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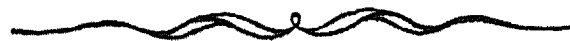
NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S

TRANSACTIONS.

1877-9.

PART I.



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New Shakspere Society's Transactions.

1877-9.

NOTICES OF MEETINGS.

THIRTIETH MEETING. Friday, Jan. 12, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, ESQ., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Director announced the recent death of Mr. Chas. Childs, the Society's Printer, and liberal helper in its undertakings; and it was resolved unanimously: "That a letter be addressed by the Hon. Secretary, expressing the deep regret of the Members at the death of Mr Childs, who has, from the first, taken the warm interest of a scholar in the success of the *New Shakspere Society;* and conveying the sincere sympathy of the Members with the family of the late Mr Childs in the loss which they have sustained."

The following new Members were reported to have joined the Society since the 8th of Dec. last:—

Josiah Blackwell.	S. D. Hopkinson.	Rev. P. A. Lyons.
Beverly Chew.	W. G. Stone.	Edward Rose.
Chas. S. Sergeant.	Mrs F. Wedmore.	Alexandra-College.
Lockwood and Co.	J. Miland.	Shakspere Soc., Dublin.

The Hon. Secretary presented the Income and Expenditure Sheet for the past year, which had been audited on the 8th inst., by Mr Saml. Clark, Junr., and Mr N. D. Chubb, two of the Members; and a vote of thanks was passed to the Auditors and to the Hon. Secretary.

The Paper for this evening was contributed and read by Mr Joseph Knight, being "Some points of resemblance and contrast between Shakspere and the Dramatists of his country and epoch." After asserting that the establishment of blank verse as the great medium of dramatic expression was principally due to Marlowe, and showing that with him it reached a point at which little room was left for improvement, Mr Knight compared certain creations of Marlowe with others of Shakspere. He then instituted comparisons between Shakspere and Marlowe, Webster, and Beaumont and

Fletcher, contrasting at some length the terrors of realisation in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and *Vittoria Corrombona* with those of suggestion in *Macbeth*. The absence from early dramatic literature of any keen appreciation of domestic life was dwelt upon; and also the fact, that throughout the whole range of the Elizabethan drama there is no attempt to dwell on the beauties of landscape,—of special flowers, &c., there is much,—and scarcely an instance in which the mention of the sea shows any sense that it was an object of delight rather than of terror.

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously tendered to Mr Knight for this Paper.

Mr Furnivall, Mr F. D. Matthew, and Miss L. Toulmin Smith took part in the discussion which followed the reading.

THIRTY-FIRST MEETING. Friday, Feb. 9, 1877.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

The following new Members were announced:—

Wm. Harrison.	Rev. J. Pierson.	Miss N. Outine.
W. H. Gray.	Wellesley Coll., Mass.	Shakspere Club, Stratford-on-Avon.
Geo. W. Ballon.	D. B. Brightwell.	
T. Sargent Perry.	H. J. Bailey.	

Read, a letter from the widow of the late Mr Childs, thanking the Members for the vote of condolence passed at the last meeting.

Mr Furnivall stated that Prof. Guizot had suggested that the source of the speeches of Brutus and Antony over Cæsar's dead body might be found in the englisht Appian's *Chronicle* of 1578.[1] Dr Ingleby read a paper "On Hamlet's 'some Dozen or Sixteen Lines';" an attempt to rebut the arguments both of Mr Malleson and Prof. Seeley (*New Shakspere Society's Transactions* for 1874, pp. 465—498). He contended that Shakspere's *only* object in mentioning Hamlet's speech was to give himself the chance of delivering, through Hamlet's mouth, a lesson in elocution, probably aimed at the faults of some rival actors. "If Shakspere had intended us to find the dozen or sixteen lines in the old play, we should have had a sufficient glance at their purport to serve our purpose. That there is no indication convinces me that, as soon as Hamlet has instructed the old Player, the function of the supposed insertion was fulfilled, and that they had no further part in *Hamlet*." Mr Malleson said that Dr Ingleby had in no way moved his (Mr Malleson's) former positions. The very parallelism of the sub-play and main play needed a supposed alteration by Hamlet to excuse it. Mr Furnivall could only

[1] Mr W. Watkiss Lloyd in 1856, referrd to Appian—tho' not the Englisht version—as one of Shakspere's authorities, in his Essay on *Julius Cæsar* in Singer's *Shakspere*, p. 401 of Lloyd's *Crit. Essays*, ed. 1875.

account for Dr Ingleby's argument by supposing that he had deliberately pasted a piece of paper over Hamlet's words to Horatio, "if his occulted guilt do not itself unkennel *in one speech*:" in them was the very "purport" of the dozen or sixteen lines which Dr Ingleby had declared was never stated. The latter answered that he did not consider this "one speech" was the same as Hamlet's; but he admitted that if it was, his paper fell to the ground.—The second paper was by Mr Edward Rose, on "The Division into Acts of *Hamlet*." He contended that Act III. was now wrongly divided from Act IV., in the middle of what should be the fourth scene of Act III., as the present IV. i. merely ended III. iv. He would end Act III. at the end of the present scene iii. of Act IV. This would make Act III. so long that Mr Rose proposed to take from it its present first scene, and add that to Act II. In the first part of Mr Rose's argument Mr Furnivall agreed, that the end of Act III. should be at the end of IV. ii.; but he declined to alter the end of Act II., because, if III. i. were added to Act II., Hamlet's second long soliloquy, "To be, or not to be," would be brought within fifty-five lines of his much longer, "Oh, what a rogue and peasant slave am I," and have to be delivered within two or three minutes after the attention of the audience had been exhausted by it. This was an arrangement that Shakspere never could have meant, and that no stage manager would sanction.

Messrs Bayne, Hetherington, Peto, Spalding, and the Rev. W. A. Harrison also spoke upon the above Papers: for which the thanks of the Meeting were given to the respective contributors.

THIRTY-SECOND MEETING. Friday, March 9, 1877.

F. D. Matthew, Esq., *in the Chair.*

The following list of new Members was handed in:—

E. W. Cox, Serjeant-at-law. Miss E. H. Hickey.
Sydney Free Public Library. Miss Philippa Bailey.
Margrave Esdaile.

The papers read were:—I. "On the Witches in *Macbeth*," by Mr T. Alfred Spalding.[1] The reader contended that the witches were of the ordinary type seen in the contemporary Scotch trials for witchcraft, and had nothing to do with the Norni; also that the subject was probably treated by Shakspere soon after James I.'s accession, because witchcraft was one of the king's favourite subjects, and he had himself been present at the trial of the witches accused of and condemned for raising the storm in which he and his bride

[1] Printed below, p. 27—40.

were in danger of their lives on their home-coming. 2. A report by Mr Furnivall of the arguments of Prof. March to prove youthfulness in the composition of the play of *Hamlet.* 3. "On the Play of *Troilus and Cressida;*" and 4. "On the Confusion of the Time in the Action of the *Merry Wives*, and Shakspere's Devices to Conceal it," both from the pen of Mr R. Grant White. *Troilus and Cressida* is, the writer urged, Shakspere's wisest play in the way of worldly wisdom. Ulysses pervades the whole serious part of the play: even the bold and bloody egotist, "the broad Achilles," talks Ulyssean; and Ulysses is Shakspere. The play is the only piece of Shakspere's introspective work. (Mr Furnivall also read his own comment on the play from proof-sheets.) In the *Merry Wives* Mr Grant White showed that no night intervened in Act III. sc. v. between Falstaff's first and second adventures, but that his second was made to take place before his first, early in the morning of the same day on the afternoon of which he had returned from his first; and this confusion Shakspere had skilfully concealed from his hearers and readers by interposing another scene between the two adventures.[1] 5. Mr Furnivall then read from the English *Appian* of 1578, the speeches of Brutus and of Antony over Cæsar's corpse, which had probably or possibly served Shakspere as the foundation for his own like speeches in *Julius Cæsar*, and which Prof. G. Guizot had lately pointed out anew.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the contributors and readers of the several Papers.

In the Discussions on the Papers, Messrs Matthew, Bayne, Hetherington, Peto, Spalding, and Furnivall, and Miss Hickey took part.

THIRTY-THIRD MEETING. Friday, April 13, 1877.

PROFESSOR KARL ELZE of Halle, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, on taking the chair, said:—"Ladies and Gentlemen:—Before entering on the business of the evening, I cannot but express my sense of the flattering compliment that has been paid to me by the invitation to take the chair on the present occasion; for, to preside over a meeting of an English Shakspere Society in Shakspere's own country is an honour of which a foreigner may well be proud. I do not, however, presume to attribute this honour to myself and my own slight merit, I rather attribute it to the German sister society, and to German Shakspere-learning, and German literature at large. I need not dwell on the well-known fact, which has no parallel in the whole history of literature. that Shakspere has found a second home in Germany, and that he is admired and cherished by us as much as any of our own great poets. A German critic has said, that Shakspere cradled our infant drama; and there can be no doubt whatever that within

[1] See on this point, Mr Daniel's Papers on the Time or Duration of the action in Shakspere's Plays, to be printed in Part II.

ten years after his death German alterations of some of his plays were being acted in the principal courts and towns of Germany, however rude and repulsive those alterations may appear to the more refined taste of the present age. Since that time Shakspere has shared all the vicissitudes, all the ups and downs of our literature, just like our own classic poets. All the foremost poets, critics, and scholars of Germany have done their best to bring him nearer, not only to our understanding, but also to our hearts and sympathies. It is hardly too much to say that the works and names of Lessing, Goethe, Schlegel, Tieck, Gervinus, and numerous others will be entwined for ever with the work and name of Shakspere. The present generation follows in the wake of these great leaders; and in some ill-advised quarters it is even a matter of complaint, that there is now no end in Germany of translations, of editions, of criticisms and essays on Shakspere. The simple fact that in a few days the twelfth volume of the German Shakspere Annual will be ready for delivery, seems to me a sufficient proof, not only of the earnestness and energy with which these studies are pursued, but also of the immeasurable compass and the inexhaustible depth of the subject.

"But it is by no means as an inexhaustible source of textual and æsthetic criticism, of literary research and antiquarian lore, that we prize Shakspere most. He would never have taken that prominent and lasting hold of our stage, where he is a successful competitor with Goethe and Schiller, if we did not take him for one of the greatest dramatic poets—if not *the* greatest dramatic poet—that ever lived; for a poet of the liveliest and sweetest imagination, and of an unparalleled creative power; for a poet of the widest intellectual grasp; for a heart-searcher who never had his like; and last, not least, for a teacher of mankind who inculcates the noblest and most elevated moral lessons, who fills our hearts with the love of wisdom, truth, and virtue, with noble aspirations, with loving-kindness and charity. He is indeed a Jacob's ladder to everything that is right, and honest, and true, and beautiful all over the world; and I am happy to say, that the conviction of his moral purity and elevation, in spite of some outward appearance to the contrary, is daily gaining ground with all civilized nations, and is uniting them in bonds of sympathy. Thus then Shakspere does not only prove a teacher of mankind, but also a golden link of human brotherhood. In this respect, as in many others, he is like nature, whose touch "makes the whole world kin." And it is in this sense that I may be allowed to feel myself kin to you and to all Shakspere's countrymen; and I should be much afraid of wronging you, if I did not feel convinced that you reciprocate this feeling."

The new Members announced were: Signor Pagliardini, Prof. J J. Lias, Prof. E. H. Smith, E S. Cox, Mrs W. R. Bullock, Bradford Literary Club, and J. Mackenzie Miall.

The Papers read were :—

I. On the Character of Brutus in the play of *Julius Cæsar*, by Peter Bayne, Esq.

II. On the Division of the Acts in *Lear*, *Much Ado*, and *Twelfth Night*, by James Spedding, Esq., M.A., Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

I. Setting out with the remark that the impartial dramatic sympathy of Shakspere (which enabled him to enter the heart and speak from the mouth alike of Cordelia and of Iago) made it difficult to discern his personal sentiments, Mr Bayne suggested one or two criteria by which his views as a man might be discovered in his works as an artist. One of these was the general impression left on the mind by a particular drama: we might generally be sure that what we felt strongly was what Shakspere intended us to feel. Another was his choice of subjects, and his mode of deciding between issues presented on the stage. When, for example, Shakspere chose for treatment "perhaps the most momentous issue ever fought out in this world, that between Cæsar and Brutus," we may believe that his adhesion to the cause of popular right, as opposed to unlimited personal sovereignty, was indicated by his decision that the action of Brutus was heroic. Quoting, as applicable to the early Romans as well as to the Greek, these words of Grote—"The hatred of kings . . . . was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature,"—Mr Bayne argued that Shakspere, though no classical scholar, evinced a more accurate conception of the moral and patriotic ideal of the ancients in making Brutus the hero of his play, than those clerical scholars "who, influenced by modern ideas, affirmed that those who slew Cæsar were guilty of a great crime." Even in his weaknesses, the Brutus of Shakspere was represented as noble. He expected to find others as good as himself, a fatal mistake in practical affairs, and trusted for influence upon masses of men to reason and logic rather than to rhetorical art. Antony, therefore, who, as compared with him, was a political charlatan, got the better of him. Mr Bayne illustrated at some length the position that Shakspere always represented the multitude as foolish and childish, but, at the same time, recognized the soundness of their instincts, and the readiness with which they responded to any appeal to their gratitude and courtesy. That Shakspere had an exceptional and superlative regard for the character of Brutus, Mr Bayne argued, from the careful elaboration of the scenes with Portia and with the boy Lucius,—scenes to which there is nothing parallel in Shakspere's treatment of men,—and from the estimate of Brutus put into the mouth of Antony, his enemy :—

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

II. Mr Furnivall then read: 1, some notes by Prof. Dowden on the opening bridal song in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, showing that the flowers in it were emblems of wedded life; 2, a paper, by Mr James Spedding, "On the Division of the Acts in *Lear*, *Much Ado*, and *Twelfth Night*."[1] Mr Spedding insisted that in *Lear* time must be given for the great battle in Act V. sc. ii. to be fought, and that, therefore, the end of Act IV. must be moved forward to the *exit* Edgar in the present V. ii., while Act V. must begin with Edgar's re-entrance. In *Much Ado*, Mr Spedding would end Act I. with its first scene; start Act II. with the present I. ii., and end it with II. ii.; open Act III. with Benedick in the garden, the present II. iii.; and begin Act IV. in Hero's dressing-room, the present III. iv. In *Twelfth Night*, Mr Spedding proposed to end Act I. with the present I. iv.; Act II. with the present II. ii.; and Act III. with the present III. i., the fourth and fifth Acts ending where they do now. In *Richard the Second*, the first Act should end with its third scene instead of its fourth. By these changes the present incongruities would be removed.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writers for their Papers. In the discussion on the first Paper Messrs Furnivall, Wedmore, Matthew, Hetherington, and Pickersgill took part.

After the other business of the evening was ended, Mr Furnivall rose and said: 'Altho' it is not customary to return a vote of thanks to our Chairman when one of ourselves is in the Chair, yet on an occasion like to-night's, when we are honourd with the presence of one of the most distinguisht Shakspere scholars of Germany, the editor of their Shakspere Society's Year-book, the friend of our friend Professor Delius—who has been twice among us and thrice sent us Papers for our *Transactions*,—I feel that you will all wish to return to Professor Elze your thanks for presiding over us to-night, and speaking to us those generous words in praise of our great Poet with which he opend our Meeting. It is a heart-felt pleasure to every English Shakspere-student, to know that in Germany, the poet he loves and honours has been made the nation's own, and that every German scholar who visits our shores, brings with him reverence and love for Shakspere. Our own Society owes Germany no common debt. When we started, Germany had for eight years had her Shakspere Society, which is now in its 12th year, while we are in our 4th. It was from German ground that our Society mainly started:—the insisting that Shakspere be graspt and treated as a whole, the workings of his mind followd from its rise to its fall, and that,—as our member Miss Hickey puts it,—each Play be studied, not only as one of Shakspere's works, but as part of his work. Our Prospectus from the first has contained the paragraph—

'"The profound and generous 'Commentaries' of Gervinus—an

[1] Printed below, p. 11—26.

honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read—is still the only book known to me that comes near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or can be put into the hands of the student who wants to know the mind of SHAKSPERE."

'And though now we have works that can stand beside Gervinus's, yet none the less do we still give him the post of honour among us. Prof. Delius's text of our poet has also just been reprinted in London. Our Chairman's Essays on Shakspere have been englisht. And I am sure he knows that no insular narrowness mixes with the feeling with which we return thanks to him, the first German scholar who has presided over us, the representative to us of that nation, great in learning and great in war, our own kith and kin, which has in our own time so splendidly asserted its love for its fatherland, as well in the battle-field, as in the realms of literature and science, the conquests of peace.'

The vote of thanks was carried with applause, and Professor Elze bowd his acknowledgment.

THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING. Friday, May 11, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, ESQ., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE Director announced that Mr T. Alfred Spalding, LL.B., had been elected a Member of Committee.

The following Subscribers were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

A. N. Coupland. W. Burnside.
F. J. Wildman-Lushington. Jas. Carmichael.

The Rev. J. W. Ebsworth then read a Paper, 'On the Songs of Shakspere.' Mr. Ebsworth said he had chosen the subject of Shakspere's songs as one that did not suggest controversy. Except the single verse in *Measure for Measure*, "Take, O take those lips away," and the group entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim*, scarcely anything had been urged in disproof of Shakspere's authorship of these songs. T. L. Beddoes, indeed, was "inclined to deny the authenticity of many smaller pieces and songs, such as that to Silvia in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. But this doubt was shown to be without good foundation. W. B. Procter's remarks were cited on the dramatic character of the lyrics. Shakspere's knowledge of the contemporary ballad literature was asserted, and several instances brought forward of his adaptation of such ditties, as well as his quotation of single lines from ballads which had been preserved. Some of these, never hitherto identified, were now shown to be referred to in *Twelfth Night*, &c. The songs in *Hamlet* were then passed

in review, the Gravedigger's and Ophelia's, followed by those of Feste in *Twelfth Night*, of the Fool in *King Lear*, in *As You Like It*, and of Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*. The different character of these jesters was touched on, as exemplified in their songs. The importance of the few songs that occur in the later tragedies was asserted, especially Iago's scraps of Bacchanalian revelry, and the Invocation and Dirge in *Cymbeline*. After brief mention of others, the paper concluded with remarks on the *Tempest*.

The thanks of the Members were unanimously voted for this Paper, and Mr Ebsworth was asked to prepare it for printing in the Society's 'Transactions.'

Messrs Furnivall, Hetherington, and Jarvis took part in the discussion which followed.

A Paper by Mr Furnivall was also read, 'On the Triple Endings in the Fletcher part of *Henry VIII*.'

Against Mr Swinburne's assertion that there were no triple endings in the Fletcher additions to Shakspere's play, Mr Furnivall showed, not only that there were such endings, but that they were present in almost the same proportion as in the *Knight of Malta* (assigned to Fletcher alone by Mr Swinburne), probably of the same date as *Henry VIII*, 1613; and as in *The Little French Lawyer*, which Mr Swinburne had declared to be, "in style and execution throughout, perfect Fletcher." Mr Furnivall also showed that the Fletcher part of *Henry VIII.* contained his characteristic heavy eleventh, or final extra syllable, so that Mr Swinburne's argument against Mr. Spedding's assignment of part of *Henry VIII.* to Fletcher was groundless.

Mr Furnivall was thanked for the above Paper.

THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING. Friday, June 9, 1877.

TOM TAYLOR, ESQ., *V.P., in the Chair.*

THE following New Members were announced :—

Rev. E. D. Stone.	Miss A. Grahame.
A. A. Burd.	Kenneth Grahame.
Prof. Lounsbury.	F. J. Soldan.

The Director reported that Mr J. W. Hales had been compelled, by other engagements, to retire from the Committee.

Prof. Hiram Corson, of the Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A., read a paper on Shakspere's Versification. He divided Shakspere's verse into two great classes :—1. The earlier, or recitative ; 2. The later, or spontaneous, while admitting that instances of each occurred in the other. He contended that the use of ryme in a play depended

on the special tone or pitch of the play—in one like *Midsummer Night's Dream* ryme must needs be largely used—and was, therefore, no safe guide in the chronology of the plays. In the recitative style, the pause came, in part of *Romeo and Juliet*, 226 times after a light syllable, to 169 times after a complete foot; in selected passages from 1 *Henry IV.*, 87 times in the middle of a foot, to 44 after a complete foot; and from *Henry V.*, 50 after the middle, to 36 after the end. The best instances of the recitative style were Act I. sc. iii. of 1 *Henry IV.*, and Vernon's speech in 1 *Henry IV.*, IV. i. 97—110. Prof. Corson then dealt with the melody of vowels and consonants, and contended that alliteration was more frequent in the recitative than the spontaneous style. In the latter style light endings were largely found, and in late specimens of it, as in *Cymbeline* (Imogen's Milford speech to Pisanio), the standard measure was quite sunk in the varied measures. The use of extra end-syllables — before they had lost their dramatic worth, as in Fletcher, by their continuous use — was, as in Hamlet's great soliloquies, to give a reflective tone to speeches; sometimes, also, to strike a balance between thought and feeling; and sometimes to add positiveness to language. Prof. Corson then discussed the vocabulary of Shakspere — contrasting the Latin of *Troilus and Cressida* with the homelier Anglo-Saxon of *Lear*—and then dwelt on the effect Shakspere got by using monosyllables, of which the *staccato* movement subserved strong feeling, as in John's speech to Hubert, "Good friend," &c.; and also the abruptness of strong feeling, as in Falconbridge's speeches to Salisbury and Hubert. Note what effect is got by the contrast of the many- and one-syllabled words in the lines—

> "Beyond the infinite and boundless reach
> Of mercy, if, thou, didst, this, deed, of, death,
> Art, thou, damn'd, Hubert."

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to Prof. Corson. Messrs Tom Taylor, Furnivall, and Frank Marshall, discussed the views put forward in the Paper.

FIFTH SESSION

THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING. Friday, Oct. 12, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, ESQ., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE following New Members were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

N. P. Richardson.	W. A. Turner.
W. Leighton, Junr.	T. W. Gillibrand.
G. H. Howard.	C. J. Ridge.
A. F. Bowie.	Rev. Prof. Pulling.
H. B. Horner.	G. A. Greene.
Arthur Hodgson.	H. M. FitzGibbon.
Wm. Geo. Black.	Mitchell Lib., Glasgow.

The following recent gifts were announced:—

Mrs Richard Simpson, a donation of £2.

Mr A. P. Paton, a pamphlet on 'The Tragedy of *Macbeth*.'

Mr T. H. H. Caine, a pamphlet on '*Richard III.*, and *Macbeth*.'

And it was Resolved:—

That the best thanks of the Society be returned to the respective donors.

Mr Furnivall reviewd the work of the Society and its leading members during the last year and a half, and insisted that the Society's first object, the promotion of the chronological and intelligent study of Shakspere, the bringing-out of his growth in spirit and art, had made enormous progress. He then read the following papers:—1. By Mr P. A. Daniel, 'On the Mistakes in the late Mr Halpin's Short-Time Analysis of the *Merchant of Venice*,'[1] showing that at least eight days were mentioned in the play, with one interval of, say, a week, and another of at least a few days, or maybe two months and a-half. Messrs Furnivall, Matthew, Hetherington, Gilman, Jarvis, Pagliardini, and Rose, discussed Mr Daniel's views; and Mr Rose was asked to put his remarks in writing, in order to their being printed to follow Mr Daniel's Paper. Scraps[2] were also read as under:—2. By Mr P. A. Daniel, showing that Iago's *squadron* in his sneer at Cassio (*Othello*, I. i. 22) meant a corporal's guard of 20 or 25 men. 3. By Mr W. Wilkins (Trin. Coll., Dublin), showing that Touchstone's "feature" in *As You Like It*, III. iii. 3, meant "facture," *making* (in the early English sense), composition,

[1] Printed below, p. 41.

[2] Mostly printed below, p. 105, &c.

verses. 4. By Dr Brinsley Nicholson, an illustration, by a quotation of 1640, of the *Tempest* line, I. ii. 102, as to one telling a lie till he believed it; a quotation from George Withers's *Great Assizes holden in Parnassus*, 1645, a trial of Shakspere and other dramatists and poets.[1] 5. By Mr Furnivall, (*a*) confirmation of William Herbert being possibly the "W. H." of the *Sonnets*, from Lord Clarendon's description of the clever plain women he (Lord Pembroke) loved, suiting Shakspere's dark mistress; and from Wm. Herbert's likeness to his mother in Lodge's Portraits. (*b*) A use in 1570 of the *Hamlet* sear (of a pistol-lock)—"whose lungs are tickle o' the *sere*."—This expression was capitally illustrated by Mr Hetherington, who quoted a Cumberland farmer's remark to him on a hot-tempered woman, "She's as *tickle* as a mouse-trap: touch the spring, and off she goes!" (*c*) Proof that the Duke's "forked arrows" in *As You Like It* were barbd and not prongd ones. (*d*) Illustrations of "Master" Launcelot in the *Merchant of Venice* (he, being one of "the rascability of the popular," claimed to be a gentleman or esquire), of *Goodman* Verges, &c., from Sir Thomas Smith, &c.

Dr. Grosart's tracing of a doubtful signature of the dramatist "Johne Ford, 1641," was exhibited.

The thanks of the Members were voted to each of the Contributors, and to Mr Furnivall, as reader of the various Papers.

THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING. *Friday, Nov.* 9, 1877.

TOM TAYLOR, ESQ., *V. P., in the Chair.*

THE following new Members were announced:—

H. Morse Stevens. P. J. Hanlon, and the Gray's Inn Library.

Mr Edward Rose read a paper on Shakspere's adaptation of *The Troublesome Reigne of King John*.[2] He contended that Shakspere's skill as a practical dramatist had never been really appreciated, and that yet he owed his universal fame in great measure to this quality, by virtue of which his plays still kept the stage. To prove this thorough knowledge by Shakspere of his art, Mr Rose compared the play of *King John*, act by act and scene by scene, with the anonymous play from which it was adapted by Shakspere, and showed how he had put it into practicable stage-form, compressing scenes, expanding speeches, reducing the exits and entrances to a minimum, and making the important characters stand out in bolder relief. At the same time, play-hearer and reader could not but feel the want of a strong central character in the play, which was fatal to its success on

[1] To be given in the Society's new edition of Ingleby's *Century of Praise*.
[2] This Paper was afterwards accepted for *Macmillan's Magazine*.

the stage, and which might, Mr Rose thought, have been overcome, had Shakspere departed boldly from the lines laid down by the original author, which, instead, he has followed with singular closeness. In the discussion which followed, Mr Tom Taylor said that the most valuable lessons which a modern dramatist could get in the representation of character on the stage were still to be drawn from Shakspere's plays. Mr Furnivall, while glad that Mr Rose had acknowledged Shakspere's one great and two smaller mistakes in *King John* which were not due to the old play—the failing to connect the king's poisoning with his crimes, and to account for the Bastard's hatred of Austria and opposition to Blanche's marriage—suggested that Shakspere's strength, development of character, and especially the characters of the men he admired—like Falconbridge, &c., in *King John*—sometimes led him to sacrifice dramatic proportion to it, and accounted for the weakness of *John*, &c., and specially of *Henry V.*, as acting plays. Nothing could make *Henry V.* "go" as a play. Mr Peter Bayne, while agreeing in this, urged that this same being swung-away by delight in a character—like Scott with Nicol Jarvie—in other plays heightened their dramatic force as well as their charm. Mr Hetherington, Mr Rose, and others also spoke.

THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING. Friday, Dec. 14, 1877.

JAMES GAIRDNER, ESQ., *in the Chair.*

MRS K. R. DOWD, Mrs A. C. Sanford, and Mr T. O. Harding, were reported as having joined the Society during the past month.

A paper on 'The Sources of *Henry V.*,' by Mr W. G. Stone, was read.[1] After some brief remarks on the editions and dates of *Henry V.*, the Globe Theatre, in which it was first acted, and the scenic difficulties involved in its representation, referred to several times in the prologues, the writer proceeded to compare the play scene by scene with corresponding passages from the reign or Henry V. in Holinshed's *Chronicles.* To this source it appeared that—with one or two trifling exceptions—Shakspere was indebted for the historical matter of his play. It was suggested that the episode of Ancient Pistol and the French soldier (Act IV. iv.) might have been derived from a somewhat similar scene in the *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (*Shakspere's Library*, pt. 2, i. 368). The wooing scene in the *Famous Victories* was also compared with the similar scene in *Henry V.* The *crux* pointed out by Johnson (*Variorum Shakspere*, xvii. 440)—namely, that in Act IV. vii.

[1] It forms the first part of Mr Stone's Introduction to his revisd edition of *Henry V.*, which will be issued to Members in 1879.

Henry would seem to order his prisoners' throats to be cut again—was dealt with, and explained by a reference to the stage directions in the Folio for Act IV. sc. vi. and vii., and also to the account in Holinshed of the last phase of the battle. (The latter explanation had been previously offered by M. Mason, *Variorum Shakspere*, xvii. 441.) Shakspere was shown to have adhered closely to his authority, and in only two instances—the most important being the embassy of Exeter—to have altered the order of events. In the notes to this paper, which has been written as an Introduction to a revised edition of *Henry V.*, undertaken by Mr Stone for the New Shakspere Society, the historical sources of the *Chronicles*, so far as Henry V.'s reign is concerned, were traced. The paper concluded with a sketch of Henry's character as delineated by Shakspere. The general summing-up of the king's character in the *Chronicles* was compared here. In this part of the paper Mr Stone attempted to explain and justify Henry's questionable utterances in 1 *Henry IV.*, I. ii. 219—241. In the discussion which followd, Messrs Gairdner, Hetherington, Matthew, Rose, and Furnivall took part.

THIRTY-NINTH MEETING. Friday, Jan. 11, 1878.

F. J. FURNIVALL, ESQ., *Director, in the Chair.*

THE following new Members were announced :—

Rev. J. L. Carrick.	C. J. Dibdin.
Miss G. Phipson.	J. D. Sears.
Hy. T. Fuller.	Rev. J. C. Hudson.
J. D. Barnett.	Miss Ingram.

The Hon. Sec. handed in the Income and Expenditure Sheet of the past year, as audited on the 9th inst., and it was resolved :—That the thanks of the Meeting be given to Mr Hy. B. Wheatley, and Mr Saml. Clark, Jun., two Members of the Society, for their kindness in acting as Auditors of the accounts for the past year.

A unanimous vote of thanks was also passed to the Council of University College for their courtesy in allowing the Society to continue to hold its meetings at the College.

A paper was read by Mr T. Alfred Spalding, LL.B., on 'The First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet;* is there any Evidence of a Second Hand[1]?' The object of the paper was to controvert the arguments by which Mr Fleay has sought to show that Peele's workmanship is to be traced in the first Quarto, and also Mr Grant White's opinion that part of it was written by Greene. After producing evidence to show that the first Quarto was a pirated edition, and criticising Mr Fleay's evidence in favour of a contrary view, the

[1] Printed below, p. 58.

reader proceeded to deal with what Mr Fleay puts forward as the distinctive test of Peele's hand, the lines containing an extra strong syllable that does not occur after a pause, and cannot be slurred. He pointed out (1) that Peele's works contained remarkably few of these lines—not so many, in fact, as Greene's; (2) that such lines were to be found plentifully in other surreptitious Quartos, illustrations being given from the Corambis *Hamlet*, the 1600 Quarto of *Henry V.*, and the 1608 Quarto of *King Lear;* (3) that the extra heavy syllable had no necessary place in the line, and could nearly always be removed without injuring either sense or metre. The conclusion arrived at, therefore, was that the extra heavy syllable was evidence of a surreptitiously-obtained manuscript, and was due to actors' or reporters' faults. The secondary evidence was then analysed in a similar manner, and shown to point to the same conclusion. In commenting on Mr Grant White's view, the reader pointed out the danger of basing conclusions as to style upon such a publication as the first Quarto; for, admitting, as Mr Grant White does, the piracy, what guarantee is there that the supposed un-Shaksperean passages are not the work of a reporter or editor?

A note by Mr W. Wilkins, on the 'other business' of *Tempest*, I. ii. 115, was then read. The purport of Mr Wilkins's Paper was as follows:—

The 'business,' l. 367, was probably some bootless task intended only as a punishment, like the gathering of sticks (l. 366) when the woods were wet after the storm, and when Prospero had already abundance of fuel at his cell (Act I. 314, and Act III. i. 8). But the 'business' in line 305, which neither the monster nor Miranda was permitted to understand, was, Mr Wilkins argued, definite; and simply this: Caliban was to exhibit his physical and moral deformity to Miranda, as a foil to set off the approaching beauty and nobleness of Ferdinand. Prospero's object was twofold: first, artistic; secondly, ethical. As the Providence of the play, the magician foreordains the love-affair; but he does more: he places checks upon it, and for two reasons: first, because moral severity to all the characters is the tone of the play; and secondly, because a handfast marriage, like those in *As You Like It*, would be impolitic in the extreme, so long as Alonzo's approbation remained doubtful. Mr Wilkins pointed out, from the notes of time in the play, that Prospero slept, as was his custom, from about four o'clock till six; and hence felt with Friar Laurence (*R. & J.*, Act II. vi. 36, 37), that in the situation of the lovers, elevated ethical influences would be of the utmost importance. So Ferdinand, who, as an Italian courtier had been exposed to the same influences as Iachimo, receives injunctions to respect his betrothed; and Miranda, more impulsive and unsuspecting than her countrywomen, Juliet and Desdemona, is delicately and trustfully helped in what is becoming, by the masque (Act IV. i. 87—101), and (as Mr Wilkins especially contended) by

Caliban, and the crime which cost him his liberty, being obtruded on her attention just before the appearance of the prince. In the ensuing love at first sight she takes Ferdinand for a spirit (l. 409). Thus the heightening and purifying in Miranda's eyes of the prince's beauty, beside the monster's ugliness, is, Mr Wilkins contended, the 'business' of l. 315.

Prospero and Polonius give lessons in propriety to their daughters so differently, that we gather Shakspere's opinion as to the best way of preaching morality: namely, by example rather than by precept, by trust rather than by suspicion, and finally, by the stage (*Temp.*, IV. i. 60, *et seq.*) rather than the nunnery (*Hamlet*, I. iii. 121, and III. i. 44).

Mr Wilkins's view of the distinction between the two 'other businesses' was not endorsed by the Meeting, but a vote of thanks was passed to him for his paper, and to the Director for reading it.

FORTIETH MEETING. Friday, Feb. 8, 1878.

WM. CHAPPELL, ESQ., *F.S.A.*, *in the Chair.*

MR WM. CHAPPELL was announced as a New Member.

The Director read a letter from Prof. Pulling on his results after having applied the speech-ending test to the early *Romeo and Juliet*, and the late *Cymbeline*. These were:—

	R. & J.	*Cymb.*
Single-line verse speeches	135	17
Part-line " "	86	188
Speeches ending with end of line	332	86
" " in middle "	71	391

The Paper for this evening was written and read by the Rev. J. Woodfall Ebsworth, on 'Shakspere's Knowledge and Use of Old Ballads.' First, a passage from Richard Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, ii. 13, was considered and rejected, because it unwarrantably asserted that the poet's career had begun as a ballad-writer, and "for seven years' space, absolute interpreter to the puppets." The object of the paper was to show Shakspere's extensive knowledge of current ballads, and the skilful employment of them, when quoted appropriately by the *dramatis personæ*, "because he sympathised with common minds as well as with the loftiest and purest; he loved to make acquaintance with the ballad-singer's art: he brightened as with spots of colour his sombre tragedies with bursts of song. He lifted his comedies into more intense merriment by snatches of droll ballads. He gives to his creations the love of music that he held himself, suiting the individual tastes of each." This was the key-note

struck, and in detail were shown the ballads introduced or mentioned, but divided from those original songs which the poet himself wrote for his dramas. *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, the *Tempest*, and others passed under review, the various ballads identified being almost all quoted at full length, or full references given to where they are preserved. The scene from *Twelfth Night*, II. iii., and another from *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii., were given to show the ballad-allusions closely packed therein. A large group of "Lady, Lady, my dear Lady" ballads, and some others, such as "O the twelfth day of December!" which had long been supposed to have perished, were produced in illustration. The friendships of the poet, his connection with Marlowe, and the history of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, were briefly touched on, but reserved for separate consideration. Several of the ballads were sung, such as "Fortune, my Foe," "Greensleeves," "Old Sir Simon, the King."

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Ebsworth, who, at the request of the Meeting, undertook to enlarge his Paper into a separate treatise for the Society.

The discussion on the Paper was opened by the Chairman, and continued by Mr Furnivall.

FORTY-FIRST MEETING. Friday, March 8, 1878.

FRANK A. MARSHALL, ESQ., *in the Chair*.

MR H. COURTHOPE BOWEN read a paper on *As You Like It*. After a few remarks on the methods we should pursue, and the object we should have, in fixing the date of a play, Mr Bowen confirmed Malone's opinion that *As You Like It* was written (at least in part) in 1599; he also agreed with Mr Aldis Wright that the stay of publication in 1600 was probably due to the play's being unfinished. He then sketched, partly from fact, and partly from fancy, Shakspere's external life at this time, and endeavoured by means of the play to catch a glimpse of his inner life, showing that the difference between town and country, and town-folk and country-folk, occupied his mind considerably at this period, during which we know he was establishing himself at Stratford. Mr Bowen then discussed the faults of the play as a play, pointing out several signs of haste and incompleteness, especially in the bad characters, and in the last scene. He then turned to consider the prominent characters in *As You Like It*, and dwelt much on the perfect skill and knowledge of human nature shown in Rosalind, Orlando, Touchstone, and Jaques. The exiled Duke he considered "an idling sentimentalist," a phrase which called out some strong protests.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Bowen for his contribution.

The discussion was opened by the Chairman, and continued by Messrs Furnivall, Hetherington, Matthew, Oswald, Rose, and Harrison, and Mr Bowen replied.

FORTY-SECOND MEETING. April 13, 1878.

HY. COURTHOPE BOWEN, ESQ. (*Treasurer*), *in the Chair.*

THE New Members announced were :—

Miss Porter.
Judge A. B. Braley.
Professor Brown.
Mercantile Lib. of Philadelphia.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Drs Karl Warnke and Ludwig Proescholdt for their present to the Society of their edition of the comedy of *Mucedorus*.

Mr Furnivall announced that he had undertaken the superintendence of a series of Photolithographic Facsimiles by Mr W. Griggs; which he hoped would include all the First Quartos of Shakspere's Plays, and those Second Quartos which were most needed. He added that the Committee of the Society had sanctioned the series as a help to the Society's work.

The Papers read were :—

I. 'On *Love's Labour's Lost*,' by W. H. Pater, Esq., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose Coll., Oxford.

II. 'Some Remarks concerning the introductory Scene of the Second Part of *Henry IV.*,' by Prof. Hagena, of Oldenburg; with a Letter thereon by P. A. Daniel, Esq.[1]

III. 'On *Hamlet* as the greatest of Shakspere's Plays; with some attempt to determine the character of Hamlet,' by the Rev. M. Wynell Mayow, B.D.

Mr Mayow contended that we should consider as "greatest," that which, in reference to its excellences (of all kinds), we might suppose it would take the longest time to reproduce; and he owned in his judgment, that as in point of beauty we might look for twenty Cleopatras before finding another Helen, or ten Homers, or a hundred Miltons, before another Shakspere, so we might expect to find, if *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Lear*, or the *Tempest* could be reproduced in a thousand years, that it would take another million before we could get another *Hamlet*. He proceeded to give some reasons for this belief. And here he divided his points of excellence into two especial classes. 1. Conception. 2. Execution. Leaving the point of execution at present out of sight, he stated that in his judgment,

[1] These will be printed next year.

Hamlet so exceeded all other dramas in *conception*, as to make that Tragedy stand alone, *facile princeps*, among all competitors. He explained that in this respect of conception he was not thinking so much of the supernatural element in the play, as of the natural: that Hamlet himself was the wonderful creation:—wonderful, as witnessed in this, that whilst we all admitted Hamlet to be all nature, or all nature to be in Hamlet, yet no two commentators seemed to agree in what his nature was:—what were his motives, or what was the key to his character; his action, or, if it be so, his inaction.

Mr Mayow then produced his own theory of what Hamlet's real nature was:—the almost perfection of all faculties, intellectual, moral, physical; and traced to this, and the balance of these qualities in him, his difficulty in carrying into action the command laid upon him by the Ghost. He then noticed in some detail the way in which it might be supposed a like command would have influenced many other characters;—as, Caliban, Iago, Macbeth, Laertes, Brutus, Cassius, Hotspur, Leonatus, Posthumus, Prospero, Falstoffe, Shylock, Ulysses;—and why (said the Reader) do I go through these names, and ask what they would or would not have done, but to point out from a host of examples from Shakspere himself, that there is no other man like Hamlet?—no one with the fineness of his organization, or the amount of his susceptibilities; and that he consequently saw objections, arguments, dangers, and even sins, in whatever he might do, which a blunter intellect, or a duller heart, or a less quickened feeling, or a less active conscience, would never have seen or felt at all; and thus that it was the very greatness of his faculties, and the balance of his excellencies, and the fineness of his perceptions—not irresolution or want of nerve—which made him to be poised in inactivity.

Enlarging here upon Hamlet's repugnance to the task imposed upon him, Mr Mayow examined at some length the scene in which, even after the result of the play had satisfied him of the King's guilt, finding the King at his prayers, he yet refuses to kill him, under the plea that to take him then would send him to Heaven, and so be "hire and salary, not revenge;" but, in Mr. Mayow's judgment, this dreadful reason was nót the real motive of Hamlet's forbearance. That scene was only the proof that now when it came to the point, and there was no other ground at all on which to let the King escape, he had *no mind* to kill him; and so, in the fertility of his imagination, he immediately invented this, as a reason for deferring the execution of the task imposed. "The thought served its turn. It made and brought a respite."

Mr Mayow next turned to the vexed question of Hamlet's madness; whether real or feigned. At greater length than we can here attempt to summarise, the Reader expressed his strong conviction that Hamlet was not mad in any degree, or upon any point. If he were, was it not fair to ask, Upon what subject was he

under any delusion? Of course, it was not to be taken as a delusion that he saw the Ghost, or heard him speak. This was a postulate of the play, as was evident from the others, Horatio, Bernardo, Marcellus, who also saw him. And this being granted, on what subject was there any delusion upon his mind? Nay, was it not manifest, that at any and every moment he could cast off his semblance of insanity, and resume his manifestly sound mind. Those four words, in one place, "Now I am alone," spoke volumes as to this. "Now I am alone!" The restraint of this shew of madness is off me; I know all I have been doing, and now I can unbend, and commune with my soul, and ask it, why I am so tardy in the work I have to do?

Mr Mayow then turned to Hamlet's scene with his mother after the acting of the play, and pointing out in considerable detail the various salient points in that dialogue, claimed the whole, (except one piece of wild rant introduced for a special purpose towards the end of the colloquy,) as a manifest proof of the sane mind, which Shakspere attributes to him.

The paper then took into consideration, Hamlet's conduct towards Ophelia, which was by many supposed to be the strongest mark of his insanity, inasmuch as it was thought there could be no other excuse for the harsh, unfeeling, and as it has been said, *brutal* manner in which he broke off his love-suit. In fact, (as some averred,) that the only explanation here is to set his conduct down to madness:—in short, that it is essential to his character as a gentleman, to give him up as a lunatic!

In reply, however, to this, it was pointed out, that Hamlet had at once perceived upon receiving the Ghost's mission, that all thoughts of happiness and love must be cast aside. He therefore feels it would be unjust to Ophelia to go on engaging her affections. He cannot simply withdraw, and clearly he cannot explain. His resource is to make Ophelia dislike or hate him; and in breaking his own heart, he overlooks that he breaks hers also. It was likewise pointed out, that all the main bitterness of his invective here uttered against woman, is not really pointed at Ophelia, but by inuendo and *double entendre*, against his mother, and her conduct who, as he tells her, had done—

"Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;
Calls virtue, hypocrite; takes off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent love,
And sets a blister there."

Act III. Sc. iv.

After various further illustrations of these views, Mr Mayow summed up his remarks, and expressed his conviction that the play of *Hamlet* must be placed first and foremost among all the Works of Shakspere himself; and that in fact there is nothing equal to it in the whole range of human composition.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr Pater, Profr. Hagena, Mr Daniel, and Mr Mayow, for their respective Contributions.

The Discussion on Mr Mayow's Paper was opened by the Chairman, who dissented from some of Mr Mayow's points; as did, strongly, Mr Furnivall and Mr Hetherington. Mr Everett entirely agreed with Mr Mayow. Mr Spalding against, and Mr Rose and Miss Peto for Mr Mayow, continued the discussion, and Mr Mayow replied.

FOURTY-THIRD MEETING. Friday, May 10, 1878.

F. D. MATTHEW, ESQ., *in the Chair.*

THE New Members announced were: Mr Hendrik Schück, and Mr Chas. F. Jervis.

Mr Furnivall stated that the Committee had accepted the offer of the Clifton (near Bristol) "Shaksperian Reading Society" to send up a Paper by one of their Members, Mr J. W. Mills, B.A., 'On the Anachronisms of *The Winter's Tale;*' and that the Paper would probably be read at the first Meeting of the Society in October.

The Paper read was, 'On Elizabethan Demonology,' by T. A. Spalding, Esq., LL.B. The paper was an attempt to sketch out the leading features of the belief in evil spirits as it existed during the Elizabethan epoch, more especially with reference to Shakspere and his work. The paper was divided into three sections. The first dealt with the general laws that appear to have operated in creating and modifying the belief in the existence of good and evil spirits:—(1) The impossibility of Monotheism; (2) The Manichæan error; and (3) The tendency to convert the gods of hostile religions into inferior, or even evil, spirits. This last tendency was traced through the Greek, Neoplatonic, Jewish, and Christian systems; with the difference in this last, that the mediæval Church in its missionary efforts compromised to a certain extent with the heathen mythologies, and identified their purer beliefs with its own. The foundation, therefore, of the diabolic hierarchy was the exploded beliefs of the heathen nations; but the more important of the Teutonic deities are not to be traced in it on account of this absorption. In the second section the actual belief of Shakspere's contemporaries was discussed under three heads:—(1) The Classification; (2) Appearance; and (3) Powers of the Evil Spirits. Under the first head the reader took occasion to point out the relation of *King Lear* to Dr Harsnet's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures.* Under the third head the capacity to assume various forms—human, animal, or Divine—was discussed, with special reference to the transitional belief of the Reformation period on the subject of ghosts—the Conservatives believing in the return of disembodied spirits, the Reformers attributing such appearances to the machinations of the evil one—and

the manner in which the transition is reflected in *Hamlet.* The second power was that of possession; and the various methods of exorcism were also described. The power of causing bodily diseases and the incubus theory were also alluded to. The reader opened the third section by pointing out that the only difference between fairies and devils was the difference in degree of the evil they wrought—fairies, malicious; devils, malignant. This has an historical origin. When a nation, as in the pre-Reformation times, has unity of creed, and its attention is directed to agricultural and domestic matters chiefly, its spirits take their tone from this—become fairies, mischievous in homestead and field. When, however, the ancient creed gets exploded, and men have to encounter for themselves theological doctrines, the belief is in spirits who are scheming destruction of body and soul. But the change first occurs in the towns: the old belief hangs on much longer in country places. Hence at both ends of Shakspere's work, when he was most influenced by country life, we find fairy plays—the *Dream* and the *Tempest;* and in the middle, while his life was affected by town-thought, we get the great tragedies, in which devil-agency is so predominant. But the *Tempest* is not a mere return to the *Dream.* Shakspere's works seem to bear the impress of a mental struggle that most men have to undergo. The starting-point for this is the first stage—of hereditary belief—where a man accepts unhesitatingly what he is taught: the *Dream.* The second stage—when doubts arise as to the truth of the customary belief, the period of scepticism—is illustrated by the great tragedies, the leading feeling of which is that an overruling evil fate sweeps good and bad equally to destruction: that man is the toy of malignant beings. The third period—the period of intellectual belief—is illustrated by the *Tempest,* where Shakspere, Prospero-like, teaches that man, by nobleness of word and work, by self-mastery, may overcome this evil; that his great duty is to fight out the cause of truth and right in the present; to leave peering into the sleep that rounds this little life, and make the world happier and better than he found it.

In the discussion, the Chairman, Mr Furnivall, Mr Peter Bayne, the Rev. Wynell Mayow, Mr Rose, Mr Pickersgill, and Mr Harrison joined; and Mr Spalding replied.

FOURTY-FOURTH MEETING. Friday, June 14, 1878.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., *Director, in the Chair.*

The New Members announced were—Mr E. Fitzgerald, and The Universal Library, Leipsic.

The Director reported that the Committee had this evening elected Dr Ingleby a Vice-President, and Messrs Peter Bayne and Edward Rose, Members of the Committee of the Society.

In the absence of Mr Fredk. Wedmore, his Paper — 'On Caliban'—was read by Mr Bayne, and thanks were voted to the writer and reader.

The Speakers upon this Paper were: Mr Furnivall, Mr Bayne, Dr Brinsley Nicholson, Messrs. Spalding, Hetherington, and Rose, and the Rev. M. W. Mayow.

The second Paper read this evening was by Mr Coote, of the Map Department of the British Museum, on Shakspere's 'New Map with the augmentation of the Indies in *Twelfth Night*,' Act II, Sc. iii. (printed below, p. 88).

Mr Coote was thanked for his contribution, on which Mr Furnivall spoke.

A Paper by Wm. Malleson, Esq., 'On the element of Chance in the *Merchant of Venice*,' was also read (by Mr Furnivall) this evening, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the writer and reader.

Dr B. Nicholson and the Rev. M. W. Mayow spoke upon the Paper.

Income and Expenditure of the New Shakspere Society *for the Year ending Dec.* 31, 1877.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balances, Jan. 1, 1877:									
Cash at Bank				48	12	9			
Petty Cash				6	4	5	54	17	2
Members' Subscriptions (less Agents' Commission)				489	9	10			
Viz. :—For 1874—76	83	7	0						
1877	380	6	10						
1878	25	16	9						
Donation (by Mrs R. Simpson)				2	0	0	491	9	10
							£546	7	0

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing :									
Messrs Childs (balance), for *Harrison*, I.				173	15	3			
,, ,, ,, *Two Noble Kinsmen*				39	13	9			
,, ,, ,, of Miscellan. accounts				52	7	11			
Messrs Clay and Taylor, on account ..				60	0	0			
				325	16	11			
Illustrations				20	7	6			
Binding, Postage, Package, Stationery, &c.				113	12	9			
viz. :—Post. & Carriage of Publications	53	4	3						
Package of publications	19	13	9						
Binding of ,, ,,	38	0	9						
Stationery	2	14	0						
Copying and Collating				23	4	6	483	1	8
Members' Meetings (cost of)				20	13	3	20	13	3
							503	14	11
Balances, Dec. 31, 1877 :									
,, At Bank				37	15	1			
,, Petty Cash				4	17	0	42	12	1
							£546	7	0

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct, January 9th, 1878.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.
SAMUEL CLARK. } Auditors.

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, Hon. Sec.

I. THE DIVISION INTO ACTS OF *HAMLET.*

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

(*Read at the* 31*st Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb.* 9, 1877.)

IT is a little odd that with the minute study which has been given to almost every line of the play of *Hamlet*—after the way in which all the emendations of every editor have been re-emended by his successor—this one branch of the subject has been left entirely untouched. Though Johnson says that "the play is printed in the old editions without any separation of the Acts: the division is modern and arbitrary; and is here"—after Act III.—"not very happy, for the pause is made at a time when there is more continuity of action than in almost any other of the scenes," yet he does not attempt to suggest any happier arrangement; nor, so far as I know, does any later critic. Mr Frank Marshall, indeed, says that the Act-drop ought to fall after the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me;" but this is only in a suggestion that the play should, for stage purposes, be divided into six Acts.

The earliest edition in which *Hamlet* is divided into acts is, I believe, the Quarto of 1676: in the 1623 Folio, the division runs as far as Sc. ii. Act II.; in the earlier Quartos there is no division at all. That, however, this 1676 arrangement was correct, having come down by stage tradition from Shakspere himself, there would be no reason to doubt, were it not for the unquestionable mistake pointed out by Johnson—the break between Acts III. and IV. certainly occurs in the middle of a scene: Hamlet drags off the body of Polonius, leaving the Queen with a final 'Good-night, mother;' and to her enters the King, who says at once—

> "There's matters in these sighs, these profound heaves—
> You must translate: 'tis fit we understand them. Where is
> your son?

QUEEN. Ah, my good lord, what have I seen to-night!
KING. What, Gertrude! How does Hamlet?
QUEEN. Mad as the seas and wind, when both contend,"

and so forth. (I quote the first Folio.)

This must be wrong. Moreover, the present arrangement of the play makes the 4th Act chaotic in the matter of time, and is faulty in other ways which I will point out. So glaring an error I think proves Johnson right in denouncing the division as arbitrary, and allows us to assume that we do not know how Shakspere himself arranged the play—and to try, from internal evidence only, to find out.

But, first of all, I must say a little of Shakspere's method of constructing his Acts; his theory of dramatic construction is a grand question still to be gone into, for which I have not yet time; but my impressions about his Acts I must state, very briefly and generally.

This seems to me his method of constructing a tragedy, as a whole. He begins with an Act of tremendous grasp—a whole play, one might almost call it—in which he sets before you the entire position from which his story arises; the characters, with their relations to each other, their previous history and present conduct, fully set out. (See *Hamlet* itself, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, and *Othello*.) Then comes an Act of slighter nature, which may be said to show the first working of the causes given in Act I. In Act III. is the grand dramatic culmination—the one most striking scene of the play. (As in *Hamlet*, however you arrange it, in *Lear*, *Othello*, *Coriolanus*, and perhaps *Macbeth*.) In Act IV. the threads are gathered together for the final catastrophe; which comes in the last Act, short and bustling, filled with a constant succession of incidents—generally fights; always, of course, deaths.

And each of these Acts is a complete whole: it leaves no bits of the portion of the story it has to tell straggling into other Acts. Shakspere does not break off at a point like modern dramatists, but rounds off his Acts, like nature. In the *Merchant of Venice*, for example, the trial scene is immediately followed by that in which Portia obtains the ring: completing thus the morning's incidents, and leaving those of the evening for Act V. A change of locality,

too, I imagine, generally coincides with the beginning of an Act; but into this I have not had time to go.

As examples of my theory, I had sketched the construction of *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*, and adduced *Coriolanus* as another example; but I think I may as well pass at once to *Hamlet* itself, whose First Act is so admirable an example of my theory that we may surely assume that Acts II., III., and IV. will bear it out, especially as Act V., whose received beginning is no doubt the right one, most certainly *does*, with its quick and varied incidents: the grave-diggers, Hamlet's return, Ophelia's burial, the fight in the grave, Hamlet's story to Horatio, Osric, the fencing, the deaths, and Fortinbras. It is such a perfect *acting Act* as it stands, that we may be sure it would be wrong to alter it: the only other possible beginning for it is where the letters come to Horatio from Hamlet, and this has many disadvantages, especially the great length it gives to the last Act—and Shakspere's tragic fifth Acts are always short.

For even in actual length in representation, Shakspere always observed a certain proportion—in his masterpieces of tragedy at all events. I have made a little table of the length of the Acts in his tragedies—stated, as the easiest way, in columns of the Globe edition—and I found so much regularity that I concluded the two exceptions—*Antony and Cleopatra* and *Timon of Athens*—could not have been divided by Shakspere; and on referring to the First Folio I found I was right. *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* I knew before I began were not divided in the Folio; and the other plays left without division into Acts are *Troilus and Cressida*, and the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI.*

The proportions of the Acts I will not now go into, beyond saying that the first is nearly always the longest, the third generally stands next it, and the last is almost invariably shortest; all I want to point out is that the Acts are always pretty well balanced throughout—that in the five great tragedies on which we can rely,[1] there is never one Act of a play double the length of another—only once one half as long again—and that of two consecutive Acts there is only one instance in which one is half as long again as the other.

[1] *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*.

These facts do not tell against the present arrangement of *Hamlet*—which indeed seems more of an attempt to cut the play into five pretty equal portions than anything else—but they may prevent us from accepting incorrect emendations; and will thus, I think, materially help us to the right one.

What we want to do is to find out where Shakspere concluded the 2nd and 3rd Acts; the end of the 1st we know, and the accepted conclusion of the 4th is, as I have said, decidedly the best. The end of Act III. is the only one which we absolutely *know* to be wrong; but if we alter it I think we shall be obliged to alter the end of Act II. also.

I have tried to show Shakspere's theory of the construction of Acts; if we remember this, and remember also that he was a practical dramatist and tried to arrange a play so that an audience might really enjoy it, we shall have something to go upon in reconstructing the three middle Acts of *Hamlet*. Also we must try to get the play chronologically into better shape.

First, let me point out that there are, I think, only two possible ends for the second Act, and five for the third—not including its present quite impossible termination. The second Act may end, as usual, with the soliloquy—"wherewith I'll catch the conscience of the King;" or after the next scene, the present III. i., at the line "madness in great ones must not unwatched go."

The third Act might possibly end with Hamlet's soliloquy after the play-scene—concluding, "to give them seals, never, my soul, consent" (the present III. ii.): or when the King, after his prayer, goes out with the line, "words without thoughts never to heaven go" (the present III. iii.): or with his speech, after the closet-scene, ending, "O come away, My soul is full of discord and dismay" (the present IV. i.): or, two scenes further on, with, "Howe'er my haps, my joys were ne'er begun" (the present IV. iii.): or, finally, at the end of the soliloquy, "How all occasions do inform against me" (the present IV. iv.).

Before considering the more probable of these emendations, I think we may clear two out of the way as untenable. If Act III. ended with "to give them seals, never, my soul, consent" (the

present III. ii.), or even with "words without thoughts never to heaven go" (the present III. iii.), Act IV. would be an enormous straggling mass, without unity of any kind, containing Polonius's death and burial, Hamlet's banishment to England, his return to the shore of Denmark, Laertes' return, and Ophelia's madness and death. This would certainly be worse than ending the 3rd Act with, "My soul is full of discord and dismay" (the present IV. i.), which is simply what one might call a possible version of the impossible accepted arrangement.

Perhaps the simplest way now will be to take the arrangement, which seems to me the best, from Shakspere's point of view, and show what there is to be said in favour of it, and what against; and then give the objections to the five other possible permutations and combinations of these Acts.

Well, the most likely division seems to me to be at the line "madness in great ones must not unwatched go" (the present III. i.), for the second Act, and at "howe'er my haps, my joys were ne'er begun" (the present IV. iii.), for the third. By this arrangement the scene with Ophelia ends Act II.; and Act III., beginning with the advice to the players, takes in the play-scene, the closet-scene, and Hamlet's interview with the king, which ends "For England!"—in fact, all the events of one night.

Surely such an arrangement is thoroughly Shaksperian; each Act has its unity—the first is filled by the Ghost, the second by Hamlet's assumed madness and the king's attempts to fathom it, the third by the doings of one tremendous night, the fourth contains miscellaneous intermediate incidents, and the fifth ends all things.

That the second Act is incomplete without the Ophelia scene is, I think, evident, when we compare it with all other Acts in Shakspere's tragedies: there is not one anything like so devoid of incident as this Act, if it ends with the soliloquy—an ending, besides, not at all like Shakspere: he does not work up to a point and break off. The setting Ophelia to test Hamlet's madness is the complement of the mission of Rosencranz and Guildenstern, and, as I have said, gives the Act its unity of purpose. I may add that this arrangement gives a very fine point to the 'To be or not to be'

soliloquy—it brings vividly before us the short duration of the temporary energy into which he lashed himself in the preceding soliloquy, and the reaction which makes him hopeless, half-resolved to cut the knot of his difficulties by self-murder. It also obviates the former unpleasant necessity of bringing him on in very good spirits, giving a little lecture on the drama, so quickly after his scene with Ophelia. I think also that this advice to the players makes a light and pleasant beginning to an Act—a preface not strictly necessary, like the two grave-diggers' talk in Act V., and the clown in Act III. of *Othello*. Altogether, I may say that this addition makes Act II. a better Act, besides making Act III., as I hope to show, much better. Indeed, if we add two scenes to Act III., as I propose, we really must shorten it by giving this one to Act II.

For Act III. is too long as it stands; I am sure any one who has seen it on the stage—at the Lyceum, for example—must have felt that the strain on one's interest was too great—I used always to feel worn out before the end of the closet-scene. One had gone through the scene with Ophelia, the play-scene, and the 'Now could I do it pat' scene, and one really wanted a rest. But if, as I have proposed, the Act began with the play-scene, one would come to that perfectly fresh, and the excitement, hurrying on through the King's prayer, would carry one well to the end of the closet-scene, as it stands at present; and the rest of the Act, being sharp and bustling—Hamlet rushing in with 'Safely stowed' and quickly out again, his half-hysterical satire with Rosencranz and the King—would take one easily, without any more deep tragic incident, to the picturesque ending of the Act, and of the night, 'For England!'

I think there is such a continuity of feeling here—of late-at-night feverish excitement—and so entire a change to the relapse of next day in the following scene ("How all occasions do inform against me"), that it is a very strong argument, in itself, in favour of the Act ending here.

For the stage, then, I hope I have shown that my Acts II. and III. are better than the ordinary ones; and Act IV. is improved in this respect at least, that Ophelia's madness does not come at the

very beginning of the Act: I think any stage-manager would say that something should precede so strong a scene, to get the audience settled down and prepared. Chronologically, too, this arrangement is better than any other, except that which would conclude Act III. with 'How all occasions,' &c. (the present IV. iv.), and I think chronology is the only thing in favour of that division: the disproportion in the length of the Acts is far greater adopting it, the Fortinbras scene is much less in the spirit of Act III. than of Act IV., and the placing it in Act III. gives an entire Act in which the hero is absent—a thing without example in Shaksperian tragedy [1]: while giving him a short scene to open it is exactly paralleled in *Macbeth*, Act IV.

Certainly, the gap of four or five days—I do not think we need suppose it longer—is awkward; but there are precedents in Shakspere (as in Act IV. of *Lear*, and the same Act of *Macbeth*), and we have avoided the gap of twelve hours before the entry of Fortinbras. Besides, we have seen Hamlet started on his journey [2]—perhaps even at the seashore—and a good deal happens (Ophelia's two mad scenes, the return of Laertes, the revolt, &c.) before the sailors announce that, after a voyage of about three days, Hamlet is again on shore. It must be remembered that this part of the story is very elaborate, and full of incidents almost better suited, one would think, for a novel than a play; and it was perhaps impossible to compress them into a form as neat and compact as that of *Othello* or *Macbeth*.

At all events, this arrangement obviates the gap *before* as well as after the Fortinbras Scene, which is in the play as it stands. It gives—to recapitulate its advantages—a unity to each Act, now lacking; it is therefore, if my theory be right, more Shaksperian; and it is better for stage purposes, which is, I think, a strong argument that it is his. Finally, it makes the balance of the Acts, in incident and even in actual length, more like that of *Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, Coriolanus*, and *Julius Cæsar*—the five tragedies of which we know that we have Shakspere's own arrangements.

[1] Romeo does not appear in Act IV.; but we do not, as I have said, know the original arrangement of the play.

[2] Copenhagen is of course a port.

I am afraid I have not expressed myself as clearly as I could have wished, but I only want by these rough notes to start a subject, the thorough discussion of which may throw light on one side at least of Shakspere's genius, his knowledge of the laws of dramatic effect, and his theory of dramatic construction; and may show him to have been as great in practical and conscious knowledge of his art, as in inspired poetry and profound philosophy.

APPENDIX.

LENGTH OF THE ACTS IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS

(*expressed in columns of the Globe Edition*).

(Total in 37 plays.)	364	372	379	382	332
King Lear	17	12	11	14	9
Othello	13	12	14	12	10
Macbeth	10	7	9	10	8
Coriolanus	16	13	13	13	12
Julius Cæsar	10	10	11	8	7
Titus Andronicus	9	10	7	10	10
*Hamlet	16	12	16	12	13
*Romeo	11	12	15	8	8
*Antony	10	15	16	13	9
*Troilus	14	10	12	13	13
*Timon	11	5	10	12	5
Cymbeline	14	9	14	11	16
Pericles	9	10	6	11	10
K. John	5	10	11	11	10
Richard II.	11	12	11	6	11
1 Henry IV.	11	15	11	7	9
2 Henry IV.	11	14	7	16	10
Henry V.	7	10	12	18	9
1 Henry VI.	12	9	9	10	8
*2 Henry VI.	12	10	15	15	7
*3 Henry VI.	11	13	11	12	10
Richard III.	20	8	16	17	9
Henry VIII.	14	13	12	7	12
Tempest	11	9	7	5	6
As Like It	10	10	12	7	8
12th Night	10	10	12	4	7
Much Ado	7	11	10	7	11

* Not divided into Acts in First Folio.

Merchant Venice	8	12	11	8	6
Merry Wives	10	10	12	10	6
Midsummer N.	6	7	12	5	8
Measure for M.	7	13	9	10	10
All's Well	10	13	9	11	8
Winter's Tale	9	9	7	18	10
2 Gentlemen	7	11	8	8	5
Love's Labour	8	5	3	13	20
Taming Shrew	9	7	6	13	7
Comedy Errors	4	6	6	9	8

In examining the principle on which Shakspere divided his Acts, I have gone rapidly through most of his plays; but his construction of comedy is a question to which I have not yet been able to give any thought. It seems to me that his purest comedies—*e. g. As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*—can hardly be said to have any climax: on the other hand, the *Merry Wives of Windsor* certainly has one—in Act V.

I think I can see a method and a completeness in the Acts of *Macbeth, Othello, Lear, Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, John* (noteworthy, because this is an adaptation, and the original does not show similar completeness), *Richard II, Henry V, Henry VIII, Merchant of Venice, Winter's Tale, Tempest, Midsummer Night's Dream, Measure for Measure, Cymbeline,* and *Pericles.*

In *Twelfth Night,* also, I think the principle of division is fairly evident; and certainly in *Much Ado about Nothing,* except with regard to the break between Acts II. and III. Into these, however, I have hardly gone. I fancy, too, that *All's Well that Ends Well* will be found to be divided on the principle I have mentioned.

In a hasty survey, I have failed to find any particular reason for the division of *As You Like It, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Richard III.*

Hamlet, Romeo, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon, Troilus and Cressida, and the 1st and 2nd Parts of *Henry VI,* are not divided in the First Folio.

I have not had time to examine the 3rd Part of *Henry VI, Henry IV, Love's Labour Lost, Comedy of Errors, Taming of the Shrew,* the *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* or *Titus Andronicus.*

THE ACTS OF HAMLET: THEIR LENGTH, EXPRESSED IN COLUMNS OF THE GLOBE EDITION.

				1	2	3	4	5
1. Ordinary arrangement				16	12½	16½	12½	13
2. Second	Act	ending	'unwatched go'					
Third	,,	,,	'joys ne'er begun'	16	16	16	9½	13
3. Second	,,	,,	'unwatched go'					
Third	,,	,,	'be nothing worth'	16	16	17	8½	13
4. Second	,,	,,	'conscience of the king'					
Third	,,	,,	'never, my soul, consent'	16	12½	11	18	13
or,	,,	,,	'never to heaven go'	16	12½	12½	16½	13
Second	,,	,,	'conscience of the king'					
Third	,,	,,	'Joys ne'er begun'	16	12½	19½	9½	13

DISCUSSION.

MR FURNIVALL:—We are all grateful to Mr Rose, I am sure, for calling our attention again to Johnson's pointing-out of the blemish in the division of Act III. from Act IV. of *Hamlet*. We shall all agree, I apprehend, that the dividing line must be moved from where it is, and to the end of Act IV. scene iii., tho' that does shorten Act IV. so much. But I trust that Mr Rose's proposal to move the end of Act II. to that of the present Act III. scene i., will find no backers in this room, or our Society, for it would bring the long soliloquy "To be or not to be" (36 lines) within 55 lines of the end of the still longer soliloquy, "Oh what a rogue and peasant slave am I!" which is 58 lines. This would be a mistake, not only in art, but also in stage management, that I cannot believe Shakspere would have been guilty of in 1603: 58 lines of soliloquy, 55 of dialogue, and then 36 of soliloquy again, is not business. I therefore support the present end of Act II. as its right one.

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breach, infraction, violation. *Henry V*, IV. i. 179.

infect, v. t. corrupt, poison. *Tempest*, I. ii. 208. "But when wee will not weigh his promised mercies, nor giue our heartes leaue to thinke of his threatened iudgementes, but headlong in vnfeelingnesse[1] runne on, and in blinde ignoraunce imagine, that our intentes, if they bee good, must needes stoppe Gods mouth and make him contented with the **breache** of his will, this, this is the poyson of ye whore of Babylon that **infecteth** our soules to eternall damnation and wrathe." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 113, 114. (See '*breach* of this commandement,' p. 123.)

[1] Cf. 'dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance.'—*Rich. II*, I. iii. 168.

II.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE ACTS IN *LEAR, MUCH ADO*, AND *TWELFTH NIGHT.*

BY JAMES SPEDDING, ESQ., M.A.,

HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ETC., ETC.

(*Read at the 33rd Meeting of the Society, April* 13, 1877.)

THE error in the division of the Acts in *Hamlet* which, though pointed out long ago by Dr Johnson, has been allowed to rest undisturbed till now that Mr Rose has called attention to it, reminds me of similar errors in some other plays, which I pointed out myself, many years ago, in letters to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine.* The first appeared in May, 1850, and was followed by two others; but they will be as new, probably, to Shaksperian students of the present day as if they had never been in print: for the question at issue has never attracted the attention which it seems to me to deserve.

Every one who has studied the art of composition in any department, knows how much depends upon the skilful distribution of those stages or halting-places which, whether indicated by books, cantos, chapters, or paragraphs, do in effect mark the completion of one period and the commencement of another, and warn the reader at what point he should pause to recover an entire impression of what has gone before and to prepare his expectation for what is coming. It is this which enables him to see the parts in their due subordination to the whole, and to watch the development of the piece from the point of view at which the writer intended him to stand. Now, in an acted play, the intervals between the Acts form such decided interruptions to the progress of the story, and divide it into periods so very strongly marked, that a writer who has any feeling of his art will of course use them for the purpose of regulating the development

of his plot and guiding the imagination of the spectator; and if he does so use them, it is manifest that these intervals cannot be shifted from one place to another without materially altering the effect of the piece.

That Shakspere was too much of an artist to neglect this source of artistic effect, will hardly be disputed now-a-days. Easy as he seems to have been as to the fate of his works after he had cast them on the waters, it is certain that while he had them in hand he treated them as works of art, and was by no means indifferent to their merits in that kind. Far from being satisfied with elaborating his great scenes and striking situations, he was curiously careful and skilful in the arts of preparation and transition, and everything which conduces to the harmonious development of the whole piece. If any one doubts this, let him only mark the passages which are usually omitted in the acting, and ask himself why those passages were *introduced*. He will always find that there was some good reason for it. And if the proper distribution of the pauses between the Acts forms no unimportant part of the design of a play, it is no unimportant part of an editor's duty to recover, if he can, the distribution originally designed by the writer.

It will be thought, perhaps,—indeed it will be everybody's *first* thought,—that the editors of the Folio have in this respect left their successors nothing to do. Themselves Shakspere's fellow-players, familiar with all the practices and traditions of the theatre, and in possession of the original copies, they have set forth all the divisions of Act and Scene in the most conspicuous manner; and what more, it will be asked, can any editor want? My answer is, that we want to know whether these are the divisions designed by Shakspere in his ideal theatre,—for though he wrote his plays for the stage, we are not to suppose that he confined his imagination within the material limits of the Globe on the Bankside,—or only those which were adopted in the actual representation. Audiences are not critics; and it is with a view to their entertainment, together with the capacities and convenience of the actors, that stage-managers have to make their arrangements. We see that in our own times, not only old plays when revived undergo many alterations, but a new play written for

the modern stage is seldom brought out altogether in the shape in which its author designed it,—nor often, probably, without changes which do not appear to him to be for the better. We may easily suppose, therefore, that Shakspere's plays, even when first produced, had to sacrifice something of their ideal perfection to necessities of the stage, tastes of the million, or considerations of business. But this is not all. How far the old Folio gives them as they were when first produced, is a question which I suppose nobody can answer. Many of them had been acted many times to many different audiences. Now in these days we find that when a play is once well known, and its reputation established, people commonly go to see the famous scenes, and care little in what order they are presented, or how much is left out of what must have been necessary at first to explain them to the understanding, or to prepare the imagination for them. They treat the play as we treat a familiar book; where we turn at once to our favourite passages, omitting the explanatory and introductory parts, the effect of which we already know. I see no reason for suspecting that it was otherwise in the time of Shakspere; and if it was not, a popular play would soon come to be presented in the shape in which it was found to be easiest for the actors or most attractive to the audience, without much consideration for the integrity of the poet's idea. In this manner the original divisions of the Acts may easily have been forgotten before 1623; and those which we find in the first Folio may represent nothing more than the current practice of the theatre or the judgment of the editors; for neither of which it has been usual to hold Shakspere responsible. The critics of the 18th century used to account for every passage which they thought unworthy of him as an interpolation by the players; and in this latter half of the 19th, we have gone much further in the same direction; handing over entire Acts and half plays to other dramatists of the time, with a boldness which makes the suggestion of a misplaced inter-Act seem a very small matter, and the authority of the editors of the Folio an objection hardly worth considering.

But if the evidence of the Folio on this point is not to be regarded as conclusive, we must fall back upon the marginal directions, which,

supposing them to be Shakspere's own (as they probably are, for the original manuscript must have contained such directions, the action being unintelligible without them, and who else could have supplied them?), contain all the information with regard to the stage arrangements which he has himself left us. These marginal directions, as we find them in the earliest copies, are generally clear and careful—better, I think, in most cases, than those which later editors have substituted for them—but unfortunately they tell us nothing at all as to the point now in question. That every play was to be in five Acts appears to have been taken as a matter of course, but there is no indication of them in the earliest copies. Among Shakspere's plays that were printed during his life, there is not one, I believe, in which the Acts are divided. Even among those printed in 1623,—in which the divisions were introduced, and the first page always begins with *actus primus, scœna prima,*—there are still four in which they are not marked at all, and a fifth in which they are not carried beyond the second scene of the second Act. And as it seems very unlikely that either printers or transcribers would omit such divisions if they appeared on the face of the manuscript, I conclude that it was not Shakspere's habit to mark the end of each Act as he went on, but to leave the distribution for final settlement when arrangements were making for the performance, and when, having the whole composition before him, he could better see what there was to divide. In that case the end of each Act would be entered in the prompter's copy, the original MS. remaining as it was, and so finding its way by legitimate or illegitimate channels to the printer. By the dialogue and the marginal directions together, as exhibited in the printed copy, we can follow the development of the action, and determine for ourselves where the periods and resting-places should naturally come in; and where these are palpably incompatible with the division of the Acts in the Folio, we may reasonably conclude that it represents, not the original design, but the last edition of the prompter's copy.

How little the Folio can be relied on as an *authority* in this matter may be shown by a single example, which is itself conclusive. In *King Henry V* the changes of scene, time, and circumstance are so large and sudden, that Shakspere found it expedient to prepare

his audience for them by introducing a Chorus before each Act to explain the case. Here, therefore, we have a play divided into Acts by himself. But how does it appear in the Folio? The division between the first and second Acts has been overlooked, and *Actus primus* includes both. *Actus secundus*, beginning with the second Chorus, takes the place of the third Act, and *Actus tertius* of the fourth. But here the printer seems to have observed that something must be wrong. There was only one more Chorus, and yet he was still in the third Act. If the last Act was to be *Actus quintus*, what was to become of *Actus quartus? Quintus* could not follow *tertius;* and for a play to end with the fourth Act was against all rule. To preserve symmetry, he simply inserted *Actus quartus* between the two, at the end of the nearest scene which left the stage empty; though a more unsuitable place for an inter-Act could hardly have been found.

I attribute this device to the printer rather than the editors, because an editor, if he had observed the difficulty, could hardly have failed to discover the cause, and make the proper corrections; whereas, if the previous sheet had been already worked off, it would be too late for the printer to do so. But however that may be, the fact remains that in the play in which Shakspere's own division of the Acts was most clearly defined and most important to be observed, the Folio of 1623 has misplaced two out of the five.

In this instance the errors were so glaring and the correction so obvious, that succeeding editors have silently removed them all. But defects of the kind are in most cases more readily perceived in the acting than in reading, and it was in witnessing the performance of *King Lear* at Covent Garden, when it was so finely brought out by Macready, that I first felt the difficulty of which the following paper contains the explanation and the solution.

"ON AN ERROR IN THE MODERN EDITIONS OF *King Lear*.

"Suspicious as I am of all criticisms which suppose a want of art in Shakspere, I could not but think that there are faults in *King Lear*. I could not but think that in the two last Acts the

interest is not well sustained; that Lear's passion rises to its full height too early, and his decay is too long drawn out. I saw that in Shakspere's other tragedies we are never called on to sympathize long with fortunes which are desperate. As soon as all hope for the hero is over the general end follows rapidly. The interest rises through the first four Acts towards some great crisis; in the fifth it pauses for a moment, crests, and breaks; then falls away in a few short sad scenes, like the sigh of a spent wave. But it was not so in Lear. The passion seemed to be at its height, and hope to be over, in the third Act. After that, his prospects are too forlorn to sustain an interest sufficiently animating; the sympathy which attends him too dreary and depressing to occupy the mind properly for half the play. I felt the want of some coming event, some crisis of expectation, the hope or dread of some approaching catastrophe, on the turn of which his fortunes were yet to depend. There was plenty of action and incident, but nothing which seemed to connect itself sufficiently with *him*. The fate of Edgar and Edmund was not interesting enough; it seemed a separate thing, almost an intrusion upon the proper business of the piece: I cared only about the fate of Lear.

"But, though this seemed to be a great defect, I was aware that the error might be in me; I might have caught the play in a wrong aspect, and I waited in the hope of finding some new point of view round which the action would revolve more harmoniously. In the mean time there was another defect, of less moment as I then thought, but so striking that I could not be mistaken in pronouncing it indefensible upon any just principle of criticism. This was the battle in the fifth Act: a most momentous battle, yet so carelessly hurried over that it comes to nothing, leaves no impression on the imagination, shocks the sense of probability, and by its own unimpressiveness makes everything seem insignificant that has reference to it. It is a mere blank, and though we are *told* that a battle has been fought and lost, the mind refuses to take in the idea. How peculiarly important it was to avoid such a defect in this particular instance I had not then observed; I was struck only with the harshness, unexampled in Shakspere, of the effect upon the eye of a

spectator. In other cases a few skilful touches bring the whole battle before us—a few rapid shiftings from one part of the field to another, a few hurried greetings of friend or foe, a few short passages of struggle, pursuit, or escape, give us token of the conflict which is raging on all sides; and, when the hero falls, we feel that his army is defeated. A page or two does it; but it is done. As a contrast with all other battles in Shakspere, observe that of which I am speaking. Here is the whole Scene as it stands in the modern editions.

'SCENE II.

A field between the two camps. Alarum within. Enter with drum and colours LEAR, CORDELIA, *and their forces; and exeunt.*

Enter EDGAR *and* GLOSTER.

Edg. Here, father, take the shadow of this tree
For your good host; pray that the right may thrive;
If ever I return to you again,
I'll bring you comfort.
Glo. Grace go with you, sir. [*Exit* EDGAR.

Alarums. Afterwards a retreat.
Re-enter EDGAR.

Edg. Away, old man, give me thy hand, away,
King Lear hath lost, he and his daughter ta'en;
Give me thy hand,' &c.

"This is literally the whole battle. The army so long looked for, and on which everything depends, passes over the stage, and all our hopes and sympathies go with it. Four lines are spoken. The scene does not change; but 'alarums' are heard, and 'afterwards a retreat,' and on the same field over which that great army has this moment passed, fresh and full of hope, reappears, with tidings that all is lost, the same man who last left the stage to follow and fight in it.

"That Shakspere meant the Scene to stand thus, no one who has the true faith will believe. Still less will he believe that, as it stands, it can admit of any reasonable defence. When Mr Macready brought out the play at Covent Garden in 1839, he endeavoured to soften the harshness of the effect by two deviations from the text.

The French army did not pass over the stage, and so some room was left for imagining the battle already begun; and during the absence of Edgar five or six lines transferred from a former scene were put into the mouth of Gloster, by which some little time was given for its disastrous issue. Both these alterations are improvements on the text as it now stands, so far as they go,—but they certainly go a very little way; and I think nobody can have seen the play as then acted without feeling that the effect of that scene was decidedly bad.

"When I saw it myself, the unaccountable awkwardness of this passage struck me so forcibly, that I tried to persuade myself (all other appearances notwithstanding) that the play must have been left in an unfinished state. I had almost succeeded, when it suddenly occurred to me that by a very simple change in the stage-arrangement the whole difficulty might be made to disappear. Upon careful examination I found that every other difficulty disappeared along with it; and I am now quite satisfied that it was the true arrangement which Shakspere contemplated.

"My suggestion has this peculiar advantage and presumption in its favour, that it does not involve the change of a single letter in the original text. It is simply to alter the division of the Acts; to make the fourth Act close, a scene and a half further on, with the exit of Edgar in the passage just quoted, and the fifth commence with his re-entrance. Thus the battle takes place between the Acts, and, the imagination having leisure to fill with anxiety for the issue, it rises into its proper importance as one of the great periods and pauses of the story, and a final crisis in the fortunes of Lear. The first Act closes, as the first burst of Lear's rage is over, with the final renunciation of Goneril. The second leaves him in utter desolation, turned forth into the night, the storm gathering, madness coming on apace. At the conclusion of the third the double tempest of the mind and of the elements has spent its fury, and the curtain falls upon the doubtful rumour of a new hope, and distant promise of retribution. At the point where I think the fourth was meant to end, suspense has reached its highest pitch; the rumours have grown into certainties; the French forces have landed: Lear's phrenzy has abated, and if the battle be won he may yet be restored;

'the powers of the kingdom approach apace;' the armies are now within sight of each other, and 'the arbitrement is like to be bloody.' Last of all, 'Enter' (to take the stage-direction as it stands in the old Quarto, *in which the divisions of the Acts are not marked*) 'Enter the powers of France over the stage; *Cordelia with her father in her hand;*' Gloster alone remains to 'pray that the right may thrive;' and as the curtain falls we feel that the 'bloody arbitrement' is even now begun, and that all our hopes hang on the event. Rising again, it discloses 'alarums and a retreat.' The battle has been fought. 'King Lear hath lost; he and his daughter ta'en;' and the business of the last Act is only to gather up the issues of those unnatural divisions, and to close the eyes of the victims.

"As there is nothing in Shakspere so defective in point of art as the battle-scene under the present stage-arrangement, so, with the single change which I have suggested, there is not one of his dramas conducted from beginning to end with more complicated and inevitable skill. Under the existing arrangement the pause at the end of the fourth Act is doubly faulty, both as interrupting the march and hurry of preparation before it has gathered to a head, and as making, by the interposition of that needless delay, the weakness and disappointing effect of the result still more palpable. Under that which I propose, the pause falls precisely where it ought, and is big with anxiety and expectation. Let the march of the French army over the stage be presented with military pomp and circumstance, 'Cordelia with her father in her hand' following (for thus the dependence of Lear and his fortunes upon the issue is brought full before the eye), and let the interval between the Acts be filled with some great battle-piece of Handel, and nothing more, I think, could be hoped or wished."

On reviewing this paper, which was first written in 1839, I find nothing to add, except that the stage-direction in the Folio which follows the *exit* of Edgar, and which I had overlooked, seems to point at an arrangement much like that which I have suggested. After both the English armies have appeared on the scene with drums and colours, and gone out, Edmund returns to report to Albany

that the 'enemy is in view,' and to hasten his preparations for battle. Then follows—'Alarum within. Enter, with drum and colours, Lear, Cordelia, and soldiers, *over the stage*, and *exeunt*.' Edgar, following, leaves Gloster behind the tree, and promising to return if he survive, *exit*. Then we have—

'Alarum and Retreat *within*,'

and then 'enter Edgar' with news of the battle lost, and the capture of Lear and Cordelia. There are no 'excursions,' and therefore it is plain that though all three armies appeared on the stage with drums and colours immediately before the battle, no part of the battle itself was to be exhibited even in dumbshow. It was to be made known only by the noise 'within'; during which the stage was empty. Whether any curtain was to be drawn I do not know enough of the scenic arrangements of that time to say. But such an interval of suspended action, so accompanied with noises of battle in the distance, would have the same effect as a modern inter-Act with an orchestra playing appropriate music; provided only that it were understood to represent a period of indefinite duration. Considering, however, that immediately after the *exeunt* of Cordelia, Kent, the Doctor, and servants carrying Lear out in his chair, the stage had to be ready for three armies to pass over with drums and colours, it is easy to believe that the stage-manager found it more convenient to make the next scene the beginning of a new Act, and to use the interval for drawing up his troops.

On the division of the Acts in *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Twelfth Night*.

a. *Much Ado about Nothing*.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, as it stands in the Folio and in the modern editions, I find two faults, which I do not think Shakspere was likely to commit.

At the end of the first scene of the first Act, the Prince and Claudio leave the stage (which represents the open space before Leonato's house), the Prince having that moment conceived and dis-

closed his project of making love to Hero in Claudio's name. Then the scene shifts to a room in Leonato's house, where the first thing we hear is that in a thick pleached alley in Antonio's orchard, the Prince has been overheard telling Claudio that he loved Hero and meant to acknowledge it that night in a dance, &c. All this is told to us, while the Prince's last words are still ringing in our ears; and it is told, not by the person who overheard the conversation, but by Antonio, to whom he has reported it. We are called on therefore to imagine that, while the scene was merely shifting, the Prince and Claudio have had time for a second conversation in Antonio's orchard, and that one of Antonio's men, overhearing it, has had time to tell him of it. Now this is one of the things which it is *impossible* to imagine. I do not mean merely that the thing is *physically* impossible, for art is not tied to physical possibilities. I mean that the impossibility is presented so strongly to the imagination that it cannot be overlooked or forgotten. The imagination refuses to be so imposed upon.

The other fault is of an opposite kind, and not so glaring, because it does not involve any *positive* shock to the sense of probability. Nevertheless it completely counteracts and neutralizes an effect which Shakspere has evidently taken pains to produce, and which if rightly considered is of no small consequence. The fourth scene of the third Act represents the morning of the wedding. The ceremony is to take place the first thing. The Prince, the Count, and all the gallants of the town are already waiting to fetch Hero to church; she must make haste to go with them. 'Help to dress me, good coz., good Meg, good Ursula.' Leonato, intercepted by Dogberry on his way to join them, is in too great a hurry to listen to him. They stay for him to give away his daughter: 'he will wait upon them; he is ready;' and so *exit* abruptly with the messenger who has been sent to hasten him; leaving Dogberry and Verges to take the examination themselves. The idea that the ceremony is to take place *immediately* is carefully impressed, and there was good reason it should. In a story involving so many improbabilities it was necessary to hurry it on to the issue before the spectator has had time to consider them. The deception practised on Claudio and the Prince

took place between twelve and one at night; the discovery of it by the watch followed immediately after. If the wedding do not come on the first thing in the morning, before Claudio has had time to reflect, or Dogberry to explain, or rumour to get abroad, it cannot be but the secret will transpire and the catastrophe be prevented. Yet precisely at this juncture it is, when Dogberry is about to take the examinations, and the wedding party are on their way to church, that the pause between the Acts takes place,—that indefinite interval during which the only thing almost which one can *not* imagine is that nothing has happened and no time passed. When the curtain rises again, the least we expect to hear is that some considerable event has occurred since it fell. Yet we find everything exactly where it was. The party have but just arrived at the church, and are still in a hurry. "Come, friar Francis, be brief: only to the plain form of marriage, and you shall recount their particular duties afterwards." The action has not advanced a step. To me, I confess, this is a disappointment. Why all that hurry if there was leisure for the drop-scene to fall? or if there was any object in representing that hurry, why should the drop-scene fall to interrupt it?

I do not believe that either of these points can be defended; but both may be removed, easily and completely, and without altering a word of the text. Let us only take the 4to. of 1600, in which the Acts are not divided (but of which the edition of 1623 is in other respects a mere reprint), and consider into what divisions the action most naturally falls.

First, then, read on to the end of the first scene, 'In practice let us put it presently.' Now shut the book. Let 'the curtain fall upon the fancied stage;' consider what is past, and wonder what is coming. We have been introduced to all the principal persons; the wars are over; the time is of peace, leisure, and festivity. The characters of Benedick and Beatrice, and their relation to each other—a relation of attractive opposition—are clearly defined; both are fancy-free as yet; but both boast of their freedom with a careless confidence that marks them as victims of Nemesis. Claudio has conceived a passion for Hero; but it is only an infection of the eye and fancy; and the foolish device which in his bashfulness he catches at serves

the double purpose of reminding us that his passion is not grounded in any real knowledge of the woman, and of pointing him out as the fit victim of some foolish mistake.

Begin the next scene as a new Act. Claudio and the Prince, we find, have been walking about since we last saw them in orchards and in galleries, still talking upon the one subject which Claudio can talk upon with interest. Read on without stopping till you come to the end of the scene between Don John and Borachio, which stands in the modern editions as the second scene of the second Act, 'I will presently go learn their day of marriage.' Then suppose the curtain to fall again, and proceed as before. We have now seen a threefold plot laid, the development of which will afford plenty of business for the following Act. Benedick and Beatrice are each to be tricked into an affection for the other, and though Claudio's marriage, after some foretaste of mistakings, is for the present arranged, a design is on foot for crossing it.

The third Act will open with Benedick in the garden. Read on again till you have seen the three plots played out, Benedick caught, Beatrice caught, Claudio caught, and finally Don John caught; for the curtain must not fall until Borachio and Conrad have been taken into custody. At this point a pause is forced upon us, for it is now the dead of night, and we must wait for the morning before anything more can be done.

The fourth Act opens in Hero's dressing-room; all is bustle and preparation for the marriage. The ceremony is to take place immediately. Dogberry arrives to report the discovery which had been made in the night, and anybody but Dogberry—even Verges, if he had been allowed to speak—would have got it reported, and so have intercepted the impending catastrophe. But we are made to feel that the wedding-party cannot possibly wait till he has discharged himself of his message, and that the catastrophe, which can only be prevented by a word to the purpose from him, is inevitable. Accordingly, while he is gathering his wits to 'bring some of them to a non com,' and sending for 'the learned man with his ink-horn to set down their excommunication,' the marriage-scene is acted and over; Hero is accused, renounced, disgraced, and given out for dead; Bene-

dick and Beatrice are betrayed, by help of the passion and confusion into an understanding of each others' feelings, and Don John disappears. Finally, the learned man with his ink-horn, coming to the relief of Dogberry, sees in a moment what the matter is, and hastens to Leonato's house with the intelligence. Thus everything is ripe for explanation, and we may pause once more in easy expectation of the issue. The business of the next Act, which opens at the right place, is only to unravel the confusion, to restore the empire of gaiety, and conclude the marriages.

According to this scheme, it seems to me not only that the specific defects which I have noticed are effectually removed, but that the general action of the piece develops itself more naturally and gracefully. And I have the less hesitation in proposing a new division between the first and second and between the third and fourth Acts because the motive of the existing division is easily explained. Between the first and second the stage had to be prepared for the great supper and mask in Leonato's house; between the third and fourth for the marriage ceremony in the church. My suggestion will hardly find favour, I fear, with the scene-shifters. But it is with the imaginary theatre only that I have to deal, in which the 'interior of a church' requires no more preparation than a 'room in a house.'

β. *Twelfth Night.*

The division of the Acts in *Twelfth Night* is of less importance than in *King Lear* and *Much Ado about Nothing;* for the movement of the piece is so light and rapid, and the several actions mix so naturally, without perplexing or confusing each other, that if it were played from beginning to end without any pause at all, the spectator would feel no harshness. Nevertheless, though the inter-Acts might in that case be omitted altogether without injuring the dramatic effect, the effect is materially injured on two occasions by the interposition of them in the wrong place.

At the end of the first Act Malvolio is ordered to run after Cæsario with Olivia's ring: in the second scene of the second Act he has but just overtaken him. "Were you not *even now*"

(he says) "with the Countess Olivia?" "Even now, Sir" (she answers), "on a moderate pace I have since arrived but hither." Here, therefore, the pause is worse than useless. It impedes the action, and turns a light and swift movement into a slow and heavy one.

Again, at the end of the third Act, Sir Andrew Aguecheek runs after Cæsario (who has just left the stage) to beat him; Sir Toby and Fabian following to see the event. At the beginning of the fourth, they are all where they were. Sir Andrew's valour is still warm; he meets Sebastian, mistakes him for Cæsario, and strikes. Here again the pause is not merely unnecessary; it interrupts what was evidently meant for a continuous and rapid action, and so spoils the fun.

The first of these defects might be sufficiently removed by continuing the first Act to the end of what is now the second scene of the second. The other by continuing the third Act to the end of what is now the first scene of the fourth. But such an arrangement would leave the fourth Act so extremely short that it cannot be accepted for the true one.

I have little doubt that the first Act was meant to end with the fourth scene—the scene between the Duke and Viola :—

> "Whoe'er I woo, myself would be his wife."

the second with Viola's soliloquy upon receiving Olivia's ring :—

> "Oh, time, thou must untangle this, not I;
> It is too hard a knot for me to untie."—Act II. sc. ii.

The third might end where, according to the received arrangement, the second does; only that the underplot would in that case become rather too prominent, and the main action stand still too long. To avoid this, I would not have the curtain fall till after the second interview between Olivia and Viola, in which Olivia declares her passion :—

> "Yet come again; for thou perhaps may'st move
> The heart, which now abhors, to like his love."—Act III. sc. i.

The fourth Act may end where it now does, with the contract between Olivia and Sebastian; and the fifth will remain as it is.

I am not aware of any objection that can be made to this arrangement, or of any point which requires further explanation. Imagine the play properly represented (I say properly; for on the stage it is always so deformed with burlesque that no true judgment can be made of it from seeing it acted), with the divisions which I have proposed, and I think it will be felt that the arrangement recommends itself.

A closer examination would probably discover many other errors of the same kind. In *Richard II*, for example, the first Act ought clearly to end with the third scene instead of the fourth. As it stands now, the report of Gaunt's sickness follows too fast upon the scene immediately preceding, where we have just seen him leave the stage quite well; while, on the other hand, the King's visit to him does not follow fast *enough* upon the urgent summons of the dying man, whose death he was so impatient to witness. The pause between the Acts, the want of which perplexes us in the first case, is felt as an interruption in the last. I have seldom seen a piece *acted* for the first time, however bad the acting, and however familiar I had been with the play on paper, without seeing much of it in a new light and with more vivid effect. And in reading these things, though we may piece out the actor's imperfections with our thoughts as much as we please, imagining everything presented to our mind to seem as real and natural as the thing itself would seem,—real kings and queens, real gentlemen and ladies, real soldiers, and real fighting,—we must not forget that we are supposed to be witnessing a succession of scenes passed within our sight and hearing, and so arranged as to produce their effect upon the imagination under that condition. Without a clear perception of the *periods* of action and repose, we cannot enjoy the full benefit of such arrangement; and therefore, if we wish to have complete enjoyment of Shakspere's art, we must always take notice of the points which mark these periods—namely, the intervals between the Acts.

III. ON THE WITCH-SCENES IN *MACBETH.*

(*An attempt to rebut some of the Arguments put forward by the Rev. F. G. Fleay in a paper read before this Society on June 26th,* 1874.)

BY THOMAS ALFRED SPALDING, LL.B.

(*Read at the* 32*nd Meeting, Friday, March* 9, 1877.)

NEARLY three years ago Mr Fleay read a paper before this Society in which he attempted to father certain scenes and sentences in *Macbeth* upon Middleton; and in it he incidentally introduced a theory with regard to the witches of that drama as extraordinary as it is (I venture to think) groundless. In this attack he follows, in the main, the footsteps of the Editors of the 'Cambridge Shakspere,' who have come to the conclusion that the style of the suspected passage is not that of Shakspere. But such an opinion is worth little unless all competent critics assent to the conclusion, and this has not been by any means the result in this case. My object, however, in this paper is not to defend the whole of the scenes in question, although I think I show a presumption in favour of their genuineness; but merely to show that there is a good deal of evidence (chiefly historical) proving that Shakspere, and not Middleton, wrote the witch-scenes upon which doubt has been cast. I shall also show, I think conclusively, that there is no ground whatever for the marvellous theory Mr Fleay has advanced concerning the witches themselves.

Mr Fleay's position is shortly this :—Scene i. and also scene iii. down to line 37 of Act I.; scene v. of Act III.; and a few lines of the first scene of the fourth Act are interpolations by Middleton; the other witch-scenes are from Shakspere's pen. In addition to this he holds that in scene iii. of Act I. Shakspere intended the characters there called 'witches' for supernatural beings, the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' or, as Mr Fleay prefers to call them, 'Nornæ;' and that

in Act IV. scene i. he discarded the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' and introduced three entirely new characters, which were intended for real witches.

The actual evidence in support of this 'Nornæ' theory is; first, that Holinshed, in the passage answering to Act I. scene iii., describes the apparitions as the 'Goddesses of Destinie, Nymphes or Feiries;' and secondly, the stage-direction in Act III. scene v., 'enter Hecate and the *other* three witches,' when three witches are already on the stage.

These two facts, were there no evidence to the contrary, might fairly be held to raise a presumption in favour of Mr Fleay's theory. For although we know that Shakspere altered the details of the story of Macbeth to a great degree, and even went so far as to incorporate portions of another incident into the plot, yet, if there were no reason for holding that he had intentionally replaced the 'Goddesses of Destinie' by witches (on the suggestion probably of the passage in Holinshed answering to Act III. scene i. of *Macbeth*), the characters in Act I. scene iii. might possibly pass for the former.

But Mr Fleay seems to rely less upon this evidence than upon an assertion that the appearance and powers attributed to the beings in the Shakspere part of scene iii. of Act I. are not those formerly attributed to witches, and that Shakspere, having once decided to represent 'Nornæ,' would never have degraded them "to three old women, who are called by Paddock and Graymalkin, sail in sieves, kill swine, serve Hecate, and deal in all the common charms, illusions, and incantations of vulgar witches. The three 'who look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth, and yet are on't;' they who 'can look into the seeds of time, and say which grain will grow;' they who 'seem corporal,' but 'melt into the air' like 'bubbles of the earth;' the 'weyward sisters' who 'make themselves air,' and have 'more than mortal knowledge,' are not beings of this stamp." [1]

If Mr Fleay had not advanced this as an argument in favour of the 'Nornæ' theory, I should have sought to rebut the supposition that the witches of Act I. scene iii. were intended for the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' by arguing that the description contained in that

[1] New Shakspere Society Transactions, p. 342; Fleay's Shakspere Manual, p. 248.

scene applied to witches and to witches only. I shall therefore attempt to answer Mr Fleay's assertions; and, if I succeed in convincing you of the correctness of my position, I submit that no weight can be attached to the probably inaccurate stage-direction in scene v. of Act III.; and that we must hold that the characters in scene iii. of Act I. and scene i. of Act IV. are one and the same. I shall then pass on to attempt to show that there are some good reasons for supposing that the witch-scenes attributed by Mr Fleay to Middleton were in reality written by Shakspere.

First, then, Mr Fleay objects that the description of the appearance of the 'Nornæ' will not apply to witches. "They look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth, and yet are on't." But take the whole description, and then judge:—

> "What are these
> So withered and so wild in their attire,
> That look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth,
> And yet are on't? Live you, or are you aught
> That man may question? You seem to understand me,
> By each at once her chappy finger laying
> Upon her skinny lips: you should be women,
> And yet your beards forbid me to interpret
> That you are so."

It is in the first moment of surprise that the sisters, appearing so suddenly, seem to Banquo unlike the inhabitants of earth. When he recovers his mental equilibrium, and is able to criticize, he sees that there is nothing to distinguish them from poverty-stricken, ugly old women but their beards; an appendage that tradition, at any rate, has rendered inseparable from the idea of a witch. What could answer better to contemporary descriptions of the poor creatures who were charged with the crime of witchcraft? Take Scot's, for instance:—they are "women which commonly be old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles.—They are leane and deformed, showing melancholie in their faces,"[1]—or Dr Harsnet's:—"An[2] old weather-beaten crone, having her chin and her knees meet-

[1] Discoverie, Bk. i. ch. 3. Published 1584.

[2] Quoted from "Hutchinson's Historical Essay," Dedication, p. 6. Mr Fleay asserts that Scot's "Discoverie" is the source from which the author of these scenes derived his information. I can only say that I read

ing for age, walking like a bow, leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, untoothed, furrowed, having her lips trembling with the palsy, going mumbling in the streets." These are prose descriptions of creatures whom Shakspere has pictured more graphically in his drama; but would he have represented the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' about whom one would expect a veil of wild grandeur to be thrown, with chappy fingers, skinny lips, and beards? I think, therefore, that we may safely conclude that the passage from Macbeth above quoted was intended as a description of witches until it can be shown that it applies with more force to 'Nornæ.'

The next objection is that the 'Nornæ' have power that witches did not possess. They can "look into the seeds of time, and say which grain will grow, and which will not;" and Mr Fleay implies that witches could not do this. All I can say in answer is, that the most cursory perusal of the reports of a few witch-trials will compel any reader to admit that they could. I imagine that there are very few witch-trials on record in which charges of having prophesied future events were not made. Mr Charles Knight, in his biography of Shakspere,[1] has quoted an illustration that might almost have suggested the metaphor used in the last-mentioned passage. I will give another illustration of this power.

Bessie Roy[2] was tried in Scotland in the year 1590 for witchcraft, and the Dittay charged her in the following manner:—"Ye ar indytit and accusit that, quhair ye, beand duelland with Williame King in Barra, be the space of tuel yeiris syne or thairby, and haifing past to the feild to pluk lint with uthir wemen, in presens of thame maid ane compas in the eird, & ane hoill in the middis thairof; & thairefter, be thy conjuratiounes, thow causit ane grit worme cum fyrst out of the said hoill, & creip owre the compase; & nixt ane lytill worme, quhilk crap owre also: and last causit ane grit worme cum furth, quhilk could nocht pas owre the compas, nor cum out of the hoill, bot fell doune & deit. Quhilk inchantment and wichcraft thou interpreit in this forme:—that the fyrst grit worme that

Scot carefully before I saw Mr Fleay's statement, and I came to an opposite conclusion. Scot's book must have been very rare, for all obtainable copies were burnt.—Bayle, ix. 132. It was not reprinted until 1651.

[1] page 438. [2] Pitcairn, I. ii. 207.

crap owre the compas was the guidman Williame King, quha sould leve; & the lytill worme was ane barne in the guidwyffe's wamb, quhilk wes unknawin to ony manne that sche was with barne; & that the barne sould leve; & thrydlie the last grit worme thow interpreit to be the guidwyffe, quha sould die: *quhilk com to pas eftir thy speiking.*" If this be not looking into the seeds of time, and saying which grain will grow, and which will not, I am at a loss to know what is!

There is nothing, therefore, in the Shakspere witch-part of Act I. scene iii. that gives countenance to the supposition that the characters there called 'witches' are intended for 'Nornæ;' on the contrary, there is a great deal to show that they are meant for witches; and the latter theory is supported by many other passages on the play. Banquo, so early as line 106 of the last-mentioned scene, seems to have come to a decided conclusion upon the point, for when he hears the fulfilment of one of the witches' prophecies, he says: "What, can the devil speak true!" an exclamation most applicable to witches, but hardly so to 'Goddesses of Destinie.' Again, in Act I. scene v. we find that Macbeth, on his arrival at Forres, made investigation into the amount of reliance that could be placed on the utterances of the witches, and "learned by the perfectest report that they had more in them than mortal knowledge." This would be probable enough if witches were the subjects of the inquiry, for their chief title to authority would rest upon the rumours current in the neighbourhood in which they dwelt; but a most difficult, if not impossible matter in the case of 'Nornæ,' who, although they have a name, can scarcely be said to have a local habitation. It is noticeable too that Macbeth knows exactly where to find the weird sisters when he wants to consult them, and if it is borne in mind that the Chronicle mentions the existence of witches in the neighbourhood of Forres, these facts would go a long way towards destroying the presumption that the beings in Act I. scene iii. were intended for 'Nornæ,' even if that scene afforded any adequate grounds for it. Further, when Macbeth says:—

"I will to-morrow
. . . . . . to the weird sisters.

> More shall they speak, for now I am bent to know
> By *the worst means* the worst,"

another clear allusion is made to the traffic of witches with the devil; and I think that I am entitled to ignore Mr Fleay's supposition that these lines were interpolated by Middleton, so long as it remains without a particle of evidence to support it.

Mr Fleay notices that the predictions of the 'Nornæ' are "pithy and inevitable," whilst those of the familiars in Act IV. scene i. are "ambiguous and delusive." But this proves nothing. The diabolic purpose is best served by clearness in the one case, and ambiguousness in the other;

> "For oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
> The instruments of darkness tell us truths."

It is true, as Mr Fleay observes, that after Act IV. scene i. Macbeth speaks of the prophecies as "emanating from the fiend;" and there is nothing surprising in this; for now he has had actual communication with the devils, the familiars of the witches, and the fountains of their supernatural knowledge; an advantage that he has not had before; and he naturally refers to the source of his information rather than to his agents for obtaining it. Immediately after the witches have vanished,[1] in the scene just referred to, Macbeth speaks of them as "the weird sisters." Mr Fleay supposes that this term applies exclusively to 'Nornæ;' and he gets over the difficulty, not by asserting an interpolation by Middleton, but a slip of the pen by Shakspere! I think it is a fair conclusion, therefore, from all this evidence, that the so-called 'Nornæ' are merely witches,

[1] When the paper was read, some members questioned whether the power of vanishing did not distinguish the Macbeth witches from the ordinary witches of the period. The following receipts may set the question at rest:

"Sundrie receipts and ointments made and used for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects.

"Rx. The fat of yoong children, & seeth it with water in a brazen vessell, reseruing the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie up & keepe untill occasion serveth to use it. They put hereinto Eleoselinum, Aconitum, frondes populeas, & Soote.

"Rx. Sium, Acarum Vulgare, Pentaphyllon, the bloud of a Flittermouse, Solanum Somniferum, & oleum." *

It would seem that fern seed had the same virtue. 1 Henry IV. ii. 1.

* Scot, Bk. 10, ch. 8. The tale Scot gives on p. 46, which is too long, and perhaps too broad, to repeat, will show how effective these preparations were.

and identical with the characters in Act IV. scene i.; and that the stage-direction in Act III. scene v. is incorrect.

I must here add a few words about Hecate. Mr Fleay adduces as an argument against the Shaksperean origin of this character the fact that Hecate occurs nowhere else in Shakspere's works. This will not appear surprising if it be remembered that in no other case has Shakspere attempted to depict or describe a witches' Sabbath. Whatever the arguments may be against the Hecate speeches, and they are stronger against these than any other part of the play, this is not one of them.

It has always been the tendency of all religions to degrade the deities of a hostile form of worship to the rank of devils,[1] and Christianity was no exception to the rule. Hence, during the earlier part of the epidemic of Witchcraft that raged from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeeth century, a devil variously known as Hecate, Diana, Sybilla, or Queen of Elfame,[2] was always supposed to be present as presiding genius at the Sabbaths; and I see no reason for doubting that the Hecate of *Macbeth* is intended for this evil spirit, and not for a fourth witch. The mediæval history of Hecate, too, will show that many of the allusions to her in Shakspere, quoted by Mr Fleay, will apply to Hecat the devil, as well as, if not better than, to Hecate the goddess.

I now come to the second part of my task, and shall attempt to show that there are strong presumptive reasons for holding that all the witch-scenes are from the same hand; or at any rate were written at the same time.

My first point is that the first scene of Act I. has a necessary connection with the rest of the play. In it we are introduced to the fag-end of a Sabbath, which, if fully represented, would bear a great resemblance to the commencement of Act IV. scene i. But a long scene upon such a subject would be tedious and unmeaning at

[1] See Histoire de la Magie et l'Astrologie, par M. Maury.

[2] At about the commencement of the seventeenth century the belief about witchcraft gradually got much grosser; Hecate disappeared, and the devil himself, in some repulsive form or other, presided at the Sabbaths. This, however, is too slight a matter to hang an argument as to the date of the Hecate passages upon.

the commencement of the play. All that is needed is that a hint should be thrown out to the audience of the probable diabolic interference, and therefore much is left to the imagination. It is supposed that the familiars have been called up by the incantations of the witches; that they have imparted to the weird sisters the information respecting Macbeth's future career, and commanded them upon the errand that they subsequently perform in scene iii., when they retail to Macbeth the knowledge they have thus obtained. Before, however, this mission is performed the audience is made acquainted with Macbeth's previous loyalty and unstained reputation and then they are in a position to appreciate the full force of the situation in scene iii., which would, without the two previous scenes, render Macbeth's character almost incomprehensible. Middleton may have done this; but if he did, he imitated Shakspere's art most successfully.

Here I should like to ask Mr Fleay whether these Middleton witches are not in reality 'Nornæ'? If the capacity for looking into the seeds of time can constitute them such, they are; for they know for a certainty that they will be able to meet a man, alive and well, at a certain time, at a given place, who is either then engaged, or shortly to be engaged, in a struggle that must prove immensely destructive of human life.

It is perhaps worthy of note, too, that in this first scene the familiars of the first and second witches, Graymalkin and Paddock, are mentioned; and in the first scene of Act IV. (undoubtedly Shaksperian, according to Mr Fleay) the familiar of the third witch, Harpier, is referred to.

The only evidence, apart from style, that can be produced for rejecting scenes i. and ii. is that of Dr Forman, who commences his account of the play at the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo. The Cambridge editors acknowledge that this evidence is very nearly useless; and after all it is purely negative; and if we admit it as evidence against the scenes in question, we must also admit that in Shakspere's play Macbeth was created prince of Cumberland, and that he and Lady Macbeth could not remove the stains of Duncan's blood from their hands; for Forman's account furnishes positive evidence of this.

But there is another point of greater importance, that tends to show that all the witch-scenes were written at one period, and also to fix roughly the date of composition. No one can read *Macbeth* without noticing the prominence given to the belief that witches had the power of creating storms and other atmospheric disturbances. The witches select whether they will meet "in thunder, lightning, or in rain:" they "hover through the fog and filthy air." The whole of the first part of the third scene of Act I. is one blast of tempest with its attendant devastation. The weird sisters describe themselves as "posters of the sea and land:" the heath they meet upon is 'blasted,' and they vanish "as breath into the wind." Macbeth conjures them to answer his questions in these words:—

> "Though you untie the winds, and let them fight
> Against the churches; though the yesty waves
> Confound and swallow navigation up;
> Though bladed corn be lodged, and trees blown down;
> Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
> Though palaces and pyramids do slope
> Their heads to their foundations; though the treasure
> Of natures' germens tumble all together
> Even till destruction sickens."

Now this command over the elements does not form at all a prominent feature in the English accusations of witchcraft. A few isolated charges of the kind may be found. In 1565, for instance, a witch was burnt who confessed that she had caused all the tempests that had taken place during that year. But we must turn to the Scotch accounts of trials for witchcraft if we wish to find charges of this nature made the substantial accusation against the culprits. There are no doubt physical reasons why this should be the case; but there is also an historical one. In 1589 King James VI. brought his bride, Anne of Denmark, from her northern home to her adopted country. During the voyage an unusually violent storm occurred, which scattered the vessels composing the royal fleet, and appears to have placed the king's vessel in particular jeopardy. James, who seems to have been as convinced of the reality of witchcraft as he was of his own infallibility, attributed this storm to diabolic interference, and in consequence a great number of persons were tried

for attempting the king's life by witchcraft. James took the greatest interest in the proceedings, and, undeterred by the apparent impropriety of being judge in what was, in reality, his own cause, presided at many of the trials, condescended to superintend the tortures applied to the accused in order to extort a confession, and even went so far in one case as to write a letter to the judges commanding a condemnation.[1]

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the king's suspicions were fully confirmed by the confessions of the accused. It is impossible to read the reports of these cases without having the words of the Middleton part of Act I. scene iii. ringing in the ears as an echo. One or two instances will suffice to show this. John Fian, who was the ringleader of the gang, was charged[2] with having caused the leak in the queen's ship, and with having raised the wind and created a mist for the purpose of impeding the king's passage. On another occasion he and several other witches entered into a ship,[3] and caused it to perish. Fian was also able by witchcraft to open locks.[4] He visited churchyards at night and dismembered bodies for purposes of witchcraft; the bodies of unbaptized children being preferred.

Agnes Sampsoune confessed to the king that to compass his death she took a black toad and hung it by the hind legs for three days, and collected the venom that fell from it. She said that if she could have obtained a piece of linen that the king had worn, she could have destroyed his life with this venom; "causing him such extraordinarie paines as if he had beene lying upon sharpe thornes, or

[1] Pitcairn, I. ii. 243.

[2] Pitcairn, I. ii. 211.

[3] Ib., I. ii. 212. He confessed that Satan commanded him to chase cats "purposlie to be cassin into the sea to raise windis for destructioune of schippis," I. ii. 212.

[4] Fylit for opening of ane loke be his sorcerie in David Seytounis moderis, be blawing in ane woman's hand, himself sittand att the fyresyde. See also the case of Bessie Roy, I. ii. 208. The English method of opening locks was more complicated than the Scotch, as will appear from the following quotation from Scot, Bk. 12, ch. 14, p. 246:

"A charme to open locks. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and doo but print certeine floures therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would undoo the locke, blow thrice therein, saieing, 'Arato hoc partico hoc maratarykin; I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou brakest hell gates. In nomine patris et^c Amen.'"

endes of needles."[1] She went out to sea to a vessel called 'The Grace of God,' and when she came away the devil raised a wind, and the vessel was wrecked.[2] She delivered a letter from Fian to another witch, which was to this effect: "Ye sall warne the rest of the sisteris to raise the winde this day at ellewin houris to stay the Queenis cuming in Scotland."[3]

This is her confession as to how the storm was raised: "She tooke a cat and christened it, and afterward bounde to each part of that cat the cheefest parte of a dead man, & severall jointis of his bodie: and that in the night following the saide cat was convayed into the middest of the sea by all these witches, sayling in their riddles or cives, and so left the saide cat right before the towne of Lieth."[4]

The witches were always going about in sieves. Agnes told the king that she "with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundreth,[5] all together went to sea, each one in a riddle or cive, and went into the same very substantially, making merrie, and drinking by the way in the same riddles or cives to the kirke of North Barrick in Lowthian, & that after they landed they tooke hands on the lande and daunced a reill or short daunce."[6] They then opened the graves and took the fingers, toes, and knees of the bodies to make charms of.

It can be easily understood that these trials created an intense excitement in Scotland. The result of it was that a tract was printed, containing a full account of all the principal incidents; and the fact that this pamphlet was reprinted once, if not twice,[7] in London,

[1] Pitcairn, I. ii. 218. [2] Ib., I. ii. 235. [3] Ib., I. ii. 236.

[4] "Newes from Scotland," reprinted in Pitcairn, I. ii. 218.

[5] Referred to in "Newes from Scotland," I. ii. 217. See also the trial of Ewsame McCalgane, I. ii. 254. [6] Ib., I. ii. 239.

[7] One copy of this reprint bears the name of W. Wright, another that of Thomas Nelson. The full title is—

Newes from Scotland,

Declaring the damnable life of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenborough in Januarie last, 1591; which Doctor was Register to the Deuill, that sundrie times preached at North Barricke Kirke to a number of notorious witches; with the true examinations of the said Doctor and witches as they uttered them in the presence of the Scottish king: Discouering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne His Majestie in the sea, comming

shows that the interest spread to the south side of the border.[1]

Eight years after these events James printed his *Dæmonologie*, a sign to both England and Scotland that the subject was still of engrossing interest to him. In 1603 he ascended the English throne. His first parliament met on the 19th of March, 1604, and on the 27th of the same month a bill was brought into the House of Lords dealing with the question of witchcraft, which, after much debating and revision, passed into law on the 9th of June. Hutchinson, in his Essay on Witchcraft, published in 1720, asserts that this statute was framed to meet the offences exposed by the trials of 1590-1, and there appears, from a comparison of the act and the Reports, some reason to suppose this to have been the case. At any rate, all these facts tend to show that these Scotch cases were prominently before the public mind during the period immediately preceding the date to which nearly all the critics assign *Macbeth*. What is more probable, then, than that a poet, having such a reasonable opportunity to ingratiate himself with the new sovereign by flattering this known partiality, should have availed himself of it? Jonson did so avowedly in the *Masque of Queenes;* and I believe that Shakspere did in *Macbeth*.

If, then, there is anything in my argument, it proves that the whole of the scenes in question (except the Hecate scene) were written soon after 1604, and on that ground I say that they were written by Shakspere. Mr Fleay admits that the supposed Middleton-part could not have been added until after Shakspere had left the stage; and with this I entirely agree; but it seems absurd to assume that the allusions are to the Scotch trials, and at the same time to hold that the scenes containing them were interpolated in 1613 or subsequently. The Scotch cases were quite forgotten by that time, and, if the report mentioned by Hutchinson be true, namely, that James I. "came off from these notions in his elder years," it is just possible

from Denmarke, with such other wonderfull matters, as the like hath not bin heard at anie time.

Published according to the Scottish copie.

Printed for William Wright.

[1] These events are referred to in an existing letter by the notorious Thos. Phelippes to Thos. Barnes, Cal. State Papers (May 21, 1591), 1591-4, p. 38.

that he might not look with favour upon any attempt to bring before the public the remembrance of his youthful eccentricities.[1]

Lastly, it seems to me that the argument derived from the fact that the songs mentioned in the stage-directions of Act III. scene v. and Act IV. scene i. appear in *The Witch* of Middleton, so far from showing that Middleton had any hand in *Macbeth*, as it stands in the folio of 1623, actually tells the other way. All that can be deduced from this fact is that there were passages in the play, as previously acted, that were written by Middleton. But it places *Macbeth* in a far different position to any other play contained in the folio of 1623. *Macbeth* was not printed from a surreptitious Quarto, or taken without consideration from the mouths of the actors, or from their copies. The editors of the folio were aware that certain portions of the play as it had been acted were not Shakspere's work, but Middleton's; and so they set themselves to expunge the Middleton portions, merely indicating where they had occurred by stage-directions. We must acknowledge that Heminge and Condell, having undertaken the task, were far more competent to separate the Shakspere and Middleton portions than any critic, however able, in the present day; and it is hard to see why, when they had once commenced the revision, they should have left off until they had entirely cleared *Macbeth* from all interpolations.

I therefore conclude:—

First:—That the beings of Act I. scene iii. and of Act IV. scene i. are identical.

Secondly:—That the witch-scenes were written at the same time and by the same hand as the rest of the play.[2]

[1] "In 1612-13, the English public was agitated by another series of witch-trials:—the celebrated case of the Lancashire witches. This is just the time when Middleton ought to have been adding the witch-scenes to *Macbeth*, and yet there is not an allusion to this command over the elements in the reports of them."—Pott's Discoverie, 1613, reprinted by the Chetham Society, 1845.

[2] Mr. Furnivall points out, justly, that the historical evidence does not support Act III. sc. v. as it does the rest of the witch-scenes. He says, "Hecate's speech in III. v. is doubtful. It's so much weaker than the witches' talk, and yet is from their ruler. Their speeches are Trochaic, Hecate's Iambic." This scene has in its favour only the evidence that supports my third conclusion.

Thirdly:—That there is a presumption in favour of holding that the whole of *Macbeth* as it appears in the folio of 1623 is Shakspere's work.

P. S. Mr Furnivall tells me that note 1 on the preceding page does not sufficiently suggest the argument I intend to be derived from it.

My meaning is this. A belief in a crime like witchcraft, that has no real foundation in fact, but depends for its existence upon theological narrowness acting on one side, poverty and despair on the other, and an utter ignorance of the most elementary laws of natural science on both, will be constantly varying; and the variation will be regulated by the individual peculiarities of the persecutors, the persecuted, and by pure accident.

I have shown what a bad storm, whilst a credulous king was at sea, could do to bring a series of accusations into greater prominence than had been before allowed to them, and how accident kept these to the front for a considerable period. But after 1604 these cases gradually fell out of remembrance; and in 1613 the current state of belief was represented by the cases of the Lancashire witches, who were not given to raising storms at all.

Now the dramatist who wanted to represent the action of witches, to make himself intelligible to his audience, was bound to dwell upon the conception of witchcraft that then occupied the public mind. Hence I say that if Middleton had added any of the witch-scenes to *Macbeth* in 1613, or soon after, the additions would have contained allusions to the Lancashire cases, and not to the Scotch.

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age, sb. period of life attaind, *Sonnet* vii. 6. "But if eyther, **age**, which then was young, or other prouidence of the Lorde, haue freed mee alwayes from so grosse idolatrie, yet seeke I further whether with any outwarde thing else whatsoeuer, not warraunted by the word, I haue thought or sought to serue and please the Lorde." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 122.

bowling, sb. (? same sense in) *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 338. "I require it of al that euer shal reade these words, that as they wil answere me before the face of God and all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [= weigh] whether carding, dising, & tabling, **bowling**, and cocking, stage plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*, to this bearebaiting & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 190.

IV.

A NOTE ON THE REV. N. J. HALPIN'S TIME-ANALYSIS OF *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.*

BY P. A. DANIEL, ESQ.

(*Read at the* 36*th Meeting of the Society, Oct.* 12, 1877.)

"The time is out of joint."—*Hamlet.*

"One Errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof bee not timely restrayned."—Raleigh : *Hist. of the World*, Cap. iii.

IN June last my attention was called to the republication, in the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*,[1] of Mr Halpin's Time-Analysis of *The Merchant of Venice.* On examination it seemed to me that Mr Halpin's conclusions were so little justified by the Play itself, that I was induced to give our Director, Mr Furnivall, a short note expressing my dissent from them. At his request I have since gone more fully into the subject, and the following pages are the result.

It must be understood at the outset that I do not pretend to prove that the play *satisfactorily* accounts for the full period of rather more than three months which is essential to the plot, and which the dramatic action is supposed to represent: I am afraid it must be admitted that in writing these enchanting scenes, the poet did not, almanack in hand, calculate with any great degree of care their relative positions in the field of time. And thus it is that in perusal of his lines difficulties strike us that pass unnoticed in the visible action of the stage, for which the scenes were primarily intended. Nor do I intend to discuss Mr Halpin's theory of the Shaksperean system as regards unity of time: I only profess to examine the grounds on which he theorizes, and I propose to show that

[1] For 1875-6, Part II. The references to Mr Halpin's paper throughout are to the pages of that volume.

they have very little existence except in his own imagination; and that his conclusion that the "dramatic time of the action" is limited to 39 consecutive hours, is not only not justified by the play, but is absolutely and manifestly at variance with it.

He divides these 39 hours as follows:

A first period of 10 hours—from 11 A.M. to 9 P.M.—commencing with the play and ending, Act II. scene vi., with the embarkation of Bassanio for Belmont.

An interval of 11 hours, commencing with the last-named hour, 9 P.M., and ending at 8 o'clock on the following morning, with the commencement of Act III. scene ii.—the scene in which Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets.

A second period of 18 hours, commencing at 8 A.M. with Act III. scene ii., and ending with the play at 2 o'clock the next morning.

Let us see how far this scheme of time agrees with the play itself.

Act I. scenes i. and iii. Venice. In these scenes is concluded all the business connected with the loan and bond. They represent a portion of one day presumably before the dinner-hour. We may accept Mr Halpin's decision that the dinner hour is 12 at noon. He however limits the whole transaction to one hour, and decides therefore that the opening scene commences at 11 o'clock.

Looking to the Play itself we find that when scene iii. closes, the ducats have yet to be pursed and the bond drawn, signed, sealed, and delivered. Allowing only one hour for this business, it is evident that scene iii. must close at 11 A.M. and that the opening scene must commence at a much earlier hour. The whole transaction supposes a morning's work, and I should therefore consider scene i. as commencing not later than 8 A.M.; giving four hours for the completion of this part of the story.

The Bond. The Bond being now in existence, it may be well to say a word as to its nature. It is a bond for three thousand ducats payable on or before the expiration of three months, and, "in a merry sport," it is agreed that the penalty for non-payment at the time of expiration shall be a pound of Antonio's flesh.

Not a syllable is breathed by any soul throughout the play which can by any effort of ingenuity be tortured into a meaning that could cast a doubt on this fact. It is the very groundwork of the plot; without it the whole fabric must "fall to cureless ruin." I need not waste my time and that of my readers in proving this certain and established fact. No one who has ever read the Play can doubt it. Whether the poet in elaborating his plot on this foundation, has or has not allowed sufficient time for the expiration of the three months of the bond, is another matter, and may be a legitimate subject for investigation. Halpin believes that sufficient time has not been allowed, and he is thereby induced to advance a theory as to the bond, the boldness of which is perhaps without a parallel in the history of Shaksperean criticism. In manifest and palpable contradiction to every syllable throughout the play having any connection with the bond, he asserts that the bond for three months was really never signed at all, but that Shylock managed by some impossible fraud to substitute for it a bond payable *at sight* or *on demand.* In order to afford an opportunity for the perpetration of this fraud—of which, by the way, it may be observed that neither Shylock himself, Antonio, Antonio's friends, nor the Judges appear to have had the slightest inkling—Halpin makes Shylock *proceed alone to give the notary 'directions for this merry bond'* (p. 402). Now compare this with the evidence of the Play, Act I. scene iii.:

> "*Ant.* Yes, Shylock, I will seal unto this bond.
> *Shy.* Then meet me forthwith at the notary's;
> Give him direction for this merry bond,
> And I will go and purse the ducats straight,
> See to my house, left in the fearful guard
> Of an unthrifty knave, and presently
> I will be with you."

From this, if words have any meaning, it is evident that Antonio *himself* gives the notary directions for the bond; and, as it is not to be supposed that he had any intention of sealing to any other than a bond for three months, as agreed on, Mr Halpin's theory of a "*real* and *ostensible* bond" is shown, by this circumstance alone, to be a mere impossible figment, and may be dismissed from all

further consideration. This point settled, we may now return to the examination of the play with reference to the main question of time.

Act I. scene ii. At Belmont. In this scene, which comes between the two Venice scenes, wherein is figured forth the business connected with the bond, we are introduced to Portia and Nerissa, and made acquainted with that part of the plot which relates to the caskets. And here it should be noted, as an important point, that Portia's suitors are apparently in the habit of sojourning some little time at Belmont before they decide whether they will, or will not, risk their fortunes in the choice of the caskets. The conversation between Portia and Nerissa conclusively proves this. Portia could not else have obtained the intimate knowledge of her suitors' peculiarities which she displays. The time at which this scene takes place may be supposed—and in this I agree with Halpin—concurrent with the time occupied at Venice with the business of scenes i. and iii. At the end of the scene the arrival of Morocco's forerunner is announced; he brings word that his master will be there that night.

Act I. then, it will be observed, comprises one day; a *forenoon* at Venice and a portion of the same day at Belmont, *ending at night* with the arrival of Morocco.

Act II. scene i. opens at Belmont with the *forenoon* on which Morocco determines to try his fortunes at the caskets. His hazard is to be made *after dinner.*

Scenes ii. to vi., in Venice, comprise the business of an *afternoon*, ending with Bassanio's embarkation.

Scene vii. at Belmont, the *same afternoon*, ends Morocco's venture.

Here then we see at a glance that the Venice scenes, Act I. scenes i. and iii., and Act II. scenes ii. to vi., cannot have occurred on one and the same day. 24 hours, at least, comprising an afternoon and a forenoon at Belmont, must come between them, if we are to pay any regard to the sequence of the scenes. But this interval of 24 hours only, by no means satisfies the exigencies of the case.

It is in my opinion quite impossible to read the Venice scenes ii. to vi. of Act II., and arrive at any other conclusion than that an interval of at least several days has elapsed between the signing of the bond and Launcelot's first appearance. How many days have

passed I do not pretend to determine; I am here only concerned to show that Halpin's theory of ten consecutive hours for that portion of the Play commencing with scene i. Act I., and ending with Bassanio's embarkation, is at variance with the manifest intention of the Play.

Glancing rapidly through these scenes (scenes ii.—vi.), we find Launcelot lamenting his hard life in Shylock's service; he knows that Bassanio, who has been preparing for his journey, gives "rare new liveries," and with true serving-man instinct he determines to *better* himself; he succeeds; for Bassanio "knows him well," and on that very day that he makes his petition, Shylock himself has already preferred him. This fact alone shows that Shylock—however inwardly he has cherished his hatred—has been at least for some little time in familiar intercourse with Bassanio and his friends since the signing of the bond; and probably in going of errands between the two establishments, Launcelot has gained his knowledge of the superior comforts to be obtained in Bassanio's service. We find too that Shylock has got over his horror of pork, and now accepts an invitation to eat with the Christians almost as a matter of course. Bassanio, besides the work of providing his outfit, has engaged his ship, and is now waiting for a fair wind. He has, however, still certain liveries (they could not have been those that Launcelot refers to, unless we suppose Launcelot to be a prophet) to be made, and it is to be hoped they were completed that afternoon. If not, he sailed without them.

Lorenzo, too, has been courting Jessica, and persuading her to elope with him. And Jessica, in Act III. scene ii. l. 287—90, testifies that when she was with her father, *i. e.* after the signing of the bond, she had

"———heard him swear
To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen,
That he would rather have Antonio's flesh
Than twenty times the value of the sum
That he did owe him."[1]

All this manifestly supposes a lapse of time since the signing of

[1] It may seem incredible, but Halpin, commenting on this speech, says,—"We must understand her as speaking of conversations and transactions *prior to the bond*,"—when Antonio owed Shylock nothing! See p. 411.

the bond; but Halpin, on the ten-consecutive-hours theory (contradicted already by the *afternoon* and *forenoon* at Belmont, Act I. scene ii., and Act II. scene i.), leaves absolutely no time whatever, not a single second, during which these various events could have taken place. As well as I can make out, his sole and only foundation for this theory of ten consecutive-hours is, that in Act I. *dinner* is mentioned, and in these scenes *supper* is in question.[1]

I have only further to remark that the concurrence of the Belmont scenes, i. and vii. of Act II. (in which are concluded Morocco's venture) with the scenes ii. to vi. at Venice, does not at all militate against my supposition of a considerable interval between Acts I. and II. It obliges us to suppose that before making his choice of the caskets, Morocco passed in Belmont as large a space of time as elapsed in Venice between the signing of the bond and the embarkation of Bassanio; but there is nothing improbable in this when we consider the custom of the suitors.

On the other hand, when we consider the extraordinary, I may say impossible, positions into which the ten-consecutive-hours theory gets the personages of the drama, it becomes a matter of extreme difficulty to understand by what process of reasoning Halpin could have betrayed himself into adopting it.

He admits that the Venice and Belmont scenes of Act I. occur on one and the same day. Morocco arrives at Belmont on the night of that day. Yet by making the Venice scenes ii.—vi. of Act II. consecutive with the Venice scenes of Act I., he is compelled to make the Belmont forenoon and afternoon scenes, Act II. scenes i. and vii., which follow the night of Morocco's arrival, to take place on that very night.

Mr Halpin's treatment of the evidence of time afforded by these Belmont scenes is eminently unsatisfactory. (See pp. 406-7.)

[1] I am told that the impression that this dinner and supper take place on one and the same day is very general. If so, I imagine it must have been caused, not by reading the play, but by seeing the mutilated version of it usually placed on the stage; the scenes with Morocco being there omitted. To the honour of the management of the *Prince of Wales* theatre, it should be mentioned that when performed there these scenes were restored.

We are now at the end of our examination of Halpin's "First Period," with this result: for his ten consecutive hours, we have two periods of four and nine hours each, separated by an interval the length of which must be determined by the reader himself; but I suggest a week at the least.

And now Bassanio is on his way to Belmont, and Lorenzo and Jessica are wandering, Heaven knows where: the stage is clear; and this perhaps is the best place for determining, if we can, the distance between Venice and Belmont. It need scarcely be said that the actual map of Italy will give us no information on this point; the play itself is all that we have to depend on, and from that, although we derive an idea of considerable distance, we get nothing very definite. Halpin, however, crushing all things for the sake of his short-time theory, imagined that he had discovered the distance between the two places to be exactly ten miles.

His argument in favour of this "astounding discovery" is as follows:—

When in Act III. scene ii. Bassanio, having succeeded in his choice of the caskets, determines to return to Venice, to rescue, if possible, Antonio from Shylock's clutches, he says to Portia:—

> "—— 'till I come again,
> No bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay;
> No rest be interposer 'twixt us twain."

Therefore, says Halpin (improving on his text), he is "under the positive engagement that he *will not sleep till his return;*" therefore he *must* be back in Belmont that same night; therefore Portia (who sets out for Venice after him, and returns before him) *must* mean, when she says that she has to "measure twenty miles to-day," that this twenty miles includes the whole journey to and from Venice; argal, the distance between Venice and Belmont is triumphantly proved to be no more nor less than a just ten miles.

It is singular how little Halpin appears to understand his author, or the force of his own arguments: we here see how by means of his misinterpretation of Bassanio's speech he reduces Portia's "twenty miles" to ten; and the "ten miles" in its turn reduces Bassanio's speech to—nonsense; for if the distance between Venice and Belmont

be no more than ten miles, Bassanio's proposed self-sacrifice has no motive, becomes in fact a piece of mere bombast. It is as though he should say,—"My love, I am about to leave you for a few hours; I shall probably be back to-night, and I assure you I will not go to bed in the meanwhile"!—Why, indeed, should he?—Of course the obvious meaning of Bassanio's words is, that he anticipates an absence of at least two or three days: and his anticipation is realized: two nights at least intervene between his departure from Belmont and his return to it with Antonio on the night which ends the play in the garden scene of Act V. The evidence of the play on this point is patent and incontrovertible. Scene ii. Act III. (the choice of the caskets), and scene iii. Act III. (Antonio in custody in Venice) must certainly[1] be supposed coincident in point of time. Now we learn from Antonio that the trial is to take place on the *morrow:* it is clear therefore that one night intervenes between the day of the caskets, and the day of the trial. We know also that Antonio and Bassanio do not start on their journey to Belmont 'till the morning after the trial, we thus get a second night; and in fact, unless we allow the intervention of this second night between the day of the trial and the final night in the garden at Belmont, the chaff about the rings, which the ladies pretend they have received from the doctor and his clerk, becomes mere nonsense, and so manifestly impossible that neither Bassanio nor Gratiano could for a moment be taken in by it. "The doctor's clerk," says Nerissa, "in lieu of this *last night* did lie with me." How could Bassanio and Gratiano be deceived, if no *last night* had passed since they gave away their rings in Venice?

We may conclude then that Belmont is about a day's journey from Venice; their relative positions and the distance between them cannot be more strictly defined. But Halpin's "ten miles" may with a clear conscience be relegated to the limbo to which we have already consigned his fraudulent bond.

[1] "must certainly;" because scene iii. (Antonio in custody) is enclosed, as it were, by the Belmont scenes ii. and iv., which undoubtedly are both on one day. In this way also in Act I. we determine the coincidence in time of the Belmont scene ii. with the Venice scenes i. and iii.; and, in Act II., the coincidence of the Venice scenes ii. to vi. with the Belmont scenes i. and vii.

In this place also it may be proper to correct his assertion (p. 399) that "it was agreed" that Lorenzo and Jessica should elope in Bassanio's ship. If this were true, it would be a black stain on Bassanio's character; but it is not true. No such agreement is even hinted at. The flight of the lovers was almost coincident with Bassanio's departure; but it was concerted and carried into effect before it could possibly be known that the wind would come about and enable him to commence his journey. Lorenzo in fact had no intention of joining company with him; and when they do meet at Belmont (Act III. scene ii.) he tells him:—

> "My purpose was not to have seen you here,
> But meeting with Salerio by the way,
> He did intreat me, past all saying nay,
> To come with him along."

This little affair matters nothing as regards short-time or long-time; but it should be noted as one of the many proofs of Halpin's carelessness in studying the play.

And now we have to examine the scenes which fill up what Halpin calls the interval of eleven hours.

Act II. scene viii. In this scene, in Venice, we meet with Salarino and Salanio acting, as it were, the part of Chorus. How long a time has elapsed since the departure of Bassanio, it is impossible to say with certainty. The reference to Bassanio's embarkation, to the elopement of Lorenzo and Jessica, and to Shylock's rage on its discovery, would seem to connect the time of this scene very closely with that of the preceding scenes: one might imagine that they were discussing these events on the morning following their occurrence. But another circumstance is mentioned which forbids this construction. Salarino reports that he had reasoned with a Frenchman *yesterday*, who brought news of the loss of a vessel of their nation in the narrow seas, and he hopes this may not be one of Antonio's. This *yesterday* cannot possibly be supposed the day of Bassanio's departure; at the very earliest, then, it could only have been the following day; and therefore the time of this scene, at the

earliest, would be the second day after Bassanio's embarkation. The time, however, must be accepted as indefinite; but, interpreting the poet's words as rigorously as we may, we here see, in the very first scene that passes in Venice after Bassanio's departure, that Halpin's interval of eleven hours only is utterly distanced. Here too it may be as well to correct his misstatement (p. 399) that in this scene "we find Shylock in his first agonies of rage at his daughter's flight," etc. As we know, Shylock is not in this scene at all.

Act II. scene ix. At Belmont. Again in this scene we cannot fix the time with precision. We may however reasonably suppose it concurrent with the previous scene, viii. In it the Prince of Arragon makes his choice of the caskets: he fails of course; and as he takes his leave, a servant enters to announce the arrival of—

> "A young Venetian, one that comes before
> To signify the approaching of his lord:"

i. e. of Bassanio. Like Morocco, Bassanio's approach is announced by a forerunner, and probably also, like him, he arrives the same day that his approach is announced. Halpin says (p. 395) that his actual arrival is announced in this scene, but that of course is not so. I have said that it is reasonable to suppose this scene concurrent with the previous scene, No. viii., at Venice.—In doing so I favour the short-time theory as much as possible.—Admitting then that Bassanio arrives at Belmont on the day that his approach is announced, and that this day is concurrent with the day of scene viii., we find that his arrival is fixed at the second day after his departure from Venice. This journey then would appear to have occupied a longer time than those mentioned in the attempt to ascertain the distance of Belmont from Venice. I don't pretend however to reconcile all the discrepancies of the play; but neither do I wish to conceal them.

Act III. scene i. We are in Venice again. Salanio and Salarino are still harping on the loss of the ship in the narrow seas; but now the rumour is that it is really one of Antonio's, and though the mention of this ship connects the scene with Act II. scene viii., it also

marks the advance of time. The fact that Shylock, who joins them, is still brooding over his daughter's flight, does not by any means necessitate a close approximation between the time of this scene and that of the elopement, notwithstanding Halpin's emphatic assertion (p. 400) that "it cannot by any stretch of fancy be supposed to have taken place later than the *first day* (or rather morning) *after the event*, with the interval only of the intervening night." If we turn back to Act II. scene viii., we see that this scene must be of a later date. We find, too, that Shylock is already beginning to talk of Antonio as a probable bankrupt, and uttering threats in anticipation of the forfeiture of the bond. A bond too of which—if it were payable on demand—he might force the forfeiture at once. But he evidently knows so little of the fraud he has perpetrated, that notwithstanding his eagerness for revenge he yet proposes to delay the arrest of Antonio for a fortnight. "Go Tubal, fee me an officer; bespeak him a fortnight before."

The way in which Halpin explains away this "fortnight before" is too good to be left unnoticed:—"I suppose," says he (p. 411), "that the greedy burst of malice with which Shylock instructs Tubal to 'bespeak him an officer a *fortnight* before' will suggest nothing more than the extreme impatience of the cruel creditor to glut his revengeful animosity with the utmost certainty and with the shortest delay."

Not having hampered my imagination with a short-time theory, I must confess it suggests to me this much more: that all but a fortnight of the three months of the bond has now expired, and that the poet gives this note of time to fix the date of the scene; the more especially as he has not given us any scenes representing the intervening time. Tubal, however, who makes his appearance as Salanio and Salarino leave the stage, does account for a considerable portion of this past time; and from his conversation with Shylock we learn that he has just returned from a fruitless pursuit of Jessica, in tracing whom he has been as far as Genoa. This conversation can in no way be made to agree with Halpin's "interval of eleven hours" only; and is too important to be passed over, so he avoids the difficulty by setting down poor Tubal as "a manifest liar"! (p. 409). Against such

powerful argument as this, criticism collapses: the gods themselves could not contend with it.

This is the last of the "interval" scenes; and it may be admitted that it requires some effort of the imagination to believe that they very satisfactorily account for the lapse of time necessary to bring the bond to within a fortnight of maturity; but that effort seems to me as nothing compared with the frightful wrench to our sense of probability which Halpin's theory would require of us. In flat contradiction to the evidences of the passage of time which we have noted in the scenes in question, Halpin would have us believe that they all occur on the morning following Bassanio's departure from Venice, *and before eight o'clock of that morning;* for he fixes that hour for the commencement of the following scene (Act III. scene ii.), in which Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets.

Portia was no doubt as healthy as she was wealthy and wise; and no wonder, if she was in the habit of rising as early as she must have done on this morning to get through the work here cut out for her. She has to receive the Prince of Arragon; who of course has to take the oath in the temple before he can be admitted to take his choice of the caskets; then with due solemnity she superintends his choice; bids him adieu; receives Bassanio's forerunner; receives Bassanio himself, who having first imparted his love to her, and taken the oath, is ready to make *his* choice of the caskets at 8 A.M. exactly.

The morning's work at Venice is still more startling: on this morning Salarino must have reasoned *yesterday* with his Frenchman; on this morning Tubal must have flown to and from Genoa in pursuit of Jessica, often coming where he heard of her, but not able to overtake her in spite of the rapidity of his journeying; on one *night* of this same morning Jessica spent in Genoa four-score ducats, on another occasion she bought a monkey, and then, with "motion of no less celerity than that of thought," she and her husband flit to Belmont, arriving there shortly after 8 o'clock on this same morning. On this same morning Shylock, bespeaking an officer a fortnight before, rushes instantly to arrest Antonio a fortnight hence, and "plies the duke at morning and at night" for justice; "twenty merchants, the duke himself and the magnificoes of greatest port" all persuade

with him on this morning, but in vain: so Antonio, being arrested a fortnight hence, writes his letter to Bassanio on this same morning and despatches it to Belmont by Salerio, who arrives there with it very shortly after 8 A.M., and, be it remarked, unlike Macbeth's forerunner, with plenty of breath left to "make up his message." If this is not the triumph of short-time, it must at least be allowed a triumph of unreason.

And now to return to the Play. In Act III. scene i., then, we learned that all but a fortnight of the three months of the bond had expired: and now, in scene ii., we find ourselves again in Belmont. Now is the day on which Bassanio risks his fortune at the caskets, and wins his wife: he has scarcely done so when Salerio arrives with a letter from Antonio telling him that the bond is forfeit, and that he has fallen into the power of the Jew. More than a fortnight's interval therefore (allowing of course for Salerio's journey, and the time passed by him in Venice, after the arrest, during which the chief citizens interceded with Shylock on behalf of Antonio) must be supposed between scenes i. and ii. of this Act. There can be no difficulty in supposing that. The difficulty is to make out what Bassanio has been about ever since his arrival at Belmont. We can't fix the time of his arrival with precision; but it must evidently have been at some time long previous to the expiration of the three months of the bond. Halpin asserts (p. 395) that in this scene ii. of Act III., he "has his first interview, in the capacity of a suitor, with Portia"; but on this point Bassanio himself contradicts him.

Speaking to Portia, he says:—

> "When I did first impart my love to you,
> I freely told you, all the wealth I had
> Ran in my veins, ...
> . . . . When I told you
> My state was nothing, I should then have told you
> That I was worse than nothing;" etc.

No one will contend that in saying this he was referring to the "fair speechless messages" alluded to in Act I. scene i. l. 164. Halpin himself does not pretend this: he merely ignores the lines I have quoted. Bassanio must therefore refer to some interview after

his arrival and previous to this scene. It may have been the interview during which he took his oath; or it may have been one of many previous interviews; for notwithstanding that Portia's words,—

> "I pray you tarry: pause a day or two.
> . . . . . .
> I would detain you here some month or two
> Before you venture for me," etc.

may seem to argue but a short previous acquaintance, the dialogue between them is that of two persons who by long intercourse are mutually certain of each other's love, and tremble lest fate should divide them. We must suppose that the lovers have been lingering out the time; putting off from day to day the dreaded ordeal of the caskets, the wrong choice of which would blast their happiness.

Bassanio in fact has been following Antonio's advice, and staying "the very riping of the time" (II. viii., 40); but, like Orlando in *As You Like it*, he "can live no more by thinking." The uncertainty of his fate makes him to live upon the rack and to fear the enjoying of his love: he must venture at last; and now has come the supreme moment. But Portia and he have not been alone in their wooing: Gratiano has been hard at it too, wooing 'till he sweat again, and "*at last*" Nerissa has promised him her hand if Bassanio achieves her mistress. The time was short enough to them no doubt, but they did not slubber up their business in the impossible short time, or rather no time, to which Halpin would stint them; nor did the Poet mean that they should; though he has not very precisely accounted for all the days and hours during which he has left them together.

I might here also adduce another little bit of evidence in favour of a lengthy sojourn[1] for Bassanio at Belmont, before he decides his fate by the caskets, from Act III. scene v.; but as it reflects on Launcelot's moral character and is decidedly damaging to the reputation of a Moorish lady, I will pass it in discreet silence. Still it *is* strange that Lorenzo should make such a charge against Launcelot if

[1] At least twelve weeks, according to Dr. Tanner, *Signs and Diseases of Pregnancy*, 1860, p. 65.—F.

Launcelot had only arrived with his new master at Belmont the day before this scene takes place.[1]

With this scene ii. of Act III. commences Halpin's "Second Period" of 18 hours. As I have, however, already disposed of this period in the attempt to ascertain the distance between Venice and Belmont, it will be sufficient here to recapitulate his scheme and that sanctioned by the play.

He fixes, quite arbitrarily, the time of the commencement of this Belmont scene at 8 A.M. By noon of the same day he gets all the characters—including of course Balthasar, who has been on an errand to Padua for Portia—into court in Venice, for the trial. Portia and Nerissa set out on their return to Belmont shortly after the trial. Antonio and Bassanio don't start till the following morning, but so early in the morning that they actually get back to Belmont in time to finish up the play by 2 A.M. Total time 18 hours. Accepting 8 A.M. (though I think that too early) for the commencement of scene ii. Act III., and 2 A.M. for the conclusion of Act V., the very shortest time that the play can possibly be made to sanction is 66 hours.

Scenes ii. and iv. Act III., at Belmont (choice of the caskets, and departures of Bassanio and Portia for Venice), and scene iii. Act III., at Venice (Antonio in custody), are on one and the same day. In scene iii. we learn from Antonio that the trial is for the *morrow:* it follows then that a night intervenes between these scenes and the Trial scene, Act IV. scene i. A night also (the *ring* night) intervenes between the Trial and the final night at Belmont. We have then (1) 16 hours, (2) two entire days, (3) the two final morning hours. Total 66 hours. A total differing in rather a remarkable degree from Halpin's, but the least the play will allow us to tot up. In this statement I have not noticed scene v. Act III. (Lorenzo, Jessica and Launcelot, at Belmont, before dinner). In Halpin's scheme it would of course be coincident with Portia's journey to Venice. I should bracket it with the Trial scene in point of time.

[1] A further reason for lapse of time was suggested at the Society's Meeting: what did Bassanio want 3000 ducats for (say £600, worth £4000 now), if he had not to maintain himself for some weeks while he was courting. He could hardly spend the whole sum in dress, liveries, and a day's sail.—F.

Its position however is not important, as it does not interfere in the main course of the action. Neither have I thought it necessary to refute Halpin's notion (p. 412) that Antonio's mention of *to-morrow* as the day of trial is merely a *miscalculation* on his part. The absurdity of this notion is its own sufficient condemnation. Indeed this censure may be most justly applied to by far the greater part of Mr Halpin's paper, from its commencement to its end. So astonishing to me is its whole tenor, that I have sometimes asked myself whether it really could have been written in good faith, or whether, after all, it was merely intended as a mystification. In the latter case it must be considered as a very poor joke, but in the former the ignorance it supposes of the Play itself is quite incomprehensible.

I shall only notice one more "error," and that chiefly because it touches on a point of time.

When in Act V. Portia gets back to Belmont, the moon is shining, and she says,—

> "This night methinks is but the day-light sick;
> It looks a little paler: 'tis a day,
> Such as the day is when the sun is hid" (l. 124—6).

A few lines later on Gratiano says,—

> "By yonder moon I swear," etc. (l. 142).

Later on still Bassanio swears—

> "by these blessed candles of the night," *i. e.* the stars (l. 220).

In the very last lines of the play Gratiano says that it is still "two hours to day" (l. 303).

It would seem impossible for any one studying this scene, with special reference to the time at which it takes place, to overlook all this evidence; yet Halpin manages to do so. He asserts (p. 398) that the time is "dusky dawn;" and for confirmation of his assertion he calls to witness "the shortness of the Italian summer night." His science here shows as unhappily as his knowledge of the scene: a moment's reflection must have told him that the latitude of Italy was incompatible with *shortness* of nights; and in point of fact the earliest sun-rise on the longest day in Venice is not before 4.10 A.M.

I now leave my readers to form their own opinion of the value

of Mr Halpin's work, and, with this final specimen of his accuracy, I conclude a paper which I cannot but fear is already too long for the importance of the subject of which it treats.

I add a scheme of the time of the Play such as appears to me to be sanctioned by the text. By *one day* is, of course, to be understood the whole or any portion of the twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight.

1. Act I. sc. i., ii., iii. One day (No. 1). The bond. Morocco arrives at Belmont.

   Interval, say a week.

2. Act II. sc. i. to vii. One day (No. 2). Bassanio starts for Belmont. Conclusion of Morocco's venture.

   Interval, a day at least.

3. Act II. sc. viii. and ix. One day (No. 3).. Salanio and Salarino in Venice. Arragon's venture.

   Interval, bringing the time to within a fortnight of the maturity of the bond.

4. Act III. sc. i. One day (No. 4). Salanio and Salarino. Shylock and Tubal.

   Interval, rather more than a fortnight.

5. Act III. sc. ii., iii., iv. One day (No. 5). Bassanio's choice. He and Portia start for Venice. Antonio in custody.

6. Act III. sc. v.
Act IV. sc. i. and ii. } One day (No. 6). Lorenzo, Jessica, and Launcelot at Belmont. The Trial. The rings.

7, 8. Act V. sc. i. Two days (Nos. 7 and 8). Night in the Garden at Belmont.

The days Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 are consecutive.

P. A. DANIEL.

1*st October*, 1877.

V.

ON THE FIRST QUARTO OF *ROMEO AND JULIET* IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE OF A SECOND HAND IN IT?

BY T. ALFRED SPALDING, ESQ., LL.B.

(*Read at the 39th Meeting of the Society, Jan.* 11, 1878.)

Of the many difficulties that the editors of Shakspere's works have to encounter, those arising from the differences between the texts of *Romeo and Juliet* are not by any means the least important or the easiest of solution. Let the most recent and perhaps the most careful editor of the Play, Mr Daniel, speak his experience. "At every step," he says, "the judgment of the editor is called into play, in selecting, combining, and correcting; nor can he lay down, in the case of this Play, any fixed rules for his guidance in the work:"—and again: "After all is said and done, and the editor has bestowed his utmost care, and made use of all his ability in accomplishing his task, he must rise at its completion with a deep sense of his powerlessness to right all the wrong he has passed in review, and a profound regret that the Author himself did not think fit to set forth and oversee his own writings."[1]

What man could do to "right the wrong" which all Shakspere lovers, with Mr Daniel, so profoundly regret, has been done by him, as his work for our Society abundantly witnesses. There is one "wrong," however, not necessarily created by the texts, but imported into them by the ingeniousness of a certain school of critics, with which I do not find that Mr Daniel has dealt in any part of his Introductions or Notes: partly, no doubt, because the theories referred to were not so fully developed when his work was published

[1] See Mr Daniel's Introduction to his Revised Edition. N.S.S., 1875.

as they now are. I refer to the attempt which has been made to show that Shakspere was not the sole author of *Romeo and Juliet*, at any rate in the form in which it first appeared,—the first Quarto.

The first move in this direction with which I am acquainted was made by Mr Grant White in his edition of Shakspere. This has been quite recently followed up by an article by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, published in *Macmillan's Magazine.*[1] The object of this paper is to consider the positions of both these critics; it will be well, therefore, to state them in their own words at the outset.

Mr Grant White's opinion is that the first Quarto "represents imperfectly" (that is, is a pirated copy of) "a composition not entirely Shakspere's; and that the difference between the two" (that is, between the first and the second Quartos) "is owing partly to the rejection by him of the work of a co-labourer; partly to the surreptitious and inadequate means by which the copy of the earlier edition was obtained; and partly perhaps, though to a very much less degree, to Shakspere's elaboration of what he himself had written."

Mr Fleay concludes "that the first draft of this Play was made about 1593, probably by George Peele; that after his death it was partially revised by Shakspere, and produced at the Curtain Theatre in 1596 in the shape that we find it as printed in the first Quarto; and that he subsequently revised it completely as we read it in the second Quarto."

The exact amount of difference between these two theories must be carefully noted: Mr Grant White's view is that the first Quarto is the joint work of Shakspere and another author whose name he does not mention;[2] Mr Fleay's, that it is a partial revision by Shakspere of a Play entirely by Peele: Mr Grant White holds that the copy was obtained surreptitiously; Mr Fleay holds the contrary opinion. Now, as it is only in case it can be shown that the first Quarto was printed from a legitimate source, that its accuracy can be relied upon as sufficient basis for the metrical criticism upon which Mr Fleay relies to support his proposition with regard to the second hand, the question of its origin becomes of paramount importance. This question will therefore be investigated first: the evidence for

[1] July, 1877, p. 195.

[2] See post., p. 86.

and against the probability of Peele having had any hand in the Play will then be discussed; and finally the question of the possibility of foreign element will be considered from Mr Grant White's point of view.

First;—as to the means by which the first Quarto was obtained. Authority distinctly declares itself in favour of Mr Grant White in this matter. Until Mr Fleay, not unmoved perhaps by the necessities of the cause of which he had constituted himself the advocate, propounded the opposite theory, the question was one upon which Shakspere critics were happily agreed. What, then, is the evidence that has led to this general agreement of opinion, and by what means does Mr Fleay attempt to set it aside?

The chief characteristic of a pirated edition of a Play is the extreme irregularity of the metre. When plays follow one another in such rapid succession as they did during the great days of the Elizabethan Drama, it must be impossible for the actor to commit his part to memory with anything like complete verbal accuracy, even if he had any wish to do so. He could but obtain a rough knowledge of his *rôle*, and trust to the prompter and his own readiness to carry him through. The comic characters we know took more deliberate licence, and many a time must the blank verse of Shakspere have "halted for it" under the determined attempts of the clown to make the people laugh. All these influences combined to transform ordinary five-foot lines into monsters unheard of—lines without heads, tails, or middles; lines with one, two, three, or more redundant syllables, halting Alexandrines; and, lastly, sheer prose. These additions and excisions do not always improve the sense of the passage operated upon, but they necessarily get repeated in the notes of the short-hand writer, aggravated of course by slips, faults, and emendations of his own. A specimen of the transformation that one of Hamlet's soliloquies underwent in the process of piracy may help to illustrate this:—

"To be, or not to be, I, there's the point,
To die, to sleepe, is that all? I, all:
No, to sleepe, to dreame, I, mary, there it goes,
For in that dreame of death, when wee awake,
And borne before an everlasting Iudge,

From whence no passenger ever returnd
The undiscovered country, at whose sight
The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd.
But for this the ioyfull hope of this,
Whol'd bear the scornes and flattery of the world.
Scorned by the right rich, the rich curssed of the poore?
The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd,
The taste of hunger, or a tirant's raigne,
And thousand more calamities besides,
To grunt and sweate under this weary life,
When that he may his full quietus make
With a bare bodkin."

Five lines out of these sixteen are faulty, to say nothing of the violations of sense and grammar contained in them.

The following speech of Romeo's will serve to show the presence of the same faults in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (v. 1, 34):—

"Doo as I bid thee, get me inke and paper,
And hyre those horse: stay not, I say.
Well Juliet, I will lye with thee to-night
Lets see for meanes. As I doo remember
Here dwells a Pothecarie whom oft I noted
As I past by, whose needie shop is stufft
With beggerlie accounts of emptie boxes:
And in the same an Aligarta hangs
Olde endes of Packthred, and cakes of Roses,
Are thinly strewed to make up a show.
Him as I noted, thus with myselfe I thought:
And if a man should need a poyson now,
(Whose present sale is death in Mantua)
Here he might buy it. This thought of mine
Did but fore-runne my need; and here about he dwels."

In fifteen lines six are, from one cause or another, imperfect.

These imperfections of metre will be more minutely investigated when the metrical tests whereby it is sought to distinguish Peele's work from Shakspere's are considered: it is sufficient here merely to refer to, and illustrate them.

In a pirated edition of a Play the following peculiarity will always be found. Whenever the dialogue flows smoothly, and there is no element of disturbance in the action, the text proceeds with moderate correctness; but directly the dialogue becomes of an exciting nature,

or complicated from the number of speakers on the stage, the text immediately falls off in accuracy, and sometimes fails to represent the scene except in the form of a stage direction. A very good illustration of this is afforded by the first scene in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet.* So long as the two serving men of the Capulets maintain the dialogue between them, there is little fault to be found with the text; but when it is complicated by the intervention of the two Montagues, there is a manifest falling off:—

> 1. *Moun:* Doo you bite your thumbe at us?
> 1. I bite my thumbe.
> 2 *Moun.* I but is't at us?
> 1. I bite my thumbe, is the law on our side?
> 2. No.
> 1. I bite my thumbe.
> 1 *Moun.* But is't at us? [*Enter* Benvolio.
> 2. Say I here comes my masters kinsman.

Thus far the Reporter was able to follow the dialogue, though imperfectly; but when Tybalt, three or four citizens with clubs and partysons, Capulet exclaiming for a longsword, and his wife for a crutch, Montague and his wife, and lastly Prince Eskales and his train, all entered while fifteen unfortunate lines were being spoken, and perhaps some few improvised speeches from the fools, that had not been set down for them, and a free fight was going on in addition to other complications, it is not surprising that the unfortunate man threw up the pen in despair, and took refuge in the following stage direction, or rather explanation:—

> "They draw: to them enters Tybalt, they fight, to them the Prince, old Montague, and his wife, old Capulet and his wife and other citizens and part them."

Similar fallings off in the text, although not so absolute, will be found where the hue and cry is raised after Mercutio's death; and, in the last scene of the Play, when all the actors enter for the final explanation before the tomb of the Capulets.

A third peculiarity often found in reported Plays is the manner

in which the stage directions are worded. It will be frequently found that these are not so much instructions to the actor or stage manager, as some striking action upon the stage that is not necessarily suggested by the text. A few examples will show this.

In the pretty love-scene between Romeo and Juliet in Laurence's cell, to which reference will again have to be made, Juliet's entrance is indicated thus: "Enter Juliet, *somewhat fast*, & embraceth Romeo."

The death of Mercutio is thus indicated:—

"Tybalt *under Romeo's arme* thrusts Mercutio in & flies."

The direction in the second Quarto answering to this is merely, "Away Tybalt."

Again, we get such directions as these: "Enter Nurse, *wringing her hands*, with the ladder of cordes in her lap:"—"He" (Romeo) "offers to stab himself, *& Nurse snatches the dagger away:— Fryer stoopes & lookes on the blood, & weapons;*"—and lastly, a very curious case, after the nurse has counselled Juliet to accept the County as a second husband and has gone out; before Juliet begins those splendid lines—

"Auncient damnation, O most cursed fiend," &c.,

we are told that "*she lookes after Nurse.*"

Such directions would be of even less use to the actor than the celebrated one in the first Quarto of *Hamlet*: "Enter ghost in his night gowne:" but they are intelligible upon the supposition that they are the notes made by an observer of passages in the performance that struck him as remarkable.

Here, then, are three distinct marks of piracy, marks that are hardly to be explained upon any other theory. There are many other slighter indications that occur to the reader of a pirated text. For instance: the name of a character is never prefixed to his speeches unless his name occurs in the spoken part. Sufficient, however, has been said to show that the conclusion that the text of the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was surreptitiously obtained was not arrived at in the absence of strong evidence to support it.

We must now proceed to consider upon what grounds Mr Fleay

seeks to dispute this conclusion, and to establish that the first Quarto was printed from a legitimately obtained copy of the author's MS.

It is a curious fact that no attempt is made either to show that the peculiarities of a pirated Play do not appear in this first Quarto, or to attribute the existence of them to other causes. Instead of making a direct attack upon his opponents Mr Fleay executes a flank movement, and entrenches himself in a position the strength of which he believes will compel his enemy to retire. But the enemy is hardly likely to do so without a previous reconnaissance in force of Mr Fleay's parallels. These are two in number: first, the nature of the misprints in the first Quarto; and second, the nature of the emendations in the second Quarto.

With regard to the misprints, Mr Fleay points out that they are few in number in comparison with the ordinary printed productions of the day; in comparison indeed with the second Quarto: and that the misprints that do occur are such as would arise rather from an error of the eye than one of the ear; in the printing house, not in the Theatre. If this were absolutely true (it is practically), it would not render our former position untenable, for such a state of things might occur in a print from a pirated copy. It would be quite possible for a clever editor so to conceal by emendations any hiatus in the report as to prevent a reader who was not acquainted with the original Play from detecting the alteration: and as it is an earlier form of *Romeo and Juliet*, not the amended Play as it appears in the second Quarto, that the Reporter was operating upon, it would be impossible for the acutest nineteenth-century critic to discover it. The errors of eye would infallibly arise in printing from the pirated MS. But it is not perfectly clear that all the errors do arise solely from the eye. Many of them might arise from either source: but this fact so little affects the main question, that it is hardly worth while pointing out the few cases about which there may be doubt.

With regard to the second position, the nature of the emendations in the second Quarto, I feel that it will be the safest plan to let Mr Fleay speak for himself. He says:—"That Q1 was not a mere corruption or imperfect representation of Q2 is demonstrable; for it

can be shown that the correcting process was not finished before Q2 was printed, but only in progress."

Now no one ever contended that the first Quarto was a corrupt representation of the second; but of an earlier form of the Play. What is contended for is this. The first Quarto has all the signs of having been surreptitiously procured: the second bears none of these, but it does contain evidence of having been revised upon an earlier play: therefore the second Quarto is a revised edition of the manuscript of the Play imperfectly represented in the first Quarto.

"But," says Mr Fleay, "in every instance where we get two versions of a passage in Q2, the version in Q1 lies between them; differing from either less than they differ from each other. If this is to be explained on the short-hand note-taking system, either the piratical reporter must have had a supernatural insight into the corrections that were to appear in Q2 or the theory of probabilities must be discarded."

In two of the passages that Mr Fleay gives in illustration of this peculiar relation between the two Quartos, namely, Act III. sc. iii. ll. 35—45, and II. iii. 1—4,(1) one of the versions in the second Quarto is identical with the reading in the first, so no inspiration came to the note-taker in these cases. In the third the two passages (V. iii. 108 and 123) in the second Quarto are identical, and only vary from the corresponding passage in the first Quarto in one word: "quick" instead of "swift." The fourth passage, as the last prop of an ingenious theory, deserves fuller investigation: I therefore parallel the Quartos. (iv. 1.)

First Quarto.	*Second Quarto.*
"And in this borrowed likenes of shrunke death	"And in this borrowed likenesse of shrunke death
Thou shalt remaine full two and fortie houres	Thou shalt continue two and fortie hours,

1 In the passage in the friar's speech here referred to there is a difference of one word between the second reading of Q2 and the reading of Q1; and two other words vary as to spelling. So the second reading in Q2 differs from the first exactly as the reading in Q1 does: the latter is no mean between the two readings in Q2.

	And then awake as from a pleasant sleepe.
	Now when the Bridegroome in the morning comes, 108
	To rowse thee from thy bed there art thou dead :
	Then as the manner of our countrie is,
	In[1] thy best robes uncovered on the Beere,
And when thou art laid in thy kindreds Vault,	*Be borne to buriall in thy kindred's grave :* 112
	Thou shalt be borne to that same auncient vault 113
	Where all the kindred of the Capulets lie," &c.
Ile send in hast to Mantua to thy lord."	

The contention is that because the lines in the second Quarto, from 108 to 112, are not grammatical, therefore line 112 represents the form of the earliest version (Peele's), the corresponding line in the first Quarto the result of the first revision, and line 113 the second revision that was intended as a substitute for both: therefore the first Quarto cannot be a surreptitious one. Surely this is too ponderous an argument for such a small line to sustain. It might be reasonable to say that the "Thou shalt" of line 106 was understood in the following sentence, or that there was some line that had dropped out accidentally; but the greater argument it is surely incapable of sustaining.

It is therefore quite warrantable, for the purpose of this investigation, to state as a fact that the first Quarto, if not actually proved to be a surreptitiously obtained copy, bears all the brand-marks of such an origin, and that hitherto no successful attempt has been made either to explain away these marks, or to produce other evidence to prove that the print had a more legitimate origin. The bearing of

[1] "Is" instead of "in" in Q2.

this upon the value of any metrical tests derived from the first Quarto is too apparent to need explanation.

We must now pass on to investigate the evidence that has sufficient strength to convince Mr Fleay that Peele's hand can be traced in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet.* This evidence divides itself into external and internal evidence: the latter subdividing into three classes, evidence from metre, style, and phraseology.

First, as to the external evidence.

When a writer announces, with a degree of calmness indicative of great confidence in his cause, that there is external evidence in favour of his proposition that there are passages by a second author in a Play generally regarded as Shakspere's, the reader feels a natural agitation to know what is to come next. Visions of a newly-discovered Meres, or a hitherto mute inglorious Manningham float before the mind, and he hurries forward to the unveiling of the mystery with an excusable mingling of interest and distrust. The latter feeling will in this case obtain a strong predominance, whilst the former will sink almost to zero; for the evidence in question consists of the somewhat well known fact that Shakspere's name does not appear on the title-page of any one of the Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet,* except perhaps, upon a few copies that were suppressed. If this mode of argument were generally adopted, and rigorously shutting their eyes to all external evidence in the true sense, such as that of Meres, the critics were to dispute the unity of authorship of all the Plays that appeared in Quarto without the author's name on the title-page, our ideas about Elizabethan literature would become somewhat confused. There was a period in Shakspere's life, the earliest, when his name was not sufficiently known to make it worth while putting it on the title-page, perhaps when the editor did not even know the name of the author of the successful Play he had pirated. This soon changed, and Shakspere's name was a recommendation of the trash that represented his Play: and subsequently it paid to put his name to Plays he had never put pen to. It is rather a curious fact that his name did not appear on the second Quarto: but at this distance of time it seems a perilous assumption that it was because he would not claim sole authorship of a Play partly written by another. This sort of

guess-work is dangerous to begin upon, and it is wiser sometimes in Shakspere criticism, as in religious dogmatizing, candidly to admit the impossibility of knowledge on a point than to invent an explanation unsupported by fact merely for the sake of explaining everything. But curiously enough we have an opportunity of putting this evidence into Mr Fleay's own balance; and weighed there it is found very wanting indeed. What would have been the effect on Mr Fleay's argument had the first Quarto borne the name of Shakspere on the title-page? It appears that it would have had no effect at all. The external evidence as to Shakspere's authorship of *Richard III.* is on all-fours with that relating to *Romeo and Juliet*, except in the one particular of the name. The second Quarto of the former Play is an exact reprint of the first, except that it contains two more lines, and bears Shakspere's name on the title-page: so the first Quarto may be said to bear the name of Shakspere. Both Plays are attributed by Meres to Shakspere. But does this prevent Mr Fleay from doubting Shakspere's sole authorship of *Richard III?* Not in the slightest. Mr Fleay has a pet theory that Peele had a hand in *Richard III.* as well as in *Romeo and Juliet*, and in such a case the name on the title-page has no weight whatever. If therefore the *presence* of Shakspere's name on the title-page of the first Quarto would have been no evidence of his sole authorship, how can its absence be "absolutely fatal" to his claim to such authorship?

So much for the external evidence, from which we pass on to the internal, which must be investigated with some care, at the risk of tediousness, so important are its bearings upon the question in hand.

The internal evidence, as was before stated, is divisible into three heads; namely, evidence from metre, from style, and from peculiar phraseology. The metrical evidence subdivides into three classes.

1. Lines deficient by a foot or head syllable.

2. The number of Alexandrines.

3. Lines with a superfluous strong syllable that does not occur after a pause.

It is true Mr Fleay does not use the first two divisions as evidence, because these might be due "either to the original writer, or to the copyist if the edition were issued without revision. It would

be reasoning in a circle to use these as an argument either one way or the other." It is clear, therefore, that the first and second classes come in as confirmatory evidence of Peele's hand if its presence can be proved by other means; so I shall consider the crucial test first, leaving the confirmatory evidence for subsequent remark.

The proposition, then, is that lines containing a superfluous strong syllable that is not to be disposed of by contraction, and does not occur after a pause, are evidence of Peele's hand. Mr Fleay finds fifty-six of these lines in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, and he instances two:

| Where's he | that slew | Mercu|tio, Ty|balt that Vill|ain|

where the extra syllable must be either -balt, that, or Vill-: and

| When young king |Cophet|ua loved | the beg|gar wench|

where the extra syllable is either "when," "young," or "king."

It is somewhat unfortunate that the only two examples of the lines in question that are given in illustration should be taken from passages that are not only printed as prose, but are unscannable as verse. Take the whole of the passages from which they are derived.

The first is from the part of the first Quarto that answers to Act III. scene i. ll. 135-6.

Romeo. Ah I am fortune's slave!
[*Enter* Citizens.]
Watch. Wher's he that slue Mercutio, Tybalt that villaine?
Benvolio. There is that Tybalt.
Watch. Up sirra goe with us.

This occurs between two passages of verse, but can hardly be called verse itself, and the line which is relied on as a specimen of Peele's peculiarity appears to be an Alexandrine if it is anything.

The second example is taken from the part answering to Act II. scene i. ll. 14—22. The former part of the speech, although printed as prose, is scannable, but from the line quoted it goes on thus:—

"Hee heares me not. I conjure thee by Rosalindes bright eye, high forehead, and scarlet lip, her prettie foote, straight leg, and quivering thigh, and the demaines that there adjacent lie, that in thy likenesse thou appeare to us."

And Mercutio's speech immediately following is only prose, although many lines lie imbedded in the passages, indicating that they are imperfect representations of what should be verse. I am not arguing, of course, that because these passages are printed as prose they must be treated as such; but I am merely pointing out that it is rather unsatisfactory, after ingenuity has been expended to show that the first Quarto is not a surreptitious print, but a most careful reproduction of a copy of the author's MS, to have lines produced from a piece of unscannable prose in illustration of a peculiarity of the metre of a writer whose verse is remarkable chiefly for the regularity and monotony of its rhythm.

This being the case, I have had some difficulty in finding out which are the fifty-six lines in the first Quarto; indeed, after admitting many lines that are manifestly susceptible of another explanation, I have been unable to make up that number; nevertheless, I have no doubt that they do exist, and that Mr Fleay could easily substantiate this statement. But before proceeding to consider how far this species of verse is a peculiarity of Peele's, it seems necessary to settle what effect the admission of the accuracy of this test would have upon the second Quarto; that is, the standard text. It is necessary to bear in mind the theory concerning the first Quarto that we are supposing for the sake of the argument to be correct. That Quarto is a Play of Peele's, partially revised by Shakspere, and printed from his manuscript. If, therefore, a style of verse peculiar to Peele alone appears in a given passage, it is fair to conclude that that passage, if not the scene containing it, has not been subject to revision. It would be absurd to assert that Shakspere had re-written all the passage except the line with the extra head syllable. Going a step further, if one of the passages in question is reprinted in the second Quarto just as it stands, except for the removal of Peele's metrical peculiarity, it seems incontestable that it must nevertheless be credited to Peele, and not to Shakspere. A careful consideration of the position of the lines in question leads inevitably to the conclusion that, if this test is to hold good, *Romeo and Juliet* must henceforth be printed in an appendix to Shakspere's works as a Play produced by him and Peele jointly. A few examples of this will

show what I mean. The famous Queen Mab speech contains at least two of these lines :—

> || And || then dreams he of another benefice
> This is that Mab || that || makes maids lie on their backs.

In the second Quarto the passage stands almost as it does in the first Quarto : one or two lines are cut out, including the latter of the two quoted ; one or two are inserted, and a few slight emendations are made : but if Peele wrote the speech as it stands in the first Quarto he is practically the author of it as it appears in the second. One more example : this time of a whole scene. If Act II. scene ii., the lovely balcony scene between Romeo and Juliet, be read for comparison in Mr Daniel's parallel text edition, it will be seen that, except for a few additions in the second Quarto, the texts are practically identical ; that is, all the first Quarto is contained in the second. Yet this scene, besides Alexandrines and other metrical peculiarities, contains no less than six lines with the extra syllable, all which are corrected in the second Quarto. Out of 168 lines, those answering to 47, 76, 83, 92, 123, and 191 in the second Quarto bear the stamp of George Peele, so it will be seen that they do not occur all in a heap, but are spread equally through the whole scene. These are the lines referred to :—

> 47. Retaine | the | devine perfection he owes
> 76. I would not for the world | they | should find thee here.
> 83. | I | he gave me counsaile, and I lent him eyes
> 92. Dost thou love me? | Nay | I know thou wilt say I.
> 123. It is too rash too sodaine | too | unadvised.
> 191. Yet I should kill thee with much cherishing | thee |

It seems difficult not to conclude that Peele was the author of the scene as it stands in the first Quarto, and that Shakspere's additions are confined to the variations in the second Quarto. If this is not the case, perhaps some critic will have the courage to split this magnificent scene into parts, pointing out which lines Shakspere wrote and which Peele. For my part I am unable to distinguish the faintest trace of the hand of the man whose attempts at pathos move indeed, but move to laughter.

Many other passages might be cited to show that the lines in question occur in passages retained in the second Quarto, not in passages for which fresh matter is substituted, as one would expect if the theory of the gradual elimination of Peele's work by Shakspere's were correct, but these instances are sufficient.

Let us now pass on to the main question: is this line with the extra strong syllable a characteristic of Peele, and Peele alone? I have no hesitation in saying no: and for the purpose of showing the justice of this answer let us take Peele's two principal works, *Edward I.* and *David and Bethsabe*, and see how many of these lines they respectively contain. Of *Edward I.* Dyce rightly observes that it is "perhaps the most incorrectly printed of all our old Plays"; and yet under circumstances so favourable to the production of irregularities, I can only find nine lines of the description in question to set against the fifty-six in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet.* These nine are as follows:[1]

> Baliol behold, I give | thee | the Scottish crown.
> Tailers Imbroders, | and | men of rare device[2]
> Madam content | ye | would that were greatest care.
> Owen ap Rice, while we stay | for | further force.
> | My | lords will you stand to what I shall award.
> She vaunts that mighty England | hath | felt her fist.
> Proud Edward, call | in | thy Elinor; be still.[3]
> Farewell | and | be hanged, half Sinon's sapon's brood.
> | Fair | Queen Elinor could never be so false.[3]

Of these the last but one is absolute nonsense, and reasonable amendments may be suggested for most.

David and Bethsabe is much more carefully printed than *Edward I.*, and consequently is a much better Play to test any peculiarity of Peele's versification: and curiously enough, it contains

[1] *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First*, &c., 4°, 1593. Brit. Mus.: Press mark C. 34. d. 52.

[2] Dyce reads "imbroiderers" for imbroders, thus turning the line into an Alexandrine.

[3] Probably these should be omitted. as Elinor is a dissyllable or trisyllable as occasion may require. Two lines have been omitted containing the word "coronation," which is evidently used as a dissyllable. Cf. *Richard III.* iii. 4. 2.

only one line with the extra syllable. It is in Nathan's address to David. He says :—

> "There came a stranger to this wealthy man,
> And he refus'd, and spar'd to take his owne,
> *But tooke the poore mans sheepe, partly, poore mans store,*
> And drest it for this stranger in his house."[1]

"Some deep corruption here," says Dyce, in a note on the third line. "An instance of Peele's metrical peculiarity," Mr Fleay would say. Which of the two is right?

Perhaps Greene has as much if not more right than Peele to be considered the joint author of *Romeo and Juliet*, if the extra syllable be any test.[2] *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* contains 6 of these lines:
James IV. „ 6 „ „

The Looking Glass for London and England, by Greene and Lodge, contains five, three of which occur in four lines.

Lastly, the efficacy of this test may be well illustrated by applying it to the two Plays, *Alphonsus king of Aragon* and *George-a-Greene*. The former, a very carefully printed Play, contains only four of these lines : if "prowess" may be read as a monosyllable, only two : the latter, which bears the marks of having been pirated, contains at least twenty-six in addition to lines of every other number of feet.

These facts are surely enough to dispel any idea that the lines in question are any test of Peele's workmanship, and I shall now proceed to attempt to account in another manner for their existence. It is only fair, however, to state here that Mr Fleay says that he has chosen this test out of several that point to Peele as Shakspere's coadjutor. It is impossible of course to guess what these tests may be: but the remark of the master of the feast at the marriage at Cana in Galilee on tasting the miraculously-produced wine inevitably occurs to the mind in connection with this assertion.

An examination of a few of these extra syllable lines will disclose two important facts concerning them. The first is that the extra syllable has no necessary place in the line. It is not like the double,

[1] *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*, &c., 4°, 1596. Brit. Mus. : Press Mark C. 34. d. 54.

[2] These statistics are worked from Dyce's edition : probably a perusal of the original Quartos would furnish one or two more.

or triple ending, always in one position, but may appear in any position whatever. It is not, therefore, the result of an attempt to produce a peculiar and distinctive rhythm; on the contrary, it has always the effect of giving an ungainly jolt to the line in which it occurs. The second fact is that the extra syllable can nearly always be removed, and the line thereby improved without altering the sense. These lead me to believe that such lines in the Elizabethan Dramas arose from two causes :—

1. Actor's errors repeated by the Reporter.
2. Printer's errors.

There are very few cases of the latter class indeed, as printer's errors are more generally those of omission than those of commission; but they are very frequent in a piratical print. A few illustrations from the first Quarto will show how probable this is.

I. i. 189. Being vext, a sea raging with | a | lover's tears.

The line preceding is: "Being purdge, a fire sparkling in lover's eyes."

I. i. 207. With Cupid's arrow; she hath Dian|ae|s wit.
I. iv. 75. | And | then dreams he of another benefice.
II. ii. 92. Dost thou love me? | Nay | I know thou wilt say I,
II. iii. 25. For this being smelt | too | with that part cheers each part.
II. v. 4. | Oh | she is lazie, love's heralds should be thoughts.

Or perhaps the Actor said, or the Reporter misheard, "lazie" for "lame."

III. iii. 110. Murdered her kinsman: | Ah | tell me holy Friar—
III. v. 237. I | and | from my soul, or else beshrew them both.
V. i. 51. Him as I noted, | thus | with myself I thought.
V. i. 85. Than this which thou hast given me: | go | hie thee hence.
V. iii. 157. But what we talkt of: | but | yet I cannot see :—

I do not say that all the lines can be explained away with equal facility, but I think those quoted are sufficient to show how they come about.

But Mr Fleay challenges the production of such lines from any other notoriously pirated Play, and suggests the Corambis *Hamlet*, from which he would like to see instances. It would appear that in fact the Corambis *Hamlet* contains more of these lines than the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, probably because it was printed from a

more carelessly prepared copy. If Mr Fleay had looked at the Corambis *Hamlet* before writing his article he would probably have avoided making any reference to it, for the third line in the Play stands thus :—

| O | you come most carefully upon your watch.

I will give a few instances of these lines in this Play, of which I find at least 39, to show how exactly the remarks I have made about the *Romeo and Juliet* lines apply to them.

> Who as you know | was | by Fortenbrass of Norway—
> My | good | lord I came to see your father's funeral.
> | Oh | I pre thee do not mocke me fellow studient.
> | And | remember well what I have said to you.
> So to seduce my | most | seeming vertuous Queene.
> Hic et ubique | nay | then we'll shift our ground.
> What have you given him | any | cross words of late?[1]
> Tell me true; come; I know the | good | King and Queene.
> Yes faith, this | great | world you see, contents me not.
> What is the reason | sir | that you worry me thus?

Who will point out Peele's share in *Hamlet?*

In the Quarto of *Henry V.* printed in 1600 I find at least twenty-one of these lines, of which the following are examples :—

I. i. l. 3. Of | some | serious matters touching us and France.
I. ii. l. 188. | And | we understand him well how he comes ore us.
II. ii. 28. That is mercie, but | too | much securitie.
II. ii. 81. | Should | proceed one spark that might annoy my finger.
II. iiii. 27. My gracious father cut | up | this English short.

It would be interesting to know how much of this Quarto of *Henry V.* Peele wrote.

In the *Chronicle History of King Lear*, 1608,[2] without counting such passages as are hopelessly mangled into prose, I find about 40 of these lines, from which I select the following as illustrations :—

> In three our kingdome; and tis our | first | intent
> | How | nothing can come of nothing; speake againe.

[1] So in Folio. [2] Brit. Mus.: press mark C. 34. k. 17.

Shall be as | well | neighbourd pittyed and relieued
Shall | have | dread to speake when power to flatterie bowes.
Why fare | thee | well king, since thus thou wilt appeare.
My dutie kneeling, came | there | a reeking post
And clamour moystened her, | then | away she started.

We shall some day perhaps be told how much of *Lear* was written by Peele.

I have not carried my investigations of spurious Quartos any farther than this; but I think that what I have said is sufficient to substantiate the following propositions:

1. That extra heavy syllable lines are not characteristic of Peele's work.

2. That when they exist in any considerable number, they are characteristic of a print of a Play surreptitiously obtained, and are due principally to actors' errors, but in a less degree perhaps to the reporter and the printer.

I therefore conclude that the extra heavy syllable in *Romeo and Juliet* is only further evidence of a piracy.

The "distinctive" test having thus fallen to the ground, the confirmatory tests become of no importance. I shall only mention them therefore to show that, like their more important relation, they are strongly indicative of a piracy.

With regard to Alexandrines, it can hardly be said that they form a distinctive peculiarity of any Dramatic Author of the period: it is therefore only the exceeding number of such lines that can constitute a test. The first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* indeed teems with them: I find about 40, and I do not pretend to have marked all. But on turning to the Plays of Peele before referred to, nothing like the number is to be found.[1] The Corambis *Hamlet* however produces at least 45, and the *Chronicle History of King Lear* at least 44. This seems to point to the corruption of an ordinary line by the improper insertion of two syllables; and this is borne out by the fact that lines do occur in pirated Plays which, although they contain twelve syllables, are nevertheless unscannable as Alexandrines.

[1] I have marked 26 in *Edward I.* and 6 in *David and Bethsabe*.

The second of these confirmatory tests is the line lacking a foot or head syllable. Of these lines the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* and the *Chronicle Historie of King Lear* contain about 25 each: the Corambis *Hamlet* about double that number. *Edward I.* contains about 20, and *David and Bethsabe* 6.

The examination of a few of the lines of this description will disclose two points somewhat analogous to those noticed with regard to the extra syllable lines.

1. That the hiatus has no fixed place in the line.

2. That the hiatus may be easily filled up without injury to the sense, and to the improvement of the music of the metre.

A few examples will illustrate this clearly.

II. ii. 104. I should have bin | *more* | strange I must confesse . . .
II. v. 17. Oh now she comes | *nay* | tell me gentle nurse . . .
III. i. 109. Hath beene my kinsman : Ah | *sweet* Juliet
III. i. 145. | *Oh* | Tybalt, Tybalt : oh my brother's child !
III. iii. 104. Oh she says nothing, but | *she* | weepes and pules . . .
V. iii. 40. Well I'll begone and | *will* | not trouble you.

Such lines arise therefore from :

1. Actors' errors.

2. Printers' errors.

The former being by far the most prolific source: but in a very careless piece of printing the latter may cause a considerable number of these lines.

It now only remains to glance at the peculiarities of style and phraseology that have helped to convince Mr Fleay that Shakspere was not the sole author of *Romeo and Juliet.*

The first point is the lengthening of r's, l's and n's into separate syllables. The only cases of this in the first Quarto that are at all out of the common, are two mentioned by Mr Fleay: Thu*r*sday and packth*r*ead. The word "Thursday" is used thirteen times in this Play: in eleven of these cases it is a dissyllable, in two only can it be claimed as a trisyllable. The word "packthread" is never used by Shakspere again in verse,[1] so this form of it can hardly be said to

[1] It occurs again in *The Shrew,* III. ii. 64, in a passage of prose.

be un-Shaksperean. Besides, all lines of this nature may be explained away as lines lacking one foot.

The next point is drawn from a comparison of the two versions of the elegy of Paris at Juliet's grave, which I here parallel (v. 3):

First Quarto.	*Second Quarto.*
"Sweete Flower, with flowers I strew thy Bridale bed:	"Sweet flower, with flowers thy Bridall bed I strew:
Sweete Tombe that in thy ciruite dost containe,	O woe, thy Canapie is dust and stones,
The perfect modell of eternitie:	Which with sweete water nightly will I dewe,
Faire Juliet that with angells dost remaine,	Or wanting that, with teares distild by mones,
Accept this latest favour at my hands,	The obsequies that I for thee will keepe:
That living honourd thee, and being dead	Nightly shall be to strew thy grave and weepe."
With funerall praises doo adorne thy Tombe."	

Of the version in the first Quarto Mr Fleay says:

"Was this lovely bit the production of an obscure note-taker? Surely not. Was it an early draft by Shakspere, discarded for 'the form in the second Quarto?' I do not think it possible that he should either have issued an unfinished dirge, or have substituted one so very inferior. It seems to me that he objected to the form of the one he found done to his hand, and found it easier to write a new one than to remodel the other; thus obtaining the form he wanted though with inferior matter."

It is to be noted that in the last sentence but one Mr Fleay states a deliberate opinion that Shakspere could not possibly have written the form in the second Quarto on the ground of its inferiority to that in the first; and in the very next sentence comes to the conclusion that he *did* write the second form to save himself trouble. Such an argument is somewhat difficult to follow: and it must be enough to say that nobody ever asserted that the elegy in the first

Quarto was either the *production* of a note-taker, or an early draft by Shakspere. What is contended is that it is an imperfect representation of an earlier dirge which Shakspere subsequently replaced by the stanza in the second Quarto:—and this for two reasons.

1. Because, although not a regular rhyming stanza, it contains evidence of being intended to be one.

2. Because the sense of this "beautiful bit" is, to say the least, open to question.

The first line is clear enough, and complete in itself. Juliet is addressed under the metaphor "sweet flower." The second line begins an address to the tomb in which she is buried. How far does this go down? Clearly it cannot go beyond the end of the third line; for then sense and grammar would be equally absurd. But to put a full stop at the end of "eternitie" gives only a subject and its enlargement. The Reporter has made a mess of it.

The third question of style raised by Mr Fleay is upon the lament over Juliet's body; which appears in the first Quarto in this form:

> "*Cap.* Cruel, unjust, impartiall destinies
> Why to this day have you preserv'd my life?
> To see my hope, my stay, my joy, my life,
> Deprived of sence, of life, of all by death,
> Cruell, unjust, impartiall destinies.
> *Cap.* O sad fac'd sorrow map of misery
> Why this sad time have I desird to see.
> This day, this unjust, this impartiall day,
> Wherein I hop'd to see my comfort full,
> To be deprivde by suddaine destinie.
> *Moth.* Oh woe, alacke, distrest, why should I live?
> To see this day, this miserable day.
> Alacke the time that ever I was borne,
> To be partaker of this destinie,
> Alacke the day, alacke and well-a-day."

This style of composition "is nowhere used by Shakspere, and is utterly discordant with the genius of his dramatic writings."

Of what author is it characteristic? Mr Fleay does not venture to assert that it is in Peele's style, although both Peele and Greene were fond of a series of speeches ending up with the same refrain. The nearest approach to it is the lament of David and his friends on

leaving Jerusalem; where three speeches of 4, 5, and 5 lines of bombast respectively end up with a similar refrain.

Let us see what Shakspere actually did do in the second Quarto. According to his usual practice, he has introduced a light bustling comic scene immediately after the crisis when Juliet takes the potion, and the comedy is unfortunately carried on into that part of the scene where the discovery of the death takes place, a blot which, I venture to think, would not have been allowed to disfigure the Play had Shakspere revised it in his more mature period. In this scene the Nurse and old Capulet at any rate, perhaps the Mother too, are purely comic, and the fun consists of the parody of the ravings of Hieronimo in that well-abused play, *The Spanish Tragedy.* The nurse's ejaculatory bombast is of exactly the same nature as the speeches Shakspere put in the mouth of Pyramus in a certain well-known "tedious brief scene;" and the two lines:

> "O love, O life, not life, but love in death"—

and,

> "O childe, O childe, my soule and not my childe" . . .

are only two out of many parodies on Hieronimo's

> "O eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears:
> O life! no life, but lively form in death:
> O world! no world, but mass of public wrongs."[1]

It is clear therefore that there is nothing "discordant with the genius of Shakspere's Dramatic writings" in the introduction of a piece of comic satire upon the style of the elder dramatists at this point of the Play.

Turning to the passage in the first Quarto, it will be noticed that the first two speeches are assigned to Capulet; the second to his wife. In reprinting the passage in his article Mr Fleay has, without giving any reason, assigned the second of these to Paris, thus giving to readers unacquainted with the first Quarto an impression of regularity which the passage does not in reality possess. It is possible that the second "*Cap.*" is wrongly inserted, and that the two speeches constitute one only: or perhaps a line assigned to some one else has

[1] Act III. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, Vol. 5, p. 67.

accidentally dropped out. At any rate, if one of the Capulet speeches has to be assigned to some one, the Nurse has far more claim to it than Paris; for Paris has only just finished such mild regrets as were to be expected from a sorrowing but not over-encouraged lover; while, if the Nurse is to be excluded in favour of Paris, she has no opportunity of having her say between the first announcement of the death, and her exit "strewing Rosemary:" and the Nurse was hardly the character to content herself with a merely silent demonstration of affliction.[1]

If then the Nurse is the speaker of one of these passages, we have got this far: that all the speakers in the portion in question may be looked upon as comic characters. The scene therefore is probably intended to be a comic satire, as its substitute in the second Quarto manifestly is. This probably comic scene bears a slight resemblance to the peculiarities of some of Shakspere's predecessors in the Dramatic Art. It therefore represents a piece of satire on those peculiarities: but it is impossible to say exactly upon what passages it is a satire, as we only possess the note-taker's version of what is a very animated and complicated dialogue, which probably wanted a good deal of touching up before it went to press.

The fourth point that Mr Fleay dwells upon is the fact that singulars are made to rhyme with plurals: as "fire" with "liers," &c. It hardly appears necessary to dwell upon this: the origin of the manuscript will be a sufficient explanation.

The last argument is derived from the fact that the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* contains lines that can be paralleled from *Richard III.* and *Henry VI.* It will be safe to pass this over also with the remark that no proof has yet been offered that Peele had anything to do with *Richard III.*, and that the most recent critic of 2 and 3 *Henry VI.*, Miss Jane Lee, is inclined to exclude him from any share in those Plays.

[1] The words "why this sad time have I desired to see:" and "wherein I hoped to see my comfort full," are not at all unsuitable in the mouth of the Nurse. She takes the interest of a foster-mother in Juliet, and the only joy that her limited vision can descry for her is that of marriage. She tells her: "Might I but live to see thee married once, I have my wish," I. iii. 61. The day was evidently one on which she expected to see her "comfort full."

The whole of Mr Fleay's arguments against the entirety of Shakspere's authorship of *Romeo and Juliet* have now been passed in review, and I cannot help thinking that this Society will be of opinion that doubt has been cast upon the Play without sufficient reason. The arguments appear to me so utterly without foundation that once or twice during the preparation of this paper it has occurred to me that perhaps the whole thing was a practical joke to test how much the Editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* and its readers would swallow without gasping; and this idea was partially confirmed by a passage that occurs in Mr Fleay's *Guide to Shaksperean Study* to this effect: "the earlier of these" (the Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*) "is surreptitious, cut down for acting purposes, and probably obtained from shorthand notes at the theatre." Now the book and the article must have appeared within very few weeks, if not days, of one another: and the assertion quoted reads rather curiously beside the laborious attempt to prove the reverse in the article. Only one of these statements can be meant seriously, and it would be wronging Mr Fleay to suppose that he would trifle in a book intended for young students. The article must therefore be a joke; and we may look forward to a speedy denial to Peele of any part or share in the Play.

Mr Grant White's opinion is, it will be remembered, that the first Quarto imperfectly represents a Play not entirely Shakspere's. He does not state whom he considers the coadjutor to have been, but it is clear that he inclines to the opinion that it was Greene. As Mr Grant White's conclusion has been arrived at from a comparison of styles chiefly, it cannot be dealt with in the same manner as Mr Fleay's, which is supported by an array of evidence that it is possible to bring to the test; and any opinion expressed by Mr Grant White is always worthy of careful consideration. But he himself says, in his Introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*, that "in the attempt to decide questions of this kind opinion must of necessity seem arbitrary, perhaps be so;"—and it is a duty to scrutinize keenly the grounds that a man competent to express such an opinion has for his conclusion before accepting it.

If the first Quarto were printed from manuscript in the ordinary

manner, Mr Grant White would have, unquestionably, strong grounds for asserting that the style of many of the passages is decidedly un-Shaksperean. But this is not the case. There have been three deposits of non-Shaksperean matter over the pure text :—

1. The Actor's faults.
2. The Reporter's faults.
3. The Editor's emendations.

Through all these the critic has to look; and in such a case it is surely courageous, to say the least of it, for him to say, "I am prepared to distinguish between the faults arising from these sources, and the portions of the Play that are the product of Shakspere's coadjutor." If Mr Grant White had the power claimed by Mr Hugh Junor Browne,[1] who has discovered that Shakspere's Plays "were written by him under inspiration of a band of spirits, whom he has since met in the spheres, and were corrected and improved by his friends Bacon and Ben Jonson," he might possibly be able to speak with equal certainty; but without the power of clairvoyance it seems rash to pitch upon any passages in this pirated print, and say, "this is not Shakspere."

To illustrate the delicacy of the task Mr Grant White has undertaken, a few quotations from his "Introduction" to *Romeo and Juliet* will be compared.

When he is seeking to prove that the first Quarto is a pirated print, he points out that the line in the first Quarto, Act IV. scene v. l. 40,[2]

"Death is my sonne in law, to him I give all that I have,"

is merely a summary of the corresponding passage in the second Quarto; and says :—

[3] "The person who provided the copy for the edition of 1597 was either unable to set down the last two lines and a half, or could not *remember their phraseology well enough to imitate them.* But he did not forget their purport and 'lumped it' after this fashion."

I do not quite know what the exact process of "lumping" is;

[1] *The Holy Truth*, p. 85. [2] p. 148. [3] pp. 18, 19.

but from the sound I should judge that lines of Shakspere exposed to such treatment might appear somewhat in disguise afterwards.

Again: when seeking to prove that certain passages in the first Quarto are not Shakspere's, Mr Grant White says:—

"Any person of ordinary poetic apprehension and discrimination, on reading the whole of the latter speech, will see clearly, and at once, that it is none of Shakspere's. Thus it runs:—

> '*Rom.* This morning here she pointed we should meet
> And consumate those never parting bands,
> Witnes of our harts loue by ioyning hands
> And come she will.'

Who will believe that this dribble of tame verse and feeble rhythm was written by the same man who (according to the same edition) had written in the first scene of the Play the following passage:—

> 'Madame, an houre before the worshipt sunne
> Peept through the golden window of the East
> A troubled thought drew me from companie:
> Where underneath the Groue Sicamoure
> That Westward rooteth from the Citties side,
> So early walking might I see your sonne.'"

It is quite true that the passage cited is poor enough; but what is there in it to show that it has not been "lumped"? Why is it not rational to assume, admitting, as Mr Grant White does, that the reporter would imitate a passage that he could not take down with verbal accuracy, that in this case he got into a muddle, and then got out of it in the best way he could? It is clear that this cannot be decided until an accurate distinction between "dribbling" and "lumped" verse has been drawn.

The three scenes that Mr Grant White points out as the work of the second author are—Act II. scene vi.: The lament in Act IV. scene iv., and parts of Laurence's speech in Act V. scene iii. The lament in Act IV. has already been commented upon sufficiently, and it is only necessary to add that Mr Grant White looks upon the form of the second Quarto as a caricature; but that in the first Quarto as a serious attempt at magnificent writing. The scene in Act II. he seems at first to condemn entirely: but subsequently he prints it as it is printed below, and it is not clear whether he intends

only to reject the passages italicised, or whether they constitute the evidence for the rejection of the whole scene. If the former is intended, it would reveal a somewhat extraordinary method of co-authorship to have existed in the time of Shakspere: if the latter, it would appear equally fair to italicise the remaining passages as proofs of *Shakspere's* sole authorship.

Enter Romeo *and* Frier.

Rom. Now, Father Laurence, in thy holy grant
Consists the good of me and Juliet.
Fr. *Without more words I will doo all I may,*
To make you happie, if in me it lye.
Rom. *This morning here she pointed we should meet,*
And consumate those never parting bands
Witnes of our harts loue by ioyning hands,
And come she will.
Fr. *I gesse she will indeed*
Youths loue is quicke, swifter than swiftest speed.

Enter Juliet *somewhat fast, and embraceth* Romeo.

See where she comes,
So light of foot nere hurts the troden flower:
Of love and joy see, see, the soveraigne power.
Jul. Romeo.
Rom. My Juliet, welcome. As doo waking eyes
(Cloasd in Night's mists) attend the frolike day,
So Romeo hath expected Juliet,
And thou art come.
Jul. I am (If I be day)
Come to my sunne: shine forth, and make me faire.
Rom. *All beauteous fairnes dwelleth in thine eyes*
Jul. *Romeo, from thine all brightnes doth arise.*
Fr. Come wantons come, the stealing hours do passe
Defer imbracements till some fitrer time,
Part for a while, you shall not be alone,
Till holy Church haue ioyned ye both in one.
Rom. *Lead holy Father, all delay seemes long.*
Jul. *Make hast, make hast, this lingring doth us wrong.*
Fr. Oh, soft and faire makes sweetest worke they say.
Hast is a common hindrer in crosse way.

There seems no justification for assuming either that this scene is the work of two hands, or, considering the origin of the first Quarto, of any other single hand than Shakspere's.

There seeems nothing in Friar Laurence's speech, apart from

style, which helps Mr Grant White to his conclusion, except the expression "for to". This occurs twice in the first Quarto, and Mr Grant White refers to his Essay on *Henry VI.,* where he uses this expression as a mark of Greene's authorship. That this expression is peculiar to Greene can hardly be sustained, although he makes frequent use of it. An expression that is to be found in the Authorised version of the Bible can hardly be a distinctive characteristic of style; and Mr Grant White must have been speaking from a memory that deceived him when he asserted that it occurred in Peele only half-a-dozen times. It is much more frequent. The Play *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* contains it at least 61 times; but perhaps Peele's authorship of that Play is not clearly ascertained. Mr Grant White's memory deceived him too, when he asserted that this expression never occurred in Shakspere's undoubted works. The Folio, in *Alls Well that Ends Well,* Act V. scene iii. l. 181, reads :—

> "Let your Highnes
> Lay a more noble thought upon mine honour,
> Then *for to* thinke that I would sinke it here."

In the second Quarto of *Hamlet* we read, in Act I. scene ii. l. 175 :

> "Weele teach you *for to* drinke ere you depart" :

and in Act III. scene i. l. 175 : "Which" for to "prevent . ." : and in *The Winter's Tale,* Act I. scene ii. l. 421, the Folio reads :—

> "You may as well
> Forbid the sea *for to* obey the moone . ."

There are other instances of this expression in *The Passionate Pilgrim, Pericles,* and *Titus Andronicus;* and curiously enough it occurs twice in the Corambis *Hamlet:*

> "*For to* adorne a king, and guild his crowne."

and

> "*For to* try his cunning."

Why should not this too be an actor's or reporter's importation?

The argument in favour of the purely Shaksperean origin of *Romeo and Juliet* might be carried a great deal farther: the unity of tone that exists throughout the Play might be pointed out, and the dissimilarity of the style of the suspected passages to the work

of the men who might have been Shakspere's associates in such an enterprise commented on. But to do this effectively more space would be required than the limits of an ordinary paper afford; and if it is considered that the attempt to repel the attacks hitherto made on this beautiful Play have been successful, the further object will sink into secondary importance. This paper will therefore be concluded with two propositions which appear to be fully justified by what has gone before.

The first is this. A metrical test, to be of any value, must be one that can be shown to work by law, not by accident. A peculiarity that cannot be reduced to any regular working may be attributed to some other cause than the author's individuality of style.

The second is that conclusions upon questions of style are of little worth when the work upon which these conclusions are based was obtained in a surreptitious manner.

VI.

SHAKSPERE'S "NEW MAP."

BY MR. C. H. COOTE,

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(*Read at the 44th Meeting of the Society, June* 14, 1878.)

To the student of Shakspere, as also to the bibliographer and geographer, it has always been a subject of interest and curiosity to learn what was the particular map referred to by Shakspere in *Twelfth Night*, Act III. scene ii., when Maria says of Malvolio—"*He does smile his face into more lines than are in the 'new map' with the augmentation of the Indies.*" The commentators Steevens, Knight, Collier, and others, have so far agreed to remark, that the map referred to was to be looked for in the English translation of Linschoten's *Voyages into the East and West Indies*, fol. London, 1598. But it will be observed that with the exception of Knight, none of them have ventured to fix the identity of this particular map, either by reference to its title or to the folio in Linschoten, wherein it is to be found.

Knight, however, in his Pictorial Shakspere of 1838, attempted to fix the identity of this map by reproducing on a small scale a section of the map of the Moluccas, to be found on fol. 328 of Linschoten. (By the way, this reproduction can hardly be called a success, for in his zeal to show up the multilineal lines the illustrator, as a comparison of one of the sets of rhumb-lines with the original will show, has gone far beyond his text, and has multiplied the points of the compass, which are only 32 in number, into 58! as I count them.)

The only apparent advantage in favour of the map selected by Knight is, that this map of the Moluccas is peculiar to the English

edition of Linschoten, and is neither to be found in the original edition, published in Dutch two years before at Amsterdam, nor in any of the subsequent German or Latin editions; notwithstanding this apparent argument in its favour, and the remarks of many commentators, I venture to question the theory of the "new map" of Shakspere being identifiable with this of Linschoten.

Knight, in casting about for a map with many lines, evidently pitched upon this one for the reason above stated, without the slightest attempt to investigate its claims to be the "new map" at the time of the appearance of *Twelfth Night*. These claims, though they have not been seriously investigated hitherto, so far as I am aware, constitute in my opinion the most important element in the case for the "new map."

A close scrutiny of this map of the Moluccas shows beyond a doubt that it is not a "new map" in any sense, but that, like some others in the volume, it is an inferior and somewhat reduced re-engraving of an old one.

A comparison of the western half of it with the "Map of the Coasts of China," inserted at fol. 33 of Linschoten, shows at a glance, not only that the geography of the region of the Canton river on the former map was obsolete, but that it was superfluous for illustrating the text. Again, a glance at the heading of the chapter in the text, against which the supposed "new map" is inserted, shows at once that it was put in by the English editor under an entire misapprehension, for the chapter itself relates to the straits of *Malacca*, whereas the Map—as its title informs us—is one of the islands of the *Molvccas*. On the S.E. corner of the map is to be found the latest geographical discovery recorded upon it, namely, that of the Salomen Islands, by Alvara de Mendaña in 1567, which discovery at the time of the appearance of *Twelfth Night* was 30 years old. These awkward facts, I think, not only go a great way to explain why the map is not to be found in either the earlier or subsequent editions of Linschoten, but also to shake one's faith in the newness of the supposed "new map."

Steevens's *supposed* allusion to this map as "the first in which the Eastern Islands are included" is incorrect and wide of the mark;

for we find these islands laid down more or less perfectly in the large Mappemonde of Mercator of 1569, a map to which I shall again refer in the next part of my paper. He would have been more correct had he called it one of the earliest engraved maps in which these islands, including those of Salomen with New Guinea, were delineated on a large scale with some few pretensions to accuracy.

As to its claims as *the* map with the multilineal lines, I have to add that it possesses these not only in common with the other maps in the same volume, but with any number of maps and charts, both MS. and engraved, executed at various periods, reaching back to more than half a century. Mercator's map is a case in point, with this difference, that whereas it shows both the East and West Indies, Linschoten's map does not. This last fact I think finally disposes of the statement of Steevens before alluded to.

I am in a position to add that I am not alone in my doubts as to the supposed reference by Shakspere to the map or maps in Linschoten. The learned Joseph Hunter, in his *Illustrations to Shakspere*, says, "I would not assert that there is not an allusion to these maps of Linschoten, *but I doubt it*. The turn of the expression (used by Shakspere) seems to point *not to the maps in Linschoten*, but to some single map well known at the time as 'the new map;' and further, that the map alluded to had the words in its title,—'with the augmentation of the Indies,' which is not the case with any of Linschoten's maps" (vol. i. p. 378).

A later writer, the Rev. J. Mulligan of New York, on p. xiii. of the Introduction to his translation of the *De Insulis Nuper Inventis* (or Narrative of the Second Voyage of Columbus), by Nicolaus Syllacious, also says, "Do not the words, 'with the augmentation of the Indies,' refer rather to a map representing a larger portion of the world than merely the East Indian Islands?" Thus you see I am not alone in my doubts, which were raised in my mind solely by an attentive study of Linschoten, before I met with the adverse quotations of the two distinguished authors above quoted. After a considerable amount of fruitless research in the direction indicated by Hunter—that is, for a map with a title containing the words "*with the augmentation of the Indies*,"—I am not inclined to attach much

importance to the suggestion, as I hope before I conclude to be able to prove to you that the words used by Shakspere are susceptible of a far more reasonable and satisfactory interpretation.

The whole case as against the supposed map in Linschoten may be summarized thus :—

(1) The alleged map of the Moluccas was not a "new" one, but a feebly reduced copy of an old one, the latest geographical information to be found on it when *Twelfth Night* appeared being at least 30 years old.

(2) It was not a separate publication well known at the time, as would seem to be required by the terms used by Shakspere—that is to say, "the new map."

(3) It showed no portion of the great Indian peninsula, and with the exception of the Salomen Islands and New Guinea, it afforded no other geographical information but what was far better supplied by other maps in the same work.

(4) It had on it four sets of rhumb-lines *less* than are to be found on what I believe to be a far more formidable rival.

In order to prepare your minds for the reception of the evidence in favour of what I believe to be the "new map" alluded to by Shakspere, it will perhaps be convenient here for me to remind you that the date assigned to the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in the Hall of the Middle Temple is Feb. 1601-2. This date has an important bearing upon that of the production of the "new map," as the sequel will show.

It is also desirable that I should draw your attention to one or two of the most important engraved maps of the 16th century that preceded our "new" one, and to the true position of the latter in the history of cartography.

In 1569 was produced that famous large Mappemonde by Mercator at Duisbourg before alluded to, and many years elapsed before it was taken into consideration by other map-makers.

In 1570 appeared the well-known map of the world on the "oval" projection by Ortelius, entitled *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, which is to be found at the beginning of all the editions of his well-known atlas. From this period up to the time of the appearance of our

"new map" this one of Ortelius's was regarded as the best general map of the world for ordinary reference. Not only was it sold separately, but it was reproduced again and again, and is to be found inserted in numerous geographical works of the period. A wretched reproduction of it is inserted in the beginning of the English Linschoten of 1598, that we have had under our notice.

In 1587 appeared the exceedingly rare map made for Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's Decades; it is signed F. G., probably the Francis Gualle whose name occurs on the section of the "new map" before you.

The same year saw the light, the map of the world in two hemispheres, by Mercator's son Rumold, afterwards published in his well-known atlas.

In 1589 appeared the rare and less known map by Cornelius de Jode, afterwards published in his *Speculum Orbis Terrarum.* This map is remarkable, as showing in all probability the first attempt to divide the central meridional line after the manner of the then almost forgotten large map of Mercator.

The last year of the 16th century, and the first year of the 17th, were remarkable ones in the history of geography and cartography. During this short period was produced and completed that remarkable "Prose Epic of the English Nation," Hakluyt's *Voyages*, in three vols., folio. In 1599 was also produced by his friend and colleague, Edward Wright, one of the most learned mathematicians of his time, a treatise entitled *Errors in Navigation*, which made an entire revolution in the art of projecting general maps and charts of the world.

About two years before (1597) was published by Judocus Hondius (probably in Amsterdam) a map entitled *Typus totius orbis terrarum*, etc., at the bottom of which is to be seen an allegorical figure of a Christian Soldier armed for the fight against all the powers of evil. This is, I believe, one of the first maps, if not the first, laid down upon the true projection now known as Mercator's, but which I prefer to call Wright's, as he, and not Mercator, was the first to demonstrate the true principles upon which such maps were to be laid down. Wright, in his preface to the reader in his work, bitterly complains that he was induced to lend the MS. of it to Hondius,

who with its aid, and without the consent of Wright, prepared and published, as Wright says,[1] several "Mappes of the Word, which maps had been vnhatched, had not he (Hondius) learned the right way to lay the ground-work of some of them out of this book." That this *Typus* is one of the pirated maps complained of, seems to be proved beyond question. Although it is not dated, the latest geographical information to be found on it goes to show that it must have been published two years before the appearance of Wright's treatise, or four years before the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in 1601. Moreover, Wright's name is to be found upon it.

With the exception of this pirated map by Hondius, the only one laid down upon the new projection that could have any pretensions to be regarded as a "new map" about 1600 A.D. is the one to which I have now the honour of drawing your attention, and which after careful consideration and diligent research I believe to be the "new map" of Shakspere. Copies of a section of it are now lying before you, as also a reproduction of the map as a whole, kindly lent to the Society for inspection this evening by Mr Quaritch. I cannot do better than introduce it to your notice in the words of the learned Hallam, which, although written apparently with an imperfect knowledge of its real history and antecedents, are on the whole not an unworthy description of it.

In his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* he writes, "The best map of the 16th century is one of uncommon rarity, which is found in a few copies of the *first* edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*." In his remarks upon that portion of it represented in the section before you, he writes, "Corea is represented near its place, and China with some degree of correctness." After alluding to the inscription to be seen in the corner of it he continues, "The ultra-Indian region is inaccurate; the sea of Aral is still unknown, and little pains have been taken with central and northern Asia." He concludes by saying, "But on the whole it (the complete map) represents the utmost limit of geographical knowledge at the close of the 16th century, and far excels the map in the edition of Ortelius at Antwerp in 1588."

[1] p. 34, 2nd edition.

What Hallam failed to realize was, that it was a new map on a new projection laid down upon the principles set forth by Wright. Again, had he examined more attentively that portion of the map represented in the section before you, he would not have fallen into the error of associating it exclusively, as he has done, with the first and incomplete edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, in one volume, published in 1589.

On the portion of the map now before you, we find the latest geographical discovery recorded, later by two years than anything to be found on the pirated map of Hondius, namely, that of Northern Novya Zembla, by the Dutchman Barentz in his third voyage in 1596. The news of this did not reach Holland until 1598. Allowing one year for this to reach England and to be worked up into our map, the conclusion is irresistible that this map had every claim to be regarded as the "new map," in that it was published on or about 1599, or within two years of the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in 1601.

As the Society's limits of space did not admit of reproducing the "new map" for my paper as a whole, it was not without due deliberation by Mr Furnivall and myself that we selected for reproduction the section before you. Somehow I am inclined to think that Mr Furnivall has not been without misgivings as to the wisdom of our choice, as the section selected gives greater prominence to that portion of it in proximity to "Greenland's icy mountains" than to "India's coral strand." In justification of our choice I would ask this question. To what but to this portion of our "new map," and the discovery of Barentz recorded upon it, does Shakspere refer, where, in some fifty lines preceding the words of my text, Fabian says to Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, *You are now sailed into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard?*[1] From whence did Shakspere obtain this knowledge? Certainly not from the pages of Hakluyt, as they are silent respecting it. That he obtained it as current oral news is of course quite possible; but be this as it may, the most reasonable and natural explanation of the matter is, that it was suggested to the mind of Shakspere by a glance at our "new map" with many lines, in all probability the earliest engraved map produced in England whereon this important Arctic discovery is to be found.

[1] Act III. Sc. ii.

I now come to the Gordian knot of my text, namely, the phrase "augmentation of the Indies." I am free to confess until quite recently these words had for me all the fascinating charms of a conundrum. Gradually, however, there dawned upon me what I conceived to be the true sense of the word "augmentation" as used by Shakspere. At first I was inclined to limit its meaning to nothing more nor less than addition, or in other words that the phrase was intended to refer to some map showing both the East and West Indies. I soon found I could afford to drop the latter altogether. A little reflection will show that addition and augmentation are not exactly synonymous. That which is added is *ex*trinsic and retains its individuality. Perhaps the best instance of this on a map is the record of the discovery of Barentz just mentioned, and which henceforth I hope will prove a distinguishing feature of our "new map."

On the other hand, that which is "augmented" is *in*trinsic, and loses its individuality in assimilation, either by deteriorating or improving that into which it is incorporated.

Now what was the state of things to be seen upon the eastern portion of our "new map" at the close of the 16th century, as compared with all the best general maps of the world that preceded it? A marked development in the geography of India proper, then known as the land of the Mogores or Mogol, the island of Ceylon, and the two peninsulas of Cochin China, and the Corea. For the first time the distant island of Japan began to assume its modern shape (this last, by the way, is not to be seen on the map in Linschoten). Turning to the S.E. portion of the "new map" (unfortunately not shown in the section before you), there were to be seen traces of the first appearance of the Dutch under Houtman at Bantam (W. end of Java), synchronizing almost within a year with that of their fellow-countrymen in Novya Zembla; and which within 10 years led to their unconscious discovery, or rather rediscovery, of Australia.

On all the old maps, including the one of Ortelius's inserted in our old friend Linschoten, was to be seen the huge Terra Australis of the old geography. This, as Hallam remarked, had been left out upon our "new map," and in its place was partly to be traced New Holland. This of course would be suggestive of nothing to the mind of

Shakspere; but what is so remarkable is, that upon our "new map" there should have appeared to rise, *like a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand,* the then unknown continent of Australia.

It is this appreciation of the marked improvement and development to be observed in the geography of the eastern portion of our map, to which I believe Shakspere desired to give expression in his judicious and happy use of the term "augmentation," which to my mind seems to add new force and emphasis to the words of my text, "he does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies."

Hallam's error in associating the "new map" with the first edition of Hakluyt ten years before, is due probably to his misreading of a portion of the preface to that work, which reads thus: "Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall and Hydrographicall tables (*i. e.* maps) thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented myself with inserting into the works one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeers greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull Marchant, Mr William Sanderson."

"The best generall mappe" referred to here by Hakluyt, it is evident, could not have been our "new map," as has been assumed by Hallam and others; the one referred to was the well-known map of Ortelius's, which, as I said before, was to be found inserted in many other geographical works of the period. "The comming out of the very large . . terrestriall globe" referred to was accomplished in 1592. The only example of it known to exist in England is the one now preserved in the Library of the Middle Temple, with the date altered (by the pen) to 1603. We learn from the *Comedy of Errors,* Act. III. scene ii., that Shakspere was not unfamiliar with the use of the Globes, and as the play from which my text is taken is so

intimately associated with the noble hall of the same honourable and learned Society, it may be pardonable to indulge in the thought that Shakspere himself may possibly have consulted and handled this precious monument of geography, *the first globe made in England and by an Englishman.*

Hitherto one of the great obstacles to fixing the identity of this "new map" has been its anonymous authorship. A careful perusal of its title, to be seen on the lower part of the map as a whole, affords us, as I think, the required clue. The title runs thus: "Thou hast here gentle reader a true hydrographicall description of so much of the world as hath beene hitherto discouered, and is come to our knowledge, which we have in such sort performed, y^t [that] all places herin set downe haue the same position and distances that they haue in *the globe*, being therin placed in same longitudes and latitudes which they haue in this *chart*, which by the ordinary sea-chart can in no wise be performed;"—evidently a reference to the then new projection. The globe here referred to is not, as has been supposed, the globe of the earth, but some particular terrestrial globe, and is no other than the one made by Mollineux, who is also the accepted author of our "new map" or chart. In this question of authorship I am supported by no less an authority than the eminent geographer, Mr J. G. Kohl of Bremen, who describes our "new map" as "the excellent map of the world composed by Mr Emmerie Mollineux, which was partly published on Hakluyt's admonition, and probably with his assistance."[1] He also says in another passage, when speaking of Mollineux's globe, "Mollineux was a most able geographer, who made besides this globe a plain map of the world, which is, I believe, the best and most conscientious plain (globe?) map of the time."[2]

As at the outset it was my good fortune to be able to point out that my doubts respecting the map in Linschoten were anticipated by no less an authority than the learned Joseph Hunter, so is it now my good fortune to be able to announce that I am not altogether unsupported in my belief that the map before us is identical with that of Shakspere. I allude to the Rev. John Mulligan of New York. In his learned work before mentioned, after expressing his

[1] Maps relating to America in *Hakluyt*, p. 7. [2] *Ibid*, p. 23.

dissatisfaction with the Linschoten theory, he proceeds to express his opinion as to what is required to meet the case in the following words: "Such a map of the World is found in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, London, 1598—1600. It has been celebrated by Hallam as the best map of the 16th century . . . . This map," he proceeds to say, "embraces both the East and West Indian Islands, and is quite as multilineal as that which appears in Linschoten's *Voyages*." I beg leave to add *and more;* for the *twelve* sets of rhumb-lines to be found in Linschoten, we find *sixteen* on our "new map" as a whole, without counting the cross lines of latitude and longitude, to which probably no reference is intended. Although it affords me much pleasure to be able to refer you to so distinguished an author in confirmation of my views, it is also my duty to point out that he, like Hallam, failed to see that it was a "new map" on a new projection, recording the latest geographical discovery of Barentz in 1596.

As we have already seen, it would be an anachronism to associate our "new map" with the first edition of Hakluyt, published in 1589; to do so exclusively with the second would, I venture to think, be equally a mistake, as in the latter we find no mention of our "new map," or of the discovery of Barentz. The truth seems to be that it was a separate map well known at the time, made in all probability for the convenience of the purchasers of either one or the other of the two editions of Hakluyt, who although they required a good modern map, as our "new" one then undoubtedly was, did not care to be encumbered with copies of the "very large and most exact terrestriall globe" two feet high, advertised, as we have seen, in the preface to the first edition.

The whole case for our map may be summarized thus:—

1. It was a "new map" on a new projection made by one of the most eminent globe-makers of his time, probably under the superintendence of Hakluyt.

2. It had upon it as many sets of rhumb-lines as were to be found on any that preceded it, and *four* more than the one of the Moluccas in Linschoten.

3. It showed the whole of the East Indies, including Japan, which the map in Linschoten did not.

4. If not absolutely certain, it is probable in the extreme, that the thought underlying the words, "*you are now sailed into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard*," was suggested to the mind of Shakspere by a glance at the upper portion of our "new map," showing the discovery of Barentz, which on account of this, and other improved geography to be seen on the Eastern portion of it, had earned for itself the then probably well-known title of "*the new map with the augmentation of the Indies*."

Such is the evidence I adduce in favour of what I believe to be the "new map;" the greater part of it I believe to be as new to students of Shakspere as it is to geographers. Although I am not so sanguine as to suppose that I have won your unanimous assent to my views, I think I may venture to assert that henceforth both commentators and illustrators of Shakspere will pause ere they refer to, or reproduce, any of the maps in Linschoten. Future research may possibly be able to bring to light a more successful rival to our "new map," but I doubt the probability of it. I am not without hope that henceforth our "new map" will be as firmly associated with Shakspere's *Twelfth Night*, as it has been hitherto with the pages of Hakluyt.

C. H. COOTE.

After Mr Furnivall's summing-up, strongly in support of the Paper, Mr Coote read the following extract from de Veer's account of Barentz's voyage, in order to show how these Dutchmen with icicles on their beards spent their *Twelfth Night* in the Arctic Region :—

"Jan. 5, 1596-7. And when we had taken paines al day, we remembered ourselues that it was Twelf Euen (*Drie Conighen Avondt*), *Three Kings Euen;* and then we prayed our maister (skipper) that [in the midst of all our troubles] we might be merry that night, and said that we were content to spend some of the wine that night which we had spared and which was our share euery second day, and whereof for certaine daies we had not drunke; and so that night we made merry and drunke to the three Kings (lit.

played at kings). And therewith we had two pound of meale [which we had taken to make paste for the cartridges] whereof we [now] made pancakes with oyle, and [we laid to] euery man a white bisket which we sopt in [the] wine. And so supposing that we were in our owne country and amongst our friends, it comforted vs as well as if we had made a great banket, in our owne house. And we also made (distributed) tickets, and our gunner was King of Noua Zembla, which is at least two hundred [800] miles long and lyeth between two seas."—*Phillip's trans.*, 1609. *Beke*, p. 138.

VII. SCRAPS.

1. Touchstone's *feature.*
2. Iago's *squadron.*
3. Launcelot's *Master*, &c.
4. Falstaff's *carves.*
5. Hamlet's *sear.*
6. Claudius's *union.*
7. ———— *warn.*
8. Edmund's *Villains by necessity.*
9. Time's *wallet.*
10. Shylock's *bagpipe and urine.*
11. Ophelia's *Christian Souls.*
12. Dogberry's *comparisons are odourous.*
13. An earlier *Autolycus.*
14. On Lines 343-4 and 302 of the *Passionate Pilgrim.*
15. Shakspere's anticipation of Newton.
16. *Coram* and *Custalorum.*
17. Boyet's 'angels *vailing* clouds.'
18. Ceremony's '*soul of adoration.*

1. On Touchstone's '*feature.*'

In *As you like it*, III. iii. 3, Touchstone asks Audrey, "Doth my simple **feature** content you?" and the context,—with Touchstone's calling himself 'a poet' and mentioning his "verses (that) cannot be understood"—necessitate a comment like Mr Aldis Wright's, in his Clarendon Press edition, 1876, p. 140. "There is possibly some joke intended here, the key to which is lost." However, the key is now found, for one of our members, Mr W. Wilkins of Trinity Coll., Dublin, belonging to a quicker-witted race than us Englishmen, pointed out at one of our Meetings, that Shakspere has—after his custom in like cases—made Touchstone use **feature** in its etymological sense of 'making', that is, the Early English *making* or writing of verses, as we use 'composition,' &c., now.

Ben Jonson seems to use the word in the same sense when he says of his creature or creation, the play of *Volpone*, that 2 months before it was no **feature**[1] :—

[1] Cotgrave gives "*Faicture, Facture :* f. The facture, workemanship, framing, making of a thing." Florio : "*Fattura*, a making, a handy worke, a fashion or workmanship of any thing." D'Arnis : "*Factura.*—Creatura; créature . . . pictura textilis; broderie."

"In all his poems still hath been this measure,
To mix profit with your pleasure
And not as some, whose throats their envy failing,
Cry hoarsely, 'All he writes, is railing:'
And when his plays come forth, think they can flout them,
With saying, he was a year about them.
To this there needs no lie, but this his creature,
Which was two months since no **feature**;
And though he dares give them five lives to mend it,
'Tis known, five weeks fully penn'd it,
From his own hand, without a co-adjutor,
Novice, journey-man, or tutor."

1607, Ben Jonson. Prologue to *Volpone*, p. 174, col. 1, ed. 1838.

Mr W. A. Harrison finds the same sense in Bp. Latimer and Pliny:—

"Frvitfvll | Sermons | preached by the right Re|uerend Father, and constant Martyr | of Iesus Christ, Master Hvgh | Latimer, to the edyfying of all | which will dispose themselves | to the readings of the same. At London, Reprinted by Valentine Sims—A.D. 1596. Sig. B. 4, p. 12.

"What a thing was that, that once euery hundred yeare was brought forth in Rome, by the children of this world, and with how much policie it was made: Ye heard at Pauls Crosse in the beginning of the last parliament, how some brought forth canonizations, some expectations, some pluralities and vnions, some tot-quots[1] and dispensations, some pardons and those of wonderful variety, some stationaries, some jubilaries, some pocularies for drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of reliques, some pedaries for pilgrimes, some oscularies for kissers: Some of them ingendred one, some other

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Ben Jonson uses *feature* in the sense of creation, apparition, or form in his *Masque of Queens*, p. 571, col. 2, Moxon. 1838 (see Nares).

"*Dame*. Stay, all our charms do nothing win
Upon the night: our labour dies,
Our magic *feature* will not rise."

And in his note (col. 1) on the 4th Charm, he says—

"Here they speak as if they were creating some new *feature*, which the devil persuades them to be able to do often, by the pronouncing of words and pouring out of liquors on the earth" (with quotations from Agrippa and Apuleius). Cp. too Nares's.

"Bid him
Report the *feature* of Octavia."—*Ant. & Cl.*, II. v.

"She also doft her heavy haberjeon,
Which the fair *feature* of her limbs did hide."
Spenser, *F. Q.*, III. ix.

[1] Tot-quots. "Si in aliquâ ecclesiâ sit indulgentia perennis (sicut in Ecclesiâ B. Petri), tunc *quoties* vadit aliquis, *toties* indulgentiam consequitur." —Thomas Aquinas. Summ. Theol. Supplem. Part III., quæst. 25, Art. II. Jewel mentions "tot-quots" as an expedient for raising money.

such **features**, and euery one in that he was deliuered of was excellent, politike, wise; yea so wise, that with their wisedome they had almost made al the world fooles."

Feture means here 'a thing made;' 'a production.' Pliny (Præf. Lib. I.) uses **fetura** figuratively of a literary production, and calls his work on Natural History, *Proxima fetura:* "Libros Naturalis Historiæ . . natos apud me proxima fetura."—F.

2. On Iago's '*squadron.*'

In *Othello*, Act I. Sc. i. l. 22, Iago derides Cassio as a fellow—

> "That never set a **squadron** in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knows
> More than a spinster."

Most readers—and I confess myself to have been one of them—pass over this term **squadron** without any very definite idea of meaning: those perhaps who have some acquaintance with military affairs will take it in its modern sense of the principal division of a regiment of cavalry; but generally by it will be understood that very uncertain number of soldiers called "a certain number."

My own attention to its significance was awakened not long ago by reading in Geffray Fenton's translation (1599) of Guicciardini's *Historia d'Italia*, Lib. i., the following sentence:—

"his army contained little lesse then a hundreth **squadrons** of men at armes, accounting xx. men to a **squadron**."

Further investigation showed me that, according to Florio (Ital. Dic. 1611), a Squádra or **squadron**, besides its general meaning of "a troupe or band of men," was "*properly a*[1] *part of a companie of souldiers of twentie or fiue and twentie whose chiefe is a Corporall.*"

Cotgrave (ed. 1660) has:—"Squadron: m. A **squadron**; a square troop, or band, or battell of souldiers; *also, in every company, the troop thats under the command of a Corporall.*"

At the end of Robt. Barrett's *Theoricke and Practicke of moderne Warres*, 1598, is "A Table, shewing the signification of sundry forraine words, used in these discourses." In it I find:—

"Squadra, a Spanish word: and is a certaine part of a company of some 20, or 25 souldiers, whose chiefe is the Caporall.

Squadron, a Spanish word, and is a great number of souldiers pikemen reduced in arraies to march, and also is a certaine companie of musketiers framed in order to march of[2] fight, and is also a certaine number of men, aranged in order to march, or charge."

In the body of the work, Barrett uses the terms **squadra** and **squadron** indifferently when speaking of the Corporal's company. Cf. pp. 16, 17.

[1] *Properly a*], also a certaine, ed. 1598. [2] ? or.

Other lexicographers—as Minsheu, 1626; Gouldman, 1669; Coles, 1679—translate *corporal* as *manipularis. decurio* a commander of ten men only.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca* Act. I. Sc. ii., Suetonius, speaking of Bonduca's army, says,—

" ————that the proud woman
Is infinite in number better likes me,
Than if we dealt with **squadrons.**"

Here, evidently, **squadron** is used in the sense of a small number, a handful.

It is but right to say that Shakspere nowhere in his use of the word **squadron** defines the number of men of which it was composed; nevertheless it has seemed to me that he may in the instance above, quoted from *Othello*, have used it in the sense of the smallest company, commanded by the lowest officer, and have placed it in Iago's mouth to give additional point to that villain's contemptuous estimate of Cassio's soldiership.—P. A. DANIEL, *6th Sept.* 1877.

Mr Daniel's happy explanation of Iago's sarcasm is confirmd by the Spanish:

"*Esquadra,* f. a carpenters squire, a **squadron** of 25. souldiers."

"*Esquadron,* m. a **squadron** of souldiers of the whole army, a great **squadron.**"—Percivale's *Spanish Dict.*, by Jn. Minsheu, 1628.

The termination *-on,* Ital. *-one,* here rightly marks the larger body, though in Iago's English but a squad.—F. J. F.

3. ON '*Master* LAUNCELOT,' AND '*Goodman* DULL' AND 'DELVER,' &C.

In my edition of *Harrison* (New Shaksp. Soc., 1877), p. 133, 137, are some passages on the use of the words **master** and **goodman** which illustrate well the use of the former word in the *Merchant of Venice,* and of the latter in *Love's Labour's Lost, Hamlet,* &c. Harrison borrowd from Sir Thos. Smith's *Commonwealth of England,* and from this I shall quote.

In the *Merchant,* II. ii. 50, &c., Launcelot Gobbo says to his sand-blind father who doesn't recognize him:

"Talke you of yong **Master** Launcelet?—marke me now! now will I raise the waters!—Talke you of yong **Maister** Launcelet?

"*Old Gobbo.* No **Maister,** sir, but a poore mans sonne: his Father, though I say 't, is an honest exceeding poore man, and, God be thanked, well to liue."

Sir Thos. Smith says in his *Common-wealth,* bk. I., ch. 20 (p. 28, new ed. 1612),

"as for Gentlemen, they be made good cheap in England. For

whosoeuer studieth the laws of the Realm, who studieth in the Uniuersities, who professeth liberall Sciences: and to be short, who can liue idely, and without manuall labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a Gentleman, hee shall bee called **master**, for that is the tytle which men giue to Esquires, and other Gentlemen, and shall bee taken for a Gentleman."

The **Goodman** or Yeoman is treated of in chap. 23:

"I call him a yeoman whome our lawes doe call *Legalem hominem*,—a word familiar in writs and Enquests,—which is, a free man borne English, and may dispend of his own free land in yeerely reuenue to the summe of xl.s. sterling. This maketh vi.li. of our currant money at this present [1565]. This sort of people confesse themselues to be no Gentlemen . . . These be not called **maisters**, for that (as I said) pertaineth to Gentlemen only. But to their surnames men adde **Goodman**: as if the surname be Luter, Finch, White, Browne, they are called '**goodman** Luter, **goodman** Finch, **goodman** White[1], **goodman** Browne,' amongst their neighbours . . . . amongst the Husbandmen, Labourers, the lowest and rascall sort of the people, such as be exempted out of the number of the rascability of the popular, be called and written Yeomen, as in the degree next unto Gentlemen."

Old Gobbo who had a 'phill-horse,' and could give away doves, must surely not be reckond among "the rascability of the popular," but may take his place with Dull, Verges, Adam, Buff of Parson, the delver, &c., among the **Goodmen** or Yeomen, tho' whether the '**goodman** boys,' Tybalt and Edmund, are to be put in the same class is more than doubtful.

As to the 'rascability,' who were not 'respectable,' who did not keep the gigs of the period, and to whom, according to Harrison, p. 134, the ambitious young **Master** Launcelot, as a serving-man, belongd, Sir Thos. Smith says, in Bk. I., chap. 24:

"The fourth sort or classe amongst vs, is of those which the old Romans called *capite sensu proletarii* or *operarii*, day laborers, poore husbandmen, yea Marchants or retailers which haue no free land, copyholders, and all artificers, as Tailers, Shoomakers, Carpenters, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Masons, &c. These haue no voyce nor authority in our Commonwealth, and no account is made of them, but only to be ruled, and not to rule other; and yet they be not altogether neglected. For in Cities & corporate townes, for default of Yeomen, enquests and Iuries are impaneled of such manner of people. And in Villages they be commonly made Churchwardens, Alecunners, and many times Constables, which office toucheth more the Commonwealth, and at the first was not imployed upon such low and base persons."—F. J. FURNIVALL.

[1] Harrison says also, that they were called "onelie John and Thomas," &c., p. 134.

4. On Falstaff's '*carves*.'

"I spy entertainment in [Ford's wife]; she discourses, she **carves**, she gives the leer of invitation." Falstaff, in *Mer. Wi. W.* I. iii. 41.

craves, Q3; Jackson; Collier. *Steevens* and *Boswell* (in Variorum) understand this literally of carving at dinner or supper. *Hunter* compares a passage from "a Prophecie of Cadwallader," by Wm. Herbert, 4to. 1604:

> "There might yon Caius Marius **carving** find,
> And martial Sylla *courting* Venus kind."
>
> *New Illustrations, &c.*

Dyce adds: "Her amorous glances are her accusers; her very lookes write sonnets in thy commendations; she **carues** thee at boord, & cannot sleepe for dreaming on thee in bedde."—Day's *Ile of Gulls*, 1606, Sig. D.

He quotes also a passage from Beaumont's transl. of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris;* but here the word *may be* possibly taken literally.

Grant White quotes 'A very woman' among the 'Characters' published with Sir Thos. Overbury's 'Wife,' &c.:

"Her lightness gets her to swim at the top of the table, where her wrie little finger bewraies **carving**."—Sig. E 3 (Ed. 1632).

Littleton's Lat.-Eng. Dict. (1675) in Dyce, &c., has:

"A **carver** = chironomus."

"Chironomus = one that useth apish motions with his hands."

"Chironomia = a kind of gesture with the hands, either in dancing, carving of meat, or pleading," &c. &c.

I would add to these references a passage in *Pepys's Diary*, just brought to light, from the new edition by Mynors Bright, now in course of publication (vol. ii. p. 292).

"*Aug. 6th*, 1663. To my cozen Mary Ioyce's at a gossiping, where much company & good cheer . . . . . Ballard's wife, a pretty & a well-bred woman, I took occasion to kiss several times, & she to **carve**, drink, & show me great respect."—W. A. Harrison.

5. Hamlet's '*sear*.'

sear, sb. catch of a gunlock, that the trigger frees (tickle o' the **sear** (hair-triggers at laughing).—*Haml.* II. ii. 337).

"I gather therefore, that even as a Pistole that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a man do but touch the **Seare**; And as the evill humor in a naturall bodie (being ejected into the outward partes, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily breake, if it be never so little prickte or launced: So the commons of some partes of the realme, being at that time [Wat Tyler's] full swolne

with rancor that they had before conceived against their lords, lay now in await for some opportunitie to cast out their venome: and therefore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them al, they flocked together by and by, and laboured under that covert to pull their necks cleane out of the collers."—1570, Wm. Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent.* 1826 reprint, p. 407-8.

At the Meeting at which this was read, Mr Hetherington quoted the saying of a Cumberland Farmer to him, on a very short-temperd woman:—

"She's as *tickle* as a mouse-trap: touch the spring, and off she goes."—F.

6. Claudius's '*union.*'—Hamlet, V. ii. 283.

See *Batman vpon Bartholome,* ed. 1583, leaf 263, back:—

"¶ *Of Margarita,* chap. 62.

The Orient perle. *Margarita,* is chiefe of all white precious stones, as Isid[orus] sayth, and hath that name *Margarita,* for it is founde in shells and in shell fish of the sea. It breedeth in flesh of shel fish, and is sometime found in the braine of the fish, and is gendred of the deaw of heuen, the which deaw, shell fish receiue in certaine times of the yeare. Of the which Margarites, some be called **Vniones**, and haue a couenable name, for onely one is found, & neuer two or moe together. And white Margarites are better than yelow; & those that be conceiued of the morrow deawe, be made dimme with the aire of the euen tide. *Huc vsque Isidorus, li.* 16. And they haue vertue comfortative, either of all the whole kinde, as some men saye, or els because they are besprong with certayn specialtie, they comfort the lyms . . ."—F.

7. On '*warn,*' meaning to summon.

"They mean to **warn** us at Philippi here."—*Julius Cæsar,* V. i. 5.
"And sent to **warn** them to his royal presence."—*Rich. III.,* I. iii. 39.
"Who is it that hath **warned** us to the walls?"—*Kg. John,* II. i. 201.
"At his **warning** . . . the erring spirit hies to his confine."—*Hamlet,* I. i. 152.

This use of **warn**, in the sense of giving notice or summoning, though common enough in Elizabethan English, is rare at the present day; but in the dialect of Cumberland it still survives, especially in connection with funerals. In many country places there used to be a custom, now becoming rare, of sending some old person to every house in the place, to **warn** the people to attend the funeral. There was also a peculiar use of the passive voice of this verb, for it was said that the '*funeral* was **warned**' for a certain hour, and not the people.—J. N. Hetherington.

8. EDMUND'S '*Villains by necessity*.'—LEAR, I. ii. 132.

"Where were become al good ordre among men, if euery misordred wretche myght alledge that his mischieuous dede was his desteny . . . . they may be then wel aunswered with their owne wordes, as one was serued in a good towne in Almayn, which, when he had robbed a man and was brought before y[e] iudges he could not deny the dede, but he sayde it was his desteny to do it, and therefore thei might not blame hym, thei aunswered him after his owne doctrine, that yf it were his desteny to steale, & that therfore they muste holde hym excused, than it was also their desteny to hange hym, and therfore he must as well hold them excused agayn."—*More's Works*, p. 274, ed. 1557.

9. TIME'S '*wallet*,' TR. AND CRES., III. iii.

One of the cuts to the Ballad of "Poor Robin's Dream; commonly called, Poor Charity, in the Bagford Collection, I. 46" (ed. Ebsworth, Pt. 3, p. 973) illustrates the lines in *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 3:

> "Time hath, my Lord, a wallet at his back,
> Wherein he puts alms for oblivion."

J. W. E.

10. SHYLOCK'S '*bagpipe and urine*,' MERCHANT, IV. i. 49-50.

"I jumble, as one dothe that can play upon an instrument. *Je brouille*, prim. conj. It wolde make one pysse to here him jombyll on a lute: *il feroyt vng homme pisser en ses chausses louyr brouyller sur vng lus*."—1530, *Palsgrave*, p. 595, col. 2.—F.

11. OPHELIA'S *Christian Souls*.

"We see there [in purgatory] our chyldren too, whome we loued so well, pype, sing, & daunce, & no more thinke on their

fathers soules, then on their olde shone, sauing y^t^ sometime cometh out, *God haue mercy on al christen soules.* But it cummeth out so coldly & with so dull affection, y^t^ it lyèth but in the lippes, & neuer came nere the hert."—(died 1535) Sir T. More's *Workes* (1557), p. 337.—R. ROBERTS.

12. DOGBERRY'S '*comparisons are odourous.*'—MUCH ADO, III. v. 18

"*Comparationes* vero, Princeps, ut te aliquando dixisse recolo, *odiosae reputatantur.*"—Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, fol. 42, ed. 1616.

The Prince was the son of Henry VI. Fortescue was about to compare the Common and Civil Laws.—W. D. STONE.[1]

13. AN EARLIER *Autolycus* IN *Winter's Tale.*

"*Pedler.* Conyskins, maydes! Conyskins for old pastes!
What lacke you, what buy you? any good pinnes?
Knit caps for children, biggens and wastes?
Come let us bargaine; bring forth your Conyskins."
1595, *The Pedlers Prophecie*, l. 930-3.

"*Pedler.* And it will please you to help to sing a ballet before you go,
I will teach you cunningly to make the water.
Arti. I know the Pedler can sing pleasantly,
Both upon the booke, and also without.
Traveller. I will sing, seeing he desireth me so instantly,
But to sing by heart, to agree, I stand in doubt.
Ped. Behold, I have ballet books here,
Truly prickt, with your rests, and where you shall come in.
Then we foure will make an honest quere
I will follow, if the Pedler will begin."—*Ib.* ll. 957—966.
Hic Cant[et].—F.

14. ON LINES 343-4 IN THE *Passionate Pilgrim*, BY EDWD. G. DOGGETT, ESQ.; AND ON LINE 302 BY F. J. F.

In the *Passionate Pilgrim* the verse beginning at line 341, Globe Edition, p. 1056, col. 1, is marked †, that is, as "corrupt in such a

[1] Here was to follow, at first,—as an illustration of Dogberry's *Watch*,—Lord Burghley's letter of Aug. 10, 1586, to Sir Francis Walsingham (*State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 192), on the dozen stupid watchmen in a lump—"*Lièvres morionnez* (Sillie Artificers, or cowardlie Trades-men, turned watchmen), the ordinarie watchmen of good townes." 1611, Cotgrave—standing under a pentice, and pretending to look out for some of the Babington conspirators, by the token that one had a hookt nose; but as the original of the Letter was printed by Mr. Lemon and Mr. J. P. Collier as the first of the old Shakespeare Society's *Papers*, a reference to that will do instead of a reprint.—F.

way as to affect the sense, no admissible emendation having been proposed."

According to Malone, vol. x. p. 339, edition 1790, note, the reading of the original edition is—

> "Think women still to strive with men,
> To sin and never for to saint;
> There is no heaven by holy then,
> When time with age shall them attaint.
> Were kisses all the joys in bed,
> One woman would another wed."

The third line of this verse is the one that has caused the difficulty. The Globe Edition gives the verse thus—

> "Think women still to strive with men,
> To sin and never for to saint:
> There is no heaven, by holy then,
> When time with age doth them attaint.
> Were," &c.

Malone gives the reading of the original edition, but being unable to make anything of it, he prints the verse in his text thus—

> "Think, women love to match with men
> And not to live so like a saint:
> Here is no heaven; they holy then
> Begin, when age doth them attaint.
> Were," &c.

In his Note, Malone intimates, that in printing the verse he followed an old MS. copy.

Staunton prints the lines the same as Malone, and in a note says, "This is the lection of the MS. followed by Malone; it is poor stuff" (which it certainly is), "but it has the advantage of being intelligible, which cannot be said of the corresponding stanza in the *Passionate Pilgrim*."

The reading adopted by Malone may be intelligible after a fashion; but seeing that matrimony is holy, it seems hardly pious to assert that women only begin to be holy when the first object of holy matrimony as taught by the Prayer Book is no longer attainable through them.

Pickering's Edition, 1825, gives the old reading without any note.

Collier, 1843, has—

> "Think, women still to strive with men,
> To sin and never for to saint:
> There is no heaven; be holy then,
> When time with age shall them attaint.
> Were," &c.

The assertion in the third line is startling, and neither Scriptural nor Shaksperean. And why any one should take the trouble to be holy *because* there is no heaven, requires peculiar faculties to perceive.

Keightley (Bell and Daldy, 1868) follows Collier with the exception of having no comma after 'Think.'

The variations from the first edition do not strike me as emendations, which may readily be imagined as I have something different to offer. I propose to read the verse thus—

'Think women still to strive with men,
To sin and never for to saint ? ;
There is no heaven, by th' holy ! then,
When time with age shall them attaint.
Were," &c

A note of exclamation in the third line is all that appears to me to be absolutely necessary to make the sense complete, and completely in accordance with the rest of the poem.[1] As I understand the passage, the poet means to say, and swear, that there is no heaven for women in this world when age has deprived them of love. Every lover, poet, and versifier, vows that love is heaven; whence it follows, in love if not in logic, that there is no heaven without love. It appears to me not unlikely that Shakspere may have written, 'There is no heaven, by holy, then,' omitting the definite article. The oath 'by the Mass' had got to be used in his time in the form of 'Mass' simply. "Mass, I cannot tell," will occur to every one. "Yes, by roode, you are the autor of that heresy," is an expression which I lately met with in Foxe's *Actes and Monumentes*. It shews that the definite article was sometimes dropped in swearing 'by the rood!' 'By the holy' is an oath common I believe with the Irish even now. At all events, I used to hear it as an Irish oath, sometimes modified into 'By the hokey!' It probably means 'by the holy rood!' an oath to be found in Shakspere, or 'by the holy Mass.' I remember seeing it stated that 'By the holy' was an abbreviation of the expression, 'By the holy poker of Hell[2]!' I am sorry to say I cannot remember the name of the work in which I met with this, but it was in some book where the writer was demonstrating the fact that the Irish are a highly imaginative and poetical people.

In the first edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim* there seems to be no comma after the word *holy*, so that that word was supposed to qualify the word *then* which nobody could understand. It would be satisfactory to get a facsimile of the first edition so as to be sure about the exact punctuation in that edition.

[1] Steevens thought that perhaps, "by holy then," might be equivalent to a phrase still in use, "by all that's sacred."—F.

[2] of Moses, we us't to say at school.—F. J. F.

The note of exclamation was never, or if ever, it was very sparingly used in Shakspere's day. For example, take the following passage from Booth's reprint of *The Life and Death of King John*, p. 12, col. 2—

> 'O Lord, my boy, my Arthur, my faire sonne,
> My life, my ioy, my food, my all the world:
> My widow-comfort, and my sorrowes cure."

Here there is not one note of exclamation, whilst in the same passage Malone, Staunton, and the Globe Edition, p. 345, col. 1, have no less than four, to which more might easily be added. I instance this to justify my proposal; which is, I submit, as little of an interference as can well be, with the earliest text.

P.S. The reprint of the Isham copy of the 1599 edition prints—

> "There is no heauen (by holy then)."

On line 4 of No. xix. of the *Passionate Pilgrim*.

The Globe Editors put an † to line 4:—

> "When as thine eye hath chose the dame,
> And stall'd the deer that thou should'st strike, 300
> Let reason rule things worthy blame,
> †As well as fancy partial might:
> Take counsel of some wiser head,
> Neither too young nor yet unwed."[1]

The stanzas following show that the 'things worthy blame' which had to be controlld, were men's naughtinesses with women; and if we take the poet to advise that these things should be under the impartial rule of Reason—a wiser friend's counsel—as well as the partial might of Fancy—the hot lover's passion—we get a natural meaning for the line obelized. I should read, then, 'fancy's' for 'fancy,' and print—

> "Let Reason rule things worthy blame,
> As well as Fancy's partial might."—F. J. F.

P.S. The Isham reprint has—

> "As well as fancy (partyall might)."

[1] A contemporary of Shakspere's says almost the same thing. in Clement Robinson's *Handefull of pleasant delites*, ?1584, p. 37-8, ed. Arber, 1878:

> "If *Cupids* dart do chance to light,
> So that affection dimmes thy sight,
> Then raise up reason by and by,
> With skill thy heart to fortifie:
> Where is a breach,
> Oft times too late doth come the Leach:
> Sparks are put out,
> when fornace flames do raye about.
> Thine owne delay must win the field,
> When lust doth leade thy heart to yeeld:
> When steed is stolne, who makes al fast,
> May go on foot, for al his haste:
> In time, shut gate,
> For had-I-wist doth come too late;
> Fast bind, fast find,
> Repentance alwaies commeth behind."

15. Shakspere's anticipation of Newton.

I do not know that any critic has noticed the lines in *Troilus and Cressida* (IV. ii. 109):

> "But the strong base and building of my love
> Is as the very centre of the earth
> *Drawing all things to it.*"

How did Shakspere know what Newton was going to discover? Or, if he did not know it, what do the lines mean?—Edw. Rose.

I suppose Shakspere only meant here, and in his 'true as earth to the centre'[1], what Batman says below:—

"Also hereto he [Basilius] saith that ye earth is euen way with his owne weights, & euery part thereof busieth with his owne weight to come to the middle of ye earth. By that busieng & inclination of partes, ye whole earth hangeth in euen weight aboue the middle point, & is euenly held vnmouable, as it is written

Psa. 19. *The heauens declare the glorie of God, and the firmament sheweth his glorious worke.*

Psa. 24. *The earth is the Lords, and all that therin is, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therin.*

For he hath founded it vpon the seas, & established it vpon the flouds.

"Thou hast founded ye earth vpon his stablenesse, &c. And therefore *li.* 12. Isi[dorus] calleth ye earth *Solum*, for it is a sad element, & bereth vp all ye elements of euery body, be it neuer so heuie: therfore all heuy things *that* be aboue & from the earth, be without rest till it come to the earth that is sted[2]fast and stable, and rest when they come to the earth."—Ed. 1582, *Batman vpon Bartholome*, leaf 201, back, col. 2.

"Also though the whole Earth be sounde [3]and sad in substaunce thereof, yet *euery part thereof moueth kindly towarde the middle point;* and because of meddeling of firie and of airie parts, the earth is in some parts thereof hollow and dim, and spoungie and smokie." —*ib.* leaf 202, foot, and back. The like doctrine is said to be in Aristotle.—F.

[1] "*Cres.* In that I'll war with you.
Tro. O virtuous fight,
When right with right wars who shall be most right!
True swains in love shall, in the world to come,
Approve their truths by Troilus: when their rhymes,
Full of protest, of oath, and big compare,
Want similes, truth tir'd with iteration,—
'As true as steel, as plantage to the moon,
As sun to day, as turtle to her mate,
As iron to adamant, as *earth to the centre*,'—
Yet, after all comparisons of truth,
As truth's authentic author to be cited,
'As true as Troilus' shall crown up the verse,
And sanctify the numbers."—*Tr. & Cr.* III. ii.

[2] leaf 202.

[3] leaf 202, back.

16. Slender's *Coram*, and Shallow's *Custalorum*.

Coram: Merry Wives, I. i. 6. "All the authoritie and power of these Commissioners of the Peace, floweth out of their Commissions, and out of the Statutes (as it were from two principall Heads or Fountaines,") says Lambarde, *Eirenarcha*, chap. viii., bk I, ed. 1607, p. 35. The King's Commission, issued by the Chancellor, first appointed a certain number of men to be Justices of the Peace in a county, and then went on in its 2nd Clause, to say that, of them, one of certain Men specified by name [the most learned,] must be present at the Sessions: "Assignauimus etiam vos & quoslibet duos, vel plures vestrum (**Quorum** aliquem vestrum A. B. C. E. F. &c., vnum esse volumus) Iusticiarios nostros, ad inquirendum per Sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum de comitatu prædicto (per quos rei veritas melius sciri potuit) de omnibus, & omnimodis felonijs, veneficijs, incantationibus, sortilegijs arte magica transgressionibus, forstallarijs, regratarijs, Ingrossarijs & extorsionibus quibuscu*m*que," &c. &c. On this, Lambarde says, p. 48, "The latter clause (or *Assignauimus*) of the Commission, comprehendeth the power giuen to these Iustices, as wel for to enquire of al those offences that be contained therein, as to procede, heare, and determine thereof, vpon any former (or future) enditements: So alwayes that two of these Iustices at the least be prese*n*t thereat, and so that one of these two be of that select number, which is commonly termed of the *Quorum*.

"For those of the *Quorum* were woont (and that not without iust cause) to bee chosen specially for their knowledge in the Lawes of the lande; and that was it which leade the makers of the Statutes (18 Ed. 3. cap. 2, 34 Ed. 3. cap. 1, and 13 R. 2, cap. 7) expressely to enact that some learned in the Lawes should bee put into the Commission of the peace; and (to say the trueth) all statutes that desire the presence of the *Quorum*, do secretly signifie such a learned man."—Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1607, p. 48. Slender's *Coram* is got, no doubt, from the proceedings *coram vobis* (before you) of the Commission.

Custalorum: Merry Wives, I. i. 7. "Amongst the Officers [at the Sessions] the *Custos Rotulorum* hath worthily the first place, both for that he is alwaies a Iustice of y^e^ *Quorum* in ye Commission, and amongst them of the *Quorum*, a man (for the most part) especially picked out either for wisdome, countenance, or credite: and yet in this behalfe he beareth the person of an Officer, and ought to attende by himselfe, or his deputie. . . .

"This man (as his very name bewrayeth) hath the custodie of the Rolles (or Recordes) of the sessions of the peace: and whether the custody of the Commission of the peace it self [1] doe pertaine to him alone, it hath been made some question. . . [But] it seemeth most reasonable that hee that is put in trust with the rest of the Records, should be credited with the custodie of the Commission also.

[1] The document seald by the King's Seal appointing the Justices.

"But vnder the name of the 'Recordes of the Sessions of the peace,' I doe not comprehend all maner of Records concerning the peace, but those only which ought to be at the Sessions of the peace: as Bils, Plaints, Informations, Inditements, presentments, the Rolles of processes, Trials, Iudgements, Executions, and all other the Actes of yͤ Sessions of the peace themselues: And furthermore, the Ingrossement of the rates of seruants wages, all Recognusances of the peace & good Abearing: Recognusances concerning Felonies and Alehouse keepers, and such like as ought to be certified (or brought) to the Sessions of the peace, must be numbred amongst the Records of the Sessions of the peace: for of all these there may be vse at the Sessions, and therefore the *Custos Rotulorum*, or some for him, ought to bee readie there to shewe them."—Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1607, p. 382-383.

17. BOYET'S 'ANGELS *vailing* CLOUDS.'

The Globe editors put an obelus to *Loves Labours Lost*, V. ii. 297; but if **vailing** is taken in the sense in which Shakspere uses it in some dozen passages, that of 'lowering, letting fall,' the meaning of the line is quite appropriate and plain.

"*Boyet* [to the Princess and her ladies]. Therefore change favours; and, when they [the King and his nobles] repair,
Blow like sweet roses in this summer air.
Princess. How blow? how blow? speak to be understood.
Boyet. Fair ladies mask'd, are roses in their bud;
Dismask'd,—their damask sweet commixture [the red and white of their faces] shown,—
†Are angels **vailing** clouds [letting fall the clouds that hide their glory], or roses blown." 297.—F.

18. CEREMONY'S '*soul of adoration.*'

Another obelus or dagger of the Globe editors may safely be removed, I think, namely, that to *Henry V*, IV. i. 262. The Folio, p. 85, col. 1, prints the context and line thus:—

"And what art thou, thou Idoll Ceremonie?
What kind of God art thou? that suffer'st more
Of mortall griefes, then doe thy worshippers.
What are thy Rents? what are thy commings in?
O Ceremonie, shew me but thy worth.
What? is thy **Soule of Odoration**? [262]
Art thou else but Place, Degree, and Forme,
Creating awe and feare in other men?"

The Globe editors rightly adopt the emendation *Adoration* for

Odoration, and shift the query-mark (?) after *What*, to the end of the line, and print:

"† What is thy **soul of adoration?**" 262

Now if we interpret this line by the parallel phrase that we all understand, "*What is thy soul of worth* (that men should worship thee)?" and read it, "What, How much, is thy soul worthy of Adoration?"—we get the meaning that exactly suits the context, and the sense needed by the line itself; and we see that the difficulty in the line arises simply from our not having kept for (or given to) the phrase 'of adoration,' the same reflex meaning 'worthy of adoration from others,' that we have kept for (or give to) the phrase 'of worth,' 'to be esteemd of value by others.' The A.S. *weorð* is 'worth,' and *weorðung*, 'honouring, veneration, worshipping,' is just Shakspere's 'adoration' here.—F. J. F.

(EARLIER OR PARALLEL USES OF SOME OF SHAKSPERE'S WORDS.)

fruitfully, adv. *All's Well*, II. ii. 73. "Nowe if I woulde **fruitefully** meditate and thinke of this commandement secretely and shortly with my selfe, as I did of the former, then consider I, that as in other, so in this also, little is said, and much is meant; part is put for the whole; and in the negatiue the affirmatiue is implyed." 1588. Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 120.

purpose: of purpose, with a design; never us'd by Shakspere: occurs only in three spurious scenes, 1 *Hen. VI*, V. iv. 22; *Timon*, III. i. 26; *Henry VIII*, V. ii. 14. "The profitable vse and application of this commandement, is to wey and duely consider that it is the Lawe of no man, but of God the chiefest lawegiuer, the wisest, most righteous, and most able to reuenge, instuted **of purpose** by him for these and such like ends." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 196-7.

single, adj. unmarried. *M. N. Dream*, I. i. 78, 90, 121: *runaway*, M. N. D., III. ii. 405; *Pax*, Hen. V, III. vi. 42, 47. "Now where true loue of GOD is, out of it floweth a burning constant care to keep his commaundementes, not our owne. They [Papists] keepe their owne, and with fire and fagot doe reuenge the breach of them, but the Lordes worde not so: with abstayning from this meate and that meate, this day and that day, with **single** lyfe, though most impure, with prayers in an vnknowen tongue, and thus often repeated ouer and ouer, with crossings and creepings. **Paxes** and Beades, holie water and Creame, Ashes and spittle, with a thousande such things haue they deuised to worshippe the Lorde: and who-so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a **runneaway** from the Church; cite him

and summon him, excommunicate him, and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for he is not worthie to liue upon the earth!" [see *tick-tack*]. 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 118, 119.

snuff: take it in snuff, take offence at it. *L. L. Lost*, V. ii. 22; 1 *Hen. IV*, I. iii. 41. "And to set vp a picture of God not like him, whether it be to offende him, and to dishonor him, if other wise we cannot conceiue it, let vs iudge by our selues, who quickly would **take it in greeat snuffe**, if one picturing vs should make either the eies too great, the nose too long or high, the eares, mouth, armes, hands, or any thing wrong. Yea, we would burst it in pieces, bid away with it, not abyde the sight of it. Yet dare we abuse the God of heauen our creator and maker, and set vp 20. thousand pictures of him in seuerall places, neuer a whit like him, (for it is vnpossible they should be,) neither one like another." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 92-93.

soundness, sb. *All's Well*, I. ii. 24. "Which when I consider, I neede no further shewe of grieuous guilt to cast me down from height of all supposed **soundnes** in this law. Mine eyes do see, my heart acknowledgeth, my conscience crieth, 'my sinne is great.'" 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 123.

ungracious, wicked. *Rich. II*, II. iii. 89. *witless*, adj. *Meas. for Meas.*, I. iii. 10. "Whether is it better, for the present time, of man to be beleeued, & of the Lord for euermore abhorred, or with light **vngratious** people, with whom othes be onely truth, to abide a little deniall, and of God my God euer for my obedience to be loued? Yet haue I, **witlesse** wretch, made choise of the former, manie a time, and neglected the latter." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 155-6.

tick-tack, adj. (sb. in *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196). "But if he blaspheme the name of the Lord by horrible swearing, if he offende most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a **ticktack** tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, and most commonly so; or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c." 1588.—Bp. Babington on *the Ten Commandments*, p. 119.—F.

[*Squadron:* the *Squadron* of cavalry is two *Troops*, of 50 men each on paper, but several less mounted. (At the cavalry drill this morning, at Primrose Hill, the Squadrons were 48 men strong, 24 in front.) The *Troop* corresponds to the *Company* of infantry, and is commanded by a Captain. The next division to the Troop is a *Section* of 8 men,—4 in front; the next, *Half-Sections*. 'Fours' are the unit of a cavalry troop, the solid block which turns on its centre: it's 'Fours about,' 'Fours right,' &c.—F. 14 Sept. 1878.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. I.

THREE LEAVES OF THE INTERLUDE OF

THE CRUELL DEBTTER.

BY

W. WAGER.

1566.

"**Colwell** Recevyd of **Thomas colwell** for his lycense for prynting of a ballet intituled an interlude *the Cruell Detter* by Wager . . . . iiij[d]

Such is the entry of this interlude in the later or 1566 part of the Stationers' Register A, leaf 138, Arber's *Transcript*, i. 307. The clerk had been entering licenses—among others, 2 to Colwell,—for printing of "a ballett intituled" so and so; he began this "interlude" entry in the same way, and forgot to run his pen through the wrong words when he afterwards wrote the right ones.

Till lately, the only leaf known of *The Cruell Debtter* was C. iii. in Bagford's collection of title-pages and scraps, among the Harleian MSS. (Harl. 5919, leaf 18, back, no. 81). The finding, by Mr Edmund W. Gosse, of the double leaf, D and D 4, among Mr. W. B. Scott's black-letter fragments, has induced me to put all three leaves into type; not because it is one's duty to print all known scraps of old plays, but because the memory of Wager is dear to all lovers of Ballads, from the bits sung by his fool *Moros* in his "very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art.*" (See my *Captain Cox*, p. cxxvii.) Among "the foote of many Songes" sung by Moros, is—

"¶ Com ouer the Boorne, Besse,
My litle pretie Besse,
Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me,"

of which Shakspere has put the last line into Edgar's mouth in *King Lear*, III. vi. 27.

Wager's third play, "Tis good Sleeping in a whole Skin," is said to have been destroyd by Warburton's servant (Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

The Personages of *The Cruell Debtter* shown in the 3 leaves are 6:—

Rigor	Symulatyon	King Basileus, and
Flateri	Ophiletis	Proniticus his minister.

Flateri has been to King Basileus's Palace, in hope of finding a home there, but has been at once exposd, and obliged to leave. His friend —who seems to have been Rigor's too—advises him to go to some other folk of whom he and Rigor have talkt; so they agree to go together, after first banging the false knave Symulatyon, who was also to join Flateri in his journey.

On the lost leaf, C 4, Symulatyon has evidently had his banging, as on leaf D his arms and back are almost made lame. Then to the three companions enters Ophiletis, a gentleman of King Basileus's house, ruind by extravagant living, and now not worth an oyster-shell. He is deeply in debt to the King, owes him 10,000 talents, and has been summond by Proniticus to pay.

The next leaf is unsignd, but as its paper runs on from D, it is D 4. In it, Ophiletis is brought before King Basileus, acknowledges his indebtedness, prays for mercy, and is reprovd. He tells Basileus, that Rigor who intercedes for him, is Humylytie, so that in the lost leaves the four comrades Rigor, Flateri, Symulatyon, and Ophiletis, must have got up some plot to deceive Basileus.

All the leaves are in couplets, except a page and a third of D, which are in 7-line stanzas. These 2*s* and 7*s* are the most general forms of verse in early plays, though in some the metre varies very much. In the first two volumes of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, the metre of the plays is mainly as follows[1]:—

[1] The rymes have been often spoilt by careless modernization, as *Ind*, ryming with *find*, is printed *India*, i. 27, 31 foot, 162; *lere*, ryming with *fere*, is printed *learn*, i. 36; *be*, i. 178, is printed *been*; *forlore*, i. 172, is made *forlorn*; *benevolous*, ryming with *plenteous*, *gracious*, is emended into *benevolence*, i. 306; *then until*, ryming with *fill*, i. 318, is emended into *until then*. Bible names ryming in *e*, Mesopotamie, Beersabe, &c., appear with *a*, i. 305, 308, 309, 312, 313, &c.

vol. i.

The Four Elements, 1519. Sixes (mainly), 7*s*, and a few 8*s*.

Calisto and Melibœa, 1520. Sevens throughout.

Every Man, ab. 1520. Couplets, with alternates, 3*s*, 6*s*, 7*s*, 8*s*, &c.

Hiskscorner, ab. 1520-30. Couplets, with 3*s*, 4*s*, 5*s*, 6*s*, 7*s*, 8*s*, 9*s*, 10*s*, &c.

Jn. Heywood's *Pardoner and Friar*, written before 1521; printed April 1533. Couplets, with alternates, &c.

The World and the Child, July 1522. Eights, with alternates, &c., many linkt to their followers, *cc*, *cd*; *ee*, *ef*; *gg*, *gh*, &c.

Jn. Bale's *God's Promises*, 1538. Sevens (mainly).

Jn. Heywood's *Four P's*, ab. 1540. Couplets.

Thersites, Aug. 12, 1537; pr. after 1561. Couplets. Prologue in 7*s*.

vol. ii.

Interlude of Youth, 1554. Couplets.

Lusty Juventus, 1547-53. Sevens (mainly: some linkt), 6*s*, 4*s*, 2*s*.

Jack Juggler, 1562-3. Couplets. Prol. and Epil. in 7*s*.

Nice Wanton, 1560. Couplets. Prologue in 4*s*.

History of Jacob and Esau. Couplets.

T. Ingelend's *Disobedient Child*, ab. 1560. Alternates and couplets.

Marriage of Wit and Science, 1570. Couplets. Prologue, three 8*s*.

Shakspere's occasional stanzas in his dialogues, his irregular metre in *Loves Labours Lost*, &c., are, I suppose, due to these early interludes. The first of the Digby Mysteries is written wholly in stanzas, like other Mysteries are, more or less.

My thanks are due to Mr W. B. Scott for his permission to print his 2 leaves, and to Mr. E. W. Gosse for kindly copying them.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

7 March, 1878.

The Cruell Debtter.

To them thou shalt be welcome I warant the, [Rigor]
Ha, and in great acceptacyo*n* also (sayd hee.) .
Now the thynge whearfore I was so angry & mad,
Was thys, I forgate the councell that of him I had.
¶ The goodlyest thing in the world is co*m*munication Flateri.
For what bryngeth thynges to our memeratyon
Thou and I had lyke fortune with Basilieus,
After that maner to thee I wyll playnly dyscusse:
I remembred a sayenge of Seneca in a Tragedy,
Worthy to be prynted of such as loues Flatery
Fraus sublimi regnat in aula
The higher that the court is & the more of nobylytie,
The more falsehed is thearin, & the more Iniquytie,
More flatery is not in the worlde reygnynge
Then is in the courte of any noble kynge.
Now Basileus is a kynge of most honoration
In whose house I thought to haue my habytacyon,
But I came not so sone wythin Basileus Palace,
But they dyclosed me openly vnto my face,
And whan they had once so bewrayed my name
I myght no lenger tary in that court for shame,
Than (as thou dyddest) I toke my freyndes counce
Askyng hym wheare it was best for me to dwell
He named them of whom we haue spoke before
Sayeng, that wyth them you may dwell euermore.
And euen now my purpose was to go thyther.
¶ Of all good fellowshyp let vs go together: Rigor.
I do not passe in kynge Basileus house to dwell
I doubt not but that we shall do euen as well:
But syra, what diddest thou see Symulation?
¶ Thys day he and I had co*m*munication Flateri.
He promysed me straight way to come hether
[To visite] our freyndes we shuld go together

The Cruell debtter.

In the worlde is not so false a knaue as hee,
For by hym all states of people deceyued bee.
In Byshops and pastors he is humylitie
And yet must be full of pryde and crudelytie:
In all the Clergy he semeth to be holynes,
Whan in them is a multytude of wyckednes.
In Magystrates he semeth to be Affabylitie,
Yet theare lurketh dysdayne and Austerytie,
In the co*m*mons he semeth to be neyghbourlynes,
Yet is theare enuye, hate, and coueytousnes.
I dare say that hys deceyte further doth wander
Than all the domynyon of kynge Alexander.

Rigor. ¶ Deceyueth he so, and is neuer deceyued agayne?

Flateri ¶ Sildome or neuer that I here of, I tel thee plaine.

Rigor. ¶ By the masse it were a good deede to deceyue him
And I will tell thee which way we may do it trym
Thou sayest *tha*t he will be here without doubt to day?

Flateri. ¶ That is wythout question, (truly, I dare say.)

Rigor. ¶ Well, whan he co*m*meth, we wyll semble out to fall,
we wil strike one at another as though we did brawl
What we meane by that he wyll greatly wonder,
Than he wyll come intendyng vs to sunder:
Thou shalt stryke at me, and I at thee wyll swacke
But let all the strypes lyght vpon hys backe.

Flateri. ¶ Of good fellowshyp let it be so euen indede
Let the semblyng knaue haue somwhat for his mede,
Harke, by my fayth & trouth I here hym spyt: (Begyn to fight)
Nay holde thy hande, thou mayst not fyght yet.

Rigor. ¶ We must be fyghtyng when he doth enter neades,
Or els for the sporte I wyll not geue two threades.

¶ Here enter Symylatyon.

Symulatyon. ¶ *Dominus vobiscum, In principio erat verbum.*
Yea? are you fyghtyng? I purpose no nere to cum.
Nemo tute se periculis offerre potese.

The cruell Debtter.

til they spy a time to do one shrewd turne for another [Symulatyon]
Hange me if I wayte not for you a knauysh towche
Yea, or it shall cost me all that is in my powche,
A vengeance on you for workyng of the same,
For you haue almost made my armes and back lame.
¶ God requyreth no more but a penytent harte. Flateri.
¶ Mary but he wolde requyre more if he felt smarte. Symulatyon.

Here entreth Ophiletis.

¶ Peace, no more words, yonder commeth a gentleman. Rygor.
¶ By Iesu I wyll be euen wyth you both if I can. Symu.
¶ Do what thou canst, I set not by thee a louse. Rigor.
¶ It is a gentleman of kyng Basileus house, Flateri.
He is not mery, some thyng wythout doubt is amysse
If thou wylt be stil you shal know what the cause is.
¶ Let us semble our selues to be persons of grauytie. Rigor.
¶ I could fynd in my harte to dysclose your knauitie, Symulatyon.
By my fayth if I knew my selfe to scape harmelesse
I wold declare (to your shame) all your wickednesse.
¶ We may be glad at the harte verely Rygor.
That thou art as farre furth as we in knauery,
Whearfore if any of our feates thou wylt dysclose,
the worst payne & shame shal light on thy owne nose.
¶ A good Lord, I am vndone and all myne, [*7-line st.*] Ophiletis.
I have lyued lyke a gentleman all my lyfe,
But now I am lyke to come to vtter ruyne
Yea, and all my goods, chyldren and wyfe:
He that wolde hange me, or kyll me wyth a knyfe
I wolde forgeue hym, yea, euen wyth a good wyll,
For I am not worthe so much as an Oyestershyll.
The hygher that any man presumeth to clyme
The sorer is hys hurte whan he chaunceth to fall,
Wolde to god that I had loked upon this in tyme,
Then had I not ben so myserable and thrall:

The cruell Debtter.

I had not the grace to be wyse and polytycall,
I neuer mynded to gather any good or treasure
Onely my harte was set to lyue in pleasure.
I thought my selfe so much in favour wyth the kynge
Trustyng in hys goodnes onely from day to day,
Ever thynckyng that I should want nothynge
And also impossyble that euer I should decay,
I spent styll, borowed of the king, promysyng to pay,
But now Pronitic us hath su*m*moned me to a compte,
And alas, my debtes do all my goods surmounts.

Rygor. ¶ Syrs here you not? thys is a fyt mater for us,
Spoke amonge your selfes a good way of.
If we had imagined amonge vs a whole yere,
We could not haue such a thyng against Basileus
As we haue occasyon now in thys man here,
Basileus loueth none of vs it doth well appere,
And as it semeth by thys mans behauour,
Unto hym he oweth no very great fauour.

Flateri. ¶ Now to talke wyth hym is a tyme conuenyent,
For any man being in sorow and desolation,
To here good councell wyll be glad and dylygent,
Namely in a mater of peryll and dubytation.

Symulatyon. ¶ Let vs go vnto hym, and by hys co*m*munication
We shall know more, and then as we do in him see
So in our councell freyndly to hym we wyll bee.

Rigor. ¶ God spede you sir, & you ar welcome into this place
By my faith you are welcome as my harte can thinke
Alack, you are not mery (it seemeth by your face,)
Wyll it please you a cup of good wyne to drynke?
Wyll it please you to go to the goodwyfe of the clinke?[1]
To speke of good wyne, in London I dare say
Is no better wyne than thear was once to day.

Flateri. ¶ *Viro autem defatigato, magnum robur vinum auget.*

[[1] On the Bankside, Southwark.]

To

The cruell Debtter.

¶ It was tyme to haue in a redynes all thynge.	Ophiletis.
For yonder co*m*meth Basileus my Lord and kynge.	
¶ As far as we can let vs stande asyde,	Rygor.
Tyll he sendeth for you let vs yonder abyde.	
¶ I thanke you proniticus for your dylygence,	Basileus.
Doubt you not, but your paynes we wyll recompence	
I am pleased *with* the accomptes that you have taken,	
None of your bookes nor bylles shalbe forsaken	
The moste parte of my debtters haue honestly payed	
A[n]d they that weare not redy I have gently dayed.	
¶ [I]f it plese your grace we haue not finisht your mind	Proniticus.
Thear is one of your greatest debtters yet behind,	
We haue perused the parcelles in your bookes set,	
And we fynd hym ten thousand talents in your debt,	
So we assygned hym before your grace to come	
And to make a rekenyng for the whole su*m*me.	
¶ I wene it be that vnthryfty fellow Ophilitis.	Basi.
¶ Yea truly, if it lyke your grace the same it is,	Proniticus.
I co*m*maunded hym to be redy here in place	
That we myght brynge hym before your grace.	
¶ Wyth [in the [1]]cytie I wolde haue hym sought	Basy.
And before myne owne presence to be brought.	
¶ I perceyue that he is euen here at hand,	Proni.
I see that in a redynes yonder he doth stand.	
¶ Cause him before vs in his owne person to appere.	Basile.
¶ It shall not be longe before he be here.	Proni.
¶ Plucke vp your heart and be of good chere.	Rigor.
I care not I warent you, good fortune is nere.	
¶ Ophiletis it is the kyng Basileus co*m*maundement	Proniticus.
That you come before hys maiesty now incontinent.	
¶ I am in a redynes truly with all humylytie	Ophiletis.
To come into the presence of hys maiestye.	
¶ I pray you syr speke a good word for him to yᵉ king.	Rigor.

[1] Here the surface of the paper has been rubbd away.

¶ He

The Cruell debtter.

Proni.	¶ He knoweth that I am hys owne in all thynge.
Ophiletis.	¶ God saue your lyfe the fountayne of nobilitie, All hayle the very patron of Magnanymytie, Blessed be you the author of all worthynes, Honour & prayse to you the head sprynge of goodnes.
Rigor.	¶ O most myghty, most valyant and noble kynge God saue you, god saue you, of all vertue the sprynge.
Basi.	¶ whom hast thou brought into our presence *with* thee?
Ophi.	¶ If it lyke your grace, hys name is Humylytie.
Rigor.	¶ Yea, from hys hatte I am neuer absent, Nor I thynke neuer shalbe by hys intent.
Basileus.	¶ In our accomptes take*n* by our stuard you do know What a sum of money vnto vs you do owe. Haue you brought hether suffycient payment To make your compte, after our co*m*maundemente
Ophiletis.	¶ O syr, I beseche you to be mercyfull to mee, For I knowledg my selfe so farre in your debt to bee That all that I haue is not suffycient Of a quarter of my debtes to make payment.
Rigor.	¶ Weepe, body of god can you not weepe for a neede? You must loke pyteously if you intende to speede,
Speke asyde.	If you can not weepe, I wyll weepe for you: Ho, ho, ho, I pray you be good to vs now.
Proni.	¶ What meane you in this place to play such a parte?
Rigor.	¶ O syr, I declare the effect of this mans weke hart.
Basileus.	¶ Thear is no more of the mater but onely thys, Thou art a ryotous person (doubtles Ophyletis,) Pryde and presumtyon hereto haue thee brought, Much to spend and lash out, was euer thy thought, A sumptous table thou woldest keepe euery day, Beyonde thy degree thou dydest excede in aray.
Rygor.	¶ that I may speke one word, please it your maiesty?
Basy.	¶ Say whatsoeuer you wyll, we geue you lyberty.

¶ Hys

☞ This List cancels the former one, in which some of the dates were wrong.

NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

SIXTH SESSION.

LIST OF PAPERS

TO BE READ AT THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS, AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER ST., W.C., ON THE SECOND FRIDAY OF EVERY MONTH, FROM OCTOBER, 1878, TO JUNE, 1879, AT 8 P.M.

45th Meeting, October 11, 1878. I. "On the Anachronisms in *Winter's Tale;*" by J. W. MILLS, Esq., B.A. II. "On the Site of BURBAGE'S 'Theatre': notes from the Public Record Office;" by GEORGE H. OVEREND, Esq.

46. November 8, 1878. "On the times or durations of the Action of SHAKSPERE'S Plays;" by P. A. DANIEL, Esq. Part I. The Comedies.

47. December 13, 1878. "On the times or durations of the Action of SHAKSPERE'S Plays;" by P. A. DANIEL, Esq. Part II. The Tragedies.

48. January 10, 1879. I. "On the Casket Story in *The Merchant of Venice;*" by JAMES PIERCE, Esq., M.A. II. "Animal *versus* Human Nature, in *King Lear;*" by the Rev. J. KIRKMAN, M.A.

49. February 14, 1879. I. "On the Growth of SHAKSPERE, as witnesst by the Characters of his Fools;" by J. N. HETHERINGTON, Esq. II. "On the Relation between the First Quarto (1600) and First Folio copies of *Henry V*," by Dr. BRINSLEY NICHOLSON.

50. March 14, 1879. "Which is the next greatest of SHAKSPERE'S Plays after *Hamlet?*" by the Rev. M. WYNELL MAYOW, B.D.

51. April 25, 1879. I. "On Falstaff and his Satellites, from the Windsor Observatory;" by the Rev. J. W. EBSWORTH, M.A. II. "On the Seasons of SHAKSPERE'S Plays;" by W. WILKINS, Esq.

52. May 9, 1879. I. "On SHAKSPERE'S Sonnets;" by the Rev. Dr. GROSART. II. "SHAKSPERE'S Treatment of Women;" by EDWARD ROSE, Esq.

53. June 13, 1879. I. A Paper by the Rev. STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A. II. The genesis of *The Tempest*, by the Rev. B. F. DE COSTA.

Reserve Paper: "SHAKSPERE'S Sonnets in relation to his Plays;" by T. ALFRED SPALDING, Esq., LL.B.

Offers of other Papers, and of Scraps, are desired, and should be made to the Director, Mr FURNIVALL, 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W. The Committee can appoint the 4th Friday of any month for the reading of any extra Paper that they approve.

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