Buxton Forman dated 25 April [1936].
107. Masfield had four pamphlets of verse privately printed in 1930. These have persistently confused bibliographers. All verse appeared in *The Wanderer of Liverpool*). The volumes comprise:
- Liverpool*
The Wanderer. The Setting Forth
The Wanderer. The Ending
Poems of The Wanderer. The Ending.
108. These publications are: *Words Spoken To The Right Worshipful The Mayor The Councillors And Aldermen Of Hereford On Thursday, October 23rd 1930* (1930), *Words Spoken At The Music Room Boar's Hill In The Afternoon Of November 5th, 1930 At A Festival Designed In The Honour Of William Butler Yeats, Poet* (1930) and *Words and Verses spoken in the Garden of Bemerton Rectory, near Salisbury, in the afternoon of Tuesday, June 6th, 1933* (1933).

109. These publications are: *Words spoken at the opening of the Gateway set up at Hawksmoor Nature Reserve near Cheadle, Staffs., in memory of John Richard Beech Masefield, on Saturday, October 21st, 1933* (1933), *Some Words Spoken In Grateful Memory Of Sir Ronald Ross...* (1948) and *Gordon Bottomley [-] Words Spoken By John Masefield At A Memorial Service In The Church Of St. Martin-In-the-Fields September 28th, 1948* (1948).
110. Serialisation in *The Sunday Times* was abandoned due to a change in editorial policy. The appeal was, however, printed in America (within *The Atlantic Monthly*).
111. See Appendix II - Books from the library of John Masefield.
112. Masefield took Synge's *The Aran Islands* to Elkin Mathews in 1903. Mathews was interested in both this work and two one-act plays. See a letter from Synge to Masefield dated 17 December 1903 (*The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge*, ed. Ann Saddlemyer, two volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983-1984, volume one, pp.71-72). Noting her father's fondness for Beatrix Potter's *The Tailor of Gloucester*, Judith Masefield states that Masefield 'helped' Potter to get her books published. See Judith Masefield, 'Some Memories of John Masefield', in Corliss Lamont, *Remembering John Masefield*, Continuum Publishing Company, New York, 1991, p.7.
113. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.142.
114. Dorset County Museum, Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection.
115. See *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, seven volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978-1988, volume six, p.189.
116. Dorset County Museum, Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection.
117. See *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, seven volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978-1988, volume six, p.190.
118. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56578, f.255.
119. See William Buchan, 'Introduction' to John Masefield, *Letters to Reyna*, Buchan and Enright, London, 1983, p.26.

120. A second impression of *The Bird of Dawning* was required during November 1933 before the first impression was issued.
121. As noted above, Masfield himself defines an early period by stating 'I shall begin (as I feel that I, myself, began as a writer) with the tale in verse called *The Everlasting Mercy*.' (See John Masfield, *The Ledbury Scene*, Jakemans Ltd, Hereford, [1951], p.5.)
122. Masfield, writing to Granville-Barker states:
 Pompey. Act II, getting right, but stuck. Novel, stuck. A muddy work. Boy's book about pirates, stuck, but a third finished. Reviews fair to dull. Verse. No buyers.
 (John Masfield, letter to Harley Granville-Barker, 3 December 1908)
 See British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.47897, f.26.
123. *The New Corinthian* was the name of one of Masfield and Jack B. Yeats's toy boats (see Jack B. Yeats, *A Little Fleet*, Elkin Mathews, London, 1909).
124. Henry W. Nevinson, *More Changes More Chances*, Nisbet & Co. Ltd., London, 1925, p.293.
125. Writing to Mr. Ibberson Jones on 15 February 1950, John Betjeman states:
 '... I hope your book sells well. Don't expect to make any money by it. No one since Tennyson has made a living by poetry except, perhaps, Masfield.' See *John Betjeman – Letters*, ed. Candida Lycett Green, two volumes, Methuen, London, 1994-1995, volume one, p.504.
126. *The Times*, 21 November 1967, p.3.
127. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56590, f.35.
128. Constance Babington Smith, *John Masfield – A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.66.
129. National Gallery of Ireland. Y. archive. L.Mas.1.
130. John Masfield, letter to Constance de la Cherois Crommelin, undated (see Constance Babington Smith, *John Masfield – A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.81).
131. Located at News International plc archives.
132. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A7, f.67).
133. Archives of Grant Richards (Chadwyck-Healy microfilm, A11, f.454).
134. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *61M-93.
135. Private Collection (Rosemary Magnus).

136. Private Collection (Rosemary Magnus).
137. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, f.22.
138. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, f.34.
139. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *42M-618.
140. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *42M-618.
141. See *Scribner's Magazine* August 1915, Vol.LVIII No.2, p.129 and October 1915, Vol.LVIII No.4, p.404.
142. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *42M-618.
143. A letter from Masfield to C.F. Cazenove, dated 19 October 1911 (and quoted above) cites this figure (State University of New York at Buffalo Library).
144. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *42M-618.
145. Masfield's poem 'Nicias Moriturus' was first published in *The Outlook* in June 1899. The reprinting of the poem in the anthology *Naval Songs and Ballads* in November 1899 represents the first appearance in book form of any Masfield poem and, indeed, his earliest published work with the exception of contributions to periodicals. It was not until November 1902 that the poem appeared in Masfield's first volume of work *Salt-Water Ballads*.
146. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56617, f.83.
147. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56581, f.82.
148. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56602, f.128.
149. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56584, f.33.
150. Thomas Hardy, letter to John Masfield, 3 April 1923 (see *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, seven volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978-1988, volume six, p.189).
151. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56575, ff.78-79.
152. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56576, f.36.
153. See Robert Gomme, 'Edward Thomas And His Literary Agent', *The Edward Thomas Fellowship Newsletter* 37, The Edward Thomas Fellowship, Bridgwater, August 1997, pp.10-14. I am grateful to Linda Hart and Richard Emeny for bringing this paper to my attention.

154. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56598, ff.179-180.
155. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56606, ff.76-79.
156. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56622, f.181.

Notes to Part III: A New Bibliography of John Masefield
and Computer Applications

1. L.A.G. Strong, *John Masefield*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1952, p.7.
2. See ed. Corliss Lamont and Lansing Lamont, 'Introduction' to *Letters of John Masefield to Florence Lamont*, Macmillan, London, 1979, p.3 and William Buchan, 'Introduction' to John Masefield, *Letters to Reyna*, Buchan and Enright, London, 1983, p.30.
3. Evidence within the archives of Sidgwick and Jackson suggests that the bibliographical listing was compiled by Rupert Hart-Davis (see Bodleian Library, MSS.Sidgwick and Jackson.228, f.178).
4. Simmons includes the following entry within the listing of 'Publications Containing Contributions By John Masefield':

JACK AND JILL [Poem] *In* The Poets in the Nursery by Charles Powell and with an introduction by John Drinkwater, London: John Lane The Bodley Head New York: John Lane Co., May MCMXX. Pages 17-19. Reprinted from "The Manchester Guardian."
 (Charles H. Simmons, *A Bibliography of John Masefield*, Oxford University Press, Oxford / Columbia University Press, New York, 1930, p.135)

This is one example of an error for the contribution comprises a parody of Masefield by Charles Powell.
5. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56605, ff.142-43.
6. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56605, f.149.

Notes to Part IV: Bibliographical Procedure

1. Muriel Spark, *John Masefield*, Peter Nevill Ltd., London, 1953, p.xi.

2. G. Thomas Tanselle, *Literature and Artifacts*, The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., 1998.
3. G. Thomas Tanselle stated in reply to my enquiries that 'the phenomenon ... [of] signatures that do not match the actual gatherings is a fairly common one in American books of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.
4. G. Thomas Tanselle, 'A System of Color Identification for Bibliographical Description', ed. Fredson Bowers, *Studies in Bibliography* XX, 1967, pp.203-234
5. The collection includes many volumes presented by Frederick Coykendall. Coykendall, formerly secretary of the Grolier Club and director of the Columbia University Press, is thanked by Simmons in the foreword to his bibliography for 'kind help and advice'.
6. Manuscript research has identified that this poem, first printed in 1936, originates from a draft dated from 1917 (see Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Misc.g.77, f.2v-3).
7. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56585, f.85.
8. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56626, f.62.
9. Philip W. Errington, *John Masefield's Laureateship Verse Published In The Times – A Chronological Listing*, The John Masefield Society, Ledbury, 1995.
10. Fraser Drew, 'Some Contributions to the Bibliography of John Masefield: I', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, June 1959, pp.188-96 and Fraser Drew, 'Some Contributions to the Bibliography of John Masefield: II', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, October 1959, pp.262-67.
11. Fraser Drew, *John Masefield's England – A Study of the National Themes in His Work*, Associated University Presses Inc, Rutherford, N.J., 1973.
12. Private Collection (Rosemary Magnus).
13. Constance Babington Smith, *John Masefield – A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978, p.88. Ann Saddlemyer gives the range October 1904 to March 1905 for Masefield's responsibility over the column (see *The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge*, ed. Ann Saddlemyer, two volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983-1984, volume one, p.97). Some

examples from outside this range are, however, also likely to be Masfield's.

14. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *44M-301F.
15. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) Autograph file.
16. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *44M-301F.
17. See *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 August 1905 for Masfield's article entitled 'Whippet-Racing'. The illustration is by Jack B. Yeats.
18. Simmons did, however, include note of six translations of Masfield's poetry by Jeanne Fournier-Pargoire published in September 1923 within the French periodical *Revue Bleue (Revue Politique et Littéraire)*.
19. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, ff.74-75.
20. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, f.79.
21. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56579, f.87.
22. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56586, f.47.
23. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56595, f.68.
24. John Masfield, letter to [E.J.] Mullett, [undated]. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.56595, f.70.
25. The BBC began as a commercial company: The British Broadcasting Company. After four years of existence it became The British Broadcasting Corporation in December 1926.
26. The poem, simply entitled 'Ossian', was published within *The Bluebells and other Verse* in 1961.
27. Private Collection (Rosemary Magnus).
28. Evidence (in letters from Judith Masfield to Corliss Lamont (copies of which are held in the collection of Ledbury Library)) suggests that the firm of Frank Hollings (45 Cloth Fair, London, E.C.) may have assisted. A copy of this inventory was in the possession of the Masfield family and made available to Constance Babington Smith during preparation of her biography. Babington Smith photocopied the document and this is present in the Constance Babington Smith archives of the John Masfield Society.
29. These publications are: *Remembering John Masfield*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, N.J., 1971, *Letters of John Masfield to*

- Florence Lamont*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1979, *John Masefield's Letters From The Front 1915-1917*, Constable, London, 1984, *Letters to Margaret Bridges (1915-1919)*, Carcanet, Manchester, 1984, *Brangwen - The Poet And The Dancer*, The Book Guild Ltd., Lewes, 1988, and *Letters to Reyna*, Buchan and Enright, London, 1983.
30. June Dwyer, *John Masefield*, Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1987.
31. 'The Hill Players' were formed in 1924. Note that R.A.W. Hughes is one of the publicity managers. Richard Hughes (1900-1976) gained fame with his novel *A High Wind In Jamaica* (1929). He was also one of the editors of *Public School Verse 1919-1920*, Heinemann, London, 1920 which included an introduction by Masefield.
32. *Lady Gregory's Journals*, ed. Daniel J. Murphy, two volumes, Colin Smythe, Gerrards Cross, 1978-1987.
33. *The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge*, ed. Ann Saddlemyer, two volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983-1984.
34. The letter to Miss Moore is drafted in a letter to Harry Ross. The letter to H.M. Paull is copied by Masefield in a letter to George Bernard Shaw.
35. See Appendix III – Addresses of John Masefield.
36. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *61M-93.
37. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *61M-93.
38. Harvard University Library (Houghton Library) *61M-93.
39. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, RP2927.
40. British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.Mss.59892R, f.120.
41. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.1.
42. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.2.
43. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.Lett.c.255, f.3.
44. Bodleian Library, MS.Eng.poet.d.195, f.1.
45. Sanford Sternlicht in his study of Masefield describes the author as 'a Georgian relic in the Nuclear Age' (Sanford Sternlicht, *John Masefield*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, Mass., 1977, p.9).
46. University of Leeds, Brotherton Library. In Moulton Correspondence.

Notes to Part V: Conclusion

1. B.C. Bloomfield, *W.H. Auden – A Bibliography. The Early Years through 1955*, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., 1964, p.xv.
2. Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, 'Foreword' to Crocker Wight, *John Masefield – A Bibliographical Description of His First, Limited, Signed and Special Editions*, The Library of the Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass., second edition, 1992, p.ix.
3. John Masefield, *So Long to Learn*, William Heinemann, London, 1952, p.93.

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