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Article Summary: University of Nebraska English professor Charles W Wallace discovered much of the information about London’s first public theater, Elizabethan actors, dramatists and playhouses. He became famous throughout the English-speaking world and made “the Shakespearean discovery of the century”: Shakespeare’s signature, documents relating to Shakespeare’s financial interest in the Globe, and other early documents.

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Names: Charles William Wallace, Thomas Wallace, Olive Wallace, Hulda Berggren, Prosser Hall Frye, Louise Pound, Lucius Adelno Sherman, Sir Edmund Chambers, G E Bentley, Cuthbert Burbage, Ignatius Donnelly, Horace H Furness, Sir Sidney Lee, L Hotson, A H Bullen, J B Pond

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Photographs / Images: Charles William Wallace portrait from his 1892 book “Spider-Webs in Verse”; Charles William Wallace and his wife, 1914

Note: At the end of the article, there is a Checklist of the Publications of Charles William Wallace.



Charles William Wallace, from his 1892 book Spider-Webs in Verse.

**SHAKESPEARE AND NEBRASKA:
CHARLES WILLIAM WALLACE, 1865-1932,
AND THE "GREAT INDEX OF THE WORLD"**

By J. W. Robinson

The American bicentennial year was also the 400th anniversary of the building of the first public theatre in London, known simply as the Theatre, and built in 1576 by James Burbage. Much of the available information about the Theatre, and much other information about Elizabethan actors, dramatists, and playhouses, was first discovered by Charles W. Wallace, professor of English dramatic literature at the University of Nebraska. He was a pioneering and prolific scholar, became famous throughout the English-speaking world, anticipated the work of many subsequent historians of the stage, and made "the Shakespearean discovery of the century."

Wallace lived for most of his life in the Midwest. He was born in Hopkins, Missouri, in 1865, the son of Judge Thomas and Olive Wallace, who had moved from Wisconsin to Missouri in about 1859. At the age of 17 he became a country school teacher. He received his BS degree from Western Normal College, Shenandoah, Iowa, in 1885, and his AB degree from the University of Nebraska in 1898. He pursued graduate work at the University of Nebraska ("Scholar in English," 1900-1901), and at the Universities of Chicago, Heidelberg, Germany, and Freiburg, Germany. From 1886 to 1894 he taught Latin and English at Western Normal College, his *alma mater*; the college moved from Shenandoah, Iowa, to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1892. In that year Wallace published a volume of poems, *Spider-Webs in Verse*, at the request of his former students and "most intimate friends," and in the following year he married Hulda Berggren, of Wahoo, Nebraska, who was to become his life-long companion and fellow-worker. He joined the faculty of the University of Nebraska in 1901 as Assistant

Instructor in English Language and Literature, and progressed rapidly through the ranks, becoming Professor of English Dramatic Literature in 1912. The old catalogues reveal that he gave classes in the medieval, Elizabethan, and Jacobean drama, Shakespeare (including "methods of scientific research"), and other subjects; he was, according to his sister-in-law, who was a member of one of his Shakespeare classes, "a very dedicated but demanding instructor."²

During this decade, his colleagues at the university included the critic and "conservative humanist" Prosser Hall Frye; Louise Pound, who was to become president of the American Folklore Society and editor of *American Speech*; and Lucius Adelno Sherman, an exponent of the "scientific" method of analyzing literature, and for many years dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the Graduate College—an impressive band of professors of English.³ Wallace proved to be as adventurous, hard-working, and independent-minded as any of them.

At this period the study of the Elizabethan theatre was being put on a modern footing. A crucial document (a contemporary drawing of the Swan Theatre, built in 1595 or 1596) had been published in 1888, and the Malone Society, whose purpose was to publish accurate texts of Elizabethan plays and theatrical documents, was founded in 1906.⁴ Early in his academic career, perhaps at the suggestion of Dean Sherman, who published editions of *Macbeth* (1899) and *Hamlet* (1903), and an introduction to the appreciation of the plays, *What Is Shakespeare?* (1902), Wallace undertook to edit a play written for one of the Elizabethan children's companies. He came to the conclusion that he could not proceed with his work on the edition (which never appeared) "without finding out the truth about the company that played the piece."⁵ This endeavor eventually led to his first major publication, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603* (1908), the work for which he was awarded the PhD degree by the faculty of the Albert-Ludwig University, Freiburg.

Wallace was attracted by the notion that Elizabethan plays were made possible by "a place of acting, a company, and an audience." The more one could discover about this "physical environment,"⁶ the better one could understand the history of the drama. This is an important concept, and perhaps the chief

rationale for the thorough and authoritative volumes of Sir Edmund Chambers and Professor G. E. Bentley, which incorporate and supersede Wallace's published work.⁷ Further (and less usefully), theatres and acting companies need financing and managing: Cuthbert Burbage (son of James, brother of Richard, the actor), by purchasing the lease, was able to keep the Theatre in the family, and thus "made a Shakespeare possible"; the construction of the Globe Theatre out of materials from the dismantled Theatre was a business venture (in which Shakespeare joined) and "the changed tone of the dramatic products of Shakespeare and his associated actors fairly synchronizes with the business difficulties in their new enterprise."⁸ Guided by these interests Wallace went on to pursue inexorably the records of Elizabethan lawsuits in the Public Record Office, London, looking for evidence of the "physical environment."

He also became very conscious of the part played by the Royal Court in the rise and flourishing of the drama of Renaissance England, and developed the theory that the *primum mobile* of the Elizabethan drama was royal and aristocratic genius. He writes that "only in the Tudor Court, newly freed from old fetters, then among the nobility; and more slowly among the common people by imitation, did the native instinct find first expression in a new form of drama that was destined for dominance." There was "a clean 'break' from the past." He thus thoroughly scrutinized the administrative and financial records of the royal household for information about performances of plays at court, and about royal patronage of the drama, and his thesis that the evolution of the drama "turns out to be mainly an evolution through the Court" remains useful, recurring in the work of more recent scholars.⁹

It may be suggested that events in Nebraska at the turn of the century contributed to the development of these interests and assumptions in Wallace's mind. His formative years were the years of the Populist revolt; a "revolutionary impulse was abroad." The nominating convention of the People's Party met in Omaha in 1892, with Bastille Day crowds and demonstrations. Wallace might have heard the professor of Greek, James Lees, expostulating with his younger contemporary, Alvin Johnson, then a student:

"See here, Johnson," Lees would say, "you are in the wrong pew. You know Greek culture, better than any other person born in Nebraska. You know Rome. You know the Renaissance. You know the Enlightenment. You know that every significant contribution ever made to culture was made by the few, the aristocrats. Every decay in culture has been due to the mob, the democracy."¹⁰

Wallace certainly cannot have seen much merit in Ignatius Donnelly, the influential Populist leader and orator from Minnesota, since Donnelly was that worst kind of amateur literary historian—a pronounced Baconian.¹¹ In addition, Wallace's interest in "the mere business conditions that made Shakespeare possible, and some of the difficulties that wrought in him supreme achievement"¹² was not without some foundation in practical experience. In the nineties the city of Lincoln was experiencing economic distress (banks were failing), but the city's prospects "looked good even to hardheaded businessmen." A "syndicate of capitalists," the West Side Improvement Association, had captured Western Normal College for Lincoln against (so it was claimed) the bidding of 46 other cities; and Wallace himself, just before joining the faculty of the university in 1901, had tried his hand in business as the proprietor of a bookstore (the "Students' Co.-Operative Book Co.") and of a Preparatory School to the University of Nebraska (subsequently known as Lincoln Academy).¹³ Whatever the source of his notions, an interest in the mechanics of capitalism and in the "physical environment" of the drama, and a conviction that the presiding genius of the Elizabethan drama was royal and aristocratic pervade Wallace's work. "Even winged Pegasus cannot live on aether, but must be stalled between flights,"¹⁴ he wrote, revealing a characteristic combination of practicality and fancifulness.

During the summers from 1904 to 1909, and throughout each year from 1909 to 1916, Wallace, with the help of his wife (and occasional assistance from others in London), examined "over five million"¹⁵ Elizabethan legal and administrative documents. From November, 1909, he was on leave of absence from the University of Nebraska, at first with a salary, and lived in London until he returned to America in November, 1916. Each year he requested an extension of his leave for a further year, protesting his loyalty to the university, but pointing out that he had "a plain duty" to see through to the end the work he "got

into . . . by chance," mentioning that others were hot on his trail, and suggesting that there was a danger that the university would lose the credit for his work. A Harvard man might "wrest the palm" from the University of Nebraska. His requests were loyally supported by Dean Sherman, although the chancellor of the university, Samuel Avery, was somewhat impatient, and wrote to Dean Sherman that "we could worry along without men making Shakespearean discoveries in England."¹⁶

Wallace's books, articles, and unpublished papers reveal that he worked with many different classes of records in the Public Record Office, with excursions to the British Museum, the Guildhall, and elsewhere. In particular he scrutinized systematically the voluminous and uncalendared records of the Court of Requests; the three sets of pleadings of Shakespearean interest he discovered in the records of this court are now preserved separately. He was the first historian of the theatre to examine all this material thoroughly and single-mindedly. The deputy keeper of the Public Records reported in 1911 that Wallace with "endless patience . . . was at the pains of going through hundreds or thousands of documents on the chance of finding something."¹⁷ He came to scorn dilettantes and purveyors of mere opinion, and to think of himself as one of the crucial "small minority" contributing "new knowledge." He quarrelled with rival historians, and wrote a 132-page letter (in connection with his annual request for an extension of his leave) to Chancellor Avery about the importance of original research, somewhat gratuitously, perhaps, since the university's Graduate College, the first in the trans-Mississippi West, had been founded in 1896.¹⁸

Wallace's letters reveal that he and his wife worked hard (ten to fifteen hours a day for six days a week) and took no holidays. They went for long walks in the country on Sundays, and lived frugally (he wore "the same old suit year after year"), although they also entertained "big men" to tea in their "modest quarters." Horace H. Furness, the American Shakespearean, wrote to a friend that Wallace was "a very fine fellow, and the idyllic happiness that he and his wife enjoy reading these old documents is delightful to witness." Wallace showed the Public Record Office to the American ambassador, and the incongruity of an energetic Nebraskan settling down to hard

work among the dusty and undisturbed archives of the Old World did not escape the journalists—*The Outlook* reported that “Mr. Wallace, who is one of the teachers in the Department of English Literature in the University of Nebraska, invaded the Record Office in London with the enthusiasm and zeal of a Western American.”¹⁹

Wallace published many of his documents without interpretation; others he made the most of in his two monographs covering the history of the Elizabethan child actors from about 1485 to 1603, and in various popular articles, mostly about Shakespeare. These have been rightly much criticized; he theorized more than he admitted to himself, although he also announced that the documents themselves were the most important parts of his publications. An interesting example is his discovery of Shakespeare's signature among the papers of a suit in the Court of Requests arising from a marriage which Shakespeare had helped arrange. This is the earliest known example of Shakespeare's signature, and shortly became the crucial element in the paleographical argument for Shakespeare's authorship (now generally accepted) of part of the play *Sir Thomas More*, which survives in manuscript. Wallace himself was interested in interpreting the lawsuit to show “Shakespeare as a man among men.” That Shakespeare “lived with a hard working family, shared in their daily life, and even lent his help with the hope of making two young people happy marks him as the world would gladly know him, an unpretentious, sympathetic, thoroughly human Man.” Elsewhere, writing of Shakespeare's financial interest (about which he also found documents) in the Blackfriars Theatre, Wallace imagines that he “and his companions were altogether men, with impulses not greatly different from those that actuate business men of to-day.” He sought to reconstruct the world of the Elizabethan theatre, to gather materials “not as mere isolated facts, but as essential members of a living, palpitating organism.”²⁰

His discoveries attracted attention, and the discovery of Shakespeare's signature in particular produced a flurry of comment. The British reaction is reported at length in *Harper's Weekly Advertiser* (March 19, 1910):

A pained comment is that made by *The Standard*. . . . “Dr. Charles William Wallace,” says this paper, “who is ‘associate professor’ (whatever that may be) of



Charles William Wallace and his wife review the Osteler-Hemynges documents relating to Shakespeare in the British Record Office (The Literary Digest, June 27, 1914).

English literature in the University of Nebraska, has before now gratified the world with some Shakesperian revelations. Europe has recognized the associate professor's industry without affecting the enthusiasm he has doubtless aroused in cultured circles of Nebraska. But he deserves credit for his zeal and labor. . . . It says little for English scholars that it should have been left for an American investigator to bring to light some papers which have escaped their observation. They really ought to have been able to find out all that Fetter-lane [the Public Record Office] has to tell us about Shakespeare without aid from the Nebraska University."

The *Evening News* grows lachrymose over the discomfiture of England.

"The moral of all this is," it says, "that English scholarship and research has . . . been once again distanced and humiliated by an industrious stranger. . . . We have been beaten again, even as we were beaten in the race to the north pole. The Pearys and the Wallaces are at work while we keep our hands upon our pockets. . . ."

The verdict of Sidney Lee is, however, for English-reading people the last word in Shakesperian matters. Mr. Lee devotes a page in *The Illustrated London News* to a discussion of Dr. Wallace's discovery. "The documents," he writes, "include depositions to which the dramatist has attached his authentic signature; and thus Dr. Wallace has achieved the indisputable triumph of adding one more to the five already known autograph signatures of the great poet." Mr. Lee disputes certain of Dr. Wallace's statements, however: he . . . confutes Dr. Wallace's suggestion that Shakespeare gave the French herald in his play *Henry V.* the name of Montjoy, because that was the appellation of his landlord by showing that the name of the herald is taken from Holinshed's *Chronicle*. "It seems imprudent in Dr. Wallace to put any fanciful gloss on the results of his discovery," he concludes.

Sir Sidney Lee, the editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and author of the then standard *Life of William Shakespeare* (1898), dogged Wallace's footsteps; he complained in 1909 of a "lack of perspective which pervades Dr. Wallace's articles," and in 1915 wrote to the *Times Literary Supplement* to correct the last piece Wallace published. Wallace somewhat disingenuously expressed surprise and dismay at what he regarded as the jealous furor provoked by his discoveries, and expressed contempt for Lee, whose response to Wallace's first discoveries had been to call for a "thoroughly organised search for the extension of knowledge of the history of Shakespeare and his contemporaries," and for British scholars in general.²¹ Wallace's unpublished papers show that his indignation was usually toned down by the time it reached print, however. He and his wife worked on alone, at home neither with the scholars of the Malone Society, nor with the amateurs of the Burbage Memorial Committee and the London Shakespeare League. He thought (with some evidence, since his work was referred to in the main speech on the subject in the House of Commons) that his discoveries led to the formation of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1910)—"Professor Wallace. . . . came over here to discover in the Record Office documents unknown and

uncatalogued, which gave information which Englishmen wanted to know about the greatest of all Englishmen." His pride got the better of him, however, when he went on to conclude that the purpose of the Royal Commission (of which Sir Sidney Lee was a member) was "to prevent any more such American successes . . . to find and publish the new Shakespeare materials before I could publish them." Wallace also hints that the British Academy Annual Shakespeare Lectures were instigated as a result of his discoveries; he appears to have been present at the first of these (July, 1911), when, he writes, the lecturer "called forth hearty applause by a tribute to the well-known American scholar, Dr. Charles William Wallace for 'those remarkable discoveries which he came all the way from Nebraska to make.'"²²

Wallace revelled in his jealously guarded and hard-won discoveries, and recorded his "feelings" about finding Shakespeare's signature:

My wife stood at the opposite side of the table examining another of the great bundles of miscellaneous old skins and papers. I asked her to come over and look at a document. We sat down together to read it, as we had done in hundreds of cases. We looked it through with about as much excitement as we do the morning paper. I saw by the look on her face that she felt as I did,—glad, but disappointed in a measure. We were aware of the bigness of what we had. But we were looking for bigger. . . . We exchanged a few words over the document, but no one in the room might have guessed that we had before us anything more important or juicy than a court-docket. But we saw that we had only a part of the documents in the case. We must find the rest. That was our chief anxiety & excitement. So I put the depositions in the pile of those examined, and we went ahead to find the rest. It was a long search. The chief feeling that possessed us . . . is simply the same feeling that has made us cross the ocean eleven times . . . travel far enough to have put a belt twice about the world's middle, spend annually more than my salary, and work fifteen to eighteen hours a day, merely to find out the truth and set it right in the world.²³

Americans were proud of Wallace's work. The president of the Modern Language Association (whom Wallace had entertained to tea in London) referred to him in his annual address in 1914 as "the man among our contemporary American scholars in English who will be remembered when the rest of us are forgotten—remembered for his additions to the materials concerning the life of Shakespeare and his contemporaries in their traffic with the stage." "An American Confutes British Shakespearians" and similar headlines appeared in American newspapers and magazines; the *Nebraska State Journal* offered, perhaps pardonably, "Opens British Eyes. Prof. Wallace Proving Terror to the Highbrows. Knows

Lot of Shakespeare. Keepers of Public Records Novices in His Hands." In June, 1914, the Hearst newspapers carried a syndicated article (which also appeared in the *Omaha Bee*) with banner headlines: "Professor Wallace's Remarkable Analysis of 3,000,000 Documents Which Prove the Immortal Bard Never To Have Been a Roistering, Reckless Profligate and Shows Just Where His Famous Theatre Stood."²⁴

Wallace collected these articles (some of which he probably engendered) and hoped to put them to good use; and in fact shortly after the article in the *Nebraska State Journal* appeared, the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska agreed that he should receive \$500 for "services on leave." Similarly, H. H. Furness is probably referring to Wallace's hopes for further financial support from the university when, writing to a friend in 1911, he finds it

. . . impossible to say whether I think Wallace's plan of publishing his "finds" a good one . . . the minute that he hinted at the treasures that were lying in these Court Records a legion of busy investigators would attack them, and very little of the fame of the discovery would remain to him. Therefore prudence counselled delay. On the other hand, he wanted money to support him while he made these investigations, and it is very hard to get money without some proof that it will be well spent, and unless he published the results of his labors, his livelihood was in jeopardy.

However, the university's funds were limited, and Chancellor Avery averred to Wallace that he "would rather be in a hostile country during the war than in Lincoln during a legislative session"—besides, at the time Avery wrote, Wallace had already been on leave for six years, itself perhaps an achievement unequalled in the annals of American higher education.²⁵

In his prefaces and public statements Wallace not infrequently looks forward to the publication of the full results of his work, without which "no theatrical or dramatic history of those two centuries of the Tudor-Stuart age of which Shakespeare forms the center can properly be undertaken."²⁶ This claim is easy to dispute, but his innumerable unpublished papers reveal that it was, at least generally, justified. They may be divided into three groups:

(1) Transcriptions of documents discovered earlier by others and published by them (often with inadequate notice of where the originals were to be found) and rediscovered by Wallace—these include (for example) documents concerning the

Salisbury Court Theatre and the Whitefriars Theatre; Wallace's papers normally lead directly to the elusive originals.²⁷

(2) Many, perhaps most, of Wallace's transcriptions are of documents first discovered, but left unpublished, by him and later rediscovered and published by others. Much of the material in Professor C. J. Sisson's famous *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (1936), for instance, had previously (unknown to Sisson) been discovered in the proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber and transcribed (over 500 pages in long-hand) by Wallace, who began to prepare the material for publication; this vindicates his suspicious-sounding claim, made in 1908, that he had transcribed "voluminous sources of hitherto unknown plays."²⁸ In general, Wallace can be seen turning to and following out those same records of the Elizabethan stage which subsequently formed a basic part of the great surveys of Sir Edmund Chambers and Professor Bentley, and which they and others subsequently published. From municipal records in the Guildhall, Wallace prepared, for example, his own version of what Sir Edmund Chambers was later to publish as a series of documents relating to the control of the stage by the government, a series Wallace himself looked forward to publishing.²⁹ Again, Wallace made numerous transcriptions from the printed newsbooks of the Commonwealth in the British Museum, the same material which subsequently formed the basis for Professor L. Hotson's work on "Players and Parliament."³⁰ Further, in his *Evolution of the English Drama* Wallace published a list, from various accounts of the Royal Household, of payments made for plays performed at Court, 1558-1585; his promise to "publish the entire series" up to 1642 was not fulfilled, but neither was it empty since he had, in fact, as his papers show, made the transcriptions—the series was eventually published by others in 1962.³¹

(3) Other documents, both legal and administrative, found and transcribed by Wallace remain (or, until his papers were made publicly available in 1962, remained) unpublished. Work based on some of them is now appearing, and his efforts thus continue to bear fruit.³²

Although Wallace's papers also contain drafts of a history of the theatre, he does not seem to have found a useful method of organizing his mass of material. Instead of bringing the work to a conclusion on his own, he dreamed of a cooperative organization, with himself at the center. As early as 1908, he had written that "it requires time, money, and organization, all of which I shall secure, to complete the work." In 1909, A. H. Bullen, the impractical publisher and Elizabethan scholar, with whom Wallace was on friendly terms, published some documents Wallace had discovered; shortly thereafter Bullen tried to raise money to endow his Shakespeare Head Press at Stratford-upon-Avon as a permanent memorial to Shakespeare. Wallace dreamed of joining him, raising a million dollars, and forming the "Shakespeare Research Society. (International)," with "Bullen head of publishing; self head of research; both in editorship; board of directors &c.'" This came to nothing, and Wallace turned to Americans, for whom he drafted "An Invitation To Share in a Million-Dollar Beginning of the Shakespeare Foundation," hoping at last to capitalize on his fame. This organization would pursue literary and historical research "on a scientific basis"; publish facsimiles of all old plays; and publish all the documents (including those long known as well as those discovered by Wallace) relating to the Elizabethan theatre in "a unified series of actual knowledge." In this way, Wallace's discoveries "will be systematically coordinated with the old in the formation of the great corpus of materials." "Vast hords of unexplored documents . . . await research in ancient archives, national, municipal, and ecclesiastical repositories, libraries, castles, manor houses, private residences, solicitors' vaults, cathedrals, churches, crypts, cellars, and lofts throughout England and continental Europe."

He hoped for a million subscribers, but this scheme also came to nothing, even though Wallace insisted that Shakespeare belonged in a special way to America. He says, "Shakespeare and America were born together, twinned at a single birth, children of the same ideal, and have for each other a companionship of spirit now possessed in common with no other nation. America alone still retains the broad outlook consonant with the spirit that begot both in those days when men of the Old World looked to the West where a man might lift up his head and say, as we do now, even with the kings of the earth, 'I

am a Man.' ”³⁴ *The Tempest*, he thought, reflected “the most romantic visions of the new world, with its possibilities of freedom, unchecked outlook, &c,” and he found excitement in the increase (he took his figures from the annual *Report of the Commissioner of Education*) in the number of high school students in the United States studying English literature, including Shakespeare: 250,493 students in 1900; 466,477 in 1910. He describes how at the University of Nebraska (under the influence, it may be inferred, of Dean Sherman) “we study the plays in the light of life itself” according to a superior (it is implied) system of instruction which emphasizes a very thorough study of one play, scene by scene, “involving problems of characterization, dramatic art, poetic conception, psychology, ethics, motives of action, and so on.” The students are only allowed to read criticism of the play after they have thus made it their own; “the instructor secretly prays that no confusion of criticisms may fall in the way of the student at first.”³⁵

Wallace dreamed deeply and idealistically. In response (apparently) to the impending disaster of World War I, he constructed an outline of the “Foundations of Government Based on Ideals of Human Rights,” and planned to send it to President Woodrow Wilson. Like his plans for the Shakespeare Foundation, this is an interesting combination of large notions and ostensibly practical numerical schemes. His constitution for the world, based on the common good, not only guaranteed free education for all for a period of twenty years but also required everyone to have a “life-number,” consisting of the year, month, day, hour, and minute of birth, and the latitude, longitude, and sea-level of the place of birth (e.g. “1915.8.24.11:15 310/40.85”)—“Why not tattoo the foot—or leg?” he writes. Another scheme involved a “great index of the world,” and a catalogue of every book in the world.³⁶

Wallace’s last publication appeared in the *Times* in 1915 (the day after the sinking of the *Lusitania*: “Even amid the clash of arms,” stated the editorial, “our readers will turn with eager interest to-day to see what Dr. Wallace has to say about Shakespeare”). In 1916-1917 he undertook a lecture tour in America under the agency of the J. B. Pond Lyceum Bureau to raise money to support his research. He lectured about his discoveries with “rare force and charm,” using lantern-slides, at many universities across the country, and in April he was

feted by the Shakespeare Birthday Committee, who thought of his work as a "triumph of American scholarship and enterprise," at the National Arts Club, New York City. "SPLENDID RECEPTION ALL COAST UNIVERSITIES" Wallace wired from California, and soon he was considering the possibility of continuing the tour, although he seems to have actually taught again at the university for the academic year 1917-1918.³⁷ His interest in systematic searches and geodetic surveys was now to bear unexpected fruit: in 1918-1919 he was again on leave, this time to look for oil on land in Wichita Falls. He acted as his own geologist (he had studied geology while teaching at the university) and was about to give up, when he struck oil. In May, 1919, he sent a telegram to Chancellor Avery accepting yet another year's leave of absence, and stating: "GREATEST WELLS OF NORTH TEXAS RECENTLY IN ADJOINING SOME OF MY PROPERTIES AM DRILLING SEVERAL WELLS ALREADY WITH CERTAINTY OF SECURING NECESSARY RESEARCH FUNDS."³⁸

Wallace did not, however, pursue his Shakespearean research, or make further attempts at "the final presentation." He seems not to have looked at his papers again after they had been securely packed up in London. In 1925, *The Nebraska Alumnus* reported that he had "amassed a fortune" and "enlarged his scope of investigation, converting increased oil and banking interests into a fund for the establishment of the American Foundation for Research." The foundation remained a dream, although Wallace continued to be, at least technically, on leave from the university; in 1919 his leave had been made indefinite. The organization and management of the oil field now occupied all his time, but he looked forward to resuming his research, and was (so his wife wrote to the Alumni Association of the university) about to set the date for returning to London, when he fell ill. He died of cancer.³⁹ His wife, who constantly aided him in his research (many of the transcripts are in her hand—Louise Pound describes her as a "rapid and accurate worker, much the quicker worker, indeed, of the two"), and whose help and devotion he frequently acknowledges, died in 1958.⁴⁰

Such a thorough, hard-working, idealistic, and imaginative person, who would not rest until the "external elements" of "a place of acting, a company, and an audience" of the

Elizabethan drama had been completely exposed, perhaps in the end was defeated by the magnitude of the task, and (it seems) by his pride and his insularity. Even while he dreamed over the years of his Shakespeare Foundation, the Malone Society was making headway with the task, and while he was managing the oil field, Sir Edmund Chambers' "great corpus of materials" appeared. Nevertheless, Wallace made many notable contributions; his discovery of Shakespeare's signature, of documents relating to Shakespeare's financial interest in the Globe and the Blackfriars, of the story of the dismantling of the Theatre and the erection of the Globe, and his publication of records of performances of plays at Court are of particular interest. What he sought he seems invariably to have found, and it is perhaps permissible to see his stubbornness as verging on the heroic, and his doggedness as turning into the providential.

A CHECKLIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF CHARLES WILLIAM WALLACE

1. *Spider-webs in verse a collection of lyrics for leisure moments spun at idle hours*. By Charles William Wallace, professor of rhetoric and literature, Western Normal College. Lincoln, Nebraska State Journal Company printers. 1892, Pp. xii, 186; portrait.

2(a). "A Shakespearian Discovery. The Poet as Litigant. Text of the Documents." *The Standard* (London), October 18, 1905, p. 5.

2(b). "The Newly-Discovered Shakespeare Documents." *University Studies Published by the University of Nebraska*. V, 4 (October, 1905), 347-356 (also paginated [1]-10). This is another edition of 2(a).

2(c). "New Shakespeare Documents." *Englische Studien* 36 (1906), 56-63. This is another edition of 2(a).

3. "Old Blackfriars Theatre. Fresh Discovery of Documents." *Times* (London), September 12, 1906, p. 6.

4(a). *The children of the chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603*. By Charles William Wallace. (University Studies published by the University of Nebraska. VIII, 2 and 3, April-July, 1908.) Lincoln, Nebraska. Pp. 103-321 (also paginated xii, 207).

4(b). *The children of the chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603*. By Charles William Wallace, PhD, associate professor of English language and literature in the University of Nebraska. Originally published by the University of Nebraska in University Studies and reprinted therefrom for the author 1908. Pp. xvi, 207. This is another issue of 4(a).

4(c). *The children of the chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603*. By Charles William Wallace. New York: AMS Press [1970]. Pp. xvi, 207. This is a reprint of 4(b).

5. *Advance sheets from Shakespeare, the Globe, and Blackfriars*. By Charles William Wallace, PhD, associate professor of English language and literature in the University of Nebraska. Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1909. For private circulation only. Pp. 16. Noticed and reprinted in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 46 (1910), 235-239

6(a). "Shakespeare in London. Fresh Documents on the Poet and His Theatres.

The Globe and Blackfriars." *Times* (London), October 2, 1909, p. 9 and October 4, 1909, p. 9.

6(b). "Recasting the History of Shakespeare. Discovery of Precious Documents in Old Archives by Prof. Wallace Establishes Poet's Status in His Day." *New York Times*, October 3, 1909, Magazine Section, 1-2. This is another edition of 6(a).

7. *Globe theatre apparel*. By Charles William Wallace, PhD, associate professor of English language and literature in the University of Nebraska. Privately printed for presentation only, 1909. Pp. 11.

8. "Three London Theatres of Shakespeare's Time." *University Studies Published by the University of Nebraska*. IX, 4 (October 1909), 287-342 (also paginated [1]-56).

9. "New Shakespeare Discoveries. Shakespeare as a Man Among Men." *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 120 (March, 1910), 489-510.

10(a). "Shakespeare's Signature." *The Westminster Gazette*, March 12, 1910, p. 2.

10(b). "Shakespeare's Signature." *The Nation*, 90 (March 17, 1910), 259-261. This is another edition of 10(a), in the form of a letter from Wallace, dated March 4 from London.

11. "Shakspeare's Money Interest in the Globe Theater." *The Century Magazine*, 80 (August, 1910), 500-512.

12. "Shakspeare and the Blackfriars." *The Century Magazine*, 80 (September, 1910), 742-752.

13. *Keysar v. Burbage and others*. This is referred to in a letter from Chancellor Avery to Wallace, August 8, 1910, in which Avery thanks him for sending a copy. I have been unable to locate a copy. It was probably a slim, privately printed booklet of some of the documents printed in 14 below.

14. *Shakespeare and his London associates as revealed in recently discovered documents*. By Charles William Wallace. (University Studies published by the University of Nebraska. X, 4, October, 1910.) Lincoln, Nebraska, Pp. 261-360 (also paginated [1]-100).

15. "Gervase Markham, Dramatist." *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 46 (1910), 345-350.

16. "The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants." *Englische Studien*, 43 (1910-1911), 340-395.

17. "'Shakespeare's Blackfriars.' Discovery of More Important Documents." *Daily Chronicle* (London), December 25, 1911, p. 4. On Albert Feuillerat's "fragmentary anticipation" (in *Daily Chronicle*, December 22, 1911) of Wallace's history of the Blackfriars Theatre.

18(a). *The evolution of the English drama up to Shakespeare with a history of the first Blackfriars theatre a survey based upon original records now for the first time collected and published*. By Charles William Wallace, PhD, professor in the University of Nebraska. Berlin: Georg Reimer, publisher and printer. 1912. With a second title page, headed: *Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft Band IV*. Pp. xxi, 246.

18(b) *The evolution of the English drama up to Shakespeare with a history of the first Blackfriars theatre a survey based upon original records now for the first time collected and published*. By Charles William Wallace, PhD, professor in the University of Nebraska. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., [1968]. Pp. xxi, 246. This is a reprint of 18(a).

19. "Seven Blackfriars Documents." *The Athenaeum*, November 23, 1912, p. 635. Answer by Wallace to the claim by Albert Feuillerat (in *The Athenaeum*, November 9, 1912) that Wallace failed to acknowledge help received from Feuillerat while writing *The Evolution of the English Drama*.

20. "Seven Blackfriars Documents Only." *The Athenaeum*, January 4, 1913, pp. 21-22. A reply to Feuillerat's reply of November 30. A further reply by Feuillerat is in his *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1914), x-xi.

21. "A London Pageant of Shakespeare's Time. New Information from Old Records." *Times* (London), March 28, 1913, p. 6.
- 22(a). *The first London theatre, materials for a history*. By Charles William Wallace. (University Studies published by the University of Nebraska. XIII, 1, 2, 3, January-April-July, 1913.) Lincoln, Nebraska. Pp. 1-297.
- 22(b). *The first London theatre: materials for a history*. By Charles William Wallace. London and New York: Benjamin Blom [1969]. Pp. 1-297. This is a reprint of 22(a).
23. "Shakespeare and the Globe. New Documents Examined." *Times* (London), April 30, 1914, pp. 9-10, and May 1, 1914, p. 4. Published to mark the 350th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth.
24. "Shakespeare and America." *Poetry Review*, V (1914), 20-26. An address given at the Anglo-American Peace Centenary meeting of the Poetry Society, London, June 10, 1914. Wallace was the main speaker. A full account by J. P. Collins of this grand occasion headed, "Shakespeare as British Ambassador. Wallace, the Nebraska Professor, Amazing London with Revelations of the Poet's Conquest of America," is in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 24, 1914, p. 21.
25. "Other William Shakespeares." *Times* (London), May 8, 1915, p. 6, and May 15, 1915, p. 11.

NOTES

C. W. Wallace's personal and scholarly papers (mainly transcriptions of Elizabethan documents) pertaining to his research on the English drama and theatre were presented to the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, in 1962 by his sister-in-law, Victoria E. Berggren, through the agency of the late Professor R. G. Howarth. I quote from these papers by kind permission of the Huntington Library. They are in 14 boxes with a typescript checklist, whose numbering and lettering (preceded by HM) I follow when referring to them. The Wallace-Avery-Sherman correspondence and (on microfilm) the Minutes of the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska are in the University Archives, Lincoln. I am much indebted to the authorities of the Huntington Library, where I was a visiting fellow in 1972, and to Joseph Svoboda, archivist at the University of Nebraska—Lincoln; Edward Hirsch, of the University of Nebraska Foundation; Mrs. Lillian Howarth, Oranjezicht, South Africa; Victoria E. Berggren, Wichita Falls; Mrs. Ed Smith, Lincoln; and the Research Council of the University of Nebraska—Lincoln, for their assistance.

1. S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 650. Schoenbaum provides an account of Wallace's work on Shakespeare; there is also a useful article, by Louise Pound, in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1943).

2. HM A I and A II (autobiographical notes); the yearbook of the University of Nebraska, *The Sombrero* II (1892), v and VI (1901), 21; letter from Mrs. Ed Smith, January 8, 1977, with information from Victoria E. Berggren, in my possession.

3. R. D. Stock, "Prosser: Hall Frye: Conservative Humanist," *Modern Age*, 19 (1975), 61-70; M. Meredith and R. Odell, "Bibliography, Professional Activities and Vita" in L. C. Wimberly, ed. *Selected Writings of Louise Pound* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1949); L. A. Sherman, *Elements of Literature and Composition* (Lincoln, Nebraska: The University Publishing Company, 1908).

4. See A. Nicoll, "Studies in the Elizabethan Stage since 1900," *Shakespeare Survey*, 1 (1948), 1-16, and C. J. Sisson, "Studies in the Life and Environment of Shakespeare since 1900," *Shakespeare Survey* 3 (1950), 1-12.

5. C. W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1908), 105.

6. C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 5. The chapter is entitled, "The Realistic View of the Drama—Dependence on the Physical."

7. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*. 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923); G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*. 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-1968).

8. C. W. Wallace, *The First London Theatre, Materials for a History* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1913), 17, 32. A suggestion that the Burbage affair is reflected in *King John* is made by E. A. J. Honigman in his edition, *King John* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), xlvii-iii.

9. HM B¹ I 36 (a draft chapter on the "native origins" of the English drama and theatre); Wallace, *Evolution* (n. 6, above), 3; [D. Cook and F. P. Wilson] *Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber 1558-1642*. The Malone Society Collections, VI (1962) ("While the English theatre was being established, the Court was nurse, guardian, and chief patron of the drama," vii).

10. Alvin Johnson, *Pioneer's Progress* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1960 [first published, 1952]), 86-88. Perhaps it was under the same influence that Louise Pound developed her powerful argument against the "communal" theory of the origin of the ballad, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921).

11. Ignatius Donnelly, *The Great Cryptogram: Francis Bacon's Cipher in the So-Called Shakespeare Plays* (Chicago: R. S. Peale and Company, 1888). The frontispiece portrait of Bacon is labelled, "The True Shakespeare."

12. Wallace, *First London Theatre* (n. 8, above), 33.

13. James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2nd ed., 1966), 256; *The Sombrero* (n. 2, above) II, iv; HM A I (autobiographical note); *Hoye's City Directory of Lincoln for 1899* (Lincoln, Nebraska), 460, and . . . for 1900 (Lincoln, Nebraska), 489.

14. Wallace, *Evolution* (n. 6, above), 8.

15. Brochure of the J. B. Pond Lyceum Bureau, 1916, headed, "New Shakespeare Discoveries"—copy in HM B¹ 7 (a collection of news stories about Wallace). In 1913 Wallace wrote of "approximately three million" (*First London Theatre* [n. 8, above], 34).

16. Letters from Wallace to Sherman, July 9, 1910, Wallace to Avery, July 27, 1912, and Avery to Sherman, August 22, 1910.

17. Public Record Office (REQ/4/1, partly in the Public Record Office Museum); *First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), part 3, 24.

18. HM B¹ I 36 (n. 9, above); Schoenbaum (n. 1, above), 652-656; letter from Wallace to Avery, January 21, 1915.

19. F. N. Thorpe, ed. "Letters of Horace Howard Furness," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (April, 1914), 453; HM A IV (correspondence); "The Shakespeare Discoveries," *The Outlook* 94 (1910), 655.

20. C. W. Wallace, "New Shakespeare Discoveries," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 120 (March, 1910), 490; C. W. Wallace, "Shakespeare and the Blackfriars," *The Century Magazine*, 80 (September, 1910), 752; C. W. Wallace, "Three London Theatres," *University Studies*, IX (1909), 337. Dean Sherman had earlier found Shakespeare to have "divined business chances," to have been "singularly free from illicit attachments, to which genius is especially liable," and "kindly." (*What Is Shakespeare?* [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902], 280-281.)

21. Sidney Lee, "Shakespeare in London," *Times* (London), October 5, 1909), 8; "Shakespeare and Malt," *Times Literary Supplement* (May 27, 1915), 178; "The Future of Shakespearean Research," *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 59 (January-June, 1906), 778.

22. *The Parliamentary Debates . . . Fifth Series—Volume XVII . . . House of Commons* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), col. 733; *The Literary Digest*, 48 (1914), 1545; HM A III (a collection of personal appreciations): the printed

text of this lecture is more reserved (J. J. Jusserand, "What to Expect of Shakespeare," *Proceedings of the British Academy, 1911-1912* [London: The British Academy, n.d.], 234).

23. HM B¹ I 27 (holograph of Wallace's article on Shakespeare's signature, with related material).

24. F. E. Schelling, "The President's Address," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 30 (1915), lx; *The Literary Digest*, 48 (1914), 1544; *Nebraska State Journal*, March 16, 1913, Section A, 1; *Omaha Sunday Bee*, June 14, 1914, magazine section.

25. HM B¹ I 7 (a summary of documents printed by Wallace in *The Times*, 1914, with comments and appreciations) and B¹ 7 (a collection of news stories about Wallace); Thorpe (n. 19, above), 453; letter from Avery to Wallace, March 16, 1915. According to the Minutes of the Board of Regents, the board authorized the following sums for Wallace: 1909-1910—\$1,200 (November 11, 1909, "to enable him to complete important investigations of [a] literary character in London"); 1910-1911—\$1,200 (April 12, 1910); 1911-1912—\$1,700 (April 19, 1911); 1912-1913—"without pay" (September 3, 1912); 1913-1914—\$500 (May 2, 1913, for "services on leave"); 1914-1915—none, \$500 being proposed but disallowed (April 7, 1914); 1915-1916—\$300, reduced from \$500 (April 28, 1915), but the *Twenty-First Biennial Report of the Board of Regents* (University of Nebraska, 1913), 74, shows him as in fact "without pay" for 1910-1912; in these years most of his popular articles, which were a significant source of income to him (letters from Wallace to Avery, January 21, 1915, and April 16, 1915, and from Sherman to Avery, January 18, 1915), appeared. Drafts of what were probably intended to be articles of an even more popular nature are among his papers—see n. 23, above ("Feelings"), n. 40, below (by Hulda Wallace), and HM B¹ I 17 ("Shakespeare in Farrington Market").

26. Brochure of the J. B. Pond Lyceum Bureau (n. 15, above.)

27. P. Cunningham, "The Whitefriars Theatre, the Salisbury Court Theatre, and the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens," *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, IV (1849), 89-109; Bentley (n. 7, above) II, 684-687, VI, 88-89, 116-117; HM B¹ I 14 ("Players' Garments 1515-1556"—a misleading title), and HM B¹ III 13 (Trevill v. Woodford); British Library Additional Charters, 9290, 9292a, b, c; Public Record Office (REQ 2/784, order in the case of Trevill v. Woodford).

28. C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: University Press, 1936), 12-124; HM B¹ I 4 and 6 (Chapman's *The Old Jolner of Aldgate*, and *Keep the Widow Waking* by Dekker and others); Wallace, *Children* (n. 5, above), xi.

29. Chambers (n. 7, above) IV, 259-345; [A. J. Mill] "Dramatic Records of the City of London: the Repertories, Journals, and Letter Books." The Malone Society Collections II (1931), 285-320; HM B¹ I 31 (Prohibition of Plays, 1522-1644); Wallace, *First London Theatre* (n. 8, above), 23.

30. Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1928), 3-81; HM B¹ I 5 (Records of Plays, 1642-1659).

31. Wallace, *Evolution* (n. 6, above), 210 ff; HM B¹ I 23 (Plays at Court 1586-1642); D. Cook and F. P. Wilson (n. 9, above). Also HM B¹ I 25 (Preparations for Plays and Masks at Court 1559-1663) and [R. F. Hill and F. P. Wilson] *Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Office of Works 1560-1640*. The Malone Society Collections, X (1977).

32. A. Haaker, "The Plague, the Theater, and the Poet," *Renaissance Drama*, N.S. I (1968), 283-306; G. E. Bentley, "The Salisbury Court Theatre and Its Boy Players," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 40 (1977), 129-149.

33. Wallace, *Children* (n. 5, above), x; letter from Wallace to Avery, May 11, 1910; HM B¹ III 11 (Osteler v. Heminges); *Frank Sidgwick's Diary and other Material Relating to A. H. Bullen, & the Shakespeare Head Press at Stratford-Upon-Avon* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 81-82.

34. HM B' 1 1 (Plans for the Shakespeare Foundation). Wallace's theme is more fully developed in C. M. Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

35. HM B' 1 21 (a draft of Wallace's "Shakespeare and America," *Poetry Review* V [1914], 20-26); Sherman (n. 20, above), 329-332.

36. HM B' 1 6 (Foundations of Government Based on Ideals of Human Rights), and HM B' 1 1 (n. 34, above).

37. Announcement of reception and dinner by the Shakespeare Birthday Committee, April 9, 1917 (in the files of the Alumni Association, University of Nebraska—Lincoln); telegram, February 12, [1917]; Minutes of the Board of Regents, August 13, 1917; *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report of the Board of Regents* (Lincoln: The University, 1919), 159.

38. Letter from Wallace to Avery, April 9, 1919; telegram from Wallace to Avery, May 4, 1919; letter from Hulda Berggren Wallace to the Alumni Association, March 4, 1937 (in the files of the Alumni Association, University of Nebraska—Lincoln).

39. Letters from Mrs. Lilian Howarth, November 11, 1974, and from Mrs. Ed Smith, January 8, 1977, with information supplied by Miss Victoria Berggren, in my possession; *The Nebraska Alumnus*, 21 (October, 1925), 350 (based closely on the article in *Who's Who In America*); Minutes of the Board of Regents, May 12, 1919; letter from Hulda Berggren Wallace (n. 38, above).

40. Pound (n. 1, above); HM A V 4 is an autobiographical sketch ("Spring time") of memories of her childhood in Wahoo, Nebraska.