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OUTLINES.

I LOV'D SHAKESPEARE AND DO HONOUR HIS MEMORY, ON THIS SIDE
IDOLATRY, AS MUCH AS ANY. HE WAS, INDEED, HONEST, AND OF AN OPEN
AND FREE NATURE ; HAD AN EXCELLENT FANCY, BRAVE NOTIONS AND GENTLE
EXPRESSIONS.

BEN JONSON.

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OUTLINES
OF THE
LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

BY

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S.,
F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Hon. M.R.I.A.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought.

—*The Thirtieth Sonnet.*

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PREFACE.

The remains of New Place, a partial sketch of which is engraved on the opposite leaf, are typical of the fragments of the personal history of Shakespeare which have hitherto been discovered. In this respect the great dramatist participates in the fate of most of his literary contemporaries, for if a collection of the known facts relating to all of them were tabularly arranged, it would be found that the number of the ascertained particulars of his life reached at least the average. At the present day, with biography carried to a wasteful and ridiculous excess, and Shakespeare the idol not merely of a nation but of the educated world, it is difficult to realize a period when no interest was taken in the events of the lives of authors, and when the great poet himself, notwithstanding the immense popularity of some of his works, was held in no general reverence. It must be borne in mind that actors then occupied an inferior position in society, and that in many quarters even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable. The intelligent appreciation of genius by individuals was not sufficient to neutralize in these matters the effect of public opinion and the animosity of the religious world; all circumstances thus uniting to banish general interest in the history of persons connected in any way with the

stage. This biographical indifference continued for many years, and long before the season arrived for a real curiosity to be taken in the subject, the records from which alone a satisfactory memoir could have been constructed had disappeared. At the time of Shakespeare's decease, non-political correspondence was rarely preserved, elaborate diaries were not the fashion, and no one, excepting in semi-apocryphal collections of jests, thought it worth while to record many of the sayings and doings, or to delineate at any length the characters, of actors and dramatists, so that it is generally by the merest accident that particulars of interest respecting them have been recovered.

In the absence of some very important and unexpected discovery, the general desire to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the personal history of Shakespeare cannot be wholly gratified. Something, however, may be accomplished in that direction by a diligent and critical study of the materials now accessible, especially if determined care be taken to avoid the temptation of endeavouring to illustrate that history by his writings, or to decipher his character or sensibilities through their media. It is the more important to insist upon the latter conditions as necessary preliminaries, for so vivid is often the earnestness which he throws into the spirit of a character that it would occasionally be all but impossible, unless a vigilant guard is entertained against such a fallacy, to doubt that what we read was not a purely intellectual emanation. "A man's poetry," however, observes the greatest of modern bards, "has no more to do with the every-day individual than inspiration with the Pythoness when removed from the tripod." Shakespeare's could have been no exception, for it must surely be admitted that the exchange of the

individuality of the man for that of the author is the very essence of dramatic genius, and, if that be so, the higher the genius the more complete will be the severance from the personality. The greatest of dramatists must necessarily be the least egotistical, one of his profoundest achievements being, by rapid permutations of thought and feeling, to identify himself for the moment with the inner consciousness of each person appearing on the scene. In the course of that mental process he is constantly embodying passions which are not only utterly at variance with his own disposition, but altogether foreign to his experiences. It is, therefore, clearly hazardous, and a mere effort of conjecture or fancy, to attempt to infer, from any delineated passion or humour, either the writer's own temperament or his emotions at or about the period of composition. The intelligence which so rapidly converted the dull pages of a novel or history into an imperishable drama was transmuted into other forces in actual life, as may be gathered even from the scanty records of the poet's biography that still remain. From those evidences may perhaps also be gathered some little of his mental apart from his outward nature, but it is not likely that more of the former will ever be disclosed. Before isolated sentiments in his dramas could, in the absence of direct evidence, be plausibly appropriated in that direction, it would have to be proved that, no matter how far their admission was sanctioned by the conventional licence of the ancient stage, they were unnaturally introduced into the mouths of the speakers. The like may be more emphatically asserted in reference to presumed consecutive revelations, the acceptance of which is obviously incompatible with the general belief that he consistently preserved a fidelity to nature in all 243

his creations. A similar objection would apply, though perhaps not so distinctly, to the various theories which, in one way or other, involve the assumption that the freedom of his invention was regulated in uniform measures by the tone of his own spiritual temperament. All such notions are inconsistent with the perfect unity
215 and harmony of the dramatic art; and, in the following pages, excepting where there are either indications of knowledge or allusions to contemporary events, no biographical use will be made of any of the plays.

Amongst the other, that is to say, the non-dramatic works of Shakespeare, there are only the Sonnets which can be supposed to be of assistance to the biographer. For reasons hereafter given the latter will be accepted as entirely impersonal. Excluding, therefore, all reliance upon fanciful theories of any kind respecting the great dramatist, it is proposed to construct, in plain and
23 unobtrusive language, a sketch of his personal history strictly out of evidences and deductions from them. Subtle and gratuitous assumptions of unsupported possibilities will be rigidly excluded, and no conjectures admitted that are not practically removed out of that category by being in themselves reasonable inferences from concurrent facts. Guided by this system, it follows, as a matter of course, that precedence will be always given to early testimonies over the discretionary views of later theorists, no matter how plausible or how ably sustained those views may be. And it may be as well to add, the design being exclusively biographical, that no kind of evidence bearing date subsequently to the twenty-third day of April, 1616, will be admitted, unless there is either a certainty or a reasonable probability that it refers to, or is illustrative of, some event that happened, or of

some position that existed, on or before that day, in connection with the main objects of enquiry.

The evidences accessible to the biographer form naturally two divisions, the contemporary and the traditional, the one differing widely from the other in perceptible and literal validity. The former, amongst which may be included all notices written by personal friends of the great dramatist, rarely include statements that are open to doubt or to a variety of interpretations. Far different is the case with the traditions, scarcely one of which can be accepted without patient investigation, and a few so apparently improbable that they are apt to be hastily rejected as unworthy of serious discussion. The latter is much too frequently the treatment extended to these hearsay records, but it is one highly favoured by numerous critics of the present day who, guided by some mysterious instinct, assume to have a more intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's personal history than was vouchsafed to the ancient inhabitants of his own native town. In the hope of arresting this tendency towards the indiscriminate expulsion of the traditional stories, and of showing that they are at least deserving of a careful examination, the following observations on a few of the most important are submitted to the judgment of the impartial reader.

The earliest recorded traditions at present known are those imbedded in a closely written memoranda-book compiled in the year 1662 by the Rev. John Ward, M.A. of Oxford, and vicar of Stratford-on-Avon. Although this person had then settled only recently in the town, his induction to the living having occurred in the same year, there can be no reasonable doubt that he has accurately repeated the prevalent local gossip in the

few entries respecting the great dramatist. The same observation cannot unfortunately be thought to hold good in respect to the next reporter, John Aubrey, who, about 4 the same period, visited Stratford-on-Avon in one of his equestrian journeys. This industrious antiquary was the author of numerous little biographies, which are here and there disfigured by such palpable or ascertained blunders, that it would appear that he must have been in the habit of compiling from imperfect notes of conversations, or, no doubt in many instances, from his own recollections of 5 them. He was unfortunately also one of those foolish and detestable gossips who repeat everything that they hear or misinterpret, and this without so much as giving a thought to the damage that they may inflict upon the reputation of their victims. It would, therefore, be hazardous as a rule to depend upon his statements in the absence of corroborative evidence, but we may at the same time in a great measure rely upon the accuracy of main facts in those cases in which there is too much elaboration for his memory to have been entirely at fault. We need not, for instance, give credence to his assertion that Shakespeare's father was a butcher, in the literal sense of that term, but it is scarcely possible that he would have given the story about the calf if he had not been told that the poet himself had followed the occupation. In the same way, although it is obvious that the anecdote respecting the constable is incorrectly narrated, no one should hesitate at accepting for truth the circumstance that Shakespeare occasionally rested at Grendon Underwood in taking the Aylesbury route in his journeys between his native town and the metropolis. Very meagre indeed are the fragments of information to be safely collected from Aubrey, but every word in the next traditional narrative is to be received

with respect as a faithful record of the local belief. That account is preserved in minutes respecting Shakespeare which were compiled by a traveller who paid a visit to the Church of Stratford-on-Avon in the year 1693. His informant was one William Castle, then the parish-clerk and sexton, a person who could have had no motive for exercising deception in such matters. The day had not arrived, at least to a rustic guide, for an attempt to set out dramatic eminence in bolder relief by an intentional exaggeration of early troubles. The main facts of the poet's Stratford life would, moreover, have been clearly known in that town all through the seventeenth century. 6 About the same time that Castle's observations were registered, a Gloucestershire clergyman, the Rev. Richard Davies, rector of Sapperton, who owned a manuscript biographical dictionary, added therein a few notes to the life of the great dramatist, nearly all of which were clearly derived from oral sources. In this case also there is no pretence for a suspicion that the hearsay testimonies have been garbled or in any way falsified. The inaccuracies observable in the allusions to Sir Thomas Lucy merely show that the writer had but a hazy recollection of the comedy of the Merry Wives of Windsor, not that he had been misinformed respecting the current notion of the poet's early indiscretions.

There is not one of the manuscripts above named which can be fairly described as yielding more than small collections of brief memoranda. A similar observation will apply to the printed notices of the latter half of the seventeenth century, which include very little that belongs to tradition and not much else of importance. Seventy or eighty years were suffered to elapse from the death of the poet before any one seriously undertook to gather the 7

materials that were necessary for the construction of a substantial biography. The exact period is not known, but most likely at some time about the year 1690, Thomas 8 Betterton, the most celebrated Shakespearean actor of that day, paid a visit to Warwickshire with the express object of ascertaining what could be there learnt respecting the personal history of the great dramatist. The particulars that he managed to glean upon this occasion were afterwards communicated by him to his friend Nicholas 119 Rowe, a well-known dramatist, and some of them were incorporated by the latter into an account that was published in 1709. "I must own," observes Rowe, in speaking of Betterton, "a particular obligation to him for the most considerable part of the passages relating to his life which I have here transmitted to the public, his veneration for the memory of Shakespeare having engaged him to make a journey into Warwickshire on purpose to gather up what remains he could of a name for which he had so great a value." We are indebted to this enthusiasm for the rescue of several valuable fragments which would otherwise have been lost; and no sufficient reason has yet been given for impugning Rowe's general accuracy. There are, indeed, a few errors in the minor details of his biographical sketch, but that he drew it up mainly from reliable sources is unquestionable. An evidence of the latter opinion will be noticed in the remarkable manner in which two at least of his traditional notices,—those which refer to the embarrassed circumstances of John Shakespeare, and to the name of Oldcastle,—have been verified by modern research; while there are several allusions which indicate that the whole is the result of original enquiry. That he exercised also unusual caution in dealing with his materials is obvious

from the prelude to the Southampton anecdote, as well as from the hesitating manner in which he introduces many of his statements. It is scarcely necessary to observe that this prudence has added immeasurably to his credibility, and rendered every word of his essay deserving of respectful attention.

There are many who question the value of the stray morsels collected by Betterton and others in the seventeenth century. The main external argument brought forward in support of their incredulity is the late period at which the traditions have been recorded. Thus it is said, and with truth, that there is no intimation of the poet having followed the trade of a butcher until nearly a century afterwards, that the poaching exploit remained unnoticed for a still longer time, and so on; these long terms of silence being, it is considered, fatal to a dependence upon such testimonies. But it appears to be overlooked that the Stratford biographical notices, unless we adopt the incredible theory that they were altogether gratuitous and foolish inventions, were in all probability mere repetitions of gossip belonging to a much earlier period. This gossip, it must be remembered, was of a character that was seldom jotted down, and that still more rarely found its way into print. Independently even of these considerations, the above line of argument, however plausible, will not bear the test of impartial examination. It would apply very well to the present age, when incessant locomotion and the reign of newspapers have banished the old habit of reliance upon hearsay for intelligence or for a continuity in the recollection of minor events. The case was very different indeed in the country towns and villages of by-gone days, when reading of any kind was the luxury of

the few, and intercommunication exceedingly restricted. It may be confidently asserted that, previously to the time of Rowe, books or journals were very rarely to be met with at Stratford-on-Avon, while the large majority of the inhabitants had never in their lives travelled beyond twenty or thirty miles from their homes. There was in fact a conversational and stagnant, not a reading or a travelling, population; and this state of things continued, with gradual but almost imperceptible advances in the latter directions, until the development of the railway system. The oral history of local affairs thus became in former days imprisoned, as it were, in the districts of their occurrence; and it is accordingly found that, in some cases, provincial incidents have been handed down through successive generations with an accuracy that is truly marvellous. There has been, for example, a tradition current at Worcester from time immemorial that a robber of the sanctus-bell was flayed, and his skin nailed to one of the doors of the cathedral. This is a species of barbarity that must be assigned to a very remote period, and yet the fact of its perpetration has been established in recent years by a scientific analysis of fragments hanging to an ancient door which is still preserved in the crypt. Other instances nearly as curious might be adduced, including the verification, already mentioned, of one of Rowe's statements that was first given by him from an oral source a hundred and thirty years after the period to which it refers. These concordances naturally suggest a pause before the exclusion of country traditions on the ground of recency, but of course the nearer their promulgation reaches to our own times the greater should be the caution exercised in their acceptance.

The London traditions, which were subjected through a long series of years to very different influences, do not merit the same degree of consideration. The violent disruption of the theatrical world in the middle of the seventeenth century was attended with the loss of nearly all its original character, and at the creation of a new stage there was retained little beyond fragmentary recollections of the old. It has been clearly ascertained that even Dryden had a very imperfect knowledge of the history of the latter, and there is nothing to indicate that he cared to gather any particulars respecting the life of the great dramatist. Very few indeed there must have been in the Restoration period who took a sincere interest in the subject,—not any, so far as we know, excepting Davenant and Betterton. The best of the metropolitan reports are traceable to the latter, most of the others that were recorded after his death in 1710 being exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory. In the compilation of the following pages it has, therefore, been thought advisable, in estimating the authority of the various traditions, to give the preference, wherever selection was necessary, to the rural versions. It may also be observed that great reliance has been placed on the general credibility of those anecdotes, whether gleaned from London or the provinces, that include references to facts or conditions which have been verified by modern enquiry, but which could only have been known to the narrators through hearsay.

The literary history of Shakespeare cannot of course be perfected until the order in which he composed his works has been ascertained, but, unless the books of the theatrical managers or licensers of the time are discovered, it is not likely that the exact chronological arrangement

will be determined. The dates of some of his productions rest on positive testimony or distinct allusions, and these are stand-points of great value. In respect, however, to the majority of them, the period of composition has unfortunately been merely the subject of refined and useless conjecture. Internal evidences of construction and style, obscure contemporary references, and metrical
251 or grammatical tests, can very rarely in themselves be relied upon to establish the year of authorship. Specific phases of style or metre necessarily had periods of commencement in Shakespeare's work, but, so long as
252 most of those epochs are merely conjectural, little real progress is made in the enquiry. No sufficient allowances appear to be made for the high probability of the intermittent use of various styles during the long interval which elapsed after the era of comparative immaturity had passed away, and in which, so far as constructive and delineative power was concerned, there was neither progress nor retrogression. Shakespeare's genius arrived
203 at maturity with such celerity that it is perilous to assert, from any kind of internal evidence alone, what he could not have written at any particular subsequent period, and dramatic style frequently varies not only with the subject of the adopted narrative, but with the purpose of authorship. It may be presumed, for instance, that the diction and construction of a drama written with a view to its performance at the Court might be essentially dissimilar from those of a play of the same date composed merely for the ordinary stage, where the audiences were of a more promiscuous character and the usages and appliances of the actors in some respects of a different nature. Nor have the various theories that are found in æsthetic
2 criticism, those by which the gradation of the author's

mental changes is sought to be established, landed us in ²³⁷
greater certainty. The subject of the chronological order ³
is one, indeed, solely of a biographical curiosity that can ³⁰⁴
only be legitimately gratified by the discovery of con-
temporary evidence. Even with such assistance, the
mere facts of that order would be nearly all that could be
elicited, for critics of later days might as wisely think of
stretching their hands to the firmament as dream of the
advent of an intellectual power adequate to grasp the
definite history of Shakespeare's mind.

It will thus be seen that, no matter what pains a
Shakespearean biographer may take to furnish his store,
the result will not present a more brilliant appearance
than did the needy shop of Romeo's apothecary. He is
baffled in every quarter by the want of graphical docu-
ments, and little more can be accomplished beyond a
very imperfect sketch or outline,—and that not always a
pleasurable one,—of the material features of the poet's
career. This unsatisfactory position occasionally leads
to the hasty opinion that we should be better off with-
out any information at all. The latter is, however,
a narrow view that a small amount of reading would
enlarge. Little as we know of Shakespeare's history,
there are parts of that little which enable us to form
clearer notions of the integrity of some of his dramas than
would otherwise be possible. Unless, moreover, his mode
of working is studied in connexion with the literature of
his age and the usages of the ancient stage, there is much
in his writings that would be inexplicable. An absolute
divorce of the book from the man is not, therefore, to be
encouraged. We may, indeed, regret that some of the
idle gossip was ever registered, but suppression is now
impracticable, while we may console ourselves with the

reflection that there is an element of the absurd in the endeavour to represent a human being as immaculate. True reverence is, in this case, rather exhibited in that reliance upon contemporary accounts of the poet's gentle and amiable nature which forbids hesitation in continued research. As for the rest, if the fragmentary records do nothing more than exhibit the spontaneous union of the highest genius with effective habits of business, the compilation of a biography of Shakespeare will not have been undertaken in vain.

The same kind of feeling which occasionally arises to suggest the inutility of Shakespearean biography is generally accompanied by a contempt for the poet's memorials. Should we appreciate the *Iliad* the more, it is asked, if we chanced to discover the birth-place of Homer? Will a visit to Stratford-on-Avon bring us nearer to a perfect knowledge of Hamlet? No more flowers are to be strewn on the grave;—they will be useful for the decoration of our tables. It is enough that we enjoy the magnificent inheritance bequeathed to us by the sons of Song;—we need not care to honour or preserve the names of the testators. These, however, are not the sentiments of the public, who virtually denounce them by flocking, in annually increasing thousands, to pay homage at the shrine of the national dramatist; and many not ashamed to indulge the fancy that the gentle spirit may yet occasionally hover amidst the scenes that he loved so well on earth.

It only remains to add, in conclusion, that the principal design of this work is to furnish the reader with an authentic collection of all the known facts respecting the personal and literary history of the great dramatist. There is, it is true, an attempt, in the biographical essay

which forms the text, to give a consecutive narrative founded on my own interpretation of the various testimonies ; but depositions of the witnesses are delivered at the termination of the summing-up, and each issue is left to the decision of the jury of students. I have no favourite theories to advocate, no wild conjectures to drag into a temporary existence, and no bias save one inspired by the hope that Shakespearean discussions may be controlled by submission to the authority of practical evidences. The collection of these evidences is the chief pursuit, or rather the leading hobby, of my declining years. No journey is too long, no trouble too great, if there is a possibility of either resulting in the discovery of the minutest scrap of information respecting the life of our national poet, or of materials that throw light upon the contemporary drama and the usages of the ancient stage. And let me acknowledge, with every sentiment of gratitude, how essentially my labours are facilitated and cheered by the kind and ready liberality with which private and other libraries, family archives, municipal records and official collections, are being made accessible. 305

HOLLINGBURY COPSE, BRIGHTON.

March, 1884.

MEMORANDUM.

The additional matter which is introduced into this, the fifth edition of the present work, may, it is hoped, render it more useful to the student.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that, however great may be the care taken to avoid them, errors must inevitably occur in a work that exacts so great a variety of research in its several details. The only possibility of eliminating them is through the concurrent aid of my fellow-students, for an oversight which is immediately detected by one reader frequently continues to pass unnoticed year after year by another. A great favour would be conferred by assistance in this direction, and it would be acknowledged with that gratitude which at present is restricted to the Rev. H. P. Stokes and Dr. Ingleby in this country, and to Mr. William J. Rolfe of Boston, U.S., all of whom have kindly furnished me with substantial corrections.

HOLLINGBURY COPSE,
BRIGHTON, ENGLAND.

April, 1885.

PREMONITORY NOTES.

The significance of much that is adduced in the following pages will not be appreciated without a continual reference to the probable worth of money in the time of the poet. The estimate of the difference between its value at that period and at our own cannot be accurately calculated, the purchasing ability in the earlier days varying considerably both with locality and object, and there having been a variety of complex influences that renders an exact determination of those values an impossibility ; but, in balancing the Shakespearean and present currencies, the former may be roughly estimated from a twelfth to a twentieth of the latter in money, and from a twentieth to a thirtieth in landed or house property. Even these scales may be deceptively in favour of the older values, there having been, in Shakespeare's days, a relative and often a fictitious importance attached to the precious metals, arising from their comparative scarcity and the limited appliances for dispensing with their use.

It will be useful also to be constantly bearing in mind the difference between the Old and New Styles. According to the former, the one which of course prevailed during the whole of the Shakespearean period, each month commenced twelve days later than it does at the present time. It is especially important that this variation should be recollected in the consideration of all that relates to the country and to rural life.



STRATFORD-UPON-AVON, FROM A SKETCH TAKEN IN OR SHORTLY BEFORE THE YEAR 1866.

OUTLINES.

In the reign of King Edward the Sixth there lived in Warwickshire a farmer named Richard Shakespeare, who 9
 rented a cottage and a small quantity of land at Snitterfield, 10
 an obscure village in that county. He had two sons, one of whom, named Henry, continued throughout his life to reside in the same parish. John, the other son, left his father's home about the year 1551, and, shortly afterwards, is found residing in the neighbouring and comparatively large borough of Stratford-on-Avon, in the locality which has been known from the middle ages to the present day as Henley Street, so called from its being the terminus of the road from Henley-in-Arden, a market- 235
 town about eight miles distant.

At this period, and for many generations afterwards, the sanitary condition of the thoroughfares of Stratford-on-Avon was, to our present notions, simply terrible. Under-surface drainage of every kind was then an unknown art in the district. There was a far greater extent of moisture in the land than would now be thought possible, and streamlets of a water-power sufficient for the operations of corn-mills meandered through the town. This general humidity intensified the evils arising from the want of scavengers, or other effective appliances for



THE ROTHER MARKET AND ITS STREAMLET, FROM A SKETCH TAKEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1780.

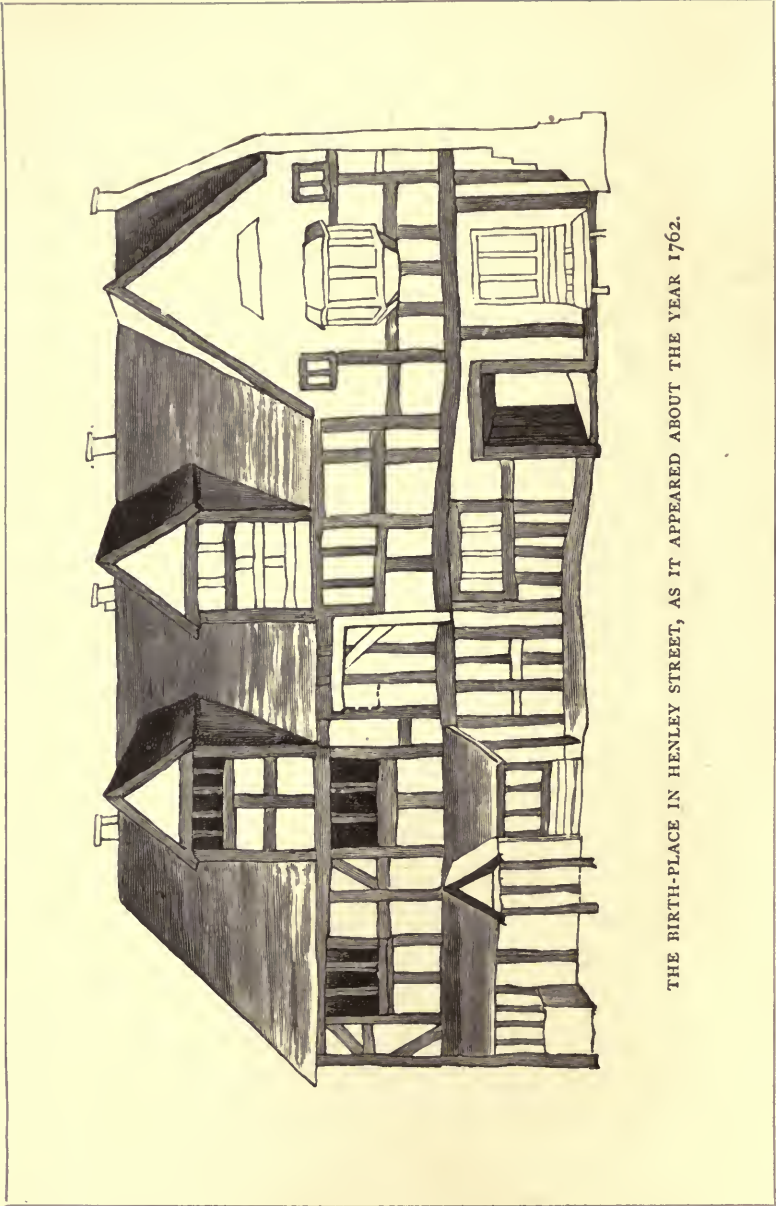
the preservation of cleanliness. House-slops were recklessly thrown into ill-kept channels that lined the sides of unmetalled roads; pigs and geese too often revelled in the puddles and ruts; while here and there small middens were ever in the course of accumulation, the receptacles of offal and every species of nastiness. A regulation for the removal of these collections to certain specified localities interspersed through the borough, and known as common dung-hills, appears to have been the extent of the interference that the authorities ventured or cared to exercise in such matters. Sometimes, when the nuisance was thought to be sufficiently flagrant, they made a raid on those inhabitants who had suffered their refuse to accumulate largely in the highways. On one of these occasions, in April, 1552, John Shakespeare was amerced in the sum of twelve-pence for having amassed what was no doubt a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Henley Street, and under these unsavoury circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England. But although there was little excuse for his negligence, one of the public stores of filth being within a stone's throw of his residence, all that can be said to his disparagement is that he was not in advance of his neighbours in such matters, two of whom were coincidentally fined for the same offence.

For some years subsequently to this period, John Shakespeare was a humble tradesman at Stratford-on-Avon, holding no conspicuous position in the town; yet still he must have been tolerably successful in business, for in October, 1556, he purchased two small freehold estates, one being the building in Henley Street annexed to that which is now shown as the Birth-Place, and the other situated in Greenhill Street, a road afterwards called

Hinc fides de aetate in domo regis gregis
 et solus pater de pater in domo regis
 et solus pater de pater in domo regis

+ ad fidei conf. pater de pater in domo regis
 et solus pater de pater in domo regis
 et solus pater de pater in domo regis

More Towns End. In the year 1557, however, his fortunes underwent an important change through an alliance with Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, a substantial yeoman farmer in the neighbourhood, who had died a few months previously. The maiden name of her mother has not been discovered, but it is ascertained that her father had contracted a second marriage with Agnes Hill, a widow, and that, in a settlement made on that occasion, he had reserved to Mary the reversion to estates at Wilmecote and Snitterfield, her step-mother taking only a life-interest in them. Some part of the land thus settled was in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare, the poet's grandfather, whence may have arisen the acquaintanceship between the two families. In addition to these estates in expectancy, Mary Arden received, under the provisions of her father's will, not only a handsome pecuniary legacy, but the fee-simple of another valuable property at Wilmecote, the latter, which was known as Asbies, consisting of a house with nearly sixty acres of land. Considering his social position, John Shakespeare had practically married an heiress, his now comparative affluence investing him with no small degree of local importance. His official career at once commenced by his election as one of the ale-tasters, an officer appointed for the supervision of malt liquors and bread. About the same time he was received into the Corporation as one of the burgesses, and in the September of the following year, 1558, he was chosen one of the four constables under the rules of the Court Leet. He was again elected constable for another year on October the sixth, 1559, and on the same day he was chosen one of the four affeerors appointed to determine the fines for those offences which were punishable arbitrarily, and for

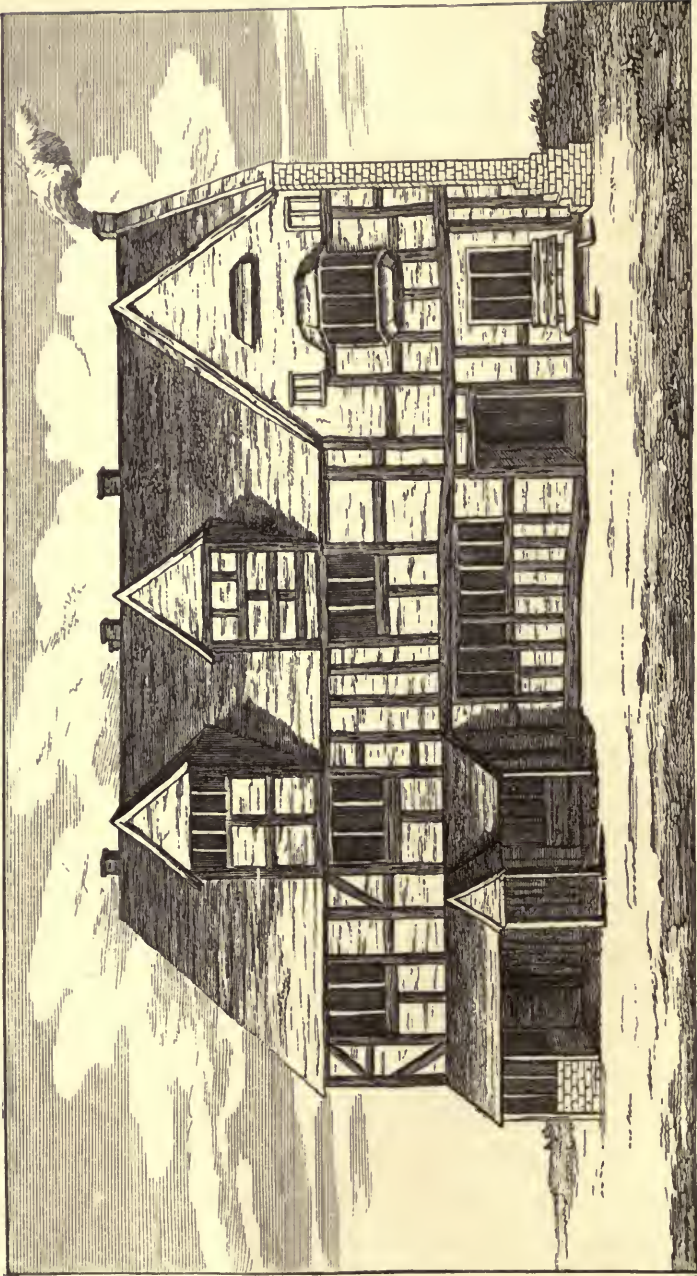


THE BIRTH-PLACE IN HENLEY STREET, AS IT APPEARED ABOUT THE YEAR 1762.

which no express penalties were prescribed by statute. This latter office he again filled in 1561, when he was elected one of the Chamberlains of the borough, an office that he held for two years, delivering his second account to the Corporation in January, 1564.

The ostensible business followed by John Shakespeare was that of a glover, but after his marriage he speculated 116 largely in wool purchased from the neighbouring farmers, and occasionally also dealt in corn and other articles. 191 In those days, especially in small provincial towns, the concentration of several trades into the hands of one 192 person was very usual, and, in many cases, no matter how numerous and complicated were the intermediate processes, the producer of the raw material was frequently its manufacturer. Thus a glover might, and sometimes did, rear the sheep that furnished him with meat, skins, wool, and leather. Whether John Shakespeare so conducted his business is unknown, but it is certain that in addition to his trade in gloves, which also, as was usual, included the sale of divers articles made of leather, he entered into a variety of other speculations.

In Henley Street, in what was for those days an unusually large and commodious residence for a provincial tradesman, and upon or almost immediately before the twenty-second day of April, 1564, but most probably on that Saturday, the eldest son of John and Mary 202 Shakespeare, he who was afterwards to be the national poet of England, was born. An apartment on the first floor of that house is shown to this day, through unvarying tradition, as the birth-room of the great dramatist, who was baptized on the following Wednesday, April the twenty-sixth, receiving the Christian name of William. He was then, and continued to be for more than two



THE BIRTH-PLACE IN HENLEY STREET, AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1769.

years, an only child, two girls, daughters of the same parents, who were born previously, having died in their infancy.

The house in which Shakespeare was born must have been erected in the first half of the sixteenth century, but the alterations that it has since undergone have effaced much of its original character. Inhabited at various periods by tradesmen of different occupations, it could not possibly have endured through the long course of upwards of three centuries without having been subjected to numerous repairs and modifications. The general form and arrangement of the tenement that was purchased in 1556 may yet, however, be distinctly traced, and many of the old timbers, as well as pieces of the ancient rough stone-work, still remain. There are also portions of the chimneys, the fire-place surroundings and the stone basement-floor, that have been untouched; but most, if not all, of the lighter wood-work belongs to a more recent period. It may be confidently asserted that there is only one room in the entire building which has not been greatly changed since the days of the poet's boyhood. This is the antique cellar under the sitting-room, from which it is approached by a diminutive flight of steps. It is a very small apartment, measuring only nine by ten feet, but near "that small most greatly liv'd this star of England."

In the July of this year of the poet's birth, 1564, a violent plague, intensified no doubt by sanitary neglect, broke out in the town, but the family in Henley Street providentially escaped its ravages. John Shakespeare contributed on this occasion fairly, at least, if not liberally, both towards the relief of the poor and of those who were attacked by the epidemic.

In March, 1565, John Shakespeare, with the assistance of his former colleague in the same office, made up the accounts of the Chamberlains of the borough for the year ending at the previous Michaelmas. Neither of these worthies could even write their own names, but nearly all tradesmen then reckoned with counters, the results on important occasions being entered by professional scribes. The poet's father seems to have been an adept in the former kind of work, for in February, 1566, having been elected an alderman in the previous summer, he individually superintended the making up of the

accounts of the Chamberlains for the preceding official year, at which time he was paid over three pounds, equivalent to more than thirty of present money, that had been owing to him for some time by the Corporation. In the month of October, 1566, another son, who was christened Gilbert on the thirteenth, was born, the poet
 121 being then nearly two and a half years old. This Gilbert, who was educated at the Free School, in after life entered into business in London as a haberdasher, returning, however, in the early part of the following century, to his native town, where he is found, in 1602, completing an important legal transaction with which he was entrusted by the great dramatist. His Christian name was probably derived from that of one of his father's neighbours, Gilbert Bradley, who was a glover in Henley

Street, residing near the Birth-Place and on the same side of the way.

In September, 1567, Robert Perrot, a brewer, John Shakespeare, and Ralph Cawdrey, a butcher, were nominated for the office of the High Bailiff, or, as that dignitary was subsequently called, the Mayor. The last-named candidate was the one who was elected. It is upon this occasion that the poet's father is alluded to for the first time in the local records as "Mr. Shakspeyr." He had been previously therein mentioned either as John Shakespeare, or briefly as Shakespeare, and the addition of the title was in those days no small indication of an advance in social position. There is, indeed, no doubt that, during the early years of Shakespeare's boyhood, his father was one of the leading men in Stratford-on-Avon. On the fourth of September, 1568, John Shakespeare,—“Mr. John Shakysper,” as he is called in that day's record,—was chosen High Bailiff, attaining thus the most distinguished official position in the town after an active connexion with its affairs during the preceding eleven years. The poet had entered his fifth year in the previous month of April, the family in Henley Street now consisting of his parents, his brother Gilbert, who was very nearly two years old, and himself.

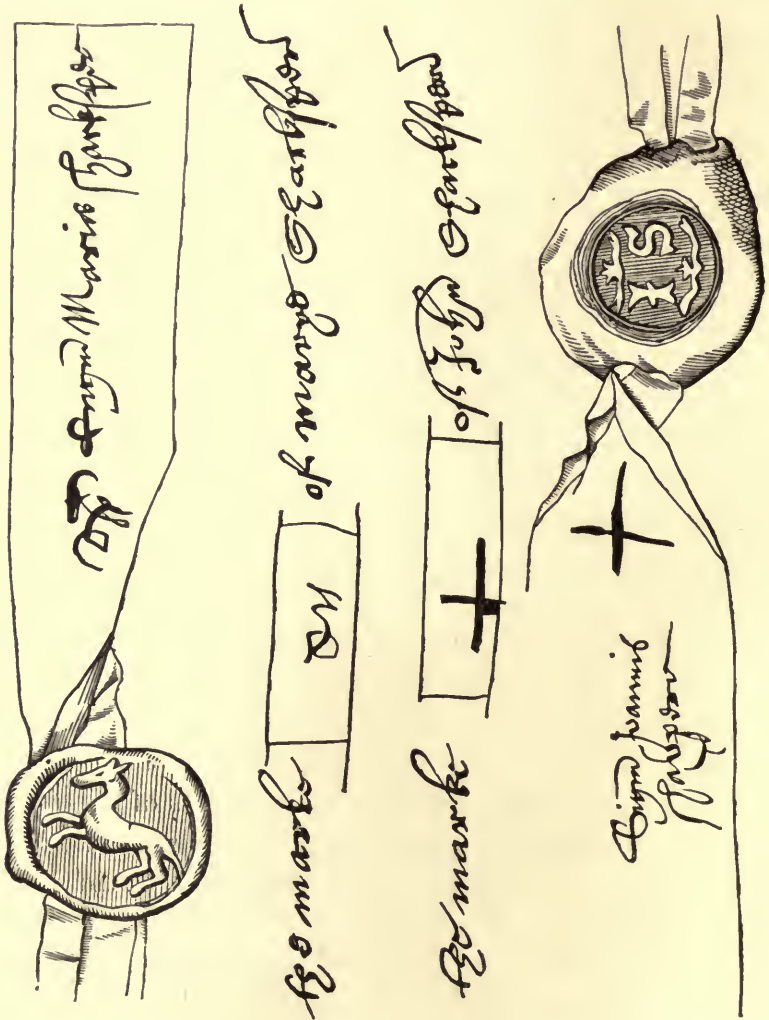
It must have been somewhere about this period that Shakespeare entered into the mysteries of the horn-book and the A. B. C. Although both his parents were absolutely illiterate, they had the sagacity to appreciate the importance of an education for their son, and the poet, somehow or other, was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free School. There were few persons at that time at Stratford-on-Avon capable of initiating him even into these

preparatory accomplishments, but John Shakespeare, in his official position, could hardly have encountered much difficulty in finding a suitable instructor. There was, for instance, Higford, the Steward of the Court of Record, and the person who transcribed some of his accounts when he was the borough Chamberlain; but it is as likely as not that the poet received the first rudiments of education from older boys who were some way advanced in their school career.

A passion for the drama is with some natures an instinct, and it would appear that the poet's father had an express taste in that direction. At all events, dramatic entertainments are first heard of at Stratford-on-Avon during the year of his bailiffship, and were, it may fairly be presumed, introduced in unison with his wishes as they certainly must have been with his sanction. At some period between Michaelmas, 1568, and the same day in 1569, the Queen's and the Earl of Worcester's players visited the town and gave representations before the Council, the former company receiving nine shillings and the latter twelve pence for their first performances, to which the public were admitted without payment. They doubtlessly gave other theatrical entertainments with stated charges for admission, but there would, of course, be no entries of those performances in the municipal accounts; and sometimes there were bodies of actors in the town to whom the official liberality was not extended. 114 No notice whatever of the latter companies would have been registered.

Were it not for the record of a correlative incident, it would have been idle to have hazarded a conjecture on the interesting question,—was the poet, who was then in his fifth or sixth year, a spectator at either of these

Facsimiles of the mark-signatures used by Shakespeare's parents in the year 1579, when they executed a deed conveying their interests in two houses in Snitterfield to one Robert Webb.



performances? If, however, it can be shown that, in a neighbouring county about the same time, there was an inhabitant of a city who took his little boy, one born in the same year with Shakespeare, 1564, to a free dramatic entertainment exhibited as were those at Stratford-on-Avon, before the Corporation under precisely similar conditions, there then arises a reasonable probability that we should be justified in giving an affirmative reply to the enquiry. There is such an evidence in the account left by a person of the name of Willis, of "a stage-play which I saw when I was a child," and included by him in a confidential narrative of his moral and religious life, a sort of autobiography, which, in his old age, he addressed to his wife and children.

The curious narrative given by Willis is in the following terms,—“ In the city of Gloucester the manner is, as I think it is in other like corporations, that, when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the Aldermen and Common Counsell of the city; and that is called the Mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play my father tooke me with him, and made mee stand betweene his leggs as he sate upon one of the benches, where wee saw and heard very well. The play was called the Cradle of Security, wherein was personated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of severall kinds, amongst which three ladies were in speciall grace with him; and they, keeping him

in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons and listning to good counsell and admonitions, that, in the end, they got him to lye downe in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies, joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleepe that he snorted againe; and in the meane time closely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered a vizard, like a swine's snout, upon his face, with three wire chaines fastned thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three ladies, who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage two old men, the one in blew with a serjeant-at-armes his mace on his shoulder, the other in red with a drawn sword in his hand and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder; and so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle, when all the court was in greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle, whereat all the courtiers, with the three ladies and the vizard, all vanished; and the desolate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himselfe thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did personate in the Morrall the Wicked of the World; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousnesse and Luxury; the two old men, the End of the World and the Last Judgment. This sight tooke such impression in me that, when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory as if I had seen it newly acted," Willis's Mount Tabor or Private

Exercises of a Penitent Sinner, published in the year of his age 75, anno Dom. 1639, pp. 110-113. Who can be so pitiless to the imagination as not to erase the name of Gloucester in the preceding anecdote, and replace it by that of Stratford-on-Avon ?

Homely and rude as such an allegorical drama as the Cradle of Security would now be considered, it was yet an advance in dramatic construction upon the medieval religious plays generally known as mysteries, which were still in favour with the public and were of an exceedingly primitive description. The latter were, however, put on the stage with far more elaborate appliances, there being no reason for believing that the itinerant platform of the later drama was provided with much beyond a few properties. The theatre of the mysteries consisted of a movable wooden rectangular structure of two rooms one over the other, the lower closed, the upper one, that in which the performances took place, being open at least on one side to the audience. The vehicle itself, every portion of which that was visible to the audience was grotesquely painted, was furnished in the upper room with tapestries that answered the purposes of scenery, and with 84 mechanical appliances for the disposition of the various objects introduced, such as hell-mouth, a favourite property 85 on the ancient English stage. This consisted of a huge face constructed of painted canvas exhibiting glaring eyes and a red nose of enormous dimensions ; the whole so contrived with movable jaws of large, projecting teeth, that, when the mouth opened, flames could be seen within the hideous aperture ; the fire being probably represented by the skilful management of links or torches held behind the painted canvas. There was frequently at the back of the stage a raised platform to which there was an ascent

by steps from the floor of the pageant, and sometimes an important part of the action of the mystery was enacted upon it. Some of the properties, however rude, must have been of large dimensions. They were generally made of wood, which was invariably painted, but some appear to have been constructed of basket-work covered over with painted cloths. The larger ones were cities with pinnacles and towers, kings' palaces, temples, castles and such like, some probably not very unlike decorated
86 sentry boxes. Amongst the miscellaneous properties may be named "a rybbe colleryd red," which was no doubt used in the mystery of the Creation. Clouds were represented by painted cloths so contrived that they could open and show angels in the heavens. Horses and other like animals were generally formed with hoops and laths that were wrapped in canvas, the latter being afterwards painted in imitation of nature. Artificial trees were introduced, and so were beds, tombs, pulpits, ships, ladders, and numerous other articles. One of the quaintest contrivances was that which was intended to convey the idea of an earthquake, which seems to have been attempted by means of some mechanism within a barrel. In the lower room, connected with pulleys in the upper part of the pageant, was a windlass used for the purpose of lowering or raising the larger properties, and for various objects for which movable ropes could be employed. Some of the other machinery was evidently of an ingenious character, but its exact nature has not been ascertained.

The costumes of many of the personages in the mysteries were of a grotesque and fanciful description, but in some instances, as in those of Adam and Eve, there was an attempt to make the dresses harmonize

with the circumstances of the history. Some writers, interpreting the stage-directions too literally, have asserted that those characters were introduced upon the pageant in a state of nudity. This was certainly not the case. When they were presumed to be destitute of clothing, they appeared in dresses made either of white leather or of flesh-coloured cloths, over which at the proper time were thrown the garments of skins. There were no 87 doubt some incidents represented in the old English mysteries which would now be considered indecorous, but it should be borne in mind that every age has, within certain limits, its own conventional and frequently irrational sentiments of toleration and propriety. Adam and Eve attired in white leather and personified by men, for actresses were then unknown, scarcely could have realized to the spectator even a generic idea of the nude, but at all events there was nothing in any of the theatrical costumes of the early drama which can be fairly considered to be of an immodest character, although many of them were extravagantly whimsical. Thus Herod was always 88 introduced wearing red gloves, while his clothes and head-gear seem to have been painted or dyed in a variety of colours, so that, as far as costume could assist the 89 deception, he probably appeared, when brandishing his flaming sword, as fierce and hideous a tyrant as could well have been represented. Pontius Pilate was usually enwrapped in a large green cloak, which opened in front to enable him to wield an immense club. The latter was humanely adapted to his strength by the weight being chiefly restricted to that of the outer case, the inside being lightly stuffed with wool. The Devil was another important character, who was also grotesquely arrayed and had a mask or false head which frequently required

either mending or painting. Masks were worn by several other personages, though it would appear that in some 90 instances the operation of painting the faces of the actors was substituted. Wigs of false hair, either gilded or of red, yellow, and other colours, were also much in request.

That Shakespeare, in his early youth, witnessed representations of some of these mysteries, cannot admit of a 12 reasonable doubt; for although the ordinary church-plays were by no means extinct, they survived only in particular localities, and do not appear to have been retained in Stratford or its neighbourhood. The performances which then took place nearly every year at Coventry attracted hosts of spectators from all parts of the country, while, at occasional intervals, the mystery players of that city made theatrical progresses to various other places. It is not known whether they favoured Stratford-on-Avon with a professional visit, but it is not at all improbable that they did, for they must have passed through the town in their way to Bristol, where it is 107 recorded that they gave a performance in the year 1570. Amongst the mysteries probably recollected by Shakespeare was one in which the King was introduced as Herod of Jewry, and in which the children of Bethlehem were barbarously speared, the soldiers disregarding the frantic shrieks of the bereaved mothers. In the collection known as the Coventry Mysteries, a soldier appears before Herod with a child on the end of his spear in evidence of the accomplishment of the King's commands, a scene to be remembered, however rude may have been the property which represented the infant; while the extravagance of rage, which formed one of the then main dramatic characteristics of that sovereign, must have made

a deep impression on a youthful spectator. The idea of such a history being susceptible of exaggeration into burlesque never entered a spectator's mind in those days, and the impression made upon him was probably increased by the style of Herod's costume.

Besides the allusions made by the great dramatist to the Herod of the Coventry players, there are indications that other grotesque performers were occasionally in his recollection, those who with blackened faces acted the parts of the Black Souls. There are several references in Shakespeare to condemned souls being of this colour, and in one place there is an allusion to them in the language of the mysteries. Falstaff is reported to have said of a flea on Bardolph's red nose that "it was a black soul burning in hell;" and, in the Coventry plays, the Black or Damned Souls appeared with sooty faces and attired in a motley costume of yellow and black. It is certainly just possible that the notions of Herod and the Black Souls may have been derived from other sources, but the more natural probability is that they are absolute recollections of the Coventry plays. 91

The period of Shakespeare's boyhood was also that of what was practically the last era of the real ancient English mystery. There were, it is true, occasional performances of them up to the reign of James the First, but they became obsolete throughout nearly all the country about the year 1580. Previously to the latter date they had for many generations served as media for religious instruction. In days when education of any kind was a rarity, and spiritual religion an impossibility or at least restricted to very few, appeals to the senses in illustration of theological subjects were wisely encouraged by the Church. The impression made on

the rude and uninstructed mind by the representations of incidents in sacred history and religious tradition by living characters, must have been far more profound than any which could have been conveyed by the genius of the sculptor or painter, or by the eloquence of the priest. Notwithstanding, therefore, the opposition that these performances encountered at the hands of a section of churchmen, who apprehended that the introduction of the comic element would ultimately tend to feelings of irreverence, it is found that, in spite of occasional abuses, they long continued to be one of the most effectual means of disseminating a knowledge of Scriptural history and of inculcating belief in the doctrines of the Church. In the *Hundred Mery Talys*, a collection which was very popular in England throughout the sixteenth century, there is a story of a village priest in Warwickshire who preached a sermon on the Articles of the Creed, telling the congregation at the end of his discourse,—“these artycles ye be bounde to beleve, for they be trew and of auctoryté; and yf you beleve not me, then for a more suerté and suffycyent auctoryté go your way to Coventré, and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe.” Although this is related as a mere anecdote, it well illustrates the value which was then attached to the teachings of the ancient stage. Even as lately as the middle of the seventeenth century there could have been found in England an example of a person whose knowledge of the Scriptures was limited to his recollections of the performance of a mystery. The Rev. John Shaw, who was the temporary chaplain in a village in Lancashire in 1644, narrates the following curious anecdote respecting one of its inhabitants,—“one day an old man about sixty, sensible enough in

other things, and living in the parish of Cartmel, coming to me about some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge, and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion;—I asked him how many Gods there were; he said, he knew not;—I, informing him, asked him again how he thought to be saved; he answered he could not tell, yet thought that was a harder question than the other;—I told him that the way to salvation was by Jesus Christ, God-man, who, as He was man, shed His blood for us on the crosse, &c.;—Oh, sir, said he, I think I heard of that man you speak of once in a play at Kendall called Corpus Christi Play, where there was a man on a tree and blood ran downe, &c., and after he professed that he could not remember that ever he heard of salvation by Jesus Christ but in that play.” It is impossible to say to what extent even the Scriptural allusions in the works of Shakespeare himself may not be attributed to recollections of such performances, for in one instance at least the reference by the great dramatist is to the history as represented in those plays, not to that recorded in the New Testament. The English mysteries, indeed, never lost their position as religious instructors, a fact which, viewed in connexion with that of a widely-spread affection for the old religion, appears to account for their long continuance in a practically unaltered state while other forms of the drama were being developed by their side. From the fourteenth century until the termination of Shakespeare’s youthful days they remained the simple poetic versions in dialogue of religious incidents of various kinds, enlivened by the occasional admission of humorous scenes. In some few instances the theological narrative was made subservient to the comic action, but

as a rule the mysteries were designed to bring before the audience merely the personages and events of religious history. Allegorical characters had been occasionally introduced, and about the middle of the fifteenth century there appeared a new kind of English dramatic composition apparently borrowed from France, in which the personages were either wholly or almost exclusively of that description. When the chief object of a performance of this nature, like that of the *Cradle of Security* previously described, was to inculcate a moral lesson, it was sometimes called either a *Moral* or a *Moral-play*, terms which continued in use till the seventeenth century, and were licentiously applied by some early writers to any dramas which were of an ethical or educational character. *Morals* were not only performed in Shakespeare's day, but continued to be a then recognized form of dramatic composition. Some of them were nearly as simple and inartificial as the mysteries, but others were not destitute of originality, or even of the delineation of character and manners. There was, however, no consecutive or systematic development of either the mystery into the moral or the moral into the historical and romantic drama, although there are examples in which the specialities of each are curiously intermingled. Each species of the early English drama appears for the most part to have pursued its own separate and independent career.

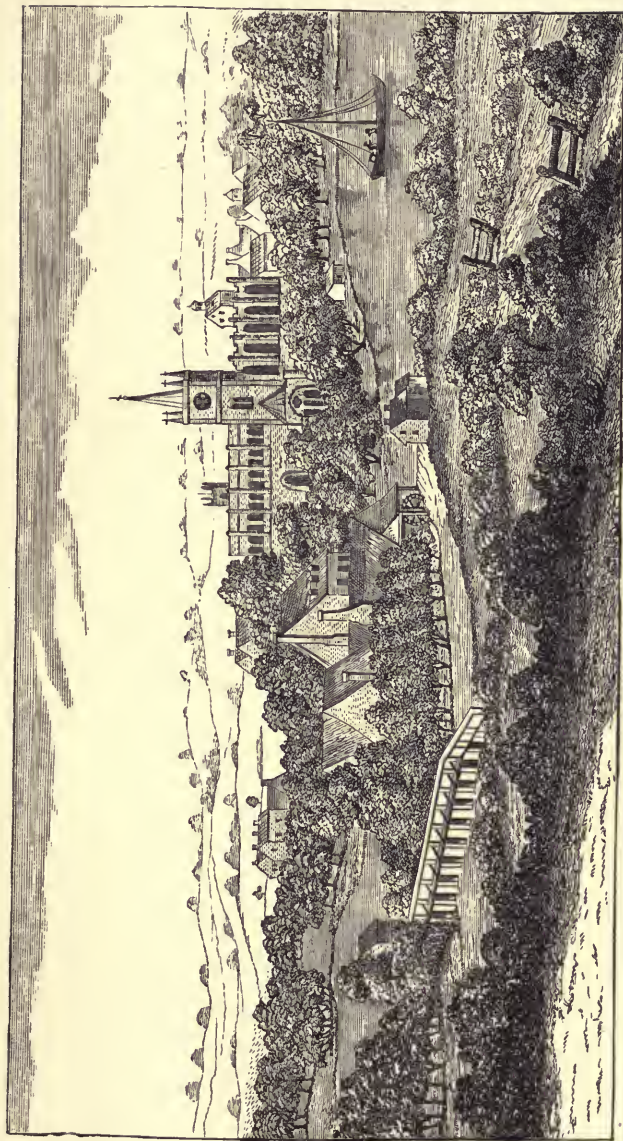
In April, 1569, the poet's sister, Joan, was born. She was baptized on the fifteenth of that month, and, by a prevalent fashion which has created so much perplexity in discussions on longevities, was named after an elder child of the same parents who was born in 1558 and had died some time previously to the arrival of her younger sister.

Joan was then so common a name that it is hazardous to venture on a conjecture respecting the child's sponsor, but she was very likely so called after her maternal aunt, Mrs. Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. John Shakespeare's term of office as High Bailiff expired in the September of the same year, 1569, his successor being one Robert Salisbury, a substantial yeoman then residing in a large house on the eastern side of Church Street. 205

Although there is no certain information on the subject, it may perhaps be assumed that, at this time, boys usually entered the Free School at the age of seven, according to the custom followed at a later period. If so, the poet commenced his studies there in the spring of the year 1571, and unless its system of instruction differed essentially from that pursued in other establishments of a similar character, his earliest knowledge of Latin was derived from two well-known books of the time, the *Accidence* and the *Sententiæ Pueriles*. From the first of these works the improvised examination of Master Page in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* is so almost verbally remembered, that one might imagine that the William of the scene was a resuscitation of the poet at school. Recollections of the same book are to be traced in other of his plays. The *Sententiæ Pueriles* was, in all probability, the little manual by the aid of which he first learned to construe Latin, for in one place, at least, he all but literally translates a brief passage, and there are in his plays several adaptations of its sentiments. It was then sold for a penny, equivalent to about our present shilling, and contains a large collection of brief sentences collected from a variety of authors, with a distinct selection of moral and religious paragraphs, the latter intended for the use of boys on Saints' Days.

The best authorities unite in telling us that the poet imbibed a certain amount of Latin at school, but that his acquaintance with that language was, throughout his life, of a very limited character. It is not probable that scholastic learning was ever congenial to his tastes, and it should be recollected that books in most parts of the country were then of very rare occurrence. Lilly's Grammar and a few classical works, chained to the desks of the Free School, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found at Stratford-on-Avon. Exclusive of Bibles, Church Services, Psalters, and education manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town. The copy of the black-letter English history, so often depicted as well thumbed by Shakespeare in his father's parlour, never existed out of the imagination. Fortunately for us, the youthful dramatist had, excepting in the school-room, little opportunity of studying any but a grander volume, the infinite book of nature, the pages of which were ready to be unfolded to him in the lane and field, amongst the copses of Snitterfield, by the side of the river or that of his uncle's hedgerows.

Henry Shakespeare, the poet's uncle, resided on a large farm near Snitterfield church. The house has long disappeared, but two of the old enclosures that he rented, Burmans and Red Hill, are still to be observed on the right of the highway to Luscombe, with the ancient boundaries, and under the same names, by which they were distinguished in the days of Shakespeare's early youth. Nearly every one of the boy's connexions, as well as his uncle Henry, was a farmer. There was the brother of Agnes Arden, Alexander Webbe of Snitterfield, who died in 1573, appointing "to be my overseers



A VIEW OF STRATFORD-ON-AVON FROM THE CROSS-ON-THE-HILL, A SKETCH TAKEN IN THE YEAR 1746.

to see this my last will and testament performed, satisfied and fulfilled, according to my will, John Shackespere of Stretford-upon-Aven, John Hill of Bearley, and for theyre paynes taken I geve them xij.*d.* a pece." Henry Shakespeare was present at the execution of this will, and there is other evidence that the poet's family were on friendly terms with the Hills of Bearley, who were connexions by marriage with the Ardens. Then there were the Lamberts of Barton-on-the-Heath, the Stringers of Bearley, the Etkyns of Wilmecote, all of whom were engaged in agricultural business, and Agnes Arden, who was still alive and farming at Wilmecote.

On March the 11th, 1574, "Richard, sonne to Mr. John Shakspeer," was baptized at Stratford, the Christian name of the infant having probably been adopted in recollection of his grandfather of Snitterfield, who had been removed by the hand of death some years previously. Independently of this new baby, there were now four other children,—Anne, who was in her third, Joan in her fifth, Gilbert in his eighth, and the poet in his tenth year. The father's circumstances were not yet on the wane, so there is every reason for believing that the eldest son, blessed with, as it has been well termed, the precious gift of sisters to a loving boy, returned to a happy fire-side after he had been tormented by the disciplinarian routine that was destined to terminate in the acquisition of "small Latin and less Greek."

The defective classical education of the poet is not, however, to be attributed to the conductors of the local seminary, for enough of Latin was taught to enable the more advanced pupils to display familiar correspondence in that language. It was really owing to his being removed from school long before the usual age, his father

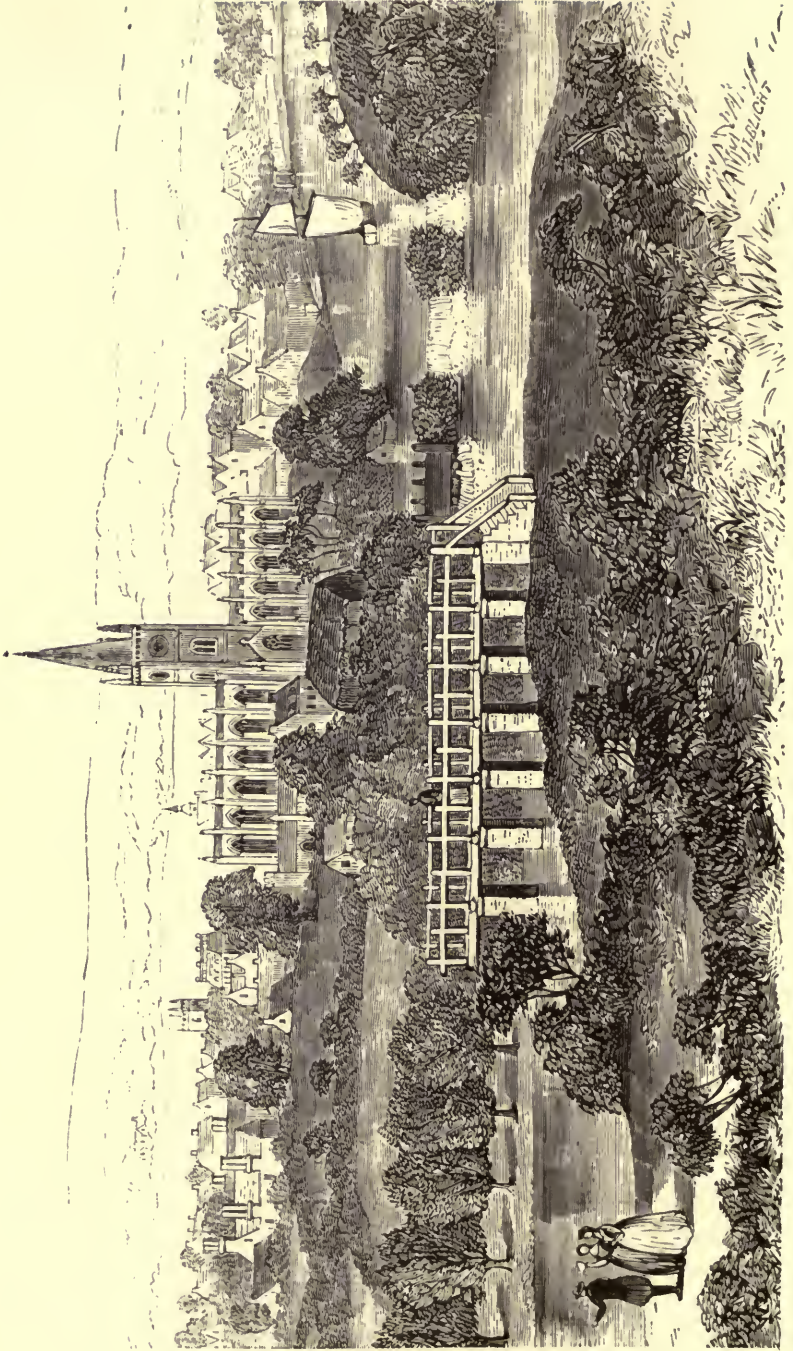
requiring his assistance in one of the branches of the Henley Street business. Rowe's words, published in 1709, are these,—“he had bred him, 'tis true, for some time at a free-school, where 'tis probable he acquir'd that little Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language.” John Shakespeare's circumstances had begun to decline in the year 1577, and, in all probability, he removed the future dramatist from school when the latter was about thirteen, allowing Gilbert, then between ten and eleven, to continue his studies. The selection of the former for home-work may have partially arisen from his having been the elder and the stronger, but it also exhibits the father's presentiment of those talents for business which distinguished the latter part of his son's career.

The conflict of evidences now becomes so exceedingly perplexing, that it is hardly possible to completely reconcile them. All that can prudently be said is that the inclination of the testimonies leans towards the belief that John Shakespeare, following the ordinary usage of the tradesmen of the locality in binding their children to special occupations, eventually apprenticed his eldest son to a butcher. That appellation was sometimes given to persons who, without keeping meat-shops, killed cattle and pigs for others; and as there is no telling how many adjuncts the worthy glover had to his legitimate business, it is very possible that the lad may have served his articles under his own father. With respect to the unpoetical selection of a trade for the great dramatist, it is of course necessary for the biographer to draw attention to the fact that he was no ordinary executioner, but, to use the words

of Aubrey, "when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high style and make a speech." It may be doubted if even this palliative will suffice to reconcile the employment with our present ideal of the gentle Shakespeare, but he was not one of the few destined, at all events in early life, to be exempt from the laws which so frequently ordain mortals to be the reluctant victims of circumstances.

The tradition reported by the parish clerk in 1693 is the only known evidence of Shakespeare having been an apprentice, but his assertion that the poet commenced his practical life as a butcher is supported by the earlier testimony of Aubrey. If the clerk's story be rejected, we must then rely on the account furnished by Betterton, who informs us, through Rowe, that John Shakespeare "was a considerable dealer in wool," and that the great dramatist, after leaving school, was brought up to follow
223 the same occupation, continuing in the business until his departure from Warwickshire. Whichever version be thought the more probable, the student will do well, before arriving at a decision, to bear in mind that many butchers of those days were partially farmers, and that those of Stratford-on-Avon largely represented the wealth and commercial intelligence of the town. Amongst the latter was Ralph Cawdrey, who had then twice served the office of High Bailiff, and had been for many years a colleague of the poet's father. Nor were the accessories of the trade viewed in the repulsive light that some of them are at the present time. The refined and lively Rosalind would have been somewhat astonished if she had been told of the day when her allusion to the washing of a sheep's heart would have been pronounced indecorous and more than unladylike.

Although the information at present accessible does not enable us to determine the exact natures of Shakespeare's occupations from his fourteenth to his eighteenth year, that is to say, from 1577 to 1582, there can be no hesitation in concluding that, during that animated and receptive period of life, he was mercifully released from what, to a spirit like his, must have been the deleterious monotony of a school education. Whether he passed those years as a butcher or a wool-dealer does not greatly matter. In either capacity, or in any other that could 113 then have been found at Stratford, he was unconsciously acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the world and human nature than could have been derived from a study of the classics. During nearly if not all the time to which reference is now being made, he had also the opportunity of witnessing theatrical performances by some of the leading companies of the day. But trouble and sorrow invaded the paternal home. In the autumn of 1578, his father effected the then large mortgage of 40*l.* on the estate of Asbies, and the records of subsequent transactions indicate that he was suffering from pecuniary embarrassments in the two years immediately following. In the midst of these struggles he lost, in 1579, his daughter Anne, who was then in her eighth year. It cannot be doubted that the poet acutely felt the death of his little sister, nor that he followed her to the grave at a funeral which was conducted by the parents with affectionate tributes. In the next year their last child 201 was born. He was christened Edmund on May the 3rd, 1580, no doubt receiving that name from the husband of his maternal aunt, Mrs. Lambert. It was this gentleman who held the mortgage on Asbies, but on John Shakespeare tendering payment to him in the following autumn,



the money was refused until other sums due to the same creditor were also repaid. This must have been a great disappointment to the worthy glover, who had only a few weeks before sold another property in the hope of being able to redeem the matrimonial estate.

It was the usual custom at Stratford-on-Avon for apprentices to be bound either for seven or ten years, so that, if Shakespeare were one of them, it was not likely that he was out of his articles at the time of his marriage, an event that took place in 1582, when he was only in his nineteenth year. At that period, before a licence for wedlock could be obtained, it was necessary to lodge at the Consistory Court a bond entered into by two responsible sureties, who by that document certified, under a heavy penalty in case of misrepresentation, that there was no impediment of precontract or consanguinity, the former of course alluding to a precontract of either of the affianced parties with a third person.

The bond given in anticipation of the marriage of William Shakespeare with Anne Hathaway, a proof in itself that there was no clandestine intention in the arrangements, is dated the twenty-eighth of November, 1582. Their first child, Susanna, was baptized on Sunday, May the 26th, 1583. With those numerous moralists who do not consider it necessary for rigid enquiry to precede condemnation, these facts taint the husband with dishonour, although, even according to modern notions, that very marriage may have been induced on his part by a sentiment in itself the very essence of honour. If we assume, however, as we reasonably may, that cohabitation had previously taken ²⁷⁵ place, no question of morals would in those days have ²⁷⁶ arisen, or could have been entertained. The precontract,

which was usually celebrated two or three months before marriage, *was not only legally recognised, but it invalidated a subsequent union of either of the parties with any one else.* There was a statute, indeed, of 32 Henry VIII., 1540, c. 38, s. 2, by which certain marriages were legalised notwithstanding precontracts, but the clause was repealed by the Act of 2 & 3 Edward VI., 1548, c. 23, s. 2, and the whole statute by 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar., 1554, c. 8, s. 19, while the Act of 1 Elizabeth, 1558, c. 1, s. 11, expressly confirms the revocation made by Edward the Sixth. The ascertained facts respecting Shakespeare's marriage clearly indicate the high probability of there having been a precontract, a ceremony which substantially had the validity of the more formal one, and the improbability of that marriage having been celebrated under mysterious or unusual circumstances. Whether the early alliance was a prudent one in a worldly point of view may admit of doubt, but that the married pair continued on affectionate terms, until they were separated by the poet's death, may be gathered from the early local tradition that his wife "did earnestly desire to be laid in the same grave with him." The legacy to her of the second-best bed is an evidence which does not by itself negative the later testimony.

The poet's two sureties, Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, were inhabitants of the little hamlet of Shottery, and on the only inscribed seal attached to the bond are the initials R. H., while the consent of friends is, in that document, limited to those of the bride. No conclusion can be safely drawn from the last-named clause, it being one very usual in such instruments, but it may perhaps be inferred from the other circumstances that the marriage was arranged under the special auspices

of the Hathaway family, and that the engagement was not received with favour in Henley Street. The case, however, admits of another explanation. It may be that the nuptials of Shakespeare, like those of so many others of that time, had been privately celebrated some months before under the illegal forms of the Romish Church. If this were the fact, it was natural that the Hathaways, leaning to a different persuasion, should have been anxious for the marriage to be openly acknowledged and recorded.

It was extremely common at that time, amongst the local tradespeople, for the sanction of parents to be given to early marriages in cases where there was no money, and but narrow means of support, on either side. It is not, therefore, likely that the consent of John and Mary Shakespeare to the poet's marriage was withheld on such grounds, nor, with the exception of the indications in the bond, are there other reasons for suspecting that they were averse to the union. But whether they were so or not is a question that does not invalidate the assumption that the lovers followed the all but universal rule of consolidating their engagement by means of a precontract. This ceremony was generally a solemn affair enacted with the immediate concurrence of all the parents, but it was at times informally conducted separately by the betrothing parties, evidence of the fact, communicated by them to independent persons, having been held, at least in Warwickshire, to confer a sufficient legal validity on the transaction. Thus, in 1585, William Holder and Alice Shaw, having privately made a contract, came voluntarily before two witnesses, one of whom was a person named Willis and the other a John Maides of Snitterfield, on purpose to acknowledge that

they were irrevocably pledged to wedlock. The lady evidently considered herself already as good as married, saying to Holder,—“I do confesse that I am your wief and have forsaken all my frendes for your sake, and I hope you will use me well;” and thereupon she “gave him her hand.” Then, as Maides observes, “the said Holder, *mutatis mutandis*, used the like words unto her in effect, and toke her by the hand, and kissed together in the presence of this deponent and the said Willis.” These proceedings are afterwards referred to in the same depositions as constituting a definite “contract of marriage.” On another occasion, in 1588, there was a precontract meeting at Alcester, the young lady arriving there unaccompanied by any of her friends. When requested to explain the reason of this omission, “she answered that her leasure wold not lett her and that she thought she cold not obtaine her mother’s goodwill, but, quoth she, neverthelesse I am the same woman that I was before.” The future bridegroom was perfectly satisfied with this assurance, merely asking her “whether she was content to betake herself unto him, and she answered, offring her hand, which he also tooke upon thoffer that she was content by her trothe, and thereto, said she, I geve thee my faith, and before these witnesses, that I am thy wief; and then he likewise answered in theis wordes, vidz., and I geve thee my faith and troth, and become thy husband.” These instances, to which several others could be added, prove decisively that Shakespeare could have entered, under any circumstances whatever, into a precontract with Anne Hathaway. It may be worth adding that espousals of this kind were, in the Midland counties, almost invariably terminated by the lady’s acceptance of a bent sixpence. One lover,

who was betrothed in the same year in which Shakespeare was engaged to Anne Hathaway, gave also a pair of gloves, two oranges, two handkerchiefs and a girdle of broad red silk. A present of gloves on such an occasion was, indeed, nearly as universal as that of a sixpence.

It can never be right for a biographer, when he is unsupported by the least particle of evidence, to assume that the subject of his memoir departed unnecessarily from the ordinary usages of life and society. In Shakespeare's matrimonial case, those who imagine that there was no precontract have to make another extravagant admission. They must ask us also to believe that the lady of his choice was as disreputable as the flax-wench, and gratuitously united with the poet in a moral wrong that could have been converted, by the smallest expenditure of trouble, into a moral right. The whole theory is absolutely incredible. We may then feel certain that, in the summer of the year 1582, William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were betrothed either formally or informally, but, at all events, under conditions that could, if necessary, have been legally ratified.

The marriage, in accordance with the general practice, no doubt took place within two or three days after the execution of the bond on November the 28th, 1582, the "once asking of the bans" being included in the ceremonial service. The name of the parish in which the nuptials were celebrated has not been ascertained, but it must have been one of those places in the diocese of Worcester the early registers of which have been lost.

Early marriages are not, however, at least with men, invariably preceded by a dispersion of the wild oats; and it appears that Shakespeare had neglected to

complete that desirable operation. Three or four years after his union with Anne Hathaway, he had, observes Rowe, "by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and, amongst them, some, that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, near Stratford;—for this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely, and, in order to revenge that ill-usage, he made a ballad upon him; and though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London." If we accept this narrative, which is the most reliable account of the incident that has been preserved, the date of the poet's departure from his native town may be assigned to a period shortly after the births of his youngest children, the twin Hamnet and Judith, who were baptized at Stratford-on-Avon on February the 2nd, 1585.

At the period of Shakespeare's arrival in London, any reputable kind of employment was obtained with considerable difficulty. There is an evidence of this in the history of the early life of John Sadler, a native of Stratford-on-Avon and one of the poet's contemporaries, who tried his fortunes in the metropolis under similar though less discouraging circumstances. This youth, upon quitting Stratford, "join'd himself to the carrier, and came to London, where he had never been before, and sold his horse in Smithfield; and, having no acquaintance in London to recommend him or assist him, he went from street to street, and house to house, asking if they wanted

an apprentice, and though he met with many discouraging scorns and a thousand denials, he went on till he light on Mr. Brokesbank, a grocer in Bucklersbury, who, though he long denied him for want of sureties for his fidelity, and because the money he had (but ten pounds) was so disproportionable to what he used to receive with apprentices, yet, upon his discreet account he gave of himself and the motives which put him upon that course, and promise to compensate with diligent and faithfull service whatever else was short of his expectation, he ventured to receive him upon trial, in which he so well approved himself that he accepted him into his service, to which he bound him for eight years." It is to be gathered, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare, a fugitive, leaving his native town unexpectedly, must have reached London more unfavourably circumstanced than Sadler, although the latter experienced so much trouble in finding occupation. At all events, there would have been greater difficulty in the poet's case in accounting satisfactorily to employers for his sudden departure from home. That he was also nearly, if not quite, moneyless, is to be inferred from tradition, the latter supported by the ascertained fact of the adverse circumstances of his father at the time rendering it impossible for him to have received effectual assistance from his parents; nor is there reason for believing that he was likely to have obtained substantial aid from the relatives of his wife. Johnson no doubt accurately reported the tradition of his day, when, in 1765, he stated that Shakespeare "came to London a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments." To the same effect is the earlier testimony given by the author of *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, where the strolling player,

in a passage reasonably believed to refer to the great dramatist, observes in reference to actors, "I have heard, indeede, of some that have gone to London *very meanly* and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy." The author of the last-named tract was evidently well acquainted with the theatrical gossip of his day, so that his nearly contemporary evidence on the subject may be fairly accepted as a truthful record of the current belief.

It has been repeatedly observed that the visits of theatrical companies to the poet's native town suffice to explain the history of his connexion with the stage, but it is difficult to understand how this could have been the
138 case. There is no good evidence that a single one of the actors belonged to his neighbourhood, and even if he had casually made the acquaintance of some of the itinerants, it is extremely unlikely that any extent of such intimacy would have secured the admission of an inexperienced person into their ranks. The histrionic art is not learnt in a day, and it was altogether unusual with the sharers to receive into the company men who had not had the advantage of a very early training in the profession. It might, therefore, have been reasonably inferred, even in the absence of tradition, that at this time Shakespeare could only have obtained employment at the theatre in a very subordinate capacity, nor can it be safely assumed that there would have been an opening for him of any kind. The quotations above given seem to indicate that his earlier occupation was something of a still lower character. A traditional anecdote was current about the middle of the last century, according to which it would appear that the great dramatist, if connected in any sort of manner with the theatre immediately upon his arrival in London, could only have been engaged in a servile

capacity, and that there was, in the career of the great poet, an interval which some may consider one of degradation, to be regarded with either incredulity or sorrow. Others may, with more discernment and without reluctance, receive the story as a testimony to his practical wisdom in accepting any kind of honest occupation in preference to starvation or mendicancy, and cheerfully making the best of the circumstances by which he was surrounded. The tale is related by several writers, but perhaps the best version is the one recorded by Dr. 81 Johnson, in 1765, in the following terms,—“in the time of Elizabeth, coaches being yet uncommon and hired coaches not at all in use, those who were too proud, too tender or too idle to walk, went on horseback to any distant business or diversion ;—many came on horseback to the play, and when Shakespeare fled to London from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those that had no servants that they might be ready again after the performance ;—in this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shakespeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakespeare could be had ;—this was the first dawn of better fortune ;—Shakespeare, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will Shakespeare was summoned, were immediately present themselves, ‘ I am Shakespeare’s boy, sir ;’—in time Shakespeare found higher employment, but as long as the practice of riding to the play-house continued the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of Shakespeare’s Boys.” Dr. Johnson received this anecdote

dote from Pope, to whom it had been communicated by Rowe; and it appears to have reached the last-named writer through Betterton and Davenant.

It has been and is the fashion with most biographers to discredit the horse tradition entirely, but that it was originally related by Sir William Davenant, and belongs in some form to the earlier half of the seventeenth century, cannot reasonably be doubted. The circumstance of the anecdote being founded upon the practice of gentlemen riding to the theatres, a custom obsolete after the Restoration, is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the story. In a little volume of epigrams by Sir John Davis, printed at Middleborough in or about the year 1599, a man of inferior position is ridiculed for being constantly on horseback, imitating in that respect persons of higher rank, riding even "*into the fieldes playes to behold.*" Most of these horsemen were probably accustomed to a somewhat lavish expenditure, and it may very well be assumed that Shakespeare not unfrequently received more than the ordinary fee of a tester for his services. There is, at all events, no valid reason for enrolling the tradition amongst the absolute fictions that have been circulated respecting the poet. Several writers have taken that course mainly on the ground that, although it was known to Rowe, he does not allude to it in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 1709; but there is no improbability in the supposition that the story was not related to him until after the publication of that work, the second edition of which in 1714 is a mere reprint of the first. Other reasons for the omission may be suggested, but even if it be conceded that the anecdote was rejected as suspicious and improbable, that circumstance alone cannot be decisive against the opinion that

there may be glimmerings of truth in it. This is, indeed, all that is contended for. Few would be disposed to accept the story literally as related by Johnson, but when it is considered that the tradition must be a very early one, that its genealogy is respectable, and that it harmonizes with the general old belief of the great poet having, when first in London, subsisted by "very mean employments," little doubt can fairly be entertained that it has at least in some way or other a foundation in real occurrences. It should also be remembered that horse-stealing was one 82 of the very commonest offences of the period, and one which was probably stimulated by the facility with which delinquents of that class obtained pardons. The safe custody of a horse was a matter of serious import, and a person who had satisfactorily fulfilled such a trust would not be lightly estimated.

It is important to observe that all the early traditions, to which any value can be attached, concur in the belief that Shakespeare did not leave his native town with histrionic intention. Even in the absence of those evidences, although it might not necessarily, still it might, and most likely would, be a fallacy to assume that his dramatic tastes impelled him to undertake an arduous and premeditated journey to encounter the risk of an engagement at a metropolitan theatre, however powerfully they may have influenced his choice of a profession after he had once arrived in London. For, residing throughout his youth in what may fairly be considered a theatrical neighbourhood, with continual facilities for the cultivation of those tastes, if he had yielded in his boyish days to an impulsive fascination for the stage, it is most likely that he would in some way have joined the profession while its doors were

readily accessible through one of the numerous itinerant companies, and before, not after, such inclinations must have been in some measure restrained by the local domestic ties that resulted from his marriage. If he had quitted Stratford-on-Avon in his early youth, there would be no difficulty in understanding that he became one of the elder player's boys or apprentices, but it is extremely unlikely that, at the age of twenty-one, he would have voluntarily left a wife and three children in Warwickshire for the sake of obtaining a miserable position on the London boards.

It is not, therefore, requisite to assume that Shakespeare rushed in the first instance to the theatre or its neighbourhood in search of employment, and a plausible explanation can be given of the circumstances which led him to the occupation mentioned in the Davenant anecdote. It appears that James Burbage, the owner of the Theatre, rented premises close by Smithfield in which he "usually kept horses at liverye for sundry persons;" his assistant, or rather manager, of the stable being "a northerne man usually called by the name of Robyn," possibly the same individual whose life was afterwards sacrificed by the unfortunate rise in the price of oats. If the course adopted by Sadler on his arrival in London was, as is most likely, the one also taken by the poet, the latter would at once have proceeded to Smithfield to obtain the best price for the horse which carried him to the metropolis, the further retention of the animal being no doubt beyond his means. He might readily upon this occasion have become acquainted with James Burbage at a time when he was desirous of obtaining any kind of situation that presented itself, the tradition leading to the inference that he was engaged by the latter to act in some

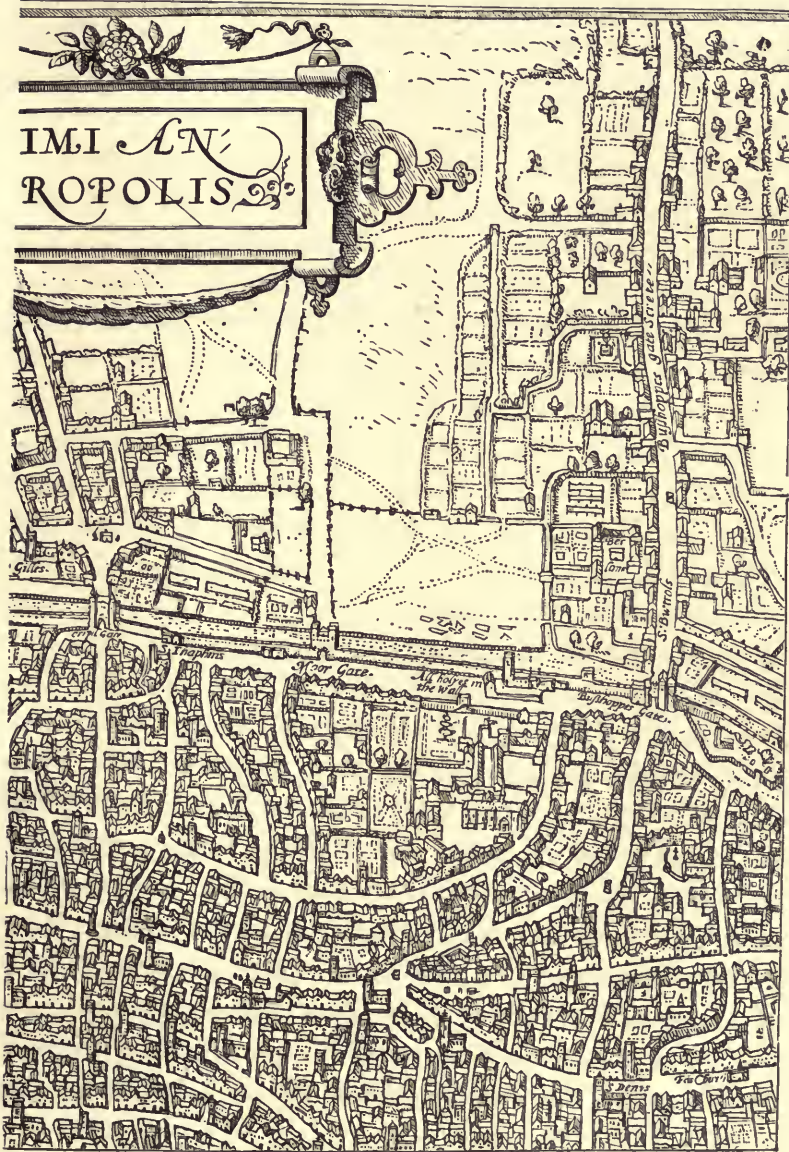
equine capacity. If so, one of his duties would have been the care, during the performances, of the horses of those of Burbage's Smithfield customers who visited the theatre. This enterprising manager was also the landlord of a tavern in Shoreditch, where it is possible that his own horses may have been kept. He must, at all events, have been just the kind of person to be ready to take an active and intelligent rustic into his service, without being too inquisitive respecting the history of the young man's antecedents.

The transition from the stable and the fields to the interior of the theatre may not have been long deferred, but all the evidences unite in affirming that Shakespeare entered the latter in a very humble capacity. The best ⁸³ authority on this point is one William Castle, who was the parish-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon during nearly all the latter part of the seventeenth century, and used to tell visitors that the poet "was received into the playhouse as a servitude," in other words, an attendant on the performers. A later account is somewhat more explicit. We are informed by Malone, writing in 1780, that there was "a stage tradition that his first office in the theatre was that of prompter's attendant, whose employment it is to give the performers notice to be ready to enter as often as the business of the play requires their appearance on the stage;" nor can the future eminence of Shakespeare be considered to be opposed to the reception of the tradition. "I have known men within my remembrance," observes Downes, in 1710, "arrive to the highest dignities of the theatre, who made their entrance in the quality of mutes, joint-stools, flower-pots, and tapestry-hangings." The office of prompter's attendant was at least as respectable as any of the occupations which are here enumerated.

No one has recorded the name of the first theatre with which Shakespeare was connected, but if, as is almost certain, he came to London in or soon after the year 1585, there were at the time of his arrival only two in the metropolis, both of them on the north of the Thames. The earliest legitimate theatre on the south was the Rose, the erection of which was contemplated in the year 1587, but it would seem from Henslowe's Diary that the building was not opened till early in 1592. The circus at Paris Garden, though perhaps occasionally used for dramatic performances, was not a regular theatre. Admitting, however, the possibility that companies of players could have hired the latter establishment, there is good reason for concluding that Southwark was not the locality alluded to in the Davenant tradition. The usual mode of transit, for those Londoners who desired to attend theatrical performances in Southwark, was certainly by water. The boatmen of the Thames were perpetually asserting at a somewhat later period that their living depended on the continuance of the Southwark, and the suppression of the London, theatres. Some few of the courtly members of the audience, perhaps for the mere sake of appearances, might occasionally have arrived at their destination on horseback, having taken what would be to most of them the circuitous route over London Bridge; but the large majority would select the more convenient passage by boat. The Southwark audiences mainly consisted of Londoners, for in the then sparsely inhabited condition of Kent and Surrey very few could have arrived from those counties. The number of riders to the Bankside theatres must, therefore, always have been very limited, too much so for the remunerative employment of horse-holders, whose services would be

required merely in regard to the still fewer persons who were unattended by their lackeys. The only theatres upon the other side of the Thames, when the poet arrived in London, were the Theatre and the Curtain, for, notwithstanding some apparent testimonies to the contrary, the Blackfriars Theatre, as will be afterwards seen, was not then in existence. It was to the Theatre or to the Curtain that the satirist alluded when he speaks of the fashionable youth riding "into the fieldes playes to behold." Both these theatres were situated in the parish of Shoreditch, in the fields of the Liberty of Halliwell, in which locality, if the Davenant tradition is in the slightest degree to be trusted, Shakespeare must have commenced his metropolitan life. This new career, however, was initiated not absolutely in London, but in a thinly populated outskirt about half a mile from the city walls, a locality possessing outwardly the appearance of a country village, but inwardly sustaining much of the bustle and all the vices of the town. These latter inconveniences could easily be avoided, for there were in the neighbouring meadows ample opportunities for quiet meditation or scientific enquiry. Here it was that Gerard, the celebrated botanist, a few years afterwards stumbled upon a new kind of crow-foot which he describes as being similar to the ordinary plant, "saving that his leaves are fatter, thicker, and greener, and his small twiggie stalkes stand upright, otherwise it is like; of which kinde it chanced that, walking in the felde next unto the Theater by London, in company of a worshipfull marchant named master Nicholas Lete, I founde one of this kinde there with double flowers, which before that time I had not seene," the Herball, 1597, p. 804. Thus Shakespeare's observation of our wild flowers was not necessarily





limited, as has been supposed, to his provincial experiences, two of the principal theatres with which he was connected having been situated in a rural suburb, and green fields being throughout his life within an easy walk from any part of London.

Shakespeare's early theatrical life must have been an era of pecuniary struggles. There were his wife and children to support, at all events partially, even if some kind of assistance were tendered by the Hathaways; while his father had been in difficulties for several years past. In 1578, his parents had borrowed the sum of £40, on the security of his mother's estate of Asbies, from their connexion, Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath. The loan remaining unpaid, and the mortgagee dying in March, 1587, his son and heir, John, was naturally desirous of having the matter settled. John Shakespeare being at that time in prison for debt, and obviously unable to furnish the money, it was arranged shortly afterwards that Lambert should, on cancelling the mortgage and paying also the sum of £20, receive from the Shakespeares an absolute title to the estate. This offer would perhaps not have been made had it not been ascertained that the eldest son, William, had a contingent interest, derived no doubt from a settlement, and that his assent was essential to the security of a conveyance. The proposed arrangement was not completed, but the record of the poet's sanction to it is an interesting evidence that no estrangement between his parents and himself had followed the circumstances which led him to the metropolis.

It clearly appears, from the account given by Rowe, that Shakespeare returned to his native town after the dangers from the Lucy prosecution had subsided. The

same writer informs us that the visit occurred subsequently to his junction with one of the theatrical companies. The exact dates of these events are unknown, but it is not likely that he would have ventured into Sir Thomas's neighbourhood for a considerable time after his escapade. Country justices wielded in those days tremendous power in adjudication on minor offences. There were no newspapers to carry the intelligence of provincial tyranny to the ears of a sensitive public opinion, and there is no doubt that a youth in Shakespeare's position, who had dared to lampoon the most influential magistrate of the locality, would have been for some time in a critical position. However greatly he may have desired to rejoin his family, it is, therefore, not probable that the poet would be found again at Stratford-on-Avon before the year 1587, and then we have, in the Lambert episode, a substantial reason for believing that he had at that time a conference with his parents on the subject of the Asbies mortgage. The sum of £20, equivalent to at least £240 of our present money, to be paid in cash by Lambert, would have been an element of serious importance to them all in their then financial circumstances. It must have been a subject for anxious deliberation, one that could hardly have been arranged without a personal interview, and, in the presence of Rowe's testimony, it may fairly be assumed that the meeting took place at Stratford, not in London.

In the same year, 1587, an unusual number of companies of actors visited Stratford-on-Avon, including the Queen's Players and those of Lords Essex, Leicester, and Stafford. This circumstance has given rise to a variety of speculations respecting the company to which the poet may then have belonged; but the fact is that

we are destitute of any information, and have no relative means of forming an opinion on the subject. Even if it be conceded that Burbage's theatre was the first with which Shakespeare was connected, no progress is made in the enquiry. That personage, who had retired from the stage, was in the habit of letting the building to any public entertainers who would remunerate him either in cash or by a share of profits. There was no establishment at that time devoted for a long continuous period to the use of a single company.

It is, however, all but certain that the favourite theory of Shakespeare having been one of the Queen's servants at this period is incorrect, for his name is not found in the official list belonging to the following year; so that, if he was connected in any way with them, he could at the latter date have been merely one of the underlings who were not in a position of sufficient importance to be included in the register. With the single exception of the absence of his name from that list, no evidence whatever has been discovered to warrant a conjecture on the subject. But although there is no reason for believing that he was ever one of the royal actors, we may be sure that he must have witnessed, either at Stratford or London, some of the inimitable performances of the company's star, the celebrated Richard Tarlton. This individual, the "pleasant Willy" of Spenser, who died in September, 1588, was the most popular comedian of the day, one of those instinctive humourists who have merely to show their faces to be greeted with roars of merriment. It may have been, when the part of Derick, the clown, was in his hands, that Shakespeare became acquainted with the Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, a lively play, some of the incidents of which he unquestionably

recollected when composing his histories of that sovereign and his predecessor. There was another drama that was played in London about the same time, one in which Tarlton's personation of a dissolute youth was singularly popular and long remembered. In this latter was a death-bed scene, a notice of which may be worth giving as an example of the dramatic incidents that our ancestors relished in the poet's early days;—A wealthy father, in the last extremity of illness, communicates his testamentary intentions to his three sons. His landed estates are allotted to the eldest, who, overcome with emotion, expresses a fervent wish that the invalid may yet survive to enjoy them himself. To the next, who is a scholar, are left a handsome annuity and a very large sum of money for the purchase of books. Affected equally with his brother, he declares that he has no wish for such gifts, and only hopes that the testator may live to enjoy them himself. The third son, represented by Tarlton, was now summoned to the bed-side, and a grotesque figure he must have appeared in a costume which is described by an eye-witness as including a torn and dirty shirt, a one-sleeved coat, stockings out at heels, and a head-dress of feathers and straw. “As for you, sirrah,” quoths the indignant parent, “you know how often I have fetched you out of Newgate and Bridewell;—you have been an ungracious villain;—I have nothing to bequeath to you but the gallows and a rope.” Following the example of the others, Tarlton bursts into a flood of tears, and then, falling on his knees, sobbingly exclaims,—“O, father, I do not desire them;—I trust to Heaven you shall live to enjoy them yourself.”

It may be gathered, from the poet's subsequent history, that his return to Stratford-on-Avon was merely of a

temporary character. The actors of those days were, as a rule, individual wanderers, spending a large portion of their time at a distance from their families ; and there is every reason for believing that this was the case with Shakespeare from the period of his arrival in London until nearly the end of his life. All the old theatrical companies were more or less of an itinerant character, and it is all but impossible that he should not have already commenced his provincial tours. But what were their directions, or who were his associates, have not been discovered. There is not, indeed, a single particle of evidence respecting his career during the next five years, that is to say, from the time of the Lambert negotiation, in 1587, until he is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist in 1592.

This interval must have been the chief period of Shakespeare's literary education. Removed prematurely from school ; residing with illiterate relatives in a bookless neighbourhood ; thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that, when he first left Stratford, he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunity of acquiring a refined style of composition. After he had once, however, gained a footing in London, he would have been placed under different conditions. Books of many kinds would have been accessible to him, and he would have been almost daily within hearing of the best dramatic poetry of the age. There would also no doubt have been occasional facilities for picking up a little smattering of the continental languages, and it is almost beyond a doubt that he added somewhat to his classical knowledge



This engraving is taken from a sketch which was made by T. J. Blight, F.S.A., in 1862, of one of the best specimens of early half-timbered houses then remaining at Stratford-upon-Avon. It is an undoubted genuine example of sixteenth century work.

during his residence in the metropolis. It is, for instance, hardly possible that the Amores of Ovid, whence he derived his earliest motto, could have been one of his school-books.

Although Shakespeare had exhibited a taste for poetic composition before his first departure from Stratford-on-Avon, all traditions agree in the statement that he was a recognized actor before he joined the ranks of the dramatists. This latter event appears to have occurred on the third of March, 1592, when a new drama, entitled 36 Henry, or Harry, the Sixth, was brought out by Lord Strange's Servants, then acting either at Newington or Southwark under an arrangement with Henslowe, a wealthy stage manager, to whom no doubt the author had sold the play. In this year, as we learn on unquestionable authority, Shakespeare was first rising into 37 prominent notice, so that the history then produced, now known as the First Part of Henry the Sixth, was, in all probability, his earliest complete dramatic work. Its extraordinary success must have secured for the author a substantial position in the theatrical world of the day. The play had, for those times, an unusually long run, so that Nash, writing in or before the following month of July, states that the performances of it had, in that short 38 interval, been witnessed by "ten thousand spectators at least," and, although this estimate may be overstrained, there can be no hesitation in receiving it as a valid testimony to the singular popularity of the new drama. The Second Part of Henry the Sixth must have appeared soon afterwards, but no record of its production on the stage has been preserved. The former drama was published for the first time in the collective edition of 1623. A garbled 39 and spurious version of the second play, the unskilful work 40

of some one who had not access to a perfect copy of the original, appeared in the year 1594 under the title of the First Part of the Contention betwixt the Houses of York
 41 and Lancaster. It was published by Millington, the same bookseller who afterwards issued the surreptitious edition of Henry the Fifth.

Robert Greene, a popular writer and dramatist, who had commenced his literary career nine years previously, died on the third of September, 1592. In a work entitled the Groatsworth of Wit, written shortly before his death, he had travestied, in an interesting sarcastic episode respecting some of his contemporaries, a line from one of Shakespeare's then recent compositions,—
O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide! This line
 42 is of extreme interest as including the earliest record of words composed by the great dramatist. It forms part of a vigorous speech which is as Shakespearean in its natural characterial fidelity, as it is Marlowean in its diction. That speech of the unfortunate Duke of York's is one of the most striking in the play, and the above line was probably selected for quotation by Greene on account of its popularity through effective delivery. The quotation shows that the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was written previously to September, 1592, and hence it may be concluded that all Shakespeare's plays on the subject of that reign, although perhaps subsequently
 43 revised in a few places by the author, were originally produced in that year. A surreptitious and tinkered version of the Third Part, made up by an inferior hand chiefly out of imperfect materials, appeared in 1595 under the title of the Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and therein stated to have been "sundry times acted by the
 44 Earl of Pembroke's servants."

There is no reason for wonder in the style of a young author being influenced by that of a popular and accomplished contemporary, and judgment on the authorship of much of the above-named plays should not be ruled by a criticism which can only fairly be applied to the rapidly approaching period when the great dramatist had outlived the possibility of appearing in the character of an imitative writer. That Shakespeare commenced his literary vocation as, to some extent, a follower of Marlowe can hardly be denied, even were the line quoted by Greene the only remnant of his early plays ; and that the three parts of Henry the Sixth had been some years on the stage, when Henry the Fifth was produced in 1599, may be gathered from that interesting relic of literary autobiography, the final chorus to the latter play. No theory respecting the history of the former dramas is wholly free from embarrassing perplexities, but that which best agrees with the positive evidences is that which concedes the authorship of the three plays to Shakespeare, their production to the year 1592, and the quarto editions of the Second and Third Parts as vamped, imperfect, and blundering versions of the poet's own original dramas.

The *Groatsworth of Wit* was published very soon after the unfortunate writer's decease, that is to say, it appeared towards the end of September, 1592 ; and it is clear that one portion of it had been composed under the influence of a profound jealousy of Shakespeare. Greene is addressing his fellow-dramatists, and speaking of the actors of their plays, thus introduces his satirical observations on the author of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth, with a travesty of the line above mentioned,—“trust them not, for there is an upstart crow, beautified with

our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is, in his owne conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a countrie." It was natural that these impertinent remarks should have annoyed the object of them, and that they were so far effective may be gathered from an interesting statement made by the editor, Henry Chettle, in a work of his own, entitled *Kind-Heart's Dream*, that he published a few weeks afterwards, in which he specially regrets that the attack had proved offensive to Shakespeare, whom, he observes, —“at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion, especially in such a case, the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had benee my fault, because myselfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes ; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooves his art.” Apologies of this kind are so apt to be overstrained that we can hardly gather more from the present one than the respectable position Shakespeare held as a writer and actor, and that Chettle, having made his acquaintance, was desirous of keeping friends with one who was beginning to be
236 appreciated by the higher classes of society. The
118 annoyance, however, occasioned by Greene's posthumous criticism was soon forgotten by the poet amidst the triumphs of his subsequent career.

Removing now the scene of our fragmentary history from the metropolis to the country, we find, at the time

of Greene's lampoonry, the poet's father busily engaged with his counters in appraising the goods of one Henry Field, a tanner of Stratford-on-Avon, whose inventory, attached to his will, was taken in August, 1592. This tradesman's son, Richard, who was apprenticed to a printer in London in the year 1579, took up his freedom in 1587, and soon afterwards commenced business on his own account, an elegant copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1589, being amongst the numerous works that issued from his press. It is most likely, indeed all but certain, that Shakespeare participated in his father's acquaintance with the printer's relatives, and at all events there was the provincial tie, so specially dear to Englishmen when at a distance from the town of their birth, between the poet and Richard Field. When, therefore, the latter is discovered, early in the year 1593, engaged in the production of *Venus and Adonis*, it is only reasonable to infer that the author had a control over the typographical arrangements. The purity of the text and the nature of the dedication may be thought to strengthen this opinion, and although poems were not then generally introduced to the public in the same glowing terms usually accorded to dramatic pieces, the singularly brief and anonymous title-page does not bear the appearance of a publisher's handywork. Field, however, registered the copyright to himself on April the 18th, and the work was offered for sale, at the White Greyhound in St. Paul's Churchyard, by his friend, John Harrison, the publisher of the first three editions, and who next year became the owner both of the *Venus* and *Lucrece*. It may be well to record that the publication had what was probably the vicarious sanction of no less an individual than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, although no Puritan, would scarcely



VENVS AND ADONIS

*Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.*



LONDON

Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at
the signe of the white Greyhound in
Paules Church-yard.

1593.

Upon the opposite page is a facsimile of the title of Shakespeare's earliest printed work, one which was introduced to the public by the following most interesting dedication. The latter is the author's first undramatic prose composition which is known to exist.



**TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
Henrie VVriothesley, Earle of Southampton,
and Baron of Titchfield.**



Right Honourable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my vnpolisht lines to your Lordship, nor how the worlde wvill censure mee for choosing so strong a proppe to support so vweake a burthen, onely if your Honour seeme but pleased, I account my selfe highly praised, and vome to take aduantage of all idle houres, till I haue honoured you vwith some grauer labour. But if the first heire of my inuention proue deformed, I shall be sorie it had so noble a god-father : and neuer after care so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a haruest, I leaue it to your Honourable suruey, and your Honor to your hearts content, vvhich I wish may alvvaies ansvwere your ovvne vwish, and the vworlds hopefull expectation.

Your Honors in all dutie,

William Shakespeare.

have considered its exquisite versification sufficient to
93 atone for its voluptuous character.

The poem of *Venus and Adonis*, which was favorably
94 received and long continued to be the most popular book
of the kind, is termed by the author "the first heir of my
invention." If these words are to be literally interpreted,
it must have been written in or before the year 1592 ;
but Shakespeare may be referring only to works of a
strictly poetical character, which were then held in far
higher estimation than dramatic compositions. However
that may be, the oft-repeated belief that *Venus and
Adonis* was a production of his younger days at Stratford-
on-Avon can hardly be sustained. It is extremely
improbable that an epic, so highly finished and so
completely devoid of patois, could have been produced
under the circumstances of his then domestic surroundings,
while, moreover, the notion is opposed to the best and
earliest traditional opinions. It is also to be observed
that there is nothing in the *Dedication* in favour of such
a conjecture, although the fact, had it been one, would
95 have formed a ready and natural defence against the
writer's obvious timidity. The work was inscribed,
apparently without permission, to Lord Southampton, a
young nobleman then only in his twentieth year, who
about this time had commenced to exhibit a special dis-
position to encourage the rising authors of the metropolis.

Literature, in Shakespeare's time, was nearly the only
passport of the lower and middle class to the countenance
and friendship of the great. It was no wonder that the
poet, in days when interest was all but omnipotent,
should have wished to secure the advantages that could
hardly fail to be derived from a special association with
an individual in the favoured position, and with the

exceptionally generous character, of Lord Southampton. Wealthy, accomplished and romantic,—with a temperament that could listen to a metrical narrative of the follies of Venus without yielding to hysterics,—the young nobleman was presumably the most eligible dedicatee that Shakespeare could have desired for the introduction of his first poem to the literary world. It is evident, however, that, when he was penning the inscription to Venus and Adonis, whatever presentiment he may have entertained on the subject, he was by no means sure that his lordship would give a friendly reception to, much less so that he would be gratified by, the intended compliment. But all doubts upon these points were speedily removed, and little more than a twelvemonth elapsed before the poet is found warmly attached to Lord Southampton, and eagerly taking the opportunity, in his second address, of tendering his gratitude for favours conferred in the interval.

Although the plague was raging violently in London at the time, and theatrical performances were forbidden, the companies do not appear to have entered upon their rural tours until shortly after the publication of Venus and Adonis. It is very likely, therefore, that Shakespeare was in town when his manuscript was at the printer's, and not impossible that he glanced over the proof-sheets, besides superintending the general arrangement of the work. While the poet was or may have been thus engaged, it is curious that John Norden, the only really able surveyor of the day, should have chosen this dangerous season for the formation of an elaborate plan of the metropolis. Little could the worthy draughtsman have imagined that the main value of his labours would have consisted in their telling posterity something about



the city that was traversed by the youthful poet. Yet so it was to be, and the nature of London, as it existed between the years 1587 and 1616, has become of national interest. There it was, with its dense mass of thickly-peopled houses within the walls, and, outside that limited area, what may perhaps be fitly described as partial suburbs of a like crowded description and scattered fragments of provincial towns. A walk of about a mile and a half would have taken the great dramatist from his
298 apartment in Southwark right through London to the northern theatres, each termination of this little distance being practically in the country. The deadly epidemic, however, being at this period especially virulent in Shoreditch, it is most likely that Shakespeare was then keeping away as much as possible from that locality, and that he was occupied elsewhere in completing his literary engagements in view of an approaching professional tour. Crossing the river by boat and landing at the Blackfriars Stairs, he would have been within a few minutes' walk of Field's printing-office, near Ludgate, where the types of Venus and Adonis were being set up. That house was close to all the leading publishers of the day, and a reference to Norden's map will show how very circumscribed was the space in which his metropolitan business of all kinds must have been transacted,—how small was the world to which his first poem was chiefly addressed. Although
58 this interesting plan, here engraved in fac-simile, is not quite accurate in some of its measurements, there is no doubt of its general fidelity, and that it gives the reader a better idea of Shakespeare's London than could be conveyed by written description. It should be observed that the circular building, there noted as "the play-howse," is the Rose, the theatre in which his earliest dramas

were produced. The Theatre and the Curtain stood in the fields to the left of the road which leads upwards from Bishopsgate, but most unfortunately the limits of the plan just suffices for the exclusion of those interesting structures.

In the winter-season of 1593-4, Shakespeare's earliest tragedy, which was, unfortunately, based on a repulsive tale, was brought out by the Earl of Sussex's actors, who were then performing, after a tour in the provinces, at one of the Surrey theatres. They were either hired by, or playing under some financial arrangement with, Henslowe; who, after the representation of a number of revivals, ventured upon the production of a drama on the story of Titus Andronicus, the only new play introduced ²⁴ during the season. This tragedy, having been successfully produced before a large audience on January the 23rd, ²⁵ 1594, was shortly afterwards entered on the books of the Stationers' Company and published by Danter. It was also performed, almost if not quite simultaneously, by the servants of the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. ¹¹² Thus it appears that Shakespeare, up to this period, had written all his dramas for Henslowe, and that they were acted, under the sanction of that manager, by the various companies performing from 1592 to 1594 at the Rose Theatre and Newington Butts. The acting copies of Titus Andronicus and the three parts of Henry the Sixth must of course have been afterwards transferred by Henslowe to the Lord Chamberlain's company.

Hideous and repulsive as the story of Tamora and the Andronici is now considered, it was anything but repugnant to the taste of the general public in Henslowe's day. Neither was it regarded as out of the pale of the

legitimate drama by the most cultivated, otherwise so able a scholar and critic as Meres would hardly, several years after the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*, have inserted its title amongst those of the noteworthy tragedies of Shakespeare. The audiences of Elizabeth's time revelled in the very crudity of the horrible, so much so that nearly every kind of bodily torture and mutilation, or even more revolting incidents, formed part of the stock business of the theatre. Murders were in special request in all kinds of serious dramas. Wilson, one of Lord Leicester's servants, was thought in 1581 to be just the person to write a play then urgently desired, which was not only to "be original and amusing," but was also to include "plenty of mystery," and "be full of all sorts of murders, immorality, and robberies." Nor was the taste for the predominance of the worst kind of sensational incidents restricted to the public stage, as any one may see who will care to peruse the *Misfortunes of Arthur*, produced with great flourish by the students of Gray's Inn in 1588. This deplorable fancy was nearly in its zenith at the time of the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*. In the same year, 1594, there was published the *Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turkes*, a composition offering similar attractions, but the writer was so afraid of his massacres being considered too insipid, he thus reveals his misgivings to the audience,—

If this First Part, gentles, do like you well,
The Second Part shall greater murders tell.

The character of the theatrical speculations of Henslowe was obviously influenced, in common with that of nearly all managers, by the current tastes of the public, and, in an age like the one now spoken of, is it wonderful that

he should have considered the story of Titus Andronicus a fit theme for the dramatist? Is it also marvellous that Shakespeare, a young author then struggling into position, should not have felt it his duty, on æsthetic grounds, to reject an offer the acceptance of which invited no hostile criticism, while it opened out a prospect of material advantages? Henslowe's judgment, regulated by thoughts of the money-box, not by those of attempted reforms of the drama, were no doubt in his own opinion amply justified by the result. A certain deference to the expectations of a popular audience is, indeed, nearly always essential to the continuous support of a theatre, and it is not unlikely that the very incidents now so offensive were those which mainly contributed to the success of the tragedy. As for the poet's share in the transaction, we are too apt to consider it indefensible under any measure of temptation, without reflecting to what extent a familiarity with representative horrors might produce an unconscious indifference to their ghastliness even in the tenderest of natures. Such horrors belong to the taste of the age, not to that of the individual. We must try to reconcile ourselves, as best we may, to the obvious fact that Shakespeare did not always consider it necessary to deviate from the course of his foundation-²³⁹tales for the sake of avoiding the barbarities of the ancient stage. Had it been otherwise, the story of Titus Andronicus might have been purified, and we also mercifully spared from a contemplation of the appalling eye-scene in the tragedy of Lear.

No discussion on either of the last-named plays, or on many of the others, can be satisfactorily conducted so long as the influences of the older drama, and the theatric usages of the time, are not ever carefully borne in mind.

It is a fallacy to admit, with many, the necessity of true criticism being grounded upon a reverential belief that the whole of Shakespeare's plays, in the forms in which they have descended to us, are examples of the unvarying perfection of the writer's judgment and dramatic art. That he was endowed with an exquisite judgment there is ample evidence, but that it was not always utilized is equally indisputable. It is obvious that, in several instances, when vivifying some of the most popular old English dramas, he was contented to transfer irrational plots and defective constructions that had been firmly established in public favour. The latter were sometimes adopted without an effort to bring them into harmony with the conduct of the action; and there appears to have been generally a disinclination on his part to originate either plots or incidents. So numerous were the popular and other tales that were suited for contemporary dramatic purposes, there was, as a rule, no theatrical necessity for his inventing either; while the creation of a new story, never an easy and generally a hazardous task for a dramatist, might have been more trouble to him than the composition of a play. Shakespeare was leading a busy life, and there are no indications that he would have delayed the completion of any one of his works for the sake of art. It should be remembered that his dramas were not written for posterity, but as a matter of business, never for his own speculation but always for that of the managers of the theatre, the choice of subject being occasionally dictated by them or by patrons of the stage; his task having been to construct out of certain given or elected materials successful dramas for the audiences of the day. It is not pretended that he did not invariably take an earnest interest in his work, his intense sympathy

with each character forbidding such an assumption ; but simply that his other tastes were subordinated when necessary to his duty to his employers. If the managers considered that the popular feeling was likely to encourage, or if an influential patron or the Court desired, the production of a drama on some special theme, it was composed to order on that subject, no matter how repulsive the character of the plot or how intrinsically it was unfitted for dramatic purposes. Working thus under the domination of a commercial spirit, it is impossible to say to what extent his work was affected by unfavourable influences ; such, for example, as the necessity of finishing a drama with undue haste, the whole, as it may have been, especially in his early days, written under disturbing circumstances in the room of a noisy tavern or in an inconvenient lodging that served him for " parlour, kitchen, and hall." And, again, besides the incongruities derived from the older plays or novels, his control over his art was occasionally liable to be governed by the customs and exigencies of the ancient stage, so much so that, in a few instances, the action of a scene was diverted for the express purpose of complying with those necessities. From some of these causes may have arisen simultaneous inequalities in taste and art which otherwise appear to be inexplicable, and which would doubtlessly have been removed had Shakespeare lived to have given the public a revised edition of his works during his retirement at Stratford-on-Avon, and had wished to display that uniformity of excellence which he alone, of all prolific writers, might have achieved.

The Burbages, however, had no conception of his intellectual supremacy, and, if they had, it is certain that they would not have deviated on that account from the

course they were in the habit of pursuing. In their estimation, however, he was merely, to use their own words, a "deserving man," an effective actor and a popular writer, one who would not have been considered so valuable a member of their staff had he not also worked as a practical man of business, knowing that the success of the theatre was identified with his own, and that, within certain limits, it was necessary that his art should be regulated by expediency. There is, indeed, no evidence that Shakespeare wrote, at any period of his life, without a constant reference to the immediate effect of his dramas upon the theatrical public of his own day; and it may reasonably be suspected that there is not one of them which is the result of an express or cherished literary design. He was sometimes, moreover, in such a hurry of composition that a reference to the original foundation-story is necessary for the complete elucidation of his meaning, another circumstance which is incompatible with a resolute desire for the construction of perfect artistic work. This is one of the several indications which lead to the high probability that his theatrical success was neither the result of a devotion to art, nor of a solicitude for the eulogy of readers, but of his unrivalled power of characterization, of his intimate knowledge of stage business, and of a fidelity to mental nature that touched the hearts of all. These qualities, although less prominently developed in *Titus Andronicus* than in many other of his plays, are yet to be observed in that inferior work. Even amidst its display of barbarous and abandoned personages, neither sternness nor profligacy is permitted to altogether extinguish the natural emotions, while, at the same time, the unities of character are well sustained. It is by tests such as these,

not by counting its syllables or analyzing its peculiarities of style, that the authenticity of Shakespeare's earliest 26 tragedy should be determined.

Although it is dangerous nowadays to enter upon the history of Shakespeare's art with the language of common-sense, the risk must be encountered if we are not contented to lose interesting examples of the poet's youthful genius. If, indeed, all is to be discarded that offends the extrajudicial taste of modern purists, the object of our idolatry will be converted into a king of dramatic shreds and patches. The evil arises from the practice of discussing the intricacies of that art without reference to the conditions under which it was evolved. Those which have been above-mentioned will go far to explain many difficulties, and especially the singular variations of power that are occasionally to be traced in one and the same drama. A few words on the general question may now be added. In one sense, that of being the delineator of the passions and character, Shakespeare was the greatest artist that ever lived, as he was also in melody, and in all kinds of dramatic expression. But in another and very usual meaning of that personal term, in that of being an elaborator intent on rendering his component work artistically faultless in the eye of criticism, he can hardly be thought to have even a slight claim to the title. When Ben Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1619, that "Shakespeare wanted art," he referred no doubt to his general negligence in the latter respect, and perhaps especially to his occasional defects in construction. One of Shakespeare's most wonderful gifts was his unlimited power of a characterial invention to suit any kind of plot, no matter how ill-devised, and, at the same time harmonize with theatrical expediencies, however

incongruous, which might have been considered by the managers or actors to have been essential to the maintenance of popularity. "His wit," observes the same Rare Ben, dissatisfied with what he no doubt thought a reckless mode of composition, "was in his own power;—would *the rule* of it had been so too!" It was natural that Jonson, with his reverence for classical models, should regard his great contemporary's indifference to them with disdain. But Shakespeare, endowed with an universal genius, created his personages by unfettered instinct, and, most happily, the times and circumstances were alike favourable to the development of the dramatic power by which alone the perfect results of that genius could have been exhibited. Commencing his public life as an actor, he had the inestimable advantage of gaining a preliminary
259 knowledge of all that was most likely to be effective on the stage, the then conventionalities of which, moreover, by their very simplicity, and notwithstanding one or two drawbacks, were eminently calculated for the fullest exercise of an author's poetic and imaginative faculties. Then there was a language which, having for some time past been emancipated from the influence of literal terminations, had attained a form that gave matchless facilities for the display of nervous expression, and this in the brightest period of earnest and vigorous English thought. That language found in Shakespeare its felicitous and unrivalled exponent, and although on occasions his words either imperfectly represent the thought or are philologically erroneous, becoming thus to mere readers inextricably obscure, it may be confidently averred that there is not one speech, the essential meanings of which, if it were properly delivered, would not have been directly intelligible to the auditory. He

had also ready prepared to his hands the matured outward form of a drama, its personages and their histories, all waiting for the hand that was to endow them with grace and life. It was then his unconscious mission through the most effective agency, that of the stage, to interpret human nature to the people. That interpretation was fortunately neither cramped nor distorted by the necessity of adherence to literary rule, while the popular tastes sanctioned its uncontrolled application to every variety of character, through all kinds of probable or improbable situation,—before fairy-land had been exiled, and the thunder of *fi-foh-fum* had lost its solemnity. Writing first for a living, and then for affluence, his sole aim was to please an audience, most of whom, be it remembered, were not only illiterate, but unable to either read or write. But this very ignorance of the large majority of his public, so far from being a disadvantage, enabled him to disregard restrictive canons and the tastes of scholars,—to make that appeal to the heart and intellect which can only be universal when it reaches the intuitive perceptions of the lowliest,—and by exhibiting his marvellous conceptions in the pristine form in which they had instinctively emanated, become the poet of nature instead of the poet of art. That Shakespeare wrote without effort, by inspiration not by design, was, so far as it has been recorded, the unanimous belief of his contemporaries and immediate successors. It was surely to this comprehensive truth, and not exclusively to the natural music of his verse, that Milton referred when, in two of the most exquisite lines respecting him that were ever penned, he speaks of *Fancy's child* warbling “his native wood-notes wild.” If those notes had been cabined by philosophy and

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methodically cultivated, they might have been as intrinsically powerful, but they would assuredly have lost much of their present charm.

It cannot be absolutely observed of Shakespeare, as it has been of another great poet, that he woke up one morning to discover that he was famous, but there is reason for believing that the publication of his *Lucrece*, in the May of this year, 1594, almost immediately secured for its author a higher reputation than would then have been established by the most brilliant efforts of dramatic art. This magnificent poem, which was originally proposed to be entitled the *Ravishment of Lucrece*, must have been written after the *Dedication to Venus and Adonis*, and before the entry of the former work at Stationers' Hall, that is to say, at some time between April, 1593, and May, 1594. There can be no doubt of the estimation in which it was held in the year of publication, the author of an elegy on *Lady Helen Branch*, 1594, including amongst our *greater poetes*,—"you that have writ of chaste *Lucretia*,=whose death was witness of her spotlesse life;" and *Drayton*, in his *Matilda*, of the same date, speaking of *Lucrece*, "lately reviv'd to live another
108 age." Shakespeare's new poem is also mentioned in *Willobie's Avisa*, published in September, 1594, the earliest contemporary work in which he is introduced by name; and in the following year, "*Lucrecia—sweet Shakespeare*," is a marginal note to *Polimanteia*, 1595, one which implies that it was then considered his best work. Later references testify its continued appreciation,
109 and it was received as the perfect exposition of woman's chastity, a sequel, or rather perhaps a companion, to the earlier one of her profligacy. The contemporaries of Shakespeare allude more than once to the two poems

as being his most important works, and as those on which his literary distinction chiefly rested.

The prefixes to the *Venus* and *Lucrece* are, in the presence of so few biographical memorials, inestimable records of their author. The two dedications and the argument to the second work are the only non-dramatic prose compositions of Shakespeare that have descended to modern times, while the former are, alas, the sole remaining samples of his epistolary writings. The latter are of course by far the more interesting, and, making allowances for the inordinate deference to rank which then prevailed, they are perfect examples of the judicious fusion of independence with courtesy in a suggestive application for a favour, and in expressions of gratitude for its concession.

In the June of this same year, 1594, *Titus Andronicus* was performed at Newington Butts by the Lord Chamberlain's, then acting in conjunction with the Lord Admiral's, Servants. It is exceedingly probable that Shakespeare then belonged to the former company, and if so, the poet would have been one of the actors in the plays daily represented, Friday excepted, at the Newington Theatre from the third to the thirteenth of June in that year, in performances which included Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, the old tragedy of *Hamlet*, and the *Taming of a Shrew*.

The earliest definite notice, however, of the poet's appearance on the stage, is one in which he is recorded as having been a player in two comedies that were acted before Queen Elizabeth in the following December, 1594, at Greenwich Palace. He was then described as one of the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, and was associated in the performances with Kemp and Burbage, the former



GREENWICH PALACE, WHERE SHAKESPEARE ACTED BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH IN 1594.

The fact of Shakespeare having performed before Queen Elizabeth in December, 1594, is established by the following entry recorded in the manuscript accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber,—“to William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richarde Burbage, servauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councelles warrant dated at Whitehall xv. to Marcij, 1594, for twoe severall comedies or enterludes shewed by them before her Majestie in Christmas tyme laste paste, viz., upon St. Stephens daye and Innocentes daye xij. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.* and by waye of her Majesties rewarde vj. *li.* xij. *s.* iiij. *d.* in all xx. *li.*” The Court was then at Greenwich Palace. “For making ready at Grenewich for the Qu. Majestie against her Highnes coming thether, by the space of viij. daies mense Decembr., 1594, as appereth by a bill signed by the Lord Chamberleyne, vij. *li.* xij. *s.* iiij. *d.*” MS. *ibid.* “To Tho: Sheffelde, under-keeper of her Majesties house at Grenewich for thallowaunce of viij. labourers there three severall nightes, at xij. *d.* the man, by reason it was night-woorke, for making cleane the greate chamber, the Presence, the galleries and clossettes, mense Decembr., 1594, xxiiij. *s.*” MS. *ibid.* The view of the Palace here introduced is taken from one on a much larger scale which was engraved by Basire from an ancient drawing, and published in 1767. This is believed to be the only authentic representation of the building as it appeared at the time of Shakespeare’s visit. There are a number of views belonging to other periods, and an engraving of modern date purporting to represent it, but the last is really from a sketch of a large Elizabethan mansion which formerly stood in the immediate neighbourhood.

of whom was the most favourite comedian of the day. It is not known to what company or companies Shakespeare belonged previously to his adhesion to the one last named ; but the probabilities are these.—It is well ascertained that Henslowe was an exceedingly grasping manager, and it is, therefore, most unlikely that he would have speculated in new plays that were not intended for immediate use. We may then fairly assume that every drama composed for him would be, in the first instance, produced by the actors that occupied his theatre when the manuscript was purchased. Now, as Shakespeare was an actor as well as a dramatist, there is an inclination towards the belief that he would have been engaged at Henslowe's theatre when employed to write for that personage, and, if we accept the theory of early production, would have belonged to those companies by whom the first representations of his dramas were given. If
194 this view be taken, it would appear that the poet was one of Lord Strange's actors in March, 1592 ; one of Lord Pembroke's a few months later ; and that he had joined the company of the Earl of Sussex in or before January, 1594.

There were rare doings at Gray's Inn in the Christmas holidays of the year last mentioned. The students of that house had usually excelled in their festive arrangements, and now they were making preparations for revels on a scale of exceptional magnificence, sports that were to include burlesque performances, masques, plays and dances, as well as processions through London and on the Thames. A mock Court was held at the Inn under the presidency of one Henry Helmes, a Norfolk gentleman, who was elected Prince of Purpoole, the ancient name of the manor, other students being elected to serve

under him in all the various offices then appertaining to royalty and government. The grand entertainment of all was arranged for the evening of Innocent's Day, December the 28th, on which occasion high scaffolds had been erected in the hall for the accommodation of the revellers and the principal guests, a large number of the latter having received invitations. Amongst the guests, the students of the Inner Temple, joining in the humour of their professional neighbours, and appearing as an embassy credited by their Emperor, arrived about nine o'clock "very gallantly appointed." The ambassador, we are told, was "brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets, the King-at-Arms and Lords of Purpoole making to his company, which marched before him in order;—he was received very kindly by the Prince, and placed in a chair beside his Highness, to the end that he might be partaker of the sports intended." Complimentary addresses were then exchanged between the Prince and the Ambassador, but, owing to defective arrangements for a limitation of the number of those entitled to admission on the stage, there followed a scene of confusion which ended in the Templarians retiring in dudgeon. "After their departure," as we are told in the original narrative, "the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them continued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever; in regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing of the Templarians, it was thought good not to offer anything of account saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and, after such sports, a Comedy of Errors, like to Plautus⁷⁶ his Menechmus, was played by the players; so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but

confusion and errors, whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors." This is the earliest notice of the comedy which has yet been discovered, but that it was written before the year 1594 may be inferred from an allusion in it to the civil war for and against Henry the Fourth, the Protestant heir to the French throne, a contest which terminated in 1593.

The spacious and elegant open-roofed hall of Gray's Inn, the erection of which was completed in the year 1560, is one of the only two buildings now remaining in London in which, so far as we know, any of the plays of Shakespeare were performed in his own time. In accordance with the then usual custom of the Inns of Court, professional actors were engaged for the representation of the Comedy of Errors, and although their names are not mentioned, it may be safely inferred that the play was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, that to which Shakespeare was then attached, and the owners of the copyright. The performance must have taken place very late on the night following the day in which the poet had appeared before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich. On the next evening there was a Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Gray's Inn to enquire into the circumstances of the misfortunes of the previous night, the cause of the tumult being assigned to the intervention of a sorcerer; but it is hardly pleasant to be told, even in burlesque, that this personage was accused of having "foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors and confusions." The Comedy of Errors, the perfection of dramatic farce, long continued an acting play, it having been performed before James the First on December the 28th, 1604.

When Greene thought to be sarcastic in terming Shakespeare "an absolute Johannes Factotum," he furnished an independent and valuable testimony to the poet's conspicuous activity. It is but reasonable to assume that part of this energy in theatrical matters was devoted, in accordance with the ordinary practice of the time, to the revision and enlargement of the plays of others, work then assigned by managers to any convenient hands, without reference to sentimental views of authorial integrity. No record, however, has been discovered of the name of even one drama so treated by Shakespeare in the early period of his career, so that, if any such composition is preserved, the identification necessarily depends upon the tests of internal evidence. These are valueless in the chief direction, for there is surely not a known possible example in which is to be traced the incontestible supremacy of dramatic power that would on that account sanction the positive attribution of even one of its scenes to the pen of the great dramatist. Other tests, such as those of phraseology and mannerism, are nearly always illusory, but in an anonymous and popular drama entitled the Reign of King Edward the Third, produced in or before the year 1595, there are occasional passages which, by most judgments, will be accepted as having been written either by Shakespeare, or by an exceedingly dexterous and successful imitator of one of his then favourite styles of composition. For who but one or the other could have endowed a kind and gentle lady with the ability of replying to the impertinent addresses of a foolish sovereign in words such as these,—

As easy may my intellectual soul
Be lent away, and yet my body live,

As lend my body, palace to my soul,
 Away from her, and yet retain my soul.
 My body is her bower, her court, her abbey,
 And she an angel,—pure, divine, unspotted !
 If I should lend her house, my lord, to thee,
 I kill my poor soul, and my poor soul me.

or have enabled the king, when instinctively acknowledging the dread effect of her beauty, to thus express a wish that “ugly treason” might lie,—

No farther off than her conspiring eye,
 Which shoots infected poison in my heart,
 Beyond repulse of wit or cure of art.
 Now in the sun alone it doth not lie,
 With light to take light from a mortal eye ;
 For here two day-stars, that mine eyes would see,
 More than the sun steal mine own light from me.
 Contemplative desire !—desire to be
 In contemplation that may master thee.

or have made the royal secretary convey his impression of the lady's conquest in the following lines,—

I might perceive his eye in her eye lost,
 His ear to drink her sweet tongue's utterance ;
 And changing passion, like inconstant clouds,
 That rackt upon the carriage of the winds,
 Increase and die in his disturbed cheeks.
 Lo ! when she blush'd even then did he look pale,
 As if her cheeks, by some enchanted power,
 Attracted had the cherry blood from his.
 Anon, with reverent fear, when she grew pale,
 His cheeks put on their scarlet ornaments,
 But no more like her oriental red
 Than brick to coral, or live things to dead.

but, as it is possible that Edward the Third was composed

some time before the year 1595, it may, of course, be assumed that Shakespeare himself was the imitator, in his own acknowledged works, of the style of the writer of this anonymous play, or of that of some other author, the predecessor of both. Not one in fifty of the dramas of this period having descended to modern times, much of the reasoning upon this and similar questions must be received with grave suspicion of its validity, and the exact history of the composition of the play above quoted will most likely remain for ever a mystery. If, however, it is thought probable that Shakespeare's career of imitation expired with his treading in some of the footsteps of Marlowe, and that he had not, at the latest time when Edward the Third could have appeared, achieved a popularity sufficient to attract imitators of his own style, then there will be at least an excusable surmise that his work is to be traced in parts of that historical drama. Every now and then one meets in it with passages, especially in the scenes referring to the King's infatuation for the Countess of Salisbury, which are so infinitely superior in composition to the rest of the play, and so exactly in Shakespeare's manner, this presumption, under the above-named premises, can scarcely be avoided. Whether this view be accepted or not, Edward the Third will, under any circumstances, be indissolubly connected with the literary history of the great dramatist, for one of its lines is also found in his ninety-fourth sonnet. As the last-named poem, even if it had been written as early as 1595, was not printed for many years afterwards, it is unlikely that the line in question could have been transplanted from the sonnet into the play by any one but Shakespeare himself, who, however, might have reversed the operation, whether he were or were not the

original author of the words. This is the passage in the drama in which the line of the sonnet is introduced,—

A spacious field of reasons could I urge
 Between his gloomy daughter and thy shame,—
 That poison shows worst in a golden cup ;
 Dark night seems darker by the lightning flash ;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds ;
 And every glory that inclines to sin,
 The shame is treble by the opposite.

In the summer of the year 1596, upon the death of the Lord Chamberlain on July the 22nd, the company of actors to which the poet belonged became the servants of the late Chamberlain's eldest son, Lord Hunsdon, and one
 52 of the first dramas selected by them, while in their new position, was Shakespeare's tragedy of Romeo and Juliet,
 53 which was produced at the Curtain Theatre and met with great success. Romeo and Juliet may be said, indeed, to have taken the metropolis by storm and to have become
 54 *the* play of the season. Its popularity led to the compilation of an imperfect and unauthorized edition which issued from Danter's press in the following year, one got up in such haste that two founts of type were engaged in its composition. In 1599, Cuthbert Burby, a bookseller, whose shop was near the Royal Exchange, published the tragedy with the overstrained announcement that it had been "newly corrected, augmented and amended." This is the version of the drama which is now accepted, and it appears to be an authentic copy of the tragedy produced in 1596, after a few passages in the latter had been revised by the author. The long-continued popularity of Romeo and Juliet may
 55 be inferred from several early allusions, as well as from the express testimony of Leonard Digges, but it is

rather singular that the author's name is not mentioned in any of the old editions until some time after the year 1609. An interesting tradition respecting one of the characters in this tragedy is recorded in 1672 by Dryden, who observes that the great dramatist "showed the best of his skill in his Mercutio, and he said himself that he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him." The eminent narrator of this little anecdote ingenuously adds, — "but, for my part, I cannot find he was so dangerous a person;—I see nothing in him but what was so exceeding harmless that he might have lived to the end of the play, and died in his bed, without offence to any man."

A severe domestic affliction marred the pleasure that the author might otherwise have derived from his last-mentioned triumph. His only son Hamnet, then in his twelfth year, died early in August, 1596, and was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month. At the close of the year the poet also lost his uncle Henry, the farmer of Snitterfield, during the same Christmas holidays in which his company had the honour of performing on two occasions before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall Palace.

No positive information on the subject has been recorded, but the few evidences there are lead to the belief that the Shakespeare family continued, throughout his life, to reside in the poet's native town. They had not accompanied him in his first visit to the metropolis, and, from the circumstance of the burial of Hamnet at Stratford-on-Avon, it may be confidently inferred that they were living there at the time of the poor youth's decease. It is in the highest degree unlikely that they could have taken up an abode anywhere else but in London, and no hint is

given of the latter having been the case. Let it also be borne in mind that Shakespeare's occupations debarred him from the possibility of his sustaining even an approach to a continuous domestic life, so that, when his known attachment to Stratford is taken into consideration, it seems all but certain that his wife and children were but waiting there under economical circumstances, perhaps with his parents in Henley Street, until he could provide them with a comfortable residence of their own. Every particular that is known indicates that he admitted no disgrace in the irresponsible persecution which occasioned his retreat to London, and that he persistently entertained the wish to make Stratford his and his family's only permanent home. This desire was too confirmed to be materially affected even by the death of his only son, for, shortly after that event, he is discovered taking a fancy to one of the largest houses in the town, and becoming its purchaser in the following year. At this time, 1596, he appears to have been residing, when in town, in lodgings near the Bear Garden in Southwark.

There is preserved at the College of Arms the draft of a grant of coat-armour to John Shakespeare, dated in October, 1596, the result of an application made no doubt some little time previously. It may be safely inferred, from the unprosperous circumstances of the grantee, that this attempt to confer gentility on the family was made at the poet's expense. This is the first evidence that we have of his rising pecuniary fortunes, and of his determination to advance in social position.

Early in the year 1597,—on New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, Shrove Sunday, and Shrove Tuesday,—Shakespeare's company again performed before the Queen at Whitehall. In the summer they made a tour through

Sussex and Kent, visiting Rye in August, and acting at Dover on the third of September. In their progress to the latter town, he who was hereafter to be the author of *Lear* might have witnessed, and been impressed with, the samphire gatherers on the celebrated rock that was afterwards to be regarded the type of Edgar's imaginary precipice. By the end of the same month they had quitted the southern counties, and travelled westward as far as Bristol.

In the spring of this year the poet made his first investment in realty by the purchase of New Place, consisting of a mansion and grounds in the centre of the town of Stratford-on-Avon. The estate was sold to him for £60, a moderate sum for so considerable a property, but the residence was described in 1549 as being then "in great ruyne and decay and unrepayred," so that it was probably in a dilapidated condition when it was transferred to Shakespeare. There are reasons for believing that it was renovated by the new owner.

However limited may have been the character of the poet's visits to his native town, there is no doubt that New Place was henceforward to be accepted as his established residence. Early in the following year, on February the 4th, 1598, corn being then at an unprecedented and almost famine price at Stratford-on-Avon, he is returned as the holder of ten quarters in the Chapel Street Ward, that in which the newly acquired property was situated, and in none of the indentures is he described as a Londoner, but always as "William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman." There is an evidence in the same direction in the interest that he took in the maintenance of his grounds, a fact elicited from two circumstances that are worthy of record.

PURCHASED THE ESTATE OF NEW PLACE FROM UNDERHILL IN THE YEAR 1597.

Regina fidei Defensor et **S**enatus ad quos presentes
 det tunc potest fieri tunc per litteras inde facte Edwardi sexti Regis
 ad in se de Banco apud Westm. Anno pasche Anno regni
 N^o hoc est finalis concordia facta in curia Regis apud
 Anno regni Elizabethae de regis Angliæ Francie et Hibie Regine
 in Edmundo Anderson Thoma Wallingford Thoma de
 Pontibus Jure Dilecto Thoma Spence ymo et Dilecto Wido Hill
 us tunc p^{re}sentem in Westm. sup. Abon. **Wido Hill** et
 idem Dilecto Wido Hill p^{re}sentem p^{re}sentem tunc p^{re}sentem
 p^{re}sentem Dilecto Wido Hill **et illi remisit** et concessit
 et p^{re}sentem **et p^{re}sentem** idem Dilecto Wido Hill concessit p^{re}sentem
 p^{re}sentem p^{re}sentem p^{re}sentem tunc p^{re}sentem **et p^{re}sentem** p^{re}sentem
 Dilecto Thoma Spence dedit p^{re}sentem Dilecto Wido Hill Concessit
 in in in in Banco p^{re}sentem Sigilland. depositis p^{re}sentibus
 10 p^{re}sentem: x
Thompson

It appears from a comparison of descriptions of parcels, 1597 and 1602, that in the earlier years of his occupancy, he arranged a fruit-orchard in that portion of his garden which adjoined the neighbouring premises in Chapel Street. Then there is the well-authenticated tradition that, in another locality near the back of the house, he planted with his own hands the first mulberry-tree that had ever been brought to Stratford-on-Avon. The date of the latter occurrence has not been recorded, but it may be assigned, with a high degree of probability, to the spring of 1609, in which year a Frenchman named Verton distributed an immense number of young mulberry plants through the midland counties of England. This novel arrangement was carried out by the order of James the First, who vigorously encouraged the cultivation of that tree, vainly hoping that silk might thence become one of the staple productions of this country.

The establishment of the fruit-orchard and the tradition respecting the mulberry-tree are the only evidences which have reached us of any sort of interest taken by the great dramatist in horticulture. It has, indeed, been attempted to prove his attachment to such pursuits by various allusions in his works, but no inferences as to his special tastes can be safely drawn from any number of such references. There was, no doubt, treasured in the store-house of his perfect memory, and ready for immediate use, every technical expression, and every morsel of contemporary popular belief, that had once come within his hearing. So marvellous also was Shakespeare's all but intuitive perception of nearly every variety of human thought and knowledge, the result of an unrivalled power of rapid observation and deduction, if once the hazardous course of attempting to realize the personal characteristics

A facsimile of the list of holders of corn in the Ward of Stratford-on-Avon in which New Place was situated, from the original manuscript return dated in February, 1598. Shakespeare's name is introduced as the owner of ten quarters of corn, that entry being the earliest notice of him in the capacity of a householder.

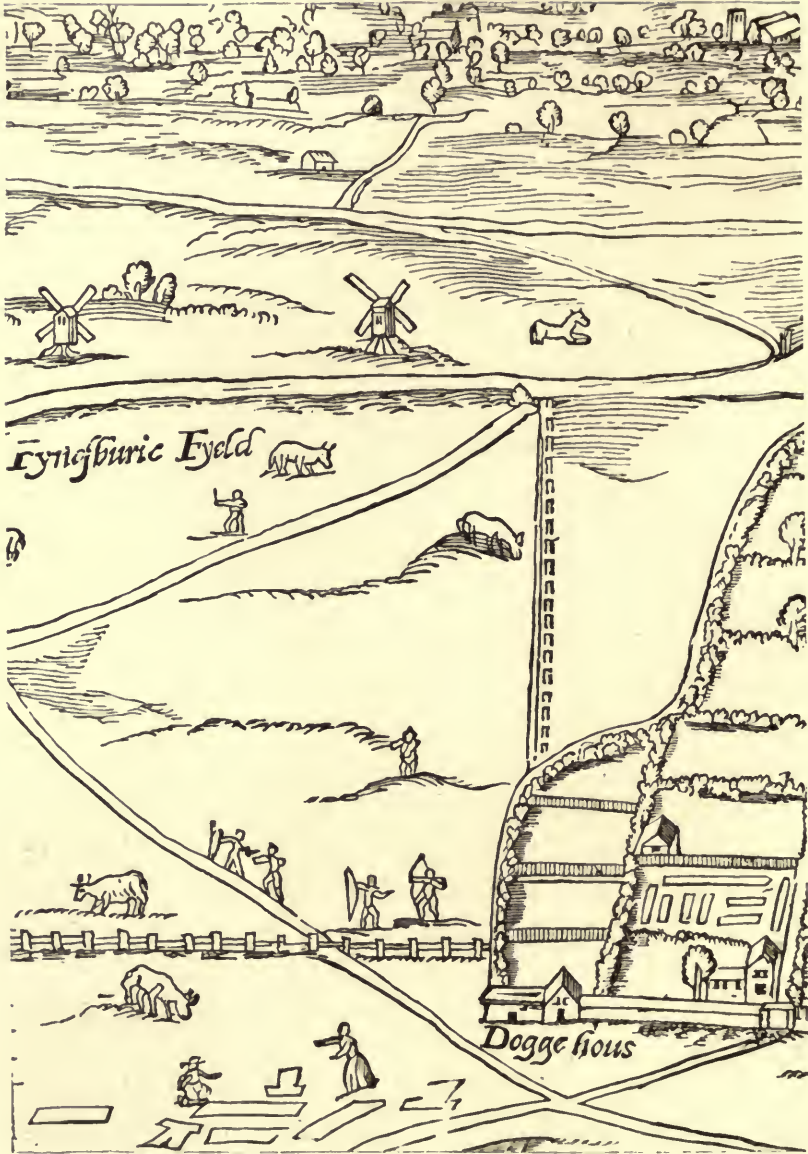
Chuffelstree
w. & ed. f.

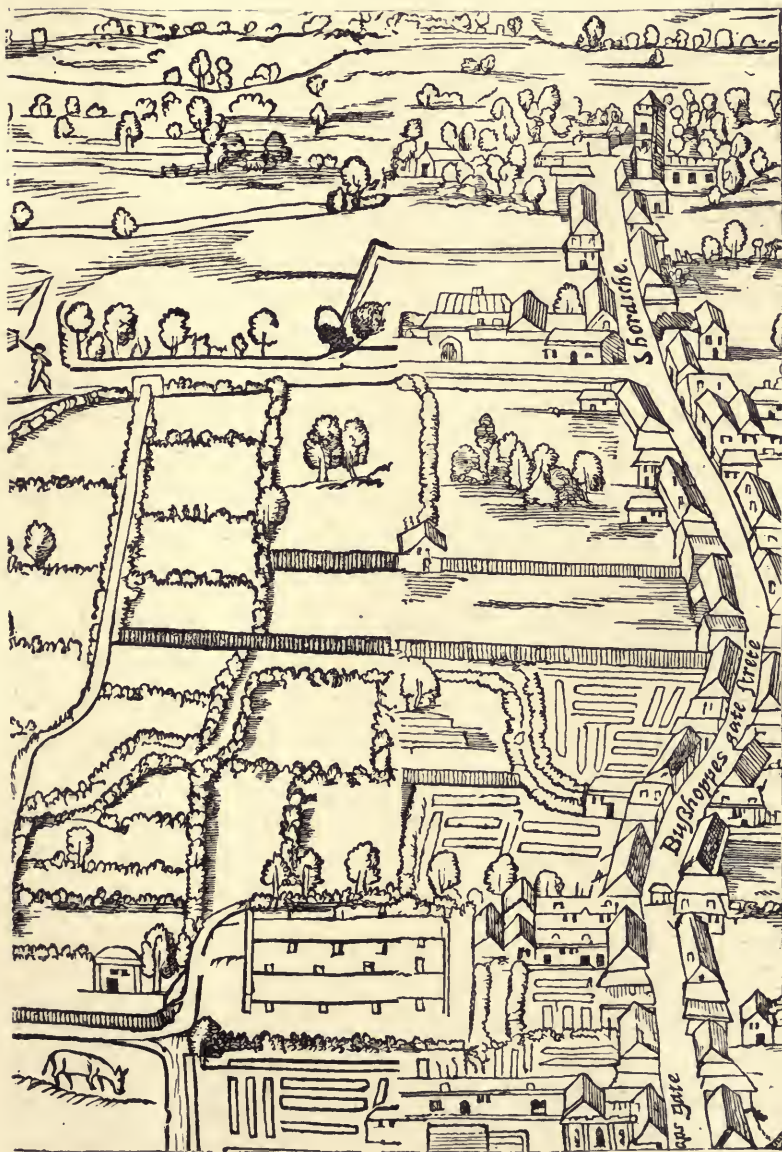
- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------------|
| 3. | • | Mr. Thomas Compton. iij quarters |
| 5 | | John Cooper. v. quarters. |
| 17. | 4 | Mr. Thomas Syden. vii quarters |
| 3. | | Mr. Thomas Warbur. iij quarters. |
| 5. | | Mr. Robert Hare. v. quarters. |
| 6. | | Mr. William Fielder. vi. quarters. |
| 6. | | Hugh Chynge. vi. quarters. |
| 6 | | Thomas Warbur. vi. quarters |
| | | Warbur. i. quarter. |
| 1. | | John Rogers. 2 1/2. |
| 8. | | Mr. Emmette. viii quarters. |
| 11 | | Mr. Aspinall. aboute. xi. quarters |
| 10 | | Mr. Aspinall. 2 quarters. |
| 7 | | Julian Spence. vii quarters. |

or habits of the author through his writings be indulged in, there is scarcely an occupation that he might not be suspected of having adopted at one period or other of his life. That he was familiar with and fondly appreciated the beauty of our wild flowers; that he was acquainted with many of the cultivated plants and trees; that he had witnessed and understood a few of the processes of gardening;—these facts may be admitted, but they do not prove that he was ever a botanist or a gardener. Neither are his numerous allusions to wild flowers and plants, not one of which appears to be peculiar to Warwickshire, evidences, as has been suggested, of the frequency of his visits to Stratford-on-Avon. It would be about as reasonable to surmise that he must have taken a journey to Elsinore before or when he was engaged on the tragedy of Hamlet, as to adopt the oft-repeated suggestion that the nose-gays of Perdita could only have been conceived when he was wandering on the banks of the Avon. To judge in that manner from allusions in the plays it might be inferred that the Winter's Tale must have been written in London, for there is little probability that a specimen of one of the flowers therein mentioned, the crown-imperial, could have been then seen in the provinces, whereas there is Gerard's excellent authority that it had "been brought from Constantinople amongst other bulbus rootes, and made denizons in our London gardens," *Herball*, ed. 1597, p. 154. All inductions of this kind must be received with the utmost caution. Surely the poet's memory was not so feeble that it is necessary to assume that the selection of his imagery depended upon the objects to be met with in the locality in which he was writing. Even were this extravagant supposition to be

maintained, no conclusion can be derived from it, for it is not probable that London would have had the exclusive possession of any cultivated flower, while it is certain that Stratford had not the monopoly of every wild one. It should be recollected that the line of demarcation between country and town life was not strongly marked in Shakespeare's day. The great dramatist may be practically considered never to have relinquished a country life during any part of his career, for even when in the metropolis he must always have been within a walk of green fields, woods and plant-bordered streams, and within a few steps of some of the gardens which were then to be found in all parts of London, not even excepting the limited area of the City. Wild plants, as has been previously observed, were to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the Shoreditch theatres, and there is perhaps no specimen mentioned by Shakespeare which was not to be met with in or near the metropolis; but even were this not the case, surely the fact of his having resided in Warwickshire during at least the first eighteen years of his life is sufficient to account for his knowledge of them. Then again at a later period he must, in those days of slow and leisurely travel, have been well acquainted with the rural life and natural objects of many other parts of the country which were traversed by him when the members of his company made their professional tours, and with the district between London and Stratford-on-Avon he must of course have been specially familiar.

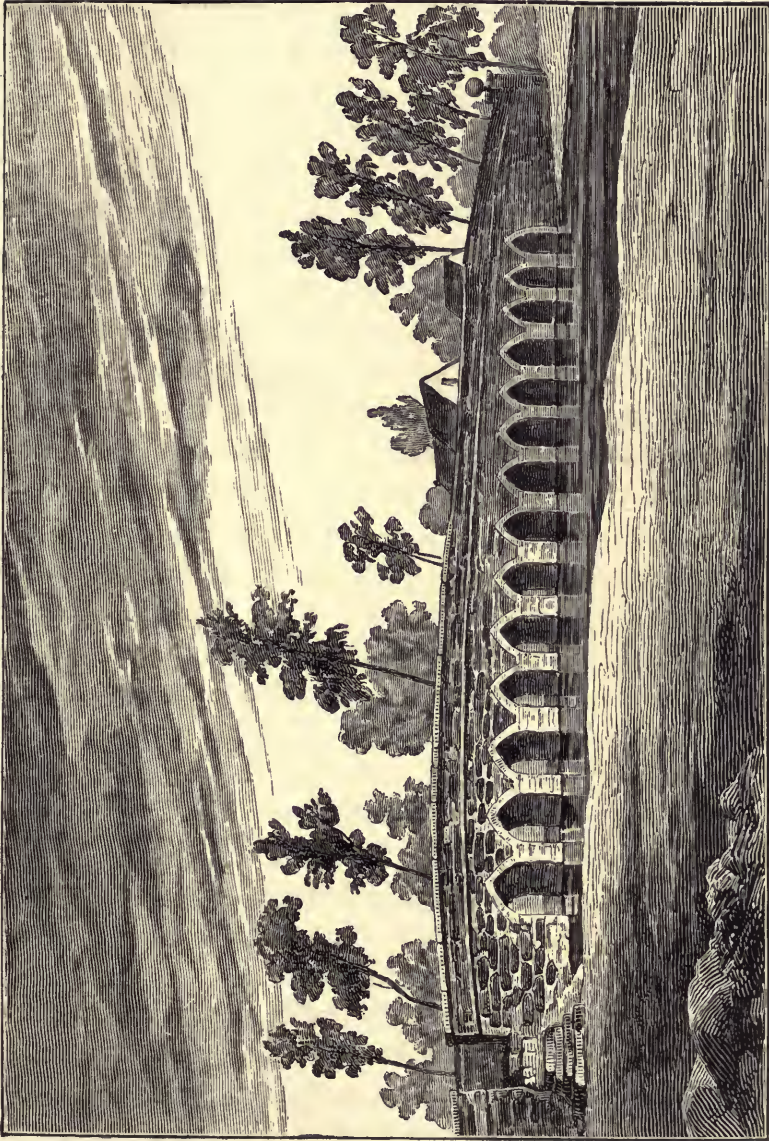
The metropolis in those days was the main abode of English letters and refined culture, but in other respects there could have been very few experiences that were absolutely restricted to its limits. If this is carefully





borne in mind, it will save us from falling into numerous delusions, and, amongst others, into the common one of fancying that Shakespeare must have drawn his tavern-life from an acquaintance with its character as it was exhibited on the banks of the Thames. There was no more necessity for him to have travelled from London in search of flowers than there was to have gone there for the,—“anon, anon, sir; score a pint of bastard in the Half Moon.” We have, indeed, the direct testimony of Harrison, in 1586, to the effect that the metropolitan were then inferior to many of the provincial hotels. There was certainly at least one inn at Stratford-on-Avon which could bear comparison in essential respects with any to be found elsewhere in England. The Bear near the foot of the bridge possessed its large hall, its nominated rooms such as the Lion and Talbot chambers, an enormous quantity of house linen, a whole pipe of claret, two butts of sack, plenty of beer, upwards of forty tankards of different sizes, and, amongst its plate, “one goblet of silver, parcel-gilt.” The last-named vessel need not be converted into the prototype of the one used by Mrs. Quickly in the Dolphin, nor, as a rule, in the absence of palpable evidence to the contrary, are there grounds for believing that the great dramatist was thinking of special localities when he was penning his various allusions or characterizations.

210 When the amazing number of different characters in the plays of Shakespeare is borne in mind, it is curious that he should have left so few traces in them of what is exclusively provincial. There are yet fewer, if any, of language or customs that can be thought to be absolutely peculiar to Stratford-upon-Avon, but examples of both



are frequently to be met with that may fairly be supposed to have been primarily derived from the poet's local experiences. Amongst these is the expression,—*aroint thee, witch!*—one that is so rare in our literature, either in print or manuscript, that the combined labours of philologists have failed to produce a single early instance of its use in the works of other authors. That it was, however, a familiar phrase in Shakespeare's time with the lower classes of his native place, is apparent from one of the town records. It is there narrated how one Goodie Bromlie, in an altercation with a woman named Holder, was so exceedingly free-spoken that she had the audacity to wind up a torrent of abuse with the unseemly execration,—*arent the, wich!* There is no doubt that Stratford yielded many another unusual expression,—many a quaint observation,—to the recollection of the great dramatist, and it is just possible that an occasional specimen may yet be met with in the locality. One of the inhabitants, so recently as the year 1843, was put into the stocks for intoxication, and a passer-by, asking the captive how he liked the discipline, was met with the reply,—“I beant the first mon as ever were in the stocks, so I don't care a farden about it.” If it were not an impossible view of the case, it might be fancied that the jovial delinquent had been travestying one of the reflections that Richard the Second is made to utter in the dungeon of Pomfret Castle.

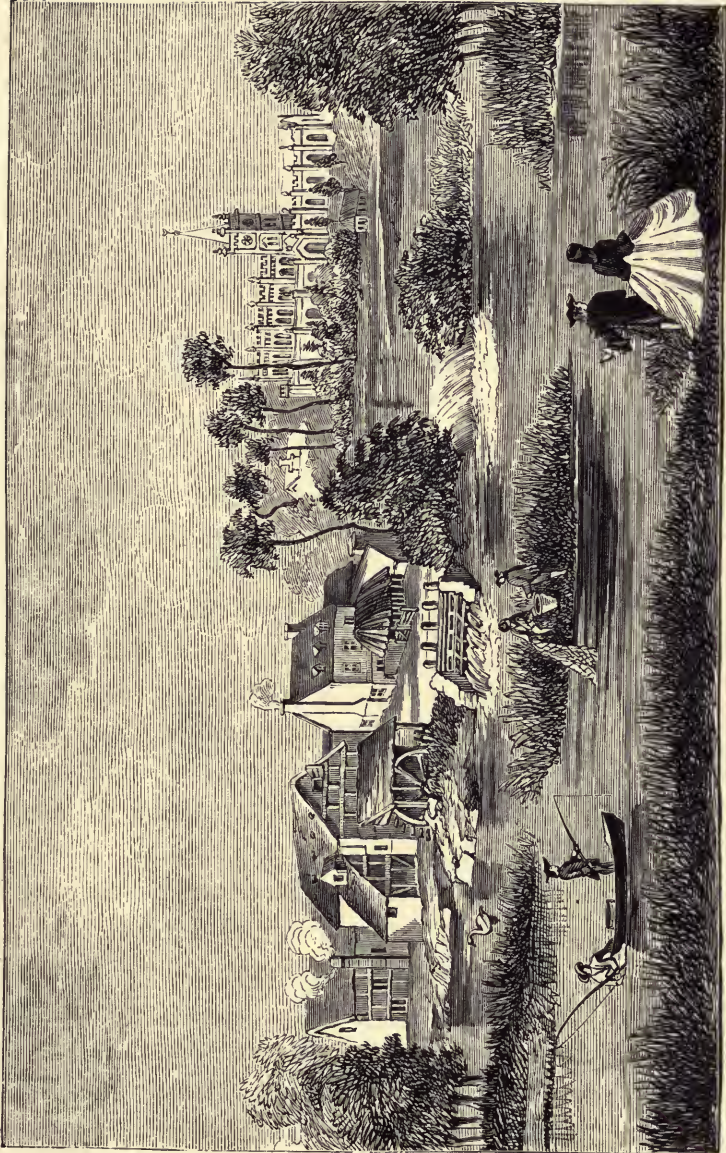
Those who would desire to realize the general appearance of the Stratford-on-Avon of the poet's days must
 59 deplore the absence, not merely of a genuine sketch of New Place, but of any kind of view or engraving of the town as it appeared in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Its aspect must then have been essentially

different from that exhibited at a subsequent period. Relatively to ourselves, Shakespeare may practically be considered to have existed in a different land, not more than glimpses of the real nature of which are now to be obtained by the most careful study of existing documents and material remains. Many enthusiasts of these times who visit Stratford-on-Avon are under the delusion that they behold a locality which recalls the days of the great dramatist, but, with the exception of a few diffused buildings, scarcely one of which is precisely in its original condition, there is no resemblance between the present town and the Shakespearean borough,—the latter with its medieval and Elizabethan buildings, its crosses, its numerous barns and thatched hovels, its water-mills, its street bridges and rivulets, its mud walls, its dunghills and fetid ditches, its unpaved walks and its wooden-spired church, with the common fields reaching nearly to the gardens of the Birth-Place. Neither can there be a much greater resemblance between the ancient and modern general views of the town from any of the neighbouring elevations. The tower and lower part of the church, the top of the Guild Chapel, a few old tall chimneys, the course of the river, the mill-dam, and the outlines of the surrounding hills, would be nearly all that would be common to both prospects. There were, however, until the last few years, the old mill-bridge, which, excepting that rails had been added, preserved its Elizabethan form, the Cross-on-the-Hill, and the Wier Brake, the two latter fully retaining their original character. Now, alas, a hideous railway has obliterated all trace of the picturesque from what was one of the most interesting and charming spots in Warwickshire. The annexed engraving is a copy of

a sketch, taken about the year 1715, the earliest view of the locality that has yet been discovered.

A former inhabitant of Stratford-on-Avon, writing in the year 1759, asserts that "the unanimous tradition of this neighbourhood is that, by the uncommon bounty of the Earl of Southampton, he was enabled to purchase houses and land at Stratford." According to Rowe,— "there is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare's that, if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." A comparison of these versions would indicate that, if the anecdote is based on truth, the gift was made on the occasion of the purchase of New Place in 1597; and it is probable that it was larger than the sum required for that object, although the amount named by Rowe must be an exaggeration. Unless the general truth of the story be accepted, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare could have obtained, so early in his career, the ample means he certainly possessed in that and the following year. The largest emoluments that could have been derived from his professional avocations would hardly have sufficed to have accomplished such a result, and the necessity of forwarding continual remittances to Stratford-on-Avon must not be overlooked.

It was not until the year 1597 that Shakespeare's public reputation as a dramatist was sufficiently established for the booksellers to be anxious to secure the copyright of his plays. The first of his dramas so



honoured was the successful and popular one of Richard the Second, which was entered as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company by Andrew Wise, a publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, on August the 29th, 1597. In this edition the deposition scene was omitted for political reasons, objections having been made to its introduction on the public stage, and it was not inserted by the publishers of the history until some years after the accession of James. Considering the small space that it occupies and its inoffensive character, the omission may appear rather singular, but during the few years that closed the eventful reign of Elizabeth, the subject of the deposition of Richard the Second bore so close an analogy, in the important respects of the wishes of those who desired a repetition of a similar occurrence, it was an exceedingly dangerous theme for the pen of contemporary writers.

49 One of the most popular subjects for the historical drama at this period was the story of Richard the Third. A piece on the events of this reign had been acted by the Queen's Company in or before the month of June, 1594, but there is no evidence that this production was known to the great dramatist. The earliest notice of Shakespeare's play hitherto discovered is in an entry of it as a tragedy on the books of the Stationers' Company in October, 1597, and it was published by Wise in the same year. The historical portions are to a certain extent taken from More and Holinshed, but with an utter defiance of chronology, the imprisonment of Clarence, for instance, preceding the funeral of Henry the Sixth. There are, also, slight traces of an older play to be observed, passages which may belong to an inferior hand, and incidents, such as that of the rising of the ghosts,

suggested probably by similar ones in a more ancient composition. That the play of Richard the Third, as we now have it, is essentially Shakespeare's, cannot admit of a doubt; but as little can it be questioned that to the circumstance of an anterior work on the subject having been used do we owe some of its weakness and excessively turbulent character. No copy of this older play is known to exist, but one brief speech and the two following lines have been accidentally preserved—

My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is ta'en,
And Banister is come for his reward.

from which it is clear that the new dramatist did not hesitate to adopt an occasional line from his predecessor, although he entirely omitted the character of Banister. Both plays must have been successful, for, notwithstanding the great popularity of Shakespeare's, the more ancient one sustained its ground on the English stage until the reign of Charles the First.

Dick Burbage, the celebrated actor, undertook the 50
character of Richard the Third, a part in which he was particularly celebrated. There was especially one telling speech in this most fiery of tragedies,—“a horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!”—which was enunciated by him with so much vigour and effect, that the line became an object for the imitation, and occasionally for the ridicule, of contemporary writers. The speech made such an impression on Marston, that it appears in his works not merely in its authentic form, but satirized and travestied 51
into such lines as,—“a man! a man! a kingdom for a man,” *Scourge of Villanie*, ed. 1598, — “a boate, a boate, a boate, a full hundred markes for a boate,” *Eastward Hoe*, 1605,—“a foole, a foole, a foole, my

coxcombe for a foole," *Parasitaster*, 1606. Burbage continued to enact the part of Richard until his death in 1619, and his supremacy in the character lingered for many years in the recollection of the public; so that Bishop Corbet, writing in the reign of Charles the First, and giving a description of the battle of Bosworth as narrated to him on the field by a provincial tavern-keeper, tells us that, when the perspicuous guide—

—— would have said, King Richard died,
And called, a horse! a horse!, he Burbage cried.

Although the experiment seems to have failed, it may here be mentioned that, in November, 1597, John Shakespeare, no doubt at the poet's instigation and expense, filed a bill in Chancery against Lambert for the recovery of *Asbies*. It is clear that the sum of forty pounds, which was advanced on the security of this property, was then ready to be tendered; an evidence that the purchase of *New Place* had by no means exhausted the resources of the great dramatist, who thus, within a few months, had at the least a surplus of a hundred pounds beyond the necessities of expenditure. The proceedings in the suit were carried on for very nearly two years, publication having been granted in October, 1599, but, as no decree is recorded, there can be little doubt that either the plaintiffs retired from the litigation, or that there was a compromise in favor of the possession of the land by the defendants.

Queen Elizabeth held her court at Whitehall in the Christmas holidays of 1597, and amongst the plays then performed was, on December the 26th, the comedy of
72 *Love's Labour's Lost*, printed early in the following year, 1598, under the title of,—“A Pleasant Conceited

The following is a copy of the earliest title-page in which Shakespeare's name is given as the author of the work.



A
PLEASANT
Conceited Comedie
 CALLED,
Loues labors lost.

As it vvas presented before her Highnes
 this last Christmas.

Newly corrected and augmented
 By *W. Shakespeare.*



Imprinted at London by *W.W.*
 for *Cutbert Burby.*
 1598.

The name of the great dramatist also occurs on the titles of two other of his plays that were issued later in the same year.

Comedie called, *Loues labors lost.*" No record has been discovered of the time at which this drama was first produced, but on the present occasion it had been "newly corrected and augmented," that is to say, it had received some additions and improvements from the hands of the author, but the play itself had not been
 73 re-written. A few scraps of the original version of the comedy have been accidentally preserved, and are of extreme interest as distinctly exhibiting Shakespeare's method of working in the revision of a play. Thus, for example, the following three lines of the earlier drama,—

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive ;
 They are the ground, the books, the academes
 From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire.

are thus gracefully expanded in the corrected version which has so fortunately descended to us,—

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive ;
 They sparkle still the right Promethean fire ;
 They are the books, the arts, the academes,
 That show, contain, and nourish all the world ;
 Else none at all in ought proves excellent.

74 *Love's Labour's Lost* is mentioned by Tofte and Meres in 1598, and was no doubt successful on the stage, or otherwise it would scarcely have been revised and published. Burbage, at all events, had a high opinion of the comedy, for when the company to which the author belonged selected it for representation before Queen Anne of Denmark at Southampton House early in the year 1605, he observed that it was one "which for wit and mirth will please her exceedingly." That the great actor correctly estimated its attractions may be gathered from its being performed about the same time before the Court.

The First Part of Henry the Fourth, the appearance of which on the stage may be confidently assigned to the spring of the year 1597, was followed immediately, or a few months afterwards, by the composition of the Second Part. It is recorded that both these plays were very favourably received by Elizabeth, the Queen especially relishing the character of Falstaff, and they were most probably amongst the dramas represented before that sovereign in the Christmas holidays of 1597-8. At this time, or then very recently, the renowned hero of the Boar's Head Tavern had been introduced as Sir John Oldcastle, but the Queen ordered Shakespeare to alter the name of the character. This step was taken in consequence of the representations of some member or members of the Cobham family, who had taken offence at their illustrious ancestor, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the Protestant martyr, being disparagingly introduced on the stage; and, accordingly, in or before the February of the following year, Falstaff took the place of Oldcastle, the former being probably one of the few names invented by Shakespeare.

The great dramatist himself, having nominally adopted Oldcastle from a character who is one of Prince Henry's profligate companions in a previous drama, a composition which had been several years before the public, and had not encountered effective remonstrance, could have had no idea that his appropriation of the name would have given so much displeasure. The subject, however, was viewed by the Cobhams in a very serious light. This is clearly shown, not merely by the action taken by the Queen, but by the anxiety exhibited by Shakespeare, in the Epilogue to the Second Part, to place the matter beyond all doubt by the explicit declaration that there

was in Falstaff no kind of association, satirical or otherwise, with the martyred Oldcastle. The whole incident is a testimony to the popularity of, and the importance attached to, these dramas of Shakespeare's at their first appearance, and it may be fairly questioned if any comedy on the early English stage was more immediately or enthusiastically appreciated than was the First
268 Part of Henry the Fourth. Two editions of the latter play appeared in 1598, and, in the same year, there were quoted from it passages that had evidently already
269 become familiar household words in the mouths of the public. Strangely enough, however, the earliest edition that bore the author's name on the title-page was not published till the following year.

270 The inimitable humour of Falstaff was appreciated at the Court as heartily as by the public. The Queen was so taken with the delineation of that marvellous character in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded Shakespeare to write a third part in which the fat knight should be exhibited as a victim to the power of love. Sovereigns in the olden time, especially one of Elizabeth's temperament, would never have dreamt of consulting the author as to the risk of the selected additional passion not harmonizing with the original conception. Shakespeare's business was to obey, not to indulge in what would have been considered an insolent and unintelligible remonstrance. His intention of continuing the history of the same Falstaff in a play on the
195 subject of Henry the Fifth was, therefore, abandoned, and thus we have, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, a comedy in which some of the names are adopted from the previous dramas, but the natures of the characters to which those names are attached are either modified or

altogether transformed. The transient allusions which bring the latter play into the historical series are so trivial, that they would appear to have been introduced merely out of deference to the Queen's expressed wishes for a continuation. The comedy diverges in every other respect from the two Parts of Henry the Fourth, and remains, with the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew, the only examples in the works of Shakespeare of absolute and continuous representations of English life and manners of the author's own time.

There is an old tradition which avers that the Merry Wives of Windsor was written, at the desire of the Queen, in the brief space of a fortnight, and that it gave immense satisfaction at the Court. Nor in those days of rapid dramatic composition, when brevity of time in the execution of such work was frequently part of an ordinary theatrical agreement, could such a feat have been impossible to Shakespeare. It could have been no trouble to him to write, and the exceptional celerity of his pen is recorded by several of his friends. Hence, probably, are to be traced most of the numerous little discrepancies which, by a careful analysis, may be detected throughout the works of the great dramatist, and which are seen perhaps more conspicuously in this play than in most of the others. Shakespeare had evidently, as a writer, neither a topographical nor a chronometrical mind, and took small care to avoid inconsistencies arising from errors in his dispositions of localities and periods of time; provided always of course that such oversights were not sufficiently palpable in the action to disturb the complete reception of the latter by the audience. We may rest assured that the poet, when engaged in dramatic writing, neither placed before his eyes an elaborate map of the

scenes of the plot; nor reckoned the exact number of hours to be taken by a character in moving from one spot to another; nor, in the composition of each line of verse, repeated the syllables to ascertain if they developed the style of metre it was his duty to posterity to be using at that special period of his life. Such precautions may best be indefinitely reserved for the use of that visionary personage,—a scientific and arithmetical Shakespeare.

The earliest notice of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, hitherto discovered, is in an entry on the registers of the Stationers' Company bearing date in January, 1602, 33 in which year a catch-penny publisher surreptitiously 34 issued a very defective copy, one made up by some poetaster, with the aid of short-hand notes, into the form of a play. That it was written, however, before the 35 production of *Henry the Fifth* in 1599 is most probable, it being unlikely that Shakespeare would have revived the characters of Falstaff, Quickly, Nym, and Bardolph, after their deaths in that play. It is certain, at all events, that the comedy was produced before the death of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in July, 1600, for it is contrary to all records of Shakespeare's nature to believe that the more than playful allusions it contains to that personage would have been penned after the decease of Shallow's prototype. There is a mystery attached to the resuscitation, in the opening scene of the play, of what is apparently a reference to the deer-stealing incident, the only plausible explanation of the revived memory of the latter being in the possibility of some additional offence, in connection with the original exploit, having been given by Sir Thomas after the poet had established for himself a leading position in his native town by the purchase of New Place in the year 1597.

Two plays, the titles of which have not been recorded, were acted by Shakespeare's company in the early part of the year 1598, the poet being then in London. It is ²³³ certain, however, that his thoughts were not at this time absorbed by literature or the stage. So far from this being the case, there are good reasons for concluding that they were largely occupied with matters relating to pecuniary affairs, and to the progress of his influence at Stratford-on-Avon. He was then considering the advisability of purchasing "an odd yard land or other" in the neighbourhood, and this circumstance, indicating the possession of redundant means, becoming known, his friend, Richard Quiney, who was in the metropolis, was strongly urged both in English and Latin to suggest to him the policy of trying to obtain one of the valuable tithe-leases, and to name, amongst other inducements,— ²²² "by the friends he can make therefore, we think it a fair mark for him to shoot at;—it obtained would advance him in deed and would do us much good," letter of Abraham Sturley dated from Stratford-on-Avon, 24 January, 1598. These expressions indicate that Shakespeare's desire to establish a good position for himself in his native town was well known to his provincial friends.

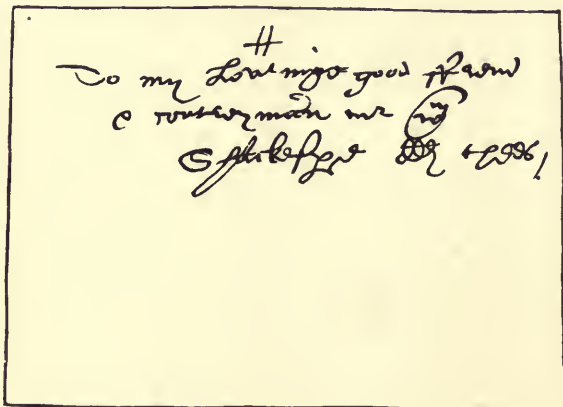
It was natural that the poet, having not only himself bitterly felt the want of resources not so many years previously, but seen so much inconvenience arising from a similar deficiency in his father's household, should now be determining to avoid the chance of a recurrence of the infliction. That he did not love money for its own sake, or for more than its relative advantages, may be gathered from his liberal expenditure in after life; but that he had the wisdom to make other tastes subservient to

its acquisition, so long as that course was suggested by prudence, is a fact that cannot fairly be questioned. However repugnant it may be to the flowery sentiments of the æsthetic critics, no doubt can arise, in the minds of those who will listen to evidence, that when Pope asserted that—

Shakespeare, whom you and ev'ry playhouse bill
Style the divine, the matchless, what you will,
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own despight.

he not only expressed the traditional belief of his own day, but one which later researches have unerringly verified. With all Shakespeare's gentleness of disposition and amiable qualities, it is evident from the records that there was very little of the merely sentimental in his nature; that is to say, of such matters as a desire for posthumous fame or the excitable sympathy which is so often recklessly appeased without thought of results. In the year now under consideration, 1598, he appears not only as an advancer of money, but also, as will be presently seen, one who negotiated loans through other capitalists. "If you bargain with William Shakespeare," writes Adrian Quiney, from the country, to his son Richard in London, "or receive money therefore, bring your money home that you may." The latter, who was one of the leading business inhabitants of Stratford-on-Avon, was in the metropolis endeavouring to arrange important matters for the town, including the grant of a new charter and relief from a subsidy. He was not well furnished with the necessary means for carrying on these affairs, the Corporation experiencing trouble and delay in obtaining funds, circumstances which rendered them

anxious for the sale of the tithe-lease which they, as previously mentioned, desired to be offered to Shakespeare. The worthy agent was also greatly embarrassed in the same year on his own account, and some months afterwards applied to the great dramatist for the loan of the then very considerable sum of thirty pounds. The application was made in a tiny little note folded into the dimensions represented by the line surrounding the above



facsimile of the direction; but it may admit of a doubt that it was ever forwarded to the poet. The Quiney correspondence was introduced somehow or other into the Corporation archives, most probably on the death of Richard in his year of office, but, if Shakespeare had received the communication, it is all but impossible to account satisfactorily for its being found in that depository. It may be that the great dramatist called on Richard Quiney just before the departure of the latter for the Court, thus rendering the despatch of the billet unnecessary; and this view is confirmed by Sturley's remarks on the poet in his letter of November.

Loveinge contreyman, I am bolde of yow, as of a ffrende, craveinge yowr helpe with xxx.℥. vppon Mr. Bushells and my securitye, or Mr. Myttons with me. Mr. Roswell is nott come to London as yeate, and I have especiall cawse. Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeing me out of all the debettes I owe in London, I thancke God, and muche quiet my mynde, which wolde nott be indebted. I am nowe towards the Cowrte, in hope of answer for the dispatche of my buysenes. Yow shall nether loase creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; and nowe butt perswade yowrselfe soe, as I hope, and yow shall nott need to feare, butt, with all hartie thanckfullenes, I wyll holde my tyme, and content yowr ffrende, and yf we bargaine farther, yow shal be the paie-master yowrselfe. My tyme biddes me hastene to an ende, and soe I committ thys [to] yowr care and hope of yowr helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe thys night ffrom the Cowrte. Haste. The Lorde be with yow and with vs all, Amen! ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane, the 25 October, 1598.

Yowrs in all kyndenes,
RYC. QUYNEY.

To my loveinge good ffrend and contreymann Mr. Wm. Shakespere deliver thees.

Not a single fragment of any of the poet's own letters has yet been discovered, and the above is the only one addressed to him which is known to exist. It will be observed that the money was proposed to be lent on Quiney's personal security united with that of either Mr. Bushell or Mr. Mytton, both Stratford men; but there are mysterious allusions towards the close of the letter which indicate that the loan was to be obtained through another person, the poet's security to the last being an essential consideration in the arrangement. If it were otherwise, why should Quiney be so anxious to mention that Shakespeare "will neither lose *credit nor money*" by the affair; or why should he wish to "content his friend;" or why should he promise him, if they arranged other matters, that "you shall be the paymaster yourself." It is certain that the great dramatist had at this period not only money, but more opportunities for the transaction of monetary business than were accessible to his country friends; for, on the very day that Quiney applied to him for this personal loan, the former writes to his brother-in-law at Stratford-on-Avon to inform him that Shakespeare had undertaken to negotiate a pecuniary advance to the Corporation. "Your letter of the 25th of October," writes Sturley to Quiney on November the 4th, 1598, "came to my hands the last of the same at night per Greenway, which imported that our countryman, Mr. William Shakespeare, would procure us money, which I will like of as I shall hear when and where and how; and I pray let not go that occasion, if it may sort to any indifferent conditions." The Greenway here mentioned was the Stratford carrier, the good people of that town being well contented in those days if they received letters from the metropolis once in a week.

The Richard Quiney, to whom Shakespeare was a "loving countryman" and friend, was descended from his namesake, the Master of the Guild of Stratford-on-Avon in the time of Henry the Eighth. His grandfather Adrian and his father Richard were well-to-do mercers of the same town, persons of that occupation then dealing, at least in Warwickshire, not only in silk and cloth, but in such miscellaneous articles as ginger, sugar, and red-lead. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth the Quineys were influential members of the Corporation, and were thus brought into contact with the poet's father during the official career of the latter. In January, 1572, John

Sign'd A Q Elizabeth Quiney

Shakespeare was nominated, in conjunction with Adrian Quiney, then bailiff, to undertake the management of some important legal business connected with the affairs of the borough. It was this Adrian to whom the great dramatist, in 1598, apparently communicated his intention of negotiating for the purchase of land at Shottery. Richard Quiney, who married in 1580 the daughter and sole heiress of one Thomas Philipps, another of the Stratford mercers, was bailiff in 1592-1593 and again in 1601-1602, dying in the year last mentioned after a few weeks' illness, and before his term of office had expired. After his decease, his widow, Elizabeth, kept a tavern, and in her house no doubt were opportunities for her friend, Judith Shakespeare, seeing much of her future husband, with whom, indeed, she must have been acquainted from childhood. It may be worth mentioning

that, in common at that time with most ladies of their position, neither Mrs. Quiney nor her future daughter-in-law could even write their own names. There were no free-schools for girls, and home education was, as a rule, the privilege of a section of the higher classes; so when Judith Shakespeare was invited in December, 1611, to be a subscribing witness to two instruments respecting a house at the south-east corner of Wood Street, then being sold by Mrs. Quiney to one William Mountford for the large sum of £131, in both instances her attestations were executed with marks.

The image shows two handwritten signatures in cursive. On the left is the signature 'Judith Shakespeare', and on the right is the signature 'Wm Mountford'. The signatures are written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

- 66 The comedy of the Merchant of Venice, the plot of which was either grounded on that of an older drama, or formed out of tales long familiar to the public, was represented with success in London in or before the month of July, 1598. It then had another title, being "otherwise called the Jew of Venice," and a bookseller named Roberts was anxious to secure the copyright, but the registrars of Stationers' Hall withheld their consent until he had obtained the sanction of the Lord Chamberlain, in other words, that of the author and his colleagues; and upwards of two years elapsed before
- 67 the earliest editions of the comedy appeared. It continued for a long time to be one of the acting plays of Shakespeare's company, and, as lately as 1605, it attracted the favourable notice of James the First, who was so,

much pleased with one performance that he ordered a repetition of it two days afterwards.

One of the most interesting of the recorded events of Shakespeare's life occurred in the present year. In September, 1598, Ben Jonson's famous comedy of *Every Man in his Humor* was produced by the Lord Chamberlain's company, and there is every probability that both writer and manager were indebted for its acceptance to the sagacity of the great dramatist, who was one of the leading actors on the occasion. "His acquaintance with Ben Jonson," observes Rowe, "began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature; Mr. Jonson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the players in order to have it acted, and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natured answer that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespeare luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Jonson and his writings to the public." The statement that rare Ben was then absolutely new to literature is certainly erroneous, however ignorant the Burbages or their colleagues may have been of his primitive efforts; but he was in a state of indigence, rendering the judgment on his manuscript of vital consequence, and the services of a friendly advocate of inestimable value. He had been engaged in dramatic work for Henslowe some months before the appearance of the new comedy, but about that time there seems to have been a misunderstanding between them, the latter alluding to Jonson simply as a bricklayer, not as one of his company, in his

record of the unfortunate duel with Gabriel. There had been, in all probability, a theatrical disturbance resulting in the last-named event, and in Ben's temporary secession from the Rose. Then there are the words of Jonson himself, who, unbiassed by the recollection that he had been defeated in, at all events, one literary skirmish with the great dramatist, speaks of him in language that would appear hyperbolic had it not been sanctioned by a feeling of gratitude for a definite and important service,—“I loved the man and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any.” This was a personal idolatry, not one solely in reference to his works, moderately adverse criticisms upon which immediately follow the generous panegyric. It may, then, fairly be said that the evidences at our disposal favour, on the whole, the general credibility of the anecdote narrated by Rowe.

In the same month in which Shakespeare was acting in Ben Jonson's comedy,—September, 1598,—there appeared in London the *Palladis Tamia*, a work that contains more elaborate notices of the great dramatist than are elsewhere to be found in all contemporary literature. Its author was one Francis Meres, a native of Lincolnshire, who had been educated at Cambridge, but for some time past resident in the metropolis. Although his studies were mostly of a theological character, he was interested in all branches of literature, and had formed intimacies with some of its chief representatives. He had been favoured with access to the unpublished writings of Drayton and Shakespeare, and had either seen a manuscript, or witnessed a representation, of rare Ben's earliest tragedy. In the important enumeration of Shakespeare's plays given by Meres, four of them,—the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love Labours*

Won, the Midsummer Night's Dream, and King John,— 20
 are mentioned for the first time. There can be no doubt 21
 that the first of these dramas had been written some
 years previously, and Love Labours Won; a production 75
 which is nowhere else alluded to, is one of the numerous
 works of that time which have long since perished, unless
 its graceful appellation be the original or a secondary 48
 title of some other comedy. Neither King John nor 80
 the Two Gentlemen of Verona was printed during the
 author's lifetime, but two editions of the Midsummer
 Night's Dream appeared in the year 1600. This last-
 mentioned circumstance indicates the then popularity of
 that exquisite but singular drama, the comic scenes of
 which appear to have been those specially relished by the
 public. One little fragment of the contemporary stage 22
 humour, displayed in the representation of this play, has
 been recorded. When Thisbe killed herself, she fell
 on the scabbard, not on the trusty sword, the interlude
 doubtlessly having been acted in that spirit of extreme
 farce which was naturally evolved from the stupidity and
 nervousness of the clowns.

It is in the *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, that we first hear
 of those remarkable productions, the Sonnets. "As the
 soul of Euphorbus," observes Meres in that quaint col-
 lection of similitudes, "was thought to live in Pythagoras,
 so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and
 honey-tongued Shakespeare; witness his Venus and
 Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugared Sonnets among his
 private friends, &c." These last-mentioned dainty poems
 were clearly not then intended for general circulation,
 and even transcripts of a few were obtainable with diffi-
 culty. A publisher named Jaggard who, in the follow-
 ing year, 1599, attempted to form a collection of new

Shakespearean poems, did not manage to obtain more
133 than two of the Sonnets. The words of Meres, and the
insignificant result of Jaggard's efforts, when viewed in
connexion with the nature of these strange poems, lead to
the inference that some of them were written in clusters,
134 and others as separate exercises, either being contribu-
tions made by their writer to the albums of his friends,
probably no two of the latter being favoured with identi-
cal compositions. There was no tradition adverse to a
135 belief in their fragmentary character in the generation
136 immediately following the author's death, as may be
137 gathered from the arrangement found in Benson's edition
of 1640; and this concludes the little real evidence
on the subject that has descended to us. It was re-
served for the students of the present century, who have
ascertained so much respecting Shakespeare that was
 unsuspected by his own friends and contemporaries, to
discover that his innermost earnest thoughts, his mental
conflicts, and so on, are revealed in what would then be
the most powerful lyrics yet given to the world. But
the victim of spiritual emotions that involve criminatory
reflections does not usually protrude them voluntarily on
the consideration of society; and, if the personal theory
be accepted, we must concede the possibility of our
national dramatist gratuitously confessing his sins and
revealing those of others, proclaiming his disgrace and
avowing his repentance, in poetical circulars distributed
by the delinquent himself amongst his most intimate
friends.

There are no external testimonies of any description
in favour of a personal application of the Sonnets, while
there are abundant difficulties arising from the reception
of such a theory. Amongst the latter is one deserving

of special notice, for its investigation will tend to remove the displeasing interpretation all but universally given of two of the poems, those in which reference is supposed to be made to a bitter feeling of personal degradation allowed by Shakespeare to result from his connection with the stage. Is it conceivable that a man who encouraged a sentiment of this nature, one which must have been accompanied with a distaste and contempt for his profession, would have remained an actor years and years after any real necessity for such a course had expired? By the spring of 1602 at the latest, if not previously, he had acquired a secure and definite competence independently of his emoluments as a dramatist, and yet, eight years afterwards, in 1610, he is discovered playing in company with Burbage and Hemmings at the Blackfriars Theatre. When, in addition to this voluntary long continuance on the boards, we bear in mind the vivid interest in the stage, and in the purity of the acted drama, which is exhibited in the well-known dialogue in *Hamlet*, and that the poet's last wishes included affectionate recollections of three of his fellow-players, it is difficult to believe that he could have nourished a real antipathy to his lower vocation. It is, on the contrary, to be inferred that, however greatly he may have deplored the unfortunate estimation in which the stage was held by the immense majority of his countrymen, he himself entertained a love for it that was too sincere to be repressed by contemporary disdain. If there is, amongst the defective records of the poet's life, one feature demanding special respect, it is the unflinching courage with which, notwithstanding his desire for social position, he braved public opinion in favour of a continued adherence to that which he felt was in itself a noble profession,

and this at a time when it was not merely despised, but surrounded by an aggressive fanaticism that prohibited its exercise even in his own native town.

These considerations may suffice to eliminate a personal application from the two sonnets above mentioned, and as to the remainder, if the only safe method, that of discarding all mere assumptions, be strictly followed, the clearer the ideality of most of them, and the futility of arguments resting on any other basis, will be perceived. It will be observed that all the hypotheses, which aim at a complete biographical exposition of the Sonnets, necessitate the acceptance of interpretations that are too subtle for dispassionate reasoners. Even in the few instances where there is a reasonable possibility that Shakespeare was thinking of living individuals, as when he refers to an unknown poetical rival or quibbles on his own Christian name, scarcely any, if any, light is thrown on his personal feelings or character. In the latter case, it is a mere assumption that the second Will is the youth of the opening series, or, at least, that position cannot be sustained without tortuous interpretations of much which is found in the interval. With respect to other suggested personal revelations, such as those which are thought to be chronicled in Shakespeare's addresses to the dark-eyed beauty of more than questionable reputation, — unless, with a criminal indifference to the risk of the scandal travelling to the ears of his family, he had desired to proclaim to his acquaintances his own infidelity and folly, — he might, perhaps, have repeated the words of the author of *Licia*, who published his own sonnets in the year 1593, and thus writes of their probable effects, — “for the matter of love, it may bee I am so devoted to some one, into whose hands these may light

by chance, that she may say, which thou nowe saiest, that surelie he is in love, which if she doe, then have I the full recompence of my labour, and the poems have dealt sufficientlie for the discharge of their owne duetie." The disguise of the ideal under the personal was, indeed, an ordinary expedient.

In the Christmas holidays of 1598-1599, three plays were acted by Shakespeare's company before the Queen at Whitehall, after which they do not appear to have performed at Court until the following December, on the 26th of which month they were at Richmond Palace. The poet's distinguished friend, Lord Southampton, was in London in the autumn of this year, and no doubt favoured more than one theatre with his attendance. In a letter dated October the 11th, 1599, his lordship is alluded to as spending his time "merrily in going to plays every day."

In March, 1599, the Earl of Essex departed on his ill-starred expedition to Ireland, leaving the metropolis amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. He was then the most popular man in all England, hosts of the middle and lower classes regarding him as their chief hope for the redress of their grievances. At some time in May or June, whilst the suppression of the Irish was considered in his able hands a mere work of time, Shakespeare composed his play of Henry the Fifth, taking the opportunity of introducing in it a graceful compliment to the Earl, in terms which indicate that the poet himself sympathized with the thousands of Londoners who fondly expected hereafter to welcome his victorious return to England. Independently, however, of his appreciation of Essex, it was natural that the great dramatist should have taken a special interest

in the course of affairs in Ireland, his great patron and friend, Lord Southampton, holding the distinguished position of General of the Horse in the Earl's army. There is no record of this drama in the year of its composition, but there is little or rather no doubt that
297 it was produced on the diminutive boards of the Curtain
196 Theatre in the summer of 1599. It was favourably received, and the character of Pistol appears to have
197 been specially relished by the audiences. In or before the August of the following year, 1600, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain a license for its publication, but the only copy of it, printed in the author's lifetime, was a miserably imperfect and garbled one which was surreptitiously published about that time by Millington and Busby, and transferred by them very soon afterwards to Thomas Pavier, the latter reprinting this spurious edition in 1602 and 1608. It is curious that Pavier, who was so unscrupulous in other instances in the use of Shakespeare's name, should have refrained from
198 placing it on the title-pages of any of those impressions. There are unequivocal indications that the edition of 1600 was fraudulently printed from a copy made up from notes taken at the theatre.

Towards the close of this year, 1599, a renewed attempt was made by the poet to obtain a grant of coat-armour to his father. It was now proposed to impale the arms of Shakespeare with those of Arden, and on each occasion ridiculous statements were made respecting the claims of the two families. Both were really descended from obscure English country yeomen, but the heralds made out that the predecessors of John Shakespeare were rewarded by the Crown for distinguished services, and that his wife's ancestors were

entitled to armorial bearings. Although the poet's relatives at a later date assumed his right to the coat suggested for his father in 1596, it does not appear that either of the proposed grants was ratified by the college, and certainly nothing more is heard of the Arden impalement.

The Sonnets, first mentioned in the previous year, are now again brought into notice. They had evidently obtained a recognition in literary circles, but restrictive suggestions had possibly been made to the recipients, for, as previously observed, when Jaggard, in 1599, issued a tiny volume under the fanciful title of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, he was apparently not enabled to secure more than two of them. These are in the first part of the book, the second being entitled "*Sonnets to sundry Notes of Music*," but Shakespeare's name is not attached to the latter division. The publisher seems to have had few materials of any description that he could venture to insert under either title, for, in order to make something like a book with them, he adopted the very unusual course of having nearly the whole of the tract printed upon one side only of each leaf. Not keeping a shop, he entrusted the sale to Leake, who was then the owner of the copyright of *Venus and Adonis*, and who published an edition of that poem in the same year, the two little volumes no doubt being displayed together on the stall of the latter at the Greyhound in St. Paul's Churchyard. With the exception of the two sonnets above alluded to, and a few verses taken from the already published comedy of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Jaggard's collection does not include a single line that can be positively ascribed to the pen of the great dramatist, but much that has been ascertained to have been the composi-

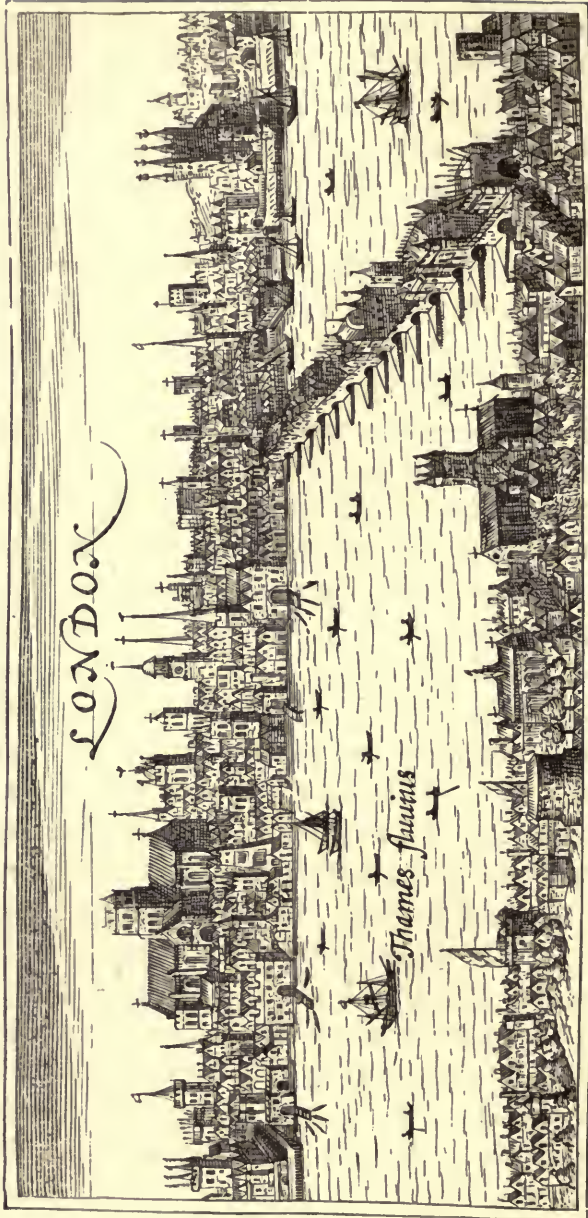
tion of others. The entire publication bears evident marks of an attempted fraud, and it may well be doubted if any of its untraced contents, with perhaps three exceptions, justify the announcement of the title-page. The three pieces alluded to are those on the subject of Venus and Adonis, and these, with the beautiful little poem called the Lover's Complaint, may be included in the significant *et cetera* by which Meres clearly implies that Shakespeare was the author of other poetical essays besides those which he enumerates.

It is extremely improbable that Shakespeare, in that age of small London and few publishers, could have been ignorant of the use made of his name in the first edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim*. Although he may, however, have been displeased at Jaggard's unwarrantable conduct in the matter, it appears that he took no strenuous measures to induce him to disavow or suppress the ascription in the title-page of that work. There was, it is true, no legal remedy, but there is reason for believing that, ¹⁴⁹ in this case, at least, a personal remonstrance would have been effective. Owing, perhaps, to the apathy exhibited by Shakespeare on this occasion, a far more remarkable operation in the same kind of knavery was perpetrated in the latter part of the following year by the publisher of the *First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, a play mainly concerned with the romantic adventures of Lord Cobham. Although this drama is known not ²²⁹ only to have been composed by other dramatists, but also to have belonged to a theatrical company with whom Shakespeare had then no manner of connection, it was unblushingly announced as his work by the publisher, Thomas Pavier, a shifty bookseller, residing at the grotesque sign of the Cat and Parrots near the Royal

Exchange. Two editions were issued in the same year by Pavier, the one most largely distributed being that which was assigned to the pen of the great dramatist, and another to which no writer's name is attached. As there are no means of ascertaining which of these editions is the first in order of publication, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the introduction of Shakespeare's name was an afterthought, or if it were withdrawn for a special reason, perhaps either at his instigation or at that of the real authors. It is most likely, however, that the anonymous impression was the first that was published, that the ascribed edition was the second, and that there was no cancel of the poet's name in either.

The most celebrated theatre the world has ever seen was now to receive a local habitation and a name. The wooden structure belonging to the Burbages in Shoreditch had fallen into desuetude in 1598, and, very early in 1599, they had pulled it down and removed the materials to Southwark, using them in the erection of a new building which was completed towards the end of the year and opened early in 1600 under the title of the Globe. Ben Jonson's comedy of *Every Man Out of his Humour* was one of the first plays there exhibited, the author, in an epilogue written probably for the occasion, distinctly appealing to the judgment of "the happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe," ed. 1600. Amongst the Shakespearean dramas acted at the old Globe before its destruction by fire in 1613 may be mentioned, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard the Second*, *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and the *Winter's Tale*.

The exact position of the Globe Theatre will be gathered from the annexed view of London, which was



LONDON IN THE YEAR 1610, WITH THE GLOBE THEATRE IN THE FOREGROUND.

published a few years after its erection, and contains by far the most interesting representation we have of the building. A person entering Southwark from London Bridge, after passing the last gateway, its poles and its traitors' heads, would proceed a short distance along the High Street. Turning then to the right, threading the streets and alleys that laid on the south of the Church and Winchester House, he would arrive at the Globe, the circular building which is seen amidst the trees in the open space below the thickly-populated fringe of houses known as the Bank-side, the theatre itself being only about two hundred yards from the margin of the river. A little further on is the Bear Garden, the flags indicating that the doors of both establishments were open to the public. It would appear from this engraving that there was in the original Globe Theatre a circular sub-structure of considerable size, perhaps constructed of brick or masonry, which probably included a corridor with a passage to the pit or yard and staircases leading to other parts of the house. Upon this sub-structure the two wooden stories, in portions of which were included the galleries and boxes, were erected. The building was constructed mainly of wood and was partially roofed with thatch, but the larger portion of the interior was open to the sky. This latter circumstance, however, did not exclude winter performances, for, amongst the very few records in which their exact dates are mentioned, is a notice of one that took place in the month of February.

In the absence of a roof over the pit, and much of the other part of the building obliquely exposed to the rays of the sun, or to the fury of a tempest, both visitors and actors must, on occasions, have found the Globe, even in the summer time, exceedingly uncomfortable. The

extent of inconvenience that was endured there in the month of February, and in muggy Southwark, almost defies conjecture. Our ancestors evidently cared little for their ease if they could but witness a piece of good acting, for it must be remembered that, in those days, there was nothing else,—no scenic effects,—to attract a metropolitan audience to the lower side of the river. The compensation was mainly due to three great advantages. In the first place, the subordinate characters were efficiently represented, Shakespeare himself not disdaining to undertake some of the minor parts; a complete intellectual representation being, in fact, a necessity in the absence of meretricious supports. In the second, there was the natural light from above, which is so essential to the accurate display of the facial expression. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the currents of air, engendered by the open roof, would have rendered a performance by candle-light an impossibility. Then there was a building so diminutive that the remotest spectator could hardly have been distant more than a dozen yards, or thereabouts, from the front of the stage. The whole auditory were thus within a hearing distance that conveyed the faintest modulation of the performer's voice, at the same time that it demanded no inartistic effort on his part in the more sonorous utterances. Added to this, every lineament of his countenance would have been visible without telescopic aid. It was for such a theatre that Shakespeare wrote, for one wherein an actor of genius could satisfactorily develop to every one of the audience not merely the written but the unwritten words of the drama, those latter which are expressed by gesture or by the subtle language of the face and eye. There is much of the unrecorded belonging to the pages of Shakespeare that

requires to be elicited in action, and no little of that much which can only be effectively rendered under conditions similar to those which prevailed at the opening of the Globe.

Intersecting the stage were two curtains of arras, one running along near the back, and the other about the centre, either being drawn as occasion required. Upon these tapestries, which are sometimes mentioned as having been in a decayed condition, were generally portrayed human figures or representations of subjects that included them. These designs had, of course, no reference to the performance, and there was no movable or other kind of scenery. The latter must obviously, as a rule, have been incompatible with the accurate production of dramas composed for a theatre in which such a material appeal to the eye was unknown. This would necessarily have been specially the case with the works of a great master of the dramatic and theatrical arts, one whose knowledge of the unique conventionalities of the ancient stage was supreme. There can be no doubt that Shakespeare, in the composition of most of his plays, could not have contemplated the introduction of scenic accessories. It is fortunate that this should have been one of the conditions of his work, for otherwise many a speech of power and beauty, many an effective situation, would have been lost. All kinds of elaborate attempts at stage illusion tend, moreover, to divert a careful observance of the acting, while they are of no real service to the imagination of the spectator unless the author renders them necessary for the full elucidation of his meaning. That Shakespeare himself ridiculed the idea of a power to meet such a necessity, when he was writing for theatres like the Curtain or the Globe, is apparent from the opening

chorus to Henry the Fifth; and his words equally apply to the most perfect theatrical representations that could be given of "the vasty fields of France," or of the combat "that did affright the air at Agincourt." It is obvious that he wished attention to be concentrated on the players and their utterances, and that all surroundings, excepting those which could be indicated by the rude properties of the day, should be idealistic.

Shakespeare's company acted before Queen Elizabeth at Richmond Palace on Twelfth Night and Shrove Sunday, 1600, and at Whitehall on the 26th of December. On March the 6th they were at Somerset House, and there performed, before Lord Hunsdon and some foreign ambassadors, another drama on the subject of Oldcastle. A few weeks after the last occurrence, the poet, who was then in London, brought an action against one John Clayton to recover the sum of £7, and duly succeeded in obtaining a verdict in his favour. This is one of the several evidences that distinctly prove the great dramatist to have been a man of business, thoroughly realizing the necessity of careful attention to his pecuniary affairs. Here we have the highest example of all to tell us that financial discretion is not incompatible with the possession of literary genius.

One of the most exquisite of Shakespeare's comedies, 56 *As You Like It*, was most likely produced in the summer of this year, and was, as might be expected, favourably received. The celebrated speech of Jacques on the seven ages of man would have had an appropriate significance when uttered below the Latin motto under the sign of the Globe Theatre, but the coincidence was no doubt accidental. An attempt to publish this drama was frustrated by an appeal to the Stationers' Company, a fact

which testifies to its popularity ; and one of its ditties was 57 set to music by Thomas Morley, an eminent composer of the day, who published it, with some others of a cognate description, in his First Booke of Ayres, or Little Short Songs, a small thin folio volume printed at London in the same year, 1600.

According to a tradition mentioned by several writers of the last century, there was a character in *As You Like It* that was performed by the author of the comedy. "One of Shakespeare's younger brothers," says Oldys, "who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, would in his younger days come to London to visit his brother Will, as he called him, and be a spectator of him as an actor in some of his own plays. This custom, as his brother's fame enlarged, and his dramattick entertainments grew the greatest support of our principal, if not of all our theatres, he continued, it seems, so long after his brother's death, as even to the latter end of his own life. The curiosity at this time of the most noted actors to learn something from him of his brother, &c., they justly held him in the highest veneration ; and it may be well believed, as there was besides a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor among them, this opportunity made them greedily inquisitive into every little circumstance, more especially in his dramattick character, which his brother could relate of him. But he, it seems, was so stricken in years, and possibly his memory so weakened with infirmities, which might make him the easier pass for a man of weak intellects, that he could give them but little light into their enquiries ; and all that could be recollected from him of his brother Will in that station was, the faint, general and almost lost ideas he

had of having once seen him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein, being to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company who were eating, and one of them sung a song." This account contains several discrepancies, but there is reason for believing that it includes a glimmering of truth which is founded on an earlier tradition.

The earliest notice of the comedy of *Much Ado about Nothing* occurs in the entry in which we also first hear of *As You Like It*. Its attempted publication was stopped by an application made to the Stationers' Company on or before August the 4th, 1600, but, on the 23rd of the same month, Wise and Aspley succeeded in obtaining a license. It is not known if the prohibition was directed against the latter publication and afterwards removed, or whether it refers to a fraudulent attempt by some other bookseller to issue a surreptitious copy. Although *Much Ado about Nothing* was not reprinted in the author's lifetime, there is no doubt of its continued
60 popularity.

The scene of this comedy is laid in Messina, but the
61 satire on the constables obviously refers to those of the England of the author's own time. Aubrey, whose statements are always to be cautiously received, asserts that Shakespeare "happened to take" the "humour" of one of them "at Grendon in Bucks, which is in the road from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642." The eccentric biographer no doubt
62 refers to Dogberry or Verges, but if the poet really had a special individual in his mind when portraying

either of those characters, it is not likely that the Grendon constable could have been the person so honoured, for unless he had attained an incredible age in the year 1642, he would have been too young for the prototype. It is far more likely that the satire was generally applicable to the English constables of the author's period, to such as were those in the neighbourhood of London at the time of his arrival there, and who are so graphically thus described in a letter from Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, written in 1586,—“as I came from London homeward in my coach, I saw at every town's end the number of ten or twelve standing with long staves, and, until I came to Enfield, I thought no other of them but that they had stayed for avoiding of the rain, or to drink at some alehouses, for so they did stand under pentices at alehouses; but at Enfield, finding a dozen in a plump when there was no rain, I bethought myself that they were appointed as watchmen for the apprehending of such as are missing; and thereupon I called some of them to me apart, and asked them wherefore they stood there, and one of them answered, to take three young men; and, demanding how they should know the persons,—Marry, said they, one of the parties hath a hooked nose; and have you, quoth I, no other mark? No, said they. Surely, sir, these watchmen stand so openly in plumps as no suspected person will come near them, and if they be no better instructed but to find three persons by one of them having a hooked nose, they may miss thereof.”

It was towards the close of the present year, 1600, or at some time in the following one, that Shakespeare, for the first and only time, came forward in the avowed character of a philosophical writer. One Robert Chester

208 was the author of a long and tedious poem, which was issued in 1601, under the title of,—“Love’s Martyr or Rosalins Complaint, allegorically shadowing the truth of Love in the constant fate of the Phœnix and Turtle,” and “to these are added some new compositions of severall moderne writers whose names are subscribed to their severall workes, upon the first subject; viz., the Phœnix and Turtle.” The latter were stated, in a separate title-page, to have been “done by the best and chiefest of our moderne writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes; never before extant; and now first consecrated by them all generally, to the love and merite of the true-noble knight, Sir John Salisburie”,—the names of Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman, and Jonson being attached to the recognized
 209 pieces of this latter series. The contribution of the great dramatist is a remarkable poem in which he makes a notice of the obsequies of the phœnix and turtle-dove subservient to the delineation of spiritual union. It is generally thought that, in his own work, Chester meditated a personal allegory, but, if that be the case, there is nothing to indicate that Shakespeare participated in the design, nor even that he had endured the punishment of reading Love’s Martyr.

The poet’s father,—Mr. Johannes Shakspeare, as he is called in the register,—was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September the 8th, 1601; having no doubt expired a few days previously at his residence in Henley Street, which is noticed so recently as 1597 as being then in his occupation. He is mentioned as having been concerned in the same year, probably as a witness, in an action brought by Sir Edward Grevile against the town, so there are no reasons for believing that his latest years

were accompanied by decrepitude. In all probability the old man died intestate, and the great dramatist appears to have succeeded, as his eldest son and heir-at-law, to the ownership of the freehold tenements in Henley Street. It is not likely that the widow acquired more than her right to dower in that property, but there can be no hesitation in assuming that such a claim would have been merged in a liberal allowance from her son.

Twelfth Night, the perfection of English comedy and the most fascinating drama in the language, was produced 68
in the season of 1601-2, most probably on January the 5th. 69
There is preserved a curious notice of its performance in the following month before the benchers of the Middle Temple in their beautiful hall, nearly the only building 70
now remaining in London in which it is known that any of Shakespeare's dramas were represented during the author's lifetime. The record of this interesting occurrence is embedded in the minutely written contemporary diary of one John Manningham, a student at that inn of court, who appears to have been specially impressed with the character of Malvolio. "A good practice in it," he observes, "to make the steward believe his lady widow was in love with him, by counterfeiting a letter as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparel, &c., and then, when he came to practice, making him believe they took him to be mad." This representation of Twelfth Night took place at the Feast of the Purification, February the 2nd, one of the two grand festival days of the lawyers, on which occasion professional actors were annually engaged at the Middle Temple, the then liberal sum of ten pounds being given to them for a single

performance. There is no doubt that the comedy was performed by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and very little that Shakespeare himself was one of the actors who were engaged. Twelfth Night was appreciated at an early period as one of the author's most popular creations. There is not only the testimony of
 71 Manningham in its favour, but Leonard Digges, in the verses describing this most attractive of Shakespeare's acting dramas, expressly alludes to the estimation in which the part of Malvolio was held by the frequenters of the theatre.

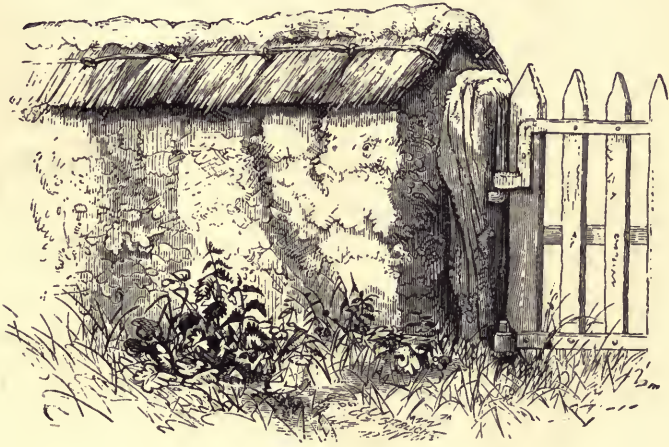
The Queen kept her Court at Whitehall in the Christmas of 1601-1602, and, during the holidays, four plays, one of them most probably Twelfth Night, were exhibited before her by Shakespeare's company. In the
 206 following May, the great dramatist purchased from the Combes, for the sum of £320, one hundred and seven



The image shows two handwritten signatures. On the left is a highly stylized signature that appears to read 'Leonard Digges'. On the right is a more legible signature that reads 'Jo Combe'.

117 acres of land near Stratford-on-Avon, but, owing to his absence from that town, the conveyance was delivered for his use to his brother Gilbert. It is not likely, indeed, that he visited the locality within any brief period after this transaction, for otherwise the counterpart of the indenture, which was duly engrossed in
 207 complete readiness for the purchaser's attestation, would hardly have been permitted to remain without his signature.

The pecuniary resources of Shakespeare must now have been very considerable, for, notwithstanding the serious expenditure incurred by this last acquisition, a few months afterwards he is recorded as the purchaser of a small copyhold estate near his country residence. On September the 28th, 1602, at a Court Baron of the Manor of Rowington, one Walter Getley transferred to the poet a cottage and garden which were situated in Chapel Lane opposite the lower grounds of New Place. 271



They covered the space of a quarter of an acre, with a frontage in the lane of forty feet, and were held practically in fee simple at the annual rental of two shillings and sixpence. It appears from the Roll that Shakespeare did not attend the manorial court then held at Rowington, there being a stipulation that the estate should remain in the hands of the lady of the manor until he appeared in person to complete the transaction with the usual formalities. At a later period he was admitted to the copyhold, and then he 272

No general plan of Stratford-upon-Avon, executed before the middle of the eighteenth century, is known to exist. The one here given in fac-simile was taken about the year 1768 by a calligraphist of the name of Winter, and it clearly appears, from the local records, that there had then been no material alteration in either the form or the extent of the town since the days of Elizabeth. It may, therefore, be accepted as a reliable guide to the locality as it existed in the poet's own time, when the number of inhabited houses, exclusive of mere hovels, could not have much exceeded five hundred. The following is a copy of the reference-explanations which are found under the original plan: 1. Moor Town's End;—2. Henley Lane;—3. Rother Market;—4. Henley Street;—5. Meer Pool Lane;—6. Wood Street;—7. Ely Street or Swine Street;—8. Scholar's Lane alias Tinker's Lane;—9. Bull Lane;—10. Street call'd Old Town;—11. Church Street;—12. Chapel Street;—13. High Street;—14. Market Cross;—15. Town Hall;—16. Place where died Shakespeare;—17. Chapel, Public Schools, &c.;—18. House where was Shakespeare born;—19. Back Bridge Street;—20. Fore Bridge Street;—21. Sheep Street;—22. Chapel Lane;—23. Buildings call'd Water Side;—24. Southam's Lane;—25. Dissenting Meeting;—26. White Lion.

273 surrendered it to the use of himself for life, with a remainder to his two daughters in fee. The cottage was replaced about the year 1690 by a brick and tiled building, and no representation of the original tenement is known to be in existence. The latter, in all probability, had, like most other cottages at Stratford-on-Avon in the poet's time, a thatched roof supported by mud walls. The adjoining boundary wall that enclosed the vicarage
221 garden on the lane side continued to be one of mud until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

156 In the spring of this year, 1602, our national tragedy,
157 known originally under the title of the Revenge of
158 Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, was in course of represen-
159 tation by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe
160 Theatre, and had then, in all probability, been recently
161 composed. Its popularity led to an unsuccessful attempt
by Roberts, a London publisher, to include it amongst
his dramatic issues, but it was not printed until the
162 summer of the following year, 1603, when two book-
sellers, named Ling and Trundell, employed an inferior
163 and clumsy writer to work up, in his own fashion, what
164 scraps of the play had been furtively obtained from short-
165 hand notes or other memoranda into the semblance of a
perfect drama, which they had the audacity to publish as
Shakespeare's own work. It is possible, however, that
300 the appearance of this surreptitious edition, which contains
166 several abnormous variations from the complete work,
may have led the sharers of the theatre to be less averse
to the publication of their own copy. At all events, Ling
in some way obtained an authentic transcript of the play
in the following year, and it was "newly imprinted" by
167 Roberts for that publisher, "enlarged to almost as much
again as it was, according to the true and perfect

coppie," 1604. The appearance of subsequent editions and various early notices evince the favour in which the tragedy was held by the public in the time of its author. The hero was admirably portrayed by Burbage, and has 168 ever since, as then, been accepted as the leading character of the greatest actor of the passing day. It is worth notice that the incident of Hamlet leaping into Ophelia's 169 grave, now sometimes omitted, was considered in Burbage's time to be one of the most striking features of the acted tragedy; and there is a high probability that a singular little incident of by-play, enacted by the First Grave-digger, was also introduced at the Globe performances. The once popular stage-trick of that 170 personage taking off a number of waistcoats one after the other, previously to the serious commencement of his work, is an artifice which has only been laid aside in comparatively recent years.

In February, 1603, Roberts, one of the Shakespearean printers, attempted to obtain a license for an impression of the play of Troilus and Cressida, then in the course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. The subject had been dramatized by Decker and Chettle for 123 the Lord Admiral's servants in 1599, but although the two companies may have been then, as in former years, on friendly terms, there is no probability that their copyrights were exchangeable, so that the application made by Roberts is not likely to refer to the jointly-written 124 drama. When that printer applied for a license for the publication of the new tragedy, he had not obtained, nor is there any reason for believing that he ever succeeded in procuring, the company's sanction to his projected speculation. At all events, Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida was not printed until early in the year 1609,

T H E
 Tragical Historie of
 HAMLET
Prince of Denmarke,

By William Shake-speare.

As it hath beene diuerſe times acted by his Highneſſe ſer-
 uants in the Cittie of London : as alſo in the two V-
 niuerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elſe-where



At London printed for N.L. and Iohn Trundell
 1603.

T H E
Tragicall Historie of
H A M L E T,
Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shakespeare.

Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much
again as it was, according to the true and perfect
Coppie.



AT LONDON,
Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his
shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in
Eleestreet. 1604.

when two other publishers, Bonian and Walley, having surreptitiously procured a copy, ventured on its publication, and, in the hope of attracting purchasers, they had the audacity to state, in an unusual preface, that it had never been represented on the stage. They even appear
125 to exult in having treacherously obtained a manuscript of the tragedy, but the triumph of their artifices was of brief duration. The deceptive temptation they offered of novelty must have been immediately exposed, and a pressure was no doubt exerted upon them by the company, who probably withdrew their opposition on payment of compensation, for, by the 28th of January, the printers
126 had received a license from the Lord Chamberlain for the publication. The preface was then entirely cancelled, and the falsity of the assertion that Troilus and Cressida had never been acted was conspicuously admitted by the re-issue professing to appear "as it *was* acted by the King's Majesty's Servants at the Globe,"—when is not stated. The suppressed preface could hardly have been written had the drama been one of the acting plays of the season of 1608-9, and, indeed, the whole tenor of that preamble is against the validity of such an assumption.

There can be little doubt that Troilus and Cressida was originally produced at the Globe in the winter season of 1602-1603. The career of the illustrious sovereign, who had so highly appreciated the dramas of our national poet, was now drawing to an end. Shakespeare's company, who had acted before her at Whitehall on December the 26th, 1602, were summoned to Richmond for another performance on the following Candlemas Day, February the 2nd, 1603. The Queen was then in a very precarious state of health, and this was the last occasion

on which the poet could have had the opportunity of appearing before her. Elizabeth died on March the 24th, but, amongst the numerous poetical tributes to her memory that were elicited by her decease, there was not one from the pen of Shakespeare.

The poetical apathy exhibited by the great dramatist on this occasion, although specially lamented by a contemporary writer, can easily be accounted for in more than one way; if, indeed, an explanation is needed beyond a reference to the then agitated and bewildered state of the public mind. The company to which he belonged might have been absent, as several others were at the time, on a provincial tour. Again, they were no doubt intent on obtaining the patronage of the new sovereign, and may have fancied that too enthusiastic a display of grief for Elizabeth would have been considered inseparable from a regret for the change of dynasty. However that may be, James the First arrived in London on May the 7th, 1603, and ten days afterwards he granted, by bill of Privy Signet, a license to Shakespeare and the other members of his company to perform in London at the Globe Theatre, and, in the provinces, at town-halls or other suitable buildings. It was either in this year, or early in the following one, and under this license, that the company, including the poet himself, acted at that theatre in Ben Jonson's new comedy of *Sejanus*.

The King was staying in December, 1603, at Wilton, the seat of one of Shakespeare's patrons, William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, and on the second of that month the company had the honour of performing before the distinguished party then assembled in that noble mansion. In the following Christmas holidays,

1603-1604, they were acting on several occasions at Hampton Court, the play selected for representation on the first evening of the new year being mentioned by one of the audience under the name of Robin Goodfellow, possibly a familiar title of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Their services were again invoked by royalty at Candlemas and on Shrove Sunday, on the former occasion at Hampton Court before the Florentine ambassador, and on the latter at Whitehall. At this time they were prohibited from acting in or near London, in fear that public gatherings might imperil the diminution of the pestilence, the King making the company on that account the then very handsome present of thirty pounds.

Owing in some degree to the severe plague of 1603, and more perhaps to royal disinclination, the public entry of the King into the metropolis did not take place until nearly a year after the death of Elizabeth. It was on the 15th of March, 1604, that James undertook his formal march from the Tower to Westminster, amidst emphatic demonstrations of welcome, and passing every now and then under the most elaborate triumphal arches London had ever seen. In the royal train were the nine actors to whom the special license had been granted the previous year, including of course Shakespeare and his three friends, Burbage, Hemmings, and Condell. Each of them was presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth, the usual dress allowance to players belonging to the household. The poet and his colleagues were termed the King's Servants, and took rank at Court amongst the Grooms of the Chamber.

Shortly after this event the poet made a visit to Stratford-on-Avon. It appears, from a declaration filed

in the local court, that he had sold in that town to one Philip Rogers several bushels of malt at various times between March the 27th and the end of May, 1604, and that the latter did not, or could not, pay the debt thus incurred, amounting to £1. 15s. 10d. Shakespeare had sold him malt to the value of £1. 19s. 10d., and, on June 25th, Rogers borrowed two shillings of the poet at Stratford, making in all £2. 1s. 10d. Six shillings of this were afterwards paid, and the action was brought to recover the balance.

In the following August the great dramatist was in London, there having been a special order, issued in that month by desire of the King, for every member of the company to be in attendance at Somerset House. This was on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish ambassador to England, but it may be perhaps that their professional services were not required, for no notice of them has been discovered.

The tragedy of Othello, originally known under the ¹²⁷ title of the Moor of Venice, is first heard of in 1604, it ¹²⁸ having been performed by the King's players, who then ¹²⁹ included Shakespeare himself, before the Court, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, on the evening of Hallowmas day, November the first. This drama was very popular, Leonard Digges speaking of the audiences preferring it to the laboured compositions of Ben Jonson. In 1609, a stage-loving parent, one William Bishop, of ¹³⁰ Shoreditch, who had perhaps been taken with the representation of the tragedy, gave the name of Othello's perfect wife to one of his twin daughters. A performance at the Globe in the April of the following year, 1610, was honoured with the presence of the German ambassador and his suite, and it was again represented at Court

before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, in May, 1613. These scattered notices, accidentally preserved, doubtlessly out of many others that might have been recorded, are indicative of its continuance as an acting play; a result that may, without disparagement to the author, be attributed in some measure to the leading character having been assigned to the most accomplished tragic actor of the day,—Richard Burbage.

131 The name of the first performer of Iago is not known, but
 132 there is a curious tradition, which can be traced as far back as the close of the seventeenth century, to the effect that the part was originally undertaken by a popular comedian, and that Shakespeare adapted some of the speeches of that character to the peculiar talents of the actor.

27 In the Christmas holidays of the same year, on the evening of December the 26th, 1604, the comedy of Measure for Measure was performed before the Court at Whitehall, and if it were written for that special occasion, it seems probable that the lines, those in which Angelo deprecates the thronging of the multitude to royalty, were introduced out of special consideration to James the First, who, as is well known, had a great
 28 dislike to encountering crowds of people. The lines in the mouth of Angelo appear to be somewhat forced, while their metrical disposition is consistent with the idea that they might have been the result of an after-thought.

Shakespeare's company performed a number of dramas before the Court early in the following year, 1605, including several of his own. About the same time a curious old play, termed the London Prodigal, which had been previously acted by them, was impudently submitted

by Nathaniel Butter to the reading public as one of the compositions of the great dramatist. On May the 4th, a few days before his death, the poet's colleague, Augustine Phillips, made his will, leaving "to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in goold." And in the following July, Shakespeare made the largest, and, in a monetary sense very likely the most judicious, purchase he ever completed, giving the sum of £440 for the unexpired term of the moiety of a valuable lease of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe. 96

On October the 9th in the same year, 1605, Shakespeare's company gave a performance before the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford. If the poet, as was most likely the case, was one of the actors on the occasion, he would have been lodging at the Crown Inn, a wine-tavern kept by one John Davenant, who had taken out his license in the previous year, 1604. The landlord was a highly respectable man, filling in succession the chief municipal offices, but, although of a peculiarly grave and saturnine disposition, he was, as recorded by Wood in 1692, "an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London." His wife is described by the same writer as "a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation. Early in the following year the latter presented her husband with a son, who was christened at St. Martin's Church on March the 3rd, 1606, receiving there the name of William. They had several other children, and their married life was one of such exceptional harmony that it elicited the unusual honour of metrical tributes. A more devoted pair the city of

Oxford had never seen, and John Davenant, in his will, 1622, expressly desires that he should be "buried in the parish of St. Martin's in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give leave where shee lyeth."

It was the general belief in Oxford, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that Shakespeare was William Davenant's godfather, and there is no reason for questioning the accuracy of the tradition. Anthony Wood alludes to the special regard in which the poet was held by the worthy innkeeper, while the christian name that was selected was a new one in the family of the latter. There was also current in the same town a favourite anecdote, in which a person was warned not to speak of his godfather lest he should incur the risk of breaking the Third Commandment. This was a kind of representative story, one which could be told of any individual at the pleasure of the narrator, and it is found in the generic form in a collection of tavern pleasantries made by Taylor, the Water-Poet, in 1629. This last fact alone is sufficient to invest a personal application with the gravest doubt, and to lead to the inference that the subsequent version related of Shakespeare was altogether unauthorized. If so, there can be little doubt that with the spurious tale originated its necessary foundation,—the oft-repeated intimation that Sir William Davenant was the natural son of the great dramatist. The latter surmise is first heard of in one of the manuscripts of Aubrey, written in or before the year 1680, in which he says, after mentioning the Crown tavern,—“Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respected.” He then proceeds to tell us that Sir William, considering himself

equal in genius to Shakespeare, was not averse to being taken for his son, and would occasionally make these confessions in his drinking bouts with Sam Butler and other friends. The writer's language is obscure, and might have been thought to mean simply that Davenant wished to appear in the light of a son in the poetical acceptance of the term, but the reckless gossip must 225 needs add that Sir William's mother not only "had a very light report," but was looked upon in her own day as a perfect Thais. Sufficient is known of the family history of the Davenants, and of their social position and respectability, to enable us to be certain that this onslaught upon the lady's reputation is a scandalous mis-statement. Anthony Wood also, the conscientious Oxonian biographer, who had the free use of Aubrey's 226 papers, eliminates every kind of insinuation against the character of either Shakespeare or Mrs. Davenant. He may have known from reliable sources that there could have been no truth in the alleged illegitimacy, and anyhow he no doubt had the independent sagacity to observe that the reception of the libel involved extravagant admissions. It would require us to believe that the guilty parties, with incredible callousness, united at the font to perpetuate their own recollection of the crime; and this in the presence of the injured husband, who must be presumed to have been then, and throughout his life, unconscious of a secret which was so insecurely kept that 227 it furnished ample materials for future slander. Even Aubrey himself tacitly concedes that the scandal had not transpired in the poet's time, for he mentions the great respect in which the latter was held at Oxford. Then, as if to make assurance to posterity doubly sure, there is preserved at Alnwick Castle a very elaborate manu-

script poem on the Oxford gossip of the time of James the First, including especially everything that could be raked up against its innkeepers and taverns, and in that manuscript there is no mention either of the Crown Inn or of the Davenants.

It is, indeed, easy to perceive that we should never have heard any scandal respecting Mrs. Davenant, if she had not been noted in her own time, and for long afterwards, for her exceptional personal attractions. Her history ought to be a consolation to ugly girls, that is to say, if the existence of such rarities as the latter be not altogether mythical. Listen to the antique words of Flecknoe, 1654, referring to Lord Exeter's observation that the world spoke kindly of none but people of the ordinary types. "There is no great danger," he writes, even of the latter escaping censure, "calumny being so universal a trade now, as every one is of it; nor is there any action so good they cannot find a bad name for, nor entail upon't an ill intention; insomuch as one was so injurious to his mistress's beauty not long since to say,— she has more beauty than becomes the chaste."

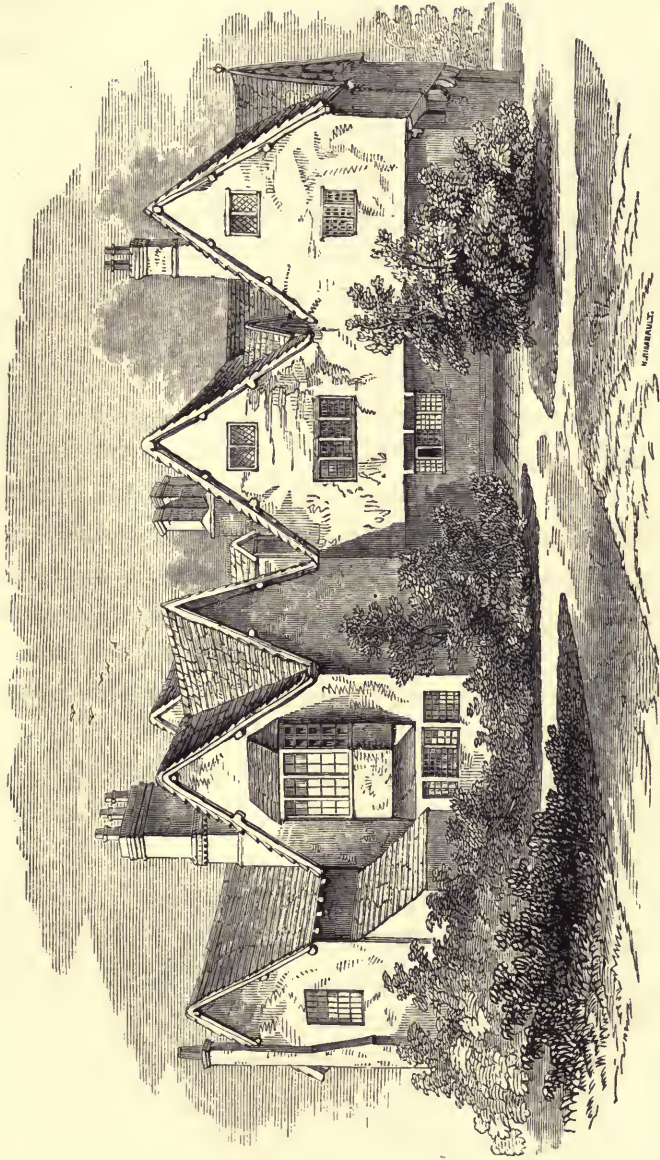
The future Sir William was in his eleventh year when he lost his godfather, and the traditions which imply that he was fondly attached to him may be safely trusted. They are corroborated by much of Davenant's subsequent history. Amongst his earliest poems, those issued in 1638, there is an ode "in remembrance of Master William Shakespeare," in which he cautions writers to refrain from deriving their imagery from the banks of the Avon, the flowers and trees having withered in grief at his loss, while the river had nearly wept itself away. At a later period, curious as the assertion may now appear, he had the honour of teaching Dryden that there

was something to admire in the works of the great dramatist. When, moreover, at the Restoration in 1660, Sir William was the first in attempting to revive the old drama in as legitimate a form as could then be tolerated, out of eleven of "the most ancient plays that were playd at Blackfriars" which he desired to re-introduce to the public, no fewer than nine were compositions of Shakespeare. In those days of a vicious stage, this course was one unlikely to have been adopted by a manager anxious, as Davenant unquestionably was, for commercial success, if he had not been influenced by strong personal tendencies, such as those which may have been cherished from very early life in affectionate remembrance of the poet, or even derived from tastes primarily imbibed in association with him.

On the evening of December the 26th, in the Christmas holidays of 1606, the tragedy of King Lear, some of the incidents of which were adopted from one or more older dramas on the same legend, was represented before King James at Whitehall, having no doubt been produced at the Globe in the summer of that year. No record of the character of its reception by the Court has been preserved, but it must have been successful at the theatre, for the booksellers, late in the November of the following year, made an arrangement with the company to enable them to obtain the sanction of the Master of the Revels for the publication of the tragedy, two editions of which shortly afterwards appeared, both dated in 1608. In these issues the author's name is curiously given in one line of large type at the very commencement of each title-page, a singular and even unique testimony to the popularity of a dramatic author of the period.

The poet's eldest daughter, Susanna, then in her twenty-fifth year, was married at Stratford-on-Avon on June the 5th, 1607, to John Hall, M.A., a physician who afterwards rose to great provincial eminence. He was born in the year 1575, and was most probably connected with the Halls of Acton, co. Middlesex, but he was not
171 a native of that village. In his early days, as was usual with the more highly educated youths of the time, he had travelled on the continent, and attained a proficiency in the French language. The period of his arrival at Stratford-on-Avon is unknown, but, from the absence of all notice of him in the local records previously to his marriage, it may be presumed that his settlement there had not then been of long duration. It might even have been the result of his engagement with the poet's daughter. He appears to have taken up his
172 first Stratford abode in a road termed the Old Town; a street leading from the churchyard to the main portion of the borough. With the further exceptions that, in 1611, his name is found in a list of supporters to a highway bill, and that, in 1612, he commenced leasing from the Corporation a small piece of wooded land on the outskirts of the town, nothing whatever is known of his career during the lifetime of Shakespeare.

A few months after Mrs. Hall was married, she lost her uncle Edmund, who, on Thursday, December the
234 31st, 1607, was buried at Southwark, in the church of St. Saviour's, "with a forenoone knell of the great bell." It may fairly be assumed that the burial in the church, a mark of respect which was seldom paid to an actor, and which added very considerably to the expenses of the funeral, resulted from the affectionate directions of his brother, the poet; while the selection of the morning for



THE BACK OF AN ELIZABETHAN HOUSE IN THE OLD TOWN, STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

the ceremony, then unusual at St. Saviour's, may have arisen from a wish to give some of the members of the Globe company the opportunity of attendance. Edmund Shakespeare was in the twenty-eighth year of his age at the time of his death, and is described in the register as a player. There can be little doubt that he was introduced to the stage by the great dramatist, but, from the absence of professional notice of him, it may be concluded that he did not attain to much theatrical eminence.

Elizabeth, the only child of the Halls, was born in February, 1608, an event which conferred on Shakespeare the dignity of grandfather. The poet lived to see her attain the engaging age of eight, and the fact of his entertaining a great affection for her does not require the support of probability derived from his traditionally recorded love of children. If he had not been extremely fond of the little girl, it is not likely that he would have specifically bequeathed so mere a child nearly the whole of his plate in addition to a valuable contingent interest in his pecuniary estate. It appears, from the records of some chancery proceedings, that she inherited in after life the shrewd business qualities of her grandfather, but, with this exception, nothing is known of her disposition or character.

- 211 In the spring of the year 1608, the apparently inartificial
212 drama of *Pericles* was represented at the Globe Theatre. It seems to have been well received, and Edward Blount, a London bookseller, lost no time in obtaining the personal sanction of Sir George Buck, the Master of the Revels, for its publication, but the emoluments derived from the stage performances were probably too large for the company to incur the risk of their being diminished by the circulation of the printed drama. Blount was

perhaps either too friendly or too conscientious to persist in his designs against the wishes of the actors, and it was reserved for a less respectable publisher to issue the first edition of *Pericles* early in the following year, 213 1609, an impression followed by another surreptitious one in 1611. As Blount, the legitimate owner of the copyright, was one of the proprietors of the first folio, it may safely be inferred that the editors of that work did not consider that the poet's share in the composition 214 of *Pericles* was sufficiently large to entitle it to a place in their collection. This curious drama has, in fact, the appearance of being an earlier production, one to which, in its present form, Shakespeare was merely responsible for a number of re-castings and other improvements.

About the time that *Pericles* was so well received at the Globe, the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* was in course of performance at the same theatre, but, although 78 successful, it did not equal the former in popularity. It 79 was, however, sufficiently attractive for Blount to secure the consent of the Master of the Revels to its publication and also for the company to frustrate his immediate design.

Almost simultaneously with the contemplated publication of the admirable tragedy last mentioned, an insignificant piece, of some little merit but no dramatic power, entitled the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, was dishonestly introduced to the public as having been "written by W. Shakespeare." It was "printed by R. B. for Thomas Pavier" in 1608, the latter being a well-known unscrupulous publisher of the day, but it is of considerable interest as one of the few domestic tragedies of the kind and period that have descended to us, as well as from the circumstance of its having been performed by

Shakespeare's company at the Globe Theatre. When originally produced, it appears to have had the title of
228 All's One, belonging to a series of four diminutive plays consecutively acted by the company as a single performance in lieu of a regular five-act drama. This was a curious practice of the early stage of which there are several other examples. The Yorkshire Tragedy, the only one of this Globe series now preserved, was founded on a real occurrence which happened in the spring of the year 1605,—one of those exceptionally terrible murders that every now and then electrify and sadden the public. A Yorkshire squire of good family, maddened by losses resulting from a career of dissipation, having killed two of his sons, unsuccessfully attempted the destruction of his wife and her then sole remaining child. The event created a great sensation in London at the time, and it is most likely that this drama on the subject was produced at the theatre shortly after the occurrence, or, at least, before the public excitement respecting it had subsided. This is probable, not merely from the haste with which it was apparently written, but from its somewhat abrupt termination indicating that it was completed before the execution of the murderer at York in August, 1605. It appears to have been the criminal's professed object to blot out the family in sight of their impending ruin, intending perhaps to consummate the work by suicide, but he exhibited at the last some kind of desire to atone for his unnatural cruelty. In order to save the remnant of the family estates for the benefit of his wife and surviving child, he refused to plead to the indictment, thus practically electing to suffer the then inevitable and fearful alternative of being pressed to death.

It is not unlikely that the publisher of the Yorkshire Tragedy took advantage of the departure of Shakespeare from London to perpetrate his nominated fraud, for the poet's company were travelling on the southern coast about the time of its appearance. A few months later the great dramatist was destined to lose his mother, the Mary Arden of former days, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on September the 9th, 1608. He would naturally have desired, if possible, to attend the funeral, and it is nearly certain that he was at his native town in the following month. On October the 16th he was the principal godfather at the baptism of the William Walker to whom, in 1616, he bequeathed "twenty shillings in gold." This child was the son of Henry Walker, a mercer and one of the aldermen of the town.

The records of Stratford exhibit the poet, in 1608 and 1609, engaged in a suit with a townsman for the recovery of a debt. In the August of the former year he commenced an action against one John Addenbroke, but it then seems to have been in abeyance for a time, the first precept for a jury in the cause being dated December 21st, 1608; after which there was another delay, possibly in the hope of the matter being amicably arranged, a peremptory summons to the same jury having been issued on February 15th in the following year. A verdict was then given in favour of the poet for £6 and £1. 4s. costs, and execution went forth against the defendant; but the serjeant-at-mace returning that he was not to be found within the liberty of the borough, Shakespeare proceeded against a person of the name of Horneby, who had become bail for Addenbroke. This last process is dated on June the 7th, 1609, so that nearly a year elapsed during the prosecution of the suit. It

must not be assumed that the great dramatist attended personally to these matters, although of course the proceedings were carried on under his instructions. The precepts, as appears from memoranda in the originals, were issued by the poet's cousin, Thomas Greene, who was then residing, under some unknown conditions, at New Place.

The spring of the year 1609 is remarkable in literary history for the appearance of one of the most singular volumes that ever issued from the press. It was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 20th, and published by one Thomas Thorpe under the title of—"Shake-speares Sonnets, neuer before imprinted,"—the first two words being given in large capitals, so that they might attract their full share of public notice. This little book, a very small quarto of forty leaves, was sold at what would
 138 now be considered the trifling price of five-pence. The exact manner in which these sonnets were acquired for publication remains a mystery, but it is most probable that they were obtained from one of the poet's intimate friends, who alone would be likely to have copies, not only of so many of those pieces but also one of the Lover's Complaint. However that may be, Thorpe,—the well-wishing *adventurer*,—was so elated with the opportunity of entering into the speculation that he
 139 dedicated the work to the factor in the acquisition, one Mr. W. H., in language of hyperbolical gratitude, wishing him every happiness and an eternity, the latter in terms which are altogether inexplicable. The surname of the addressee, which has not been recorded, has been
 140 the subject of numerous futile conjectures; but the use of initials in the place of names, especially if they referred to private individuals, was then so extremely common.

that it is not necessary to assume that there was an intentional reservation.

This was a memorable year in the theatrical biography of the great dramatist, for, in the following December, the eyry of children quitted the Blackfriars Theatre to be replaced by Shakespeare's company. The latter then included Hemmings, Condell, Burbage, and the poet himself.

The exact period is unknown, but it was in the same year, 1609, or not very long afterwards, that Shakespeare ²⁵³ and two other individuals either commenced or devised a law-suit bearing upon a question in which he was interested as a partial owner of the Stratford tithes. Our only information on the subject is derived from the draft of a bill of complaint, one that was penned under the following circumstances. Nearly all the valuable possessions of the local college, including the tithes of Stratford-on-Avon, Old Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton, were granted by Edward the Sixth, a few days before his death in 1553, to the Corporation, but the gift was subject to the unexpired term of a lease for ninety-two years which had been executed in 1544 by the then proprietors in favour of one William Barker. The next owner of the lease, John Barker, assigned it in 1580 to Sir John Huband, but he reserved to himself a rent-charge of £27. 13s. 4d., with the usual power of re-entry in case of non-payment. The above-mentioned tithes were of course involved in this liability, but, when Shakespeare purchased a moiety of them in 1605, it was arranged that his share of that charge should be commuted by an annual payment of £5. An observance of this condition should have absolved the poet from further trouble in the matter, but this unfortunately was not the case. When

the bill of complaint was drafted there were about forty persons who had interests under Barker's lease, and commutations of the shares of the rent-charge had only been made in two cases, that is to say, in those of the owners of the tithe-moieties. A number of the other tenants had expressed their willingness to join in an equitable arrangement, provided that it was legally carried out; but there were some who declined altogether to contribute, and hence arose the necessity of taking measures to compel them to do so, a few, including Shakespeare, having had to pay more than their due proportions to avoid the forfeitures of their several estates. The result of the legal proceedings, if any were instituted, is not known, but there are reasons for believing that the movement terminated in some way in favour of the complainants.

The annual income which Shakespeare derived from his moiety is estimated in the bill of complaint at £60, but this was not only subject to the payment of the above-named £5, but also to that of one-half of another rent-charge, one of £34, that belonged to the Corporation of Stratford. His nett income from the tithes would thus be reduced to £38, but it was necessarily of a fluctuating character, the probability, however, being that there was a tendency towards increase, especially in the latter part of his career. It is most likely that he entered into an agreement each year with a collector, whose province it would have been to relieve him of all trouble in the matter, and pay over a stipulated amount. It is not probable that he himself visited the harvest field to mark, as was then the local practice, every tenth sheaf with a dock, or that he personally attended to the destination of each of his tithe-pigs.

The next year, 1610, is nearly barren of recorded incidents, but in the early part of it Shakespeare purchased twenty acres of pasture land from the Combes, adding them to the valuable freeholds that he had obtained from those parties in 1602. After this transaction he owned no fewer than a hundred and twenty-seven acres in the common fields of Stratford and its neighbourhood. His first purchase consisted entirely of arable land, but although he had the usual privilege of common of pasture that was attached to it, the new acquisition was no doubt a desirable one. The concord of the fine that was prepared on the latter occasion is dated April the 13th, 1610, and as it was acknowledged before Commissioners, it may be inferred that Shakespeare was not in London at the time.

There are an unusual number of evidences of Shakespeare's dramatic popularity in the following year. We now first hear of his plays of *Macbeth*, the *Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and the *Tempest*. New impressions of *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet* and *Pericles* also appeared in 1611, and, in the same year, a publisher named Helme issued an edition of the old play of *King John*, that which Shakespeare so marvellously re-dramatized, with the deceptive imputation of the authorship to one W. Sh., a clear proof, if any were needed, of the early commercial value of his name.

The tragedy of *Macbeth* was acted at the Globe Theatre, in April, 1611, and Forman, the celebrated astrologer, has recorded a graphic account of its performance on that occasion, the only contemporary notice of it that has been discovered. The eccentric Doctor appears to have given some of the details inaccurately, but he could hardly have been mistaken in the statement

that Macbeth and Banquo made their first appearance on
17 horseback, a curious testimony to the rude endeavours
of the stage-managers of the day to invest their representations with something of reality. The weird sisters were personated by men whose heads were disguised by grotesque periwigs. Forman's narrative decides a question, which has frequently been raised, as to whether the Ghost of Banquo should appear, or only be imagined, by Macbeth. There is no doubt that the Ghost was personally introduced on the early stage as well as long afterwards, when the tragedy was revived by Davenant; but the audiences of the seventeenth century were indoctrinated with the common belief that spirits were generally visible only to those connected with their object or mission, so in this play, as in some others of the period, an artificial stimulus to credulity in that direction was unnecessary. It is a singular circumstance that, in Davenant's time, Banquo and his Ghost were performed by different actors, a practice not impossibly derived from that of former times.

122 A performance of the comedy of the *Winter's Tale*, the name of which is probably owing to its having been originally produced in the winter season, was witnessed by Dr. Forman at the Globe Theatre on May the 15th, 1611. It was also the play chosen for representation before the Court on the fifth of November in the same year. Although it is extremely unlikely that Camillo's speech respecting "anointed Kings" influenced the selection of the comedy, there can hardly be a doubt that a sentiment so appropriate to the anniversary celebrated on that day was favourably received by a Whitehall audience. The *Winter's Tale* was also performed in the year 1613 before Prince Charles, the Lady

Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, some time before the close of the month of April, at which period the two last of the above-named personages left England for the Continent.

Amongst the performances of other dramas witnessed by Dr. Forman was one of the tragedy of *Cymbeline*,¹⁸ and although he does not record either the date or the locality, there can be little hesitation in referring the incident to the spring of the year 1611; at all events, to a period not later than the following September, when that marvellously eccentric astrologer died suddenly in a¹⁹ boat while passing over the Thames from Southwark to Puddle Dock. It may be suspected that the poet was in London at the time of that occurrence, for in a subscription-list originated at Stratford-on-Avon on the eleventh of that month, his name is the only one found on the margin, as if it were a later insertion in a folio page of donors "towardses the charge of prosecutyng the bill in Parliament for the better repayre of the highe waies." The moneys were raised in anticipation of a Parliament which was then expected to be summoned, but which did not meet until long afterwards. The list includes the names of all the leading inhabitants of the town, so that it is impossible to say whether the poet took a special interest in the proposed design, or if he allowed his name to appear merely out of consideration for its promoters.

The comedy of the *Tempest*, having most likely been produced at one of the Shakespearean theatres in 1611, was represented before King James and the Court at¹⁵² Whitehall on the evening of the First of November in¹⁵³ that year, the incidental music having been composed by Robert Johnson, one of the Royal "musicians for

the lutes." The record of the performance includes the earliest notice of that drama which has yet been discovered. It was also acted with success at the Blackfriars Theatre, and it was one of the plays selected early in the year 1613 for the entertainment of Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine.

The four years and a half that intervened between the performance of the *Tempest* in 1611 and the author's death, could not have been one of his periods of great literary activity. So many of his plays are known to have been in existence at the former date, it follows that there are only six which could by any possibility have been written after that time, and it is not likely that the whole of those belong to so late an era. These facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the poet abandoned literary occupation a considerable period before his decease, and, in all probability, when he disposed of his theatrical property. So long as he continued to be a shareholder in the Globe Theatre, it was incumbent upon him to supply the company with two plays annually. It may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that he parted with his shares within two or three years after the performance above alluded to, the drama of *Henry the Eighth* being, most likely, his concluding work.

Amongst the six plays above-mentioned is the amusing comedy of the *Taming of the Shrew*. Most of the incidents of that drama, as well as those of its exquisite Induction, are taken from an old farce which was written at some time before May, 1594, and published in that year under the nearly identical title of the *Taming of a Shrew*. This latter work had then been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's servants, and was probably well known to Shakespeare when he was

connected with that company, or shortly afterwards, for it was one of the plays represented at the Newington Butts Theatre by the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's men in the June of the same year. The period at which he wrote the new comedy is at present a matter solely of conjecture; but its local allusions might 65 induce an opinion that it was composed with a view to a contemplated representation before a provincial audience. That delicious episode, the Induction, presents us with a fragment of the rural life with which Shakespeare himself must have been familiar in his native county. With such animated power is it written that we almost appear to personally witness the affray between Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot, and Christopher Sly, to see 110 the nobleman on his return from the chase discovering the insensible drunkard, and to hear the strolling actors make the offer of professional services that was requited by the cordial welcome to the buttery. Wincot is a 150 secluded hamlet near Stratford-on-Avon, and there is an old tradition that the ale-house frequented by Sly was often resorted to by Shakespeare for the sake of diverting himself with a fool who belonged to a neighbouring mill. 151 Stephen Sly, one of the tinker's friends or relatives, was a known character at Stratford-on-Avon, and is several times mentioned in the records of that town. This fact, taken in conjunction with the references to Wilmecote and Barton-on-the-Heath, definitely proves that the scene of the Induction was intended to be in the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon, the water-mill tradition leading to the belief that Little Wilmecote, the part of the hamlet nearest to the poet's native town, is the Wincot alluded to in the comedy. If—but the virtuous character of that interesting particle must not be overlooked—the

local imagery extends to the nobleman, the play itself must be supposed to be represented at Clopton House, the only large private residence near the scene of Sly's intemperance; but if so, not until 1605, in the May of which year Sir George became Baron Carew of Clopton.

It was the general opinion in the convivial days of Shakespeare "that a quart of ale is a dish for a king." So impressed were nearly all classes of society by its attractions, it was imbibed wherever it was to be found, and there was no possible idea of degradation attached to the poet's occasional visits to the house of entertainment at Wincot. If, indeed, he had been observed in that village, and to pass Mrs. Hacket's door without taking a sip of ale with the vigorous landlady, he might perhaps no longer have been enrolled amongst the members of good-fellowship. Such a notion, at all events, is at variance with the proclivities recorded in the famous crab-tree anecdote, one which is of sufficient antiquity to deserve a notice amongst the more trivial records of Shakespearean biography. It would appear from this tradition that the poet, one summer's morning, set out from his native town for a walk over
184 Bardon Hill to the village of Bidford, six miles distant,
185 a place said to have been then noted for its revelry.
When he had nearly reached his destination, he happened
186 to meet with a shepherd, and jocosely enquired of him if
the Bidford Drinkers were at home. The rustic, perfectly equal to the occasion, replied that the Drinkers
187 were absent, but that he would easily find the Sippers,
188 and that the latter might perhaps be sufficiently jolly to meet his expectations. The anticipations of the shepherd were fully realized, and Shakespeare, in bend-

ing his way homeward late in the evening, found an acceptable interval of rest under the branches of a crab-tree which was situated about a mile from Bidford. 189 There is no great wonder and no special offence to record, when it is added that he was overtaken by drowsiness, and that he did not renew the course of his journey until early in the following morning. The 190 whole story, indeed, when viewed strictly with reference to the habits and opinions of those days, presents no features that suggest disgrace to the principal actor, or imposition on the part of the narrator. With our ancestors the ludicrous aspect of intoxication completely neutralized, or rather, to speak more correctly, excluded the thought of attendant discredit. The affair would have been merely regarded in the light of an unusually good joke, and that there is, at least, some foundation for the tale may be gathered from the fact that, as early as the year 1762, the tree, then known as Shakespeare's Canopy, was regarded at Stratford-on-Avon as an object of great interest.

In the year 1612 the third edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim* made its appearance, the publisher seeking to attract a special class of buyers by describing it as consisting of "Certain Amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis." These were announced as the work of Shakespeare, but it is also stated that to them were "newly added two love-epistles, the first from Paris to Helen, and Helen's answer back again to Paris;" the name of the author of the last two poems not being mentioned. The wording of the title might imply that the latter were also the compositions of the great dramatist, but they were in fact written by Thomas Heywood, and had been impudently taken from his

Troia Britanica, a large poetical work that had appeared three years previously, 1609. "Here, likewise," observes that writer, speaking in 1612 of the last-named production, "I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke by taking the two Epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name; but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author I know much offended with M. Jaggard that (altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name."

Although Heywood thus ingeniously endeavours to make it appear that his chief objection to the piracy arose from a desire to shield himself against a charge of plagiarism, it is apparent that he was highly incensed at the liberty that had been taken; and a new title-page to the *Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612, from which Shakespeare's name was withdrawn, was afterwards issued. There can be little doubt that this step was taken mainly in consequence of the remonstrances of Heywood addressed to Shakespeare, who may certainly have been displeased at Jaggard's proceedings, but as clearly required pressure to induce him to act in the matter. If the publisher would now so readily listen to Shakespeare's wishes, it is difficult to believe that he would not have been equally compliant had he been expostulated with either at the first appearance of the work in 1599, or at any period during the following twelve years of its circulation. It is pleasing to notice that Heywood, in observing that the poet was ignorant of Jaggard's

intentions, entirely acquits the former of any blame in the matter.

Early in the following year the great dramatist lost his younger, and most probably now his only surviving, brother, Richard, who was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on February the 4th, 1613. He was in the thirty-ninth year of his age. Beyond the records of his baptism and funeral no biographical particulars respecting him have been discovered; but it may be suspected that all the poet's brothers were at times more or less dependent on his purse or influence. When the parish-clerk told Dowdall, in 1693, that Shakespeare "was the best of his family" he used a provincial expression which implied not only that its other members of the same sex were less amiable than himself, but that they were not held in very favourable estimation.

There is no record of the exact period at which the great dramatist retired from the stage in favour of a retreat at New Place, but it is not likely that he made the latter a permanent residence until 1613 at the earliest. Had this step been taken previously, it is improbable that he would, in the March of that year, have been anxious to secure possession of an estate in London, a property consisting of a house and a yard, the lower part of the former having been then and for long previously a haberdasher's shop. The premises referred to, situated within one or two hundred yards to the east of the Blackfriars Theatre, were bought by the poet for the sum of £140, and, for some reason or other, he was so intent on its acquisition that he permitted a considerable amount, £60, of the purchase-money to remain on mortgage. That reason can hardly be found in the notion that

the property was merely a desirable investment, for it would appear to have been purchased at a somewhat
244 extravagant rate, the vendor, one Henry Walker, a London musician, having paid but £100 for it in the year 1604. If intended for conversion into Shakespeare's own residence, that design was afterwards abandoned, for, at some time previously to his death, he had granted a lease of it to John Robinson, who was, oddly enough, one of the persons who had violently opposed the establishment of the neighbouring theatre. It does not appear that Shakespeare
245 lived to redeem the mortgage, for the legal estate remained in the trustees until the year 1618. Amongst the latter was one described as John Hemyng of London, gentleman, who signs himself Heminges, but it is not likely that he was the poet's friend and
246 colleague of the same name.

The conveyance-deeds of this house bear the date of March the 10th, 1613, but in all probability they were not executed until the following day, and at the same time that the mortgage was effected. The latter transaction was completed in Shakespeare's presence on the eleventh, and that the occurrence took place in London or in the immediate neighbourhood is apparent from the fact that the vendor deposited the original conveyance on the same day for enrollment in the Court of
247 Chancery. The independent witnesses present on the occasion consisted of Atkinson, who was the Clerk of the Brewers' Company, and a person of the name of Overy. To these were joined the then usual official attestors, the scrivener who drew up the deeds and his assistant, the latter, one Henry Lawrence, having the honour of lending his seal to the great dramatist, who

thus, to the disappointment of posterity, impressed the wax of both his labels with the initials H. L. instead of those of his own name.

This Blackfriars estate was the only London property that Shakespeare is known for certain to have ever owned. It consisted of a dwelling-house, the first story of which was erected partially over a gateway, and either at the side or back, included in the premises, was a diminutive enclosed plot of land. The house was situated on the west side of St. Andrew's Hill, formerly otherwise termed Puddle Hill or Puddle Dock Hill, and it was either partially on or very near the locality now and for more than two centuries known ²⁴⁸ as Ireland Yard. At the bottom of the hill was Puddle ²⁴⁹ Dock, a narrow creek of the Thames which may yet be traced, with its repulsive very gradually inclined surface of mud at low water, and, at high, an admirable representative of its name. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, ed. 1603, p. 41, mentions "a water gate at Puddle Wharfe, of one Puddle that kept a wharfe on the west side thereof, and now of puddle water, by meanes of many horses wated there." It is scarcely necessary to observe that every vestige of the Shakespearean house was obliterated in the great fire of 1666. So complete was the destruction of all this quarter of London that, perhaps, the only fragment of its ancient buildings that remained to the present century is a doorway of the old church or priory of the Blackfriars, a relic which was to be observed about twenty years since, then built into the outer wall of a parish lumber-house adjoining St. Anne's burying ground.

The Globe Theatre was destroyed by fire on Tuesday, June the 29th, 1613. The great dramatist was probably

at Stratford-on-Avon at the time of this lamentable occurrence. At all events, his name is not mentioned in any 97 of the notices of the calamity, nor is there a probability 98 that he was the author of the new drama on the history of Henry the Eighth, which was then produced, the first one on the public stage in which the efforts of the dramatist were subordinated to theatrical display. It is 99 true that some of the historical incidents in the piece that was in course of representation when the accident occurred are also introduced into Shakespeare's play, 100 but it is not likely that there was any other resemblance between the two works. Amongst the actors engaged at the theatre on this fatal day were Burbage, Hemmings, Condell, and one who enacted the part of the Fool, 101 the two last being so dilatory in quitting the building that fears were entertained for their safety. Up to this period, therefore, it may reasonably be inferred that the stage-fool had been introduced into every play on the subject of Henry the Eighth, so that when Shakespeare's pageant-drama appeared some time afterwards, 102 the Prologue is careful to inform the audience that there was to be a novel treatment of the history divested of some of the former accompaniments. This theory of a 103 late date is in consonance with the internal evidence. The temperate introduction of lines with the hypermetrical syllable has often a pleasing effect, but during the last few years of the poet's career, their immoderate use was affected by our dramatists, and although, for the 258 most part, Shakespeare's metre was a free offspring of the ear, owing little but its generic form to his predecessors and contemporaries, it appears certain that, in 104 the present instance, he suffered himself to be influenced by this undesirable fashion.

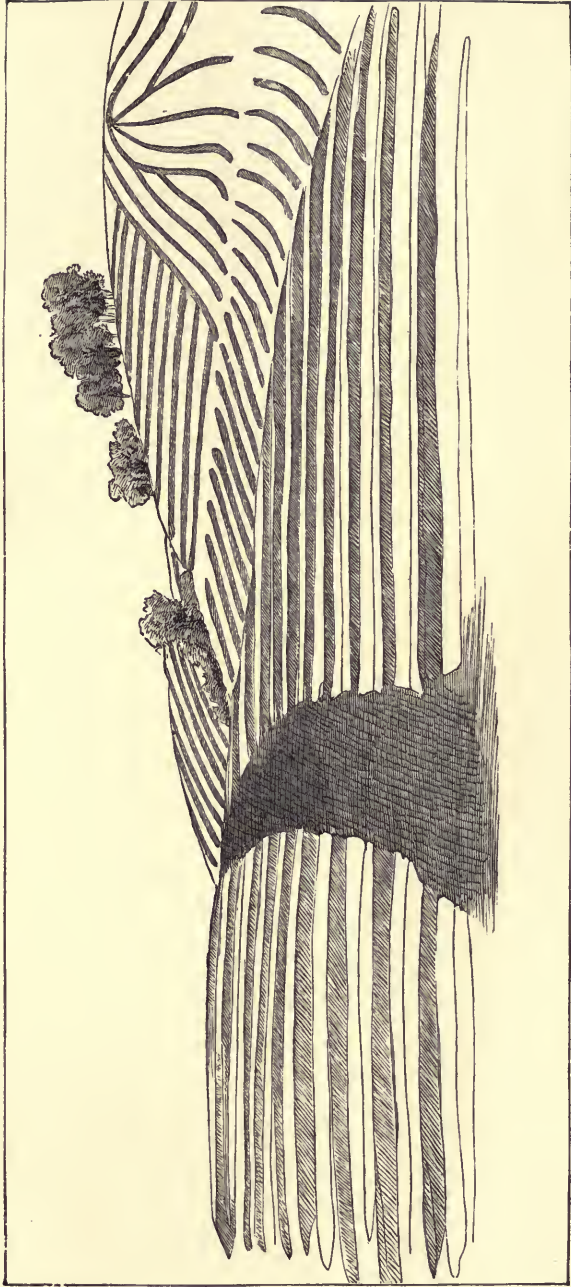
When Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth was produced, the character of the King was undertaken by Lowin, a very accomplished actor. This fact, which is stated on the authority of an old manuscript note in a copy of the second folio preserved at Windsor Castle, is confirmed by Downes, in 1708, and by Roberts, the actor, in a tract published in 1729, the latter observing,—“ I am apt to think, he (Lowin) did not rise to his perfection and most exalted state in the theatre till after Burbage, tho' he play'd what we call second and third characters in his time, and particularly Henry the Eighth originally; from an observation of whose acting it in his later days Sir William Davenant convey'd his instructions to Mr. Betterton.” According to Downes, Betterton was instructed in the acting of the part by Davenant, “ who had it from old Mr. Lowin, that had his in-¹⁰⁵structions from Mr. Shakespeare himself.” There is a stage-tradition that, in Shakespeare's drama, as was also probably the case in all the old plays on the subject, the King's exclamation of *ha* was peculiarly emphasized. A story is told by Fuller of a boy-actor in the part¹⁰⁶ whose feeble utterance of this particle occasioned a colleague to warn him that, if he did not pronounce it more vigorously, his Parliament would never give him “ a penny of money.”

Shortly before the destruction of the Globe Theatre in 1613, and in the same month of June, there was a malicious bit of gossip in circulation at Stratford-on-Avon respecting Mrs. Hall, Shakespeare's eldest daughter, and one Ralph Smith. The rumour was traced to an individual of the name of Lane, who was accordingly²⁹⁹ summoned to the Ecclesiastical Court to atone for the offence. The case was opened at Worcester on July

the 15th, 1613, the poet's friend, Robert Whatcot, being the chief witness on behalf of the plaintiff. Nothing beyond the formal proceedings in the suit has been recorded, but there can be little doubt that Lane was one of those mean social pests who attack the personal honour of any one they may happen to be offended with. Slanderers, however, are notorious cowards. Neither the defendant nor his proctor ventured to appear before the court, and, in the end, the lady's character was vindicated by the excommunication of the former on July the 27th.

When itinerant preachers visited Stratford-on-Avon it was the fashion in those days for the Corporation to make them complimentary offerings. In the spring of the following year, 1614, one of these gentlemen arrived in the town, and being either quartered at New Place, or spending a few hours in that house, was there presented by the municipal authorities with one quart of sack and another of claret. There is no evidence that Shakespeare participated in the clerical festivity, the earliest notice of him in this year being in July, when John Combe, one of the leading inhabitants, died, bequeathing him the then handsome legacy of £5. It is clear, therefore, that, at the time the will was made, there was no unfriendliness between the two parties, and that the lines commencing, *Ten-in-the-hundred*, if genuine, must have been composed at a later period. The first two lines of that mock elegy are, however, undoubtedly spurious, and are omitted in the earliest discovered version of it, dated 1630, preserved at Thirlestane House. There is, moreover, no reason for believing that Combe was an usurious money-lender, ten per cent. being then the legal and ordinary

Midland Common Fields, the shaded portions consisting of grass and the unshaded of arable, from a sketch taken by Blight in 1864 of one of the few then remaining examples. In Shakespeare's time a very large proportion of English land was cultivated under this system.



rate of interest. That rate was not lowered until after the death of Shakespeare.

The Globe Theatre, which had been rebuilt at a very large cost, had then been recently opened; and Chamberlain, writing from London on June the 30th, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says, "I heare much speach of this new playhouse, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England."

In the autumn of the same year, 1614, there was great excitement at Stratford-on-Avon respecting an attempted enclosure of a large portion of the neighbouring common-fields,—not commons, as so many biographers have inadvertently stated. The design was resisted by the Corporation, under the natural impression that, if it were realized, both the number of agricultural employés and the value of the tithes would be seriously diminished. There is no doubt that this would have been the case, and, as might have been expected, William Combe, the squire of Welcombe, who originated the movement, encountered a determined and, in the end, a successful opposition. He spared, however, no exertions to accomplish the object, and, in many instances, if we may believe contemporary allegations, tormented the poor and coaxed the rich into an acquiescence with his views. It appears most probable that Shakespeare was one of the latter who were so influenced, and that, amongst perhaps other inducements, he was allured to the unpopular side by Combe's agent, one Replingham, guaranteeing him from prospective loss. However that may be, it is certain that the poet was in favour of the enclosures, for, on December the 23rd, the Corporation addressed a letter of remonstrance to him on the subject, and another on the same day to a Mr. Manwaring. The

latter, who had been practically bribed by some land arrangements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interests of Shakespeare, so there can be no doubt that the three parties were acting in unison.

It appears that Shakespeare was in the metropolis when the Corporation decided to address an expostulatory letter to him, and that he had arrived there on Wednesday, November the 16th, 1614. We are indebted for the knowledge of this circumstance to the diary of Thomas Greene, the town-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon, who has recorded in that manuscript the following too brief, but still extremely curious, notices of the great dramatist in connection with the subject of the enclosures :—

1.—Jovis, 17 Nov., my cosen Shakspeare comyng yesterday to towne, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose noe further then to Gospell Bushe, and soe upp straight (leavyng out part of the Dyngles to the Field) to the Gate in Clopton hedge, and take in Salisburys peece ; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before ; and he and Mr. Hall say they think ther will be nothyng done at all.

2.—23 Dec. A hall. Lettres wryten, on to Mr. Maneryng, another to Mr. Shakspeare, with almost all the companies handes to eyther. I alsoe wrytte of myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our

23. Dec. 1614. Lettres wryten on to Mr. Maneryng, another to Mr. Shakspeare, with almost all the companies handes to eyther. I alsoe wrytte of myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our

actes, and then also a not of the inconvenyences wold happen by the inclosure.

3.—9 Jan. 1614. Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakspear, and then I was putt in by T. Lucas.

4.—11 Januarii, 1614. Mr. Manyryng and his agreement for me with my cosen Shakspeare.

5.—Sept. Mr. Shakspeare tellyng J. Greene that I was not able 301 to beare the encloseing of Welcombe.

Greene was in London at the date of the first entry, and at Stratford at that of the second. The exact day on which the fifth memorandum was written is not given, but it was certainly penned before the fifth of September. Why the last observation should have been chronicled at all is a mystery, but the note has a mournful interest as the register of the latest recorded spoken words of the great dramatist. They were uttered in the autumn of the year 1615, when the end was very near at hand.

Had it not been for its untimely termination, the concluding period of Shakespeare's life would have been regarded with unmixed pleasure. It "was spent," observes Rowe, "as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and conversation of his friends." The latter were not restricted to his provincial associates, for he retained his literary intimacies until the end; while it is clear, from what is above recorded, that his retirement to Stratford did not exclude an occasional visit to the metropolis. He had, moreover, the practical wisdom to be contented with the fortune his incessant labours had secured. He had gathered, writes his first real biographer, "an estate equal to his occasion, and, in that, *to his wish*," language which suggests a traditional belief that the days of accumulation had passed. In other words, he was one of the few who knew when to commence the enjoyment of acquired wealth, avoiding the too common error of desiring more when in full possession of whatever there is in the ability of money to contribute to happiness.

It is not likely that the poet, with his systematic forethought, had hitherto neglected to provide for the ultimate devolution of his estates, but, as usual, it is only the latest will that has been preserved. This important record was prepared in January, 1616, either by or under
 283 the directions of Francis Collins, a solicitor then residing

Francis Collins
~~_____~~

284 at Warwick, and it appears, from the date given to the superscription and from some of the erasures in the
 285 manuscript itself, that it was a corrected draft ready for an engrossment that was to have been signed by the testator on Thursday, the twenty-fifth of that month. For some unknown reason, but most probably owing to circumstances relating to Judith's matrimonial engage-
 286 ment, the appointment for that day was postponed, at Shakespeare's request, in anticipation of further instructions, and before Collins had ordered a fair copy to be made. The draft, therefore, remained in his custody,
 287 his client being then "in perfect health," and taking no doubt a lively interest in all that concerned his daughter's marriage. Under such conditions a few weeks easily pass away unheeded, so that, when he was unexpectedly seized with a dangerous fever in March, it is not very surprising that the business of the will should be found to have been neglected. Hence it was that his lawyer was hurriedly summoned from Warwick, that it was not considered advisable to wait for the preparation of a

regular transcript, and that the papers were signed after a few more alterations had been hastily effected. An unusual number of witnesses were called in to secure the validity of the informally written document, its draftsman, according to the almost invariable custom at that time, being the first to sign. 288

The corrected draft of the will was so hastily revised at Shakespeare's bedside, that even the alteration of the day of the month was overlooked. It is probable that the melancholy gathering at New Place happened somewhat later than the twenty-fifth of March, the fourth week after a serious attack of fever being generally the most fatal period. We may at all events safely assume that, if death resulted from such a cause on April the 23rd, the seizure could not have occurred much before the end of the preceding month. It is satisfactory to know that the invalid's mind was as yet unclouded, several of the interlineations that were added on the occasion having obviously emanated from himself. And it is not necessary to follow the general opinion that the signatures betray the tremulous hand of illness, although portions of them may indicate that they were written from an inconvenient position. It may be observed that the words, *by me*, which, the autographs excepted, are the only ones in the poet's handwriting known to exist, appear to have been penned with ordinary firmness. 289

The first interlineation, that which refers to Judith, was apparently the result of her marriage, an event considered as a probability on the twenty-fifth of January, and shortly afterwards, that is to say, in less than three weeks, definitively arranged. That the poet, as is so often assumed, was ignorant, in January, of an attach-

ment which resulted in a marriage in February, is altogether incredible. It is especially so when it is recollected that the Quiney and Shakespeare families were at least on visiting terms, and all residing in a small country town, where the rudiment of every love-affair must have been immediately enrolled amongst the desirable ingredients of the gossips' caldron. But there is evidence in the will itself that Shakespeare not only contemplated Judith's marriage, but was extremely anxious for her husband to settle on her an estate in land equivalent in value to the bequest of £150. He



A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Judith Shakespeare". The name "Judith" is written on the top line, and "Shakespeare" is written on the bottom line. A large, decorative initial "S" is positioned between the two lines of text.

290 makes the failure of that settlement an absolute bar to the husband's life or other personal interest in the money, rigidly securing the integrity of the capital against the possibility of the condition being evaded so long as Judith or any of her issue were living. The singular limitation of the three years from the date of the will, not from that of the testator's decease, may perhaps be explained by the possibility of Thomas Quiney having a landed reversion accruing to him at the end of that period, such as a bequest contingent on his reaching the age of thirty. However that may be, it seems certain that the interlineated words, *in discharge of her marriage porcion*, must have reference to an engagement on the part of Shakespeare, one entered into after the will was first drawn up and before that paragraph was inserted, to give Judith the sum of £100 on the occasion of her marriage with Thomas Quiney. That event took

place in their native town on Saturday, February the 10th, 1616. There was some reason for accelerating the nuptials, for they were married without a license, an irregularity for which, a few weeks afterwards, they were fined and threatened with excommunication by the ecclesiastical court at Worcester. No evidence, however, has been discovered to warrant the frequent suggestion that the poet disapproved of the alliance. So far as is known, there was nothing in the bridegroom's position or then character to authorise a parent's opposition, nor have good reasons been adduced for the suspicion that there was ever any unpleasantness between the married Quineys and their Shakespeare connections. Their first-born son was christened after the great dramatist, and they remained on good terms with the Halls. Judith, the first and one of the most prominent 141 legatees named in the will, was a tenant-for-life in remainder under the provisions of that document, so there is not the least reason for suspecting that the partiality therein exhibited to the testator's eldest daughter was otherwise than one elicited by aristocratic tendencies. It is not likely that it was viewed in any other light by the younger sister, who received what were for those days exceedingly liberal pecuniary legacies, while the special gift to her of "my broad silver gilt bole" is an unmistakable testimony of affection. Shakespeare, in devising his real estates to one child, followed the example of his maternal grandfather and the general custom of landed proprietors. He evidently desired that their undivided ownership should continue in the family, but that he had no other motive may be inferred from the absence of conditions for the perpetuation of his own name.

Thomas Quiney, at the time of his marriage with Judith Shakespeare, was very nearly four years her junior, having been a younger son, born in 1589, of Richard Quiney, whose correspondence with the poet in 1598 has already been noticed. He then, that is to say, in February, 1616, lived in a small house on the west of the High Street, but nothing respecting his previous career has been discovered. That his education, however, had not been restricted to the curriculum of the Grammar School, and that he had been specially instructed in French and caligraphy, may be inferred from the motto in that language and from the elaborate signatures with which he has embellished the first page of the account that he delivered to the Corporation in 1623.

Following the bequests to the Quineys are those to the poet's sister Joan, then in her forty-seventh year, and five pounds a-piece to his nephews, her three children, lads of the respective ages of sixteen, eleven, and eight. To this lady, who became a widow very shortly before his own decease, he leaves, besides a contingent reversionary interest, his wearing apparel, twenty pounds in money, and a life-interest in the Henley Street property, the last being subject to the manorial rent of twelve-pence. This limitation of real estate to Mrs. Hart, the anxiety displayed to secure the integrity of the little Rowington copyhold, and the subsequent devises to his eldest daughter, exhibit very clearly his determination to place under legal settlement every foot of land that he possessed. With this object in view, he settles his estates in tail male, with the usual remainders over, all of which, however, so far as the predominant intention was concerned,

1623
 Thomas: Turnere
 Thomas: Conoy

1623
 Thomas: Conoy

Tho: Turney

pour huer est a luy
 Pour pour de l'end fage
 Pour pour le mat dant
 Pour pour appants
 cage

turned out to be merely exponents of the vanity of human wishes. Before half a century had elapsed, all possibility of the continuance of the family entail had been dispelled.

The most celebrated interlineation is that in which Shakespeare leaves his widow his "second-best bed with the furniture," the first-best being that generally reserved for visitors, and one which may possibly have descended as a family heir-loom, becoming in that
291 way the undevisable property of his eldest daughter. Bedsteads were sometimes of elaborate workmanship, and gifts of them are often to be met with in ancient wills. The notion of indifference to his wife, so frequently deduced from the above-mentioned entry, cannot be sustained on that account. So far from being considered of trifling import, beds were even sometimes
292 selected as portions of compensation for dower; and bequests of personal articles of the most insignificant description were never formerly held in any light but that of marks of affection. Amongst the smaller legacies of former days may be enumerated kettles, chairs, gowns, hats, pewter cups, feather bolsters, and cullenders. In the year 1642 one John Shakespeare of Budbrook, near Warwick, considered it a sufficient mark of respect to his father-in-law to leave him "his best boots."

The conjugal history of Shakespeare would not have been so tarnished had more regard been given to contemporary practices. It has generally been considered that the terms of the marriage-bond favour a suspicion of haste and irregularity, but it will be seen on examination that they are merely copies of the ordinary forms in use at Worcester. We should not inspect

these matters through the glasses of modern life. For the gift of a bed let us substitute that of one of its present correlatives, a valuable diamond-ring for example, and we should then instinctively feel not only that the gift was one of affection, but that its isolation was most probably due to the circumstance of a special provision of livelihood for her being unnecessary. This was undoubtedly the case in the present instance. The interests of the survivor were nearly always duly considered in the voluntary settlements formerly so often made between husband and wife, but even if there had been no such arrangements in this case, the latter would have been well provided for by free-bench in the Rowington copyhold, and by dower on ²⁹³ the rest of the property.

It is curious that the only real ground for a belief in any kind of estrangement between them should not hitherto have been noticed, but something to favour that impression may be fancied to be visible in Shakespeare's neglect to give his widow a life-interest either in their own residence at New Place or in its furniture. However liberally she may have been provided for, that circumstance would hardly reconcile us to the somewhat ungracious divorce of a wife from the control of her own household. It is clear that there must have been some valid reason for this arrangement, for the grant of such an interest would not have affected the testator's evident desire to perpetuate a family estate, and there appears to be no other obvious design with which a limited gift of the mansion could have interfered. Perhaps the only theory that would be consistent with the terms of the will, and with the deep affection which she is traditionally recorded to have entertained for him to the end of her

life, is the possibility of her having been afflicted with some chronic infirmity of a nature that precluded all hope of recovery. In such a case, to relieve her from household anxieties and select a comfortable apartment at New Place, where she would be under the care of an affectionate daughter and an experienced physician, would have been the wisest and kindest measure that could have been adopted.

It has been observed that a man's character is more fully revealed in a will than in any other less solemn document, and the experiences of most people will tend to favour the impression that nothing is so likely to be a really faithful record of natural impulses. Dismissing, as unworthy of consideration, the possibility of there having been an intentional neglect of his wife, it is pleasing to notice in Shakespeare's indications of the designer having been a conscientious and kind-hearted man, and one who was devoid of any sort of affectation. Independently of the bequests that amply provided for his children and sister, there are found in it a very unusual number of legacies to personal friends, and if some of its omissions, such as those of reference to the Hathaways, appear to be mysterious, it must be recollected that we are entirely unacquainted with family arrangements, the knowledge of some of which might explain them all. It has, moreover, been objected that "the will contains less of sentiment than might be wished," that is to say, it may be presumed, by those who fancy that the great dramatist must have been, by virtue of his art, of an æsthetic and sentimental temperament. When Mr. West of Alscot was the first, in 1747, to exhibit a biographical interest in this relic, the Rev. Joseph Greene, master of the grammar-

school of Stratford-on-Avon, who made a transcript for him, was also disappointed with its contents, and could not help observing that it was "absolutely void of the least particle of that spirit which animated our great poet." It might be thought from this impeachment that the worthy preceptor expected to find it written in blank-verse.

The preponderance of Shakespeare's domestic over his literary sympathies is strikingly exhibited in this final record. Not only is there no mention of Drayton, Ben Jonson, or any of his other literary friends, but an entire absence of reference to his own compositions. When these facts are considered adjunctively with his want of vigilance in not having previously secured authorized publications of any one of his dramas, and with other episodes of his life, it is difficult to resist the conviction that he was indifferent to the posthumous fate of his own writings. The editors of the first folio speak, indeed, in a tone of regret at his death having rendered a personal edition an impossibility; but they merely allude to this as a matter of fact or destiny, and as a reason for the devolution of the task upon themselves. They nowhere say, as they might naturally have done had it been the case, that the poet himself had meditated such an undertaking, or even that the slightest preparations for it had been made during the years of his retirement. They distinctly assure us, however, that Shakespeare was in the habit of furnishing them with the autograph manuscripts of his plays, so that, if he had retained transcripts of them for his own ultimate use, or had afterwards collected them, it is reasonable to assume that they would have used his materials and not been so careful to mention

that they themselves were the only gatherers. It may, indeed, be safely averred that the leading facts in the case, especially the apathy exhibited by the poet in his days of leisure, all tend to the persuasion that the composition of his immortal dramas was mainly stimulated by pecuniary results that were desired for the realization of social and domestic advantages. It has been frequently observed that, if this view be accepted, it is at the expense of investing him with a mean and sordid disposition. This conclusion may well be questioned. Literary ambition confers no moral grace, whilst its possession, as it might in Shakespeare's case, too often jeopardizes the attainment of independence as well as the paramount claims of family and kindred. That a solicitude in these latter directions should have predominated over vanity is a fact that should enhance our appreciation of his personal character, however it may affect the direct gratitude of posterity for the infinite pleasure and instruction derived from his writings.

There was a funeral as well as a marriage in the family during the last days of Shakespeare. William Hart, who was carrying on the business of a hatter at the premises now known as the Birth-place, and who was the husband of the poet's sister Joan, was buried at Stratford-on-Avon on April the 17th, 1616. Before another week had elapsed, the spirit of the great dramatist himself had fled.

Amongst the numerous popular errors of our ancestors was the belief that fevers often resulted from convivial indulgences. This was the current notion in England until a comparatively recent period, and its prevalence affected the traditional history of the poet's last illness.

The facts were these. Late in the March of this calamitous year, or, accepting our computation, early in April, Shakespeare and his two friends, Drayton and Ben Jonson, were regaling themselves at an entertainment in one of the taverns at Stratford-on-Avon. It is recorded that the party was a jovial one, and according to a late but apparently genuine tradition, when the great dramatist was returning to New Place in the evening, he had taken more wine than was conducive to pedestrian accuracy. Shortly or immediately afterwards he was seized by the lamentable fever which terminated fatally on Tuesday, April the 23rd, 1616, a day which, according to our present mode of computation, would be the fifth of May. The cause of the malady, then attributed to undue festivity, would now be readily discernible in the wretched sanitary conditions surrounding his residence. If truth, and not romance, is to be invoked, were there the woodbine and sweet honeysuckle within reach of the poet's death-bed, their fragrance would have been neutralized by their vicinity to middens, fetid water-courses, mud-walls and piggeries.

The funeral was solemnized on the following Thursday, April the 25th, when all that was mortal of the great dramatist was consigned to its final resting-place in the beautiful parish-church of his native town. His remains were deposited in the chancel, the selection of that locality for the interment being due to the circumstance of its then being the legal and customary burial-place of the owners of the tithes.

The grave is situated near the northern wall of the chancel, within a few paces of the ancient charnel-house, the arch of the doorway that opened to the latter, with its antique corbels, still remaining. The sepulchre was

covered with a slab that bore the following inscription,—

GOOD FREND, FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE
 TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOSED HEARE;
 BLESTE BE THE MAN THAT SPARES THES STONES,
 AND CVRST BE HE THAT MOVES MY BONES.

277 lines which, according to an early tradition, were selected
 by the poet himself for his epitaph. There is another
 278 early but less probable statement that they were the
 poet's own composition; but, at all events, it may be
 safely gathered that they originated in some way from a
 302 repugnance on his part to the idea of a disturbance of
 his remains. It should be remembered that the transfer
 of bones from graves to the charnel-house was then an
 ordinary practice at Stratford-on-Avon. There has long
 279 been a tradition that Shakespeare's feelings on this sub-
 ject arose from a reflection on the ghastly appearance of
 that receptacle, which the elder Ireland, writing in the
 year 1795, describes as then containing "the largest
 assemblage of human bones" he had ever beheld. But
 whether this be the truth, or if it were merely the natural
 wish of a sensitive and thoughtful mind, it is a source of
 congratulation that the simple verses should have pro-
 tected his ashes from sacrilege. The nearest approach
 to an excavation into the grave of Shakespeare was
 made in the summer of the year 1796, in digging a vault
 in the immediate locality, when an opening appeared
 which was presumed to indicate the commencement of
 the site of the bard's remains. The most scrupulous
 care, however, was taken not to disturb the neighbouring
 earth in the slightest degree, the clerk having been
 placed there, until the brickwork of the adjoining vault
 was completed, to prevent anyone making an examina-
 tion. No relics whatever were visible through the small

opening that thus presented itself, and as the poet was buried in the ground, not in a vault, the chancel earth, moreover, formerly absorbing a large degree of moisture, the great probability is that dust alone remains. This consideration may tend to discourage an irreverent opinion expressed by some, that it is due to the interests of science to unfold to the world the material abode which once held so great an intellect. It is not many years since a phalanx of trouble-tombs, lanterns and spades in hand, assembled in the chancel at dead of night, intent on disobeying the solemn injunction that the bones of Shakespeare were not to be disturbed. But the supplicatory lines prevailed. There were some amongst the number who, at the last moment, refused to incur the warning condemnation, and so the design was happily abandoned. 280

The honours of repose, which have thus far been conceded to the poet's remains, have not been extended to the tomb-stone. The latter had, by the middle of the last century, sunk below the level of the floor, and, about ninety years ago, had become so much decayed as to suggest a vandalic order for its removal, and, in its stead, to place a new slab, one which marks certainly the locality of Shakespeare's grave and continues the record of the farewell lines, but indicates nothing more. The original memorial has wandered from its allotted station no one can tell whither,—a sacrifice to the insane worship of prosaic neatness, that mischievous demon whose votaries have practically destroyed so many of the priceless relics of ancient England and her gifted sons.

AFTER THE FUNERAL.

The poet's bereaved family now consisted of his widow, the Anne Hathaway of his youth; his elder daughter, Susanna, and her husband, John Hall; his other daughter, Judith, and her husband, Thomas Quiney; his sister Joan Hart and her three sons, William, Thomas and Michael; and his only grandchild, Elizabeth Hall, a little girl in the ninth year of her age.

Mr. Hall was in London in the following June, and on the twenty-second of that month he proved his father-in-law's will at the Archbishop of Canterbury's registry, an office then situated near St. Paul's. He also produced at the same time an inventory of the testator's household effects, but not a fragment of this latter document is known to be in existence. The testament itself is written upon what was termed pot-paper, a material then commonly used by solicitors for their drafts, and so called on account of its water-mark being either a pot or a jug. It is beyond reasonable doubt that, in its present form, it is a manuscript prepared for engrossment, and that the latter would have been subject to a careful revision or even to the introduction of additional matter. We may confidently assume that, if circumstances had permitted it, a fair copy would not only have been made before the execution, but that such

294

errors as those which are found in the statement of
295 the regnal years, or in the duplication of the bequest
of the plate, would have been corrected. If the will
be accepted as a lawyer's draft, there is really very
little in it to create a serious perplexity. The form
of the superscription is not, as has been surmised, one
so peculiar that it can be fairly made the subject of a
special theory. Although no instance of its use is to
be found amongst the records of the local testamentary
court, the Stratford wills having been almost invariably
drawn up by laymen, it was a common formula with
professional men, as may be seen from numerous
examples of the early part of the seventeenth century
which are attached to wills preserved at Somerset
House. Neither can any conclusion be safely drawn
from what was then an ordinary and formal disposition
of the soul and the body.

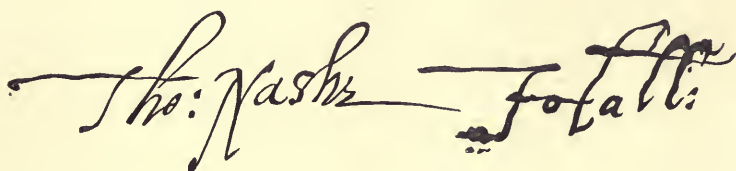
The terms of the bequest to his daughter Judith
have been already considered. Her husband, Thomas
Quiney, was living at the time of their marriage in a
142 small house on the west of the High Street, but a few
months afterwards he removed to a much larger one,
143 which was known as the Cage, situated on the opposite
side of the way, at the corner of Fore Bridge Street.
It is in connection with the latter residence that he
is first heard of as a vintner, a trade into which he
may have entered with the capital bequeathed to his
144 wife, and in which he was supported by the Corporation
and the leading inhabitants of the town. During the
early period of his matrimonial life he appears to have
occupied a good position, having been elected a Burgess
in 1617, and performing the duties of Chamberlain in
1621-1622 so satisfactorily that he was continued in

the office for a second term. His accounts for 1622-1623 were singularly prefaced by a French motto that speaks of the happiness of those who become wise through the lessons taught by the sufferings of others, and, from the official prominence given to the sentiment, it may perhaps be inferred that there was a personal application that would then have been generally understood. He was a fairly regular attendant at the meetings of the Town Council up to the year 1630, when he retired from that body, being at the same time involved in litigation, and making an unsuccessful attempt to dispose of the lease of his house; circumstances which indicate that his affairs had drifted into an unsatisfactory state. It was altogether an unfortunate year for him, for it is recorded in its annals that he was fined for swearing ¹⁴⁵ and for encouraging tipplers in his shop. The history of the remainder of his career is not pleasurable. Although he still continued to be patronized by the local authorities, prosperity had forsaken him, and he had to struggle with a failing business for many years, until ultimately, some time about the year 1652, he removed to the metropolis. There are reasons for believing that he was then in poverty, finding in London a kind protector in his brother Richard, a wealthy grocer, and that he died there a few ¹⁴⁶ years after his departure from Stratford. There were no children left to regret their father's reverses. His family, by his only wife Judith, consisted of three sons, the eldest, Shakespeare Quiney, dying in his infancy, and the two ¹⁴⁷ others, Richard and Thomas, soon after their arrival at manhood. As neither of the latter had issue, the line from the poet in this direction became extinct in 1662 on the death of their mother, who had a few days previously ¹⁴⁸ attained the ripe age of seventy-seven.

The Halls, who were the executors and chief legatees
173 made New Place their established residence soon after
the poet's decease. Mr. John Hall, as he is almost
invariably termed in the Stratford records, was a Master
of Arts, but he never received the honour of a medical
degree. His reputation, however, was independent of
titles, for no country doctor ever achieved a greater
174 popularity. His advice was solicited in every direction,
and he was summoned more than once to attend the
Earl and Countess of Northampton at Ludlow Castle, a
distance of over forty miles, no trifling journey along
the bridle-paths of those days. And even in such times
of fierce religious animosities, the desire to secure his
advice outweighed all prejudices, for, notwithstanding
his avowed Protestantism, it is recorded by the Linacre
professor, in 1657, that "such as hated him for his
religion often made use of him." It is clear, indeed,
that, after the death of Shakespeare, whatever may have
been the case previously, he openly exhibited strong
175 religious tendencies in the direction of puritanism, and
these may have led to an indifference for the fate of any
dramatic manuscripts that might have come into his
hands. It would also seem from notices of a quarrel he
had with the Corporation, from which he was expelled in
176 1633, that he was somewhat of a perverse and impetuous
disposition. He died on November the 25th, 1635, the
"ringing of the great bell" attending his obsequies in
177 the chancel of the parish church on the following day.
Favour was exhibited in the permission to select that
locality for the physician's interment, his share of the
tithe-lease having been disposed of long previously.
The concession was due either to the influence of his
son-in-law, who was one of the tithe-owners, or to the

latter circumstance being taken to confer the special burial-right on the whole family. However that may be, it is evident that there was a desire on the part of Mrs. Hall that the last resting-places of herself and her family should be near to those of her parents.

In a nuncupative will that was made by Mr. Hall a few hours before he died, he gave Thomas Nash, the husband of his only child, his "study of books." As



The image shows a handwritten signature in cursive script. The name 'Thos. Nash' is written in a large, flowing hand, followed by a horizontal line and the name 'J. Hall' also in cursive. The ink is dark and the paper shows some signs of age.

the Halls were Shakespeare's residuary legatees, there can hardly be a doubt that any volumes that had been possessed by the latter at Stratford-on-Avon were included in this bequest. It may also perhaps be assumed that there was a study at New Place in the time of the great dramatist. At all events there was clearly a sitting-room in the house that could have been used for the purposes of one, but, from the absence of all reference to books in the will of 1616, it may be safely inferred that the poet himself was not the owner of many such luxuries. Anything like a private library, even of the smallest dimensions, was then of the rarest occurrence, and that Shakespeare ever owned one at any time of his life is exceedingly improbable. The folios of Holinshed and Plutarch, the former in the edition of 1586 and the latter in probably that of 1595, are amongst the few volumes ⁷⁷ that can be positively said to have been in his own hands. In that age of common-place books it must not be too hastily assumed that individual passages, such as

that he adapted from Montaigne, were taken from the works themselves.

It is in the narrative of a circumstance that occurred at New Place a few years after Hall's death, that we
178 obtain the only interesting personal glimpse we are ever likely to have of Shakespeare's eldest daughter. It exhibits her in one direction as a true scion of the poet, —a shrewd person of business, caring more for gold than for books, albeit she was somewhat disturbed at the notion of parting with any of the latter that had been written by her husband, to whom she was warmly
179 attached. During the civil wars, about the year 1642, a surgeon named James Cooke, attending in his professional capacity on a detachment stationed at Stratford-bridge, was invited to New Place to examine the books which the doctor had left behind him. "After a view of them," as he observes, Mrs. Hall "told me she had some books left by one that professed physic with her husband for some money ;—I told her, if I liked them, I would give her the money again ;—she brought them forth, amongst which there was this, with another of the authors, both intended for the press ;—I, being acquainted with Mr. Hall's hand, told her that one or two of them were her husband's, and showed them her ;—she denied ; I affirmed, till I perceived she began to be offended ;—at last I returned her the money." By the word *this*, Cooke refers to the manuscript Latin medical case-book which he translated into English, and published in 1657. The conversation here recorded would appear to show that Mrs. Hall's education had not been of an enlarged character ; that books and manuscripts, even when they were the productions of her own husband, were not of much interest to her.

Were it otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the pertinacity with which she insisted upon the book of cases not being in the doctor's handwriting; for his caligraphy is of an uniform and somewhat peculiar description, not readily to be mistaken for any of the ordinary styles of writing then in use. It is very possible, however, that the affixion of her signature to a document was the extent of her chirographical ability, for the art of writing was then rare amongst the ladies of the middle class, and her sister was a markswoman. Such an educational defect would of course have passed unnoticed in those days, and could not have affected the estimation in which she was held for a high order of intelligence, religious fervour and sympathetic charity, —

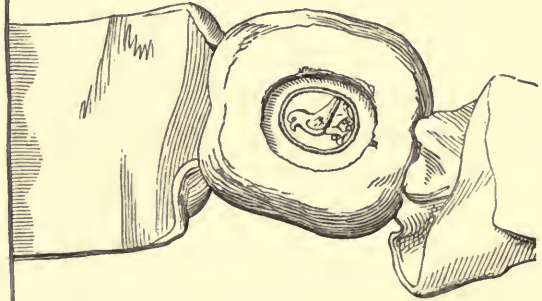
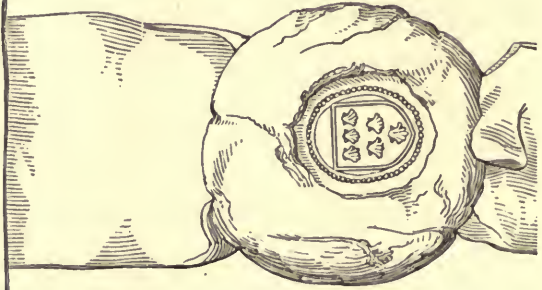
Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
 Wise to salvation was good Mistris Hall;
 Something of Shakespere was in that, but this
 Wholy of Him with whom she's now in blisse.
 Then, Passenger, ha'st ne're a teare
 To weepe with her that wept with all;—
 That wept, yet set her selfe to chere
 Them up with comforts cordiall?
 Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
 When thou ha'st nere a teare to shed.

lines engraved, by the direction of some loving hand, on the grave-stone that records her decease on July the 11th, 1649. The term *witty* is of course here used in the old sense of brightly intelligent, and the allusion in the fourth line is probably to the Saviour as the Dispenser of a wisdom unconnected with mortal intellect. In other language, while she inherited some of the mental endowments of her father, her hopes of salvation rested on a Foundation that was independent of such gifts.

Nash

Eliza

Suzanna



The only child of the Halls, Mistress Elizabeth as she is described in the nuptial register, with the title usually given in former days to single ladies, was married at Stratford-on-Avon in April, 1626, to Thomas Nash, a resident of that town and a man of considerable property. Born in 1593, he was in his youth a student at Lincoln's Inn, and had no doubt been all his life well acquainted with the bride's family, both his father and uncle having¹⁸¹ been personal friends of Shakespeare. Mrs. Nash be-¹⁸² came a widow in 1647, but about two years afterwards¹⁸³ she married John Barnard, a gentleman of wealth and position in the county of Northampton. Leaving no issue by either husband, the lineal descent from the poet terminated at her death in the year 1670.—There now only remain to add a few notes on the ultimate destinies of the Shakespearean estates.

In the year 1624 the poet's son-in-law, John Hall, parted with the share in the tithes that had been pur-²⁵⁷ chased from Huband in 1605. It formed a part of the residuary estate. The land bought from the Combes, the Henley Street property and New Place, continued in the family until the death of the poet's last descendant,²¹⁹ Lady Barnard, in 1670. The two houses in Henley Street were included in the entail, but one was subject to the life-interest of the poet's sister, Joan Hart, who died in 1646. Lady Barnard devised both of them to the Harts, in whose possession they remained until the beginning of the present century.

Judith Quiney duly surrendered her interest in the Rowington copyhold to her sister, and the latter was formally admitted to it at one of the manorial courts.²⁷⁴ This little estate remained in the possession of the Halls at least down to the year 1633, but its subsequent descent,

until it is noticed as being in the hands of the Cloptons early in the last century, is unknown.

250 The Blackfriars estate followed the succession of the other properties until 1647, but then, or some few years afterwards, it came to be treated as a fee-simple belonging to Mrs. Barnard, who parted with it, either by sale or gift, to her kinsman, Edward Bagley. The date of this transfer is not known, but it occurred some time in or before 1667, in the August of which year the latter sold the property to Sir Heneage Fetherston. The buildings upon it had been destroyed in the fire of London, Bagley receiving only £35 for the land, and it may be that the estate did not come into his hands until after, and perhaps in consequence of, that calamity. With the possible exception of the Getley copyhold, this was the first disseverance of any of the poet's estates from the hands of his descendants.

RECORDS OF AFFECTION.

Although few of us imagine that the homely lines on Shakespeare's grave-stone were his own composition, there can be little doubt that they owe their position to an affectionate observance of one of his latest wishes. Destitute even of a nominal record, and placed in a line of descriptive and somewhat elaborate family memorials, it is difficult to believe that an inscription, so unique in its simplicity, could have another history. And it was, in all probability, the designedly complete isolation of these verses that suggested to his relatives the propriety of raising an eligible monument in the immediate vicinity, on the only spot, indeed, in which there could have been erected a cenotaph that harmonized with the associations of his grave.

This monument was erected on the northern wall of the chancel, at an elevation of some five feet above the pavement, and within a few paces of the grave. Expense does not appear to have been spared in its preparation, but there is no display of vulgar ostentation, the whole being admirably suited for the main object of the design, the formation of a niche for the reception of a life-sized bust. The precise history of the construction of the effigy is unknown, but there is an old tradition to the effect that the artist had the use of a posthumous cast of the face of his subject. If this

were the case, it may be safely assumed that when John Hall, the executor and son-in-law, was in London in June, a few weeks after Shakespeare's decease, he took the opportunity of leaving the cast in the hands of a person on whom he thought that he could best rely for the production of a satisfactory likeness. He accordingly selected an individual whose place of business was near the western door of St. Saviour's church, within a few minutes' walk of the Globe Theatre, and, therefore, one to whom the poet's appearance was no doubt familiar. The name of this sculptor was Gerard Johnson, the son of a native of Amsterdam who had settled in England as "a tombe-maker" in the previous reign, and who had died in Southwark a few years previously.

The exact time at which the monument was erected in the church is unknown, but it is alluded to by Leonard Digges as being there in the year 1623. The bust must, therefore, have been submitted to the approval of the Halls who could hardly have been satisfied with a mere fanciful image. There is, however, no doubt that it was an authentic representation of the great dramatist, but it has unfortunately been so tampered with in modern times that much of the absorbing interest with which it would otherwise have been surrounded has evaporated. It was originally painted in imitation of life, the face and hands of the usual flesh colour, the eyes a light hazel, and the hair and beard auburn. The realization of the costume was similarly attempted by the use of scarlet for the doublet, black for the loose gown, and white for the collar and wristbands. But colours on stone are only of temporary endurance, and so much of these had disappeared in the lapse of a hundred and thirty years that it was considered advisable in 1749 to have them

renovated. The bust, which represents the poet in the act of composition, had also been deprived of the fore-finger of the right hand, a pen and a fragment of the adjoining thumb, all of which were restored at the same time in new material. After a while these pieces of stone again fell off, and two of them, those belonging to the finger and thumb, the pen thenceforth being represented by a quill, were refashioned by one William Roberts of Oxford in 1790; and shortly afterwards, that is to say, in 1793, Malone persuaded the vicar to allow the whole of the bust to be painted in white. It remained in this last-mentioned state for many years, but, in 1861, there was a second restoration of the original colouring. This step was induced by the seriously adverse criticism to which the operation of 1793 had been subjected, but although the action then taken was undoubtedly injudicious, it did not altogether obliterate the semblance of an intellectual human being, and this is more than can be said of the miserable travesty which now distresses the eye of the pilgrim.

In estimating the degree of affection that suggested the order for this elaborate monument, it will be desirable to bear in mind the strong puritanical tendencies of the Halls. They were members of a sect who held everything connected with the stage in wild abhorrence, so that it must have required all the courage inspired by a loving memory to have dictated the erection not only of an unusually handsome memorial, but of one which proclaimed, in the midst of their religious community, the transcendent literary merits of a dramatist. Upon a rectangular tablet, placed below the bust, are engraven the following lines,—

IVDICIO PYLIVM, GENIO SOCRATEM, ARTE MARONEM,
 TERRA TEGIT, POPVLVS MÆRET, OLYMPVS HABET.
 STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST,
 READ, IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOVS DEATH HATH PLAST
 WITHIN THIS MONVMENT, SHAKSPEARE, WITH WHOME
 QVICK NATVRE DIDE ; WHOSE NAME DOTHS DECK VS. TOMBE
 FAR MORE THEN COST ; SITH ALL VT. HE HATH WRITT
 LEAVES LIVING ART BVT PAGE TO SERVE HIS WITT.

OBIT ANO. DOI. 1616. ÆTATIS 53. DIE 23. AP.

It is not likely that these verses were composed either by a Stratfordian, or by any one acquainted with their destined position, for otherwise the writer could hardly have spoken of Death having placed Shakespeare "within this monument." However that may be, it is certain that they must have been inscribed with the full sanction of his eldest daughter, who, according to tradition, was at the sole expense of the memorial. It is curious that there should be no allusion in them to his personal character, and they certainly are not remarkable for poetical beauty. These shortcomings are, however, compensated by the earliest recognition of the great dramatist as the unrivalled interpreter of nature. With whom quick Nature died! The writer thus managed to express in five words the very essence of all sound criticism.

It is obvious, therefore, that Mrs. Hall did not allow the prejudices that might have been imbibed with her religious tendencies to interfere with an appreciation of her father's dramatic genius. Neither can any one reasonably doubt that her mother, however unable, as was most probably the case, to read a line of his works, was gratified by the open acknowledgment of her husband's literary eminence. But the pleasure derived from these sentiments must have been impaired by the violent antipathy entertained by large classes, in and near Stratford-on-Avon, towards the stage and its votaries.

It is true that a rigorous bye-law against them, which was enacted in that town in 1612, did not absolutely banish theatrical performances from the locality, but the active spirit of the opposition was unmistakably evinced a few years later, when, in 1622, six shillings were "payd to the Kinges players for not playinge in the hall." This curious species of bribery was obviously the result of a deference to the Court, it being no doubt considered imprudent to permit the royal servants to depart without a compensation for their unceremonious dismissal. They were evidently regarded as a privileged company, for at a Court Baron held in October, 1616, at the neighbouring town of Henley-in-Arden, an order was unanimously passed by the leading inhabitants that no other actors should have the use of their town-hall.

When the monument was first erected, there can, indeed, be little doubt that most of the inhabitants of Stratford-on-Avon, including the puritanical vicar, regarded it as the memorial of one whose literary career had, to say the least, been painfully useless to society. A like fanaticism no doubt pervaded no insignificant section of Londoners, but it was not sufficiently dominant in the metropolis to restrain the continued popularity of the works of the great dramatist, those by which, to quote the lines of a contemporary,—

————— outlive
 Thy tomb thy name must ;—when that stone is rent,
 And Time dissolves thy Stratford monument,
 Here we alive shall view thee still.

There was no real cessation in the metropolitan favour shown to these works for some years after their author's decease. The audiences of course required the production of a series of novelties, but it was an event, hitherto

unprecedented in the annals of the English stage, for a number of what were then regarded as old plays, the product of one writer, to be revived again and again to overflowing houses. We are told, on unimpeachable authority, that there was not a seat unoccupied whenever the public had the opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with the favourite Shakespearean characters; and this taste must have prevailed at all events till August, 1623, when a special revival of the *Winter's Tale* is known to have been in preparation. In that very month the poet's widow had expired at Stratford-on-Avon.

Mrs. Shakespeare did not live to witness the appearance of the first collective edition of her husband's plays. At the time of her death, however, a large portion of that remarkable book must have been in type, for it was published in the following November, "at the charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, J. Smithweeke and W. Aspley, 1623." The materials for the work were collected by Hemmings and Condell, then the leading proprietors and managers of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, and the owners of most, if not all, of the Shakespearean dramas. These estimable men, who are kindly remembered in the poet's will, are not likely to have encouraged the speculation from motives of gain, for the sum, if any, they received from the publishers for their assistance could not at the best have more than compensated for the loss of the exclusive possession of even a small number of attractive pieces. So far, however, from their being remunerated for their trouble, it is all but certain that, if the speculators had been armed with the independence of paymasters, the latter would not have consented to have increased their necessarily large pecuniary risk by the addition of a number of compositions that had

become obsolete. When, therefore, we find Hemmings and Condell not only initiating and vigorously supporting the design, but expressing their regret that Shakespeare himself had not lived to direct the publication, who can doubt that they were acting as trustees for his memory, or that the noble volume was a record of their affection? Who can ungraciously question their sincerity when they thus touchingly allude to the writings of their departed friend and colleague,—“we have but collected them and done an office to the dead, to procure his orphans guardians; without ambition either of self-profit or fame; only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakespeare?” What plausible reason can be given for not accepting the literal truth of their description of themselves as “a pair so careful to show their gratitude to the dead,” whether that gratitude were for extrinsic services, or for the benefits that the author’s dramatic genius had conferred upon their theatres?

There is no intimation, nor is it likely, that this famous work was conducted through the press under the superintendence of a special editor. Hemmings and Condell speak of themselves as mere gatherers, and it is nearly certain that all that they did was to ransack their dramatic stores for the best copies of the plays that they could find, handing those copies over to the printers in the full persuasion that, in taking this course, they were morally relieved of further responsibility. They appear to have been guided in their selection entirely by their knowledge of the authorship, and it is obvious that, when the copies alluded to were transferred to the press, no instructions were given to attempt an order of merit or composition. But these circumstances

do not imply the absence of trouble and care, for their searches must have extended over the accumulated play-books of many years, and out of the thirty-six dramas which they had collected, one-half had never been published in any shape. Authentic copies, however, of fourteen of the others, some probably by arrangement with the managers, had appeared in printed quarto, and four mutilated versions, that had been surreptitiously obtained, were also accessible to the public. The latter, to which, perhaps, were to be added a few of the same kind which have long since disappeared, are the pieces mentioned by the gatherers as "divers stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors." Two of the authentic quarto editions, those of *Romeo* and *Hamlet*, were preceded by the issue of fragmentary and garbled texts.

The manuscripts of Shakespeare's plays encountered a number of vicissitudes during the thirty years that elapsed from the inception of his dramatic career. Their first trial was held before the Master of the Revels, who was invested with compulsory powers of excision and alteration. They were next read in taverns before the selected actors, who were invariably treated with wine on such occasions, and whose criticisms, under so agreeable a liberality, must always have been of a lively, and, no doubt, sometimes of a peremptory nature. There is nothing to show that fair copies were ever made in those days for the prompters, who, in all likelihood, used the author's original manuscripts after they had been submitted to the tribunals just mentioned; and these manuscripts would again, especially at revivals, have been liable to modifications suggested by the exigencies of the stage. Then there was the contingent

probability of further variations being insisted upon at rehearsals, and of other changes being enforced by theatrical arrangements when the London prompt copies were used in the provinces. In addition to all these perils, there were those arising from the occasional necessity of supplying the place of worn-out acting copies by new transcripts, and although printed editions were now and then substituted, the latter were equally at the mercy of the company. Some of the manuscripts, before they reached the hands of the printers or the intermediate scribe, must have abounded with alterations, portions marked for omission, all sorts of directions, and, finally, additions that were either written on the margins or on inserted scraps of paper. So far, then, from being astonished at the textual imperfections of the folio, we ought to be profoundly thankful for what is, under the circumstances, its marvellous state of comparative excellence. Hemmings and Condell did the best they could to the best of their judgment. It never could have entered their imagination that the day would arrive for the comfort of intellectual life to be marred by the distorted texts of *Hamlet* and *Lear*. There cannot, indeed, be a doubt that, according to their lights, they expressed a sincere conviction when they delivered the immortal dramas to the public as being "absolute in their numbers, as he (Shakespeare) conceived them."

There are also good reasons for believing that they were solicitous to publish all the genuine dramas of Shakespeare, that is to say, all the plays originally written by him, to the exclusion of any to which he was merely a contributor. Betterton, observes Gildon, in his *Essay on the Stage*, 1710, "more than once

assur'd me that the first folio edition by the players contain'd all those which were truly his;" and this statement was made by a person who had been connected, in early life, with an officer of the Blackfriars' company, and who had, therefore, an opportunity of being acquainted with the opinions held at the Shakespearean theatres before their dissolution. There is, moreover, perfect evidence in the first folio itself that Hemmings and Condell were bent on the publication of every one of their friend's dramas; for, if they had been in the least degree guided by a commercial spirit, such obsolete plays as the three parts of Henry the Sixth would assuredly have been either omitted, or their places supplied by newer and more attractive compositions. No difficulty would have attended the second expedient. As proprietors they had in their repertoire the London Prodigal and the Yorkshire Tragedy, both of them pieces that had been openly ascribed to the great dramatist, and the latter so well holding its ground that it had been reissued a few years previously.

The admittance of obsolete dramas into the folio, and the exclusion of such works as those last named, are circumstances that deserve to be very attentively weighed. They speak volumes in favour of the opinion that Hemmings and Condell executed their task conscientiously. And if it is not in our power to ingenuously acquiesce in that conclusion, we shall be launched on a sea with a chart in which are unmarked perilous quicksands of intuitive opinions. Especially is the vessel itself in danger if it touches the insidious bank raised up from doubts on the authenticity of Titus Andronicus and the several parts of Henry the Sixth.

The external testimonies to the reality of the former as the work of Shakespeare are irrefutable;—no one can ignore them who does not allow his own natural perception to cancel the direct evidences of three of the author's intimate friends;—and yet, so difficult is it, with our present notions, to realize the idea of the gentle-minded poet constructing a drama on the basis of a singularly revolting tale, apparently without an effort to modify the worst of its horrors, there are many who would not believe that it emanated from his pen, even if the fact had been acknowledged by the writer himself under his own hand and seal. If, however, it be borne in mind that *Titus Andronicus* was Shakespeare's earliest tragedy,—that it is not fair to test its genuineness by the side of his later productions,—that in it he dramatized, in the interests of the managers, a story unequivocally acceptable to the public of the day,—and if it be also remembered that, in all probability, he had not yet emancipated himself from a following of his great predecessor, Marlowe, then perhaps the adverse opinion just mentioned may not be so positively enunciated. Its little exhibition of classical knowledge, obviously not beyond the powers of a man of "small Latin," may be merely an example of the fleeting taste which led him to the subjects of his early poems; while, as to the objections raised from the metre, one can only suggest that the arbitrary limitation of an author's discretionary fancy in his measures is generally, as in this instance, beyond the range of practical argument. It may be, however, that, to the adoption of metrical forms presumed to suit the conduct of the narrative, is owing some of the turgid and disagreeable character of the production; and as soon as its prose is

substituted for verse, we have, in the dialogue with the clown, a little episode full of the inimitable quiet humour with which the great dramatist, in varied forms, endows so many of his subordinate characters. But the best internal evidence in support of the authenticity, both of *Titus Andronicus* and the three parts of *Henry the Sixth*, is their general adherence to one of the distinguishing and most important features of Shakespeare's dramatic genius,—the preservation of what may be termed the
199 unity of character in each individual, that is to say, the consistency of his traits of disposition and bearing with themselves and with his actions.

The evidence of Meres, which is not only that of an accomplished scholar giving his voluntary opinion within five years from the appearance of *Titus Andronicus*, but also that of one who has faithfully recorded so many other literary facts, ought to satisfy us that there is no alternative but to receive that drama as one of the genuine works of Shakespeare. Upon what true principle can we at this day undertake to reject, on our own judgments, the testimony of an Elizabethan witness upon one Shakespearean declaration at the same moment that we unhesitatingly accept it in respect to all the others? It is also obvious that while, on the one hand, neither Meres, nor Hemmings, nor Condell entertained the remotest suspicion that the tragedy could ever be considered discreditable to its author, they could not, on the other, have had, in this case, the semblance of a motive for perpetrating a fraud upon their readers. When the subject comes to be fairly investigated, it will be seen that there is nothing, in the writings of any of the three, to warrant a suspicion that there was a single wilful misrepresentation of facts. The opponents of this view

have, indeed, laid great stress on the statement made by the promoters of the first folio, to the effect that, owing to his rapidity of composition, they had "scarce received" from him, that is, from the great dramatist, "a blot in his papers," words that have been taken to indicate that the entire volume was printed from the author's own manuscripts, and this, as we know, would have been a serious misrepresentation. But the language of Hemmings and Condell does not necessarily, under any line of interpretation, express so much, and, in all probability, they are here speaking of themselves in their managerial capacity, referring to the singularly few corrections that they had observed in the autograph manuscripts which he had *originally* delivered to them for the use of the theatre.

There is but one more subject involving the authority of Hemmings and Condell that requires notice,—the degree of credit to be given to their statement respecting the nature of the imperfect quartos. In reference to this question, it is important to bear in mind that the rapid movement of Shakespeare's pen was the subject of a current belief amongst his theatrical contemporaries. "The players," observes Ben Jonson, "have *often* mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that, in his writing, whatsoever he penned he never blotted out line." There is, moreover, ample internal evidence that many of his plays were written in haste, and it is unlikely that so expeditious a composer would have refashioned his own works in preference to undertaking what was to him the easy creation of new ones. We know, indeed, positively that, in one instance, he re-wrote portions of a drama, but also, with nearly equal certainty, that the substituted lines were very limited in number, and that they did not

affect the characterial integrity of the original. A similar process may have been adopted with other plays, but such incidents of work are essentially different from those suggested by the theory which assumes that the "divers maimed and deformed copies," reported in the first folio are the author's crude sketches, and that the latter have been transformed into works of art by elaborate revision, additional scenes and expansions of character. But this notion, like some others now in vogue, can only be ac-
120 cepted by those who consider it decorous or reasonable to allow modern opinions to supersede, in matters of fact, the direct testimony of Shakespeare's own personal friends.

If the latter had not volunteered, in affectionate remembrance of their colleague, to gather together the works of Shakespeare, some of the noblest monuments of his genius might, and probably would, have been for ever lost. Nor in our measure of gratitude for the first folio, the greatest literary treasure the world possesses, should we neglect to include a tribute to Ben Jonson. The loving interest taken by that distinguished writer in the publication is evinced not only by his matchless eulogy of the great dramatist, but also by the charming lines in which he vouches for his friend's likeness in the engraved portrait which forms so conspicuous an object in the title-page. The Stratford effigy and this engraving are the only unquestionably authentic representations of the living Shakespeare that are known to exist, not one of the numerous others, for which claims to the distinction have been advanced, having an evidential pedigree of a satisfactory character. But in like manner as there have arisen in these days critics who, dispensing altogether with the old contemporary evidences, can enter so per-

fectly into all the vicissitudes of Shakespeare's intellectual temperament that they can authoritatively identify at a glance every line that he did write, and, with equal precision, every sentence that he did not ;—even so there are others to whom a picture's history is not of the slightest moment, their reflective instinct enabling them, without effort or investigation, to recognise in an old curiosity shop the dramatic visage that belonged to the author of Hamlet. Lowlier votaries can only bow their heads in silence.

SHAKESPEARE'S WILL.

There are several erasures and interlineations in this document which render it difficult to convey to the reader's mind an exact idea of the original; but if he will carefully bear in mind that, in the following transcript, *all words inserted in square brackets are those which have been erased, and that all the Italics represent interlineations*, he will be able to derive a tolerably clear impression of this valuable record.

Vicesimo quinto die [Januarii] *Martii*, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Anglie, &c. decimo quarto, et Scotie xlix^o annoque Domini 1616.

T. Wmi. Shackspeare.—In the name of God, amen! I William Shackspeare, of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of Warr. gent., in perfect health and memorie, God be prayed, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, First, I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeving, through thonellie merittes of Jesus Christe my Saviour, to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my [sonne and] daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, one hundred poundes *in discharge of her marriage porcion* within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe unpaied unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residewe thereof upon her surrendring *of*, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of to surrender or graunte, all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or *that shee* nowe hath, of, in or to, one copiehold tenemente with thappurtenaunces lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaied in the saied countie of Warr.; being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie be lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours to^o paie her consideracion from my deceas according

to the rate aforesaid ; and if she dye within the said terme without issue of her bodye, then my will ys, and I doe gyve and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge shalbe payed to my said sister Jone, and after her deceas the said l.li. shall remaine amongst the children of my said sister equallie to be devided amongst them ; but if my said daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the said three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys and soe I devise and bequeath the said hundred and fyftie poundes to be sett out by my executours and overseers for the best benefit of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paid unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron [by my executours and overseers] ; but my will ys that she shall have the consideracion yearelie paid unto her during her lief, and, after her deceas, the said stock and consideracion to bee paid to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the said terme after my deceas, Provided that if such husband, as she shall att thend of the said three yeares be marryed unto, or att anie after^o, doe sufficientlie assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudged soe by my executours and overseers, then my will ys that the said cl.li. shalbe paid to such husband as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my said sister Jone xx.li. and all my wearing apparrell, to be paid and delivered within one yeare after my deceas ; and I doe will and devise unto her the house with thappurtenances in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearelie rent of xij.d. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonns, William Harte, Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve poundes a peece, to be payed within one yeare after my deceas [to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best proffitt untill her marriage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paid unto her.]. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto [her] the said Elizabeth Hall all my plate except my brod silver and gilt bole, that I now have att the date of this my will. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaid tenn poundes ; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword ; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes, and to Frauncis Collins of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr. gent. thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, and eight pence, to be paid within one yeare after my deceas. Item, I gyve and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler thelder] Hamlett Sadler xxvj.s. viij.d. to buy him a ringe ; to William Raynoldes, gent., xxvj.s. viij.d. to buy him a ring ; to my god-son William Walker xx.^s in gold ; to Anthonye Nashe gent. xxvj.^s viij.^d, and to Mr. John Nashe xxvj.^s

vij.^d [in gold] ; and to my fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxxvj.^s vij.^d a peece to buy them ringes. Item, I gyve, will, bequeath and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, *for better enabling of her to performe this my will, and towards the performans thereof,* all that capitall messuage or tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, *in Stratford aforesaid,* called the Newe Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and two messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, scituat lyeing and being in Henley streete within the borough of Stratford aforesaid ; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever, scituat lyeing and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamlettes, villages, fieldes and groundes of Stratford-upon-Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the saied countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces wherein one John Robynson dwelleth, scituat lyeing and being in the Blackfriars in London nere the Wardrobe ; and all other my landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses with their appurtenaunces unto the saied Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remaine to the fourth [sonne], fyfth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the saied fourth, fifth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine to the first, second and third sonns of her bodie, and to their heires males, and for defalt of such issue, the saied premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. *Item, I gyve unto my wiefe my second best bed with the furniture.* Item, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goodes, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paid, and my funerall expences discharged, I gyve, devise, and bequeath to my sonne in lawe, John Hall gent., and my daughter

Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint *the saied* Thomas Russell esquier and Frauncis Collins gent. to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witnes whereof I have hereunto put my [seale] *hand* the daie and yeare first above written.—By me William Shakespeare.

Witnes to the publishing hereof,—Fra : Collyns ; Julius Shawe ; John Robinson ; Hamnet Sadler ; Robert Whattcott.

SYMBOLS AND RULES.

The following are the rules followed in printing the numerous copies and extracts which occur in the remaining portion of this volume :—

1. When © is attached to a word, it denotes that the original text has been followed, but that an error is suspected either in that word or in the omission of a previous one. It is sometimes added when there has been a misreading by a predecessor.

2. The division between lines of poetry which are not given separately is indicated by the parallel marks =.

3. In extracts from printed books or manuscripts written in the English language, the original mode of spelling is retained excepting in the cases of the ancient forms of the consonants *j* and *v* and the vowels *i* and *u*, but they are modernized in other respects, such as in the punctuation, use of capitals, &c. It may be well to observe that, in documents of the Shakespearean period, the letters *ff* at the commencement of a word merely stand for a capital *F*, and that it is not always possible to decide whether a transcriber of that time intended *oʳ* to be a contraction for *our* or whether he merely used it for *or*. There is often also a difficulty in ascertaining if the final stroke of a word is an *e*, or simply a flourish ; but this is rarely, if ever, of the least importance, the grammatical significance that was once attached to such terminations having become obsolete long before the time of Shakespeare. Amongst other trivial matters of this kind may be noticed the frequent impossibility of deciding between the relative appearances of the *u* and the *w*.

4. In copies of a few important title-pages or entries, and in special instances, when the latter are distinguished by the letters V. L., the original texts are followed in every particular with literal accuracy, excepting that it has not as a rule been thought advisable to retain either italics or the long *s*.

5. The orthography of old Latin documents is generally followed, e.g., *e* for *æ*, *capud* for *caput*, *set* for *sed*, *nichil* for *nihil*, &c. In the Latin as well as in the English extracts errors which are obviously merely clerical ones are occasionally corrected.

It may be well to mention that our early printers were in the habit of correcting their texts at intervals during the press-work, so that there are often to be found literal variations in different copies of the same edition.

THE LATER THEATRES.

The following are copies of documents which relate to the Blackfriars and Globes Theatres, the establishments with which the great dramatist was specially connected in the later period of his metropolitan career.

I. Deed of Feoffment from Sir William More of Loseley, co. Surrey, to James Burbage, 4 February, 1596, conveying to the latter that portion of a large house in Blackfriars which was afterwards converted by him into a theatre.

This indenture made the fourth daye of Februarie, in the eighte and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defendor of the Fayth, &c., betwene Sir William More of Loseley in the county of Surrey, knight, of thone partye, and James Burbage of Hollowell in the countye of Middlesex, gentleman, of thother partye, Witnesseth that the said Sir William More, for and in consideracyon of the some of sixe hundredre poundes of lawfull money of England to him by the said James Burbage at and before thensealinge of theis presentes truelye payd, whereof and wherewith he, the said Sir William More, dothe acknowledge and confesse himselfe fullye satsyfyed and paid, and thereof and of every parte thereof doth cleirelye acquite and discharge the said James Burbage, his heyres, executors and administrators, and every of them, by theis presentes hath bargayned, sold, alyened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by theis presentes doth fullye and cleirelye bargaine, sell, alyen, enfeoffe and confirme to the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, for ever, all those seaven greate upper romes as they are nowe divided, beinge all uppon one flower and sometyme beinge one greate and entire rome, with the roufe over the same covered with lead; together also with all the lead that doth cover the same seaven greate upper romes, and also all the stone stayres leadinge upp unto the leades or roufe over the said seaven greate upper romes out of the said seaven greate upper romes; and also all the greate stone walles and other walles which doe enclose, divide and belonge to, the same seaven greate upper romes; and also all that greate payre of wyndinge stayres, with the stayre-case thereunto belonginge, which leadeth upp unto the same seaven greate upper romes out of the greate yarde there which doth lye nexte unto the Pype Office; which said seaven greate upper romes were late in the teanure or occupacyon of William de Lawne, Doctor of Phisick, or of his assignes, and are scituate, lyeinge and beinge within the prescincte of the late Blackfryers Preachers nere Ludgate in London; together also with all the waynescott, glasse, dores, lockes, keyes and boltes to the same seaven greate upper romes and other the premisses by theis presentes bargayned and sold incident or apperteyninge, or beinge fixed or fastened thereunto; together also with the easemente and commoditie of a vaulte beinge under some parte of the sayde seaven greate upper romes, or under the entrie or voyde rome lyeinge betwene those seaven greate upper romes and the sayde Pipe Office, by a stole and tonnell to be made into the same vault in and out of the greate stone wall in the yinner side thereof next and adjoyneinge to the said entry or voide rome, beinge towards the south; and alsoe all those romes and lodginges, with the kitchin thereunto adjoyneinge, called the Midle Romes or Midle Stories, late beinge in the tenure or occupacion of Rocco Bonnetto, and nowe beinge in the tenure or occupacyon of Thomas Bruskett, gentleman, or of his assignes, conteyninge in length fyfte twoo foote

of assize more or lesse, and in bredith thirtie seaven foote of assize more or lesse, lyeing and beinge directlye under parte of those of the sayd seaven greate upper romes which lye westwardes ; which said Mydle Romes or Mydle Stories doe extende in length southwardes to a parte of the house of Sir George Cary, knight ; and also all the stone walles and other walles which doe enclose, devide and belonge to, the same Middle Romes or Middle Stories, together alsoe with the dore and entrey which doe lye nexte unto the gate entringe into the house of the said Sir George Cary, and used to and from the said Middle Romes or Middle Stories out of a lane or waye leadinge unto the house of the sayd Sir George Cary, with free waye, ingres, egres and regres, into and from the said Middle Romes or Middle Stories in, by and through the waies nowe used to the said house of the said Sir George Cary ; and also all those twoo vaultes or sellers late beinge in thoccupacyon of the said Rocco Bonnetto, lyeinge under parte of the said Middle Romes or Middle Stories at the north end thereof, as they are nowe devided, and are nowe in the teanure or occupacion of the said Thomas Bruskett and of John Favor, and are adjoyneinge to the twoo lytle yardes nowe in thoccupacyons of Peter Johnson and of the sayd John Favor, together also with the stayres leadinge into the same vaultes or cellers out of the foresaid kitchen in thoccupacyon of the said Thomas Bruskett ; and also all those two upper romes or chambers with a lyttle butterey at the north end of the said seaven greate upper romes and on the weste side thereof, nowe being in thoccupacyon of Charles Bradshawe, together with the voyd rome, waye and passage, nowe thereunto used from the said seaven greate upper romes ; and also all those twoo romes or loftes now in thoccupacion of Edward Merry, thone of them lyeinge and beinge above or over the said two upper romes or chambers in thoccupacion of the said Charles Bradshawe, and on thest and north parte thereof, and haveinge a chimney in it, and thother of them lieinge over parte of the foresaid entrey or voyde rome next the foresaid Pipe Office, together with the stayres leadinge from the foresaid romes in thoccupacion of the foresaid Charles Bradshawe upp unto the foresaid two romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry ; and also all that lytle rome now used to laye woode and coles in, beinge aboute the middle of the said stayres westwardes, which said litle rome laste mencyoned is over the foresaid buttrey nowe in thoccupacyon of the sayd Charles Bradshawe, and is now in thoccupacyon of the said Charles Bradshawe ; and also all that rome or garrett lyeinge and beinge over the said twoo romes or loftes laste before mencyoned in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry, together with the dore, entrey, void grounde, waye and passage and stayres leadinge or used to, with or from the said romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merry up unto the said rome or garrett over the said twoo romes in thoccupacyon of the said Edward Merrie ; and also all those twoo lower romes, now in thoccupacyon of the said Peter Johnson, lyinge directlye under parte of the said seaven greate upper romes ; and also all those twoo other lower romes or chambers nowe beinge also in the tenure or occupacion of the said Peter Johnson, beinge under the foresaid romes or chambers in thoccupacyon of the said Charles Bradshawe ; and also the dore, entrey, waye, voyd grounde and passage leadinge and used to and from the said greate yard next the said Pipe Office into and from the said fouer lower romes or chambers ; and also all that litle yard adjoyneinge to the said lower romes as the same is nowe enclosed with a bricke wall, and nowe beinge in thoccupacyon of the said Peter Johnson, which said fouer lower romes or chambers and litle yard doe lye betwene the said greate yard nexte the sayd Pipe Office on the north parte, and an entrey leadinge into the messuage which Margaret Pooley, widdow, holdeth for terme of her lyefe, nowe in the occupacyon of the said John Favor, on the west parte, and a wall devidinge the said yard now in thoccupacyon of the said Peter Johnson and the yard nowe in thoccupacion of the said John Favor on the south parte ; and also the stayres and staire-case leadinge from the said litle yard nowe in thoccupacyon of the sayde Peter Johnson up unto the foresaid chambers or romes nowe in thoccupacyon of the said Charles Bradshawe ; and alsoe all that litle yard or peice of void grounde,

with the bricke wall thereunto belonging, lyeinge and beinge nexte the Queenes highewaye leadinge unto the ryver of Thamys, wherein an old privy nowe standeth, as the same is nowe enclosed with the same bricke wall and with a pale, next adjoyneinge to the house of the said Sir William More, nowe in thoccupacyon of the right honorable the Lord Cobham, on the east parte, and the streete leadinge to the Thamys there on the west parte, and the said yarde nexte the said Pipe Office on the south parte, and the house of the saide Lorde Cobham on the north parte,—All which premisses before in this presentes mencyned to be hereby bargayned and sold are scituate, lyeinge and beinge, within the saide prescincte of the said late Blackfryers Preachers; together also with all libertyes, priveledges, lightes, watercourses, easementes, commodities and appurtenaunces to the foresaid romes, lodgings and other the premisses before in this presentes mencyned to be hereby bargained and sold belonginge or in any wyse apperteyninge. And also the sayd Sir William More, for the consyderacyon aforesayd, hath bargayned, sold, alyened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by this presentes doth bargayne, sell, alyen, enfeoffe and confirme unto the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes for ever, free and quiett ingres, egres and regres, to and from the streete or waye leadeing from Ludgate unto the Thamys over, uppon and thorough, the same greate yarde next the said Pipe Office by the wayes nowe thereunto used into and from the sayde seaven greate upper romes, and all other the premisses before in and by this presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, and to and from every or any parte or parcell thereof, together alsoe with free libertye for the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, to laye and discharge his and their wood, cole and all other carriages, necessaries and provisions, in the same greate yarde laste before mencyned for conveniente tyme, untill the same maye be taken and carried awaie from thence unto the premisses before by this presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, and so from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter the sayd James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, leavinge convenyent waies and passages to goe and come in, uppon and through, the said greate yarde from tyme to tyme to and from the said Pipe Office, and to and from the garden and other houses and romes of the said Sir William More not hereby bargayned and sold out of the streete leadinge to the said ryver of Thamys, so that the said wood, cole, carriages and provisyons so layed and discharged in the said yarde last mencyned by the said James, his heyres or assignes, be removed and avoided out of and from the said yarde within three dayes next after it shal be broughte thither, without fraude or further delaye. And further, the said Sir William More, for the consideracion aforesaid, doth by this presentes graunte, bargayne and sell, unto the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, for ever, the revercyon and revercyons, remainder and remainders, of all and singuler the premisses before by this presentes mencyned to be hereby bargained and sold, and every parte and parcell thereof, excepte and reserved unto the said Sir William More, his heyres and assignes, one rome or stole as the same is now made in and out of the foresaide wall nexte the said entrey adjoyneinge to the said Pipe Office into the foresaid vault. All which said seaven greate upper romes, and all other the premisses with thappurtenaunces above by this presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, amonge others Sir Thomas Cawarden, knighte, deceased, late had to him, his heyres and assignes, for ever, of the guifte and graunte of the late Kinge of famous memorie Edwarde the Sixte, late Kinge of England, as in and by his letters Patentes under the Greate Seale of Englande, beareinge date at Westminster the twelveth daye of Marche, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, more at lardge appeareth; and all which said premisses above by this presentes mencyned to be bargayned and sold, the said Sir Thomas Cawarden, in and by his last will and testamente in writing, beareinge date in the daye of St. Barthilmew the apostle in the yeare of our Lord God, 1559, amonges other thinges dyd will and declare his intente to be that his executors, with the consente of his overseers, should have full

power and auctoritey to bargaine sell and alyen for the performance of his said last will and testamente ; and also in and by the same his said laste will and testamente dyd ordeyne and make dame Elizabeth his then wyf and the said Sir William More, by the name of William More of Loseley, in the county of Surrey, esquier, executors of his said last will and testamente, and Thomas Blagrave and Thomas Hawe overseers of the same, as in and by his said last will and testament more at large appereth ; and all which premisses above mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, amonges others, the said Dame Elizabeth Cawarden and William More, executors of the said laste will and testament, by and with thassent, consent, agreement and advise, of the said Thomas Hawe and Thomas Blagrave, overseers of the said last will, in accomplishment thereof dyd bargayne and sell unto John Byrche, gentleman, John Awsten and Richard Chapman, and their heyres for ever, as in and by their deed indented of bargaine and sale thereof made, beainge date the twentieth day of December in the second yere of the raigne of our said soveraigne lady the Queenes Majestie that nowe is, and enrolled in her Majesties High Courte of Chauncerie more at lardge appereth ; and all which said premisses with thappurtenaunces above mencioned to be hereby bargayned and sold amonges others, the said John Birche, John Awsten, and Richard Chapman, did by their deed indented of bargaine and sale, beainge date the two and twentieth daie of December in the said second yere of the raigne of our said Soveraigne lady the Queenes Majestye that nowe is, bargaine and sell to the said Dame Elizabeth Cawarden and Sir William More and their heires for ever, as in and by the same deed indented of bargaine and sale last above recited, and also enrolled in her Majesties said Hight Courte of Chancery, more at lardge also appereth ; which said Dame Elizabeth is longe sithence deceased, by reason whereof all and singuler the same premisses, in and by theis presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, are accrued and come unto the said Sir William More and his heires by righte of survivorshippe ; To have and to hold all the said romes, lodgings, cellers, vaultes, stayres, yardes, waies, and all and singuler other the premisses, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces before in theis presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargained and sold, excepte before excepted, to the said James Burbage his heires and assignes for ever, to the onely use and behoofe of the said James Burbage his heires and assignes for evermore. And the said Sir William More doth covenante and graunte for himself, his heires, executors and administrators, to and with the said James Burbage, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he, the said Sir William More, is and standeth, at the tyme of thensealinge and deliverye of theis presentes, lawfully and absolutely seysed of the sayd romes, lodgings, yardes, and of all and singuler other the premisses in and by these presentes mencyoned to be bargayned and sold, in his demeasne as of fee simple, and that the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, vaultes, stayres, yardes, and all and singuler other the premisses before in and by these presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, excepte before excepted, the daye of the date heareof are and at all tymes, and from tyme to tyme for ever hereafter, shall stande, contynue and remayne to the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, for ever, cleirely acquitted, exonerated and discharged, or els by the said Sir William More, his heyres, or assignes, uppon reasonable requeste thereof to him or them made by the sayd James Burbage, his heyres or assignes, sufficiently saved or kepte harmeles of and from all former bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, joyntures, dowers, leases, estates, anuytyes, rentes-charge, arrerages of rentes, statutes merchaunte and of the staple, recognizaunces, judgments, execucyons, yssues, fees, fynes, amercyamentes, and of and from all other chardges, tytles, troubles and incomberaunces whatsoever had, made, comitted or done by the sayd Sir William More and by the foresaid Sir Thomas Cawarden, knighte, deceased, or by eyther of them, or by any other person or persons, by, with or under, their or any of their estate, righte, tytle, assente, consente, acte, meanes or procurement. And alsoe that he, the sayde James

Burbage, his heyres and assignes, shall or maye from henceforthe for ever peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupye, possesse, enjoye and keepe, all the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, yarges, and all and singuler other the premisses, with the appurtenances, before by these presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sould, and every parte and parcell thereof, excepte above excepted, without any lett, trouble, vexacyon, eviccyon, recoverye, interrupcyon or contradiccion of the sayd Sir William More his heyres or assignes, or of any of them, and without any lawfull lett, trouble, vexacyon, eviccion, recoverye or interrupcyon of any other person or persons whatsoever lawfullye haveinge or claymeinge, or which hereafter shall lawfully have or clayme, any estate, righte, tytle or interest in or to the said romes, lodgings, and all other the premisses before by these presentes mencyoned to be bargayned and sold, or in or to any parte or parcell thereof, by, from or under, the sayd Sir William More and Sir Thomas Cawarden, or any of them, or their or either of their estate, righte, tytle or interest. And the sayd Sir William More dothe alsoe covenante and graunte, for himselfe, his heyres, executors and assignes, to and with the said James Burbage, his heyres and assignes, by these presentes, that he the sayd Sir William More and his heyres shall and will from tyme to tyme, duringe the space and terme of three yeres next ensueinge after the date hereof, at or upon reasonable requeste thereof to him or them or any of them to be made by the said James Burbage, his heyres or assignes or any of them, well and trulye doe knowledge, execute, cause and suffer to be made, done and executed, all and every such further acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devise and devises, assurance and assurances, in the lawe whatsoever for the further and more better assurance, surtye and more suer makeinge, of the sayd romes, lodgings and all other the premisses with the appurtenances before in these presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold unto the sayd James Burbage, his heyres and assignes for ever, to thonlye use and behoofe of the sayd James Burbage his heyres and assignes for evermore, be it by deed or deedes indented or inrolled, or not inrolled, thinrollment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffement, recoverye with single or double voucher, releas, confirmacion or otherwise, with warrantie onelye of the sayd Sir William More and his heyres againste him the sayd Sir William More and his heires, or all or as many of theis wayes or meanes or any other, as by the sayd James Burbage, his heyres or assignes or any of them, or by his or their or any of theis learned counsell in the lawe, shal be reasonably advised or devised and required, at thonlye costes and chardges in the lawe of the sayd James Burbage, his heyres or assignes, so as the same assurance or assurances in forme aforesaid, to be had and made by the sayd Sir William More or his heyres, to the sayd James Burbage his heyres or assignes, doe not comprehend in them or any of them any furder or greater warrantie then onely againste the sayd Sir William More and his heyres, and the heyres of the sayd Sir Thomas Cawarden; and so as the sayd Sir William More and his heyres, or any of them, be not compelled to travell in person any furder then to the cityes of London and Westminster, or any of them, for the makeinge, knowledginge or executeinge, of the sayd assurances in forme aforesaid to be had or made. And furthermore the sayd Sir William More doth by theis presentes authorize, nominate and appointe, George Austen, gentleman, and Henrye Smyth, merchantaylor, to be his lawfull deputyes and attorneys joynctly and severallye for him and in his name to enter into all the sayd romes, lodgings, cellers, and other the premisses before in theis presentes mencyoned to be hereby bargayned and sold, and into every parte thereof, and peaceable possession and seazen thereof for him and in his name to take, and after such possessyon and season thereof so had and taken, to delyver possessyon and seazen thereof, and of every parte thereof, unto the sayd James Burbage, his heires and assignes, accordinge to the purporte, effecte, true intente and meaninge of theis presentes; and all and whatsoever his said attorneys, or either of them, shall by vertue of theis presentes doe or cause to be done in his name in execucion of the premisses, he the sayd Sir William More and his heyres shall and will

ratifye, confirme and allowe, by theis presentes. In witnes whereof the partyes firste above named to theis indentures sonderlye have sett their scales the daye and yeare firste above written.

II. A Petition to the Privy Council from the inhabitants of the Blackfriars, November, 1596, against the theatre which was then about to be established by Burbage in that locality. From the State Papers, Domest. Eliz., cclx. 116. This manuscript is not the original Petition, but an undated copy of it made in or about the year 1631, as is ascertained by a comparison of the handwriting with that in transcripts of other documents in the State Papers, Dom. Char. I., ccv. 32. The date of the original is shown by the Order of 1619 given hereafter.

To the right honorable the Lords and others of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell,—Humbly shewing and beseeching your honors, the inhabitants of the precinct of the Blackfryers, London, that whereas one Burbage hath lately bought certaine roomes in the same precinct neere adjoining unto the dwelling houses of the right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord of Hunsdon, which romes the said Burbage is now altering and meaneth very shortly to convert and turne the same into a comon playhouse, which will grow to be a very great annoyance and trouble, not only to all the noblemen and gentlemen thereabout inhabiting but also a generall inconvenience to all the inhabitants of the same precinct, both by reason of the great resort and gathering together of all manner of vagrant and lewde persons that, under cullor of resorting to the playes, will come thither and worke all manner of mischeefe, and also to the greate pestring and filling up of the same precinct, yf it should please God to send any visitation of sicknesse as heretofore hath been, for that the same precinct is already growne very populous; and besides, that the same playhouse is so neere the Church that the noyse of the drummes and trumpetts will greatly disturbe and hinder both the ministers and parishioners in tyme of devine service and sermons;—In tender consideracion wherof, as also for that there hath not at any tyme heretofore been used any comon playhouse within the same precinct, but that now all players being banished by the Lord Mayor from playing within the Cittie by reason of the great inconveniences and ill rule that followeth them, they now thincke to plant themselves in liberties;—That therfore it would please your honors to take order that the same roomes may be converted to some other use, and that no playhouse may be used or kept there; and your suppliants as most bounden shall and will dayly pray for your Lordships in all honor and happines long to live. Elizabeth Russell, dowager; G. Hunsdon; Henry Bowes: Thomas Browne; John Croke; William Meredith; Stephen Egerton; Richard Lee; . . . Smith; William Paddy; William de Lavine; Francis Hinson; John Edwards; Andrew Lyons; Thomas Nayle; Owen Lochar; John Robbinson; Thomas Homes; Richard Feild; William Watts; Henry Boice; Edward Ley; John Clarke; William Bispham; Robert Baheire; Ezechiell Major; Harman Buckholt; John Le Mere; John Dollin; Ascanio de Renialmire; John Wharton.

III. Contract between Henslowe and Allen, on the one Part, and Peter Street, Carpenter, on the other Part, for the erection by the latter of the Fortune Theatre near Golden Lane, January 8th, 1599-1600. From the original preserved at Dulwich College, being the one executed by Street in a monogram of his initials, and endorsed,—“Peater Street, for the building of the Fortune.” This document incidentally reveals to some extent the nature of the construction of the Globe Theatre.

This Indenture made the eighte daie of Januarye, 1599, and in the twoe and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the faythe, &c., betwene Phillipp Henslowe and Edwarde Allen of the parishe of Sainte Saviours in Southwark, in the

countie of Surrey, gentlemen, on th'one parte, and Peeter Streete cittizein and carpenter of London, on th'other parte,—Witnesseth that, whereas the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen the daie of the date hereof have bargayned, compounded and agreed with the saide Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and settinge upp of a newe howse and stadge for a plaie-howse, in and uppon a certeine plott or parcell of grounde appoynted oute for that purpose, scytuate and beinge nere Goldinge Lane in the parishe of Sainte Giles withoute Cripplegate of London; to be by him the saide Peeter Streete, or somme other sufficyent woorkmen of his provideinge and appoyntemente, and att his propper costes and chardges, for the consideracion hereafter in theis presentes expressed, made, erected, builded and sett upp, in manner and forme followeing; that is to saie, the frame of the saide howse to be sett square, and to containe fowerscore foote of lawfull assize everye waie square withoute, and fittie five foote of like assize square everye waie within, with a good, suer, and stronge foundation of pyles, brick, lyme, and sand, bothe withoute and within, to be wroughte one foote of assize att the leiste above the grounde; and the saide frame to containe three stories in heighth, the first or lower storie to containe twelve foote of lawfull assize in heighth, the seconde storie eleaven foote of lawfull assize in heighth, and the third or upper storie to containe nyne foote of lawfull assize in height. All which stories shall containe twelve foote and a half of lawfull assize in breadth througheoute, besides a juttey forwardes in eyther of the saide twoe upper stories of tenne ynches of lawfull assize; with fower convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes, and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoe-pennie roomes; with necessarie seates to be placed and sett as well in those roomes as througheoute all the rest of the galleries of the saide howse; and with suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions, withoute and within, as are made and contrived in and to the late erected plaie-howse on the Banck, in the saide parishe of Sainte Saviours, called the Globe; with a stadge and tyreinge-howse to be made, erected and sett upp within the saide frame; with a shadowe or cover over the saide stadge; which stadge shal be placed and sett, as alsoe the stearecases of the saide frame, in suche sorte as is prefigured in a plott thereof drawn; and which stadge shall containe in length fortie and three foote of lawfull assize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde of the saide howse; the same stadge to be paled in belowe with good stronge and sufficyent newe oken bourdes, and likewise the lower storie of the saide frame withinside, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pykes; and the saide stadge to be in all other proporcions contrived and fashioned like unto the stadge of the saide plaie-howse called the Globe; with convenient windowes and lightes glazed to the saide tyreinge-howse. And the saide frame, stadge, and stearecases to be covered with tyle, and to have a sufficient gutter of lead, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the saide stadge, to fall backwardes. And alsoe all the saide frame and the stairecases thereof to be sufficyently enclosed withoute with lathe, lyme and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and twoe-pennie roomes to be seeled with lathe, lyme and haire; and all the flowers of the saide galleries, stories and stadge to be bourded with good and sufficyent newe deale bourdes of the whole thicknes, wherea neede shal be. And the saide howse, and other things before mencioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and things, effected, finished and doen, accordinge to the manner and fashion of the saide howse called the Globe; saveinge only that all the princypall and maine postes of the saide frame, and stadge forwardes, shal be square and wroughte palaster-wise, with carved proporcions called satiers to be placed and sett on the topp of every of the same postes; and saveinge alsoe that the saide Peter Streete shal not be chardged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the saide frame, howse, or stadge, or anie parte thereof, nor rendringe the walls within, nor seelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoe-pennie roomes and stadge, before remembred. Nowe thereuppon the

saide Peeter Streete dothe covenante, promise and graunte for himself, his executors and administrators, to and with the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, and either of them, and the'executors and administrators of them, and either of them, by theis presentes, in manner and forme followeing, that is to saie : that he the saide Peeter Streete, his executors or assignes, shall and will, at his or their owne propper costes and chardges, well, woorkmanlike and substancyallie make, erect, sett upp and fully finishe in and by all thinges, accordinge to the true meaninge of theis presentes, with good, stronge and substancyall newe tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the saide frame and other woorkes whatsoever in and uppon the saide plott or parcell of grounde, beinge not by anie aucthoretie restrayned, and haveinge ingres, egres and regres to doe the same, before the fyve and twentieth daie of Julie next commeing after the date hereof ; and shall alsoe, att his or theire like costes and chardges, provide and finde all manner of woorkemen, tymber, joystes, rafters, boordes, dores, boltes, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, sande, nailes, leede, iron, glasse, woorkmanship and other thinges whatsoever, which shall be needeful, convenient and necessarie for the saide frame and woorkes and everie parte thereof ; and shall alsoe make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlinges lardger and bigger in assize then the scantlinges of the timber of the saide newe erected howse called the Globe. And alsoe that he the saide Peeter Streete shall furthwith, as well by himself as by suche other and soe manie woorkmen as shal be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the saide buildinges and woorkes, and shall in reasonable manner procede therein, withoute anie willfull detraccion, untill the same shal be fully effected and finished. In consideracion of all which buildinges, and of all stuff and woorkemanship thereto belonginge, the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves, theire and either of theire executors and administrators, doe joynctlie and severallie covenante and graunte to and with the saide Peeter Streete, his executors and administrators, by theis presentes, that they, the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, or one of them or the executors, administrators or assignes of them or one of them, shall and will well and truelie paie or cawse to be paie unto the saide Peeter Streete, his executors or assignes, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the saide frame, the full somme of fower hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followeing ; that is to saie, att suche tyme and whenas the tymber woork of the saide frame shal be raysed and sett upp by the saide Peeter Streete, his executors or assignes, or within seaven daies then next followeing, twoe hundred and twentie poundes : and att suche time and whenas the saide frame and woorkes shal be fullie effected and fynished as is aforesaide, or within seaven daies then next followeing, th'other twoe hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the saide parties, that whatsoever somme or sommes of money the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or assignes of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or anie other by his appoyntement or consent, for or concerninge the saide woorkes or anie parte thereof, or anie stuff thereto belonginge, before the razeinge and settinge upp of the saide frame, shal be reputed, accepted, taken and accounted in parte of the firste paymente aforesaid of the saide somme of fower hundred and fortie poundes ; and all suche somme and sommes of money as they, or anie of them, shall as aforesaid lend or deliver betwene the razeinge of the saide frame and finishinge thereof, and of all the rest of the saide woorkes, shal be reputed, accepted, taken and accounted in parte of the laste paymente aforesaid of the same somme of fower hundred and fortie poundes ; anie thinge above-said to the contrary notwithstandinge. In wites whereof the parties above-said to theis present presente indentures interchangeably have sett theire handes and seals. Yeoven the daie and yeare firste above-written.

IV. An Order of the Lords of the Privy Council "for the restraint of the imoderate use and Companie of Playehouses and Players," June 22nd, 1600. From the original Register of the Privy Council. There is another transcript of this Order preserved in the archives of the City of London. In the latter copy the word too is in the place of so in the second line of the third paragraph. This is the only variation worthy of notice.

Whereas divers complaintes have bin heretofore made unto the Lordes and others of her Majesties Privye Counsell of the manyfolde abuses and disorders that have growen and do contynue by occasion of many houses erected and employed in and about the cittie of London for common stage-playes, and now verie latelie by reason of some complainte exhibited by sundry persons againste the buyldinge of the like house in or near Golding-lane by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, the matter as well in generaltie touching all the saide houses for stage-playes and the use of playinge, as in particular concerninge the saide house now in hand to be buylte in or neare Goldinge-lane, hath bin broughte into question and consultacion amonge their Lordships; forasmuch as it is manifestly knowen and graunted that the multitude of the saide houses and the mys-government of them hath bin and is dayly occasion of the ydle, ryotous and dissolute living of great numbers of people, that, leavinge all such honest and painefull course of life as they should followe, doe meete and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and disorders that doe thereupon ensue; and yet, nevertheles, it is considered that the use and exercise of such playes, not beinge evill in ytself, may with a good order and moderation be suffered in a well-governed state, and that her Majestie, beinge pleased at somtymes to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearinge of them, some order is fitt to be taken for the allowance and mayntenance of such persons as are thought meeetest in that kinde to yealde her Majestie recreation and delighte, and consequently of the houses that must serve for publike playinge to keepe them in exercise. To the ende, therefore, that both the greates abuses of the playes and playinge-houses may be redressed, and yet the aforesaide use and moderation of them retayned, the Lordes and the reste of her Majesties Privie Counsell, with one and full consent, have ordered in manner and forme as followeth,—

Firste,—that there shal be aboute the Cittie two houses and no more allowed to serve for the use of the common stage-playes, of the which houses one shal be in Surrey in that place which is commonly called the Banckeside or therabouts, and the other in Middlesex. And forasmuch as their Lordships have bin enformed by Edmund Tylney, Esqr., her Majesties servante and Master of the Revells, that the house nowe in hand to be built by the saide Edward Allen is not intended to encrease the number of the playhouses, but to be insteede of another, namely the Curtayne, which is ether to be ruyned and plucked downe or to be put to some other good use, as also that the scytuation thereof is meete and convenient for that purpose, it is likewise ordered that the saide house of Allen shal be allowed to be one of the two houses and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admirall, so as the house called the Curtaine be, as it is pretended, either ruynated or applyed to some other good use. And for the other house allowed to be on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permitt to the company of players that shall play there to make their owne choice which they will have of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more, and the said company of plaiers, being the servantes of the Lord Chamberlain, that are to play there, have made choise of the house called the Globe, it is ordered that the saide house and none other shal be there allowed; and especially it is forbidden that any stage-playes shal be played, as somtymes they have bin, in any common inne for publike assembly in or neare aboute the Cittie.

Secondly,—forasmuch as these stage-plaies, by the multitude of houses and company of players, have bin so frequent, not servinge for recreation but invitinge and callinge

the people dayly from their trade and worke to myspend their tyme, it is likewise ordered that the two severall companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed may play each of them in their severall house twice a weeke and no oftener, and especially they shall refrayne to play on the Sabbath-day upon paine of imprysonment and further penaltie ; and that they shall forbear altogether in the tyme of Lent, and likewise at such tyme and tymes as any extraordinary sicknes or infection of disease shall appeare to be in or about the cittie.

Thirdly,—because these orders wil be of little force and effecte unlessse they be duely putt in execution by those unto whome it appertayneth to see them executed, it is ordered that severall copies of these orders shal be sent to the Lord Maior of London and to the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that lettres shal be written unto them from their Lordships straightly charginge them to see to the execution of the same, as well by commyttinge to prison any owners of play-houses and players as shall disobey and resist these orders as by any other good and lawfull means that in their discretion they shall finde expedient, and to certifie their Lordships from tyme to tyme as they shall see cause of their proceedinges heerein.

V. The Letter from the Lords of the Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace for the County of Surrey, June 22nd, 1600, referred to in the preceding Order. From the original Register of the Privy Council.

By occasion of some complaintes that of late have bin made unto us of the multitude of houses servinge for common stage-playes in and aboute the Cittie of London, and of the greate abuses and disorders growen by the overmuch haunte and resorte of many licentious people unto those houses and places, we have entred into consideration of some fitt course to be taken for redresse of the saide disorders by suppressing dyvers of those houses, and by some restrainte of the imoderate use of the plaies, for which cause wee have sett downe certaine orders to be duely henceforth observed and kept, a copy whereof we sende yow here inclosed, and have sent the like to the Lord Maior of London and to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex ; but as wee have done our partes in prescribinge the orders, so, unlessse yow perfourme yours in lookinge to the due execution of them, we shall loose our labor, and the wante of redresse must be imputed unto yow and others unto whome it apperteyneth ; and, therefore, wee doe hereby authorize and require you to see the saide orders to be putt in execution and to be continued, as yow do wish the amendement of the aforesaide abuses and will remove the blame thereof from yourselves.

VI. A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London in reply to a complaint made by the latter of the number of playhouses, 31 December, 1601. From the Privy Council Register.

Wee have received a lettre from yow renewing a complaint of the great abuse and disorder within and about the cittie of London by reason of the multitude of play-houses, and the inordinate resort and concourse of dissolute and idle people daielie unto publique stage-plaies ; for the which information, as wee do commend your Lordship because it betokeneth your care and desire to reforme the disorders of the Cittie, so wee must lett yow know that wee did mucche rather expect to understand that our order sett downe and prescribed about a yeare and a half since, for reformation of the said disorders upon the like complaint at that tyme, had bin duely executed, then to finde the same disorders and abuses so mucche increased as they are. The blame whereof, as wee cannot but impute in great part to the Justices of the Peace or some of them in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, who had speciall direction and charge from us to see our said Order executed for the confines of the Cittie, wherein the most part of those play-houses are scituate, so wee do wishe that it might appeare unto us that any thing hath bin endeavoured by the predecessors of yow the Lord Maior, and by

yow, the Aldermen, for the redresse of the said enormities and for observation and execution of our said Order within the Cittie. Wee do therefore once againe renew hereby our direction unto yow, as wee have donne by our lettres to the justices of Middlesex and Surrey, concerninge the observation of our former Order, which wee do praie and require yow to cause duelic and dilligentlie to be put in execution for all poyntes thereof, and especiallie for the expresse and streight prohibition of any more playhowses then those two that are mentioned and allowed in the said Order; charging and streightlie commanding all suche persons as are the owners of any the howses used for stage-plaies within the Cittie not to permit any more publike plaies to be used, exercised or shewed, from hencefoorth in their said howses, and to take bondes of them, if yow shall finde it needeful, for the perfourmaunce thereof; or if they shall refuse to enter into bonde or to observe our said Order, then to commit them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves thereunto. And so praying yow, as yourself do make the complaint and finde the enormitie, so to applie your best endeavour to the remedie of the abuse, wee bidd, &c.

VII. A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, severely censuring them for not having enforced the Order of June, 1600, and desiring them to amend their negligence without delay. From the Privy Council Register, 31 December, 1601.

Two lettres of one tenour to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey. It is in vaine for us to take knowledg of great abuses and disorders complayned of and to give order for redresse, if our directions finde no better execution and observation then it seemeth they do, and wee must needs impute the fault and blame thereof to yow or some of yow, the Justices of the Peace, that are put in trust to see them executed and perfourmed; whereof wee may give yow a plaine instance in the great abuse contynued or rather encreased in the multitude of plaie-houses and stage-plaies in and about the cittie of London. For whereas about a yeare and a half since, upon knowledge taken of the great enormities and disorders by the over-much frequentinge of plaies, wee did carefullie sett downe and prescribe an order to be observed concerninge the number of play-houses and the use and exercise of stage-plaies, with lymtacion of tymes and places for the same, namely, that there should be but two howses allowed for that use, one in Middlesex called the Fortune and the other in Surrey called the Globe, and the same with observacion of certaine daies and times, as in the said order is particularly expressed, in such sorte as a moderate practice of them for honest recreation might be contynued and yet the inordinate concourse of dissolute and idle people be restrayned; wee do now understande that our said order hath bin so farr from taking dew effect, as, insteade of restrainte and redresse of the former disorders, the multitude of play-houses is much encreased, and that no daie passeth over without many stage-plaies in one place or other within and about the Cittie publiquelie made; the default of perfourmance of which our said order we must in greate parte the rather impute to the Justices of the Peace, because at the same tyme wee gave earnest direction unto yow to see it streightly executed and to certifie us of the execution, and yet we have neither understoode of any redresse made by yow, nor received any certificate at all of your proceedings therein, which default or omission wee do now pray and require you forthwith to amende, and to cause our said former order to be putt duely in execution; and especiallie to call before you the owners of all the other play-houses, excepting the two howses in Middlesex and Surrey aforementioned, and to take good and sufficient bondes of them not to exercise, use or practise, nor to suffer from hencefoorth to be exercised, used or practized, any stage-playinge in their howses, and, if they shall refuse to enter into such bondes, then to comitt them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves. And so, &c.

VIII. *A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London and the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, desiring them to sanction performances at the Globe, Fortune and Curtain Theatres, April, 1604. From a contemporary transcript preserved at Dulwich College.*

After our hartie Whereas the Kings Majesties Plaiers have given highnes good service in ther quallitie of playinge, and for as much lickwise as they are at all times to be employed in that service whensoever they shal be commaunded, we thinke it therefore fitt, the time of Lent being now past, that your Lordship doe permitt and suffer the three companies of plaiers to the King, Queene and Prince, publicklie to exercise ther plaies in ther severall and usuall howses for that purpose and noe other; viz., the Globe scituate in Maiden Lane on the Banckside in the countie of Surrey, the Fortune in Goldinge Lane, and the Curtaine in Hollywelle in the countie of Middlesex, without any lett or interruption in respect of any former Lettres of Prohibition heertofore written by us to your Lordship, except ther shall happen weeklie to die of the plague above the number of thirtie within the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof, att which time wee thinke itt fitt they shall cease and forbear any further publicklie to playe untill the sicknes be againe decreased to the saide number; and so we bid your Lordship hartlie farewell. From the Court at Whitehalle, the ix.th of Aprill, 1604.—Your very loving Friends,—Nottingham; Suffolk; Gill: Shrowsberie; Ed: Worster; W. Knowles; J. Stanhopp.

To our verie good L. the Lord Maior of the Cittie of London, and to the Justices of the Peace of the Counties of Middlesex and Surrey.

IX. *“A Sonnett upon the pittifull burneing of the Globe playhouse in London.” First printed by Haslewood, under his customary pseudonym, in the Gentleman’s Magazine, 1816, and there said to have been “copied from an old manuscript volume of poems.” Doubts having been suggested respecting the genuineness of this poem, it is important to state that the present edition of it is taken from a manuscript of the early part of the seventeenth century, of unquestionable authenticity, preserved in the library of Sir Mathew Wilson, Bart., of Eshton Hall, co. York.*

Now sitt the downe, Melpomene, = Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,
And tell the dolefull tragedie, = That late was playd at Globe;
For noe man that can singe and saye
Was scard on St. Peters daye.

Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yett all this is true.

All yow that please to understand, = Come listen to my storye,
To see Death with his rakeing brand = Mongst such an auditorye;
Regarding neither Cardinalls might,
Nor yett the rugged face of Henry the eight.—Oh sorrow, &c.

This fearfull fire beganne above, = A wonder strange and true,
And to the stage-howse did remove, = As round as taylors clewe;
And burnt downe both beame and snag,
And did not spare the silken flagg.—Oh sorrow, &c.

Out runne the knightes, out runne the lordes, = And there was great adoe;
Some lost their hattes, and some their swordes; = Then out runne Burbidge too;
The reprobates, thoughte druncke on munday,
Prayd for the Foole and Henry Condye.—Oh sorrow, &c.

The perrywigges and drumme-heades frye, = Like to a butter firkin;
A wofull burneing did betide = To many a good buffe jerkin.

Then with swolne eyes, like druncken Flemminges,
Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.—Oh sorrow, &c.

Noe shower his raine did there downe force = In all that sunn-shine weather,
To save that great renowned howse ; = Nor thou, O ale-howse, neither.
Had itt begunne belowe, sans doubtte,
Their wives for feare—Oh sorrow, &c.

Bee warned, yow stage-strutters all, = Least yow againe be caught,
And such a burneing doe befall, = As to them whose howse was thatched ;
Forbeare your whoreing, breeding biles,
And laye up that expence for tiles.—Oh sorrow, &c.

Goe drawe yow a petition, = And doe yow not abhorr itt,
And gett, with low submission, = A licence to begg for itt
In churches, sans churchwardens checkes,
In Surrey and in Midlesex.

Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yett all this is true.

X. An Order by the Corporation of the City of London, dated January 21st, 1618-19, for the suppression of the Blackfriars Theatre. From the original entry recording the proceedings of that day in a manuscript preserved in the City archives. There is an early copy of this Order amongst the State Papers, Dom. Char. I., ccv. 32, which reads in the sixth line,—“and that thereuppon their honnors.”

Item, this day was exhibited to this Court a petition by the constables and other officers and inhabitantes within the precinct of Blackfryers, London, therein declaring that in November, 1596, divers honorable persons and others, then inhabiting in the said precinct, made knowne to the Lordes and others of the Privy Councell what inconveniences were likely to fall upon them by a common playhowse then preparing to be erected there, and that their honors then forbad the use of the said howse for playes, and in June, 1600, made certaine orders by which, for many weightie reasons therein expressed, it is limited there should be only two playhowses tolerated, whereof the one to be on the Banckside, and the other in or neare Golding Lane, exempting thereby the Blackfryers ; and that a lettre was then directed from their Lordships to the Lord Maior and Justices, strictly requiringe of them to see those orders putt in execucion and so to be continued. And nowe, forasmuch as the said inhabitantes of the Blackfryers have in their said petition complained to this court that, contrarie to the said Lordes orders, the owner of the said playehowse within the Blackfryers under the name of a private howse hath converted the same to a publique playhowse, unto which there is daily so great resort of people, and soe great multitudes of coaches, whereof many are hackney coaches bringinge people of all sortes that sometimes all their streetes cannot conteyne them, that they endanger one the other, breake downe stalles, throw downe mens goodes from their shoppes, hinder the passage of the inhabitantes there to and from their howses, lett the bringinge in of their necessary provisions, that the tradesmen and shopkeepers cannot utter their wares, nor the passengers goe to the common water-staires without danger of their lives and lymes, whereby manye times quarrells and effusion of blood hath followed, and the minister and people disturbed at the administracion of the Sacrament of Baptisme and publique prayers in the afternoones ; whereupon, and after readinge the said order and lettre of the Lordes shewed forth in this Court by the foresaid inhabitautes, and consideration thereof taken, this Court doth thinke fitt and soe order that the said playhowse be suppressed, and that the players shall from henceforth forbeare and desist from playing in that howse, in respect of the manifold abuses and disorders complained of as aforesaid.

XI. A Collection of Papers relating to Shares and Sharers in the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, 1635; from contemporary transcripts formerly preserved amongst the official manuscripts of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household at St. James's Palace. These documents have lately been transferred to our national Record Office.

(a) To the Right Honorable Philip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine of His Majesties houshold, Robert Benefield, Heliard Swanston and Thomas Pollard humbly represent these their grievances, ymploring his Lordships noble favor towards them for their reliefe. That the petitioners have a long time with much patience expected to bee admitted sharers in the playhouses of the Globe and the Blackfriars, wherby they might reape some better fruit of their labours then hitherto they have done, and bee encouraged to proceed therin with cheerfulness. That those few interested in the houses have, without any defalcacion or abatement at all, a full moiety of the whole gaines arising therby, excepting the outer dores, and such of the sayd houskeepers as bee actors doe likewise equally share with all the rest of the actors both in th'other moiety and in the sayd outer dores also.—That out of the actors moiety there is notwithstanding defrayed all wages to hired men, apparell, poetes, lightes and other charges of the houses whatsoever, soe that, betweene the gaynes of the actors, and of those few interested as houskeepers, there is an unreasonable inequality.—That the house of the Globe was formerly divided into sixteen partes, wherof Mr. Cutbert Burbidge and his sisters had eight, Mrs. Condall four and Mr. Hemings four.—That Mr. Tailor and Mr. Lowen were long since admitted to purchase four partes betwixt them from the rest, vizt., one part from Mr. Hemings, two partes from Mrs. Condall, and halfe a part a peece from Mr. Burbidge and his sister.—That the three partes remaining to Mr. Hemings were afterwarde by Mr. Shankes surreptitiously purchased from him, contrary to the petitioners expectation, who hoped that, when any partes had beene to bee sold, they should have beene admitted to have bought and divided the same amongst themselves for their better livelyhood.—That the petitioners desire not to purchase or diminish any part of Mr. Taylors or Mr. Lowens shares, whose deserveings they must acknowledge to bee well worthy of their gaines, but in regard the petitioners labours, according to their severall wayes and abilities, are equal to some of the rest, and for that others of the sayd houskeepers are neither actors, nor his Majesties servantes, and yet the petitioners profit and meanes of livelyhood soe much inferior and unequal to theirs, as appeares before, they therfore desire that they may bee admitted to purchase for their moneys, at such rates as have beene formerly given, single partes a peece onely from those that have the greatest shares and may best spare them, vizt., that Mr. Burbadge and his sister, having three partes and a halfe a peece, may sell them two partes, and reserve two and a halfe a peece to themselves. And that Mr. Shankes, having three, may sell them one and reserve two, wherin they hope your Lordship will conceave their desires to bee just and modest; the rather for that the petitioners, not doubting of beeing admitted sharers in the sayd house the Globe, suffered lately the sayd houskeepers, in the name of his Majesties servantes, to sue and obtaine a decree in the Court of Requestes against Sir Mathew Brand for confirmation unto them of a lease paroll for about nine or ten yeeres yet to come, which they could otherwise have prevented untill themselves had beene made parties.—That for the house in the Blackfriars, it beeing divided into eight partes amongst the aforementioned housekeepers, and Mr. Shankes having two partes therof, Mr. Lowen, Mr. Taylor and each of the rest having but one part a peece, which two partes were by the sayd Mr. Shankes purchased of Mr. Heming, together with those three of the Globe as before, the petitioners desire and hope that your Lordship will conceave it likewise reasonable that the sayd Mr. Shankes may assigne over one of the sayd partes amongst them three, they giving him such satisfaccion for the same as that hee bee noe looser therby.—Lastly, that your Lordship would to that purpose bee nobly pleased, as their

onely gracious refuge and protector, to call all the sayd houskeepers before you, and to use your Lordships power with them to conforme themselves therunto; the rather considering that some of the sayd housekeepers, who have the greatest shares, are neither actors nor his Majesties servantes as aforesayd, and yet reape most or the chiefest benefit of the sweat of their browes, and live upon the bread of their labours, without takeing any paynes themselves. For which your petitioners shall have just cause to blesse your Lordship, as however they are dayly bound to doe with the devotions of most humble and obliged beadsmen.

	Burbadge.....	3½	} of a lease of 9 yeeres from our Lady Day last, 1635, not yet confirmed by Sir Mathew Brand to bee taken to feoffees.
Shares in the Globe.	Robinson.....	3½	
	Condall	2	
	Shankes	3	
	Taylor	2	
	Lowen	2	

Blackfryers.—Shankes, 2. Burbadge, 1. Robinson, 1. Taylor, 1. Lowen, 1. Condall, 1. Underwood, 1.

(b) *Court at Theoballes, 12 July, 1635.*—Haveing considered this petition and the severall answers and replyes of the parties, the merites of the petitioners, the disproportion of their shares, and the interest of his Majesties service, I have thought fit and doe accordingly order that the petitioners, Robert Benefield, Eyllerdt Swanston and Thomas Pollard, bee each of them admitted to the purchase of the shares desired of the severall persons mentioned in the petition for the fower yeeres remaying of the lease of the house in Blackfriers, and for five yeeres in that of the Globe, at the usuall and accustomed rates, and according to the proportion of the time and benefit they are to enjoy. And heerof I desire the houskeepers, and all others whome it may concerne, to take notice and to conforme themselves therein accordingly. The which if they or any of them refuse or delay to performe, if they are actors and his Majesties servantes, I doe suspend them from the stage and all the benefit therof; and if they are onely interested in the houses, I desire my Lord Privy Seale to take order that they may bee left out of the lease which is to bee made upon the decree in the Court of Requestes.—P. AND M.

(c) *Robert Benefield, Eyllardt Swanston, and Thomas Pollard doe further humbly represent unto your Lordship.*—That the houskeepers being but six in number, vizt., Mr. Cutbert Burbage, Mrs. Condall, Mr. Shankes, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowen and Mr. Robinson (in the right of his wife), have amongst them the full moyety of all the galleries and boxes in both houses, and of the tiring-house dore at the Globe.—That the actors have the other moyety, with the outer dores; but in regard the actors are halfe as many more, vizt., nine in number, their shares fall shorter and are a great deale lesse then the houskeepers; and yet, notwithstanding out of those lesser shares the sayd actors defray all charges of the house whatsoever, vizt., wages to hired men and boyes, musicke, lightes, &c., amounting to 900 or 1000 *li.* per annum or therabouts, being 3 *li.* a day one day with another; besides the extraordinary charge which the sayd actors are wholly at for apparell and poetes, &c.—Wheras the sayd houskeepers out of all their gaines have not till our Lady Day last payd above 65 *li.* per annum rent for both houses, towards which they rase betweene 20 and 30 *li.* per annum from the tap-houses and a tenement and a garden belonging to the premisses, &c., and are at noe other charges whatsoever, excepting the ordinary reparations of the houses.—Soe that upon a medium made of the gaynes of the houskeepers and those of the actors one day with another throughout the yeere, the petitioners will make it apparent that when some of the houskeepers share 12 *s.* a day at the Globe, the actors share not above 3 *s.* And then what those gaine that are both actors and houskeepers, and have their shares in both, your Lordship will easily judge, and therby finde the modesty of the petitioners suite, who desire onely to buy for their money one part a

peece from such three of the sayd houskeepers as are fittest to spare them, both in respect of desert and otherwise, vizt., Mr. Shankes one part of his three; Mr. Robinson and his wife, one part of their three and a halfe; and Mr. Cutbert Burbidge the like.—And for the house of the Blackfriars, that Mr. Shankes, who now enjoys two partes there, may sell them likewise one, to bee divided amongst them three.—Humbly beseeching your Lordship to consider their long sufferings, and not to permitt the sayd howskeepers any longer to delay them, but to put an end to and settle the sayd busines, that your petitioners may not bee any further troublesome or importunate to your Lordship, but may proceed to doe their duty with cheerfullnes and alacritye.—Or otherwise in case of their refusall to conforme themselves, that your Lordship would bee pleased to consider whether it bee not reasonable and equitable that the actors in generall may enjoy the benefit of both houses to themselves, paying the sayd howskeepers such a valuable rent for the same as your Lordship shall thinke just and indifferent.—And your petitioners shall continue their dayly prayers for your Lordships prosperity and happines.

(d) *The answer of John Shankes to the petition of Robert Benefield, Eyllardt Swanston and Thomas Pollard, lately exhibited to the Right Honorable Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlin of his Majesties household,—Humbly sheweth,*—That, about allmost two yeeres since, your suppliant, upon offer to him made by William Hemings, did buy of him one part hee had in the Blackfriars for about six yeeres then to come at the yeerly rent of 6 *li.* 5 *s.*, and another part hee then had in the Globe for about two yeeres to come, and payd him for the same two partes in ready moneys 156 *li.*, which sayd partes were offered to your suppliant, and were as free then for any other to buy as for your suppliant.—That about eleven months since, the sayd William Hemings, offering to sell unto your suppliant the remaining partes hee then had, viz., one in the Blackfriars, wherin hee had then about five yeeres to come, and two in the Globe, wherin hee had then but one yeere to come, your suppliant likewise bought the same, and payd for them in ready moneys more 350 *li.*, all which moneys soe disbursed by your suppliant amount to 506 *li.*, the greatest part wherof your suppliant was constrained to take up at interest, and your suppliant hath besides disbursed to the sayd William Hemings diverse other small summes of money since hee was in prison.—That your suppliant did neither fraudulently nor surreptitiously defeat any of the petitioners in their hope of buying the sayd partes, neither would the sayd William Hemings have sold the same to any of the petitioners, for that they would not have given him any such price for the same, but would, as now they endeavour to doe, have had the same against his will, and at what rates they pleased.—That your suppliant, being an old man in this quality, who in his youth first served your noble father, and after that, the late Queene Elizabeth, then King James, and now his royall Majestye, and haveing in this long time made noe provision for himselfe in his age, nor for his wife, children and grandchild, for his and their better livelyhood, haveing this opportunity, did at deere rates purchase these partes, and hath for a very small time as yet received the profites therof, and hath but a short time in them, and is without any hope to renew the same when the termes bee out; hee therefore hopeth hee shall not bee hindred in the enjoying the profitt therof, especially whenas the same are thinges very casual and subject to bee discontinued, and lost by sicknes and diverse other wayes, and to yield noe profitt at all.—That wheras the petitioners in their complaint say that they have not meanes to subsist, it shall by oath, if need bee, bee made apparent that every one of the three petitioners for his owne particular hath gotten and received this yeere last past of the summe of 180 *li.*, which, as your suppliant conceaveth, is a very sufficient meanes to satisfie and answer their long and patient expectation, and is more by above the one halfe then any of them ever gott, or were capable of elswhere, besides what Mr. Swanston, one of them who is most violent in this busines, who hath further had and received this last yeere above 34 *li.* for the profit of a third part of



. THE NEW GLOBE THEATRE, OPENED IN THE YEAR 1614.

one part in the Blackfriars which hee bought for 20 *li.*, and yet hath enjoyed the same two or three yeeres allready, and hath still as long time in the same as your suppliant hath in his, who for soe much as Mr. Swanston bought for 20 *li.* your suppliant payd 60 *li.*—That when your suppliant purchased his partes, hee had noe certainty therof more then for one yeere in the Globe, and there was a chargeable suit then depending in the Court of Requestes betweene Sir Mathew Brend, knight, and the lessees of the Globe and their assignes, for the adding of nine yeeres to their lease in consideration that they and their predecessors had formerly beene at the charge of 1400 *li.* in building of the sayd house upon the burning downe of the former, wherein, if they should miscarry, for as yet they have not the assurance perfected by Sir Mathew Brend, your suppliant shall lay out his money to such a losse as the petitioners will never bee partners with him therein.—That your suppliant and other the lessees in the Globe and in the Blackfriars are chargeable with the payment of 100 *li.* yeerly rent, besides reparacions, which is dayly very chargeable unto them, all which they must pay and beare, whether they make any profit or nott, and soe reckoning their charge in building and fitting the sayd houses, yeerly rent and reparacions, noe wise man will adventure his estate in such a course, considering their dealing with whome they have to doe, and the many casualtyes and dayly troubles therewith. That in all the affayres and dealinges in this world betweene man and man, it was and is ever held an inviolable principle that in what thing soever any man hath a lawfull interest and property hee is not to bee compelled to depart with the same against his will, which the complainantes endeavour.—And wheras John Heminges, the father of William Hemings, of whome your suppliant made purchase of the sayd partes, enjoyed the same thirty yeeres without any molestacion, beeing the most of the sayd yeeres both player and houskeeper, and after hee gave over playing diverse yeeres; and his sonne, William Hemings, fower yeers after, though hee never had anything to doe with the sayd stage, enjoyed the same without any trouble; notwithstanding, the complainantes would violently take from your petitioners the sayd partes, who hath still of his owne purse supplied the company for the service of his Majesty with boyes, as Thomas Pollard, John Thompson deceased (for whome hee payed 40 *li.*), your suppliant havinge payd his part of 200 *li.* for other boyes since his comming to the company, John Honiman, Thomas Holcome and diverse others, and at this time maintaines three more for the sayd service. Neither lyeth it in the power of your suppliant to satisfie the unreasonable demandes of the complainantes, hee beeing forced to make over the sayd partes, for security of moneys taken up as aforesayd of Robert Morecroft of Lincolne, his wifes uncle, for the purchase of the sayd partes, untill hee hath made payment of the sayd moneys, which hee is not able to doe unlesse hee bee suffered to enjoy the sayd partes during the small time of his lease, and is like to bee undone if they are taken from him.—All which beeing considered, your suppliant hopeth that your Lordship will not inforce your suppliant against his will to depart with what is his owne, and what hee hath deerly payd for, unto them that can claime noe lawfull interest therunto. And your suppliant, under your Lordships favour, doth conceive that if the petitioners, by those their violent courses, may obtaine their desires, your Lordship will never bee at quiet for their dayly complaintes, and it will bee such a president to all young men that shall follow heerafter, that they shall allwayes refuse to doe his Majesty service unlesse they may have whatsoever they will, though it bee other mens estates. And soe that which they pretend shall tend to the better government of the company, and inabling them to doe his Majesty service, the same will bee rather to the destruction of the company, and disabling of them to doe service to his Majestye; and besides, the benefitt and profit which the petitioners doe yeerly make without any charge at all is soe good, that they may account themselves to bee well recompenced for their labour and paines, and yet when any partes are to bee sould, they may buy the same if they can gett the bargaine therof, paying for the same as others doe.—The humble

suite of your suppliant is that your honor will be pleased that hee may enjoy that which hee hath deerly bought and truly payd for, and your suppliant, as in duty hee is bound, shall ever pray for your Lordship.

(e) *To the Right Honorable Philip Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majesties household.—Right Honorable and our singular good Lord.*—Wee your humble suppliantes, Cutbert Burbage and Winifrid his brothers wife, and William his sonne, doe tender to your honorable consideration for what respectes and good reasons wee ought not in all charity to bee disabled of our livelyhoodes by men soe soone shott up, since it hath benee the custome that they should come to it by farre more antiquity and desert then these can justly attribute to themselves.—And first, humbly shewing to your honor the infinite charges, the manifold law-suites, the leases expiration, by the restraints in sicknes times, and other accidentes, that did cutt from them the best part of the gaines that your honor is informed they have received.—The father of us, Cutbert and Richard Burbage, was the first builder of playhouses, and was himselfe in his younger yeeres a player. The Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest.—The players that lived in those first times had onely the profitts arising from the dores, but now the players receive all the commings in at the dores to themselves and halfe the galleries from the houskeepers. Hee built this house upon leased ground, by which meanes the landlord and hee had a great suite in law, and, by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sonnes; wee then bethought us of altering from thence, and at like expence built the Globe, with more summes of money taken up at interest, which lay heavy on us many yeeres; and to ourselves wee joyned those deserving men, Shakspeare, Hemings, Condall, Philips and others, partners in the profittes of that they call the House, but makeing the leases for twenty-one yeeres hath benee the destruction of ourselves and others, for they dyeing at the expiration of three or four yeeres of their lease, the subsequent yeeres became dissolved to strangers, as by marrying with their widdowes and the like by their children.—Thus, Right Honorable, as concerning the Globe, where wee ourselves are but lessees. Now for the Blackfriars, that is our inheritance; our father purchased it at extreame rates, and made it into a playhouse with great charge and trouble; which after was leased out to one Evans that first sett up the boyes commonly called the Queenes Majesties Children of the Chappell. In processe of time, the boyes growing up to bee men, which were Underwood, Field, Ostler, and were taken to strengthen the Kings service; and the more to strengthen the service, the boyes dayly wearing out, it was considered that house would bee as fit for ourselves, and soe purchased the lease remaining from Evans with our money, and placed men players, which were Hemings, Condall, Shakspeare, &c. And Richard Burbage, who for thirty-five yeeres paines, cost and labour, made meanes to leave his wife and children some estate, and out of whose estate soe many of other players and their families have benee mayntained, these new men, that were never bred from children in the Kings service, would take away with oathes and menaces that wee shall bee forced and that they will not thanke us for it; soe that it seemes they would not pay us for what they would have or wee can spare, which, more to satisfie your honor then their threatening pride, wee are for ourselves willing to part with a part betweene us, they paying according as ever hath benee the custome and the number of yeeres the lease is made for.—Then, to shew your Honor against these sayinges, that wee eat the fruit of their labours, wee referre it to your Honors judgement to consider their profittes, which wee may safely maintaine, for it appeareth by their owne accomptes for one whole yeere last past, beginning from Whitson Munday, 1634, to Whitson Munday, 1635, each of these complainantes gained severally, as hee was a player and noe howskeeper, 180 *li.* Besides Mr. Swanston hath received from the Blackfriars this yeere, as hee is there a houskeeper, above 30 *li.*, all which being accompted together may very well keepe him from starveing.—Wherfore your honors

A Facsimile of those portions of the Lord Chamberlain's Manuscript in which the Burbages mention Shakespeare. From the original contemporary transcript of the petition in the Public Record Office.

years & that was injured the le-dissembling men, the severe
 Uttering. And all, Philip and other partners in of goddell of that
 boy, rale. The Couper, but meeting the le-boys fathers, your late
 whom he & a fraction of & that others for they, saying of the
 reputation of 13 or 4 years of their life, the subsequent years
 of name & a fraction of 13 years as of many part of their husbands
 & for like by their children...

This King of 1600, as remembering the Child, whose name of that
 are but 10 years. Now for the blackbird that is in 10 years, &
 father expressed it at 10 years, he has made it into a boy, & he
 are what stage and trouble, when after our father, out to our
 that first part of the story, & to the name of the Queen's
 Child, of the 10 years. In 10 years of time the boys, & the
 of to be men, when most of them, said. Other. C. was taken
 the 10 years of the King's part, & the name of the King, the
 Philip, the boy, & the boy, & the boy, & the boy, & the boy,
 and the boy, & the boy, & the boy, & the boy, & the boy,
 from Great, & the money, & the money, & the money,
 Heming. And all Shakespeare or. Child, Richard Burbage, who for

most humble suppliantes intreates⁹ they may not further bee trampled upon then their estates can beare, seeing how deerly it hath beene purchased by the infinite cost and paynes of the family of the Burbages, and the great desert of Richard Burbage for his quality of playing, that his wife should not sterve in hir old age ; submitting ourselves to part with one part to them for valuable consideration and let them seeke further satisfaccion elsewhere, that is, of the heires or assignes of Mr. Hemings and Mr. Condall, who had theirs of the Blackfriars of us for nothing ; it is onely wee that suffer continually.—Therefore, humbly relyeing upon your Honorable charity in discussing their clamor against us, wee shall, as wee are in duty bound, still pray for the dayly increase of your honors health and happines.

(f) *John Shankes*.—*A petition of John Shankes to my Lord Chamberlaine*, shewing that, according to his Lordships order, hee did make a proposition to his fellowes for satisfaccion, upon his assigneing of his partes in the severall houses unto them ; but they not onely refused to give satisfaccion, but restrained him from the stage ; that, therefore, his Lordship would order them to give satisfaccion according to his propositions and computation.

Md. all concerning this and here } Answered, vizt., I desire Sir H. Herbert and
 entred were delivered annexed. } Sir John Finett, and my solliciter Daniell
 Bedingfield, to take this petition and the severall papers heerunto annexed into their serious considerations, and to speake with the severall parties interested, and therupon and upon the whole matter to sett downe a proportionable and equitable summe of money to bee payd unto Shankes for the two partes which hee is to passe unto Benfield, Swanston and Pollard, and to cause a finall agreement and conveyances to bee settled accordingly, and to give mee an account of their whole proceedings in writing.—Aug. 1, 1635.

THE FOOL AND THE ICE.

When Ulysses tells his love-embarrassed colleague that "the fool slides o'er the ice that you should break," the imagery is so peculiar, it may be reasonably suspected that there is a reference to an extraneous story or incident which was in the author's mind at the period of composition. And if it can be shown that one of the latter alternatives is probable, the allegory cannot be received as an original fancy without the assumption of a very remarkable and unlikely coincidence. When, therefore, it is found that there happened, in the poet's own day and at a short distance from his native town, a somewhat remarkable event to which the line spoken by Ulysses would perfectly apply, we may conclude that Shakespeare was either present on the occasion or was familiar with its details.

It happened one winter that the players of Lord Chandos of Sudeley had been acting at Evesham, a town distant, by the then only main road, about fifteen miles from Stratford-upon-Avon. Their performances had been specially relished by Jack Miller, a native of the former place, and one of the natural imbeciles in whose eccentricities our ancestors so much delighted. He was, in fact, the popular Fool of the town and neighbourhood, so that when he announced his intention of decamping with his favourite performer, the clown, there was an anxiety on the part of the inhabitants to frustrate the design. They wished him, however, to have a last peep at the actors, so he was taken to the Hart Inn, and there was locked up in a room whence he could see them when they were on the road to their next quarters at Pershore, the Avon flowing between that route and the apartment which was selected for the temporary imprisonment. No one dreamt that further precautions were necessary, for, although the water bore a coating of ice, the latter was too thin for it to be considered possible that a boatless individual would be able to pass over the river, even if he succeeded in escaping from the tavern. But no sooner did Jack get a sight of his pet buffoon than, managing to alight to the ground from the window, he scudded over the ice to the company, executing his venturesome feat, to the utter amazement of them all, in perfect safety.

Amongst the members of the company witnessing the occurrence was Robert Armin, who was afterwards one of Shakespeare's own professional colleagues. This individual subsequently made a collection of tales respecting persons of the Jack Miller type, issuing it, in 1600, under the

title of *Foole Vpon Foole or Six Sortes of Sottes*, a curious little tract without the author's name, the writer simply describing himself as *Clonnico de Curtanio Snuffe*, meaning, by this odd phrase, that he was then filling the post of Clown at the Curtain Theatre. It was published anonymously a second time in 1605, as the work of *Clonnico del Mondo Snuffe*, in other words, the Clown at the Globe Theatre. When Armin, however, re-edited it in 1608 under the title of the *Nest of Ninnies*, he then openly acknowledged the composition. The history of the above-mentioned affair is introduced, in very nearly the same words, into all three editions, the following copy of the account being taken, with a few verbal corrections, from the first.

In the towne of Esom, in Worcestersh., Jacke Miller, being there borne, was much made of in every place. It hapned that the Lord Shandoyes players came to towne and used their pastimes there; which Jacke not a little loved, especially the clowne, whome he would imbrace with a joyfull spirit, and call him Grumball, for so he called himselfe in gentlemens houses, where he would imitate playes, dooing all himselfe, king, clowne, gentleman and all; having spoke for one, he would sodainly goe in, and againe returne for the other; and, stambring so beastly as he did, made mighty mirth: to conclude, he was a right innocent without any villany at all.—When these players as I speake of had done in the towne, they went to Partiar, and Jacke swore he would goe all the world over with Grumball, that he would. It was then a great frost new begun, and the haven was frozen over thinly; but heere is the wonder;—the gentleman that kept the Hart, an inne in the towne whose backside looked to the way that led to the river-side to Partiar, lockt up Jacke in a chamber next the haven, where he might see the players passe by; and they of the towne, loath to loose his company, desired to have it so; but he, I say, seeing them goe by, creepes through the window, and sayde, I come to thee, Grumball. The players stood all still to see further. He got downe very dangerously, and makes no more adoe, but boldly ventures over the haven, which is by the long bridge, as I gesse some forty yardes over; tut,—hee made nothing of it, but my heart aked to see it, and my eares heard the ize cracke all the way. When he was come unto them I was amazed, and tooke up a brick-bat, which there lay by, and threwe it, which no sooner fell upon the ize but it burst. Was not this strange that a foole of thirty yeeres was borne of that ize which would not indure the fall of a brick-bat?—yes, it was wonderfull me thought, but every one rated him for the deed, telling him it was daungerous. He considered his fault, and, knowing faults should be punished, he entreated Grumball the clowne, whom he so deerely loved, to whip him but with rosemary, for that he thought wold not smart. But the players in jest breecht him till the bloud came, which he tooke laughing, for it was his manner ever to weepe in kindnes and laugh in extreames. That this is true my eyes were witnesses, being then by.

It is satisfactory to find that the truth of this narrative is well supported by the accuracy of its references to the local details. The Hart Inn at Evesham, which continued to be a tavern till quite recently, was situated near the bridge over the Avon, and at a few doors beyond the house now known as the Crown. A road that skirts the eastern bank of the river is the one leading to Partiar, the yet local pronunciation of the name of the town, and travellers on that highway would have been distinctly visible to, and within a hearing distance of, spectators at those back windows of the first-named tavern which were nearest to them.

The period of Jack's adventure is unknown. Armin speaks of himself as having been in the service of the fourth Lord Chandos, who held the title from 1594 to 1602, but this information is given in an address to that nobleman's widow, so that it is not unlikely that the writer had been one of the retainers of his lordship's predecessor. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth the Chandos actors performed occasionally at least, if not often, in Gloucestershire and the adjoining counties, and the glacial exploit was perhaps a subject of local gossip. Shakespeare had also of course the opportunity of hearing all about it from Armin himself, but there is nothing to warrant a conjecture that he was an eye-witness of the transaction, or one that he had ever joined, even for the briefest period, the company that were astounded by the success of the perilous transit.

THE RATSEY EPISODE.

“A pretty Francke passed by Ratsey upon certaine Players that he met by chance in an Inne, who denied their owne Lord and Maister, and used another Noblemans Name.” This is the title of the following interesting chapter in Ratseis Ghost, here taken from the unique copy of that work preserved in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp, co. Northampton. There is no date to this curious little quarto tract, but it was entered at the Stationers Hall on May the 31st, 1605. In all probability Shakespeare is included amongst the players who are mentioned as having arrived in London from the provinces in an impeccunious condition, and afterwards risen to wealth.

Gamaliell Ratsey and his company travailing up and downe the cuntry, as they had often times done before, *per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum*, still hazarding their severall happes as they had severall hopes, came by chance into an inne where that night there harbored a company of players ; and Ratsey, framing himselfe to an humor of merriment, caused one or two of the chiefest of them to be sent for up into his chamber, where hee demanded whose men they were, and they answered they served such an honorable personage. I pray you, quoth Ratsey, let me heare your musicke, for I have often gone to plaies more for musicke sake then for action ; for some of you not content to do well, but striving to over-doe and go beyond yourselves, oftentimes, by S. George, mar all ; yet your poets take great paines to make your parts fit for your mouthes, though you gape never so wide. Other-some, I must needs confesse, are very wel deserving both for true action and faire deliverie of speech, and yet, I warrant you, the very best have sometimes beene content to goe home at night with fiftene pence share apeece. Others there are whom Fortune hath so wel favored that, what by penny-sparing and long practise of playing, are growne so wealthy that they have expected to be knighted, or at least to be conjunct in authority and to sit with men of great worship on the bench of justice. But if there were none wiser then I am, there should more cats build colledges, and more whoores turne honest women, then one before the world should be filled with such a wonder. Well, musicke was plaide, and that night passed over with such singing, dauncing and revelling, as if my Lord Prodigall hadde beene there in his ruines of excesse and superfluitie. In the morning, Ratsey made the players taste of his bountie, and so departed. But everie day hee had new inventions to obtaine his purposes, and as often as fashions alter, so often did he alter his stratagems, studying as much how to compasse a poore mans purse as players doe to win a full audience. About a weeke after, hee met with the same players, although hee had so disguised himselfe with a false head of hayre and beard that they could take no notice of him ; and lying, as they did before, in one inne together, hee was desirous they should play a private play before him, which they did not in the name of the former noblemans servants ; for, like camelions, they had changed that colour ; but in the name of another, whose indeede they were, although afterwards, when he heard of their abuse, hee discharged them and tooke away his warrant. For being far off, for their more countenance they would pretend to be protected by such an honourable man, denying their lord and maister, and comming within ten or twenty miles of him againe, they would shrowd themselves under their owne lords favour. Ratsey heard their play, and seemed to like that, though he disliked the rest, and verie liberally out with his purse and gave them fortie shillings,

with which they held themselves very richly satisfied, for they scarce had twentie shillings audience at any time for a play in the country. But Ratsey thought they should not enjoy it long, although he let them beare it about them till the next day in their purses ; for the morning beeing come, and they having packt away their luggage and some part of their companie before in a waggon, discharged the house and followed them presently. Ratsey intended not to bee long after, but having learned which way they travailed, hee, being verie wel horsed and mounted upon his blacke gelding, soone overtooke them ; and when they saw it was the gentleman that had beene so liberall with them the night before, they beganne to doe him much courtesie and to greeete his late kindnesse with many thanks. But that was not the matter which he aymed at. Therefore he roundly tolde them they were deceived in him,—hee was not the man they tooke him for. I am a souldier, sayth he, and one that for meanes hath ventured my fortunes abroad, and now for money am driven to hazard them at home ; I am not to bee played upon by players ; therefore, be short, deliver mee your money ; I will turne usurer now ; my fortie shillings againe will not serve without interest. They beganne to make many faces, and to cappe and knee, but all would not serve their turne. Hee bade them leave off their cringing and complements and their apish trickes, and dispatch ; which they did for feare of the worst, seeing to begge was bootelesse ; and having made a desperate tender of their stocke into Ratseyes handes, he bad them play for more, for, sayes hee, it is an idle profession that brings in much profite, and every night where you come, your playing beares your charges and somewhat into purse. Besides, you have fidlers fare,—meat, drink and mony. If the worst be, it is but pawning your apparell, for as good actors and stalkers as you are have done it, though now they scorne it ; but in any case heereafter be not counterfaites ; abuse not honorable personages in using their names and countenance without their consent and privitie ; and because you are now destitute of a maister, I will give you leave to play under my protection for a senights space, and I charge you doe it, lest, when I meet you again, I cut you shorter by the hams and share with you in a sharper manner then I have done at this time. And for you, sirra, saies hee to the chiefest of them, thou hast a good presence upon a stage ; methinks thou darkest thy merite by playing in the country. Get thee to London, for, if one man were dead, they will have much neede of such a one as thou art. There would be none in my opinion fitter then thyselfe to play his parts. My conceipt is such of thee, that I durst venture all the mony in my purse on thy head to play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learne to be frugall,—for players were never so thriftie as they are now about London—and to feed upon all men, to let none feede upon thee ; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy hart slow to performe thy tongues promise ; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place or lordship in the country, that, growing weary of playing, thy mony may there bring thee to dignitie and reputation ; then thou needest care for no man, nor not for them that before made thee prowde with speaking their words upon the stage. Sir, I thanke you, quoth the player, for this good counsell ; I promise you I will make use of it, for I have heard, indeede, of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy. And in this presage and propheticall humor of mine, sayes Ratsey, kneele downe—Rise up, Sir Simon Two Shares and a Halfe ; thou art now one of my knights, and the first knight that ever was player in England. The next time I meete thee, I must share with thee againe for playing under my warrant, and so for this time adiew. How ill hee brooked this new knighthood, which hee durst not but accept of, or liked his late counsell, which he lost his coine for, is easie to be imagined ; but whether he met with them againe, after the senights space that he charged them to play in his name, I have not heard it reported.

THE ONLY SHAKE-SCENE.

I. From a little work entitled,—“Greens Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentaunce. Describing the follie of youth, the falshoode of make-shift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefs of deceiuing Courtezans. Written before before[®] his death and published at his dying request.—*Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.*—London,—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Oliue, dwelling in long long[®] Lane, and are there to be solde. 1596.” This is the earliest edition known, but it was originally published in 1592, having been entered at Stationers Hall on the 20th of September in that year. The following is a copy of the writer’s address—“To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdom to prevent his extremities.”

If wofull experience may moove you, gentlemen, to beware, or unheard of wretchednes intreate you to take heed, I doubt not but you will looke backe with sorrow on your time past, and endeavour with repentance to spend that which is to come. Wonder not, for with thee wil I first begin, thou famous gracer of tragedians, that Greene, who hath said with thee, like the foole in his heart, there is no God, should now give glorie unto His greatnesse; for penetrating is His power, His hand lies heaue upon me, He hath spoken unto me with a voice of thunder, and I have felt, He is a God that can punish enimies. Why should thy excellent wit, His gift, be so blinded, that thou shouldst give no glory to the giver? Is it pestilent Machivilian pollicie that thou hast studied? O punish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time the generation of mankinde. For if *sic volo, sic jubeo*, hold in those that are able to command; and if it be lawfull, *fas et nefas*, to doe anything that is beneficiall, onely tyrants should possesse the earth; and they, striving to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a slaughter-man; till the mightiest outliving all, one stroke were left for death, that in one age mans life should ende. The brother of this diabolically atheisme is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie he aimed at; but as he began in craft, lived in feare, and ended in despaire. *Quum inscrutabilia sunt Dei judicia?* This murderer of many brethren had his conscience seared like Caine; this betrayer of him that gave his life for him inherited the portion of Judas; this apostata perished as ill as Julian: and wilt thou, my friend, be his disciple? Looke unto me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt finde it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable death; but wilfull striving against knowne truth exceedeth al the terrors of my soule. Defer not, with me, till this last point of extremitie; for little knowest thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.

With thee I joyne young Juvenall, that byting satyryst that lastlie with mee together writ a comedie. Sweete boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words; inveigh against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better, no man so wel; thou hast a libertie to reprove all, and name none; for one being spoken to, al are offended; none being blamed, no man is injured. Stop shallow water still running, it will rage; tread on a worme, and it will turne; then blame not schollers vexed with sharpe lines, if they reprove thy too much libertie of reprove.

And thou, no lesse deserving then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driven (as myselfe) to extreame shifts; a little have I to say to thee; and

were it not an idolatrous oth, I would swear by sweet S. George thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned ; for unto none of you, like me, sought those burres to cleave ; those puppits, I meane, that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they al have beene beholding, is it not like that you to whome they all have beene beholding, shall, were ye in that case that I am now, be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not ; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute *Johannes Factotum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses, and let those apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions! I know the best husband of you all will never prove an usurer, and the kindest of them all wil never proove a kinde nurse ; yet, whilst you may, seeke you better maisters, for it is pittie men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes.

In this I might insert two more, that both have writ against these buckram gentlemen ; but let their owne works serve to witness against their owne wickednesse, if they persever to maintaine any more such peasants. For other new commers, I leave them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who, I doubt not, will drive the best minded to despise them ; for the rest, it skills not though they make a jeast at them.

But now returne I againe to you three, knowing my miserie is to you no news ; and let me heartily intreate you to bee warned by my harmes. Delight not, as I have done, in irreligious oaths ; for from the blasphemers house a curse shall not depart. Despise drunkennes, which wasteth the wit and making^o men all equal unto beasts, Flie lust, as the deathsmans of the soule, and defile not the temple of the Holy Ghost. Abhorre those epicures, whose loose life hath made religion lothsome to your eares ; and when they sooth you with tearmes of maistership, remember Robert Greene, whome they have often so flattered, perishes now for want of comfort. Remember, gentlemen, your lives are like so many lighted tapers, that are with care delivered to all of you to maintaine ; these with windpuft wrath may be extinguisht, which drunkennes put out, which negligence let fall ; for mans time of itselfe is not so short, but it is more shortened by sin. The fire of my light is now at the last snuffe, and the want of wherewith to sustaine it ; there is no substance left for life to feede on. Trust not then, I beseech yee, to such weake staies ; for they are as changeable in minde as in many attires. Well, my hand is tired, and I am forst to leave where I would begin ; for a whole booke cannot containe their wrongs which I am forst to knit up in some few lines of words.—*Desirous that you should live, though himselfe be dying.*—*Robert Greene.*

II. The Preface to—"Kind-Harts Dreame. Conteyning five Apparitions, with their Inuectives against abuses raingning. Delivered by severall Ghosts unto him to be publisht, after Piers Penillesse Post had refused the carriage.—Inuita Inuidie.—by H. C.—Imprinted at London for William Wright." This interesting work is undated, but it was entered at Stationers Hall on December the 8th, 1592.

To the Gentlemen Readers.—It hath beene a custome, gentlemen, in my mind commendable, among former authors, whose workes are no lesse beautified with eloquent phrase than garnished with excellent example, to begin an exordium to the readers of their time. Much more convenient I take it, should the writers in these daies, wherein that gravitie of enditing by the elder exercised is not observ'd, nor that modest decorum kept which they continued, submit their labours to the favourable censures of their learned overseers. For seeing nothing can be said that hath not

been before said, the singularitie of some mens conceits, otherwayes excellent well deserving, are no more to be soothed than the peremptorie posies of two very sufficient translators commended. To come in print is not to seeke praise, but to crave pardon ; I am urg'd to the one, and bold to begge the other ; he that offendes, being forst, is more excusable than the wilfull faultie ; though both be guilty, there is difference in the guilt. To observe custome, and avoid, as I may, cavill, opposing your favors against my feare, Ile shew reason for my present writing and after proceed to sue for pardon. About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry bookesellers hands, among other his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter, written to divers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author ; and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently proove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion,—especially in such a case, the author beeing dead,—that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had bene my fault, because myselfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes ;—besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooves his art. For the first, whose learning I reverence, and, at the perusing of Greenes booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ ; or, had it bene true, yet to publish it was intollerable ; him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share ;—it was il written, as sometimes Greenes hand was none of the best ; licensd it must be ere it could bee printed, which could never be if it might not be read. To be breife, I writ it over ; and, as neare as I could, followed the copy ; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in ; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some unjustly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle to the second part of *Gerileon*, though by the workemans error T. N. were set to the end ;—that I confesse to be mine, and repent it not.

Thus, gentlemen, having noted the private causes that made me nominate myselfe in print ; being as well to purge Master Nashe of that he did not, as to justifie what I did, and withall to confirm what M. Greene did ; I beseech yee accept the publike cause, which is both the desire of your delight and common benefite ; for though the toy be shadowed under the title of *Kind-hearts Dreame*, it discovers the false hearts of divers that wake to commit mischief. Had not the former reasons been, it had come forth without a father ; and then shuld I have had no cause to feare offending, or reason to sue for favour. Now am I in doubt of the one, though I hope of the other ; which, if I obtaine, you shall bind me hereafter to bee silent till I can present yee with something more acceptable.—*Henric Chettle.*

THE COPYRIGHT ENTRIES.

1593.—xviii^o Aprilis.—Richard Feild.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of the Archbisshop of Cant. and Mr. Warden Stirrop, a booke intituled^o Venus and Adonis.—Assigned ouer to Mr. Harrison sen.; 25 Junij, 1594. *The last paragraph is a marginal note inserted at or near the latter date.*

1593-4.—vj.^{to} die Februarij.—John Danter.—Entred for his cople, vnder thandes of bothe the wardens, a booke intituled a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus.

1593-4.—xij^o Marcij. Thomas Myllington. Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of bothe the wardens, a booke intituled the firste parte of the contention of the twoo famous houses of york and Lancaster, with the deathe of the good Duke Humfrey, and the banishment and deathe of the duke of Suff: and the tragicall ende of the prowd Cardinall of winchester, with the notable rebellion of Jack Cade and the duke of yorkes first clayme vnto the crowne.

1594.—9 May.—Mr. Harrison Sen.—Entred for his copie, vnder thand of Mr. Cawood, warden, a booke intituled the Ravysheement of Lucrece.

1594.—25 Junij.—Mr. Harrison Sen.—Assigned ouer vnto him from Richard Feild, in open court holden this day, a booke called Venus and Adonis, the which was before entred to Ric. Feild, 18 April, 1593.

1596.—25 Junij.—William Leeke.—Assigned ouer vnto him for his copie from Mr. Harrison thelder, in full court holden this day, by the said Mr. Harrisons consent, a booke called Venus and Adonis.

1597.—29^o Augusti.—Andrew Wise.—Entred for his copie, by appoyntment from Mr. Warden Man, The Tragedye of Richard the Second.

1597.—20 Octobr.—Andrew Wise.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Mr. Barlowe and Mr. warden Man, The tragedie of kinge Richard the Third, with the death of the duke of Clarence.

1597-8.—1597, Annoque R. R. Eliz: 40. xxv^{to} die Februarij.—Andrew Wyse.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Mr. Dix and Mr. Warden Man, a booke intituled The historye of Henry the iiii.th with his battaile at Shrewsburye against Henry Hottspurre of the Northe, with the conceipted mirthe of Sir John Falstoff.

1598.—Anno 40^{mo} Regine Elizabethæ, xxij.^o Julij.—James Robertes.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of bothe the wardens, a booke of the marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyce, Prouided that yt bee not prynted by the said James Robertes, or anye other whatsoeuer, without lycence first had from the Right honorable the lord chamberlen.

1600.—4 Augusti.—As yow like yt, a booke; Henry the Fift, a booke; The Commedie of Muche A doo about nothinge, a booke,—to be staid. *In the original the last three words are on the side of a bracket, denoting that they refer to all the plays here mentioned.*

1600.—14 Augusti.—Thomas Pavyer.—Entred for his copyes, by direction of Mr. White, warden, vnder his hand wrytinge, These copyes followinge, beinge thinges formerlye printed and sett over to the sayd Thomas Pavyer, viz. . . The historye of Henry the v.th with the battell of Agencourt.

1600.—23 Augusti.—Andrew Wyse; William Aspley.—Entred for their copies,

vnder the handes of the wardens, two bookes, the one called Muche adoo about Nothinge, thother the second parte of the history of Kinge Henry the iijth, with the humors of Sir John Fallstaff, wrytten by Mr. Shakespere.

1600.—8 Octobr. Tho. Fysshher.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Rodes and the wardens, A booke called A mydsommer nightes dreame.

1600.—28 Octobr.—Tho. Haies.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of the wardens and by consent of Mr. Robertes, A booke called the booke of the Merchant of Venyce.

1601-2.—18 Januarij.—Jo. Busby.—Entred for his copie, vnder the hand of Mr. Seton, a booke called, An excellent and pleasant conceited commedie of Sir Jo. Faulstof and the merry wyves of windsor. *Immediately after this under the same day is the following entry*,—Arthure Johnson.—Entred for his cople, by assignement from John Busbye, A booke called an excellent and pleasant conceyted Comedie of Sir John Faulstafe and the merye wyves of windsor.

1602.—44 Re., 19 April.—Tho. Pavier.—Entred for his copies, by assignement from Thomas Millington, these bookes folowinge, salvo jure cuiuscunque, viz., The first and second parte of Henry the vi^t, ij. bookes ; a booke called Titus and Andronicus. Entred by warrant vnder Mr. Setons hand.

1602.—xxvj^o Julij.—James Robertes.—Entred for his Copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Pasfeld and Mr. Waterson, warden, A booke called the Revenge of Hamlett Prince Denmarke^o, as yt was latelie Acted by the Lo : Chamberleyn his servantes.

1602-3.—7 Febr.—Mr. Robertes.—Entred for his copie, in full Court holden this day, to print when he hath gotten sufficient authority for yt, The booke of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is acted by my Lord Chamberlens men.

1603.—1 Regis Ja., 25 Junj.—Math. Lawe.—Entred for his copies, in full courte holden this day, these copies folowinge, viz., ij. enterludes or playes ; the first is of Richard the 3, the second of Richard the 2, the third of Henry the 4 the first parte, all kinges ; all whiche, by consent of the company, are sett ouer to him from Andr: Wyse.

1606-7.—22, Januar.—Mr. Linge.—Entred for his copies, by direccion of a Court, and with consent of Mr. Burby vnder his handwryting, These iij. copies, viz., Romeo and Juliett, Loues Labour Lose, The taminge of a Shrewe.

1607.—5^o Regis, 19 Novembr.—Jo. Smythick.—Entred for his copies, vnder thandes of the wardens, these bookes folowing whiche dyd belonge to Nicholas Lyngge, viz., a booke called Hamlett ; Romeo and Juliett ; Loues labour lost.

1607.—5 Regis 26 Nov.—Na. Butter ; Jo. Busby.—Entred for their copie, vnder thandes of Sir Geo. Buck, knight, and thwardens, a book called Mr. William Shakespeare his historye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the Kinges maiestie at Whitehall vppon St. Stephans night at Christmas last, by his maiesties servantes playenge vsually at the globe on the Banksyde.

1608.—6^o regis Jacobi, 2^o die Maij.—Mr. Pavyer.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Warden Seton, A booke called A Yorkshire Tragedy, written by Wylliam Shakespere.

1608.—20 May.—Edw. Blount.—Entred for his copie, vnder thandes of Sir Geo. Buck, knight, and Mr. Warden Seton, a booke called, The booke of Perycles prynce of Tyre.—*Under the same day is the following entry*,—Edw. Blunt.—Entred also for his copie, by the lyke authoritie, a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra.

1608-9.—28^o Januarij.—Ri. Bonion ; Henry Walleys.—Entred for their copy, vnder thandes of Mr. Segar, deputy to Sir George Bucke, and Mr. Warden Lownes, a booke called The history of Troylus and Cressula^o.

1609.—20 May.—Tho. Thorpe.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lownes, warden, a Booke called Shakespeares sonnettes.

1613-4.—Primo Martij, 1613.—Roger Jackson.—Entred for his coppies, by consent of Mr. John Harrison the eldest, and by order of a Court, these 4 bookes folowinge,

viz.^t.—Mascalls first booke of Cattell; Mr. Dentes sermon of repentance; Recordes Arithmeticke; Lucrece.

1616-7.—16^o Febr. 1616. Rr. 14^o.—Mr. Barrett.—Assigned ouer vnto him by Mr. Leake, and by order of a full Courte, Venus and Adonis.

1619.—8^o Julij, 1619.—Lau: Hayes.—Entred for his copies, by consent of a full Court, theis two copies following, which were the copies of Thomas Haies, his fathers, viz.^t, a play called the Marchant of Venice, and the Ethiopian History.

1619-20.—8^o Martij, 1619.—John Parker.—Assigned ouer vnto him, with the consent of Mr. Barrett and order of a full Court holden this day, all his right in Venus and Adonis.

1621.—6^o Octobris, 1621.—Tho: Walkley.—Entred for his copie, vnder the handes of Sir George Buck and Mr. Swinhowe, warden, The Tragedie of Othello the moore of Venice.

1623.—8^o Nouembris, 1623, Rr. Jac. 21^o.—Mr. Blounte; Isaak Jaggard.—Entred for their copie vnder the hands of Mr. Doctor Worrall and Mr. Cole, warden, Mr. William Shakspeers Comedyes, Histories and Tragedyes, soe manie of the said copies as are not formerly entred to other men, viz.^t. *Comedyes*. The Tempest. The two gentlemen of Verona. Measure for Measure. The Comedy of Errors. As you like it. All's well that ends well. Twelue night. The winters tale.—*Histories*. The thirde parte of Henry the sixt. Henry the eight.—*Tragedies*. Coriolanus. Timon of Athens. Julius Cæsar. Mackbeth. Anthonie and Cleopatra. Cymbeline.

THE COVENTRY MYSTERIES.

According to Matthew Paris, the story of St. Catherine was dramatised about the commencement of the twelfth century by one Geoffrey, a learned Norman then in England, in a play which was acted at Dunstable at that period. This is the earliest notice of the drama in this country which has been discovered, but it is not at all likely that the performance was in the English language. It may, indeed, be safely assumed that all the plays acted in England at this time, and for several generations afterwards, were composed either in Latin or Anglo-Norman, the testimony which assigns the composition of the Chester Mysteries to the thirteenth century being unworthy of credence. The earliest piece in English of a dramatic character known to exist is a metrical dialogue between three persons, which is preserved on a vellum roll in a handwriting of the commencement of the fourteenth century. It is entitled *Interludium de Clerico et Puella*, but there is no evidence to show that it was intended for the stage. It may have been merely an interlocutory poem like the contemporary Harrowing of Hell, which has been usually, but perhaps erroneously, considered to be one of the old English mysteries. Dismissing the consideration of these pieces for the obvious reason that there is at least no substantial proof that either of them are connected with the subject, the history of the English drama, so far as can be gathered from the materials which have been preserved, really commences with the plays which were exhibited on movable stages either by the guilds of towns or by itinerant companies in and after the fourteenth century. Amongst many other places, Chester, York and Coventry may be mentioned as having been then and for long afterwards specially celebrated for these performances, which usually took place at the time of the festival of Corpus Christi or at Whitsuntide; but as Shakespeare would most likely have formed one of a Warwickshire audience, observations on the subject will be mainly restricted to those of the last-named city.

It should be remarked at the outset that the interesting plays, usually termed the Coventry Mysteries, a transcript of which, made in the fifteenth century, is in MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. 8, were not performed, so far as is known, by any of the trading companies of that city, but by itinerant players from Coventry (Dugdale's Warwickshire, ed. 1656, p. 116), who acted those dramas in various towns, a fact which appears from the concluding lines of the prologue. Very few of the plays which are noted as having been exhibited by the above-named trading companies

have been preserved, but there was until lately a curious one at Longbridge House, transcribed in the form in which it was revised by one Robert Croo in the year 1534, and then performed by the guild of the Shearmen and Tailors. The subjects of this pageant are the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi, with the Flight into Egypt and the Murder of the Innocents. It is not at all improbable that Shakespeare witnessed some late performance of this curious drama, in which the boisterous fury of Herod is depicted with what would now be thought a ludicrous exaggeration, greater perhaps than in any other play in which he is introduced, and strikingly justifying the expression of out-heroding Herod. This braggadocio describes himself as "prynce of purgatorré and cheff capten of hell," and also as "the myghttyst conquerowre that ever walkid on grownd," observing,—“Magog and Madroke bothe did I confownde,=And with this bryght bronde there bonis I brak on sundr.” He tells the audience that it is he who is the cause of the thunder, and that the clouds were frequently so disturbed at the sight of his “feyrefull contenance” that “for drede therof the verré yerth doth quake.” When the Magi escape his fury knows literally no bounds,—“I stampe, I stare, I loke all abowtt,=Myght I them take I schuld them bren at a glede,=I rent, I rawe, and now run I wode.” After this outburst, Herod not merely storms furiously on the platform, but descends from the scaffold and exhibits the violence of his passion in the street, as appears from the following curious stage-direction,—“here Erode ragis in the pagond and in the strete also.” Hamlet’s suggestion that the riotous bluster of such a personage could be exceeded by that of any other actor, was certainly significant of the very extremity of rant in the latter.

The performances of these mysteries at the festival of Corpus Christi were resorted to by numbers of people from what were then long distances, and thither might the boy Shakespeare have been taken by his parents for a holiday treat. Dugdale, writing about the middle of the seventeenth century, and speaking of Coventry, observes,—“I myselfe have spoke with some old people who had in their younger yeares bin eye-witnesses of these pageants soe acted, from whome I have bin tolde that the yearly confluence of people *from farr and neare* to see that shew was extraordinary great, and which yielded noe small advantage to this city,” original MS. of Dugdale’s *Antiquities of Warwickshire* preserved at Merevale. The exhibitions here alluded to were performed on movable scaffolds that were passed at intervals to various localities, so that several plays were continually being acted at one and the same time in different places,—a judicious method of separating the audiences in those days of very narrow streets, and of enabling each group to witness a series of performances every day of the festival. These pageants, observes Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ed. 1656,

p. 116, "had theaters for the severall scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city for the better advantage of spectators." A more elaborate account of them is given by a clergyman who witnessed some of the later performances of the Chester mysteries, which were no doubt conducted similarly to those of Coventry,—“every company had his pagiant or parte, which pagiants weare a high scaffold with two rowmes, a higer^o and a lower, upon four wheelles; in the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders mighte heare and see them; the places where the played them was in every streete; they begane first at the Abay gates, and when the firste pagiante was played, it was wheeled to the Highe Crosse before the mayor, and so to every streete, and soe every streete had a pagiant playenge before them at one time till all the pagiantes for the daye appoynted weare played; and when one pagiant was neere ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete that soe the mighte come in place thereof excedinge orderlye, and all the streetes have their pagiantes afore them all at one time playenge togeather; to se which playes was great resorte, and also scaffoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe theire pagiantes,” MS. Harl. 1948. It has been frequently stated that there were sometimes three rooms in the pageant, the highest representing heaven, the middle one the earth, and the lowest the infernal regions. This was the case in some of the continental performances, but there is no good evidence that the English pageant ever contained more than two rooms. That the lower one of the latter was not exclusively used for a tiring-house is, however, certain. There were trap-doors on the floor of the stage through which the performers ascended and descended, and in some instances the declension was certainly intended to be to the place of torment. A similar contrivance was occasionally adopted on the supplementary scaffolds. “Here xal entyr the Prynse of Dylfs in a stage and helle ondyrneth that stage,” stage-direction in *Mary Magdalene*, Digby Mysteries, xvi. Cent. In the same mystery the bad angel is represented as entering “into hell with thondyr,” no doubt through the grotesquely painted hell-mouth, a singular contrivance which has been previously described.

The vehicles which Dugdale calls *theaters* were in Shakespeare's time always termed *pageants*. They were not constructed merely for temporary use, but were substantially formed of wood and lasted for years, having been carefully preserved by the guilds in their various pageant-houses, whence they were brought out when the performances of the mysteries were arranged to take place. Some, if not all, of these houses were remaining at Coventry in the poet's early days. “Paid for a lode of cley for the padgyn howse, vj. *d*; paid for iij. sparis for the same howse, vj. *d*; paid to the dawber and his man, xiiij. *d*; paid to the

carpyntur for his worke, iiij. *d*; paid for a bunche and halfe of lathe, ix. *d*; paid for vj. pennye naiylles, ij. *d*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1571, MS. Longbridge. "Spent at Mr. Sewelles of the company about the paynge of the pajen house, vj. *d*; payd for the paynge of the pagen house, xxij. *d*; payd for a lode of pybelcs, xij. *d*; for a lode sande, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1576, MS. *ibid*. "Item, paide to James Bradshawe for mendynge the pageant-howse doores, iiij. *d*; item, to Christofer Burne for a key and setynge on the locke on the doore, v. *d*; item, paide to Baylyffe Emerson for halfe yeres rente of the pageant-howse, ij. *s*. vj. *d*; item, gyven to Bryan, a sharman, for his good wyll of the pageante-howse, x. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1586, MS. *ibid*.

The pageant itself may be described as a wooden structure which consisted of two rectangular rooms erected on the floor of a strong wagon, the lower apartment being enclosed with painted boards, and the upper one open, the latter having a decorated canopy supported by pilasters or columns rising from each corner of the floor, and ornamented at the top with banners or other appendages. In the following series of extracts referring to the Coventry pageants a few of the more curious ancient entries respecting them are included, there being no reason for believing that there was any material variation in the appliances or representations of the mysteries from the fifteenth century to the time of Shakespeare. "Also it is ordenyd that the journeyen of the seyde crafte schall have yerely vj. *s*. viij. *d*, and for that they schall have owte the paggent, and on Corpus Christi day to dryve it from place to place ther as it schal be pleyd, and then for to brynge it geyn into the paggent howse without ony hurte nyther defawte, and they for to put the master to no more coste," ordinances of the Company of Weavers of Coventry, 1453, MS. "Item, expende at the fest of Corpus Christi yn reparacion of the pagent, that ys to say, a peyre of new whelys, the pryce viij. *s*; item, for naylys and ij. hokys for the sayd pagiente, iiij. *d*; item, for a cord and sope to the sayde pagent, ij. *d*; item, for to have the pagent ynto Gosford strete, xij. *d*," accounts of the Company of Smiths of Coventry, 1462, MS. Longbridge. "Item, in met and drynk on mynstrelles and on men to drawe the pagent, xxij. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1467, MS. *ibid*. "Item, rysshes to the pagent, ij. *d*; item, ij. clampys of iron for the pagent, viij. *d*; item, ij. legges to the pagent and the warkemanship withall, vj. *d*," Smiths' Accounts, 1470, MS. *ibid*. "Expenses to brynge up the pagent into the Gosford Strete amonge the felship, viij. *d*; expenses for burneysshing and peynting of the fances to the pagent, xx. *d*; item, cloutnayle and other nayle and talowe to the pagent, and for waysshing of the seid pagent and rysshes, vj. *d*. ob.; item, at brynging the pagent owt of the house, ij. *d*; item, nayles and other iron gere to the pagent, viij. *d*. ob.; expenses to a joyner for workemanship to the pagent, vij. *d*,"

Smiths' Accounts, 1471, MS. *ibid.* "Item, for havynge furth the pagent on the Wednesday, *iiij. d.*; item, paid for *ij. peyre newe whelis, viij. s.*; expenses at the setting on of hem, *vij. d.*; item, for byndyng of thame, *vij. d.*; paid to a carpenter for the pagent rowf, *vj. d.*," Smiths' Accounts, 1480, MS. *ibid.* "Item, for the horssyng of the padgeantt and the axyll tree to the same, *xvj. d.*; item, for the hawynge of the padgeantt in and out, and wasshyng it, *vij. d.*," Smiths' Accounts, 1498, MS. *ibid.* "Item, paid for *ij. cordes* for the draught of the paygaunt, *j. d.*; item, paid for shope and gresse to the whyles, *j. d.*; item, paid for havynge oute of the paygant and swepyng therof and havynge in, and for naylles and *ij. claspes of iron*, and for mendyng of a claspe that was brokon, and for coterellis and for a bordur to the pagaunte, *xix. d.*," Smiths' Accounts, 1499, MS. *ibid.* "Paid for dryvyng of the pagent, *iiij. s. iiij. d.*; paid for russys and soop, *ij. d.*," Smiths' Accounts, 1547, MS. *ibid.* The soap was used for greasing the wheels, and the rushes were strewn on the floor of the pageant. "Item, payd to paynter for payntyng of the pagent tope, *xxij. d.*," Smiths' Accounts, 1554, MS. *ibid.* "Item, spent on the craft when the overloked the pagyand, *ij. s.*; item, payd for *iiij. harnesses hyrynge, iiij. s.*; item, payd to the players betwene the stages, *vij. d.*; item, payd for dressyng the pagyand, *vj. d.*; item, payd for keypyng the wynd, *vj. d.*; item, payd for dryvyng the pagyand, *iiij. s.*; item payd to the dryvers in drynke, *vij. d.*; item, payd for balls, *vj. d.*; item, payd to the mynstrell, *vij. d.*," accounts of the Cappers' Company for 1562, delivered in February, 1563, MS. *ibid.* "Item, paid for a ledge to the scaffold, *vj. d.*; item, paid for *ij. ledges* to the pagyand, *vij. d.*; item, paid for grett naylles, *vj. d.*; item, for makynge clene the pagyand house, *ij. d.*; item, paid for washenge the pagyand clothes, *ij. d.*; item, for dryvyng the pagyand, *vj. s. vj. d.*; item, paid to the players at the second stage, *vij. d.*," Pageant Accounts of the Cappers' Company for 1568, MS. *ibid.* "Paid for laburrars for horssyng the padgang, *xvj. d.*; spent about the same bessynes, *xvj. d.*; for takyng of the yron of the olde whele, *x. d.*; paid for poyntes and paper, *iiij. d.*," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1570, MS. *ibid.* The pageant was accompanied on rare occasions with what were termed scaffolds or stages, which appear to have been merely pageants of small dimensions appropriated to the use of individual characters. These scaffolds were mounted on wheels, but if they were attached to the pageant in the transit of the latter to its various stations, they were certainly sometimes separated from it during the performance. It occasionally happened that scenes of the play, with or without properties and mechanical contrivances, were exhibited outside between the scaffolds or between the pageant and the scaffolds. Herod, as has been previously mentioned, sometimes "raged" in the street as well as on the platform. Some of the actors would at times descend from the latter and mount their steeds, while

others came on horseback to the pageant, according to the necessities of the history which was represented.

There were occasional performances of the mysteries at Coventry during all the time of Shakespeare's boyhood. In 1567 the following were the "costes and charges of the pagiand" of the Cappers' Company,—“Item, payd for a cloutt to the pagiand whelle, ij. *d*; item, payd for a ponde of sope to the pagiand, iij. *d*; item, payd to the players at the second stage, viij. *d*; item, payd for balles, viij. *d*; item, payd to the mynstrell, viij. *d*; item, payd to Pilat for his gloves, ij. *d*; item, payd for assyden for Pilat head, ij. *d*; item, payd to Jorge Loe for spekyng the Prologue, ij. *d*,” accounts delivered in January, 1568, MS. Longbridge. In 1568 there was another account of a similar character for the same company's pageant,—“Item, paid for balles, viij. *d*; item, paid for Pylatt gloves, iij. *d*; item, paid for the spekyng of the Prologe, ij. *d*; item, paid for prikyng the songes, xij. *d*; item, paid for makyng and coloringe the ij. myters, ij. *s*. iij. *d*; item, paid for makyng of hellmothe new, xxj. *d*,” MS. *ibid*. This company had also a performance in the next year, and in 1571 their accounts for the pageant are thus recorded,—“Item, paid for mendyng the pagiand geyre, iij. *d*; item, paid for a yard of bokeram, xij. *d*; item, paid for payntyng the demons mall and the Maris rolles, vj. *d*; item, for makyng the roles, ij. *d*; item, paid to the players att the second stage, viij. *d*,” MS. *ibid*. In 1572 the following were the “charges for the padgand” of the Smiths' Company,—“Paid for canvys for Jwdas coote, ij. *s*; paid for the makyng of hit, x. *d*; paid to too damsselles, xij. *d*; paid for a poollye and an yron hoke and mendyng the padgand, xvj. *d*; paid for cowntters and a lase and pwyntes for Jwdas, iij. *d*,” MS. Longbridge. The same company first performed in this year, 1572, their “new play,” either in conjunction with or after the older pageant, as appears from the original accounts. This new drama was unquestionably an imitation of the ancient mystery. The expenses of its performance in 1573 are thus stated,—“Paid for pleyng of Petur, xvj. *d*; paid for Jwdas parte, ix. *d*; paid for ij. damsylles, xij. *d*; paid to the deman, vj. *d*; paid to iij. men that bryng yn Herod, viij. *d*; paid to Fastoun for hangyng Jwdas, iij. *d*; paid to Fawston for coc-croyng, iij. *d*; paid for Mr. Wygsons gowne, viij. *d*,” MS. Longbridge. It seems from the following account of the expenses of the same play in 1574 that the last entry was a payment made for the loan of a gown to be worn by the person who acted the part of Herod,—“Paid for pleyng of Petur, xvj. *d*; paid for Jwdas, ix. *d*; paid for ij. damsselles, xij. *d*; paid to the deman, vj. *d*; paid to iij. men to bryng yn Herode, viij. *d*; paid to Fawston for hangyng Jwdas and coc-croyng, viij. *d*; paid for Herodes gowne, viij. *d*,” MS. *ibid*. In 1576 there was a payment of eighteenpence “for the gybbyt of Jezie.” In 1577 the old mystery and the “new pley”

were again performed by the Smiths' Company, and threepence was paid "for a lase for Jwdas and a corde" used in the latter. The expenses of the old pageant are stated as follows,—“Paid to the plears at the fyrst reherse, ij. s. vj. *d*; paid for ale, iiij. *d*.; paid for Sent Marye Hall to reherse there, ij. *d*; paid for mendyng the padgand howse dore, xx. *d*; paid for too postes for the dore to stand upon, iiij. *d*; paid to the carpyntur for his labur, iiij. *d*; paid to James Beseley for ij. plattes on the post endes, vj. *d*; for great naylles to nayle on the hynge, ij. *d*; paid to vj. men to helpe up with the dore, vj. *d*,” accounts of the Smiths' Company for 1577, MS. Longbridge. There was a repetition of both these performances in the following year, when the following expenses were incurred for the new play,—“Paid for the cokcroing, iiij. *d*; paid to Thomas Massy for a trwse for Judas, ij. s. viij. *d*; paid for a new hoke to hange Judas, vj. *d*; paid for ij. new berars of yron for the new seyt in the padgand, xij. *d*,” accounts, 1578, MS. *ibid*. These must have been amongst the last performances at Coventry of the genuine old English mystery, which appears to have been suppressed in that city and in some other places in the year 1580; but the old dramatic taste survived, and in 1584, the theatric appliances having as yet been retained, the Smiths' Company brought out, under the sanction of the Corporation, an entirely new pageant entitled the Destruction of Jerusalem, a tragedy written by an Oxford scholar, and partially founded on events recorded by Josephus. It may be presumed that it was composed with the express object of retaining the attractions of the older performances in a form that would meet the objections of the authorities to the latter. This pageant was also acted by other companies, and appears to have been the only one allowed to be performed. With its Chorus and large number of characters, it must have been a more elaborate production than any of the ancient English mysteries, but it was acted on the pageant vehicle at different stations in the city, and no doubt with appliances similar to those used in the performances of the older dramas. It may be doubted, however, if the Destruction of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the pains bestowed upon its production, and though it was probably superior as a work of art to the old mysteries, ever achieved the popularity of the latter. It does not appear to have been exhibited again until the year 1591, when it was played with the unanimous consent of the Corporation. “It is also agreed by the whole consent of this house that the Distruccon of Jerusalem, the Conquest of the Danes or the Historie of K. E. the 4, at the request of the comons of this cittie, shal be plaid on the pagens on Midsomer Daye and St. PETERS Daye next in this cittie and non other playes; and that all the meypoles that nowe are standing in this cittie shal be taken downe before Whitsunday next, and non hereafter to be sett up in this cittie,”

MS. Council-Book of Coventry, 19 May, 1591. The merry England of Shakespeare's youth was now in the course of a rapid transformation so far as the favourite recreations of the country people were concerned, and these performances in 1591 were the last representations of the Coventry pageants. Several of the companies had disposed of their vehicles and the attendant houses some years previously. Those of the Smiths' Company were parted with in 1586, and the Weavers sold their pageant in the following year, but the properties and dresses belonging to some of the companies were preserved by them for years after the termination of the performances. An inventory of the goods of the Cappers' Company, taken in 1597, includes,—“ij. pawles, sixe cressittes, ij. streamars and the poles, ij. bisshopes myters, Pylates dublit, ij. curtaynes, Pylates head, fyve Maries heades, one coyff, Mary Maudlyns gowne, iij. beardes, sixe pensils, iiij. rolles, iij. Marye boxes, one playboke, the giandes head and clubbe, Pylates clubbe, hell-mowth, Adams spade, Eves distaffe,” MS. Longbridge. It may perhaps be inferred from the preservation of these relics that some of the companies still nourished the hope that the Coventry pageants would be revived. It is certain that mysteries, similar to those which had been acted in that city when Shakespeare was a boy, lingered in some parts of England till the reign of James the First. Weever, after mentioning an eight-day play in London in 1409, observes,—“the subject of the play was the Sacred Scriptures from the creation of the world ; they call this Corpus Christi Play in my countrey, which I have seene acted at Preston and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall in the beginning of the raigne of King James, for which the townesmen were sore troubled, and upon good reasons the play finally suppress not onely there but in all other townes of the kingdome,” *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, p. 405. The mystery of the passion acted at Ely House in the same reign (*Prynne's Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, p. 117) was probably one of the more elaborate religious dramas which so long maintained their popularity with the Roman Catholics. It is not likely that any of the legitimate ancient English mysteries were performed in London at so late a period, but other kinds of plays on Biblical subjects held their ground on our public stage until the early part of the seventeenth century.

Although Coventry was exceptionally celebrated for its mysteries, others of lesser importance were exhibited, during Shakespeare's boyhood, at Worcester, a city within an accessible distance from Stratford-upon-Avon. In February, 1559, the authorities of the former borough “ordeyned that the pageantes shal be dryven and played upon Corpus Christi day this yere, acordinge to the aunycent custom of this cyté,” Worcester Municipal MSS. They were discontinued previously to September the 25th, 1584, on which day the Corporation “agreed

that Richard Dyrran have a lease of the vacant place where the pagantes do stand for the terme of three score and one yeares, in consyderacion that he shall buyld the same." The building erected upon this plot of ground was long known as the Pageant House, mention being made in a local account-book of a chief-rent having been paid for it under that name in the year 1738.

THE THEATRE AND CURTAIN.

These establishments, both of which are so intimately connected with the early theatrical history of Shakespeare, were situated in that division of the parish of Shoreditch which was known as the Liberty of Halliwell. This Liberty, at a later period termed Holywell, derived its name from a sacred (A.-S. halig) well or fountain which took its rise in the marshy grounds situated to the west of the high street leading from Norton Folgate to Shoreditch Church,—*mora in qua fons qui dicitur Haliwelle oritur*, charter of A.D. 1189 printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. 1682, p. 531. In Shakespeare's time, all veneration or respect for the well had disappeared. Stow speaks of it as "much decayed and marred with filthinesse purposely layd there for the heighthening of the ground for garden plots," *Survey*, ed. 1598, p. 14. It has long disappeared, but it was in existence so recently as 1745, its locality being marked in the first accurate survey of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, made in that year by Chassereau.

The lands in which the holy fountain was situated belonged for many generations to the Priory of Holywell, more frequently termed Halliwell Priory in the Elizabethan documents. This institution was suppressed and its church demolished in the time of Henry the Eighth, but the priory itself, converted into private residences, was suffered to remain. The larger portion of these buildings and some of the adjoining land were purchased by one Henry Webb in 1544, and are thus described in an old manuscript index to the Patent Rolls preserved in the Record Office,—*unum messuagium cum pertinenciis infra scitum Prioratus de Halliwell, gardina cum pertinenciis, domos et edificia cum pertinenciis, et totam domum et edificia vocata le Fratrie, claustrum vocatum le Cloyster et terram fundum et solum ejusdem, gardina vocata the Ladyes Gardens, unum gardinum vocatum le Prioress Garden et unum columbare in eodem, ortum vocatum le Covent Orchard continentem unam acram, et omnia horrea, domos, brasineas, etc., in tenura Johannis Foster, terram fundum et solum infra scitum predictum et ecclesie ejusdem et totam terram et solum totius capelle ibidem, totum curtilagium et terram vocatam le Chappell Yard, et omnia domos, edificia et gardina in tenura predicti Johannis Foster, domum vocatum le Washinghouse et stabulum ibidem, et totum horreum vocatum le Oatebarne, parcelas ejusdem Prioratus de Halliwell.*" A small portion of this estate, that in which the Theatre was afterwards erected, belonged

in the year 1576 to one Giles Allen. It was at this period that "James Burbage of London joyner" obtained from Allen a lease for twenty-one years, dated 13th April, 1576, of houses and land situated between Finsbury Field and the public road from Bishopsgate to Shoreditch Church. The boundary of the leased estate on the west is described as "a bricke wall next unto the feildes commonly called Finsbury Feildes." James Burbage, by early trade a joiner, but at this time also a leading member of the Earl of Leicester's company of Players, was the originator of theatrical buildings in England, for the successful promotion of which his earlier as well as his adopted profession were exactly suited. He obtained the lease referred to with this express object, with a proviso from Allen that, if he expended two hundred pounds upon the buildings already on the estate, he should be at liberty "to take downe and carrie awaie to his and their owne proper use all such buildinges and other thinges as should be builded, erected or sett upp, in or uppon the gardeines and voide groundes by the said indentures graunted, or anie parte therof, by the said Jeames, his executors or assignes, either for a theatre or playinge place, or for anie other lawefull use, for his or their commodities," Answer of Giles Allen in the suit of Burbage *v.* Allen, Court of Requests, 6th Febr., 42 Eliz. The lease was signed on April 13th, 1576, and Burbage must have commenced the erection of his theatre immediately afterwards. It was the earliest fabric of the kind ever built in this country, emphatically designated The Theatre, and by the summer of the following year it was a recognised centre of theatrical amusements. On the first of August, 1577, the Lords of the Privy Council directed a letter to be forwarded "to the L. Wentworth, Mr. of the Rolles, and Mr. Lieutenaunt of the Tower, signifieng unto them that, for thavoiding of the sicknes likelie to happen through the heate of the weather and assemblies of the people of London to playes, her Highnes plesure is that, as the L. Mayor hath taken order within the Citee, so they, imediatlie upon the receipt of their ll. lettres, shall take order with such as are and do use to play without the liberties of the Citee within that countie, as the Theater and such like, shall forbear any more to play untill Mighelmas be past at the least, as they will aunswer to the contrarye," MS. Register of the Privy Council. The county here alluded to is Middlesex, and this is the earliest notice of the Theatre yet discovered.

There is no ancient view of the district leased to Burbage in which the Theatre is introduced, but a general notion of the aspect of the locality may be gathered from the portion of the map of Aggas in which it is included. The perspective and measurements of that plan are unfortunately inaccurate, as may be ascertained by comparing it with the more correct, but far less graphic, delineation of the same locality in Braun's map, 1574. Both Aggas and Braun undoubtedly made use of

one and the same earlier plan, but the work of the latter appears in some respects to be more scientifically executed. It is clear from Braun's map, tested by the later survey completed by Faithorne in 1658, that the eastern boundary of Finsbury Field was much nearer the highway to Shoreditch than might be inferred from the position assigned to it by Aggas. That boundary was also nearly parallel with the highway, and part of it seems to be the road or sewer which, in Aggas's map, extends from an opening on the right of the Dog-house to the lane near the spot where is to be observed a rustic with a spade on his shoulder walking towards Shoreditch. The part of the map here termed a road or sewer may have been and most likely was a line of way by the side of an open ditch, that which was afterwards the Curtain Road; a supposition all but confirmed by a survey of the bounds of Finsbury Manor, taken in 1586, where the eastern boundary of that manor hereabouts is mentioned as the "common sewer and waye" which "goethe to the playehowse called the Theater." If this be the case, the north end of this ditch was the commencement of Holywell Lane, and the brick wall on the west of the Priory buildings was exactly opposite, the position of that wall being incorrectly represented in Aggas's map. Finsbury Field certainly included the meadow in which the three windmills were situated, as appears from a survey of the manor, taken in 1567, printed in Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1633, p. 913; and it also extended to the vicinity of the Dog-house, as is seen from a notice of it in Rot. Pat. 35 Hen. VIII. pars 16. The portion of the Field which joined Burbage's estate was of course much nearer the village of Shoreditch. At the time of the erection of the Theatre there were, as will be presently seen, more houses in the neighbourhood of the Priory than are shown in either of the early plans of Braun and Aggas. Others were erected by Burbage in the immediate vicinity of the Theatre. Witnesses were asked in 1602, "whither were the said newe howses standing in the said greate yarde, and neere and alonge the late greate howse called the Theater;" and one of them deposed that "the newe houses standing in the greate yard neere and along the Theatre, and also those other newe builded houses that are on the other syde of the sayd greate yard over and against the sayd former newe builded houses, were not at the costes and charges of Gyles Allen erected, builded or sett up, as he hath heard, but were so builded by the said James Burbage about xxviiiij. yeares agoe." There can be no doubt that Aggas's plan was completed some years before the erection either of these houses or of the Theatre. In that plan the Royal Exchange, not completed till 1570, is introduced, but its insertion clearly appears to be the result of an alteration made in the original block some years after the completion of the latter. A similar variation is to be observed in some copies of Braun's plan, in one of which, 1574, that building is found evidently in

the same plate from which other impressions of that date, in which it does not occur, were taken. It should be borne in mind that great caution is requisite in the study of all the early London maps. Those of Aggas, Braun and Norden are the only plans of the time of Queen Elizabeth which are authentic, and care must be taken that reliable editions are consulted, there being several inaccurate copies and imitations of all of them.

When Burbage obtained the lease in 1576, it was agreed that, if he expended the sum of £200 in the way already mentioned, he should be entitled not only to take down the buildings he might erect on the gardens or vacant space, but to demand an extension of the term to 1607, provided that he laid out the money within ten years from the commencement of the tenancy. A new lease, dated 1st November, 1585, carrying out this extension, was accordingly prepared by Burbage and submitted on that day to Allen, who, however, declined to execute. The extent of the property must have been comparatively limited, consisting merely of two gardens, four houses and a large barn, as appears from the following rather curious and minute description of parcels which occurs in the proposed deed of 1585,—“all thos two howses or tenementes with thappurtenaunces which, att the tyme of the sayde former demise made, weare in the severall tenures or occupacions of Johan Harrison, widowe, and John Dragon ; and also all that howse or tenement with thappurtenances, together with the gardyn grounde lyinge behinde parte of the same, beinge then likewise in the occupacion of William Garnett, gardiner, which sayd gardyn plott dothe extende in bredthe from a greate stone walle there which doth inclose parte of the gardyn, then or latye beinge in the occupacion of the sayde Gyles, unto the gardeyne ther then in the occupacion of Ewin Colfoxe, weaver, and in lengthe from the same howse or tenement unto a bricke wall ther next unto the feildes commonly called Finsbury Feildes ; and also all that howse or tenemente with thappurtenances att the tyme of the sayde former demise made called or knowne by the name of the Mill-howse, together with the gardyn grounde lyinge behinde parte of the same, also att the tyme of the sayde former demise made beinge in the tenure or occupacion of the foresayde Ewyn Colefoxe or of his assignes, which sayde gardyn grounde dothe extende in lengthe from the same house or tenement unto the forsayde bricke wall next unto the foresayde feildes ; and also all those three upper romes with thappurtenaunces next adjoyninge to the foresayde Mill-house, also beinge att the tyme of the sayde former demise made in the occupacion of Thomas Dancaster, shomaker, or of his assignes ; and also all the nether romes with thappurtenances lyinge under the same three upper romes, and next adjoyninge also to the foresayde house or tenemente called the Mill-house, then also beinge in the severall tenurs or occupacions of Alice Dottridge, widowe,

and Richarde Brockenburye or of ther assignes, together also with the gardyn grounde lying behynde the same, extendynge in lengthe from the same nether romes downe unto the foresayde bricke wall nexte unto the foresayde feildes, and then or late beinge also in the tenure or occupacion of the foresayde Alice Dotridge; and also so much of the grounde and soyle lyeinge and beinge afore all the tenementes or houses before graunted as extendethe in lengthe from the owtwarde parte of the foresayde tenementes, beinge at the tyme of the makinge of the sayde former dimise in the occupacion of the foresayde Johan Harryson and John Dragon, unto a ponde there beinge nexte unto the barne or stable then in the occupacion of the Right Honorable the Earle of Rutlande or of his assignes, and in bredthe from the foresayde tenemente or Mill-house to the midst of the well beinge afore the same tenementes; and also all that great barne with thappurtenances att the tyme of the makinge of the sayde former dimise made beinge in the severall occupacions of Hughe Richardes, inholder, and Robert Stoughton, butcher; and also a little peece of grounde then inclosed with a pale and next adjoyninge to the foresayde barne, and then or late before that in the occupacion of the sayde Roberte Stoughton; together also with all the grounde and soyle lyinge and beinge betwene the sayde neyther romes last before expressed and the foresayde greate barne and the foresayde ponde, that is to saye, extendinge in lengthe from the foresayde ponde unto a ditche beyonde the brick wall nexte the foresayde feildes; and also the sayde Gyles Allen and Sara his wyfe doe by thes presentes dimise, graunte and to farme lett, unto the sayde Jeames Burbage, all the right, title and interest which the sayde Gyles and Sara have, or ought to have, of, in or to all the groundes and soyle lyeinge betwene the foresayde greate barne and the barne beinge at the tyme of the sayde former dimise in the occupacion of the Earle of Rutlande or of his assignes, extendeing in lengthe from the foresayde ponde and from the foresayde stable or barne then in the occupacion of the foresayde Earle of Rutlande, or of his assignes, downe to the foresayde bricke wall next the foresayde feildes; and also the sayde Gyles and Sara doe by thes presentes demise, graunt and to fearme let to the sayde Jeames, all the sayde voide grounde lieyng and beinge betwixt the foresayde ditche and the foresayde brick wall, extendinge in lenght^o from the foresayde brick wall which incloseth parte of the foresayde garden, beinge att the tyme of the makinge of the sayde former demise, or late before that, in the occupacion of the sayde Giles Allen, unto the foresayde barne then in the occupacion of the foresayde Earle or of his assignes." This description is identical with that given in the lease of 1576, as appears from a recital in the *Coram Rege* Rolls, Easter 44 Elizabeth, R. 257.

There is no doubt that the estate above described formed a portion of that which was purchased by Webb in 1544, and belonged to Allen in

1576, for in a paper in a suit instituted many years afterwards respecting "a piece of void ground" on the eastern boundary of the property leased to Burbage we are informed that Henry the Eighth granted to Henry Webb "a greate parte of the scite of the said Pryorie, and namely amongst other thinges all those barnes, stables, bruehowses, gardens and all other buildinges whatsoever, with their appurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge within the scite, walles and precincte of the said Pryorye, on the west parte of the said Priorye within the lower gate of the said Priorye, and all the ground and soyle by any wayes included within the walles and precincte of the said priorye extendinge from the said lower gate, of which ground the sayd yarde or peece of void ground into which it is supposed that the said Cuthbert Burbage hath wrongfully entered is parcell." This important evidence enables us to identify the exact locality of the Burbage estate, the southern boundary of which extended from the western side of the lower gate of the Priory to Finsbury Fields, the brick wall separating the latter from Burbage's property being represented in Aggas's map in a north-east direction from Holywell Lane on the west of the Priory buildings, though, as previously stated, the wall is placed in that map too near Shoreditch. The rustic with the spade on his shoulder who, in Aggas's view, is represented as walking towards Holywell Lane, is at a short distance from the south-western corner of Burbage's property. Somewhere near that corner the Theatre was undoubtedly situated. This opinion is confirmed by Stow, who, in his *Survey of London*, ed. 1598, p. 349, thus writes, speaking of the Priory,—“the Church being pulled downe, many houses have bene their builded for the lodgings of noblemen, of straungers borne and other; and neare thereunto are builded two publique houses for the acting and shewe of comedies, tragedies and histories, for recreation, whereof the one is called the Courtein, the other the Theatre, both standing on the south-west side towards the Field,” that is, Finsbury Field. The lower gate, mentioned in the record above quoted, was on the north side of Holywell Lane, and in a deposition taken in 1602, it is stated that the “Earle of Rutland and his assignes did ordinarily at their pleasures chayne and barre up the lane called Holloway Lane leading from the greate streete of Shordich towards the fieldes along before the gate of the said Pryory, and so kept the same so cheyned and barred up as a private foote way, and that the same lane then was not used as a common highway for carte or carriage.” Other witnesses assert that no one was allowed “to passe with horse or carte” unless he had the Earl's special permission. It is, perhaps, not to be concluded from these statements that persons were not allowed to drive carts through the lane, but simply that the Earl took the ordinary precautions to retain it legally as a private road. The lower gate, though indistinctly rendered, may be observed in Aggas's map on the south of the west end of the Priory

buildings, and upon land situated to the north-west of this gate the Theatre was erected. All this locality is now so completely altered, it being a dense assemblage of modern buildings, that hardly any real archæological interest attaches to it. The position of the Theatre, however, can be indicated with a near approach to accuracy. The ruins of the Priory were still visible in the last century in King John's Court on the north of Holywell Lane, and were incorrectly but popularly known as the remains of King John's Palace (Maitland's History of London, ed. 1739, p. 771). The ruins have disappeared, but the Court is still in existence, a circumstance which enables us to identify the locality of the Priory. It appears, therefore, from the evidences above cited, that the Theatre must have been situated a little to the north of Holywell Lane, and as nearly as possible on the site of what is now Deanes Mews. Excavations made a few years ago for a railway, which passes over some of the ground upon which the Priory stood, uncovered the remains of the stone-work of one of the ancient entrance doors, and these few relics are most probably the only vestiges remaining of what was once the thriving and somewhat important Priory of Holywell.

Although the Theatre must have been situated near some of the houses on the Burbage estate, it was practically in the fields, as is ascertained from indisputable evidences. Stockwood, in August, 1578, speaks of it as "the gorgeous playing place erected in the fieldes." Fleetwood, writing to Lord Burghley in June, 1584, says,—“that night I returned to London, and found all the wardes full of watches; the cause thereof was for that *very nere* the Theatre or Curten, at the tyme of the playes, there laye a prentice sleping *upon the grasse*, and one Challes alias Grostock dyd turne upon the too upon the belly of the same prentice, wherupon the apprentice start up, and after wordes they fell to playne blowes,”—MS.Lansd.41. The neighbourhood of the Theatre was occasionally visited by the common hangman, a circumstance which proves that there was an open space near the building. It is stated in the True Report of the Inditement of Weldon, Hartley and Sutton, who suffred for High Treason, 1588, that “after Weldons execution the other prisoners were brought to Hollywell, nigh the Theater, where Hartley was to suffer.” In Tarlton's Newes Out of Purgatorie, 1590, that celebrated actor is represented as knowing that the performance at the Theatre was finished when he “saw such concourse of people through the Fields;” and when Peter Streete removed the building in 1599, he was accused by Allen of injuring the neighbouring grass to the value of fourty shillings. There is a similar allusion to the *herba Cutberti* in proceedings in Burbage v. Ames, Coram Rege Roll, Hil. 41 Elizabeth, a suit respecting a small piece of land in the immediate locality. The Theatre was originally built on enclosed ground, but a pathway or road was afterwards made from it into the

open fields ; for a witness deposed, in 1602, that "shee doth not knowe anie ancient way into the fieldes but a way, used after the building of the Theatre, which leadeth into the fieldes."

The quotation above given from Tarlton's *Newes out of Purgatorie*, 1590, shows that the usual access to the Theatre was through Finsbury Fields. There was certainly no regular path to it through the Lower Gate of the Priory, the old plans of the locality exhibiting its site as enclosed ground ; and according to one witness, whose evidence was taken in 1602, Allen, previously to the erection of the Theatre, had no access to his premises from the south, but merely from the east and north. The testimony here alluded to was given in reply to the following interrogatory,—“whither had not the said Allen his servauntes, and such other tenauntes as he had, before those said newe buildinges were sett up and before the Theater was builded, their ordinarie waie of going and coming in and out to his howse onely through that place or neere or over againste that place wheare the Theater stood into feildes and streetes, and not anie other waie, and how long is it since he or his did use anie other waie, as you knowe or have heard?” Mary Hobbblethwayte, of Shoreditch, who gave her age as seventy-six or thereabouts, deposed “that the said Allen his servauntes and tenentes, before those newe buildinges were sett up, and before the Theatre was builded, had their ordinary way of going and coming to and from his house onely through a way directly towardes the North, inclosed on both sydes with a brick wall, leading to a Crosse neere unto the well called Dame Agnes a Cleeres Well, and that the way made into the fieldes from the Theatre was made since the Theatre was builded, as shee remembreth, and that the said Allen his servauntes and tenauntes had not any other way other then the way leading from his house to the High Streete of Shordich.” On the other hand, there were witnesses examined at the same time who asserted that Allen had access to the fields by a path through or near the site of the Theatre before that building was erected. Leonard Jackson, aged eighty, declared “that the said Allen his servauntes and others his tenauntes had, before those newe buildinges were sett up, and before the Theatre was builded, the ordinary way of going and comming in and out to his house through that place, or neere or over against that place where the Theatre stode, and that he and they had also another way through his greate orchard into the High Streete of Shordich, and that he hath used that way some xxx. yeares or xxxv. yeares or thereaboutes.” Still more in detail but to a like effect is the deposition of John Rowse, aged fifty-five, who stated that “the saide Allen his servauntes and other tenauntes there had, before those his newe buildinges were sett up and before the Theatre was builded, their ordinary waie coming and going in and out to his house onely through that place, or neere or over against that place where the saide Theatre stode into the fieldes, and that nowe

and then he and some of his tenantes did come in and out at the greate gate, and he doth remember this to be true, bycause that the said Allen nowe and then at his going into the country from Hollowell did give this examinate father, being appointed porter of the house by his Lord Henry Earle of Rutland, for his paines, sometymes iij.s, sometymes iiij.s, and further he saieth that he hath knowne the said Allen and his servauntes use another way from his house through his long orchard into Hollowell Streete or Shorditch Streete, and this waie as he this examine remembreth some xxx.ty yeares or thereaboutes." It must be borne in mind that the property affected by the rights of way investigated in these evidences consisted of the whole of Allen's estate before Burbage was his lessee.

It appears from Hobbblethwayte's evidence that, after the Theatre was built, there was a road or path made from it on the west side into the fields. This road or path must have been made through the brick wall on the eastern boundary of Finsbury Fields, as is ascertained from a clause in the proposed lease from Allen to Burbage, 1585, and from an unpublished account of the boundaries of Finsbury Manor written in 1586, in which, after mentioning that the bounds of the manor on the south passed along the road which divided More Field from Mallow Field, the latter being the one to the east of the grounds of Finsbury Court, the writer proceeds to describe them as follows,—“and so alonge by the southe ende of the gardens adjoyninge to More Feld into a diche of watter called the common sewer which runnethe into More Diche, and from thence the same diche northewarde alonge one theaste side the gardens belonginge to John Worsopp, and so alonge one theaste side of two closes of the same John Worsopp, nowe in the occupation of Thomas Lee thelder, buttcher, for which gardens and closes the said John Worsopp payed the quit rent to the mannor of Fynsbury, as aperethe by the recorde; and so the same boundes goe over the highe waye close by a barren lately builded by one Niccolles, includinge the same barren, and so northe as the Common Sewer and waye goethe to the playehowse called the Theater, and so tournethe by the same common sewer to Dame Agnes the Clere.” The evidence of Hobbblethwayte is confirmed by the testimony of Anne Thornes, of Shoreditch, aged seventy-four, who deposed,—“that shee cannott remember that Allen his servauntes or tenantes had, before the said new buildinges were sett up or before the said Theatre was builded, their ordinary way of going and coming unto his house onely through that place where the Theatre stooode into the fieldes, or neere or over against that place; but shee hath heard that, since the building of the Theatre, there is a way made into the fieldes, and that the said Allen and his tenantes have for a long tyme used another way out of the sayd scite of the Priory that the said Allen holdeth into the High Streete of Shorditch.” Rowse's evidence

proves that there could have been no regular access to the locality of the Theatre through the lower gate of the Priory in Holywell Lane, and very few indeed of the audience could have used the path which entered Allen's property to the north from the well of St. Agnes le Clair, which latter was not in the direction of any road used by persons coming from London. It follows that, in Shakespeare's time, the chief if not the only line of access to the Theatre was across the fields which lay to the west of the western boundary wall of the grounds of the dissolved Priory, and through those meadows, therefore, nearly all the stage-loving citizens would arrive at their destination, most of them on foot, but some no doubt riding "into the fieldes playes to behold," Davis's Epigrammes, 1599. This question of their route is not a subject of mere topographical curiosity, the conclusion here reached increasing the probability of there being some foundation for the tradition recorded by Davenant.

The Theatre appears to have been a very favourite place of amusement, especially with the more unruly section of the populace. There are several allusions to its crowded audiences and to the license which occasionally attended the entertainments, the disorder sometimes penetrating into the City itself. "By reason no playes were the same daye, all the Citie was quiet," observes the writer of a letter in June, 1584, MS.Lansd.41. Stockwood, in a Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 24 of August, 1578, indignantly asks,—“wyll not a fylthye playe wyth the blast of a trumpette sooner call thither a thousande than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the sermon a hundred?—nay, even heere in the Citie, without it be at this place and some other certaine ordinarie audience, where shall you finde a reasonable company?—whereas, if you resort to the Theatre, the Curtayne and other places of playes in the Citie, you shall on the Lords Day have these places, with many other that I cannot reckon, so full as possible they can throng;” and, in reference again to the desecration of the Sunday at the Theatre, he says,—“if playing in the Theatre or any other place in London, as there are by sixe that I know to many, be any of the Lordes wayes, whiche I suppose there is none so voide of knowledge in the world wil graunt, then not only it may but ought to be used; but if it be any of the wayes of man, it is no work for the Lords sabaoth, and therefore in no respecte tollerable on that daye.” It was upon a Sunday, two years afterwards, in April, 1580, that there was a great disturbance at the same establishment, thus noticed in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council dated April 12th,—“where it happened on Sundaie last that some great disorder was committed at the Theatre, I sent for the undershireve of Middlesex to understand the circumstances, to the intent that by myself or by him I might have caused such redresse to be had as in dutie and discretion I might, and therefore did also send for the plaiers to have apered afore me, and the rather because those playes

doe make assembles of cittizens and there families of whome I have charge ; but forasmuch as I understand that your Lordship, with other of hir Majesties most honorable Counsell, have entered into examination of that matter, I have surceassed to procede further, and do humbly refer the whole to your wisdomes and grave considerations ; howbeit, I have further thought it my dutie to informe your Lordship, and therewith also to beseche to have in your honorable remembrance, that the players of playes which are used at the Theatre and other such places, and tumblers and such like, are a very superfluous sort of men and of suche facultie as the lawes have disalowed, and their exercise of those playes is a great hinderance of the service of God, who hath with His mighty hand so lately admonished us of oure earnest repentance," City of London MSS. The Lord Mayor here of course alludes to the great earthquake which had occurred a few days previously. In June, 1584, there was a disturbance just outside the Theatre, thus narrated in a letter to Lord Burghley,—“uppon Weddensdaye one Browne, a serving man in a blew coat, a shifting fellowe, havinge a perrelous witt of his owne, entending a sport if he cold have browght it to passe, did at Theater doore querell with certen poore boyes, handicraft prentises, and strooke somme of them ; and lastlie he, with his sword, wondeid and maymed one of the boyes upon the left hand, whereupon there assembled nere a thousand people ;—this Browne dyd very cunninglie convey hymself awaye.” The crowds of disorderly people frequenting the Theatre are thus alluded to in Tarlton's *Newes out of Purgatorie*, 1590,—“upon Whitson monday last I would needs to the Theatre to see a play, where, when I came, I founde such concourse of unrulye people that I thought it better solitary to walk in the fields then to intermeddle myselfe amongst such a great presse.” In 1592, there was an apprehension that the London apprentices might indulge in riots on Midsummer-night, in consequence of which the following order was issued by the Lords of the Council,—“moreover for avoydinge of thes unlawfull assemblies in those quarters, yt is thoughte meete yow shall take order that there be noe playes used in anye place nere thereaboutes, as the Theator, Curtayne or other usuall places there where the same are comonly used, nor no other sorte of unlawfull or forbidden pastymes that drawe together the baser sorte of people, from henceforth untill the feast of St. Michaell,” MS. Register of the Privy Council, 23rd June, 1592. Another allusion to the throngs of the lower orders attracted by the entertainments at the Theatre occurs in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council, dated 13th September, 1595,—“among other inconvenyences it is not the least that the refuse sort of evill disposed and ungodly people about this Cytie have oportunitie hearby to assemble together and to make their matches for all their lewd and ungodly practizes, being also the ordinary places for all maisterles

men and vagabond persons that haunt the high waies to meet together and to recreate themselves, whearof wee begin to have experienc again within these few daies since it pleased her highnes to revoke her comission graunted forthe to the Provost Marshall, for fear of home they retired themselves for the time into other partes out of his precinct, but ar now returned to their old haunt, and frequent the plaies, as their manner is, that ar daily shewed at the Theator and Bankside, whearof will follow the same inconveniences, whearof wee have had to much experienc heartofore, for preventing whearof wee ar humble suters to your good Ll. and the rest to direct your lettres to the Justices of Peac of Surrey and Middlesex for the present stay and finall suppressing of the said plaies, as well at the Theator and Bankside as in all other places about the Cytie." It is clear from these testimonies that the Theatre attracted a large number of persons of questionable character to the locality, thus corroborating what has been previously stated respecting the degree of responsibility attached to those who undertook the care of the houses belonging to the more respectable portion of the audience.

Two years afterwards, the inconveniences attending the performances at the Shoreditch theatres culminated in an order of the Privy Council for their suppression, a decree which, like several others of a like kind emanating from the same body, was disregarded. The order appeared in the form of a letter to the Justices of Middlesex dated July 28th, 1597, the contents of which are recorded as follows in the Council Register,—“Her Majestie being informed that there are verie greate disorders committed in the common playhouses both by lewd matters that are handled on the stages, and by resorte and confluence of bad people, hath given direction that not onlie no plaies shal be used within London or about the Citty, or in any publique place, during this tyme of sommer, but that also those playhouses that are erected and built only for suche purposes shal be plucked downe, namelie the Curtayne and the Theatre nere to Shorditch, or any other within that county; theis are therefore in her Majesties name to chardge and commaund you that you take present order there be no more plaies used in any publique place within three myles of the Citty untill Alhallontide next, and likewyse that you do send for the owner of the Curtayne, Theatre or anie other common playhouse, and injoyne them by vertue hereof forthwith to plucke downe quite the stages, galleries and roomes that are made for people to stand in, and so to deface the same as they maie not be ymployed agayne to suche use, which yf they shall not speedely performe you shall advertyse us, that order maie be taken to see the same don according to her Majesties pleasure and commaundment.” This order appears to have been issued in consequence of representations made by the Lord Mayor in a letter written on the same day to the Privy Council, in which he observes,—“wee have fownd by

th'examination of divers apprentices and other servantes, whoe have confessed unto us that the saide staige-playes were the very places of their randevous appoynted by them to meete with such otheir as wear to joigne with them in their designes and mutinus attemptes, beeing also the ordinarye places for maisterles men to come together to recreate themselves, for avoydinge wheareof wee are nowe againe most humble and earnest suitors to your honors to dirrect your lettres as well to ourselves, as to the Justices of Peace of Surrey and Midlesex, for the present staie and fynall suppressinge of the saide stage-playes as well at the Theatre, Curten and Banckside, as in all other places in and about the Citie," City of London MSS. The players up to this time had wisely erected all their regular theatres in the suburbs, the Mayor and Corporation of the City having been virulently opposed to the drama.

The crowds which flocked to places of entertainment were reasonably supposed to increase the danger of the spread of infection during the prevalence of an epidemic, and the Theatre and Curtain were sometimes ordered to be closed on that account. The Lord Mayor of London in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated May 3rd, 1583, thus writes in reference to the plague,—“among other we finde one very great and dangerous inconvenience, the assemblie of people to playes, beare-bayting, fencers and prophane spectacles at the Theatre and Curtaine and other like places, to which doe resorte great multitudes of the basist sort of people and many enfected with sores runing on them, being out of our jurisdiction, and some whome we cannot descerne by any dilligence and which be otherwise perilous for contagion, beside the withdrawing from Gods service, the peril of ruines of so weake byldinges, and the avancement of incontencie and most ungodly confederacies," City of London MSS. In the spring of the year 1586 plays at the Theatre were prohibited for the first of these reasons, as appears from the following note in the Privy Council Register under the date of May 11th,—“A lettre to the L. Maior; his l. is desired, according to his request made to their Lordshippes by his lettres of the vij.th of this present, to geve order for the restrayning of playes and interludes within and about the Cittie of London, for th'avoyding of infection feared to grow and increase this tyme of sommer by the comon assemblies of people at those places, and that their Lordshippes have taken the like order for the prohibiting of the use of playes at the Theater and th'other places about Newington out of his charge,"—MS. Register of the Privy Council.

The preceding documents of July, 1597, contain the latest notice of the Theatre in connexion with dramatic entertainments which has yet been discovered. It is alluded to in *Skiaetheia*, published in the following year, 1598, as being then closed,—“but see yonder=One, like the unfrequented Theater,=Walkes in darke silence and vast

solitude." James Burbage on September 17th, 1579, assigned his Shoreditch estate to one John Hyde, who held it till June 7th, 1589 (Coram Rege Rolls, 44 Eliz.), upon which day the latter surrendered his interest in it to Cuthbert Burbage. The assignment to Hyde may have been a security for a loan. At all events, James Burbage appears to have retained the legal estate and to have continued to deal with the property, so far as litigation was concerned, as if it were his own, and at the time of his death, which took place early in 1597, he was involved in a law-suit respecting it, this circumstance so embarrassing his successors that they found it difficult to carry on the management of the Theatre. According to a statement made by the family to Lord Pembroke in 1635, James Burbage "was the first builder of playhouses, and was himselfe in his younger yeeres a player; the Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest; hee built this house upon leased ground, by which meanes the landlord and hee had a great suite in law, and, by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sonnes." There is some difficulty in reconciling the various statements respecting the devolution of the estate, but the one most likely to be correct is that made by Allen, who asserted that James Burbage, previously to his decease, made a deed of gift of the property to his two sons, Cuthbert and Richard.

It is worth recording that, shortly before the death of the elder Burbage in 1597, negotiations were pending with Allen for a considerable extension of the lease, with a stipulation, however, assigning a limited period only for the continuation of theatrical amusements. Allen's statement is that "the said Jeames Burbage grewe to a newe agreement that the said Jeames Burbage should have a newe lease of the premisses conteyned in the former lease for the terme of one and twenty yeares, to beginne after the end and expiracion of the former lease, for the yearlie rent of foure and twentie powndes, for the said Jeames Burbage, in respect of the great proffitt and commoditie which he had made and in time then to come was further likelie to make of the Theatre and the other buildinges and growndes to him demised, was verye willinge to paie tenn powndes yearelye rent more then formerlie he paid; and it was likewise further agreed betweene them, as the defendand hopeth he shall sufficientlie prove, that the said Theatre should continue for a playenge place for the space of five yeares onelie after the expiracion of the first terme and not longer, by reason that the defendand sawe that many inconveniences and abuses did growe therby, and that after the said five yeares ended it should be converted by the said Jeames Burbage and the complainant or one of them to some other use," Answer of Gyles Allen in the suit of Burbage v. Allen, Court of Requests, 42 Eliz. Cuthbert Burbage, in his replication, denies that his father consented to entertain the suggestion "that the said Theater

should contynue for a playinge place for the space of fyve yeres onelie after the first terme and no longer." In confirmation, however, of Allen's version of the facts, there is the testimony of a witness named Thomas Nevill, who positively declared that "there was an agreemente had betweene them, the said complainante and the said defendantes, for the howses and growndes with the Theatre which were formerlye demised unto Jeames Burbage, the father of the said complainante, with an increasinge of the rente from fourteene powndes by the yeare unto foure and twentye powndes by the yeare, which lease should beginn at the expiracion of the ould lease made unto the said complainantes father, and should continue for the space of one and twentye yeares; and this deponente further saieth that the said defendante was at the firste verrye unwillinge that the said Theatre should continue one daie longer for a playinge place, yet neverthelesse at the laste he yealded that it should continue for a playinge place for certaine yeares, and that the said defendante did agree that the said complainante should after those yeares expired converte the said Theatre to his beste benefitt for the residue of the said terme then to come, and that afterward it should remaine to the onelye use of the defendante," MS. Depositions in the suit of Burbage v. Allen taken at Kelvedon, co. Essex, in August, 1600.

The year 1597 was a critical one for the Burbages in respect to their Shoreditch estate. The original lease given by Allen expired in the Spring, and they could not succeed in obtaining a legal ratification of the additional ten years covenanted to be granted to the lessee, although they were still permitted to remain as tenants. Bewildered by this uncertainty of the tenure, they resolved in the following year not only to abandon the Theatre, but to take advantage of a condition in the lease of 1576, and remove the building with the whole of the materials, a step which had at least the advantage of throwing the initiative of further litigation upon Allen. The stipulation in that lease has already been given, and Streete expressly declares that it was originally intended that the same clause should form a part of the extended one,—*"et ulterius predicti Egidius Alleyn et Sara uxor ejus convenerunt et concesserunt, pro seipsis, heredibus, executoribus et assignatis suis, et quilibet eorum separatim convenit et concessit prefato Jacobo Burbage, executoribus et assignatis suis, quod licitum foret eidem Jacobo, executoribus seu assignatis suis, in consideratione impenditionis et expositionis predictarum ducentarum librarum, modo et forma predicta, ad aliquod tempus et tempora ante finem predicti termini viginti et unius annorum per predictam indenturam concessi, aut ante finem predicti termini viginti et unius annorum post confectiorem indenture predictae, virtute ejusdem indenture concedendi, habere, diruere et abcarare ad ejus aut eorum proprium, usum imperpetuum omnia talia edificia et omnes alias res qualia edificata erecta aut supposita forent,*

Anglice *sett upp*, in et super gardino et locis vacuis, Anglice *the growndes*, per indenturam predictam concessa, aut aliqua parte inde, per predictum Jacobum executores vel assignatos suos, aut pro theatro vocato *a theater or playinge place*, aut pro aliquo alio licito usu pro ejus aut eorum comoditate." It is accordingly found that the stipulation is inserted as follows in the proposed lease of 1585,—“and further the sayde Gyles Allen and Sara his wyfe for them, their heres, executors and administrators, doe covenante and graunte, and every of them severally covenanteth and graunteth, to and with the sayde Jeames Burbage, his executors and assignes, by thes presentes, that yt shall or may be lawfull for the sayde Jeames Burbage, his executors or assignes, in consideracion for the imployinge and bestowinge of the foresayde some of *cc.li.* mencioned in the sayde former indenture, at any tyme or tymes before the ende of the sayde terme of xxj. yeares by thes presentes granted, to have, take downe and carrye awaye, to his and their owne proper use for ever, all such buildinges and other thinges as are alreddie builded, erected and sett upp, and which hereafter shal be builded erected or sett upp in or upon the gardings and voyde grounds by thes presentes graunted, or any parte therof, by the sayde Jeames, his executors or assignes, eyther for a theater or playinge place, or for any other lawfull use for his or theire comodities.” It is unnecessary to enter further into a discussion on the legal intricacies which arose in the suits between the parties, the only topics of present interest in the voluminous proceedings being those which throw light on the history of the Theatre. It was Allen’s intention, to use his own words, “seeing the greate and greevous abuses that grewe by the Theater, to pull downe the same and to converte the wood and timber therof to some better use;” but in this design he was anticipated by the Burbages, who engaged one Peter Street, a builder and carpenter, to remove the building, which operation was accordingly effected either in December, 1598, or in January, 1599.

The narrative given by Allen of the demolition of the Theatre and the removal of the “wood and timber” to Southwark, where they were afterwards used in the construction of the Globe, is particularly interesting. As has just been stated, Allen had himself contemplated the destruction of the Theatre and the conversion of its materials to some other use, but Cuthbert Burbage, anticipating the design,—“unlawfully combyninge and confederating himselfe with the sayd Richard Burbage and one Peeter Streat, William Smyth and divers other persons, to the number of twelve, to your subject unknowne, did aboute the eight and twentyth daye of December in the one and fortyth yeere of your Highnes raygne, and sythence your highnes last and generall pardon by the confederacye aforesayd, ryoutouslye assemble themselves together, and hen and there armed themselves with dyvers and manye unlawfull

and offensive weapons, as, namelye, swordes, daggers, billes, axes and such like, and soe armed, did then repayre unto the sayd Theater, and then and there, armed as aforesayd, in verye ryotous, outragious and forcyble manner, and contrarye to the lawes of your highnes realme, attempted to pull downe the sayd Theater; whereuppon divers of your subjectes, servauntes and farmers, then goinge aboute in peaceable manner to procure them to desist from that their unlawfull enterpryse, they, the sayd ryotous persons aforesayd, notwithstanding procured^o then therein with greate vyolence, not onlye then and there forcyblye and ryotouslye resisting your subjectes, servauntes and farmers, but also then and there pulling, breaking and throwing downe the sayd Theater in verye outragious, violent and riotous sort, to the great disturbance and terrefyeing not onlye of your subjectes sayd servauntes and farmers, but of divers others of your Majesties loving subjectes there neere inhabitinge; and having so done, did then alsoe in most forcible and ryotous manner take and carrye away from thence all the wood and timber therof unto the Bancksyde in the parishe of St. Marye Overyes, and there erected a newe playehowse with the sayd timber and woode," Bill of Complaint, *Allen v. Burbage*, 44 Eliz.

The date here assigned to the removal of the Theatre is December 28th, 1598; but, according to another authority, the event took place on January 20th, 1599, the possibility being that the operation was not completed on the first occasion. The other account to which reference is here made is in the following terms,—“Egidius Aleyn armiger queritur de Petro Strete, in custodia marescalli marescallie domine Regine coram ipsa Regina existente, de eo quod ipse, vicesimo die Januarij anno regni domine Elizabethæ nunc Regine Angliæ quadragesimo primo, vi et armis &c. clausum ipsius Egidii vocatum *the Inner Courte Yarde*, parcellam nuper monasterii prioratus de Hallywell modo dissoluti apud Hallywell, fregit et intravit, et herbam ipsius Egidii ad valenciam quadraginta solidorum adtunc in clauso predicto crescentem pedibus suis ambulando conculcavit et consumpsit; et quandam structuram ipsius Egidii ibidem fabricatam et erectam vocatam *the Theater* ad valenciam septingentarum librarum adtunc et ibidem diruit, divulsit, cepit et abcariavit, et alia enormia ei intulit contra pacem dicte domine Regine ad dampnum ipsius Egidii octingentarum librarum,” *Coram Rege Rolls*, 42 Eliz. The Inner Court Yard was situated to the west of the Lower Gate, as appears from other evidences. In an Answer filed in a suit in the Court of Requests, February, 1600, Allen declares that he was absent in the country at the time of the removal of the building, the date of that event which is given in this Answer certainly being erroneous. According to the defendant’s statement, Cuthbert Burbage “sought to take occasion when he might privilie and for his best advantage pull downe the said Theatre, which aboute the Feast of

the Nativitie of our Lord God in the fourth year of her Majesties raigne he hath caused to be done without the privitie or consent of the defendant, he beinge then in the cuntry." A mistake is here made in the number of the regnal year. There can be no doubt of the fact that it was in the course of the month of December, 1598, or January, 1599, that the greater portion at least of the Theatre was removed, but it may be questioned if Burbage's agents had succeeded in carrying away the whole of the materials of the structure. At all events, in January, 1600, he speaks of having taken away only "parte of the building." In his Bill against Allen in the Court of Requests, referring to the expectation that the defendant intended ultimately to renew the original lease for ten years, he observes,—“by reason wherof your subjecte did forbear to pull downe and carie away the tymber and stuffe ymployed for the said Theater and playinge house at the ende of the saide first tearme of one and twentie yeares, as by the directe covenante and agremente expressed in the saide indenture he mighte have done; but after the saide firste tearme of one and twentie yeares ended the saide Alleyne hathe suffred your subjecte to contynue in possession of the premisses for diverse yeares, and hathe accepted the rente reserved by the saide indenture from your subjecte, wheruppon of late your saide subjecte, havinge occasion to use certayne tymber and other stuffe which weare ymployed in makinge and erectinge the saide Theator uppon the premisses, beinge the cheefeste proffitte that your subjecte hoped for in the bargayne therof, did to that purpose, by the consente and appointmente of Ellen Burbadge, administratrix of the goodes and chattells of the saide James Burbadge, take downe and carie away parte of the saide newe buildinge, as by the true meaninge of the saide indenture and covenantes lawfull was for him to doe, and the same did ymploye to other uses.” In another part of the same bill, however, he alludes to Peter Street, who by his “direction and comaundment did enter uppon the premisses and take downe the saide buildinge;” and Street himself admitted the fact in his Answer to a suit of trespass brought against him by Allen early in 1599,—“et quoad venire vi et armis, ac tot et quicquid quod est suppositum fieri contra pacem dicte domine Regine nunc, preter fractionem et intracionem in clausum predictum et herbe predicte conculcationem et consumptionem, necnon diruptionem, divulsionem, captionem et abcariationem predicte structure vocate *the Theater*, idem Petrus dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis.” The second statement of Cuthbert Burbage on the subject, in his replication in the suit of Burbage v. Allen, April, 1600, which perhaps may be considered of better authority than his previous account, seems to confirm the evidence given by Street,—“and this complainant doth not denie but that he hathe pulled downe the said Theatre, which this complainant taketh it was lafull for him so to do, beinge a thinge

covenanted and permitted in the said former leas." Whether any remains of the Theatre were left standing or not, it is certain that the building, so far as it is connected with the history of the stage, may be considered to have been removed by the month of January, 1599.

A few of the dramas which were performed at the Theatre are mentioned by contemporary writers. Gosson, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, speaks of,—“the Blacksmiths Daughter and Catilins Conspiracies, usually brought in to the Theater; the firste containing the trechery of Turkes, the honourable bountye of a noble minde, and the shining of vertue in distresse; the last, bicause it is knowen too be a pig of myne owne sowe, I will speake the lesse of it, onely giving you to understand that the whole marke which I shot at in that woorke was too shoue the rewarde of traytors in Catilin, and the necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero, which forsees every danger that is likely to happen, and forstalles it continually ere it take effect.” The *Play of Plays*, a moral drama in defence of plays, was acted at the same establishment in February, 1581-2,—“the Playe of Playes shouen at the Theater the three and twentieth of Februarie last,” Gosson’s *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, n. d. Another kind of performance had been selected on the previous day, as appears from the following obscure notice in a contemporary journal preserved in MS. Addit. 5008,—“1582. Feb. 22, we went to the Theater to se a scurvie play set owt al by one Virgin, which ther proved a fyemarten without voice, so that we stayd not the matter.” A marginal note describes this mysterious entertainment as “a virgin play.” About this period “the history of Cæsar and Pompey and the playe of the Fabii” were acted at the same place, as we are told by Gosson in his *Playes Confuted*; and mention is made in the same work of “that glosing plaie at the Theater which profers you so faire,” but in which there was “enterlaced a baudie song of a maide of Kent and a litle beastly speach of the new stawled roge, both which I am compelled to burie in silence, being more ashamed to utter them then they; for as in tragedies some points are so terrible that the poets are constrained to turne them from the peoples eyes, so in the song of the one, the speache of the other, somewhat is so dishonest that I cannot with honestie repeate it,” sig. D. 6. Some years afterwards, Lodge, in his *Wits Miserie*, 1596, speaks of one who “looks as pale as the visard of the ghost which cries so miserally[®] at the Theator, like an oister-wife, *Hamlet, revenge*,” and Barnaby Rich, in 1606, alludes to “Gravets part at the Theatre” as having been a celebrated performance. Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* was also acted at the same house. “He had a head of hayre like one of my divells in *Dr. Faustus*, when the olde Theatre crackt and frighted the audience,” *Blacke Booke*, 1604. The passage in Lodge refers to the old play of *Hamlet*, which then belonged to, and was no doubt occasionally performed by, Shakespeare’s company.

According to the account previously quoted from Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1598, p. 349, the Curtain Theatre and the building removed in 1599, the latter distinctively termed the Theatre, were in the same locality. They are both described as being near the site of the dissolved priory, and "both standing on the south-west side towards the Field." The Curtain Theatre, however, was situated on the southern side of Holywell Lane, a little to the westward of the two trees which are seen in Aggas's view in the middle of a field adjoining Holywell Lane. In a document preserved at the Privy Council Office, dated in 1601, this theatre is spoken of as "the Curtaine in Moorefeildes," which shows that it was on the south of that lane. Stow, ed. 1598, p. 351, speaks of Moorfields as extending in ancient times to Holywell, but the fields usually so called in the days of Shakespeare did not reach so far to the north, so that the description of 1601 must be accepted with some qualification. The Curtain Theatre, as is ascertained by Stow's decisive testimony, could not possibly have stood much to the south of the lane. It must in fact have been situated in or near the place which is marked as Curtain Court in Chassereau's plan of Shoreditch, 1745. This Court was afterwards called Gloucester Row, and it is now known as Gloucester Street.

This last-named theatre derived its name from a piece of ground of considerable size termed the Curtain, which anciently belonged to Holywell Priory. The land is mentioned under that name in a lease of 29 Henry VIII., 1538,—*"Sibilla Newdigate, priorissa dicti nuper monasterii sancti Johannis Baptiste de Halliwell predicta, et ejusdem loci conventus, per aliam indenturam suam sigillo eorum conventuali sigillatam, datam primo die Januarij dicto anno vicesimo nono predicti nuper patris nostri, unanimi eorum assensu et consensu dimiserint, tradiderint et ad firmam concesserint prefato nuper Comiti Rutland totam illam mansionem sive mesuagium cum gardino adjacente, scituatam, jacentem et existentem infra muros et portas ejusdem nuper monasterii, cum illa longa pergula ducente a dicto mesuagio usque ad capellam; ac duo stabula et unum fenilem supra edificatum, scituata et existentia extra portas ejusdem nuper monasterii prope pasturam dicte nuper Priorisse vocatam the Curtene,"* Rot. Pat. 27 Eliz., Pars 14. The phrase *extra portas* shows that the Curtain ground was on the southern side of Holywell Lane, the entrance to the priory having been on the north of that road. At a later period there were several buildings, including a large one specially mentioned as the Curtain House (Shoreditch Register), erected upon this land, and one or more were known as being situated in the Curtain Garden. In March, 1581, one William Longe sold to Thomas Harberte,—*"all that the house, tenemente or lodge commonlie called the Curtayne; and also all that parcell of grounde and close walled and inclosed with a bricke wall on the west and northe*

partes, and in parte with a mudde wall at the west side or ende towards the southe, called also the Curtayne Close, sometye apperteyning to the late Priorie of Halliwell nowe dissolved, sett, lyeng and being in the parishe of Sainte Leonarde in Shortedytche, alias Shordiche, in the countie of Middlesex, together with all the gardeyns, fishepond, welles and brick-wall to the premisses or any of them belonginge or apperteyning; and also all and singuler other mesuages, tenementes, edifices and buildinges, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces, erected and builded upon the saide close called the Curtayne, or upon any parte or parcell thereof, or to the same nere adjoyning, nowe or late in the severall tenures or occupacions of Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Wilkins, Roberte Medley, Richard Hickes, Henrie Lanman and Roberte Manne, or any of them, or of their or any of their assigne or assignes; and also all other mesuages, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes, with their appurtenaunces, sett, lyeng and being in Halliwell Lane in the saide parishe of Sainte Leonard," Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz. The Curtain House was either in or near Holywell Lane. "John Edwardes, being excommunicated, was buried the vij.th of June in the Kinges high waie in Hallywell Lane neare the Curtayn," Register of St. Leonards, Shoreditch, 1619. In some Chancery papers of the year 1591 it is described as the "howse with the appurtenaunces called the Curtayne," and it is stated that "the gronde there was for the most parte converted firste into garden plottes, and then leasinge the same to divers tenauntes caused them to covenant or promise to bulde upon the same, by occasion wherof the buildinges which are there were for the most parte erected and the rentes encreased." That the Curtain estate was on the south of the western end of Holywell Lane is proved decisively by an indenture of 1723, which refers to a plot of five acres then adjoining Sugarloaf Yard on the east, and which is described as "part or parcell of a peice of ground theretofore and then called by the name of the Curtain." The name is still retained in the locality in that of the well-known Curtain Road, which must have been so called either from the theatre or from the land above described.

The earliest notice of the Curtain Theatre by name, which has yet been discovered, occurs in Northbrooke's Treatise on Dicing, licensed in December, 1577; but it is also probably alluded to, with the Theatre, by one Thomas White, in a Sermon Preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the Thirde of November, 1577, in which he says,—“looke but upon the common plays in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them; beholde the *sumptuous theatre houses*, a continuall monument of Londons prodigalitie and folly.” The Queen's Players seem to have acted at the Curtain as well as at the neighbouring theatre. At all events, Tarlton, who belonged to that company, played there, if we may confide in an allusion in one of the Jests. If credit may be given to the evidence of Aubrey, Ben Jonson also was at one

time an actor at this theatre. According to that biographer, he "acted and wrote, but both ill, at the Green Curtaine, a kind of nursery or obscure play-house somewhere in the suburbes, I thinke towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell." Aubrey is the only authority for the theatre ever having been known as the Green Curtain, one probably of that writer's numerous blunders; but Rare Ben's comedy of Every Man in his Humour was most likely produced there in the year 1598.

Is there decisive evidence that the Lord Chamberlain's Servants were in the habit of acting at the Curtain Theatre about the last-named period? The reply to this question depends upon the interpretation given to the words "Curtaine plaudeties" in the well-known lines on stage-struck Luscus in Marston's Scourge of Villanie, 1598; whether the word *Curtaine* refers to the playhouse, or whether it is merely a synonyme for *theatrical* in reference to the curtains of the stage. The latter explanation appears to be somewhat forced, while the former and more natural one is essentially supported by the facts that Pope, who was then a member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company, was also a sharer in that establishment; and that Armin was playing there early in the year 1600. That the Curtain Theatre was, towards the close of the sixteenth century, one of the homes of the legitimate drama, may be gathered from what Guilpin says in his Skialetheia, 1598,—“or if my dispose=Perswade me to a play, I'le to the Rose,=Or Curtaine, one of Plautus comedies,=Or the patheticke Spaniards tragedies;” in allusion, possibly, to the Comedy of Errors and the Spanish Tragedy. If the supposition that Marston speaks of the Curtain Theatre be correct, and no doubt can be fairly entertained on that point, it is certain that Shakespeare's tragedy of Romeo and Juliet was there “plaid publicly by the Right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Servants,” title-page of ed. 1597. Luscus is represented as infatuated with this play, and the allusion to his “courting Lesbia's eyes” out of his theatrical commonplace-book can but refer to Romeo's impassioned rhapsody on the eyes of Juliet. It may then be safely assumed that Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet was acted at the Curtain Theatre some time between July 22nd, 1596, the day on which Lord Hunsdon, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household, died, and April 17th, 1597, when his son, Lord Hunsdon, was appointed to that office (Privy Council Register). During those nine months the Company was known as Lord Hunsdon's, the same body of actors continuing throughout to serve those two noblemen, so that any allusion, if there be one, to the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, bearing date between August 6th, 1596, and March 5th, 1597, would refer to a company under the patronage of Lord Cobham, who was the Lord Chamberlain during that period. That the members of the other Lord Chamberlain's Company transferred their services to Lord Hunsdon on the death of his father in

July, 1596, is shown by the following entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth,—“to John Hemynge and George Bryan, servauntes to the late Lorde Chamberlayne and now servauntes to the Lorde Hunsdon, upon the Councelles warraunte dated at Whitehall xxj. mo die Decembris, 1596, for five enterludes or playes shewed by them before her Majestie on St. Stephans daye at nighte, the sondaye nighte followeing, Twelfe Nighte, one St. Johns daye and on Shrovesunday at nighte laste, the some of xxxiiij. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.*, and by waye of her Majesties rewarde, xvj. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, in all the some of l. *li.*,” MS. in the Public Record Office.

In the early part of the year 1600 arrangements were made for the erection of the Fortune Theatre near Golden Lane, a spot which was at no considerable distance, not much more than half a mile, from the Curtain Theatre. It was considered by the opponents of theatrical amusements that the permission to establish a new theatre in that part of London should be conditional upon the removal of the older one. Strenuous efforts were accordingly made to induce the Privy Council to insist upon the demolition of the Curtain, and orders were given in June, 1600, to that effect; but, like the previous injunction of 1597, they proved to be altogether inoperative. The Lords of the Council seem indeed to have been aware of the possibility of this result, for, in their letters to the Lord Mayor of London and the Justices of Middlesex, they observe,—“as wee have done our partes in prescribing the orders, so, unlesse yow performe yours in lookinge to the due execution of them, we shall loose our labor, and the wante of redresse must be imputed unto yow and others unto whome it apperteyneth,” Privy Council Register, 22 June, 1600. Copies of the Lords' order and their letters will be found in the division respecting the Later Theatres, and it appears from the former that Tylney, the Master of the Revels, had stated to the Council “that the house nowe in hand to be builte by the saide Edward Allen is not intended to encrease the number of the playhouses, but to be insteede of another, namely the Curtayne, which is ether to be ruyned and plucked downe or to be put to some other good use.” It is not improbable that Allen was anxious for the suppression of the Curtain as a theatre, and was exerting his influence to accomplish that object. The prospects of the new establishment would of course have been improved had the efforts in this direction been successful, but the combined influences of the City authorities and the Privy Council were ineffectual. On the last day of the following year, 1601, the Council made another strenuous but fruitless attempt to persuade the magistrates to enforce their order for the suppression of all but the two selected theatres, the Globe and the Fortune.

The players brought much of this opposition upon themselves by their ridicule of the citizens. Complaints were made, in 1601, that the

actors at the Curtain Theatre had covertly satirized living individuals of good position in some of their plays ; but it is not known to which of the companies they belonged. With a view of terminating these irregularities, the Lords of the Privy Council addressed the following letter to "certaine Justices of the Peace in the county of Middlesex" on May 10th, 1601,—"wee do understand that certaine players, that use to recyte their playes at the Curtaine in Moorefeildes, do represent upon the stage in their interludes the persons of some gent. of good desert and quality that are yet alive under obscure manner, but yet in such sorte as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons that are meant thereby. This beinge a thinge very unfitte, offensive and contrary to such direccion as have bin heretofore taken, that no plaies should be openly shewed but such as were first perused and allowed, and that might minister no occasion of offence or scandall, wee do hereby require you that you do forthwith forbidd those players, to whomsoever they appertaine, that do play at the Courtaine in Moorefeildes, to represent any such play, and that you will examine them who made that play and to shew the same unto you, and, as you in your discrecions shall thincke the same unfitte to be publiquely shewed, to forbidd them from henceforth to play the same eyther privately or publiquely ; and yf, upon veive of the said play, you shall finde the subject so odious and inconvenient as is informed, wee require you to take bond of the cheifest of them to aunswere their rashe and indiscreete dealing before us," MS. Register of the Privy Council. Shakespeare's association with the Curtain probably terminated at the opening of the Globe, and certainly did not continue after the decease of Elizabeth. Throughout the reign of James the former theatre was occupied by actors with whom the great dramatist had no professional connexion.

The puritanical writers of the time of Shakespeare were indignant at the erection of regular theatrical establishments, and the Theatre and Curtain were the special objects of their invective. They are continually named together as sinks of all wickedness and abomination. In Northbrooke's Treatise, 1577-8, Youth asks,—“doe you speake against those places also whiche are made uppe and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtaine is, and other suche lyke places besides?” Age replies,—“yea, truly, for I am persuaded that Satan hath not a more speedie way and fitter schoole, to work and teach his desire to bring men and women into his snare of concupiscence and filthie lustes of wicked whoredome, than those places and playes and theatres are, and therefore necessarie that those places and players shoulde be forbidden and dissolved and put downe by authoritie, as the brothell houses and stewes are.” The effects of the great earthquake of April, 1580, were felt generally throughout London as well as at the theatres, but Stubbes affects to consider it a “fearfull judgement of

God" on the wickedness of the stage,—“the like judgement almost did the Lord shewe unto them a little before, beyng assembled at their theaters to see their baudie enterludes and other trumperies practised, for He caused the yearth mightely to shake and quaver as though all would have fallen downe, wherat the people, sore amazed, some leapt down from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towers where thei stood to the grounde, whereof some had their legges broke, some their armes, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another, and many sore crusht and brused, but not any but thei went awaie sore afraied and wounded in conscience,” *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1583; the allusion to “turrets, pinacles, and towers” being no doubt a metaphorical flourish. According to Munday—“at the play-houses the people came running foorth, supprised^o with great astonishment,” *View of Sundry Examples*, 1580. “The earthquake that hapned in the yeere 1580 on the sixt of April, that shaked not only the scenicall Theatre, but the great stage and theatre of the whole land,” *Gardnier’s Doomes-day Booke*, 1606. Two days after the shock was published a ballad entitled,—“Comme from the plaie,=Comme from the playe,=The house will fall, so people saye,=The earth quakes, lett us hast awaye.” At the time of this earthquake the only theatres in England were situated in Shoreditch, and there is evidence that the effects of it were felt in that locality. “Also in Shordiche and other places fell chymneys, as at Mr. Alderman Osburns in Fyllpot Lane fell a pece of a chymney,” *MS. Diary*, 6 April, 1580. Again, when Field wrote his *Godly Exhortation* upon the accident which occurred at Paris Garden in January, 1583, he could not resist the introduction of adverse criticism on the Shoreditch theatres,—“surely it is to be feared, beesides the distruction bothe of bodye and soule that many are brought unto by frequenting the Theater, the Curtin and such like, that one day those places will likewise be cast downe by God himselfe, and being drawn with them a huge heape of such contempners and prophane persons utterly to be killed and spoyled in their bodyes.” This is, however, moderate language in comparison with the exaggerated invective of Stubbes in the same year. After alluding to the Theatre and Curtain as “Venus pallaces,” he writes, here speaking generally of plays and theatres,—“doe they not maintaine bawdrie, insinuat foolerie and renue the remembraunce of Heathen idolatrie? Doe thei not induce whoredome and uncleannesse? Nay, are thei not rather plaine devourers of maidenly virginitie and chastitie? for prooffe whereof but marke the flockyng and runnyng to Theaters and Curtens daylie and hourelie, night and daie, tyme and tide, to see playes and enterludes, where suche wanton gestures, such bawdie speeches, suche laughyng and flearyng, suche kissing and bussyng, suche clippyng and culling, such wincking and glauncing of wanton eyes and the like is used as is wonderfull to beholde,” *Anatomic of Abuses*, ed. 1583.

Rankins, in his *Mirroure of Monsters*, 1587, observes that "the Theater and Curtine may aptlie be termed for their abhominacion, the chappell adulterinum." It was not surprising that these attacks provoked retaliation, so the absurdities of the Martin Marprelate clique were unmercifully ridiculed at the Theatre, as appears from a marginal note, *The Theater*, to the following passage in *Martins Months Minde*, 1589,—"as first, drie-beaten and therby his bones broken; then whipt, that made him winse; then wormd and launced, that he tooke verie grievouslie to be made a Maygame upon the stage." It is afterwards stated that "everie stage plaier made a jest of him." Some of these theatrical satires were so virulent that their performance was forbidden. "Would those comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered and so perhaps discouraged," *Pappe with an Hatchet*, n. d. The Theatre and Curtain are again named together by Rainolds, in his *Overthrow of Stage Playes*, 1599, written in 1593, but there merely in reference to male actors being permitted to wear the costume of the other sex.

Although the denunciations of the Puritans were grounded upon exaggerated statements, there can be little doubt that both these theatres were frequented by some disreputable characters. "In the playhouses at London," observes Gosson in his *Playes Confuted*, sig. G. 6,— "it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, where they spye the carion thither they flye and presse as nere to the fairest as they can; instead of pomegranates they give them pippines; they dally with their garments to passe the time; they minister talke upon al occasions, and eyther bring them home to their houses on small acquaintance, or slip into taverns when the plaies are done; he thinketh best of his painted sheath, and taketh himselfe for a jolly fellow, that is noted of most to be busiest with women in all such places." The independent testimony of the author of the *Newes from the North*, 1579, is to a similar effect,— "I have partely shewed you heere what leave and libertie the common people, namely youth, hath to followe their owne lust and desire in all wantonnes and dissolution of life; for further prooffe wherof I call to witnesse the Theaters, Courtaines, heaving houses, rifling bootthes, bowling alleyes and such places where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely the Sabaoth dayes, unto the great dishonor of God and the corruption and utter destruction of youth." In Anthony Babington's *Complaint*, written by R. Williams, the former, who was executed in 1586, is represented as saying,— "to bee a good lawier my mynde woulde not frame, = I addicted was to pleasure and given so to game; = But to the Theatre and Curtayne woulde often resorte, = Where I mett companyons fittinge my disporte," MS. Arundel 418. It appears from Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592, and several other authorities, that the neighbouring

village of Shoreditch was distinguished by the number of houses which were inhabited by the frail sisterhood. In Skialetheia, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen, "who, comming from the Curtaine, sneaketh in = To some odde garden noted house of sinne;" and West, in a rare poem, the Court of Conscience, 1607, tells a libertine,—“Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,—The garden alleyes paled on either side ;= Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide.” Compare also a line in a poem of the time of James I. in MS. Harl. 2127,—“Friske to the Globe or Curtaine with your trull.”

Little is known respecting the dimensions and structure of either the Theatre or the Curtain. In Stockwood's Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 24 of August, 1578, they are alluded to as having been erected at a large cost, while the former is termed a gorgeous playing-place,—“what should I speake of beastlye playes againste which out of this place every man crieth out? have we not houses of purpose built with great charges for the maintainance of them, and that without the Liberties, as who woulde say,—there, let them saye what they will say, we wil play. I know not how I might with the godly learned especially more discommende the gorgeous playing place erected in the fieldes than to terme it, as they please to have it called, a Theatre, that is, even after the maner of the olde heathnish theatre at Rome, a shew place of al beastly and filthie matters, to the which it can not be chosen that men should resort without learning thence mucche corruption.” The Theatre is mentioned in 1601 as “the late greate howse,” and that it was correctly so designated would appear from the proceedings of a Chancery Suit, *Braynes v. Burbage*, 1590, in which it is stated that James Burbage, at the time of its erection, had borrowed the sum of £600 for the express object of defraying the larger portion of the cost. This agrees with an assertion made by Burbage's descendants in 1635, that “the Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest.” Allen, the freeholder, stated in 1601 his belief that the Theatre was “erected att the costes and charges of one Braynes, and not of James Burbage, to the value of one thousand markes,” that is, between £600 and £700, a large sum at the period at which it was built; and when the building was removed in 1599, Allen estimated its value at £700. This Braynes was the father-in-law of James Burbage. The consideration given for the money advanced by this person must have sadly interfered with the profits derived by Burbage from the Theatre, which was doubtlessly a good speculation in itself. Allen, indeed, speaks of a profit of £2,000 having been realized from it. “And further whereas the complainant,” observes Allen, referring to Cuthbert Burbage, “supposeth that the said Jeames Burbage his father did to his great chardges erecte the said Theatre, and therby pretendeth that there should be the greater cause in equitie to relieve him, the

complainant, for the same, hereunto the defendant saith that, consideringe the great proffitt and beniffitt which the said Jeames Burbage and the complainant in their severall times have made therof, which, as the defendant hath credibilie hard, doth amounte to the somme of twoe thousand powndes at the least, the defendant taketh it they have been verie sufficientlye recompensed for their chardges which they have bestowed uppon the said Theatre or uppon anie other buildinges there," Answer of Gyles Allen in the suit of Burbage v. Allen, Court of Requests, 42 Eliz. Cuthbert Burbage, in his Replication, denies "that the said James Burbadge or this complaynant hathe made twoo thousand poundes proffitt and benefitt by the said theatre." Nothing is here said respecting the material of which the edifice was constructed, but in another paper in the same suit he alludes to "certayne tymber and *other* stufte ymployed in makinge and erectinge the Theator." That the building was mainly constructed of wood cannot, however, admit of a doubt, it being spoken of continually in the legal papers of more than one of the Burbage suits as a structure of "wood and timber," materials which James Burbage, being a joiner, would naturally have selected. "The said defendant Cuthbert Burbage being well able to justifie the pullinge downe, usinge and disposinge, of the woodde and tymber of the saide playehowse," Answer of the Burbages, 44 Eliz. The Lord Mayor, in a letter written in April, 1583, speaks, in reference to the Theatre, of "the weakenesse of the place for ruine," alluding perhaps to the wooden scaffolds inside the building.

Although entertainments took place both at the Theatre and at the Curtain during the winter months, there can be but little doubt that the roof in each of these buildings merely covered the stage and galleries, the pit or yard being open to the sky. This was certainly the case in the latter theatre. The author of *Vox Graculi* or Jack Dawe's Prognostication, 1623, describing the characteristics of the month of April, observes,—“about this time new playes will be in more request then old, and if company come currant to the Bull and Curtaine, there will be more money gathered in one after-noon then will be given to Kingsland Spittle in a whole moneth; also, if, at this time, about the houres of foure and five it waxe cloudy, and then raine downeright, they shall sit dryer in the galleries then those who are the understanding men in the yard.” The afternoon was likewise the usual time for the performances in Shakespeare's day. Chettle, in his *Kind Hartes Dreame*, 1592, alludes to bowling-alleys, situated between the City walls and the Theatre, “that were wont in the after-noones to be left empty, by the recourse of good fellows unto that unprofitable recreation of stage-playing.”

The charge for admission to the Theatre was a penny, but this sum merely entitled the visitor to standing room in the lower part of the

house. If he wanted to enter any of the galleries another penny was demanded, and even then a good seat was not always secured without a repetition of the fee. None who go, observes Lambard, "to Paris Gardein, the Bell Savage or Theatre, to beholde beare baiting, enterludes or fence play, can account of any pleasant spectacle unlesse they first pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the scaffold, and the thirde for a quiet standing," *Perambulation of Kent*, ed. 1596, p. 233, one of the passages in that edition not found in ed. 1576. The author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 1589, speaks of twopence as the usual price of admission "at the Theater," so the probability is that the penny alone was insufficient for securing places which would be endured by any but the lowest and poorest class of auditors, those who stood in the yard or pit and were there exposed to the uncertainties of the weather. Those of the audience who were in the galleries were, at least to a considerable extent, protected from the rain. There were upper as well as lower galleries in the building, the former being mentioned in the following interesting clause of the proposed lease to Burbage of 1585,— "and further that yt shall or maye be lawfull for the sayde Gyles and for hys wyfe and familie, upon lawfull request therfore made to the sayde Jeames Burbage, his executors or assignes, to enter or come into the premisses, and their in some one of the upper romes to have such convenient place to sett or stande to se such playes as shal be ther played, freely without anythinge therefore payeinge, soe that the sayde Gyles, hys wyfe and familie, doe come and take ther places before they shal be taken upp by any others." It appears from this extract that there were seats for the audience as well as standing-room in the galleries.

Neither the Theatre nor the Curtain was used exclusively for dramatic entertainments. "Theater and Curtine for comedies and other shewes," marginal note in *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. 1598, p. 69. Both these theatres were frequently engaged for matches and exercises in the art of fencing, as appears from several notices, dated between the years 1578 and 1585, in MS. Sloane 2530, a curious volume which seems to be a register of a society formed for the advancement of the science of fencing, in which degrees were granted to those who proved themselves to be the most efficient. It would appear from the original manuscript of *Stow's Survey* that not only fencers, but tumblers and such like, sometimes exhibited at these theatres. Near the buildings of the dissolved Priory, observes *Stow*, "are builded two howses for the showe of activities, comedies, tragidies and histories, for recreation; the one of them is named the Curteyn in Halywell, the other the Theatre; thes are on the backesyde of Holywell, towards the filde," MS. Harl. 538. It should, however, be observed that the word *activities* is not in the printed editions of 1598 or 1599, and the passage is omitted altogether in the subsequent impressions.

When the fencers engaged the Theatre they sometimes increased their audience by marching "with pomp" through the City. In July, 1582, the Lord Mayor thus writes to the Earl of Warwick respecting one John David, a fencer in the Earl's service, who desired to exhibit his skill at that establishment,—“I have herein yet further done for your servante what I may, that is, that if he may obtaine lawefully to playe at the Theater or other open place out of the Citie, he hath and shall have my permission with his companie drumes and shewe to passe openly throughe the Citie, being not upon the sondaye, which is as muche as I maye justefie in this season, and for that cause I have with his owne consent apointed him Monday next,” City of London MSS. This permission, as appears from the correspondence, was granted very reluctantly by the Lord Mayor, whose successor in the following year absolutely prohibited any display of the kind. His Lordship thus writes on April 27th, 1583, to one of the Justices of the Peace,—“there ar certain fencers that have set up billes, and meane to play a prise at the Theatre on Tuesday next, which is May eve. How manie waies the same maie be inconvenient and dangerous, specially in that they desire to passe with pomp thorough the Citie, yow can consider; namelie, the statute against men of that facultie, the perill of infection, the danger of disorders at such assemblies, the memorie of Ill May Daie begon upon a lesse occasion of like sort, the weakenesse of the place for ruine, wherof we had a late lamentable example at Paris Garden; for these causes in good discretion we have not only not geven them licence, but also declared to them the dangers, willing them at their perill to forbear their passing both thorough the Citie and their whole plaieng of such prise.”

It would appear, from these notices of the fencing matches which took place at the Theatre and Curtain, that both establishments were accessible to persons who desired to hire them for occasional purposes. The probability is that they were thus engaged by various companies, and a curious narrative, given in the following words in a letter from Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, written in June, 1584, seems to confirm this opinion,—“upon Sonndaie my Lord sent ij. aldermen to the Cowrt for the suppressing and pulling downe of the Theatre and Curten, for all the Lords agreed thereunto, saving my Lord Chamberlen and Mr. Vice-Ch., but we obteyned a lettre to suppress theym all;—upon the same night I sent for the Quenes players and my Lord of Arundel his players, and they all well nighe obeyed the Lordes lettres;—the chiefest of her Highnes players advised me to send for the owner of the Theater, who was a stubburne fellow, and to bynd him;—I dyd so;—he sent me word that he was my Lord of Hunsdens man and that he wold not comme at me, but he wold in the mornyng ride to my Lord;—then I sent the under-shereff for hym, and he browght hym to me, and, at his commyng,

he showtted me owt very justice ; and in the end I shewed hym my Lord his masters hand, and then he was more quiet ; but, to die for it, he wold not be bound.—And then I mynding to send hym to prison, he made sute that he might be bounde to appere at the oier and determiner, the which is to-morowe, where he said that he was suer the court wold not bynd hym, being a counselors man ; and so I have graunted his request, where he shal be sure to be bounde, or els ys lyke to do worse," M.S. Lansd.41, art. 13. It is not to be assumed that the person who is here mentioned as "the owner of the Theater" was either Burbage or Hyde. He was more probably a temporary occupier of the building, for James Burbage is not known to have ever belonged to the company of actors in the pay of Lord Hunsdon, who was at that time Lord Chamberlain of the Household. It may reasonably be gathered from Fleetwood's letter that at least three companies, those of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Arundel and Lord Hunsdon, were playing in June, 1584, at the Theatre or Curtain ; the first and last probably at the Theatre, perhaps acting on alternate days. It is certain that the Queen's Company sometimes performed at the latter, for Laneham and Tarlton, both at one period belonging to that company, are noticed as having acted there ; the author of *Martins Months Minde*, 1589, speaking of "twittle twattles that I had learned in ale-houses and at the Theater of Lanam and his fellows." Tarlton is alluded to, as an actor at the same establishment, in Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592,—"Tarlton at the Theator made jests of him ;" and again in Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596,—"which worde was after admitted into the Theater with great applause by the mouth of Mayster Tarlton, the excellent comedian." The establishment appears to have been noted for its comic entertainments. "If thy vaine," observes the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 1589 "bee so pleasaunt and thy witt so so^o nimble that all consists in glicks and girds, pen some play for the Theater."

SHAKESPEARE'S NEIGHBOURS.

Few particulars have been discovered respecting the persons who resided in Shakespeare's immediate neighbourhood, and none at all of the terms on which he lived with them. Although it is known that he had a wide circle of acquaintances in his native town, it is by the merest accident that even the names of any of them have been recorded. Amongst the latter the only one of his neighbours was Julius Shaw, who, having been invited to witness the execution of the poet's will, may be reasonably assumed to have been a somewhat intimate friend. There is, however, an interest in what details can be given of the inhabitants and residences in the vicinity of New Place, and it will be afterwards observed that some of this information is of great value in the determination of the western boundaries of Shakespeare's gardens. In the case of Nash's House, its history is so inextricably connected with those boundaries that it has been continued to the present day; but it need scarcely be added that no similar prolixity has been necessary in other instances.

The name of Shakespeare's next-door neighbour in Chapel Street, the inhabitant of the tenement now, and as early as the year 1674, known as Nash's House, has not been ascertained. There was a building here at least as early as 37 Henry VIII., then mentioned as the tenement of William Phillips, and one Henry Norman seems to have resided in it in 1618, for in that year his name appears as contributing three shillings for its Church-rate. Thomas Nash, in his will dated August 25th, 1642, proved in 1647, devised to his wife Elizabeth, for her life, "all that messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate, lyeinge and beinge in Stratford-uppon-Avon in the county of Warwicke, in a streete there called or knowen by the name of the Chappell Streete, and nowe in the tenure, use and occupacion of one Johane Norman, widowe;" and, after the death of the said Elizabeth, to his kinsman, Edward Nash, in fee. The house thus became the property of Shakespeare's grand-daughter from 1647 until her death in 1670, when it devolved upon the relative just mentioned. Edward Nash's will is dated in March, 1678, but, owing to the testator referring to, without quoting, a deed of settlement executed three days previously, there is no mention of the house, which must have been in some way settled upon his grand-daughter Jane, who afterwards married Franklyn Miller, of Hyde Hall, co. Hertford. This gentleman sold it to Hugh Clopton

in May, 1699, when it was described as "all that message or tenement with the appurtenances scituate, lying and being, in the Chappell Street within the burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon, wherein Samuell Phillipps did late inhabitt, and now in the tenure of Edward Clopton, esq.," and, in the foot of the fine levied on the occasion, it is mentioned as being "one message and one garden with the appurtenances in Stratford-upon-Avon," *Fin. Term. Trin. 11 Gul. III.* It appears, however, from a declaration, made in the following October, that Hugh Clopton's name in the deed of 1699 was used in trust for his brother Edward, the latter continuing to be the occupier of the house until March, 1705-6, when he sold it, together with the Great Garden of New Place, a piece of land then also in his occupation, to Aston Ingram, of Little Woolford, the husband of his sister Barbara. In the agreement for this purchase, dated in the preceding January, there is the following interesting description of the properties,—“all that message or tenement scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, wherein the said Edward Clopton now dwells, together with the yard, garden, backside, outhouses and appurtenances to the same belonging, and alsoe the hangins that are in the chamber over the kitchin, the two furnises in the brewhouse, and the coolers there; and alsoe all that peece of ground to the said message belonging, called the Greate Garden, heretofore belonging to New Place, and alsoe the barne, stables, outhouses and appurtenances to the said Greate Garden belonging.”

Aston Ingram, in his will, 1710, devises Nash's House to his wife Barbara in fee, subject to portions to younger children, which were subsequently paid by the sale of the house and the Great Garden. The latter is not specifically named in that will, but that it was included in the devise is certain from the wording of the release of his sons to their mother in March, 1728-9, who sold the premises in that year to Frances Rose of Stratford, the Great Garden being expressly excluded from the parcels conveyed to the latter. That piece of land had then been recently purchased by Hugh Clopton, and thenceforth restored to the New Place grounds. In 1738, the estate purchased by Rose was transferred to Philip Hatton, who devised it in 1740 to his wife Grace for her life, with remainders to his sons, Philip and Joseph, and to his son-in-law, Thomas Mortiboys, to be equally divided between the three. Joseph Hatton, by will dated shortly before his decease in 1745, devised his share of the property to his brother Philip; and in July, 1760, the latter conveyed to Thomas Mortiboys his two undivided third parts, the whole, subject of course to Mrs. Hatton's life-interest, thus becoming the property of Thomas Mortiboys, who, by his will, dated in 1779, devised it to his daughter Susanna. This lady made a will, but it was not sufficient to pass real estate, as it merely disposed of personalty; and, after her death, Nash's House descended to Fanny Mortiboys,

who, in March, 1785, conveyed it to Charles Henry Hunt. In 1790, Mr. Hunt became also the owner of New Place, and, at some time prior to 1800, the boundaries of the Nash garden were removed, the two estates then becoming one property. In May, 1807, the whole was sold by him to Battersbee and Morris as tenants in common, but a few years afterwards the Great Garden again became a separate holding. In this new division, there was taken from the latter, to be added to the western premises, a slip of land, about twenty feet in width, which extended from Chapel Lane to the northern end of the garden belonging to Nash's House.

In 1827, the slip of land above mentioned and all the New Place estate that lay to the westward of it, together with Nash's House and garden, found their next purchaser in Miss Lucy Smith of Coventry, after whose death they were bought, in 1836, by Mr. David Rice. Upon the decease of the latter in 1860, they again came into the market, and, in the following year, they were purchased by me with moneys collected by public subscription, becoming then and for ever the property of the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon. No representation of the original house is known to exist, but from existing remains of the upper outside part of its ancient southern end, it is seen that its roof was higher than that of Shakespeare's residence, its gable end overhanging the latter, and the purlines projecting about eleven or twelve inches from the face of the wall. From the appearance of the framing of the timbers, there is every reason to believe that this gable is in the same condition as when it was originally constructed. The front of the house has been twice rebuilt since the time of the great dramatist, and the interior has been greatly modernized, but the massive timbers, the immense chimneys and the principal gables at the back, are portions of the ancient building, and part of the original large opening of the chimney adjoining New Place can still be observed. The foundations appear to have been of sandstone, very similar in quality to that used in the construction of the Guild Chapel.

The house adjoining Nash's on the north side, now as formerly belonging to the Corporation of Stratford, is one of considerable interest, for here resided in Shakespeare's time, at the next house but one to New Place, Julius Shaw, one of the poet's testamentary witnesses in 1616. This house is mentioned in the time of Henry the Eighth as occupied by Thomas Fylle, a glover, and in 1591 it was held from the Corporation for a long term by Robert Gybbes, whose interests having been purchased by Shaw in 1597, a new lease was then granted to the latter for twenty-five years. "July Shawe holdeth one tenemente with a garden, yearly rent xij.s.," Rent Roll, January, 1597-8. The property is also described as a tenement and garden in a survey taken in 1582; more particularly in the same document in the following terms,—“a

house, tenure of Robert Gybbes, sufficiently repayered save a lyttelle outt-house lackethe tylling, and a pese of a baye is thatched which was tyled, but before hys tyme ;” and yet at greater length, as it appeared in the poet’s days, in a survey of 1599, in which it is noted as “a tenemente in the strete ij. baies tiled, on the backside a barne of ij. baies, with either side a depe lentoo thatched ; more inward, another crosse-backhouse of ij. baies thatched ; betwene that and the stret house a range of j. baie thatch and ij. baies tiled, and a garden answerable in bredth to the house, in length as John Tomlins,” that is, the same length as the garden of Tomlins, Shaw’s next-door neighbour on the north. The frontage and interior of these premises are now modernized, but nearly the whole of the outside walls at the back, and the main structure generally except the front, are of framed timber work apparently as old as Shakespeare’s time, and in the stragging outhouses adjoining the residence lying on the southern side of the yard or garden is some more framed timber work supported by a stone basement. The eastern terminus of this property is divided from the Great Garden of New Place by a substantial brick wall of considerable age, but one which is extremely unlikely to have formed the boundary in the days of Julius Shaw.

It appears from the vestry-book that Shaw contributed six shillings for his proportion of a church-rate levy on this house in 1617, eight shillings being paid at the same time by Mr. Hall for New Place. It would seem from this circumstance that Shaw’s house must have been a substantial residence, or there would have been a wider difference between the two amounts paid. When the Corporation leased the premises to him in the year 1626, we are told that “the bredth thereof on the streete side is twenty-six foote ; item, the bredth thereof at the est end is thirtie ffoote ; item, the length thereof is nyne score ffoote.” The existing dimensions are as follows,—street frontage, twenty-six feet ; length, one hundred and seventy-nine feet, three inches ; width at east end, twenty-four feet ; but the discrepancy of the few inches in the length may readily be accounted for by assuming that the shorter length was taken along the centre of the premises. The difference in the width of the eastern limit is not so readily explained, but as the present measurement of the same boundary of the next house, also belonging to the town, is several feet in excess of the ancient computation, it may be assumed that at some period one garden received an augmentation from the other. Fortunately, the question of length as to these premises is the only one of importance in the investigation of the boundaries of Shakespeare’s Great Garden.

Julius Shaw, who was born in the year 1571, was the son of a wool-driver of Stratford-on-Avon, one Ralph Shaw, who died when Julius was about twenty years of age. The latter continued his father’s business,

marrying Anne Boyes in 1594. His position in the following year is thus described—"Julye Shawe usethe the trades of buyinge and sellinge of woll and yorne, and malltinge, and hathe in howse xvij. quarter and halfe of malle and x. quarters of barley, whereof xx. tie stryke of the malle is Mr. Watkyns, Mr. Grevylls mans, and v. quarters of one Gylbardes of Reddytche, and the reste his owne; there are in howshold iij. persons," MS. Presentments, 1595. He is mentioned as holding seven quarters of corn at his house in Chapel-street in February, 1598, and like many other provincial tradesmen of the time, he appears to have been a kind of general dealer. At all events he is mentioned several times in the chamberlains' accounts as the seller of wood, tiles and other building materials, to the Corporation. He was elected a member of the Town Council in 1603, and acted as one of the chamberlains for 1610, an alderman in 1613 and bailiff in 1616. Having prospered in business, in the year last mentioned he purchased land from Anthony Nash for the then considerable sum of £180. He was re-elected bailiff in 1627, and died in June, 1629. He appears to have been much respected, his colleagues in 1613 speaking of "his honesty, fidelity" and their "good opinion of him," MS. Council Book.

Shaw's next-door neighbour on the northern side in 1599 was one John Tomlins, whose residence is thus described in a survey of that date,—“a tenemente in the strete-side ij. baies tiled, from the stret-house to the garden v. baies thatched, his garden in length about xvj. yerdes; in the old buildinge on Juli Shaues yarde there is a coller-poste broke, and silles wantinge, and an ill gutter; warninge must be geven for these defaultes, according to his lease.” The dimensions of the garden, as here given, must be erroneous, for when the Corporation granted his widow a lease of the premises in 1619, a former one of 1608 to her being then surrendered, the following schedule is attached,—“Imprimis, the bredth therof one the streete syde is thirtie two foote; item, the bredth of the est end is thirtie foote; the length therof from the streete to the est end is eight score and seventeene foote.” The same dimensions are given in the Corporation leases up to the year 1774, although, according to the plan attached to one of that date, the street frontage was thirty-two feet five inches, the length one hundred and eighty-five feet nine inches, and the width at the eastern boundary thirty-three feet four inches. These premises, which are mentioned in 1630 (MS. Orders, 2 April) as being then in a very dilapidated state, were leased in 1646 to Henry Tomlins, who covenanted to refront the house within six years, that is, before 1652, to about which period, and not to the Shakespearean, the modernized but still antiquated face of the present structure must be referred. Some of the main features, such as the overhanging upper storey and the covered passage, may have been reproduced, but little, if any, of the original work of the sixteenth

century is now to be traced. This house was long erroneously considered to have formerly been the residence of Julius Shaw.

The next house towards the north is described in 1620 as a "tenement and garden in the occupacion of George Perrye." In 1647 it belonged to one Richard Lane, who, in the April of that year, sold it to "Thomas Hathway of Stratford-uppon-Avon joyner," under the title of "all that messuage or tenement, backside and garden, in Stratford aforesaide, in a streete there called the Chappell Streete." It was then in the occupation of this Thomas Hathaway, the same person who is mentioned in Lady Barnard's will as her kinsman, and who was therefore connected with the Shakespeare family. He died in January, 1654-5, when the premises became the property of his widow, Jane Hathaway, who, in 1691, was presented at the sessions "for not repaireing the ground before her house in Chappell Street." This lady continued to reside in the house until the time of her death in October, 1696, but some years previously, namely in September, 1692, her grand-daughter Susannah sold the reversion in fee accruing to her on Jane's death to Richard Wilson of Cripplegate, London, who, in May, 1698, conveyed the estate to Edward Clopton in a deed in which it is described as "all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate and being in the Chappell Street in the said borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, being late the messuage or tenement of one Jane Hathaway, widow, and lyes between a messuage or tenement of one Richard Holmes on the north part, and a messuage or tenement late of one William Baker, gentleman, deceased, on the south part." These premises, afterwards known by the sign of the Castle, were rebuilt by Edward Clopton, and now contain no vestiges of the architectural work of the Shakespearean period.

The determination of the western boundaries of the New Place estate has been alone rendered possible by a careful enquiry into the measures of the spaces occupied by the properties above described. Although the boundary marks of the garden formerly attached to Nash's House have long been removed, their positions can be ascertained with nearly mathematical exactitude. That Shakespeare's garden was originally, as it is now, contiguous to the eastern limits of the other properties, is shown decisively by the terms of a nearly contemporary lease of the third house from New Place; and, as those premises have belonged to the Corporation from the sixteenth century to the present time, it is all but impossible that their boundaries should have been changed without a record of the fact having been made. No evidence of any such alteration is to be discovered amongst the town muniments. The lease referred to was granted to Mary Tomlins in 1619, the house being therein described as,—“all that messuage or tenement and garden with thappurtenances wheerin the said Marye now dwelleth, scittuate and

beinge in Stratford aforesaide in a certaine place or streete there called Chappell Streete, betweene the tenement and garden of the saide Bayliffe and Burgesses in the occupaccion of Julyus Shawe one the south parte, the tenement and garden in the occupaccion of George Perrye one the north parte, *the garden or orchard of Mr. John Hall one thest parte*, and the saide streete one the west." Another testimony to the same effect occurs in the conveyance of the house and garden in Chapel Street from Richard Lane to Thomas Hathaway in 1647, in which the property sold is described as consisting of, "all that messuag or tenement, with the backside and garden, and all other thappurtenaunces thereunto belonging, scittuate, lying and being in Stratford aforesaide, in a street there called the Chappell Streete, betweene the dwelling howse of John Loach on the north side, and the howse of Henry Tomlins on the south, *the land of Mrs. Hall on the east*, and the said streete on the west partes thereof, and now in the occupaccion of the said Thomas Hathway."

Opposite to New Place, on the south-west end of Chapel Street and at the corner of Scholar's Lane, was, in Shakespeare's time, a private residence, which was afterwards, some time between the years 1645 and 1668, converted into a tavern distinguished by the sign of the Falcon. At the last-mentioned date, it was kept by one Joseph Phillips, who issued a token in that year, the sign, a falcon, being in the centre. It



was probably this individual who first used the house as an inn, and the sign, there can hardly be a doubt, was adopted in reference to Shakespeare's crest, even if it be a mere conjecture that the landlord was descended from William Phillips, the maternal grandfather of Thomas Quiney, and in that way remotely connected with the poet's family. The most ancient title-deed yet discovered which refers to this house is dated in 1640, and the premises are therein described as consisting of a house and garden "latelie in the tenure, use and holdinge of Mrs. Katherine Temple, and nowe in the use and occupation of Joseph Boles, gent." It was then evidently a private house, and it is similarly described in a deed of 1645. In 1681 it is mentioned as "all that messuage or tenement with the apurtenances called by the name of the Falcon;" in 1685, as "comonly called by the name of the Falcon house;" and in 1687,

as "all that message, or tenement, or inne, comonly called or knowne by the name of the Falcon, scituate and beinge in a certaine street there comonly called or knowne by the name of the Chappell Street, and now in the occupacion of Joseph Phillips." The Falcon has been twice modernized within the last hundred years, and no reliable representation of it in its original state is known to be preserved. The view given by Ireland in 1795, with lattice-windows on the ground floor, is at all events inaccurate, if not chiefly fanciful, and the same observation will apply to engravings of the ancient tavern in more recent works. That writer speaks of the house as "built of upright oak timbers with plaister," and there is no doubt, from the structural indications visible even in its present altered condition, that it was originally a post-and-pan edifice of three stories, the fronts of the two upper ones overhanging the ground-floor rooms. Ireland adds the unfounded statements that it was kept, in Shakespeare's days, by Julius Shaw, and that the poet, passing much time there, had "a strong partiality for the landlord, as well as for his liquor," *Views on the Warwickshire Avon*, 1795, p. 204. It may be just worth mentioning that there is still preserved a shovel-board table, sixteen feet and a half in length, which is asserted to have belonged to the Falcon Inn in olden times, and at which Shakespeare is said to have often played. That the table came from the Falcon there is no doubt, but as to its implied age there is much uncertainty, while the tradition connecting it with the poet is unquestionably a modern fabrication.

THE HISTORY OF NEW PLACE.

There is a vellum roll, which was written in the year 1483, in which a tenement at Stratford-upon-Avon is described as being *juxta Capellam modo Hugonis Clopton generosi*; but the earliest distinct notice of the large house in that town, situated at the corner of Chapel Street and Chapel Lane, generally referred to in the old records as the New Place, the term *place* being used in old English in the sense of residence or mansion, occurs in the will of Sir Hugh Clopton, an eminent citizen and mercer of London in the fifteenth century. In that document, which was proved in October, 1496, very shortly after the testator's death, the building is devised in the following terms,—“to William Clopton I bequeith my grete house in Stratford-upon-Avon, and all other my landes and tenementes being in Wilmecote, in the Brugge Towne and Stratford, with reversion and servyces and duetes thereunto belonginge, remayne to my cousin William Clopton, and, for lak of issue of hym, to remayne to the right heires of the lordship of Clopton for ever being heires mailes.” That the “grete house” refers to New Place clearly appears from the inquisition upon Sir Hugh Clopton's death, taken at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1497, in which he is described as being seized “de uno burgagio jacente in Chapell Strete in Stretforde predicta *ex oposito Capelle ex parte boreali*.” Sir Hugh had previously granted a life-interest in the estate to one Roger Paget, in whose possession it was vested in 1496. The William Clopton, to whom the reversion in fee was bequeathed in the same year, was the son of John, and the grandson of Thomas, the brother of Sir Hugh. Livery of seizin in respect to New Place was granted to him in July, 1504, probably after the death of Paget; Rot. Pat. 19 Hen. VII. He died in 1521, leaving a will in which he bequeathed all his lands and tenements in Stratford-upon-Avon to his wife Rose for her life, and in the inquisition taken on his death, held in September, 1521, he was found to be possessed of one tenement in Chapel Street situated to the north of the Chapel of the Guild,—“necnon de et in uno burgagio jacente in strata vocata Chapel Strete in Stratford-super-Avene ex parte boreali Capelle Sancte Trinitatis in Stratford predicta,” Inq. 13 Henry VIII. In the same will he leaves “all such maners, londes, and tenementis, which were sumtyme of thenheritance of myne auncettours havng the name and names of Clopton, to those of the heirez males of my body comyng, and for defaulte of suche heire male of my body comyng, to the

use of the heires malez of my said auncettours of the name of the Cloptones, accordyng to the old estates of intaylez and willis hertofore therof had, made and declared by my said auncettours, or any of theym." This devise seems to include New Place, otherwise there would be no provision for its descent after the death of Rose in 1525, when it became the property of William Clopton, son of the above-named William. It is alluded to as his freehold estate in an inquisition taken on his death in 1560, and as then consisting of one tenement with the appurtenances in Chapel Street in the tenure of William Bott,—Escheat. 2 Eliz.

Leland, who visited Stratford-upon-Avon about the year 1540, describes New Place as an elegant house built of brick and timber. His words are,—“there is a right goodly chappell, in a fayre street towards the south ende of the towne, dedicated to the Trinitye; this chappell was newly re-edified by one Hugh Clopton, major of London; this Hugh Clopton builded also by the north syde of this chappell a praty house of bricke and tymbre, wherin he lived in his latter dayes and dyed.” Leland perhaps means that upright and cross pieces of timber were used in the construction of the house, the intervening spaces being filled in with brick. This writer appears, however, to have been misinformed when he made the statement that Sir Hugh resided at New Place in the latter part of his life, and that he died there. It seems evident, from his remains having been interred at St. Margaret's in Lothbury, as recorded by Stow, that he died in London, for he expressly stipulates in his will that, if Stratford was the place of his death, he should be buried in that town. New Place, as previously mentioned, was not even in Sir Hugh's possession at that period, it having been sold or given by him to one Roger Paget for the life of the latter; so that, in fact, the house did not revert to the Cloptons until after the death of that tenant. It may be doubted if any members of the Clopton family lived there in the sixteenth century, for they are generally spoken of as residing at Clopton, and in no record of that period yet discovered is there any evidence that they were inhabitants of Stratford. In November, 1543, William Clopton let New Place on lease for a term of forty years to Dr. Thomas Bentley, who had been more than once President of the College of Physicians in its very early days, the Doctor paying for the house, including some lands in the neighbourhood, a yearly rent of ten pounds. Some time afterwards this lease was surrendered, and a new one granted at the same rental to continue in force during the lives of Dr. Bentley and his wife Anne, or during her widowhood should she survive her husband. Dr. Bentley died in or about the year 1549, leaving New Place *in great ruyn and decay and unrepayryd*. His widow married one Richard Charnocke, and the lease by this event being forfeited, Clopton entered into possession of the premises, a circumstance which was the occasion of a law-suit, the

result of which is not stated, but there can be little doubt that it terminated in some way in favour of the defendant, who devised his estates at Stratford-upon-Avon to his son, William Clopton, in 1560. This bequest was encumbered with a number of heavy legacies, in consequence of which the testator's son was compelled to part with some of the estates, which he did in 1563 to one William Bott, who had previously resided at New Place and in that year became its owner. It may be assumed that the latter was living there in 1564, when his name occurs in the Council-book of Stratford as contributing more than any one else in the town to the relief of the poor. His transactions with Clopton were mysterious and extensive, but there is no good reason for a supposition that New Place was obtained in other than an honourable manner. Clopton's embarrassments appear to have arisen from his father burdening his estates with legacies of unusual magnitude, hence arising the necessity for a recourse to a friendly capitalist.

During the time that Bott was in possession of New Place he brought an action of trespass against Richard Sponer, accusing the latter of entering into a close in Chapel Lane belonging to Bott called the *barne yarde nigh le New Place gardyn*, and taking thence by force twelve pieces of squared timber of the estimated value of fourty shillings. This act is stated to have been committed on June 18th, 1565, and the spot referred to was clearly an enclosed space of ground in which stood a barn belonging to New Place, a little way down Chapel Lane next to the garden of that house. Sponer was a painter living at that time in Chapel Street in the third house from New Place and on the same side of the way, a fact which appears from a lease granted by the Corporation on May 28th, 1563, to "Rychard Sponer of Stratford peynter" of "a tenement wyth appurtenaunces scytuate and beinge in the borrough of Stratford aforseid, in a strete there callyd the Chapell Strete, nowe in the tenure and occupacion of the seid Richard, and also a gardyn and bacsyde adjoynynge to the seid tenemente now lykwyse in the tenure and occupacion of the seid Richard." It appears from an endorsement that the house was the same which was afterwards held by Tomlins, the garden of which extended to the western side of what was afterwards the Great Garden of New Place. "John Tomlins holdeth one tenemente with thappurtenaunces late in the tenure of Richard Sponer," Rent-roll, January, 1597-8. Now, in all probability, the timber was taken by Sponer from a spot close to his own garden, the division between the premises being in those days either a hedge or a mud-wall, not a fence of a nature which would have rendered the achievement a difficult one. In his defence he admits having taken away six pieces of timber, but asserts that the plaintiff had presented the same to one Francis Bott, who had sold them to the defendant. This statement is declared by William Bott to be false, but it is reiterated by Sponer in

the subsequent proceedings. The result of the action is not recorded, but it was settled, probably by compromise, at the close of the year. Several papers respecting this suit have been preserved, but the only one of interest in connexion with New Place is the following plea which Bott filed against Sponer on September 12th, 1565,—“Willielmus Bott queritur versus Ricardum Sponer de placito transgressionis, et sunt plegii de prosequendo, videlicet, Johannes Doo et Ricardus Roo, unde idem Willielmus, per Jacobum Woodward, attornatum suum, dicit quod predictus Ricardus, xvij. die Junii, anno regni domine Elizabethæ Dei gracia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensoris, etc., septimo, vi et armis, etc., clausum ipsius Willielmi Bott vocatum *le barne yarde*, jacens et existens in Stretford predicta juxta *le neve place gardyn*, in quodam^o venella vocata Dede Lane apud Stretford predictam, infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, fregit et intravit, et duodecim pecias de meremiis vocatas *xij. peces of tymbber squaryd and sawed* precii quadraginta solidorum, de bonis cattallis^o ipsius Willielmi Bott adtunc et ibidem inventas, cepit et asportavit, unde idem Willielmus dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam centum solidorum, et unde producit sectam, etc.” The first mention of there being a garden attached to New Place occurs in this document; but there could not have been a very large one belonging to the house during the early part of the century, for a portion, if not the whole, of what was afterwards called the Great Garden belonged to the Priory of Pinley up to the year 1544. In deeds of 12 and 21 Henry VI., the Clifford Charity estate is described as adjoining the *land* of the Prioress of Pinley; but, in 12 Edward IV., that term is changed into *tenement*,—“inter tenementum Abbatii de Redyng ex parte una et tenementum priorisse de Pynley, nunc in tenura Johannis Gylbert, ex parte altera.” From this period until some time after 1544, the probability is that there were a cottage and garden between New Place and the Clifford estate. As to the exact period when the cottage was pulled down, and its site with the garden attached to New Place, it would be in vain now to conjecture.

In July, 1567, the New Place estate was sold by William Bott and others to William Underhill for the sum of £40, being then described as consisting of one messuage and one garden; and in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick, made in 1590, it is stated that “Willielmus Underhill generosus” held in fee a house called *the Neve Place* with its appurtenances at an annual court-rent of twelve-pence. The estate continued in the hands of the Underhill family until the year 1597, when it was purchased by Shakespeare, being then described as consisting of one messuage, two barns, and two gardens. The following is a copy of the foot of the fine levied on this occasion,—“Inter Willielmum Shakespeare, querentem, et Willielmum Underhill, generosum,

deforciantem, de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, et duobus gardinis, cum pertinenciis, in Stratford-super-Avon, unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, Scilicet quod predictus Willielmus Underhill recognovit predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespeare, ut illa que idem Willielmus habet de dono predicti Willielmi Underhill, et illa remisit et quietumclamavit de se et heredibus suis predicto Willielmo Shakespeare et heredibus suis imperpetuum; et preterea idem Willielmus Underhill concessit, pro se et heredibus suis, quod ipsi warantizabunt predicto Willielmo Shakespeare et heredibus suis predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis imperpetuum; et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quieta clamancia, warantia, fine et concordia idem Willielmus Shakespeare dedit predicto Willielmo Underhill sexaginta libras sterlingorum," Pasch. 39 Eliz. A facsimile of the exemplification of this fine, that which was held by Shakespeare, with his title-deeds, is here given. Another one was levied on New Place in 1602, for the same property is unquestionably referred to, notwithstanding the addition of the words, *et duobus pomariis*, in the foot of the fine,—“Inter Willielmum Shakespeare, generosum, quorentem, et Herculem Underhill, generosum, deforciantem, de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, duobus gardinis, et duobus pomariis cum pertinenciis, in Stretford-super-Avon; unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, Scilicet quod predictus Hercules recognovit predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis esse jus ipsius Willielmi, ut illa que idem Willielmus habet de dono predicti Herculis, et illa remisit et quietumclamavit de se et heredibus suis predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis imperpetuum; et preterea idem Hercules concessit, pro se et heredibus suis, quod ipsi warantizabunt predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis contra predictum Herculem et heredes suos imperpetuum; et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quieta clamancia, warantia, fine et concordia idem Willielmus dedit predicto Herculi sexaginta libras sterlingorum," Mich. 44 & 45 Eliz. In the absence of the deed which would explain the object of this fine, it can only be conjectured that, after Shakespeare had bought New Place, it was discovered that Hercules Underhill had some contingent interest in the property which was conveyed to the poet by this second transaction.

There is evidence, in the list of corn and malt owners, dated a few months after Shakespeare's purchase of New Place, that he was then the occupier of that residence, and there is no doubt that it continued to be in his possession until his death in 1616. In the latter year he devised “all that capitall messuage or tenemente, with thappurtenances, called the Newe Place, wherein I nowe dwell,” to his daughter Susanna Hall for life, remainders to her male issue in strict entail, remainder to his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall, then a little girl of eight years of age, and her male issue, remainder to his daughter Judith and her male issue,

Purum a ball



George Nass



remainder to the testator's own heirs for ever. No further dealings with the estate took place until the early part of the year 1639, when, on the death of the two surviving sons of Judith Quiney, that lady herself being then fifty-four years of age, the poet's devise of remainders to her children was accepted as void. Within a few weeks after this unexpected occurrence, Susanna Hall joined with Mr. and Mrs. Nash in making a new settlement of the Shakespeare entails. Under a deed of May 27th, 1639, New Place and the other settled estates were confirmed "to the onelie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife for and during the terme of their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and after their deceases, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodies of the said Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife betweene them lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the heires of the bodie of the said Elizabeth lawfullie begotten or to bee begotten, and, for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the said Thomas Nash and of his heires and assignes for ever, and to none other use or uses, intent or purpose whatsoever." No note of a fine of this date has been discovered, and, notwithstanding the wording of the settlement to that effect, it may be doubted if one was levied. The estate tail and remainders do not appear to have been effectually barred until the year 1647.

In the month of July, 1643, New Place was the temporary residence of Queen Henrietta Maria in the course of her triumphant march from Newark to Keinton. This fact, which there is no reason to dispute, rests upon a tradition told by Sir Hugh Clopton to Theobald early in the last century, and the anecdote exhibits a continuation in the family of the sincere loyalty which the favours of previous sovereigns must have riveted to the poet's own affections. According to the last-named writer, the Queen "kept her Court for three weeks in New Place," Preface to his edition of Shakespeare, ed. 1733, p. xiv. She was, however, at Stratford only three days, arriving there on July 11th, at the head of upwards of two thousand foot and a thousand horse, with about a hundred waggons, and a train of artillery. This was a memorable day for Stratford, for here the Queen was met by Prince Rupert at the head of another body of troops, the most stirring event of the kind the ancient town has ever witnessed. The Corporation bore at least some of the expense of entertaining Henrietta, who left Stratford on the 13th of the same month, meeting the King in the vale of Keinton, near the site of the battle of Edgehill.

Thomas Nash appears to have considered the settlement of 1639 as one entitling him to dispose of Shakespeare's estates by will, perhaps on the supposition that he would outlive his mother-in-law, and a period at

which it was unlikely for her daughter to have issue. There was also the exonerative fact that the terms of the devise in his will would not affect the life-interest of his wife as secured by that settlement. It is, at all events, certain that he devised New Place in 1642 to his kinsman Edward Nash, just as if it were his own property,—“item, I give, dispose and bequeath unto my kinsman Edward Nash, and to his heires and assignes for ever, one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances comonly called or knowen by the name of the Newe Place, scituate lyeing and being in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, in a streete there called or knowen by the name of the Chappell Streete, togeather alsoe with all and singuler howses, out-houses, barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, easementes, proffittes and comodities to the same belonginge or in anie wise appertayninge, or reputed, taken, esteemed or enjoyed as thereunto belonging, and nowe in the tenure, use and occupation of mee the said Thomas Nashe.” In a nuncupative codicil, made very shortly before his death on April the 4th, 1647, he declares that the land given in the will to Edward Nash, including doubtlessly the estate of New Place, should be by him settled, after his decease, upon Edward’s son Thomas. He was clearly a man of very considerable wealth, which is even specifically alluded to in the lines inscribed on his tombstone in the chancel of Stratford church. Shakespeare’s grand-daughter Elizabeth was his sole executrix and residuary legatee, but most of the other terms of the will indicate a partiality in favour of his own relatives, the disposition to whom of the poet’s estates does not appear to be equitable. The codicil mentions the then handsome legacy of £50 to his mother-in-law, Shakespeare’s daughter; and it also exhibits him on friendly terms with other members of his wife’s family, there being several bequests to the Hathaways and Quineys.

So full of civil troubles were those days that, at the very time of her husband’s death, Mrs. Nash had soldiers quartered upon her at New Place, one of whom was implicated in a robbery of deer from the park of Sir Greville Verney, an occurrence which took place on the last day of April, 1647. She duly proved her husband’s will in the following June, but the entail of New Place having been barred in 1639, and re-settled on her and her issue, and as she, at her husband’s decease, was not thirty-nine years of age, she declined to carry out Nash’s will so far as that estate and two others were concerned. She therefore without delay,—in fact, within two or three weeks after her husband’s decease,—joined with her mother in levying a fine (Easter Term, 23 Car. I.) on New Place, and resettling it on June 2nd, 1647, “to the onlie use and behoofe of the said Susan Hall for and duringe the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease, to the use and behoofe of the said Elizabeth Nash, and the heires of her body lawfully begotten or to be begotten,

and, for default of such issue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said Elizabeth Nash for ever." In Michaelmas of the same year a recovery of the same estate was prosecuted. It is worth mentioning that Mrs. Nash was not present when the will was signed at New Place on August the 25th, 1642, and unless the devise of that estate were made with her full knowledge and consent, she might reasonably have felt herself at liberty to endeavor to secure a residence associated with the memories of her father and grandfather.

Edward Nash, the devisee under his uncle's will, naturally desired to place the new settlement made by Susanna Hall and her daughter on one side; and, to effect this purpose, he filed a bill in Chancery on February 12th, 1647-8, against Elizabeth Nash and other legatees, to compel them to produce and execute the provisions of the said will. The defendant, in her answer, admits the contents of the will, but denies that Thomas Nash had the power to dispose of any interest in New Place, asserting that the estate could not be so devised, because it was the inheritance of William Shakespeare, her grandfather, who was seized thereof in fee simple long before her marriage with Nash, bequeathing it to Susanna Hall, the daughter and coheir of the said William, for her life, and after her death to her and her issue. She then proceeds to mention that Susanna Hall, to whom the property was devised by Shakespeare, was yet living and enjoying the same; that she and her mother, after Nash's death, levied a fine and recovery on the estate to the use of Susanna for life, remainder to herself; and that she only disputed that portion of her husband's will which had reference to New Place, the land in Old Stratford, and the house in London. Mrs. Nash also admits that she "hath in her hands or custodie many deeds, evidences, writings, charters, escripts and muniments which concerne the lands and premises which the defendant claymeth as her inheritance, and other the lands which are the defendant's joynture, and are devised to her by the said Thomas Nash." Amongst these were the title-deeds of New Place.

The answer of Elizabeth Nash was taken by commission at Stratford, no doubt at New Place, in April, 1648, and on June 10th, process of duces tecum having been previously awarded against the defendants "to bringe into this Court the will, evidences and writings confessed by their answer to be in their custody, or att the retourne thereof to shewe unto this Courte good cause to the contrary," it was ordered "that the will be brought into this Court to the end the plaintiff may examine witnesses therupon, and then to be delivered back to the defendant, and that the defendant shall allsoe bring the said evidencies and writings into Court upon oath the first day of the next terme there to remaine for the equall benefitt of both parties, and shall within ten daies after notice deliver unto the plaintiff a true schedule thereof." The

will of Thomas Nash was produced before the examiners in Chancery in November, and Michael Johnson, one of the witnesses, was examined at length as to its authenticity; but it seems that Elizabeth Barnard defied altogether the above-named order in respect to the title-deeds of the estates in dispute. It appears from the affidavit filed at the Six Clerks' Office in December, 1649, that the writ of execution of the order of the tenth of June was personally served upon her on July the sixth, and there is a note in the books of the same office, dated November the 20th, to the effect that she had paid no attention to the order or to the writ. There was clearly an indisposition to allow the evidences in her possession respecting the property to be deposited in Court.

In the midst of these legal proceedings, and a few days after the order of the tenth of June was served upon Mrs. Barnard, her mother, Susanna Hall, expired. After this event, assuming the settlement of 1647 to have been valid, New Place became the property of Mrs. Barnard, and there is every reason to believe that the litigation terminated in the latter part of the year 1650. It appears from the books in the Six Clerks' Office that no replication was ever filed, and no decree in the suit can be found. In November, 1650, an order for the publication of the evidence was granted, so it is clear that after that date the pleadings were closed, and henceforth no more is heard of the suit. The terms of the compromise can only be conjectured, but as Lady Barnard, in her will, in directing her trustees to dispose of New Place and other estates, provides "that my loving cousin Edward Nash esq. shall have the first offer or refusal thereof, *according to my promise formerly made to him,*" it may be presumed that the dispute was amicably adjusted, that assurance having probably been elicited on the occasion. The estate tail and remainders appear to have been so effectually barred by the fine and recovery of 1647, it is most likely that Edward Nash found that his efforts to retain the property would be ineffectual.

A few weeks previously to the termination of the suit between the Nashes, a fine, dated in 1650, was levied on New Place, the only effect, however, of which seems to have been to place John Barnard and Henry Smith as trustees of the settlement of 1647, in the stead of Richard Lane, whose colleague, William Smith of Balsall, appears to have been dead. This explanation is offered, however, with hesitation, fines being as a rule merely auxiliary to deeds explaining their object, which otherwise can often only be conjectured. In 1652, another fine was levied, and a settlement made whereby New Place was confirmed "to the use of John Barnard and Elizabeth his wife for and dureing their naturall lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and to the heires of the body of the said Elizabeth lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for defaulte of such issue, to the use of such person or persons, and for such estate and estates, as the said Elizabeth by any

writing either purporteing her last will or otherwise, sealed and subscribed in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, shall lymitt and appoint; and from and after such nominacion or appointment, or in defaulte of such nominacion or appointment, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the survivor of them, the said John and Elizabeth, for ever." In pursuance of this power, Mrs. Barnard, in April, 1653, executed a deed conveying New Place, after the death of her husband and the decease of herself without issue, to trustees, who were directed to sell the estate, and apply the proceeds "in such manner and by such some or somes, as I, the said Elizabeth, shall by any wrighting or noate under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate."

John Barnard, who was knighted by Charles the Second in 1661, owned the manor of Abington, near Northampton, at which place he and his wife resided at the time of her death in 1670. How long after their marriage they occupied New Place does not appear, but it is mentioned as in his tenure in 1652, and, from the names of the witnesses, it may be perhaps assumed that Mrs. Barnard was living at Stratford when she executed the deed of 1653. From a list of fire-hearths made in 1663; it would seem that Francis Oldfield, gentleman, was then living in the house, and he continued to occupy it until at least 1670, but in 1674 a Mr. Greene is returned as holding it. Sir John Barnard was presented for a nuisance in Chapel Lane in 1670, but probably as owner, not as occupier. Oldfield, there is reason to believe, removed from New Place in or soon after that year, for on June 16th, 1671, he requested to be released from being an alderman "in respect he hath removed his habitacion into another county, and liveth att that distance from this burrough that hee is incapacitated to doe that respect and duty which belongs to his said office or place of alderman, as formerly hee hath done," a request, however, which was not complied with until September, 1672. The usual place of residence of Sir John and Lady Barnard, during the later years of their-lives, appears to have been at the chief mansion in the small and retired village of Abington. The house, which is situated very near the church, still remains, but in a modernised state, the only relics of the Barnards consisting of carved oak panelling in the old dining-room, and a fine hall of the sixteenth century, the latter remaining in the original state, with the exception that some modern village carpenter has added pieces of wood placed cross-wise between the spaces of the original work. No tradition respecting the Barnards has been preserved in the neighbourhood, as I ascertained many years ago from careful enquiries amongst the then old inhabitants. Lady Barnard executed her will there on January 29th, 1669-70, being probably in a delicate state of health, for she died in the following month, and was buried at Abington on February 17th. "Madam

Elizabeth Bernard, wife of Sir John Bernard kt., was buried 17^o Febr., 1669," Abington register. In her will she requests her surviving trustee, after the death of her husband, to sell New Place to the best bidder, and to make the first offer of it to Edward Nash. She also directs that the executors or administrators of Sir John Barnard "shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the New Place, with the orchards, gardens, and all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, for and during the space of six months next after the decease of him the said Sir John Barnard." There is a little bit of traditional evidence leading to the not at all improbable conclusion that this will gave dissatisfaction to the Harts. "I have been told by 'Thomas Hart,'" says Jordan, in one of his manuscripts, "his great-grandfather George attempted to recover New Place by virtue of his great uncle's (the poet's) will." If George Hart meditated, which is not unlikely, an attempt of the kind, it probably never came into court, the entail having been too successfully barred to lead us to believe that much progress in any legal proceedings in his favour could have been made.

No sepulchral monument of any description was erected in commemoration of the last descendant of Shakespeare. The memory of her husband, who died at Abington early in 1674, was not so neglected, but his remains, with probably those of Lady Barnard, have long since disappeared, for beneath his memorial slab is now a vault belonging to another family. Administration of his effects was granted to his son-in-law, Henry Gilbert of Locko, co. Derby, the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, and to his two other surviving daughters. By these, or some of these, New Place was no doubt kept possession during the six months named by Lady Barnard.

Edward Nash not purchasing the estate, it was sold by Lady Barnard's surviving trustee to Sir Edward Walker, at one time Secretary at War to Charles the First, and then Garter King at Arms. In the conveyance, dated May 18th, 1675, it is described as "all that capitall messuage or tenement, with appurtenances, scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, comonly called or knowne by the name of the New-Place, scituate in part in a street there called Chappell Street, and in part in a lane there called Chappell Lane, and all gardens, orchards, courts, yards, outlets, backsides, barnes, stables, outhouses, buildings, walls, mounds and fences to the same belonging, or in any wise of right apperteyning or therwithall formerly comonly used or enjoyed, or reputed as parcell or member therof, or belonging therunto." It appears from the Stratford records and from Dugdale's Diary that Sir Edward did not reside at New Place, when he was in Warwickshire, but at Clopton House, an ancient mansion which, of course, externally at least, must have been familiar to Shakespeare, although no reliance is

to be placed on the recently asserted, and most likely fictitious, tradition that he visited there. The house, which has long been modernized, was a large rambling gabled edifice said to have been originally moated. It is situated on the brow of the Welcombe Hills, amidst land of trivial undulation, within two miles of Stratford-on-Avon.

Sir Edward Walker did not long retain the enjoyment of his Shakespearean purchase. He died in 1677, devising New Place to his daughter Barbara, wife of Sir John Clopton, for her life, with remainder to the testator's senior grandson, Edward Clopton; but the rental of the premises was to be reserved for ten years "towards raising portions for my female grandchildren, Agnes and Barbara Clopton." The terms of the bequest to his daughter and grandson are,—“I give unto my said deare daughter after the expiration of tenn yeares the house called the New Place, with the gardens, barnes, &c., lying in the borough of Stratford, during her naturall life, and then to come to my eldest grandsonn, Edward Clopton and his heires.” Barbara died in 1692, when the estate devolved on her son Edward, who became the occupier of New Place about two years afterwards, previously to which time the premises had been tenanted successively by persons named Joseph Hunt and Henry Browne. It appears from a deed previously quoted that Edward Clopton removed to Nash's house some time before May, 1699, continuing, nevertheless, to hold the Great Garden that belonged to New Place. A few months afterwards he gave the rest of the latter estate to his father, Sir John Clopton, conveying to him, in January, 1699-1700, for his life “all that messuage or tenement and premises, with the appurtenances, situate, lying and being in Chapel Street and Chapel Lane in the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, commonly called or known by the name of the New Place, then in the tenure of John Wheeler gent,” with remainder to the use of Hugh Clopton in fee. It is worthy of remark that no garden at all is here mentioned. Sir John appears shortly after this period to have pulled down the original building, for in September, 1702, he settled New Place upon Hugh Clopton and his intended wife, in anticipation of the former's marriage with Elizabeth Millward, and it was then described as “one new house standing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, which house is intended for them, the said Hugh Clopton and Elizabeth his intended wife, to live in, but the same haveing been lately built is not finished, or fitted up, and made convenient for them to inhabitt in.” All these transactions were no doubt the results of a family arrangement.

When the Cloptons thus arranged for the demolition of Shakespeare's latest residence, there was no one to supplicate for its preservation, and it would be unfair to reproach them for not having been guided by sentiments that were not cherished till a later period. They had not the counsel of posterity. It is clear from the indenture of settlement of 1702 above men-



THE BACK OF CLOPTON HOUSE, NEAR STRATFORD-ON-AVON, AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1801.

tioned that the second house of New Place was completed in or very shortly before that year, for it is therein described as "lately built" and as being altogether in an unfinished state in the month of September. In fact, Sir John Clopton then agreed to complete by the following March the "finishing both as to glaseing, wainscoateing, painteing, laying of flores, makeing the staircase, doors, walls and pertitions in and about the said house, brewhouse, stables, coachhouse and other buildings, and alsoe wallinge the garden, and layeing gravell walkes therein, and doeing all other things proper and reasonable in and about the said house to make the same inhabitable." Some few of the materials of the ancient building were used in the construction of the new one, and portions of the foundations were suffered to remain, but Sir John Clopton clearly rebuilt the house on a different ground-plan. The excavations that have been made establish this fact beyond a doubt, a circumstance it may be well to state decisively, it having been confidently asserted, on what appeared to be good authority, that the previous edifice was merely refronted and altered. In fact, in respect to most of the basement, the old fabric was removed altogether, while, as to the greater portion of the rest, the foundations only, to the height of about fifteen inches, were allowed to remain. A curious demonstration of this occurs in the remains of the south-east room, where a fire-place built by Sir John Clopton is to be observed crossing over the foundations of the ancient walls, the latter two feet wide.

When the rebuilding of New Place was completed and it was fitted for residence in 1703, it was occupied by Hugh Clopton with the small back garden and premises attached to it, while his brother Edward occupied the adjoining house and garden, together with the Great Garden. They continued neighbours until 1706, when Nash's House, together with the large garden, became, as has been previously noticed, the property of Aston Ingram. Hugh Clopton did not re-annex the Great Garden to New Place until March 21st, 1728-9, when, in the conveyance from his sister Barbara, the widow of Ingram, as recited in an old abstract of title, it is described as "all that piece or parcel of ground lying and being within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon called the Great Garden, and which did formerly belong to New Place, the house wherein he the said Hugh Clopton did then inhabit and dwell, and was near adjoining to the said house and backside thereof, which said garden contained by estimation three quarters of an acre more or less, together also with all barns, stables, outhouses, brick walls, edifices, buildings, ways, waters, &c., to the same premises belonging." The word *near* used in this description must not be understood to imply that the Great Garden did not actually join the back premises of New Place, for in the conveyance of Nash's House from Ingram to Rose, 1729, the former is described as "the plot or peice of ground called or

knowne by the name of the Great Garden, being or being reputed three quarters of an acre, bee the same more or less, with the yard, barnes, stables, and outhouses to the same belonging, standing, lyeing and being on the east side the house called the New Place, now in the possession of the said Hugh Clopton, and some years since belonged to or was a part of that house or premisses thereunto belonging."

In June, 1732, Hugh Clopton settled New Place and its grounds to himself for life, with various remainders over. He died in 1751, and, in 1756, the then owners of the estate under that settlement conveyed to the Rev. Francis Gastrell in fee, "all that capital messuage or mansion house called the New Place, situate and being in Chapel Street and Chapel Lane within the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, with the kitchen garden heretofore purchased of William Smith, gentleman, as also the Great Garden and yard thereto adjoining, together with the buildings erected thereon, some time since purchased of Barbara Ingram widow, now in the tenure of the said Henry Talbot, and also all the pews and seats in the Church and Chapel of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid usually held and enjoyed by the said Sir Hugh Clopton and his domesticks as appurtenant to the said messuage; and also all the fixtures and ornaments fixed to and belonging to the said capital messuage, with their incidents and appurtenances." It was this Gastrell who pulled the modern non-Shakespearean house down to the ground in the year 1759.

In the settlement of 1732, the estate is particularly described as "all that capitall messuage called the New Place, scituate in Chappel Street, adjoining to Chappel Lane, within the Burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, together with the kitchin garden heretofore purchased of William Smith gent., as also the Great Garden and yard thereto adjoining, together with the buildings erected thereon, and lately purchased of Barbara Ingram, widdow, together with all outhouses, edifices, buildings, barns, stables, and edifices thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, or therewith usually held, occupied or enjoyed, and now in the occupation of the said Hugh Clopton." Mention is here first made of the kitchen garden formerly belonging to William Smith, gent., perhaps the individual of that name and rank who died at Stratford-on-Avon in 1708, but there is no trace to be found respecting its situation or of the date of purchase. In the absence of other documents, either can only be a subject of conjecture, but the former was, in all probability, the small indented plot at the north-west of the Great Garden. With this exception, there is no reason for doubting that the northern boundary-line of the original Shakespeare estate has been unaltered to the present day. Had any change been made, the fact could hardly have escaped notice in the title-deeds, but no absolute evidence is at present accessible, the most anxious search having failed to unearth the

old indentures referring to the property between that line and Sheep Street, the only records that would be likely to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The Great Garden of New Place was bounded on the east by a slip of land which, long before the time of Shakespeare, and for many generations afterwards, belonged to the trustees of the Charity of Clifford Chambers, a village near Stratford. It had been given to the parish of Clifford for eleemosynary purposes by Hugh Chesenale, who was the priest of that village in the time of Henry the Seventh. This little estate measured only sixty feet in length by thirty in width, and is described in a deed of the year 1472 as, "burgagium cum suis pertinentiis scituatum in vico vocato Dede Lane in Stratford, inter tenementum Abbathie de Redyng ex parte una et tenementum priorisse de Pynley nunc in tenura Johannis Gylbert ex parte altera." In 1572, it is mentioned as consisting of a barn and garden, and a lease was granted in that year by the trustees, amongst whom was one named in the deed John Shaxber, to Lewis ap Williams of Stratford ironmonger, of "one barne with a garden to the same belonginge in Stretforde aforesaied, in a lane ther commonly caled Deadd lane alias Walker stret, nowe in the tenure and occupation of Robarte Bratte or his assignes," such lease to commence at the expiration of one formerly granted to Robert Bratte. The annual rental was five shillings and ninepence, Williams covenanting to keep the barn and garden in good order, and to pay all chief rents and other outgoings. This barn is mentioned in 1590 in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick,— "inhabitantes de Clyfford unum horreum, vj.d.," the sixpence being the chief rent paid to the Lord of the Manor. In 1619, the estate was occupied by one John Beesly alias Coxe, carpenter, who in or shortly before that year pulled down the barn, in the place of which he erected a small cottage of two bays, and, in defiance of orders then in vogue at Stratford, roofed the tenement with thatch. On the back of the lease above-named is an endorsement that may be assigned to the period of the first James, which contains one of the very few contemporary written notices of the great poet, and it is important as proving decisively that the Great Garden of New Place was occupied by Shakespeare himself. The memorandum is as follows,— "the barne on the west sid bounds by Mr. William Shaxpeare of Pynley Holt, and

in William Shaxpeare of Pynley

the est sid on the Kinges land William Wyatt of Stratford yoman." This means that the western side of the Clifford estate was bounded by property of William Shakespeare which had belonged to the Priory of

Pinley Holt, and the eastern side by Crown land belonging to William Wyatt.

Another evidence that the western side of this small estate adjoined the Great Garden of New Place is contained in a lease dated March the 25th, 1622, between the Clifford Trustees and the above-named John Beesley, in which it is witnessed that the former, "for and in consideration that the said John Beesley alias Cox hath already at his own proper costes and charges newlie erected and builte up two bayes of new buyldinges, and for diverse other good causes and considerations them especiallie moveing, have demised, sett and to farme lett, and by these presentes doe graunte, demise, sett and to farme lett, unto the saide John Beesley alias Cox, all that now cottage or tenement newlie erected by the said John Beesley alias Cox, containinge by estimation two bayes, with a backside or garden plotte to the same belonging, containinge in length three score yardes, and in breadth tenn yardes, all which lie in a streete called Deade Lane or Chappell Lane, and now Walkers Streete, in Stratforde aforesaide, *and is bounded on the weste side with the now land of John Hawle, gent.*, sometye the lande of the dissolved Priorie of Pynley Houlte, and on the easte side with the lande sometye belonging to the Abbie of Reading, and now the land of William Wyate gent." In August, 1758, Gastrell, having then just previously bought the land on the eastern side of this estate, induced the Trustees of Clifford Chambers to give the latter up to him in exchange for a more valuable holding in Sheep Street, after which transaction he was the owner of the land on the north side of the lane extending from the south-west corner of New Place to the Corporation property upon which now stands the Infirmary.

The slip of land which was between the Clifford estate and the town property on the east belonged in 1434, and probably long previously, to the Abbey of Reading. It is described in 1622 as "the lande sometye belonging to the Abbie of Reading, and now the land of William Wyate gent.;" and, in 1656, as "the land sometye belonging to the Abbey of Reading, and now or late the land of Nicholas Ryland gent." There is no evidence to show that Wyat's property extended on the north beyond the boundaries of that belonging to Clifford, but in all probability it did, and, including a larger piece of land on the north-east, reached from Chapel Lane to Sheep Street. At all events, it is certain that Nicholas Ryland owned such an estate, which, in 1681, he or his son sold for £153 to Thomas Maides of Stratford-upon-Avon felmonger, and which is described in the conveyance recited in an old abstract of title as "all that messuage or tenement and malthouse, with the gardens, orchard and backside thereunto belonging, situate, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certain street called the Sheep Street, and one piece or parcel of ground belonging to the said messuage and, lying behind and southward from the same, then lately planted with hopps,

and was then in the tenure of Joseph Hunt gent., all which premises was then in the tenure or occupation of the said Thomas Maides, his assigns or undertenants; and also all that barn to the said message belonging, situate, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certain street called Walkers Street or Chapel Lane, then in the tenure or occupation of one William Greenway or his undertenants." This proves decisively that the barn on the Ryland estate stood in Chapel Lane, but the "one piece or parcel of ground then (1681) lately planted with hoppes" was not included in the portion of the estate sold to Spurr in 1707. It was situated at the back of the premises in Sheep Street, a portion of it most likely adjoining the northern boundary of the ancient Clifford estate in Chapel Lane. This appears from the following description of the Sheep Street estate, when it passed from Michael Goodrich to Joseph Smith in 1709,—“all that message or tenement and malthouse with th'appurtenances, scituate lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certaine streete there called the Sheepe Streete, late in the severall ocupacions of the said Michaell Goodrich, Jane Washbrooke and Frances Williams, or some or one of them; and alsoe all that peece or parcell of ground lying behind the said message, and southward from the same, formerly planted with hoppes.” All the property here described was bought by Gastrell in 1758 of Elizabeth Barodale, who inherited from the Smiths. It was then divided into three tenements, two of which, those lying to the eastward, were given by Gastrell to the Clifford Trustees, in the same year, in exchange for their small estate in Chapel Lane.

In December, 1692, Mary, the widow of the above-named Thomas Maides, with other parties, conveyed the Ryland estates to Michael Goodrich the younger. They are then described as consisting of “all that message or tenement and malthouse with th'appurtenances, scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in a certaine streete there called the Sheep Streete, and one peece or parcell of ground belonging to and lying behind the said message and southward from the same, formerly planted with hoppes, and then in the tenure of Joseph Hunt gent., and all that barne to the said message belonging scituate in Stratford aforesaid, in a certaine streete there called the Walkers Streete or Chappell Lane, formerly in the tenure of one William Greenway, all which premises were heretofore purchased by the said Thomas Maides of one Nicholas Ryland; and such interest, title, estate, use and advantage as the said Thomas Maides formerly had or might have into out of and through the gatehouse belonging to one Samuell Ryland, formerly in the occupation of one John Izod glazior, adjoining to the west side of the said message.” This gatehouse did not form part of the Goodrich estate, but a right of way under it, through Izod Yard, to the premises at the back of Goodrich's property in Sheep Street, was always carefully

provided for. In the year 1704, at the back of the house adjoining this gateway on the east was first a yard, then a newly erected barn, then a garden called the Little Garden, which latter was divided from another called the Great Garden, this Great Garden adjoining the northern boundaries of the Clifford Chapel Lane estate and the yard afterwards sold by Goodrich to Spurr. The passage under the gateway and through Izod Yard is now an alley, and known as Emms' Court.

The barn in Chapel Lane occupied by William Greenway in 1681, with a back yard, were sold by Michael Goodrich, the son, probably, of the Michael above named, to Edward Spurr in October, 1707. The yard extended to the southern boundary of Goodrich's garden attached to his premises in Sheep Street, from which garden it was divided by a hedge. The barn and yard are described as then, 1707, "having the tenement now in the tenure of the said Edward Spurr on the west side and the barne of Richard Tyler gent. now in the occupation of John Hunt gent. on the east side thereof," and further as, "all and singuler the said recited barne and yard, as the same is now devided from the garden belonging to the messuage of the said Michaell Goodrich by an old quicksett hedge, togeather with the passage att the end of the said barne leading out of the said streete called Walkers Streete alias Chappell Lane into the said yard lying behind the said barne, which said barne and yard are now in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Woolmore gent. and John Hunt gent., and are scituate in the said streete called Walkers Streete alias Chappell Lane, and were purchased by Michaell Goodrich deceased, father of the said Michaell Goodrich, party to these presents, to him and his heires, of one Mary Maides, widdow of Thomas Maides, late of Stratford felmonger, deceased." The yard and barn continued with the Spurrs until April, 1758, when John, the eldest son of Edward Spurr, in consideration of £30, conveyed to the Rev. Francis Gastrell in fee, "all that barn and yard situate and being in a certain street or lane in Stratford-upon-Avon called Walkers Street alias Chappell Lane, together with the passage at the end of the said barn leading out of the said street called Walkers Street alias Chappell Lane into the said yard lying behind the said barn, which said yard and barn were heretofore in the tenure of Thomas Woolmore gentleman and John Hunt gentleman, and are now in the possession of the said Francis Gastrell." The barn no doubt adjoined Chapel Lane, for in the year 1694 Michael Goodrich was "presented for not repairing the ground before his barne in the Chappell Lane," Court Leet MS.

To the east in Chapel Lane of the slip of land sold by Michael Goodrich to Edward Spurr in 1707, were three estates belonging to the Corporation, the only one which is of importance in the present enquiry being of course that nearest to New Place. It adjoined the property of

Goodrich, and is said in a deed of 1723 to have measured one hundred and eighty feet on that, its western side, but in a later one of 1763, as one hundred and eighty-two feet eight inches. These premises are described in 1599 as "all that barne and backside thereunto belonging with thappurtenaunces whatsoever scituate, lienge and beinge in Stretforde aforeseyd, in a certeyne lane there called the Chappell Lane or Walkers Strete, and nowe in the tenure or ocupacion of Abraham Strelley or his assignes." Early in the seventeenth century, they were occupied by William Mountford, and in 1619 were leased to Richard Mountford for sixty years, then described as consisting of a barn, garden and workhouse, although from another document of the same date it is certain that the barn had then been recently destroyed. Some time after the destruction of the latter, a smaller one was erected which occupied a portion only of the frontage in Chapel Lane, leaving an open plot of land between the new barn and the one on the Corporation estate on the east side, so that the latter is described in 1689 as bounded by "*the land* of Samuell Tyler gent." William Greeneway, who occupied the adjoining barn, afterwards Spurr's, in 1681, also at that time rented the estate formerly Mountford's, which latter was in 1682 leased by the Corporation to Samuel Tyler. The person last-named died in May, 1693, and the premises were occupied by Richard Tyler at and after this date, the latter being succeeded in the occupation by John Hunt in or before 1707. In a poor-rate levy made in July, 1697, "Mr. Tiler his barne and garden" are valued at £3 per annum. In the year 1723 these premises were leased by the Corporation to John Hunt gentleman, and were then described as consisting of, "all that their barne, plotts of ground and workehouse to the same belonging, scituate lyeing and being in a certaine lane there called the Chappell Lane, heretofore in the tenure or ocupacion of Samuel Tyler gent., but now in the tenure or ocupacion of the said John Hunt, his assignes or undertenants, and is abutted and bounded as hereinafter mencioned, viz., the breadth towards the street eastward goeing bevell nineteen yards and a halfe and one inch, the length from the barne to the end of Richard Hulls ground eight and fifty yards, the length from the lane next the barne now in the possession of Thomas Woolmer gent. to the ground of Mr. John Woolmer of Gainsburrough on the other side thereof sixty yards, and the breadth on the lane side nineteen yards and one foote." This description is important, because it proves that Thomas Woolmer's barn adjoined this property, thus removing all doubt as to the locality of the one conveyed by Goodrich to Spurr in the year 1707.

It is deeply to be regretted that the dimensions of the small estate sold by Goodrich in 1707 are not given in any of the deeds referring to it. Its exact size must, therefore, be a matter of conjecture.

The frontage in Chapel Lane could not have been extensive, for the barn is referred to as adjoining the Corporation property on the east, while, on the western side, between the barn and the Clifford land, there was only a passage leading to the back-yard. It is extremely unlikely that, if this yard was very wide towards the north-east end, the whole property could have been sold in 1707 for the small sum of £24, or in 1758 for £30, the purchase moneys paid respectively by Spurr and Gastrell. It may, therefore, be assumed that it consisted of a long narrow slip of land, the average width being that required for a barn and side-passage. Taking this width at the lowest estimate of thirty feet,—it was probably rather more,—and bearing in mind that the Clifford estate was only ten yards in breadth, it follows that on the east of the New Place estates as thrown into one property by Gastrell there is a strip of land *at least* sixty feet in width, which certainly neither belonged to Shakespeare, nor was ever in his occupation.

The history of New Place after the death of Gastrell remains to be told. By his will dated in 1768, and proved in 1772, he devised to his wife all his estates in Stratford-upon-Avon. In March, 1775, his widow conveyed to William Hunt, of that town, gentleman, "all that large garden or parcel of land near the Chappel, upon part of which a capital messuage lately stood, as the same is now walled in, together with the barn and dovehouse standing thereupon;" this description, although it has been otherwise stated, certainly including the Clifford and Spurr properties. The trustees of this last owner sold the estate in September, 1790, to Charles Henry Hunt, who, in May, 1807, conveyed it to Messrs. Battersbee and Morris as tenants in common. At the time of this latter purchase, there were, in Chapel Lane and on the New Place ground, two cottages which had been formed some years previously out of a large barn that had been one of the appendages to the Shakespeare property in the time of the second Hugh Clopton.

In 1819, all the estates above-mentioned were submitted to auction in a number of lots, but none of the purchases were completed until 1827, when, as previously stated, Nash's House and garden, with the site of New Place and some of its adjoining grounds, were purchased by a Miss Smith, and afterwards became vested in the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. At the same time all the remainder, with the exception of the two cottages and their small back-gardens, was sold to Edward Leyton of that town. One of these cottages was purchased by the same gentleman in 1834, and the other in 1838; but in April, 1827, he had sold a small piece of ground abutting on Chapel Lane, upon which an ugly building, occasionally used for theatrical entertainments, was afterwards erected. In 1844, all the estate, with the exception of the land just alluded to, was settled by him upon his daughter, Mrs. Loggin, and from her trustee it was purchased by me in October, 1861,

with moneys collected by public subscription. Some years afterwards I had the satisfaction of reversing the divorce of April, 1827, in respect to the fragment of land which had then been separated from the rest. Thus, after a number of intricate vicissitudes, the whole of Shakespeare's estate of New Place once more became an individual property, to be held for ever in memory of the great dramatist by the Corporation of his native town.



THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM.

The following notes on the sonnets and other brief pieces, which form this quaint collection, may be useful for reference. The lines in italics are the opening ones of the several poems, here arranged in the order in which they are given in the edition of 1599.

1. *When my love swears that she is made of truth.*—This is the 138th Sonnet in the collective edition of 1609, but the present version contains a few important variations from the text there given. In the 1640 edition of the Poems it is styled “false beleefe,” a heading which, in my copy, is altered in manuscript to “mutuall flatterie.”

2. *Two loves I have of Comfort and Despair.*—This is the 144th Sonnet in ed. 1609. There are several differences, chiefly verbal, between the two copies. In the Poems, ed. 1640, it is headed, “A Temptation.”

3. *Did not the heavenly rhetoric of thine eye.*—This sonnet, with a few various readings, is also found in the comedy of Love’s Labour’s Lost, ed. 1598. It is styled “fast and loose” in the Poems, ed. 1640, the words, “or perjurie excused,” being added in old manuscript in my copy of that volume.

4. *Sweet Cytherea, sitting by a brook.*—The only early printed copies of this, which are known to exist, are those in the two impressions of the Passionate Pilgrim and in the 1640 edition of the Poems. An old manuscript transcript of it is mentioned below, and, in the last-named printed copy, it is headed, “a sweet provocation.”

5. *If love make me forsworn, how shall I swear to love?*—This sonnet, with a few variations, occurs in Love’s Labour’s Lost, ed. 1598, and it is styled “a constant vow” in the Poems, ed. 1640.

6 and 7. *Scarce had the sun dried up the dewy morn; and, Fair is my love, but not so fair as fickle.*—The only early copies of these, which are known to exist, are in the two impressions of the Passionate Pilgrim and in the 1640 edition of the Poems. They are headed respectively in the last work, “cruell deceit” and “the unconstant lover,” altered to “cruell bashfulness” and “faire and fickle” in my manuscript annotated copy of that edition.

8. *If music and sweet poetry agree.*—This sonnet is taken from the latter part of Barnfield’s Encomion of Lady Pecunia, 1598, a small collection of poems with this separate title-page,—“Poems: in Divers Humors.—London, Printed by G. S. for John Jaggard, and are to be

solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand and starre. 1598." Barnfield calls these poems "fruits of unriper yeares," and expressly claims their authorship in terms beside which Jaggard's presumptive evidence is of no value. The sonnet in question is the first in the collection, and is inscribed "to his friend Maister R. L. in praise of musique and poetrie." It is true that this and other pieces are omitted in the second edition of *Lady Pecunia*, 1605, but so also is nearly the whole of the collection entitled *Poems in Divers Humors*, so that no substantial argument can rest upon the absence of the two Pilgrim sonnets from that edition. The present one is headed, "friendly concord," in the *Poems*, ed. 1640, and to that title are added the words, "of musick and poetry," in my annotated copy of that work.

9. *Fair was the morn when the fair queen of love.*—The only early printed copies of this, which are known to exist, are those in the two impressions of the *Passionate Pilgrim* and in the 1640 edition of the *Poems*. The second line being deficient in all these copies, an endeavour was made, late in the reign of Charles the First, to make a perfect text by substituting the following three in lieu of the present second and third lines,—“Hoping to meete Adonis in that place,= Address her early to a certain grove,= Where hee was wont the savage bore to chase.” This alteration is found on the margin of my copy of ed. 1640 in a handwriting which is nearly contemporary with the date of that publication.

10. *Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely pluck'd, soon faded.*—The only early printed copies of this, known to exist, are those in the two impressions of the *Passionate Pilgrim* and in the 1640 edition of the *Poems*. In this last-named work it bears the title of, "Loves Losse."

11. *Venus, with Adonis sitting by her.*—This sonnet, with four lines entirely different and a few minor alterations, is found in B. Griffin's *Fidessa more Chaste than Kinde*, 16mo, 1596. It also occurs with No. 4 in a manuscript, written about the year 1625, preserved at Warwick Castle, the latter poem being there given as a Second Part in continuation of the present one, which is styled "foolish disdaine" in the *Poems*, ed. 1640.

12. *Crabbed age and youth cannot live together.*—This is the earliest known version of a popular ditty frequently noticed by writers of the seventeenth century. The copy of it which is given in the *Poems*, ed. 1640, is headed, "Ancient Antipathy."

13. *Beauty is but a vain and doubtful good.*—A version of this song entitled *Beauty's Value*, is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1750, p. 521, as from a "corrected manuscript," and again in Howard's *Miscellaneous Pieces*, 1765, as "from a very correct manuscript of William Shakespear, in a private hand." In the copy in the 1640 edition of the *Poems* it is called "beauties valuation."

14 and 15. *Good night, good rest, ah ! neither be my share ;—It was a lording's daughter, the fairest one of three.*—These two canzonets are found only in the *Passionate Pilgrim* and in the 1640 edition of the *Poems*, being in the last styled respectively, "loath to depart," and "a duell." After the first one there commences, in the original edition of 1599, a separate part of twelve leaves with another title-page—"Sonnets to sundry notes of Musicke. At London—Printed for W. Jaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard, 1599."

16. *On a day, alack the day !*—This poem, with two additional lines, occurs in *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1598. It is also introduced, with Shakespeare's name attached to it, in *England's Helicon*, eds. 1600 and 1614. The copy in the *Poems*, ed. 1640, is headed, *Love-sicke*.

17. *My flocks feed not, my ewes breed not.*—There is a somewhat brief version of this song in the collection of *Madrigals, &c.*, of Thomas Weelkes, 1597, this person being the composer of the music but not necessarily the author of the words. A copy of it, as it is seen in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, occurs in *England's Helicon*, 1600, entitled, "The vnknowne Shepheards complaint," and there subscribed *Ignoto*, so it is clear that Bodenham was unacquainted with the name of its author. There is an early version of the song in MS. Harl. 6910, and it is called "loves labour lost" in ed. 1640.

18. *Whenas thine eye hath chose the dame.*—A very early manuscript of this poem, with numerous variations, is preserved in a miscellany compiled, there is reason to believe, some few years before the appearance of the *Passionate Pilgrim*. The copy of it which is given in the *Poems*, ed. 1640, is termed "wholesome counsell."

19. *Live with me, and be my love.*—The first of these very pretty songs is incomplete, and the second, called *Loues answere*, still more so. In *England's Helicon*, 1600, the former is given to Marlowe, the latter to *Ignoto*; and Walton, in his *Compleat Angler*, 1653, mentions them together as "that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlow now at least fifty years ago; and an *answere* to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his yonger days;—old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good." Both these songs were exceedingly popular, and are afterwards found amongst the street ballads. The first is quoted in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the music to it is given in *Corkine's Second Book of Ayres*, fol. Lond. 1612.

20. *As it fell upon a day.*—This charming idyl occurs, with the absence of two lines, amongst the *Poems* in *Divers Humors* appended to *Barnfield's Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1598, and the first twenty-six lines, with the addition of two new ones, are found in *England's Helicon*, 1600. The latter version follows in that work the No. 17 of this list, is also subscribed, *Ignoto*, and is headed,—"*Another of the*

same Shepheards." The probability is that the copies of these little poems, as given in the *Helicon*, were taken from a commonplace-book in which the names of the authors were not recorded; the two supplementary lines, just noticed, having the appearance of being an unauthorised couplet improvised for the sake of giving a neater finish to the abridgment.

The *Passionate Pilgrim* was first published in the year 1599, and the third edition, to which were added the two poems taken from Heywood's *Troia Britanica*, appeared in 1612. No copy of the second is known to exist, and even the date of its publication has not been recorded. In some issues of Lintott's reprints of Shakespeare's poems, 1709-1711, that of the *Passionate Pilgrim* has a title-page bearing the date of 1609, but, as in the cases of the *Venus* and the *Lucrece* in the same collection, the last-mentioned year is clearly given merely to range with that of the first edition of the *Sonnets*.

Only two copies of the third edition have as yet been discovered, each with a title-page bearing the name of Shakespeare as the author of the work; but in one of them, that in the Bodleian, there is also a substituted title in which the words, "by W. Shakespere," are omitted, there being, however, no other variation. It is evident from what Heywood says, in 1612, that the omission was due to the remonstrances of Shakespeare himself, for otherwise a cancel of the additional poems would have met the objections raised by the former.

The incongruous title given to this little work must be attributed to Jaggard's own caprice. So Wither, in his *Schollers Purgatory*, 1625, speaking of a dishonest publisher, observes,—“if he get any written copy into his powre likely to be vendible, whether the author be willing or no, he will publish it; and it shall be contrived and named also according to his own pleasure, which is the reason so many good hookes come forth imperfect and with foolish titles;—nay, he oftentimes gives bookes such names as, in his opinion, will make them saleable, when there is litle or nothing in the whole volume suitable to such a tytle.” Artifices of these kinds were common throughout the days of Shakespeare's literary career.

THE CHAPEL LANE.

This narrow road, known also formerly as Walker Street or Dead Lane, skirted one end of Shakespeare's house and the longest side of his garden. Evidences of the insalubrious state of the lane in the poet's time are, therefore, of interest in estimating the probable cause of his fatal illness. Its appearance was then essentially different from that now to be observed, for, with the single but important exception of the Guild Chapel, there is not a vestige left of its ancient character or surroundings. Passing through it was a streamlet, the water of which turned a mill that is alluded to in rentals of the town property dated in 1545 and 1604, as also in the Ministers' Accounts, co. Warw., 2 Edw. VI. The sanitary condition of the lane was execrable, and with its bad road, fetid gutters, dunghills, pigsties, mud-walls and thatched barns, it must have presented an extremely squalid appearance. The "gutteres or dyches" are mentioned as requiring to be cleansed in a record dated as early as 1553,—Item, "that every tenaunt in Chapell lane or Ded lane do scour and kep cleane ther gutteres or dyches in the same lane befor thassencyon day, and so from thensfurthe from tyme to tyme to kepe the same, in peyn of every offender to forfeit for every default iij.s. iiij.d., and that every tenaunt do ryd the soyelles in the stretes of logges and blokes ther lyenge and beyng to the noysaunce of the kynges leage people by the same day in lyke peyne." A comparison of this entry with others in the same manuscript would lead to the belief that Chapel Lane was then one of the, if not the, dirtiest locality in the town. In 1558, William Clopton, residing at New Place was fined for not keeping clean "the gutter alonge the Chappell in Chappell Lane;" and in the following year, 1559, it was ordered that no inhabitant of the ward "dwellynge neer unto the Chappell from hensfurthe use to ley eny muk in eny other place in the Chappell Lanes, but only in the gravell pyt in the Chappell Lane," under a penalty of three shillings and four pence for each offence. The following entries respecting the former state of the lane are extracted from the records of Stratford and from the rolls of the manor-court:—"1554. That every the tenautes or ther famyly from hensfurthe do carry ther mucke to the comen dunghylles appwntyd, or elles into Meychyn's yard or in the gravell pyttes in Chappell Lane.—1556. Thomas Godwyn, fletcher, Sir William Brogden, clericus, for not scouryng ther gutter in Ded Lone they be amersyd.—1558. That non dyg from hensfurthe eny gravell in the

gravell pyttes in Chappell Lane under the peyne vj.s. viij.d.—That the chamburlens do ryd the mukhyll in Chappell Lane, nye unto the Chappell at the goodwyf Walker's hous end, before the Assensyon day under the peyn of vj.s. viij.d.—1560. That every tenaunt in Ded Lone do scoure and kep cleane ther dyches and the lane before ther soyilles from tyme to tyme.—1561. John Sadler, mylner, for wynnowyng his peas in Ded lane and levyng the chaf in the lane, and bryngeyng hys swyne into the same lane, and not scouryng the dych ther, he stands amerced, xvj.d.—that every tenaunt kep cleene ther gutters and dyches as well in the strets as in Ded lane under pene vj.s. viij.d.—1605. It is agreed that the Chamberlaines shall gyve warning to Henry Smyth to plucke downe his pigges-cote which is built nere the chapple wall and the house-of-office there, and that hee forbear to kepe anie swine about the house which hee holdeth of Mr. Aspinall or the Chapple yard, and this to be done before the next hall.—1605-6. Henrye Smythe [presented] for nott makinge cleane the water courasse before his barne in Chapple Laine.—Johne Perrie for a muckhill in the Chapple Laine." It will be observed from some of these notices that even the surroundings of the Guild Chapel itself were no exceptions to the general squalidity. The only later notices of the state of the lane in the poet's time which have been discovered relate to a pigsty which John Rogers, the vicar, had commenced to erect, about the year 1613, immediately opposite the back court of New Place. Some of the inhabitants, most probably including Shakespeare, the person most interested in the suppression of the impending nuisance, had complained of this addition to the engendering causes of a villanous compound of bad smells, and the vicar accordingly besought the Corporation that they "would consent to the finishinge of that small plecke which I have begunne in the lane, the use whereof was noe other but to keepe a swine or two in, for about my howse there is noe place of convenience without much annoyance to the Chappell, and how farre the breedeinge of such creatures is needefull to poore howskeepers I referre myselfe to those that can equall my charge; moreover the highway will be wider and fayrer, as it may now appeare."

The original streamlet of Chapel Lane appears to have gradually undergone deterioration until it became a shallow fetid ditch, an open receptacle of sewerage and filth. There is a curious account of this ditch, as it appeared in the last century, in a letter written for the purposes of a law-suit in 1807, and, although of so recent a date, it is worth giving as confirmatory, notwithstanding the changes that had taken place in the interval, of some of the early notices of the lane. "I very well remember," says the writer, "the ditch you mention forty-five years, as after my sister was married, which was in October, 1760, I was very often at Stratford, and was very well acquainted both with the ditch

and the road in question;—the ditch went from the Chapel, and extended to Smith's house;—I well remember there was a space of two or three feet from the wall in a descent to the ditch, and I do not think any part of the new wall was built on the ditch;—the ditch was the receptacle for all manner of filth that any person chose to put there, and was very obnoxious at times;—Mr. Hunt used to complain of it, and was determined to get it covered over, or he would do it at his own expence, and I do not know whether he did not;—across, the road from the ditch to Shakespeare Garden was very hollow and always full of mud, which is now covered over, and in general there was only one waggon tract along the lane, which used to be very bad, in the winter particularly;—I do not know that the ditch was so deep as to overturn a carriage, and the road was very little used near it, unless it was to turn out for another, as there was always room enough." Thomas Cox, a carpenter, who lived in Chapel Lane from 1774, deposed to remembering the open gutter from the Chapel to Smith's cottage, "that it was a wide dirty ditch choaked with mud, that all the filth of that part of the town ran into it, that it was four or five feet wide and more than a foot deep, and that the road sloped down to the ditch." According to other witnesses, the ditch extended to the end of the lane, where, between the road-way and the Bancroft, was a narrow creek or ditch through which the overflow from Chapel Lane no doubt found a way into the river.

Smith's house, above alluded to, was on the site of the Getley copyhold tenement which had once belonged to Shakespeare. On the south of the ditch, on the side opposite to New Place, between the Getley estate and the Guild Chapel, there was originally a mud-wall, such a one having been on that site at least as early as 1590, and it is occasionally alluded to in the local records of the last century. About the year 1807, the Corporation, having taken in a small piece of waste ground when they filled in the ditch and built a new wall, subjected themselves to an action on the plea that they had exceeded their strictly legal rights. In their defence, they assert that,—“about twenty years ago this lane was a narrow and almost impassable road, and very little used;—there was a wide open ditch running from the Chapel to a house in the tenure of Samuel Smith, and so on to the bottom of the lane on the south side thereof, which was generally filled up with mud and stagnant water, and became the receptacle for all the filth and rubbish of the town; and on the side of this ditch, between that and the mud-wall, heaps of manure, ashes, and broken crockery-ware were continually thrown by the inhabitants;—the space between the ditch and the old mud-wall was between two or three feet, and went sloping to the edge of the ditch, and was the lord's waste, and never was part of the road, and the ditch itself was so bad that no carriage could safely go within

two feet of the brink or edge of it on the lane side," that being on account of the ground sloping down towards the ditch. The evidences differ as to the exact time when the ditch was covered over, but the work was probably executed about the year 1780. The "lord's waste" seems to have been an indefinite slip of land on either side of the lane, probably all that was not actually used by vehicles passing through, presumed to belong to the lord of the manor, and continually subjected to encroachments by the owners of the adjoining properties.

In Shakespeare's time, Chapel Lane ran almost exclusively through gardens and barns, the latter being the storehouses for corn so numerous in Stratford before the various enclosures of the common lands in the neighbourhood. On the New Place side, there was first the poet's garden, and then the barn in which, in February, 1598, he had stocked ten quarters of corn. This building is thus mentioned in 1590, in a return to a commission issued out of the Exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose earl of Warwick,—"*Willielmus Underhill generosus tenet libere unum horreum, viij.d., vicus voc. Walkers Streete*, nine other barns being mentioned in the same list as being in Chapel Lane. On the site of Shakespeare's barn stood in 1556 a tenement that had belonged to the priory of Pinley; Warw. Survey, Longbridge MS. Immediately adjoining the Great Garden of New Place was the barn on the Clifford Charity estate, which was pulled down about the year 1619. There then appears to have been, in the poet's time, a small plot of land, afterwards Spurr's, unbuilt upon; but on the Corporation estate adjoining this on the east there was a barn attached to each of three holdings. Next to Spurr's estate, divided from it by a quickset hedge, the usual kind of fence about here in the days of Shakespeare, was a slip of land, on which stood a barn, leased by the Corporation to Abraham Strelley in 1599 for twenty-one years. 'This little estate was previously described in 1582 as "a barne with backesyde in tenure of Nicholas Barnshurst, sufficiently repayed, and j. ellme groweing thereon." It was thatched and of four bays, occupying the entire frontage in Chapel Lane; and in the back premises was a thatched hovel of two bays, in many of the deeds termed a workhouse, and sometimes a wood-house. This barn and two others on the east had been destroyed by fire shortly before the year 1619. Their history may to some extent be gathered from a lease granted in that year to Alice Smith, widow, of the premises in the middle of the three holdings into which the property was divided. In this deed it is recited that, in consideration of the surrender of a former lease, and "that the saide Alice Smith hath at her owne costes and charges newlie erected, built and tyled, the saide barne, the same beinge heertofore consumed by fyre," the Corporation grant her, for a period of sixty years, "all that barne and garden with thappurtenaunces, scituate and beinge in Dead

Lane alias Walkers Streete, betweene a garden and plott of grownd wheron late stood a barne of the said bayliffe and burgesses late in the occupation of William Mountford, deceased, one the west parte, and the garden and plott of grownd wherone late stood a barne of the saide bayliffe and burgesses in the occupacion of Mr. Tyler one the est parte, and the gardens of the said bayliff and burgesses in the occupations of Charles Rooke and William Byddle one the north, and the said streete or lane one the south." Next to these premises were a barn and piece of land, which were leased by the Corporation in 1591 to Richard Tyler for twenty-one years. "Richard Tiler, a barne of v. baies thatchd, a backside in bredth answerable, in length about liij. yerdes," survey dated 1599. This barn having been destroyed, the ground was leased to William Shawe in 1623 on the condition that he should, within three years, build "a good, substantiall and sufficient well-tymbered barne conteineing foure bayes, and cover the same with tyles or slates." Sketches of one or two of the later barns of Chapel Lane have been preserved, but none of those of the Shakespearean period are known to exist.



OLD HOUSES AT THE RIVER END OF CHAPEL LANE, 1840.

THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.

There can be little doubt that Shakespeare, who was in early life, and perhaps to some extent afterwards, the Johannes Factotum of the theatre, contributed numerous fragments to the dramas of others. There is not, however, the slightest contemporary hint that he ever entered into the joint authorship of a play with any one else, and such a notion is directly opposed to the express testimony of Leonard Digges. No intimation of anything of the kind occurred until nearly twenty years after the poet's death, when a publisher named Waterson issued the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, in 1634, as the united composition of Fletcher and Shakespeare. A perfect distinction should be drawn between instances of occasional and those of incorporated dramatic assistance. Possible examples of two of the former have been already mentioned in the notices of *Edward the Third* and *Pericles*. Both are plays which may have been delivered to the theatre as complete, and Shakespeare's additions to, or variations of scenes in, them made afterwards. The case of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* stands on different grounds, for if the great dramatist wrote the portions of it attributed to him by modern critics, he must on that occasion have entered into a literary partnership with some other writer. Although satisfied that this cannot be the fact, and being unable to appreciate the definite Shakespearean individuality of composition which is imagined by so many to pervade certain scenes in that drama, it will yet be only fair to state concisely the main external testimonies on each side of the question.

A. Reasons for attributing the whole or part of the Two Noble Kinsmen to the pen of Shakespeare.—1. Waterson's entry of the play at Stationers' Hall on April the 8th, 1634, under the title of "a tragicomedy called the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Jo: Fletcher and W^m Shakespeare."—2. The title-page of the first edition, which runs thus,—“The *Two Noble Kinsmen*, presented at the Blackfriars by the Kings Majesties servants with great applause: Written by the memorable Worthies of their time, Mr. John Fletcher, Gent., and Mr. William Shakespeare, Gent.—Printed at London by Tho. Cotes for John Waterson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne in Pauls Church-yard.” 4to. 1634.—3. Fletcher's assumed greater popularity in 1634, and the consequent want of motive for the introduction of another name.—4. “*Two Noble Kinsmen*, a tragicomedy; this play was written by Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Shakespear,” Langbaine's *English Dramatick*

Poets, ed. 1691, p. 215.—5. Pope's assertion, in his edition of Shakespeare, printed in 1723, that there was a tradition to the effect that the whole of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* was written by Shakespeare. This writer's notes on such matters appear, however, to be of little value, for, in the same edition, iii. 115, he makes the positive statement that the 1591 play of *King John* was the joint production of Shakespeare and William Rowley, shortly afterwards, however, iii. 148, alluding to this incredible hypothesis as if it were a traditional report.—6. The declaration of Steevens in 1778, viii. 230, that "there is a playhouse tradition that the first act was written by Shakespeare."

B. Reasons for believing that the great dramatist had no share in the composition of the Two Noble Kinsmen.—1. It is most likely that Curtis, who is introduced as a Messenger in one of the prompter's notes that found their way into the edition of 1634, was in the original cast of the play. If so, Shakespeare must have been dead more than five years before its production on the stage, for Curtis Grevile was not a member of the King's Company before 1622, at the earliest.—2. In the Prologue which is given in the edition of 1634, and which was clearly intended for delivery at the first performance, Chaucer is represented as likely to say in the event of an unfavourable reception of the piece,—“O fan from me the witles chaffe of such a wrighter.” This early and spontaneous testimony to the unity of authorship is sufficient in itself to throw grave doubts upon the veracity of the title-page.—3. Shakespeare's continued popularity in 1634, when there appeared quarto editions of two of his plays, although a second folio of his collective works had been issued only two years previously.

*The Elder Brother his part
Monsieur Thomas.
The Noble Kinsman* } *By Mr. Fletcher*

4. When John Waterson, in October, 1646, transferred to Humphrey Moseley his copyright interests in three plays,—the *Elder Brother*, *Monsieur Thomas* and the *Two Noble Kinsmen*—the undivided authorship of all of them is distinctly assigned to Fletcher in the register, the third appearing there under the title of *the Noble Kinsman*. The Fletcherian authorship of the two other dramas is undisputed, and if Waterson really believed that Shakespeare had written part of the last, there seems no reason why the name of the great dramatist should not have been given in the entry of the assign-

ment. The omission of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* in the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647, is no evidence one way or the other, the *Elder Brother* and *Monsieur Thomas* being also excluded. Moseley's preface to that work is dated very early in 1646-7, and the probability is that the whole of the folio had been worked off before he had purchased the copyrights from Waterson.—5. In a list of books printed for Moseley, which is inserted at the end of some copies of Shirley's *Six New Playes*, 1653, occurs "the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, a comedy written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, gent., in 4°." A similar entry is met with the following year in a list of the works of the same publisher, these announcements singularly contrasting with his trading anxiety to use the name of Shakespeare improperly in other instances. It should be recollected that Moseley was specially connected with the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, so that his evidence, valueless in a question of Shakespearean authorship, is most likely important in regard to the works of the former dramatists.—6. The *Two Noble Kinsmen* is attributed to the unassisted pen of Fletcher in Kirkman's *Catalogue*, 1671, but this is an evidence of no value.—7. The play was inserted without Shakespeare's name in the second folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, published in 1679.—8. The absence of contemporary evidence that Shakespeare and Fletcher were acquainted with each other.—9. The obvious anxiety of Fletcher in several of his plays to imitate and rival Shakespeare. This tendency has been traditionally recorded by Davies even in an instance that might not otherwise have been suspected. "Above fifty years since," he observes, "it was traditionary among the comedians that *Cacofago* was the intended rival of Falstaff, whom he resembles in nothing but in bulk and cowardice," *Dramatic Miscellanies*, ed. 1785, i. 203.—10. The direct evidence of Leonard Digges about the year 1623 of Shakespeare's aversion to any kind of literary partnership, so that he even carefully avoided the then common practice of availing himself of scenes written for him by other dramatists.—11. The parallel instance of "the *History of Cardenio* by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare" having been entered by Moseley on the registers of the Stationers' Company in the year 1653.—12. Finally, the extreme improbability of a dramatist of Shakespeare's unrivalled power and rapidity of composition, entering, at the maturest period of his reputation, into the joint-authorship of a play with a much younger writer, and of the latter having in such a case the assurance to be palpably imitating him, both characterially and verbally, in his portion of the work.

THE SPURIOUS PLAYS.

With the exception of the plays in the first folio, and the three mentioned at the commencement of the preceding article, there is not one the attribution of which to the great dramatist is worthy of serious discussion. A few observations, however, on the inconsiderate ascriptions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be useful for reference; but later ones have neither the possession of a moderate antiquity, nor any other features, to render them of Shakespearean interest. There is no limit to conjectural extravagance, otherwise it would be incredible that portions of the drama of Sir Thomas More, the whole of the comedy of Albumazar, with various other pieces of an equally inferior character, should have been assigned in recent times to the pen of Shakespeare.

Arden of Feversham. An inartificial tragedy, published in 1592, and first attributed to Shakespeare by Mr. Edward Jacob in 1770.—*The Arraignment of Paris.* A dramatic pastoral by George Peele, printed in 4to, 1584. It is foolishly ascribed to Shakespeare in Kirkman's Catalogue, 4to, 1671.—*The Birth of Merlin.* A drama which was printed in 1662 by Thomas Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, who announce that it was "written by William Shakespear and William Rowley." Publishing evidence of this nature and late period is all but worthless,—in Kirkman's case absolutely so,—and it is in the highest degree improbable that Shakespeare ever wrote any work in conjunction with William Rowley, who did not join the King's Company during the lifetime of the great dramatist. It is curious to observe how few plays, not included in the first folio, were issued with Shakespeare's name to them during the long interval between the year of his death and the appearance of the present one. They are limited to *Pericles*, 1619, 1630 and 1635; the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1619; the *Troublesome Raigne of John*, 1622; and the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, 1634.—*Cardenio.* "The History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare" was entered to Moseley on Sept. the 9th, 1653. A play termed in one entry *Cardenno*, and in another *Cardenna*, was acted more than once by the King's Servants in 1613, as recorded in the Stanhope accounts, MS. Rawl. A. 239.—*The Double Falsehood.* First published by Theobald in 1728 as, "written originally by W. Shakespeare." The history of the manuscripts of this play, which is given by the editor, is not satisfactory. He states that the

oldest of them "is of above sixty years standing, in the handwriting of Mr. Downes, the famous old prompter, and, as I am credibly inform'd, was early in the possession of the celebrated Mr. Betterton, and by him design'd to have been usher'd into the world." An anecdote, which is not creditable to the taste of its inventor, is put forth in support of the conjectural authorship,—“there is a tradition, which I have from the noble person who supply'd me with one of my copies, that it was given by our author, as a present of value, to a natural daughter of his for whose sake he wrote it in the time of his retirement from the stage.” It is worth notice that the writer of this drama has introduced a line which is but slightly altered from one in Antony and Cleopatra.—*Duke Humphrey*. “Duke Humphrey, a tragedy by Will: Shakspeare” is in a list of plays entered to Moseley in June, 1660, and a drama under the same title, also attributed to Shakespeare, was amongst the dramatic manuscripts that perished through the carelessness of Warburton in the early part of the last century.—*Eurialus and Lucretia*. Entered as the work of Shakespeare to one Robert Scott on the Stationers' Registers, August the 21st, 1683. It is also mentioned with Hamlet and some other plays in the same registers under the year 1630.—*Fair Em*. A comedy first published in 1631, but acted many years previously by Lord Strange's Servants. It has been attributed to the great dramatist from being found in a collection of quarto plays lettered, *Shakespear, Vol. I.*, formerly belonging to Charles the Second, and so described, no doubt from the binder's title, in an old manuscript catalogue of that sovereign's library. The volume is therein mentioned as containing,—“Shakespeare's Puritan Widow, Sir John Oldcastel, Cromwell's Life, Devell of Edmonton, London Prodigall, Mucedorus, Miller's Daughter, Love Labour Lost.”—*George a Greene*. This comedy was acted in December, 1593, by the players of the Earl of Sussex, a company who produced Titus Andronicus in the following month. It was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1595, but the earliest known edition bears the date of 1599. The statement that there was a tradition assigning this play to Shakespeare is a pure invention, and, according to an early manuscript note in a copy of the first edition, the great dramatist himself is a witness to its having been composed by some other writer.—*Henry the First and Henry the Second*. In 1653 Moseley entered “Henry the First and Henry the 2d. by Shakspeare and Davenport” on the registers of the Stationers' Company. Henry the First “by Will. Shakespear and Rob. Davenport” is in the list of manuscript plays said to have been destroyed by Warburton's servant about the year 1730, so that two plays appear to have been registered under the above titles, and Sir Henry Herbert, in 1624, licensed “for the King's company the Historye of Henry the First, written by Dampont.” Whether Moseley intended to assert that each drama was the joint

composition of Shakespeare and Davenport, or that the one first named in the entry was written by the former and the other by the latter, is a matter of uncertainty as well as one of no consequence. A drama called *Harey the Firste Life and Deth* was produced by the Lord Admiral's company in May, 1597, and another on the events of the same reign was written by Drayton and others in the following year.—*Iphis and Iantha*. “*Iphis and Iantha, or a Marriage without a Man*, a comedy by Will: Shakspeare,” was entered to Humphrey Moseley in June, 1660.—*Lochrine*. A tragedy entered at Stationers' Hall without an author's name in July, 1594, and printed in the following year as “newly set foorth, overseene and corrected, by W. S.” It was first ascribed to Shakespeare by the editors of the third folio, 1664. An obscurely written manuscript note in a copy of the first edition, signed by one G. B., believed from the handwriting to be the initials of Sir George Buck, would lead to the inference that this drama was originally entitled *Estrild*, and that it was written by Charles Tilney.—*Lorrino*. A play mentioned in a list of Shakespeare's dramatic works in Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, p. 132.—*The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. This entertaining comedy is mentioned in the *Blacke Booke*, 1604, and was entered at Stationers' Hall in October, 1607, to Arthur Johnson, who published it in the following year, 1608, under the title of, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, as it hath beene sundry times acted by his Majesties Servants at the Globe on the Banke-side; that is, by Shakespeare's company. The copyright of what appears to have been a rival and lost drama on the same history was claimed by other publishers in April, 1608, and was attributed by them to the pen of one T. B. In this latter play the death of Fabel was introduced, while the enumeration of the other incidents forbids us to suppose that it could be a continuation of the former production. The earliest attribution of a piece on this subject to the great dramatist is found in the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of September, 1653, when a publisher named Moseley inserted, “*The Merry Devill of Edmonton by Wm. Shakespeare*,” in an entry which includes palpable misrepresentations respecting the authorship of other compositions. The evidence of Moseley is clearly not reliable, but there appears to have been a vague idea, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that the play might have been written by Shakespeare. It is attributed to him in an early manuscript note in a copy of the edition of 1655, and also by a bookseller named Kirkman in 1671. Langbaine, ed. 1691, p. 541, judiciously discredits the last-mentioned authority.—*Mucedorus*. An inferior but popular old comedy, the earliest known edition of which appeared in the year 1598. It was first attributed to Shakespeare by Kirkman in 1671, and it is also mentioned as his production in Winstanley's *Lives*, 1687, p. 132. Langbaine, ed. 1691, p. 542, merely

refers to some of these previous assignments without expressing a decisive opinion on the subject.—*Oldrastes*. A play mentioned in a list of Shakespeare's dramatic works in Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, p. 132.—*The Puritan*. Licensed by Sir George Buck, entered by Eld at Stationers' Hall in August, 1607, as "a booke called the comedie of the Puritan Wydowe," and issued by that printer in the same year under the title of, *The Puritaine or the Widdow of Watling-streete*; acted by the Children of Paules; written by W. S. This play is attributed to Shakespeare in the third folio of 1664, as also by Winstanley in 1687 and by several later writers.—*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. A play licensed without an author's name in the year 1611, and preserved in manuscript in the Lansdowne collection. It is ascribed by a later hand in the volume to George Chapman, whose name has been erased for the substitution of that of the great dramatist. The last hand-writing is unquestionably of a late date, certainly not earlier than the period of the reign of George the First.—*Stephen*. "The History of King Stephen by Will: Shakspeare" is found in a list of plays entered to Humphrey Moseley on June the 29th, 1660.

THE MULBERRY-TREE.

For nearly a century and a half it has been the unvarying tradition of Stratford-on-Avon that the great dramatist planted a mulberry sapling at New Place with his own hands. The truth of this circumstance, in itself highly probable, may be said to be all but confirmed by the early belief in its accuracy, and by the reverence entertained by the inhabitants for the living tree, facts testified by the singular displeasure exhibited by them at the time of its removal. One lady's veneration for the memorial took a curious form in the preservation of the juice of its fruit in a vial that was believed to have been hermetically sealed, but a few expiring drops are all that now remain of the cherished liquid.

No written or printed record of Shakespeare's mulberry-tree has been discovered of a date previously to its extirpation, but there is a story, resting on the testimony of a very old man, that Sir Hugh Clopton entertained friends under it about the year 1744. This statement has been repeated in many works with slight variations, but the only good authority for it appears to be an unpublished letter from Malone to Davenport, dated in April, 1788, in which he says,—“old Mr. Macklin the player, who is now playing with wonderful vigour in the eighty-eighth year of his age, informs me that Mr. Garrick and he paid a visit to Stratford about the year 1744, and were hospitably entertained by Sir Hugh Clopton, then a very old gentleman; his memory, however, is by no means accurate.” Malone, referring to the tree in another part of the same letter, adds,—“old Mr. Macklin says he was entertained under it by one of the Clopton family in 1744.” It has also been stated that Delane the actor was in company with Garrick and Macklin on the occasion; *Ireland's Views*, 1795, p. 201. Then there is the testimony of Jordan saying that “the mulberry-tree in the garden of New Place, planted by Shakespeare, was grown to a very large size, with wide spreading boughs that shaded many yards of ground, under which were placed benches to sit on in the shade, and which I have heard Sir Hugh Clopton took great delight in shewing to the nobility and gentry whose curiosity excited them to visit the last memorial of immortal Shakespeare,” MS. at Stratford-on-Avon, repeated in nearly the same words in other *adversaria* by the same writer. There appears to be little doubt of the fact that Sir Hugh Clopton, who, as is known from the evidence of Theobald, took an interest

in the traditions respecting New Place, valued the tree on account of its having been planted by the great dramatist. Thomas Sharp, the relic-carver, in a declaration made upon oath shortly before his death in 1799, asserted,—“that I was personally acquainted with Sir Hugh Clopton, knight, barrister-at-law and one of the Heralds-at-Arms, who was son of Sir John Clopton, knight, that purchased a certain messuage or house near the Chapel in Stratford, called the New Place, of the executors of Lady Elizabeth Barnard, and grand-daughter of Shakespear; and that I have often heard the said Sir Hugh Clopton solemnly declare that the mulberry-tree which grew in his garden was planted by Shakespear, and he took pride in shewing it to and entertaining persons of distinction whose curiosity excited them to visit the spot known to be the last residence of the immortal bard.” The story told by the Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in 1790 is also worth giving. “The Rev. Mr. Davenport,” observes Malone, “informs me that Hugh Taylor, who is now (1790) eighty-five years old, and an alderman of Warwick, says, he lived when a boy at the next house to New Place; that his family had inhabited the house for almost three hundred years; that it (the fact of Shakespear planting the tree) was transmitted from father to son during the last and the present century; that this tree, of the fruit of which he had often eaten in his younger days, some of its branches hanging over his father’s garden, was planted by Shakespear; and that, till this was planted, there was no mulberry-tree in that neighbourhood;—Mr. Taylor adds that he was frequently when a boy at New Place, and that this tradition was preserved in the Clopton family as well as in his own,” *Life of Shakespear*, ed. 1790, p. 118. There was a family of the name of Taylor living in the early part of the eighteenth century at the house now known as the Shakespear Hotel, the yard of which adjoins the north-west corner of the New Place Great Garden; so that, unless the old man’s recollection of the site was imperfect, there were at that time two mulberry-trees on the Shakespear estate. His statement, that the one planted by the great dramatist was the first that had been seen in the locality, may be more implicitly relied upon.

The tree was cut down in the year 1758 (MS. Mal. 40), and, within a few months after its removal, tobacco-stoppers made of its wood were publicly sold as Shakespearian relics by one Moody, a toy-seller at Birmingham; *Hull’s Select Letters*, 1778, i. 251. The gift of one of these relics, made by Percy through Shenstone to a mutual friend in 1759, was the occasion of a foolish hoax, the present being accompanied with a fictitious correspondence respecting the tree. There can, therefore, be no doubt that, very soon after it was felled, it was known as Shakespear’s mulberry-tree and that relics made from it were exposed for sale. It may be observed, in confirmation of these

facts, that in the next year, 1760, the Corporation presented an inkstand made of the wood to the Steward of the Court of Record, who thus expressed his thanks in a letter to the Town-Clerk,—“I really want words to express the sense I have of this great instance of regard which the Corporation of Stratford have honoured me with by their Chamberlain ;—I do not know any present that could have been so agreeable to me, not only as a testimony of respect to me from the Corporation, which I shall always pride myself upon, but also as it falls in with what, if I had known how to have wished, I should most certainly have wished for ;—the standish of Shakspeare’s planting is the fittest ornament for an hermitage.” A person named Sharp obtained a large quantity of the wood, and his original bill, dated in 1760, against the Corporation for the portions supplied on this and on some other similar occasion, is preserved in their archives.

Amongst the visitors to the poet’s native town in the same year, 1760, was a lady who, after quoting in a letter the epitaph on Shakspeare’s monument, that part of it referring to “envious death,” proceeds to say, —“death, however, in taking Shakespear from the world so early, is, I think, far outdone by a man now living in or near this town ; for there was till lately the house in which Shakespear lived and a mulberry-tree of his planting, the house large, strong and handsome, the tree so large that it would shade the grass plat in your garden, which I think is more than twenty yards square, and supply the whole town with mulberries every year ;—as the curiosity of this house and tree brought much fame and more company and profit to the town, this man, on some disgust, has pulled the house down so as not to leave one stone upon another, and cut down the tree and piled it as a stack of firewood, to the great vexation, loss and disappointment of the inhabitants ;—however, an honest silversmith bought the whole stack of wood, and now makes many odd things of this wood for the curious.” These evidences show that relics from the tree were highly esteemed almost immediately after its destruction. There was a tradition to the effect that Sharp merely bought the remains for firewood, and that, shortly after the purchase, one of the logs being on the fire, a visitor suggesting the profit that could have been made by converting it into saleable relics, the owner immediately took the hint and snatched away the piece that was burning. This anecdote was related to me in 1863 by Thomas Gibbs, who entered life as one of Sharp’s assistants, and so had an opportunity of being well-informed on the subject. The fact seems to be that Gastrell himself retained one or more of the best portions of the tree, and if he allowed Sharp, as he probably did, to take away the remainder at an ordinary waste price, it is evident that it was not long before the purchaser discovered the commercial importance of his bargain. Some years afterwards the latter was accused of having

used fictitious wood, and the report was deemed of sufficient moment to be contradicted in his formal death-bed affidavit, in which he states that Gastrell "cut down the mulberry-tree and cleft it as firewood, when *the greatest part of it* was purchased by me, the said Thomas Sharp, who employed one John Luckman to convey it to my own premises, where I have worked it into many curious toys and usefull articles from the same." It may be added that notices of mulberry relics dated previously to the negociations for the Jubilee of 1769 are exceedingly rare, but that afterwards they are as plenty as blackberries. A history of these relics might be compiled at great length, but would hardly be of interest to any but the owners of such memorials.

Sir Hugh Clopton, who resided at New Place during the first half of the last century, died in 1751, and in 1756 the estate was sold by his representatives to the Rev. Francis Gastrell, who, in 1759, pulled the residence then on the site of Shakespeare's house down to the ground. Shortly before the removal of that building, the new proprietor had felled the mulberry-tree to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of the town. The late R. B. Wheler tells us that he recollects his father saying that, when a boy, he assisted in breaking Gastrell's windows in revenge for the fall of the tree, which latter act, however, may be accounted for without attaching willful conduct to its impetuous owner. Several accounts agree in stating that it had attained a great magnitude with overhanging boughs, the trunk being in a state of decay, and indeed it is most probable that a tree of a century and a half's growth would have been of a very considerable size, the mould of Stratford being peculiarly favourable to the luxuriant growth of the mulberry. If planted at all near the house, its boughs would certainly have overshadowed some of the rooms at the back. Davies, in his *Life of Garrick*, the first edition of which appeared in 1780, expressly asserts that "the mulberry-tree planted by the poet's own hand became an object of dislike to this tasteless owner of it because it overshadowed his window, and rendered the house, as he thought, subject to damps and moisture." Here is one plausible reason given for the removal, and there may have been another that has not been recorded in the evidences of decay having convinced Gastrell that more than a transitory preservation was an impossibility. It would seem, at all events, that he was not indifferent to the poetical association, for that he kept relics of it in his own hands may be inferred from the circumstance of his widow having presented one to the Lichfield Museum. In a catalogue of that museum, ed. 1786, is the following entry,—"an horizontal section of the stock of the mulberry-tree planted by Shakespear at Stratford-upon-Avon; this curiosity was presented to the museum by Mrs. Gastrel, August 19th, 1778; it is six inches diameter," the last word being an obvious error, the writer meaning six inches in thickness.

The statement made by Davies is rendered probable by the fact that the mulberry-tree was situated in the garden at the back of New Place, the one near the house. One Charles Oakes, in an affidavit made in a lawsuit in 1807, supported by recollections of Stratford extending to the period of Gastrell's residence there, says that the garden which was opposite the vicar's northern wall, the latter near the Chapel and in Chapel Lane, "was called the Shakespeare Garden, being the garden on the north side of the lane, and so called from the mulberry-tree planted by Shakespeare growing therein." At this time its site had been generally forgotten, and most people took it for granted that the tree now in the Great Garden was in the situation of the old one. In a plan of Stratford made in 1802 the "spot on which grew Shakespeare's mulberry" is marked as being in that garden, but apparently at some little distance westward from the present tree. There is evidence of what was the local belief only twenty years after it was cut down, in a paper accompanying a letter from the Rev. Richard Jago, vicar of Snitterfield, to the Town-clerk of Stratford, written in 1778, in which he gives an extract from a pretended work entitled, *Acts and Monuments of the Fairies*, consisting of a decree from King Oberon to his loving fairy subjects respecting their revels held in the poet's garden,—“and whereas by the wilful and malicious destruction of the said mulberry-tree, as before recited, and other damage at New Place, late the mortal residence of the said William Shakespear of immortal memory, the sports and recreations of our good subjects have been grievously disturbed and interrupted; now we, taking the same into our serious consideration, have ordered and ordained, and by these presents do order and ordain, that the said sports and recreations formerly kept and held by our good people under the said mulberry-tree *do forthwith cease at the place where the said mulberry-tree stood*, and that from henceforth they be duely celebrated and observed with accustomed rites *in the piece of ground next thereunto adjoining*, being part or parcel of the terrestrial estate of the said William Shakespear, and now belonging to our beloved William Hunt, of whose affection for us and our people we have undoubted assurance, as likewise of his care to cultivate the same with all manner of productions agreeable to us, and to cause the same to be laid in proper places with clean and close-binding gravel, and the grass thereof to be neatly and frequently mowed for the better accommodation of our good subjects in celebrating the said rites; and our royal will and pleasure further is that *a part of the said ground lying nearest to the river Avon, and appropriated hereby to the celebration of the said rites*, shall henceforth be called Fairy Lawn, and that a fair pedestal or tablet of stone shall be erected in the centre of the said lawn, and an inscription, recording our affection and regard for the said William Shakespear, and our determination herein, engraven thereon.” This document,

written by a person well acquainted with the locality for the amusement of one who must have been familiar with all the provincial testimony on the subject, furnishes conclusive evidence that the original tree was in the smaller garden. The one now in the Great Garden has been pronounced to have been raised from a scion of Shakespeare's tree, but this opinion is more than doubtful. Enquiries have not succeeded in tracing its existence previously to William Hunt's tenancy, some considerable time after the removal of the older tree, and the late R. B. Wheler, who was better acquainted with the subject than any one else, distinctly asserts that—"it is well known that neither of these trees (that at New Place and one in Old Town), nor that growing in the Lion garden, nor any other reported as such, ever sprung from Shakespeare's tree;—many people are willing enough to affirm their own as a scion from the celebrated tree, but unfortunately their tales are foolish and improbable when examined."

The Jubilee of 1769, mentioned in the preceding account, was the name given to a series of entertainments at Stratford that were devised and arranged in that year by Garrick, a celebrated actor of the day, under the ostensible pretence of doing honour to Shakespeare. And the great poet was dignified in this fashion.—The opening of the celebration having been duly announced in early morn by a powder cannonade, the lady visitors were serenaded in rotation by young men attired in fancy costume, and when everybody had thus been thoroughly aroused, Garrick was presented by the Corporation with a medal and a wand, both made from relics of the famous mulberry-tree, bells and cannon loudly uniting to proclaim the acceptance of the gifts. Then there were public feasts, more serenading, an oratorio at the church, elaborate processions, a masquerade, balls, illuminations, fireworks, horse-races, and an unlimited supply of drummers. In the midst, however, of all this tomfoolery, the presiding genius of the show recited an ode in praise of the great dramatist, that achievement and some of the gaieties taking place in a large wooden theatre that had been erected for the occasion on the Bancroft.

CONTEMPORARY NOTICES.

This division is restricted to those allusions to the great dramatist *by name* which have been discovered in the printed literature of his own time, those which are attached to recognised quotations or poems being excluded. It has not been considered necessary to form a corresponding selection of innominate references to him, or of the occasional authentic or travestied quotations from, or imitations of, passages in his works; but those that are of real practical use for the illustration of facts or theories are referred to either in the text or notes. Let it be observed that it is sometimes impossible to decide whether certain similarities are to be attributed to recollections of Shakespeare, or if they be prototypes of his own language or thought; in which cases of uncertainty they are obviously of no argumentative value.

I. The commencing verses of a laudatory address prefixed to—Willobie his Avis, or the true Picture of a modest Maid and of a chast and constant Wife, 4to. Lond. 1594, a work entered at Stationers' Hall on September the third in that year, and reprinted in 1596, 1605, and 1609.

In Lavine land though Livie bost,
There hath beene seene a constant dame;
Though Rome lament that she have lost
The gareland of her rarest fame,
Yet now we see that here is found
As great a faith in English ground.

Though Collatine have deerely bought
To high renowne a lasting life,
And found that most in vaine have sought,
To have a faire and constant wife,
Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistening grape,
And Shake-speare paints poore Lucrece rape.

II. The second nominated allusion to Shakespeare in our printed literature occurs on the margin of a curious volume entitled,—“Polimanteia, or the meanes lawfull and unlawfull, to judge of the fall of a Commonwealth, against the frivolous and foolish conjectures of this age,” 4to., Cambridge, 1595. The author is eulogising in his text the poets of England as superior to those of foreign nations, but the two side-notes

—one consisting of three and the other of two words,—in which references are made to the early poems of Shakespeare, appear to be merely illustrative examples in support of the author's main position. They seem to be isolated, and altogether unconnected with the other marginalia. The following extract, here printed *V. L.*, exhibits the exact manner in which they are placed in the original work, the first portion being at the bottom of one page and the four concluding lines at the top of the next.

<p><i>All praise worthy. Lucrecia Sweet Shak- speare. Eloquent Gaujeston.</i></p>	<p>Let o- ther countries (sweet Cambridge) enuie, (yet admire) my <i>Virgil</i>, thy petrarch, di- uine <i>Spenser</i>. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued <i>Delia</i>, and fortunatelic fortunate <i>Cleopatra</i>; <i>Oxford</i> thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happie <i>Daniell</i>, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient a- mongst men, to gaine pardon of the <i>Wanton</i> sinne to <i>Rosemond</i>, pittie to distressed <i>Adonis</i>. <i>Cleopatra</i>, and euerliuing praise to her <i>Watsons</i> louing <i>Delia</i>. <i>heyre</i>.</p>
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III. From *Barnfield's Encomion of Lady Pecunia, 1598*, the same lines, with a verbal error, occurring in the second edition of that work, 1605. In both editions the following verses conclude,—“A Remembrance of some English Poets.”

And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing vaine,
Pleasing the world, thy praises doth obtaine;
Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece*, sweete and chaste,
Thy name in fames immortall booke have plac't,—
Live ever you, at least in fame live ever;
Well may the bodye dye, but fame dies never.

IV.—The following extracts are from a treatise entitled,—“A comparative Discourse of our English poets with the Greeke, Latine and Italian poets”—which is near the end of a thick little volume called,—“*Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*, being the Second part of *Wits Commonwealth*. By Francis Meres, Maister of Artes of both Universities. Viuitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt.—At London.—Printed by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be solde at his shop at the Royall Exchange, 1598.” There can be no doubt that this chapter was written in the summer of 1598, the work itself having been entered at Stationers' Hall on the 7th of September in that year, and there being in the Discourse

a notice of Marston's Satires registered on the previous 27th of May. The date of publication is a fact of so much interest that a facsimile of the copyright entry to Burby is here subjoined.

1598 Anno 7^{mo} Jun
 19^{to} September
 Entered for his Copies under the
 Wensons hand and his
 Laurence a booke called
 ROYALS Treasurie.
 being the second part of
 Britts Common Wealth

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides and Aristophanes; and the Latine tongue by Virgill, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius and Claudianus; so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeously invested, in rare ornaments and resplendent abilliments, by Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman.—As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare; witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.—As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love labors lost, his Love labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, and his Merchant of Venice; for tragedy, his Richard the 2, Richard the 3, Henry the 4, King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Juliet.—As Epius®

Stolo[®] said that the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue, if they would speake Latin; so I say that the Muses would speake with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.—As Ovid saith of his worke;—*Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, =Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.* And as Horace saith of his; *Exegi monumentum ære perennius; regalique situ pyramidum altius; quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens possit diruere; aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum;* so say I severally of sir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares and Warners workes,—*Non Jovis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus, =Hoc opus unda, lues, turbo, venena ruent. =Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi dii =Conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, et pater ipse gentis, =Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis, =Æternum potuit hoc abolere decus.*—As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus, among the Greekes, and Horace and Catullus among the Latines, are the best lyrick poets; so in this faculty the best among our poets are Spencer, who excelleth in all kinds, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.—As these tragicke poets flourished in Greece, Aeschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus, Astydamas Atheniensis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus and Timon Apolloniates; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca; so these are our best for tragedie, the Lorde Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the authour of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker and Benjamin Johnson.—The best poets for comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Nævius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex and Virgilius Romanus; so the best for comedy amongst us bee Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley, once a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of her Majesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundaye, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway and Henry Chettle.—As these are famous among the Greeks for elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius, Nicæus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis and Pigres Halicarnassæus; and these among the Latines, Mecænas, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Severus and Clodius Sabinus; so these are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Love,—Henrie Howard, earle of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter

Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page, sometimes fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.

V. Verses on Shakespeare, inscribed, "Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare," from John Weever's "Epigrammes in the oldest cut and newest fashion," 8vo. Lond. 1599.

Honie - tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,=I swore Apollo got them and none other,=Their rosie-tainted features cloth'd in tissue,=Some heaven-born goddesse said to be their mother ;=Rose-checkt[®] Adonis with his amber tresses,=Faire fire-hot Venus charming him to love her,=Chaste Lucretia, virgine-like her dresses,=Prowd lust-stung Tarquine seeking still to prove her ;=Romea[®], Richard ; more whose names I know not,=Their sugred tongues and power attractive beuty=Say they are Saints, although that Sts they shew not,=For thousands vowes to them subjective dutie ;=They burn in love ; thy children, Shakespear, het them ;=Go, wo thy muse ; more nymphish brood beget them.

VI. From—"Bel-vedere, or the Garden of the Muses,—Imprinted at London," 1600. This work, a collection of poetical extracts, was entered at Stationers Hall the same year on August the 11th.

Now that every one may be fully satisfied concerning this Garden, that no one man doth assume to him-selſe the praise thereof, or can arrogate to his owne deserving those things which have been derived from so many rare and ingenious spirits, I have set down both how, whence and where these flowres had their first springing till thus they were drawne together into the *Muses Garden*, that every ground may challenge his owne, each plant his particular, and no one be injured in the justice of his merit. . . . Edmund Spencer ; Henry Constable esquier ; Samuell Daniell ; Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physicke ; Thomas Watson ; Michaell Drayton ; John Davies ; Thomas Hudson ; Henrie Locke esquier ; John Marstone ; Christopher Marlow ; Benjamin Johnson ; William Shakspeare ; Thomas Churchyard esquier ; Thomas Nash ; Thomas Kidde ; George Peele ; Robert Greene ; Josuah Sylvester ; Nicholas Breton ; Gervase Markham ; Thomas Storer ; Robert Wilmot ; Christopher Middleton ; Richard Barnefield ; these being moderne and extant poets that have liv'd together ; from many of their extant workes, and some kept in privat.

VII. Verses from—"A Mournefull Dittie entituled Elizabeths Losse, together with a Welcome for King James," a very rare ballad in the library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq., of Britwell House, Burnham.

You poets all, brave Shakspeare, Johnson, Greene,
 Bestow your time to write for Englands Queene.
 Lament, lament, lament, you English peeres ;
 Lament your losse, possesst so many yeeres.

VIII. From "*Epigrammes, served out in 52 severall Dishes for every man to tast without surfeting. By I. C. Gent.*," 12mo. Lond. There is no date to this rare little volume, but it was entered in the Stationers Registers on May the 22nd, 1604, and is there ascribed to J. Cooke gent.

Who er'e will go unto the presse may see=The hated fathers of vilde balladrie ;=One sings in his base note the river Thames=Shal sound the famous memory of noble King James ;=Another sayes that he will, to his death,=Sing the renowned worthinesse of sweet Elizabeth ;=So runnes their verse in such disordered straine,=And with them dare great majesty prophane ;=Some dare do this ; some other humbly craves=For helpe of spirits in their sleeping graves,=As he that calde to Shakespeare, Johnson, Greene,=To write of their dead noble Queene.

IX. From—"Daiphantus, or the Passions of Love. Comicall to Reade, but tragicall to act ; as full of Wit as Experience ; by An. Sc. gentleman," 4to. Lond. 1604. The author, supposed to be one Anthony Scoloker, observes, in a quaint dedication, that an *Epistle to the Reader*—

should be like the never-too-well read Arcadia, where the prose and verce, matter and words, are like his mistresses eyes, one still excelling another, and without corivall ; or to come home to the vulgars element, like friendly Shake-speares tragedies, where the comedian rides, when the tragedian stands on tiptoe ; Faith, it should please all, like Prince Hamlet. But, in sadnesse, then it were to be feared he would runne mad. In sooth, I will not be moonesicke to please ; nor out of my wits, though I displeas'd all.

X. From *Camden's Remaines of a Greater Worke concerning Britaine, 1605, ii. 8, the Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Robert Cotton bearing the date of June, 1603. The following passage is repeated in ed. 1614, p. 324.*

These may suffice for some poetical descriptions of our auncient poets ; if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philipp Sidney, Ed. Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben: Johnson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shakespeare, and other most pregnant witts of these our times, whom succeeding ages may justly admire.

XI. From *criticisms on the English poets in a drama written in the winter of 1601-2, but not printed until 1606, in which latter year two editions appeared under the title of,—The Returne from Pernassus, or the*

Scourge of Simony, publicly acted by the Students in Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge. It was entered at Stationers' Hall in October, 1605. A character named *Ingenioso*, a university student, asks another, one *Judicio*, the opinions of the latter on various writers, each name being supposed to be preceded by the words,—“What's thy judgment of”—. In one edition of this play the word *lazy* in the fifth line is omitted.

Ing. William Shakespeare.

Jud. Who loves Adonis love, or Lucre's rape,
His sweeter verse contains hart-robbing life ;
Could but a graver subject him content,
Without loves foolish lazy languishment.

XII. In a later part of the drama last mentioned, the *Returne from Pernassus*, the celebrated actors, *Burbage* and *Kemp*, appear as instructors of their art to two university students, previously to which the following dialogue takes place between them.

Bur. Now, Will Kempe, if we can intertaine these schollers at a low rate, it wil be well ; they have oftentimes a good conceite in a part.—*Kempe.* Its true, indeede, honest Dick, but the slaves are somewhat proud, and, besides, it is a good sport in a part to see them never speake in their walke but at the end of the stage, just as though, in walking with a fellow, we should never speake but at a stile, a gate or a ditch, where a man can go no further. I was once at a comedie in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts on this fashion.—*Bur.* A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may bee, besides, they will be able to pen a part.—*Kemp.* Few of the university pen plaies well : they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Juppiter*. Why, heres our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I, and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow ! he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit.—*Bur.* Its a shrewd fellow, indeed.—I wonder these schollers stay so long ; they appointed to be here presently that we might try them ; oh, here they come.

XIII. The conclusion of “*Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Lustes Prodegies*, by William Barkssted,” 8vo. Lond. 1607, a work entered at Stationers' Hall on the twelfth of November in that year.

But stay, my Muse, in thine owne confines keepe,=And wage not warre with so deere lov'd a neighbor ;=But having sung thy day-song, rest and sleepe ;=Preserve thy small fame and his greater favor.=His

song was worthie merrit ;—Shakspeare, hee=Sung the faire blossome, thou, the withered tree ;=Laurell is due to him ; his art and wit=Hath purchast it ; cypres thy brow will fit.

XIV. From—" *The Scourge of Folly, consisting of satyricall Epigramms and others in honor of many noble and worthy Persons of our Land,*" by John Davies of Hereford, 8vo., *Epig.* 159, pp. 76, 77. This curious little volume is undated, but it was entered at Stationers' Hall on October the 8th, 1610. The following verses are addressed "To our English Terence, Mr. Will: Shake-speare."

Some say, good Will, which I, in sport, do sing,=Had'st thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,=Thou hadst bin a companion for a king,=And beene a King among the meaner sort.=Some others raile ; but, raile as they thinke fit,=Thou hast no rayling, but a raining wit ;=And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,=So to increase their stocke which they do keepe.

XV. *The conclusion of the Dedication to Webster's White Diuel, or the Tragedy of Paulo Giordano Ursini, 4to. Lond. 1612.*

Detraction is the sworne friend to ignorance. For mine owne part, I have ever truly cherisht my good opinion of other mens worthy labours, especially of that full and haightned stile of maister Chapman, the labor'd and understanding workes of maister Johnson, the no lesse worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Maister Beaumont and Maister Fletcher, and lastly, without wrong last to be named, the right happy and copious industry of M. Shake-speare, M. Decker, and M. Heywood, wishing what I write may be read by their light ; protesting that, in the strength of mine owne judgement, I know them so worthy, that, though I rest silent in my owne worke, yet to most of theirs I dare (without flattery) fix that of Martiall,—non norunt, Hæc monumenta mori.

XVI. From—" *The Excellencie of the English tongue by R. C. of Anthony, esquire,*" printed in *Camden's Remaines*, ed. 1614, pp. 43, 44. The initials stand for the name of Richard Carew, whose earliest published work appeared in 1598, but the date of the composition of the present essay is unknown.

The long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our owne store, make up a perfect harmonie, by culling from out which mixture with judgement you may frame your speech according to the matter you must worke on, majesticall, pleasant, delicate or manly, more or lesse, in what sort you please. Adde hereunto that, whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in tropes or metaphors, in echoes and agnominations, they may all bee lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Platoes veine?—reade Sir Thomas

Smith. The Ionicke?—Sir Thomas Moore. Ciceroes?—Ascham. Varro?—Chaucer. Demosthenes?—Sir John Cheeke, who, in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of rhetorick. Will you reade Virgill?—take the Earle of Surrey. Catullus?—Shakespheare and Barlowes[®] fragment. Ovid?—Daniell. Lucan?—Spencer. Martial?—Sir John Davies and others. Will you have all in all for prose and verse—take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney.

XVII. From the Second Part of a work entitled,—“ Rubbe and a great Cast, Epigrams by Thomas Freeman, gent.,” 4to. Lond., 1614; entered at Stationers’ Hall on June the 30th. The following epigram is addressed “to Master W: Shakespeare.”

Shakespeare, that nimble mercury, thy braine, = Lulls many hundred Argus-eyes asleepe, = So fit for all thou fashionest thy vaine; = At th’ horse-foote fountaine thou hast drunk full deepe; = Vertues or vices theame to thee all one is; = Who loves chaste life, there’s Lucrece for a teacher; = Who list read lust, there’s Venus and Adonis, = True modell of a most lascivious leatcher. = Besides in plaies thy wit windes like Meander, = When[®] needy new-composers borrow more = Thence[®] Terence doth from Plautus or Menander. = But to praise thee aright I want thy store; = Then let thine owne works thine owne worth upraise, = And help t’ adorne thee with deserved baies.

XVIII. From—“ The Annales or Generall Chronide of England, begun first by maister John Stow, and after him continued and augmented, with matters forreyne and domestique, auncient and moderne, unto the ende of this present yeere, 1614, by Edmond Howes, gentleman,” fol., Lond., 1615, p. 811. The following are amongst the observations of Howes on the writers that flourished in the reign of Elizabeth.

Our moderne and present excellent poets, which worthely florish in their owne workes, and all of them in my owne knowledge, lived togeather in this Queenes raigne; according to their priorities, as neere as I could, I have orderly set downe, viz.,—George Gascoigne, esquire; Thomas Church-yard, esquire; Sir Edward Dyer, knight; Edmond Spencer, esquire; Sir Philip Sidney, knight; Sir John Harrington, knight; Sir Thomas Challoner, knight; Sir Frauncis Bacon, knight; and Sir John Davie, knight; Master John Lillie, gentleman; Maister George Chapman, gentleman; M. W. Warner, gentleman; M. Willi. Shakespeare, gentleman; Samuell Daniell, esquire; Michaell Draiton, esquire of the bath; M. Christopher Marlo, gen.; M. Benjamine Johnson, gentleman; John Marston, esquier; M. Abraham Frauncis, gen.; master Frauncis Meers, gentle.; master Josua Silvester, gentle.; master Thomas Deckers, gentleman; M. John Flecher, gentle.; M. John Webster, gentleman; M. Thomas Heywood, gentleman; M. Thomas Middelton, gentleman M. George Withers.

LIFE-TIME EDITIONS.

This list of the contemporary editions of Shakespeare's poems and dramas, here arranged in chronological order and printed V. L., will give a fair idea of the extent in one direction of the literary popularity that he enjoyed in his own life-time. The titles of spurious works that are found either with his name in full, or in abridgment, are also included; but those with merely his initials have not been admitted. There is no distinct evidence that intentional deception was contemplated in any of the latter cases.

i. Venvs and Adonis—Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.—London—Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1593.—ii. Titus Andronicus his Lamentable Tragedy, acted by the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Essex, their Seruants. 1594. *This description is taken from a notice in Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, 1691, p. 464, no copy of this edition of the play being now known to exist.*—iii. The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey : And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade : And the Duke of Yorke's first claime vnto the Crowne. London—Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwall. 1594.—iv. Lvrece.—London.—Printed by Richard Field, for Iohn Harrison, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard[®]. 1594.—v. Venvs and Adonis. Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. London.—Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1594.—vi. The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betwene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants.—Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornwal. 1595.—vii. Venvs and Adonis. Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo=Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. Imprinted at London by R. F. for Iohn Harison. 1596.—viii. An Excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet. As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicly, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Seruants.—London, Printed by Iohn Danter. 1597.—ix. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath beene publicly acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes for Androw Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules church yard at the signe of the Angel. 1597.—x. The Tragedy of King Richard the third. Containing, His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittiefull murder of his iunocent[®] nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.—At London—Printed by Valentine Sims, for Androw Wise, dwelling in Paules Chuch-yard[®], at the Signe of the Angell. 1597.—xi. Lvrece. At London,

Printed by P. S. for Iohn Harrison. 1598.—xii. The Hystorie of Henrie the Fourth, —*No copy of this first edition of the play, having a title, is known to exist; the only portion of it, hitherto discovered, being a fragment of the text with the above head-line.*

—xiii. A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called, Loues labors lost. As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakespere.—Imprinted at London by W. W. for Cutbert Burby. 1598.—xiv. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath bene publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. By William Shake-speare. London.—Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard at the signe of the Angel. 1598.—xv. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pitiful murder of his innocent Nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath bene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. By William Shake-speare.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell. 1598.—xvi. The History of Henrie the Fovrth; With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. At London, Printed by P. S. for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell. 1598.—xvii. Venvs and Adonis.—*Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flauus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.*—Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound. 1599.—xviii. The Most Excellent and lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended: As it hath bene sundry times publikely acted, by the right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, and are to be sold at his shop neare the Exchange. 1599.—xix. The Passionate Pilgrime. By W. Shakespeare. At London—Printed for W. Iaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard. 1599.—xx. The History of Henrie the Fovrth; With the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. At London, Printed by S. S. for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell. 1599.—xxi. The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey: And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the tragicall end of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable rebellion of Iacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorkes first clayme to the crowne. London: Printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornewall. 1600.—xxii. The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke Humphrey: And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical end of the prowd Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade: And the Duke of Yorkes first clayme to the Crowne. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder S. Peters church in Cornewall. 1600.—xxiii. Lvcrece—London. Printed by I. H. for Iohn Harison. 1600.—xxiv. The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the sixt: With the whole contention betweene the two Houses, Lancaster and Yorke; as it was sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruantes. Printed at Londou® by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornewall. 1600.—xxv. The first part Of the true & honorable history, of the Life of Sir Iohn Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham. As it hath bene lately acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord High Admirall of England, his

Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—printed for T. P. 1600.—xxvi. The Cronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Tho. Millington, and Iohn Busby. And are to be sold at his house in Carter Lane, next the Powle head. 1600.—xxvii. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of sir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath beene sundrie times publickely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley. 1600.—xxviii. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of sir Iohn Falstaffe, &c., 1600. *This second edition contains two additional leaves, but its title-page is identical with that last given.*—xxix. Much adoe about Nothing. As it hath beene sundrie times publickely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London—Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley. 1600.—xxx. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath bene sundry times publickely acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London, for Thomas Fisher, and are to be soulede at his shoppe, at the Signe of the White Hart, in Fleete-streete. 1600.—xxxi. The Excellent History of the Merchant of Venice, With the extreme cruelty of Shylocke the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh. And the obtaining of Portia, by the choyse of three Caskets. Written by W. Shakespeare.—Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.—xxxii. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath bene sundry times publickely acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. Printed by James Roberts, 1600.—xxxiii. The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times bene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants. At London, Printed by I. R. for Edward White and are to bee solde at his shoppe, at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. 1600.—xxxiv. The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh : and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath bene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare.—At London, Printed by I. R. for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Greene Dragon. 1600.—xxxv. A “Poeticall Essaie on the Turtle and Phoenix,” published in “Loves Martyr : or, Rosalins Complaint. Allegorically shadowing the truth of Loue, in the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle.”—London, Imprinted for E. B. 1601.—xxxvi. A Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie Wiues of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors, of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Iustice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines seruants. Both before her Maiestie, and else-where. London—Printed by T. C. for Arthur Iohnson, and are to be sold at his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the Flower de Leuse and the Crowne. 1602.—xxxvii. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittifull murder of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath bene lately Acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shakespeare.—London—Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise,

dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell. 1602.—xxxviii. Venvs and Adonis.—Vilia miretur vulgus : mihi flauus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Paules Churchyard. 1602.—xxxix. Venvs and Adonis.—Vilia miretur vulgus, mihi flauus Apollo = Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua. Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Paules Church-yard. 1602.—xl. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. London—Printed by Thomas Crede, for Thomas Pauier, and are to be sold at his shop in Cornhill, at the signe of the Cat and Parrets neare the Exchange. 1602.—xli. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke—By William Shake-speare. As it hath bene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London : as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where—At London—printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell. 1603.—xlii. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.—At London, Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet. 1604.—xliii. The History of Henrie the fourth, With the battell at Shrewsburie, betwene the King, and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. London—Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Mathew Law, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Fox. 1604.—xlii. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence : the pittifull murther of his innocent Nephewes : his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath bin lately Acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shake-speare.—London,—Printed by Thomas Crede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1605.—xlv. The London Prodigall. As it was plaide by the Kings Maiesties seruants. By William Shakespeare,—London. Printed by T. C. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold neere S. Austins gate, at the signe of the pyde Bull. 1605.—xlvi. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.—At London, Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet. 1605.—xlvii. Lvrece. At London, Printed be^o N. O. for Iohn Harison. 1607.—xlviii. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second : With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard, As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruantes, at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. 1608.—xlix. M. William Shake-speare, His True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Glocester, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam. As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-Hall, vpon S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties Seruants, playing vsually at the Globe on the Banck-side.—Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1608.—l. A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and true. Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W. Shakspeare.—At London—Printed by R. B. for Thomas Pauier and are to bee sold at his shop on Cornhill, neere to the exchange. 1608—li. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, with his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with ancient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his

Seruants. Printed for T. P. 1608.—lii. The History of Henry the fourth, With the battell at Shrewseburie, betweene the King, and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceites of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. London, Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, neere vnto S. Augustines gate, at the signe of the Foxe. 1608.—liiii. The Tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath been publicly acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruantes. By William Shake-speare. London, Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. 1608.—liiv. M. William Shak-speare : His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam : As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Banck-side.—London, Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere St. Austins Gate. 1608.—lv. The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loues, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia. Written by William Shakespeare.—London—Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley, and are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules Church-yard, ouer against the great North doore. 1609.—lvi. The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare.—London—Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley, and are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules Church-yard, ouer against the great North doore. 1609.—lvii. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, aduentures, and fortunes of the said Prince : As also, The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pater-noster row, &c. 1609.—lviii. The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With &c. 1609. *The title of this, the second edition, is identical with that last given.*—lix. Shake-speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted.—At London—By G. Eld for T. T. and are to be solde by Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church gate. 1609.—lx. Shake-speares Sonnets. Neuer before Imprinted.—At London—By G. Eld for T. T. and are to be solde by William Aspley. 1609.—lxi. The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publicly Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended :—London—Printed for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleetestreete vnder the Dyall. 1609.—lxii. The most lamentable Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath svndry times beene plaide by the Kings Maiesties Seruants. London, Printed for Eedward White, and are to be solde at his shoppe, nere the little North dore of Pauls, at the signe of the Gun. 1611.—lxiii. The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John King of England. With the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fawconbridge :) Also, the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As they were (sundry times) lately acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players. Written by W. Sh.—Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for Iohn Helme, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleetestreet. 1611.—lxiv. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppy.—At London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke and are to be sold at his shoppe in Saint Dunstons Church yeard in Fleetstreet. Vnder the Diall, 1611.—lxv. The Most

Excellent And Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Ivliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publikely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Newly Corrected, augmented, and amended.—London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to bee sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleetstreete vnder the Dyall. *The position here given to this title-page is conjectural, the edition being undated.*—lxvi.

The Most Excellent And Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Ivliet. As it hath beene sundrie times publikely Acted, by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe. Written by W. Shake-speare. Newly Corrected, augmented, and amended.—London, Printed for Iohn Smethwicke, and are to bee sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleetstreete vnder the Dyall. *This is the same editon as the last with merely an alteration in the title-page.*—lxvii.

The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole History, aduentures, and fortunes of the sayd Prince: As also, The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath beene diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiestyes Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. Printed at London by S. S. 1611.—lxviii.

The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittifull murder of his innocent Nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shake-speare. London, Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1612.—lxix.

The Passionate Pilgrime. or Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betwene Venus and Adonis, newly corrected and augmented. By W. Shakespere. The third Edition. Where-unto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from Paris to Hellen, and Hellen's answere backe againe to Paris. Printed by W. Iaggard. 1612.—lxx.

The History of Henrie the fourth, With the Battell at Shrewseburie, betwene the King, and Lord Henrie Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceites of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare. London, Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, neere vnto S. Augustines Gate, at the signe of the Foxe. 1613.—lxxi.

The Tragedie of King Richard the Second: With new additions of the Parliament Scene, and the deposing of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruants, at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. At London, Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Foxe. 1615.—lxxii.

The Rape of Lvcrece. By Mr. William Shakespeare. Newly Reuised. London: Printed by T. S. for Roger Iackson, and are to be solde at his shop neere the Conduit in Fleet-street. 1616.

ESTATE RECORDS.

This section is formed of records, bearing date from 1579 to 1618, which relate to properties in which it is known that Shakespeare had, at any time of his life, either contingent or absolute interests. It has not been thought necessary to give the later estate documents at length, those passages in them which are of the slightest value being quoted either in the illustrative notes or in the essays.

I. The Note of a Fine levied when an Estate at Aston Cantlowe was mortgaged by Shakespeare's Parents, Easter Term, 21 Eliz., 1579.

Inter Edmundum Lambert, querentem, et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam, uxorem ejus, deforciantes, de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis, quinquaginta acris terre, duabus acris prati, quatuor acris pasture, et communia pasture pro omnimodis averiis, cum pertinenciis, in Awston Cawntlett; unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos, etc., scilicet, quod predicti Johannes et Maria recognoverunt predicta tenementa et communiam pasture, cum pertinenciis, esse jus ipsius Edmundi, ut illa que idem Edmundus habet de dono predictorum Johannis et Marie; et illa remisit et quietumclamaverunt de ipsis Johanne et Maria, et heredibus suis, predicto Edmundo, et heredibus suis, imperpetuum. Et, preterea, iidem Johannes et Maria concesserunt, pro se et heredibus ipsius Marie, quod ipsi warrantizabunt predicto Edmundo, et heredibus suis, predicta tenementa et communiam pasture, cum pertinenciis, contra predictos Johannem et Mariam, et heredes ipsius Marie, imperpetuum; et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quietclamancia, warrantia, fine, etc., idem Edmundus dedit predictis Johanni et Marie quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

II. A Bill of Complaint brought by the Poet's Father against John Lambert in the Court of Queen's Bench, 1589, respecting an estate at Wilmecote near Stratford-on-Avon. From the Coram Rege Rolls, Term. Mich. 31-32 Eliz. This document contains the only positive notices of the great dramatist between the years 1585 and 1592 which have yet been discovered.

WARR:—Memorandum quod alias, scilicet, termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium venit Johannes Shackspere, per Johannem Harborne, attornatum suum, et protulit hic in curiam dicte domine regine tunc ibidem quandam billam suam versus Johannem Lambert, filium et heredem Edmundi Lamberte nuper de Barton Henmershe in comitatu predicto yoman, in custodia marescalli &c., de placito transgressionis super casum; et sunt plegii de proseguendo, scilicet, Johannes Doo et Ricardus Roo, que quidem billa sequitur in hec verba,—WARR; Johannes Shackspere queritur de Johanne Lamberte, filio et herede Edmundi Lamberte nuper de Barton Henmershe in comitatu predicto yoman, in custodia marescalli Marescallie domine regine, coram ipsa regina existente, pro eo, videlicet, quod cum idem Edmundus in vita sua, scilicet, decimo quarto die Novembris anno regni domine Elizabethæ nunc regine Angliæ vicesimo, per quandam indenturam gerentem datam die et anno predictis, emisisset sibi et heredibus suis de prefato Johanne Shackspere et Maria uxore ejus unum mesuagium sive tenementum, unam virgatam terre et quatuor acras terre arrabilis cum pertinentiis in Wilmecote in dicto comitatu Warwici, habendum et tenendum mesuagium sive tenementum predictum,

et alia premissa cum pertinentiis, prefato Edmundo, heredibus et assignatis suis, imperpetuum; proviso semper quod si dictus Johannes Shakespere, heredes, executores, administratores vel assignati sui, solverent seu solvi causarent prefato Edmundo quadraginta libras legalis monete Anglie in die festi sancti Michaelis Archangeli, quod tunc esset in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo et octogesimo, quod tunc deinceps indentura predicta, et omnia in eadem contenta, vacua forent; virtute cuius idem Edmundus in tenementa predicta, cum pertinentiis, intravit, et fuit inde seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo, et, sic inde seisitus existens, postea, scilicet, primo die Marci anno regni dicte domine regine nunc vicesimo nono, apud Barton Henmershe predictam obiit, post cuius mortem mesuagium predictum et cetera premissa, cum pertinentiis, discendebant prefato Johanni Lamberte, ut filio et heredi dicti Edmundi; dictusque Johannes Lamberte, dubitans statum et interesse sua de et in tenementis predictis, cum pertinentiis, esse vacua, et noticiam habens quod predictus Johannes Shakespere eum implacitare vellet et intendisset pro premissis, in consideracione quod predictus Johannes Shakespere adtunc imposterum non implacitaret dictum Johannem Lamberte pro mesuagio predicto et ceteris premissis, cum pertinentiis; et quod dictus Johannes Shakespere et Maria uxor ejus, simulcum Willielmo Shakespere filio suo, cum inde requisiti essent, assurarent mesuagium predictum et cetera premissa, cum pertinentiis, prefato Johanni Lamberte, et deliberarent omnia scripta et evidencias premissa predicta concernentia; predictus Johannes Lamberte, vicesimo sexto die Septembris anno regni dicte domine regine vicesimo nono, apud Stratforde-super-Avon in comitatu predicto, in consideracione inde super se assumpsit et prefato Johanni Shakespere, adtunc et ibidem fideliter promisit, quod ipse, idem Johannes Lambert, viginti libras legalis monete Anglie prefato Johanni Shakespere modo et forma sequentibus, videlicet, in et super decimum-octavum diem Novembris tunc proximo sequentem viginti solidos, et in et super vicesimum tertium diem ejusdem mensis tres libras, et in et super quartum diem Decembris tunc proximo sequentem sexdecim libras, predictarum viginti librarum residuum, apud domum mancionalem cujusdam Anthonii Ingram generosi, scituatam et existentem in Walford Parva in comitatu predicto, bene et fideliter solvere et contentare vellet; et predictus Johannes Shakespere in facto dicit quod ipse hucusque non implacitavit dictum Johannem Lambert pro premissis, nec aliqua inde parcella, et insuper quod ipse, idem Johannes Shakespere et Maria uxor ejus, simulcum Willielmo Shakespere filio suo, semper hactenus parati fuerunt tam ad assurandum premissa predicta quam ad deliberandum eidem Johanni Lamberte omnia scripta et evidencias eadem premissa concernentia; predictus tamen Johannes Lamberte, promissionem et assumptionem suas predictas minime curans, set machinans et fraudulenter intendens ipsum Johannem Shakespere de predictis viginti libris callide et subdole decipere et defraudare, easdem viginti libras prefato Johanni Shakespere, juxta promissionem et assumptionem, suas hucusque non solvit, nec aliquam pro eisdem contentavit licet ad hoc per eundem Johannem Shakespere postea, scilicet, primo die Septembris anno regni dicte domine regine nunc tricesimo, apud Barton Henmershe predictam in comitatu predicto, sepius requisitus fuit, per quod idem Johannes Shakespere totum lucrum, commodum et proficuum, que ipse, cum predictis viginti libris emendo et barganizando, habere et lucrari potuisset totaliter perdidit et amisit, ad dampnum ipsius Johannis Shakespere triginta librarum, ac inde producit sectam.—Et modo ad hunc diem, scilicet, diem Jovis proximum post octabas sancti Michaelis isto eodem termino, usque quem diem predictus Johannes Lamberte habuit licenciam ad billam interloquendam et tunc ad respondendam, etc., coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium, veniunt tam predictus Johannes Shakespere, per attornatum suum predictum, quam predictus Johannes Lamberte, per Johannem Boldero, attornatum suum, et idem Johannes Lamberte defendit vim et injuriam quando, etc., et dicit quod ipse non assumpsit super se modo et forma prout predictus Johannes Shakespere superius versus eum

narravit, et de hoc ponit se super patriam; et predictus Johannes Shakespere similiter, etc. Ideo veniat inde jurata coram domina regina apud Westmonasterium die Veneris proximo post octabas Sancti Hillarii, et qui etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia tam etc. Idem dies datus est partibus predictis ibidem etc.

III. A Deed of Conveyance, from John Shakespere to George Badger, of a slip of land belonging to the Birth-Place estate, January, 1596-7.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit, Johannes Shakesperè de Stratford-super-Avon in comitatu Warrewicensi, yoman, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me, prefatum Johannem, pro et in consideracione summe quinquaginta solidorum bone et legalis monete Anglie mihi per quendam Georgium Badger de Stretford predicta, draper, premanibus solutorum, unde fateor me fideliter esse solutum et satisfactum, dictumque Georgium Badger heredes, executores et administratores suos, inde quietos esse et exoneratos imperpetuum, per presentes barganizavi et vendidi, necnon dedi et concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi, prefato Georgio Badger, heredibus et assignatis suis, totum illud toftum et parcellam terre mee cum pertinenciis jacentem et existentem in Stretford-super-Avon predicta, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Henlye Strete, inter liberum tenementum mei, predicti Johannes Shakespere, ex parte orientali, et liberum tenementum predicti Georgii Badger ex parte occidentali, continentem in latitudine per estimacionem dimidium unius virgate apud uterque fines, et jacet in longitudine a predicto vico vocato Henlye Strete ex parte australi usque regiam viam ibidem vocatam Gyll-Pyttes ex parte boreali, continens per estimacionem in longitudine viginti et octo virgatas vel circa, et modo est in tenura sive occupacione mei, predicti Johannes Shakespere, habendum et tenendum predictum toftum et parcellam terre, cum pertinenciis, prefato Georgio Badger, heredibus et assignatis suis, ad solum et proprium opus et usum ejusdem Georgii, heredum et assignatorum suorum, imperpetuum, tenenda de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicium inde prius debitum et de jure consuetum. Et ego vero, predictus Johannes Shakespere, et heredes mei, totum predictum toftum et parcellam terre cum pertinenciis prefato Georgio Badger, heredibus et assignatis suis, ad opus et usum suprascriptis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. Sciatis insuper me, prefatum Johannem Shakespere, plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in predicto tofto et parcella terre, cum pertinenciis, prefato Georgio Badger, secundum vim, formam, tenorem et effectum hujus presentis carte mee inde ei confecte, in propria persona mea tradisse et deliberasse. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo-sexto die Januarij, anno regni domine nostre Elizabethe, Dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo nono, 1596.

Sigillatum et deliberatum, ac pacifica possessio et seisina de tofto et parcella terre infrascriptis, deliberata fuit per infranominatum Johannem Shakespere infrascripto Georgio Badger, die et anno infrascriptis, secundum formam, tenorem et effectum hujus presentis carte, in presencia, viz., Richard Lane, Henry Walker, per me Willielmum Courte, scriptorem, Thomas Loche, Thomas Beseley.

IV. Papers in a Chancery Suit respecting an Estate at Wilmecote, Michaelmas Term, 1598. The father and mother of Shakespeare were the plaintiffs, and John Lambert, son of the poet's maternal uncle, the defendant.

24 Nov., 1597. To the right honorable Sir Thomas Egerton, knighte, lorde keeper of the greate seale of Englande.—In most humble wise complayninge, sheweth unto your good lordshippe your dailye oratours, John Shakespere of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwicke, and Mary his wief, that, whereas your saide oratours were lawfully seised in their demesne as of fee, as in the righte of the saide Mary, of and in one mesuage and one yarde lande with thappurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge in Wylnecote, in the saide county; and they beinge thereof so seised, for and in consideration of the somme of fowerty poundes to them by one Edmounde Lamberte of Barton-on-the-Heath in the saide countie paide, your sayde oratours were contente that he, the saide Edmounde Lamberte, shoulde have and enjoye the same premisses untill suche tyme as your sayde oratours did repaie unto him the saide somme of fowertie poundes; by reasone whereof the saide Edmounde did enter into the premisses and did occupie the same for the space of three or fower yeares, and thissues and profyttes thereof did receyve and take; after which your saide oratours did tender unto the saide Edmounde the sayde somme of fowerty poundes, and desired that they mighte have agayne the sayde premisses accordinge to their agreement; which money he the saide Edmounde then refused to receyve, sayinge that he woulde not receyve the same, nor suffer your sayde oratours to have the saide premisses agayne, unlesse they woulde paye unto him certayne other money which they did owe unto him for other matters; all which notwithstandinge, nowe so yt ys; and yt maye please your good lordshippe that, shortelie after the tendringe of the sayde fowertie poundes to the saide Edmounde, and the desyre of your sayde oratours to have their lande agayne from him, he the saide Edmounde att Barton aforesayde dyed, after whose deathe one John Lamberte, as sonne and heire of the saide Edmounde, entred into the saide premisses and occupied the same; after which entrie of the sayde John your said oratours came to him and tendred the saide money unto him, and likewise requested him that he woulde suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to their righte and tytle therein and the promise of his saide father to your saide oratours made, which he, the saide John, denyed in all thinges, and did withstande them for entringe into the premisses, and as yet doeth so contynewe still; and by reasone that certaine deedes and other evidences concerninge the premisses, and that of righte belonge to your saide oratours, are coumme to the handes and possession of the sayde John, he wrongfullie still keepeth and detayneth the possession of the saide premisses from your saide oratours, and will in noe wise permytt and suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to their righte in and to the same; and he, the saide John Lamberte, hathe of late made sondrie secrete estates of the premisses to dyvers persones to your said oratours unknowen, whereby your saide oratours cannot tell againste whome to bringe their accions att the comen lawe for the recovery of the premisses; in tender consideration whereof, and for so muche as your saide oratours knowe not the certaine dates nor contentes of the saide wrytinges, nor whether the same be containyd in bagge, boxe or cheste, sealed, locked or noe, and therefore have no remeadie to recover the same evidences and wrytinges by the due course of the comen lawes of this realme; and for that also, by reasone of the saide secrete estates so made by the saide John Lamberte as aforesaide, and want of your saide oratours havinge of the evidences and wrytinges as aforesaide, your sayde oratours cannot tell what accions or againste whome, or in what manner, to bringe their accion for the recoverie of the premisses att the comen lawe; and for that also the sayde John Lamberte ys of greate wealth and abilitie, and well frended and alied amongst gentlemen and freeholders of the cuntry in the saide countie of Warwicke, where he dwelleth, and your saide oratours are of small

wealthe and verey fewe frendes and alyance in the saide countie, maye yt therefore please your good lordshippe to graunt unto your saide oratours the Queenes Majesties moste gracyous writte of subpena, to be directed to the saide John Lamberte, comandinge him thereby att a certaine daie, and under a certaine payne therein to be lymtted, personally to appeare before your good lordshippe in Her Majesties highnes courte of Chauncerie, then and there to answeere the premisses ; and further to stande to and abyde suche order and direction therein as to your good lordshippe shall seeme best to stande with righte, equitye and good consyence, and your sayde oratours shall daylie praye to God for the prosperous healtie of your good lordshippe with increase of honour longe to contynewe.

Juratus coram me, Thomam Legge, 24 Novembris, 1597.—The answeare of John Lamberte, defendante, to the byll of complainte of John Shakspeare and Mary his wief, complainantes.—The said defendante, savinge to himselfe both nowe, and att all tymes hereafter, all advantage of excepcion to the uncertentie and insufficiencie of the said complainantes byll, and also savinge to this defendante such advantage as by the order of this honorable courte he shal be adjudged to have, for that the like byll, in effecte conteyninge the selfe-same matter, hath byne heretofore exhibited into this honorable courte againste this defendante, wherunto this defendante hath made a full and directe answeare, wherin the said complainante hath not proceeded to hearinge ; for a seconde full and directe answeare unto the said complainantes byll sayeth that true yt is, as this defendante verylie thinkethe, that the said complainantes were, or one of them was, lawfully seized in their or one of their demesne, as of fee, of and in one messuage and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenances, lyinge and beinge in Wilmecott, in the parishe of Aston Cawntloe, in the countie of Warwicke, and that they or one of them soe beinge thereof seized, the said complainante, John Shakspeare, by indenture beringe date uppon or about the fowertenth daye of November, in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lady the Queenes Majestie that now ys, for and in consideracion of the summe of fortie powndes of lawfull Englishe monney unto the said complainante payde by Edmunde Lamberte, this defendantes father in the said byll named, did geve, graunte, bargaine and sell the said messuage, and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenances, unto the said Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires and assignes, to have and to holde the said messuage, one yearde and fower acres of lande, with thappurtenances, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, his heires and assignes, for ever ; in which indenture there is a condicionall provisoe conteyned that, if the said complainante did paye unto the said Edmunde Lamberte the summe of fortie powndes uppon the feast daie of St. Michell tharchangell which shoulde be in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande fye hundred and eightie, att the dwellinge howse of the said Edmunde Lamberte, in Barton-on-the-Heath in the said countie of Warwicke, that then the said graunte, bargaine, and sale, and all the covenantes, grauntes and agreementes therin conteyned, shulde cease and be voyde, as by the said indenture, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie doth referre himselfe, maye appeare ; and afterwardes, the saide complainante John Shakspeare, by his Deede Pole and Liverie theruppon made, did infeoffe the said Edmunde Lamberte of the saide premisses, to have and to holde unto him the said Edmunde Lamberte and his heires for ever ; after all which, in the terme of Ester, in the one and twentieth yeare of the Queenes Majesties raigne that nowe ys, the said complainantes in due forme of lawe did levye a fyne of the said messuage and yearde lande, and other the premisses, before the Queenes Majesties justices of the comon plees att Westminster, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires, sur conuzance de droyt, as that which the said Edmunde had of the gifte of the said John Shakspeare, as by the said pole deede, and the chirographe of the said fyne, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie referreth himselfe, yt doth and maye appeare ; and this defendante further sayeth that the said complainante did

not tender or paye the said summe of fortie powndes unto the said Edmunde Lamberte, this defendantes father, uppon the saide feaste daye, which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thowsande fyve hundred and eightie, accordinge to the said provisoer in the said indenture expressed. By reason whereof this defendantes said father was lawfully and absolutly seized of the said premisses in his demeanse as of fee, and, aboute eleven yeares laste paste thereof, dyed seized; by and after whose decease the said messuage and premisses with thappurtenaunces descended and came, as of righte the same oughte to descende and come, unto this defendante, as sonne and nexte heire of the said Edmunde; by vertue whereof this defendante was and yet is of the said messuage, yearde lande and premisses, lawfully seized in his demeanse as of fee, which this defendante hopeth he oughte both by lawe and equitie to enjoye, accordinge to his lawfull righte and tittle therin; and this defendante further sayeth that the said messuage, yearde lande and other the said premisses, or the moste parte thereof, have ever, sythence the purches therof by this defendantes father, byne in lease by the demise of the said complainante; and the lease therof beinge nowe somewhat nere expyred, wherby a greater value is to be yearly raised therby, they, the said complainantes, doe now trowble and moleste this defendante by unjuste sutes in lawe, thinkinge therby, as yt shoulde seme, to wringe from him this defendante some further recompence for the said premisses then they have alreddy received; without that, that yt was agreed that the said Edmunde Lamberte shoulde have and enjoye the said premisses in anie other manner and forme, to the knowledge of this defendante, then this defendante hath in his said answeare heretofore expressed; and without that, that anie deedes or evidences concernynge the premisses that of righte belonge to the said complainantes are come to the handes and possession of this defendante, as in the said byll is untruly supposed; and without that, that anie other matter, cause or thinge, in the said complainantes byll contened, materiall or effectuall in the lawe, to be answered unto, towchinge or concernynge him, this defendante, and hereinbefore not answered unto, confessed and avoyded, traversed or denied, is true, to this defendantes knowledge or remembrance, in suche manner and forme as in the said byll the same is sett downe and declared. All which matters this defendante is reddey to averre and prove, as this honorable courte shall awarde, and prayethe to be dismissed therhence with his reasonable costes and charges in this wrongfull sute by him unjustly susteyned.

The replicacion of John Shakespere and Mary his wief, plentiffes, to the answeare of John Lamberte, defendant.—The said complainantes, for replicacion to the answeare of the said defendant, saie that theire bill of complaynt ys certayne and sufficient in the lawe to be answered; which said bill, and matters therein contayned, these complainantes will avowe, verifie, and justifie to be true and sufficient in the lawe to be answered unto, in such sorte, manner and forme as the same be sett forthe and declared in the said bill: and further they saie that thansweare of the said defendant is untrue and insufficient in lawe to be replied unto, for many apparent causes in the same appearinge, thadvantage whereof these complainantes praie may be to theym nowe and at all tymes saved, then and not ells; for further replicacion to the said answeare they saie that, accordinge to the condicion or proviso mencioned in the said indenture of bargaine and sale of the premisses mencioned in the said bill of complaynt, he this complainant, John Shakspere, did come to the dwellinge-house of the said Edmunde Lambert, in Barton-uppon-the-Heathe, uppon the feaste daie of St. Michaell tharcheangell, which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousand fyve hundred and eightie, and then and there tendered to paie unto him the said Edmunde Lambert the said fortie poundes, which he was to paie for the redempcion of the said premisses; which somme the said Edmunde did refuse to receyve, sayinge that he owed him other money, and unles that he, the said John, would paie him altogether, as well the said fortie poundes as the other money, which he owed him over and above, he would not

receave the said fortie poundes, and imediatlie after he, the said Edmunde, dyed, and by reason thereof, he, the said defendant, entered into the said premisses, and wrongfullie kepeth and detayneth the said premisses from him the said complaynant; without that, any other matter or thinge, materiall or effectuall, for these complaynantes to replie unto, and not herein sufficientlie confessed and avoyded, denied and traversed, ys true; all which matters and thinges thes complaynantes are redie to averr and prove, as this honourable court will awarde, and pray as before in their said bill they have praied.—*In dorso*, Ter. Michael. annis 40 et 41.

V. The original Conveyance of over a hundred acres of land from William and John Combe to Shakespeare, May, 1602.

This Indenture made the firste daie of Maye, in the fowre and fortieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce and Ireland, Queene, Defendresse of the Faithe, &c., betweene William Combe of Warrwicke, in the countie of Warrwick, esquier, and John Combe of Olde Stretford, in the countie aforesaide, gentleman, on the one partie, and William Shakespere of Stretford-uppon-Avon, in the countie aforesaide, gentleman, on thother partye; Witnesseth that the saide William Combe and John Combe, for and in consideracion of the somme of three hundred and twentie poundes of currant Englishe money to them in hande, at and before the ensealinge and deliverie of theis presentes, well and trulie satisfied, contented and paide; wherof and wherwith they acknowledge themselves fullie satisfied, contented and paide, and therof, and of everie parte and parcell therof, doe clearlie, exonerate, acquite and discharge the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes for ever by theis presentes, have aliened, bargayned, solde, geven, graunted and confirmed, and, by theis presentes, doe fullye, clearlie and absolutelie alien, bargayne, sell, give, graunte and confirme unto the saide William Shakespere, all and singuler those errable landes, with thappurtenaunces, conteyninge by estymacion fowre yarde lande of errable lande, scytuate, lyinge and beinge within the parrishe, feildes or towne of Olde Stretford aforesaide, in the saide countie of Warrwick, conteyninge by estimacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse; and also all the common of pasture for sheepe, horse, kyne or other cattle, in the feildes of Olde Stretford aforesaide, to the saide fowre yarde lande belonginge or in any wise apperteyninge; and also all hades, leys, tynges, proffittes, advantages and commodities whatsoever, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces to the saide bargayned premisses belonginge or apperteyninge, or hertofore reputed, taken, knowne or occupied as parte, parcell or member of the same, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the same bargayned premisses, and of everie parte and parcell therof, nowe or late in the severall tenures or occupacions of Thomas Hiccoxe and Lewes Hiccoxe, or of either of them, or of their assignes, or any of them; together also with all charters, deedes, writings, escriptes, and mynumentes whatsoever, touchinge or concerninge the same premisses onlie, or only any parte or parcell therof; and also the true copies of all other deedes, evidences, charters, writings, escriptes and mynumentes, which doe touche and concerne the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or any parte or parcell therof, which the saide William Combe or John Combe nowe have in their custodie, or hereafter may have, or which they may lawfullye gett, or come by, without suite in lawe; to have and to holde the saide fowre yarde of errable lande, conteyninge by estymacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse, and all and singuler other the premisses before by theis presentes aliened and solde, or mencioned or entended to be aliened and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof; and all deedes, charters, writings, escriptes and mynumentes, before by theis presentes bargayned and solde unto the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes for ever, to the onlie proper use and behoofe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes for ever. And the saide William

Combe and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors and administrators, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, are seazde, or one of them is seazde, of a good, sure, perfect and absolute estate, in fee simple, of the same premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, without any further condicion or lymyttacion of use or estate, uses or estates; and that he, the saide John Combe, his heires and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles and indempnified as well the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seven acres, and all other the premisses, with their appurtenaunces, before bargayned and solde, or mencioned or entended to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, as also the saide William Shakespere, and his heires and assignes, and everie of them, of and from all former bargaynes, sales, leases, joyntures, dowers, wills, statutes, recognizances, writings obligatorie, tynes, feoffamentes, entayles, judgments, executions, charges, titles, forfeitures and encombrances whatsoever, at any tyme before the ensealinge herof, had, made, knowledged, done or suffred by the saide John Combe, or by the saide William Combe, or either of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, any thinge lawfullye clayminge or havinge, from, by or under them, or either of them, the rentes and services hereafter to be due, in respect of the premisses before mencioned or entended to be bargayned and solde, to the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees onlie excepted and foreprized. And the saide William Combe and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, doe covenant, promise and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, or one of them, hath the right, full power and lawfull auctoritie for any acte or actes done by them, the saide William and John Combe, or by the sufferance or procurement of them, the saide William and John Combe, to geve, graunte, bargayne, sell, convey and assure the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seven acres, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, in suche manner and forme as in and by theis presentes is lymytted, expressed, and declared; and that they, the saide William and John Combe, and their heires, and also all and everie other person and persons, and their heires, nowe or hereafter havinge or clayminge any lawfull estate righte, title or interest, of, in or to the saide errable lande, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces,—other then the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for their rentes and services only,—at all tymes hereafter, duringe the space of fyve yeares next ensewinge the date herof, shall doe, cause, knowledge and suffer to be done and knowledged, all and every suche further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances whatsoever, for the further, more better and perfect assurance, suretie, sure makinge and conveyinge of all the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, with their appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, for ever, accordinge to the true entent and meaninge of theis presentes, as by the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, or his or their learned counsell in the lawe, shal be reasonablye devized or advized, and required, be yt bye fyne or fynes with proclamacion, recoverye with voucher or vouchers over, deede or deedes enrolled, enrollment of theis presentes, feoffament, releaze, confirmation or otherwise; with warrantie against the saide William Combe and John Combe, their heires and assignes, and all other persons clayminge by, from or under them, or any of them, or without warrantie, at the costes

and charges in the lawe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, so as, for the makinge of any suche estate or assurance, the saide William and John Combe be not compeld to travell above sixe myles. And the saide William Combe and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, doe covenant, pronise and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, by theis presentes, that the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, shall or may, from tyme to tyme, from henceforth for ever, peaceably and quietlye have, holde, occupie, possesse and enjoye the saide fowre yardes of errable lande, and all other the bargayned premisses, with their appurtenances, and everie parte and parcell therof, without any manner of lett, trouble or eviccion of them, the saide William Combe and John Combe, their heires or assignes; and without the lawfull lett, trouble or eviccion of any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfullie havinge or clayminge any thinge in, of or out of the saide premisses, or any parte therof, by, from or under them, the saide William Combe and John Combe, or either of them, or the heires or assignes of them, or either of them, or their or any of their estate, title or interest. In wytnes wherof the parties to theis presentes have enterchangeably sette their handes and seales, the daie and yeare first above written, 1602.—*W. Combe.—Jo. Combe.*—Sealed and delivered to Gilbert Shakespere, to the use of the within-named William Shakespere, in the presence of Anthony Nasshe, William Sheldon, Humfrey Maynwaringe, Rychard Mason, Jhon Nashe.

VI. An Extract from the Court-rolls of the Manor of Rowington, being the Surrender from Walter Getley to Shakespeare of premises in Chapel Lane, Stratford-on-Avon, 1602.

Rowington.—*Visus franci plegii cum curia baronis prenobilis domine Anne, Comitisse Warwici, ibidem tentus vicesimo octavo die Septembris, anno regni domine nostre Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, etc., quadragesimo quarto, coram Henrico Michell, generoso, deputato scenescallo Johannis Huggefeld, armigeri, capitalis scenescalli ibidem.—Ad hanc curiam venit Walterus Getley, per Thomam Tibbottes, juniorem, attornatum suum, unum customariorum tenencium manerii prædicti, predicto Thoma Tibbottes jurato pro veritate inde, et sursum reddidit in manus domine manerii predicti unum cotagium, cum pertinenciis, scituatum, jacens et existens in Stratford-super-Avon, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Walkers Streete alias Dead Lane, ad opus et usum Willielmi Shakespere et heredum suorum imperpetuum, secundum consuetudinem manerii predicti; et sic remanet in manibus domine manerii predicti, quousque predictus Willielmus Shakespere venerit ad capiendum premissa predicta. In cujus rei testimonium predictus Henricus Michell huic presenti copie sigillum suum apposuit die et anno supradictis.—Per me, Henricum Michell.*

VII. The conveyance to Shakespeare in 1605 of the moiety of a lease, granted in 1544, of the tithes of Stratford-on-Avon, Old Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton.

This indenture made the foure and twentythe daye of Julye in the yeares of the raigne of our soveraigne Lorde James, by the grace of God of Englande, Scotlande, Fraunce and Irelande, kinge, Defender of the Fayeth, &c., that is to saye, of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande the thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and thirtythe, Betweene Raphe Hubande of Ippesley in the countye of Warr., esquier, on thone parte, and William Shakespear of Stratforde-upon-Avon in the sayed countye of Warr., gent., on thother parte; Whereas Anthonye Barker, clarke, late Warden of the Colledge or Collegiate Church of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr., and Gyles Coventrie, subwarden there, and the whole chapter of the same late colledge, by their deade indented, sealed with their chapter seale, dated the seaventh daye of September in the sixe and thirtyth yeare of the raigne of the late kinge of

famous memorie, Kinge Henrye the eighte, demysed, graunted and to farme lett, amongste diverse other things, unto one William Barker of Sonnyng in the countye of Bark., gent., all and all manner of tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye, yearlye and from tyme to tyme comynge, encreasinge, reneweing, arrysinge, groweing, yssueinge or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken out, upon, of or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes and fyeldes of Stratforde-upon-Avon, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe and Bushopton, in the sayed countye of Warr., and alsoe all and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe and other small and pryvie tythes, oblacions, obventions, alterages, mynumentes and offeringes whatsoever, yearelye and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweing or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken within the parishe of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr., by the name or names of all and singuler their mannors, landes, tenementes, meadowes, pastures, feedinges, woodes, underwoodes, rentes, revercions, services, courtes, leetes, releeves, wardes, marriages, harriottes, perquisites of courtes, liberties, jurisdictiones, and all other hereditamentes, with all and singuler other rightes, commodities, and their appurtenaunces, together with all manner of parsonages, glebe landes, tythes, alterages, oblacions, obventions, mynumentes, offeringes, and all other issues, proffittes, emolumentes and advantages in the countye of Warr. or Worcester, or elcwhere whatsoever they bee, unto the sayed then colledge apperteyninge,—the mancionhouse and the scite of the sayed colledge, with their appurtenaunces, within the precinctes of the walls of the sayed colledge, unto the sayed warden and subwarden onelye excepted,—To have and to holde all the sayed mannors, landes, tenementes, and all other the premisses, with all and singuler their appurtenaunces, excepte before excepted, unto the sayed colledge belonginge or in anie wyse apperteyninge, unto the sayed William Barker, his executors and assignes, from the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell then laste paste before the date of the sayed indenture, unto thend and terme of fourescore and twelve yeares then nexte ensueinge, yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearelye unto the sayed warden and subwarden and their successors att the sayed colledge, cxxij. li. xvij. s. ix. d. of lawfull money of Englande, as more playnely appeareth by the sayed indenture ; and whereas alsoe the revercion of all and singuler the sayed premisses, amonge other things, by vertue of the Acte of Parliament, made in the fyrst yeare of the raigne of the late soveraigne lorde Kinge Edwarde the sixte, for the dissolucion of chauntries, colledges, and free chappels, or by somme other meanes, came to the handes and possession of the sayed late Kinge Edwarde ; and whereas the sayed late Kinge Edwarde the sixte beinge seised, as in right of his crowne of Englande, of and in the revercion of all and singuler the premisses, by his lettres patentes, bearinge date the eight and twentyth daye of June in the seaventh yeare of his raigne, for the consideracion therein expressed, did gyve and graunte unto the baylif and burgesses of Stratforde aforesayed, and to their successors, amonge other things, all and all manner of the sayed tythes of corne, graine and heye, comynge, encreasinge or arrysinge, in the villages and fyeldes of Olde Stratforde, Welcombe and Bushopton aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr., then or late in the tenure of John Barker, and to the late Colledge of Stratforde-upon-Avon in the sayed countye of Warr. of late belonginge and apperteyninge, and parcell of the possessions thereof beinge ; and alsoe all and all manner of the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages, whatsoever, within the parishe of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesayed, and to the sayed late Colledge of Stratforde-upon-Avon belonginge or apperteyninge, and then or late in the tenure of William Barker or of his assignes, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singler the sayed tythes, and everye parte and parcell thereof, and the rentes, revenues, and other yearelye proffittes whatsoever reserved upon anye demise or graunte of the sayed tythes, or anie parte or parcell thereof : and whereas alsoe the interest of the sayed premisses in the sayed originall lease mentioned, and the interest

of certain copieholdes in Shotterie in the parishe of Stratford aforesayed, beinge by good and lawfull conveyans and assurance in the lawe before that tyme conveyed and assured to John Barker of Hurste in the sayed countye of Berk., hee, the sayed John Barker, by his indenture bearinge date the foure and twentyth daye of June in the twoe and twentythe yeare of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth, for the consideracions therein specyfyed did gyve, graunte, assigne and sett over unto Sir John Hubande, knighte, brother of the sayed Raphe Hubande, all and singuler the sayed laste mencioned premisses, and all his estate, right, title and interest that hee then had to come, of, in and to all and singuler the sayed premisses, and of all other mannors, messuages, landes, tenementes, gleebe landes, tythes, oblacions, commodities and proffittes in the sayed originall lease mencioned, for and duringe all the yeares and terme then to come unexpired in the sayed originall lease, exceptinge as in and by the sayed laste mencioned indenture is excepted,—as by the same indenture more att large maye appeare; to have and to holde all and singuler the sayed recyted premisses, excepte before excepted, to the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executors and assignes, for and duringe the yeares then to come of and in the same, yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearelye, after the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell nexte ensueinge the date of the sayed laste mencioned indenture, for and duringe all the yeares mencioned in the sayed first mencioned indenture then to come and not expired, unto the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators and assignes, one annuall or yearelye rente of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillinges foure pence by the yeare, to be yssueinge and goeing out of all the mannors, landes, tenementes, tythes and hereditamentes, in the sayed indenture specyfyed, to bee payed yearlye to the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators and assignes, by the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executors, administrators and assignes, att the feastes of the Anunciacion of our Ladye and St. Michaell tharchangell, or within fortye dayes after the sayed feastes, in the porche of the Parishe Church of Stratford aforesayed, by even porcions, and further payeinge, doeing and performinge all suche other rentes, duties and servyces, as att anie tyme from thencefourth, and from tyme to tyme, for and duringe the terme aforesayed, should become due to anie personne or persons for the same premisses, or anie parte thereof, and thereof to discharge the sayed John Barker, his executors and administrators; and yf yt shoulde happen the sayed twentye-seaven poundes thirteene shillinges foure pence to bee behinde and unpaid, in parte or in all, by the space of fortye dayes nexte after anie of the sayed feastes or daies of payement, in which, as is aforesayed, it ought to bee payed, beinge lawfullie asked, that then yt shoulde bee lawfull to and for the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the premisses, with their appurtenances, and everye parte and parcell thereof, to re-enter, and the same to have againe, as in his or their former righte, and that then and from thenceforthe the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, and everye article, covenante, clause, provisoe and agreement therein conteyned, on the parte and behalf of the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators and assignes, to bee performed, should cease and bee utterlie voyde and of none effect; with diverse other covenantes, grauntes, articles and agreementes in the sayed indenture of assignement specified to bee observed and performed by the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executors and assignes, as in and by the sayed recyted indenture it doth and maye appeare. And whereas the sayed Sir John Hubande did, by his deade obligatorie, bynd himself and his heires to the sayed John Barker in a greate some of money for the performance of all and singuler the covenantes, grauntes, articles and agreementes, which, on the parte of the sayed Sir John Huband, were to bee observed and performed, conteyned and specyfyed as well in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, as alsoe in one other indenture, bearinge the date of the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, made betweene the sayed John Barker on thone partie and the sayed Sir John Hubande on thother partie, as by

the sayed deade obligatorie more att large it doth and maye appeare. And whereas alsoe the sayed Sir John Hubande, by his laste will and testament in writinge, did gyve and bequeath unto his executors, amongst other thinges, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes, as well greate as smalle, before mencioned, to bee graunted to the sayed baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford, for and duringe soe longe tyme, and untill, of the yssues and proffittes thereof, soe much as with other thinges in his sayed will to that purposse willed, lymitted or appointed, shoulde bee sufficient to discharge, beare, and paye, his funeralls debtes and legacies; and alsoe, by his sayed laste will and testament, did gyve and bequeath the other moytie, or one half of the sayed tythes, unto the sayed Raphe Hubande and his assignes, duringe all the yeares to come in the sayed first mencioned indenture and not expired, payeing the one half of the rentes and other charges dewe or goeing out of or for the same, that is to saye the one half of tenne poundes by yeare to bee payed to the sayed John Barker over and above the rentes thereof reserved upon the sayed originall lease for the same, as by the sayed will and testament more playnely appeareth;— This indenture nowe witnesseth that the sayed Raphe Hubande, for and in consideration of the somme of foure hundred and fourtye poundes of lawfull Englishe money to him by the sayed William Shakespear, before thensealinge and deliverye of thees presentes, well and truely contented and payed, whereof and of everye parte and parcell whereof hee, the sayed Raphe Hubande, dothe by thees presentes acknowledge the receipt, and thereof and of everye parte and parcell thereof dothe clerely acquite, exonerate and discharge the sayed William Shakespear, his executors and administrators, for ever by thees presentes,—hathe demised, graunted, assigned and sett over, and by thees presentes dothe demise, graunte, assigne and sett over unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executors and assignes, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweing, arrysinge, groweing, issueinge or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken out, of, upon or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes and fyeldes of Stratforde, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe and Bushopton aforesayed in the sayed countye of Warr., and alsoe the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage, oblacions, obvencions, alterages, mynumentes and offeringes whatsoever, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme, cominge, encreasing, reneweing or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken, within the parishe of Stratforde-upon-Avon aforesayed: and alsoe the moytie or one half of all and all manner of tythes, as well greate as smalle whatsoever, which were by the laste will and testament of the sayed Sir John Hubande gyven and bequeathed to the sayed Raphe Hubande, arrysing, encreasinge, reneweing or groweing within the sayed parishe of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whereof the sayed Raphe Hubande hath att anie tyme heretofore been, or of right ought to have been, possessed, or whereunto hee nowe hath, or att anie tyme hereafter should have, anie estate, right or interest, in possession or revercion; and all thestate, right, tittle, interest, terme, claime and demaunde whatsoever, of the sayed Raphe Hubande, of, in and to all and singuler the premisses herebye lastelye mencioned to bee graunted and assigned, and everie or anie parte or parcell thereof, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the sayed premisses, and all and singuler rentes and yearelye proffyttes reserved upon anie demise, graunte or assignement thereof, or of anie parte or partes thereof heretofore made,—the pryvie tythes of Luddington and suche parte of the tythe-heyde, and pryvie tythes of Bushopton, as of right doe belonge to the vicar, curate or minister there, for the tyme beinge, alwayes excepted and foreprised,—To have and to holde all and everye the sayed moyties or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, before in and by thees presentes lastelye mencioned to bee graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell of them, and everye of them, and all thestate, righte, tittle

and intereste of the sayed Raphe Huband of, in and to the same, and all other thafore demised premisses, and everye parte and parcell thereof, except before excepted, unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executors and assignes, from the daye of the date hereof, for and duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares in the sayed first recyted indenture mencioned, and for suche and soe longe terme and tyme, and in as large, ample and benefyciall manner as the sayed Raphe Hubande shoulde or oughte enjoye the same, yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearlye duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come and unexpired, the rentes hereafter mencioned, in manner and forme followeing, that is to saye, unto the baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and their successors, the yearlye rent of seaventeene poundes att the feastes of St. Michaell tharchangell and the anunciacion of blessed Marye the Virgin by equall porcions, and unto the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators or assignes, the annuall or yearlye rente of fyve poundes att the feaste dayes and place lymitted, appointed and mencioned in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement made by the sayed John Barker, or within fortye dayes after the sayed feaste dayes by even porcions, as parcell of the sayed annuall rent of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillings foure pence in the sayed assignement mencioned; and the sayed Raphe Hubande dothe by thees presentes, for him, his heires, executors and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear, his executors, administrators and assignes, that hee, the sayed Raphe Hubande, att the tyme of thensealinge and delyverye of thees presentes, hath, and att the tyme of the first execucion, or intencion of anie execucion, of anie estate by force of thees presentes shall have, full power, and lawfull and sufficient authoritie certainlie, suerlye and absolutelie, to graunte, demise, assigne and sett over all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, and other the premisses before in thees presentes lastelye mencioned to bee assigned and sett over, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executors and assignes, accordinge to the true meaninge of thees presentes; and alsoe that the sayed William Shakespear, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall and maye from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of foure score and twelve yeares yet to come and unexpired, for the yearlye severall rentes above by thees presentes reserved, peaceable, lawfullye and quietlie have, holde, occupie, possesse and enjoye all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, graine, blade, heye, wolle, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage, oblacions, obventions, offeringes, and other the premisses before by thees presentes graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof, excepte before excepted, without anie lett, trouble, entrie, distresse, claime, deniall, interrupcion or molestacion whatsoever of the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executors, administrators or assignes, or of anie other personne or personns havinge or clayminge to have, or which, att anie tyme or tymes hereafter, shall or maye have, or claime to have, anie thinge of, in or to the afore graunted premisses or anie parte thereof, by, from or under the sayed Raphe Huband, his executors, administrators or assignes, or anie of them, or by, from, or under the sayed Sir John Hubande, or by their or anie of their meanes, consent, forfeiture, act or procurement, and without anie lawfull lett, trouble, distresse, claime, denyall, entrie or demaunde whatsoever, other then for the sayed yearlye rent of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillings fourepence by the sayed recyted assignement reserved of the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators or assignes, or anie of them, or of anie personne or personns clayeming by, from or under them, or anie of them,— thestate and interest of the Lorde Carewe of, in and to the tythes of Bridgtowne and Ryen Clyfforde, and the interest of Sir Edwarde Grevill, knight, of and in the moytie of the tythe-hey, wolle, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions,

oivencions, offeringes and proffittes before by thees presentes graunted and assigned unto the sayed William Shakespear, which is to endure untill the feast of St. Michael the archangell next ensueinge the date hereof, and noe longer, onely excepted and foreprised;—and the sayed Raphe Hubande doth by thees presentes, for him his heires, executors and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear, his executors, administrators and assignes, that all and everye the sayed moyties of the sayed tythes before mencioned to be graunted to the sayed William Shakespear, and other the premisses, except before excepted, nowe are, and soe from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter duringe the residewe of the saied terme of fourescore and twelve yeares yet to come and unexpired, according to the true meaninge hereof shal be, remaine, and contynewe unto the sayed William, his executors or assignes, free and clere, and freelye and clerelye acquyted, exonerated and discharged, or well and sufficientlie saved and kept harmelesse, of and from all and all manner of bargaines, sales, giftes, assignementes, leases, recognizances, statutes mercheant and of the staple, outlaries, judgementes, execucions, titles, troubles, charges, encumbrances and demaundes whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, comitted, omitted or suffered, or hereafter to bee had, made, done, comitted, omitted or suffered, by the sayed Raphe Hubande, Sir John Hubande and John Barker, or anie of them, their or anie of their executors, administrators or assignes, or anie of them, or by anie personne or persons whatsoever clayminge by, from or under them or anie of them, or by their or anie of their meanes, act, title, graunte, forfeiture, consent or procurement, except before excepted; and alsoe that hee, the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executors, administrators and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes duringe the space of three yeares next ensueing, upon reasonable requeste, and att the costes and charges in the lawe of the sayed William Shakespear, his executors or assignes, doe performe and execute, and cause, permitt and suffer to bee done, performed and executed, all and everye suche further and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devyse and devyses in the lawe whatsoever, bee yt or they by anie meane, course, acte, devise or assurans in the lawe whatsoever, as by the sayed William Shakespear, his executors or assignes, or his or their learned councell, shal be reasonable devised, advised or required for the confirmation of thees presentes, or for the further or more better or firmer assurans, suertye, suer makinge and conveyinge of all and singler the premisses before by thees presentes demised and assigned, or ment or intended to bee demised and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executors and assignes, for and duringe all the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come and unexpired, according to the tenor and true meaninge of thees presentes, soe as the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executors or assignes, bee not hereby compelled to travell from Ippesley aforesayed for the doeing thereof; and the sayed William Shakespear doth by thees presentes, for him, his heires, executors and administrators, covenante and graunte to and with the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executors, administrators and assignes, that hee, the sayed William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall and will, duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to comme and unexpired, yearelie content and paye the severall rentes above mencioned, vidlt., seaventene poundes to the baylif and burgesses of Stratford aforesayed, and fyve poundes to the sayed John Barker, his executors or assignes, att the dayes and places aforesayed in which it ought to bee payed accordinge to the purporte and true meaninge of thees presentes, and thereof shall and will discharge the saied Raphe Hubande, his executors, administrators and assignes. In witnes whereof the parties abovesayed to thees presentes interchangeablie have sett their seales the daie and yeare fyrst above written.—*Raffe Huband.*—Sealde and delivered in the presence of William Huband, Anthony Nasshe, Fra: Collyns.

Bond for the Performance of Covenants.—Noverint universi per presentes me, Radulphum Huband, de Ippesley in comitatu Warwici, armigerum, teneri et firmiter obligari Willielmo Shakespear, de Stratforde-super-Avon in dicto comitatu Warwici, generoso, in octingentis libris bone et legalis monete Anglie solvendis eidem Willielmo, aut suo certo attornato, executoribus vel assignatis suis, ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciendam obligo me, heredes, executores et administratores meos, firmiter per presentes sigillo meo sigillatas. Datum vicesimo quarto die Julii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gracia Anglie, Scocie, Francie et Hibernie regis, fidei defensoris, etc., scilicet, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie tercio, et Scocie tricesimo octavo.—The condicion of this obligacion is suche, that if thabove bounden Raphe Hubande, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, and everye of them, shall and doe, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes, well and truely observe, performe, fulfill and keepe all and everye covenante, graunte, article, clause, sentence and thinge mencioned, expressed and declared, in a certein writinge indented, bearinge date with thees presentes, made betweene the sayed Raphe Hubande on thone parte and the abovenamed William Shakespear on thother parte, and which, on the parte and behalf of the saied Raphe, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or anie of them, are to bee observed, performed, fulfilled or kept, according to the purporte and true meaninge of the saied writinge, that then this present obligacion to bee voyde and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force, power and vertue.—*Raffe Huband.*—Sealed and delivered in the presens of William Huband, Anthony Nasshe and Fra. Collyns.

VIII. The Note of a Fine levied in Trinity Term, 8 Jac. I., 1610, on the Estate purchased by Shakespeare from the Combes.

Inter Willielmum Shakespere, generosum, querentem, et Willielmum Combe, armigerum, et Johannem Combe, generosum, deforciantes, de centum et septem acris terre et viginti acris pasture, cum pertinentiis, in Old Stratforde et Stratforde-super-Avon; unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos, etc., scilicet, quod predicti Willielmus Combe et Johannes recognoverunt predicta tenementa, cum pertinentiis, esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespere, ut illa que idem Willielmus habet de dono predictorum Willielmi Combe et Johannis, et illa remiserunt et quietum-clamaverunt de ipsis Willielmo Combe et Johanne, et heredibus suis, predicto Willielmo Shakespere et heredibus suis imperpetuum; et, preterea, idem Willielmus Combe concessit, pro se et heredibus suis, quod ipsi warrantizabunt predicto Willielmo Shakespere, et heredibus suis, predicta tenementa, cum pertinentiis, contra predictum Willielmum Combe, et heredes suos, in perpetuum. Et ulterius idem Johannes concessit, pro se et heredibus suis, quod ipsi warrantizabunt predicto Willielmo Shakespere, et heredibus suis, predicta tenementa, cum pertinentiis, contra predictum Johannem, et heredes suos, imperpetuum. Et pro hac, etc., idem Willielmus Shakespere dedit predictis Willielmo Combe et Johanni centum libras sterlingorum.

IX. A Draft of a Bill of Complaint respecting the tithes, Shakespeare being one of the plaintiffs, 1612. In this manuscript there are several interlineations and corrections in the handwriting of Thomas Greene. The following is a copy of the document in its corrected state, none of the variations and notes that are found in the original draft being of the slightest interest in connexion with the history of the poet's ownership of the moiety. The original is preserved at Stratford-on-Avon.

Richard Lane et alii querentes, et Dominus Carewe et alii defendentes, in Cancellaria billa.—To the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chauncellour of England. In humble wise complayninge, shewen unto your honorable good Lordshipp, your dayly oratours Richard Lane, of Awston in the county of Warwicke, esquire, Thomas Greene, of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the said county of Warwicke,

esquire, and William Shackspeare, of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, gentleman, that whereas Anthonie Barker, clarke, late warden of the late dissolved Colledge of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, and Gyles Coventrey, late subwarden of the same colledge, and the chapter of the said colledge, were heretofore seised in their demesne as of fee in the right of the said colledge, of and in divers messuages, landes, tenementes and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge and beinge within the parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and haye, and of and in all and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and all other small and pryvye tythes and oblacions and alterages whatsoever, cominge, groweing, arysinge, reneweing or happeninge within the whole parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid; and beinge soe thereof seised, by their indenture beareinge date in or aboute the seaventh day of September, in the six and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lord of famous memory, Kinge Henry the Eight, sealed with their chapter seale, they did demise, graunte and to ferme lett, amongst divers mannors and other messuages, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes, unto one William Barker, gentleman, nowe deceased, the aforesaid messuages, landes, tenementes and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, and the aforesaid tythes of corne, grayne and hay, and all and all manner other the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and smale and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages whatsoever; To have and to hould from the feast of Ste. Michaell tharchangell then last past, for and duringe the terme of fourescore and twelve yeares thence next and imediately followeing and fully to be complete and ended; by vertue of which demise the said William Barker entred into the said demised premisses, and was thereof possessed for all the said terme of yeares, and beinge soe thereof possessed of such estate, terme and interest, the said estate, terme and interest of the said William Barker, by some sufficient meanes in the law afterwards, came unto one John Barker, gent., by vertue whereof the said John Barker entred into the same premisses soe demised to the said William Barker, and was thereof possessed for and duringe the residue of the sayd terme of yeares then to come and not expired; and beinge soe thereof possessed, he, the said John Barker, in or aboute the xxij. th yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, by sufficiente assurance and conveyance in the lawe, did assigne assure and convey over unto Sir John Huband, knight, synce deceased, the said messuages, landes, tenementes and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, and all and singuler the tythes before specified, and all his estate, right, tytle, interest and terme of yeares of and in the same; to have and to hould for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired, reserveinge uppon and by the said assurance and conveyance the annuell or yearely rente of xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* of lawfull money of England at the feastes of Ste. Michaell tharchangell and thanunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin, by even and equall porcions; in and by which said assurance and conveyance, as one Henry Barker, gent., executor of the last will and testamente of the said John Barker, or administrator of his goodes and chattles, or otherwise assignee of the said rente from the said John Barker, hath divers and sundry tymes given forth; and which, yf the said rente of xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.* or anie parte thereof shall happe at anie tyme to be unpaid, the tenauntes of the said premisses, as he sayeth, shall find, there was, by some sufficiente meanes, good and sufficiente provision causon and security hadd and made, that yf the said annuell or yearely rente, or anie parte thereof, should be behind and unpaid, in parte or in all, after eyther of the said feaste dayes wherein the same ought to be paid by the space of forty dayes, beinge lawfully demanded at the porch of the parishe church of Stratford aforesaid, that then yt should and might be lawfull to and for the said William Barker, his executors, administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the said messuages, landes, tenementes, glebe lands and tythes, and other the premisses soe assured and assigned unto the said Sir

John Huband, to enter, and the same to have againe, repossede[®], and enjoy as in his or their former estate ; by vertue of which said assignement, assurance and conveyance soe made to the said Sir John Huband, he, the said Sir John Huband, entred into all and singular the same premisses soe assigned unto him, and was thereof possessed for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired, under the condicion aforesaid, and subjecte to the forfeiture of all the said terme to him assured and conveyed, yf defaulte of payemente of the aforesaid rente xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiiij. *d.* happened to be ma^d contrary to the true entente and meaninge of the said provision and security in and upon the same assurance soe hadd and made ; and whereas sythence the said assurance and conveyance soe made to the said Sir John Huband, all the said assigned premisses are of divers and sundry parcells, and by divers and sundry severall sufficiente meane assignementes and under estates deryved under the said assurance and conveyance soe made unto the said Sir John Huband, for very greate summes of money and valuable consideracions, come unto and nowe remayne in your said oratours, and other the persons hereafter in theis presentes named, and they have severall estates of and in the same parcells, as followeth ; that is to saie, your oratour Richard Lane, an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne and grayne of and in the barony of Clopton and the village of Shottery, being of and within the parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of lxxx. *li.*, and of and in divers messuages, landes, tenementes and other hereditamentes in Shottery aforesaid and Drayton, within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of xxx. *li.* by the yeare ; and your oratour Thomas Greene, an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in one messuage with thappurtenances in Old Stratford, of the yearely value of three powndes ; and your oratour William Shackspeare hath an estate and interest of and in the moyty or one half of all tythes of corne and grayne aryseinge within the townes villages and fieldes of Old Stratford, Byshopton and Welcombe, being of and in the said parishe of Stratford, and of and in the moyty or half of all tythes of wooll and lambe, and of all small and pryvy tythes, oblaciones, and alterages arisyng or increasyng in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, beinge of the yearely value of threescore powndes ; and the right honorable Sir George Carewe, knight, Lord Carewe of Clopton, hath an estate and interest, for the terme of nyneteene yeares or thereabouts yet to come, of and in the tythes of corne grayne and hay aryseinge in the village and fieldes of Bridgtowne, in the said parishe of Stratford, of the value of xx. *li.* ; and your oratour, the said Richard Lane, an estate of and in the same in reversion thereof, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired ; and Sir Edward Grevill, knight, the reversion of one messuage in Stratford aforesaid, after the estate of one John Lupton therein determined, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares, beinge of the yearely value of forty shillings or thereabouts ; and Sir Edward Conway, knight, hath an estate and interest for and duringe the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and haye of Loddington, another village of and within the said parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon, of the yearely value of xxx. *li.* ; and Mary Combe, widowe, and William Combe, gent., and John Combe, gent., or some or one of them, an estate for the terme of six yeares or thereabouts yet to come of and in the other moyty or half of the tythes of corne and grayne aryseinge within the townes, villages and fieldes of Old Stratford aforesaid, and Bishopton and Welcome in the said parishe of Stratford, and of and in the moyty or half of all tythes of wooll and lambe, and of all smale and pryvy tythes, oblacions and alterages ariseinge or encreaseinge in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of lx. *li.* and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and hay of Rien Clyfford, within the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x. *li.* ; and the said Thomas

Greene, an estate of and in the reversion of the same moyty of all the same tythes of corne and grayne, and wooll and lambe, and smale and privie tythes, oblacions and alterages, for and during all the residue of the said terme of fourescore and twelve yeares which after the feast day of thanunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin which shal be in the yeare of our Lord God 1613, shal be to come and unexpired; and John Nashe, gent., an estate of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and haie arysenge within the village and fieldes of Drayton within the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xx. markes, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares; and John Lane, gent., an estate, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, of and in one hereditamente in Stratford aforesaid, heretofore called Byddles Barne, lately made and converted into divers and sundry tenementes or dwelling-houses, and divers other messuages or tenementes, of the yearely value of viij. *li.* or thereabouts; and Anthonie Nashe, an estate of and in one message or tenement in Bridgstreete in Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of foure powndes, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of yeares yet to come; the said William Combe and Mary Combe, widowe, mother of the said William, or one of them, an estate of and in divers cottages and gardens in Old Stratford, and of and in fyve leyes of pasture in Ryen-Clyfford in the said parishe of Stratford aforesaid, and of and in certayne landes or leyes in their or one of their crosse or enclosure called Ste. Hill in the same parishe, of the yearely value of fyve powndes or thereabouts, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Daniell Baker, gent., an estate and^o in the tythes of Shottery meadowe and Broad Meadowe within the said parishe, of the yearely value of xx. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; John Smyth, gent., an estate of and in divers messuages, tenementes, barnes, and gardens in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of viij. *li.* by the yeare, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Frauncys Smyth the younger, gent., an estate of and in two barnes and divers messuages and tenementes with thappurtenaunces in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xij. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; William Walford, draper, an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes lyeinge and beinge in the Chappell Streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of xl. *s.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; William Courte, gent., an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes in the Chappell streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iij. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; John Browne, gent., an estate of and in one message in Bridge streete aforesaid, in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Christopher Smyth of Willmecott, an estate of and in one message with the appurtenaunces in Henley Streete in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Thomas Jakeman, an estate of and in one yard land in Shottery aforesaid in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; and Richard Kempton of Bynton, one yard land and a half in Bynton, of the yerely value of eight powndes, for and duryng all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxij. yeres yet to come and unexpired; Stephen Burman, an estate of and in one yard land and a half in Shottery aforesaid in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xv. *li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired; Thomas Burman, an estate of and in half a yard land in Shottery in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of v. *li.*, for and duringe all the

residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired ; and William Burman and the said Thomas Burman, executors of the last will and testament of one Stephen Burman, late deceased, an estate of and in one tenement in Church Streete in Stratford aforesaid, of the yearly value of *ijl.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yet^o to come and not expired ; Thomas Horneby, an estate of and in the messuage wherein he nowe dwelleth in Stratford-uppon-Avon aforesaid, of the yearly value of *ijl. x.s.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired ; Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Aynge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte widowe, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . Peare widowe, . . Younge, widowe, and . . Byddle, have every of them severall estates for all the residue of the said terme of lxxxij. yeares, some of them of and in severall messuages with thappurtenaunces, and others of them of and in severall shoppes, barnes and severall gardens, every of the said severall messuages and partes of the premisses, wherein they severally have such estates, beinge of the severall yearly values of three powndes by the yeare or thereaboutes ; and by reason of the said severall estates and interestes soe respectyvely beinge in the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and in your said orators, and in the sayd Mary Combe, William Combe, John Combe, John Lane, Anthonie Nashe, Thomas Barber, Daniel Baker, John Smyth, Frauncys Smyth, John Nashe, William Walford, William Courte, John Browne, Christopher Smyth, Thomas Jakeman, Stephen Burman, William Burman, Thomas Burman, John Lupton, Thomas Horneby, Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Aynge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . Fletcher, . . Peare, . . Younge, and . . Byddle, every of them, and every of their executors and assignes, ought in all right, equity, reason and good conscience, for and duringe the severall respectyve contynuances of their severall respectyve interestes, estates and termes in the premisses, and accordinge to the severall values of the said severall premisses soe enjoyed by them, and the rentes they doe yearly receyve for the same, to pay unto the executors, administrators or assignes of the said John Barker a ratable and proporcionable parte and porcion of the said annuell or yearly rente of *xxvijl. xij.s. iiij.d.* by and uppon the said assureance and conveyance soe as aforesaid by the said John Barker made unto the said Sir John Huband reserved and payeable ; but soe yt is, yf yt may please your honorable good lordshippe, that the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, Mary Combe, William Combe, or anie other the said other partyes, at anie tyme synce the said assureances and conveyances soe made and derived from or under the said interest of the said Sir John Huband, for that uppon or by the deedes of their severall under estates or assignementes unto them made, they, or those under whom they clayme, excepte the said Mary Combe, Thomas Greene, William Combe, John Combe, and William Shackspeare, whoe only are to pay for tythes of their said severall moityes before specified *v.l.*, and noe more, yearly duringe their said respectyve interestes, were not directed nor appoynted, nor anie covenantes by them or anie of them, or anie other under whom they or anie of them doe clayme, excepte touching the said severall yearly fyve powndes soe to be paid for the said moityes, were made, whereby yt might appeare howe much of the same rente of *xxvijl. xij.s. iiij.d.* ought to be paid for every of the said severall premisses, excepte concernyng the sayd moityes, could never yet be drawn to agree howe to paye the residue of the said rente, or be brought to pay anie precise parte or porcion at all towards the same ; but divers of them, beinge of greate ability, doe divers tymes forebeare and deny to pay anie parte at all towards the same, except the persons before excepted only as

touchinge the said severall fyve powndes for their said severall moytyes, alledginge and saicinge, Lett them that are affrayd to forfeyte or loose their estates looke to yt, and amongst them see the said rente be truly and duelye paid, for they doubt but they shall doe well enoughe with the executors or assignes of the said Jo. Barker; further excusinge their not payeinge anie rente at all for the residue of the premisses other then the said moytyes, by sayeinge that, yf they could fynd anie thinge in anie of their dedes of assignmientes or conveyances chargeinge them precisely with any part thereof, or in anie wise declareinge howe much they are to pay, they would willingly, as is fitt, pay such rate and porcion as they were soe bownd unto, but because they find noe such matter to charge them, excepte the said parties excepted, which by the dedes of their estates are directed for the said severall moytyes to pay the said severall yearely rentes of v. *li.* apeece, therefore they will not paye anie thinge at all towardes the said residue of the said rente of xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, untill, by some legall course or proceedinge in some courte of equity, yt shal be declared what parte or porcion in reason and equity every severall owner of the said severall premisses ought to pay towardes the same, and be judicially ordered thereunto, which lett them that thinke that a good course endeavour to bringe to passe, when they shall see good, or wordes to such lyke effecte; soe as your oratours, their said respectyve estates and interestes of and in their said severall premisses aforesaid, and the estates of divers of the said partyes, which would gladly pay a reasonable parte towardes the said rente, but doe nowe refuse to joyne with your said oratours in this their said suite, for feare of some other of the said parties which doe soe refuse to contrybute, doe remayne and stand subjecte to be forfeyled by the negligence or willfullnes of divers or anie other of the said partyes, which manie tymes will pay nothinge, whenas your oratours Richard Lane and William Shackspeare, and some fewe others of the said parties, are wholly, and against all equity and good conscience, usually dryven to pay the same for preservacion of their estates of and in the partes of the premisses belonginge unto them; and albeyt your said oratours have taken greate paynes and travayle in entreatinge and endeavoringe to bringe the said parties of their owne accordes, and without suite of lawe, to agree every one to a reasonable contribution toward the same residue of the said rente of xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, accordinge to the value of such of the premisses as they enjoy, and onely for their respectyve tymes and termes therein, yet have they refused and denied, and styll doe refuse and deny, to be perswaded or drawen thereunto, and some of them beinge encouraged, as yt should seme, by some frendly and kind promise of the said Henry Barker, assignee of the said John Barker, that they should find favour, though their said estates should be all forfeyled, have given yt forth that they should be glade and cared not a whit yf the estates of some or all the said premisses should be forfeyled, for they should doe well enoughe with the sayd Henry Barker. In tender consideracion whereof, and for soe much as yt is against all equitye and reason that the estates of some that are willinge to paie a reasonable parte toward the said residue of the said rente of xxvij. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*, haveinge respecte to the smalnes of the values of the thinges they doe possesse, should depend uppon the carlesnes and frowardnes or other practices of others, which will not paie a reasonable patte or anie thinge at all toward the same; and for that yt is most agreeable to all reason, equity and good conscience, that every person, his executors and assignes, should be ratably charged with a yearely porcion toward the said residue of the sayd rente, accordinge to the yearely benefit he enjoyeth or receaveth; and for that your oratours have noe meanes, by the order or course of the common lawes of this realme, to enforce or-compell anie of the said partyes to yeald anie certayne contrybucion toward the same, and soe are and styll shal bee remedies therein unles they may be in that behalf relieved by your Lordshippes gracious clemency and relyef to others in such lyke cases extended; May yt therefore please your good lordshippe, the premisses considered, and yt beinge alsoe considered that

very manie poore peoples estates are subjecte to be overthrowen by breach of the condicion aforesaid, and thereby doe depend upon the negligences, wills or practices of others, and shall contynue daylye in doubte to be turned out of doores, with their wives and families, thorough the practice or wilfullnes of such others, to write your honorable lettres unto the said Lord Carewe, thereby requiringe him to appeare in the Hight Courte of Chauncery to answere to the premisses, and to graunte unto your said oratours his Majesties most gracious writtes of subpena to be directed unto the said Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and other the said parties before named, and to the said Henry Barker, whoe claymeth under the right and tytle of the said John Barker, and usually receyveth the said rente in his owne name, and usually maketh acquittances upon the receipt thereof, under his owne hand and in his owne name, as in his owne right, and usually maketh acquittances of divers partes thereof, thereby comaundinge them and every of them at a certayne day, and under a certayne payne therein to be lymitted, to be and personally appeare before your good lordshippe in his highnes most honorable Courte of Chauncery, fully, perfectly and directly to awnswere to all and every the premisses, and to sett forth the severall yearely values of the severall premisses soe by them enjoyed, and to shewe good cause whie a comission should not be awarded forth of the said most honorable courte for the examininge of witnesses to the severall values aforesaid, and for the assessinge, taxing and rating thereof, that thereupon yt may appeare howe much every of the said parties, and their executors, administrators and assignes, for and duringe their said severall respectyve estates and interestes, ought in reason proporcionably to pay for the same towards the said residue of the said yearely rente of xxvij.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*, that the same may be ordered and established by decree of your most honorable good Lordshippe accordingly; and the said Henry Barker to awnswere to the premisses, and to sett forth what estate or interest he claymeth in the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*, and alsoe to shewe good cause whie he should not be ordered to accept the rentes ratablye to be assessed as aforesaid, and to enter onely into the tenement and estate onely of such persons which shall refuse or neglecte to pay such parte of the said rente, as by your most honorable order there shal be sett downe and rated upon them severally to paie, and further to stand to and abide such further and other order and direccions touchinge the premisses as to your good Lordshipp shall seeme to stand with right equity and good conscience. And your Lordshippes said oratours shall dayly pray unto thalmightie for your Lordshippes health, with dayly encrease in all honour and happines.—*Endorsed, Lane, Greene et Shakspeare contra W. Combe et alios respondentes.*

X. The Deed of Bargain and Sale of the Blackfriars Estate from Henry Walker to Shakspeare and Trustees, 10th March, 1612-3. This indenture was the one that was enrolled by the vendor in the Court of Chancery, and that which was afterwards held by the purchaser. From the original preserved at Hollingsbury Copse.

This Indenture made the tenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord God, according to the computacion of the Church of England, one thowsand six hundred and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, of th'one partie, and William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng of London, gentlemen, of th'other partie; Witnesseth that the said Henry Walker, for and in consideracion of the somme of one hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of England to him in hande, before th'ensealing hereof, by the said William Shakspeare well and trulie paid, whereof and wherewith hee, the said Henry

Walker, doth acknowledge himselfe fullie satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcell thereof, doth cleerlie acquite and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and every of them by theis presentes, hath bargayned and sould, and by theis presentes doth fullie cleerlie, and absolutlie bargayne and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires, and assignes for ever, All that dwelling-house or tenement, with th'appurtenances, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquior, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Pudle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe ; part of which said tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall mesuage which sometye was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquior, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honourable Henry, now Earle of Northumberland ; and also all that plott of ground on the west side of the same tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an olde bricke wall ; which said plott of ground was sometye parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyde ground lately used for a garden ; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth ; and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground ; with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egressse and regresse, in, by and through the said greate gate and yarde thereunto the usuall dore of the said tenement ; and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities and hereditamentes whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning ; and the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses, and of every parcell thereof ; and also all rentes and yearlie profittes whatsoever reserved and from hensforth to growe due and paiable upon whatsoever lease, dimise or graunt, leases, dimises or grauntes, made of the premisses or of any parcell thereof ; and also all th'estate, right, title, interest, propertie, use, possession, clayme and demaund whatsoever, which hee, the said Henry Walker, now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have, of, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof ; and also all and every the deedes, evidences, charters, escriptes, minimentes and writings whatsoever, which hee, the said Henry Walker, now hath, or any other person or persons to his use have or hath, or which hee may lawfullie come by without suite in the lawe, which touch or concerne the premisses onlie, or onlie any part or parcell thereof, together with the true copies of all such deedes, evidences and writings as concerne the premisses, amounges other thinges, to bee written and taken out at the onlie costes and charges of the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes ; which said dwelling-house or tenement, and other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and sould, the said Henry Walker late purchased and hadd to him, his heires and assignes, for ever, of Mathie Bacon, of Graies Inne in the countie of Midd., gentleman, by indenture bearing date the fiftenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsand six hundred and fower, and in the yeares of the reigne of our said sovereigne lord king James, of his realmes of England, Fraunce and Ireland, the seconde, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth ; to have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, shopps, cellors, sollers, plott of ground and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and sould, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenances, unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes, for ever, to th'onlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, their

heires and assignes for ever. And the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenante, promisse and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, in forme following, that is to saie, that hee, the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will cleerlie accuite, exonerate and discharge, or otherwise from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes and every of them, of, for and concernyng the bargayne and sale of the premisses, and the said bargayned premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former bargaynes, sales, giftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joyntures, dowers, intailes, lymittacion and lymittacions of use and uses, extentes, judgmentes, execucions, annuities, and of and from all and every other charges, titles and incumbrances whatsoever, wittinglie and wilfullie had, made, committed, suffered or donne by him, the said Henry Walker, or any other under his auctoritie or right, before th'ensealing and deliverie of theis presentes, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from hensforth for or in respecte of his or their seignorie or seignories onlie to bee due and donne. And further the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenante, promisse and graunt to and with the saide William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes in forme following, that is to saie, that for and notwithstanding any acte or thing donne by him, the said Henry Walker, to the contrary, hee, the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, shall or lawfullie may peaceable and quietlie have, holde, occupie and enjoye the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellours, sollers, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulded, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, and the rentes, yssues and profittes thereof, and of every part and parcell thereof, to his and their owne use receive, perceave, take and enjoye from hensforth for ever without the lett, troble, eviccion or interrupcion of the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours or administratours, or any of them, or of or by any other person or persons which have, or maye before the date hereof pretend to have, any lawfull estate, right, title, use or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by, from or under him, the said Henry Walker. And also that hee, the said Henry Walker and his heires, and all and every other person and persons and their heires, which have, or that shall lawfullie and rightfullie have or clayme to have, any lawfull and rightfull estate, righte, title or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by, from or under the said Henry Walker, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes from hensforth, for and during the space of three yeares now next ensuing, at or upon the reasonable request and costes and charges in the lawe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, doe make, knowledge and suffer to bee donne, made and knowledged, all and every such further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thing and thinges, devise and devises in the lawe whatsoever, for the conveying of the premisses, bee it by deed or deedes inrolled or not inrolled, inrolment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffament, recoverye, release, confirmacion or otherwise, with warrantie of the said Henry Walker and his heires against him the said Henry Walker and his heires onlie, or otherwise, without warrantie, or by all, any or as many of the wayes, meanes and devises aforesaid, as by the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes, or his or their councill learned in the lawe shal bee reasonable devised or advised, for the further, better and more perfect assurance, suertie, suermaking and conveying of all and singuler the premisses, and every parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, unto the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, to th'use and in forme aforesaid; and further that all and every fyne and fynes to bee levyed, recoveryes to bee suffered, estates and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had, made, executed or

passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses, or of any parcell thereof, shal bee, and shal bee esteemed, adjudged, deemed and taken to bee, to th'onlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent or purpose. In wisse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungable have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.—*Henry Walker*.—Sealed and delivered in the presence of Will. Atkinson; Robert Andrewes, scr.; Edw. Ouary; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same Scr.

XI. The opening Paragraphs and the Termination of the Counterpart of the preceding Indenture of the 10th of March, 1612-3, the former being the deed which was held by the vendor. With the exceptions of the signatures and the attestation, and an erasure of a few lines referring to a lease of the premises which had been granted by Walker in December, 1604, the whole of the counterpart is verbally identical with the deed that is given at length in the last article. From the original in the Library of the City of London.

1. This indenture made the tenth day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lord God, according to the computacion of the Church of England, one thousand six hundred and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth and of Scotland the six and fortieth, betweene Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London of th'one partie, and William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, of London, gentlemen, of th'other partie.

2. And further, that all and every fyne and fynes to bee levyed, recoveryes to bee suffered, estates and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had, made, executed or passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses, or of any parcell thereof, shal bee, and shal bee esteemed, adjudged, deemed and taken to bee, to th'onlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent or purpose. In wisse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungable have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.—*William Shakspere*.—*Wm. Johnson*.—*Jo. Jackson*.—Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will: Atkinson; Ed. Ouary; Robert Andrewes, scr.; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scr.

XII. The deed from Shakespeare and Trustees to Henry Walker, by which the Blackfriars Estate was mortgaged to the latter, 11th March, 1612-3. From the original in the Library of the British Museum.

This Indenture made the eleaventh day of March, in the yeares of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortieth; betweene William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, of London, gentlemen, of th'one partie, and Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, of th'other partie: Witnesseth that the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, have dimised, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theis presentes doe dimise, graunt and to ferme lett unto the said Henry Walker all that dwelling-house or tenement, with th'appurtenaunces, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquiour, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue,

gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said tenement is erected over a greate gate leading to a capitall mesuage which sometye was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquiour, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right honourable Henry, now Earle of Northumberland; and also all that plott of ground, on the west side of the same tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an olde brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometye parcell and taken out of a great voyde peece of ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground, with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egressse and regresse, in, by and through the said great gate and yarde there, unto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities and appurtenaunces whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging, or in any wise apperteyning; to have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellers, sollers, romes, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee dimised, and every part and parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, unto the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes, from the feast of th'annunciacion of the blessed Virgin Marye next comming after the date hereof, unto th'ende and terme of one hundred yeares from thence next ensuing, and fullie to bee compleat and ended, without ympeachment of or for any manner of waste; yeelding and paying therefore yearlie during the said terme unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes, a peppercorne at the feast of Easter yearlie, yf the same bee lawfullie demanded, and noe more; provided alwayes that if the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, or any of them, doe well and trulie paie or cause to bee paid to the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours or assignes, the some of threescore poundes of lawfull money of England in and upon the nyne and twentieth day of September next comming after the date hereof, at or in the nowe dwelling-house of the said Henry Walker, situate and being in the parish of Saint Martyn neere Ludgate, of London, at one entier payment without delaie, that then and from thensforth this presente lease, dimise and graunt, and all and every matter and thing herein conteyned, other then this provisoe, shall cease, determyne, and bee utterlie voyde, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never bene had ne made, theis presentes, or any thing therein conteyned to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding. And the said William Shakespeare, for himselfe, his heires, executours and administratours, and for every of them, doth covaunt, promisse and graunt to and with the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes, and every of them, by theis presentes, that hee, the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate and discharge, or from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes, and every of them, and the said premisses by theis presentes dimised, and every parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former and other bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, joyntures, dowers, intailles, statutes, recognizaunces, judgmentes, execucions, and of and from all and every other charges, titles, troubles and incumbrances whatsoever by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, or any of them, or by their or any of their meanes, had, made, committed or donne, before th'ensealing and delivery of theis presentes, or hereafter

before the said nyne and twentieth day of September next comming after the date hereof, to bee had, made, committed or donne, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for or in respect of his or their seigniorie or seigniories onlie, to bee due and donne. In wittenesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written. 1612.—*Wm. Shakspeare.*—*Wm. Johnson.*—*Jo: Jackson.*—Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakspeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will: Atkinson; Ed: Ouery; Robert Andrewes, scr.; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scr.

XIII. Articles of Agreement between Shakspeare and William Replingham, 1614, by which the latter agrees to compensate the poet should loss accrue to him by enclosures which were then contemplated. The following is taken from a contemporary transcript entitled—"Coffy of the articles with Mr. Shakspeare."

Vicesimo octavo die Octobris, anno Domini 1614. Articles of agreement indented made[®] betweene William Shackespeare, of Stretford in the county of Warwicke, gent., on the one partye, and William Replingham, of Greete Harborowe in the Countie of Warwicke, gent., on the other partie, the daye and yeare abovesaid.—Item, the said William Replingham, for him, his heires, executours and assignes, doth covenante and agree to and with the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, that he, the said William Replingham, his heires or assignes, shall, uppon reasonable request, satisfie, content and make recompence unto him, the said William Shackespeare or his assignes, for all such losse, detriment and hinderance as he, the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, and one Thomas Greene, gent., shall or maybe be thought, in the viewe and judgement of foure indifferent persons, to be indifferent elected by the said William and William, and their heires, and in default of the said William Replingham, by the said William Shackespeare or his heires onely, to survey and judge the same to sustayne or incurre for or in respecte of the increasinge[®] of the yearlie value of the tythes they the said William Shackespeare and Thomas doe joyntlie or severallie hold and enjoy in the said fieldes, or anie of them, by reason of anie inclosure or decaye of tyllage there ment and intended by the said William Replingham; and that the said William Replingham and his heires shall procure such sufficient securitie unto the said William Shackespeare, and his heires, for the performance of theis covenantes, as shal bee devised by learned counsell. In wittnes whereof the parties abovesaid to theis presentes interchangeablie their handes and seales have put, the daye and yeare first above wrytten. Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,—Tho: Lucas; Jo: Rogers; Anthonie Nasshe; Mich: Olney.

XIV. A Deed transferring the Legal Estate of the Blackfriars property, 10 February, 1617-8, in trust to follow the directions of Shakspeare's will, subject only to the remaining term of a lease granted by the poet to one John Robinson. From the original preserved at Hollingbury Copse.

This indenture made the tenth day of February, in the yeres of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James, by the grace of God kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defendor of the faith, &c., that is to say, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the fifteenth, and of Scotland the one and fiftith; between John Jackson and John Hemynge, of London, gentlemen, and William Johnson, citizen and vintiner of London, of thone part, and John Greene, of Clementes Inn in the county of Midd., gent., and Mathew Morrys, of Stretford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, gent., of thother part; witnesseth that the said John Jackson, John Hemynge and William Johnson, as well for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakspeare, deceased, late of Stretford aforesaid, gent., and to thend and intent that the landes, tenementes and hereditamentes, hereafter in theis presentes

mentioned and expressed, may be conveyed and assured according to the true intent and meaning of the last will and testament of the said William Shakespeare, and for the some of fyve shillinges of lawfull money of England to them payd, for and on the behalf of Susanna Hall, one of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and now wife of John Hall of Stretford aforesaid, gent., before thensealling and delivery of theis presentes, have aliened, bargained, sold and confirmed, and by theis presentes doe, and every of them doth, fully, cleerely and absolutely alien, bargaine, sell and confirme unto the said John Greene and Mathew Morry, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling-howse or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituat and being within the precinct, circuite and compase of the late Blackfriars, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquior, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a street leadinge downe to Puddle Wharfe on the east part, right against the kinges Majesties Warderobe, part of which tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall message which sometymes was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquior, deceased, and, since that, in the tenure or occupacion of the right honourable Henry, earle of Northumberland; and also all that plot of ground on the west side of the said tenement which was lately inclosed with boordes on twoe sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widdow, soe farr and in such sort as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an ould brick wall; which said plot of ground was sometymes parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyd ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth; and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plot of ground, with free entry, accesse, ingres, egres and regres, in, by and through the said great gate and yarde there unto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all singuler^e cellers, sollars, roomes, lightes, easementes, profittes, comodyties and hereditamentes whatsoever to the said dwelling-howse or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses and of every parcell thereof; and also all rentes and yerely profittes whatsoever reserved, and from henceforth to grow due and payable, upon whatsoever lease, demise or graunt, leases, demises or grauntes, made of the premisses, or any parcell thereof; and also all thestate, right, title, interest, property, use, clayme and demanda whatsoever, which they, the said John Jackson, John Hemyng and William Johnson, now have, or any of them hath, or of right may, might, shoold or ought to have in the premisses; to have and to holde the said dwelling-howse or tenement, lights, cellers, sollars, plot of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said John Green and Mathew Morrys, their heires and assignes, for ever, to the use and behoofes hereafter in theis presentes declared, mencioned, expressed and lymitted, and to none other use, behoofe, intent or purpose; that is to say, to the use and behoofe of the aforesaid Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her decease to the use and behoofe of the first sonne of her body lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said first sonne lawfully yssueing; and, for want of such heires, to the use and behoofe of the second sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said second sonne lawfully yssueing; and, for want of such heires, to the use and behoofe of the third sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said third sonne lawfully yssueing; and, for want of such heires, to the use and behoofe of the fowerth, fyveth, sixt and seaventh sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the severall heires males of the severall bodyes of the said fowerth, fyveth, sixt and seaventh sonnes, lawfully yssueing, in such manner as it is before lymitted to be

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and remeyne to the first, second, and third sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and to their heires males as aforesaid; and, for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Elizabeth Hall, daughter of the said Susanna Hall, and of the heires males of her body lawfully yssueing; and, for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Judyth Quiney, now wife of Thomas Quiney, of Stretford aforesaid, vintiner, one other of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and of the heires males of the body of the said Judyth lawfully yssueing; and, for default of such yssue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said William Shakespeare for ever. And the said John Jackson, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he, the said John Jackson, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, within convenient tyme after every reasonable request to him or them made, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted or done by him, the said John Jackson alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever; except the rentes and services to the cheiffe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due, and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them, the said John Jackson, John Hemynge and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said John Hemynge, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise and graunt, to and with the said John Greene and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he, the said John Hemynge, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted or done by him, the said John Hemynge alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rentes and services to the cheiffe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemyng and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said William Johnson, for himself, his heires, executours, administratours and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaut, promise and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he, the said William Johnson, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of

and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guites, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joyntures, dowers, intayles, uses, extentes, judgements, execucions, annewtyies, and of and from all other charges, titles and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had made comitted or done by him, the said William Johnson alone, or joyntly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rentes and services to the cheiff lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them, the said John Jackson, John Hemynges, and William Johnson, unto one John Robynson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relation be had at large doth appeare. In witnes whereof the parties aforesaid to theis presente indentures have interchaungeably sett their handes and sealls. Yeoven the day and yeres first above written, 1617.—*Jo: Jackson.*—*John Hemynges.*—*Wm. Johnson.* Sealed and delyvered by the within named John Jackson in the presence of Ric. Swale; John Prise. Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed William Johnson in the presence of Nickolas Harysone; John Prise. Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed John Hemynges in the presence of Matt: Benson; John Prise. Memorand. that the xj.th daye of Februarye in the yeres within written, John Robynson, tenant of the premysse withinmencioned, did geve and delyver unto John Greene withinnamed, to the use of Susanna Hall within-named, sixe pence of lawefull money of England, in name of attornement, in the presence of Matt: Benson; John Prise. *Fer me Rychar dum Tyler.*



4. FAUCHT.

THE DAVENANT SCANDAL.

In illustration of what has been advanced in the text respecting the mythical character of this disreputable anecdote, it is desirable to give in chronological order the versions of it which have obtained currency during the last two centuries. They evince for the most part the fashionable aversion either to diminish the probability, or arrest the progressive development, of a nice bit of scandal. Added to these are a few pieces which will be found useful in the general argument. The following extracts are taken from—

1.—*Wit and mirth chargeably collected out of Tavernes, &c., 1629; here given from the reprint in All the Workes of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, 1630.*—A boy, whose mother was noted to be one not overloden with honesty, went to seeke his godfather, and enquiring for him, quoth one to him, Who is thy godfather? The boy repli'd, his name is goodman Digland the gardiner. Oh, said the man, if he be thy godfather he is at the next alehouse, but I feare thou takest Gods name in vaine.

2. *Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Persons, a manuscript in the Bodleian Library completed in the year 1680. Towards the close of the last century an attempt was made by some one to erase the passages which are here given in Italics, but, with the exception of one word, they can still be distinctly read when placed under a magnifying-glass. That word is here printed trader, but the true reading may be a coarse synonym, either term signifying a woman of very loose character. It should also be noticed that, in line 16, the word seemed is written over was, neither being marked for omission.*—Sir William Davenant, knight, poet-laureate, was borne about the end of February in . . . Street in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne taverne; baptized 3. of March, A. D. 1605–6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen; his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreable. They had three sons, viz., Robert, William, and Nicholas, an attorney.—Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon, then preferd to the vicarage of West Kington by Bp. Davenant, whose chaplaine he was,—and two handsome daughters, one m. to Gabriel Bridges, B. D. of C. C. C., beneficed in the Vale of White Horse; another to Dr. Sherburne, minister of Pembridge in Heref. and a canon of that church. Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon., where he was exceedingly respected. *I have heard Parson Robert say that Mr. W. Shakespeare has given him a hundred kisses.* Now Sir Wm. would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, e. g., Sam: Butler, author of Hudibras, etc., say that it seemed to him that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare®, and was contented enough to be thought his son; he would tell them the story as above. *Now, by the way, his mother had a very light report. In those days she was called a trader.* He went to schoole at Oxon. to Mr. Charles Silvester, where F. Degorii W. was his schoole-fellowe; but I feare he was drawne from schoole before he was ripe enough. He was preferred to the first Dutches of Richmond to wayte on her as a page. I remember he told me she sent him to a famous apothecary for some unicornes horne, which he was resolved to try with a spider, which he empaled in it, but without the expected successe; the spider would goe over, and thorough and thorough, unconcerned.

3. *Gildon's edition of Langbaine's work on the Dramatic Poets, 1699.*—Sir William D'Avenant, the son of John D'Avenant, vintner of Oxford, in that very house that has now the sign of the Crown near Carfax; a house much frequented by Shakespear in his frequent journeys to Warwickshire; whither for the beautiful mistress of the house, or the good wine, I shall not determine.

4. *Hearne's manuscript pocket-book for 1709, preserved in the Bodleian Library.*—'Twas reported by tradition in Oxford that Shakespear, as he us'd to pass from London to Stratford-upon-Avon, where he liv'd and now lies buried, always spent some time in the Crown tavern in Oxford, which was kept by one Davenant, who had a handsome wife, and lov'd witty company, tho' himself a reserv'd and melancholly man. He had born to him a son, who was afterwards christen'd by the name of William, who prov'd a very eminent poet and was knighted by the name of Sir William Davenant, and the said Mr. Shakespear was his god-father and gave him his name. In all probability he got him. 'Tis further said that one day, going from school, a grave doctor in divinity met him, and ask'd him,—Child, whither art thou going in such hast? To which the child reply'd,—O, sir, my god-father is come to town, and I am going to ask his blessing. To which the Dr. said,—Hold, child! You must not take the name of God in vaine.

5. *Jacob's Poetical Register, 1719, i. 58, reprinted in 1723.*—Sir William D'Avenant was son to Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner of Oxford. He was born in the year 1605, and his father's house being frequented by the famous Shakespear, in his journeys to Warwickshire, his poetical genius in his youth was by that means very much encourag'd; and some will have it that the handsome landlady, as well as the good wine, invited the tragedian to those quarters.

6. *Conversations of Pope in the year 1730, thus recorded by Spence.*—That notion of Sir William Davenant being more than a poetical child only of Shakespear was common in town, and Sir William himself seemed fond of having it taken for truth.

7. *Spence's Anecdotes, the following being one said to have been related by Pope in the year 1744.*—Shakespear, in his frequent journeys between London and his native place, Stratford-upon-Avon, used to lie at Davenant's, at the Crown in Oxford. He was very well acquainted with Mrs. Davenant; and her son, afterwards Sir William, was supposed to be more nearly related to him than as a godson only.—One day, when Shakespear was just arrived and the boy sent for from school to him, a head of one of the colleges, who was pretty well acquainted with the affairs of the family, met the child running home, and asked him whither he was going in so much haste? The boy said, "to my god-father Shakespear"—"Fie, child," says the old gentleman, "why are you so superfluous? have you not learnt yet that you should not use the name of God in vain."

8. *Chetwood's General History of the Stage, from its origin in Greece down to the present Time, 8vo. Lond. 1749.*—Sir William Davenant was, by many, supposed the natural son of Shakespear. He succeeded Ben. Johnson as poet-laureat in 1637, and obtained a patent for a company of comedians from King Charles, and was knighted by that monarch. His works are printed in folio, 1673, which contains seventeen dramatic pieces besides his poems, with his head crowned with laurel. The features seem to resemble the open countenance of Shakespear, but the want of a nose gives an odd cast to the face.

9. *The Manuscript Collections of Oldys, written probably about the year 1750, and first printed by Steevens in 1778.*—If tradition may be trusted, Shakespear often baited at the Crown Inn or Tavern in Oxford in his journey to and from London. The landlady was a woman of great beauty and sprightly wit, and her husband, Mr. John Davenant, afterwards mayor of that city, a grave melancholy man; who, as well as his wife, used much to delight in Shakespear's pleasant company. Their son, young Will Davenant, afterwards Sir William, was then a little school-boy in the town

of about seven or eight years old, and so fond also of Shakspeare that, whenever he heard of his arrival, he would fly from school to see him. One day an old townsman, observing the boy running homeward almost out of breath, asked him whither he was posting in that heat and hurry. He answered, to see his god-father Shakspeare. There's a good boy, said the other, but have a care that you don't take God's name in vain. This story Mr. Pope told me at the Earl of Oxford's table upon occasion of some discourse which arose about Shakspeare's monument then newly erected in Westminster Abbey; and he quoted Mr. Betterton the player for his authority. I answered that I thought such a story might have enriched the variety of those choice fruits of observation he has presented us in his preface to the edition he had published of our poet's works. He replied, There might be in the garden of mankind such plants as would seem to pride themselves more in a regular production of their own native fruits, than in having the repute of bearing a richer kind by grafting; and this was the reason he omitted it.

10. *The British Theatre, containing the Lives of the English Dramatic Poets, &c. Dublin, 1750.*—Sir William Davenant was the son of a vintner in Oxford, where he was born in the year 1605, and admitted a member of Lincoln College in the year 1621. He is said to have been much encouraged in his poetic genius by the immortal Shakspeare, and, in some accounts of that author's life, he is supposed to be his natural son.

11. *Manuscript Notes written by Oldys on the margins of his copy of Langhaine, 1691, preserved in the library of the British Museum.*—The story of Davenant's godfather Shakspeare, as Mr. Pope told it me, is printed among the jests of John Taylor, the water-poet, in his Works, folio, 1630, but without their names, and with a seeming fictitious one of the boy's godfather, vizt., Goodman Digland the gardener, I suppose of Oxford, for Taylor tells other jests that he pick'd up at Oxford in the same collection.

12. *The Lives of the Poets, 1753, vol. ii. pp. 63-64.*—All the biographers of our poet (Sir William Davenant) have observed that his father was a man of a grave disposition and a gloomy turn of mind, which his son did not inherit from him, for he was as remarkably volatile as his father was saturnine. The same biographers have celebrated our author's mother as very handsome, whose charms had the power of attracting the admiration of Shakspeare, the highest compliment which ever was paid to beauty. As Mr. Davenant, our poet's father, kept a tavern, Shakspeare, in his journeys to Warwickshire, spent some time there, influenced, as many believe, by the engaging qualities of the handsome landlady. This circumstance has given rise to a conjecture that Davenant was really the son of Shakspeare, as well naturally as poetically, by an unlawful intrigue between his mother and that great man.

13. *A Description of England and Wales, 1769, vol. vii. p. 238.*—William D'Avenant, poet laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second, was born in Oxford in the year 1605. His father, Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner of that place, was a man, it is said, of a very peaceable disposition, and his mother a woman of great spirit and beauty; and as their house was much frequented by the celebrated Shakspeare, this gave occasion to a report that the tragedian stood in a nearer relation than that of a friend to our author.

14. *Notes by Warton in Malone's supplement to Shakspeare, 1780, i. 69, in which there is a gratuitous insinuation of the possibility of an extension of the scandal.*—Antony Wood is the first and original author of the anecdote that Shakspeare, in his journeys from Warwickshire to London, used to bait at the Crown-inn on the west side of the corn-market in Oxford. I will not suppose that Shakspeare could have been the father of a Doctor of Divinity who never laughed: but it was always a constant tradition in Oxford that Shakspeare was the father of Davenant the poet, and I have seen this circumstance expressly mentioned in some of Wood's papers. Wood was

well qualified to know these particulars : for he was a townsman of Oxford, where he was born in 1632.

15. *Letter to Malone from J. Taylor, of the Sun Office, written in August, 1810.*—On re-perusing your history of the English stage and your anecdotes of Shakespeare and Davenant, I see no allusion to a story which I copied in early life from a manuscript book, and which, many years afterwards, when I became connected with the public press, I inserted in a newspaper. It is very probable that you have heard the story, though perhaps you did not think it was established on a sufficient tradition for notice in your work. I assure you upon my honour I found it there, and, if this could be doubted, I am ready to make oath of the accuracy of my statement. The manuscript-book was written by Mr. White, a very respectable gentleman who was a reading-clerk to the House of Lords. He died about the year 1772, and his property chiefly descended to a Miss Dunwell, his niece. He lived upon Wandsworth Common in a very good house. That house and other property was bequeathed by Miss Dunwell to a Mrs. Bodman, a very old acquaintance of my family, and who knew me from my birth. All Mr. White's books and manuscripts came into Mrs. Bodman's possession, and most of them, I believe, were sold by auction. The book to which I allude consisted chiefly of observations and anecdotes written by Mr. White himself, and were gleanings of conversations at which he was present. He was well acquainted with Mr. Pope, and often dined in company with him, and many of the observations and anecdotes had Mr. Pope's name at the bottom of them, indicating the source whence Mr. White derived them. What became of the book I know not. After all this preface, you will perhaps exclaim, *parturiant montes, &c.*, but, as it relates to Shakespeare, it must be interesting. The story was to the following purport. It was generally supposed or whispered in Oxford that Shakespeare, who was the godfather of Sir William Davenant, was in reality the father. The story mentioned that Shakespeare used to come to London every two years, and always stayed a night or two, going and coming, at the Crown. On such occasions the boy was always sent for from school to pay his respects to Shakespeare. On one of these occasions, as the child was running along the street, he was met by one of the heads of the colleges, who asked where he was going. The child said,—to see my godfather Shakespeare. What ! said the gentleman, have they not taught you yet not to use the Lord's name in vain ?

16. *Will of John Davenant, of Oxford, vintner, proved on October 21st, 1622.* From the recorded copy in the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.—It hath pleased God to afflict me these four moneths rather with a paine then a sickenes which I acknowledge a gentle correction for my former sinnes in having soe faire a time to repent, my paines rather daily encreasing then otherwise. And for soe much as many wise men are suddenly overtaken by death, by procrastinateing of their matters concerning the settling of their estates, I thincke it fit, though mine be of noe great value, considering the many children I have, and the mother dead which would guide them, as well for the quietnes of my owne mind when I shall depart this life as to settle a future amity and love among them, that there may be noe strife in the division of those blessinges which God hath lent me, to set downe my mind in the nature of my laste will and testament, both for the disposing of the same, as also how I would have them order themselves after my decease till it shall please God to order and direct them to other courses. First, I commit my soule to Almighty God, hoping by my Redeemer Christ Jesus to have remission of my sinnes ; my body I commit to the earth to be buryed in the parish of St. Martins in Oxford as nere my wife as the place will give leave where shee lyeth. For my funeralls and obsequies, if I dye in the yeare of my marolty^o, I desire should be in comely manner, neither affecting pompe nor to much sparing, leaveing the same to my executors discretion, whom I name to be as followeth, hartly desiring these five following whom I name

to be my overseers to take paines not only in that but alsoe in any other matter of advice to my children concerning the settling of their estates, which five are these, Alderman Harris, Alderman Wright, Mr. John Bird, Mr. William Gryce, Mr. Thomas Davis. Item, I will that my debts be paid by my executors which I owe either by bond, bill or booke, which I have made within the compasse of this two yeares. Item, I give and bequeath to my three daughters, Elizabeth, Jane, and Alice, two hundred pound a-peece to be payd out of my estate within one yeare after my buriall. Item, I give to my four sonnes one hundred fiftie pound a-peece to be payd' them within a yeare after my buriall. Item, I give to my sonne Nicholas my house at the White Beare in Dettford, which is lett to Mr. Haines, schoolemaster of Marchant Tailers Schoole. Item, I give to my sonne Robert my seale-ring. Item, my will is that my household stuffe and plate be sold to the best value within the compasse of a yeare, excepting such necessaryes as my executors and overseers shall thinck fitt for the furnishing of my house, to goe towards the payment of my childrens portions. Item, my will is that my house shall be kept still as a tavern, and supplied with wines continually, for the bringing up and entertainment of my children, untill such time as Thomas Hallom, my servant, comes out of his yeares, and the yearly profit thereof, necessary expenses of rent, reparacion and housekeeping being deducted, to retourne at the time of his coming forth of his yeares to my seaven children in equal portions, together with the stocke in the seller and debtes, or to the survivors, if any happen to dye in the meane tyme. And that this may be the better effected according to my will and intent, I will that my servant Thomas have the managing thereof during his apprenticeship, and that he shall give a true account of his dealing unto my executors and overseers four times in the yeare; alsoe that George be kept here still in the house till his yeares come forth, at which time my will is that he be made free of the Marchant Tailers in London, and have five pound given him when he comes out of his yeares. And to the intent that this my devise of keeping my house as a tavern for the better releefe of my children may take the better effect, according to my meaning, in consideracion that my three daughters, being maidens, can hardly rule a thing of such consequence, my will is that my sister Hatton, if it stand with her good liking, may come with her youngest sonne, and lye and table at my house with my children till Thomas Hallom comes out of his yeares, for the better comfort and countenancing of my three daughters, and to have her said dyett free, and five pound a yeare in money, knowing her to have bin alwaies to me and my wife loving, just and kind. Alsoe my will is that twoe of my youngest daughters doe keepe the barre by turnes, and sett doune every night under her hand the dayes taking in the veiwe of Thomas Hallom, my servant, and that this booke be orderly kept for soe long time as they shall thus sustaine the house as a tavern, that, if need be, for avoiding of deceite and distrust there may be a calculation made of the receites and disbursements. Now if any of my daughters marry with the consent of my overseers, that her porcion be presently paid her, and shee that remaineth longest in the house either to have her porcion when Thomas Hollome comes out of his yeares, or if he and shee can fancy one another, my will is that they marry together, and her porcion to be divided by itselfe towards the maintenance of the trade; and the one halfe of my two youngest sonnes stockes shall be in his the said Thomas his handes, payeinge or allowing after twenty nobles per hundred, giving my said two sonnes or my overseers security sufficient for the same to be paid at their cominge to twenty-one yeares of age, the other halfe to be putt forth for their best profit by the advise of my overseers; my will is also that my sonne William, being now arrived to sixteen yeares of age, shall be put to prentice to some good marchant of London or other tradesman by the consent and advise of my overseers, and that there be forty pound given with him to his master, whereof 20*l.* to be payd out of his owne stocke, and 20*l.* out of my goodes, and double apparrell, and that this be done within the compasse of three moneths after my death,

for avoyding of inconvenience in my house for mastershippe when I am gone. My will is alsoe concerning the remainder of the yeares in my lease of my house, the taverne, that if Thomas and any of my daughters doe marry together, that he and she shall enjoy the remainder of the yeares, be it five or six more or lesse, after he comes out of his yeares, paying to my sonn Robert over and above the rent to Mr. Huffle yearely soe much as they two shall agree upon, my overseers beinge umpires betwixt them, whereof the cheefest in this office I wish to be my frende Mr. Grice ; provided alwaies my meaning is that neither the gallery nor chambers, or that floore nor cockelofts over, nor kitchin, nor lorthor nor little sellar, be any part of the thing demised, but those to remaine to the use of my sonne Robert, if he should leave the universitie, to entertaine his sisters if they should marry, &c., yet both to have passage into the wood-yard, garden and house of office. My will is alsoe that my sonne Robert shall not make nor meddle with selling or trusting of wyne, nor with any thing in the house, but have ententamen as a brother for meale tydes and the like, or to take phisicke in sicknes, or if he should call for wine and the like with his friendes and acquaintance, that he presently pay for it or be sett downe upon his name to answeare the same out of his part, my meaning being that the government shall consist in my three daughters and in my servant Thomas, whom I have alwaies found faithfull unto me ; and to reward his vertue the better and to putt him into more encouragement, I give him twenty pound to be payd him when he comes out of his yeares. Alsoe, my will is that my sonne Robert for his better allowance in the university have quarterly paid him fifty shillings and twenty shillings to buy him necessaryes out of the provenew of the profit of wyne, till Thomas comes out of his yeares, besides the allowance of the interest of his stocke ; and in the meane time, yf I dy before he goes out Bachelor, his reasonable apparrell and expences of that degree to be payd out of my goodes, provided alwaies if it be done with the advice of Mr. Turr. My will is that Nicholas be kept at schoole at Bourton till he be fifteen yeares old, and his board and apparell be payd for out of the profit of selling of the wyne ; and for John my will is he be kept halfe an yeare at schoole if my overseers thinke good, and his brothers and sisters, and after put to prentice and have thirty pound given with him *x.li.* out of his owne stocke and twenty pound out of the profit of selling of wyne. Alsoe my will is that within twenty-four houres after my funerall, the wyne of all sortes and condicions be filled up, and reckon how many tunnes of Gascoyne wine there is, which I would have rated at twenty-five pound per tunne, and how many butts and pipes of sweet wyne there are, which I would have rated at twentie pound per cece, both which drawne into a summe are to be sett downe in a booke. Alsoe the next day after, a schedule of the debtes which are oweing me in the debt-booke, the sperate by themselves and the desperate by themselves them alsoe sett downe, the ordinary plate to drincke in the taverne to be wayed and valued, the bondes and billes in my study to be lookt over and sett downe, in all which use the opinion of Mr. Gryce ; accompt with any marchant that I deale withall betimes, and aske my debtes with as much speede as may be. Lastly, take an inventory of all the utensells in my house, and let them be prayded ; in that use the advise of my overseers ; and what money shal be in caishe more then shal be needfull for the present to pay my debtes or buy wyne with, let it be putt forth to the best advantage.

17. A poem "on Mr. Davenant, who died att Oxford in his Maioralty a fortnight after his wife." From a very curious manuscript volume of miscellanies, of the time of Charles the First, preserved in the library of the Earl of Warwick, the text being verbally corrected in a few places by the aid of a transcript made by Haslewood from another manuscript.—Well, scence th'art deade, if thou canst mortalls heare, =Take this just tribute of a funerall teare ; =Each day I see a corse, and now no knell =Is more familiare then a passing-bell ; =All die, no fix'd inheritance men have, =Save that they are freeholders to the grave. =Only I truly greive, when vertues brood =

Becomes wormes meate, and is the cankers foode, = Alas, that unrelenting death should bee = At odds with goodnesse ! Fairest budds we see = Are soonest cropp't ; who know the fewest crimes, = Tis their prerogative to die bee-times, = Enlargd from this worlds misery ; and thus hee, = Whom wee now waile, made hast to bee made free. = There needes no loud hyperbole to sett him foorth, = Nor sawcy elegy to bellowe his worth ; = His life was an encomium large enough ; = True gold doth neede no foyles to sett itt off. = Hee had choyce giftes of nature and of arte ; = Neither was Fortune wanting on her parte = To him in honours, wealth or progeny : = Hee was on all sides blest. Why should hee dye ? = And yett why should he live, his mate being gone, = And turtle-like sigh out an endlese moone ? = No, no, hee loved her better, and would not = So easely lose what hee so hardly gott. = Hee liv'd to pay the last rites to his bride ; = That done, hee pin'd out fourteene dayes and died. = Thrice happy paire ! Oh, could my simple verse = Reare you a lasting trophee ore your hearse, = You should vie yeares with Time ; had you your due, = Eternety were as short-liv'd as you. = Farewell, and, in one grave, now you are deade, = Sleepe ondisturb'd as in your marriage-bed.

18. Another Poem "on the Same," preserved in the Manuscript which contains the verses printed in the last article.—If to bee greate or good deserve the baies, = What merits hee whom greate and good doth praise ? = What meritts hee ? Why, a contented life, = A happy yssue of a vertuous wife, = The choyce of freinds, a quiet honour'd grave, = All these hee had ; What more could Dav'nant have ? = Reader, go home, and with a weeping eie, = For thy sinns past, learne thus to live and die.

19. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, by Gerard Langbaine. 8vo. Oxford, 1691.*—Sir William Davenant, a person sufficiently known to all lovers of poetry, and one whose works will preserve his memory to posterity. He was born in the city of Oxford, in the parish of St. Martins, vulgarly call'd Carfax, near the end of February in the year 1605, and was christned on the third of March following. He was the mercurial son of a saturnine father, Mr. John D'Avenant, a vintner by profession, who liv'd in the same house which is now known by the sign of the Crown.

20. *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford. Fol. Lond. 1692, ii. 292.*—William D'Avenant made his first entry on the stage of this vain world in the parish of S. Martin within the city of Oxford, about the latter end of the month of Febr., and, on the third of March following, anno 1605-6, he received baptism in the church of that parish. His father, John Davenant, was a sufficient vintner, kept the tavern now known by the name of the Crown, wherein our poet was born, and was mayor of the said city in the year 1621. His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation, in which she was imitated by none of her children but by this William. The father, who was a very grave and discreet citizen,—yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London,—was of a melancholic disposition, and was seldom or never seen to laugh, in which he was imitated by none of his children but by Robert his eldest son, afterwards Fellow of S. John's College and a venerable Doctor of Divinity. As for William, whom we are farther to mention, and may justly stile the sweet Swan of Isis, was educated in grammar learning under Edw. Sylvester, whom I shall elsewhere mention, and in academical in Lincoln College under the care of Mr. Dan. Hough, in 1620, 21, or thereabouts, and obtained there some smattering in logic ; but his genie, which was always opposite to it, lead him in the pleasant paths of poetry, so that tho' he wanted much of University learning, yet he made as high and noble flights in the poetical faculty, as fancy could advance, without it. After he had left the said college wherein, I presume, he made but a short stay, he became servant to Frances, the first Dutchess of Richmond, and afterwards to Foulk, Lord Brook, who being

poetically given, especially in his younger days, was much delighted in him. After his death, anno 1628, he, being free from trouble and attendance, betook himself to writing of plays and poetry, which he did with so much sweetness and grace, that he got the absolute love and friendship of his two patrons, Endimyon Porter and Hen. Jermyn afterwards Earl of S. Alban's ; to both which he dedicated his poem, which he afterwards published, called Madagascar. Sir John Suckling also was his great and intimate friend.

THE STRATFORD REGISTER.

The earliest register preserved in the Church of the Holy Trinity, the only one in which there are entries respecting the great dramatist, is a narrow and thick folio consisting of leaves of vellum held in a substantial ancient binding, the latter being protected by metal at the outer corners. This inestimable volume bears on its original leather side the date of 1600, in which year all the entries from 1558 were transcribed into it from then existing records, the contents of each page being uniformly authenticated by the signatures of the vicar and the churchwardens. After this attested transcript had been made, the records of the later occurrences, taken probably from the sexton's notes, were entered into the book, and their accuracy officially therein certified, at frequent but unsettled intervals, a system that continued in vogue for many years; so that there is not one amongst the following extracts which, in the manuscript, is more than a copy or an abridgment of a note made at the time of the ceremony. In these extracts, which are here given in chronological order, baptisms are denoted by the letter B, marriages by M, and funerals or burials by F, these forming three separate divisions in the register.

1558. B.—September 15. Jone Shakspere, daughter to John Shaxspere.
1562. B.—December 2. Margareta, filia Johannis Shakspere.
1563. F.—April 30. Margareta, filia Johannis Shakspere.
1564. B.—April 26. Gulielmus, filius Johannes® Shakspere.
1566. B.—October 13. Gilbertus, filius Johannis, Shakspere.
1569. B.—April 15. Jone, the daughter of John Shakspere.
1571. B.—September 28. Anna, filia magistri Shakspere.
1573-4. B.—March 11. Richard, sonne to Mr. John Shakspeer.
1579. F.—April 4. Anne, daughter to Mr. John Shakspere.
1580. B.—May 3. Edmund, sonne to Mr. John Shakspere.
1583. B.—May 26. Susanna, daughter to William Shakspere.
1584-5. B.—February 2. Hamnet and Judeth, sonne and daughter to William Shakspere.
1588-9. B.—February 26. Thomas, sonne to Richard Queeny.
1589-90. F.—March 6. Thomas Green alias Shakspere.
1593. B.—June 20. Thomas, filius Anthonii Nash gen.

1596. F.—August 11. Hamnet, filius William Shakspere.
 1600. B.—August 28. Wilhelmus, filius Wilhelmi Hart.
 1601. F.—Septemb. 8. Mr. Johannes Shakspeare.
 1603. B.—June 5. Maria, filia Willielmi Hart.
 1605. B.—Julii 24. Thomas, fil. Willielmi Hart, hatter.
 1607. M.—Junij 5. John Hall, gentleman, and Susanna Shaxspere.
 1607. F.—Decemb. 17. Mary, dawghter to Willyam Hart.
 1607-8. B.—Februar. 21. Elizabeth, dawghter to John Hall, gen.
 1608. F.—Sept. 9. Mayry Shaxspere, wydowe.
 1608. B.—Sept. 23. Mychaell, sonne to Willyam Hart.
 1611-2. F.—February 3. Gilbertus Shakspeare, adolescens.
 1612-3. F.—February 4. Rich. Shakspeare.
 1615-6. M.—Feabruary 10. Tho. Queeny tow Judith Shakspere.
 1616. F.—Aprill 17. Will. Hartt, hatter.
 1616. F.—Aprill 25. Will. Shakspere, gent.
 1616. B.—November 23. Shaksper, fillius Thomas Quyny, gent
 1617. F.—May 8. Shakspere, fillius Tho. Quyny, gent.
 1617-8. B.—February 9. Richard, fillius Thomas Quinee.
 1618. F.—November 1. Micael, fil. to Jone Harte, widowe.
 1619-20. B.—Januarie 23. Thomas, fili. to Thomas Queeny.
 1623. F.—August 8. Mrs. Shakspeare.
 1626. M.—April 22. Mr. Thomas Nash to Mrs. Elizabeth Hall.
 1635. F.—November 26. Johannes Hall, medicus peritissimus.
 1638-9. F.—January 28. Thomas, filius Thomæ Quiney.
 1638-9. F.—February 26. Richardus, filius Tho. Quiney.
 1639. F.—March 29. Willielmus Hart.
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DOMESTIC RECORDS.

I. The Will of Robert Arden, Shakespeare's maternal grandfather, November, 1556. From the original in the Registry Court of Worcester.

In the name of God, Amen, the xxiiij.th daye of November, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1556, in the thirde and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraigne lorde and ladye, Phylipe and Marye, kyng and quene, &c., I, Robart Arden, of Wyllmecote in the parryche of Aston Caunntlowe, secke in bodye and good and perfett of remembrance, make this my laste will and testement in maner and forme folowyng.—Fyryste, I bequethe my solle to Allmyghtye God and to our bleside Laydye, Sent Marye, and to all the holye compenye of heven, and my bodye to be beryde in the churchyarde of Seynt Jhon the Babtyste in Aston aforsayde. Allso I gyve and bequethe to my youngste dowghter Marye all my lande in Willmecote, cawlide Asbyes, and the crop apone the grounde sowne and tyllide as hitt is; and vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. of monye to be payde orr ere my goodes be devydyde. Allso I gyve and bequethe to my dowghter Ales the thyrde parte of all mye goodes, moveable and unmoveable, in fylde and towne, after my dettes and leggeses be performyde, besydes that goode she hathe of her owne att this tyme. Allso I gyve and bequethe to Annes my wife vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. apone this condysione, that shall^o sofer my dowghter Ales quyetye to ynyoye halfe my cople-houlde in Wyllmecote dwryng the tyme of her wyddowewhodde; and if she will nott sofer my dowghter Ales quyetye to occupye halfe with her, then I will that my wyfe shall have butt iij.li. vj.s. viij.d. and her gintur in Snytterfylde. Item, I will that the resedowe of all my goodes, moveable and unmoveable, my funeralles and my dettes dyscharyde, I gyve and bequethe to my other cheldren to be equaleye devidide amongeste them by the descreshyon of Adam Palmer, Hugh Porter of Snytterfylde, and Jhon Skerlett, whome I do ordene and make my overseres of this my last will and testament, and they to have for ther peynes-takyng in this behalfe xx.s. apese. Allso I ordene and constytute and make my full exceptores Ales and Marye, my dowghteres, of this my last will and testament, and they to have no more for ther peynes-takyng now as afore geven them. Allso I gyve and bequethe to every house that hathe no teme in the parryche of Aston, to every howse iiij.d.—Thes beyng wyttnesses,—Sir Wylliam Borton, curett; Adam Palmer; Jhon Skerlett; Thomas Jhenkes; Wylliam Pytt; with other mo.—Probatum fuit, &c., Wigorn., &c., xvj.º die mensis Decembris, anno Domini 1556.

II. The Ynventory of all the goodes, moveable and unmoveable, of Robart Ardennes of Wyllmecote, late deseside, made the ix.th day of December, in the thyrde and the fyrthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraigne lorde and ladye, Phylipe and Marye, kyng and quen, &c. 1556.

Imprimis, in the halle, ij. table-bordes, iij. choyeres, ij. formes, one cobbowrde, ij. coshenes, iij. benches and one lytle table with shellves, priside att viij.s.—Item, ij. peyntide-clothes in the hall and v. peyntid-clothes in the chamber, vij. peare of shettes, ii. cofferes, one which, priside at xviiij.s.—Item, v. borde-clothes, ij. toweles and one dyeper towelle, prisid att vj.s. viij.d.—Item, one fether-bedde, ij. mattereses, viij. canvases, one coverlett, iij. bosteres, one pelowe, iiij. peyntide-clothes, one

whyche, prisid att xxvj.s. viij.d.—Item, in the kechen iiij. panes, iiij. pottes, iij. candell-stykes, one bason, one chafyng-dyche, ij. cathernes, ij. skellettes, one fryng-pane, a gredycrene, and pott-hangings with hookes, prisid att lj.s. viij.d.—Item, one broche, a peare of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, iiij. nagares, ij. hachettes, an ades, a mattoke, a yren crowe, one fatt, iiij. barrelles, iiij. payles, a quyrne, a knedyng-trogh, a lonng sawe, a hansaw, prisid att xx.s. ij.d.—Item, viij. oxen, ij. bollokes, vij. kyne, iiij. wayning caves, xxiiij.li.—Item, iiij. horses, ij. coltes, prisid att viij.li.—Item, l.ti shepe, prisid att vij.li.—Item, the whate in the barne and the barley, prisid att xviiij.li.—Item, the heye and the pease, ottes and the strawe, prisid att ij.li. vj.s. viij.d.—Item, ix. swyne, prisid att xxvj.s. viij.d.—Item, the bees and powltrye, prisid att v.s.—Item, carte and carte-geares, and plogh and plogh-geares with harrowes, prisid att xl.s.—Item, the wodd in the yarde, and the baken in the roffe, prisid att xxx.s.—Item, the wheate in the fylde, prisid att vj.li. xij.s. iiij.d.—Summa totalis, lxxvij.li. xj.s. x.d.

III. The Will of Agnes Arden, step-mother to John Shakespeare's wife, and thus intimately connected with the poet's ancestry, 1579. From the original in the Registry Court of Worcester.

In the name of God yeare of our Lorde God 1579, and in the yeare of the raigne off our Sovereigne Queene Elyzabethe, by the grace off Fraunce and Irlande, Queene, deffendris of the faythe, &c., I, Agnes Ardenne, of Wylmcote in the perishe of Aston Cantlowe, wydowe, do make my laste wyll and testamente in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequethe my soule to Almighty God, my maker and redeemer, and my bodie to the earthe. Item, I geve and bequethe to the poore people and inhabitaunce of Bearley iiij.s. Item, I geve and bequeth to the poore people inhabited in Aston perishe x.s., to be equallie devidid by the discrecion of my overseers. Item, I geve and bequeth to everi one of my god-children xij.d. a-peece. Item, I give and bequeth to Averie Fullwod ij. sheepe, yf they doe lyve after my desease. Item, I give and bequeth to Rychard Petyvere j. sheepe, and to Nycolas Mase j. sheepe, and Elizabeth Gretwhiche and Elyzabethe Bentley eyther of them one shepe. Item, I geve and bequeth to everi off Jhon Hills children everi one of them one sheep, and also to John Fullwodes children everi one of them one shepe. My wyll is that they said sheepe soe given them shall goe forward in a stocke to they use of they sayd children untill the come to the age of discrecion. Item, I geve and bequethe to John Payge and his wyfe, the longer liver off them, vj.s. viij.d., and to John Page his brother j. strike of wheat and one strike of maulte. I geve to John Fullwod and Edwarde Hill my godchilde, everi one of them, one shipe more. Also I geve to Robarte Haskettes ij.s. iiij.d. Also, I geve to John Peter ij.s., and also to Henrie Berrie xij.d. Item, I give to Jhohan Lamberde xij.d., and to Elizabeth Stiche my olde gowne. Item, and^o bequeth to John Hill, my sonne, my parte and moitie of my croppe in the fieldes, as well wheate, barley and pease, painge for the same half the lordes rente and duties belonginge to the same, so that my wyll is the sayd John Hill shall have the nexte croppe upon the grounde after my desease. I geve to the said Jhon Hill my best platter of the best sorte, and my best platter of the second sorte, and j. poringer, one sawceer, and one best candlesticke. And also I geve to the said John two paire of sheetes. I give to the said Jhon Hill my second potte, my best panne. Item, I geve and bequeth to Jhon Fullwod, my sonne-in-lawe, all the rest of my housholde stuffe. Item, I give and bequeth to John Hill, my sonne, one cowe with the white rumpe. And also I geve to John Fullwod j. browne steare of the age of two yeares olde. Item, I give and bequeth to my brother Alexander Webbes children, everi one of them, xij.d. a-peece. The rest of all my goodes, moveables and unmoveables, not bequavid, my bodie brought home, my debtes and legacies paid, I geve and bequeth to John Fullwod and to John Hill, to the use and behalf of the said John Fullwodes and

John Hilles children, to be delivered unto them and everie of them when the come to age of discrecion. Yf any of the said children doe die before they recover their partes so geven by me, their partes deseased shall remain to the other so levinge with the said John Fullwod and John Hill, I^o do ordaine and make my full executors of this, my last, wyll. Allso I ordeyne and make my overseers, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes. These beinge witnesses,—Thomas Edkins, Richarde Petifere, with others.

Probatum fuit hoc presens testamentum coram magistro Richardo Cosin, legum doctore, reverendi in Christo patris et domini Johannis permissione divina Wigorn. episcopi etcetera; apud Warwicum ultimo die mensis Martii, 1581. Exhibuit inventarium ad summam xlv. *li*.

IV. The inventorie of all the goodes, moveable and unmoveable, of Annes Ardonne of Wylmote deseased, praised by Thomas Boothe, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes, Thomas Edkins thelder, Thomas Edkins the younger, the xix.th day of Januarye, anno regni Elizabethæ reginæ xxiiij.—1581.

Inprimis, in the halle, twoe table-bordes with a cobbarde and a painted-clothe, three coshens with shilves, other formes and benches, viij.*s*.—Item, three pottes of brasse, ij. calderons, ij. brasse pannes, ij. peeces of pewter, with iij. candelstickes, with two saltes, xvj.*s*.—Item, ij. broches, j. payre of cobbardes, j. fireshovell, with pott-hokes and linkes for the same, xvj.*d*.—Item, in the chambers her apparrell, l.*s*.—Item, the beddinge and bedstides with apreware in the said chambers, iij.*li*. iij.*s*. iij.*d*.—Item, three cofers with a peece of woollen clothe, xv.*s*.—Item, the cowperie ware, with a maulte-mylle, one knedinge-troughe with syves, and a stryke, x.*s*.—Item, fowre oxenne, fowre kyne, ij. yearlinge-calves, xij.*li*. xiiij.*s*. iij.*d*.—Item, xxxviiij.th sheepe, iij.*li*.—Item, three horses and one mare, iiiij.*li*.—Item, five score pigges, xiiij.*s*. iiiij.*d*.—Item, wayne and wayne-geares, plowe and plow-geres, carte and cart-geares, xxx.*s*.—Item, the wheate in the barne her parte, iiiij.*li*.—Item, her part of barly in the barne, iij.*li*.—Item, her parte of hey in the barnes, xiiij.*s*.—Item, the wheate one grounde in the fieldes her parte, v.*li*.—Item, her parte of peason, iij.*li*. vj.*s*. viij.*d*.—Somma totalis, xlv.*li*.

V. The Bond against Impediments which was exhibited at Worcester, in November, 1582, in anticipation of the marriage of Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway. From the original preserved in the Bishop's Registry.

Noverint universi per presentes nos, Fulconem Sandells de Stratford in comitatu Warwicensi, agricolam, et Johannem Rychardson, ibidem agricolam, teneri et firmiter obligari Ricardo Cosin, generoso, et Roberto Warmstry, notario publico, in quadraginta libris bone et legalis monete Anglie solvendis eisdem Ricardo et Roberto, heredibus, executoribus vel assignatis suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciendam obligamus nos et utrumque nostrum, per se pro toto et in solidum, heredes, executores et administratores nostros, firmiter per presentes sigillis nostris sigillatas. Datum 28 die Novembris, anno regni domine nostre Elizabethæ, Dei gratia Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, etc., 25°.—The condicion of this obligacion ys suche that, if herafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguitie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever, but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Anne Hathwey, of Stratford in the dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solennize matrimony together, and in the same afterwarde remaine and continew like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided; and, moreover, if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrell or demaund moved or depending before any judge, ecclesiasticall or temporall, for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment; and, moreover, if the said William Shagspere do not proceed to solemnizacion of mariaġ with the said Anne Hathwey without the consent of hir

frindes; and also if the said William do, upon his owne proper costes and expenses, defend and save harmles the right reverend Father in God, Lord John Bushop of Worcester, and his offycers, for licencing them the said William and Anne to be maried together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony betwene them, and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion therof, that then the said obligacion to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and vertue.

VI. Draft of a Grant of Coat-Armour proposed to be conferred on Shakespear's Father in the year 1596. From the original manuscript preserved at the College of Arms, the interlineations being denoted by Italics. The number of the regnal year, which is here erroneous, is correctly given in another draft of the same contemplated grant.

Non sanz droict. Shakespere, 1596.—To all and singuler noble and gentillmen of what estate or degree bearing arms to whom these presentes shall come, William Dethick, alias Garter, principall king of arms, sendethe greetinges; Knowe yee that whereas, by the autorite and auncyent *pryvelege* and custome *perteyning* to my said office of *principall king of arms* from the Quenes most exc. majeste, and her highnes most noble and victorious progenitors, I am to take generall notice and record, and to make publique demonstracion and testimonie, for all causes of arms and matters of gentry thourough out all her Majestes kingdoms and domynions, principalites, isles and provinces, to thend that, . . . as some by theyre auncyent names, famelies, kyndredes and descentes, have and enjoye sonderie ensoignes and . . . of arms, so other for theyre valiant factes, magnanimite, vertue, dignites, and descertes, maye have suche markes and tokens of honor and worthinesse, whereby theyr name and good fame shal be . . . and divulged, and theyre children and posterite *in all vertue to the service of theyre prynce and contrie*. Being therefore solicited and . . . credible report informed that John Shakespeare, of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the counte of Warwick, whose *parentes and late antecessors* were for theyre valeant and faithfull service advaunced and rewarded by the most pruden^o prince King Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sythence whiche tyme they have contiweed^o *at those partes* in good reputacion and credit; and that the said John having maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heyres of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, in the said counte, gent. In consideration wherof, and for encouragement of his posterite, to whom theyse *achiwmentes maie descend by the auncient custom and lawes of armes*, I have therefore assigned, graunted, and by these presentes confirmed, this shield or cote of arms, viz., Gould on a bend sable a speare of the first, *the poynt steeled, proper*, and for his creast or cognizance, a faulcon, *his winges displayed, argent*, standing on a wrethe of his coullors, supporting a speare gould steled *as aforesaid*, sett upon a healmett with mantelles and tasselles as *hathe ben accustomed* and more playnely appearethe depicted on this margent. Signefieng hereby that it shal be lawfull for the sayd John Shakespeare gent. and for his children, yssue and posterite, *at all tymes convenient, to make shewe of* and to beare the same *blazon atchevement* on theyre shield or escucheons, *cote of arms, creast, cognizance or seales, ringes, signettes, penons, gnydons, edefices, utensiles, lyveries, tombes or monumentes*, or otherwyse, *at all tymes* in all lawfull warrlyke factes or civile use and exercises, *according to the lawes of armes*, without lett or interruption of any other person or persons. Yn wittnesse wherof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and fastened the seale of my office endorced with the signett of my arms, at the Office of Arms, London, the xx.te daye of October, in the xxxix.te yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c., 1596.

VII. *A Letter from Abraham Sturley to his brother-in-law, Richard Quiney, 24 January, 1597-8, in which a reference is made to Shakespeare's contemplated purchase of land at Shottery. The name of the addressee, which is not given in the original, is ascertained from passages in another letter by the same writer. Although it is not biographically requisite to print this and the two other similar letters in full, yet they are so given as interesting examples of the domestic correspondence of the Stratfordians in the time of the poet.*

Most loving and belovedd in the Lord, in plaine Englishe we remember u in the Lord, and ourselves unto u. I would write nothinge unto u nowe, but come home. I prai God send u comfortabl home. This is one special remembrance from ur fathers motion. Itt semeth bi him that our countriman, Mr. Shaksper, is willinge to disburse some monei upon some od yarde land or other att Shotterie or neare about us ; he thinketh it a veri fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. Bi the instruccions u can geve him theareof, and bi the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote att, and not unpossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us muche good. Hoc movere, et quantum in te est permovere, ne negligas, hoc enim et sibi et nobis maximi erit momenti. Hic labor, hic opus esset eximie et gloriae et laudis sibi.—U shall understande, brother, that our neighbours are growne with the wantes they feele through the dearnes of corne, which heare is beionde all other countries that I can heare of deare and over deare, malecontent. Thei have assembled together in a great nomber, and traveld to Sir Tho. Luci on Fridai last to complaine of our malsters ; on Sundai to Sir Foulke Gre. and Sir Joh. Conwai. I should have said on Wensdai to Sir Ed. Grevll first. There is a metinge heare expected to-morrowe. The Lord knoweth to what end it will sorte ! Tho. West, returninge from the ij. knightes of the woodland, came home so full that he said to Mr. Baili that night, he hoped within a weeke to leade some of them in a halter, meaninge the malsters ; and I hope, saith Jho. Grannams, if God send mi Lord of Essex downe shortli, to se them hanged on gibbettes att their owne dores.—To this end I write this cheifli, that, as ur occasion shall suffer u to stai theare, theare might bi Sir Ed. Grev. some meanes made to the Knightes of the Parliament for an ease and discharge of such taxes and subsidies wherewith our towne is like to be charged, and I assure u I am in great feare and doubt bi no meanes hable to paie. Sir Ed. Gre. is gonne to Brestowe, and from thence to Lond., as I heare, who verie well knoweth our estates, and wil be willinge to do us ani good.—Our great bell is broken, and Wm. Wiatt is mendinge the pavemente of the bridge.—Mi sister is chearefull, and the Lord hath bin mercifull and comfortable unto hir in hir labours, and, so that u be well imploied, geveth u leave to followe ur occasions for j. weeke or fortnight longer. I would u weare furnisht to pai Wm. Patrike for me xj. *li.* and bring his quittance, for I thinke his specialtie is in Jho. Knight hand, due on Candlls. daie.—Yestr dai I spake to Mr. Sheldon att Sir. Tho. Lucies for the staie of Mr. Burtons suite, and that the cause might be referred to Mr. Walkrs of Ellyngton ; he answered me that Mr. Bur. was nowe att Lond., and, with all his harte and good will, the suite should be staied, and the matter so referred. I have here inclosed a breife of the reckoninge betwene him and me, as I would have it passe, and as in æqitie it should passe, if hē wil be but as good as his faith and promise.—Good brother, speake to Mr. Goodale that there be no more proceeding in tharches bi Mr. Clopton, whom I am content and most willinge to compounde withall, and have bin ever since the beginninge of the laste terme, and thearefore much injured bi somebodie, that I have bin put to an unnecessarie charge of xx. *s.* and upwardes that terme ; wheareas I had satisfied Mr. Clopton, as I was credibli made beleve by some of his servantes. I was also assured of the staie of suite bi Mr. Barnes in the harvest, and bi Mr. Pendleburi the latter end of the terme. Mi brothr Woodward commeth up att the latter end of this weeke, who will speake with Mr. Clopton himselfe to that

purpose.—U understand bi mi letter I sent bi our countriman Burnell that masse Brentt dispatchd 50*l.* for u. Jh. Sdrl bounde alone as yeat.—Because Mr. Brbr might not have it for 12. moneths, he would none att all, wherebi I lost mi expectation, and leafte^o, I assure u, in the greatest neede of 30*l.* that possibli maie be. In truth, brother, to u be it spoken and to nonne els, for want thereof knowe skarce wc. wai to turne me. Det Deus misericordiæ dominus exitum secundum bene placitum suu*n.*—Ur fathr with his blessinge and comendation, mi sister with her lovinge remembrance, comendes hir ; in health both, with all ur children and houshold : ur fathr, extraordinari hartie, chearefull and lustie, hath sent u this remembrance innclosed.—It maie be u knowe him his executr and brother, I meane of whom our brother Whte borrowed for me the 80*l.* paihable att Mai next ; his name I have not att hand. He dwelleth in Watlinge Streate. If 40*l.* thereof might be procured for 6. monethes more, it would make me whole. I knowe it doeth u good to be doinge good, and that u will do all the good u can.—I would Hanlett weare att home, satisfied for his paines taken before his cominge, and so freed from further travell. Nunc Deus omnipotens, opt. max., pater omnimodæ consolationis, benedicat tibi in viis tuis, et secundet te in omnibus tuis, per Jhesum Christum, Dominum nostrum ; Amen ! Dum ullus sum tuis tum.—Stretfordiæ, Januarii 24.—*Abrah. Strl.*—Commend me to Mr. Tom Bur'll, and prai him for me and mi bro. Da. Bakr. to looke that J. Tub maie be well hoped, that he leake not out lawe to our hurte for his cause ; quod partim avidio non nihill suspicor et timeo.

Receved of Mr. Buttes :—

In beanes 23 qrs., att 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> the strike	-	-	-	-	30 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Barlei 8 qrs., and 4 str., att 4 <i>s.</i> the str.	-	-	-	-	13 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Wheate 4 qrs. 4 str., att 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> the str.	-	-	-	-	12 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
					56 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

I have paid and sowed theareof, 52*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*—Mi Lad. Gre. is run in arreages with mi sister for malt, as it semeth, which hindreth and troubleth hir not a littell.

VIII. A Return of the Quantities of Corn and Malt held in February, 1598, by the inhabitants of the ward in which New Place was situated.

Stratforde Burrowghe, Warwicke.—The noate of corne and malte taken the iiij.th of Febrwarij, 1597, in the xl.th yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious soveraigne ladie Queen Elizabethæ, &c.

Chapple Street Ward.—Frauncys Smythe jun., iiij. quarters.—Jhon Coxæ, v. quarters.—Mr. Thomas Dyxon, xvij. quarters.—Mr. Thomas Barber, iiij. quarters.—Mychaell Hare, v. quarters.—Mr. Bifielde, vj. quarters.—Hughe Aynger, vj. quarters.—Thomas Badsey, vj. quarters, bareley j. quarter.—Jhon Rogers, x. str.—Wm. Emmettes, viij. quarters.—Mr. Aspinall, aboutes xj. quarters.—Wm. Shackesperc, x. quarters.—Julij Shawe, vij. quarters.

Strangers.—Ryc : Dyxon hathe of Sir Tho : Lucies, xvj. quarters.—of Sir Edw. Grevyles x. quarters —of Edw. Kennings, iiij. quarters.—Mr. Bifielde of hys systers, iiij. quarters.—Hughe Ainger of hys wyves systers, one quarter.—William Enimettes of one Nickes of Whatcoate, iiij. quarters, di. ; of Frauncys Tibballs, vj. str.

IX. A Letter from Adrian Quiney, to his son Richard, undated, but, from a comparison of it with other correspondence, it is all but certain that it was written either late in the year 1598 or early in 1599. It is addressed,—“ To my lovyng sonne, Rycharde Quyney, at the Belle in Carter Leyne deliver these in London,” and includes a notice of Shakespeare.

Yow shalle, God wyllng, receve from youre wyfe by Mr. Baylye, thys brr, asowrance of x*s.*, and she wold have yow to bye some grocerye, yff hyt be resonable ;

yow maye have carryage by a woman who I wyllyd to com to you. Mr. Layne by reporte hath receved a great summ of money of Mr. Smyth of Wotten, but wyle not be knowyn of hyt, and denyd to lende your wyff any, but hys wyff sayd that he had receved *v. li* which was gevyn hyr, and wysshd hym to lent that to your wyff, which he dyde ; she hopyth to mayk provysson to paye Mr. Combes and alle the rest. I wrot to yow concerning Jhon Rogeress ; the howsse goythe greatlye to de kaye ; ask secretli therin, and doo somewhat therin, as he ys in doubt that Mr. Parsonss wylle not paye the *3 li. 13s. 4d.* Wherfor wryte to hym, yff yow maye have carryage, to bye some such warys as yow mai selle presentlye with profet. Yff yow bargin with Wm. Sha. . or receve money therfor, brynge youre money homme that yow maye ; and see howe knite stockynges be sold ; ther ys gret byyng of them at Aysshome. Edward Wheat and Harrye, youre brother man, were both at Evyshome thys daye senet, and, as I harde, bestow *20 li.* ther in knyt hosse ; wherefore I thynke yow maye doo good, yff yow can have money.

X. A Letter from Abraham Sturley to Richard Quincy, 4 November, 1598, at the commencement of which there is an allusion to Shakespeare.

All health, happines of suites and wellfare, be multiplied unto u and ur labours in God our Father bi Christ our Lord. Ur letter of the 25. of Octobr came to mi handes the laste of the same att night per Grenwai, which imported a stai of suites bi Sr. Ed. Gr. advise, untill &c., and that onli u should followe on for tax and sub. presentli, and also ur travell and hinderance of answer there in bi ur longe travell and thaffaires of the Courte ; and that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us monei, which I will like of as I shall heare when, and wheare, and howe ; and I prai let not go that occasion if it mai sorte to ani indifferent condicions. Also that if monei might be had for 30 or 40*l.*, a lease, &c., might be procured. Oh howe can u make dowbt of monei, who will not beare xxx. tie or xl*s.* towards sutch a match ! The latter end of ur letter which concerned ur houshold affaires I delivered presentli. Nowe to ur other letter of the 1^o of Novmbr receved the 3d. of the same. I would I weare with u ; nai, if u continue with hope of those suites u wrighte of, I thinke I shall wt. concent ; and I will most willingli come unto u, as had u but advise and compani, and more monei presente, much might be done to obtaine our charter enlargd, ij, faires more, with tole of corne, bestes and sheepe, and a matter of more valewe then all that ; for (sai u) all this is nothinge that is in hand, seeinge it will not rise to 80*l.*, and the charges will be greate. What this matter of more valewe meaneth I cannot undrstand ; but me thinketh whatsoever the good would be, u are afraid of want of monei. Good things in hand or neare hand can not choose but be worth monei to bringe to hand, and, beinge assured, will, if neede be, bringe monei in their mouthes, there is no feare nor dowbte. If it be the rest of the tithes and the College houses and landes in our towne u speake of, the one halfe weare aboundantli ritch for us ; and the other halfe to increase Sr. Ed. rialties would both beare the charge and sett him sure on ; the which I take to be your meaninge bi the latter parte of ur letter, where u write for a copie of the particulars, which also u shall have accordingli. Oh howe I feare when I se what Sr. Ed. can do, and howe neare it sitteth to himsele, leaste he shall thinke it to good for us, and procure it for himsele, as he served us the last time ; for it semeth bi ur owne wordes there is some of hit in ur owne conceite, when u write if Sr. Ed. be as forward to do as to speake, it will be done ; a dowbt I assure u not without dowbt to be made ; whereto also u ad, notwithstandinge that dowbt, no want but monei. Somewhat must be to Sr. Ed. and to each one that dealeth somewhat and great reason. And me thinketh u need not be affraid to promise that as fitt for him, for all them, and for urselfe. The thinge obtained no dowbte will pai all. For present advise and encouragmente u have bi this time Mr. Baili, and for monei, when u certifie what u have done and what u

have spent, what u will do, and what u wante; somewhat u knowe we have in hand, and God will provide that wc. shall be sufficient. Be of good cowrage. Make fast Sr. Ed. bi all meanes, or els all our hope and ur travelles be utterli disgraced. Consider and advise if Sr. Ed. will be faste for us, so that bi his goodwill to us and his meanes for us these things be brought about. What weare it for the fee-farme of his rialties, nowe not above xij. or xiiij. *l.*, he weare assured of the dowble, when these things come to hande, or more, as the goodnes of the thinge procured proveth. But whi do i travell in these things, when I knowe not certainli what u intende, neither what ur meanes are, nor what are ur difficulties preciseli and bi name, all which must be knowen bi name, and specialli with an estimate of the charge before ani thinge can be added either for advise or supplie. I leave these matters therefore unto the Allmighties mercifull disposition in ur hand, untill a more neare possibilite or more leisure will encourage u or suffer u to write more plainli and particularli. But withall the Chancell must not be forgotten, which allso obtained would yeald some pretti gub of monei for ur present busines, as I thinke. The particulars u write for shalle this morninge be dispatched and sent as soone as mai be. All is well att home; all ur paimentes made and dispatchd; mi sister saith if it be so that u can not be provided for Mrs. Pendllbur, she will, if u will, send u up *x. l.* towards that bi the next after, or if u take it up, pai it to whom u appointe.—Wm. Wallford sendeth order and monei per Wm. Court nowe cominge, who hate some cause to feare, for he was neweli served with proces on Twsdai last att Alcr. per Roger S.—Mr. Parsons supposeth that Wenlock came the same dai with Mr. Baili that u writt ur letter. He saith he supposeth u mai use that *x. l.* for our brwinge matters. Wm. Wiatt answered Mr. Ba., and us all, that he would neither brwe himselfe, nor submitt himselfe to the order, but bi those veri wordes make against it with all the strength he could possibli make, yeat we do this dai begin Mr. Bar. and miselfe a littell for assai. My bro. D. B. att Shrewsburi or homeward from thence. But nowe the bell hath runge mi time spent. The Lord of all power, glori, merci, and grace and goodnes, make his great power and mercie knowen towards us in ur weakenes. Take heed of tabacco whereof we heare per Wm. Perri; against ani longe journei u mai undertake on foote of necessiti, or wherein the exercise of ur bodi must be imploied, drinke some good burned wine, or aqavitæ and ale strongli mingled without bread for a toste, and, above all, kepe u warme. Farewell, mi dare harte, and the Lord increase our loves and comfortes one to another, that once it mai be sutch as becometh Christianiti, puriti, and sinceriti, without staine or blemishe. Fare ye well; all ur and ours well. From Stretford, Novem. 4th, 1598. Urs in all love in the best bond,—*Abrah. Sturlei.*—Mrs. Coomb, when Gilbert Charnocke paid them their monei, as he told me, said that if ani but he had brought it, she would not receive it, because she had not hir gowne; and that she would arrest u for hit as soone as u come home, and much twattell; but att the end, so that youe would pai *4 l.* toward hit, she would allowe u *xx. s.* and we shall heare att some leasure howe fruites are, and hoppelles, and sutch knakkes. Att this point came Wm. Sheldon, the silke man, with a warrant to serve Wm. Walford againe upon a trespasse of 500*l.*

To his most lovinge brother, Mr. Richard Quinei, att the Bell in Carterlane att London, geve these. Paid 2d.

XI. Draft of a Grant of Coat-Armour proposed to be conferred on Shakespeare's Father in the year 1599. From the original manuscript preserved at the College of Arms, the interlineations being denoted by Italics. A few words near the end of the paper, which were in a corner now lost, have been supplied from an old transcript.

To all and singuller noble and gentelmen of all estates and degrees bearing arms to whom these presentes shall com, William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms of England, and William Camden, alias Clarentieulx, King of Arms, for the sowth,

east and weste partes of this realme, sendethe greetinges. Knowe yee that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembrances of the valeant factes and verteous dispositions of worthie men have ben made knowen and divulged by certeyne shieldes of arms and tokens of chevalrie, the grant and testimonie wherof apperteyneth unto us by vertu of our offices from the Quenes most exc. majeste, and her highenes most noble and victorious progenitors; wherfore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakespere, nowe of Stratford-uppon-Avon in the counte of Warwik, gent., whose parent, *great grandfather*, and *late* antecessor, for his faithfull and approved service to *the late most prudent prince* King H. 7. of famous memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with landes and tenementes geven to him in those partes of Warwickeshire, where they have continewed bie *some* descentes in good reputacion and credit; and for that the said John Shakespere having maryed the daughter and one of the heys of Robert Arden of Wellingcote in the said countie, and also produced *this his* auncient *cote* of arms heretofore assigned to him whilest he was *her Majesties officer* and baylefe of that towne, In consideration of *the premisses*, and for the encouragement of his posterite, unto whom suche blazon of arms and *atchevements of inheritance* from theyre *said* mother by the auncyent custome and lawes of arms maye lawfullie descend, We, the said Garter and Clarentieulx, have assigned, graunted and confirmed, and, by these presentes, *exemplified*, unto the said John Shakespere and to his posterite, that shield and cote of arms, viz., in a field of gould uppon a bend sables a speare of the first the poynt upward hedded argent; and for his creast or cognizance a falcon with his wynges displayed standing on a wrethe of his coullers supporting a speare armed hedded or and steeled *silver*, fyxed uppon a helmet with mantelles and tasselles, as more playnely *maye* appeare depicted on this margent; and we have *lykewise uppon* on other *escucheone* impaled the same with the auncyent arms of the *said* Arden of Wellingcote, signefeing thereby that it *maye* and shal be lawfull for the said John Shakespere, gent., to beare and use the same *shieldes of arms*, single or impaled as aforesaid, during his naturall lyffe; and that it shal be lawfull for his children, *yssue*, and posterite, lawfully begotten, to beare, use, and quarter *ana shewe* forthe the same with theyre dewe differences in all lawfull warlyke factes and cevele use or exercises, according to the lawes of arms and custome that to gent. belongethe, without let or interruption of any person or persons for use or per bearing the same. In wyttnesse and testimonye wherof we have subscribed our names and fastened the seales of our offices. Yeven at the Office of Arms, London, the . . . day of . . . in the xliij.te. yeare of the reigne of our most gracious soveraigne Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Quene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, &c., 1599.

XII. *The Will of John Hall, Shakespear's Son-in-law, from the recorded copy in the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, where it is entitled, Testamentum nuncupativum Johannis Hall.*

The last Will and Testament nuncupative of John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, gentleman, made and declared the five and twentieth of November, 1635. Imprimis, I geve unto my wife my house in London. Item, I geve unto my daughter Nash my house in Acton. Item, I geve unto my daughter Nash my meadowe. Item, I geve my goodes and money unto my wife and my daughter Nash, to be equally devided betwixt them. Item, concerning my study of bookes, I leave them, sayd he, to you, my sonn Nash, to dispose of them as yow see good. As for my manuscripts, I would have given them to Mr. Boles, if hee had been here; but forasmuch as hee is not heere present, yow may, son Nash, burne them, or doe with them what yow please. Wittnesse hereunto,—*Thomas Nash. Simon Trapp.*

XIII. The Will of Lady Barnard, Shakespeare's grand-daughter, January, 1670, proved at London in the following March. From a contemporary transcript.

In the name of God, Amen, I, Dame Elizabeth Barnard, wife of Sir John Barnard of Abington in the county of Northampton, knight, being in perfect memory,—blessed be God!—and mindfull of mortallity, doe make this my last will and testament in manner and forme following. Whereas by my certaine deed or writinge under my hand and seale dated on or about the eighteenth day of Aprill, 1653, according to a power therein mencioned, I, the said Elizabeth, have lymitted and disposed of all that my messuage with th'appurtenances in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwicke, called the New Place, and all that foure yard land and a halfe in Stratford, Welcombe and Bishopton in the county of Warwick, after the decease of the said Sir John Bernard and me, the said Elizabeth, unto Henry Smith of Stratford aforesaid, gent., and Job Dighton of the Middle Temple, London, esquire, sithence deceased, and their heires, upon trust that they and the survivor of them, and the heirs of such survivor, should bargain and sell the same for the best value they can gett, and the money thereby to be raised to bee employed and disposed of to such person and persons, and in such manner, as I, the said Elizabeth, should by any writing or note under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate, as thereby may more fully appeare. Now my will is, and I doe hereby signifie and declare my mynd and meaning to bee that the said Henry Smith, my surviving trustee, or his heires, shall with all convenient speed after the decease of the said Sir John Bernard, my husband, make sale of the inheritance of all and singuler the premisses, and that my loving cousin, Edward Nash, esq., shall have the first offer or refusall thereof according to my promise formerly made to him; and the moneys to be raised by such sale I doe give, dispose of and appoint, the same to be paid and distributed as is hereinafter expressed, that is to say, to my cousin Thomas Welles of Carleton, in the county of Bedford, gent., the somme of fifty pounds to be paid him within one yeare next after such sale; and if the said Thomas Welles shall happen to dye before such time as his said legacy shall become due to him, then my desire is that my kinsman, Edward Bagley, citizen of London, shall have the sole benefitt thereof. Item, I doe give and appoint unto Judith Hathaway, one of the daughters of my kinsman, Thomas Hathaway, late of Stratford aforesaid, the annuall somme of five pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto her yearely and every yeare from and after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Bernard and me, the said Elizabeth, for and during the naturall life of her, the said Judith, att the two most usuall feasts or dayes of payment in the yeare, videlicet, the feast of the Annunciacion of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michaell the Archangell, by equall porcions, the first payment thereof to beginne at such of the said feasts as shall next happen after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Bernard and me the said Elizabeth, if the said premisses can be soe soone sold, or otherwise soe soone as the same can be sold; and if the said Judith shall happen to marry, and shal be mynded to release the said annuall somme of five pound, and shall accordingly release and quitt all her interest and right in and to the same after it shall become due to her, then and in such case I doe give and appoynte to her the somme of forty pounds in lieu thereof, to bee paid unto her at the tyme of the executing of such release as aforesaid. Item, I give and appointe unto Joane, the wife of Edward Kent, and one other of the daughters of the said Thomas Hathaway, the somme of fifty pounds to be likewise paid unto her within one yeare next after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Bernard and me the said Elizabeth, if the said premisses can be soe soone sold, or otherwise soe soone as the same can bee sold and if the said Johan shall happen to die before the said fiftie pounds shal be paid to her, then I doe give and appoynt the same unto Edward Kent, the younger, her sonne, to be paid unto him when he shall attayne the age of one-and-twenty yeares. Item, I doe alsoe give and appoynt unto him, thé said Edward Kent, sonne of the said Johan,

the somme of thirty pounds towards putting him out as an apprentice, and to be paid and disposed of to that use when he shall be fitt for it. Item, I doe give, appoynte, and dispose of unto Rose, Elizabeth and Susanna, three other of the daughters of my said kinsman, Thomas Hathaway, the somme of fortie pounds a-peece to be paid unto every of them at such tyme and in such manner as the said fiftie pounds before appointed to the said Johan Kent, their sister, shall become payable. Item, all the rest of the moneys that shal be raised by such sale as aforesaid I give and dispose of unto my said kinsman, Edward Bagley, except five pounds only, which I give and appoint to my said trustee, Henry Smith, for his paines; and if the said Edward Nash shall refuse the purchase of the said messuage and foure yard land and a halfe with the appurtenances, then my will and desire is that the said Henry Smith, or his heires, shall sell the inheritance of the said premisses and every part thereof unto the said Edward Bagley, and that he shall purchase the same; upon this condicion, nevertheles, that he, the said Edward Bagley, his heyres, executors or administrators, shall justly and faithfully performe my will and true meaning in making due payment of all the severall sommes of money or legacies before-mencioned in such manner as aforesaid. And I doe hereby declare my will and meaning to be that the executors or administrators of my said husband, Sir John Bernard, shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the New Place, with the orchard, gardens and all other thappurtenances thereto belonging, for and dureing the space of six monthes next after the decease of him, the said Sir John Bernard. Item, I give and devise unto my kinsman, Thomas Hart, the sonne of Thomas Hart, late of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, all that my other messuage or inne, situate in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, commonly called the Maydenhead, with the appurtenances, and the next house thereunto adjoining, with the barne belonging to the same now or late in the occupacion of Michaell Johnson or his assignes, with all and singuler the appurtenances, to hold to him, the said Thomas Hart, the sonne and the heires of his body; and for default of such issue, I give and devise the same to, George Hart, brother of the said Thomas Hart, and to the heires of his body; and for default of such issue, to the right heires of me, the said Elizabeth Bernard, for ever. Item, I doe make, ordayne, and appoynte my said loving kinsman, Edward Bagley, sole executor of this, my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills; desireing him to see a just performance hereof according to my true intent and meaning. In witnes whereof I, the said Elizabeth Bernard, have hereunto sett my hand and seale the nyne-and-twentieth day of January, anno domini one thousand six hundred sixty-nyne.—*Elizabeth Barnard*.—Signed, sealed, published and declared to be the last will and testament of the said Elizabeth Bernard, in the presence of—John Howes, rector de Abington, Francis Wickes.

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.

L O N D O N

Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

THE FIRST FOLIO.

The earliest collective edition of the dramatic writings of Shakespeare was entered in the registers of the Stationers' Company on November the 8th, 1623, and was published under the title of,—“Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories and Tragedies.—Published according to the True Originall Copies.—London—Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.” At the commencement of this valuable work are the following prefixes, which, it is scarcely necessary to observe, were written by Shakespeare's friends and contemporaries, and are of extreme value and interest in connexion with the history of the poet's literary career.

To the Most Noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren, William, earle of Pembroke, &c., Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and Philip, earle of Montgomery, &c., Gentleman of his Majesties Bed-chamber, both Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and our singular good lords.

Right Honourable,—Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular for the many favours we have received from your L.L., we are false upon the ill fortune to mingle two the most diverse things that can bee, feare and rashnesse; rashnesse in the enterprize, and feare of the successe. For when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater then to descend to the reading of these trifles; and, while we name them trifles, we have depriv'd ourselves of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L.L. have beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles some-thing heeretofore, and have prosecuted both them, and their authour living, with so much favour, we hope, that (they out-living him, and he not having the fate, common with some, to be exequutor to his owne writings) you will use the like indulgence toward them, you have done unto their parent. There is a great difference whether any booke choose his patrones, or finde them. This hath done both. For so much were your L.L. likings of the severall parts, when they were acted, as, before they were published, the volume ask'd to be yours. We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead to procure his orphanes guardians; without ambition either of selfe-profit or fame, onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare, by humble offer of his playes to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we have justly observed, no man to come neere your L.L. but with a kind of religious addresse, it hath bin the height of our care, who are the presenters, to make the present worthy of your H.H. by the perfection. But there we must also crave our abilities to be considerd, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers. Country hands reach forth milke, creame, fruites or what they have: and many nations (we have heard) that had not gummes and incense, obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approch their gods by what meanes they could, and the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious when they are dedicated to temples. In that name, therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H.H. these remaines of your servant Shakespeare; that what delight is in them may be ever your L.L., the reputation his, and the faults ours, if any be committed by a payre so carefull to shew their gratitude both to the living and the dead as is—Your Lordshippes most bounden,—*John Heminge.—Henry Condell.*

To the great Variety of Readers.—From the most able to him that can but spell ;—there you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd, especially when the fate of all bookes depends upon your capacities, and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well ! It is now publique, and you wil stand for your priviledges wee know ; to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a booke, the stationer saies. Then, how odde soever your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your licence the same and spare not. Judge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome. But, whatever you do, buy. Censure will not drive a trade or make the jacke go. And though you be a magistrate of wit, and sit on the stage at Black-Friers or the Cock-pit to arraigne playes dailie, know, these playes have had their triall already, and stood out all appeales, and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court then any purchas'd letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth and overseen his owne writings ; but since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his friends the office of their care and paine to have collected and publish'd them ; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors that expos'd them ; even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbes, and all the rest absolute in their numbers as he conceived them ; who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together ; and what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our province, who onely gather his works and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will finde enough both to draw and hold you : for his wit can no more lie hid then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore ; and againe and againe ; and if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his friends, whom, if you need, can bee your guides. If you neede them not, you can leade yourselves and others ; and such readers we wish him.—*John Heminge.—Henrie Condell.*

To the memory of my beloved, the author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us.—To draw no envy (Shakespeare) on thy name, = Am I thus ample to thy booke and fame ; = While I confesse thy writings to be such, = As neither man nor muse can praise too much, = 'Tis true, and all mens suffrage. But these wayes = Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise ; = For seeliest ignorance on these may light, = Which, when it sounds at best, but echo's right ; = Or blinde affection, which doth ne're advance = The truth, but gropes and urgeth all by chance ; Or crafty malice might pretend this praise, = and thinke to ruine where it seem'd to raise. = These are, as some infamous baud or whore = Should praise a matron. What could hurt her more ? = But thou art prooffe against them, and indeed = Above th'ill fortune of them, or the need. = I, therefore, will begin.—Soule of the age ! = The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our stage ! = My Shakespeare, rise ; I will not lodge thee by = Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye = A little further, to make thee a roome ; Thou art a moniment without a tombe, = And art alive still while thy booke doth live, = And we have wits to read and praise to give. = That I not mixe thee so my braine excuses, = I meane with great, but disproportion'd muses, = For if I thought my judgement were of yeeres, = I should commit thee surely with thy peeres, = And tell how farre thou didst our Lily out-shine, = Or sporting Kid, or Marlowes mighty line. = And though thou hadst small Latine and lesse Greeke, = From thence to honour thee I would not seeke = For names, but call forth thund'ring Æschilus, = Euripides and Sophocles to us, =

Paccuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead, = To life againe, to heare thy buskin tread =
 And shake a stage ; or, when thy sockes were on, = Leave thee alone, for the comparison =
 Of all that insolent Greece or haughtie Rome = Sent forth, or since did from
 their ashes come. = Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to shoue, = To whom all
 scenes of Europe homage owe. = He was not of an age, but for all time ! = And all the
 Muses still were in their prime, = When, like Apollo, he came forth to warme = Our
 eares, or like a Mercury to charme ! = Nature herselfe was proud of his designs, = And
 joy'd to weare the dressing of his lines, = Which were so richly spun and woven so fit, =
 As, since, she will vouchsafe no other wit. = The merry Greeke, tart Aristophanes, =
 Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please, = But antiquated and deserted lye = As
 they were not of Natures family. = Yet must I not give Nature all ; thy art, = My
 gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part ; = For though the poets matter Nature be, =
 His art doth give the fashion ! and that he, = Who casts to write a living line, must
 sweat, = Such as thine are, and strike the second heat = Upon the Muses anvil ; turne
 the same, = And himselfe with it, that he thinkes to frame ; = Or for the lawrell he may
 gaine a scorne, = For a good poet's made as well as borne, = And such wert thou.
 Looke how the fathers face = Lives in his issue ; even so, the race = Of Shakespeares
 minde and manners brightly shines = In his well-torned and true-filed lines, = In each
 of which he seemes to shake a lance, = As brandish't at the eyes of ignorance. = Sweet
 Swan of Avon ! what a sight it were = To see thee in our waters yet appeare, = And make
 those flights upon the bankes of Thames, = That so did take Eliza and our James ! =
 But stay, I see thee in the hemisphere = Advanc'd, and made a constellation there ! =
 Shine forth, thou Starre of Poets, and with rage = Or influence, chide or cheere the
 drooping stage ; = Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like night, = And
 despires day but for thy volumes light. — *Ben : Jonson.*

Upon the Lines and Life of the Famous Scenicke Poet, Master William Shakespeare.
 — Those hands, which you so clapt, go now and wring, = You Britaines brave, for done
 are Shakespeares dayes ; = His dayes are done that made the dainty playes, = Which
 made the Globe of heav'n and earth to ring. = Dry'de is that veine, dry'd is the
 Thespian spring, = Turn'd all to teares, and Phœbus clouds his rayes ; = That corp's,
 that coffin, now besticke those bayes, = Which crown'd him poet first, then poets king. =
 If tragedies might any Prologue have, = All those he made would scarce make one to
 this ; = Where Fame, now that he gone is to the grave, = Deaths publique tiring-house,
 the Nuncius is. = For though his line of life went soone about, = The life yet of his
 lines shall never out. — *Hugh Holland.*

To the Memorie of the deceased Authour, Maister W. Shakespeare. — Shake-speare,
 at length thy pious fellowes give = The world thy Workes, — thy Workes, by which
 out-live = Thy tombe thy name must ; when that stone is rent, = And Time dissolves
 thy Stratford monument, = Here we alive shall view thee still. This booke, — When
 brasse and marble fade, shall make thee looke = Fresh to all ages ; when posteritie =
 Shall loath what's new, thinke all is prodegie = That is not Shake-speares ; ev'ry line,
 each verse, = Here shall revive, redeeme thee from thy herse. = Nor fire, nor canking
 age, as Naso said, = Of his, thy wit-fraught booke, shall once invade. = Nor shall I e're
 beleeve, or thinke thee dead, = Though mist untill our bankrout stage be sped, =
 Impossible, with some new straine t' out-do = Passions of Juliet and her Romeo ; = Or
 till I heare a scene more nobly take, = Then when thy half-sword parlying Romans
 spake. = Till these, till any of thy volumes rest = Shall with more fire, more feeling, be
 exprest, = Be sure, our Shake-speare, thou canst never dye, = But, crown'd with
 lawrell, live eternally. — *L. Digges.*

To the memorie of M. W. Shake-speare.—Wee wondred (Shake-speare) that thou went'st so soone = From the worlds stage to the graves tyring-roome. = Wee thought thee dead, but this, thy printed worth, = Tels thy spectators that thou went'st but forth = To enter with applause. An actors art = Can dye, and live, to acte a second part. = That's but an exit of mortalitie, = This, a re-entrance to a plaudite.—I. M.

The Workes of William Shakespeare, containing all his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, truly set forth according to their first Originall.—*The names of the Principall Actors in all these playes.*—William Shakespeare; Richard Burbadge; John Hemmings; Augustine Phillips; William Kempt; Thomas Poope; George Bryan; Henry Condell; William Slye; Richard Cowly; John Lowine; Samuell Crosse; Alexander Cooke; Samuel Gilburne; Robert Armin; William Ostler; Nathan Field; John Underwood; Nicholas Tooley; William Ecclestone; Joseph Taylor; Robert Benfield; Robert Goughe; Richard Robinson; John Shancke; John Rice.

A Catalogue of the severall Comedies, Histories, and Trag.dies contained in this Volume.—**COMEDIES.** The Tempest, folio 1; the Two Gentlemen of Verona, 20; The Merry Wives of Windsor, 38; Measure for Measure, 61; The Comedy of Errours, 85; Much adoo about Nothing, 101; Loves Labour lost, 122; Mid-summer Nights Dreame, 145; The Merchant of Venice, 163; As you Like it, 185; The Taming of the Shrew, 208; All is well that Ends well, 230; Twelwe-Night, or what you will, 255; The Winters Tale, 304.—**HISTORIES.** The Life and Death of King John, fol. 1; the Life and Death of Richard the Second, 23; the First Part of King Henry the Fourth, 46; The Second Part of K. Henry the fourth, 74; The Life of King Henry the Fift, 69; The First part of King Henry the Sixt, 96; The Second part of King Hen. the Sixt, 120; The Third part of King Henry the Sixt, 147; The Life and Death of Richard the Third, 173; The Life of King Henry the Eight, 205.—**TRAGEDIES.** The Tragedy of Coriolanus, fol. 1; Titus Andronicus, 31; Romeo and Juliet 53; Timon of Athens, 80; The Life and death of Julius Cæsar, 109; The Tragedy of Macbeth, 131; The Tragedy of Hamlet, 152; King Lear, 283; Othello, the Moore of Venice, 310; Anthony and Cleopater, 346; Cymbeline King of Britaine, 369.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

I. From Ben Jonson's—"Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flow'd out of his daily Readings, or had their refluxe to his peculiar Notion of the Times," fol. Lond. 1641. The following remarks were no doubt written long before their author's death in 1637.

De Shakespeare nostrat.—I remember, the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that, in his writing, whatsoever he penn'd, hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand ;—which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted ; and to justifie mine owne candor,—for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. Hee was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature ; had an excellent phantsie ; brave notions and gentle expressions ; wherein hee flow'd with that facility that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd ;—*sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power ;—would the rule of it had bene so too ! Many times hee fell into those things, could not escape laughter ; as when hee said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him,—*Cæsar thou dost me wrong* ; hee replyed,—*Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause* ; and such like ; which were ridiculous. But hee redeemed his vices with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praised then to be pardoned.

II. Lines on the Familiar Names given to Shakespeare and his contemporaries, from Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells*, 1635.

Our moderne poets to that passe are driven, = Those names are curtal'd which they first had given ; = And, as we wisht to have their memories drown'd, = We scarcely can afford them halfe their sound. = Greene, who had in both academies ta'ne = Degree of Master, yet could never gaine = To be call'd more than Robin ; who, had he = Profest ought save the Muse, serv'd and been frec = After a seven yeares prentiseship, might have, = With credit too, gone Robert to his grave. = Marlo, renown'd for his rare art and wit, = Could ne're attaine beyond the name of Kit ; = Although his Hero and Leander did = Merit addition rather. Famous Kid = Was call'd but Tom. Tom Watson, though he wrote = Able to make Apollo's selfe to dote = Upon his muse, for all that he could strive, = Yet never could to his full name arrive. = Tom Nash, in his time of no small esteeme, = Could not a second syllable redeeme. = Excellent Bewmont, in the formost ranke = Of the rar'st wits, was never more than Franck. = Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill = Commanded mirth or passion, was but Will. = And famous Johnson, though his learned pen = Be dipt in Castaly, is still but Ben. = Fletcher and Webster, of that learned packe = None of the mean'st, yet neither was but Jacke. = Deckers but Tom ; nor May, nor Middleton. = And hee's now but Jacke Foord, that once were® John.

III. From Fuller's *History of the Worthies of Warwickshire, forming part of his History of the Worthies of England*, fol. Lond. 1662. This was a posthumous work, the author having died in 1661, and the following notice was doubtlessly written several years previously to that event.

William Shakespeare was born at Stratford-on-Avon in this county, in whom three eminent poets may seem in some sort to be compounded,—1. Martial in the warlike sound of his sur-name, whence some may conjecture him of a military extraction, *hasti-vibrans* or Shake-speare.—2. Ovid, the most naturall and witty of all poets, and hence it was that Queen Elizabeth, coming into a grammar-school made this extemporary verse,—“*Persius a crab-staffe, bawdy Martial, Ovid a fine wag.*”—3. Plantus, who was an exact comediant yet never any scholar, as our Shake-speare, if alive, would confess himself. Adde to all these that, though his genius generally was jocular and inclining him to festivity, yet he could, when so disposed, be solemn and serious, as appears by his tragedies; so that Heraclitus himself, I mean if secret and unseen, might afford to smile at his comedies, they were so merry, and Democritus scarce forbear to sigh at his tragedies, they were so mournfull.—He was an eminent instance of the truth of that rule, *poeta non fit sed nascitur*,—one is not made but born a poet. Indeed, his learning was very little, so that, as Cornish diamonds are not polished by any lapidary, but are pointed and smoothed even as they are taken out of the earth, so nature itself was all the art which was used upon him. Many were the wit-combates betwixt him and Ben Johnson, which two I behold like a Spanish great gallion and an English man-of-war. Master Johnson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid, but slow in his performances. Shake-speare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention. He died anno Domini 16 . . , and was buried at Stratford-upon-Avon, the town of his nativity

IV. Notes respecting Shakespeare extracted from an original memoranda-book of the Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon. They were written either in 1662 or 1663, as appears from the following entry,—“this booke was begunne Feb. 14, 1661, and finished April the 25, 1663, att Mr. Brooks his house in Stratford-uppon-Avon.”

Shakspear had but two daughters, one whereof Mr. Hall, the physitian, married, and by her had one daughter, to wit, the Lady Bernard of Abbingdon.—I have heard that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all; hee frequented the plays all his younger time, but in his elder days livd at Stratford, and supplied the stage with two plays every year, and for that had an allowance so large that hee spent at the rate of a thousand a yeer, as I have heard.—Shakspear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson, had a merry meeting, and, itt seems, drank too hard, for Shakspear died of a feavour there contracted.—Remember to peruse Shakespears plays and bee versed in them, that I may not bee ignorant in that matter.

V. A biographical notice of Shakespeare, from Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men, a manuscript completed in the year 1680. The marginal notes of the original are here denoted by Italics.

Mr. William Shakespeare was borne at Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick; his father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that, when he was a boy, he exercised his fathers trade, but when he kill'd a calfe, he would doe it in a high style and make a speech. There was at that time another butchers son in this towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance and coetanean, but dyed young. This Wm., being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18, and was an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well. Now B. Johnson was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor. He began early to make essayes at dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes tooke well. He was a handsome well shap't man, very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth witt. The humur of . . . , the cunstable in a Midsomers Night's Dreame, he happened to take at Grenden in Bucks, which is the roade from London to

Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon. *I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there.* Mr. Jos. Howe is of the parish and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather humours of men dayly where-ever they came. One time, as he was at the tavern at Stratford-super-Avon, one Combes, an old rich usurer, was to be buryed; he makes there this extemporary epitaph,—“Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,=But Combes will have twelve he swears and vowes;=If any one askes who lies in this tombe,=Hoh! quoth the devill, tis my John o’Combe!”—He was wont to goe to his native country once a yeare. I thinke I have been told that he left 2 or 300 *li.* per annum there and thereabout to a sister. I have heard Sir Wm. Davenant and Mr. Thomas Shadwell, who is counted the best comœdian we have now, say that he had a most prodigious witt (*v. his Epitaph in Dugdale’s Warw.*), and did admire his naturall parts beyond all other dramaticall writers. He (*B. Johnsons Underwoods*) was wont to say that he never blotted out a line in his life; sayd Ben Johnson,—I wish he had blotted out a thousand. His comœdies will remaine witt as long as the English tongue is understood, for that he handles *mores hominum*; now our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons and coxcombities, that 20 yeares hence they will not be understood. Though, as Ben Johnson sayes of him, that he had but little Latine and lesse Greek, he understood Latine pretty well, for he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the country. *From Mr. . . Beeston.*

VI. Notes on Shakespeare, those in Roman type having been made before the year 1688 by the Rev. William Fulman, and those in Italics being additions by the Rev. Richard Davies made previously to 1708. From the originals preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. There is no evidence in the manuscript itself that the interesting additions were made by Davies, but the fact is established by the identity of the handwriting with that in one of his autographical letters preserved in the same collection.

William Shakespeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire about 1563-4. *Much given to all unluckinesse in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sr . . . Lucy, who had him oft whipt and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement; but his reveng was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate, and calls him a great man, and that in allusion to his name bore three lowses rampant for his arms.* From an actor of playes he became a composer. He dyed Apr. 23, 1616, ætat. 53, probably at Stratford, for there he is buryed, and hath a monument (Dugd. p. 520), *on which he lays a heavy curse upon any one who shall remove his bones. He dyed a papist.*

VII. Anecdotes respecting Shakespeare, from a little manuscript account of places in Warwickshire by a person named Dowdall, written in the year 1693.

The first remarkable place in this county that I visited was Stratford-super-Avon, where I saw the effigies of our English tragedian, Mr. Shakspeare; parte of his epitaph I sent Mr. Lowther, and desired he would impart it to you, which I finde by his last letter he has done; but here I send you the whole inscription.—Just under his effigies in the wall of the chancell is this written.—“*Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,=Terra tegit, populus mœrett, Olympus habet. =Stay, passenger, why goest thou by soe fast? =Read if thou canst, whome envious death hath plac’t =Within this monument; Shakspeare, with whome =Quick nature dyed; whose name doth deck the tombe =Far more then cost, sith all that he hath writt =Leaves living art but page to serve his witt. =Obiit A. Dni. 1616. =Ætat. 53, Die. 23 Apr.*”—Neare the wall where his monument is erected lyeth a plaine free-stone, underneath which his bodie is buried with this epithaph made by himselfe a little before his death,—“*Good friend, for Jesus sake forbear = To digg the dust inclosed here != Bles’t be the man that spares these stones, = And curs’t be he that moves my bones!*”—The clarke that shew’d me

this church is above 80 years old ; he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this town bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he run from his master to London, and there was received into the play-house as a servitude, and by this meanes had an opportunity to be what he afterwards prov'd. He was the best of his family, but the male line is extinguishd. Not one for feare of the curse abovesaid dare touch his grave-stone, tho his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be layd in the same grave with him.

VIII. An Extract from a Letter written in the year 1694, by William Hall, an Oxford graduate, to his intimate friend, Edward Thwaites, an eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar. From the original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

I very greedily embrace this occasion of acquainting you with something which I found at Stratford-upon-Avon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and the next day went to visit the ashes of the great Shakespear which lye interr'd in that church. The verses which, in his lifetime, he ordered to be cut upon his tomb-stone, for his monument have others, are these which follow,—“Reader, for Jesus’s sake forbear= To dig the dust enclosed here ;=Blessed be he that spares these stones, =And cursed be he that moves my bones.”—The little learning these verses contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this Church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them, and having to do with clarks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacities, and disrobes himself of that art which none of his co-temporaries wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect, for, lest they should not onely draw this curse upon themselves, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seventeen foot deep, deep enough to secure him. And so much for Stratford, within a mile of which Sir Robinson lives, but it was so late before I knew, that I had not time to make him a visit.

IX. Extracts from Rowe’s Account of the Life of Shakespeare, 1709. The portions of this essay which are here omitted consist mainly of remarks on the plays and are of no biographical value.

It seems to be a kind of respect due to the memory of excellent men, especially of those whom their wit and learning have made famous, to deliver some account of themselves, as well as their works, to posterity. For this reason, how fond do we see some people of discovering any little personal story of the great men of antiquity, their families, the common accidents of their lives, and even their shape, make, and features have been the subject of critical enquiries. How trifling soever this curiosity may seem to be, it is certainly very natural ; and we are hardly satisfy’d with an account of any remarkable person ’till we have heard him describ’d even to the very cloaths he wears. As for what relates to men of letters, the knowledge of an author may sometimes conduce to the better understanding his book ; and tho’ the works of Mr. Shakespear may seem to many not to want a comment, yet I fancy some little account of the man himself may not be thought improper to go along with them.—He was the son of Mr. John Shakespear, and was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, in April, 1564. His family, as appears by the register and publick writings relating to that town, were of good figure and fashion there, and are mention’d as gentlemen. His father, who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that, tho’ he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him. ’tis true, for some time at a free-school, where ’tis probable he acquir’d that little Latin he was master of ; but the

narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language.—Upon his leaving school, he seems to have given intirely into that way of living which his father propos'd to him; and, in order to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford. In this kind of settlement he continu'd for some time, 'till an extravagance that he was guilty of forc'd him both out of his country and that way of living which he had taken up; and tho' it seem'd at first to be a blemish upon his good manners, and a misfortune to him, yet it afterwards happily prov'd the occasion of exerting one of the greatest genius's that ever was known in dramatick poetry. He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engag'd him with them more than once in robbing a park that belong'd to Sir Thomas Lucy of Cherlecot, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. And tho' this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was oblig'd to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London.—It is at this time, and upon this accident, that he is said to have made his first acquaintance in the play-house. He was receiv'd into the company then in being at first in a very mean rank; but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage, soon distinguish'd him, if not as an extraordinary actor, yet as an excellent writer. His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, amongst those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any particular account of what sort of parts he us'd to play; and tho' I have inquir'd, I could never meet with any further account of him this way than that the top of his performance was the ghost in his own Hamlet. I should have been much more pleas'd to have learn'd, from some certain authority, which was the first play he wrote; it would be without doubt a pleasure to any man, curious in things of this kind, to see and know what was the first essay of a fancy like Shakespear's. Perhaps we are not to look for his beginnings, like those of other authors, among their least perfect writings. Art had so little, and nature so large a share in what he did, that, for ought I know, the performances of his youth, as they were the most vigorous, and had the most fire and strength of imagination in 'em, were the best. I would not be thought by this to mean that his fancy was so loose and extravagant as to be independent on the rule and government of judgment; but that what he thought was commonly so great, so justly and rightly conceiv'd in itself, that it wanted little or no correction, and was immediately approv'd by an impartial judgment at the first sight. Mr. Dryden seems to think that Pericles is one of his first plays; but there is no judgment to be form'd on that, since there is good reason to believe that the greatest part of that play was not written by him; tho' it is own'd some part of it certainly was, particularly the last act. But tho' the order of time in which the several pieces were written be generally uncertain, yet there are passages in some few of them which seem to fix their dates. So the chorus in the beginning of the fifth Act of Henry V., by a compliment very handsomly turn'd to the Earl of Essex, shows the play to have been written when that lord was general for the queen in Ireland; and his elogy upon Q. Elizabeth, and her successor K. James, in the latter end of his Henry VIII., is a proof of that play's being written after the accession of the latter of those two princes to the crown of England. Whatever the particular times of his writing were, the people of his age, who began to grow wonderfully fond of diversions of this kind, could not but be highly pleas'd to see a genius arise amongst 'em of so pleasurable, so rich a vein, and so plentifully capable of furnishing their favourite entertainments. Besides

the advantages of his wit, he was in himself a good-natur'd man, of great sweetness in his manners, and a most agreeable companion ; so that it is no wonder if, with so many good qualities, he made himself acquainted with the best conversations of those times. Queen Elizabeth had several of his plays acted before her, and without doubt gave him many gracious marks of her favour. It is that maiden princess plainly whom he intends by—"a fair vestal, throned by the west." And that whole passage is a compliment very properly brought in, and very handsomly apply'd to her. She was so well pleas'd with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded him to continue it for one play more, and to shew him in love. This is said to be the occasion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor. How well she was obey'd, the play it self is an admirable proof. Upon this occasion it may not be improper to observe, that this part of Falstaff is said to have been written originally under the name of Oldcastle ; some of that family being then remaining, the Queen was pleas'd to command him to alter it ; upon which he made use of Falstaff. The present offence was indeed avoided ; but I don't know whether the author may not have been somewhat to blame in his second choice, since it is certain that Sir John Falstaff, who was a Knight of the Garter, and a lieutenant-general, was a name of distinguish'd merit in the wars in France in Henry the Fifth's and Henry the Sixth's times. What grace soever the Queen confer'd upon him, it was not to her only he ow'd the fortune which the reputation of his wit made. He had the honour to meet with many great and uncommon marks of favour and friendship from the Earl of Southampton, famous in the histories of that time for his friendship to the unfortunate Earl of Essex. It was to that noble lord that he dedicated his *Venus and Adonis*, the only piece of his poetry which he ever publish'd himself, tho' many of his plays were surreptitiously and lamely printed in his lifetime. There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespear's, that, if I had not been assur'd that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventur'd to have inserted ; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to. A bounty very great, and very rare at any time, and almost equal to that profuse generosity the present age has shewn to French dancers and Italian eunuchs.—What particular habitude or friendships he contracted with private men I have not been able to learn, more than that every one who had a true taste of merit, and could distinguish men, had generally a just value and esteem for him. His exceeding candor and good nature must certainly have inclin'd all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit oblig'd the men of the most delicate knowledge and polite learning to admire him. Amongst these was the incomparable Mr. Edmond Spencer, who speaks of him, in his *Tears of the Muses*, not only with the praises due to a good poet, but even lamenting his absence with the tenderness of a friend. The passage is in *Thalia's* complaint for the decay of dramattick poetry, and the contempt the stage then lay under.—I know some people have been of opinion that Shakespear is not meant by Willy in the first stanza of these verses, because Spencer's death happen'd twenty years before Shakespear's. But, besides that the character is not applicable to any man of that time but himself, it is plain by the last stanza that Mr. Spencer does not mean that he was then really dead, but only that he had with-drawn himself from the publick, or at least with-held his hand from writing, out of a disgust he had taken at the then ill taste of the town, and the mean condition of the stage. Mr. Dryden was always of opinion these verses were meant of Shakespear, and 'tis highly probable they were so, since he was three and thirty years old at Spencer's death, and his reputation in poetry must have been great enough before that time to have deserv'd what is here said of him. His acquaintance with Ben Johnson began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature ;—Mr. Johnson, who was at that time altogether unknown

to the world, had offer'd one of his plays to the players in order to have it acted ; and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turn'd it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natur'd answer that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespear luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnson and his writings to the publick. After this they were profess'd friends ; tho' I don't know whether the other ever made him an equal return of gentleness and sincerity. Ben was naturally proud and insolent, and, in the days of his reputation, did so far take upon him the supremacy in wit, that he could not but look with an evil eye upon any one that seem'd to stand in competition with him. And if at times he has affected to commend him, it has always been with some reserve, insinuating his uncorrectness, a careless manner of writing, and want of judgment ; the praise of seldom altering or blotting out what he writ, which was given him by the players who were the first publishers of his works after his death, was what Johnson could not bear ; he thought it impossible, perhaps, for another man to strike out the greatest thoughts in the finest expression, and to reach those excellencies of poetry with the ease of a first imagination, which himself with infinite labour and study could but hardly attain to. Johnson was certainly a very good scholar, and in that had the advantage of Shakespear ; tho' at the same time I believe it must be allow'd that what nature gave the latter was more than a ballance for what books had given the former ; and the judgment of a great man upon this occasion was, I think, very just and proper. In a conversation between Sir John Suckling, Sir William D'Avenant, Endymion Porter, Mr. Hales of Eaton, and Ben Johnson ; Sir John Suckling, who was a profess'd admirer of Shakespear, had undertaken his defence against Ben Johnson with some warmth ; Mr. Hales, who had sat still for some time, hearing Ben frequently reproaching him with the want of learning and ignorance of the antients, told him at last that, "if Mr. Shakespear had not read the antients, he had likewise not stollen anything from 'em" (a fault the other made no conscience of) ;—and that, "if he would produce any one topick finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something upon the same subject at least as well written by Shakespear." Johnson did indeed take a large liberty, even to the transcribing and translating of whole scenes together ; and sometimes, with all deference to so great a name as his, not altogether for the advantage of the authors of whom he borrow'd. And if Augustus and Virgil were really what he has made 'em in a scene of his *Poetaster*, they are as odd an emperor and a poet as ever met. Shakespear, on the other hand, was beholding to no body farther than the foundation of the tale ; the incidents were often his own, and the writing intirely so. There is one play of his, indeed, the *Comedy of Errors*, in a great measure taken from the *Mencœchmi* of Plautus. How that happen'd I cannot easily divine, since I do not take him to have been master of Latin enough to read it in the original, and I know of no translation of Plautus so old as his time.—'Tis not very easie to determine which way of writing he was most excellent in. There is certainly a great deal of entertainment in his comical humours ; and tho' they did not then strike at all ranks of people, as the satyr of the present age has taken the liberty to do, yet there is a pleasing and a well-distinguish'd variety in those characters which he thought fit to meddle with. Falstaff is allow'd by every body to be a master-piece ; the character is always well-sustain'd, tho' drawn out into the length of three plays ; and even the account of his death given by his old landlady Mrs. Quickly, in the first act of *Henry V.*, tho' it be extremely natural, is yet as diverting as any part of his life. If there be any fault in the draught he has made of this lewd old fellow, it is that, tho' he has made him a thief, lying, cowardly, vainglorious, and in short every way vicious, yet he has given him so much wit as to make him almost too agreeable ; and I don't know whether some people have not,

in remembrance of the diversion he had formerly afforded 'em, been sorry to see his friend Hal use him so scurvily when he comes to the crown in the end of the second part of Henry the Fourth. Amongst other extravagances, in the Merry Wives of Windsor, he has made him a dear-stealer, that he might at the same time remember his Warwickshire prosecutor under the name of Justice Shallow; he has given him very near the same coat of arms which Dugdale, in his Antiquities of that county, describes for a family there, and makes the Welsh parson descant very pleasantly upon 'em.—Hamlet is founded on much the same tale with the Electra of Sophocles. In each of 'em a young prince is engag'd to revenge the death of his father, their mothers are equally guilty, are both concern'd in the murder of their husbands, and are afterwards married to the murderers. I cannot leave Hamlet without taking notice of the advantage with which we have seen this master-piece of Shakespear distinguish itself upon the stage by Mr. Betterton's fine performance of that part. A man who, tho' he had no other good qualities, as he has a great many, must have made his way into the esteem of all men of letters by this only excellency. No man is better acquainted with Shakespear's manner of expression, and indeed he has study'd him so well, and is so much a master of him that whatever part of his he performs, he does it as if it had been written on purpose for him, and that the author had exactly conceiv'd it as he plays it. I must own a particular obligation to him for the most considerable part of the passages relating to his life which I have here transmitted to the publick; his veneration for the memory of Shakespear having engag'd him to make a journey into Warwickshire on purpose to gather up what remains he could of a name for which he had so great a value.—The latter part of his life was spent, as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends. He had the good fortune to gather an estate equal to his occasion, and, in that, to his wish; and is said to have spent some years before his death at his native Stratford. His pleasurable wit and good nature engag'd him in the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Amongst them it is a story almost still remember'd in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with Mr. Combe, an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth and usury. It happen'd that, in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakespear, in a laughing manner, that he fancy'd he intended to write his epitaph if he happen'd to out-live him, and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desir'd it might be done immediately; upon which Shakespear gave him these four verses,—
 “Ten-in-the-Hundred lies here ingrav'd,=
 'Tis a hundred to ten, his soul is not sav'd;
 =If any man ask, who lies in this tomb?
 =Oh! ho! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.”—But the sharpness of the satyr is said to have stung the man so severely that he never forgave it.—He dy'd in the 53d year of his age, and was bury'd on the north side of the chancel, in the great Church at Stratford, where a monument is plac'd in the wall. On his grave-stone underneath is,—
 “Good friend, for Jesus sake, forbear=
 To dig the dust inclosed here.=
 Blest be the man that spares these stones,
 =And curst be he that moves my bones.”—He had three daughters, of which two liv'd to be marry'd; Judith, the elder, to one Mr. Thomas Quiney, by whom she had three sons, who all dy'd without children; and Susannah, who was his favourite, to Dr. John Hall, a physician of good reputation in that country. She left one child only, a daughter, who was marry'd first to Thomas Nash, esq., and afterwards to Sir John Bernard of Abbingdon, but dy'd likewise without issue. This is what I could learn of any note either relating to himself or family. The character of the man is best seen in his writings. But since Ben Johnson has made a sort of an essay towards it in his Discoveries, tho', as I have before hinted, he was not very cordial in his friendship, I will venture to give it in his words,—
 “I remember the players,” &c.

PECUNIARY LITIGATION.

The following evidences of the Stratford Court of Record are the only existing ones of that tribunal which relate to proceedings in which Shakespeare was involved. The register of the Court being unfortunately imperfect, the only information which they yield respecting the poet is the negative fact that he did not appear as one of its litigants between 20 January, 1585, and 7 October, 1601.

I. A Declaration filed by Shakespeare's Orders, in the year 1604, to recover the value of malt sold by him to a person of the name of Rogers. There is an obvious error in the first mention of the regnal year, and it should also be noticed that the word modios is incorrectly given in every instance in which it occurs in the original document.

Stretford Burgus.—Phillipus Rogers sommonitus fuit per servientem ad clavam ibidem ad respondendum Willielmo Shexpere de placito quod reddat ei triginta et quinque solidos decem denarios quos ei debet et injuste detinet, et sunt plegii de prosequendo Johannes Doe et Ricardus Roe, etc., et unde idem Willielmus, per Willielmum Tetherton attornatum suum, dicit quod cum predictus Phillipus Rogers, vicesimo septimo die Marcii, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi regis, nunc Anglie, Francie et Hibernie, primo, et Scocie tricesimo-septimo, hic apud Stretford predictam, ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo tres modios brasii pro sex solidis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus Rogers, decimo die Aprilis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., secundo, hic apud Stretford predictam ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo quatuor modios brasii pro octo solidis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus, vicesimo quarto die dicti Aprilis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., secundo, hic apud Stretford predictam, infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios tres modios brasii pro sex solidis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus, tercio die Maii anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., secundo, hic apud Stretford predictam, ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii pro octo solidis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus, decimo-sexto die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., secundo, hic apud Stretford predictam, infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii pro octo solidis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus, tricesimo die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., secundo, hic apud Stretford predictam, ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo duas modios brasii pro tres solidis decem denariis de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis; ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus, vicesimo quinto die Junii, anno dicti domini regis nunc Anglie, etc., hic apud Stretford predictam, ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curie, mutuatus fuisset duos solidos legalis monete, etc., de predictis triginta et quinque solidis decem denariis residuos, solvendos eidem Willielmo cum inde requisitus fuisset. Que omnia separales somme attingunt se in toto ad quadraginta et unum solidos decem denarios. Et predictus Phillipus Rogers de ccc

solidis inde eidem Willielmo postea satisfecisset. Predictus tamen Phillipus, licet sepius requisitus, predictos triginta et quinque solidos decem denarios residuos eidem Willielmo nondum reddidit, sed illos ei huc usque reddere contradixit et adhuc contradicit, unde dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valencian deceni solidorum. Et inde producit sectam, etc.

II. *Orders and Papers in an Action brought by Shakespeare against John Addenbrooke, 1608-1609, for the Recovery of a Debt.*

i. Stratford Burgus.—Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu etc., Johannem Addenbrooke, generosum, si etc., et eum salvo etc., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi predicti, ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenendam, ad respondendum Willielmo Shackspeare, generoso, de placito debiti, et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Henrico Walker, generoso, ballivo ibidem, xvij. die Augusti, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Anglie, Francie et Hibernie, sexto, et Scotie quadagesimo.⁶ *Greene*.—Virtute istius precepti cepi infranominatum Johannem, cujus corpus paratum habeo prout interius mihi precipitur. Manu captor pro defendente, Thomas Hornebye. Gilbertus Charnock, serviens.

ii. Stratford Burgus.—Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod habeant, seu etc., corpora Philippi Greene, Jacobi Elliottes, Edwardi Hunt, Roberti Wilson, Thome Kerby, Thome Bridges, Ricardi Collins, Johannis Ingraham, Danielis Smyth, Willielmi Walker, Thome Mylls, Johannis Tubb, Ricardi Pincke, Johannis Smyth pannarii, Laurencii Holmes, Johannis Boyce, Hugonis Pigger, Johannis Samvell, Roberti Cawdry, Johannis Castle, Pauli Bartlett, Johannis Yeate, Thome Bradshawe, Johannis Gunne, juratorum summonitorum in curia domini regis hic tenta coram ballivo ibidem, ad faciendum quandam juratam patrie inter Willielmum Shackspeare, generosum, quarentem, et Johannem Addenbrooke, defendentem, in placito debiti, et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Francisco Smyth juniore, generoso, ballivo ibidem, xxj. die Decembris, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Anglie, Francie et Hibernie, sexto, et Scotie quadagesimo secundo. *Greene*.—Executio istius precepti patet in quodam pannelo huic precepto annexo. Gilbertus Charnock, serviens.

iii. Nomina juratorum inter Willielmum Shackspeare, generosum, versus Johannem Addenbrooke de placito debiti.—Philippus Greene; Jacobus Elliott; Edwardus Hunte; Robertus Wilson; Thomas Kerbye; Thomas Bridges; Ricardus Collins; Johannes Ingraham; Daniell Smyth; Willielmus Walker; Thomas Mills; Johannes Tubb; Ricardus Pincke; Johannes Smyth, draper; Laurencius Holmes; Johannes Boyce; Hugo Pigger; Johannes Samwell; Robertus Cawdry; Johannes Castle; Paulus Bartlett; Johannes Yeate; Thomas Bradshawe; Johannes Gunne.—Quilibet jurator predictus, pro se separatim, manu captus est per plegios, Johannem Doo et Ricardum Roo.

iv. Stratford Burgus.—Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod distringant, seu etc., Philippum Greene, Jacobum Elliottes, Edwardum Hunt, Robertum Wilson, Thomam Kerbey, Thomam Bridges, Ricardum Collins, Johannem Ingraham, Danielem Smyth, William Walker, Thomam Mylls, Johannem Tubb, Ricardum Pincke, Johannem Smyth, pannarium, Laurencium Holmes, Johannem Boyce, Hugonem Pigger, Johannem Saniwell, Robertum Cawdry, Johannem Castle, Paulum Bartlett, Johannem Yate, Thomam Bradshawe, et Johannem Gunne, juratores summonitos in curia domini regis de recordo hic tenta inter Willielmum Shackspeare, quarentem, et Johannem Addenbrooke, defendentem, in placito debiti, per omnes terras et cattalla sua in balliva sua, ita quod nec ipsi nec aliquis per ipsos ad ea manum apponant, donec aliud inde a curia predicta habuerint preceptum, et quod de exitibus eorundem de curia predicta respondeant. Et quod habeant corpora eorum coram ballivo burgi predicti

ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenendam, ad faciendum juratam illam et ad audiendum iudicium suum de pluribus defaultis; et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Francisco Smyth juniore, generoso, ballivo ibidem, xv^o. die Februarii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Anglie, Francie et Hibernie, sexto, et Scotie quadragesimo-secundo. *Greene*.—Executio istius precepti patet in quodam pannelo huic precepto annexo.—Franciscus Boyce, serviens.

v. Nomina juratorum inter Willielmum Shackspere, querentem, et Johannem Addenbrooke, de placito debiti.—Philippus Greene; Jacobus Elliottes egrotat; Edwardus Hunt; Robertus Wilson, juratus; Thomas Kerby; Thomas Bridges; Ricardus Collyns, juratus; Johannes Ingraham, juratus; Daniel Smyth, juratus; Willielmus Walker, juratus; Thomas Mills, juratus; Johannes Tubb, juratus; Ricardus Pincke, juratus; Johannes Smyth, pannarius, juratus; Laurentius Holmes; Johannes Boyce; Hugo Piggin, juratus; Johannes Samvell; Robertus Cawdrey, juratus; Johannes Castle; Paulus Bartlett; Johannes Yate, juratus; Thomas Bradshawe et Johannes Gunne. Quilibet juratorum predictorum, per se separatim, attachiatus est per plegios, Johannem Doo et Ricardum Roo. Exitus cujuslibet eorum per se, vj.s. viij.d. Juratores dicunt pro querente; misas, iijj.d.; dampna, ij.d.

vi. Stratford Burgus.—Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu etc., Johannem Addenbrooke, si etc., et eum salvo etc., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi predicti, ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenendam, ad satisfaciendum Willielmo Shackspeare, generoso, tam de sex libris debiti quas predictus Willielmus in eadem curia versus eum recuperavit quam de viginti et quatuor solidis qui ei adjudicati fuerunt pro dampnis et custagiis suis quos sustinuit occasione detencionis debiti predicti, et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Francisco Smyth juniore, generoso, ballivo ibidem, xv. die Marcii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Anglie, Francie et Hibernie sexto, et Scotie xlij^o. *Greene*.—Infranominatus Johannes non est inventus infra libertatem hujus burgi. Franciscus Boyce, serviens.

vii. Stratford Burgus.—Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod cum quidam Willielmus Shackspeare, generosus, nuper in curia domini Jacobi, nunc regis Anglie, burgi predicti, ibidem tenta virtute literarum patentium domini Edwardi, nuper regis Anglie, sexti, levavit quandam querelam suam versus quendam Johannem Addenbrooke de placito debiti, cumque etiam quidam Thomas Horneby de burgo predicto in eadem querela devenit plegius et manucaptor predicti Johanne, scilicet, quod si predictus Johannes in querela illa legitimo modo convinceretur quod idem Johannes satisfaceret prefato Willielmo Shackspeare tam debitum in querela illa per prefatum Willielmum versus predictum Johannem in curia predicta recuperandum quam misas et custagia que eidem Willielmo in querela illa per eandem curiam adjudicata forent versus eundem Johannem, vel idem se redderet prisone dicti domini regis Jacobi nunc, burgi predicti, ad satisfaciendum eidem Willielmo eadem debitum misas et custagia; et ulterius quod si idem Johannes non satisfaceret eidem Willielmo debitum et misas et custagia, nec se redderet predictae prisone dicti domini regis nunc ad satisfaciendum eidem Willielmo in forma predicta, quod tunc ipse idem Thomas Horneby debitum sic recuperandum et misas et custagia sic adjudicata eidem Willielmo satisfacere vellet. Cumque etiam in querela illa taliter processum fuit in eadem curia quod predictus Willielmus in loquela illa, per iudicium ejusdem curie, recuperabat versus predictum Johannem tam sex libras de debito quam viginti et quatuor solidos pro decremento misarum et custagiorum ipsius Willielmi in secta querela illius appositis. Super quo preceptum fuit servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu etc., predictum Johannem, si etc., et eum salvo etc., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi predicti, ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenendam, ad satisfaciendum predicto Willielmo de debito predicto sic recuperato, quam de viginti et quatuor solidis pro predictis dampnis et custagiis adjudicatis; unde Franciscus Boyle,

tunc et nunc serviens ad clavam, ad diem returni inde mandavit quod predictus Johannes non est inventus in balliva sua, unde idem Willielmus, ad predictam curiam dicti domini regis, supplicaverit sibi de remedio congruo versus predictum manucapto-rem in hac parte provideri, super quod preceptum est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod per probos et legales homines de burgo predicto scire faciant, seu etc., prefatum Thomam quod sit coram ballivo burgi predicti, ad proximam curiam de recordo in burgo predicto tenendam, ostensus si quid et^o se habeat vel dicere sciat quare predictus Willielmus executionem suam versus eundem Thomam de debito et misis et custagiis illis habere non debeat, juxta vim, formam et effectum manucapcionis predicti, si sibi viderit expedire, et ulterius facturus et recepturus quod predicta curia dicti domini regis consideret in ea parte, et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Francisco Smyth juniore, generoso, ballivo ibidem, septimo die Junii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Anglie, Francie et Hibernie, septimo, et Scotie xliij^o. *Greene.*—Virtute istius precepti mihi directi per Johannem Hemynges et Gilbertum Chadwell, probos et legales homines burgi infrascripti, scire feci infranominatum Thomam Hornebye, prout interius mihi precipitur. Franciscus Boyce, serviens.

THEATRICAL EVIDENCES.

In this section will be found some of the most interesting contemporary notices of Shakespearean performances, as well as a few pieces of a later date which may be considered to include personal recollections of them during the poet's own time. Other allusions to early representations will be observed in the title-pages of the quartos, and in the extracts from the Stationers' Registers.

I. Notice of the Performance of the First Part of Henry the Sixth, from Nash's Pierce Penilisse, printed by Jeffes, 1592. This was a very popular work, two editions appearing in that year, and two more in the next.

How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that, after he had lye[n] two hundred yeare in his toomb, he should triumph againe on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, at severall times, who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.

II. Satirical Verses upon a great Frequenter of the Curtaine Theatre, from Marston's Scourge of Villanie, 1598, a work entered at Stationers' Hall on May 27th. The same lines, a few literal errors being corrected, are in the second edition of 1599.

Luscus, what's playd to day? faith, now I know ;=I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flow=Naught but pure Juliat and Romio.=Say, who acts best? Drusus or Roscio?=Now I have him that nere of ought did speake,=But when of plays or plaiers he did teate;=H'ath made a common-place booke out of plaies,=And speakes in print, at least what ere he sayes=Is warranted by Curtaine plaudeties.=If ere you heard him courting Lesbias eyes,=Say, curteous sir, speakes he not movingly=From out some new pathetique tragedie?=He writes, he railles, he jests, he courts,—what not?=And all from out his huge long-scraped stock=Of well penn'd playes.

III. From the Third Part of—Alba, the Months Minde of a Melancholy Lover, divided into three parts: By R. T. Gentleman.—At London. Printed by Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lowmes. 1598,—a very small 8vo.

LOVES LABOR LOST, I once did see a play=Ycleped so, so called to my paine,=Which I to heare to my small joy did stay,=Giving attendance on my froward dame ;=My misgiving minde presaging to me ill,=Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my will.

This play no play but plague was unto me,=For there I lost the love I liked most ;=And what to others seemde a jest to be,=I that (in earnest) found unto my cost.=To every one (save me) twas comicall,=Whilst tragick-like to me it did befall.

Each actor plaid in cunning wise his part,=But chiefly those entrapt in Cupids snare ;=Yet all was fained, twas not from the hart ;=They seemde to grieve, but yet they felt no care ;=Twas I that grieft (indeed) did beare in brest ;=The others did but make a show in jest:

Yet neither faining theirs, nor my meere truth,=Could make her once so much as for to smile ;=Whilst she (despite of pitie milde and ruth)=Did sit as skorning of my woes the while.=Thus did she sit to see LOVE lose his LOVE,=Like hardned rock that force nor power can move.

IV. An Extract from the Diary of John Manningham, a barrister of the Middle Temple, London, 1601-2; from the original in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 5353.

Febr: 1601.—2.—At our feast wee had a play called Twelve Night, or what you will, much like the Commedy of Errores, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the steward beleve his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady in generall termes, telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaille, &c., and then, when he came to practise, making him beleve they tooke him to be mad, &c.

febr. 1601 /
 2. It was a play called ~~and~~ Twelve night
 or what you will / of which I have heard
 ere / or Menechmi in Plautus / but most
 like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni
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 liked best in him / and prescribing his
 gesture in smiling his apparaille / &c. and then
 when he came to practise making him beleve
 they tooke him to be mad /

V. Licence to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, to play comedies, &c., 17 May, 1603. Bill of Privy Signet; endorsed, "The Players Priviledge." The King's Licence is given in the same terms in the Writ of Privy Seal dated on May the 18th, as well as in the Patent under the Great Seal issued on the following day.

By the King.—Right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, we greeete you well, and will and commaund you that, under our Privie Seale in your custody for the time being, you cause our lettres to be directed to the Keeper of our Greate Seale of England, comaunding him that under our said Greate Seale he cause our lettres to be made patentees in forme following.—James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Irland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffes, constables, hedboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjectes greeting. Know ye that we, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have licenced and authorized, and by these presentes doo licence and authorize, these our servantes, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Henninges®, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyne, Richard Cowlye and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the arte and facultie of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastorales, stage-plaies, and such other, like as they have already studied or heerafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morall®, pastorales, stage-plaies and such like, to shew and exercise publicquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their now usuall howse called the Globe within our countie of Surrey, as also within any towne-halles or mout-halles, or other convenient places

within the liberties and freedom of any other cittie, universitie, towne or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions, willing and comanding you and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permitt and suffer them heerin without any your lettes, hinderances, or molestacions during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding and assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offered, and to allowe them such former courtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and qualitie. And also, what further favour you shall shew to these our servantes for our sake we shall take kindly at your handes. In witnes whereof &c. And these our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of Greenwich the seavententh day of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, Fraunce and Irland, and of Scotland the six and thirtieth.—Ex: per Lake.—To our right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, the Lord Cecill of Esingdon, Keeper of our Privie Seale for the time being.

VI. A Letter, now preserved at Hatfield, from Sir Walter Cope, addressed—"from your library.—To the right honorable the Lorde Vycount Cranborne at the Courte." It is endorsed 1604, that is, 1604-5, the Queen having been entertained by Lord Southampton in the January of the latter year.

Sir,—I have sent and bene all thys morning huntyng for players juglers and such kinde of creaturs, but fynde them harde to fynde; wherfore, leavinge notes for them to seeke me, Burbage ys come, and sayes ther ys no new playe that the Quene hath not seene, but they have revyved an olde one cawled *Loves Labore lost*, which for wytt and mirthe he sayes will please her exceedingly. And thys ys apointed to be playd to-morrowe night at my Lord of Sowthamptons, unless yow send a wrytt to remove the corpus cum causa to your howse in Strande. Burbage ys my messenger ready attending your pleasure.—Yours most humbly,—*Walter Cope.*

VII. In the play of the Return from Parnassus, written in the winter of 1601-2, but not printed till 1606, Burbage and Kemp are discovered instructing two Cambridge students, Philomusus and Studioso, in the histrionic art. Kemp has taught Philomusus a long speech, when Burbage thus addresses the latter.

Bur. I like your face and the proportion of your body for Richard the 3. I pray, M. Phil., let me see you act a little of it.

Phil. Now is the winter of our discontent

Made glorious summer by the sonne of Yorke.

Bur. Very well, I assure you. Well, M. Phil. and M. Stud., wee see what ability you are of. I pray, walke with us to our fellows and weele agree presently.

VIII. The Preface to the First Edition of Troilus and Cressida, 1609. It was most likely written, at the request of the publishers, by some well-known author of the day.

A never writer to an ever reader,—Newes.—Eternall reader, you have heere a new play, never stal'd with the stage, never clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comicall; for it is a birth of your[®] braine that never under-tooke any thing commicall vainely; and were but the vaine names of commedies chandle for the titles of commodities, or of playes for pleas, you should see all those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities, flock to them for the maine grace of their gravities; especially this authors commedies, that are so fram'd to the life that they serve for the most common commentaries of all the actions of our lives; shewing such a dextentie and power of witte, that the most displeas'd with playes are pleas'd with his commedies. And all such dull and heavy-witted worldlings as were never capable of the witte of a commedie, comming by report of them to his representations, have found that witte there that they never found in themselves, and have parted better-witted then they came; feeling an edge of witte set upon them more then

Fac-simile of a Notice of Love's Labour Lost in the year 1605.

E I sawe sent and bewt all off
 movinge Intendinge for to layre the playe
 e sawe kinde of sweetnes but synde
 from fards to fynde myse for deat and
 aske for fene to seck and burdeys
 round e saye fereys as now playe
 hat the same fite out bene but they
 have Robyn & have also one Carole
 fates labore best not for mytt canis for
 fays will please to be ending by the
 fays to be appointed to be playe to Morrow
 night at any sort of Court or psons

ever they dreamd they had braine to grinde it on. So much and such savored salt of witte is in his commedies, that they seeme, for their height of pleasure to be borne in that sea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty then this ; and had I time I would comment upon it, though I know it needs not, for so much as will make you thinke your testerne well bestowd, but for so much worth as even poore I know to be stuft in it. It deserves such a labour as well as the best commedy in Terence or Plautus, and beleeve this, that when hee is gone, and his commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set up a new English Inquisition. Take this for a warning, and, at the perrill of your pleasures losse and judgements, refuse not, nor like this the lesse for not being sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude ; but thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you ; since, by the grand possessors wills, I beleeve you should have prayd for them^o rather then beene prayd. And so I leave all such to bee prayd for (for the states of their wits healths) that will not praise it.—*Vale*

IX. From the original manuscript Journal of the Secretary to the German embassy to England in April, 1610.

*S. E. alla au Globe lieu ordinaire ou
l'on joue les Commedies, y fut representé
l'histoire du More de Venise*

Lundi, 30.—S. E. alla au Globe, lieu ordinaire ou l'on joue les commedies ; y fut représenté l'histoire du More de Venise.

X. In the Ashmole collection of manuscripts is a small folio pamphlet of fourteen leaves, nine of which are unwritten upon, but the remaining five contain,—“The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof per Formans for common pollicie.” This little tract, which

*The Booke of plaies and
Notes therof per Formans
for Common Pollicie*

is in the autograph of the celebrated Dr. Simon Forman, consists of his accounts of the representations of four plays, three relating to dramas by Shakespeare and a fourth to one by another writer on the subject of Richard the Second. The former only are here given.

In the Winters Talle at the Glob, 1611, the 15 of Maye, Wednesday.—Observe ther howe Lyontes, the Kinge of Cicillia, was overcom with jelosy of his wife with the Kinge of Bohemia, his frind, that came to see him, and howe he contrived his death,

and wold have had his cupberer to have poisoned, who^o gave the King of Bohemia warning therof and fled with him to Bohemia.—Remember also howe he sent to the orakell of Appollo, and the aunswer of Apollo that she was giltles, and that the king was jelouse, &c., and howe, except the child was found againe that was loste, the kinge shuld die without yssue; for the child was caried into Bohemia, and there laid in a forrest, and brought up by a sheppard, and the Kinge of Bohemia his sonn married that wench; and howe they fled into Cicillia to Leontes, and the sheppard, having showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent a^o was that child, and the^o jewells found about her, she was knowen to be Leontes daughter and was then 16 yers old.—Remember also the rog that cam in all tottered like Coll Pipci, and howe he feyned him sicke and to have bin robbed of all that he had, and howe he cosoned the por man of all his money; and after cam to the shep-sher with a pedlers packe, and ther cosoned them againe of all their money; and howe he changed apparrell with the Kinge of Bomia his sonn, and then howe he turned courtiar, &c. Beware of trustinge feined beggars or fawninge fellowe.

Of Cymbalin King of England.—Remember also the storri of Cymbalin, King of England in Lucius tyme; howe Lucius cam from Octavus Cesar for tribut, and, being denied, after sent Lucius with a greate armi of souldiars, who landed at Milford Haven, and after wer vanquished by Cymbalin, and Lucius taken prisoner; and all by means of three outlawes, of the which two of them were the sonns of Cymbalin, stolen from him when they were but two yers old by an old man whom Cymbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns twenty yers with him in a cave; and howe of^o of them slewe Clotan, that was the quens sonn, goinge to Milford Haven to sek the love of Innogen, the kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for lovinge his daughter; and howe the Italian that cam from her love conveyed himself into a cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from her love and others to be presented to the kinge; and in the deepest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste, and came forth of yt, and vewed her in her bed, and the markes of her body, and toke awai her braslet, and after accused her of adultery to her love, &c., and in thend howe he came with the Romains into England, and was taken prisoner, and after reveled to Innogen, who had turned herself into mans apparrell, and fled to mete her love at Milford Haven, and chanced to fall on the cave in the wodes wher her two brothers were; and howe, by eating a sleping dram, they thought she had bin deed, and laid her in the wodes, and the body of Cloten by her in her loves apparrell that he left behind him; and howe she was found by Lucius, etc.

In Mackbeth at the Glob, 1610, the 20 of Aprill, Saturday, ther was to be observed, firste, howe Mackbeth and Bancko, two noble men of Scotland, ridinge thorowe a wod, the^o stode before them three women feiries or nimphes, and saluted Mackbeth, sayinge three tymes unto him, Haille, Mackbeth, King of Codon; for thou shall be a kinge, but shall beget no kinges, etc. Then said Bancko, what all to Mackbeth, and nothing to me? Yes, said the nimphes, haille to thee, Banko, thou shall beget kinges, yet be no kinge; and so they departed and cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin, King of Scotcs, and yt was in the dais of Edward the Confessor. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcom, and made Mackbeth forthwith Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed Mackbeth to provid for him, for he wold sup with him the next dai at night, and did soe. And Mackbeth contrived to kill Dunkin, and thorowe the persuasion of his wife did that night murder the kinge in his own castell, beinge his guest; and ther were many prodigies seen that night and the dai before. And when Mack Beth had murdred the kinge, the blod on his handes could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wives handes, which handled the bluddi daggers in hiding them, by which means they became both moch amazed and affronted. The murder being knowen, Dunkins two sonns fled, the on to England, the (other to) Walles, to save them selves. They

beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father; which was nothinge so. Then was Mackbeth crowned kinge; and then he, for feare of Banko, his old companion, that he should beget Kinges but be no kinge him self, he contrived the death of Banko, and caused him to be murdred on the way as he rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men whom he had bid to a feaste, to the which also Banco should have com, he began to speake of noble Banco, and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing up to drinck a carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier be-hind him. And he, turninge about to sit down again, sawe the goste of Banco, which fronted him so, that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, utteringe many wordes about his murder, by which, when they hard that Banco was murdred, they suspected Mackbet. Then Mack Dove fled to England to the kinges sonn, and soe they raised an army and cam into Scotland, and at Dunstonanysse overthruw Mackbet. In the mean tyme, whille Macdove was in England, Mackbet slew Mackdoves wife and children, and after in the battelle Mackdove slewe Mackbet. Observe also howe Mackbetes quen did rise in the night in her slepe, and walke and talked and confessed all, and the docter noted her wordes.

XI. From the Accounts of moneys expended by Lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, between Michaelmas, 1612, and Michaelmas, 1613, from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Rawl. A. 239.

Item, paid to John Heminges uppon the Cowncells warrant dated att Whitehall xx.º die Maij, 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Highnes, the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Pallatyne Elector, fowerteene severall playes, viz., one playe called Filaster, one other called the Knott of Fooles, one other Much adoe abowte nothinge, the Mayeds Tragedy, the merye dyvell of Edmonton, the Tempest, A kinge and no kinge, the Twins Tragedie, the Winters Tale, Sir John Falstafe, the Moore of Venice, the Nobleman, Cæsars Tragedye, and one other called Love lyes a bleedinge, all which playes weare played within the tyme of this accompte, viz., paid the some of iiiij.^{xx} xiiij.^{li}.vj.s. viij.d.

Item, paid to the said John Heminges uppon the lyke warrant, dated att Whitehall xx.º die Maij, 1613, for presentinge sixe severall playes, viz. ;, one playe called a badd beginninge[®] makes a good endinge, one other called the Capteyne, one other the Alcumist, one other Cardenno, one other the Hotspurr, and one other called Benedicte and Betteris, all played within the tyme of this accompte, viz. ;, paid fortie powndes, and by waye of his Majesties rewarde twentie powndes. In all, lx.^{li}.

XII. Extract from an account of a visit to Bosworth Field, given in an itinerary by Bishop Corbet, here taken from the edition in his Poems, ed. 1647. This pleasant narrative was written long before the date of publication, while the recollections of the host of the Leicester inn are obviously meant to extend to a period antecedent to the year 1619.

Mine host was full of ale and history, = And, on the morrow, when he brought us nigh = Where the two Roses joyned, you would suppose = Chaucer nere writ the Romant of the Rose. = Heare him, — See yee yond' woods? there Richard lay = With his whole army. Looke the other way, = And loe where Richmond in a bed of grosse[®] = Encamp'd himselfe o're night with all his force. = Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell = The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell ; = Besides what of his knowledge he could say, = Hee had authentique notice from the play, = Which I might guesse by's mustring up the ghosts, = And policies not incident to hosts ; = But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing = Where he mistooke a player for a king, = For when he would have said, King Richard dy'd, = And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cry'd.

XIII. *The commencement of an elegy*—"On Mr. Richard Burbidge, an excellent both player and painter"—from a manuscript of the time of Charles I., preserved in the library of the Earl of Warwick. The line given in *Italics*, wanting in that volume, is supplied from another copy. This addition is necessary to the context, but otherwise the original is carefully followed, a single text in these cases being more authoritative than an eclectic one. The first word of l. 17 is of course an error for oft, and two various readings are worth special notice,—in l. 19 mad for sad, and in l. 21 his for this. Five transcripts of the elegy, all of them in seventeenth-century manuscripts of undoubted genuineness, are known to exist, viz.—one at Warwick Castle, two at Thirlestane House, and two (one in octavo and one in folio) formerly belonging to Haslewood and now in the library of Mr. A. Huth. The lines referring to Hamlet, Lear, and Othello, are found in all but one, the octavo Haslewood of these manuscripts, the solitary omission being no doubt accidental. It must also be observed that the poem is termed in one of the Huth manuscripts,—“A Funerall Ellegye on the death of the famous actor, Richard Burbedg, who dyed on Saturday in Lent the 13 of March, 1618,”—and as it may fairly be assumed that so precise a title was derived from one that was given soon after the actor’s death, the composition of the elegy may be assigned to the year 1619.

Some skillful limmer aid mee ; if not so, = Som sad tragædian helpe to express my wo ; = But, oh ! hee’s gone, that could the best both limme = And act my greif ; and it is only him = That I invoke this strang assistance to it, = And on the point intreat himself to doe it ; = For none but Tully Tully’s prais can tell, = And as hee could no man could doe so well = This part of sorrow for him, nor here shew = So truly to the life this mapp of woe, = That greifs true picture which his loss hath bred. = Hee’s gone, and with him what a world is dead, = Which hee reviv’d ; to bee revived so = No more :—young Hamlet, old Hieronimo, = Kind Leir, the greivd Moor, and more beside, = That livd in him, have now for ever died. = Ought® have I seene him leape into the grave, = Suiting the person (that hee seemd to have) = Of a sad lover with so true an eie, = That then I would have sworn hee meant to die. = Oft have I seene him play this part in jest = So lively, that spectators and the rest = Of his sad crew, whilst hee but seemd to bleed, = Amazed thought ev’n that hee died indeed. = And did not knowledg cheke mee, I should sweare = Even yet it is a fals report I heare, = And think that hee that did so truly faine = Is still but dead in jest, to live againe ; = But now hee acts this part, not plaies, tis knowne ; = Others hee plaid, but acted hath his owne.

XIV. *Verses prefixed to*—“Poems written by Wil. Shakespeare, gent.,” a small octavo volume printed at London in 1640. Leonard Digges, the author of these lines, was an Oxford scholar, whose earliest printed work appeared in the year 1617, and who died at that university in 1635. The following poem was evidently written soon after the opening of the second Fortune Theatre in 1623, and it bears every appearance of having been intended for one of the Commendatory Verses prefixed to the first folio, perhaps that for which his shorter piece in that volume may have been substituted. It is superscribed as being “upon Master William Shakespeare, the deceased authour, and his poems.”

Poets are borne not made,—when I would prove = This truth, the glad remembrance I must love = Of never dying Shakespeare, who alone = Is argument enough to make that one. = First, that he was a poet none would doubt, = That heard th’ applause of what he sees set out = Imprinted ; where thou hast—I will not say, = Reader, his Workes, for to contrive a play = To him twas none,—the patterne of all wit, = Art without Art unparaleld as yet. = Next Nature onely helpt him, for looke thorow = This whole booke, thou shalt find he doth not borrow = One phrase from Greekes, nor Latines imitate, = Nor once from vulgar languages translate, = Nor plagiari-like from

others glean;=Nor begges he from each witty friend a scene=To peece his Acts with;—all that he doth write,=Is pure his owne; plot, language exquisite.=But oh! what praise more powerfull can we give=The dead, then that by him the Kings Men live,=His players, which, should they but have shar'd the[®] fate,=All else expir'd within the short termes date,=How could the Globe have prospered, since, through want=Of change, the plaies and poems had growne scant?=But, happy verse, thou shalt be sung and heard,=When hungry quills shall be such honour bard.=Then vanish, upstart writers to each stage,=You needy poetasters of this age;=Where Shakespeare liv'd or spake, vermine, forbear,=Least with your froth you spot them, come not neere;=But if you needs must write, if poverty=So pinch, that otherwise you starve and die,=On Gods name may the Bull or Cockpit have=Your lame blancke verse, to keepe you from the grave : =Or let new Fortunes younger brethren see,=What they can picke from your leane industry.=I doe not wonder when you offer at=Blacke-Friers, that you suffer : tis the fate=Of richer veines, prime judgements that have far'd=The worse, with this deceased man compar'd.=So have I seene, when Cesar would appeare,=And on the stage at halfe-sword parley were,=Brutus and Cassius, oh how the audience=Were ravish'd! with what wonder they went thence,=When some new day they would not brooke a line=Of tedious (though well laboured) Catiline;=Sejanus too was irkesome; they priz'de more=Honest Iago, or the jealous Moore.=And though the Fox and subtile Alchemist,=Long intermitted, could not quite be mist,=Though these have sham'd all the ancients, and might raise=Their authours merit with a crowne of bayes,=Yet these sometimes, even at a friends desire=Acted, have scarce defrai'd the seacoale fire=And doore-keepers : when, let but Falstaffe come,=Hall, Poines, the rest,—you scarce shall have a roome,=All is so pester'd : let but Beatrice=And Benedicke be seene, loe, in a trice=The cockpit, galleries, boxes, all are full=To hear Malvoglio, that crosse-garter'd gull.=Briefe, there is nothing in his wit-fraught booke,=Whose sound we would not heare, on whose worth looke,=Like old coynd gold, whose lines in every page=Shall passe true currant to succeeding age.=But why doe I dead Sheakespeare[®] praise recite,=Some second Shakespeare must of Shakespeare write;=For me tis needlesse, since an host of men=Will pay, to clap his praise, to free my pen.—
Leon. Digges.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

No. 1. Or his emotions.—It is difficult to treat with seriousness the opinion that the great master of imagination wrote under the direct control of his varying personal temperaments. In this way it is implied that he was merry when he wrote a comedy, gloomy when he penned a tragedy, tired of the world when he created Prospero, and so on. It would thence follow that, when he was selecting a plot, he could have given no heed either to the wishes of the managers or the inclination of the public taste, but was guided in his choice by the necessity of discovering a subject that was adapted for the exposition of his own transient feelings. One wonders, or, rather, there is no necessity for conjecturing, what Heminges and Condell would have thought if they had applied to Shakespeare for a new comedy, and the great dramatist had told them that he could not possibly comply with their wishes, he being then in his Tragic Period.

No. 2. Æsthetic criticism.—It is not easy to define the present meaning of this term, but it seems to be applied, without reference to quality, to observations on the characteristics of the Shakespearean personages and on the presumed moral or ethical intentions of the great dramatist. It is already an immense literature in itself, and as all persons of ordinary capacity can, and many do, supply additions to it by the yard, its probable extent in the future is appalling to contemplate. This is not said in depreciation of all such efforts in themselves, for they occasionally result in suggestions of value ; and so subtle are the poet's theatrical uses, as well as so exhaustless his mental sympathies, there are few who could diligently act or study one of his characters without being able to propound something new that was at least worthy of respectful consideration. This unlimited expanse of æsthetic criticism stifles its practical utility, each day removing us further from the possibility of mastering its better details. The latter unfortunately cannot be readily dissociated from the main bulk, that which at present consists either of the pompous enunciation of matters that are obvious to all, or of the veriest twaddle that ever deceived the unwary in its recesses amidst the wilds of dreary verbiage and philosophical jargon.

No. 3. Of greater certainty.—It has been one of the missions of the æsthetic critics to discover, in the works of the great dramatist, a number of the author's subtle designs in incidents that are found, on

examination, to have been adopted from his predecessors. There is, for instance, the little episode of Rosaline, one which is closely taken, both in substance and position, from the foundation-tale. According, however, to Coleridge, "it affords a strong instance of the fineness of Shakespeare's insight into the nature of the passions, that Romeo is introduced already love-bewildered." A glance at the original narrative will show that, if there was a preconceived recondite design in the invention of the first love, the merits of the adaptation must be conceded to the wretched poetaster who put the old story into rhyme in 1562. Equal if not greater perception is exhibited in making the icy and unconquerable apathy of Rosaline do so much in clearing the way to Juliet, but this, like the other "fine insight," may be observed in the elder romance. The probability is that, in this play as in some others, Shakespeare was merely exercising his unrivalled power of successfully adapting his characters to a number of preformed events that he did not feel inclined to alter. So homely an explanation is not likely to satisfy the philosophical critics, who will have it that there is some mysterious contrast between the qualities of Romeo's two infatuations. "Rosaline," observes Coleridge, "was a mere creation of his fancy; and we should remark the boastful positiveness of Romeo in a love of his own making, which is never shown where love is really near the heart," *Notes and Lectures*, ed. 1875, p. 147. But the impetuosity of Romeo's passion is seen, so far as circumstances admit, as much in one case as in the other; and as for the "boastful positiveness," it is difficult to understand that an expressed belief in the perfection of his mistress's beauty can be an evidence of a lover's insincerity. It could more fairly be said that Romeo's despondency, under the treatment he experienced at the hands of his first love, is a testimony in the opposite direction.

No. 4. Visited Stratford-on-Avon.—Aubrey himself refers to "some of the neighbours" in that town as his authority for the calf anecdote, and a notice of the poet's effigy, apparently given from ocular inspection, is found in his *Monumenta Britannica*, MS. A few brief notes respecting this undoubtedly honest, though careless, antiquary, who was born in 1626 and died in 1697, may be worth giving. Educated at first in his native county of Wilts and afterwards at Blandford in Dorset, he was entered at the University of Oxford in 1642, but his sojourns at the last-named place were brief and irregular. A love for the study of archæology exhibited itself even in his boyish days, and a large portion of his life was expended in itinerant searches after antiquities and all kinds of curious information.

No. 5. From his own recollections of them.—Thus, in making the statement respecting Mrs. Hall, he says,—"I think I have been told,"—as, indeed, he must have been in one way or other, although the word *sister* is erroneously put for daughter. Amongst his most favourite

phrases are "I think" and "I guess," both, as a rule, attached to the merest conjectures. It is not known when his memoir of Shakespeare was written, but it was evidently compiled from scraps gathered from a variety of informants. The Grendon notice would appear to have been derived from a recollection of what was told him at Oxford in 1642 by Josias Howe of Trinity College, a native of the former place. This gentleman, a son of the rector of Grendon, was an excellent authority for the village tradition, but Aubrey has contrived to record it in such an embarrassing hotchpot that it is useless to attempt to recover the original story.

No. 6. All through the seventeenth century.—The poet's sister and her descendants inhabited the birth-place from the time of his death to the year 1806; and his younger daughter lived at Stratford-on-Avon until her death in 1662. Then there were Hathaways, who were members of his wife's family, residing in Chapel Street from 1647 to 1696. His godson, William Walker, who died in the same town in 1680, must have been one of the last survivors of personal acquaintance-ship.

No. 7. The printed notices.—The best of these is the one in Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662, but that writer was not even at the pains to ascertain the year of the poet's decease. What there is of novelty in the subsequent publications of Phillips, Winstanley, Langbaine, Blount and Gildon, is all but worthless. Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1656, gives a valuable account of the sepulchral monuments, but adds no information respecting the poet himself.

No. 8. Thomas Betterton.—This actor, who was born in Westminster in 1635, appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane in 1660. He attained to great eminence in his profession, but lost the first collection of his well-earned savings through a commercial enterprise that he joined in 1692. In 1700 he acted in Rowe's first tragedy, a circumstance which may have led to his acquaintance with that dramatist. He died in London in April, 1710, having very nearly completed his seventy-fifth year. The precise time of his visit to Stratford-on-Avon is unknown, but it is hardly likely to have occurred in his declining years, and towards the close of his life he was afflicted with a complaint that must have rendered any of the old modes of travelling exceedingly irksome. He is mentioned, however, as having in 1709 a country house at Reading,—*Life*, ed. 1710, p. 11. That town would certainly have been nearer to Stratford than from London, but still at what was for those days an arduous cross-country journey of seventy miles or thereabouts.

No. 9. A farmer named Shakespeare.—This name probably arose in the thirteenth century, when surnames derived from personal occupations first came into general use in this country, and it appears to have

rapidly become a favourite patronymic. The origin of it is sufficiently obvious. Some, says Camden, are named "from that which they commonly carried, as Palmer, that is, Pilgrime, for that they carried palme when they returned from Hierusalem; Long-sword, Broad-speare, Fortescu, that is, Strong-shield, and in some such respect, Break-speare, Shake-speare, Shot-bolt, Wagstaffe," Remaines, ed. 1605, p. 111. "Breakspear, Shakspear, and the lyke have bin surnames imposed upon the first bearers of them for valour and feates of armes," Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, ed. 1605, p. 294. Shakeshaft and Drawsword were amongst the other old English names of similar formation. The surname of the poet's family was certainly known as early as the thirteenth century, there having been a John Shakespere, living, apparently in Kent, in the year 1279, who is mentioned in Plac. Cor. 7 Edw. 1 Kanc. From this time the Shakespeares are found dispersedly in gradually increasing numbers until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they were to be met with in nearly every part of England. It cannot be said that during the latter periods the surname was anywhere an excessively rare one, but from an early date Shakespeares abounded most in Warwickshire. In the fifteenth century they were to be discovered in that county at Coventry, Wroxhall, Balsall, Knowle, Meriden and Rowington; in the sixteenth century, at Berkswell, Snitterfield, Lapworth, Haseley, Ascote, Rowington, Packwood, Beusal, Temple Grafton, Salford, Tanworth, Barston, Warwick, Tachbrook, Haselor, Rugby, Budbrook, Wroxall, Norton-Lindsey, Wolverton, Hampton-in-Arden, Knowle, Hampton Lucy and Alcester; and in the seventeenth century, at Weston, Bidford, Shrewley, Haseley, Henley-in-Arden, Kenilworth, Wroxhall, Nuneaton, Tardebigg, Charlecote, Kingswood, Knowle, Flenkenho, Coventry, Rowington, Sherbourn, Packwood, Hatton, Ansley, Solihull, Lapworth, Budbrook, Arley, Packington, Tanworth, Warwick, Longbridge, Kington, Fillongley, Little Packington, Meriden, Long Itchington, Claverdon and Tachbrook. It is not probable that this list, which has been compiled almost exclusively from records inspected by myself, is by any means a complete one, but it is sufficiently extensive to show how very numerous formerly were Shakespeares in Warwickshire, and how dangerous it must be, in the absence of direct evidence, to assume that early notices of persons of that name relate to members of the poet's family. Thus it has happened that more than one John Shakespeare has been erroneously identified with the father of the great dramatist. There was an agriculturist of that name, who, in 1570, was in the occupation of a small farm, situated in the parish of Hampton Lucy near Stratford-on-Avon, which was described as "one other meadowe with thappurtenaunces called or knowen by the name of Ingon alias Innton meadowe, conteynynge by estymacion fouretene acres, be it more or lesse, then or late in the

tenure or occupacion of John Shaxpere or his assignes," Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz. This individual has always been considered to have been the John Shakespeare of Henley Street, but that he was a different person who resided at Ingon appears from the following entry in the Hampton Lucy register under the date of 1589,—“ Joannes Shakespere of Yngon was buried the xxv. th of September.” He was in all probability at one time the owner of a field which bordered on Ingon Lane, and which is described in the will of John Combe, 1613, as Parson's Close alias Shakespeare's Close. It has also been supposed that the poet's father resided about the year 1583 at Clifford, a village at a short distance from Stratford-on-Avon, but that this conjecture is groundless may be confidently inferred from the fact of the John Shakespeare of Clifford having been married there in 1560 to a widow of the name of Hobbvns. “ 1560, 15 Octobris, John Shaxspere was maryed unto Julian Hobbvns, vidua,” MS. Register. Even when there are documents which yield notices referring apparently to one individual in one locality, identification should not be assumed in the absence of corroborative evidence or at least of circumstances inducing a high degree of probability; but when, as in the instances just discussed, there are merely the facts of persons of the same Christian and surname living about the same period in neighbouring but different parishes, conjecture of identity, without such confirmation, ought to be inadmissible. Neither would interest attach to the volumes which might be compiled on the numerous ancient branches of the Shakespeares, and at the same time be destitute of a single morsel of real evidence to connect them in any degree of consanguinity with those of Stratford-on-Avon.

No. 10. At Snitterfield.—Richard Shakespeare was residing in that village as lately as 1560, but the conjecture that he removed some time after that year to Rowington, and was the same person as the Richard Shakespeare of the latter village, who died in or about 1592, is one of those gratuitous speculations which unfortunately embarrass most discussions on genealogical subjects. Richard had been a Christian name in the Rowington family at least as early as the time of Henry the Eighth, as appears from the subsidy-rolls of that reign, and it frequently occurs in the Rowington Shakespeare documents from that period to the close of the seventeenth century. There is no reason for believing that any person of the name migrated to Rowington after the year 1560, much less any evidence that he arrived there from Snitterfield. It is not probable, however, that the idea of a connexion between the Shakespeares of Rowington and the poet's family would have arisen, had it not been assumed, from the fact of Shakespeare having been a copyholder under the manor, that he was also connected with the parish. This was not necessarily the case. Singularly enough, there were two very small properties at Stratford-on-Avon held under the





manor of Rowington, but it does not follow, from the mere circumstance of Shakespeare purchasing one of those estates, that he was connected in any way with that village, or that he was ever there with the exception of one attendance at the manorial court. One of these Stratford copyholds was located in Church Street, and the other was the one in Chapel Lane, that which was surrendered to the poet in 1602. Rowington and Stratford-on-Avon are in the same Hundred, but they were about twelve miles distant from each other by the nearest road, and there was very little communication between the two places in Shakespeare's time. Their relative situations will be best observed in the map of Warwickshire engraved in 1603, in which the indirect roads between them are delineated. More than one person of the name of William Shakespeare was living at Rowington in the times of Elizabeth and the first James. Richard Shakespeare of that village, who died in 1560, mentions his son William in a will dated in the same year; and it appears from the will of another inhabitant of the same name, 1591, that his youngest son was also named William. There was another William, who signs his name with a mark, something like a small letter *a*,—"the mark of William Shakespere"—in a roll of the customs of the manor which were confirmed in 1614, this person being one of the jury sworn on that occasion. The eldest son of a Richard Shakespeare of Rowington, who died in 1614, was also called William, as appears from his will and from the papers of a Chancery suit of 1616. This individual may or may not have been the marksman of the customs roll, but he was over forty years of age in 1614, as is ascertained from the Chancery records just mentioned. Legal proceedings were commenced at Worcester in 1614 "per Willielmum Shakespeare, filium naturalem Elizabethæ Shakespeare, nuper de Roweington," respecting her will; MS. *Episc. Reg.* Which of these William Shakespeares was the trained soldier of Rowington in the muster-roll of 1605 is a matter of no consequence, it being certain that the latter was not the great dramatist, who, in such a list, would undoubtedly have been described as belonging to Stratford-on-Avon, not to a place in which he never resided. A reference to the original muster-roll will set the question at rest, a list of the trained soldiers at Stratford-on-Avon appearing not only in a different part of the manuscript, but in another division of the Hundred, and including no person of the name of Shakespeare. There is no doubt that, amongst the multitude of Shakespeare families who were settled in Warwickshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Shakespeares of Rowington are those most frequently noticed in the records of those times. It is no exaggeration to say that at least a hundred pages of this work could be filled even with the materials regarding them which have been collected by myself, and these are certainly not exhaustive. If any connexion, however slight, had existed between the Shakespeares of

Rowington and those of Stratford-on-Avon during that period, it is all but impossible that some indication of the fact should not be discovered in one or other of the numerous wills, law papers and other documents relating to the former. There is nothing of the kind.

No. 11. Only six.—There is supposed to be a possibility, derived from an apparen trefrence to it in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, that the tragedy of Julius Cæsar was in existence as early as the year 1599, for although the former work was not published till 1601, the author distinctly tells his dedicatee that "this poem, which I present to your learned view, some two yeares agoe was made fit for the print." The subject was then, however, a favourite one for dramatic composition, and inferences from such premises must be cautiously received. Shakespeare's was not, perhaps, the only drama of the time to which the lines of Weever were applicable; and the more this species of evidence is studied, the more is one inclined to question its efficacy. Plays on the history of Julius Cæsar are mentioned in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; the *Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies*, 1580; *Henslowe's Diary*, 1594, 1602; *Mirroure of Policie*, 1598; *Hamlet*, 1603; *Heywood's Apology for Actors*, 1612. There was a French tragedy on the subject published at Paris in 1578, and a Latin one was performed at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1582. Tarlton, who died in 1588, had appeared as Cæsar, perhaps on some unauthorised occasion, a circumstance alluded to in the *Ourania*, 1606. A play called *Cæsars Tragedye*, acted before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, in the earlier part of the year 1613, is reasonably considered to have been Shakespeare's drama, the great popularity of which is recorded by Digges in 1623.

No. 12. Cannot admit of a reasonable doubt.—There is no absolute evidence on this subject, nor was there likely to be, but it is unreasonable to require early written testimony on such a point, or to assume it credible that Shakespeare did not witness scenes that were then, in all probability, familiar to every lad at Stratford-on-Avon. We have no evidence that the poet ever saw a maypole, yet we know perfectly well that he must have met with many a one in the course of his life, and the persuasion that he was a spectator at some of the mysteries rests on exactly similar, though less cogent, deductive impressions. Had the representations of those primitive dramas been of very exceptional occurrence, it would of course have been a different matter.

No. 13. The Boar's Head Tavern.—It is a singular circumstance that there is no notice of this celebrated tavern in any edition of Shakespeare previously to the appearance of Theobald's in 1733, but that the locality is there accurately given from an old and genuine stage-tradition is rendered certain by an allusion to "Sir John of the Boares-Head in Eastcheap" in Gayton's *Festivous Notes*, 1654, p. 277. Shakespeare

never mentions that tavern at all, and the only possible allusion to it is in the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, where the Prince asks, speaking of Falstaff,—“doth the old boar feed in the old frank?” The Boar’s Head was an inn at least as early as 1537, when it is expressly demised in a lease as all that tavern called the Bores Hedde “cum cellariis, sollariis et aliis suis pertinentiis in Estchepe, in parochia Sancti Michaelis predicti, in tenura Johanne Broke, vidue.” About the year 1588 it was kept by one Thomas Wright, a native of Shrewsbury. “George Wrighte, sun of Thomas Wrighte of London, vintener, that dwelt at the Bore’s Hed in Estcheap,” Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke, sub anno 1588. In 1602, the Lords of the Council gave permission for the servants of the Earls of Oxford and Worcester to play at this house. There were numerous other tenements in London and the country, including five taverns in the City, known by the name of the Boar’s Head, but the one in Eastcheap was totally destroyed in the great fire of 1666, and no genuine representation of it is known to exist.

No. 14. Macbeth.—If Dryden may be trusted, there are speeches in this drama which were not liked by Rare Ben. “In reading some bombast speeches of Macbeth, which are not to be understood, he (Jonson) us’d to say that it was horroure, and I am much afraid that this is so,” Essay on the Dramatique Poetry of the last Age, 1672.

No. 15. Was acted.—In the little thin folio manuscript pamphlet which Forman calls, “the boock of plaies and notes therof per Formans, for common pollicie,” there are notes of the performances of four plays, namely,—1. Cymbeline, undated; 2. Macbeth, on Saturday, April the 20th, 1611; 3. A play on the history of Richard the Second, on Tuesday, April the 30th, 1611; 4. The Winter’s Tale, on Wednesday, May the 15th, 1611. In the original manuscript, the year 1610 is given as the date of the second theatrical visit, but, as there must be an oversight either in the note of the year or in that of the day of the week, it seems most likely that all the dramas above mentioned were seen by Forman about the same time, and that the error lies in the former record.

No. 16. A graphic account.—This is the earliest distinct notice of the tragedy which has been discovered, so that it must have been written at some time between March, 1603, and April, 1611, for there is the all but certainty that it was produced after the accession of James. The allusion to the “two-fold balls and treble sceptres,” and the favourable delineation of the character of Banquo, appear sufficient to establish the accuracy of this conclusion. It may also be thought probable that Macbeth was written and acted before the year 1607, from an apparent reference to Banquo’s ghost in the comedy of the Puritan, 1607,—“we’ll ha’ the ghost i’ th’ white sheet sit at upper end o’ th’ table.” All deductions, however, of this kind are to be cautiously received, for it is

of course possible that the incident referred to may have been originally introduced in the older play on the subject. A similar observation will apply to a passage in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1611, where the probability of the allusion is somewhat marred by the reference to a whispering tale. The story of *Macbeth* had been introduced on the English stage at least as early as 1600, for, in that year, Kemp, the actor, in his *Nine Daies Wonder* performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich, thus alludes to some play on the subject,—“still the search continuing, I met a proper upright youth, onely for a little stooping in the shoulders all hart to the heele, a penny poet, whose first making was the miserable stolne story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsome-what, for I am sure a Mac it was, though I never had the maw to see it.” The concluding words clearly imply that Kemp alluded to some piece that had been represented on the stage, one whence Shakespeare may have derived the legend of the murder and other incidents. It is at all events worth notice, in reference to the feasibility of this suggestion, that when *Lady Macbeth* says,—“nor time nor place did then adhere, and yet you would make both,”—there seems to be an allusion to some incident which was in the author’s recollection, and which, in the hurry of composition, he had forgotten was inconsistent with his own treatment of the subject.

No. 17. On horseback.—Rude models of horses, the bodies made of canvas dilated with hoops and laths, were familiar objects on the early English stage. “Enter a spruce courtier a-horse-backe,” stage-direction in MS. play of *Richard the Second*, c. 1597. “One great horse with his leages,” list of theatrical properties, 1599. Many actors of the Shakespearean period were dexterous in their management of these hobby-horses, and it would seem that there was at least one troupe composed entirely of that class of performers. “Payed Mr. Maior that hee gave to the Princes hobyehorse plaiores, ij.s. vj.d.,” Reading Corporation MSS., 1608.

No. 18. Cymbeline.—The tragedy is called “*Cymbeline King of Britaine*” in the list prefixed to the first folio, 1623. It may be just worth notice that a cavern near Tenby, that might be passed in a walk to Milford, known as Hoyle’s Mouth, has been suggested as the prototype of the cave of Belarius.

No. 19. When that eccentric astrologer, Dr. Forman, died suddenly.—The day of his burial is thus recorded in the beautifully written ancient register of St. Mary’s, Lambeth,—“A.D. 1611, September 12; Simon Forman, gent.”

No. 20. The Midsummer Night’s Dream.—It has been plausibly suggested that this title was derived from the circumstance of its having been originally produced at Midsummer, as otherwise the name would be inappropriate; and the graceful compliment paid in it to Elizabeth

would appear to indicate that the comedy was written with a view to its representation before that sovereign. The Lord Chamberlain's servants were not in the habit of acting plays before Royalty in the summer time, but when there was one intended for ultimate performance before the Court, it was their usual custom to produce it in the first instance at the theatre. In this way, by means of what may be termed public rehearsals, the actors were trained for a more effective representation before the Queen than would otherwise have been attainable. "Whereas licence hath bin graunted unto two companies of stage-players to use and practiçe stage-plays, whereby they might be the better enhabled and prepared to shew such plaies before her Majestie as they shal be required at tymes meete and accustomed," Privy Council Register, 1598.

No. 21. Mentioned for the first time.—There seems to be a probability that Shakespeare, in the composition of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, had in one place a recollection of the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*, published in 1596, for he all but literally quotes the following line from its eighth canto,—"*Through hills and dales, through bushes and through breres*," ed. 1596, p. 640. As the comedy was not printed until the year 1600, and it is impossible that Spenser could have been present at any representation of it before he had written the sixth book of his celebrated poem, it may fairly be concluded that Shakespeare's play was not composed at the earliest before the year 1596, in fact, not until some time after January the 20th, 1595-6, on which day the *Second Parte of the Faerie Queene* was entered on the Stat. Reg. The sixth book was probably composed as early as 1592 or 1593, no doubt in Ireland and at some time before the month of November, 1594, the date of the entry of publication of the *Amoretti*, in the eightieth sonnet of which it is distinctly alluded to as having been written previously to the composition of the latter work.

No. 22. One little fragment.—A curious stage-artifice, which was originally practised in the workmen's interlude, is thus mentioned in Sharpham's comedy of the *Fleire*, published in 1607,—"*Kni. And how lives he with 'am?—Fle. Faith, like Thisbe in the play, 'a has almost kil'd himselfe with the scabberd.*" Another little vestige of the old performance is accidentally recorded in the first folio, 1623, where a man named Tawyer is introduced as heading the procession of the actors as trumpeter. This person was a surbordinate in the pay of Hemmings, his burial at St. Saviour's in June, 1625, being thus noticed in the sexton's MS. note-book,—"*William Tawier, Mr. Heminges man, gr. and cl., xvj.d.*"

No. 23. In plain and unobtrusive language.—Life is not breathed into a skeleton by attiring it in fancy gauze, and thus the climax of dullness has been reached by those who, blending the real with the ideal, have hitherto attempted to produce a readable *Life of Shake-*

speare. A foolish desire to avoid the title of Dryasdusts has driven them into the ranks of the larger family of Drierthandusts. It is not every subject that can legitimately be made attractive to the lazy, or, as it is the fashion to term him, the general reader. In the entire absence of materials that reveal the poet's living character, the selection really lies between the acceptance of romance and that of a simple narrative of external facts. We have not even the consolation of expecting that narrative to be ever interwoven with an absolutely faithful representation of contemporary life,—a life with all the infinite variations from that of the present day many of which necessarily elude the most assiduous research.

No. 24. Titus Andronicus.—The actors who were enlisted under the banner of the Earl of Sussex were playing at the Rose from December the 27th, 1593, to February the 6th, 1594, the last-mentioned day being that of the third performance of this drama and also that of the entry of its copyright by Danter at Stationers' Hall. It is clear, however, from the actorial notices on the title-page of the edition of 1594, that the tragedy itself could not have been published for some weeks, if not months, after the latter transaction. No copy of that impression is now known to exist, but it had been seen by Langbaine, who, in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 464, says,—“this play was first printed 4°. Lond. 1594, and acted by the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Essex, their Servants.” That Essex is here a misprint for Sussex is evident from the title-page of the 1600 edition, and also from the half-title on the first page of text in that of 1611. Those two later impressions were published by Edward White, but neither he nor Danter had aught to do with any of the subsequent productions of Shakespeare, while the assignment of “*Titus and Andronicus*” from Millington to Pavier in 1602 may refer to a prose history, in the same way that the “*book called Thomas of Reading*,” named in the same entry, certainly does. In the note of the transfer of the copyright from Mrs. Pavier to Brewster and Bird, 1626, *Titus Andronicus* is not included in the “right in Shakesperes plaies or any of them,” but is inserted in company with the prose *Hamlet*. Whether the interest of the Paviers was in the history or in the drama is, however, a question of no great moment, the title-pages of the old editions of the latter showing that an acting copy of it was in the repertoire of Shakespeare's company during the later years of the reign of Elizabeth and in the early part of that of James the First.

No. 25. Having been successfully produced.—Its immediate popularity on the stage is evidenced, not merely by its timely publication and the large receipts at the theatre, but also by the circumstance of its having been performed by several different companies within a brief time after its production in 1594. It is also worth notice that Danter entered the

copyright of a ballad on the history of the play at the same time that he registered the latter, and this is another testimony in a like direction. In *Father Hubburds Tales*, 1604, the action of a man with one arm is compared to that of "old Titus Andronicus," the reference being probably to the tragedy, and one which, it is clear, was assumed to have been familiar to readers of the day. A drama called *Andronicus*, which is noted as having been twice acted at Newington in June, 1594, was most likely another production, and the one which is mentioned, under that single title, and as being a very old play in 1614, in Ben Jonson's *Induction to his Bartholomew Fair*. It is improbable that Henslowe's three titles recorded in January and February, 1594, should vary so distinctly from the two given in the following June, had the same play been intended in all the entries.

No. 26. The authenticity of Shakespeare's earliest tragedy.—An alteration of *Titus Andronicus* by Edward Ravenscroft, a dramatist of the Restoration period, was produced on the stage in or about the year 1678, when it was heralded by a prologue that included the following lines,—“To day the poet does not fear your rage, = Shakespear by him reviv'd now treads the stage ; = Under his sacred lawrels he sits down = Safe from the blast of any criticks frown. = Like other poets, he'll not proudly scorn = To own that he but winnow'd Shakespear's corn ; = So far he was from robbing him of 's treasure, = That he did add his own to make full measure.” But when the work itself was published in 1687, under the title of “*Titus Andronicus or the Rape of Lavinia*, acted at the Theatre Royall, a tragedy alter'd from Mr. Shakespears Works by Mr. Edw. Ravenscroft,” the adapter makes this curious statement,—“I have been told by some anciently conversant with the stage that it was not originally *his*, but brought by a private author to be acted, and *he* only gave some master-touches to one or two of the principal parts or characters,” the words *his* and *he* referring to the great dramatist. Ravenscroft adds that the original prologue had then been lost, but Langbaine, who has preserved the lines above quoted in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 465, seems to question the truth of that assertion, plainly holding the opinion that the former writer was not distinguished for his literary integrity. However that may be, it is clear that so late a tradition respecting the authorship of the earlier play cannot fairly be held to outweigh the decisive testimonies of Shakespeare's own contemporaries.

No. 27. In the Christmas holidays.—The performance here mentioned took place on the evening of December the 26th, at Whitehall. “1604 and 1605—Edmund Tylney—on St. Stephens night *Mesure for Mesur* by Shaxberd, performed by the King's players,” old notes of the Audit Records taken for Malone about the year 1800. “For makeinge readie the halle at Whitehalle for the Kinge, for the plaies againste

Christmas, by the space of iiii.^{or} daies in the same moneth, lxxviii.s. viij.d." MS. Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1604.

No. 28. A great dislike.—James the First had long exhibited a taste for seclusion. As early as the year 1586, a contemporary alludes to "his desire to withdraw himself from places of most access and company, to places of more solitude and repose, with very small retinue." A similar feeling pervaded his movements after he had ascended the throne of these realms, and in his progress from Edinburgh to London, "he was faine," observes the writer of *A True Narration of the Entertainment of his Royall Majestie*, 1603, "to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and dayly access of peoples comming." In his "publick appearance," observes Wilson, "especially in his sports, the accesses of the people made him so impatient that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with curses."

No. 29. Merely out of deference.—There seems to be no other solution of the problem at all feasible. The trivial historical allusions, if they are to be seriously received as evidences of the date of action, would place the comedy between the two parts of Henry the Fourth and the drama of Henry the Fifth; but its complete isolation from those plays offers the best means of deliverance from the perplexity created by those references. Arguments on any other basis will only land us, to use the words of Mrs. Quickly, "into such a canaries as 'tis wonderful." This woman, she of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, is an essentially different character from her namesake of the historical plays, and is positively introduced into the former as a stranger to Sir John, without the slightest reference to the memories of the Boar's Head tavern. All this leads to the inference that the small connexion to be traced between the comedy and the historical plays is to be attributed to the necessity of at least a specious compliance with the wishes of the Queen, and this is as much as can fairly be said even in regard to the love-adventures of Falstaff. Then, again, there are traces in the play itself of its composition having been subjected to external influence.

No. 30. At the desire of the Queen.—With respect to the degree of credibility to be given to Rowe's version of the Falstaff anecdote, much will depend upon the importance to be attached to the subsequent discovery of a confirmatory fact which was unknown to that biographer. There is no reason to believe that the first edition of the *Merry Wives* had been seen by any writers of the eighteenth century until a copy of it came into the hands of Theobald about the year 1731. See a letter from that critic to Warburton in MS. Egerton 1956. According to the title-page of that edition, the comedy, in 1602, had "bene divers times acted by the Right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants, both before her Majestie and elsewhere." This is the only known contemporary evidence that it was ever performed before Queen Elizabeth,

although the internal references to Windsor Castle in connexion with that Sovereign would suggest the probability of its having been written with a view to its performance before the Court.

No. 31. In the brief space of a fortnight.—This tradition was first recorded by Dennis in the dedication to the Comical Gallant, 1702, in which he says, referring to the Merry Wives of Windsor and Queen Elizabeth—"this comedy was written at her command, and by her direction, and she was so eager to see it acted that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days; and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleas'd at the representation," and in the prologue, he repeats the assertion that Shakespeare's comedy was written in the short space of fourteen days. Rowe, in 1709, speaking of Queen Elizabeth, says,—"she was so well pleased with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded him (Shakespeare) to continue it for one play more, and to show him in love; this is said to be the occasion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor." This evidence was followed by that of Gildon, who, in his Remarks, 1710, p. 291, observes that "the fairys in the Fifth Act makes a handsome complement to the Queen, in her palace of Windsor, who had oblig'd him to write a play of Sir John Falstaff in love, and which I am very well assured he perform'd in a fortnight; a prodigious thing, when all is so well contriv'd and carry'd on without the least confusion." Gildon here says nothing of the incentive created by the original attractions of the theatrical Falstaff, but Elizabeth could not very well have commanded a portrayal of the fat knight in love if she had not been previously introduced to him in another character. Pope, Theobald, and later editors, appear to have taken their versions of the tradition second-hand from their predecessors. Rowe's version of the anecdote is, as usual with him, the one most cautiously written, and therefore that to be preferred; but still there is no reason for disbelieving the assertions of the others to the extent that the play was written with great celerity. So much can be accepted, without absolutely crediting the asserted short limit of the fortnight; and Dennis's authority on that point must be considered to be somewhat weakened by the fact that, in his Letters, ed. 1721, p. 232, he reduces the period to ten days. It is at the same time to be remembered that extreme rapidity of composition was not unusual with the dramatists of the Shakespearean period.

No. 32. Brevity of time.—The wording of the entries is somewhat obscure, but it would seem, from two in Henslowe's Diary, that in August, 1598, Munday undertook to write a play for the Court, and Drayton gave "his worde for the boocke to be done within one fortnight." On the third of December, 1597, Ben Jonson apparently had only the plot of one of his dramas ready, and yet he engaged to complete it before the following Christmas, that is, in three weeks.

No. 33. *A catchpenny publisher.*—It is worthy of remark that, in the title-page of the quarto, Parson Evans is termed in error *the Welch Knight*, a mistake which could hardly have emanated from any one acquainted with the play, and shows that the title was probably compiled, in all its attractive dignity, by the publisher. There is no other contemporary edition of any of the plays of Shakespeare in the title-page of which so many flattering notices of characters are introduced.

No. 34. *A very defective copy.*—The first edition, in every respect an irregular performance, is considered by some critics to be an imperfect copy of a very hastily written original sketch of the comedy. Were this the case, surely there would be found passages unmistakably derived from Shakespeare's pen, adapted solely to that original, and intentionally omitted in a reconstruction of the play; but, instead of this, the quarto consists for the most part of imperfect transcripts of speeches that are found in the authentic drama. The few re-written portions are of very inferior power, and it would be difficult to imagine that they could not have been the work of some other hand. One of these, where Falstaff is tormented by the pretended fairies in Windsor Park, the most favourable of the pieces which are clearly derived from another source, exhibits few, if any, traces of genius. As for the other original fragments in the quarto, they are hardly worthy of serious consideration, and some of the lines in them are poor and despicable. There are indications that the botcher was fully acquainted with Shakespeare's play of Henry the Fourth, several phrases being evidently borrowed from it. "When Pistol lies, do this," is a line found in Johnson's quarto and in the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, but not in the perfect copy of the Merry Wives. The same may also be said of such expressions as *woolsack* and *iniquity*, as applied to Falstaff, neither of which are to be traced in the first folio. Sometimes, also, Shakespeare's own expressions are employed in wrong places to suit the editor's purpose; and oversights, some of the greatest magnitude, occur in nearly every page. The succession of scenes, however, is exactly the same as in the larger play, although not so divided, with the exception of the fourth and fifth scenes of the third act, which are transposed. The first scene of the fourth act, and the first four scenes of the fifth act in the folio edition, are entirely omitted in the quarto. Amongst the numerous other indications of an imperfect publication, attention may be drawn to the introduction of Bardolph in the second stage-direction, while he is entirely omitted in the business of the scene; and to the incident of the Doctor's sending a challenge to Evans being altogether inexplicable without the assistance derived from the more perfect version. Several other speeches and devices are of so extremely an inartificial and trivial a character, it can scarcely be imagined but that some inferior writer of the time was concerned with the publication.

No. 35. *Written before the production of Henry the Fifth.*—The foreign swindlers, who are facetiously termed cousin-germans by Parson Evans in ed. 1623, are alluded to in ed. 1602 as “three sorts of cosen *garmombles*,” the last word being reasonably conjectured to be an allusion in some way by metathesis to Count *Mompelgard*, the second title of the Duke of Wirtemberg. This nobleman paid a visit to England in 1592, being then known under the former designation, for he did not succeed to the dukedom until the following year. He was ceremoniously received by Queen Elizabeth at Reading, leaving that place for Windsor escorted by a person of rank who was specially deputed by her Majesty to show him every mark of attention. He remained only two days in the latter town, proceeding thence, under the guidance of one or more members of the royal household, to the palace at Hampton Court. There was clearly no opportunity during these excursions between Reading and Hampton Court for the perpetration of the *garmoble* rogueries, and the same remark will apply to the conditions under which he travelled from London through Colebrook and Maidenhead. From the minute account of these occurrences, which was published at Tubingen in 1602, it seems that the Queen sent one of her own carriages expressly to London for the use of the distinguished stranger, and that he had driven in it to Reading “with several post-horses,” but not a word is said respecting his having then had an authority for engaging them without payment. Even if there had been such an exercise of tyrannical privilege, it was of far too usual a kind to have elicited the references in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and that the Count himself would have sanctioned a disreputable personal fraud is, under the circumstances, altogether incredible; the rather also from the fact of his having been accompanied the whole distance by one of the Queen’s pages of honour. If, as is most probable, Shakespeare alludes to real events, it may be concluded that, on some other occasion, three Germans, staying at the Garter Inn as retainers of a Duke Mompelgard, pretended that they had to meet him in his progress from London towards the Court, and, by that stratagem, managed to run off with the poor innkeeper’s horses, defrauding him at the same time of his charges for a week’s luxurious maintenance. Now it seems that when Breuning was the special ambassador to this country from Wirtemberg in 1595, he ascertained that one Stammler had previously appeared with fictitious credentials before the Queen as an envoy from the Duke. This impudent knave, who was ultimately “banished the kingdom on account of his discreditable tricks,” was still in England in the latter part of that year, and was evidently suspected of indulging in nefarious equine transactions. It appears that Breuning, having received private information that Stammler was making enquiries respecting a horse with an ostensible view to its purchase, consulted La Fontaine on

the matter, and, by his advice, "employed some one to watch him, giving orders that he should be arrested if he showed any signs of an intention to levant." Some of these particulars will be found in Rye's England as seen by Foreigners, 1865, and others are given by Herr Kurz in his *Altes und Neues, zu Shakspeare's Leben und Schaffen*, 1868. La Fontaine arrived in England in October, 1595, as *Chargé des affaires du Roi en l'absence d'Ambassadeur*; App. Publ. Rec. Rep., xxxvii., 187. No exact record of Stammler's delinquencies has come to light, but it is by no means impossible that he may have been the ringleader in the deceptions practised on mine Host of the Garter. Whether this were the case or not, no legitimate inference respecting the date of Shakespeare's composition is to be drawn from the allusions to the transactions of the Germans. When the great dramatist was at Windsor he may have heard a full account of the story in the form in which it is introduced into the comedy, for it should be remembered that, in those days of restricted intercourse, unusual incidents of all kinds would continue to be subjects of local gossip for years after their occurrence.

No. 36. A new drama.—This fact is ascertained from Henslowe's Diary, the letters N.E., that is, New Enterlude, being attached to the note of the performance, which realised the then large sum of three pounds sixteen shillings and five pence.

No. 37. On unquestionable authority.—That of Robert Greene who, in his *Groatsworth of Wit*, written in or shortly before August, 1592, mentions Shakespeare as an *upstart crow*, a phrase altogether inconsistent with the opinion that the authorial career of the latter had been initiated any length of time previously to the appearance of that work.

No. 38. Month of July.—Nash's *Pierce Penilesse*, the work here alluded to, was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company on August the 8th, 1592. The words of Nash, those in which he calls Talbot the Terror of the French, viewed in connection with the entries in Henslowe's Diary, not only prove that he refers to the drama which was produced in March, but that the latter was, in all probability, the First Part of Henry the Sixth; that is to say, if it be conceded that Greene quotes from the Third Part in the *Groatsworth of Wit* published in the following September.

No. 39. Collective Edition of 1623.—The omissions, discrepancies, transpositions, and repetitions, found in this edition of the Second and Third Parts, merely show that the latter was printed from theatrical copies in which there were numerous erasures and alterations. Both plays, in reference to these peculiarities, should be considered together. In one instance, at least, a speech which occurs in the First Part of the *Contention* and in the Second Part of Henry the Sixth is repeated nearly word for word in the Third Part of the latter, but is not inserted

in the True Tragedie,—“Hold, Warwick, seek thee out,” &c., 2 Henry VI., act v. sc. 2. The careless manner in which the folio copies have been edited is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than in the lines respecting the Castle Tavern, a speech which in that edition is obviously an imperfect transcript. Malone, referring to the obviously incorrect repetitions in ed. 1623, considers that they arose “from Shakespeare’s first copying his original as it lay before him, and afterwards, in subsequent passages, added to the old matter, introducing expressions which had struck him in preceding scenes.” This deduction is not sustained on a careful examination, for repetitions also occur in the quartos. It is unsafe to rest arguments either on these or on verbal indications, but one of the latter, *fore-spent* in the edition of 1623, printed *sore spent* in that of 1595, may possibly imply the priority of the text of the former.

No 40. A garbled and spurious version.—This theory appears to present fewer difficulties than any other that has been advanced to meet the singular perplexities of the case. As some of this version was probably taken in short-hand at the theatre, and that in the folio printed from a theatrical copy that had been tampered with, it is most likely that some lines of Shakespeare’s are peculiar to the former. There are several that he could hardly have rejected had he been merely composing an alteration of the First Part of the Contention. The internal evidence is strongly in favour of the Second Part of Henry the Sixth, although of course it may have been retouched by the author after its first production, being one of Shakespeare’s earliest plays. That part of young Clifford’s speech commencing, “Meet I an infant of the house of York,” is in itself almost decisive as to this point, while it is an essential portion of a noble harangue, the other lines of which may or may not have been subject to revision. It is also worth notice that there are a larger number of decided archaisms in the Second Part of Henry the Sixth than there are in the First Part of the Contention; and as there are good reasons for believing that the manuscript of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was in existence in 1594, it is most extremely unlikely, in such a case, that copies of the other parts, as written by Shakespeare, were not in the actors’ hands at the same period.

No. 41. By Millington.—Both parts of the Contention had been assigned by Millington to Pavier in April, 1602, the latter entering them upon the books of the Stationers’ Company on that occasion, *salvo jure cujuscunque*, as “the first and second parte of henry the vi. t. ii. bookes;” a mistake for the First and Second Parts of the Contention. There appears to be something mysterious in the Latin words, and it is curious that Pavier should have kept the two plays till the year 1619 without a republication. The entry is, however, important, for it clearly shows that, as early as 1602, the present title of Henry the Sixth had superseded

the older one. Pavier's first edition appeared as "the Whole Contention betweene the two famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke."

No. 42. The earliest record.—Taking Greene's words in their contextual and natural sense, he first alludes to Shakespeare as an actor, one "beautified with our feathers," that is, one who acts in their plays, then to the poet as a writer just commencing to try his hand at blank verse, and, finally, to him as not only engaged in both those capacities but in any other in which he might be useful to the company. If Greene had intended, as some think, to accuse Shakespeare of pilfering from his works, or from those of other contemporaries, it may be assumed that he would have made the charge in far more direct terms. *Moreover, the particular satire, which was evidently aimed at Shakespeare, would have lost its significance if the words of any other writer had been travestied.* The attack of Greene's, plainly interpreted, is a decisive proof of Shakespeare's authorship of the line, and hence, by fair inference, of the speech in which it occurs.

No 43. A surreptitious and tinkered version of the Third Part.—There is almost conclusive evidence that the first folio text of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth was in existence at least as early as the year 1594, and, therefore, before the publication of the True Tragedie, Gabriel Spencer and Humphrey Jeffes, two of the subordinate actors in the former, having continued in the Lord Admiral's Company after that period. It is obviously most unlikely that the manuscript of the play should have been left with that company after Shakespeare had joined the Lord Chamberlain's, there being every reason for believing that those two companies acted altogether independently of each other after the year 1594. Gabriel acted the Messenger in the second scene of the first act, as appears from the text of ed. 1623. It seems that he was popularly known by his Christian name, being so noticed in a list of the Lord Admiral's Company in October, 1597, by Henslowe in 1598, and again in the complimentary reminiscences of deceased players in Heywood's Apology for Actors, 1612. On October the 2nd, 1597, a warrant was issued "to the keeper of the Marshalsea, to release Gabriell Spencer and Robert Shaa, stage-players, out of prison, who were of late committed to his custodie," most probably for debts. Although Gabriel had an interest in the profits of the company to which he belonged, it appears that in the later part of his career he was in pecuniary difficulties, being compelled to be constantly borrowing money on his promissory notes, and once at least on the pawn of a jewel. He met with an untimely death in 1598, when, having challenged Ben Jonson, he was killed by the latter in a duel. This unfortunate event took place in the fields near Hoxton, then a straggling country village, and the regret of Henslowe at his loss is thus expressed in a letter to Allen dated on the 26th of September,—“sence yow weare with me I have loste one of my

company, which hurteth me greatley, that is, Gabrell, for he is slayen in Hogesden fylldes by the hands of Bengemen Jonson, bricklayer," Dulwich MS. The poor actor's burial is thus recorded in the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,—“Gabriell Spencer, being slayne, was buried the xxiiij.th of September,” a note adding that his residence was in Hog Lane, a street in the vicinity of the northern theatres. Two other actors, Humphrey and Sinklow, undertook the parts of the two Keepers in the first scene of the third act of the Third Part of Henry the Sixth, their names being attached to the speeches of those characters in the edition of 1623. Humphrey Jeffes, the person here alluded to, acted, in or before the year 1592, in a drama called the First Part of Tamber Can, and he was one of the Lord Admiral's Company acting in Peele's Battle of Alcazar about the year 1594. Henslowe mentions him as a half-sharer in the same company in 1598, he and his brother Anthony having one share between them. He was one of the actors in the play of the Six Yeomen of the West in 1601, and in that year he appears to have been residing in Southwark,—“Marye Jeffes, d. of Humphrey, a player,” Baptisms, St. Saviour's, Southwark, 25 Jan. 1600-1. When most of the Lord Admiral's actors transferred their services to Prince Henry in 1603, Humphrey Jeffes and his brother were members of the new company, and they marched in the procession of James the First through London, 1604; Lord Chamberlain's MS. Early in the year 1613, a few weeks after the death of the Prince, whose funeral he attended, Humphrey became one of the servants of the Elector Palatine, in which company he remained until two or three years before his death. “Humphrie Jeffes, plaiër,” Burials at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 21 August, 1618. It may be just worth a note to add that he was one of the players summoned before the Privy Council in March, 1616, for joining in stage-performances during Lent. Little, however, as there is known of the history of this actor, still less has been discovered respecting his fellow-player, Sinklow, who is generally, and perhaps rightly, presumed to be the John Sincler, one of the performers with Burbage and others in the Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins, a drama originally produced some time before September, 1588. Sinklow was a subordinate member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company at least as early as the year 1600, for he is introduced into the first edition of the Second Part of Henry the Fourth as having enacted the part of a Beadle in that drama, and he was one of the company of itinerant players in the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew, no doubt acting in the comedy itself. He appears also in the Induction to the Malcontent, 1604, where he is introduced with several of the King's Players, and takes the part of a rich gallant who wishes to indulge in the dignity of having a stool on the stage. With respect to his capabilities as an actor, nothing can safely be inferred from the graceful compliment paid

by the Lord to the Second Player in the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew, for it is of course possible that Shakespeare had written that episode before he knew the distribution of the parts. The character of Soto, therein alluded to, was probably one in an early drama which is no longer in existence, certainly not the personage so named who is introduced in Fletcher's *Women Pleased*.

No. 44. The Earl of Pembroke's Servants.—And no doubt produced by that company. It is to be observed that, however occasionally mendacious in other respects, the title-pages of the earliest impressions of old quartos are generally excellent authorities for the names of the companies by whom the plays were first acted.

No. 45. Had outlived the possibility.—Mr. Swinburne, in an eloquent criticism, is of opinion that the lines which open the fourth act of the Second Part, and are not to be found in the version of 1594, are indisputably by Marlowe. "It is inconceivable," he observes, "that any imitator but one should have had the power so to catch the very trick of his hand, the very note of his voice, and incredible that the one who might would have set himself to do so," a *Study of Shakespeare*, 1880, p. 52. But if Shakespeare, as is most probable, wrote those lines in the year 1592, he may not at that time have outlived the possibility referred to in the text. It is worth notice that there are a few striking coincidences of language, especially in the passage respecting the wild Oneil, to be traced in Marlowe's *Edward the Second* and the *Contention* plays of 1594 and 1595; and also that a line from the *Jew of Malta* is found in the Third Part of *Henry the Sixth*, but not in the *True Tragedie*. The transference of occasional lines from one writer by another was, however, too common a practice of the day to prove much in the way of authorship, or to involve a serious charge of plagiarism.

No. 46. The quarto editions.—"The old copies," observes Dr. Johnson, "are so apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reason for supposing them the first draughts of Shakespeare; I am inclined to believe them copies taken by some auditor who wrote down, during the representation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and, when he had, by this method, formed something like a play, sent it to the printer." This auditor would have taken down his notes in short-hand. In plain words, the quartos are jumbles composed of parts of the original play made up with other matter supplied by some wretched hack, the whole abounding in obvious inaccuracies. An endeavour to unravel the precise history of such relics, printed in those days of commonplace books compiled from short-hand notes taken at the theatres, must necessarily be futile. Some of the trifling additions to and variations from the texts of 1594 and 1595, found in the editions of 1600 and 1619, may perhaps be attributed to the use of such materials.

These additions appear for the most part to be such as might be the work of the poorest of botchers, but there is one line, peculiar to ed. 1619,—“ Under pretence of outward seeming ill,”—which is greatly in Shakespeare’s manner.

No. 47. Blundering.—Some of the evidences which have been adduced to show that the quartos were either very early productions of Shakespeare, or the works of elder writers, are really instances of unskilful and obtuse attempts to supply the place of imperfect notes or recollections.

No. 48. A secondary title.—If so, All’s Well that Ends Well, a comedy first heard of under that title in 1623, would seem to have the fairest claim, but it is not likely to have been written so early as 1598. Assuming that the mysterious letter E of the first folio refers to Ecclestone, All’s Well must have been produced some time before August the 29th, 1611, on which day he is mentioned as belonging to a company with which Shakespeare had no connexion. It has been plausibly suggested that Cowley was another of the original performers in this drama, and that Parolles jocularly alludes to his name when he addresses the Clown as “good monsieur Lavatch,” meaning, probably, *la vache*. The latter was an ancient English surname, “Sire Phylpe la Vache knyht” being mentioned in a document of 1404 printed in Blount’s Law Dictionary, ed. 1717, in v. *Will*.

No. 49. Richard the Third.—A Latin drama on the subject of Richard the Third, written by Dr. Thomas Legge, was acted at St. John’s College, Cambridge, as early as the year 1579, and long continued in favour with scholastic audiences; but the earliest known English play on this reign, probably one only of several, is entitled the True Tragedie of Richard the Third, which was published in 1594. There is only one line in this production,—“a horse, a horse, a fresh horse,”—which bears a great resemblance to any in Shakespeare’s, but, if the great dramatist adapted his from a previous work, it is possible that he remembered what the Moor says in Peele’s *Battle of Alcazar*, 1594,—“a horse, a horse, villaine, a horse!” Another piece on the same history, one which has unfortunately long since perished, is thus alluded to in a little volume of excessive rarity entitled, *A New Booke of Mistakes, or Bulls with Tales and Buls without Tales, but no lyes by any meanes*, 1637,—“In the play of Richard the Third, the Duke of Buckingham, being betrayed by his servant Banister, a messenger, comming hastily into the presence of the King to bring him word of the Duke’s surprizall, Richard asking him, what newes?, he replied,—My leige, the Duke of *Banister* is tane, =And *Buckingham* is come for his reward.” The high probability of Shakespeare’s drama having been founded on an anterior one encourages the belief that the first of the lines just given belonged, in its genuine form, to the older play. The

former work was most likely produced in 1597, for, according to the title-page of the first quarto, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in October, it had then been "*lately* acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants," and the company did not re-assume the title until the April of that year. The first edition is without the author's name, but the second appeared in 1598 as a drama written "by William Shakespeare," both published by Wise, who issued other editions in 1598 and 1602, and the copyright remained in his hands until June, 1603, when it was transferred to Matthew Law, who published the subsequent quartos of 1605 and 1612. Few plays of the time attained a greater popularity, and, amongst the evidences of this, may be specially noticed one in a poem entitled the Ghost of Richard the Third, 1614, in which the author makes the King refer to Shakespeare in the following elegant panegyric,—“To him that impt my fame with Clio's quill,=Whose magick rais'd me from oblivions den,=That writ my storie on the Muses' hill,=And with my actions dignifi'd his pen ;=He that from Helicon sends many a rill,=Whose nectared veines are drunke by thirstie men ;=Crown'd be his stile with fame, his head with bayes,=And none detract, but gratulate his praise.”

No. 50. Dick Burbage.—Manningham, writing in the early part of the year 1602, alludes to Burbage's impersonation of Richard the Third, and in the *Return from Parnassus*, composed about the same time, he is introduced as selecting the character for an exercise to enable him to test the tragic powers of a Cambridge student. See the extracts from that play in the collection of *Theatrical Evidences*.

No. 51. Satirized.—That this was his intention would appear from an allusion in the *Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601,—“But, harke, I heare the cynicke satyre crie,=A man, a man, a kingdome for a man.” In *Parasitaster*, 1606, Marston introduces, with slight variations, the line,—“Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,”—evidently with an intention of ridiculing it.

No. 52. One of the first dramas.—The first appearance of a “new ballad” on the subject of a popular drama is a probable indication of its following shortly after the production of the latter on the stage. Edward White entered “a newe ballad of Romeo and Juliett” on the books of the Stationers' Company on August the 5th, 1596, the ballad having in all probability been written and published in consequence of the success of Shakespeare's drama produced in the early summer of that year. No copy of the former is now known to exist, but it seems that one came under the notice of Warton about the middle of the last century, as appears from the following note by that critic in the Appendix to the first volume of Johnson's edition of Shakespeare, 1765,—“a ballad is still remaining on the subject of Romeo and Juliet, which, by the date, appears to be much older than Shakespeare's time.”

It is remarkable that all the particulars in which that play differs from the story in *Bandello* are found in this ballad."

No. 53. Which was produced at the Curtain Theatre.—With respect to the evidences for the date of the production of the tragedy it is important to exclude that which has been supposed to be gathered from a notice in Weever's *Epigrammes*, 1599. It is stated by the author that these poems were written before he had attained the age of twenty,—“that twenty twelve months yet did never know,”—that is to say, before 1596 or 1597, as may be gathered from a note in *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 900. This statement of early authorship must, however, be taken with some qualification, for one of the pieces, an elegy on the death of Spenser, could not have been composed before the date of publication, 1599. As Weever does not particularize which of the poems were written at the earlier period to which he refers, it is obvious that the elegy may not be the only one of a later date, and that it would be unsafe to conclude that the verses addressed to Shakespeare were amongst the former.

No. 54. The play of the season.—It is scarcely necessary to observe that this notion is chiefly founded upon the well-known lines of Marston in the *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598. Then there is also the direct assertion of Danter, in 1597, that the tragedy had then been *often* played with “great applause,” a statement which may be readily trusted, for otherwise that shiftily publisher would not have incurred the risk and trouble attendant on the production of a surreptitious copy; and it is worth notice that there is no other instance of the use of the word *often* in the title-pages of the life-time editions.

No. 55. Several early allusions.—One telling line in the tragedy is quoted nearly literally by Porter in a drama acted in the same year,—“He rather have her married to her grave,” *Two Angrie Women of Abington*, 1599. Allot, in his *Englands Parnassus*, 1600, cites *Romeo and Juliet* much oftener than he does any other of Shakespeare's plays; but it may be worth observing that there are sophistications of the text in some of his extracts. Bodenham, in his *Bel-vedere*, also published in 1600, gives several quotations, and Nicholson, in the same year, in his *Acolastus his After-Witte*, 1600, garbles a line as follows,—“Thrust in a frozen corner of the North.” The notion of Jove laughing at lovers' perjuries became a favourite idea. It is quoted in the comedy of *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602, and again by Day, in his *Humour out of Breath*, 1608. *Romeo and Juliet* is cited more than once in *Decker's Satiro-Mastix*, 1602, and other quotations from it are to be found in *Blurt Master Constable*, 1602, *Achelley's Massacre of Money*, 1602, and in *Marston's Malcontent*, 1604. There likewise appear to be some recollections of the tragedy in *Ram Alley*, first printed in 1611.

No. 56. As You Like It.—The comedy is not mentioned by Meres in 1598, and the earliest notice of it by name occurs in one of the volumes of the Stationers' registers, on a leaf which does not belong to the proper series of the registers, but contains irregular entries, prohibitions, &c. In this leaf, between two other notes, the first dated in May, 1600, and the other in January, 1603, is a notice of *As You Like It*, under August the 4th, "to be staied," this memorandum no doubt to be referred to the year 1600, Shakespeare's plays of *Henry the Fifth* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, and Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, the only other plays noticed in that entry, having been licensed in the same month of that year. It is improbable that the prohibition would have been applied for or recorded after the publication of those dramas, and it may reasonably be concluded that the objection was removed shortly after the date of the entry, it being possibly of such doubtful validity that the clerk did not consider it advisable to make a formal note of it in the body of the register.

No. 57. One of its ditties.—Although Morley does not expressly claim his title to the words that are set to music in his *First Booke of Ayres*, 1600, he neither in his dedication or preface insinuates that he had borrowed a single line, while the song of the "lover and his lass" is of the same description with others found in that work. This latter fact, taken by itself, would have thrown grave doubts on the Shakespearean authorship of that song, but that it was written by the great dramatist for the comedy is shown by its analogy to one found near the conclusion of the foundation-tale, *Euphues Golden Legacie*.

No. 58. This interesting plan.—There are numerous engravings which are stated to be plans of the metropolis as it existed in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but Norden's is the only one of undoubted accuracy. It was engraved by Pieter Vanden Keere in 1593, and that the survey was executed, or at least completed, in the same year, appears from the following memorandum,—*Joannes Norden Anglus descripsit anno 1593*,—being inserted after the list of references. The copy of the plan given in the text has been carefully taken from a fine example of the original engraving, but there have been several imitations of it, and one so-called facsimile, all of which are inaccurate and worthless. Underneath the engraving is the following list of streets and buildings,—*a.* Bushops gate streete; *b.* Papie; *c.* Alhallowes in the wall; *d.* S. Taphyns; *e.* Sylver streete; *f.* Aldermanburye; *g.* Barbican; *h.* Aldersgate streete; *i.* Charterhowse; *k.* Holborne Conduct; *l.* Chauncery lane; *m.* Temple barr; *n.* Holbourn; *o.* Grayes Inn lane; *p.* S. Androwes; *q.* Newgate; *r.* S. Jones; *s.* S. Nic. shambels; *t.* Cheap syde; *u.* Bucklers burye; *w.* Brodestreete; *x.* The stockes; *y.* The Exchange; *z.* Cornehill; 2.^o Colmanstreete; 3. Bassings hall; 4. Honnsditch; 5. Leaden hall; 6. Gratiuous streete; 7. Heneage

house ; 8. Fanchshurche ; 9. Marke lane ; 10. Minchyn lane ; 11. Paules ; 12. Eastcheape ; 13. Fleetstreete ; 14. Fetter lane ; 15. S. Dunshous ; 16. Themes streete ; 17. London stone ; 18. Olde Baylye ; 19. Clerkenwell ; 20. Winchester house ; 21. Battle bridge ; 22. Bermodsoy[®] streete. There are but two other surveys of London belonging to the reigns of Elizabeth and James which can be considered to be of any authority. One of these is a very large one of uncertain date, executed on wood and generally attributed to Aggas, which was first issued in the time of Queen Elizabeth and reproduced in the reign of her successor. The other plan is an engraving on a much smaller scale, published by Braun at Cologne in 1572 from a survey evidently made before 1561, the steeple of St. Paul's, destroyed in that year, being introduced. Neither of these maps appear to be copies of absolutely original surveys taken for the object of publication, there being indications which lead to the conclusion either that they are alterations of a plan which was executed some years previously, or that the latter was used in their formation. Aggas's is the only one of the time which represents the City with minuteness of detail, and it is unfortunate that its value should be impaired by this uncertainty. That there is much, however, in it on the fidelity of which reliance can be placed is unquestionable, but the survey of the locality in which the Theatre and Curtain were situated must have been taken before 1576, the year in which the former was erected, for the artist engaged in a plan on such a large scale could not have failed to have introduced so conspicuous a building, had it then been in existence.

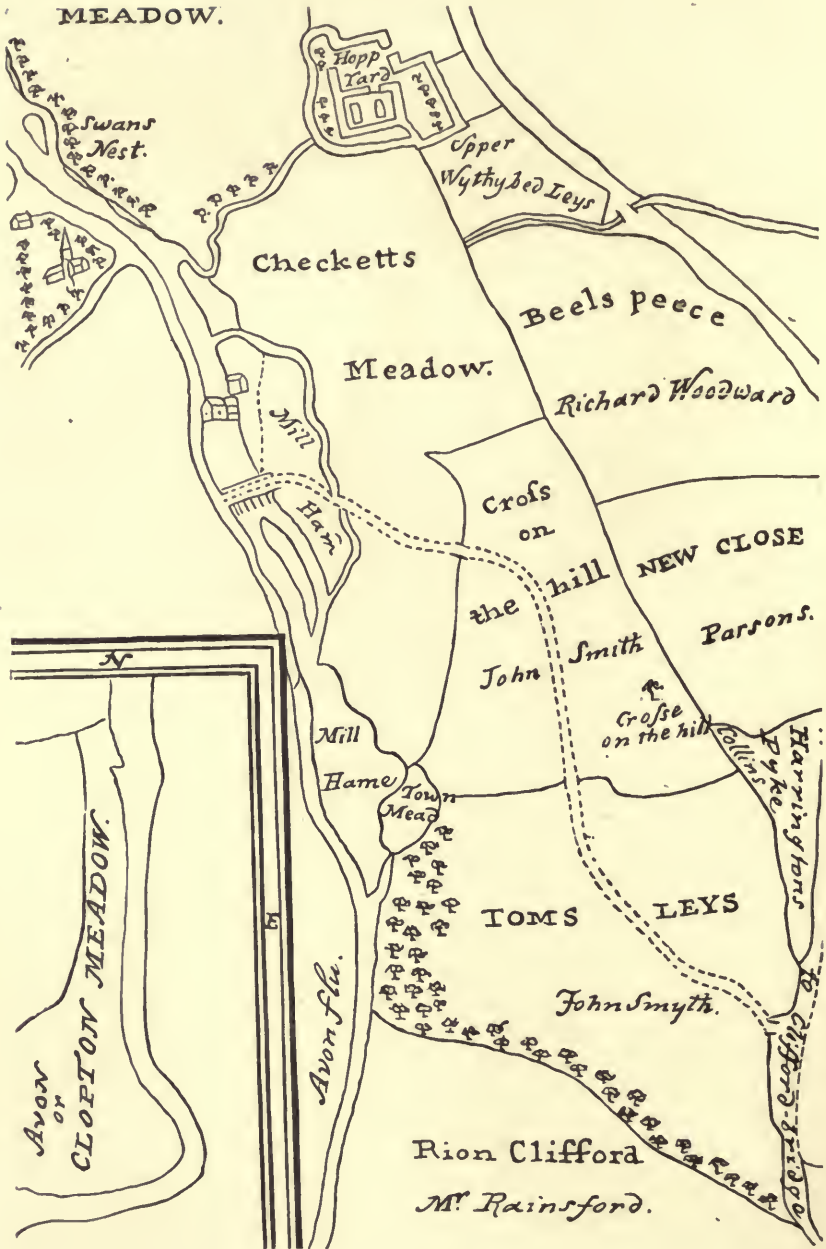
No. 59. The absence of a genuine sketch of New Place.—The engraving of this house, as it is said to have existed in 1599, and published by Malone in 1790 as taken “from a drawing in the margin of an ancient survey made by order of Sir George Carew, afterwards Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totness, and found at Clopton near Stratford-upon-Avon in 1786,” is either a modern forgery, or at least no representation of Shakespeare's residence. Neither the Carews nor the Cloptons had any kind of interest in New Place in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and it is in the highest degree improbable that a representation of it should have been attached in 1599 to a plan of an estate that was situated in another locality. Malone's copy of the view was not taken from the original, but from a drawing furnished by Jordan, from whom another one, published by Ireland in 1795, was also derived. Although the latter has several important variations from the other, it is clearly meant for a copy of the same view, for Ireland describes it as having been taken “from an old drawing of one Robert Treswell's made in 1599 by order of Sir George Carew, afterwards Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totness ; it was found in Clopton House in 1786, and was in the possession of the late Mrs. Patriche,

who was the last of the antient family of the Cloptons; the drawing, I am informed, is since lost or destroyed," Picturesque Views on the Avon, 1795, p. 197. The fact of such an early drawing being in existence in 1786 rests entirely on Jordan's vulnerable testimony, "diligent enquiries" instituted by the late R. B. Wheler a few years afterwards yielding no collateral evidence in support of his assertions. There was, however, at Clopton House a large plan of the family estates delineated by Robert Treswell alias Somersett in April, 1599, which in all probability suggested the pretended discovery of a contemporary drawing of New Place on the margin of such a survey. It is an interesting map of those Clopton estates which were situated on the eastern side of the Avon, and could never have included the representation of a house in Chapel Lane.

No. 60. Its continued popularity.—This may be concluded, not merely from the lines of Digges, but from the familiar quotations from the comedy in Heywood's *Fayre Mayde of the Exchange*, 1607, and in several other contemporary plays. It appears, from the title-page of the quarto edition, that *Much Ado about Nothing* had been performed by the Lord Chamberlain's company either in or before the year 1600; but the only early notice of the performance of the comedy yet discovered is that in the accounts of Lord Stanhope, in which it is stated that it was one of the dramas performed at Court in the year 1613. From a subsequent entry of the same date we learn that the comedy was also played under the appellation of *Benedick and Beatrice*. Digges alludes to those characters as the special favourites of the public, and there can be no doubt but that their adventures, and the ludicrous representation of the process of their conversion to mutual affection, attract the principal attention both of the reader and the audience, and that the impression made even by the inimitable blundering of the constables is but secondary.

No. 61. The constables.—Kemp was the original representative of Dogberry, and Cowley of Verges, as appears from the prefixes to a number of speeches in ed. 1600. Kemp, who is termed in a manuscript diary of February, 1600, "a player in interludes, and partly the Queenes Majesties jester," appears to have left Shakespeare's company some time before the following August, his successor being another favourite clown, Robert Armin. That the latter at one time acted Dogberry is clear from the following passage in the Dedication to his *Italian Taylor and his Boy*, 1609,—“pardon, I pray you, the boldnes of a begger who hath been writ downe for an asse in his time, and pleades under *forma pauperis* in it still, notwithstanding his constableness and office.”

No. 62. The eccentric biographer.—Aubrey, whose nature it was to blunder, had forgotten the names both of the character and the play, and speaks of ‘the constable in a *Midsummer's Night's Dream*,’ adding



the gratuitous observation,—“I think it was Midsummer Night that he (Shakespeare) happened to lie there.”

No. 63. Taken from an old farce.—The earliest notice of this play yet discovered occurs in the register of the Stationers' Company for May the 2nd, 1594, when there was entered to a printer named Short, “a booke intituled a plesant conceyted hystorie called the Tayminge of a Shrowe,” the published work bearing the title of,—“A Pleasant Conceited Historie called the Taming of a Shrew, as it was sundry times acted by the Right honorable the Earle of Pembrooke his servants,” 1594. A reprint of this edition was published by Burby in 1596, in which year the play is thus alluded to by Sir John Harington, —“for the shrewd wife, read the booke of Taming a Shrew, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that now every one can rule a shrew in our country save he that hath her,” *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596. Burby retained his interest in the comedy until January the 22nd, 1607, when the copyright was transferred to Ling, the latter shortly afterwards, that is to say, in the following November, assigning it to John Smethwick, who never seems to have considered it worth a reprint. It is certain that the note of the 22nd of January refers to the old play, a third edition of it having been published by Ling in 1607, and the *Taming of a Shrew* is also the title in both of the copyright entries made in 1642, after Smethwick's decease. When that publisher issued Shakespeare's drama in 1631, the fact merely shows that he preferred it to the other, for in those days it is not likely that there would have been any one to interfere, and it is, moreover, not impossible that the proceeding had the sanction of his colleagues, the proprietors of the first folio. The omission of the *Taming of the Shrew* in the copyright entry of 1623 can be plausibly accounted for. If Hemmings and Condell had submitted at the Hall a list of the plays in their folio edition, and the registration had been confided to an official who had no special acquaintance with dramatic literature, and who merely went through the books to ascertain which of the pieces had already been entered, nothing would have been more natural than a mistake in regard to two works all but identical in title, or than his conclusion that the Third was the only Part of Henry the Sixth that had not been registered.

No. 64. Some time before.—There is a passage in Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, nearly identical with a line in the *Taming of a Shrew*, but similarities of this description are rarely of value in a question of date. It is obvious to be as likely for the author of the comedy to have had Greene's words in his recollection, as for the latter to have quoted from the play.

No. 65. Solely of conjecture.—It is true that Rowlands, in his *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, makes a would-be Petruchio say,

in reference to his wife,—“The chiefest Art I have I will bestow—About a worke cald taming of the Shrow,” but the language does not appear sufficiently precise to warrant the conclusion that the author intended a reference to Shakespeare’s comedy. If he had contemplated such an allusion, it is most probable that the name of the play would have been given in Italics, the titles of songs alluded to in the same poem being so distinguished. Another possible test for the date of the Taming of the Shrew occurs in the edition of 1623, the speech of a person who is introduced as a Messenger being therein marked as delivered by one *Nicke*, Tooley being the only actor in the King’s company to whom that sobriquet can be referred. He is first mentioned as belonging to that company in May, 1605, but the slight part to which his name is attached may have been undertaken by him when, if ever, he was one of the subordinate actors whose names would not be found in the list of 1603.

No. 66. The Merchant of Venice.—The earliest notice which has yet been discovered of this comedy is that in the Stat. Reg. of July, 1598. No tangible reason for assigning its composition to an earlier year has been produced, but it may be mentioned that there are passages in the drama of Wily Beguiled which bear considerable similarity to others in the Merchant of Venice. Then arises the usual difficulty, in those instances at least in which resemblances can hardly be accidental, of determining the priority of composition; and there is no reliable evidence that the former play was anterior to Shakespeare’s. There is not, however, in Wily Beguiled a thought or expression of such peculiar excellence that any dramatist of the time could not have adopted it from recollection, unconsciously or otherwise, without incurring the smallest risk of a plagiarical imputation.

No. 67. The earliest editions.—The comedy was first printed in 1600 by Roberts, who, on October the 28th, transferred his interest in the copyright to Hayes, the latter issuing a second edition in the same year.

No. 68. Was produced in the season of 1601-2.—The obvious fact that the play was new to Manningham hardly bears on the question of date, for although he had evidently seen a performance of the Comedy of Errors, it would appear from his Diary that he was not an habitual frequenter of the theatres. As a rule, however, the dramas that were selected for representation at the Court and at the legal inns were pieces that had been recently introduced on the public stage. Shakespeare’s comedy was certainly written not very long before the performance at the Middle Temple, as may be gathered from the use which Shakespeare has made of the song,—“Farewell, dear love,”—a ballad which had first appeared in the previous year in the Booke of Ayres composed by Robert Jones, fol., Lond. 1601. Jones does not

profess to be the author of the words of this song, for he observes,—“If the ditties dislike thee, 'tis my fault that was so bold to publish the private contentments of divers gentlemen without their consents, though, I hope, not against their wils ;” but there is every reason to believe that the verses referred to in *Twelfth Night* were first published in this work, a collection of new, not of old songs. As the tune and ballad were evidently familiar to Shakespeare, the original of the portion to which he refers in the comedy is here given,—“Farewel, dear love, since thou wilt needs be gon,=Mine eies do shew my life is almost done ;—Nay, I will never die,=so long as I can spie ;=There be many mo,=though that she do go.=There be many mo, I feare not ;=Why, then, let her goe, I care not.—Farewell, farewell, since this I finde is true,=I will not spend more time in wooing you ;=But I will seeke elsewhere,=if I may find her there.=Shall I bid her goe ?=What and if I doe ?=Shall I bid her go and spare not ?=Oh, no, no, no, no, I dare not.”

No. 69. Most probably on January the Fifth.—That is, on *Twelfth Night*, 1602, a circumstance, however, which was thought so insufficient for the adoption of the title that liberty of substitution was freely offered. It is curious that Marston in 1607 should have chosen the second title of *Twelfth Night* for the appellation of one of his own comedies.

No. 70. In their beautiful hall.—The erection of the present hall, the interior of which measures a hundred by forty feet, was completed about the year 1577, the work occupying a long time, having been commenced at least as early as 1562. The exterior has undergone numerous changes since the time of Shakespeare, the old *louvre* having been removed many years ago, the principal entrance or porch rebuilt, and the whole exposed to a series of repairs and alterations. The main features of the interior, however, bear practically the same appearance which they originally presented. It is true that some of the minor accessories are of modern date, but the beautiful oaken screen and the elegant wood-carved roof suffice to convey to us a nearly exact idea of the room in which the humours of *Malvolio* delighted an Elizabethan audience.

No. 71. Leonard Digges.—This writer would seem to have blundered if he implies that *Malvolio* was in the same play with *Benedick* and *Beatrice*, as his words appear to indicate, but such an oversight on his part is almost incredible. It may be worth mentioning that *Twelfth Night* was acted, by the company to which the author had belonged, in February, 1623, under the title of *Malvolio*, and that it was performed at the *Blackfriars Theatre* after the children had left that establishment. The latter fact is gathered from its being included by *Sir William Davenant* amongst “some of the most ancient plays

that were playd at Blackfriars," MS. dated in 1660, a list which also includes the *Tempest*, *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry the Eighth*, *Lear*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*.

No. 72. Love's Labour's Lost.—It appears from the title-page of the first edition of this comedy, 1598, that it was acted before Queen Elizabeth in the Christmas holidays of the previous year, and the locality of the performance is ascertained from the following entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber,—“to Richard Brakenburie, for altering and making readie of soundrie chambers at Whitehall against Christmas, and for the plaies, and for making readie in the hall for her Majestie, and for altering and hanging of the chambers after Christmas daie, by the space of three daies, mense Decembris, 1597, viij.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.” The original impression of 1598 is not mentioned in the registers of the Stationers' Company, but, from the words “this last Christmas” on the title, it may be inferred that it was published early in that year. No notice of the copyright is found in those records until January, 1607, when it was transferred by Burby to Ling, who, in the following November, parted with the copyright to Smethwick, one of the proprietors of the first folio. This last-named publisher, however, seems to have preserved an independent ownership in the comedy, for it was published separately, under his auspices, in the year 1631, with the statement that it had been “acted by his Majesties Servants at the Blacke-Friers and the Globe.”

No. 73. Had not been re-written.—If it had been, the fragments of the earlier drama could not have been found in the impression of 1598, which was evidently printed from a corrected manuscript of the first version, a copy in which altered lines might have been written on the margins and the additions inserted on paper slips. The dramatists of the Shakespearean period frequently amended their plays for special occasions, but with rare exceptions it was not their custom to re-write them. *Love's Labour's Lost* was probably retouched in anticipation of its performance before Queen Elizabeth in 1597, but the extent of the alterations then made was probably of a very limited character, for otherwise more traces of them might be expected to be found in the printed copy. In the following year Chettle was engaged in “mending” his play of *Robin Hood* “for the Court.”

No. 74. Is mentioned by Tofte.—The earliest incidental notice of Shakespeare's comedy occurs in this writer's *Alba*, 1598.—“I *once* did see a play ycleped so.” The term *once* does not here mean *formerly*, but merely, at some time or other. It does, nevertheless, imply that the representation of *Love's Labour's Lost* had been witnessed some little time before the publication of *Alba* in 1598, but the notice, however curious, is of no value in the question of the chronology, as we are left in doubt whether it was the original or the amended play that was seen

by him. The poor fellow had escorted his lady-love to the theatre and, for some unexplained reason, she had taken an opportunity, during their visit, to reject his addresses. Tofte alludes to the comedy as *Loves Labor Lost*, and other early forms of the title are here given V.L.,—*Loues labors lost*, *Loues Labor's lost*, ed. 1598; *Loue labors lost*, Meres, 1598; *Loves Labore lost*, Cope's letter, 1605; *Loues labour lost*, Stat. Reg., 1607; *Loues Labour lost*, Catalogue in ed. 1623; *Loues Labour's lost*, head-lines *ibid.* It should be added that, although the early printers sometimes used the apostrophe unmeaningly, such a practice was altogether exceptional.

No. 75. -Some years previously.—As a rule it is unsafe to pronounce a judgment on the period of the composition of any of Shakespeare's dramas from internal evidence, but the general opinion that the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is one of the author's very earliest complete dramatic efforts may be followed without much risk of error. Admitting its lyrical beauty, its pathos, its humour, and its infinite superiority to the dramas of contemporary writers, there is nevertheless a crudity in parts of the action, one at least being especially unskilful and abrupt, which would probably have been avoided at a later period of composition. The only sixteenth-century notice of the play yet discovered is that given by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, where he alludes to it as the *Gentlemen of Verona*. It is not impossible that the last-mentioned title was the original designation of the comedy, one by which it was generally known in the profession: and, at a later period, Kirkman, who was intimately connected with the stage, inserts it, with a similar title, in a catalogue which first appeared in 1661.

No. 76. A Comedy of Errors.—The notice given in the text of the performance of this drama in the year 1594 is taken from a contemporary account of the *Gray's Inn Revels* which was published many years afterwards, 1688, under the title of the *Gesta Grayorum*. It appears, from the dedication, that this tract was printed exactly from the original manuscript, from which, observes the editor, it was "thought necessary not to clip anything, which, though it may seem odd, yet naturally begets a veneration upon account of its antiquity;" nor is there, indeed, the slightest reason for suspecting its authenticity. There is no evidence that any one but Shakespeare ever wrote a play bearing the exact title of the one named in this *Gesta*. The comedy is next mentioned, so far as is yet known, in the list given by Meres in 1598, where it is referred to under the abbreviated title of *Errors*; and there was a *Historie of Error* performed by the *Children of Pauls* in 1577, which latter has been generally considered, on the merest conjecture, to have been the play from which Shakespeare derived his knowledge of the incidents. It may be added that Manningham, in 1602, alludes to the *Comedy of Errors* as then familiar to play-goers, and that other

references to it occur in Decker's Satiro-Mastix, 1602, in the same author's Newes from Hell, 1606, and in Anton's Philosophers Satyrs, 4to. Lond. 1616.

No. 77. The latter in probably that of 1595.—There being no record of Shakespeare's use of any particular impression, it follows that verbal tests are the only means of its identification. These are necessarily indefinite in all cases in which the variations between two editions could have been independently adopted by the poet himself. Thus, in the Life of Antonius, ed. 1595, p. 983, there is the genuine archaism, *gables*, which is altered to *cables* in eds. 1603 and 1612; but it is obvious to be likely that Shakespeare might have preferred the latter form when he adopted some of Plutarch's words in the speech of Menas to Pompey in Antony and Cleopatra, act ii., sc. 7. Again, in the life of Coriolanus, in the famous speech of Volumnia,—“how much more *unfortunately* then all the women living,” eds. 1595 and 1603, Shakespeare has merely put the line into a blank verse, one which almost necessitates the alteration of the fourth word to *unfortunate*, which adjective happens to be found instead of the adverb in the 1612 edition of Plutarch. Such examples as these are assuredly indecisive. What is required is an expression, peculiar to Shakespeare and to certain editions of the translation of Plutarch, one which could not be reasonably attributed to the independent fancy of the great dramatist. There is such an expression in the 1579 and 1595 editions of the Life of Coriolanus,—“if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard, but prickt forward with *spite*, and desire I have to be revenged of them that thus have banished me.” Whoever compares this passage with the speech of Coriolanus in the tragedy, act iv., sc. 5, and is told that the word *spite* is omitted in all the later Plutarch editions, may be convinced that Shakespeare must have read either the impression of 1579 or that of 1595, and probably the latter, which was one of the speculations of his fellow-townsmen, the printer of the first edition of Venus and Adonis.

No. 78. Although successful.—This fact may be inferred from the entry in the Stationers' Registers of 1608, to Edward Blount of “his copie by the lyke authoritie, a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra.” The “like authority” refers to the sanction of Sir George Buck and the company, as appears from the previous entry in the register, so that Blount was no doubt in possession of the copyright of the authentic play. If he printed it in 1608, no copy of the impression is now known to exist, the earliest edition which has been preserved being that in the collective work of 1623, of which Blount was one of the publishers; and although it is included in the list of tragedies “as are not formerly entred to other men” in the notice of the copyright of the folio, it is still not impossible that an earlier separate edition was issued by him.

There are indications that the list of non-entered plays was carelessly drawn up.

No. 79. Did not equal.—This may be gathered from the rarity of contemporary allusions to it. The only extrinsic notice of the tragedy during the author's life-time appears to be a curious one in Anton's *Philosophers Satyrs*, 1616, where the latter poet blames ladies for encouraging the performance of so vicious a drama by their presence.

No. 80. King John.—Little is known respecting the external history of this drama. It is noticed by Meres in 1598, and that it continued to be popular till 1611 may be inferred from the re-publication in that year of the foundation-play, the *Troublesome Raigne of King John*, as "written by W. Sh.," a clearly fraudulent attempt to pass off the latter in the place of the work of the great dramatist. Shakespeare's *King John* was first printed in the folio of 1623, and it is worthy of remark that it is his only authentic play which is not named in any way in the registers of the Stationers' Company. It is not even mentioned in the list of his dramas, amongst "soe manie of the said copies as are not formerly entred to other men," which is inserted under the date of November, 1623. The older history of *King John* had appeared in the previous year with Shakespeare's name in full on the title, but it is not likely that so glaring an imposition could have led to the withdrawal of the genuine play from the above-mentioned list. The omission was probably accidental, the issues of the *Troublesome Raigne* in 1611 and 1622 leading to the inference that no copy of the more recent drama on the subject had then escaped from the theatre.

No. 81. Perhaps the best version.—The earliest record of the anecdote which is known to be extant is a manuscript note preserved in the University Library, Edinburgh, written about the year 1748, in which the tale is narrated in the following terms,—“Sir William Davenant, who has been call'd a natural son of our author, us'd to tell the following whimsical story of him;—Shakespear, when he first came from the country to the play-house, was not admitted to act; but as it was then the custom for all the people of fashion to come on horseback to entertainments of all kinds, it was Shakespear's employment for a time, with several other poor boys belonging to the company, to hold the horses and take care of them during the representation;—by his dexterity and care he soon got a great deal of business in this way, and was personally known to most of the quality that frequented the house, insomuch that, being obliged, before he was taken into a higher and more honorable employment within doors, to train up boys to assist him, it became long afterwards a usual way among them to recommend themselves by saying that they were Shakespear's boys.” These latter may have been grown-up men, occasional helpers in such duties who are of any age being to this day called stable-boys, but the reference to the

poet himself as a young lad is clearly erroneous. The next account in order of date is the following one in the *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, i. 130-1,—“I cannot forbear relating a story which Sir William Davenant told Mr. Betterton, who communicated it to Mr. Rowe; Rowe told it Mr. Pope, and Mr. Pope told it to Dr. Newton, the late editor of Milton, and from a gentleman who heard it from him 'tis here related. Concerning Shakespear's first appearance in the playhouse;—When he came to London, he was without money and friends, and being a stranger he knew not to whom to apply, nor by what means to support himself. At that time, coaches not being in use, and as gentlemen were accustomed to ride to the playhouse, Shakespear, driven to the last necessity, went to the playhouse door, and pick'd up a little money by taking care of the gentlemen's horses who came to the play. He became eminent even in that profession, and was taken notice of for his diligence and skill in it; he had soon more business than he himself could manage, and at last hired boys under him, who were known by the name of Shakespear's boys. Some of the players, accidentally conversing with him, found him so acute and master of so fine a conversation that, struck therewith, they and[®] recommended him to the house, in which he was first admitted in a very low station, but he did not long remain so, for he soon distinguished himself, if not as an extraordinary actor, at least as a fine writer.” This form of the story is nearly identical with that given in the text, the latter having been first printed by Dr. Johnson in 1765 as “a passage which Mr. Pope related as communicated to him by Mr. Rowe.” There is yet another variation of the tale in an account furnished by Jordan in a manuscript written about the year 1783,—“some relate that he had the care of gentlemen's horses, for carriages at that time were very little used; his business, therefore, say they, was to take the horses to the inn and order them to be fed until the play was over, and then see that they were returned to their owners, and that he had several boys under him constantly in employ, from which they were called Shakespear's boys.” It may be doubted if this be a correct version of any tradition current at the time it was written, Jordan having been in the habit of recording tales with fanciful additions of his own. Gentlemen's horses in Shakespeare's days were more hardy than those of modern times, so that stables or sheds for them, during the two hours the performance then lasted, were not absolute necessities; but it is worth recording that there were taverns, with accommodation for horses, in the neighbourhood of the Shoreditch theatres. A witness, whose deposition respecting some land in the immediate locality was taken in 1602, states that he recollected, in years previously, “a greate ponde wherein the servauntes of the earle of Rutland, and diverse his neighbours, inholders, did usually washe and water their horses, which ponde was commonly called the earles horsepond.” Another and much simpler

version of the anecdote was published as follows in 1818,—“Mr. J. M. Smith said he had often heard his mother state that Shakspeare owed his rise in life, and his introduction to the theatre, to his accidentally holding the horse of a gentleman at the door of the theatre on his first arriving in London; his appearance led to enquiry and subsequent patronage;” *Monthly Magazine*, February, 1818, repeated in *Moncrieff’s Guide*, eds. 1822, 1824. This form of the tradition is as old as 1785, the mother of J. M. Smith having been Mary Hart, who died in that year, and was a lineal descendant from Joan Shakspeare, the poet’s sister.

No. 82. Horse-stealing.—Whoever it was, tavern-keeper or other, that, in those days, first entrusted Shakspeare with the care of a horse, must have seen honesty written in his face. The theatres of the suburbs, observes a puritanical Lord Mayor of London in the year 1597, are “ordinary places for vagrant persons, maisterless men, thieves, *horse-stealers*, whoremongers, coozeners, conycatchers, contrivers of treason and other idele and daungerous persons to meet together, and to make their matches, to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the hurt and annoyance of her Majesties people, which cannot be prevented nor discovered by the governors of the Citie for that they are owt of the Citiees jurisdiction,” *City of London MSS.*

No. 83. In a very humble capacity.—A gentleman who visited the Church of the Holy Trinity at Stratford-on-Avon early in the year 1693 gives the following interesting notice of the traditional belief, then current in the poet’s native county, respecting this incident in his life,—“the clarke that shew’d me this church is above eighty years old; he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this towne bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he run from his master to London, and there was received into the play-house as a serviture, and by this meanes had an opportunity to be what he afterwards prov’d.” Although the parish-clerk was not so old as is here represented, William Castle, who was then clerk and sexton (*Stratford Vestry-book*), having been born in the year 1628 (*Stratford Register*), there can be no hesitation in receiving his narrative as the truthful report of a tradition accepted in the neighbourhood at the time at which it was recorded. Rowe, in his *Account of the Life of Shakespear*, published in 1709, assigns a special reason for the poet’s departure from Stratford, but agrees with the clerk in the point now under consideration; and a similar evidence appears in a later biographical essay of less authority and smaller value, published in a newspaper called the *London Chronicle* in 1769,—“his first admission into the playhouse was suitable to his appearance; a stranger, and ignorant of the art, he was glad to be taken into the company in a very mean rank; nor did his performance recommend him to any distinguished notice.”

No. 84. With tapestries.—The Smiths' Company in 1440 paid three shillings and sixpence halfpenny for "cloth to lap about the pajent." On another occasion sixpence was invested in "halfe a yard of Rede Sea," Smiths' accounts, 1569, Coventry, MS. Longbridge. Two "pajiont clothes of the Passion" are mentioned in an inventory of the goods of the Cappers' company in the time of Henry the Eighth, and in a list of the theatrical appliances of another trading company, 1565, are included "three paynted clothes to hang abowte the pageant." Some of the pageant accounts include payments "for curten ryngus." It is probable that curtains were sometimes placed across the stage, so that a new scene might by their withdrawal be instantaneously presented to the audience. "Payd for makyng of the hooke to hang the curten on, iiij.d.," Accounts 2 Edward VI., MS. *ibid.*

No. 85. Hell-mouth.—"The little children were never so afrayd of hell mouth in the old plaies painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes and a foule bottle nose," Harsnet's Declaration, 1603. "Item, payd for payntyng hell hede newe, xx.d.; payde for keypyng hell hede, viij.d.; item, payd for keypyng of fyer at hell mothe, iiij.d.; payd to Jhon Huyt for payntyng of hell mowthe, xvj.d.; payd for makyng hell mouth and cloth for hyt, iiij.s.," accounts of the Drapers' pageant at Coventry, 1554-1567, printed in Sharp's Dissertation, 1825, pp. 61, 73. It may be observed that hell-mouth was one of the few contrivances in use in the ancient mysteries which were retained on the metropolitan stage in the time of Shakespeare, it being in the list of properties belonging to the Lord Admiral's Servants in 1599.

No. 86. Decorated sentry-boxes.—Noah's Ark must have been a magnificent example of this class of properties, as may be gathered from the following stage-direction in the Chester mystery of the Flood,— "then Noy shall goe into the arke with all his famylye, his wife excepte; the arke must be borded rounde about, and upon the bordes all the beastes and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures," MS. Harl. 2013, fol. 23.

No. 87. The garments of skins.—"Adam and Eve aparlet in whytt lether," stage-direction in the old Cornish mystery of the Creation of the World. "Two cotes and a payre hosen for Eve stayned; a cote and hosen for Adam steyned," inventory of pageant costumes, 1565.

No. 88. Herod.—It would seem that the actor of this part wore a painted mask, there being several entries of payments in the accounts of the guilds for mending and painting his head. "Item, to a peyntour for peyntyng the fauchon and Herodes face, x.d.," accounts of the Smiths' company, 1477, MS. Longbridge. "Item, payd to a peynter for peyntyng and mendyng of Herodes heed, iiij.d.," costes on Corpus Christi day, 1516, MS. *ibid.* "Paid to John Croo for menddyng of Herrode hed and a mytor and other thynges, ij.s.," costes on Corpus

Crysty day, 1547, MS. *ibid.* "Payd to John Hewet, payntter, for dressyng of Errod hed and the faychon, ij.s.," paymentes for the pagent, 1554, MS. *ibid.* The faychon here mentioned was a painted sword, in addition to which Herod carried a sceptre and had an ornamented helmet and crest.

No. 89. As far as costume.—"Item, paid for a gowen to Arrode, vij.s. iiij.d.; item, paid for peynttyng and stenyng theroff, vj.s. iiij.d.; item, paid for Arrodes garment peynttyng that he went a prossassyon in, xx.d.; item, paid for mendyng off Arrodes gauen to a taillour, viij.d.; item, paid for mendyng off hattes, cappus and Arredes creste, with other smale geyr belongyng, iij.s.," accounts of the Smiths' company, 1490, MS. Longbridge. "Item paid for iij. platis to Heroddis crest of iron, vj.d.; item, paid to Hatfeld for dressyng of Herodes creste, xiiij.d.," Smiths' accounts, 1495, MS. *ibid.* "Item, paid for colour and coloryng of Arade, iiij.d.," costes of Corpus day Christi, 1508, MS. *ibid.*

No. 90. Painting the faces.—"Item, paid for gloves to the pleyares, xix.d.; item, paid for pyntyng^o off ther fasus, ij.d.," accounts of the Smiths' Company, 1502, MS. Longbridge. "Payd to the paynter for payntyng the players facys, iiij.d.," paymentes on Corpus Crysty day, 1548, MS. *ibid.* The Longbridge manuscripts, so frequently cited in the present work, were erewhile preserved at the ancient seat of the Staunton family near Stratford-on-Avon, and were part of the largest and most valuable Warwickshire collection ever formed. This celebrated and important assemblage of rare volumes, engravings and drawings, all relating to that county, has now unfortunately been destroyed by fire. In many former years, through the kind liberality of its possessor,—John Staunton, esq., of Longbridge House,—every possible facility was given me for consulting those treasures, and I have at least the consolation of believing that they included no fact of interest, bearing on the history of the poet's life, that could have eluded my researches.

No. 91. Appeared with sooty faces.—"The Black or Damned Souls had their faces blackened, and were dressed in coats and hose; the fabric of the hose was buckram or canvas, of which latter material nineteen ells were used, nine of yellow and ten of black, in 1556, and probably a sort of party-coloured dress was made for them, where the yellow was so combined as to represent flames," Sharp's Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries, 1825, p. 70. The following notices of these singular personages are taken from the accounts of the Coventry Guilds as quoted in the same work,—"1537. Item, for v. elnes of canvas for shyrts and hose for the blakke soules at v.d. the elne, ij.s. j.d.; item, for coloryng and makyng the same cots, ix.d.; item, for makyng and mendyng of the blakke soules hose, vj.d." In 1556, there is an entry of a payment which was made "for blakyng the sollys fassys."

No. 92. Offered for sale.—It was issued to the public some time previously to June the 12th, the following entry occurring in a manuscript diary quoted in Malone's Inquiry, 1796, p. 67,—“12th of June, 1593, for the Survay of Fraunce, with the Venus and Athonay per Shakspere, xij.d.”

No. 93. Its voluptuous character.—“I have convey'd away all her wanton pamphlets, as Hero and Leander, Venus and Adonis,” A Mad World my Masters, 1608. Davies, in his Papers Complaint, which will be found in his Scourge of Folly, 1610, makes Paper admit the superlative excellence of Shakespeare's poem, but at the same time censure its being “attired in such bawdy geare.” It is also stated that “the coyest dames in private read it for their closset-games.” In the Dumble Knight, 1608, the lawyer's clerk is represented as terming it “maides philosophie.” The stanza commencing with the word *fondling*, ll. 229–234, is quoted in the play last named and also in Heywood's *Fayre Mayde of the Exchange*, 1607.

No. 94. Favourably received.—The second edition appeared before June the 25th, 1594, on which day Field assigned the copyright to Harrison. It was reprinted oftener in Shakespeare's lifetime than any one of the plays, but there was no such edition as that of Harrison's, 1600, registered in some lists on the erroneous authority of a manuscript title-page of the last century. There are numerous early allusions to Venus and Adonis, as well as occasional quotations from it, but the most considerable number of the latter will be found in Bodenheim's *Belvedere*, 1600, and in the *Englands Parnassus* of the same year.

No. 95. A ready and natural defence.—As in Spenser's dedication of *Mother Hubberds Tale* to the Lady Compton in 1591, probably the most analogous to Shakespeare's of all compositions of the kind,—“having often sought opportunitie by some good meanes to make knowen to your ladship the humble affection and faithfull duetie which I have alwaies professed, and am bound to beare, to that house from whence yee spring, I have at length found occasion to remember the same by making a simple present to you of these my idle labours; which, having long sithens composed in the raw conceipt of my youth, I lately amongst other papers lighted upon, and was by others, which liked the same, mooved to set them foorth. Simple is the device, and the composition meane, yet carrieth some delight, even the rather because of the simplicitie and meannesse thus personated. The same I beseech your ladship take in good part, as a pledge of that profession which I have made to you, and keepe with you untill with some other more worthie labour I do redeeme it out of your hands, and discharge my utmost dutie.”

No. 96. Made the largest purchase.—The original conveyance, as well as an intermediate draft of it, are preserved at Stratford. In the

latter document, which is written on thirteen large sheets of pot-paper, the final covenant is omitted, and the variations from the engrossment are either trivial or erroneous.

No. 97. Nor is there a probability.—The mere circumstance of there having been a Fool introduced into the play then in course of representation is of course a decisive proof that it was not Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth, and there are other incidental passages that lead to the same conclusion. If it had been, the fire must have commenced before the termination of the first act, and there would almost certainly have been, amongst the elaborate stage-directions of ed. 1623, some reference to "the matting of the stage," which is so specially noticed by Wotton as then being an extraordinary novelty. Then, again, it is to be inferred, from the records of the calamity, that the acting copies of the play then in hand could hardly have been rescued from the flames.

No. 98. The new drama.—Wotton, in a letter written only three days after the fire, speaks of it as "a new play called *All is True*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry 8." It is mentioned in two other accounts of the calamity as "the play of Henry the 8th," the latter being most likely a second title, one that may have originally followed the terms of that given by Rowley to *When You See Me You Know Me*,—"The famous Chronicle Historye of King Henry the Eighth." It clearly appears, from the burden of the sonnet that was written on the occasion, that Wotton gave the main title correctly.

No. 99. Some of the historical incidents.—Several dramas on historical events of the reign of Henry the Eighth were produced in England in the time of Shakespeare. In the years 1601 and 1602 the subject attained a singular popularity in the hands of Henslowe's company. In June of the former year Henry Chettle was occupied in "writtinge" a play entitled *Cardinal Wolsey's Life*, which was produced with great magnificence so far as regards the apparel of the performers, by the Earl of Nottingham's players, in the following August. An entry of £21 for velvet, satin, and taffeta, proves, regard being had to the then value of money, how expensively the characters in the play were attired. This drama was so successful that it was immediately followed by another entitled the *Rising or the First part of Cardinal Wolsey*, in the composition of which no fewer than four writers, Drayton, Chettle, Munday, and Wentworth Smith, were engaged. It seems to have been licensed in September, 1601, as "the remainder of Carnowlle Wollseye," words which imply that it was considered supplementary to Chettle's first play on the subject. The amendment of the first part in 1602 was immediately followed by the appearance of a continuation in which Will Summers, the celebrated jester, was introduced. The name of the author of this second part is not stated, but it is not impossible that it was written by Samuel Rowley, who had been attached to Henslowe's

company as early as the year 1599. Certain it is that the character of Summers is a prominent one in that author's vulgar comedy of *When You See Me You Know Me*, published by Butter in 1605, and entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company in February, 1604-5, as "the enterlude of K. Henry the 8th." Butter's several reprints, his interest in the copyright until 1639, taken in conjunction with the statement in those registers under the date of November the 8th, 1623, decisively prove that the entry last quoted does not refer to Shakespeare's play. According to a manuscript on the state of Ireland, written about the year 1604, "the earle of Kildare dyed in prison in England, where he lyved a longe tyme, and his brothers and eldest sonne deprived of their lyves by the synister practizes of Cardynall Wolsey, sett forth at lardge in the Irishe Chronicle, and of late acted publiquely upon the stage in London, in the tragidie of the life and death of the said Wolsey, to tedious to be reported to your Majestie." This enumeration of dramas on the incidents of the same reign may be concluded with a notice of the *Chronicle History of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, which was first published as "written by W. S." in 1602. It had then most likely been recently produced by Shakespeare's company, an entry of the copyright in the August of that year mentioning the play "as yt was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his servantes." An assignment of the copyright was entered in December, 1611, the second impression, however, not appearing till 1613, the author of the play in both instances being denoted by the above-mentioned initials. The drama of *Lord Cromwell* was attributed to Shakespeare by the publisher of the third folio in 1664, but it is hardly necessary to observe that it has no pretensions to the claim of so high a distinction.

No. 100. Any other resemblance.—Excepting that both were framed with a view to spectacular display, as appears from the accounts of the fire, and from the elaborate stage-directions in the first edition of Shakespeare's drama, the somewhat irregular construction of the latter may be attributed to the circumstance of some of the incidents being practically subservient to the accessories of the stage.

No. 101. The two last being so dilatory.—The words of the ballad admit of several interpretations, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the writer's exact meaning. That which occurs in the text is not given with undue confidence, but it is in a measure supported by the contemporary evidence of the risk that was incurred by those who were in the theatre at the time of the conflagration. The appearance of a fool in the represented play is, however, the only point of the slightest importance, and that fact seems to be decisively established by the lines in question. So far from there being evidence that the Globe was one of those theatres in which a Fool was a regular appendage, the very contrary may be inferred from a dialogue in Greene's *Tu Quoque*.

No. 102. The Prologue.—It has been suggested that there is here an allusion to Rowley's production on the same reign, a drama in which no regard is paid to chronological order or accuracy. In the latter play, certainly a "merry bawdy one," Summers, the jester, a prominent character, is a "fellow in a long motley coat, guarded with yellow," and the noise of targets was heard in a street brawl in which the King is vigorously engaged in combat with a ruffian named Black Will. As, however, this piece belonged to a rival establishment, it is more likely that the prologue refers to one containing similar incidents, perhaps that which was in the course of performance on the day of the fire. A second edition of the former play appeared in 1613, and it may then have been revived at the Fortune.

No. 103. This theory of a late date.—There does not appear to be a sufficient reason for attributing the composition of Henry the Eighth to the reign of Elizabeth. The main reason for that opinion is found in the termination of Cranmer's prophecy, the sudden reversion in which to his eulogy on Elizabeth has elicited the impression that the portion of his harangue which refers to James was an insertion that was written some years after the play originally appeared. But it should be observed that the whole of that portion is a ramification from the introductory encomium on the Queen, the sentiments in the latter having in all probability been framed with a view to gratify the King by their subsequent application to him and without reference to the author's own views. By the obliquity of the panegyric the poet adroitly softened and naturalized its intrinsic extravagance. The prophecy was evidently composed for the ear of one of those sovereigns, and very unlikely for that of Elizabeth, who would hardly have considered the subsequent notice of an aged princess neutralised by the previous flattery, or have complacently endured the reference to her own decease. The known character of that sovereign leads us to believe that either of these allusions would have been most distasteful to her. Again, that the play, as we now have it, was not written until 1606, may be gathered from the reference to the new nations, which is believed to relate to the American colonies, the settlement and chartering of which had but then commenced. There is another possible evidence in the allusion to the strange Indian. In 1611, Harley and Nicolas, the commanders of two vessels in an expedition to New England, returned to this country, bringing with them five savages. One of these, who was named Epenow, remained in England until 1614, was distinguished for his stature, and publicly exhibited in various parts of London.

No. 104. By this disagreeable innovation.—There are several critics who take another view, and, relying in a great measure on metrical percentages, would have us believe that all speeches redolent with this peculiarity must have been written by one or other of those later con-

temporaries of Shakespeare who were specially addicted to its use. Under this direction it follows that Wolsey's celebrated farewell to all his greatness, as well as a large part of the scene in which it occurs, are henceforth to be considered the composition of some other author. So also, by the like process of reasoning, must the last speeches of Buckingham, as exquisitely touching as any in Shakespeare, the death-scene of Katharine, the magnificent dialogue between Wolsey and Cromwell, as well as Cranmer's prophecy, be eliminated from his works. As to the theories recently promulgated, that some contemporary dramatist could, and that Shakespeare could not, have written those passages, neither one nor the other is likely to be ultimately sustained. It is true that in Henry the Eighth there is much unwelcome variation from the poet's usual diction, but surely the play as a whole will commend itself to most readers as one that could only have emanated from Shakespeare's laboratory. This much can be admitted without ignoring the unavoidable suspicion that the drama, in the form in which it has come down to us, has been tampered with by the players or their confederates. But there is no tangible evidence to show the precise extent or nature of the modifications that may thus have been induced, and, in its absence, individual opinions can never be decisive. The latter, moreover, rest too frequently upon the treacherous foundation of a belief in the power of assigning a definite limit to the writer's mutations in style and excellence.

No. 105. Old Mr. Lowin.—It would seem, from a dialogue in the comedy of Knavery in all Trades, 1664, that Taylor and Pollard acted with Lowin in Henry the Eighth at an early period, but the notice must refer to the performances of it which took place some time after the death of the author. Neither of the two first-named actors joined the King's company until after the year 1616.

No. 106. Told by Fuller.—In his Worthies, ed. 1662. "A company of litle boyes were by their schoolmaster not many years since appointed to act the play of King Henry the Eighth, and one who had no presence, but an absence rather, as of a whyning voyce, puling spirit, consumptionish body, was appointed to personate King Henry himselfe onely because he had the richest cloaths, and his parents the best people of the parish: but when he had spoke his speech rather like a mouse then a man, one of his fellow actors told him,—If you speake not Hoh with a better grace, your Parliament will not give you a penny of mony," old jest-book, MS. Sloane 384. There is another copy of the anecdote in the Fragmenta Aulica, 1662, and the vigour of the exclamation long continued to be one of the professional traditions. "Like our stage Harry the Eighth, cry out Hough! Hough!", Memoirs of Tate Wilkinson, ed. 1790, i. 195, referring to a period some time about the year 1758.

No. 107. Where it is recorded.—"Item, paid to the players of Coventrie by the commaundement of Mr. Mayer and thaldremen, x.s.," Bristol Corporation MSS., December, 1570. They were at Abingdon in the same year and at Leicester in 1569 and 1571, but there is no record of the nature of their performances. Those at Coventry were no doubt of a more impressive character, the players there having the advantage of elaborate appliances. "Item, paide at the commaundiment of master mayor unto Mr. Smythes players of Coventree, iij.s.," Abingdon Corporation MSS., 1570. There can be little doubt that *Mr.* in this last extract is an error for *the*.

No. 108. To live another age.—In a subsequent verse Lucrece is represented as "acting her passions on our stately stage," so that it may be that Drayton is referring to some drama on the subject, although both previously and afterwards he is speaking exclusively of poems. Heywood, in his Apology for Actors, 1612, sig. G, most likely refers to a play older than his own time on the Rape of Lucrece. Drayton's lines are not found in any copies of the Matilda published after the year 1596, a circumstance which has been the occasion of several conjectures; but no inference can be safely deduced from the omission, that writer having been in the constant habit of making extensive alterations in his texts for new editions.

No. 109. It was received.—"Who loves chaste life, there's Lucrece for a teacher;=Who list read lust there's Venus and Adonis," Freeman's Runne and a Great Cast, 1614. There are numerous quotations from Lucrece in Bodenham's Belvedere and the England's Parnassus in 1600, as well as several in Nicholson's Acolastus published in the same year. Notices of the poem occur in Barnfield's Poems in Divers Humors, 1598; Palladis Tamia, 1598; Weever's Epigrammes, 1599; England's Mourning Garment, 1603; and in the Return from Parnassus, 1606. That which Sir John Suckling, in the time of Charles the First, calls his "Supplement of an imperfect Copy of Verses of Mr. Wil. Shakespears," appears to commence with his own alterations of two stanzas in Lucrece, the rest being stated by himself to be entirely new compositions.

No. 110. Christopher Sly.—The Christian as well as the surname of this personage are taken from the older play, but there was a Christopher Sly who was a contemporary of Shakespeare's at Stratford-on-Avon, and who is mentioned in Greene's manuscript diary under the date of March the 2nd, 1615-16. This is a singular coincidence, even if it be not considered a slight indication that the author of the Taming of a Shrew may have been a Warwickshire man.

No. 111. The author.—Heywood here appears to take it for granted that Shakespeare was the author of the whole of the Passionate Pilgrim, but he does not appear to have examined the volume with any

degree of care. Had he done so, he would hardly have refrained from enhancing his complaint against Jaggard by observing that, independently of the two epistles, the latter had also appropriated five other poems from the Troia Britanica.

No. 112. The Earls of Derby and Pembroke.—Henslowe, a great buyer of original plays, was in the habit of lending them to various bodies of performers. Thus the Jew of Malta, one of his stock pieces, was acted by at least three separate and two conjunctive companies previously to the departure of the Lord Chamberlain's servants from his theatres in June, 1594. As Henslowe's Diary is not a perfect record of his theatrical doings, it is not improbable that the players of Lords Derby and Pembroke were acting at the Rose or at Newington, under some arrangement with him, in the spring of that year.

No. 113. Or in any other.—According to Aubrey, that most unreliable of all the early biographers, Shakespeare "understood Latine pretty well, for he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the cuntry." It is very unlikely that there can be any truth in this unsupported statement, and it is, indeed, inconsistent with what Aubrey himself previously observes respecting Shakespeare's early life.

No. 114. Was not extended.—There is no positive evidence of this fact, but it is one which is found to be the case at this time in so many other towns that its accuracy in respect to Stratford-on-Avon may be fairly assumed, supported, as it is, by local probabilities. It is, for instance, almost impossible that the players of Lord Chandos, who were continually performing in the neighbourhood, should have visited that town merely on the single recorded occasion in the autumn of 1582.

No. 115. In the history.—This narrative is or was preserved in a manuscript written by Sadler's daughter, but it is here taken from extracts from the original which were published in the Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker, 1690.

No. 116. That of a glover.—This appears not only from the often quoted entry in the Corporation books of June, 1556, but from a recognizance in the Controlment Roll of the twenty-ninth of Elizabeth, the latter showing that John Shakespeare was known in Stratford-on-Avon as a glover thirty years afterwards, 1586.

No. 117. One hundred and seven acres of land.—It may be that this acquisition is referred to by Crosse in his Vertues Common-wealth, 1603, when he speaks thus ungenerously of the actors and dramatists of the period,—“as these copper-lace gentlemen growe rich, purchase lands by adulterous playes, and not fewe of them usurers and extortioners, which they exhaust out of the purses of their haunTERS, so are they puft up in such pride and selfe-love as they envie their equalles and scorne they inferiours.” Alleyn had not at this time commenced his purchases of land at Dulwich.

No. 118. Was soon forgotten.—Otherwise he would have been at the pains to have made arrangements for having the offensive allusions in the *Groatsworth of Wit* cancelled in the second edition of that work in 1596. Unfortunately no copy of the first edition is now known to exist, and we can only infer, from Chettle's apology and from the subsequent impressions containing invidious references to Shakespeare and others, that there is a high probability of Greene's tract having been reprinted without alteration.

No. 119. Nicholas Rowe.—This author, who was born in 1673, was educated at Highgate and Westminster. He afterwards entered at the Middle Temple, but in a few years, on his accession to a competent fortune, the study of the law was gradually superseded by his taste for dramatic composition. He had a great esteem for Betterton, and wrote an epilogue on the occasion of that venerable actor's celebrated benefit in 1709, the same year in which the *Life of Shakespeare* appeared. The second edition of the last-named work was published in 1714, but it is unfortunately a mere reprint of the first. Rowe died in 1718.

No. 120. Who consider it decorous or reasonable.—No one likes to admit the genuineness of either *Titus Andronicus* or the *First Part of Henry the Sixth*, and, with the view of removing the former from consideration, I ventured to suggest, many years ago, that the text which has been preserved is that of an earlier drama on the same history. This theory, as I now see, is foolish and untenable.

No. 121. This Gilbert.—In the *Coram Rege* rolls, 1597, Gilbert Shackspere, who appears as one of the bail in the amount of £19 for a clockmaker of Stratford, is described as a haberdasher of the parish of St. Bridget; but as his name does not occur in the subsidy lists of the period, it is not unlikely that he was either a partner with, or assistant to, some other tradesman of the same occupation. It was not unusual in former days to refer to an assistant in a shop under the trading appellation of his employers. Gilbert was at Stratford on May the 1st, 1602, on which day he received the acknowledgment of an important conveyance of land on behalf of his brother, a fact which may be held to show that he enjoyed the poet's confidence. He is next heard of as the witness to a local deed of 1609, one in which his signature appears so ably written that it may be safely concluded that he had been educated at the Free-School. In the Stratford register of 1612 is the notice of the burial of "Gibertus Shakspeare, adolescens," but although the last term is of somewhat indefinite application, it is not likely that a person over forty-five years of age would have been so designated, and the entry refers probably to a son. If the latter theory be correct, it should be observed that the form of the entry warrants a doubt of legitimacy. Scarcely any particulars have reached us respecting

Shakespeare's brothers and sisters. Joan being the only one of them mentioned in his will, it is generally assumed that none of the others were living when that document was prepared, and, from the number of memorials given to personal friends, it would have been strange if relatives had been overlooked. But the "second-best bed" was an afterthought, and such deductions are to be received with hesitation. Gilbert, however, could at any rate have been then the only unmentioned survivor, and Malone, who seldom or never speaks at random, but relying no doubt on substantial evidence, stated in 1790 that he "certainly died before his son." A few claims on the parts of modern families to descent from one of Shakespeare's brothers have been proffered, but they are unsupported by allegations worthy the name of evidence. It is, moreover, most probable that if any of them, or any of their issue, had been living at the time of the death of Judith Quiney's only surviving child in 1639, the fact would have transpired in one or other of the subsequent transactions respecting the legal rights under the terms of the last devise of estates in the poet's will.

No. 122. The Winter's Tale.—In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert is the following curious and interesting entry,—“For the king's players;—an olde playe called Winters Tale, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was missinge; and therefore I returned itt without a fee, this 19 of August, 1623,” ap. Malone, ed. 1790, p. 226. Now Sir George Buck obtained a reversionary grant of the office of the Master of the Revels in 1603, expectant on the death of Tylney, who died in October, 1610; but he did not really succeed to the office, as is shown by documents at the Rolls, before August, 1610, in short, a few weeks previously to the decease of Tylney. Sir George, as Deputy to the Master, licensed dramas for publication long before the year last-mentioned, as appears from several entries in the books of the Stationers' Company; and that he could also have passed them for acting would seem clear from the above entry, the words “likewyse by mee” showing that the comedy had been allowed by Herbert before he had succeeded to the office of Master. In the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, it seems, however, unnecessary to suggest that the *Winter's Tale* was one of the dramas that passed under Buck's review during the tenancy of Tylney in the office; and it may fairly, at present, be taken for granted that the comedy was not produced until after the month of August, 1610. This date is sanctioned, if not confirmed, by the allusion to the song of *Whoop, do me no harm, good man*, the music to which was published by William Corkine, as one of his “private inventions,” in his *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl*, fol., Lond., 1610. It would seem from Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres*,

1660, that he was the original composer of the music to the Lawn song, another evidence for the late date of the play, that celebrated musician having been born in June, 1595. See Wood's *Fasti*, fol., Lond., 1691, col. 725.

No. 123. By Decker and Chettle.—It is their play which is most likely alluded to in the following passage in Cawdray's *Treasurie or Store-house of Similies*, ed. 1600, p. 380,—“as an actor in a comedie or tragedy, which sometimes resembleth Agamemnon, somtimes Achilles, somtimes their enemie Hector, sometimes one mans person, sometimes another; even so an hypocrite wil counterfeit and seeme sometimes to be an honest and just man, sometimes a religious man, and so of al conditions of men, according to time, persons and place.” Decker and Chettle's play of *Troilus and Cressida*, afterwards termed *Agamemnon*; is thus mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary*,—“Lent unto Thomas Downton, to lende unto Mr. Dickers and Harey Cheattell, in earneste of ther boocke called *Troyeles and Creassedaye*, the some of *iiij.li.*, Aprell 7 daye, 1599.—Lent unto Harey Cheattell and Mr. Dickers, in parte of payment of ther boocke called *Troyelles and Cresseda*, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, *xx.s.*—Lent unto Mr. Dickers and Mr. Chettell the 26 of Maye, 1599, in earneste of a boocke called the tragedie of *Agamemnon*, the some of *xxx.s.*—Lent unto Robarte Shawe the 30 of Maye, 1599, in full paymente of the boocke called the tragedie of *Agamemnone*, to Mr. Dickers and Harey Chettell, the some of *iiij.li. v.s.*—Paid unto the Master of the Revelles man for lycensynge of a boocke called the tragedie of *Agamemnon* the 3 of June, 1599, *vij.s.*” It is clear from these entries that in this play, as in Shakespeare's, Chaucer's story was combined with the incidents of the siege of Troy. The allusion to the interchange of presents between *Troilus and Cressida* in the old comedy of *Histriomastix*, first published in 1610 but written before the death of Elizabeth, may refer to an episode that had been rendered popular by its treatment in the above-named play. At all events, no allusive inference can be safely drawn from the probably accidental use of the words *shakes* and *speare*.

No. 124. Is not likely to refer.—There is a strong confirmation of this in the following all but positive allusions to three of Shakespeare's works, including *Troilus and Cressida*, in a rare poem entitled *Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion*, 1603,—“Of Helens rape and Troyes besieged towne, = Of Troylus faith, and Cressids falsitie, = Of Rychards stratagemes for the english crowne, = Of Tarquins lust and Lucrece chastitie, = Of these, of none of these my muse nowe treates, = Of greater conquests, warres and loves she speakes.” The preface to the *Conversion* is dated “this last of Januarie, 1603,” but, as the book itself bears the date of that year, it may be fairly assumed that 1603, not 1603-4, is intended.

No. 125. Appear to exult.—That the manuscript was obtained by some artifice may be gathered from the use of the word *scapè* in the preface to the first edition.

No. 126. The printers had received.—That the second impression is the one referred to in the registers of the Stationers' Company of January the 28th, 1609, may, perhaps, also be inferred from the omission in both of the word *famous*.

No. 127. Originally known under the title of the Moor of Venice.—This appears from the entries of 1604 and 1610, hereafter quoted, and from the record of the performance of the tragedy at Whitehall on May the 20th, 1613. The author of the elegy on Burbage speaks of that famous actor as unrivalled in the character of "the grieved Moor," and the earliest instance of the double appellation occurs in the title-page of the first edition, here given V.L.,—"The Tragedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice. As it hath benee diuerse times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by his Maiesties Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London, Printed by N. O. for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Eagle and Child, in Brittans Bursse. 1622." The second title was the one under which the play was usually acted during the whole of the seventeenth century.

No. 128. Is first heard of.—It may be well to remark that a passage in the *Newe Metamorphosis* or a *Feaste of Fancie*, which has been adduced to support an earlier date for *Othello*, is of no critical value in the enquiry. Although the date of 1600 appears on the title-page of that poem, the manuscript itself contains a distinct allusion by name to *Speed's Theatre of Great Britaine*, a work first published in 1611. The first quarto contains several irreverent expressions which are either modified or omitted in the later editions, a proof, as Mr. Aldis Wright observes, "that the manuscript from which it was printed had not been recently used as an acting copy," that is to say, since 1606, when the Statute of James against profanity in stage-plays was enacted.

No. 129. In 1604.—There are some faint reasons for conjecturing that the tragedy was not written before the nineteenth of March in this year. The twelfth Public Act which was passed in the first Parliament of James the First, some time between March 19th and July 7th, 1604, was levelled "against conjuration, witchcrafte and dealinge with evill and wicked spirits." In the course of this Act it is enacted that, "if any person or persons shall, from and after the feaste of Saint Michael the Archangell next comminge, take upon him or them, by *witchcrafte, inchantment, charme or sorcerie*, to tell or declare in what place any treasure of golde or silver should or might be founde or had in the earth or other secret places, or where goodes or thinges loste or stollen should be founde or be come, or to the intent to *provoke any person to unlawfull love*," then such person or persons, if convicted, "shall for the said offence

suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole yere without baile or mainepriise, and once in everie quarter of the saide yere shall, in some markt town upon the markt day, or at such tyme as any faire shal be kept there, stand openlie upon the pillorie by the space of sixe houres, and there shall openlie confesse his or her error and offence." It seems probable that part of the first Act of Othello would not have assumed the form it does, had not the author been familiar with the Statute, in common with the public of the day, the Duke referring to such a law when he tells Brabantio that his accusation of the employment of witchcraft shall be impartially investigated. Although the offence named in the Statute refers not to the use of charms to make people love one another, but to the employment of them for the provocation of unlawful love, yet still this may be said to have an oblique application to the story of the tragedy in the surreptitious marriage of Othello. By the Act of James, a previous one, 5 Eliz. c. 16, of a similar character, was "utterlie" repealed, and the object of the second Act appears to have been to punish the same offence more severely.

No. 130. One William Bishop.—"Catherine and Dezdimonye, the daughters of William Bishoppe, were baptised the xiiij.th of September," Registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, 1609. This is not the only instance of the adoption of a theatrical name. "Comedia, daughter of William Johnson, player," bur. reg. of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 1592-3. The burial of Juliet, a daughter of Richard Burbage, is recorded in the Shoreditch register for 1608, but it clearly appears from other entries that her real name was Julia.

No. 131. The first performer of Iago.—According to Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4, Taylor was distinguished in this part, but probably not until after the death of Shakespeare. The insertion of Taylor's name in the list of the Shakespearean actors in ed. 1623 merely proves that he had been one of them in or before that year.

No. 132. A curious tradition.—"I'm assur'd, from very good hands, that the person that acted Iago was in much esteem of a comedian, which made Shakespear put several words and expressions into his part, perhaps not so agreeable to his character, to make the audience laugh, who had not yet learnt to endure to be serious a whole play,"—Gildon's *Reflections on Rymer's Short View of Tragedy*, 1694.

No. 133. The words of Meres.—Those who believe that the Sonnets, as we now have them, comprise two long poems addressed to separate individuals, must perforce admit that they are the "sugared" ones alluded to by Meres, for the celebrated lines on the two loves of Comfort and Despair are found in the *Passionate Pilgrim* of 1599. But copies of specially dedicated poems would most likely have been forwarded solely to the addressees, or, at all events, would not have been made subjects of literary notoriety through the adopted course recorded by

Meres. That writer, in all probability, would have used the words, *to his private friends*, if he had entertained the views now adopted by the personality theorists.

No. 134. Separate exercises.—Here and there is to be distinctly observed an absolute continuity, but a long uninterrupted sequence after the first seventeen can be traced only by those who rely on strained inferences, or are too intent on the establishment of favourite theories to condescend to notice glaring difficulties and inconsistencies. The opinion that the address to the “lovely boy” in 126 is the termination of a series, dedicated to one and the same youth, is, indeed, absolutely disproved by the language of 57. There are several other sonnets antecedent to 126 that bear no internal evidence of being addressed to the male sex, and it is difficult to understand the temerity that would gratuitously represent the great dramatist as yet further narrowing the too slender barriers which then divided the protestations of love and friendship.

No. 135. Their fragmentary character.—Two of the sonnets, those referring to Cupid’s brand, are obviously nothing more than poetical exercises, and these lead to the suspicion that there may be amongst them other examples of iterative fancies. Here and there are some which have the appearance of being mere imitations from the Classics or the Italian, although of course it is not necessary to assume that either were consulted in the original languages. It is difficult on any other hypothesis to reconcile the inflated egotism of such a one as 55 with the unassuming dedications to the Venus and Lucrece, 1593 and 1594, or with the expressions of humility found in the Sonnets themselves, e.g., 32 and 38.

No. 136. In the generation immediately following.—In MS. Bright 190, now MS. Addit. 15, 226, a volume which may be of the time of Charles the First, or perhaps of a little earlier date, there is a copy of the eighth sonnet, there ascribed to Shakespeare, and entitled,—*In laudem musice et opprobrium contemptorii ejusdem*. In my copy of Benson’s edition of 1640, some of the printed titles there given have been altered to others in a manuscript hand-writing which is nearly contemporary with the date of publication.

No. 137. From the arrangement.—And not only from the classification and titles given by Benson in his edition of 1640, but from the terms in which he writes of the Sonnets themselves. “In your perusall,” he observes in his address to the reader, “you shall finde them seren, cleere, and elegantly plaine; such gentle strains as shall recreate and not perplexe your braine; no intricate or cloudy stuffe to puzzell intellect, but perfect eloquence such as will raise your admiration to his praise.” These words could not have been penned had he regarded the Sonnets in any light other than that of poetical fancies.

No. 138. Five-pence.—In a manuscript account of payments, 1609, is a note by Alleyn, under the title of *howshowld stuff*, of “a book,

Shaksper sonettes, 5^d." That this was the contemporary price of the work is confirmed by an early manuscript note, 5^d, on the title-page of the copy of the first edition preserved in Earl Spencer's library at Althorp. On the last page of that copy is the following memorandum in a handwriting of the time,—“Commendacions to my very kind and approved frind, B. M.”

No. 139. He dedicated the work.—To the “only begetter,” that is, to the one person who obtained the entire contents of the work for the use of the publisher, the verb *beget* having been occasionally used in the sense of *get*. “I have some cossens Garman at Court, shall *beget* you the reversion of the Master of the King's Revels,” Decker's *Satiromastix*, 1602. Cf. *Hamlet*, iii. 2. The notion that *begetter* stands for *inspirer* could only be received were one individual alone the subject of all the poems; and, moreover, unless we adopt the wholly gratuitous conjecture that the sonnets of 1609 were not those which were in existence in 1598, had not the time somewhat gone by for a *publisher's* dedication to that object?

No. 140. Numerous futile conjectures.—There does not appear to be one of these which deserves serious investigation, but perhaps the climax of absurdity has been reached in the supposition that the initials represent William (Shakespeare) Himself. Scarcely less untenable are the various theories which assume that the publisher would have dared to address a person of exalted rank, under any circumstances, as Mr. W. H.,—this in days when social distinctions were so jealously exacted that a nobleman considered it necessary in the previous year, 1608, to vindicate his position by bringing an action in the Star-Chamber against a person who had orally addressed him as Goodman Morley. It is also worth notice that to a translation of the *Manual of Epictetus*, which appeared in 1616, there is prefixed a dedication from Thomas Thorpe to William, earl of Pembroke, in the course of which the writer parenthetically observes,—“pardon my presumption, great lord, from so meane a man to so great a person.” The following passages from the commencement of that dedication were not penned in the spirit of one who had addressed a nobleman of high rank on terms of equality,—“it may worthily seeme strange unto your lordship out of what frenzy one of my meanenesse hath presumed to commit this sacriledge, in the straightnesse of your lordships leisure, to present a peece for matter and model so unworthy, and in this scribbling age wherein great persons are so pestered dayly with dedications.”

No. 141. On good terms with the Halls.—When Thomas Quiney was in serious pecuniary difficulties in 1633, John Hall and Thomas Nash acted, with another connexion, as trustees for his estate; and Nash, in a codicil to his will, 1647, leaves to Thomas Quiney and his wife, to each of them, “twentie shillings to buy them rings.”

No. 142. A small house on the west of the High Street.—Thomas Quiney, in December, 1611, arranged to purchase from the Corporation a twenty-one years' lease of these premises, which are thus described in a terrier of the High Street Ward, 1613,—“Thomas Quyne holdeth on tenement contaynyng on the strett sid sixteen foott and d., in length inwards sixty feete, the bredhe backwardes sixteen foott and d.” The front of this house, which is situated a few doors from the corner of Wood Street, has been modernized, but much of the interior, with its massive beams, oaken floors and square joists, remains structurally as it must have been in the days of Thomas Quiney.

No. 143. The Cage.—Quiney obtained the lease of this place, in the summer of 1616, from his brother-in-law, William Chandler, who gave it to him in exchange for his interests in the house on the other side of the way. He appears to have inhabited the Cage from the time it came into his hands until he removed from it shortly before November, 1652, when the lease was assigned to his brother Richard of London, the premises being then described as “lately in the tenure of Thomas Quiney,” Stratford Council Book, MS. The house has long been modernized, the only existing portions of the ancient building being a few massive beams supporting the floor over the roof of the cellar.

No. 144. In which he was supported.—Occasional payments for wine supplied by him to the Corporation are entered in the local books at various periods from 1616 to 1650. In February, 1630-31, he mentions having been “for a long time” in the habit of purchasing largely from one Francis Creswick of Bristol, to which city he now and then repaired for the purpose of selecting his wines. According to his own account, about three years previously he had bought from this merchant several hogsheads, all of which had been tampered with before they reached Stratford-on-Avon, and this to so great an extent that he was not only dreadfully grumbled at, but lost some of his most important customers. He also seems to have dealt in tobacco and vinegar.

No. 145. Fined for swearing.—In “a note of what mony hath bine recovered since the 21 of September, 1630, for the poore for swearing and other defaults,” are the following entries,—“item, of Mr. Quiny for swearing, 1s. od.; item, of Mr. Quiny for suffering townsmen to tippell in his housse, 1s. od.”

No. 146. His brother Richard.—In whose will, dated in August, 1655, is the following paragraph,—“I doe hereby give and devise unto my loving brother, Thomas Quiney, and his assignes, for and during the terme of his naturall life, one annuall or yearlie summe of twelve pounds of lawfull monie of England to be issuing and going out, and yearly to be received, perceaved, had and taken by the said Thomas

Quiney and his assignes out of, in and upon, all those my messuages and lands at Shottery, with the appurtenances, in the countie of Warwicke; and at the time of the decease of my said brother, my executors to have, receive, perceive and take out of, in and upon, the said lands, the summe of five pounds, therewith to bear and defray the charges of my said brother's funerall." It is not likely that the concluding words would have been inserted, had not Thomas Quiney been then impoverished and in a precarious state of health. The testator left a numerous family, one of whom, Thomas, who subsequently held the lease of the Cage for many years, has often been mistaken for the poet's son-in-law.

No. 147. The eldest, Shakespeare Quiney.—"May 8, Shakespeare, sonne to Thomas Queene," list of Stratford burials for 1617, Worcester MS. "Received, for the great bell, at the deat^h of Thomas Quynis child, iiij.d.," Stratford Accounts, 1617.

No. 148. The death of their mother.—Her burial is thus noted in the Stratford register for 1661-2,—“February 9, Judith, uxor Thomas Quiney, gent.” The introduction of the epithet *uxor* is no proof, as has been suggested, that her husband was then living. Compare the epitaph on Shakespeare's widow.

No. 149. In this case, at least.—That Jaggard would have yielded to remonstrances in 1599, had such then been made to him, may be inferred from the circumstance of his cancelling the title-page containing Shakespeare's name in the edition of 1612, and this apparently at the instigation of a minor writer.

No. 150. Wincot.—The ancient provincial name of the small village of Wilmecote, about three miles from Stratford-on-Avon. It is spelt both Wincott and Wilmcott in the same entry in the Sessions Book for 1642, MS. County Records, Warwick; and Wincott in a record of 32 Elizabeth at Stratford-on-Avon. In the parish of Clifford Chambers, and at about four miles from the poet's native town, is a very minute and secluded hamlet called Wincot. It is described by Atkyns in 1712 as then containing only two houses, one of which, to judge from its present appearance, was in former days the substantial residence of a landowner, and a confirmation of this opinion will be found in a petition of one Robert Loggin, House of Lords' MSS., January, 1667; but it is extremely unlikely that here was to be found an alehouse of any kind, and there appears to be nothing beyond the mere name to warrant recent conjectures of this being the hamlet mentioned by Shakespeare. Marian Hacket, the fat ale-wife, was probably a real character, as well as Stephen Sly, old John Naps, Peter Turf, and Henry Pimpernell. The documentary evidence respecting the inferior classes of society, especially at so early a period, is at all times brief and difficult of access; but the opinion here expressed with regard to

the truthfulness of the names referred to may be said to be all but confirmed by the discovery of contemporary notices of Stephen Sly, who is described as a "servant to William Combe," and who is several times mentioned in the records of Stratford-on-Avon as having taken an active part in the disputes which arose on the attempted enclosures of common lands, acting, of course, under the directions of his master. In a manuscript written in 1615 he is described as a labourer, but he seems to have been one of a superior class, for his house, "Steeven Slye house," is alluded to in the parish register of Stratford of the same year, as if it were of some slight extent.

No. 151. Mill.—This anecdote was first published by Capell in the following terms,—“Wincot is in Stratford’s vicinity, where the memory of the ale-house subsists still; and the tradition goes that ’twas resorted to by Shakespeare for the sake of diverting himself with a fool who belong’d to a neighbouring mill,” Notes to the *Taming of the Shrew*, ed. 1780, p. 26. The fact of there having been a water-mill at this village (Dugdale, ed. 1656, p. 617) in ancient times may be thought to give some colour of possibility to the tradition. Warton merely says that “the house kept by our genial hostess still remains, but is at present a mill,” Glossary to the Oxford edition of Shakespeare, 1770. According to an unpublished letter written by Warton in 1790, he derived his information from what was told him, when a boy, by Francis Wise, an eminent Oxford scholar, who went purposely to Stratford-on-Avon about the year 1740 to collect materials respecting the personal history of Shakespeare. Warton’s own words may be worth giving,—“my note about Wilnecote I had from Mr. Wise, Radclivian librarian, a most accurate and inquisitive literary antiquary, who, about fifty years ago, made a journey to Stratford and its environs to pick up anecdotes about Shakespeare, many of which he told me; but which I, being then very young, perhaps heard very carelessly and have long forgott;—this I much regret, for I am sure he told me many curious things about Shakespeare;—he was an old man when I was a boy in this college;—the place is Wylmecote, the mill, or Wilnecote, near Stratford, not Tamworth,” 31 March, 1790. The anecdote, as related by Capell, belongs to a series of traditions that show how wide-spread was the belief in Warwickshire in the last century that the great poet was of a jovial and simple disposition; and this is also assumed in the following curious statement,—“the late Mr. James West of the Treasury assured me that, at his house in Warwickshire, he had a wooden bench, once the favourite accommodation of Shakespeare, together with an earthen half-pint mug out of which he was accustomed to take his draughts of ale at a certain publick house in the neighbourhood of Stratford every Saturday afternoon,” Steevens in Supplement to Shakespeare, 1780, ii. 369.

No. 152. And the Court.—That the *Tempest* was originally written with a view to its production before the Court may perhaps be gathered from the introduction of the *Masque*, and from the circumstance that Robert Johnson was the composer of the music to *Full Fathom Five* and *Where the Bee Sucks*, the melodies of which, though re-arranged, are preserved in Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads set for three Voices*, 1660. Johnson is mentioned, in the Treasurer's accounts for 1612, as one of the royal musicians "for the lutes." There may be a suspicion that, when the author was engaged upon this drama, the company were short of actors, and that he was bearing this deficiency in mind when he made Ariel, in the midst of a "corollary" of spirits, unnecessarily assume the somewhat incongruous personality of Ceres. A similar observation will apply to his introduction as a harpy, neither transformation exactly harmonizing with the incipient delineation of his attributes.

No. 153. The evening of the first of November.—In the Booke of the Revells, extending from 31 October, 1611, to 1 November, 1612, a manuscript in the Audit Office collection, there is a page containing a list of plays acted during that period before the Court, two of Shakespeare's being therein mentioned in the following terms,—“By the Kings players Hallomas nyght, was presented att Whithall before the Kinges Majestie a play called the *Tempest*.—The Kings players the 5th of November, a play called the *Winters Nightes Tayle*.” This list is considered by more than one experienced paleographer to be a modern forgery, but, if this be the case, the facts that it records were, in all probability, derived from a transcript of an authentic document. Speaking of the *Tempest*, in the Account of the Incidents, 1809, p. 39, Malone distinctly says,—“I know that it had a being and a name in the autumn of 1611;” and he was not the kind of critic to use these decisive words unless he had possessed contemporary evidence of the fact.

No. 154. With success.—Dryden gives us two interesting pieces of information respecting the comedy of the *Tempest*,—the first, that it was acted at the Blackfriars' Theatre; the second, that it was successful. His words are,—“the play itself had formerly been acted with success in the Black-Fryers,” Preface to the *Tempest* or the *Enchanted Island*, ed. 1670. This probably means that the comedy was originally produced at the Blackfriars' Theatre after the Children had left that establishment, and it is alluded to in a list of “some of the most ancient plays that were playd at Blackfriars,” a manuscript dated in December, 1660. It is not at all improbable that the conspicuous position assigned to this comedy in the first folio is a testimony to its popularity, for that situation is unquestionably no evidence of its place in the chronological order.

No. 155. *In the year 1613.*—It has been thought that Ben Jonson alludes to the *Tempest* and the *Winter's Tale* in the following passage in the Induction to his *Bartholomew Fair*, first acted in the year 1614, which is thus printed in the original edition of the play that appeared in 1631, the distinctions of italics and capital letters not being peculiar to this quotation, and therefore of little value in the consideration of the opinion respecting the allusion,—“if there bee never a *Servant-monster* i' the *Fayre*, who can helpe it, he sayes? nor a nest of *Antiques*? Hee is loth to make nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales*, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*.” As the *Tempest* and the *Winter's Tale* were both acted at Court shortly before the production of *Bartholomew Fair*, and were probably then in great estimation with the public, there would be some grounds for the conjecture that Shakespeare's plays are here alluded to, were it not for the circumstance that Jonson can hardly be considered to refer to regular dramas. In the comedy of *Bartholomew Fair* he ridicules those primitive dramatic exhibitions which, known as motions or puppet-shows, were peculiar favourites with the public at that festival. In some of these tempests and monsters were introduced, as in the motion of *Jonah and the Whale*. The “nest of anticks,” which is supposed to allude to the twelve satyrs who are introduced at the sheep-shearing festival, does not necessarily refer even to the spurious kind of drama here mentioned. The “servant-monster,” and the “nest of anticks,” may merely mean individual exhibitions. If the latter really does relate to a dramatic representation, it may very likely be in allusion to the fantastic characters so frequently introduced in the masques of that period; but the context seems to imply that Jonson is referring to devices exhibited at the fair.

July 26th
 Entered for his copie Downe by the shude
 of m^r J^r Passant & m^r water son warden
 of booke called the *Reliance of Hamlet*
 of mine sonmarke aboye year
 Catholick dated by the Lo: of Amberbury
 his servaunt

No. 156. *In the Spring.*—This appears from the entry in the books of the Stationers' Company on July 26th, 1602, of “a booke called the

Revenge of Hamlett, Prince Denmarke®, as yt was *latelie acted* by the Lo: Chamberleyne his servantes." The tragedy is not noticed by Meres in 1598, and it could not have been written in its present form before the spring of the year 1600, the period of the opening of the Globe, there being a clear allusion to performances at that theatre in act ii. sc. 2.

No. 157. Our national tragedy.—There was an old English tragedy on the subject of Hamlet which was in existence at least as early as the year 1589, in the representation of which an exclamation of the Ghost,—"Hamlet, revenge!"—was a striking and well-remembered feature. This production is alluded to in some prefatory matter by Nash in the edition of Greene's *Menaphon* issued in that year, here given V.L.—"Ile turne backe to my first text, of studies of delight, and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators. It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions that runne through euery arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Nouerint* whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuors of art, that could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so forth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls, of tragical speaches," Nash's Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, first edition, the statement of there having been a previous one being erroneous. Another allusion occurs in Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596, p. 56,—“and though this fiend be begotten of his fathers own blood, yet is he different from his nature, and were he not sure that jealousy could not make him a cuckold, he had long since published him for a bastard;—you shall know him by this, he is a foule lubber, his tongue tipt with lying, his heart steeld against charity; he walks for the most part in black under colour of gravity, and looks as pale as the visard of the ghost which cried so miserally at the Theator like an oister wife, *Hamlet, revenge.*” Again, in Decker's *Satiromastix*, 1602,—“*Asini.* Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca.—*Tuc.* No, fye'st my name's *Hamlet, revenge.*—Thou hast been at Parris Garden, hast not?—*Hor.* Yes, Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there;” with which may be compared another passage in Westward Hoe, 1607,—“I, but when light wives make heavy husbands, let these husbands play mad *Hamlet*, and crie *revenge.*” So, likewise, in Rowlands' *Night Raven*, 1620, a scrivener, who has his cloak and hat stolen from him, exclaims,—“I will not cry, *Hamlet, revenge* my greeves.” There is also reason to suppose that another passage in the old tragedy of Hamlet is alluded to in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608,—“ther are, as Hamlet sayes, things cald whips in store,” a sentence

which seems to have been well-known and popular, for it is partially cited in the Spanish Tragedie, 1592, and in the First Part of the Contention, 1594. It seems, however, certain that all the passages above quoted refer to a drama of Hamlet anterior to that by Shakespeare, and the same which is recorded in Henslowe's Diary as having been played at Newington in June, 1594, by "my Lord Admeralle and my lorde Chamberlen men." This older play was clearly one of a series of dramas on the then favourite theme of revenge aided by the supernatural intervention of a ghost, and a few other early allusions to it appear to deserve quotation. "His father's empire and government was but as the poeticall furie in a stage-action, compleat, yet with horrid and wofull tragedies; a first, but no second to any *Hamlet*; and that now *Revenge*, just *Revenge*, was comming with his sworde drawne against him, his royall Mother, and dearest Sister, to fill up those murdering sceanes," Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia, 1605. "Sometimes would he overtake him and lay hands upon him like a catch-pole, as if he had arrested him, but furious Hamlet woulde presently cyther breake loose like a beare from the stake, or else so set his pawes on this dog that thus bayted him that, with tugging and tearing one anothers frockes off, they both looked like mad Tom of Bedlam," Decker's Dead Terme, 1608. "If any passenger come by and, wondring to see such a conjuring circle kept by hel-houndes, demaund what spirits they raise ther, one of the murderers steps to him, poysons him with sweete wordes and shifts him off with this lye, that one of the women is falne in labour; but if any mad Hamlet, hearing this, smell villanie and rush in by violence to see what the tawny divels are dooing, then they excuse the fact, lay the blame on those that are the actors, and, perhaps, if they see no remedie, deliver them to an officer to be had to punishment," Decker's Lanthorne and Candle-light, or the Bell-man's Second Nights Walke, 1608, a tract which was reprinted in 1609 and afterwards under more than one title. "A trout, Hamlet, with foure legs," Clarke's Parœmiologia Anglo-Latina, or Proverbs English and Laune, 1639, p. 71. The preceding notices may fairly authorize us to infer that the ancient play of Hamlet,—1. Was written by either an attorney, or an attorney's clerk, who had not received a university education.—2. Was full of tragical high-sounding speeches.—3. Contained the passage, "there are things called whips in store," spoken by Hamlet; and a notice of a trout with four legs by one of the other characters.—4. Included a very telling brief speech by the Ghost in the two words,—Hamlet, revenge!—whence we may fairly conclude that the spectre in this, as in the later play, urged Hamlet to avenge the murder.—5. Was acted at the Theatre in Shoreditch and at the playhouse at Newington Butts.—6. Had for its principal character a hero exhibiting more general violence

than can be attributed to Shakespeare's creation of Hamlet. It also appears that this older play was not entirely superseded by the new one, or, at all events, that it was long remembered by play-goers.

No. 158. The Revenge of Hamlet.—This title encourages the belief that Shakespeare's tragedy was to some unknown extent founded on the older drama, whence he probably obtained most of his incidents and a few bald hints for some of his dialogues, especially for those of the latter that are disfigured by unnecessary ribaldry. It may be suspected that Polonius would never have been called a fishmonger had there not been a cognate pleasantry in that scene of the earlier play in which there was an allusion to a trout, both terms being allied in meanings that are unworthy of explanation. Whether the compiler of ed. 1603 was indebted to it for any of his language is a point which, however probable, is not likely to be satisfactorily determined. The manuscript of the elder play of Hamlet no doubt belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's company, otherwise some notice of it would have appeared in Henslowe's diary after its performance in June, 1594, and this view is to some degree confirmed by the notice given by Lodge in 1596 of its performance in Shoreditch. It may be concluded, therefore, that Shakespeare had good opportunities for being well acquainted with the earlier piece.

No. 159. In course of representation.—It appears from a stage-direction in the quarto of 1603, that, in Burbage's time, Ophelia in act iv., sc. 5, came on the stage playing upon a lute, no doubt accompanying herself on that instrument when singing the snatches of the ballads. "Enter Ofelia playing on a lute, and her haire downe singing," ed. 1603. No such direction occurs in the other quartos, while the folio has merely,—“enter Ophelia distracted.” It is also worth notice that, in the original performance, Hamlet appeared on one or more occasions without either coat or waistcoat,—“Puts off his cloathes; his shirt he onely weares, = Much like *mad-Hamlet*; thus as passion teares,”—Daiphantus, 1604.

No. 160. Recently composed.—Bishop Percy, who died in 1811, owned a copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1598, with manuscript notes by Gabriel Harvey, a portion of one of them, as first printed by Steevens in 1773, being in the following terms,—“the younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, but his Lucrece and his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort.” The fate of this volume being unknown, there is no alternative but to give what seem to be the essential particulars of the case from the notes of Malone and Percy which occur in letters of 1803 in the Bodleian Library and in an essay in the *variorum Shakespeare*, ed. 1821, ii., 369.—Harvey's autograph in the book is followed by the date of 1598, and, in the same manuscript passage from which the above extract is taken, there is an allusion to Spenser and Watson as two of “our now flourishing metricians.” It has been assumed from these facts, Spenser

having died in January, 1599, that the Hamlet note must have been written in the previous year; but the death of Watson having occurred long before the 1598 edition of Chaucer appeared, it is clear that the words *now flourishing* are used in the sense of *now admired*. It is also certain that Harvey's manuscript date is only that of the time when he became possessed of the volume, for in one passage he speaks of *Translated Tasso*, and the first edition of Fairfax, which is doubtlessly alluded to, appeared in 1600.

No. 161. Its popularity.—This is shown by the direct evidence in Daiphantus, 1604,—“faith, it should please all, like Prince Hamlet.” There is no question, as in some other notices, of the possibility of the reference being to the older drama, the author distinctly mentioning it as one of “friendly Shakespeare's tragedies.” It may be observed that Hamlet is the only one of Shakespeare's plays which is noticed as having been acted in his life-time before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The distinction was a rare one, as may be gathered from the terms in which Ben Jonson acknowledges the similar honour which was bestowed upon his comedy of Volpone.

No. 162. Until the Summer.—The edition of 1603, as appears from its title-page, could not have been published until after the nineteenth of May in that year, while the statement of the tragedy having been “*diverse times* acted by his Highnesse servants in the Cittie of London, as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where,” may probably lead to the conclusion that the book was not issued until late in the year. What share Trundell possessed in this edition is not known, but, as he was a young catch-penny tradesman of inferior position, it is not unlikely that he it was who surreptitiously obtained the imperfect and erroneous copy, placing it in the hands of some obscure printer who would have less fear of the action of the Stationers' Company than a man of higher character would have entertained. It was certainly printed by some one who had a very small stock of type, as is shown by the evident deficiency of some of the Italic capitals.

No. 163. Employed an inferior and clumsy writer.—The proposition here advanced seems to be the one that most fairly meets the various difficulties of an intricate problem, an interpretation explaining nearly all the perplexing circumstances which surround the history of the barbarously garbled and dislocated text of the first edition, and accounting for what is therein exhibited of identity with and variations from the characterization and dramatic structure of the authentic work. There is another theory which assumes that the quarto of 1603 is a copy, however imperfect, of Shakespeare's first sketch of the play. Were this the case, surely there would be found in it some definite traces of the poet's genius, sparkling in lines which belong to the variations above

noticed, and which could not have found a place in the short-hand notes of the enlarged tragedy. There can scarcely be a doubt but that the unreasonable length of this drama led to all manner of omissions in the acting copies, and that these last were subjected to continual revision at the theatre. If this were so, it is not unlikely that the first edition may contain small portions, more or less fully exhibited, of Shakespeare's own work nowhere else to be found; but, taking that edition as a whole, excluding those parts of it which, either accurately or defectively rendered, are evidently derived from the genuine play, there is little beyond an assemblage of feeble utterances and inferior doggerel, the composition of which could not reasonably be assigned to any period, however early, of Shakespeare's literary career. The absolute indications of the hand of a very inferior dramatist are clearly visible in his original scene of the interview between the Queen and Horatio, and it is more easy to believe that such a writer could have made structural and characterial alterations which subtle reasoning may persuade itself are results of genius, than that Shakespeare could ever have written in any form that which no amount of logic can succeed in removing from the domain of balderdash. So wretched, indeed, is nearly the whole of the twaddle which has been cited as part of the first draft of the immortal tragedy, that one is inclined to suspect plagiarism in cases where anything like poetry is discovered. In one instance, at all events, in the lines beginning, "Come in, Ofelia," ed. 1603, sig. C. 2, there seems to be a palpable imitation of words of Viola in Twelfth Night.

No. 164. Scraps.—The exact mode in which all these fragments were obtained will ever remain a mystery, but some were clearly derived from memoranda taken in short-hand at the theatre. Independently of spurious words which may possibly be ludicrous misprints, there are errors that cannot easily be explained on any other hypothesis, as *right done* for *writ down* in the second scene of the first act. In act ii, sc. 2, *in venom steept* is printed *invenom'd speech*, and by a similar ear-mistake we have, "the law hath writ those are the only men." The uniform spelling of Ofelia in ed. 1603 may also be due to ear-notes. The celebrated "to be" speech appears to be a jumble formed out of insufficient memoranda, a conjecture supported by the circumstance of the word *borne* (bourn) being misunderstood and converted into *borne*, with another meaning. So in act iii., sc. 4, "most secret and most grave," is converted into, "I'll provide for you a grave;" and probably the short-hand for *inheritor* was erroneously read as *honor*, the sentence being arranged to meet the latter reading. The three beautiful lines commencing, "anon as patient as the female dove," are abbreviated most likely through short-hand to the single one, "anon as mild and gentle as a dove"; and there are numerous other instances of palpably bungling abridgments of the text. Some of the notes of lines taken at

the play must have been imperfect, as, for example, in the Player-King's speech commencing, "I do believe," where the word *think* having been omitted in the notes, the line is incorrectly made up in ed. 1603 by the word *sweet*. In act i., sc. 2, "a beast that wants discourse of reason" is printed, "a beast devoid of reason." Again, the name of Gonzago is correctly given in one speech in ed. 1603, while in another it is printed Albertus, and there are other variations in the names of persons and localities which may possibly be due to the short-hand writing of such names being easily misinterpreted. Thus the town of Vienna appears as Guyana, this variation occurring in an erroneous text of one of the genuine Hamlet speeches so incorrectly printed that he is made to address his uncle as Father. To this short-hand cause may also be attributed the orthography of the names of Valtemand, Cornelius, Laertes, Rosencraus, Guyldensterne, and Gertrard in ed. 1604 being as follows in ed. 1603,—Voltemar, Cornelia, Leartes, Rossencraft, Gilderstone, Gertred. In some instances it would seem that the compiler had no memoranda of the names, and hence the omission of those of Barnardo and Francisco may be explained. Then, again, there is the important fact that the compiler of the edition of 1603 either was possessed of notes or had recollected portions of the folio copy as they were recited on the stage. See, for example, the garbled version of the sentence, "the clown shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickled o' the sere," which is altogether omitted in the other quartos. The expressive line,—"what, frightened with false fire,"—is peculiar to ed. 1603 and the folio, and is identical in both with the insignificant exception that the reading *fires* occurs in the former. The line, "that to Laertes I forgot myself," is found only in eds. 1603 and 1623, not in the other quartos. A trace of Hamlet's within speech, the repetitions of *mother* in act iii., sc. 4, in ed. 1623, not in ed. 1604, is found in ed. 1603; and the Doctor of ed. 1604 is correctly given as the Priest in eds. 1603, 1623. Mere verbal coincidences, of which there are several, are of less evidential value, but *French grave* in eds. 1603 and 1623 for the *friendly ground* of ed. 1604 are variations hardly to be accounted for excepting on the above hypothesis. It is thus perfectly clear that the text of the folio copy and that of the first edition are partially derived from the same version, and there can be little doubt that portions of the latter were taken from some copy of the genuine drama which was printed in the following year. It seems impossible to account otherwise for the identity of a large number of lines common to the editions of 1603 and 1604, that identity extending even sometimes to the spelling and the nearly textual copy of more than one speech, as, for instance, that of Voltimand in act ii. sc. 2, while a comparison of the first act in the two copies would alone substantiate this position. Some peculiar orthography may also be fairly adduced as corroborative evidence, e.g.,

Capapea in the quartos for the *cap-a-pe* of the folio, *strikt* for *strict*, *cost* for *cast*, *troncheon* for *truncheon*, *Nemeon* for *Nemian* (Nemean), *eager* for *aygre*, *Fortenbrasse* for *Fortinbras*, *penitrable* for *penetrable*, *rootes* for *rots*, and, especially, the unique verbal error *sallied*. This last is a strange perversion of the term *solid*, and one which appears to prove decisively that the quarto texts of the well-known speech in which it occurs were all derived in some way or other from one authority. It is, however, evident, from its corrupted form, that the speech in ed. 1603 was not copied from the manuscript used by the first printer of the enlarged work. At present the only feasible explanation of the difficulty is one suggested by Professor Dowden, who thinks that the compositor engaged on the second quarto may have found it convenient and useful to have by him a copy of the printed edition of 1603. If his manuscript had been obscurely written, a glance at that edition might have assisted him, and hence the misprints have been accidentally copied, the hand mechanically repeating the word that occupied his eye.

No. 165. Or other memoranda.—In the play of Eastward Hoe, printed in 1605, there is a parody on one of Ophelia's songs, which is of some interest in regard to the question of the critical value of the quarto of 1603, the occurrence of the word *all* before *flaxen* showing that the former word was incorrectly omitted in all the other early quartos. So, again, in 1606, when the author of Dolarnys Primerose made use of one of Hamlet's speeches, the recollection was either of the printed version of 1603, or, what is more probable, of the play as originally acted, as is evidenced by the use of the word *quirks*, which is peculiar to that edition. The latter theory may be supported by an apparent Hamlet reference in the Dutch Courtezan, 1605,—“wha, ha, ho, come, bird, come,”—the word *bird* in Shakespeare's tragedy first appearing in print in ed. 1623; and the certain quotation,—“illo, ho, ho, ho, art there, old truepeny,”—in the Malcontent, 1604, is far more likely to have been derived from a performance of Hamlet than from the contemporary printed edition, the word *old* not improbably belonging to the original text of the nobler drama.

No. 166. Abnormal variations.—The compiler of the edition of 1603 must have made use of some version of the story that originally appeared in the works of Saxo Grammaticus, that version, in all probability, being the one then current in the elder tragedy. Note, for example, the feelings and conduct of the Queen towards Hamlet at the end of her interview with him and afterwards, as also her solemn denial of any complicity in the murder. The change of the names of Corambis and Montano in ed. 1603 to those of Polonius and Reynaldo in ed. 1604 has not been satisfactorily explained. Corambis, a trisyllable, not only suits the metre in the mangled play, but also in the three instances in which the name of Polonius occurs in verse in

Shakespeare's own tragedy. Hence it may be concluded that the great dramatist did not alter the former name on his own judgment, but that, for some mysterious reason, the change was made by the actors and inserted in the play-house copy at some time previously to the appearance of the edition of 1604.

No. 167. Enlarged.—Although Roberts registered the copyright of the tragedy in 1602, he did not, so far as we know, print the work before 1604, and then with a note which appears to imply that the edition of 1603 was not "according to the true and perfect copy," but that the new one was "imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was" *by the use of that copy*. This impression was re-issued in the following year, the title-page and a few leaves at the end, sigs. N and O being fresh printed, the sole alteration in the former being the substitution of 1605 for 1604. If the initials I. R. are those, as is most likely, of James Roberts, a printer frequently employed by Ling, there must have been some friendly arrangement between the two respecting the ownership of the copyright, which certainly belonged to the latter, as appears from the entry on the books of the Stationers' Company of November, 1607, when he transferred his interest to Smethwick.

No. 168. Admirably portrayed by Burbage.—This is ascertained from the very interesting and ably written elegy on Burbage, but there is no record of his treatment of the character, his delineation probably differing materially from that of modern actors. Stage tradition merely carries down the tricks of the profession, no actor entirely replacing another, and, in the case of Hamlet, hardly two of recent times but who are or have been distinct in manner and expression, and even in idea. The fact appears to be that this tragedy offers a greater opportunity than any other for a variety of special interpretations on the stage, those being created by the individual actor's elevation or depression of one or more of the hero's mental characteristics. According to Downes, Sir William Davenant, "having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars company act it, who, being instructed by the author, Mr. Shaksepeur®, taught Mr. Betterton in every particle of it," *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708. Shakespeare may have given hints to Burbage, but Taylor did not undertake the part until after the author's decease. See Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4.

No. 169. Hamlet leaping into Ophelia's grave.—"Leartes leapes into the grave,—Hamlet leapes in after Leartes," stage-directions in ed. 1603. When the author of the elegy on Burbage mentions having seen that actor play Hamlet *in jest*, the lines following do not necessarily allude to the scene in the grave, the words *this part* most likely referring to the character generally. It may here be observed that the presumed allusion to Kemp in the speech respecting the extempore wit of clowns is purely fanciful, while the conjecture that he

undertook at any time the part of the First Gravedigger in Shakespeare's tragedy is contrary to all probability. There is no reliable evidence that Kemp was a member of Shakespeare's company either at or after the production of Hamlet.

No. 170. The once popular stage-trick.—There is a graphic description of the incident in a Frenchman's account of the tragedy as performed at Covent Garden, in Kemble's time, 1811,—“it is enough to mention the grave-diggers to awaken in France the cry of rude and barbarous taste, and were I to say how the part is acted it might be still worse ;—after beginning their labour and breaking ground for a grave, a conversation begins between the two grave-diggers ;—the chief one takes off his coat, folds it carefully and puts it by in a safe corner ; then, taking up his pick-axe, spits in his hand, gives a stroke or two, talks, stops, strips off his waistcoat, still talking, folds it with great deliberation and nicety, and puts it with the coat, then an under-waistcoat, still talking, another and another ;—I counted seven or eight each folded and unfolded very leisurely in a manner always different, and with gestures faithfully copied from nature ;—the British public enjoys this scene excessively, and the pantomimic variations a good actor knows how to introduce in it are sure to be vehemently applauded.” A similar artifice was formerly introduced in the performance of the Duchess of Malfi, certainly produced before March, 1619, for when the Cardinal tells the Doctor to put off his gown, the latter, according to the stage-direction in ed. 1708, “puts off his four cloaks one after another.” Another old stage-trick was that of Hamlet starting to his feet, and throwing down the chair on which he had been sitting, in his consternation at the sudden appearance of his Father's spirit in act iii. sc. 4. This incident is pictured in the frontispiece to the tragedy in Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, 1709, and it is no doubt of much greater antiquity. It appears from this engraving that, in the then performance of Hamlet, the pictures referred to by the hero in that act were represented by two large framed portraits hung on the walls of the chamber, and this was probably the custom after the Restoration, the separate paintings taking the place of those in the tapestry, the latter accidental and imaginary. Hamlet on the ancient stage no doubt pointing to any designs in the arras in which figures were represented. It is clear from his speech in the genuine tragedy that the portraits were intended to be whole lengths, and this would be inconsistent with the notion of miniatures, to say nothing of the absurdity of his carrying about with him one of the “pictures in little” the rage for the possession of which he elsewhere disparages.

No. 171. Not a native of that village.—For John Hall of Acton was married there on September the 19th, 1574, to Margaret Archer, and “Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of John, xxnd the v.th of June, 1575.”

The poet's son-in-law, in 1635, bequeathed "my house in Acton" to his daughter, who was possibly named after the lady above mentioned. All this is, however, suggested with diffidence, for Hall being one of the commonest of surnames, absolute identifications are hopeless in the absence of definite clues, and little assistance can be derived from the arms found on the gravestone of 1635. No record exists of the tinctures belonging to those arms, and the coat stands, in different colours, for various families of Hall. It should be observed that the registers of Maidstone negative a favourite conjecture that he was the son of an eminent physician of that town.

No. 172. The Old Town.—"I have seen, in some old paper relating to the town, that Dr. Hall resided in that part of Old Town which is in the parish of Old Stratford," MS. of R.B. Wheler, c. 1814. If so, Hall's residence was not very near Church Street, and it must have been either one of the few houses on the north of Old Town or one on the small piece of land between the College grounds and the borough. It is not likely that it occupied the latter situation, the house that was standing there in 1769 being then described as having formerly consisted of three tenements, and these were, no doubt, in Hall's time merely small cottages.

No. 173. New Place.—In the Vestry notes of October, 1617, he is mentioned as residing in the Chapel Street Ward, and "Mr. Hall at Newplace" is alluded to in a town record dated February the 3rd, 1617-18. Mrs. Hall continued to reside there until her death in 1649, and during some part, if not all, of the time of her widowhood, her daughter and son-in-law lived with her in the same house. Thomas Nash speaks of it as being in his own occupation in August, 1642, and in a manuscript dated 14 March, 1645-6, he alludes to "my mother-in-law, Mrs. Hall, who lives with me." He was, however, practically only a lodger, Mrs. Hall being not only at the time the legal owner of the estate but also the ratable occupier of the house. The latter fact is clear from the overseers' accounts of June, 1646, in which she is noted as being in arrears of rates to the amount of eight shillings and sixpence.

No. 174. His advice was solicited.—These particulars are gathered from a rare little volume entitled,—“Select Observations on English Bodies, or Cures both Empericall and Historically performed upon very eminent Persons in desperate Diseases, first written in Latine by Mr. John Hall, physician, living at Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire, where he was very famous, as also in the counties adjacent, as appears by these Observations drawn out of severall hundreds of his as choyssest; now put into English for common benefit by James Cooke, practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery,” 12mo. Lond. 1657. A second edition appeared in 1679, re-issued in 1683 with merely a new title-page. In the original small octavo manuscript used by Cooke much of the Latin

is obscurely abbreviated, and some of the translations appear to be paraphrased. The cases were selected from a large number of previous notes, and being mostly undated, without a chronological arrangement, it is impossible to be certain that some of them are not to be referred to the time of the poet. The earliest one to which a date can be assigned seems to be that of Lord Compton, at p. 91, who was attended by Hall previously to his lordship's departure with the King for Scotland in March, 1617. Hall was evidently held in much esteem by the Northampton family, whom he attended both at Compton Wynyates and at Ludlow.

No. 175. Strong religious tendencies.—He occasionally attended the vestries, most likely as often as regard for his professional duties warranted, and interested himself in all that related to the services of the parish church, to which he presented a costly new pulpit. He was selected one of the borough churchwardens in 1628, a sidesman in 1629, and he was exceedingly intimate with the Rev. Thomas Wilson, the vicar, a thorough-going puritan, who was accused of holding conventicles, and of having so little ecclesiological feeling that he allowed his swine and poultry to desecrate the interior of the Guild Chapel. When the latter individual, in 1633, brought a suit in Chancery against the town, Hall seems to have been nominated a churchwarden by the vicar on purpose that the latter might have an excuse for making him a party to the suit, which he accordingly did, although the nomination was subsequently cancelled. They were such great friends that the vicarial courts were sometimes held at New Place. Of Hall's religious sincerity a favourable opinion may be formed from a memorandum written by him after his recovery from a serious illness in 1632,—“Thou, O Lord, which hast the power of life and death, and drawest from the gates of death, I confesse without any art or counsell of man, but only from thy goodnesse and clemency, thou hast saved me from the bitter and deadly symptomes of a deadly fever, beyond the expectation of all about me, restoring me, as it were, from the very jaws of death to former health, for which I praise Thy name, O most Mercifull God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying thee to give me a most thankfull heart for this great favour, for which I have cause to admire thee.”

No. 176. Expelled in 1633.—He had for many years previously exhibited a great reluctance to serve on the Town Council, where his attendances would have interfered with the calls of his arduous profession. Elected a burgess in 1617 and again in 1623, he was on each occasion excused from undertaking the office, but in 1632 he was compelled to accept his election, non-attendances being punishable by fines, the payment of which the Corporation were determined to enforce. Serious disputes arose between the Council and himself respecting these fines and other matters, the differences culminating in the

following almost unprecedented resolution which was passed at a meeting held in October, 1633,—“at this hall Mr. John Hall is displaced from being a Capital Burgesse by the voices and consent of nineteene of the Company, as appeareth by the letter *r* at there names, for the breach of orders wilfully, and sundry other misdemeanours contrary to the duty of a burgesse and the oath which he hath taken in this place, and for his continual disturbances at our halles, as will appeare by the particulars.” The bad feeling that existed between Hall and the Corporation was prolonged by his appearance as one of the plaintiffs in the Chancery suit that was shortly afterwards brought against the latter.

No. 177. On the following day.—“November 26, Johannes Hall, medicus peritissimus,” burial register for 1635. His tombstone bore the following inscription, thus given in Dugdale’s Warwickshire Antiquities, ed. 1656, p. 518,—“Here lyeth the body of John Hall, gent.—he marr. Susanna, daughter and coheir of William Shakespere, gent.—he deceased November 25, anno 1635, aged 60 years.—Hallius hic situs est, medica celeberrimus arte,=Expectans regni gaudia leta Dei.=Dignus erat meritis qui Nestora vinceret annis=In terris omnes, sed rapit æqua dies ;=Ne tumulo quid desit, adest fidissima conjux,=Et vitæ comitem, nunc quoque mortis, habet.” The concluding lines of this epitaph would appear to indicate that it was composed after the death of the widow in the year 1649.

No. 178. The only interesting personal glimpse.—For it surely cannot profit us to be informed that on one occasion she was “miserably tormented with the collick,” *Select Observations*, ed. 1657, p. 24. A similar observation will apply to Hall’s notices of his daughter’s illnesses, and none of these have been thought worthy of transcription.

No. 179. To whom she was warmly attached.—When he was afflicted with a dangerous illness in 1632, Mrs. Hall was so uneasy about him that, on her own responsibility, she secured the attendance of two physicians at New Place; v. *Select Observations*, ed. 1657, p. 229. It was doubtlessly at her wish that she was buried in her husband’s grave, a fact that is gathered from the concluding lines of the epitaph on his tombstone, which give an evidence that must outweigh that of the record of her death on the adjoining one. The probability seems to be that the latter inscription, with its accompanying verses, were written with the intention of their being engraved on the physician’s tomb, but that, for want of sufficient room, they were inscribed on another slab.

No. 180. On the grave-stone that records her decease.—The inscription here referred to having been tampered with in modern times, the following copy of it is taken from Dugdale,—“Here lyeth the body of Susanna, wife of John Hall, gent., the daughter of William Shakespere, gent.—She deceased the 2. day of July, anno 1649, aged 66;” the numeral *two* being an error for *eleven*. “July 16, Mrs. Susanna Hall,

widow," Stratford burial register for 1649. The verses given in the text were on the original stone under the above-named memorial, but, in the early part of the last century, they were removed to make space for a record of the death of one Richard Watts, who owned some of the tithes and so had the right of sepulture in the chancel. In 1844, the last-named inscription was erased for the restoration of the lines on Mrs. Hall, which had been fortunately preserved in the Warwickshire Antiquities, ed. 1656, p. 518.

No 181. His father and uncle.—Thomas Nash, the father of these persons, died suddenly at Aylesbury in the course of a journey from London, and was buried at the former place on June the 2nd, 1587. He left several children, including Anthony, his eldest born, afterwards described as of Welcombe and Old Stratford, who died in 1622, and John, his second son, a resident in the Bridge Street Ward, whose decease occurred in the following year. Both of these persons are remembered in the poet's will by gifts of rings, and Anthony, who busied himself very much in agricultural matters, was present in October, 1614, when Replingham signed the agreement respecting the enclosures. Thomas Nash, the husband of Shakespeare's granddaughter, and the eldest son of this Anthony by Mary Baugh of Twining, co. Gloucester, was baptised at Stratford-on-Avon on June the 20th, 1593. He was executor under his father's will in 1622, the latter bequeathing him two houses and a piece of land near the bridge termed the Butt Close. It may be mentioned that amongst "the names of such persons within the burrough of Stratford-upon-Avon who by way of loane have sent in money and plate to the King and Parliament," 24 Sept., 1642, is found as by far the largest contributor,— "Thomas Nashe esq^r, in plate or money paid in at Warr; 100*l*." There were other Nashes resident at Stratford, but the individuals above noticed belong to the family that was the highest in social position, one entitled to coat armour which, as well as the pedigree, were entered by Thomas Nash at the visitation of 1619.

No. 182. Became a widow in 1647.—Thomas Nash died at New Place on April the 4th, and was buried at Stratford on the next day. "Aprill 5, Thomas Nash, gent.," burial register for 1647. His tombstone in the chancel bore the following inscription, here taken from the copy in Dugdale's Warwickshire Antiquities, ed. 1656, p. 518,— "Here resteth the body of Thomas Nashe, esquier;—he mar. Elizabeth, the daug. of John Hall, gentleman;—he dyed Aprill 4, anno 1647, aged 53.—Fata manent omnes; hunc non virtute carentem, = Ut neque divitiis abstulit, atra dies = Abstulit, at referet lux ultima; siste, viator, = Si peritura paras per mala parta peris." This monument was in a dilapidated condition at the end of the last century, and had probably further deteriorated before most of the Shakespeare family memorials

were either tampered with, or replaced by new slabs, during the extensive alterations made in the church about the year 1836. Malone informs us that, in 1790, six words in the above elegy were then entirely obliterated, and Hunter speaks of the inscription in 1824 as being then "nearly perished."

No. 183. About two years afterwards.—She was married on June the 5th, 1649, at Billesley, a village about four miles from Stratford-on-Avon. The register is lost, and the accuracy of these facts rests on information given to Malone in a letter from Northampton written in the year 1788.

No. 184. Bardon Hill.—This hill, from the summit of which are to be seen exquisite views of the Cotswolds, is situated about a mile from Stratford-on-Avon, and overlooks the village of Shottery. Henry Cooper, a tradesman of Stratford-on-Avon, residing in Ely Street, in a letter to Garrick written in 1771, mentioning astroites, says,—“thees small stones which I have sent are to be found on a hill called Barn-hill within a mild^o of Stratford, the road that Shakespear whent when he whent to see his Bidford topers; thees stones will swim in a delf-plate amongst viniger.” In Shakespeare’s day there was no carriage or wagon road over Bardon Hill, the route supposed to have been followed by the poet having been then no doubt a bridle-way. It may be observed that the word *topers* does not appear to have been in use, in the sense above intended, before the middle of the seventeenth century.

No. 185. Noted for its revelry.—But in a report on the state of Bidford in 1605, we are told that “alehouses keepe good order in them; roagues punyshed;” and, in another one for 1606, that “alehouses keepe good order,” Warwick Corporation MSS. It is possible, however, that these may have been exceptional years, for at a later period there are different tales. In 1613, one John Darlingie was presented at Bidford “for keepinge ill rule in his house on the sabaoth in service time by sellenge of alle,” MS. *Episc. Reg. Wigorn.* In 1646, six of the ale-house keepers were presented at the Warwick Sessions for pursuing their calling without licenses, and in the following year, 1647, “William Torpley of Bidford presented for sellenge of lesse then mesure, and for keeping disorders in his howse,” Warwick County MSS.

No. 186. He happened to meet with a shepherd.—A gentleman who visited Stratford-on-Avon in 1762, relates how the host of the White Lion Inn took him to Bidford, “and shewed me in the hedge a crab-tree called Shakespear’s Canopy, because under it our poet slept one night; for he, as well as Ben Johnson, loved a glass for the pleasure of society; and he, having heard much of the men of that village as deep drinkers and merry fellows, one day went over to Bidford to take a cup with them;—he enquired of a shepherd for the Bidford drinkers, who

replied they were absent, but the Bidford sippers were at home, and, I suppose, continued the sheepkeeper, they will be sufficient for you; and so, indeed, they were;—he was forced to take up his lodging under that tree for some hours,” *British Magazine* for June, 1762. This is the only traditional account which is of the slightest value, but a ridiculous amplification of it is narrated by Jordan in a manuscript written about the year 1770. This manuscript, which was formerly in Ireland’s possession (*Confessions*, 1805, p. 34), and is now in my own collection, is here printed V.L.,—“The following anecdote of Shakespeare is tho a traditional Story as well authenticated as things of this nature generally are I shall therefore not hesitate relating it as it was Verbally delivered to me. Our Poet was extremely fond of drinking hearty draughts of English Ale, and glory’d in being thought a person of superior eminence in that profession if I may be allowed the phrase. In his time, but at what period it is not recorded, There were two companys or fraternitys of Village Yeomanry who used frequently to associate together at Bidford a town pleasantly situate on the banks of the Avon about 7 Miles below Stratford, and Who boasted themselves Superior in the Science of drinking to any set of equal number in the Kingdom and hearing the fame of our Bard it was determined to Challenge him and his Companions to a tryal of their skill which the Stratfordians accepted and accordingly repaired to Bidford which place agreeable to both parties was to be the Scene of Contention. But when Shakespeare and his Companions arrived at the destined spot, to their disagreeable disapointment they found the Topers were gone to Evesham fair and were told that if they had a mind to try their strenght with the Sippers, they were ther ready for the Contest, Shakesp^r and his compainions made a Scoff at their Opponents but for want of better Company they agreed to the Contest and in a little time our Bard and his Compainions got so intollerable intoxicated that they was not able to Contend any longer and accordingly set out on their return to Stratford But had not got above half a mile on the road e’er the found themselves unable to proceed any farther, and was obliged to lie down under a Crabtree which is still growing by the side of the road where they took up their repose till morning when some of the Company roused the poet and intreated him to return to Bidford and renew the Contest he declined it saying I have drank with—Piping Pebworth, Dancing Marston,=Haunted Hillborough, Hungry Grafton,=Dadgeing Exhall, Papist Wicksford,=Beggary Broom, and Drunken Bidford,”—meaning, by this doggrel, with the bibulous competitors who had arrived from the first-named seven villages, all of which are within a few miles of Bidford. A tinkered version of this latter anecdote, in which it is for the first time classed amongst the “juvenile levities” of Shakespeare, was sent by the writer to Malone in

the year 1790 as one that was told him by George Hart who died in 1778, and who was a descendant from the poet's sister. It will be found in Malone's edition of Shakespeare, 1821, ii. 500-502; and two other accounts, those in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1794, and in Ireland's Views on the Warwickshire Avon, 1795, pp. 229-233, are known to have been constructed from materials furnished by Jordan. Another version, that printed in the Monthly Mirror for November, 1808, is obviously taken from the one of 1794. There is hearsay, but no other kind of evidence, that the story, as above given, was in circulation anterior to its promulgation by the Stratford rhymer, and until more satisfactory testimony can be adduced to that effect, it must remain under the suspicion of being one of his numerous fabrications. This seems, indeed, the only feasible explanation that can be given of the lines on the villages not appearing, if they had been then current, in the traditional account of 1762. They have the appearance of belonging to the tribe of rural doggrels of the kind that were formerly so popular in our country districts. They may be genuine, and yet of course have no real connection with the Shakespearean history, however cleverly they have been adapted to Bacchanalian utterances.

No. 187. Easily find the Sippers.—Long after the time of Jordan, some one, without the least authority, asserted that these gentlemen were discovered at the Falcon Inn at Bidford. It is scarcely credible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that a room in a large building once so called, though probably not a tavern at all in Shakespeare's time, has been unblushingly indicated as the scene of the revelry. It has also been pretended that an antique chair, said to have been in that building from time out of mind, was the identical seat occupied by the poet; and even the sign of the inn, a daub of the last century, has been considered worthy of respectful preservation.

No. 188. Sufficiently jolly.—The epigram on Wincot ale, printed in Sir Aston Cokain's Poems, 1658, having been produced in support of other versions of the story, it should be mentioned that it obviously has no connection with the Shakespearean tradition, even if it be a fact that the Falcon Inn at Bidford was kept, in the poet's time, by a person of the name of Norton. The latter statement is made in Green's Legend of the Crab-Tree, 1857, p. 14, but no evidence on the subject is adduced. It appears, however, from the parish register, commencing in 1664, that there was a Norton family residing in that village in 1687 and 1692. In the only other early documents that I have been able to consult, the manorial rolls from 1671 to 1681, there is no mention either of the Falcon Inn or of the Nortons.

No. 189. Under the branches of a crab-tree.—From a sketch which was made by Ireland either in 1792 or 1793, the fidelity of which was

assured to me many years ago by persons who had seen the tree in their youthful days, it may be inferred that it was then of an unusual size and antiquity, and there is certainly no impossibility in the assumption that it was large enough in the poet's time to have afforded the recorded shelter. Early in the present century it began to decay, the foliage gradually disappearing until, in 1824, the only remaining vestiges, consisting of the trunk and a number of roots, all in an advanced stage of decay, were transferred to Bidford Grange.

No. 190. Early in the following morning.—Some of the later ramifications of the tale are sufficiently ludicrous. Thus we are told in Brewer's Description of the County of Warwick, 1820, p. 260, that "those who repeat the tradition in the neighbourhood of Stratford invariably assert that the whole party slept undisturbed from Saturday night till the following Monday morning, when they were roused by workmen going to their labour." According to an improved version of this form of the anecdote, so completely had the previous day been effaced from the sleeper's memory that, when he woke up, he rebuked a field labourer in the vicinity for his desecration of the sabbath.

No. 191. In corn and other articles.—There were other glovers at Stratford-on-Avon in Elizabeth's time, who did not restrict themselves to their nominal business. One of them dealt in wool, yarn, and malt, the last-named article seeming to be their usual additional trading material. "George Perrye, besides is glovers trade, usethe buyinge and sellinge of woll and yorne, and makinge of mallte," MS. dated 1595. "Roberte Butler, besides his glovers occupation, usethe makinge of mallte," MS. *ibid.* "Rychard Castell, Rother Market, usethe his glovers occupation; his weiffe utterethe weekelye by bruyng ij. strikes of mallte," MS. *ibid.* In one of the copies of an inventory taken at Stratford after the death of Joyce Hobday, 1602, are the following entries,—“George Shacleton oweth me for woll. xxiiij.s.—Mr. Gutteridge oweth me for calves lether, iiij.s. viij.d.—John Edwards of Allveston, alias Allston, oweth me for two pere of gloves, viij.d.” Even in this century there were firms in the north who were glovers and dealers in wool, as well as dyers of leather and dressers of skins. In former days glovers were almost invariably fellmongers, the material furnished by the latter being well adapted for the production of coarse leather gloves, the only ones that, in John Shakespeare's time, were in general provincial use. “To Townsen, the glover, for two sheepe skines, vj.s. viij.d.,” records of Rye, co. Sussex, 1604. “Butler of Puddle Wharfe, a glover, fellmonger, or sheep-skin-dresser,” Brian, 1637. There is, in the churchyard of Stratford-on-Avon, a tombstone of the latter part of the seventeenth century (1688-9) to the memory of “a fellmonger and glover.”

No. 192. The concentration of several trades.—Thus it is recorded in 1595, that “Thomas Rogers. now baieliefe of this towne, besydes his

butchers trade, which untill now of late hee allwaies used, hee ys a buyer and seller of corne for great somes, and withall usethe grazinge and buyinge and sellenge of cattell, and hathe in howshold xiiij. persons ;” and in the same year we are told, under *Hyghe Streete*, that “Jhon Perrye useth sometimes his butchers trade besides his husbandrye.” When Aubrey states that John Shakespeare was a butcher, he either confused the father’s occupation with that of the son, or was led to the assertion by the probable circumstance of the former having sometimes dealt in meat when he was the owner of *Asbies*. There can be little doubt that John Shakespeare, in common with other farmers and landowners, often killed his own beasts and pigs both for home consumption and for sale, but it is in the highest degree improbable that his leading business was ever that of a butcher. If that had been the case, there would assuredly have been some allusion to the fact in the local records. Two other examples of the combination of trades at Stratford-on-Avon are worth adding. “Mr. Persons hathe, bèsides his trade of draperye and lyvinge yeerely commynge in, of longe tyme used makinge of mallte and bruyinge to sell in his howse, and ys a common buyer and seller of corne,” MS. dated 1595. “Peeter Davyes, besides his woolwynders occupacion, usethe the makinge of mallte and victuallinge,” MS. *ibid*.

No. 193. The domination of a commercial spirit.—It is not at all probable that Shakespeare could have entertained, under the theatrical conditions that surrounded his work, the subtle devices underlying his art which are attributed to his sagacity by the philosophical critics, and some of which, it is amusing to notice, may be equally observed, if they exist at all, in the original plot-sources of his dramas. Amongst the most favourite and least tenable of these fancies is that he gratuitously permitted his art to be controlled by the necessity of blending a variety of actions in subjection to one leading moral idea or by other similar limitations. But the phenomenon of a moral unity is certainly not to be found either in nature or in the works of nature’s poet, whose truthful and impartial genius could never have voluntarily endured a submission to a preconception which involved violent deviations from the course prescribed by his sovereign knowledge of human nature and the human mind.

No. 194. If this view.—It is well supported by the few accessible evidences. The poet was not a member of Lord Strange’s company in May, 1593, or his name would assuredly have been included in the list of that date. If he was then one of Lord Pembroke’s actors, there were ample reasons for his leaving them in the following autumn, when they are mentioned as having been in such deplorable straits that they were compelled to pawn their theatrical apparel. The company of actors under the patronage of the Earl of Sussex was disbanded in the spring of 1594, some of them in all probability joining those of the Lord

Chamberlain. There is, moreover, the corroborative fact that Shakespeare, throughout his subsequent career, was never known to write for any other managers but those with whom he was theatrically connected.

No. 195. A play on the subject of Henry the Fifth.—It would seem from the epilogue to the Second Part of Henry the Fourth that Shakespeare's original intention was to make his play on the subject of the following reign one of a more comic nature than that which ultimately appeared, one in which the dramatic construction would no doubt have harmonized with the previous design.

No. 196. It was favourably received.—The surreptitious editions may be fairly regarded as evidences of the popularity of Henry the Fifth, and it was performed at Court by the King's players early in the year 1605. This sovereign was probably a favourite character on the old English stage. There was not only the Famous Victories, which appeared either in or before 1594, but a new drama called Henry the Fifth was produced at one of the Surrey theatres in the following year. "The 28 of Novmbr, 1595, n.e., R. at Harey the v, iij.li. vj.s," Henslowe's Diary. The patriotic influences of one or more of the three dramas are noticed by Heywood in his Apology for Actors, 1612.

No. 197. Specially relished.—This may be gathered from the title-page of ed. 1600, and it would even seem that the play was sometimes known under the title of Ancient Pistol. In the reply of a decisive young lady to a boisterous lover, he is told,—“it is not your hustie rustie can make me afraid of your bigge lookes, for I saw the plaie of Ancient Pistoll, where a craking coward was well cudgeled for his knavery; your railing is so neere the rascall that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the rogue upon you,”—Breton's Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters, 1603, “newly enlarged,” the tract having originally appeared in the preceding year. In the Scornful Lady, a comedy written before 1616, Beaumont introduces a character who is a poor imitation of Pistol.

No. 198. Of any of those.—These editions do not contain the choruses, and, as the latter were written as early as 1599, it is next to impossible that the quartos represent the author's imperfect sketch. The fact that Shakespeare wrote the play after he had completed the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, as appears from the epilogue to the latter, precludes the supposition that Henry the Fifth could have been a very early production; and especially such a piece as would be suggested by the edition of 1600. It is, moreover, perfectly clear that some of the speeches in that impression are mere abridgments of others in the perfect version.

No. 199. The unity of character.—The definition given in the text conveys a sense different from that in which the term is used by the æsthetic critics. “The unity of feeling,” observes Coleridge, “is every-

where and at all times observed by Shakespeare in his plays; read *Romeo and Juliet*,—all is youth and spring; it is one and the same feeling that commences, goes through, and ends the play; the old men are not common old men,—they have an eagerness, a heartiness, a vehemence, the effect of spring;—this unity of feeling and character pervades every drama of Shakespeare,” *Notes and Lectures*, ed. 1875, p. 63. One may be permitted to suspect that this kind of individuality exists solely in the fancy, while it is very difficult to understand that it could be preserved throughout an entire drama without an undue limitation of the author’s fidelity in his characterizations. The notion that the composition of one play was uniformly influenced by the geniality of youth and spring, that of another by the rigor of old age and winter, and so on;—this, in reference to the works of nature’s great interpreter, is one of the most curious theories yet enunciated by the philosophical commentators.

No. 200. No fewer than a hundred and twenty-seven acres.—The præcipe of the fine is dated May the 28th, 1610,—“Willielmo Combe armigero, et Johanni Combe, generoso, quod juste &c. teneant Willielmo Shakespere, generoso, conventionem &c. de centum et septem acris terre, et viginti acris pasture, cum pertinentiis, in Old Stratford et Stratford-super-Avon.” This property is mentioned in 1639 as “all those fower yards land and a halfe of arrable, meadowe and pasture, with thappurtenaunces, lying and being in the townes, hamblets, villages, feilds and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Ould Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe,” and a like description is found in the later settlements. The extent of a yard land curiously varied even in the same localities of the same county, and the facts that a hundred and seven acres were taken as four of them in 1602, and twenty as a half of one of them in 1639, show that there was formerly no precise idea on the subject.

No. 201. With affectionate tributes.—At this period the funereal charges at Stratford included four-pence for ringing the bell, and the like sum for the use of the pall. The latter article was very frequently dispensed with, but both were ordered upon this occasion,—“item, for the bell and pall for Mr. Shaxpers dawghter, viij.d.” A payment

Item for 4^{te} bell & pall for m^r Shaxpers dawghter 2 — 10^{ms}

dictated by sentiment cannot reasonably be adduced in evidence respecting the circumstances of the parents, although even such comparatively insignificant amounts were of moment in those days to an embarrassed tradesman.

No. 202. On that Saturday.—De Quincy was the first to conjecture that the 22nd of April, corresponding to our present 4th of May, is the real birthday. The suggestion was derived from the circumstance of the poet's only grand-child having been married to Thomas Nash on the 22nd of April, 1626; and few things are more likely than the selection of her grandfather's birthday for such a celebration. Only ten years had elapsed since his death, and that he had been kind to her in her childhood may be safely inferred from the remembrances in the will. Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the precise interpretation of the record of the age under the monumental effigy, the latter is a certain evidence that Shakespeare was not born after the 23rd of April. It may also be fairly assumed that the event could not have happened many days previously, for it was the almost universal practice amongst the middle classes of that time to baptize children very shortly after birth. The notion that Shakespeare died on his birthday was not circulated until the middle of the last century, and it is completely devoid of substantial foundation. Had so unusual a circumstance occurred, it is all but impossible that it should not have been numbered amongst the early traditions of Stratford-on-Avon, and there is good evidence that no such incident was known in that town at the close of the seventeenth century. There is preserved at the end of the parish register a few notes on the local celebrities headed,—“I finde these persons remarkable,”—written about the year 1690, and under the poet's name is this statement,—“born Ap. the 26th, 1564,”—a date obviously taken from the baptismal register, and proving that the writer had no other information on the subject.

No. 203. With such celerity.—Shakespeare commenced to write for the stage in or shortly before the winter of 1591-1592, and prior to the summer of 1598 he had written at least fifteen plays, including several of his master-pieces. In the course of the next four years he had produced, amongst others, *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night*. Having thus reached the summit of dramatic power in the middle of his literary career, an endeavour to classify or to study a large number of his works in an order of progressive ability would be manifestly futile. Shakespeare is not to be judged by ordinary rules, and, although it is obvious that a few of his plays belong to the very early years of authorship, it is equally certain that he shortly afterwards exercised an unlimited control over his art.

No. 204. Who had died some time previously.—This is the most probable view of the case, but the register of the first Joan's burial has not been discovered, being, in all probability, one of the omissions in the later transcript of the original entries. It should be observed that, in the time of Elizabeth, and for long afterwards, the practice of giving a deceased child's first name to a successor was extremely common. In

this way Shakespeare's friend, Adrian Quiney, born in 1586, was preceded by a brother of the same name whose burial was recorded two years previously. It may also be worth mentioning that a Christian name was occasionally repeated in a family even in cases where the earlier holder of it was still living; but the absence of all other notice of the first Joan renders this latter contingency somewhat improbable. Goodlacke Edwardes of Worcester, clothier, in his will of 1559, distinctly mentions two daughters of the name of Anne both living at the same time, and this baptismal practice was the occasional source of litigation.

No. 205. Joan was then so common a name.—It was frequently in those days considered synonymous with Jane. "Wray said, the names are both one, and so it had been adjudged before this time, upon conference with the grammarians, that Jane and Joane is one name," Croke's Reports for Easter Term, 32 Eliz., ed. 1683, i. 176.

No. 206. The great dramatist purchased.—One of the indentures of conveyance has the following endorsement,—"Combe to Shackspeare of the four yard land in Stratford field." These words have been thought to be in Shakespeare's handwriting, but they were indubitably written long after the poet's decease.

No. 207. In complete readiness for the purchaser's attestation.—With one label ready placed for one seal only, showing that the counterpart was intended for the poet's signature. The text of the duplicate indenture is practically identical with the one given in this work, the few variations that are found in it being of the most insignificant and accidental character.

No. 208. A long and tedious poem.—It was probably not a very successful publication, unsold copies having been re-issued in 1611 under the new title of,—"The Annals of great Brittain; or, a most excellent Monument, wherein may be seene all the antiquities of this Kingdome, to the satisfaction both of the Universities or any other place stirred with Emulation of long continuance."

No. 209. The recognized pieces of this latter series.—The character of the work, throughout the entire volume, should suffice to exclude the irrational conjecture that deception has been practised in any of these attributions. It is scarcely possible that the external testimony to their genuineness could have been more decisive, while the internal evidence in the case of Shakespeare's poem can only be regarded as unsatisfactory by those who are under the impression that his style was never materially influenced by contemporary emergencies.

No. 210. The amazing number of different characters.—It has been often remarked that some of Shakespeare's characters are germs of others that were brought on the stage at a later period of composition, but this is a notion that will not be sustained by a patient analysis, especially if the different circumstances by which they are surrounded are taken

Facsimile of the Title-page to the concluding portion of Chester's Loves Martyr or Rosalins Complaint, allegorically shadowing the Truth of Love in the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle.

HEREAFTER FOLLOW DIVERSE

Poeticall Effaies on the former Subject; viz: the *Turtle* and *Phœnix*.

Done by the best and chieftest of our moderne writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes: neuer before extant.

And (now first) consecrated by them all generally, to the loue and merite of the true-noble Knight, Sir Iohn Salisburie.

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.



MDCI.

Facsimile of the Page of Chester's Loves Martyr, with the concluding Verses of Shakespeare's lines on the Phoenix and Turtle, from the original edition which was published in London in the year 1601.



Threnos.

Beautie, Truth, and Raritie,
Grace in all simplicitie,
Here enclofde, in cinders lie.

Death is now the *Phoenix* nest,
And the *Turtles* loyall brest,
To eternitie doth rest.

Leauing no posteritie,
Twas not their infirmitie,
It was married Chastitie.

Truth may seeme, but cannot be,
Beautie bragge, but tis not she,
Truth and Beautie buried be.

To this vrne let those repaire,
That are either true or faire,
For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.

William Shake-speare.



fully into consideration. There are an infinite number of trivial variations a very few of which in themselves suffice to elicit a diversity between the natures of two persons, both of whom may yet be endowed with a large proportion of the same characteristics.

No. 211. Pericles.—No mention of this play has been discovered in any book or manuscript dated previously to the year 1608. The statement that an edition of Pimlyco or Runne Red-Cap was issued in 1596 is inconsistent with the original entry of that tract on the Registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of April the 15th, 1609.

No. 212. At the Globe Theatre.—George Wilkins, probably the dramatist of that name, made up a novel from Twyne's *Patterne of Paineiful Adventures*, and from *Pericles* as acted at the Globe Theatre in 1608. It was published in that year under the title of,—“The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre; being the true History of the Play of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet John Gower, 1608.” This very rare and curious tract is printed in small quarto, and in the centre of the title-page is an interesting wood-cut of John Gower, no doubt in the costume in which he was represented at the theatre, with a staff in one hand and a bunch of bays in the other; while before him is spread open a copy of the *Confessio Amantis*, the main source of the plot of the drama. Wilkins, in a dedication to Maister Henry Fermor, speaks of his work as “a poore infant of my braine;” but he nevertheless copies wholesale from Twyne, adapting the narrative of the latter in a great measure to the conduct of the acting play. It appears from the circumstance of Wilkins frequently using passages obviously derived from the tragedy in the wrong places, and from his making unnecessary variations in some of the main actions, that he had no complete copy of *Pericles* to refer to, and that his only means of using the drama was by the aid of hasty notes taken in short-hand during its performance at the Theatre. At the end of the argument of the tale, he entreats “the reader to receive this historie in the same manner as it was under the habite of ancient Gower, the famous English poet, by the Kings Majesties Players excellently presented.” Other evidences of the theatrical success of *Pericles* occur in the title-pages of ed. 1609, in *Pimlyco or Runne Red-Cap*, 1609, and in *Taylor's Hogge Hath Lost his Pearle*, 1614; and, notwithstanding occasional depreciations of it on the score of immorality, there are numerous testimonies to its continued popularity during the reigns of James and Charles the First, *insignis Pericles*, as it is called in some unpublished Latin verses of Randolph. The following little anecdote may possibly refer to a period anterior to the death of Shakespeare,—“two gentlemen went to see *Pericles* acted, and one of them was moved with the calamities of that prince that he wept, whereat the other laughed extremely. Not long after, the same couple went to see the Major of

Qinborough, when he who jeered the other at Pericles now wept himselfe, to whom the other, laughing, sayd, what the divell should there bee in this merry play to make a man weep? O, replied the other, who can hold from weeping to see a magistrate so abused? The jest will take those who have seene these two plaies," Booke of Bulls baited with two Centuries of bold Jest and nimble Lies, 1636.

No. 213. The first edition.—Printed in 1609, "as it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Servants at the Globe on the Banck-side." It was published before the fifth of May in that year, 1609, there existing a copy with an owner's autograph written on that day. The copies of this edition vary from each other in some important readings, and there are two impressions of 1609 distinguishable from each other by having variations in the device of the first capital letter in the text. A third edition was issued in 1611, "printed at London by S.S.," a surreptitious and badly printed copy with numerous typographical errors. There is a rather curious peculiarity in the title-pages of the two earliest editions, the Christian name of the author being divided from his surname by a printer's device of two small leaves.

No. 214. The poet's share.—Dryden, writing about the year 1680, expressly states that Pericles was the earliest dramatic production of our national poet,—“Shakespear's own muse her Pericles first bore,=The Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moore.” If this were really the case, the Globe play of 1608 must of course have been a revival of a much earlier work; but Dryden, as appears from several of his notes, was very imperfectly acquainted with the history of the Elizabethan drama, so that his statement, or rather what may more judiciously be termed his opinion, on this subject cannot be implicitly relied upon. Thus, for example, in one place he decisively states Othello to have been Shakespear's last play, whereas it is now well-known to have been in existence more than eleven years before his death.

No. 215. Inconsistent with the perfect unity and harmony of the dramatic art.—And so are the various theories which assume that Shakespear worked for the establishment of preconceived moral or ethical intentions. Such views would have been beyond the theatrical requirements of his age, and, considered as emanations from his own temperament, is it credible that, if he had seriously desired to entertain them as objects of his work, they could ever have been listlessly interrupted by a neglect to encounter the smallest trouble in their favour, as when, for example, he adhered to the foundation-tale in the pardon of so repulsive a villain as Angelo. It is certain that, as a rule, instead of constructing his own plots, he followed almost literally the incidents of stories already in existence. He then seems to have been enabled, by the gift of a preternatural instinct, to create simultaneously, and interpret the minds of, any required number of personages whose resultant

actions, under the various circumstances by which they were surrounded, and the powers with which they were invested, would harmonize with the general conduct of the tale, and lead naturally to its *adopted* dénouement. In a drama written under such conditions, the combination of a special philosophical design of any kind with fidelity to nature in characterization would be clearly impossible. And although the belief that the great dramatist wrote numerous speeches with an ethical purpose cannot be so distinctly refuted, yet even this modified theory is at best but a mere surmise. The introduction of some of his treasures of wisdom may be due to a following of the dramatic practice of the day, and as to the remainder, it is surely not very wonderful that the instinctive metaphysician,—the unrivalled expositor of the human mind amidst its numberless permutations of conditions and influences,—should become on countless occasions an incidental moralist.

No. 216. King Lear.—There was an old and popular ballad on the history of King Lear, the earliest known copy of which is preserved in the Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and delicate Delights, wherein is contained the Histories of many of the Kings, Queenes, Princes Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlewomen of this Kingdome, 1620. This was the third edition of that little work, and although no earlier copy of it has been discovered, it is all but impossible that it could have been published before the appearance of Shakespeare's tragedy.

No. 217. One or more.—There were at least two old plays on the subject in the dramatic repertory of the time, one which was printed under the title of the True Chronicle History of King Leir, and another, now lost, that bore probably more affinity to Shakespeare's drama. The latter fact is gathered from an interesting entry in an inventory of theatrical apparel belonging to the Lord Admiral's Company in March, 1598-9, where mention is made of "Kentes woden leage," that is, stocks. A play of King Lear was acted in Surrey on April the 6th and 8th, 1594, by the servants of the Queen and the Earl of Sussex, who were then performing as one company. The representation attracted liberal receipts, especially on the first of these occasions, but it is not mentioned by Henslowe as being then a new production. In the May of that year there was entered to Edward White, on the books of the Stationers' Company, "a booke entituled the moste famous chronicle historye of Leire Kinge of England and his three daughters." No impression of that date is known to exist, the earliest printed copy which has been discovered being one which appeared in 1605. On the title-page of a copy of this last-named edition, preserved in the British Museum, are the following words in manuscript,—"first written by Mr. William Shakespeare." This note is nearly obliterated, but it was certainly penned too long after the date of publication to be of value in a question of authorship. Poor as this old play of King Leir undoubtedly is as a

whole, it has passages of considerable merit, and it seems to have been popular in Shakespeare's time. According to the title-page of ed. 1605 it had then "bene divers and sundry times lately acted," and in a work called the *Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, 1614*, it is stated that "King Liere, a book so called," *hath applause*.

No. 218. Before King James.—It is certain that Shakespeare's tragedy was not produced before March, 1603, the date of the publication of Harsnet's Declaration, a book whence the names of some of the fiends mentioned by Edgar were, perhaps indirectly, taken, but the other notices in *King Lear* that have been thought to bear upon the question of its date are of a less decisive character. Such is the variation of the terms of British and English, but the former occurs more frequently than the latter in the older play; while allusions to such matter as storms and eclipses are exceedingly treacherous criteria. Moreover, if the tragedy had been produced any length of time previously to the Christmas of 1606, it would be difficult to account for the evidences of its popularity accruing only in the following year. What are termed the æsthetic evidences are pureful fanciful. Thus we are told by one of the shrewdest of critics, that "in *King Lear* the Fool rises into heroic proportions, and shows not less than Lear himself the grand development of Shakespeare's mind at this period of maturity." But too extravagant is the hope of interpreting the development of a mind that had already produced the tragedy of *Hamlet*, and that development at all events is not likely to be faithfully traced in characteristics, which, in the hands of so unlimited a genius, may be fairly regarded as natural dramatic evolutions from an adherence to the outline of a popular story.

No. 219. Continued in the family.—The settled estates named in the poet's will consisted of his residence and grounds at New Place, the house in the Blackfriars, the land purchased from the Combes, and the Henley Street property. The entail of these was barred and a resettlement made in 1639, but the latter was abrogated by a new one, executed in 1647, by which Mrs. Nash became the owner of the estates subject to the life-interest of Susanna Hall and to a limitation in favour of her issue. Some years after the death of Mrs. Hall the Henley Street and Blackfriars estates came, under some unrecorded conditions, to be treated as fee-simples belonging to the testator's grand-daughter; but the two other properties, New Place and the Combe land, were resettled in 1652 to the use of Mr. and Mrs. Barnard for their joint and survivorship lives, with a remainder to her children, and, in default of issue, to her appointment.

No. 220. The unities of character.—In venturing to suggest the preservation of these as one of the leading characteristics of Shakespeare's dramatic work, it is under the impression that in this respect he is essentially superior, certainly to Ben Jonson, and, I believe, to all

contemporary writers. It is possible, indeed, that a skilful analyzer of every one of his numerous characters might occasionally meet with an apparent or even with a real discrepancy, but this would not materially endanger the integrity of the position here advanced. The few examples of this kind may be attributed either to Shakespeare's extreme rapidity of composition, or to circumstances that occasioned intermittent work, or even, on rare occasions, to the necessity of a compliance with the exigencies of the stage.

No. 221. Continued to be one of mud.—"It is to be noticed that Dr. Davenport's old garden wall had not been erected more than thirty years, and was built where a mud wall, which had been standing there many years, was taken down, and the open ditch was filled up, and a culvert made to carry away the water," Defendant's Case in the Bree Suit at the Warwick Summer Assizes, 1807. The ditch here referred to was the one that was formerly on the south side of Chapel Lane.

No. 222. One of the valuable tithe-leases.—There is nothing to lead to the usual opinion that Quiney was referring to the lease the moiety of which was sold in 1605. When Sturley mentions "our tithes" and the "very great moment" Shakespeare's purchase of them would be "both to him and to us," he alludes, in all probability, to some in which they were likely to be interested as farmers in the event of an individual, who was practically a non-resident, becoming the owner. That Sturley and Adrian Quiney were likely to have officiated in such capacities is shown by a deposition, taken in 1590, respecting the tithe-hay of Clopton, "one Quiny and Abraham Sturley being farmers of the same," Worc. Episc. Reg. MS., a farmer being a person who collected and sold the tithe produce, paying over a stipulated amount to the lessee. The Corporation, who received, at that time, a fixed rent on each of the tithe divisions, would not have been affected by a change of ownership, neither could the latter have been of consequence to the inhabitants of the town.

No. 223. The same occupation.—There is this to be said in favour of Rowe's account, that it was formerly considered in many places that the eldest son had a kind of prescriptive right to be brought up to his father's occupation. Dr. Franklin mentions this usage as one that was an invariable rule with his English ancestors; Works, ed. 1793, i. 8.

No. 224. Allegorical characters.—The allegorical was the first deviation from the purely religious drama. The introduction of secular plays quickly followed, after which, from the close of the fifteenth century to the time of Shakespeare, there was a succession of interludes and other theatrical pieces in great variety, in many of which some of the characters were abstract personifications similar to those introduced into the moral-plays. The most ancient English secular drama which is known to exist was written about the year 1490 by the Rev. Henry

Medwall, chaplain to Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards printed by Rastell under the title of,—“a godely interlude of Fulgeus, Cenatoure of Rome, Luces his doughter, Gayus Flaminius and Publius Cornelius, of the Disputacyon of Noblenes.” Medwall was the author of at least two other lengthy pieces, in both of which, however, the characters were mainly allegorical, but he appears to have been the first writer who introduced a prose speech into an English play. His works, although rather dull even for his age, are superior both in construction and versification to those of his predecessors, and he may almost be said to be the founder of our famous national drama, that which lingered for generations after him in painful mediocrity until a little fervour, and more poetic beauty, were communicated to it by a small band of writers who were bestowing a literary character on the stage at the time of the poet's arrival in London. It was very shortly afterwards, and in the midst of this advance, that the English drama rose by a spirited bound to be first really worthy the name of art in the hands of Marlowe.

No. 225. The reckless gossip.—Aubrey was utterly wanting in either delicacy or charity when treating on matters that affected the reputations of others. Ben Jonson fared no better in his hands than Shakespeare. “Ben Johnson had one eie lower than tother and bigger, like Clun the player; perhaps he begott Clun,” Aubrey's Lives, iii. 54, MS.

No. 226. Who had the free use of Aubreys papers.—In his memoir of Sir William Davenant he occasionally uses the exact words of Aubrey, and Warton's implied statement, that there is a notice of the scandal in one of Wood's own manuscripts, is erroneous.

No. 227. Unconscious of a secret.—This may be concluded from the kind and liberal arrangements made in his will, 1622, in favour of “my sonne William.”

No. 228. All's one.—The half title, on the first page of the text, ed. 1608, runs as follows,—“All's One, or one of the foure plaies in one, called a York-shire Tragedy, as it was plaid by the kings Maiesties Plaiers.” As this drama was entered at Stationers' Hall on May the 2nd, it may be assumed that it had been performed by Shakespeare's company before that day.

No. 229. Composed by other dramatists.—This appears from the following entry under the year 1599 in Henslowe's diary,—“this 16th of October, 99, receved by me, Thomas Downton, of Phillipp Henchlow, to pay Mr. Munday, Mr. Drayton, and Mr. Wilson and Hathway, for the first parte of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcastell, and in earnest of the second parte, for the use of the company, ten pownd.”

No. 230. Which of these editions is the first.—Pavier entered the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, but without an author's name, on the Stationers' register of August, 1600, the drama having been produced by the Lord Admiral's company at the Rose in the previous November.

Henslowe, the manager of that theatre, was so well satisfied with the piece that, with unwonted liberality, he presented its authors with a gratuity on the occasion of its first performance. "Receved of Mr. Hincheloe, as a gefte for Mr. Mundaye and the reste of the poets, at the playnge of Sir John Oldcastell the ferste tyme, x.s.", Dulwich MS., 1599.

No. 231. No cancel of the poet's name.—Had the case been otherwise, it is all but impossible that copies with substituted title-pages should not have been discovered. If Pavier had withdrawn the name from the attributed drama after its publication, it is hardly likely that he would have been at the expense of printing an entirely new edition when the cancel of one leaf would have answered every purpose, that is to say, presuming that the withdrawal had been the result of any special remonstrance. Both editions of Sir John Oldcastle must have been issued in the latter part of the year, as Pavier did not enter into the publishing business until June, 1600.

No. 232. By inspiration not by design.—There is another theory which has met with considerable favour in recent times, the advocates of which would have us believe that Shakespeare's judgment throughout his dramatic writings was commensurate with his genius, and that, instead of troubling himself to weigh the chances of popularity, he was always working on an artistic and inner-life directed system to which the theatrical views of the day were altogether subordinate. Under the provisions of this theory has arisen, amongst other eccentric fancies, the arrangement of his works into definite Periods, each one being considered to represent a separate mental grade, and thus we are instructed by the inventor of this order how to discriminate between "the negative period of his perfection" and "the period of beauty" or "that of grandeur," while the last Period came, as we are informed in the explicit language of what is politely termed *the higher criticism*, "when the energies of intellect in the cycle of genius were, though in a rich and more potentiated form, becoming predominant over passion and creative self-manifestation," Coleridge's *Notes and Lectures*, ed. 1875, p. 81. It is difficult to understand the advantage of all this, but if classification of any kind is really thought to be of use, the most feasible, little as that most appears to be, is that which is deduced from variations in the style of composition and in range or character of knowledge and thought. It may certainly be possible to indicate a few of Shakespeare's dramas that undoubtedly belong to a period of comparative immaturity, but an enlarged division must necessarily be questionable in reference to the works of a dramatist who was endowed with a preternatural intelligence and an exhaustless versatility. Speculations on the exact periods of changes of personal taste in choice and treatment of subject are attended with even greater uncertainty, and involve the more than doubtful supposition that neither the managers of the theatre, nor the company

of actors, nor the prevailing temper of the audiences, exercised an influence in the matter. It is also to be observed that much of the tone of a play would depend upon the nature of the story that the author was dramatizing. Can any one seriously imagine that if, for example, the composition epochs of Hamlet and Lear had been reversed, the treatment of either subject would on that account have materially varied from that which it received? Or that it is possible to gauge the writer's mental or perceptive expansion, if there were any, that accrued in the interval between the two compositions. Of all these matters it will be the wisest to believe, in the words of old Leonard Digges, that "some second Shakespeare must of Shakespeare write."

No. 233. The poet being then in London.—This is ascertained from the following passage in Sturley's letter of January the 24th,—“bi the instructions u can geve him (Shakespeare) theareof;” language which is not likely to have been used had the poet been at Stratford and accessible to the elder Quiney

No. 234. Was buried at Southwark.—“Burialles, December, 1607.—31. Edmund Shakspeare, a player, buried in the Church with a forenoone knell of the great bell, xx.s.,” the Sexton's MS. note, St. Saviour's, Southwark. “1607, Decemb. 31, Edmond Shakespeare, a player, in the Church,” parish bur. reg. The fee for burial “in any churchyard next the Church” was only two shillings, but we are told that “the churchwardens have for the ground for every man or woman that shall be buried in the Church, with an afternoones knell or without it, xx.s.,” Duties belonging to the Church of St. Saviour, 1613. The fees for ringing the great bell amounted to eight shillings, whereas those for the use of the lesser one did not exceed twelve-pence, facts which indicate that no expense was spared in the conduct of Edmund's funeral.

No. 235. The road from Henley-in-Arden.—A tenement in Henley Street is described in a medieval deed as “unum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis in villa de Stratford, illud, videlicet, quod jacet in illo vico qui se extendit versus Enley.” In a similar manner there arose the names of Kent Street in Southwark, Dover Lane in Canterbury, Trumpington Street in Cambridge, &c.

No. 236. By the higher classes of Society.—So Chettle would appear to imply by using the expression, “divers of worship.”

No. 237. The gradation of the author's mental changes.—If, indeed, we knew by positive testimony the exact order in which Shakespeare's dramas were composed, it might then be within the legitimate province of criticism to suggest biographical deductions from that order; but no one may reasonably assume that a special disposition must have pervaded him at a conjectural epoch, and then conclude that a drama which is fancied to be in harmony with the temperament so indicated belongs to that period of his life.

No. 238. A single one of the actors.—Thomas Greene, the celebrated representative of Bubble in *Tu Quoque*, is said, on the doubtful authority of some lines quoted in the *British Theatre*, 1750, to have been one of Shakespeare's native acquaintances. Those lines are, in all probability, spurious, but even if they express a truth, it is in the highest degree unlikely that the circumstance could have influenced the poet's attachment to the theatre. This Thomas Greene, who was not the person of that name mentioned in the local records, is first heard of as an actor in the early part of the reign of James the First, when he was a member of Queen Anne's company, and there is no reason for believing that he was ever one of the colleagues of the great dramatist, while amongst the latter there was not one who is known to have been connected in any way with Stratford-on-Avon. The oft-repeated statement, that Richard Burbage came from that locality, is unsupported by the faintest evidence, there being no pretence whatever for conjecturing that the Stratford family were in any way connected with that of the great actor. The latter, moreover, were resident in London at least as early as 1576, and when Richard's brother Cuthbert exhibited his pedigree at the metropolitan visitation of 1634, he said nothing respecting a provincial descent. The surname of Burbage was not an unusual one, and was to be met with, in Shakespeare's time, in various parts of England. There were Burbages in Warwickshire not merely at Stratford, but at Kineton, Fillongley, Coventry, Whitacre, Hartshill and Corley, a list which could no doubt be extended by further research.

No. 239. Did not consider it necessary to deviate.—Preliminary to the formation of a modern impartial judgment on the authorship of *Titus Andronicus*, it will be only fair to dissociate Shakespeare entirely from the revolting details of the romance, and partially at least from their arrangement in the play itself. A theory which denies the possibility of his having been unduly influenced by his intimate professional association with the elder drama, as well as with the managers and actors of the day, not only in this instance but in several of his compositions, is one that would lead to inadmissible speculations. It must be recollected that, owing to the paucity of materials, we have very imperfect means of forming a judgment on the originality of his constructive art.

No. 240. The traditional belief of his own day.—And also of that of a previous age. Randolph, in his *Hey for Honesty*, 1651, speaking of the "vast power divine" of money, enquires affirmatively if for its sake "did not Shakespeare writ his comedy." The metrical quotation in the text is from Pope's First Epistle of the Second Book of *Horace Imitated*, fol., 1737, p. 5, but the opinion given in those lines must be considered an expansion of a similar one which is found in the preface to his edition of the works of the great dramatist, 1725,—"Shakespeare, having at his first appearance no other aim in his writings than to

procure a subsistence, directed his endeavours solely to hit the taste and humour that then prevailed."

No. 241. And popular.—This may be gathered from an allusion in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, where it is classed with Henry the Fifth amongst the stirring dramatic histories of that period. Capell, who was the first to print Edward the Third as the work of Shakespeare, mentions its attribution to him in a list of plays at the end of the *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656, and in an "Exact and Perfect Catalogue of all Playes that are Printed," perhaps the same list or another edition of it appended to some copies of *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661, not only Edward the Third, but also Edward the Second and Edward the Fourth are ascribed to the great dramatist. It is scarcely necessary to observe that late catalogues of this kind are of no value whatever in questions of authorship.

No. 242. In or before the year 1595.—It was entered at Stationers' Hall by Cuthbert Burby on December the 1st, 1595, and printed in the following year, "as it hath bin sundrie times plaied about the Citie of London." Another edition, with merely a few trivial variations, appeared in the year 1599. Burby's widow in 1609 assigned the copyright to Welby, who parted with it to Snodham in 1618, but no seventeenth century edition of the play is known to exist.

No. 243. A fidelity to nature.—The verification of this fidelity is obviously in many cases beyond the reach of experience, but it is unconsciously acknowledged in all through an instinct that would resent the suggestion that a demonstration was necessary. It may, however, be as well to observe that, when we speak of the great dramatist as being true to nature, it is with the limitation that all but the spiritual fidelity was subject to the conventionalities of the ancient stage.

No. 244. The Vendor.—The estate came to Matthew Bacon, then or afterwards of Gray's Inn, in the year 1590, in pursuance of some friendly arrangements, and it was sold by him to Henry Walker in 1604 for the sum of £100. In the conveyance of the former date mention is made of a well in the plot of land at the back of the house.

No. 245. To redeem the mortgage.—In mortgages of this period it was usual to name a precise date for repayment, unaccompanied by provisions respecting the interest on, or the continuation of, the loan. It does not, therefore, follow that, in this case, Shakespeare complied with the strict terms of the arrangement, which were to the effect that the debt should be liquidated at the following Michaelmas. It is at all events clear, from the declaration of trust in 1618, that the legal estate was vested in the trustees when Shakespeare granted the lease to Robinson, and, in all probability, the mortgage was paid off by the Halls shortly before they executed the deed of release to the latter.

No. 246. Of the same name.—For he did not appear in order to sign either of the deeds of 1613, and he was certainly in London about the time at which they were executed. The trustees were probably nominated by the vendor, none being required for Shakespeare's own protection. In the will of Hemmings, the actor, 1630, he describes himself as "citizen and grocer of London," but it is to be observed that Condell, in 1627, mentions him as "John Heminge, gentleman" The latter surname was by no means an unusual one.

No. 247. For enrollment.—"Indentura facta Willielmo Shakespeare, Willielmo Johnson, Johanni Jackson et Johanni Hemynge, per Henricum Walker," contemporary index to grantees, Rot. Claus., 11 Jac. I., pars 31, in v. Shakespeare. At the end of the enrollment, which of course verbally follows the original deed, is this note,—“et memorandum quod undecimo die Marcii, anno suprascripto, prefatus Henricus Walker venit coram dicto domino rege in Cancellaria sua, et recognovit indenturam predictam, ac omnia et singula in eadem contenta et specificata, in forma supradicta. Irrotulatur vicesimo-tercio die Aprilis, anno regni regis Jacobi Anglie undecimo.”

No. 248. Very near the locality.—This appears from the following descriptions of the parcels in the conveyance of the estate from Edward Bagley to Sir Heneage Fetherston in the year 1667, here given from an old abstract of title,—“all that piece or parcel of ground whereon, at the time of the late fire, two messuages or tenements which were formerly one messuage or tenement, and heretofore were in the tenure of Thomas Crane, and, at the time of the said fire, in the tenure of William Iles, lying in the parish of St. Ann, Blackfryers; and also all that piece or parcel of ground at the time of the said fire used for a yard, and adjoining to the said two messuages or tenements, or one of them, lying near Ireland Yard in the said parish, which said piece or parcel of ground does abbutt on the street leading to a dock called Puddle Dock, near the river Thames, on the east, and on other grounds of Sir Heneage Fetherston west, north, and south, and all vaults, cellars, &c.” The property is described in the settlements of 1639 and 1647 as then consisting of one messuage or tenement in the occupation of a shoemaker of the name of Dicks.

No. 249. Ireland Yard.—Probably so named after the William Ireland, a haberdasher, who occupied the house at the time of Shakespeare's purchase of it in 1613. His name is found, with a mark instead of a signature, as a witness to the conveyance-deed of 1604, but he did not enter on the tenancy until after the latter date. He also rented other property in the immediate neighbourhood.

No. 250. Followed the succession.—The Blackfriars house is included with the other entailed properties in the fine that was levied in Easter Term, 23 Car. I., in anticipation of the settlement of June, 1647. It is

curious, however, that, instead of one recovery only having been suffered in pursuance of the conditions of that settlement, there were two filed in Michaelmas Term, viz., one that referred to the Warwickshire estates and a separate one for "unum mesuagium cum pertinenciis in parochia sancte Anne, Blackfriars." This latter was preliminary no doubt to some contemplated arrangement, possibly for its sale, and it may be that such a transfer is alluded to in the following passage in Edward Nash's Bill of Complaint, Feb. 1647-8,—“and she, the said Elizabeth Nashe, by and with the consent and approbation of the said other partyes some or one of them, hath sould away part of the premisses devised unto your said orator and his heires, the certainty whereof nor the names nor vallue thereof your said orator cannot sett forth, but the same is very well knowne unto the said Elizabeth Nashe and the rest of the said partyes; and she, the said Elizabeth Nashe, doth now give out and pretend that she had a good estate in the said premisses at the tyme she sould the same, and that she had full power and lawfull authoritie to make sale of the said premisses, albeit she and the rest of the said persons well know the contrary.”

No. 251. Metrical tests.—These are the ignes fatui which, in recent years, have enticed many a deluded traveller out of the beaten path into strange quagmires. We may rest satisfied that no process which aims at establishing the periods of Shakespeare's diction with scientific accuracy, or, indeed, any system not grounded on the axioms of its spontaneous freedom and versatility,—of his complete indifference to rule or precedent in the adaptation of language to thought and stage elocution,—will ultimately be accepted. It is obvious that he adapted his metre generically to the theme, and specifically to character and sentiment; so that, although he could not have adopted a definitively late metrical fashion at an early period of his literary career, we cannot assume with certainty that he would ever have abandoned the intermittent use of any known measures, if they chanced to harmonise with the treatment of the subject and the positions of the characters. The fallacies appear to consist in the endeavour to regulate, by a theoretical order, the sequence of desultory and subtle uses of various metrical structures, and in the curious presumption of attempting to determine the mental conditions of which the deviations of those uses are the supposed result.

No. 252. Most of those epochs.—The extravagant introduction of lines with the hypermetrical syllable did not come into vogue with our dramatists until in or about the year 1610. This is the only one of the metrical tests which has a positive chronological value, the others having, at the best, only a correlative importance, and being practically useless in the presence of other evidence. If more plays of the time had been preserved, we might have had an accurate idea of the extent to which

Shakespeare's metre followed or initiated that of his contemporaries. What few there are, however, encourage the suspicion that it often, if not always, reflected, in its general forms, the current usages of the day. This may have been the case with his later, as it is known to have been with his earlier, dramas; and to a following of those usages may be fairly attributed not only some of his metrical adoptions, but much of what is now considered an artificial obscurity of diction.

No. 253. Or not very long afterwards.—The bill of complaint must have been drafted after the death of Thomas Combe in January, 1609, and before Lady Day, 1613. There is an obvious error in the notice of the unexpired term of Combe's lease.

No. 254. In favour of the complainants.—It would seem that, in 1626, all the tenants were liable to contribute, for in that year the Stratford Council "agreed that a bill in Chauncery shal be exhibited, and subpens taken forthe against and served on such as have not payde theire partes towards Barkers Rente."

No. 255. A rent-charge of £34.—In a "Rent Rolle of all the Landes and Tenementes belonginge to the Bailiffe and Burgisses of the Bouroughe of Stratforde-upon-Avon," 1598, is the following entry,— "thexecutours of Sir John Huband doe holde all maner of tythes of corne, grayne, and hey, in the townes, hamlettes, villages, and fieldes of Olde Stratford, Welcome and Bishopton, and all maner of tythes of woole, lambe, hempe, flaxe, and other small and privie tythes, for the yerely rent of xxxiiij.*li.* paiable at our Lady Day and Michaelmas." In the place of the executors of Huband there is inserted in Thomas Greene's later handwriting,— "Mr. Thomas Combes and Mr. William Shakespeare."

No. 256. A tendency towards increase.—It is at all events certain that about the time that the Corporation purchased their moiety from the poet's son-in-law in 1624, they obtained no less a sum than £90 for one year's product.

No. 257. Parted with the share in the tithes.—The Corporation arranged the purchase from John Hall in August, 1624, at the sum of £400, their tenancy to commence from the previous Lady Day; but the conveyance was not executed till March the 1st, 1625, and the money was not paid until some months after the date of that indenture. According to the deed last named, there was excepted from the moiety that was sold, "the tythes of two closses late leased to William Combe, esquier, att the yearelie rente of twentie shillings." The following paragraph in that indenture may be worth giving,— "and whereas the said William Shakespere, beinge possessed of the said moitie, or parcell of the said tythes, to him soe graunted and assigned by the said Raphe Huband, by his laste will and testamente, beareinge, date the fyve and twentythe day of Marche, in the yeares of the raigne

of our Sovereigne Lord James, nowe Kinge over England the fower-teenth, of Scotland the nyne and fortythe, did devise and will unto the said John Hall and Susanna his wiefe all the said moitye, or one halfe of the said tythes to him soe graunted or assigned by the said Raphe Huband, together with all his estate and terme of yeares therein then to come and unexpired ; by force and vertue whereof, or some other good assuraunce in lawe, the said John Hall and Susanna doe, or one of them doeth, nowe stand lawfullie estated and possessed of the said moitie of all and everie the said tythes for and duering the resydue of the said time of fourscore and twelve yeares yett to come and not expired."

No. 258. A free offspring of the ear.—Shakespeare probably wrote verse as easily as prose, and very few species of dramatic metre had then taken an absolute form by precedent. Even if it had been otherwise, the metrical ear, which, like that for music, is a natural gift, must, in his case, have revolted from a subjection to normal restrictions.

No. 259. A preliminary knowledge.—It should be recollected that the dramatic and theatrical arts are inseparable, that they bear no close analogy to any other, and that a real success in either is impossible without an efficient adaptation of the written matter to the conventionalities of the existing stage.

No. 260. On the stage.—The First Part of Henry the Fourth had been exhibited on the public stage before the name of Oldcastle had been altered to that of Falstaff. There is distinct evidence of this in the well-known allusion to the Honour speech in Field's Amends for Ladies, 1618, a piece which appears to be referred to in Stafford's Niobe Dissolv'd, 1611. Field must have written that comedy before he joined Shakespeare's company, and the only plausible explanation of the passage referring to Oldcastle is that the different names of the character long continued to be indiscriminately referred to by those who had witnessed the earliest representations of the play. At all events, it is certain that, after 1597, the name of the character was Falstaff on the public stage, as is clear from the title-pages of the early quarto editions of Shakespeare's play, and from there being allusions to him under that appellation in Every Man Out of his Humour, acted either in 1599 or early in 1600, and printed in the latter year; the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, written in 1599, printed in 1600; the Whipping of the Satyre, 1601; Sharpe's More Fooles Yet, 1610; New and Choise Characters of Severall Authors, 1615; and in numerous later works of the seventeenth century. It may be worth notice that the letter, in which Sir Toby Matthew curiously refers to Falstaff as the author of a speech he quotes, was certainly not written until after the death of Shakespeare. When the First Part of Henry the Fourth was acted at Court in 1613, it is mentioned under the titles of Sir John Falstaff and the Hotspur, and, in 1624, as the First Part of Sir John Falstaff.

No. 261. The spring of the year.—Certainly not long before March the 5th, 1597, on which day Lord Cobham, who had been the Lord Chamberlain of the Household since the previous August, expired; for if the name of Oldcastle had been thoughtlessly introduced into the comedy before that period, it is obvious that his lordship, under whom the poet then served, would not have required the Queen's authority for its suppression. It was probably his son, Henry, Constable of Dover Castle, who brought the subject before Elizabeth.

No. 262. By the composition of the Second Part.—The date is not known, but the name of Oldcastle was changed to that of Falstaff in or before February, 1598, as appears from the Stationers' Registers, and, in the printed edition of the Second Part, the prefix *Old* is accidentally left standing to one of Falstaff's speeches. In the third act, Sir John is spoken of as Page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, a fact which applies to Oldcastle, not to Falstaff. These circumstances appear to show decisively that the name of Shakespeare's character was at first Oldcastle in the Second as well as in the First Part, and that the former play was *written* before the month above mentioned. The time of its production is unknown, the earliest allusion to it as an acting play being in a reference to Justice Silence by Ben Jonson in 1599 or 1599-1600, but it is clear from the epilogue that it could not have been submitted to a public audience before the introduction of the name of Falstaff. The suggestion that this epilogue was not composed by Shakespeare is unsupported by any kind of evidence, and that it was written before the death of Elizabeth is proved by the concluding words.

No. 263. Both these plays.—The Second Part never attained the height of popularity accorded to the First, but still it must have been very successful. That the "humours of swaggering Pistol," as well as those of Falstaff, were specially appreciated, would appear from the title-page of the edition of 1600. There are references to, or quotations from, the Second Part, in the *Poetaster*, 1601; *Eastward Hoe*, 1605; the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1608; and in Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, ed. 1616, p. 550, first acted in 1609. Justices Silence and Shallow rapidly became typical characters. "No, ladie, this is a kinsman of Justice Silence," *Every Man Out of his Humour*, ed. 1600. "We must have false fiers to amaze these spangle babies, these true heires of Ma. Justice Shallow," *Satiro-Mastix*, 1602. "When thou sittest to consult about any weighty matter, let either Justice Shallowe, or his cousen, Mr. Weathercocke, be foreman of the jurie," *Woodhouse's Flea*, 1605. One of the most curious notices of these personages occurs in a letter from Sir Charles Percy to a Mr. Carlington, dated from "Dumbleton in Glocestshire this 27 of December," and endorsed 1600,—"Mr. Carlington,—I am heere so pestred with contrie businesse that I shall not bee able as yet to come to London; if I stay heere long in

this fashion, at my return I think you will find mee so dull that I shall bee taken for Justice Silence or Justice Shallow; wherefore I am to entreat you that you will take pittie of mee, and, as occurrences shall searve, to send mee such news from time to time as shall happen, the knowledge of the which, thouthg perhaps thee will not exempt mee from the opinion of a Justice Shallow at London, yet, I will assure you, thee will make mee passe for a very sufficient gentleman in Glocestrshire." Allusions of this kind in a private letter assume the familiarity, both of the writer and his correspondent, with Shakespeare's play, and are interesting evidences of its popularity.

No. 264. Had been introduced as Sir John Oldcastle.—See the Prince's allusion to him under this name in the First Part of Henry the Fourth, i. 2,—“as the honey of Hybla, my old lad of the castle.” Although the authors of the First Part of Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, mention Falstaff, they almost unconsciously identify the personality of their hero with Shakespeare's fat knight by making him refer to his exploits at Shrewsbury.

No. 265. Ordered Shakespeare to alter the name.—Stage-poets, says Fuller, in his Church History, ed. 1655, p. 168,—“have made themselves very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial royster and yet a coward to boot; the best is, Sir John Falstaffe hath relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoone in his place.” According to Rowe, in his life of Shakespeare, 1709, the “part of Falstaff is said to have been originally written under the name of Oldcastle; some of that family being then remaining, the Queen was pleas'd to command him to alter it; upon which he made use of Falstaff.” This account is partially confirmed by a much earlier one which occurs in a very curious dedicatory epistle addressed to Sir Henry Bouchier by Dr. Richard James, who died in 1638. It is annexed to an unpublished manuscript entitled, the Legend and Defence of the noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastel, several copies of which, in the author's handwriting, varying slightly from each other, are still preserved. In the course of this epistle Dr. James relates that “in Shakespeare's first shew of Harrie the Fift the person with which he undertook to play a buffoone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle; and that offence beinge worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to have him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon Fastolphe, a man not inferior of vertue, though not so famous in pietie as the other.” The writer no doubt intended to put “first shew of Harrie the Fourth,” it being clear, from the epilogue to the Second Part of Henry the Fourth, that Shakespeare had altered the name of Oldcastle to that of Falstaff before he wrote Henry the Fifth.

The Doctor's suggestion,—“as peradventure by manie others also whoe ought to have him in honourable memorie,”—may be said to be confirmed by Shakespeare's epilogue and by the authors of the drama of Sir John Oldcastle, published in 1600, who, in their Prologue, are careful to notice the apprehensions that might be raised in the minds of the audience by the “doubtful title,” and to remove suspicion by the announcement that the delineation of the martyr's character was a “tribute of love” to his faith and loyalty.

No. 266. Sir John Oldcastle.—There was a play so called which was acted by Shakespeare's company at Somerset House on March the 6th, 1600, before Lord Hunsdon and his guests, the latter being the Ambassadors from the Spanish Low Countries. “All this weeke the lords have beene in London, and past away the tyme in feasting and plaies ; for Vereiken dined upon Wednesday with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a roiall dinner ; upon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made hym very great, and a delicate dinner, and there in the afternoone his plaiers acted before Vereiken, *Sir John Old Castell*, to his great contentment,”—Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated from Baynards Castell, Saturday, 8 March, 1599-1600, ap. Sydney Letters, ed. 1746, ii. 175. It is possible, certainly, but very unlikely that the play acted on this occasion was the one that was printed in 1600, and which belonged to another company ; and still more improbable that a drama so conspicuously announced as written in the Protestant cause should have been selected for representation before the ambassadors of a late Cardinal, the Archduke of Austria. There was, in all probability, another play on the subject of Sir John Oldcastle, now lost, that belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's company and included the real prototype of Falstaff, the latter being a distinction that certainly does not belong to the Famous Victories. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, 1662, speaks of Sir John Oldcastle as “being made the make-sport *in all plays* for a coward ;” and there are several other general allusions, some of an earlier date, which would indicate the former existence of more dramas on the subject than are now known to us. That there was, in the seventeenth century, a stage character of Oldcastle other than that in Henry the Fourth, in the printed drama of 1600, or the very meagre one exhibited in the Famous Victories, admits, indeed, of proof. This fourth Sir John was as fond of ale as Goodman Smug of Edmonton ; his nose was red and carbuncl'd ; and he was as fat as the hero of Eastcheap. “Ale is thought to be much adulterated, and nothing so good as Sir John Old-castle and Smugge the Smith was us'd to drink,” Howell's *Familiar Letters*, ed. 1688. The appearance of the Knight's nose is thus alluded to in the play of *Hey for Honesty*, 1651,—“the sinke is paved with the rich rubies and incomparable carbuncles of Sir John Oldcastle's nose,” reference to which is also made in

Gayton's Festivous Notes upon Don Quixote, 1654, p. 49. It appears from a passage in the Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, or the Walkes in Powles, 1604, that Sir John Oldcastle was represented on the stage as a very fat man, which is certainly not the case in the drama which was printed under that title in 1600;—"now, signiors, how like you mine host? did I not tell you he was a madde round knave and a merrie one too? and if you chauce to talke of *fatte* Sir John Oldcastle, he wil tell you he was his great grand-father, and not much unlike him *in paunch*, if you marke him well by all descriptions." The host, who is here described, returns to the gallants and entertains them with telling them stories. After his first tale, he says,—“nay, gallants, Ile fit you, and now I will serve in another as good as vineger and pepper to your roast beefe.” Signor Kickshawe replies;—"let's have it, let's taste on it, mine host, my noble *fat actor*." There is another passage to the same effect in a pamphlet entitled the Wandering Jew telling Fortunes to Englishmen, 4to. Lond., 1640, p. 38, in which a character named Glutton is made to say,—“a chaire, a chaire, sweet Master Jew, a chaire; all that I say, is this; I'me a fat man,—it has been a West-Indian voyage for me to come reeking hither; a kitchen-stuffe wench might pick up a living by following me for the fat which I loose in stradling; I doe not live by the sweat of my brows, but am almost dead with sweating; I eate much, but can talke little; Sir John Old-castle was my great grandfathers fathers uncle; I come of a huge kindred.” It may fairly be assumed that the preceding notices do not refer to the Oldcastle of the first manuscript of Henry the Fourth. In two of the instances they certainly do not, Shakespeare's Falstaff being also alluded to in Hey for Honesty, 1651, and in Gayton's Notes, 1654. There is more uncertainty in the attribution of a reference by Bagwell, who in his poem entitled the Merchant Distressed, 1644, speaking of idle cowardly captains, observes that, although they “have no skill in martiall discipline, yet they'le brag, as if they durst to fight,—with Sir John Oldcastle, that high-flowne knight.”

No. 267. *One of the few names invented by Shakespeare.*—A general absence of sincerity, rather than insincerity, is one of the leading characteristics of Falstaff, but the selection of a name suggestive of duplicity was probably the result more of accident than of design. At all events, it is in the highest degree unlikely that Shakespeare meditated in the choice any reference whatever to the historic character of Fastolf, the warrior he had previously introduced into the First Part of Henry the Sixth, although the printer of the first folio edition of that drama inadvertently adopted the orthography of the then better known name. It is clear from Oldcastle having been the original appellation of Falstaff, that the cowardice of the latter was not suggested by that attributed to the Fastolf of the earlier play. Fastolf was, however,

sometimes called Falstaff even in strictly historical works, as in Trussell's Continuation of the History of England, ed. 1685, p. 126. The confusion between the real and fictitious characters is lamented in Daniel's manuscript poem called Trinarchodia, 1649, and also by Fuller, in his Worthies, 1662. The error continued to be made by later writers, and may occasionally be detected in works of the present century. "Sir John Fastoff gave to the seven senior demies of Magdalen College a penny a week for augmentation of their vests, which being nowadays but a small pittance, those that have it are call'd, by such as have it not, Fastoff's buckram men," Hearne's Diary, 1721. In a Short View of English History by Bevil Higgons, 1748, the warrior of Henry the Sixth's time is stated to have "been ridiculed and misrepresented by the pen of a certain poet for an original of buffoonery and cowardice for no other reason but that some of his posterity had disoblged Mr. Shakespear." This tradition apparently belongs to the number of those which are either incorrectly recorded or are mere fabrications.

No. 268. Two editions.—Four leaves only of the first edition, discovered many years ago at Bristol concealed in the recesses of an old book-cover, are known to exist. This precious fragment, which I would not exchange for its surface in pearls, is one of the most cherished gems in the library at Hollingbury Copse. Although the arrangements of the forms in the first two editions materially differ, both impressions were no doubt published by Wise in 1598, and might be distinguished by the circumstance of the word *hystorie* in the head-line of the first being *historie* in that of the second. Such was the unsettled orthography of the period that its variation is no evidence in the question of priority, but that the fragment belongs to the first edition may be safely inferred from its containing a word found in no other impression, omission being the commonest error in early reprints. It is something, at this late day, to recover even a single lost word that was written by Shakespeare, Poins therein exclaiming,—“how the *fat* rogue roared!” When Wise entered the play on the registers of the Stationers' Company in February, 1598, the title there given varies considerably from that in the second edition of that year, so that the one belonging to the fragment, if ever discovered, might possibly agree with the wording of the copyright entry. There were thus no fewer than six editions published in the author's lifetime, a fact that testifies to the great popularity of this drama.

No. 269. Familiar household words.—Thus Meres is found quoting one of Falstaff's sayings, without considering it necessary to mention whence it was derived,—“as Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among al writers to be of an honest life and upright conversation, so Michael Drayton among schollers, souldeers, poets, and all sorts of people, is helde for a man of vertuous disposition, honest conversation, and well governed cariage, which is almost meraculous among good wits in these

declining and corrupt times, *when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man*, and when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit and soundest wisdome," *Palladis Tamia*, 1598. This is from a literary work composed by one of Shakespeare's friends, but there is a similar testimony to the early popularity of the First Part of Henry the Fourth in a private familiar letter from Toby Matthew to Dudley Carleton, written in September, 1598, wherein he observes, speaking of some military officers, and with the evident notion that the quotation would be recognized,—“well, honour prickes them on, and the world thinckes that honour will quickly prick them of againe.”

No. 270. The inimitable humour of Falstaff.—“In my time, before the wars, Lowin used to act, with mighty applause, Falstaffe, Morose, Vulpone, and Mammon,” *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4. Lowin could not have been the original performer of Falstaff, as he did not join Shakespeare's company until long after the production of Henry the Fourth, but he may possibly have undertaken the part before the author's death, one for which his jovial expression of countenance must have been well adapted. “In some tract,” observes Malone, “of which I forgot to preserve the title, Hemmings is said to have been the original performer of Falstaff,” *Historical Account of the English Stage*, ed. 1790, p. 188.

No. 271. Opposite the lower grounds of New Place.—This is stated on the reasonable supposition, in fact, all but certainty, that the locality of the estate had not been changed between the time of Shakespeare and its ownership by the Cloptons early in the last century. Since that period the Chapel Lane Rowington copyhold has always been the one described in the text, its area corresponding to that given in the survey of 1604.

No. 272. At the annual rental of two shillings and sixpence.—In a survey of the manor taken in August, 1606, and preserved amongst the records of the Land Revenue Office, there is the following notice of this copyhold estate, the annual value of which and other particulars were evidently unknown to the compiler :—

Tenentes Custumarii.

Stratford- super-Avon.	} Willielmus Shakespere tenet per } copiam datam die . . . anno . . videlicet, Domum mansionalem. Reddendo per annum Habendum.	} ij.s. finis. heriëttum. annualis valor. dimittenda.

but in another survey taken October 24th, 1604, in a list of the “customary tenants in Stratforde parcell of the saide manor,” is this entry,—“William Shakespere lykewise holdeth there one cottage and

one garden, by estimation a quarter of one acre, and payeth rent yeerlye ij.s., vj.d." There is a discrepancy in the amounts of the rent which are given in the ancient records, the sum of two shillings being mentioned in a Longbridge manuscript survey of the *manerium de Rowington cum membris*, 1555, and in that of 1606 above quoted. In one of 1582, and in numerous other documents, two shillings and sixpence is named as the annual rental.

No. 273. And then he surrendered it.—No record of this surrender has been discovered, but it is the most natural explanation of the terms in which the copyhold estate is mentioned in the poet's will. If this view be not accepted, it will be requisite to make the gratuitous assumption that the scrivener inserted a wholly unnecessary proviso through being unacquainted with the custom of the manor. "By the custome thereof the eldest sonne is to inherite, and for default of yssue male, the eldest daughter; the coppieholders for every messuage and for every tofft of a messuage paye a herriott, but a cottage and tofft of a cottage paye not herriotts," Rowington Survey, MS.

No. 274. Was formally admitted.—There is evidence of the admission, but not of its date, in a letter written by a steward of the manor in the last century. "Stretford-super-Avon; Paule Barthlett, one mesuage, ij.s.; Mr. John Hall, for his coppiehold, ij.s. vj.d.," Rental of the Mannor of Rowington, 1630, MS. The first of these individuals owned the little estate in Church Street. In October, 1633, *Johannes Hall gen.* was fined twelve-pence for not appearing to do service at the court; Rowington MSS. "Paid David Abby for mendinge the orchard wall att Mr. Nashes barne, 00.02.0," Stratford-on-Avon Corporation MSS., 1637. This last entry would seem to prove that the Shakespeare copyhold was then in the occupation of Thomas Nash, and that there was a barn to the south of the cottage.

No. 275. Had previously taken place.—If the question be decided by a strictly legal standard, this inference, however reasonable on a balance of probabilities, is at least not one of absolute certainty. The provisions of the Scotch law mention six lunar months as the shortest period of gestation consistent with the viability of the child, and the French code regards as legitimate and viable all children born after one hundred and eighty days. See a full and able discussion of the subject in Dr. Montgomery's *Exposition of the Signs and Symptoms of Pregnancy*, ed. 1856, pp. 513-524. In the year 1710, the then leading physicians of Edinburgh made a legal declaration "that a child born in the beginning of the sixth lunar month may be alive and continue in life, which is consistent with our observation and experience;" and the words of the most eminent authority of all, Dr. Hunter, imply that healthy maturity can be attained by a child born in the middle of the seventh lunar month.

No. 276. No question of morals.—Assuming the existence of a pre-contract, Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were, by virtue of that contract, to use the words of Bishop Watson, “perfectly married together;” although, as the Bishop continues to observe, “the marriage of them in the face of the Church afterward, by the ministration of the priest, is not superfluous, but much expedient for sundry causes,” *Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments*, 1558. Even if there had been an informality in the pre-contract, the offence supposed to have been committed by Shakespeare would have been in itself a condition that would have rendered the arrangement legally valid. See Swinburne’s *Treatise of Spousals*, 1686, p. 224.

No. 277. According to an early tradition.—See Hall’s letter of 1694 in the *Biographical Notices*, No. 8, and the following manuscript note, written towards the end of the seventeenth century, which is preserved in a copy of the third folio,—“in the church of Stratford-uppon-Avon, upon a stone in the chancell, these words were orderd to be cutt by Mr. Shackspeare, the town being the place of his birth and buriall.”

No. 278. Another statement less probable.—The parish-clerk of Stratford-on-Avon informed Dowdall, in 1693, that the verses were “made by himselfe a little before his death,” the word *himselfe* referring to Shakespeare. Roberts, in his answer to Pope’s Preface, 1729, p. 47, mentions the epitaph in the following terms,—“if that were his writing, as the report goes it was.” On the other hand, neither Dugdale in 1656, nor Rowe in 1709, take any notice of the presumed authorship.

No. 279. There has long been a tradition.—“At the side of the chancel is a charnel-house almost filled with human bones, skulls, &c.—the guide said that Shakespeare was so much affected by this charnel-house that he wrote the epitaph for himself to prevent his bones being thrown into it,” notes of a visit made to Stratford-on-Avon in July 1777, first printed in the edition of Defoe’s *Tour* issued in the next year, and transferred without acknowledgment into later works.

No. 280. A large degree of moisture.—In July, 1619, there was a resolution passed by the Town Council to “bestow some charge towardes the keeping dry the chauncell at the High Church.”

No. 281. The owners.—When Heminges and Condell speak of Death having deprived Shakespeare of his *right* “to have set forth and overseen his own writings,” they assuredly refer to a moral, not to a legal, privilege. There is no contemporary instance known of an author selling a play to a theatre and reserving to himself a copyright interest. There was of course nothing to prevent subsequent arrangements with proprietors, although it seems that, in those days, a vigilant protection of the copy was the only effectual mode of hindering the publication of a drama.

No. 282. Initiating.—The tenor of the dedication and address implies this, and the fact may be fairly said to be proved by the following words,—“we pray you do not envie his friends the office of their care and paine to have collected *and publish'd* them.” That this was also the contemporary opinion is shown by the first lines of the poem by Digges in the same volume,—“Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes give the world thy Workes.”

No. 283. Either by or under the directions.—It is difficult to say if the will, in its present state, was penned by the lawyer himself or by his clerk. Not having succeeded in discovering a single extraneous manuscript in the acknowledged handwriting of Collins, there is nothing but the attestation paragraph to rely upon. The latter, which seems to have been written by him, is not inconsistent with the belief that the composition and penmanship of the entire manuscript is to be assigned to that solicitor. The variation of style observable in his autograph is no positive criterion, a man's signature being often materially different in the forms of the letters from his other writings. There is a striking instance of this last assertion in the will of John Gibbs, of Stratford-on-Avon, transcribed by John Beddome in 1622, the latter signing his name in characters that do not in the least degree resemble those he used in his copy of the document itself.

No. 284. A solicitor residing at Warwick.—It may be worth mentioning that the Stratfordians of those days very rarely employed solicitors for testamentary purposes. In Shakespeare's case, however, the creation of an entail, so unusual with his townsmen, no doubt rendered legal assistance necessary, for the requisite form would hardly have been known to the clergyman or the non-professional inhabitants, the persons who at that time generally drew up local wills.

No. 285. A corrected draft.—In the record-room of Stratford-on-Avon there are preserved several documents which were evidently written by the same person who made or copied the poet's will, and one of them, the draft of the tithe-conveyance of 1605, is an exactly similar manuscript, the corrections being made by the transcriber himself. The erasures are mainly of the same character in both, that is to say, they are chiefly eliminations of unnecessary, informal, or erroneous words and sentences.

No. 286. The appointment for that day was postponed.—This new theory seems to be the only one which can reasonably account for the fact of the date appearing in the superscription before the whole document was engrossed. If it be assumed that the poet, on or about the eighteenth of January, gave written or oral instructions for his will, making arrangements at the same time for its execution at a meeting to take place between Collins and himself, either at Warwick or Stratford, on the following Thursday, and that, in the interval, circumstances

induced him to postpone the appointment, all the apparently conflicting evidences will be reconciled.

No. 287. In perfect health.—This was not, as has been suggested, a mere legal formula. No conscientious solicitor would ever have used the words untruthfully, while the cognate description of a testator as “being sick in body, but of whole and perfect memory,” is one that is continually met with in ancient wills.

No. 288. To secure the validity.—This was most likely the case, although there is no doubt that the adoption of such expedients was due more to individual caution than to an absolute legal necessity. In those days there was so much laxity in everything connected with testamentary formalities that inconvenience would seldom have arisen from any kind of carelessness. No one, excepting in subsequent litigation, would ever have dreamt of asking if erasures preceded signatures, how or when interlineations were added, if the witnesses were present at the execution, or, in fact, any questions at all. The officials thought nothing of even admitting to probate a mere copy of a will that was destitute of the signatures both of testator and witnesses, and, in one curious instance, a familiar letter addressed by a John Baker to his brother and sister was duly registered in London in 1601 as an efficient testamentary record. It is, however, to be observed that it would be difficult to find a will of the time so irregularly written as Shakespeare’s. Amongst those proved in the local court, I have not met with one containing more than four interlineations.

No. 289. The alteration of the day of the month.—When March was substituted for January, it is most likely that the day of the month should also have been changed. There was otherwise, at least, a singular and improbable coincidence.

No. 290. Not from that of the testator’s decease.—This is clearly the meaning intended, although the paragraph, *she living the said term after my decease*, appears to be inconsistent with the previous clause. Unless the lawyer has committed an oversight, these words may simply mean,—if she has lived the said term at the period of my decease. Most of this portion of the will is expressed in a clumsy style, but the paragraph above quoted appears to have been inserted merely to avoid the chance of the preceding sentences being interpreted in a sense adverse to the bequest of the reversions to Elizabeth Hall and Joan Hart.

No. 291. The undevisable property.—“And note that, in some places, chattels as heirloomes, as the *best bed*, table, pot, pan, cart, and other dead chattels moveable, may go to the heire, and the heire in that case may have an action for them at the common law,” Coke’s Commentarie upon Littleton, ed. 1629, fol. 18, b.

No. 292. Compensation for dower.—The following is part of the form of a codicil given in West’s Simboleography, 1605,—“I give to E.,

my wife, in recompence of her thirds or reasonable portion of my goods, one hundred poundes, and two of my best gueldinges, and two of my best beddes fully furnished." In a report of the proceedings in the Star Chamber for 1605 there is a notice of a bribe which consisted of "200 *li.*, a vellet gowne, spoones, and a fetherbedde."

No. 293. Free-bench.—"The first wief onlie shall have for her free-bench during her life all such landes and tenementes as her husband dyed seised of in possession of inheritance, yf so be her said husband have done noe act nor surrender to the contrary thereof, and shee shall be admitted to her said free-bench payeing onlie a penny for a fine as aforesaid," Customs of Rowington Manor, 1614.

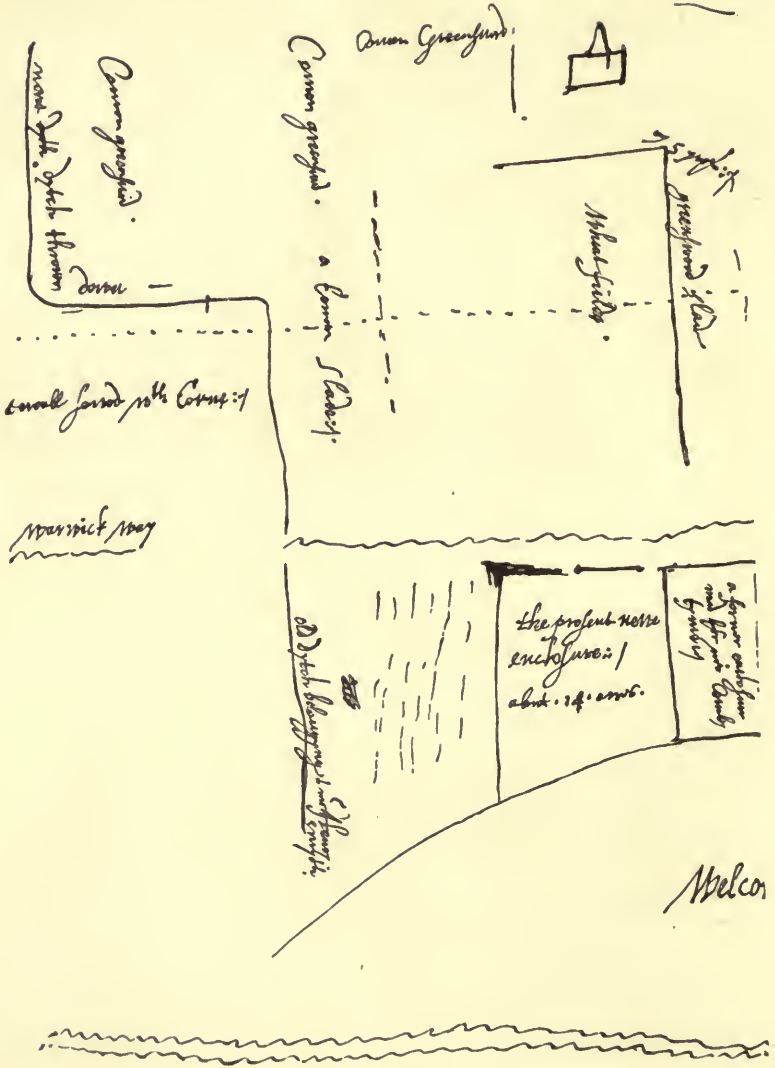
No. 294. Subject to a careful revision.—Whether we regard the document as the work of either the lawyer or his clerk, it is exceedingly difficult to understand how the long provision commencing, *to be sett out*, afterwards erased, could have found its way into the manuscript, the introductory words, that alone would have rendered them intelligible, being wanting. This discarded portion of the will has been always presumed to refer to Judith, but it is perhaps more likely, to judge from the original state and subsequent alteration of the next paragraph, to be a portion of a cancelled bequest to the testator's grand-daughter, and its insertion may have arisen from some misapprehension of the original instructions.

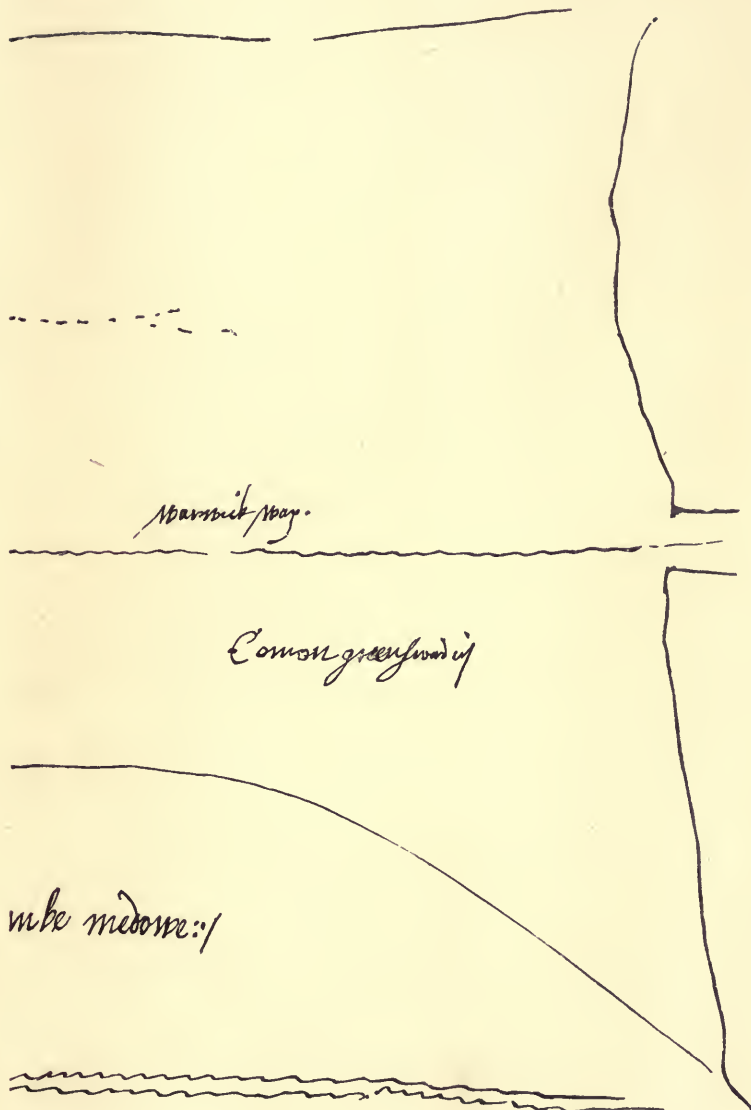
No. 295. In the statement of the regnal years.—It would be easy to give too much weight to the error in the superscription which announces an unknown January, one which was in the fourteenth year of James of England and in the forty-ninth of his reign over Scotland. A similar chronological impossibility will be observed in the declaration issued by Shakespeare against Phillip Rogers in 1604, and cognate inaccuracies are occasionally met with in other documents of the time. Thus the will of Arthur Ange of Stratford-on-Avon is dated on March the 15th, 4 James I., the regnal year indicating 1606-7, whereas probate was granted in June 1606. The date of 1616 in Shakespeare's will may apply to any of the early months, for it was not an invariable rule to adhere in numerals to the ancient calendar.

No. 296. Lord Cobham the Protestant Martyr.—The student will do well to consult the exceedingly able essays on the Lollards and the Historical Element in Shakespeare's Falstaff which will be found in Mr. James Gairdner's *Studies in English History*, 8vo., 1881, pp. 1-77.

No. 297. The diminutive boards of the Curtain Theatre.—It has been generally believed that Shakespeare alludes to the Globe Theatre when he refers to "the wooden O" in Henry the Fifth, but, apart from the improbability of his making a disparaging allusion to the size of his company's new edifice, it is not at all likely that the building could have been completed before the return of Lord Essex from Ireland in

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.





September, 1599. The letter O was used in reference to any object of a circular formation, and there is every probability that it would have been applicable to the Curtain. Now Armin, who was one of Shakespeare's company playing at the Globe in 1600, speaks of himself in his *Foole Upon Foole*, published in that year, as the Clown at the Curtain Theatre. It may then be inferred that the former theatre was opened in 1600, and at some time before March the 25th, the latest date that can be assigned to the production of *Every Man Out of his Humour*.

No. 298. His apartment in Southwark.—The Southwark of Elizabeth and James is indissolubly connected with the biographical history of the great dramatist, and pity it is that all vestiges of its ancient theatres and their surroundings should have disappeared. An elaborate essay by Mr. William Rendle on the Bankside and its theatres appeared in 1877, but the most lucid and graphic account of the borough itself, and its former condition, will be found in the same writer's principal work, *Old Southwark and its People*, 4to. 1878.

No. 299. To an individual.—His name was John Lane, who "about five weekes past reported that the plaintiff had the runninge of the raynes, and had bin naught with Rafe Smith at John Palmer," July the 15th, 1613; contemporary notes in MS. Harl. 4064. The notice of the termination of the suit is gathered from the reports of it preserved in the episcopal registers at Worcester.

No. 300. This surreptitious edition.—The differences between the editions of 1603 and 1604 will be most conveniently studied by the aid of the parallel texts which were arranged and edited by Mr. Sam. Timmins, 8vo. 1860, one of the most really useful and valuable books in the embarrassing library of modern Shakespeareana.

No. 301. That I was not.—There is a singular obscurity which renders a correct interpretation of Greene's handwriting a matter of unusual difficulty. The pronoun in this entry is considered by Mr. Edward Scott of the British Museum, a very able judge, to be really the letter J, while Dr. Ingleby is of opinion that Greene, who was unquestionably a careless scribbler, intended to write *he*. But if Shakespeare had not favored the enclosure scheme, why should the majority of the Corporation have addressed one of their letters of remonstrance to him as well as to Manwaring, or why should Greene have troubled the former with "a note of the inconveniences" that would arise from the execution of the proposed design? The whole of Greene's diary will shortly be published under the editorship of Dr. Ingleby, to whom I am indebted for the rectification of my *Thursday* disaster and for the correct reading, *tellyng*, in the last extract given in the text. It may here be mentioned that, in the Articles of Agreement, 1614, Estate Records, No. 13, *increasinge* is an obvious error for *decreasinge*, but the former word is that found in the original manuscript.

No. 302. A repugnance on his part.—See the extract, Biographical Notices, No. 8, from the very curious letter of 1694, which was recently discovered by the Rev. W. D. Macray in the Bodleian Library. The original is undated, but Mr. Macray has distinctly ascertained that it was written in December, 1694.

No. 303. The pleasant Willy of Spenser.—Dryden was the first to suggest that the “pleasant” individual here mentioned was no other than the great dramatist, but he had a very narrow acquaintance with the literature of the Elizabethan period, and the attribution to Shakespeare is at best purely conjectural. The only real evidence at present accessible is contained in an annotated copy of the 1611 edition of the Teares of the Muses, in which volume the manuscript note to the line commencing “Our pleasant Willy,”—*Tarlton died an. 1588*,—distinctly indicates that Spenser was referring to that celebrated actor and to his decease, the word *died* being expressed by a symbol, the interpretation of which is ascertained by other instances of its use. This memorandum was unquestionably penned within a few years after the publication of the work in which it appears, and as it is clearly seen, from other entries, that the annotator had a correct general knowledge of the objects of the Spenserian references, it is extremely unlikely that his mistakes should be restricted to this one special case. If his testimony be accepted, the words “dead of late” must be taken literally, and the allusion to “that same gentle spirit” will refer to another contemporary. The use of the sobriquet was common in Elizabeth’s time, and Tarlton might have received the one in question from his extra-popular delivery of a song known under that name. The music to *Tarlton’s Willy* is preserved in a seventeenth-century manuscript at Cambridge, MS. Univ. Lib. Dd. iv. 23. It is also worth notice that three days after a publisher named Wolfe had issued a contemporary ballad on Tarlton’s decease, he entered another one,—“Peggie’s complaint for the death of her Willye,”—and it is by no means impossible that the simulated poetess was one of the great comedian’s pet acquaintances.

No. 304. The chronological order.—An essay on the Chronological Order of Shakespeare’s Plays, by the Rev. H. P. Stokes, 8vo., 1878, is the ablest and most elaborate dissertation that has yet appeared upon the subject. It enters far more minutely into detail than would be within the scope of the present work.

No. 305. Municipal records.—There was not a single company of actors, in Shakespeare’s time, which did not make professional visits through nearly all the English counties, and in the hope of discovering traces of his footsteps during his provincial tours I have personally examined the records of the following cities and towns,—Marlborough, Wells, Bath, Plymouth, Totnes, Andover, Basingstoke, Dartmouth, Godalming, Salisbury, Exeter, Arundel, Lymington, Romsey,

Shaftesbury, Warwick, Bewdley, Dover, Banbury, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Rochester, Guildford, Hastings, Saffron Walden, Abingdon, Carnarvon, Beaumaris, Oswestry, Liverpool, Chester, Reading, Conway, Gravesend, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, Campden, Maidstone, Faversham, Southampton, Newport, Bridport, Weymouth, Lewes, Coventry, Bristol, Kingston-on-Thames, Lyme Regis, Dorchester, Canterbury, Sandwich, Queenborough, Ludlow, Stratford-on-Avon, Leominster, Folkestone, Winchelsea, New Romney, Barnstaple, Rye, York, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leicester, Hythe, and Cambridge, the last being preserved in the library of Downing College. The time occupied in these researches has fluctuated immensely in various places, from an hour or even less in some few cases to several weeks in others. In no single instance have I at present found in any municipal record a notice of the poet himself, but curious material of an unsuspected nature respecting his company and theatrical surroundings has been discovered.

NOTES OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

1. Most of the Latin documents, as well as some of the English ones, have had the advantage of re-collations made by a very able paleographer, Mr. J. A. C. Vincent, who has also taken infinite pains, on several occasions, to establish the true readings in difficult cases in which I was at fault. For his assistance in these directions, especially at the Record Office, I wish to express my sincere thanks, and, in reference to the last-named institution, it is hardly necessary to record my gratitude,—for it is due from every visitor,—for the unvarying kindness and patience with which Mr. W. D. Selby is always ready to extend to others the advantages of his own wide knowledge and experience.

2. The note on the construction of Thomas Quiney's house is given on the excellent authority of Mr. Alderman Edward Gibbs, who is always ready to give literary enquirers the invaluable aid of his unrivalled knowledge in all that relates to the ancient buildings of Stratford-on-Avon.

3. It is to the sagacity of Mr. Joseph Hill of Perry Barr, Birmingham, who rescued them when they were positively on their way to the paper-mill, that students are indebted for the preservation of most of the interesting documents which relate to the history of the Eastern boundary of the Shakespeare Henley-street estate.

THE ROTHER MARKET.

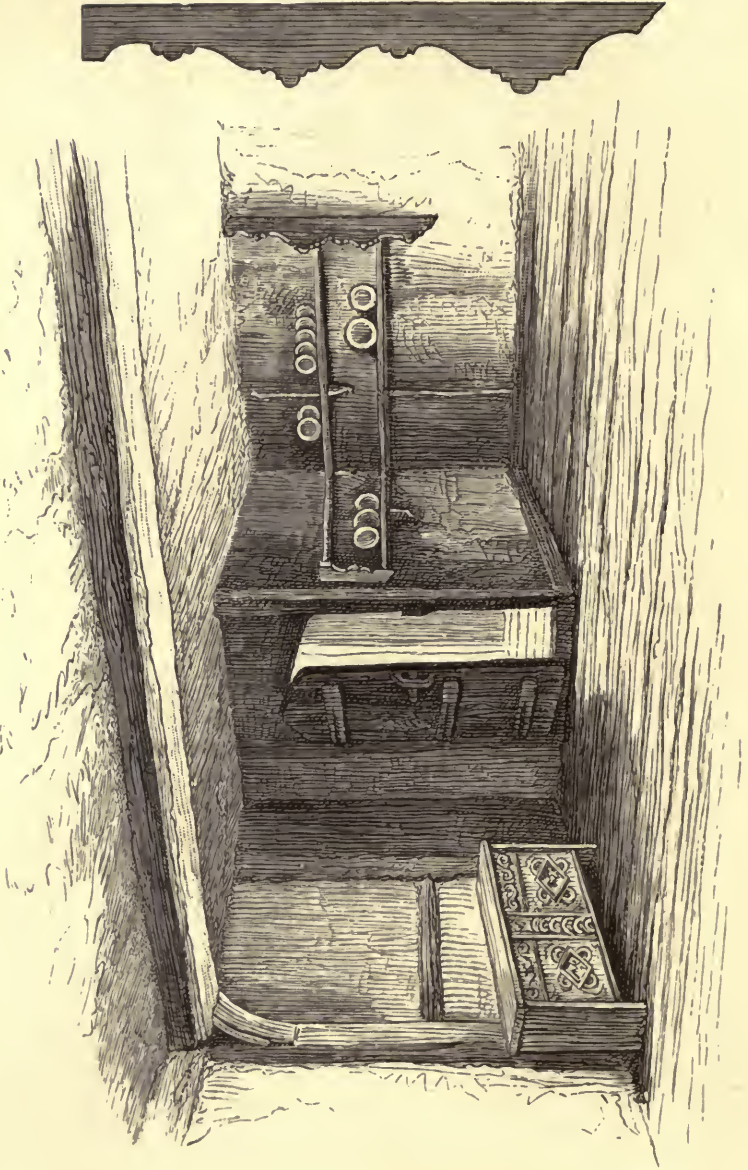
This street, which extended from the northern side of Poor's Close to the western end of Meer Pool Lane, was the longest one in the poet's native town, and at the latter boundary also the widest. It was also known under the title of the Rother Street. In the time of "Adreane Quyny, capytall alderman, John Taylor and John Shakspeyr, chamburlens," 1563, it is mentioned as the *Roder Streate*, while in an indenture of the previous year we hear of the *Rather Merkett*, and, at a later period, of "the Rother Street otherwise called the Rother Market." The name was derived from the old English word *rother*, a term which was applied to horned cattle and which has only become obsolete within the present century.

The Rother Market must formerly, with its streamlet, its half-timbered houses, its mud-walled cottages and its thatched hovels, have exhibited at all events a quaint if not a picturesque appearance. The rivulet has long since vanished, but it was to be seen in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the only view of it known to exist being preserved in a rude sketch of the locality which was taken about the year 1780. An engraving of this sketch will be found near the commencement of the present volume, but it should be mentioned that the little bridge which is therein exhibited does not belong to the Shakespearean period. The stream, after passing through Meer Pool Lane, crossed Henley Street into the Guildpits, finally emptying itself into the Avon near the stone bridge.

The old house in the Rother Street, a view of which is here given, is one of the most perfect and interesting examples of the domestic architecture of Shakespeare's time that are now to be met with in the town. The main features of the building are certainly in their original state, and the annexed sketches of two of its rooms may perhaps convey as faithful an idea of an Elizabethan Stratford interior as is now within our reach.







PLAYS AT COURT, 2 JAMES I.

One of my main endeavours in the compilation of this work is to place the student who resides in a distant land, and who may never have the opportunity of investigating for himself the reliability of the Shakespearean evidences, as far as possible on a level, in respect to his security from deception, with the critic who dwells in their midst. The task is not an easy one, for literature has been afflicted for many generations by the reception of unscrupulous forgeries that have corrupted nearly every branch of enquiry which relates to the life or works of the great dramatist. The rigid elimination of these is of course my paramount object, but the separation would probably be imperfect were not every fragment of documentary evidence brought to the initial test of an adverse surmise. Instead of being contented with the mere absence of suspicious indications, the first duty in every instance is to anxiously consider if there is even a remote possibility of fraud; and the next, if such a possibility can be rationally imagined, to submit the case to the decision of skilled paleographers—of those who have passed their lives in the study and examination of ancient documents, and have thus obtained that decisive insight in such matters which a lengthened and continuous experience can alone bestow. This is the system which has been followed throughout the construction of the present volume, and it may be confidently affirmed that, excepting where reasons for hesitation have been distinctly set forth, there has not been a single document heretofore printed or quoted upon the authenticity of which the slightest doubt can be entertained by a qualified critic.

This perception of absolute surety is at length unfortunately interrupted. In the year 1842 there appeared a collection of extracts from the old manuscript accounts of the Court Revels that were then preserved at the Audit Office, and included in the volume, in "the Accompte of the Office of the Revelles of this whole yeres charge in anno 1604 untill the last of Octobar, 1605," is a register mentioning by name some of the dramas that were acted before Royalty during that period. The whole of this last-mentioned record, a copy of which is given on the next page, is unquestionably a modern forgery, and if this had been all the evidence on the subject, there would obviously have been no

A List of Theatrical Performances from a work entitled, "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., from the original Office Books of the Masters and Yeomen," 8vo. Lond. 1842, a few oversights in transcription being here corrected.

The Plaiers.	1604.	The Poets which mayd the plaies.
By the kings Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	Hallamas Day being the first of Nouembar A play in the Banketinge house att Whithall called the Moor of Venis.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	The Sunday ffollowinge A Play of the Merry Wiues of Winsor.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On S ^t . Stiuens Night in the Hall A Play caled Shaxberd. Mesur for Mesur.	
	On S ^t . Jhons Night A Maske w th musike presented by the Erl of Penbrok the Lord Willowbie ¶ 6 Knightes more of y ^e Court.	
By his Ma ^{tie} Plaiers.	On Inosents Night The Plaie of Errors.	Shaxberd.
By the Queens Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On Sunday ffollowinge A plaie How to lerne of a woman to woode	Hewood.
The Boyes of the Chapell.	On Newers Night A playe cauled: All Fouelles	By Georg Chapman.
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	Betwin Newers Day and Twelwe day A Play of Loues Labours Lost.	
	On Twelwe Night the Queens Ma ^{tie} Maske of Moures w ^h Aleven Laydies of honno ^r to ac- cupayney her ma ^{tie} w ^{ch} cam in great showes of devises w ^{ch} thay satt in w th exselent musike.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On the 7 of January was played the play of Henry the fift.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	The 8 of January A play cauled Euery on out of his Umor.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On Candelmas night A playe Euery one in his Umor.	
	The Sunday following A playe provided and discharged.	
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On Shrouunday A play of the Marchant of Venis.	Shaxberd.
By his Ma ^{tie} plaiers.	On Shroumondoy A Tragidy of The Spa- nishe Maz :	
By his Ma ^{tie} players.	On Shrountusday A play cauled The Mart- chant of Venis againe comanded by the Kings Ma ^{tie} .	Shaxberd.

alternative but to dismiss it entirely from consideration. There are, however, substantial reasons for believing that, although the manuscript itself is spurious, the information which it yields is genuine.

In the year 1791 Sir William Musgrave, the First Commissioner of the Board of Audit, made arrangements for Malone's inspection of the ancient manuscripts then in his office, these including what he termed "records of the Master of the Revels for 1604 and 1605." These facts are derived from explicit notes that will be found in the variorum Shakespeare, ed. 1821, iii. 363, 361. That Malone availed himself of the opportunity, and visited Somerset House for the express purpose of examining the whole collection of the documents that pertained to the Office of the Revels, is evident from his own statement in the work just quoted, iii. 361; and amongst the papers that came with that portion of his library which was added to the treasures of the Bodleian in 1821 is a leaf which contains the following memoranda, no clue, however, being given to the source whence they were derived,—

1604 & 1605—Ed^d. Tynley—Sunday after Hallowmas—Merry Wyves of Windsor perf^d by the K's players—Hallamas—in the Banquetting ho^s. at Whitehall the Moor of Venis—perf^d by the K's players—On St. Stephens Night—Mesure for Mesur by Shaxberd—perf^d. by the K's players—On Innocents night Errors by Shaxberd perf^d. by the K's players—On Sunday following "How to Learn of a Woman to wooe by Hewood, perf^d. by the Q's players—On New Years Night—All fools by G. Chapman perf^d. by the Boyes of the Chapel—bet New y^r. day & twelfth day—Loves Labour lost perf^d by the K's p:^{rs}—On the 7th Jan. K. Hen. the fifth perf^d. by the K.'s P:^{rs}—On 8th Jan—Every one out of his humour—On Candlemas night Every one in his humour—On Shrove sunday the Marchant of Venis by Shaxberd—perf^d by the K's P:^{rs}—the same repeated on Shrove tuesd. by the K's Comm^d.

Although the contents of this leaf are not in Malone's handwriting, there is no doubt whatever that it belonged to his collection of materials, it being one with others of an analogous character that were in a loose bundle of scraps which formed part of the original gift to the Bodleian, and had remained uncatalogued and inaccessible to students until they were bound in recent years under the direction of Mr. H. S. Harper, one of the officials of that library. The leaf containing the abridged transcript just given is now preserved in MS. Mal. 29, and Mr. Harper, who well recollects arranging the papers for the formation of that volume, assures me that there is no possibility of any of its contents having been acquired subsequently to the reception of the Malone collection in 1821.

There is nothing either in the character of the handwriting, or in the form of this transcript, to justify the faintest suspicion that it is in itself a forgery. It has, on the contrary, every indication of being a faithful abridgement, sent most probably to Malone from the Audit Office, of the list which was printed in 1842. There now arises the crucial enquiry for the period at which Malone became acquainted

with the information yielded by that list, for, unless he met with the latter for the first time nearly at the end of his career, it is incredible that he should have accepted the genuineness of any of its important details without a personal examination of the original. Such an assumption is incompatible with the numerous traces of the unwonted assiduity that pervaded his Shakespearean researches. Now although there is at present no direct evidence of the fact, the little that is known favours the belief that he was in possession of the contents of the existing forgery within a few years after his invitation to the Audit Office in 1791, while nothing has been produced which is in the slightest degree inconsistent with that opinion. Let the following intimations be carefully weighed.—The material novelties that are introduced into that forgery are restricted to the dates therein given of the performances of *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*, and the entries respecting these are the only items that Malone would have been absolutely compelled to notice in his dissertation upon the order of Shakespeare's plays. With respect to the first, he took the new chronological fact for granted when he made the following decisive statement,—“we *know* it (*Othello*) was acted in 1604, and, I have therefore placed it in that year,”—important words that were penned before his death in 1812 (variorum Shakespeare, ed. 1821, ii. 404); and there can hardly be a reasonable doubt that he was relying on the same testimony when he observed in another work,—“I formerly thought that *Othello* was one of our great dramattick poet's latest compositions, but I now know, from indisputable evidence, that was not the case,” note to a passage in *Dryden's Grounds of Criticism*, ed. 1800, pp. 258, 259. If the former work, the variorum of 1821, had not been impaired by the disadvantages attending its posthumous compilation, it being the product of Malone's imperfectly revised text and essays, the confirmation of his assertion respecting the date of the tragedy would no doubt have been given; and to the same unfortunate accident must be imputed the circumstance of his observations on the date of *Measure for Measure* in that edition being a mere reprint of those which had appeared in 1790.

It is altogether impossible that so experienced a record-student as Malone could have been even transiently deceived by the forgery which is now in existence, while the character of its ink encourages the suspicion that it could not have been perpetrated until long after his death in 1812. The latter opinion is to some extent supported by its entries not belonging to the more graphic species of literary frauds that were current before that period. Then there is the extreme improbability that Malone should have lighted upon two documents each of them yielding the unexpected information of the early date of *Othello*, while his acknowledged rigid integrity excludes the very thought that he could have been accessory to a deception in the

matter. It may, therefore, on the whole be fairly presumed that he had access in or before 1800 to a genuine manuscript that included in some form the entries that are given in the abridged transcript; for we may feel sure that he would never have used the words "indisputable evidence" in respect to one of them until he had made a personal scrutiny of the original, even if his residence had not been, as it was, within less than an hour's walk from the Audit Office. There appears to be only one solution that reconciles all the known facts of the case. It is that the forger had met with, and reproduced in a simulated form, trustworthy extracts from a genuine record that had disappeared from that office. This view of the case is essentially supported by what is, in respect to the present inquiry, the important discovery at Hatfield of the note of Sir Walter Cope which mentions the revival of Love's Labour's Lost by the King's Company in or shortly before January, 1605, an evidence that could not have been known to the impostor, and one of a fact that would have been beyond even the remote probability of a successful conjecture. On the other hand, with the single exception of the day assigned for the performance of that comedy, there are no questionable indications of any kind in the contents of the fabricated list, nothing that cannot be either explained or corroborated. The only other feature that could really justify a suspicion is the quaint orthography of the poet's name, but this is no doubt to be ascribed to the illiteracy of the original scribe, and it may be added that similar forms were in provincial use, e.g., *Shaxber*, Chapel-lane deed, 1572, and Stratford MS., 1704; *Shaxbere*, Henley-street conveyance, 1573; *Shaxbeer*, Stratford MS., 1737.

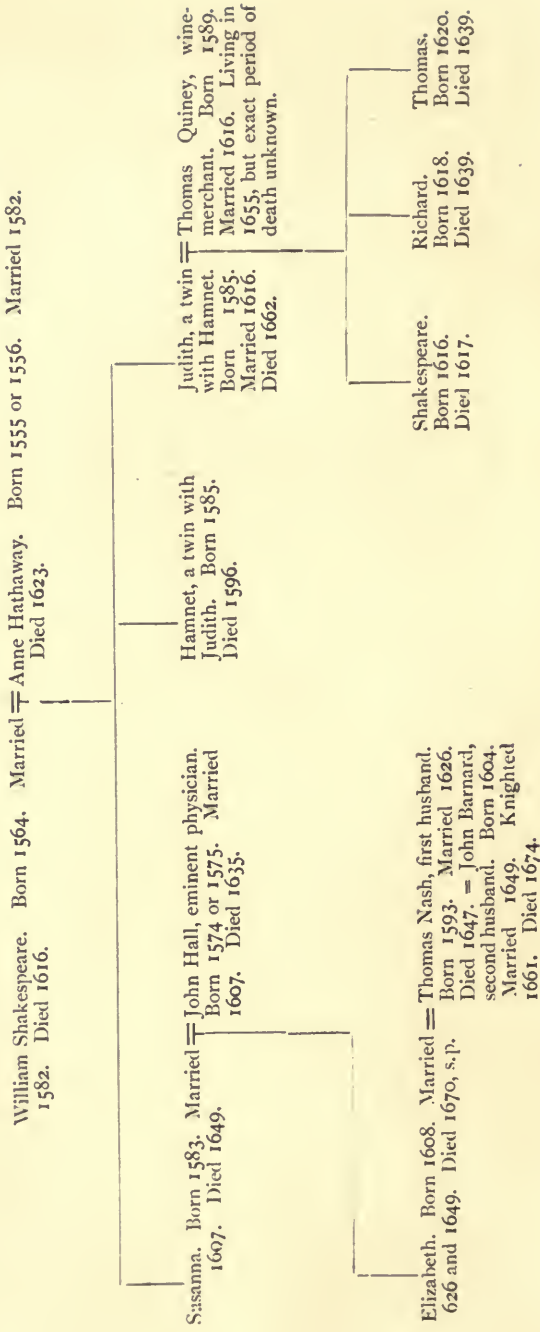
The following passages, all but one of which are confirmatory of the facts stated in the printed list of 1842, must now be given.—1. "For makeinge readie the greate chamber at Whitehalle for the Kinges majestie to see the plaies, by the space of twoe daies mense Novembris, 1604, xxxix. s. iiij. d.", accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS.—2. "For makeinge readie the Banqueting House at Whitehalle for the Kinges Majestie againste the plaie, by the space of iiij.^{or} daies mense Novembris, 1604, lxxviiij. s. viij. d.", MS. *ibid.*—3. "To John Hemynges, one of his Majesties players, uppon the Counselles warraunet dated at the Courte at Whitehalle, xxj.^{mo} die Januarij, 1604, for the paines and expences of himselfe and his companie in playinge and presentinge of sixe enterludes or plaies before his Majestie, viz., on All Saintes daie at nighte, the Sondag at nighte followinge beinge the iiij.th of November, 1604, St. Stephens daie at nighte, Innocentes day at nighte, and on the vij.th and viij.th daies of Januarie, for everie of the saide plaies accordinge to the usualle allowaunce of vj. *li.* xiiij. s. iiij. d the peece, xl. *li.*, and lxxj. s. viij. d for everie plaie by waie of His Majesties rewarde, xx. *li.*, in all the some of lx. *li.*", MS. *ibid.*—4. "On St. Johns day we had the

marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan performed at Whitehall with all the honour could be done a great favourite;—at night there was a mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion; the actors were the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Willoby, Sir Samuel Hays, Sir Thomas Germain, Sir Robert Cary, Sir John Lee, Sir Richard Preston and Sir Thomas Bager," letter of January, 1604-5, ap. Winwood's Memorials, 1725, ii. 43.—5. "To John Duke, one of the Quenes Majesties plaiers, uppon the Counselles warraunte dated at the Courte at Whitehalle, xix.^o die Februarij, 1604, for the expenses of himselfe and the reste of his companie for presentinge one interlude or plaie before his Majestie on Sundaye nighte, the xxx.th daie of December, vj.*li.* xiiij.s. iiij.*d.*, and to them by waie of his Majesties rewarde, lxxvj.s. viij.*d.*, in all x.*li.*," Treas. Chamb. MS.—6. "To Samuell Daniell and Henrie Evans, uppon the Counselles warraunte dated at the Courte at Whitehalle xxiiij. to die Februarij, 1604, for twoe enterludes or plaies presented before the Kinges majestie by the Quenes Majesties Children of the Revelles, the one on Newyers daie at nighte, 1604, and the other on the third daie of Januarie followinge, xij.*li.* vj.s. viij.*d.*, and by waye of his Highnes rewarde, vj.*li.* xiiij.s. iiij.*d.*, in all xx.*li.*," MS. *ibid.* The Children of the Revels, previously to the reconstruction of the company in 1604, were generally known as the Children of her Majesty's Chapel.—7. "On Twelfth Day at night we had the Queen's maske in the Banqueting House, or rather her pagent;—there was a great engine at the lower end of the room which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors," letter of January, 1604-5, ap. Winwood, ii. 43-44. This was the Masque of Blacknesse by Ben Jonson, who gives the names of the eleven ladies in his Workes, ed. 1616, p. 899.—8. "To John Heminges, one of his Majesties plaiers, uppon the Counselles warraunte dated at the Courte at Whitehalle xxiiij. to die Februarij, 1604, for himselfe and the reste of his companie, for iiij.^o interludes or plaies presented by them before his Majestie at the Courte, viz., on Candlemas daie at nighte, on Shrovesundaye at nighte, Shrovetuesdaye at nighte and Shrovetuesdaie at nighte, 1604, at vj.*li.* xiiij.s. iiij.*d.* for everie plaie, and lxxvj.s. viij.*d.*, by waye of his Majesties rewarde for each playe, in all the some of xl.*li.*," Treas. Chamb. MS.

It would appear from these notices either that the fabricator had not before him a complete list of the plays that had been acted, or that he intentionally omitted a number of entries. Whatever may have been the exact nature of his proceedings, it is certain that the particulars of the forgery were not based upon the defective information given in the official accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. If that had been the case, it would be necessary to assume that he went recklessly out of his way to insert a fictitious notice of a performance on a day that was

not sanctioned by those accounts, the high probability of the accuracy of that solitary discrepancy having, moreover, been lately revealed by the discovery of an evidence to which he could not have had access. This singular coincidence may fairly be held to outweigh the suspicion attending the omission in the treasurer's ledger, an oversight of a very unusual character, and yet an error infinitely more likely to occur than the preternatural ratification of what would have been by itself an extravagant conjecture. Upon a balance of probabilities there can thus hardly be a doubt that *Love's Labour's Lost* was revived at Court very early in the January of 1605 in a representation that was not honoured by the presence of the Queen. When, therefore, a play was to be selected almost immediately afterwards for the entertainment of her Majesty at Lord Southampton's, it was natural that Burbage, who had only one day's notice of the intended performance, should have recommended a drama which his company had just then in hand, and which at the same time would have been a novelty to the only spectator whose approval was regarded.

THE LINEAGE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE UNTIL ITS EXTINCTION IN THE YEAR 1670.

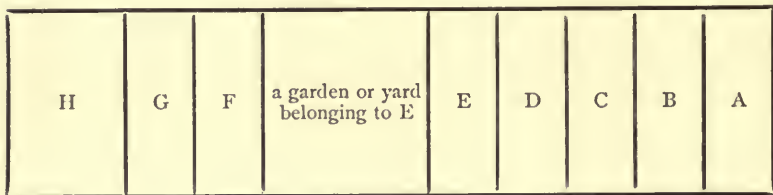


NOTES ON THE BIRTH-PLACE.

Upon the north side of Henley Street is a detached building, consisting of two houses annexed to each other, the one on the west having been known from time immemorial as Shakespeare's Birth-Place, and that on the east a somewhat larger one which was purchased by his father in the year 1556. It may fairly be assumed that in the latter the then "considerable dealer in wool" deposited no trifling portion of his stock. As it will be convenient, in the following brief notices, to be able to refer to the houses under names that might have been applicable to them in the sixteenth century, the first will be termed the Birth-Place and the other the Wool-Shop.

1. *The Purchase of the Wool-Shop.*—Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, who had been for a considerable period the Lord of the Manor of Stratford, died in 1589, and, leaving no issue, it reverted to the Crown. In an inquisition on his estates taken in the October of the next year, 1590, is a list of the manorial tenants in Henley Street, eight of whom are mentioned in the following order:—A. Ballivus et burgenses ville de Stratford tenent libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum, iij.*d.*, secta curie.—B. Ricardus Hornebie tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum v.*d.*, secta curie.—C. Johannes Wylles tenet libere duo tenementa cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum viij.*d.*, secta curie.—D. Johannes Shackespere tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum vj.*d.*, secta curie.—E. Idem Johannes tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum xij.*d.*, secta curie.—F. Georgius Badger tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum x.*d.*, secta curie.—G. Johannes Ichivar tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum xij.*d.*, secta curie.—H. Ballivus et burgenses ville de Stretford tenent libere unum tenementum cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum iij.*d.*, secta curie. There is substantial reason for believing that these entries followed the consecutive arrangement of the situations of the estates from east to west, there being no evidence conflicting with this opinion and its accuracy being established in all but one instance. Assuming this to be the case,—and hardly the vestige of a doubt can be fairly entertained on the subject,—it will be clear from the subsequent analysis that the D freehold of John Shakespeare was the Wool-

Shop, while the identity of the chief-rent proves that it was the same house which was purchased by him in 1556,—“item, quod Edwardus West alienavit predicto Johanni Shakespere unum tenementum cum gardino adjacente in Henley Strete per redditum inde domino per annum *vj. d.* et sectam curie, et idem Johannes predictus in curia fecit fidelitatem,” visus Franci Plegii, 2 October, 3 et 4 Phil. et Mar. It has been generally assumed that this purchase was one of a copyhold, the oversight having arisen from its being taken for granted that all entries in court-rolls referred to that description of title, but it was the usual practice to note in those records all transfers of freehold estates that were subject to chief-rents. The relative position of the house then conveyed to John Shakespeare will be observed in the annexed diagram,



Henley Street.

but no endeavour has been made to represent even an approximation to the true measures. It will, however, be of assistance in considering the following notes on the several properties as they existed in 1590.

A. Then, as now, Corporation property. A glover of the name of Bradley was the lessee of this house in the opening years of Shakespeare's life, and a person named Wilson, who followed the correlative business of a whittawer, is mentioned as its tenant in 1577. Having been partially destroyed by fire in or about the year 1594, it was shortly afterwards rebuilt by the latter, who was succeeded in the tenancy, in the early part of the reign of James I., by Thomas Greene of Bishopton.—B. This house is mentioned in an indenture of 1573 as then the tenement of one Richard Hornebee, in whose possession it remained until at least 1603, and members of the family continued in it, either as freeholders or occupiers, for many years afterwards. It was purchased by Thomas Nash, the first husband of Shakespeare's grand-daughter, in the year 1620, and it is described in his will, 1642, as “one messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, now in the tenure of one John Horneby, blacksmith.”—C. There were originally two small houses on this plot which belonged in 1575 to William Wedgewood, and were

purchased from him in that year by Edward Willis, being then described as, "all those his towne tenementes or burgages lying together and beinge in Stretford aforesaid, in a street there commonly called Henley Streete, which now ar in the use occupatyon and possessyon of the sayd William Wedgewood, betwyne the tenement of Richard Hornebe of the east part, and the tenement of John Shakesper, yeoman, of the west parte, and the streete aforesaid of the sowthe parte, and the Quenes highway called the Gillpittes of the north parte." These cottages had been converted into one house some time previously to July, 1609, when the latter is noticed as, "all that messuage or tenemente and burgage with appurtenances called the Bell, otherwise the signe of the Bell, heretofore used or occupied in two tenementes, scituate and beinge in Stratforde-upon-Avon in the countye of Warwicke, in a streete there comonlie called Henley Streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or occupation of Roberte Brookes, or of his assignes or undertenautes, betwene the tenemente of Thomas Hornebie on the easte parte, and the tenemente *late* of William Shakespere on the weaste parte, and the streete aforesaid on the southe parte, and the Kinges heighe waye called the Gillpittes on the northe parte,"

The tenement^{late} of William Shakespere

the word *late* being an interpolation in the original document. A similar description, found in a later indenture, 1613, runs as follows,—
 "all that messuage or tenemente and burgage with appurtenances called the Belle, otherwise the signe of the Belle, heretofore used or occupied in two tenementes; scituate and beinge in Stratforde-upon-Avon in the countye of Warwicke, in a streete there comonlie called Henley streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or occupation of Roberte Brookes or of his assignes or undertenantes, betwene the tenemente of Thomas Hornebye on the easte parte, and a tenemente *late* William Shakespere on the weaste parte, and the streete aforesaid on the southe parte." This Robert Brookes is mentioned as a licensed innholder in January, 1603, and as residing in Henley Street in that capacity in 1606. The Bell was purchased by Thomas Nash in 1647, when it was described as, "all that messuage or tenement and burgage with thap-purtenances called the Bell, or the signe of the Bell, heretofore used or occupied in two tenementes, scituate lying and being in Stratford aforesaid in the said county of Warwick, in a street there called the Henly

Street, now in the tenure or occupation of the said Henry Willis or of his assignes, or undertenantes, between the tenement of Mr. Nash on the east parte, and the tenement in the tenure of John Rutter on the west parte, and the street on the south parte, and the Kings high-way called the Gilpittes on the north parte." None of the drawings which show the western end of this house as it appeared in the last century, and no earlier ones are known, are quite reliable, but it may be gathered from them that the Bell adjoined the Wool-Shop, that its roof was somewhat higher than that of the latter, and that there was a little projection of the frontage into the street beyond the line of that of the buildings on the west.—D. The Wool-Shop.—E. The Birth-Place.—F. On August the 14th, 1591, George Badger, draper, the then owner of this house, made a settlement in which it is described as "totum illud messuagium sive tenementum meum, cum pertinenciis, scituatum, jacens et existens, in Stretford predicta, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Henley Streete, inter tenementum Roberti Johnsons ex una parte et tenementum Johannis Shakespere ex altera parte." The property is also mentioned in John Shakespeare's conveyance of 1597 as the freehold of George Badger, and it continued in the hands of the latter or his representatives until 1631, when it was sold to one Thomas Horne. At some uncertain period before 1707 (manor rent-book) the house had been converted into an inn named the Swan, one which was merged, sign and all, into the adjoining White Lion about the year 1753.—G. This property is mentioned in October, 1590, as the freehold of John Ichivar, but in or before August, 1591, it appears to have passed into the hands of one Robert Johnsons. It continued to be owned by the latter or by his descendants until February, 1684-5, when it was sold to Edward Elderton. It was then an inn "called or knowne by the name or signe of the White Lyon" in the occupation of the last-named individual, and had been one under the same title for a considerable period. "William Mayo, the tapster at the Whyt Lione," Bur. Reg., 1667. It may be worth adding that there was a Robert Johnson, described as an innholder, who took a lease of some ground in Henley Street from the Corporation in 1598.—H. Then, as now, Corporation property.

2. *The Occupants of the Wool-Shop.*—Although there is no direct evidence on the subject, there can hardly be a reasonable doubt that these premises were at one time in the occupation of John Shakespeare. The facts of there having formerly been interior door-ways between the Birth-Place and the Wool-shop, and that those communications must have been formed before 1616, after which year the two houses were always occupied as separate tenements, render it all but certain that they were united, in part at least of his time, as one residence and place of business. If this had not been the case, one of them would, in all probability, have fallen into other hands during the pressure of his financial

embarrassments. After his death in 1601 the Wool-Shop descended to the poet as heir-at-law, but nothing has been discovered respecting his treatment of it, beyond the inference to be drawn from the language of his will, that no member of his family was resident there in January, 1616. It is hardly likely that his mother would have required both the houses during her widowhood, and, so far as the evidences at present accessible enable an opinion to be formed, it would appear most probable that he let the Wool-Shop, in or about the year 1602, to an incidental tenant; or it may be that the latter course was not taken until after the death of his mother in 1608, when he most likely permitted his sister Joan to live rent-free at the Birth-Place. Either theory would be consistent with the notice of the Wool-Shop in 1609 as "the tenement late of William Shakespere." The repetition of this statement in 1613 (see the annexed fac-simile) is of no import,

and a tenement late William Shakespere

the lawyers of the olden time frequently adopting descriptions of parcels from anterior indentures, and that this is most likely the case in the present instance appears from the fact of the house being noted as "the tenement late William Shakespere" in a later Bell estate deed of 1639. The next allusion to the Wool-Shop is in the Hall and Nash settlement of the year last-mentioned, in which it is entered as being "nowe or late in the occupacion of Jane Hiccox, widdowe." It by no means follows from this description that the house was not then an inn, and that it was one, if any such, on a respectable scale may fairly be gathered from a claim made against the Parliament in January, 1645-6, by the children of Mrs. Hiccox, who was then deceased, for "17 silver spoones; 2 silver boles, a bigger and a lesser; a double silver salt; in old money 3*li.* 7*s.*, and divers other things in a trunk, to the value of 20 *li.*" At this time and some years previously one John Rutter was the landlord. "Paid John Rutter of the Maydenheade for the entertaining of Colonel Fines and two pottels wine, as by his bill, 00. 14. 00," Chamb. Acc., 1642. The subsequent history of the tenancy is devoid of interest, but it is worth adding, before dismissing the subject, that the widow Jane was most likely connected by marriage with Lewis Hiccox, one of Shakespeare's land-tenants, who is mentioned as having received a licence for an inn in Henley Street in January, 1603, and whose wife Alice behaved so roughly in the same year to Mrs. Robert Brookes that she was bound over to



THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE, AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1866.

keep the peace towards the latter in a recognizance to the amount of £10. All this may justify a conjecture that Robert Brookes and Lewis Hiccox were the then respective tenants of the Bell and the Maidenhead, in which case the two ladies would no doubt have had splendid facilities for a quarrel.

3. *The Sign of the Wool-Shop.*—The names of houses at Stratford were so frequently altered at the discretions of the occupiers, it is often exceedingly difficult to identify a tenement without a better evidence than its title. So far as is known, the Wool-Shop is noticed as the Maidenhead for the first time in 1642, but it cannot be safely inferred, from the absence of that name in the settlement of 1639, that the sign was not adopted until after the latter year. There was a house so called (Misc. Doc. iii. 177) which Richard Wilkins was arranging to take from John Rogers in April, 1597, one extremely unlikely to have been the Wool-Shop; but amongst the leading inns of Stratford in 1612 were the White Lion, the Bell and the Maidenhead, and it is just possible that all of these may have been situated in Henley Street. The sign which is represented in the earliest drawing of the Wool-Shop, attached to one of the outer timbers of the house, was most likely first placed there in or soon after 1676, in the April of which year it was “ordered that all signe-postes which stand upon the ground in any street within this burrough shall bee taken downe before Midsomer next, and that the signe-boardes shall bee hanged upon postes fixed to the howses.” The Wool-Shop is alluded to as the Swan and Maidenhead in the will of Thomas Hart, 1786, a name it retained until its absorption into the present trust, but in all the known documents connected with the estate from 1647 to 1771 it is mentioned under the second title only.

4. *The Houses that were purchased in 1575.*—John Shakespeare bought two houses at Stratford in this year, but it is not known in what part of the town they were situated, nor whether they were or were not contiguous to each other. They may even have been located in different streets. All that is certain in the matter is that neither on any supposition could have been the Wool-Shop, but it is possible that one of them was the Birth-Place, and that the other was a tenement which then existed between that domicile and Badger’s estate on the west. The strip of ground which belonged to the poet’s father in 1597 and adjoined the latter was then described as a toft, and when its extremely narrow width is considered, that term could only have been applied to a fragment of land on which the western end of some building had previously stood. The fine that was levied on the occasion of the purchase of the two houses in 1575 is recorded in these words,—“inter Johannem Shakespere, querentem, et Edmundum Hall et Emmam uxorem ejus, deforciantes, de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis et duobus pomariis,

cum pertinentiis, in Stretforde-super-Avon ; unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, scilicet, quod predicti Edmundus et Emma recognoverunt predicta tenementa, cum pertinentiis, esse jus ipsius Johannis ut illa que idem Johannes habet de dono predictorum Edmundi et Emme, et illa remiserunt et quietumclamaverunt de ipsis Edmundo et Emma, et heredibus suis, predicto Johanni, et heredibus suis, imperpetuum ; et preterea iidem Edmundus et Emma concesserunt pro se, et heredibus ipsius Emme, quod ipsi warantizabunt predicto Johanni, et heredibus suis, predicta tenementa, cum pertinentiis, contra predictos Edmundum et Emmam, et heredes ipsius Emme, imperpetuum ; et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quietaclamancia, warantia, fine et concordia, idem Johannes dedit predictis Edmundo et Emme quadraginta libras sterlingorum," Term. Mich. 17 Eliz. It should be mentioned that the practice of exaggerating the number of houses in the descriptions given in fines was certainly too unusual in the sixteenth century, if then a practice at all, to warrant the opinion that one tenement only passed on this occasion. Such exaggerations appear to have been restricted to measurements of land, and even in regard to the latter, notwithstanding Popham's assertion (Reports, ed. 1656, p. 105) that the extensions were invariable, we have evidences to the contrary in the fines levied on the Shakespeare-Combe land in 1610, 1639 and 1647, the descriptions in which agree with those that are found in the indenture of conveyance and in other documents. Then, again, the Birth-Place and Wool-Shop are mentioned, with the addition of New Place, as three messuages in the fines and recoveries of 1639 and 1647, and in the fine levied on the occasion of a mortgage effected by Shakespeare Hart in 1730, the two former houses and the adjoining cottages are accurately described. The last-named fine runs "inter Samuelem Smith, querentem, et Shaxpeer Hart et Annam uxorem ejus, deforciantes, de duobus mesuagiis, quatuor cotagiis, uno horreo, uno stabulo, uno gardino et una acra terre, cum pertinentiis, in Stratford-super-Avon."

5. *The Identification of the Birth-Place.*—The true solution of a biographical question is most likely to be found in a natural hypothesis which completely reconciles the traditional and positive evidences. It is known that John Shakespeare became the owner of the Birth-Place at some unascertained period before 1590, and if we assume that he resided there from the time of his arrival at Stratford, either occupying the Wool-Shop as well or annexing the latter in 1556, all known difficulties of every kind immediately vanish. This theory, moreover, harmonizes with all the probabilities of the case. He is first introduced to us as one of the residents of Henley Street in 1552, being subjected to the then considerable fine of twelve-pence for an infringement of the by-laws, an amount that would certainly not have been imposed on one

who was not a householder of some position. Then in January, 1597, we have his own authority for the fact that the land on the west of the Birth-Place was at that time in his own occupation,—*et modo est in tenura sive occupacione mei, predicti Johannis Shakespere*,—a passage which certainly, by implication, refers also to the house. This is the only evidence of the kind that has come down to us, but it is hardly possible to exaggerate its importance in deciding the question now under consideration, the value of a tradition being immeasurably enhanced by its agreement with a record that could not have been known to any of its narrators. Another testimony in the same direction may be fairly accepted in the circumstance of Joan Hart being mentioned in the poet's will, 1616, as then residing at the Birth-Place, this being extremely improbable if it had not been the home of her parents.

6. *The local Tradition of the western House being the Birth-Place.*—The extent of the confidence to be prudently bestowed upon the above inferences will materially depend on the nature of the evidence that can be given of the immemoriality of this tradition. That evidence is on the whole of a satisfactory character, and at all events it effectually disposes of the attempts, some of them dishonest ones, which have been made, at various intervals from the latter part of the eighteenth century, to circulate the unfounded opinion that the original local tradition indicated neither of the houses on the present Henley Street estate. The two buildings are, however, collectively mentioned as the "house where Shakespeare was born" in Winter's plan of the town, 1759, the attribution being therein casually noted amongst other well-known established facts; and in Greene's view, which was engraved in 1769, they are described together as a "house in Stratford-upon-Avon in which the famous poet Shakespear was born." This view was published in anticipation of Garrick's Jubilee, and identifies the building with the one named in the accounts of that celebration, but up to this period no intimation is anywhere given as to which of the then two houses was considered to be the Birth-Place. The latter deficiency is fortunately supplied by Boswell, who was present at the Jubilee, and informs us that, amongst the embellishments displayed on that occasion, "was a piece of painting hung before the windows of the room where Shakespeare was born, representing the sun breaking through the clouds," *London Magazine*, September, 1769, p. 453. It is true that the locality of the room is not particularized, but it would be the merest foppery of scepticism to doubt that it is the apartment which is now exhibited as the birth-room; and, indeed, the testimony of my late friend, R. B. Wheler, whose father was at the Jubilee, and who had perfect knowledge of the local reports of that commemoration, should in itself exclude a misgiving on the subject. "The stranger is shewn a room over the butcher's shop, in which our bard is said to have been born; and the

numberless visitors, who have literally covered the walls of this chamber with names and other memorials, sufficiently evince the increasing resort to this hallowed roof," *Wheler's Guide to Stratford-upon-Avon*, 1814, p. 12. There can, therefore, be no doubt that from the earliest period at which we have, or were likely to have, a record of the fact, it was the tradition of Stratford that the Birth-Place is correctly so designated.

7. *The commercial Aspect.*—The poet's sister, followed by her lineal descendants, occupied the Birth-Place from the time of his death until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Those descendants must, therefore, have traditionally heard whether or no the family had been resident there at the time of his birth, while, if they believed that this had been the case, the attribution of the birth-room would have been almost within the compass of their own knowledge. It was not merely that it was the best sleeping-apartment in the house, and the only one of the kind that possessed the desirable fire-place, but throughout the English rural districts in those times, as in many even up to the present day, there was a special and accepted room devoted generation after generation to child-bearing. But, at the periods at which the Birth-Place and the birth-room traditions are first recorded, the Harts had become impoverished through the creation of mortgages on their little estate, and it might be plausibly suggested that they may have had pecuniary reasons for originating deceptions in these matters. This was assuredly not the case, but as the point is one of considerable importance in the general enquiry, it will be advisable to examine it somewhat in detail.—There is no doubt that Stratford-on-Avon was considered, from very early Shakespearean times, to have derived its celebrity from its having been the birth-town of the great dramatist. "One travelling through Stratford-upon-Avon, a towne most remarkable for the birth of famous William Shakespeare," a *Banquet of Jest* or *Change of Cheare*, 1639. "William Shakespear, the glory of the English stage, whose nativity at Stratford-upon-Avon is the highest honour that town can boast of," *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675. "I say not this to derogate from those excellent persons, but to perswade them, as Homer and our Shakespear did, to immortalize the places where they were born," *ded. to Virtue Betrayed*, 1682. Throughout the seventeenth century, however, the grave-stone and effigy appear to have been the only memorials of the poet that were indicated to visitors, and no evidence has been discovered which represents either the Birth-Place or the birth-room as an object of commercial exhibition until after the traditions respecting them are known to have been current. There is not a word about either in Richardson's popular edition of *De Foe's Tour*, 1769, nor in any of the earlier guide-books or itineraries, although several of the latter notice other matters of Shakespearean interest. There is, indeed, little doubt that the Birth-Place did not become one

of the incentives for pilgrimage until public attention had been specially directed to it at the time of the Jubilee, while it was not then generally known that the birth-room could be identified. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, writing from Lichfield in July, 1769, observes,—“I do not know whether the apartment where the incomparable Shakespeare first drew his breath can at this day be ascertained or not, but the house of his nativity, according to undoubted tradition, is now remaining.” It was not until long after this period that the former received its due measure of veneration. Ireland, who devoted several pages in 1795 to an account of the two houses, does not even mention the birth-room, and the earliest published view of its interior belongs to the comparatively recent date of 1824. It should also be recollected that English travel in the last century was exceptional, and that, under the most favourable circumstances, no sum that could have been received from the then exceedingly limited number of tourists would have induced either the perpetration of a fraud or its reception by the inhabitants of the town. There is, moreover, ample evidence that the Harts, during the course of their occupancy of the Birth-Place that terminated in 1794, never considered that the amount of the pilgrim-fees was of a definite commercial value. There is no allusion whatever to the subject in the long correspondence respecting the attempted sale of the property which they maintained with their legal adviser between the years 1800 and 1806, and although the latter mentioned the Birth-Place as such in a newspaper advertisement, there is no reference to the Shakespearean associations in the printed hand-bill which announced a projected auction of the two houses in 1805.

8. *The proprietary Descent of the Henley Street Estate.*—The descent of the Birth-Place and Wool-Shop estates, from the time of their settlement in the poet's will until now, may thus be briefly chronicled. Small portions of the former, as will be presently noticed, were alienated in the last century, but this circumstance does not affect the general history of the devolutions. For upwards of thirty years after the operative commencement of the entail the Birth-Place belonged to his sister Joan, and the Wool-Shop to his elder daughter Susanna; but upon the death of the former, in the autumn of 1646, both became the property of Mrs. Hall, who retained them until her decease in July, 1649. The ownership then passed into the hands of her daughter, Mrs. Barnard, who, having no family, was enabled to devise them by will, in 1670, to Thomas Hart, Joan's grandson, and his issue, with a similar remainder to his brother George. Thomas dying without leaving children, the estates fell to the disposal of George, who, by a deed-poll of April, 1694, gave his eldest son, Shakespeare Hart, immediate possession of the Birth-Place and also the reversion in fee of the Wool-Shop after the expiration of life-interests that were reserved

to his wife and himself. It should, however, be mentioned that a barn and three cottages belonging to the former estate were excepted from the first gift and added to the reversion. Upon the termination of the life interests in 1702, Shakespeare Hart became the owner of both properties, and he continued to hold them until his death in July, 1747. The estates, during his tenure, were subjected to mortgages that ultimately impoverished his successors, but it is unnecessary, in this analysis, to enter into particulars respecting these and subsequent encumbrances or minor dispositions that merely complicated without affecting the real history of the title. Shakespeare Hart (February, 1744-5) had devised the properties to his wife Anne, at whose death, in 1753, they devolved, under the terms of her will, to her husband's nephew, George Hart, who died in 1778 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas. This last-named individual, whose decease occurred in 1793, bequeathed the Wool-Shop to his son John and the Birth-Place to his son Thomas, the latter conveying to his brother three years afterwards (May the 11th, 1796) the realty that he inherited under his father's will, John thus becoming the owner of both estates. He died in 1800, having devised them to his widow for life, with remainder to his three children as tenants-in-common, and by these persons they were sold to one Thomas Court in July, 1806, in which month the connexion of the poet's family with his native town virtually terminated. Court died in 1818, leaving a will in which he directed the properties to be sold after the death of his wife, and the moneys arising therefrom to be divided amongst his children. The widow dying in 1846, they were submitted to auction in London in the following year, and were then acquired by two committees of gentlemen, the representatives of a large body of independent subscribers who had come forward to endeavour to save the Birth-Place from whispered designs of an unpatriotic character. The purchase was completed in 1848 to four delegates selected from the committees, and in July, 1866, those nominal owners surrendered the legal estate, under a public trust, into the hands of the Corporation of Stratford.

9. *The Grounds and Out-buildings.*—Until a recent period there were two wells in the grounds, one of them in the Birth-Place garden and the other in the rear of the Wool-Shop, and as the positions of such accessories were very rarely altered, it may be presumed that the former at all events was in existence at the time of the poet's birth. With this ostensible exception, and beyond the facts of the Wool-Shop being described in 1556 as having a garden, and the Birth-Place in 1597 as attached to land some of which was unbuilt upon, no particulars of any kind have been discovered respecting the contemporary external supplements of the two houses. That there were pigsties, one or two wooden atrocities of a like redolent description, as well as the inevitable

dunghills, may be taken for granted, and it is also nearly certain that there were several hovels and at least one of the numerous barns which were then to be seen in nearly every piece of uninhabited ground in the town. The estates are described in the settlement of 1639 as, "all those two messuages or tenements with thappurtenaunces scituate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certaine streete there called Henley streete, and nowe or late in the severall occupacions of Jane Hiccox and Johan Hart, widdowes; and all and singular howses, edifices, buildings, chambers, cellars, sollers, lights, easements, barnes, stables, backsides, orchards, gardens, profitts and commodities whatsoever, to the said severall messuages or tenements or any of them belonging or in any wise apperteyning, or accepted, reputed, esteemed or taken as part, parcell, or member of the same, or of any of them;" but the latter enumeration is merely taken from the ordinary conveying formula, and this is repeated in another description of the property in the settlement of 1647,—“and all that messuage or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituate and beinge in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in a certen streete there called Henley Streete, commonly called or knowne by the name of the Maidenhead, and now or late in the tenure of John Rutter or his assignes; and all that other messuage or tenement scituate and beinge in Henley Streete aforesaid, now or late in the tenure of Thomas Hart, and adjoininge unto the said messuage or tenement called the Maidenhead, and all and singuler houses, edifices, buildings, chambers, cellers, sollers, lights, easements, barnes, stables, backsides, orchardes, gardens, profits and commodities whatsoever to the said severall messuages or tenements or any of them belonginge or in any wise apperteyninge, or accepted, reputed, esteemed or taken as parte, parcell or member of the same, or of any of them.” The earliest reliable notice, however, of there having been a barn on either of the premises is that given in 1670 in the will of Lady Barnard, who speaks of one on the Birth-Place land as “now or late in the occupacion of Michaell Johnson or his assignes,” the tenant here mentioned being then the owner of the next house but one on the west. At this period there was clearly only one barn on the Birth-Place estate, but in 1694 there were two, although which of them, if either, was there in the poet’s time it is of course impossible to say. One of them is described by George Hart in the year last-named as “belonging” to the Birth-Place, and the other as “all that one barne standing on the backsid neere to the signe of the White Lyon, now in the occupacion of Edward Elderton, gent.” The latter was no doubt the one which is mentioned in 1730 as “all that barn situate on the backside of the said tenements (the western cottages) in a place called the Guild Pitts, and adjoining to the back-gates belonging to the Swan Inn,” an account which shows that it was in the extreme north-west corner, the Swan

being the next house on the west. This barn was taken down some time previously to March, 1771, when its site was acquired by John Payton, the owner and landlord of the White Lion. Payton had also bought from Shakespeare Hart in March, 1746-7, a narrow piece of ground adjoining the yard of that inn and lying immediately on the south of the then existing barn, these two fragments of the original estate remaining separated from it until 1856, in which year they were purchased from the then owner, John Warden, and re-united to the Birth-Place garden.

10. *The Western Cottages.*—In the time of the great dramatist there were no buildings on the western portion of the Birth-Place land which adjoined Henley Street, none at least of a habitable character. It was not until late in the seventeenth century, at some time about the year 1675, that houses were erected upon the site, and these are described in 1694 as “all those three other tenementes with the appurtenances in the occupacion or tenures of Thomas Mountford, Samuell Lord, and late of Richard Wharam.” The exact period is unknown, but at some time before July, 1730, the westernmost ground-floor room of the Birth-Place with the apartment immediately over it were formed into a separate cottage, the inner door-ways being blocked up and a new one made leading into the street. There were now four small distinct residences on the west of the estate, and these, with their little back-gardens or yards, were sold by the Harts in 1771 to Payton, who then became owner of all the property the southern end of which laid between the White Lion and the easternmost ground-floor rooms of the Birth-Place, the whole extending, in a nearly but not quite equable width, from the main street to the Guildpits. These four tenements continued to be separated from the other portion of the estate until 1848, when they were bought by public subscription, the one that had formed part of the Birth-Place being then restored to that house, while the three others were taken down and their sites thrown into the garden. It will thus be seen that, after the completion of the purchase made from Warden in 1856, all the above-mentioned Payton land reverted to the Shakespeare estate.

11. *The Pieces of Land that were alienated by the Poet's Father.*—In January, 1597, John Shakespeare conveyed to his neighbour, George Badger, a narrow strip of land on the extreme west of the estate. It measured only one foot and a half at each end, but was no less than eighty-four feet in length, and was purchased subject to the claims of the Lord of the Manor, the share of the chief-rent payable by Badger being no doubt apportioned at one penny, a circumstance which explains the variation between the amount of the Birth-Place rent which is given in the return of 1590 and “the yearlie rent of xij.d.” which is named in the poet's will. About the same time that this alienation was effected, 1597, John Shakespeare parted with another

fragment of his Henley Street land, but this second transfer was of a piece of ground on the east near the back of the Wool-Shop. This nook, which was purchased by Willis, the owner of the adjoining estate, is minutely described, in a settlement of 1611, as "all that platt of ground conteyninge seventene footes square, that is to say, seventene footes every way, with all and singular the edifices and buyldinges thereuppon latelie erected and buylded, scituate, lienge and beinge in Stretford-uppon-Avon in the county of Warr., in a streete there comonlie called Henly Street, betwixt the freholde of one John Shakespere on the west syde, and the freeholde of the aforesayd Edward Wyllys on the east syde." The description here given, which was most probably taken from the original conveyance, is repeated nearly verbally in a subsequent deed of 1613 excepting that the Wool-Shop is there called "a tenement late John Shakespere." It is to subsequent litigation respecting this plot of ground that we are indebted for our knowledge that it had belonged to the poet's father, and that Willis desired its acquisition for the site of some additional building the erection of which he had in contemplation. The evidences of these facts are recorded in an Answer which was filed in the Court of Requests in October, 1638, and which is of sufficient interest to be given at length,—“The said defendant, &c., thinketh and hopeth to prove that Edward Willis, of Kingsnorton, in the countie of Wigorn, in the said bill of complaint named, was in his life tyme lawfully seised in his demesne as of fee of and in twoe small burgages or tenementes, with thappurtenances, in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwicke; and beinge desirous to make the same one tenement dwelling, and wantinge roome for that purpose, thereupon the said Edward Willis, &c., did about fortie yeares since purchase to him and his heires, of and from one Shakespeare, one parcell of land, conteyninge aboute seaventeene foote square (as hee taketh it), next adjoyninge to one of the said burgages or tenementes, and which parcell of ground and backside this defendant conceiveth to be the parcell of ground or backside intended by the said bill. And the said Edward Willis, &c., about fortie yeares since did make and erect one intire tenement upon a greate parte of the same; and havinge soe made, erected, and converted the same into one tenement, thereupon and after the same was soe made into one tenement, and had bene soe enjoyed for diverse yeares, hee the said Edward Willis, &c., by deed indented bearinge date the twentieth daye of July, in the seaventh yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lord Kinge James of England, &c., did geve, grante, &c., to Thomas Osborne and Bartholemewe Austeyne, and their heires, all the said twoe burgages or tenementes and parcell of ground and backside, &c. (videlicet), all that messuage or tenement and burgage, with thappurtenaunces called the Bell, otherwise the signe of the Bell, heretofore used

or occupied in two tenements, scituate and beinge in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwick, in a streete there commonly called Henley Streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or ocupacion of Robert Brookes, or of his assignes or undertenantes, betweene the tenement of Thomas Horneby on the east parte, and the tenement late of William Shakespeare on the west parte, and the streete aforesaid on the south parte, and the King's highe way called Gilpittes on the north parte, &c." It will be observed that a little square plot is the only one here mentioned as having belonged to John Shakespeare, but it is almost certain that he also owned an adjoining slip which, from its position, must have been originally united with it, and which is described in the deed of 1611 as, "one little bakeside *therunto belonginge* conteyninge in lengthe from the sayd platt of ground on the west syde eight yardes, and on the east syde aeven yardes and a haulfe, and in breadthe at the upper ende towards the platt of ground latelie buylded uppon seventene footes, and at the nether ende towards the Gilpittes two yardes and a haulfe." There is no possibility of ascertaining the exact situations of these two little bits of land; but, from the narrow frontage owned by Willis, it may be concluded that the first-mentioned plot was at the back and not on the side of one of the two cottages which he was desirous of transforming into a single holding. The "one little bakeside *therunto belonginge*" was of course on the north of the square plot, and extended either to, or in the direction of, the Guildpits.

12. *The Boundaries of the Henley Street Estate.*—The frontage line of this estate cannot have been altered since the days of Shakespeare, but a precise identification of the other boundaries is now impossible. The recent plans of the several nooks of land that are now amalgamated, and there are no early ones, cannot be implicitly relied upon in this inquiry, for it may be taken for granted that, in the course of so many generations, there were numerous changes that occasioned essential differences in the aggregate, and here we have not the security of reference to the inconvertible Corporation property. The alterations thus gradually effected must, however, have been trivial on the eastern and western sides, the main variation being unquestionably in the northern boundary. That this is the case is apparent from the description of parcels in the Badger conveyance of 1597, in which it is distinctly stated that the western side then measured only about twenty-eight yards, not much more than two-thirds of the length which it had attained when in the hands of its modern private owners. This large discrepancy can only be explained on the assumption that there was a large space of manorial waste on the northern end of the Birth-Place land, and there is an important early notice in the town records which confirms this view. It is in a lease granted in 1563 of premises in Henley Street that were only about thirty yards distant from the Wool-

Shop, and which, according to the description therein given, "extendithe in lengthe from the seid strete unto a wast grounde callid the Gilpyttes." Much of this waste that was on the immediate north of the Birth-Place land appears to have been unenclosed in 1722, the length of the western side of the White Lion being then estimated at ninety-five feet six inches, and in 1717 Shakespeare Hart was "presented for not laying his gutter down to his water-course at his back-gates, and for digging a pitt in the highways there." There can, indeed, be no doubt that either the whole or a portion of the Guildpits consisted, in Shakespeare's time, of a wide piece of uncultivated land through which a shapeless road threaded its fluctuating course. Even so recently as the year 1752 the owner of the White Lion procured a lease from the holder of the manor of "part of the waste lying behind the said inn," between the road and the common-fields, which was no less than thirty feet in breadth. This plot was on the north, and there remained on the other side of the road until recent years a long and narrow strip of waste a portion of which was thrown into the Birth-Place garden in 1859.

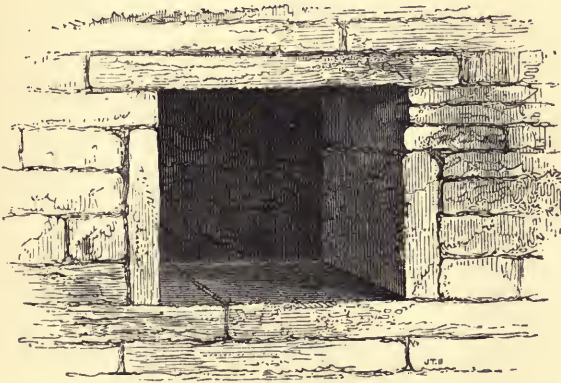
13. *The Painted Glass.*—In one of the window panes of the ground-floor room which is on the left of the entrance to the Birth-Place there was to be seen, in the last century, a piece of glass measuring about six inches in diameter upon which were depicted the arms of the Merchants of the Staple. It was first described by Ireland in his *Views on the Avon*, 1795, p. 191, having been taken away from the house about five (not thirty, as stated) years previously. This little work of art was then believed to have been a genuine relic of John Shakespeare's dwelling, but, according to the unimpeachable testimony of the late R. B. Wheler, "old Thomas Hart constantly declared that his great uncle, Shakespeare Hart, a glazier of this town, who had the new glazing of the Chapel windows, where it is known from Dugdale (*Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ed. 1656, p. 523) that such a shield existed, brought it from thence and introduced it into his own window," *Guide to Stratford-upon-Avon*, 1814. "Thomas Hart was well qualified to know the source from whence Shakspeare Hart derived this relick, being in his nineteenth year when his great uncle died, and I have no doubt but that his relation of this circumstance is correct," Wheler MS.

14. *The Bass-relief of David and Goliath.*—In the Wool-Shop, "over the fire-place in the south-east angle of the front parlour," as Wheler observes in 1824, there was formerly a bass-relief in stucco representing the encounter between David and Goliath. The earliest notice that has been discovered of this object is given in the following terms in Ireland's *Views on the Avon*, 1795, pp. 192, 193,—"in a lower room of the public house, which is part of the premises wherein Shakspeare was born, is a curious antient ornament over the chimney, relieved in plaister, which, from the date 1606 that was originally marked on

it, was probably put up at the time, and possibly by the poet himself; although a rude attempt at historic representation, I have yet thought it worth copying, as it has, I believe, passed unnoticed by the multitude of visitors that have been on this spot, or at least has never been made public; and to me it was enough that it held a conspicuous place in the dwelling-house of one who is himself the ornament and pride of the island he inhabited. In 1759, it was repaired and painted in a variety of colours by the old Mr. Thomas Harte before mentioned, who assured me the motto then round it had been in the old black letter, and dated 1606. The motto runs thus:—Golith coms with sword and spear,=
And David with a sling;=Although Golith rage and sweare,=
Down David doth him bring.” There is no improbability in the surmise that the ornament was placed in the house as early as 1606, but it is most unlikely that its introduction was owing in any way to the poet, or that it can have a tangible connexion with his history. It was taken from the Wool-Shop into the Birth-Place about the year 1813, and subsequently removed altogether from the premises. In this divorce there was no calamity. The original black-letters of the distich had been altered to Roman ones before the time of Ireland’s visit to Stratford (*Confessions*, 1805, p. 26), and, in a more recent transformation of the relic, its attractions have been sought to be enhanced by the addition of the fabulous words,—“the motto by Shakespeare.”

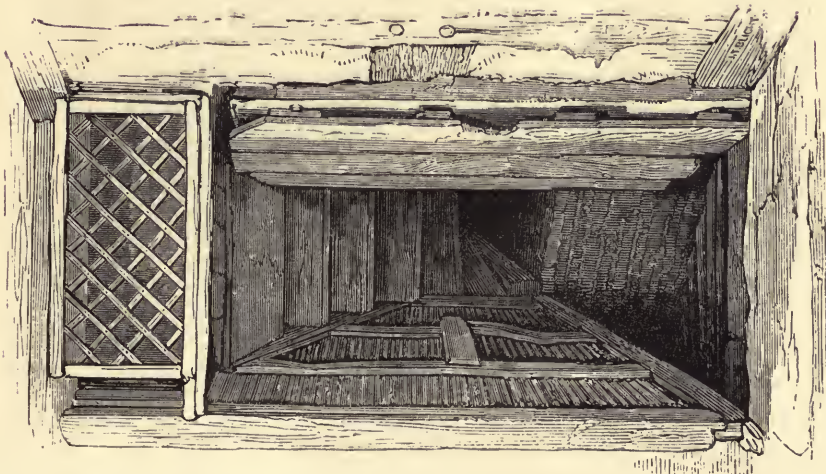
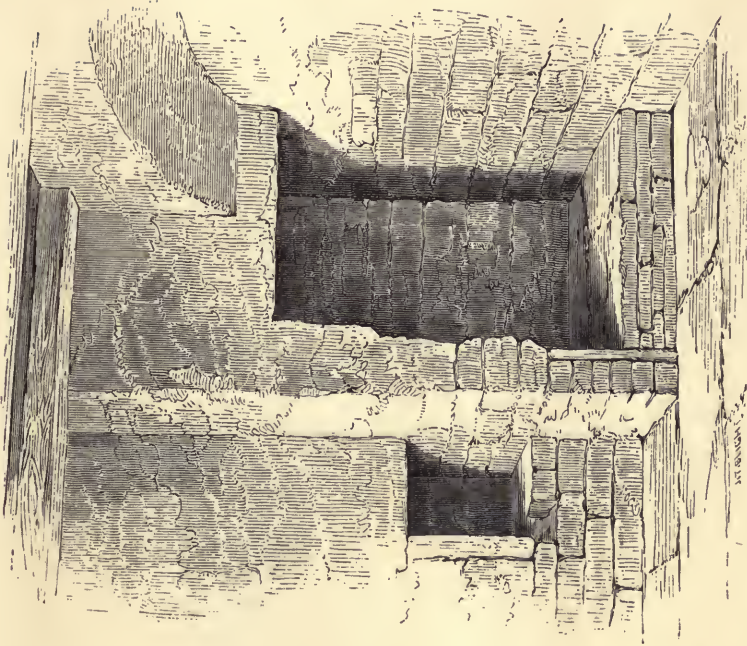
THE BIRTH-PLACE CELLAR.

It is certain that, at this late day, there is no apartment in either the Birth-Place or Wool-Shop which presents exactly the same appearance under which it was viewed in the boyhood of the great dramatist, but unquestionably the nearest approach to the realization of such a memorial is to be found in the cellar which is under the floor of what is usually termed the kitchen of the former house. A cellar is that part of an ancient house which is always the least exposed to serious modification, and it may be confidently asserted that the structural form of this little room could not have been materially altered since its original construction in the sixteenth century.



Deeply impressed with its extremely interesting character, I engaged Mr. Blight in 1864 to make sketches of every portion of the cellar, and it is believed that, in the six engravings here given, the means of delineation are exhausted. It should be added that modern pillars, which have been erected under the impression that they are essential to the support of the roof, are here omitted.







A. T. BLIGHT



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