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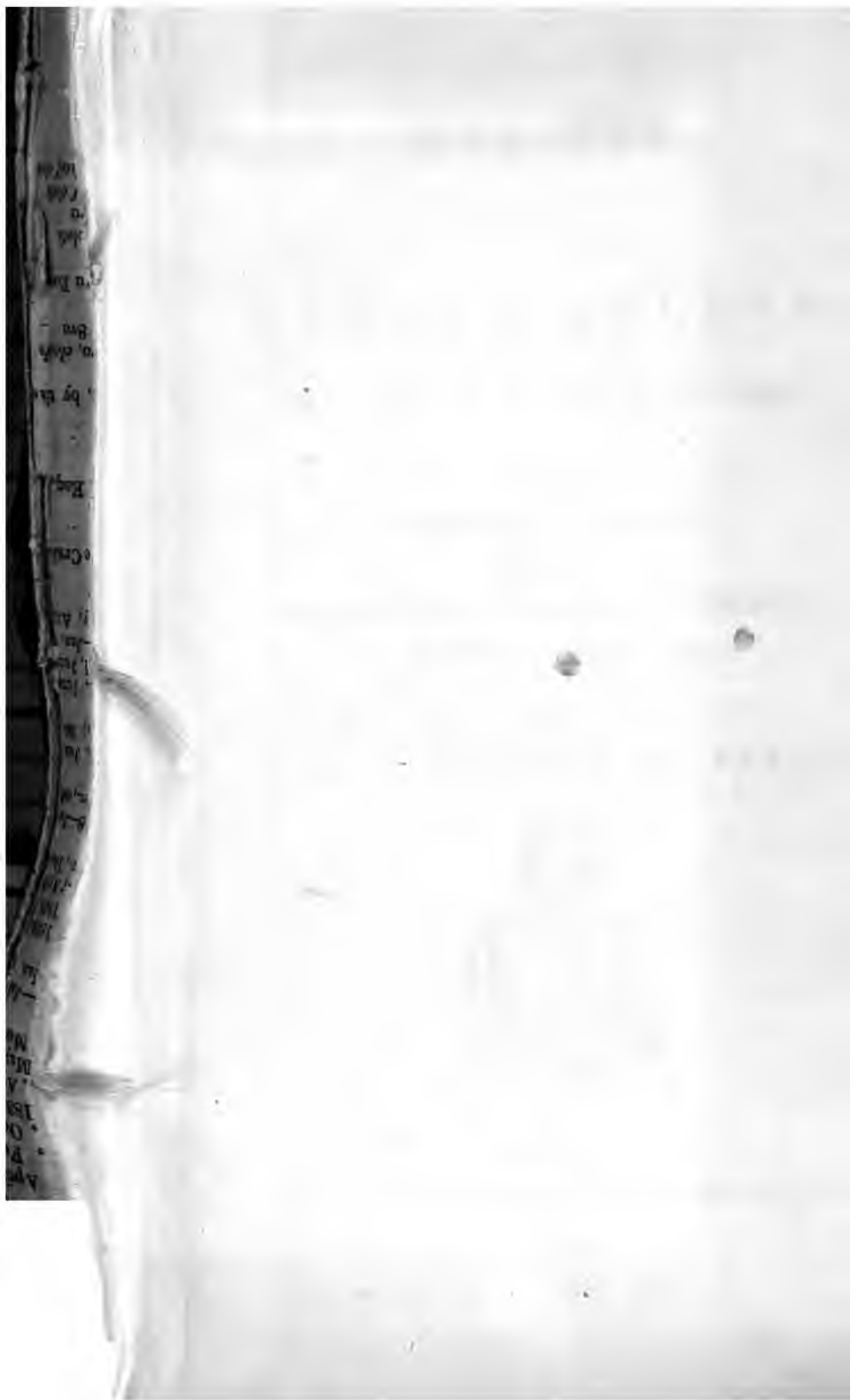
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OF
EDWARD ALLEYN,
FOUNDER OF DULWICH COLLEGE:

INCLUDING
SOME NEW PARTICULARS
RESPECTING
SHAKESPEARE, BEN JONSON, MASSINGER,
MARSTON, DEKKER, &c.

BY
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ., F.S.A.



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P R E F A C E.

MORE than ten years ago, when the writer of the following Memoir was collecting materials for his "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," he had an opportunity of inspecting Henslowe's Diary, and some few other original documents preserved in Dulwich College. He was not then, however, aware of the curious sources of information possessed by that institution, in relation to some of our early theatres, and to the life of an individual, who for nearly half a century was more or less prominently concerned in dramatic representations.

His attention was not long since directed to these additional stores; and on examining them, he found that they afforded ample and novel matter for an extended biography of the Founder of Dulwich College, including important and interesting particulars respecting Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Massinger, Marston, Dekker, and other Dramatists of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

It is necessary to mention, in order to account for some of the imperfections in the succeeding pages, that a knowledge of the existence of certain deeds and family papers, left behind him by Alleyn and preserved in the original "Treasury Chest of God's Gift College," did not reach the writer until he had not only drawn up the whole, but actually printed some part, of the present volume. Had he enjoyed the advantage of having all the information before him at once, he might have rendered the narrative in some places more consecutive and satisfactory.

He cannot too emphatically express his obligations to the Master and Fellows of Dulwich College for the facilities they have at all times afforded him in the inspection of their muniments; but his personal thanks are especially due to the Rev. John Image for ready assistance during the search for materials, and for the most patient kindness while the writer was necessarily occupied in going through them.

MEMOIRS
OF
EDWARD ALLEYN.

CHAPTER I.

Manuscripts in Dulwich College Library—Alleyn's Birth and Pedigree—Fuller's "Worthies"—Alleyn's Education—Number of London Theatres in his Youth—Nash's "Pierce Pennyles," and other proofs of Alleyn's celebrity and excellence as an Actor—Original MS. of his part in R. Greene's "Orlando Furioso"—Other Characters in which he was famous.

WE know little or nothing of Edward Alleyn before his connection with the stage ; but, as regards posterity, the later portion of his career seems to be the only important part of his life. Respecting that part, we are now in possession of fuller details than, as far as we are yet aware, exist respecting any of his dramatic contemporaries—even Shakespeare himself.

Nearly all our materials are derived from Alleyn's family papers preserved in Dulwich College, often mentioned, but never hitherto thoroughly examined. Malone had many of them in his possession for some years ; but it is impossible to suppose that he saw them all, or he could not have passed them over so carelessly as not to observe how much they contain that is interesting and curious in relation, not only to the history of the stage, but to the biography of many of

the great poets and actors of the time.* If Malone had the whole collection in his custody, the result shews that he made comparatively little use of the documents, and that those who are earnest and zealous in the pursuit of information of the kind need never despair of finding it, even where it might be supposed that the reapers of the harvest would scarcely have left scanty gleanings behind them.

Edward Alleyn was born on the 1st September, 1566, and in his Diary (of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter) he registers that fact five times, although in one instance he seems to have kept the anniversary on the day following. It is stated in the "General Biographical Dictionary" (following Oldys, who wrote the article in the "Biographia Britannica"), that in "a memorandum of his own writing" Alleyn states, that his birth took place "in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopgate;" but this is a mistake, as he never mentions where he was born. The fact, however, has been ascertained from the registers of that parish, by which it appears that he was baptised on the day after his birth.

We have his pedigree on his own authority, for he entered it himself at the visitation of the County of Surrey two years before his death; and the records of the College of Arms shew that he was the grandson of Thomas Alleyn, of Willen in Buckinghamshire, and of Mesham in Bedfordshire. His father, Edward Alleyn, was the second son of Thomas Alleyn, who had three sons, Thomas, Edward, and

* Former heads of Dulwich College, not aware of the value of the papers, allowed them to pass out of their hands without reserve; but what now remain (probably only a small quantity of the original stock of MSS.), are duly prized, and carefully preserved. Henslowe's mutilated Diary, various notes from Massinger, Field, Daiborne, Rowley and other dramatists, together with some miscellaneous documents, were not, we believe, restored to the College until after the death of Malone, when they were returned by the late James Boswell, Esq.

William. Edward Alleyn, the father of the founder of Dulwich College, had also three sons, John, Edward, and William. Their mother was Margaret, daughter of John Towneley, Esq. of Towneley, in Lancashire; and from this alliance we might infer that Edward Alleyn, the father of the actor, was a man of some property at the time of his marriage; yet in 1556 (which is the earliest date at which we have any notice of him) he is termed "Edward Alleyn of London, yeoman." His will (in which he is called "Citizen and Innholder"), dated 10th September, 1570, was proved on the 22d of the same month, and is inserted in the Appendix. The recent discovery of this document establishes that he had both "lands and tenements," which he left to his widow for life, and afterwards to his children; while his "goods leases and ready money" were to be equally divided between them.

The subject of the present Memoir was, therefore, only four years old when his father died, and other documents at Dulwich establish, that his mother subsequently married a person of the name of Browne, an actor as well as "a haberdasher." No doubt, therefore, Fuller is correct when he states ("Worthies," ii. 84 Edit. 1811), that Edward Alleyn, having been born in the parish of St. Botolph, "near Devonshire House, where now is the sign of the Pye," was "bred a stage player;" and he certainly afterwards became "the Roscius of our age, so acting to the life, that he made any part (especially a majestic one) to become him." We may very safely conclude that Browne brought young Alleyn up to the profession of the stage; and when it is said by some of his biographers, "that his father would have given him a liberal education, but that he was not turned to a serious course of life," it is a mere guess, for until now it was not known that Edward Alleyn's father died before his education could have commenced.

John Alleyn, his elder brother, was also connected with the stage, although in 1588-9 (see the Appendix) he was, like

his father, an innholder. The old practice of employing inns as theatres had not then been entirely abandoned; and it is not at all impossible that, in the time of their father, the yard of his inn had been converted to that purpose, and was so continued by his son John, who succeeded him. What was the value of the property Alleyn, the father, left to his widow and children is no where stated; but the founder of Dulwich College owned houses in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopgate; and his father, as we find by extant leases and other writings, had bought one or more of them from a person named William Parker: on the 5th of March, 1565, he purchased of this person a house, for which he gave £90; and the original deed was many years afterwards indorsed by his son, Edward, "An indenture of sale from Parker to my father." Mr. and Mrs. Browne probably endeavoured to make the most of the histrionic talents of Edward Alleyn, and the cultivation of his mind was, therefore, neglected.

The earliest date at which we hear of him, in connection with the stage, is the 3d of January, 1588-9, when he bought, for £37 10s. 0d., the share of "playing apparels, play-books, instruments and other commodities," which Richard Jones owned jointly with the brothers, John and Edward Alleyn, and their step-father. On the 8th of July of the following year, John Alleyn and Edward Alleyn, "sons of Edward Alleyn, citizen and innholder, deceased," mortgaged a house in the parish of St. Botolph to William Horne for £80. This was, perhaps, the same house their father had bought of Parker twenty-five years before. Other papers at Dulwich shew that John Alleyn became a distiller about the year 1594, and resided in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn. William Alleyn seems to have been dead in 1590.

With reference to the early career of Edward Alleyn, we are to recollect that, not many years after his birth, acting in stage-plays, as they were called, though not a very respectable, became a very common employment. Few of the nobility

were without companies of comedians, performing under the protection of their names, and as their theatrical servants. Even knights had their dependant players, and as early as 1553 we hear of those of Sir Francis Leek, and in 1571 of those of Sir Robert Lane (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, i. 160, 196). The first public Theatre upon record was opened about this latter date; and the Curtain (another place purposely constructed for the exhibition of dramatic entertainments) was in use before 1576. Both these playhouses may be said to have been in the immediate vicinity of the place where Alleyn was born, for they were situated near each other in the parish of St. Leonard, Shore-ditch. The Blackfriars theatre was also constructed in 1576; and the Whitefriars theatre was in the possession of a theatrical company soon afterwards. The Rose, Hope, and Swan theatres, on the Bankside, were opened either shortly before or after 1580;* so that by the time Alleyn was sixteen years old dramatic representations were extremely frequent and popular in all quarters of the metropolis. When he was in his nineteenth year they received additional encouragement from the direct patronage of Queen Elizabeth, who took into her service twelve players selected from the most distinguished associations of the day.

It no where appears that Alleyn was one of the performers so chosen, and in 1583 he might not have attained sufficient eminence to entitle him to such a situation. Perhaps he began, like many others, as the representative of female characters; and all the companies of players of that date, and earlier and later, had boys or very young men attached to them for this purpose. It is quite certain, however, that before 1592 Alleyn had established a very high reputation as

* A document is in the possession of the writer which shews that there was a house called the Rose on the Bankside in 1571; but it may be doubted whether it was then a theatre, or an inn which was converted into a theatre afterwards.

an actor. In that year came out Thomas Nash's "Pierce Pennyless, his Supplication to the Devil;" and as there were three editions of the same date, we may conclude, perhaps, that the first, from which we quote, made its appearance early in 1592. Alleyn is there twice mentioned as a performer of the utmost and most deserved distinction. The marginal note in the tract is "The due commendation of Ned Allen," and the text opposite to it runs thus:—"Not Roscius nor Æsop, those tragedians admyred before Christ was borne, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen* (Sign. H 3). This sentence contains Nash's testimony to Alleyn's merits, and to the fame which attended those merits; and he adds on the next page, "If I ever write any thing in Latine (as I hope one day I shall), not a man of any desert here amongst us but I will have up—Tarlton, Ned Allen, Knell, Bentley, shall be made knowen

* Ben Jonson, in his "Epigram," addressed "to Edward Allen," also couples him with Roscius and Æsop. It was first printed in 1616, but it had been written, no doubt, fifteen or twenty years earlier.

" If Rome so great, and in her wisest age,
 Fear'd not to boast the glories of her stage,
 As skilfull Roscius and grave Æsop, men,
 Yet crown'd with honors as with riches then;
 Who had no lesse a trumpet of their name
 Then Cicero, whose every breath was fame;
 How can so great example dye in mee,
 That, Allen, I should pause to publish thee?
 Who both their graces in thy selfe hast more
 Outstript, then they did all that went before;
 And present worth in all dost so contract,
 As others speake, but onely thou dost act.
 Weare this renowne: 'tis just, that who did give
 So many Poets life, by one should live."

Ben Jonson was no flatterer, and of course a most competent judge. The Duchess of Newcastle, in one of her Letters, 1664, fol., p. 362, says, "I never heard any man read well but my husband, and I have heard him say he never heard any man read well but Ben Jonson."

to Fraunce, Spayne, and Italie ; and not a part that they surmounted in, more than other, but I will there note and set downe, with the manner of their habites and attyre." Thus we see Alleyn put upon a level with Tarlton (who had been one of the leaders of the Queen's Company of Players in 1583, and who died in 1588), the most celebrated comic performer this country had ever produced, as well as with Knell and Bentley, who had also enjoyed an extraordinary reputation. Nash never lived to complete his design of noting the parts "they surmounted in," and we are left to collect them, as well as we can, from other authorities and accidental notices.

One of the parts which Alleyn "surmounted in" we may now assert for the first time, was Orlando, in Robert Greene's play of "Orlando Furioso." It is alluded to, or at all events a play on the same subject seems spoken of, by G. Peele in his "Farewell" to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, printed in 1589 ; and when Henslowe in his Diary notices it, under the date of 21st February, 1591-2, he does not treat it as if it were a new production. * Greene was an author in 1584, and if he wrote "Orlando Furioso" in 1588, Peele might well mention it on account of its popularity in 1589.

The evidence to establish that the character of the hero of the piece was performed by Alleyn, may be looked upon as decisive. Among the MSS. at Dulwich College is a large portion of the original part of Orlando, as transcribed by the copyist of the theatre for the actor. It is in three pieces, one much longer than the others, all imperfect, being more or less

* The entry by the manager (who, as will be seen by and by, was step-father to Alleyn's wife) runs exactly thus :—

s. d.

" Rd at orlando the 21 of february [1591] . : xvj vj."

It is the oldest entry, excepting two, in the Diary ; and the mark which Henslowe placed before plays represented on particular days, for the first time, is not found attached to it. Therefore "Orlando Furioso" was not a new play in Feb. 1591-2.

injured by worms and time. Here and there certain blanks have been supplied in a different hand-writing, and that hand-writing is Alleyn's. We may conclude, therefore, that this is the very copy from which he learnt his part; and that the scribe, not being able in some places to read the author's manuscript, had left small spaces, which Alleyn filled up, either by his own suggestion, from the MS., or after inquiry of Greene. It contains no more than was to be delivered by the actor of the character of Orlando, with the *cues* (as they were then, and are still, technically called) regularly marked, exactly in the same manner as is done at the present day by transcribers in our theatres. We need have no hesitation in pronouncing this one of the most singular theatrical relics in existence, and it is therefore printed entire (as entire, we mean, as it has come down to us) in the Appendix. It is not worth while here to point out in what respects, and to what degree, it differs from the copy of the play as published in 1594 and again in 1599, although the variations are numerous and considerable. The Rev. Mr. Dyce has inserted "Orlando Furioso" with great accuracy, from the printed copy of 1594, in his edition of Greene's Poetical Works (2 vols. 8vo. 1834); so that a comparison may be easily made by those who are curious on such points, and who wish to form an opinion from thence of the very imperfect and slovenly manner in which our old plays usually came from the press.*

Another of Alleyn's famous characters was Barabas, in Christopher Marlowe's tragedy, "The Rich Jew of Malta;" and to this fact we have the evidence of his contemporary, Thomas Heywood, the dramatist, who had been an actor in Alleyn's company in 1596, and doubtless recollected the effect

* As this fragment by some extraordinary chance has been preserved, we may not unreasonably conclude that Alleyn's papers at Dulwich College originally contained many such portions of old plays, in the performance of which he was principally engaged.

produced by him in the part. Possibly, Heywood did not recollect the first production of the tragedy, about 1589 or 1590; but it continued a favourite with the town for many years, most likely until Alleyn finally quitted the stage. It was not printed until 1633, when it was revived at the Cockpit Theatre in Drury Lane, and its success there recommended it for representation at Court. Heywood ushered it into the world in 1633 by a Dedication to that impression, and by Prologues and Epilogues at Whitehall and at the Cockpit Theatre. In the Dedication he states that "the part of the Jew was presented by so unimitable an actor as Mr. Allen;" and in the Prologue at the Cockpit he inserted the following remarkable lines:—

" We know not how our play may pass this stage,
 But by the best of poets in that age
 The Malta Jew had being and was made;
 And he then by the best of actors play'd.
 In Hero and Leander one did gain
 A lasting memory: in Tamberlaine,
 This Jew, with others many, the other wan
 The attribute of peerless; being a man
 Whom we may rank with (doing no one wrong)
 Proteus for shapes, and Roscius for a tongue,
 So could he speak, so vary."—

The sense has hitherto been somewhat obscured by ill pointing,* but the meaning seems to be, that Marlowe gained a lasting memory by his paraphrase of Musæus under the title of "Hero and Leander," (licensed for the press in 1593, but not published till 1598); while Alleyn (whose name is

* In the Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 114, an opinion is given by the author that the passage

——— " in Tamberlaine
 This Jew, with others many,"

applies to Marlowe, and not to Alleyn, and that the punctuation ought to be regulated accordingly; but this is at least doubtful.

inserted in the margin) "wan the attribute of peerless" by his personation of Tamberlaine, the Jew of Malta, and many other characters; he being a man who could so speak and vary his appearance, that he might be likened to "Proteus for shapes, and Roscius for a tongue."

On the same authority, therefore, we find that Alleyn was also the original representative of Marlowe's "Tamberlaine the Great," which there is every reason to suppose had been acted in or before 1587, (*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii. 112); and Alleyn's performance of that part ought (if it could have been done conveniently) to have been mentioned before we spoke of his Orlando, or of his Barabas. It is hardly too much to suppose that Alleyn was the actor who sustained many, if not most, of the chief tragic characters in the plays entered in Henslowe's Diary; for, as we have already seen, Fuller informs us that he was especially great in parts requiring a majestic deportment. His countenance and person, as far as we can judge from his full-length portrait in Dulwich College, were admirably adapted to give effect to such impersonations.

It merits observation, that in the preceding quotation from the Prologue to "The Rich Jew of Malta," Heywood calls Marlowe "the best of poets *in that age*:" he is to be understood as meaning "the best of poets" in the age in which Marlowe flourished; for it is not likely that he intended to exclude Shakespeare, and to place him in a rank inferior to Marlowe. Heywood does not seem to have considered Marlowe as in the same age with Shakespeare, and hence an inference might possibly be drawn that Shakespeare did not obtain any great eminence as a dramatic author until after the death of Marlowe. Marlowe was buried on June 1, 1593, (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii. 144); and there is reason to suppose that previous to that year Shakespeare had done little more than improve the three parts of Henry VI. (if, indeed, he touched the first part of Henry VI.

at all), and had written "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "The Comedy of Errors." His "Richard II." has generally been assigned to the year 1593. Marlowe's career was a comparatively short one, but it is very possible that he began to write for the stage six or eight years before that date.

CHAPTER II.

Theatrical Wagers, and Alleyn's concern in them—Shakespeare mentioned under the name of "Will"—Alleyn's Marriage with Joan Woodward—His Wife's Property—Philip Henslowe's connection with Theatres—His Partnership with Alleyn—Original Inventory of Alleyn's Theatrical Wardrobe—Union of Shakespeare's and Alleyn's Companies of Players, and the Dramas represented by them.

OTHER strong proofs of Alleyn's high character as an actor are furnished by documents still preserved at Dulwich College, and one of them has been quoted by Malone, but with some inaccuracies (Shakesp. by Boswell, iii. 335). It relates to a wager which had been laid by some friend of Alleyn, that in the performance of a particular part, which either Bentley or Knell had formerly sustained, he should excel Peele, who, we may perhaps conclude, had plumed himself on his histrionic abilities. Contests of this kind were not uncommon in those days: Meres, in his "Palladis Tamia," 1598, fol. 286, speaks of Wilson's "challenge at the Swan on the Bankside;" and Malone has adduced two passages, one from Dekker's "Gull's Hornbook," and the other from "the Knight of the Burning Pestle," to the same effect. How these wagers and challenges were conducted and decided, we have no precise information: this, in which Alleyn was to be pitted against Peele, must have been given when the latter was in his zenith, and considerably prior to the epistle which

in his distress, and after long sickness, he addressed to Lord Burghley in 1595. (Dyce's *Peele's Works*, i. xvi. second edition). It is likely that Peele did not recover from this illness, and we know, on the evidence of Meres,* that he was dead in 1598. The following paper has no date, but we may place it in 1590 or 1591 at the latest.

"Your answer the other nighte so well pleased the Gentlemen, as I was satisfied therewith, though to the bazarde of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to prejudice Peele's credit, neither wolde it, though it pleased you so to excuse it; but beinge now growen in question, the partie affected to Bentley scornynge to wynne the wager by your deniall, hath now given yow libertie to make choice of any one playe that either Bentley or Knell plaide; and least this advantage agree not with your minde, he is contented both the plaie and the tyme shalbe referred to the gentlemen here present. I see not how yow canne any waie hurte your credit by this action, for if yow excell them yow will then be famous; if equall them, yow wynne both the wager and credit; yf short of them, we must and will saie Ned Allen still.

"Your frend to his power,

"W. P."

To this letter the following verses were appended:—

"Deny me not, sweete Nedd, the wager's downe,
 And twice as muche commaunde of me or myne;
 And if you wynne, I sweare the half is thyne,
 And for an overplus an English Crowne:
 Appoint the tyme and stint it as you pleas,
 Your labors gaine, and that will prove it ease."

All this is written in a beautiful hand, and "Ned Allen" in the letter, and "sweete Nedd" and "English Crowne" in the verses, are in characters of gold. It is clear that Alleyn at this time had not attained the loftiest point of his celebrity, inasmuch as he is told, that if he excels Bentley and Knell he "will *then* be famous." We have before seen Thomas Nash,

* In his "*Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*," fol. 286 b. Peele's death was occasioned by the irregularity of his life.

in a passage already quoted, mention Alleyn in conjunction with Bentley, Knell, and Tarlton, in 1592.

But there is another paper of a very similar kind, apparently referring to the preceding, or to some other like contest, but containing several remarkable allusions, which Malone did not notice. Perhaps it never met his eye, or perhaps he reserved it for his *Life of Shakespeare*, and was unwilling to forestal that production by inserting it elsewhere. It seems to be of a later date, and it mentions not only Tarlton, Knell, and Bentley, but Kempe, Phillips, and Pope, while Alleyn's rival Burbage is sneered at as "Roscius Richard," and Shakespeare introduced under the name of Will, by which we have Thomas Heywood's authority (in his "*Hierarchie of the blessed Angels*," 1635, p. 206) for saying he was known among his companions. The paper is in verse, and runs precisely as follows :

"Sweete Nedde, nowe wyne an other wager
 For thine old frende and Fellow stager.
 Tarlton himselfe thou doest excell,
 And Bentley beate, and conquer Knell,
 And nowe shall Kempe orecome aswell.
 The moneyes downe, the place the Hope,
 Phillippes shall hide his head and Pope.
 Feare not, the victorie is thyne ;
 Thou still as macheles Ned shall shyne.
 If Roscius Richard foames and fumes,
 The globe shall have but emptie roomes,
 If thou doest act ; and Willes newe playe
 Shall be rehearst some other daye.
 Consent then, Nedde ; doe us this grace :
 Thou cannot faile in anie case ;
 For in the triall, come what maye,
 All sides shall brave Ned Allin saye."

No explanatory prose accompanies the above slip, which seems to have been an inclosure. The wager was laid by some brother actor, that Alleyn would be adjudged superior

to Kempe, (whom Nash, about 1589, in the dedication to his "Almond for a Parrot," called "Vice-gerent General to the Ghost of Dick Tarlton,") in some part not mentioned; and hence we may gather that Alleyn was "famous" in comedy, as well as in tragedy: all the actors named, excepting Burbage and Shakespeare, (who is only spoken of here as an author,) were comedians. The Hope was a theatre in the occupation of Alleyn, and in the immediate vicinity of the Globe, where "Roscius Richard" was in the habit of performing, and where (and at the Blackfriars Theatre) Shakespeare's plays, as far as we can now learn with certainty, were represented. We need feel little hesitation in believing that the couplet

—— "and Willes newe playe
Shall be rehearst some other daye,"

refers to Shakespeare; but it may be doubtful whether we should take the word "rehearst" in the sense of a private repetition before public performance, which then, as now, it signified, or in the more general sense of *acted*. A mere rehearsal would not attract an audience, nor would be intended to do so; and it would, therefore, have been no disappointment if the "rooms" at the Globe were "empty;" while the words "new play" seem appropriate to the term "rehearst." However, the point of the passage would be lost, were we not to understand "rehearst" as *acted*, and the reference to be to the first night of a new play by "Will" Shakespeare.

We have thus completely established Alleyn's great eminence in his profession, which, doubtless, independently of any patrimony, yielded him such an income as would enable him to marry with every prospect of comfort and competence. This event occurred in the autumn of 1592. On the 1st September, he completed his twenty-sixth year; and on the 22nd of October following he was united to Joan

Woodward, the daughter of the wife of Philip Henslowe, who had married Agnes Woodward, a widow. The entry of the marriage of Edward Alleyn with Joan Woodward stands thus in a Diary or Account Book kept by Henslowe.

“Edward Alen wasse maryed unto Jone woodward the 22 day of octobr 1592 In the iiii and thirtie yeare of the Quenes Ma^{tie} Rayne, elizabeth by the grace of god of England, france, and Iarland, defender of the fayth.”

After his marriage, the house Alleyn was to live in was either extensively repaired or built. At the other end of the book which contains the preceding entry is a statement of figures thus entitled, “The Account of such Carges [charges] as hathe bene layd owt a bowt edward alenes howsse, as foloweth—1592.” It commences on Nov. 4, and a little farther on we meet with “Novmbr. 11:” before it is closed, items, dated February, 1593, and even February, 1594, are inserted, so that the work was going on for more than two years. At the end are some particulars that appear to relate directly to the marriage: thus we have,

“Itm pd for makinge the writtinges v s.
 Itm sowld my soune a fetherbead for xxx s.
 Itm pd for makinge of writtinges
 for my sones parte xx s.”

There is ground for believing that Alleyn's wife, Joan Woodward, possessed property in her own right, which she had derived under her father's will: a portion of this property was, probably, the lease of the parsonage of Firle, in Sussex, before-mentioned, which, four years after his marriage, Alleyn sold to Arthur Langworth for £3000. To this property the writings, above-noticed by Henslowe, may have referred. Henslowe's wife, Agnes, had been a widow, and before her marriage with Henslowe, they stood (as Alleyn himself alleges, in a piece of evidence hereafter to be produced) in the relation of mistress and servant: Philip Henslowe had been the servant of Agnes Woodward, and

we may presume that her first husband had left her and her daughter Joan sufficiently provided for. The very book in which Henslowe, at a subsequent date, made his theatrical memoranda had most likely belonged to her husband, Woodward, who appears from it to have been extensively engaged in the iron mines and founderies in Ashdowne Forest, the dates commencing in 1576. Hence, perhaps, the property in Sussex, which Alleyn seems to have obtained on his marriage with Joan Woodward on the 22nd October, 1592. "The writings," it is true, may not have had any connection with this union, but may have related to other transactions; and the name of "Mr. Langworth" is introduced into the same account, as having received from Henslowe £27 10 0 and £30; but the date of these payments is given as 9th September, 1594. In fact, Henslowe was so illiterate, and kept his accounts (sometimes in his own hand-writing, but oftener in that of some person he employed) so irregularly, that it is frequently impossible to make out at all exactly what they do, or do not establish. The dates upon the page, to which we are now referring, extend from 1592 to 1597.

In what manner, and at what period, Henslowe became connected with theatres nowhere appears; but the earliest entry in his Diary or Account-book, relating to any company of players, is dated 19th February 1591 (or 1592, according to our present mode of calculating the year), about eight months prior to the marriage of Alleyn with Henslowe's wife's daughter. By rough drafts of two bills in Chancery, among the miscellaneous papers at Dulwich College, (without dates, but addressed in the usual form to "Lord Ellesmere," therefore subsequent to July, 1603, when Sir Thomas Egerton was raised to the peerage,) we learn that Henslowe was "free inheritor" of some houses in Southwark, and that he had besides purchased what is called "the Pike Garden, near the Bankside, in Southwark." "A note (in

his Diary) of such charges as I have lay'd out about my play-howsse," dated 1592, shews that he was at that period the proprietor of the Rose Theatre. He had, in fact, been so since 1586, when he entered into partnership with a person of the name of Cholmley, with whose money the Rose, as it stood in 1592, was constructed. It had, however, as has been already stated, been used as a playhouse at a considerably earlier date. Some new and curious particulars regarding it will be found in the Appendix: they are derived from Alleyn's papers. It is quite certain, from a portion of the contents of Henslowe's Diary, that he also acted as a sort of pawnbroker, and advanced money to any parties who were in want of it, upon plate, rings, jewels, and wearing apparel.

From the date of the marriage of Alleyn with Joan Woodward, he and Henslowe entered into partnership in their theatrical concerns; and as far as we can learn from extant letters (most of which appear to have remained till now totally unexamined) the two families, until Alleyn's house was ready, lived together, occupying the same dwelling in Southwark. Upon what terms, and to what extent Alleyn and Henslowe engaged in partnership, it is impossible to ascertain from any of the accounts or documents that have come down to us; but it seems more than probable that Alleyn was sole owner of the wardrobe used by himself in the personation of various characters.

There exists in his own hand-writing at Dulwich College an inventory of his theatrical apparel, which is much more important and interesting than a mere list of dresses would be supposed to be. It has no heading and no date, but it is unquestionably early, and it renders it quite clear that Alleyn acted parts, if not in Shakespeare's Plays (though that has been asserted by Oldys in his account of Alleyn, in the *Biographia Britannica*, and after him by several others,) in plays upon the same stories as those employed by our greatest dramatist. Malone (Shakesp. by Bosw. iii.

331 and 335,) has shewn that in 1599, Dekker and Chettle were employed in writing a play for Alleyn and Henslowe, of which Troilus and Cressida were the hero and heroine; and that, as late as 1602, Ben Jonson had undertaken to write a play upon the events of the reign of Richard III. It will be seen, by what we shall presently subjoin, that Alleyn had probably played Lear, (or Leir, as he spells the name,) Henry VIII. Romeo and Pericles, as if the subjects of those plays had been the common property of the dramatists of the day, the only question being who could make the best use of it. The "Leir" was perhaps that which was licensed to Edward White, May 14th, 1594, under the title of "the moste famous Chronicle Hystorie of Leire, King of England, and his three Daughters." The "Romeo" may have been a play written either before or in rivalry of Shakespeare's Tragedy, which is supposed to have been first acted in 1596: the "Pericles" possibly was the old play of which Shakespeare made use in 1608, especially in the earlier portion of his drama. "The Moore in Venis" may have been another version of "Othello." "The Guises" mentioned in the succeeding document, was no doubt Marlowe's "Massacre at Paris," printed without date; and the "Dido," Marlowe's and Nash's celebrated tragedy, published in 1594.* Regarding other items, such

* A good edition of Marlowe's productions is much wanted: a very imperfect attempt of the kind was made in 1826, 3 vols. 8vo. which is full of blunders, some of them of the grossest kind. We will add an instance from the tragedy above-mentioned, "Dido, Queen of Carthage," by Marlowe and Nash. In the scene between Juno and Venus (Act III.) after the speech of Juno, which, in the edition of 1826, ends with the line

"Then in one cave, the Queen and he shall meet,"

leaving the sense imperfect, the following three lines should have been added; but they are wholly omitted.

"And interchangeably discourse their thoughts,
Whose short conclusion will seale up their hearts
Unto the purpose which we now propound."

Other errors are numerous and important, but not quite so glaring as the preceding.

as "a cloth of silver for Har," "Daniel's gowne," "Will Somer's cote," &c. we might indulge conjectures, but there is every chance that they would be fruitless.

CLOKES.

- 1 A scarlett cloke with ij brode gould laces with gould buttons of the same downe the sids, for Leir.
- 2 A black velvett cloke.
- 3 A scarlett cloke layd downe with silver lace and silver buttons.
- 4 A short velvett cape cloke embroydered with gould and gould spangles.
- 5 A watched sattin cloke with v gould laces.
- 6 A purpell sattin welted with velvett and silver twist Romeos.
- 7 A black tufted cloke cloke [*sic*—*q^{re}* cloth cloke].
- 8 A damask cloke garded [def. in MS.]
- 9 A long blak tafata cloke.
- 10 A colored bugett for a boye.
- 11 A scarlett with buttons of gould fact with blew velvett.
- 12 A scarlett fact with black velvett.
- 13 A stamell cloke with gould lace.
- 14 Blak bugett cloke.

GOWNES.

- 1 Hary the VIII gowne.
- 2 The blak velvett gowne with wight fure.
- 3 A crimosin bestrypt with gould fact with ermin.
- 4 On of wrought cloth of gould.
- 5 On of red silk with gould buttons.
- 6 A Cardinalls gowne.
- 7 Wemens gowns.
- 8 Blak velvett embroydered with gould.
- 9 Cloth of gould Candish his stof.
- 10 A blak velvett lact and drawne out with wight sarsnett.
- 11 A blak silk with red slash.
- 12 A cloth of silver for Har.
- 13 A yelow silk gowne.
- 14 A red silk gowne.
- 15 Angells sute.
- 16 Blew calico gownes.

one circumstance, in connection with this question, that has never been sufficiently attended to. The agreement between Burbage and Street, the carpenter, for the original construction of the Globe Theatre, is dated 22d Dec. 1593, (*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii., 296;) so that the building could not have been commenced until 1594. How long it took to finish it, is not known; but, in Henslowe's Diary, there is an account, beginning 3d of June, 1594, and ending 15th Nov., 1596, by which it appears that the Lord Admiral's players and the Lord Chamberlain's players (to which last company Shakespeare belonged) during that interval played together at the theatre in Newington Butts. Whether they acted jointly on the same days, or severally on different days, we cannot determine; but Henslowe's entries are of daily receipts on his part, as if he were entitled to a share of "the takings," whatever company performed. It is remarkable, also, that while the two associations of actors were thus occupying the Newington Theatre, we read the following, among the names of the plays which Henslowe informs us were represented :

9 June 1594	Rd at Hamlet	vijj s.
11 June 1594	Rd at the Tamyng of a Shrowe	ix s.
12 June 1594	Rd at Andronicus	vij s.
25 Aug ^r 1594	Rd at the Venesyon Comodey	ls. vj d.
17 Sep ^r 1594	Rd at Palamon and Arsett	lj s.
8 Nov. 1594	Rd at Seser and Pompie	iiij <i>l</i> ij s.
20 June 1595	Rd at Antony and Vallea	xx s.
26 June 1595	Rd at the 2 pte of Seaser	xx s.
28 Nov. 1595	Rd at Harry the V.	iiij <i>l</i> vj s.
22 June 1596	Rd at Troye	iiij <i>l</i> ix s.

Thus we see that between 9th June, 1594, and 22nd June, 1596, during which period, it is very likely, the Globe theatre was in a course of construction, no fewer than ten plays were performed, upon the same, or similar, subjects as those which Shakespeare adopted : this remark supposes that "the Vene-

syon Comodey" meant (as has indeed been conjectured) "the Merchant of Venice;" and that Shakespeare was concerned in "the Two Noble Kinsmen." It seems not impossible that some of these may not have been different or older productions, but the very same that proceeded from his pen; and it is capable of distinct proof, from Henslowe's Diary, that five out of the ten plays were new. These are "the Venegyon Comodey," "Palamon and Arsett," "Seser and Pompie," "Harry the V.," and "Troye." It will be observed that the receipts to Henslowe, as entered by him, were much larger upon these five occasions (in consequence, no doubt, of the greater fulness of the theatre) than when old plays were represented; and he inserts opposite to each of them the usual mark, to denote that it was the first time the piece was produced before an audience. If none of these plays were by Shakespeare, but dramas of which he availed himself in the composition of his own plays, the above list shews that he had perhaps been in some way concerned in the representation of them, and his attention might thus have been especially directed to them.

CHAPTER III.

Alleyn driven into the country by the Plague in 1593—His Letter to his Wife—Carting of Mrs. Alleyn—Another Letter from Alleyn to his Wife—His fondness for Home—Letter from Henslowe and Mrs. Alleyn to Alleyn—Lord Strange's Players—Letter to Alleyn from Henslowe—Mrs. Henslowe and Mrs. Alleyn—Bartholomew Fair—Letter from Henslowe and Mrs. Alleyn to Alleyn.

WE have brought Alleyn's personal history down to October, 1592, when he was married to Joan Woodward, daughter to Henslowe's wife by her first husband. Very

soon afterwards a malignant fever, called the plague, broke out in London, and put a stop to all dramatic performances, which, from the congregation of persons in theatres, were thought to promote and spread the infection. Accordingly, Alleyn and his companions, "Lord Strange's Players," were obliged, as usual in such cases, to quit the metropolis, and to take to a strolling life through the country, where they were frequently little welcome to the inhabitants, under the fear that the players would convey to them the pestilence which was devastating the metropolis. He left his wife residing with his "father," (as he was accustomed to call Henslowe) and with her mother and sister on the Bankside in Southwark. Among the papers at Dulwich College are preserved several letters of about this period, some of them written to Alleyn while he was travelling in the provinces, and two from him to his wife. Only the last have ever been noticed; but they are all highly interesting in reference to Alleyn, his connections, occupation, and prospects. The earliest in the series is from Alleyn to his wife (but addressed as to himself) which adverts to a singular report which had reached him at Chelmsford, that Mrs. Alleyn, "and all her fellowes," (meaning, perhaps, such players as had not accompanied Alleyn into the country) had been *carted* by the Lord Mayor's officers. It is difficult, from the wording of the letter, to decide whether Alleyn was in jest or in earnest; but it is not impossible that his wife, and the remnant of the company in town, had got into disgrace in consequence of the infringement of the order against dramatic performances. The letter is *literatim* as follows:—

" To E. Alline, on the bank side.

" My good sweet harte and loving mouse, I send the a thousand comendations, wishing thee as well as well may be, and hoping thou art in good helth, with my father, mother, and sister. I have no newes to send thee, but I thank god we ar all well, and in helth, which I pray god to continew with us in the contry, and with you in london. But, mouse, I littell thought to hear that which I now hear by you, for it is well knowne,

they say, that you wear by my lorde maiors officer mad to rid in a cart, you and all your felowes, which I ame sory to hear; but you may thank your ij suporters, your stronge leges I mene, that would nott cary you away, but lett you fall in to the hands of such Tarmagants. But, mouse, when I com hom, Il be revengd on them: tell when, mouse, I bid thee fayerwell. I prethee send me word how thou doste, and do my harty comendations to my father, mother, and sister, and to thy own self; and so, swett hart, the lord bless thee. From Chellmsford, the 2 of Maye, 1593.

“ thyn ever, and no bodies els, by god of heaven,

“ EDWARDE ALLEYN.

“ Farewell mecho mousin, and mouse,
and farwell bess dodipoll.” •

“ Bess Dodipoll,” in the postscript, was doubtless his wife’s “ syster bease,” of whom we shall see that Henslowe speaks in a subsequent letter: Dr. Dodipoll was a character in a play of the time, and hence perhaps the nickname. When Alleyn states above, that it was his wife’s (or “ mouse’s”) own fault, if she had fallen into the hands of “ such Tarmagants” as the officers of the lord mayor, because she would not let her “ two supporters, her strong legs,” carry her away, he may mean to reproach her gently for not having accompanied him into the country. On the 2d May, 1593, Alleyn was at Chelmsford, but he was at Bristol when he dispatched the next letter to his wife, on the 1st August, 1593, which Malone published (Shakesp. by Bosw. xxi. 389), with many minute variations from the original, and with some important errors. It is thus superscribed, with a peculiar sparingness of capital letters:—

“ This be delyvered to m^r. hinslo, on of the gromes of hir maist. chamber, dwelling on the bank sid, right over against the clink.

“ My good sweete mouse, I comend me hartely to you And to my father, my mother, and my sister bess, hopinge in god, though the sicknes be round about you, yett by his mercy itt may escape your house,

* This letter is very incorrectly printed in “ Lysons’ Environs,” i. 88. The Rev. Author states, that at its date Alleyn had been married “ about a year;” but, in fact, he had been married only six months and a few days.

which by the grace of god it shall. therefor use this corse:—kepe your house fayr and clean, which I knowe you will, and every evening throwe water before your dore and in your bake sid, and have in your windowes good store of reue and herbe of grace, and with all the grace of god, which must be obtaynd by prayers; and so doinge, no dout but the Lord will mercyfully defend you. now, good mouse, I have no newse to send you but this, thatt we have all our helth, for which the Lord be prayسد. I reseed your Letter at Bristo by richard couley, for the wich I thank you. I have sent you by this berer, Thomas popes kinsman, my whit wascote, because it is a trobell to me to cary it. reseave it with this letter, And lay it up for me till I com. if you send any mor Letters, send to me by the cariers of Shrowsbury, or to Westchester, or to York, to be kept till my Lord Stranges players com. and thus, sweett hart, with my harty comenda. to all our frends, I sett from Bristo this Wensday after Saynt James his day, being redy to begin the playe of hary of cornwall. mouse, do my harty commend. to M^r grigs, his wife, and all his houshold, and to my sister phillyps.

“ Your Loving husband,

“ E. ALLEYN.

“ Mouse, you send me no newes of any things: you should send of your domestycall matters, such things as hapens att home; as how your distilled watter proves, or this or that, or any thing, what you will.

“ And, Jug, I pray you, lett my orayng tawny stokins of wolen be dyed a very good blak against I com hom, to wear in the winter. you sente me nott word of my garden, but next tym you will; but remember this in any case, that all that bed which was parsley in the month of september you sowe itt with spinage, for then is the tym. I would do it my selfe, but we shall nott com hom till allholland tyd. and so, swett mouse, farewell, and broke our Long Journey with patienc.”

It is an excellent trait in the character of Alleyn, that he was of so domestic a turn, and, though absent, took such a strong interest in all that was going forward at home. He appears to have preserved the same disposition through life, always thinking that the happiest place in the world was his own fireside. The strange terms of endearment of “mouse,” and “mousin,” &c., he applies to his wife, and the nickname he gives to his sister proceed from the same amiable and affectionate habit of mind. His anxiety lest they should take the infection, and his earnest and sensible instructions to prevent

it, are very kindly and natural. Richard Cowley, mentioned in the preceding as the bearer of a letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband at Bristol, became one of the king's players on the accession of James I., being the last name inserted in the patent of 17th May, 1603. The words "Thomas Popes kinsman," Malone misprinted "Thomas Chockes kinsman." Now we know no such person as Thomas Chocke, but Thomas Pope was a very eminent comedian, who, in 1596, belonged to the same company as that to which Shakespeare was attached, and whose will bears date in July, 1603 (*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii. 433). Griggs, as we learn from Henslowe's Diary, was a carpenter, and a man of some property, living on the Bankside. There was a very distinguished actor of clown's parts of the name of Phillips, and perhaps he married another of Henslowe's wife's daughters, who was therefore called "sister" by Alleyn.

The contents of a letter without date, written by some scribe jointly for Philip Henslowe and Joane Alleyn* (mis-spelling both their names), shew that it was an answer to the preceding, and it seems to have been sent by a carrier to Shrewsbury, Chester (then often called West-chester), or York, as Alleyn had given directions. It is merely addressed to him as "one of my Lord Stranges players," without the addition of any place where they were to be found. It runs thus:—

"To my wealle loved Sonne Edward Allen, one of my Lord Stranges Players, this be delyvered with speed.

"Welbeloved Sonne Edward Allen. After owr hartie comendations, bothe I and your mother, and syster bease, all in generall doth hartily

* The same hand-writing is to be found in many parts of "Henslowe's Diary," and all the principal entries respecting the performance of plays, and Henslowe's proportion of the profits, are made in it. This is a circumstance not hitherto observed, and Malone attributes all the specimens of ignorance contained in the Diary to the old manager. This scribe, whoever he might be, seems to have acted as Henslowe's clerk.

comend us unto you; and for your mowse, her comendationes comes by yt sealf, which, as she sayes, comes from her harte and her sowle, prainge to god day and nyght for your good heallth, which trowley, to be playne, we doe saie all, hoopinge in the lorde Jesus that we shall have agayne a mery meting; for I thanke god we have be flytted with feare of the sycknes, but thankes be unto god, we are all at this time in good healthe in our howsse; but rownd a bowte us yt hath bene all moste in every howsse about us, and wholle howsholdes deyed, and y[e]t my friend the Baylle doth scape, but he smealles monstrusly for feare, and dares staye no wheare, for ther hath deyed this laste weake, in generall, 1603, of the which number ther hathe deyed of them of the page 113, which haue bene the greatest that came yet; and as for other newes of this and that, I cane tealle youe none, but that Robert Brownes wife in Shordech and all her children and howshowld be dead, and heare dores shut upe; and as for your joyner he hath browght you a corte coberd and hath seat up your portowle in the chamber, and sayes you shall have a good bead stead; and as for your garden yt is weall, and your spenege bead not forgotten. Your orange colerd stockens died, but no market in Smythfyll, nether to bye your cloth, nor yet to sealle your horsse, for no man wold ofer me a bove fower pownd for hime; therfor I wold not sealle hime, but have seante hime into the contrey, tulle youe retorne backe agayene. This, licke poore peapell rejoysinge that the lorde hath in compased us rownd, and kepeth us all in health we end, prayinge to god to send you all good health, that yet maye please god to send, that we maye all merelye meat; and I praye you do ower comendations unto them all, and I wold gladley heare the licke frome them; and thankes be to god your poore mowse hath not ben seack seance you went.

“ Your poore and assured frend tell death,

“ PHILLIPPE HENSLEY.

“ Your lovinge wife tulle deathe,

“ JONE ALLEN.”

Philip Henslowe (as he usually signed his own name, though his practice was not quite uniform) wrote badly and illiterately, and therefore employed a scribe, who did not write much better; but Mrs. Alleyn could not write at all, for in witnessing a document in 1596, hereafter to be introduced, she affixed her mark to it. At the earliest date at which we have any information regarding Lord Strange's servants, they exhibited feats of activity; but, at this period, and for some

time before, (Henslowe gives a list of plays represented by them in 1592), they had become regular actors of the drama, like the servants of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Warwick, &c. In the letter, which we shall next subjoin, Henslowe, after referring to Alleyn's illness, and complaining that he did not oftener write (apparently not making due allowance for indisposition) adverts to the difficulty of sending letters to him, because in London it could not be known where Lord Strange's company was performing. He also alludes to points touched by Alleyn in his communication of the 1st of August, especially to the necessity of taking measures against the infection, attending to his garden, &c. Henslowe talks of the poverty of Alleyn's tenants, without mentioning where the property for which rent should have been paid was situated, and regrets that the absence of the players in the country, and the closing of the theatres, kept him poor. The subsequent letter was also the penmanship of the same person who wrote the former communication, and it purports to be the composition of Philip Henslowe, Agnes his wife (their initials being appended), and Joane Alleyn. It is addressed

“ For my wealbeloved husbände Mr. Edwarde Allen, on of my Lorde Strange's players, this be delyvered with speade.

“ Jesus.

“ Welbeloved Sonne Edwarde Allen, I and your mother and your sister Beasse have all in generall our hartie commendations unto you, and very glad to heare of your good health, which we praye god to conteneue longe to his will and pleasur; for we hard that you weare very sycke at Bathe, and that one of your felowes weare fayne to playe your part for you, which wasse no lytell greafe unto us to heare, but thanckes be to god for amendmente, for we feared yt much, because we had no leatter from you when the other wifes had leatters sente; which made your mouse not to weape a lytell, but tooke yt very greavesly, thinckinge that you hade conseed some unkindnes of her, because you weare ever wont to write with the firste: and I praye ye do so styll, for we wold all be sorey but to heare as often frome you as others do frome ther frendes; for we wold write oftener

to you then we doe, but we knowe not whether to sende to you, therefore I praye you forgeat not your mouse and us : for you seant in one leatter that we returned not answere wheather we receved your or no, for we receved one which you made at seant James tide, wherin mackes mensyon of your whitte wascote, and your lute bockes, and other thinges which we have receved, and now lastly a leater, which Peter browght with your horsse, which I wilbe as carfull as I cane in yt. Now, sonne, althouge longeyt [is] at the laste I remember a hundered comendations from your mowse, which is very glade to heare of your healthe and prayeth daye and nyght to the lord to conteneue the same; and lickewisse prayeth unto the lord to seace his hand frome punyshinge us with his crosse, that she mowght have you at home with her, hopinge then that you shold be eased of this heavey labour and toylle : and you sayd in your leater that she seant you not worde howe your garden and all your things dothe prosper; very well, thanckes be to god, for your beanes are growen to hey headge and well coded, and all other thinges doth very well ; but your tenantes weax very power, for they cane paye no reant, nor will paye no rent while mychellmas next, and then we shall have yt yf we cane geat yt; and lyckwisse your Joyner comendes hime unto you and sayes he will mack you suche good stufe and suche good peneworthes as he hoopeth shall weall licke you and contente you; which I hope he will do, because he sayes he will prove himseallfe ane onest man : and for your good counsell which you gave us in your leater we all thanck you, which wasse for keping of our howsse cleane and watringe of our dores, and strainge our windowes with wormwode and rewe, which I hope all this we do and more; for we strowe yt with hartie prayers unto the lorde, which unto us is more avaylable then all thinges eallse in the world; for I prayse the lord god for yt, we are all in very good healthe, and I praye ye, sonne, comend me harteley to all the reast of your fealowes in generall, for I growe poore for lacke of them, therfor have no geaftes to sende, but as good and faythfull a hart as they shall desyer to have comen amongste them. Now, sonne, we thanck you all for your tokenes you seant us; and as for newes of the sycknes, I cane not seande you no juste note of yt, because ther is comandement to the contrary; but as I thincke doth die within the sitteye and without of all syckneses to the number of seventen or eyghten hundredth in one weacke : and this, prayinge to god for your health, I ende from London the 14 of Auguste 1593.

“ Your lovinge Father and Mother to our powers,

“ P. H. A.

“ Your lovinge wiffe to comande till death,

“ JOHNE ALLEN.”

Every letter serves to prove more and more how attached Alleyn was to his family, with what affection they regarded him, and what a deprivation it must have been to all, for him to be so long absent. Nevertheless, in the following letter Henslowe again blames him for not writing more frequently. This seems to have been only a repetition of the topic before urged, and it will be observed that the old manager (if so he may be called), as to several particulars, goes over the same ground as that he had touched in preceding communications, adding, however, a good deal that is new and curious. Among other things he reiterates what he had said about the disappointment in the sale of Alleyn's horse, and the purchase of cloth in Smithfield, observing that "the fair lasted but three days." Stowe informs us that in 1593 "no Bartholomew fair was kept at London," but we see from Henslowe that this statement is to be received with some qualification: there was a fair, but it continued only for three days. The letter is imperfect near the middle of it, the paper having been quite rotted away by damp.

"This be delyvered unto my welbeloved husband Mr. Edward Allen, one of my lord Stranges players, geve with spede.

"Righte welbe loved Sonne Edward Allen. I and your mother and your sisster beasse have all in generall our hartie commendations unto you, and as for your wiffe and mowse she desieres to send heare commendationes alone, which she sayes comes frome heare very harte; but as for your wellfare and health we do all joyne to geather in joye and rejjoyssse ther att, and do all to geather with one consent pray to god long to continew the same. Nowe, Sonne, leate us growe to a lyttell unkindnes with you, be cause we cane not heare frome you as we wold do, that is when others do; and if we cold as sertenly send to you as you maye to us, we wold not leat to vesete you often, for we beinge with in the crosse of the lorde, you lettell knowe howe we do but by sendinge; for yt hath pleased the lorde to vesette me rownd a bowt, and almoste all my nebores dead of the plage, and not my howsse free, for my two weanches have had the plage, and yet thanks to god ar very well and ar well, and I my wiffe and my two daughters, I thanke god, ar very well and in good health. Nowe to caste a waye

unkindnes and to come to our newes, that is that we had a very bade market at Smyth fylld, for no monn wold ofer me a bove fower pownd for your horsse, and therfor have not sowld hime, but to save carges I have sent hime downe into the contrey, that be keapte tell you retorne; and as for your clocke, cloth ther wasse none sowld by retaylle, for all wasse bowght up by the wholle saylle in to dayes, so the fayre lasted but iij dayes: and as for your stockings they are deyed, and your joyner hath seate up your porttote in the chamber, and hath brothe you a corte cobert, and sayes he will bring the reaste very shortly, and we beare with hime because his howsse is visited: and as for your garden that is very weall, your spenege bead and all sowed: and as for my lorde a Pembroke's [men] which you desier to knowe wheare they be, they ar all at home, and hauffe ben this v or sixe weakes, for they cane not save ther carges to travell, as I heare, and weare fayne to pane the parell, for the • • when I wasse in Smyth-fell a selling of your horsse, I meate with owld

• • • • •
• • • • •

To aske for yt, for yf we dead, we wold have sowght yt owt, but we never had yt: and this I eand, praysinge god that it doth please hime of his mersey to slacke his hand frome veseting us and the sittie of London, for ther hath abated this last two weacke of the syknes iij hundred thurtie and five, and hath died in all betwext a leven and twealle hundred this last weacke, which I hoop in the lord yt will contenev in seasynge every weacke that we maye rejoyssse agayne at our meating; and this with my hartie comendations to thy own seall, and lickewisse to all the reaste of my felowes in generall I praye yon hartily comende me. From London the 28 of September 1593.

“ Your lovinge father and frend to my power tell death,

“ PHILLIPE HENSLow.

“ Your asured owne seallfe tell deathe,

JOANE ALLEN

comendinge to her munshen.

“ Your wiffe prayeth you to send her word in your next leater what goodman Hudson payes you yerley for his reante for the house, the sealer and all, stille in his hand; and as for your tenantes we cane geat no rent; and as for Greges and his wife hath ther comendations unto you, and your sister Phillipes and her husband hath leced two or thre owt of ther howsse, yt [yet] there in good health, and doth hartily comend them unto you.”

What success attended Alleyn and his fellows in the provinces it is not possible to state, but it is evident that the Earl of Pembroke's players thought there was so little chance of "saving their charges" by travelling, that they were willing rather to run the risk of catching the plague by remaining in London.

CHAPTER IV.

Abating of the Plague in London, and renewal of Theatrical Performances—Petition to the Privy Council—The Thames Watermen's Petition to the Lord Admiral—Permission to Lord Strange's Players to return to the Rose Theatre—Alleyn's Property; the Parsonage of Firle sold by him to Arthur Langworth—Commission to Henslowe and Alleyn.

By the end of September 1593, the virulence of the infectious disorder which had visited the metropolis had been considerably subdued; but we do not find that the companies were allowed to act again until the 27th of December, when Henslowe in his Diary records that the Earl of Sussex's men, in whose receipts he appears to have had a large interest, began performing; and, though he does not state in his entry at what theatre on the Bankside, there can be little doubt that it was at the Rose.

But the actors were not permitted to renew their performances in the metropolis without special license, and a paper, still extant in Dulwich College, shows that the "Servants and Players" of Lord Strange petitioned the privy council, on this occasion, for that license. The document (a copy of the original petition) has no date, but it speaks for itself, as well as some others by which it is accompanied.

"To the right honorable our verie good Lords, the Lords of her Ma^{tie} moste honorable Privie Councill.

"Our dueties in all humablenes remembred to your Honors. Forasmuche (righte Honorable) oure Companie is greate, und thearbie our chardge

intollerable in travelling the Countrie, and the contynuaunce thereof wilbe a meane to bringe us to division and seperation, whearebie wee shall not onelie be undone, but alsoe unreadie to serve her Ma^{tes} when it shall please her Highnes to commaund us. And for that the use of our plaiehowse on the Banckside, by reason of the passage to and frome the same by water, is a greate releif to the poore Watermen theare, and our dismission thence, nowe in this longe vacation, is to those poore men a greate hindraunce and in manner an undoeinge, as they generallie complaine, both our and their humble petition and suite thearefore to your good Honnors is that you wilbe pleased, of your speciall favour, to recall this our restrainte, and permitt us the use of the saide Plaiehowse againe. And not onelie our selves, but alsoe a greate number of poore men shalbe especiallie bownden to praie for your Honnors.

“ Your Honors humble Suppliant

“ The righte Honorable the Lord Straunge .

“ His servantes and Plaiers.”

The prayer contained in the preceding petition was seconded by the subsequent address from the watermen plying on the Thames to Lord Howard, the Lord Admiral. What follows is from the original, but why it was returned into Henslowe's hands does not appear. Possibly the object was accomplished without the intervention of the watermen.

“ To the right honorable my Lorde Haywarde, Lorde highe Admirall of Englande, and one of her Ma^{tes} moste honorable privie Counsayle

“ In moste humble manner complayneth and sheweth unto your good Lordeshipp your poore suppliantes and dayly orators Phillip Henslo and others, the poore watermen on the bancke side: whereas your good L. hath derected your warrant unto hir Ma^{tes} Justices for the restraynte of a playe howse belonginge unto the saide Phillip Henslo, one of the groomes of her Ma^{tes} Chamber. So it is, if it please your good Lordshipp, that wee your saide poore watermen have had muche helpe and reliefe, for us oure poore wives and children, by meanes of the resorte of suche people as come unto the said playe howse. It maye therefore please your good L., for godes sake and in the waye of charetie, to respecte us your poore watermen, and to give leave unto the said Phillip Henslo to have playinge in his saide howse duriuge suche tyme as others have, according as it hath byne

accustomed. And in your Honours so doinge, you shall not onely doe a good and a charitable dede, but also bynde us all, according to oure dewties, with oure poore wives and children, dayly to praye for your honnor in muche happynes longe to lyve.

“ WILLIAM DOWET, M^r of her Majesties barge.

“ ISACK TOWELL

“ WILLIAM TUCHENNER, M. of her M^{ties} mean.

“ JAMES RUSSELL

“ FERDINANDO BLACK

“ PARKER PLAYNE

“ XPFER TOPEN

“ THOMAS IARMONGER, on of her M^{ties} wattermen.

“ EDWARD ADYSSON, on of her M^{ties} wattermen.”

Five other signatures (or more properly marks, for the parties could not write) are attached; but, although Henslowe is introduced into the body of the instrument as one of the petitioners, his name is not subscribed, which renders it still more probable that the petition, being unnecessary, was never presented to the Lord Admiral.

We have already referred to the account in Henslowe's Diary thus headed, “ In the name of God, beginning at Newington, my lord admirall men, and my lord chamberlen men, as followeth, 1594.” As soon as the Globe Theatre on the Bankside was constructed, the Lord Chamberlain's men (including Shakespeare) removed there—probably in the summer of 1596. But, besides the Earl of Nottingham's and Lord Hunsdon's companies, Lord Strange's players had also occupied the theatre at Newington Butts; and we find, by another curious document, that dramatic exhibitions there, at least by the Lord Strange's servants, (who are not mentioned in connection with that theatre by Henslowe) had been in a manner compulsory. They had been forbidden to perform at the Rose, and “enjoined” to exhibit three days at Newington Butts. Perhaps this medium course was adopted when the plague began to abate its ravages, and before theatres, like the Rose, in populous vicinities were allowed to be reopened. The date of the revo-

cation of the order that Lord Strange's servants should perform at Newington is not given, but the following is a contemporaneous copy of the instrument by which they were permitted to return to their old quarters :—

“ Wheareas, uot longe since, upon some considerations, we did restraine the Lorde Straunge his servauntes from playnge at the Rose on the Bancksie, and enjoyed them to plaie three daies at Newington Butts. Now, forasmuch as wee are satisfied that by reason of the tediousnes of the waie, and that of longe tyme plaies have not there bene used on working daies, and for that a number of poore watermen are therby releaved, yow shall permitt and suffer them, or any other there, to exercise them selves in suche sorte as they have don heretofore, and that the Rose maie be at libertie, without any restrainte, so longe as yt shalbe free from infection of sicknes. Any commaundement from us heretofore to the contry notwithstandinge From —

“ To the Justices, Bayliffes, Constables
and others to whome yt shall apperteyne.”

Reverting to the private affairs of Alleyn, we now come to a very important piece of evidence, establishing that, independent of his interest in theatres, he was, at all events in 1596, and, perhaps, owing in a considerable degree to his marriage, a man of property. Money was at that time worth about five times as much as at the present moment, and yet we find him at this period disposing of a single estate in Sussex for £3000, to be paid for in twenty years at the rate of £150 per annum. None of his biographers appear to have been acquainted with this remarkable fact, and all have speculated in what way he could have become possessed of sufficient money and land to enable him to build and endow Dulwich College, besides his other charitable foundations. They have supposed that he had little or no paternal property, and that nearly his whole estate had been derived from his profession; but by what follows, to which previous reference has been made, it will be seen that he held the lease of the parsonage of Firle, near Beddingham, in Sussex; and that he sold it in 1596 to a gentleman of that county, of the name of Langworth, for an amount equal to perhaps

£15,000 of our present money. The subsequent memorandum, written and witnessed by Allen's "father," Henslowe, is inserted in the Diary of which we have before so often spoken, and which was made the receptacle of various agreements, memoranda, and matters of account.

"This agremente and bargaen betwene Edward Alleyn and Mr. Arthur Langworth, as foloweth, was made the 5 daye of July 1596. Yt was agreed upon that Mr. Langworth shold geve unto Edward Alleyn for the leasse of the parsonage of Fulle iij thousand powndes of laffull mony of England, to be payd in xx^{te} yeares in maner folowinge: by a hundred and fiftie powndes a yeare, and to be gine payment at our Ladey daye next folowinge, and so to paye every halfe yeare the halffe of the hundreth and fiftie powndes, or within one moneth after, beinge xxviiij dayes: and for the performance of this xx yeares payment hath promesed to potte hime in suche asuerence, as by his learned counsell he shall devise at his next cominge to towne after the daye above written. In wittnes whereof to this I have seate to my hand

" PHILLIPPE HENSLOWE."*

This agreement is wholly in the hand-writing of Henslowe's scribe, who made such strange confusion in the wording of it, near the end, that we might suppose Alleyn was out of town

* In the preceding year Mr. Arthur Langworth had bought a house, land, and good-will, of Henslowe, for which he agreed to give him £100. The subsequent memorandum on this subject, witnessed by Alleyn's wife who could not write, is found in Henslowe's Diary:—

"Mdm. that Mr. Arture Langworth hath promysed, the 16 daye of Maye 1595, to paye unto me Phillipe Henslow the some of j hundreth powndes for a howsse, and land, and goodwyll he bargened with me, with owt any condicion, but absolutely to paye me so muche mony, and to take such a surence as I have at this time. Wittneses to this promes of payment

" E. ALLEYN

" EDWARD + ALLENES wiffes marke."

Where the house and land so bargained for were situated no where appears, but probably in Sussex, where Langworth resided. Henslowe had, perhaps, come into possession of it through his wife, the widow Agnes Woodward.

when it was signed; but Langworth (as we shall see hereafter) lived at a place called "the Brill," in Sussex, and the words, "at his next coming to town," apply to him; while, "as by his learned counsel he shall devise," refers to Alleyn, who was to take counsel's opinion on the subject of securities. At a subsequent date, viz., 2d July, 1601 (as appears by the legal instrument preserved at Dulwich), Langworth reconveyed the same estate to Alleyn; and hence we may be led to infer, that Alleyn required the money for some special purpose in 1596, and was able to repay it in 1601.

In Henslowe's Diary, under date of 1597, is an account of various journeys he made to court, and fees he paid there, headed, "Layd owt at sundry tymes of my owne readey money, abowt the changinge of ower comyssion." This clearly refers to the partnership between himself and Alleyn; but there is some confusion respecting the appointment of "Master &c. of the Queen's Games," which had been given to John Dorington, Esq., in 1573, but of which we find Ralph Bowes, Esq., in possession in 1596.* Soon after this date, as will be seen by a document in the Appendix, Henslowe seems to have been in treaty with Bowes for the surrender of the office, which, however, he did not obtain. One of the items in Henslowe's account is for waiting upon Mr. Cæsar at St. Katherine's. Dr. (afterwards Sir Julius) Cæsar seems to have befriended Henslowe on more occasions than one.

* In Henslowe's Diary occurs the following entry, subscribed by Bowes:—

"Sir,—I praye you cause suche mony as is dew unto me for my quarter's fee, dew to be payd at our ladye daye laste past, to be delyvered unto this bearer, and this shalbe your suficyante discharge. From Grenwiche, the xvij of aprell 1596.

"RAFFE BOWES.

"To our lovinge frende M^r William
Kelegraye esqyer."

CHAPTER V.

Alleyn's pecuniary claims upon Thomas Lodge—Some account of Lodge as an Author and Actor—His contest with Stephen Gosson respecting the Stage—His "Fig for Momus," 1595—Topping's Demand against Lodge, and Henslowe's Security for him—Petitions by Topping and Henslowe to the Lord Chamberlain—Extract from the Privy Council Registers regarding Lodge—His Death.

In the papers which next fall under our observation, Alleyn does not appear to have been personally concerned, at least until after the death of Henslowe, when we find, from memoranda in Alleyn's Diary, that the celebrated Thomas Lodge, who had been an actor and dramatic poet, but was then practising as a physician, was indebted to him.* The debt had, most likely, descended to Alleyn from Henslowe, and had arisen out of the transaction to which the singular documents, we are presently about to insert, relate.

Lodge was one of the most distinguished predecessors and contemporaries of Shakespeare. He wrote "The Wounds of Civil War, lively set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla" (printed in 1594) alone, and "A Looking Glass for London and England" (also printed in 1594), a play of considerable popularity, in conjunction with Robert Greene. He is, however, chiefly to be admired as a graceful lyrical poet, a writer of severe satires and agreeable pastorals, and of several romantic novels, formerly in great request, and of one of which, as is well known, Shakespeare availed himself in "As you like it." Malone has shewn that Spenser applauded him under the name of Alcon, in his "Tears of the Muses,"

* Two entries by Alleyn relating to Lodge run thus:—

li. s. d.

"Mar. 25, 1619. Mathias arrested Lodge

June 4, 1619. For sueing Doc. Lodge's bond . 0 6 10"

It has been doubted whether Lodge, the dramatist, and Lodge, the physician, were the same person; but the information now obtained leaves no room for dispute.

1591, and, in 1593, Lodge thus endeavoured, in his "Phillis," to repay the tribute :—

" Goe, weeping Truce-men, in your sighing weedes,
Under a great Mecenas I have p[er]last you ;
If so you come where learned Colin feedes
His lovely flocke, packe thence and quickly haste you :
You are but mistes before so bright a sunne,
Who hath the palme for deepe invention wunne."

We first hear of Lodge some thirteen years earlier, viz. about 1580, as the antagonist of Stephen Gosson, who published his attack upon the stage, under the title of "The School of Abuse," in 1579. Lodge immediately wrote and printed a Defence of Plays and Play-makers; but he was not allowed to publish it, because, as he stated in one of his subsequent productions ("Alaram against Usurers," 1584), "the godly and reverend, that had to deal in the cause, misliking it, forbad the publishing." Gosson, however, obtained an imperfect copy of Lodge's tract, and answered it in his "Plays confuted in five Actions." He there accuses Lodge of being "a vagrant person, visited by the heavy hand of God;" an expression hitherto not clearly understood, inasmuch as it was not known that Lodge had ever been a player, and by statute "a vagrant." We have now, for the first time, evidence to prove that, like many of the dramatists of that day, he had been an actor as well as an author: therefore it was that Gosson called him "a vagrant person, visited by the heavy hand of God;" but how long he continued on the stage, or what class of parts he filled, we know not. As early as 1590, in the dedication to his "Rosalynde," he informs us, that he had, "with Captain Clarke, made a voyage to the islands of Terceras and the Canaries," and that he had been educated under Sir Edward Hobby. In 1591 he was a student "of Lincoln's Inn," and so he continued for some years; but we have no reason to believe that he was ever called to the bar. He was still "of Lincoln's Inn,

gent." when he published his "Fig for Momus," in 1595, and when, under the name of Golde (the letters of his name misplaced), in one of his Pastorals, he vowed to forsake poetry, in consequence of the little encouragement it received. It is a dialogue between Golde (Lodge) and a shepherd called Wagrin, a name, no doubt, intended to denote some person of the time. Golde says—

"Which sound rewards, since this neglected time
Repines to yeeld to men of high desart,
He cease to revel out my wits in rime,
For such who make such base account of art:
And since by wit there is no meanes to clime,
He hould the plough a while, and plie the cart;
And if my muse to wonted course returne,
He write and judge, peruse, commend and burne."

To which Wagrin answers—

"A better mind God send thee, or more meanes.
Oh, wouldst thou but converse with Charles the kind,
Or follow harvest when thy Donroy gleanes,
These thoughts would cease; with them they muse should find
A sweete converse: then this conceit, which weanes
Thy pen from writing, should be soone resigne."*

Golde thus closes the conference:—

"I rest resolvd: if bountie will, I wright;
If not, why then my muse shall flie the light."

Who was meant by "Charles the kind" is very doubtful, but Donroy was Roydon, a poet of considerable eminence, and in 1595 apparently prosperous (Chapman had inscribed

* I have had the less scruple in making this curious auto-biographical quotation from the original edition of Lodge's "Fig for Momus," because in the only reprint of it (from the Auchinleck press, in 1817), the line,

"A sweete converse: then this conceit, which weanes,"

is entirely omitted, making the whole passage unintelligible. Other misprints are numerous in the same volume.

to him his "Shadow of Night," in 1594); but we shall see by and by that the ordinary fate of poets and poetry followed him, and that, some twenty years after the date to which we are now adverting, he was glad to receive sixpence as a charitable contribution from Alleyn.

The best account of Lodge, and of his numerous works in prose and verse, is to be found in vol. viii. of the last edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays;" but the compiler of that piece of biography knew nothing of the transaction to which the papers about to be inserted relate. It appears that Lodge was indebted to a tailor of the name of Richard Topping, carrying on business in the Strand, and that Henslowe (in order not to lose Lodge's services by his imprisonment in the Clink), had become security for the money. Lodge, however, as is asserted, went beyond seas (not on the voyage to Terceiras and the Canaries, already mentioned), leaving Henslowe liable for the debt and costs, which Topping could not obtain, Henslowe pleading his privilege from arrest, as one of the grooms of the queen's chamber. Such seems to have been the state of things some time prior to the death of Henry Lord Hunsdon (which happened in 1596), and the following petition was presented to him by Topping:—

"To the right honorable the Lord Hunsdon Lord Chamberlaine to her Ma^{tie}.

"Most humblie sheweth to your honorable Lo. That where your poore Suppl. Richard Topping of the Strand, taylor, hath hadd a debte of seaven poundes odd monney for this viij yeares dew unto him by one Thoms Lodge, who hath from tyme to tyme waged lawe and put your Suppl. to extreame charges by meanes of one Phillip Inclow (as he saith) one of the gromes of her Ma^{tie} Chamber; yet in thend was forced to put your poore Suppl. in securitie, and procured the sayd Phillip Inclowe to become bound by bond with him, either to bring in the boddye of the sayd Thomas Lodge into the Clynke in Southwarke, or to answer his condemnation, which he hath not accordingly performed; by meanes whereof a judgement hath passed for twelve poundes odd money and execution thereupon graunted forth against them. And the sayd Phillip Inclowe,

having bene frindly intreated for payment thereof, or to acquaint your Suppl. wheare the sayd Lodge is, that some frindly end might be taken therein, utterly refuseth the same, affirming that he will kepe your Suppl. from it this seaven yeares. May it therefore please your Lo, in that the sayd Inclow (as he saith) is her Ma^{tes} servant, to graunt, with your honors favor, leave to your Suppl. either to arrest him or to sett downe such order therein, whereby your Suppl. may have his owne, being most willing to referre the same to your honorable consideration and order. And he, as most bound, shall pray for the preservation of your honorable estate."

This complaint and request having been made, the old Lord Hunsdon required Henslowe to give his answer to Topping's accusation, and the next document contains his defence; which amounted in substance to this, that Lodge having removed the cause into the Court of King's Bench, other bail had been put in and accepted, and Henslowe consequently discharged from liability. Henslowe, in the subsequent representation to the Lord Chamberlain, asserts that Topping knew where to find Lodge, but wished, nevertheless, to compel him (Henslowe) to pay the debt.

"Right honorable, my duetie in all humblenes remembred. Maie it please your good Lpp. that this complainte and the contentes thereof is in all pointes most untrue, and devised and suggested by the saied Toppinge, of mallice to provoke (if he might) your honnors displeasure against me; for in verie truth, (right honorable) as I will avouch, I never knewe of anie debte or matter twixt Lodge and him, and thearefore could be noe hinderer to him from the attayneinge to his debte supposed, as he hath first suggested. But aboute half a yeare nowe past, Toppinge haveing arrested Lodge to the Clincke, in Southwarke, uppon an action of debte, att Lodge his earnest request, and for meere goodwill, beeing somewhat acquainted with him, I became his bayle, and before any issue theare tried, Lodge removed the action by Habeas Corpus to the Kinges Benche, and theare (by the acceptaunce of the Judges) putt in newe baile. Toppinge, mislikinge that baile, procured a procedendo to trie thaction in the Clinck, wheare it first began; and theare (as it seemeth) hath proceeded, onelie of purpose to laie thexecution on me for the money he hath recovered, albeit he knoweth wheare Lodge, the principall, ys, and howe he maie easelie come by him. In other sorte, then thus as baile, I never became bounde to him. Nowe, my good Lord, I am advised by my learned

Counsell that by reason of thacceptaunce of the last baile upon the Habeas Corpus, I am discharged and cleere of the first baile, and in that respect (I doe confes) I have been unwillinge to paie another mans debte, wherein I trust your Honnor will holde me excused. And thus, beeinge readie to make further aunswere face to face with Toppinge, yf it shalbe your Lpps pleasure, I rest

“ Your Honnors in all humblenes att comaundment,

“ PHILLIPP HENSLEY.”

So the matter appears to have stood up to the time of the death of Henry, Lord Hunsdon, in 1596; but as soon as his successor came to the title, Topping renewed his complaint and suit against Henslowe, and what succeeds is his petition to George, Lord Hunsdon, who wrote his order, dated 29 Jan. 1597, at the top of it.

“ The humble petition of Richarde Toppin.

“ Hensley, you are to satisfie this Petitioner in what shalbe due unto him; or otherwise he is to take his remedie by course of lawe against you. Courte, this 29th Januarie, 1597.

“ G. HUNSDON.”

“ To the right Ho. the Lo. Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlayne of his Ma^{ties} Howshold.

“ In all humilitie beseeheth your good Lo, your daike Sup. Richarde Toppin. That whereas your Sup., about iij yeres past, was constrayned to prosecute sute against one Thomas Lodge for a debt of vij^{li} and upwardes, principall debt, which with charges of lawe surmounteth xij^{li}, the debt the first vij yeres forborne before your Sup. attempted any sute. Nowe, so it is, Right Ho., that one Phillip Hinchlow, one of the groomes of her Ma^{ties} chamber, of his owne willingnes, and with intent to delaie your Sup., became bayle for the saide Lodge, and bothe unconscianable and very arrogantly protesteth to spende 10^{li} to kepe your Supp. from his saide debt; although the saide Lodge affirmeth that he hath made Henchley full satisfaction to thende your Sup. might be paide. Uppon those injuries your Sup. complayned to your late father (of Right H. memorie) by petition, and then Henchley entreated your Sup. staie, vowinge your Sup. should be paide; neverthelesse, contrarie to all honestie and equitie, ymediatly after procured a Writt of Error for further delaye, and inforced your Sup. to make his further sute to the L. Cobham, late L. Chamberlaime, who tooke the cause into his hearinge, and ordered the saide Henchley

should other paie your Sup. his debt, or bringe in Lodge, uppon warrant which his Lo. graunted, and Henschley thereof possessed; but nothinge performed, so greatly Henschley beareth him selfe of his place. He therefore most humble besecheth your Honour to extende your Lordship's releefe herein to your Sup., as to your Ho. wisdom shall seeme good, and most agreeinge with equitie. And he shall ever praie that your Ho. maie most honorable {and} happellie long live."

It is evident that Lord Hunsdon did not come to the determination, expressed at the commencement of the foregoing document, without calling upon Henslowe to show cause against it; and the paper next to be inserted (which is slightly defective in some places) was Henslowe's statement of the case, in which he admits that Lodge had escaped beyond seas to avoid arrest and imprisonment. Here it is that we find that Lodge had been "a player." Lord Hunsdon thought that the merits were with Topping, or, at all events, that Henslowe ought not to be allowed to prevent the course of law by pleading his privilege as one of the Queen's household.

"To the right honorable my verie good Lord the Lord of Hunsdon,
Lord Chamberlen.

"Whereas, right honorable, one Richard Toppin did of late prefer unto your honor a petition against me suggestinge therein divers untruthes, to thintent to bringe your Lpp. into some hard conceipt of me. The truth is, right honorable, that one Thos. Lodge beinge aboute a yeare nowe paste arrested within the Libertie of the Clinck (where I am a dweller) at the suite of the said Toppin, uppon an action of debte, and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintance of him as a player, requested me to be his baile. Before anie yssue there tried, Lodge removed the action by Habeas Corpus to the Kinges benche, and there (by thacceptaunce of the Judges) put in newe baile. Toppin mislikinge that baile, procured a procedendo to trie thaction in the Clinck, where it first begon, and there hath proceeded onelie of purpose to laie the execution on me. Nowe, forsomuche as I am advised by my Councell that by reason of thacceptaunce of the newe baile upon the Habeas Corpus I am cleere in lawe and that the debte (if there be anie) noe waie concerneth me, I have been unwilling frome tyme to tyme (I must needs confes) to yeeld satisfaction without lawfull compulsion, as anie man ells would in like case: by means whereof Toppin hath made sondrie severall complaintes to your late honorable father, the late Lo.

Cobham, before whome, in this * * * reasonable manner, I made my excuse. But wheare Toppin affirmeth that Lodge hath lefte sufficient in my handes to paie the debt, and that I have wilfully refused to satisfie the same with pretence to put him to chardge and trouble; and that therefore the Lord Cobham did enjoyne me either to paie the debt or bring forth Lodge, my good Lo the * * * are in all points most untrue; onelie this was doen. For that Toppin suggested that I was privie to the place of Lodge his hiding (which was alsoe untrue) the Lord Cobham enjoyed me to doe my endeavor to attache him, and to that end gave me his proper warrant, which accordingly I putt in execution, but by no meanes could attaine to him; for that he is (as I heare) passed byond the seas; and more then this his Lpp. did not enjoyne me unto. Nevertheles, if it please your Lpp. to order the cause, albeit I never had nor am like to have any manner of restitution, I shalbe content to submitt my self to your Honor's judgement, with hope of your Honor's favorable consideration for the mitigation of the execution, which being pryvily recorded is brought to xij^{li} and all [odd?] money, the debte beeing meerly vij^{li} and noe more; soe that there is above v^{li} awarded besides the debt. And thus I rest, in all dutie,

“Your Honors most humble

“PHILLIPP HENSLOWE.”

The preceding appears to have been Henslowe's rough draft of his answer, which he preserved after he had sent the fair copy to the Lord Chamberlain. What was the issue of the affair, is not shown by any of the papers preserved at Dulwich; but it is most likely that there had been a running account between Lodge, as dramatist and actor, and Henslowe. That Henslowe was still Lodge's creditor, when the former died in January, 1616, there can be little doubt; and the bond which Alleyn put in force in 1619 had very possibly been one of the securities he had inherited from his wife's step-father. In the Privy Council Registers, under date of January 10, 1616, is the following memorandum.

“A passe for Tho. Lodge, Doctor of Physic, and Henry Sewell, gent, to travell into the Arch Dukes Country to recover such debts as are due unto them there, taking with them two servants and to returne agayne within five moneths.”

This was immediately after Henslowe's decease; and it is much more likely that Lodge quitted England to avoid process

on the part of Alleyn, than that he went to receive debts due to himself abroad. After his return, in March, 1619, Alleyn, as we find by his Diary, arrested Lodge; but nothing remains to show that he ever obtained any money from Lodge, who is supposed to have died during the great plague of 1625.

CHAPTER VI.

Alleyn's temporary retirement from the Stage, and return to it.—His visit with his Wife to the Langworths at the Brill, Sussex—Letter to him there—Illness of Mr. Bowes, and Henslowe's hopes of obtaining the place of Master of the Queen's Games—Another Letter to Alleyn at the Brill—Ben Jonson's Duel with Gabriel Spenser, and death of the latter—Ben Jonson's copy of Sir Henry Watton's Verses—Epigram in Ben Johnson's hand-writing.

THERE is reason for supposing that in the autumn of 1597, or winter of 1597-8, Alleyn, if he did not for a short time secede entirely from the stage, quitted the company of the Earl of Nottingham's players. Henslowe thus entitles a short account in his Diary:—"A not [note] of all such goods as I have browght for playinge, *sence my sonne Edward Allen leaft playinge, 1597;*" and on the next page Henslowe thus inserts the names of all the members of the dramatic association, omitting Alleyn:—"A juste a cownt of all suche money as I have layd owt for my lord Admeralles players, begynnyng the xi of october, whose names ar as foloweth—Borne, Gabrell [Spenser] Shaw, Jonnes, Dowten, Jube, Towne, Synger, and the ij Geffes, 1597." The precise date when Alleyn returned to the stage it is very difficult to ascertain; but we find him again a member of the same company in 1601; and he had probably rejoined it, when they began to act at the new theatre, the Fortune, of which we shall speak hereafter.

He certainly spent the summer of 1598 in Sussex, where

he owned property, as may be supposed, in right of his wife. Two letters to him while in that part of the country have fortunately been preserved among his papers at Dulwich. They are addressed to him at the Brill, in the parish of Ringmer, near Lewes, where Mr. Arthur Langworth resided, who, two years before, as already mentioned, had purchased from Alleyn the parsonage of Firle.

The Brill was a house (part of which is still standing) built during the reign of the Tudors, formerly surrounded by a park of 1100 acres, and occupied by the Archbishops of Canterbury. Soon after Elizabeth came to the throne they exchanged it for lands at Croydon. Alleyn's wife accompanied him on the occasion, and, as far as we can now judge, it was an expedition of pleasure. His sojourn was of several months' duration, and while he was absent, an important event for Henslowe and Alleyn occurred—Mr. Bowes, the "Master, &c. of the Queen's Games of Bulls and Bears, died; and Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Dorington, succeeded him. Henslowe had hopes of obtaining the office through the Lord Admiral, and made considerable interest for it, but unsuccessfully. The subsequent letter from him to Alleyn, then at the Brill, is principally upon this subject, and upon the disappointments Henslowe had experienced in his suit. It also adverts to "our other matter," which is confusedly mixed up with the question as to the succession to the Mastership of the Games, but which, no doubt, related to a plan they contemplated of building the Fortune theatre in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, a scheme which they carried into effect not very long afterwards. Mr. Langworth, who had been in London, assisting Henslowe in his suit, seems to have been the bearer of the letter to Alleyn.

"This be dd. unto Mr. Edwarde Alleyn, at Mr. Arthur Langworthes at the Brille in Sussex, d. this.

"Sonne Edward Alleyn, I commend me unto you and to my daughter, and very glade to heare of your healthes, which god conteneuwe. The

cause whie I writte unto you is this: Mr. Bowes liesse very sycke, and every hodey thinckes he will not escape; in so muche that I feare I shall losse all, for Doctor Seassar hath done nothings for me; and as for ower other matter betwext us, I have bene with my lord Admerralle a bowte yt, and he promysed me that he wold move the quene a bowte yt; and the next daye he rides from the corte to Winser, so that ther is nothings ther to be hade but good wordes, which trobelles my mynd very muche, for any losse you knowe is very muche to me. I did move my lady Edmones in yt, and she very onerably ussed me, for she weant presentley and moved the quene for me; and Mr. Darsey of the previ chamber crossed her and made yt knowne to her that the quene had geven yt all readey in reversyon to one Mr. Dorington a pensener; and I have talked with hime and he confeseth yt to be trew, but as yet Mr. Bowes lyveth, and what paynes and trobell I have tacken in yt Mr. Langworth shall macke yt knowne unto you, for I have had his heallpe in yt for so muche as in hime lysesse, for we have moved other great parsonages for yt, but as yeat I knowe not howe yt shall please god we shall spead, for I ame sure my lord Admerrall will do nothings. And thus I comitte you bothe to god, leavinge the wholle descord to be unfolded to you by Mr. Langworth. From London, this 4 of June, 1598.

“Yours to my power

“PHILLIPPE HENSLOW.

“I pray you commend me unto
Mrs. Langworth, and to all
the reast of our frendes ther.”

From the expression used by Henslowe in the above letter, “for any loss, you know, is very much to me,” we might be led to conclude that his circumstances at this date were not flourishing. His Diary shows that, in the spring of the year 1599, he had made various inventories of his theatrical properties, apparel, &c.; but this step might have been adopted either to ascertain their value, and thus “to take stock,” or (which is more probable) with a view to the projected removal of the company and their appurtenances to the Fortune Theatre in Goulding Lane, Cripplegate, as soon as it should be ready to receive them.

The next letter from Henslowe to his “son” is dated more than three months after the last, at which time Alleyn and his wife were still with Mr. Langworth at the Brill. It is a very

remarkable communication, which Malone could not even have glanced at, or he must have seen in an instant what new light it throws upon a dark transaction in which one of the greatest names in our dramatic poetry was concerned.

In Ben Jonson's conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden (as published by Mr. D. Laing in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv.) occurs the following passage: "In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the camps, killed ane enemie, and taken *opima spolia* from him; and, since his coming to England, being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was ten inches longer than his; for the which he was imprisoned and almost at the gallowes." This story has been related in all the biographical accounts of Ben Jonson, and Gifford observes (Ben Jonson's Works, i. xix.) that "the rank or condition in life of his antagonist was not known, but that he was commonly supposed to be a player:" the witness upon this point is Dekker in his "Satiromastix," printed in 1602, where Tucca asks Horace (who was meant for Ben Jonson) "Art not famous enough yet, my mad Horastratus, for killing a player, but thou must eat men alive?" On the authority of Aubrey, some have thought that this player was Marlowe. The following letter (after urging Alleyn to return to London, that he and Henslowe might combine their endeavours respecting the office mentioned in the previous communication) makes the matter regarding Ben Jonson's duel quite clear: he had killed Gabriel, a member of Henslowe's company of players, in Hoxton Fields. The date, be it remarked, is 1598, whereas Gifford places the recontre in 1595.

"To my welbelovde sonne Mr. Edward Alleyne, at Mr. Arthure Langworthes at the Brille, in Susex, give this.

"Sonne Edward Alleyne. I have Rec. your leatter, the which yow sente unto me by the Caryer, wher in I understand of both your good healthes, which I praye to god to contenew; and forthir I understand yow have considered of the wordes which yow and I had betwene us consernynge the bear-

garden, and accordinge to your wordes yow and I and all other frendes shall have as much as wee can do to bring yt unto a good eand: therefore I wold willingley that yow weare at the bancate, for then with our losse I shold be the meryer. Therefore, yf yow thincke as I thincke, yt weare fytted that we weare both here to do what we mowght, and not as two frends, but as two joynded in one. Therfor, Ned, I love not to macke many great glosses and protestacions to yow, as others do, but as a poore frend yow shall comaunde me, as I hoope I shall do yow. Therefore I desyre rather to have your company and good wisses then your leatters. For ower laste talke which we had abowte Mr. Pascalle, assure yow I do not for geatte now to leat yow understand newes, that I will teall yow some, but yt is for me harde and heavey. Sence yow weare with me I have lost one of my company which hurteth me greatly, that is Gabrell, for he is slayen in hogesden fyldes by the hands of bergemen Jonson, bricklayer; therefore I wold fayne have a littell of your cownsell, yf I cowld. Thus with hartie comendations to you and my dawghter, and lykewise to all the reast of our frends, I eande. From london the 26 of September 1598

“ Your assured frend to my power,

“ PHILLIPPE HEGLOWE.”

Gifford, in his anxiety to uphold the character of Ben Jonson, endeavours to throw discredit on all that Dekker imputes to him in his “Satiromastix;” but those who look at the matter impartially can have little doubt that there was some foundation for most of the charges and insinuations in that personal drama, even to the borrowing of a gown of Roscius (probably Alleyn) and other trifles of the same kind; for unless there had been a portion of truth in the stories, there would have been no joke in their repetition, and no point in the satire. In the preceding letter we see a confirmation of this opinion, for Ben Jonson had killed a player, and that player was named Gabriel (or *Gabrell*, as Henslowe spells it), and a member of the association with which Henslowe was connected. “I have lost,” he says, “one of my company, which hurteth me greatly, that is Gabrell, for he is slain in Hoxton Fields by the hands of Benjamin Jonson, bricklayer.”

The first point that strikes us as remarkable in the paragraph is, that Henslowe calls Ben Jonson “bricklayer” merely,

as if that were his trade, and apparently without meaning it as any reproach. When Dekker so frequently throws bricks and mortar in Jonson's teeth in "Satiromastix," we know that he wishes thereby to bring him into ridicule; but Henslowe only seems to speak of it as a matter of course. This is very singular, because Ben Jonson, two years before the date of the letter just quoted, had written his "Every Man in his Humour" for Henslowe's theatre (Malone's Shakesp. by Boswell, iii. 307: the play is called "the Comedy of Humours," under date of 11th May, 1596, in Henslowe's Diary); and, in 1597 and 1598, he had received several sums of money on account of dramatic productions in progress. It would almost appear as if Henslowe, when he wrote to Alleyn, did not know that it was the same Benjamin Jonson, who was and had been an author in his own pay. Besides, at this date Ben Jonson was in his twenty-fourth year; and it has always been supposed that it was only for a short time after he returned from Cambridge to his step-father, and before he embarked for Flanders, that he followed the trade of bricklaying. According to the mode in which Henslowe speaks of him, it would be thought that Ben Jonson was a bricklayer at the period when he killed Gabriel.

A question then arises, who was Gabriel? It was in all probability a christian name, and we find that there were, about this date, two Gabriels in Henslowe's company—Gabriel Spenser and Gabriel Synger (Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, i. 350). They are both frequently mentioned in Henslowe's Diary in and prior to 1598, but after that year we only hear of one of them*—Gabriel Synger; and in the same book occurs an entry regarding him in 1602, when he produced what was known by the name of "Synger's Voluntary." Therefore the actor whom Ben Jonson killed must, in all probability, have been Gabriel Spenser.

* The latest entry in Henslowe's Diary respecting Gabriel Spenser bears date on 24th June, 1598, up to which date the old manager received Spenser's share of the galleries. The account begins on the 6th April, 1598.

Among other points in Drummond's account of his conversation with Ben Jonson, it is said, "Sir Edward (Henry) Wotton's verses of a happie lyfe, he [Jonson] hath by heart." It so happens that among the MSS. at Dulwich College is a copy of these very verses in Ben Jonson's beautiful hand-writing; and as his authority must be considered good, and as the lines differ materially from the copies as printed in the various editions of "Wotton's Remains," it will be well to quote them exactly in the form in which they stand in the manuscript Ben Jonson left behind him, and which was very likely given by him to Alleyn.

- " How happy is he borne and taught,
That serveth not another's will!
Whose armor is his honest thought,
And silly truth his highest skill.
- " Whose passions not his Masters are,
Whose soule is still prepar'd for death,
Untied to the world with care
Of princes grace or vulgar breath.
- " Who hath his life from humors freed,
Whose conscience is his strong retreat;
Whose state can neyther flatterers feed,
Nor ruine make accusers great.
- " Who envieth none whome chance doth rayse,
Or vice; who never understood
How swordes give sleighter wounds than prayse,
Nor rules of state, but rules of good.
- " Who God doth late and early pray
More of his grace, then gifts to lend;
And entertaynes the harmlesse day
With a well-chosen booke or freind.
- " This man is free from servile bandes
Of hope to rise or feare to fall;
Lord of himselfe, though not of landes,
And having nothing, yet hath all."

It is impossible to assign the precise date to these verses, but they seem to have fallen in with Alleyn's taste and notions, and hence perhaps the fact that a copy of them, so well authenticated, is found among his papers. There is evidence that he himself had written them out, possibly before Ben Jonson gave him the perfect transcript, for a fragment remains of the first stanza, or rather of part of it, in Alleyn's hand-writing, upon a scrap of paper on the back of which is a memorandum respecting some agricultural implements bought by him, bearing date in 1616. The oldest known production by Sir Henry Wotton is inserted in Davison's "Poetical Rhapsodie," edit. 1602. Drummond's conversation with Ben Jonson, during which he probably recited the verses, took place, as is well known, in January, 1619.

On the same paper as that which contains Sir H. Wotton's verses, and also in Ben Jonson's hand-writing, is the following:—

" Martial.

" The things that make the happier life are these,
 Most pleasant Martial; Substance got with ease,
 Not labour'd for, but left thee by thy Sire;
 A soyle not barren; a continuall fire;
 Never at Law; seldome in office gownd;
 A quiet mind, free powers, and body sound;
 A wise simplicity; freindes alike stated;
 Thy table without art, and easy rated:
 Thy night not dronken, but from cares layd wast;
 No soure or sollen bed-mate, yet a chast;
 Sleepe that will make the darkest howres swift-pac't;
 Will to be what thou art, and nothing more;
 Nor feare thy latest day, nor wish therefore."

It is very possible that these lines are also by Sir Henry Wotton, though they read more in the terse and forcible style of Ben Jonson. They are not contained in any edition of "Wotton's Remains."

In some of the MSS. of the Poetical Rhapsodie, Drummond p. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

The Fortune Theatre built — New Documents relating to its origin and construction — Alleyn's interest in it — His return to the Stage — His Plot of Tamar Cam — Bowes and Dorington, Masters of the Games — Accession of James I., and the three Companies of Players — The Plague, and cessation of playing in London — Letter of Mrs. Alleyn to her husband in the country, in which Shakespeare is mentioned.

WE now come to an important event in Alleyn's life—the building of the Fortune Theatre in Cripplegate — from which, until the day of his death, he seems to have received a considerable income, and which ultimately formed part of the endowment of Dulwich College. The ground had been purchased not long before from a person of the name of Gill, who resided in the Isle of Man; and some of the documents at Dulwich College, which it is not necessary to quote, contain various particulars of the bargain.

Such details as were previously known, are inserted in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i. 311; but the papers preserved at Dulwich present several new particulars. The earliest of these is dated 12 January, 1599—1600, and is addressed by the Earl of Nottingham, on behalf of his players, to the Justices of Middlesex, requiring them to permit his servant, Edward Alleyn, (for Henslowe at this date is not mentioned,) to build a new theatre near Redcross Street; assigning as reasons, that the situation was very convenient, and that the house they had hitherto occupied (the Rose) was in a dangerous state of decay. It runs as follows:—

"Whereas my servant, Edward Allen, in respect of the dangerous decaye of that howse which he and his Companye have nowe on the Banck, and for that the same standeth verie noysome for resorte of people in the wynter tyme, hath thearfore nowe of late taken a plott of gronde neere Redcrosse streete London (verie fitt and convenient) for the buildinge of a

new howse theare, and hath provided tymber and other necessaries for theeffectinge theareof, to his greate chardge. Forasmuche as the place standeth verie convenient for the ease of people, and that her Ma^{tie} (in respect of the acceptable service, which my saide servant and his Companie have doen and presented before her Highenes to her greate lykeinge and contentment, as well this last Christmas as att sondrie other tymes) ys gratuslie moved towards them, with a speciall regarde of favor in their proceedinges. Theis shalbe thearefore to praie and requier you, and everie of you, to permitt and suffer my saide servant to proceede in theeffectinge and finishinge of the saide newhowse, without anie your lett or molestation towards him or any of his workmen. And soe, not doubtinge of your observation in this behalf, I bidd you right hartelie farewell. Att the Courte at Richmond, the xijth of Januarye 1599.

“NOTINGHAM.

“To all and every her Ma^{ties} Justices, and other Ministers and officers within the Countye of Middx, and to every of them. And to all others whome it shall concerne.”

It is very evident that some of the Justices of Middlesex and others did what they could to impede the execution of this project; and three months afterwards, we find the authority of the Lord Admirall again employed in aid of his servants. At this time it appears that Alleyn and his associates had ceased to perform at the Rose, possibly owing to the decayed state of the house, but more probably in order to strengthen their claim to be allowed to erect a new building for the same purpose.

Much complaint had been made against the number of playhouses in and near London; and the Earl of Nottingham, in his second letter to the Justices of Middlesex, is anxious to impress upon them that the Fortune was only to supply the place of a theatre which had been pulled down. How far such was the fact, we cannot now determine; but it is certain that the Rose was standing some time afterwards, that Lord Pembroke's players acted in it, and that in 1603, Henslowe renewed his lease of the ground on which it stood.

(Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 318). In April, 1600, when the subsequent document was prepared (to give which more effect, the names of Lord Hunsdon and Sir Robert Cecill were subscribed with that of Lord Nottingham,) we gather that some progress had been made with "the frame and workmanship of the Fortune." In January, 1599—1600, "timber and other necessaries" had been provided; but by the following April, considerable progress had been made in the undertaking.

"After our hartie comendations. Whereas her Ma^{tie} (haveinge been well pleased heeretofere at tymes of recreation with the services of Edward Allen and his Companie, servantes to me the Earle of Nottingham, wheareof of late he hath made discontinuance) hath sondrye tymes signified her pleasuer, that he should revive the same agayne. Forasmuche as he hath bestowed a greate some of money, not onelie for the title of a plott of grounde scitua in a verie remote and exempt place neere Goulding Lane, theare to erect a newe house, but alsoe is in good forwardnes aboute the frame and warkmanshipp theareof, the conveniencie of which place for that purpose ys testified unto us under the bandes of manie of the Inhabitanes of the Libertie of Finisbury, wheare it is, and recomended by some of the Justices them selves, Wee thearfore, havinge informed her Ma^{tie} lykewise of the decaye of the howse wherein this Companie latelie plaied, scituate uppon the Bancke, verie noysome for the resorte of people in the Wynter tyme, have receaved order to requier yow to tollerate the proceedinge of the saide newhowse neere Goulding Lane, and doe heerbye requier you, and everie of yow, to permitte and suffer the said Edward Allen to proceede in theeffectinge and finishinge of the same newehowse, without anie your lett or interruption towards him or anie of his woorkmen; the rather because an other howse is pulled downe instead of yt. And soe, not doubtinge of your conformitye heerin, wee comitt you to God: frome the Courte at Richmond, the vijijth of Aprill 1600.

"Your loveinge freindes

" NOTINGHAM.

" G. HUNSDON

" Ro. CECYLL.

" To the Justices of Peace of the Countye of Middx,
especially of St. Gyles without Creplegate, and
to all others whome it shall concerne."

The foregoing document refers to a certain testification "under the hands of many of the inhabitants of the Liberty of Finsbury" in favour of the completion of the Fortune: that instrument is also found at Dulwich, and it is indorsed "The Certificate of the Inhabitants of the Lp. of Fynsburie of their consent to the Tolleration of the Ereccion of the newe Playhouse there;" the principal ground of "consent to the toleration" being, that the undertakers had agreed to contribute liberally to the maintenance of the poor of the parish. It is in the following form.

"To the right honorable the Lordes and others of her Ma^{ty} most honorable privie Councill.

"In all humblenes, wee the Inhabitants of the Lordshipp of Fynisburie, within the parishe of St^o Gyles without Creplegate, London, doe certifie unto your honnours, that wheare the Servantes of the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham have latelie gone aboute to erect and sett upp a newe Playhouse within the said Lp, wee could be contented that the same might procede and be tollerated (soe it stande with your honnours pleasers) for the reasons and causes followeing.

"First, because the place appoynted oute for that purpose standeth very tollerrable, neere unto the Feildes, and soe farr distant and remote frome any person or place of accompt, as that none can be annoyed thearbie.

"Secondlie, because the erectours of the saied howse are contented to give a very liberrall portion of money weekelie towards the relief of our poore, the nomber and necessity whereof is soe greate, that the same will redounde to the contynuall comfort of the said poore.

"Thirdlie and lastlie, wee are the rather contented to accept this meanes of relief of our poore because our Parrishe is not able to releeve them. Neither hath the Justices of the Sheire taken any order for any supplie out of the Countye, as is enjoyed by the late Acte of Parliamante.

"HARY STAPELFORDE

"ANTHONIE MARLOWE

"WILLM BROWNE Constable

"GEORGE GARLANDE, Overseer for
our Poore

"JOHN HITCHENS, Overseer for our
Poore

"NICHOLAS WARDEN" &c. &c.

The Lord Admirall seems to have known nothing of Henslowe in the transaction; but it is quite certain, from the agreement between Alleyn and Henslowe on the one part, and Peter Streete, the carpenter, on the other part, for building the Fortune, that Henslowe was from first to last concerned in it as Alleyn's partner. According to this document, Streete's work was to cost £440; but it appears by an existing memorandum in Alleyn's hand-writing, that his sole share of the expense was £520; but that perhaps included all the fittings-up and ornaments. Contrary to what is said in the History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, iii. 308, it seems likely that, in making the memorandum there quoted, Alleyn was only recording his half of the charge for rendering the Fortune fit for theatrical performances.

We are without any means of knowing the precise date when the new theatre, the Fortune, was opened. It was unquestionably anterior to October, 1602; for, at that date, Henslowe records that he paid 40*s.* to Alleyn for his book of Tamar Cam, which was played there, and of which "the plott," as it is termed, is extant, and is printed in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 356. The entry in Henslowe's Diary is this:—

"Pd unto my sonne Alleyn, at the apoyntment of the company, for his boocke of Tambercam, the 20 of October 1602, the some of xxx*s.*" *

Hence we see, that Alleyn was separately paid for whatever he did for the company in the way of authorship, if it

* It was probably only the revival in 1602 of a popular piece, with additions and changes. In Henslowe's Diary we read as follows:—

s.
"6 of Maye 1596 ne Rd at Tambercamme xxxv*ij*"

The letters *ne* indicate that it was then a new piece, and was acted for the first time. From another item in the same MS. we learn that the success of it very soon led to the production of "a second part of Tambercam," which was brought out on the 11 June 1596. It is the "plott of the first parte of Tamar Cam," which was printed by Malone.

may be so called. It is supposed that Tamar Cam (like Tarlton's "plott" of "the Seven Deadly Sins," &c.) was an entertainment made up of dumb shew, action, and extempore performance. Alleyn was the principal actor in Tamar Cam, as well as the contriver of the whole representation, and he was supported in it by W. Cartwright, Towne, Jubie, Parsons, Singer, Marbeck, Parr, and several inferior actors. The names of the different members of the company, Alleyn's immediate associates, were these, as we find them enumerated in Harl. MS. No. 252:— Thomas Towne, Thomas Downton (or Dowton), William Byrde (or Borne), Samuel Rowley, Edward Jubye, Charles Massy, Humphrey Jeffes, Edward Colbrand, William Parr, Richard Pryor, William Stratford, Francis Grace, and John Shanke.

Henslowe, in his letter to Alleyn, at the Brill, on the 4th June, 1598, mentions, as will be recollected, the extreme illness of Mr. Bowes, the then "master of the game of bulls and bears;" adding, with some disappointment, that the place had already been granted in reversion to Mr. Dorington. Dorington came into the office soon afterwards, but he seems to have acted upon a grant made to him in reversion in 1573; and on the accession of James I. a new patent was made out to him. The date of the patent to Bowes (a copy of which is found at Dulwich) bears date on the 8th November, 1586. In March 1600 we find Dorington writing in a very urgent manner to Henslowe for his assistance, the queen having suddenly required "her majesty's games" to be exhibited at court. Henslowe was therefore to assist Dorington in his emergency with his dogs and bears from Paris Garden. The letter of the Master of the Game is addressed,

" To my very good frend Mr. Henslow geve thees.

" Mr. Henslow. I have receivid a letter to have hir Ma^{tes} games to be at the court of monday next, so short a warning as I never knew the lyke, and my self not well, having had a fytt of agew on Frydaye at night; but yf ther be no remedye, then good M^r Henslow pull up your

speryttes and Jackcobe to furnyshe yt as well as yow canne, and I have wrytten to my sister Hide to lett hir Ma^y understand of the losse we had in this wynter of our best beers, and to sygnyfy so much to them that executes my Lord Chamberlins place; and so I will leve you for this time, hoping you will dow all your best indevors to so satisfy hir Ma^y in this servisse. From Wigall, this [torn] of marche 1600.

“ Your very frend,

“ JOHN DORINGTON.” •

We are unable to state what precise interest Alleyn, at this date, had in Paris Garden; he was unquestionably a partner in the concern, and after the death of Henslowe it seems to have devolved entirely into his hands.

On his accession, James I. took into his pay the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and they were afterwards called the King's Players: this was the company to which Shakespeare was attached. Queen Anne adopted Lord Worcester's players (of whom Thomas Heywood was one) as her theatrical servants; and Prince Henry allowed Alleyn and thirteen of his associates, who had previously belonged to the Earl of Nottingham, to act under his name.† Very soon after this

• In Henslowe's Diary we meet with the following memorandum, which seems to shew that Henslowe, in 1602, paid Dorington rent; which may mean a consideration for being allowed by the Master of the Queen's Games to bait bears, bulls, &c. at Paris Garden.

“ Received of Mr. Henslow, the xjth daye of aprill 1602, the some of ten pounds, dew to me at our lady abouff wrytten, for that quarter then dewe to me for Rent.

“ JOHN DORINGTON.”

† “ Nay, see the beauty of our kinde Sovereigne: not only to the indifferent of worth and the worthy of honour did he freely deale about these causes, but to the meane gave grace; as taking to him the late Lord Chamberlains servants, now the King's Actors; the Queene taking to her the Earl of Worster's servants, that are now her actors; and the Prince, their son, Henry Prince of Wales, full of hope, tooke to him the Earl of Nottingham his servants, who are now his actors: so that of Lords' servants, they are now the servants of the King, Queene and Prince.”—Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, 1604, *Sign.* B.

arrangement had been made, the plague broke out in London with so much virulence that the theatres were closed, and the actors driven to procure subsistence as they could. Alleyn, as usual, went with a selection from his company into the provinces upon a strolling expedition. Of this date we have a very interesting letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband, written and subscribed by the person ordinarily employed: it is remarkable, because it contains a mention of Shakespeare, who is spoken of as "of the Globe;" and though it throws no new light upon our great dramatist's character, excepting as it shews that he was on good terms with Alleyn's family, any document containing merely his name must be considered valuable. The paper on which the letter was written is in a most decayed state, especially at the bottom, where it breaks and drops away in dust and fragments at the slightest touch. The notice of Shakespeare is near the commencement of a postscript on the lower part of the page, where the paper is most rotten, and several deficiencies occur, which it is impossible to supply: all that remains is extremely difficult to be deciphered. We will insert it, and defer further remarks until afterwards, only premising that the address has completely disappeared, so that we cannot tell where Alleyn was at the time; nor indeed, excepting from internal evidence, can we decide that it was sent to him. Upon this point, however, there can be no doubt.

" Jhesus

" My intyre and welbeloved sweete harte, still it joyes me and longe, I pray god, may I joye to heare of your healthe and welfare, as of ours. Almighty god be thanked, my own selfe, your selfe and my mother, and whole house are in good health, and about us the sycknes dothe cease and likely more and more by gods healpe to cease. All the companyes be come home and well for ought we knowe, but that Browne of the Boares head is dead, and dyed very pore. He went not into the cuntrye at all, and all of your owne company ar well at there owne houses. My father is at the corte, but wheare the corte ys I know not. I am of your owne

mynde, that it is needles to meete my father at Basyng: the entertaynment beinge as it is, I comend your discreation. It weare a sore journey to loase your labour, besyde expenses, and change of ayre mighte hurte you; therefore you are resolved upon the best course. For your cominge hoame I am not to advyse you, neither will I: use your owne discreation, yet I longe and am very desyrous to see you; and my poore and simple opinion is, yf it shall please you, you maye safely come hoame. Heare is none now sycke neare us; yet let it not be as I wyll, but at your owne best lykynge. I am glad to heare you take delight in hauckinge, and thoughte you have worne your appayrell to rags, the best ys you knowe where to have better, and as wellcome to me shall you be with your rags, as yf you were in cloathe of gold or velvet. Trye and see.

“ I have payd fyfty shillings for your rent for the warfe, the Lordes rent. M^r Woodward, my Lordes bayly, was not in towne but poynted his deputy who receaved all the rentes. I had witnesses with me at the payment of the money, and have his quittance, but the quyttance cost me a groat: they sayd it was the baylives fee. You knowe best whether you were wont to paye it; yf not, they made a symple woman of me. You shall receive a letter from the Joyner hym selfe, and a prynted bill; and so with my humble and hartly comendations to your owne selfe, M^r Chaloners and his wyfe, with thankes for your kynde usage, with my good mothers kyndest comendations with the rest of your household • • • he is well but can not speake, I ende prayinge allmighty god to blesse you for his mercyes sake, and so sweete harte • • • noe more. Farwell till we meete, which I hope shall not be longe. This xxth of October 1603.

“ Aboute a weeke a goe there came a youthe who said he was M^r Francis Chaloner who would have borrowed x^{li} to have bought things for • • • and said he was known unto you, and M^r Shakespeare of the globe, who came • • • said he knewe hym not, onely he herde of hym that he was a roge • • • so he was glade we did not lend him the monney • • • Richard Johnes [went] to seeke and inquire after the fellow, and said he had lent hym a horse: I feare me he gulled hym, thoughte he gulled not us. The youthe was a prety youthe, and hansom in appayrell: we knowe not what became of hym. M^r Benfield commendes hym; he was heare yesterdaye. Nicke and Jeames be well, and comend them: so doth M^r Cooke and his wiefie in the kyndest sorte, and so once more in the hartiest manner farwell.

“ Your faithfull and lovinge wiefie,

“ JOANE ALLEYNE.”

We learn from this letter that Henslowe, at its date, was absent from London, following the king and court. The plague had somewhat abated, and most of the companies of actors had returned to London, including Alleyn's associates, though he himself lingered in the country (after having worn out his clothes), to enjoy the sport of hawking. Meanwhile, his careful and loving wife had been attentive to her duties; the wharf, for which she had paid the rent, Alleyn held under Lord Montague. The young rogue, who vainly attempted to borrow £10 of her, and regarding whom Shakespeare coming in just afterwards spoke to her, probably pretended to be some relation to the "Mr. Chaloners and his wife," mentioned near the close of the body of the letter. Benfield, who sent his commendations in the postscript, might be the father of the actor of that name: he died in 1619. Cooke was, perhaps, the author of the celebrated play which is known by the name of "Greene's Tu Quoque."

CHAPTER VIII.

Lion-baiting by Alleyn before James I. in the Tower — Permission to the Kings, Queens, and Prince's Players to act again — Blackfriars Theatre — Shakespeare an Actor up to the 9th of April, 1604 — Players of the Duke of Lennox, and Henslowe's connection with them — Purchase by Alleyn and Henslowe of the office of Master of the King's Games—Their Patent and Petition to the King.

IN Stowe's Chronicle, under date of March, 1603-4, is inserted a very minute and picturesque account of a barbarous and revolting exhibition before King James in the Tower, when Alleyn was sent for, that he might bring his dogs from the Bear Garden to bait a lion in his den. As this description has never been quoted by any biographer of Alleyn, and as he personally

superintended the singular exhibition, it will not be out of place to insert it here.

“Whereupon the King caused Edward Allen, late servant to the Lord Admirall, now sworne the Princes man and Maister of the Beare Garden, to fetch secretly three of the fellest dogs in the Garden, which being done, the King, Queene, and Prince with 4 or 5 Lords, went to the Lions Towre, and caused the lustiest Lion to be seperated from his mate, and put into the Lions den one dog alone, who presently flew to the face of the Lion, but the Lion suddenly shooke him off, and graspt him fast by the necke, drawing the dog vp staires and downe staires. The King now perceiving the Lion greatly to exceede the dog in strength, but nothing in noble heart and courage, caused another dog to be put into the den, who proved as hotte and lusty as his fellow, and tooke the Lion by the face, but the Lion began to deale with him as with the former; whereupon the King commanded the third dog to be put in before the second dog was spoiled, which third dog more fierce and fell then either of the former, and in despite either of clawes or strength, tooke the Lyon by the lip, but the Lion so tore the dog by the eyes, head, and face, that he lost his hold, and then the Lion tooke the dogs neck in his mouth, drawing him up and downe as he did the former, but being wearied, could not bite so deadly as at the first, now whilst the last dog was thus hand to hand with the Lion in the upper roome, the other two dogs were fighting together in the lower roome, whereupon the King caused the Lion to be driven downe, thinking the lion would have parted them, but when he saw he must needs come by them, he leapt cleane over them both, and contrary to the King's expectation, the lion fled into an inward den, and would not by any means endure the presence of the dogs, albeit the last dogge pursued egerly, but could not finde the way to the Lion. You shall vnderstand the two last dogs whilst the Lion held them both under his pawes, did bite the Lion by the belly, whereat the Lion roared so extreamly that the earth shooke withall, and the next Lion rampt and roared as if she would have made rescue. The Lion hath not any peculiar or proper kind of fight, as hath the dog, beare, or bull, but onely a ravenous kinde of surprising for prey. The 2 first dogs dyed within few dayes, but the last dog was well recovered of all his hurts, and the young Prince commanded his seruant E. Allen to bring the dog to him to S. James, where the Prince charged the said Allen to keepe him, and make much of him, saying, he that had fought with the King of Beasts, should never after fight with any inferior creature.”

The plague having been checked by the winter of 1603-4.,

began so far to disappear in the spring, that permission was again given for the opening of the theatres in and near London. We now come to a paper which Malone saw, and to the general import of which he adverts in his "Inquiry," p. 215, but which, as he tells us, he reserved for publication at large in his projected life of Shakespeare, which he never completed. He does not state where he had found it, but it was in fact among the MSS. which he procured from Dulwich College. It is the copy of a letter from the Council, consisting of Lords Nottingham, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Worcester, &c. to the Lord Mayor of London and the magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey, directing them not to interfere with three companies of players, but to permit those of the King, the Queen, and the Prince, to act at the Globe on the Bankside, at the Fortune in Golding Lane, and at the Curtain in Shoreditch, notwithstanding any previous prohibition. Malone does not seem to have been aware on what particular occasion this order had appeared, but it was issued after the plague had in a considerable degree abated its violence. The document is so much damaged as to be illegible in two places at the beginning, but the rest of it runs as follows:—

"After our hartie Whereas the Kings maties Plaiers have given highnes good service in ther Quallitie of Playenge, and for as much likewise as they are at all times to be employed in that service, whensoever they shalbe commaunded, We thinke it therefore fitt, the time of Lent being now past, that your L doe permitt and suffer the three Companies of Plaiers to the King, Queene and Prince, publicklye to exercise ther plaies in ther severall usuall howses for that purpose and noe other; viz the Globe, scituate in Maiden Lane on the Bancks side in the Countie of Surrey, the Fortune, in Golding Lane, and the Curtaine, in Hollywell in the Cowntie of Middlesex, without any lett or interruption in respect of any former Letters of Prohibition heertofore written by us to your Lop., except there happen weeklye to die of the Plague above the number of thirtie, within the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof. Att which time we thinke itt fitt they shall cease and forbear any further publicklye to playe, untill the sicknes be again decreased to the saide number.

And so we bid your Lo. hartlie farewell. From the Court at Whitehalle, the ixth of Aprill 1604.

“ Your very loving Friends,

“ NOTTINGHAM

“ SUFFOLK

“ GILL SHROWSBERIE

“ E. WORSTER

“ W. KNOWLES

“ J. STANHOPE.

“ 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.”

Here we see that the Globe, the Fortune, and the Curtain, are designated as the “ several usual houses” of the three companies; and Malone would infer, from these only being mentioned, that the King’s players, of whom Shakespeare was one, had not, in April 1604, possession of the Blackfriars Theatre. He did not advert to the important point that the Blackfriars, like the Whitefriars, was what was called “ a private theatre,” and, therefore, did not fall within the same regulations as a public theatre. It is much more likely that the Blackfriars Theatre should have been in the hands of the King’s players (formerly the Lord Chamberlain’s servants) from the time it was built by James Burbage, the father of Richard Burbage, in 1576, until the period of which we are now speaking, than that the company should have purchased it, as Malone supposes, in the winter of 1604-5. He, however, was not acquainted with the fact, since discovered, that the Blackfriars Theatre, having been originally constructed by James Burbage, was actually in possession of Shakespeare and his fellows in 1596. (Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 298.)

Malone also appears to have reserved another circumstance, of very considerable importance in relation to Shakespeare, for his life of the poet. To the last quoted document, but in a different hand and in different ink, is appended a list of the King’s players. The name of Shakespeare there occurs

second; and as it could not be written at the bottom of the letter of the Council to the Lord Mayor, &c. prior to the date of that letter, it proves that up to 9th April, 1604, our great dramatist continued to be numbered among the *actors* of the company. Hitherto the last trace we have had of Shakespeare as actually on the stage, has been as one of the performers in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," which was produced in 1603. We will insert the list as it stands at the foot of the Council's letter to the Lord Mayor, &c.—

" Ks Comp.
 " BURBIDGE
 " SHAKSPEARE
 " FLETCHER
 " PHILLIPS
 " CONDLÉ
 " HEMMINGES
 " ARMYN
 " SLYE
 " COWLEY
 " HOSTLER
 " DAY."

It seems doubtful whether this enumeration was made out according to the comparative prominence and importance of the individuals in the company. In the patent of King James of 17th May, 1603, the order of the three first of the above names is exactly reversed—viz., Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage; and there are other variations of minor consequence. Of Hostler (or Ostler) and Day, in connection with the King's Players, we now hear for the first time. William Ostler was one of the children of the Chapel in 1601, and either joined the King's company after 17th May, 1603, or was included in the general words of the Patent, "and the rest of their associates." Precisely the same may be said of Thomas Day, who never seems to have attained eminence: he was possibly some relation to John Day, the prolific dramatist. The reason why we are not furnished with corresponding lists of the Queen's and Prince's Players may be, that Alleyn and Henslowe were certainly connected with the one body, and possibly with the other.

On the 15th March, 1603, Alleyn, attired as Genius, delivered a speech to King James, as he passed through London; and Dekker, giving an account of the ceremony, printed in 1604, says, "Genius by M. Allin (servant to the young Prince) his gratulatory speech, which was delivered with excellent action, and a well tunde audible voice." We do not recollect that the quality of Alleyn's voice is elsewhere noticed.

In the autumn of 1604, we hear of another company of actors, mentioned in no earlier authority than that we are about to notice—the players of the Duke of Lennox. Whether Alleyn had any interest in their performances is not stated; but it is quite clear from the papers at Dulwich, that Henslowe had, and that his brother Francis Henslowe (several times mentioned by Philip Henslowe in his Diary,) was at the head of them, though probably not as a performer. Prior to the 13th Oct. 1604, this company had been forbidden to perform (whether in London or elsewhere cannot now be determined,) in consequence of which the ensuing official letter was obtained from the Duke of Lennox to all Mayors, Justices of the Peace, &c. desiring that no obstruction might be offered to his players.

"To all maiors, Justeces of peas, Shreefes, Balifes, Constabells, and all other his highnes officers and lofing subjects, to whome it shall, or may in any wise appertaine.

"Sir. I am given to understand that you have forbidden the Companye of Players (that call themselves myne) the exercise of their Playes. I prairie you to forbear any such course against them, and seeing they have my License to suffer them to continue the use of their Playes; and untill you receave other signification from me of them, to afforde them your favour and assistance. And so I bidd you hartely farewell. From Hampton Courte, the xij of October 1604.

"Your loving freende,

"LENOX."

The above seems to have come into Henslowe's possession in consequence of the pecuniary interest he had in the company, which possibly performed for a short time at one of his

theatres. They continued in existence in March following the date of the foregoing letter; for on the 17th of that month Francis Henslowe entered into a bond to his brother, with the penalty of £60, "well and trulie to holde, performe, fulfill and keepe all such agreementes matters and things, as are conteyned and specified in certen Articles of Agreemente, bearing date with theis presentes, made and agreed uppon by and betweene the said Francis Henslowe and John Garland and Abraham Saverie, his fellowes, servantes to the most noble Prince, the Duke of Linnox, and subscribed with all theire handes."

Garland and Saverie are both names new in our dramatic history,* and after this date, we hear no more of the Players of the Duke of Lennox, or of the connection of either of the Henslowes with them. Whether they were put down by authority of the Council (which not long before had restricted theatrical performances in public theatres to the three companies of the King, Queen, and Prince) nowhere appears: possibly the speculation did not answer, and they therefore relinquished their performances.

Sir John Dorington, as we have seen, was ill of an ague in March, 1600: † he died soon after James I. came to the throne, and Sir William Stuart was appointed to the vacant office of "Master, &c. of the King's Games of Bears, Bulls, and Dogs," and Henslowe and Alleyn, not having a license for

* To this period is probably to be assigned the following undated entry in Henslowe's Diary or Account-book:—

"Lent unto Frances Henslow to goyne with owld Garland and Symcockes and Savery, when they played in the Dukes name at the laste goinge owt, the some of vij^{li}: I saye lent. vij^{li}"

† The writer has in his possession the original appointment of John Dorington, Esq., to "the room or office of Cheif Master, Overseer and Ruler of all and singular our game, pastimes and sports, that is to say of all and every our bears, bulls and mastiff dogs, meet for the purpose." It bears date at Westminster, 2d June, A° 15. Eliz. 1573. Dorington, as appears by the same instrument, succeeded Cuthbert Vaughan, Esq.

the purpose, were, as they afterwards alleged, unable to employ Paris Garden for the chief purpose to which it had for many years been applied. They then offered to sell their house, bears, and dogs to Sir William Stuart, but he refused to buy them, and thus compelled Henslowe and Alleyn* to purchase the office he held for £450, which they insisted was a very bad bargain on their part. The following is a copy of the "acquittance" Sir William Stuart gave for the £450. It will be observed that one of the witnesses subscribes his name John Alleyn; and Edward had an elder brother John, who was entered in the pedigree furnished at the visitation of Surrey in 1624: John Allen had died, and this was perhaps his son.

"Be it knowne unto all men by theis presents, that I, Sir William Steward, Knight, have receaved and had the day of the date hereof, of Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen of the parishe of S^t Saviours in Southwarke in the County of Surrey, Esquiers, the somme of four hundreth and fifty poundes of lawfull money of England, in full satisfaction payment and discharge for the absolute bargayne, sale and assignement of a certain Patent to me made and graunted by our soveraigne Lord the Kinges Ma^{tie} that now is, of the Mastership of his Ma^{tie} games of Beeres Bulls and dogges, and the fees proffitts and appurtenances whatsoever to the same place or office belonginge or appertayninge, the receipte of which foure hundreth and fifty poundes, in forme aforesaid receaved, I doe acknowledge by theis presents, and thereof and of every parcell thereof I clerelye acquite and discharge the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen and either of them, their executors and administrators for by theis presents. And further I the said Sir William Steward, Knight, have remised, released and altogether for me my executors and administrators for ever quite claymed, unto the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen and either of them, their executors and administrators, all and all manner of actions sutes, debts accompts recon-

* After 1617, but at what precise date does not appear, Alleyn presented a petition to James I. in "the Court of Requests," alleging his partnership with Henslowe, and claiming, as such partner, a sum of £13. 5. 0 (the balance of an account) from a person of the name of Hobday, upon whose credit bears and dogs had been furnished to one Starkey, who conveyed them to France, in order to amuse the King in Paris with the sport of bear-baiting. Alleyn in his own hand indorsed the petition, "satisfied and payd."

ings somme and sommes of money claymes duties and demaunds whatsoever, which againste the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen or either of them ever I have had, now have, or hereafter shall or may move or have, by reason or force of any matter, cause, bargaine, contract or thing whatsoever, from the beginnunge of the worlde untill the day of the date hereof. In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale, dated the eight and twentieth daye of November 1604, and in the second yere of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lorde Kinge James &c.

“ WILLIAM STUART (L. S.)

“ Sealed and delivered in the
presence of us

“ EDW. TAYLOR servant to

“ Tyarman Davies Notar. Public.

“ JOHN ALLEN

“ JACINTHE BRADSHAWGHE.”

It is somewhat remarkable, that the Patent to Henslowe and Alleyn, constituting them jointly and severally Masters of the King's Games, should be dated four days anterior to the instrument we have just quoted ; so that they were, in fact, appointed before they paid the £450 to Sir William Stuart. It is very possible that the sum stipulated had previously been deposited in the hands of some third party ; and Henslowe had seen too much of the world to be likely to part with his money beyond controul, until he was sure of the office. Originally there must have been a complete and perfect copy of the patent to Henslowe and Alleyn at Dulwich College on four sheets, but only the three last of these now remain. They are indorsed in a strange hand, “ Mr. Henslowe bergarden,” and by Alleyn “ a draft of the patent :” in fact, they contain all that is material, and are as follow, the absent introduction being of course mere matter of form.

————— “ and advantages whatsoever to the said office of Cheefe Mr. Overseer and Ruler of our Beares, Bulls and Mastiffe Dogges in any wise belonging, in as large and ample manner as Sir William Steward, Knight, or before him Sir John Darrington, Knight, deceased, or as Raphe Bowes, or any other at any tyme ever had, used, perceaved or enjoyed, in for or by reason of the same office. Givinge by these presentes, for us our heires and

successors, unto the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, and to either of them, joyntly and severallye, and to the deputie or deputies of them or either of them, during the naturalle lives of the said Phillipe Henslowe and Edward Allen, and the life of the longer liver of them, full power comission and authoritie, not onlie to take up and kepe for our service pastyme and sporte any mastife dogge or dogges and mastife bitches, beares, bulls and other meete and convenient for our said service and pastymes, or any of them, beinge within this our realme or other our dominions, at and for such reasonable prices as our said servauntes or either of them, there deputie or deputies, or the deputie or deputies of either of them, can agree with the owner or owners of the beares and bulls; but also to stayer, or cause to be stayed at their or either of their discretions all and every such mastiffe dogges and bitches as the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, or either of them, or there assignes or the assignes of either of them, shall fortune at any tyme hereafter to take or fynde goinge, passinge or conveyinge, or to be conveyed in any wise into any partes of beyond the seas without our special warrant and comission for conveyinge of the same. Willinge and straightly charging and commaunding, that as well all our officers, ministers and subjects and every of them, from henceforth doe ayde from tyme to tyme, assiste strengthen and helpe the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Allen, or either of them, in exercisinge of the same office and other the premisses, as also other our officers and ministers in any wise appertayninge to our said games shall diligently obey, be attendinge and do any thing and things reasonable that the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, joyntly and either of them severally, as masters and cheefe rulers of our said games shall comaunde for our better service therein. And further, we doe give and graunt full power and authoritie by these presentes to the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, and to either of them, to bayte or cause to be bayted our said beares and others beinge of our saide games, in all and every convenient place and places at altymes meete, at there and either of there discretions, and that no other officer or under officer belonginge, or any manner of waies appertayninge to our said beares and games for the tyme being, nor any of them, shall from henceforth baite or cause to be baited any of our said beares, or others of our games aforesaid, in any yarde or place or places without the speciall lycence and appoyntment of the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, or one of them; nor that any of them shall from henceforth take up any beare or beares, or any other appertayninge to our said games, or for any service and commoditie, without the like appointment of the said Phillipe Henslowe and Edward Allen or of one of them as is aforesaide, any manner of graunt or lycence heretofore made, or hereafter to be made to any of them for the same to the

contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding. And of our further grace certaine knowledge and meere motion, we doe by these presentes, for us our heires and successors, give and graunt to the said Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen, joyntly and severally, the office and roome of Keeper of our Bandoggs, Mastiffes and Mastiffe Bitches, and the said Phillipe Henslow and Edward Allen and either of them Kepper and Ruler of our Mastiffes and Bandoggs and of the Mastiffes and Bandoggs of us our heirs and successors, we do ordaine and make by these presentes. To have and to holde, occupie and enjoye the saide roome to the saide Phillip Henslow and Edwarde Allen joyntly and severallie, aswell by them selves as by there sufficient deputie or deputies, or by the sufficient deputie or deputies of either of them, duringe their lives and the longer longer lives of them. Moreover, we do by these presentes for us our heires and successors give and graunt to the saide Phillipe Henslowe and Edwarde Allen, for occupyng and exercisinge of the saide office and keppinge of twentie mastiffe bitches, the fee and wages of tenn pence sterlinge by the daie, and for there deputie for exercisinge of the saide roome under them the fee and wages of fower pence by the daie. To have and enjoye the saide severall fees and either of them by the saide Phillip Henslow and Edward Allen and their assignes, duringe their lives and the life of the longer liver of them; and the saide fee to be had and yerelie received out of the treasure of our Chamber, and of our heires and successors, by the hands of our Treasurer of the saide Chamber for the tyme beinge, quarterly by even portions, together with all fees advantages profitts and comodities thereunto belonginge, in as large and ample manner as the said Sir William Steward, or as before him the saide Sir John Dorrington, Knight, deceased, or as the saide Ralphe Bowes, or any other person or persons heretofore have had and enjoyed, in and for the exercisinge of the same; although express mention of the true yerely valew, or of any other valew or certentie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other giftes or graunts by us or any of our progenitors made before this tyme to the aforesaid Phillip Henslow and Edwarde Allen in these presentes is not made, or any other statute acte, ordinance provision, proclamation or restraunte to the contrarie hereof, before this tyme had made sett forth, ordayned or provided, or any other thinge matter or cause whatsoever in any wise notwithstandinge. In witnes whereof we have caused these our letters to be made pattents. Witnes our selfe at Westminster, the fower and twentieth daie of November, in the yere of our raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland the seconde, and of Scotlande the eight and thirteenth."

The date of the document we shall next quote is not given, and perhaps cannot now be ascertained with precision,

but it must have been subsequent to the preceding patent. It is a petition from Henslowe and Alleyn to the King, in their joint capacity of Masters of his Majesty's Games, by purchase from Sir William Stuart; and we may conjecture that it was presented not very long after they became so in 1604, and when they found that their fees and emoluments were insufficient. They complain of the "high rate" at which they had been obliged to buy the office, of not being permitted to bait bears on Sunday, and of the injury done to them by vagrants going about the country with bears and dogs without their licence. They also ask, that the old daily fee of 1*s.* 4*d.* should be increased by the addition of 2*s.* 8*d.* The original is in Henslowe's illiterate writing.

" To the Kinges moste exsellent magestie.

" The humble petition of Phillipe Henslow and Edward Alleyn, your Ma^{ties} servantes.

" Wheras it pleased your moste exsellent Ma^{tie}, after the death of Sir John Dorington, to grant the offes of M^r of your game of beares, bulles and doges, with the fee of xvj^d per dium, unto Sir W^m. Steward, knight, at which tyme the howse and beares being your Ma^{ties} petitioners, but we not licensed to bayte them, and Sir W^m Steward refusyng to tacked them at our handes upon any resonable termes, we weare therfore inforsed to bye of hime the said office pastime and fee at a very highe ratte.

" And wheras in respecte of the great charge that the keepinge of the saide game contenewally requirethe, and also the smalnes of the fee, in the late quenes tyme fre libertie was permitted with owt restraunte to bayght them, which now is tacken away frome us, especiallye one the sondayes in the after none after devine service, which was the cheffest meanes and benyfitte to the place; and in the tyme of the sicknes we have bene trayned many tymes one the workey dayes. Thes hinderances in generale, with the losse of divers of thes beastes, as before the Kinge of Denmarke, which loste a goodlye beare called Gorge Stone; and at our laste beinge before your Ma^{tie} weare kyled iiij of our beaste beares, which in your kingdom are not the licke to be hade, all which weare in valley worth 30^{li}; and also our ordenary charges amounteth yearly unto ijC^{li} and beatter: thes losses and charges are so heavey upon your petitioners, that wheras formerly we could have leatten it forth for 100^{li} a yeare, now none will

tacke it gratis to beare the charges, which is your pore servantes undoringe, unles your M^{tie} of your gracious clemenssey have consideration of us.

“Thes cawsses do in forse us moste humblie to be come sewters to your Ma^{tie} in respecte of the premiesies, and for that we have, ever sence your gracious entrance into this kingdom, done your Ma^{tie} service with all dewtie and observance, it wold please your Ma^{tie} in your moste rialle bowntie now so to releve us, as we maye be able to conteneu our service unto your Ma^{tie} as hereto fore we have done, and to that eand to grant unto us free libertie, as hath byun geaven us in the late quenes tyme, and also in respecte of our great and dayle charge, to ade unto our sayd fee ij^s viij^d, beinge never as yet increased sence the firste fowndation of the office.

“And wheras ther ar divers vagrantes, and persones of losse and idell liffe, that usalley wandreth through the contreyes with beares and bulles with owt any lycence, and for owght we know servinge no man, spoyllinge and kyllinge doges for that game, so that your Ma^{tie} cane not be served but by great charges to us, fetchinge them very fare, which is directly contrary to a statute made in that behallfe: for the restrayninge of suche your Ma^{tie} wold be pleased, in your moste gracious favor, to renew unto your petitioners our pattyne, and to grant us and our deputies power and atoritie to apprehend suche vagrantes, and to convent them before the next Justice of pece, therto be bownd with suerties to forfeit his said beares and bulles to your Ma^{ties} usse, yf he shalbe taken to go a bowt with any suche game, contrary to the lawes of this your Ma^{ties} Realme, and your pore servantes will dayle praye for your Ma^{ties} longe and hapey Rayne.

Another less authentic copy, in the hand-writing of some scrivener, is also preserved at Dulwich, and it is printed in “Lysons’ Environs,” vol. i. p. 92. How far the petition was successful on other points, we are without the means of knowing; but from Alleyn’s Diary we find, that he never received more than £24 2s. 6d. per annum as his fee, after the death of Henslowe, and when the office devolved into his sole hands. While Henslowe was living, if they paid the £450 to Sir W. Stuart in equal proportions, only half of this yearly fee would belong to Alleyn.

CHAPTER IX.

Alleyn's Skill on the Lute—His Residence—Rebuilding of Paris Garden in 1606 — Agreement with Peter Streete — Alleyn's first Acquisition of Property at Dulwich—Bear-baiting in the Country—Annuity to Thomas Towne, the Actor — Indenture between Henslowe and Alleyn, and Thomas Downton, as a Sharer at the Fortune.

PROFICIENCY in music, both vocal and instrumental, was much more usual in the time of Elizabeth and James I., than at present. The lute was commonly played upon, and one proof, among many, is, that at that period and earlier, a lute, a gittern, or a cittern, were ordinarily part of the furniture of every barber's shop, in order that the customers, who were waiting for their turn, might amuse themselves with it. Alleyn was a performer upon the lute, (his "lute-books" are mentioned in Henslowe's Letter, the 14th of August, 1593, p. 30) and while in Sussex he, perhaps, became acquainted with some members of the Pointz family, one of whom, from the subsequent note, seems to have employed him when in London, either to repair a lute, or to get it repaired. At the conclusion it gives Alleyn's then address very particularly:—

"Good Mr Allen, delevir my lute unto this bearer, whoe will convaye it unto me, and looke what it comes two the mendinge, I shall not be longe from London and then, god willinge, I will defraye it, with manie thanks, and soe in hast doe rest.

"Your verie loveinge freinde,

"JO. POYNTZ.

"Woodhatche this
vjth. of marche 1605.

"Mr. Allen dwells harde by the Clynke by the bank syde, neere Wynchesterhowse, where you must deliver this note."•

• In Alleyn's Diary, from 1617 to 1622, are several entries of money paid for lute-strings: when he died he left behind him "a lute, a pandora, a cythern, and six vyols." He was fond of music, entertained singers at his table, bought an organ for his chapel, and went to a considerable expense for a "music room."

The house in which Alleyn at this time resided was, probably, the same, for the extensive repair or construction of which there is an account in Philip Henslowe's Diary. He seems to have occupied it without intermission until he finally removed to Dulwich, though there is some trace of his having for a short time resided at Kensington.

How long prior to 1606 the building at Paris Garden had been standing it is impossible now to decide; but it is not unlikely that it was in great part reconstructed after the accident on January 13th, 1583, when five men and two women were killed by the falling of the "old and underpropped" scaffolds. (Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii., 382). In the three-and-twenty years between that catastrophe and 1606, as the structure was principally of wood, no doubt it would have become much decayed, and in 1606 (according to the original instrument still existing at Dulwich College) Henslowe and Alleyn entered into an agreement with Peter Streete, the carpenter (who had built the Globe in 1593, and the Fortune in 1599) for the rebuilding of Paris Garden. It gives so minute and so particular an account of all that Streete was to perform, that a most accurate notion may easily be formed of the size, convenience, and even general appearance of the fabric. Any artist of moderate skill could with facility make drawings from it of the whole frontage towards the Thames, as well as of most parts of the interior. The carpenter's work was to cost only £65, or about £300 of our present money, so that it could hardly be of the most finished kind, nor in such a place and for such a purpose would it be required. Though somewhat long, we cannot refrain from quoting the whole of this curious document:—

" Indorsed ' Peter Streetes covenantes and bond for the building of the bearegarden.'

" This Indenture made the second day of June 1606, and in the yeres of the raigne of our Sovereaign Lord, James by the grace of god Kinge of

England Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith &c the fowerth, and of Scotland the nyne and thirteth. Betwene Peter Streete, cittizen and carpenter of London on thone party, and Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, of the parishe of St. Saviors in Southwark in the County of Surrey, Esquiers, on thother party. Witnesseth that it is covenanted, graunted concluded and agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis presentes, and the said Peter Streete (for the consideration hereunder specified) for him and his executors and administrators covenanteth and graunteth to and with the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn and either of them, their executors and assignes, by their presentes in manner and forme following, as hereunder from article to article is specified and declared; that is to say:—That he the said Peter Streete, his executors administrators or assignes, before the thirde day of September next comynge after the date hereof, shall at his owne or their owne proper costes and charges, not only take and pull downe for and to the use of the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn their executors or assignes, so much of the tymber or carpenters worke of the foreside of the messuage or tenemente called the Beare garden, next the river of Thames in the parishe of St. Saviors aforesaide, as conteyneth in lengthe from outside to outside fitye and sixe feete of assize, and in bridth from outside to outside sixeteene feete of assize; but also in steade and place thereof, before the saide thirde day of September, att his or their like costes and charges, shall well sufficiently, and workemanlike, make or erect sett up and fully finishe one new frame for a howse, to conteyne in length from outside to outside fyftie and sixe feete of assize, and in bridth from outside to outside sixteene foote of assize, which frame shalbe made of good, new sufficient and sounde Tymber of oke, to be fynished in all thinges as hereunder is mentioned; that is to say: that the saide frame shall conteyne in height two storyes and a halfe, the two whole storyes of the same frame to be in height from flower to flower ten foote of assize a peece, and the halfe story to be in height fower foote of assize, and all the principall rafters of the same frame to be framed with crooked postes and bolted with iron boltes thorough the rafters, which iron boltes are to be provided at the costes and charges of the saide Peter Streete his executors or assignes. And also shall make in the same frame throughout two flowers with good and sufficient joystes, the same flowers to be boarded throughout with good and sounde deale boardes to be plained and closely laid and shott. All the principall longe upright postes of the saide frame to be nyne ynches broade and seaven ynches thicke: and shall make in the same frame three maine summers, that is to say in the uppermost story twoe summers, and in the lower story one summer, every summer to be one foote square; all the brest summers to be eight ynches broade and seaven ynches thick.

The same frame to jetty over towards the Thames one foote of assize. And also shall make on the south side of the saide frame a sufficient staire case, with staires convenient to leade up into the uppermost romes of the saide frame, with convenient dores out of the same staire case into every of the romes adjoyning thereunto, and in every rome of the same frame one sufficient dore; and also by the same staire case shall make and frame one studdy, with a little rome over the same, which studdy is to jetty out from the same frame fower foote of assize, and to extend in lengthe from the saide staire case unto the place where the chimneyes are appoynted to be sett, with a sufficient dore into either of the romes of the same studdy. And the nether story of the same frame shall seperate and devide into fower romes: that is to say, the first towards the east to be for a tenemente, and to conteyne in length from wall to wall thirteene foote of assize; the next rome to be for a gate rome, and to conteyne in length ten foote of assize; the third rome twenty foote of assize, and the fowerth westward thirteene foote of assize. And the second story shall seperate into three romes, the first, over the rome appoynted for a tenemente on the east end of the said frame, to conteyne in length thirteene foote of assize, the middle rome thirty foote of assize, and the third rome westward thirteene foote likewise of assize. And the halfe story above to be divided into two romes, namely over the said tenement thirteene foote, to be seperated from the rest of the said frame, and the residue to be open in one rome only. And out of the said frame towards the Thames shall make twoe dores, and one faire paire of gates with twoe wickettes proportionable. And also att either end of the lower story of the same frame shall make one clere story windowe [to] either of the same clere storyes, to be in height three foote of assize, and sixe foote in length, and the middle rome of the same frame, conteyninge twenty foote, to have a clere story windowe throughout of the height of the saide former clere storyes: and in the second story of the same frame shall make three splay windowes, every windowe to be sixe foote betweene the postes; and in the same second story shall make seaven clere story windowes, every clere story to be three foote wide a peece, with one mullion in the midst of every clere story; and every of the same clere storyes to be three foote and a halfe in depth. And over the foresaid gate shall make one greete square windowe, to be in length ten foote of assize and to jetty over from the said frame three foote of assize, standinge upon twoe carved Satyres, the same windowe to be in wheight accordinge to the depth of the story, and the same windowe to be framed with twoe endes with mullions convenient; and over the same windowe one piramen with three piramides, the same frame to have fower gable endes towards the Thames, and upon the top of every gable end one piramide, and betweene every gable end to

be left three foote for the fallinge of the water, and in every gable end one clere story, and backward over the gate of the same frame towards the south one gable end with a clere story therein, and under the same gable end backward in the second story one clere story windowe. And also in that parcell of the saide frame as is appoynted for a tenement shall make twoe paires of staires, one over an other by the place where the chimneyes are appoynted to be sett. And that he the saide Peter Streete, his executors administrators or assignes, shall before the saide thirde day of September next comynge after the date hereof fully fynishe the saide frame in and by all things as aforesaid, and all other carpenters worke specified in a plott made of the said frame, subscribed by the saide Peter and by him delivered to the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, in such comely and convenient manner and sorte as by the same plott is figured, without fraude or covyn, and at his or their owne charges shall fynd all nayles to be used in and aboute the carpenters worke of the same frame. For and in consideration of which frame and worke to be made performed and fynished in forme aforesaide, the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn for them and either of them, their executors and administrators, doe coveuaunte and graunte to and with the saide Peter Streete, his executors and assignes, by theis presentes, that they the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or either of them, their executors or assignes, shall and will well and truly paie or cause to be paide to the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, at the now dwellinge howse of the said Phillipp Henslowe in the parishe of S^t Saviors aforesaide, the some of threeskore and five powndes of lawfull mony of England in manner and forme followinge, that is to say ; in hand at thensealinge hereof the some of ten powndes of lawfull mony of England, the receipte whereof the saide Peter Streete doth acknowledge by theis presentes ; upon the delivery of the saide frame at the Beare garden aforesaid other ten powndes thereof, and when the same frame shalbe fully and wholly raised twenty powndes thereof, and upon the full fynishinge of the same frame in forme aforesaid twenty and five powndes residue, and in full paymente of the saide some of threeskore and five powndes. In witness whereof the saide parteis to theis present Indentures interchaungeably have sett their handes and seales. Yeoven the day and yeres first abo e written.

“Signum P. S.

“Petri Streete.

“Sealed and delivered in the presence of me Thomas Bolton Scr.
“John Allyn.”

By indorsements upon this agreement, we find that the first payment of £10 was made on the day after its date ; and

various other sums are subsequently entered, in Henslowe's handwriting, amounting, in the whole, to £50 10s .8d. For the remainder, we may conclude that a separate receipt was given by Streete. The work was not completed until 9th January, 1606—7; but it included finishing the stables, sheds, a dormer, and a kitchen. If it be true that, before 1602, when Dekker in his "Satiromastix" asserts that Ben Jonson had played *Zulziman* at Paris Garden, dramatic performances had been given there, it is singular that in the preceding document nothing is said about adapting the building in some way to such exhibitions. At a not long subsequent date Paris Garden was re-modelled for the purpose.

Nobody has yet been able to fix the time when Alleyn first began to acquire property in Dulwich, which property he afterwards kept constantly increasing. It is, however, a fact established by a bond, given jointly by himself and Henslowe, dated as early as the 18th October, 1606, that he was then "Lord of the Manor of Dulwich;" and he is therein so styled. An unexecuted deed of sale of the manor, from Sir Francis Calton to Alleyn, is preserved in the College, bearing date 2d June, 1606; and doubtless the purchase was completed by Alleyn in the autumn of that year. On the 4th August, 1607, we find him adding to his property there, by buying, for £410 10s., three tenements and twenty-two acres of land, copyhold of the manor of Dulwich, and four acres and one rood of freehold ground, from Ellis Parry, "citizen and weaver." Parry had become possessed of them, by purchase, from Sir Francis Calton, who was also Lord of the Manor of Lewisham, which Alleyn subsequently acquired. The subjoined memorandum of agreement contains all the circumstances of the bargain with Parry.

"Vicesimo quarto die Augusti, 1607, Annoque R. Regis Jacobi Anglie, &c quinto, et Scotie quadragesimo primo.

"Memorandum the day and yere above written Ellis Parrey, citizen and weaver of London, (for the consideration hereunder written) hath bargained

and solde unto Edward Alleyn Esquier three tenementes, scituate and beinge in Dulwich in the parishe of Camerwell in the County of Surrey, now in the severall tenures or occupations of John Lewes — Kitchen and widdow Ambler with all barnes stables orchards, gardens backsides and twoe and twenty acres of land and pasture, to the same three tenementes belonginge or apperteyninge, beinge cobby hold land holden of the mannor of Dulwich aforesaide ; and also fower acres and one rood of land and pasture, beinge freehold, which the saide Ellis Parrey late purchased to him and his heires of Sir Frauncis Calton now in the tenure of the saide — Kitchen. Which tenementes landes and premisses the saide Ellis Parrey and his heires are to surrender, convey and assure unto the said Edward Alleyn his heires and assignes when and in such sorte and manner as he the saide Edward or his heires shall devise and require, either at the nexte Courte to be holden for the mannor of Dulwich, or sooner if it shall seeme good to the saide Edward Alleyn his heires or assignes: for and in consideration of which bargaine and sale, and assurance to be made thereof as aforesaid, the said Edward Alleyn is to pay to the said Ellis Parrey the somme of fower hundredth and ten powndes and ten shillinges in forme followinge, that is to say ; two hundredth powndes on the nyne and twentieth day of September next, ten powndes and ten shillinges thereof one moneth after, which ten powndes and ten shillinges the said Edward is to receive of the tennantes, viz of widdowe Ambler one whole yere att michaelmas next, and of Lewes and Kitchen one halfe yeres rent : then, on the five and twentieth day of March next one hundredth powndes more, and on the xxiiiijth day of June next one other hundredth powndes, residue and in full payment of the said somme of CCCCX^s. In witnes whereof the saide parties have hereunto subscribed their names the day and yere above written.

“ Signum E P Ellicij E. ALLEYN
 Parrey

“ Subscribed in the presence of us

“ THOMAS BOLTON Scr.

“ ISAAC THORP

“ PETER REYNOLDS

“ MATHIAS ALLEN.”

The last witness to the preceding agreement, Mathias Alleyn, was nephew to Edward Alleyn, and succeeded him as Master of God's Gift or Dulwich College.

On a previous page it has been shewn, that Henslowe and Alleyn, in their petition to the King, remonstrated against

the invasion of their exclusive privileges, as Masters of the Royal Games, by unlicensed vagrants, who went about the country with bears and dogs. The Masters claimed the right of sending bearwards into the provinces, who accounted to them for their receipts and expenditure; and among the MSS. at Dulwich is a small memorandum book, kept by one of these itinerant exhibitors in the summer of 1608, the blank leaves at the end of which Alleyn subsequently applied to a different purpose. At the commencement is written "Auguste 1608. The be ginninge of the book;" and it is kept most irregularly, and obviously by a very ignorant accountant. The earliest entry is this:—

" Satterday the 27 of Auguste

	<i>s. d.</i>
R. at Keinsintonn as wee went	x x"

By which we are to understand, that at starting they were paid 10*s.* 10*d.*, probably by Alleyn himself; for there is reason to suppose that at this date he had a temporary residence at Kensington. The bearwards, Borne and Bryant, (for more than one man was employed to take charge of the bears and dogs) from thence proceeded westward, and it appears that on Sunday, at Colnbrook, they received 23*s.*, and on Monday, at Maidenhead, 10*s.* Their expenses were only "for breade for the beares 1*s.* 6*d.*," and 2*s.* which they were charged for lodging and for "the yard," where doubtless the animals were exhibited. They "lay still" at Reading, and at Salisbury spent 1*s.* 2*d.* for "oil for the blynd bare." They sometimes stopped at the houses of the nobility and gentry, and one item runs as follows:—

" Tuesday at Sir John Traces.

	<i>s. d.</i>
Some, gave us for bating before him	7 4"

from which was to be deducted 7*d.*, which the bearwards paid "to the drummer for his drum." It is very difficult,

from the confused and illiterate manner in which the account is kept, to make out the balance upon these journeys; but in one instance it is clearly stated as follows:—

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“ R. in the whole	16	9	9
And dd. him to goe	0	5	0
	<hr/>		
	16	14	9
Layd owt	13	14	9
	<hr/>		
	3	0	0”

the difference being the balance of profit to Henslowe and Alleyn on the expedition.

At the end of these accounts we come to a part of the book where entries of a different kind are made. They relate to an annuity of £12 per annum to a person of the name of Thomas Towne (who had been a player with Alleyn in 1597), the quarterly payments of which began on the 28th October, 1608, and were regularly continued until his death, which must have happened before November 5th, 1612, when “the widow Towne” received 20s. This annuity had been purchased by Towne from Alleyn, as we find by the extant deed, on the 20th October, 1608, for £90 in money, and the surrender of some copyhold lands belonging to Towne. The earliest receipt is this:—

“ xxviiij^o die Octobris, 1608

“ Rd by me Thomas Towne, the day and yere abovewritten, of Edward Alleyn Esquer, the somme of Three powndes of lawfull money of England for one quarters payment of the yerely Annuity of Twelve powndes, to me to be due att the feast of the birth of our Lord God now next ensuinge, according to a deed by him, the said Edward, made to me. I say received

“ THOMAS TOWNE.”

This entry appears to have been drawn up by some scribe, but later in the book, the receipts are written by Alleyn, and subscribed by Towne.

The name of Downton (or Dowton; as it is sometimes written) first occurs as a player at the time when Henry Prince of Wales adopted the theatrical servants of the Earl of Nottingham, in 1603.* Alleyn was undoubtedly looked upon as the leader and master of the company, and, as has been observed, he is not in the list of the members contained in Prince Henry's Household Book (MS. Harl. 252); but Downton's name there immediately follows that of Towne, so that we may infer that they were both distinguished performers. In 1608 Henslowe and Alleyn appear to have been anxious to secure Downton's services permanently at the Fortune, and for that purpose an "indenture" was drawn up, which is the oldest precedent of the kind on record. A copy of it, ready for execution, is among Alleyn's papers; but excepting the year it has no date, and is without signatures. We may suppose, therefore, that for some reason, not explained, the design of the parties was never accomplished. It stipulates that Downton was to receive a thirty-second share of the profits of all dramatic representations at the Fortune for thirteen years, on condition that he paid £27 10s. down, and 10s. annually; and he, on his part, agreed to perform constantly at the Fortune, and in no other "common playhouse," erected or to be erected in London, or within two miles of it. In fact, he thus became a considerable sharer in the theatre, and we insert the document at length, on account of the light it throws upon the relations of manager and actor at the time.

"This Indenture made the day of 1608, and in the yere of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord, James, by the grace of God

* Although Downton's name does not occur in any list of players anterior to 1603, there is every probability that he had been an actor under Henslowe and Alleyn in 1599, if not earlier. In that year also we find him joining with William Bird and William Juby, two other actors, to write a play, called "The lamentable Tragedy of Page of Plymouth," or "Peg of Plymouth," as Malone misprints it. (*Shakesp. by Bosw.* iii. 323.)

king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. the sixt and of Scotland the two and fortith. Betweene Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn of the parishe of St. Saviors in Southwark in the County of Surrey, Esquiors, on thone partye, and Thomas Downton of the parishe of St. Gyles without Criplegate London, gentleman, on th'other partye. Witnesseth that the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn (for and inconsideration of the somme of twenty and seaven pownds and ten shillinges of lawfull mony of England to them in hand, att or before thensealinge hereof, by the saide Thomas Downton paid, whereof and wherewith they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn doe acknowledge themselves well and truly contented satisfied and payde) by theis presentes have demised, leased and to farme letten, and by these presentes doe demise lease and to farme lett unto the saide Thomas Downton, one eight parte of a fowerth parte of all such clere gaynes in mony as shall hereafter, duringe the terme hereunder demised, arrise growe accrew or become due or properly belong unto the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or either of them, their or either of their executors or assignes, for or by reason of any stage playinge or other exercise comoditie or use whatsoever, used or to be used or exercised within the play howse of the saide Phillip Henslow and Edward Alleyn commonly called the Fortune, scituate and beinge betweene Whitcrosse streete and Golding lane in the parishe of St. Gyles without Criplegate, London, in the county of Midd. And the saide eighte parte of a fowerth parte of all the saide clere-gaynes properly belonginge to the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, to be paid by the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or one of them, their or one of their executors or assignes, unto the said Thomas Downton or his assignes every day that any play or other exercise shall be acted or exercised in the play howse aforesaide, upon the sharinge of the monyes gathered and gotten att every of the same playes and exercises, as heretofore hath byn used and accustomed. To have and to houlde and receive the saide eight parte of a fowerth parte of the saide clere gaynes to be gotten by playinge or by any other exercise whatsoever, and to be payde in manner and forme aforesaid unto the saide Thomas Downton, his executors and assignes, from the feast of St. Michaell Tharchangell last past before the date hereof, unto thend and terme of thirteene yeres from thence next ensuinge and fully to be compleate and ended, in as full large ample and beneficiall manner and forme to all intentes, constructions and purposes as they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, or either of them or the executors or assignes of them or either of them, might should or ought to have had held and enjoyed received and taken the same as aforesaide, if this present Indenture had never beene had nor made. Yeald-

inge and prayinge therefore yerely duringe the said terme unto the saide Phillipp Henslow and Edward Alleyn, their heires executors or assignes, att the saide play howse called the Fortune, ten shillings of lawfull mony of England att fower feastes or termes of the yere (that is to say) att the feastes of the birth of our lord god, thannunciation of our lady, the nativity of St. John Baptist and St. Michaell Tharchangell, or within fowerteene dayes next ensuinge every of the same feast dayes, by even portions. And the saide Thomas Downton for him his executors and administrators doth covenante and graunte to and with the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn and either of them, their and either of their heires executors and assignes, by theis. presentes in manner and forme followinge (that is to say) That the saide Thomas Downton, his executors administrators or assignes, shall att his or their owne proper costes and charges beare and discharge one equall eighte parte of a fowerth parte of all such necessary and needfull charges as shalbe bestowed or layed forth in the new buildinge or repairinge of the saide play howse duringe the saide terme of thirteene yeres without any fraud or covyn. And that he the saide Thomas Downton shall not att any tyme hereafter duringe the saide terme give over the faculty or quality of playinge, but shall in his owne person exercise the same to the best and most benefitt he can within the play howse aforesaide, duringe the tyme aforesaide, unles he shalbe come unhabable, by reason of sicknes or any other infirmity, or unles it be with the consent of the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or either of them, their executors or assignes. And that he the saide Thomas Downton shall not att any tyme hereafter, duringe the saide terme of thirteene yeres, play or exercise the facultye of stage playinge in any common play howse now erected or hereafter to be erected within the saide cittye of London or twoe myles compasse thereof, other then in the saide play howse called the Fortune, without the speciall licence will consent and agreement of the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or one of them, their or one of their heires executors or assignes, first therefore had and obteyned in wrytinge under their handes and seales. And that the saide Thomas Downton shall not att any tyme hereafter duringe the saide terme give graunte bargaine sell or otherwise doe away or departe with the saide eight parte of a fowerth parte of the saide clere gaynes before demised, nor any parcell thereof, to any person or persons whatsoever without the consent licence will and agreement of them the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or either of them, their or either of their heires executors administrators or assignes, first therefore had and obteyned in wrytinge under their handes and seales for the same as aforesaide

• • • •

Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn for them and either of them, their and either of their heires executors and

administrators, doe covenante and graunte to and with the saide Thomas Downton, his executors and assignes, by theis presentes that he the saide Thomas Downton, his executors and assignes (payinge the saide yerely rent of ten shillinges in forme aforesaide, and performinge all other the covenantes, grauntes articles and agreements abovesaide on his and their partes performed) shall or may, duringe the saide terme of thirteene yeres have hold receave and enjoye the saide eight parte of a fowerth parte of all the saide clere gaynes to be gotten by playinge or any other exercise as aforesaide, in manner and forme aforesaide, accordinge to the true intent and meaninge of theis presentes without the lette, trouble, molestation, deniall, or interruption of the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Alleyn or either of them, their or either of their heires or assignes, or of any other person or persons by their either or any of their meanes righte tittle interest or procuremente. Provided alwaies that if it shall happen the saide yerely rent of ten shillinges or any parcell thereof to be behinde and unpaide, in parte or in all, by the saide space of fowerteene dayes next over or after any feast day of paymente thereof above saide, in which the same ought to be paide (beinge lawfully demaunded at the place aforesaide) or if the saide Thomas Downton, his executors administrators or assignes or any of them, doe infrindge or breake any of the covenantes, grauntes articles or agreements abovesaide on his or their partes to be performed, contrary to the tennore and true meaninge of theis presentes, that then and from thenceforth this present lease demise and graunt, and every covenante graunt and article herein conteyned on the parte and behalfe of the said Phillipp and Edward or either of them, their or either of their heires executors or assignes, from henceforth to be performed, shalbe utterly void frustrate and of none effect to all intentes constructions and purposes, any thinge herein conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstandinge. In witnes whereof the said partyes to theis present Indentures sunderly have sett their handes and seales. . Yeoven the day and yere first above written."

Downton's value might be increased by the fact, that he could upon occasion put pen to paper for the production of a play. He continued on the stage, at all events, until 1615, when he was summoned before the privy council (*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, i. 395), so that his premature death did not prevent the execution of the agreement above inserted.

CHAPTER X.

Shakespeare an Inhabitant of Southwark in 1609, and rated to the Poor — Alleyn Churchwarden for the Liberty of the Clink in 1610—Immorality of the Liberty — Alleyn's Loans to Sir Francis Calton — Letter to him from Sir Francis Calton — Alleyn's final Retirement from the Stage— Disputes with Country Magistrates respecting Bear-wards — Letters from the Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Dutton, Thomas Brooke, and Sir Anthony Cooke, on the same subject.

IN his "Inquiry," (p. 215), Malone observes: "From a paper now before me, which formerly belonged to Edward Alleyn, the player, our poet (Shakespeare) appears to have lived in Southwark, near the Bear Garden, in 1596. Another curious document in my possession, which will be produced in the History of his Life, affords the strongest presumptive evidence that he continued to reside in Southwark to the year 1608." The papers at Dulwich go farther than this: they may be said to establish that Shakespeare was living in Southwark in 1609,* for in a document indorsed, "1609. The Estate of the poores booke, the 8 of Aprill, for the Clink," it is stated that he was rated as an "inhabitant" at 6*d.* per week. Thus we also see that he then resided within what was called the Liberty of the Clink, Henslowe being in that year churchwarden, and receiving the "brief note" of assessments from Francis Carter, one of the late overseers. The account is divided into three compartments, the names in each compartment, most likely, being those of the inhabitants of a particular district of the Liberty. "Mr. Shakespeare" stands at the head of the list to which he belongs, and as he is rated at the

* It is not unlikely that Malone may have erred in the date he has given, 1608, and that he in fact alluded to the document now under consideration, which belongs to the year 1609. It was one of the miscellaneous documents restored to Dulwich College by Mr. Boswell after the sale of Malone's books.

highest sum paid by any body, we are warranted in concluding that he lived at that time in as good a house as any of his neighbours : Henslowe, Alleyn, Shakespeare, Collins, and Burrett, are the only persons rated as high as 6*d*. The paper is in this form : —

“ A breif noat taken out of the poores booke, contayning the names of all thenhabitantes of this Liberty w^{ch} arre rated and assesed to a weekly painm^t towards the relief of the poore. As it standes now increased, this 6th day of Aprill 1609. Delivered up to Phillip Henslowe Esquior, churchwarden, by Francis Carter, one of the late Ovreseers of the same Liberty.

“ Phillip Henslowe esquior assesed at weekly	.	.	vj <i>d</i>
Ed Alleyn assesed at weekly	.	.	vj <i>d</i>
The Ladye Buckley, weekly	.	.	iiij <i>d</i>
Mr Cole	.	.	iiij <i>d</i>
Mr Lee	.	.	iiij <i>d</i>
Mrs Cannon	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mrs White	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Langworthe	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Benfield	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Corden	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Chauncye	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mrs Sparrowhauke	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Mason	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Watfoord	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Badger	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Heynes	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Dauson	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Hovell	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Griffin	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Toppin	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Cevis	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Lyman	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Louens	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Simpson	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Maynard	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Burkett	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Francis Carter	.	.	ij <i>d</i>
Mr Stock for halfe the parke	.	.	ij <i>d</i>

Huighe Robbinson for halfe the parke	<i>ij d</i>
Mr Carre	<i>ij d</i>
Gilbert Catherens	<i>ij d</i>
Mr Shakespeare	<i>vj d</i>
Mr Edw. Collins	<i>vj d</i>
John Burrett	<i>vj d</i>
Roger Johnes	<i>ij d ob</i>
Mychaell Elsmoore	<i>ij d ob</i>
Mr Toune	<i>ij d ob</i>
Mr Jubye	<i>jd ob</i>
Mr Mansfeild	<i>jd ob</i>
John Dodson	<i>jd ob</i>
Richard Smith	<i>jd ob</i>
Richard Hunt	<i>jd ob</i>
Simon Bird	<i>jd ob</i>
Peter Nasam	<i>jd ob</i>
Jeames Kiddou	<i>jd ob</i>
Tho Stoakes	<i>jd ob</i>
John Faeye	<i>jd ob</i>
Phillip Philcoks	<i>jd ob</i>
Wm Stevens	<i>jd ob</i>
Mr Godfrey Richards for the long slip of ground	<i>jd ob</i>
Mr Coggen weekly	<i>jd</i>
Ferdynando Moses	<i>jd</i>
Edw. Nevell	<i>jd</i>
John Bacon	<i>jd</i>
Mrs Davison	<i>jd</i>
Rafe Trott	<i>jd</i>
John Judkin	<i>jd."</i>

Of the preceding names Alleyn, Lee, Benfield, Louens (or Lowins), Towne, Jubye, Hunt, and Bird, were players, not including Shakespeare, who had then quitted the stage, nor Henslowe, who, as far as we know, had never trodden it. Considering that so many inhabitants are enumerated, and that the Globe, Rose, Hope, and Swan Theatres, and Paris Garden were so near, it is perhaps strange that so few actors are contained in this list; but several of those mentioned

were rated at only a penny per week, and others of a still lower grade in the profession were, no doubt, not rated at all. Besides, many might live in parts of Southwark beyond the limits of the Liberty of the Clink, or indeed in other parts of the metropolis; R. Burbage, for instance, lived in Shoreditch.

In the next year, 1610, Alleyn was churchwarden; and John Lee, the sideman, seems to have been very sedulous in bringing under his notice the disorderly persons and houses within the district. These steps may have been taken at Alleyn's instigation; for, player as he was, or had been, he always seems to have borne the best private character, and to have given no encouragement to the immorality which prevailed in the vicinity of theatres, and for which the Bank-side had been long notorious.* Among his papers is found the subsequent presentment to him, with a view that in his official capacity of churchwarden he should institute ulterior proceedings to punish the delinquents, and to correct the evil.

“ The 29th of May 1610

“ I John Lee, being Sidman of the Liberty of the Clinke, present these persons unto the Church warden, Mr Allenn Esquire.

“ Imprimis. In Robert Tukes house was found one Elizabeth Ayliefe, supposed to be with child, and is reported to live there at her own handes.

One Henery Jones and his wife was dwelling in father Powell's house, whoe weare thought to live losely together before mariage. And alsoe for receving one Elizabeth Williams into his house, whoe was there brought a bed.

———— kepinge a common house of dicing and bouling, and for suffering of the same in time of devine service, and is forwarned of the same

John Noble, for disorder in his bouling Ally, is in like sort for warned of the same.

* See note to p. 12 of William Rowley's "Search for Money," reprinted by the Percy Society, where a curious passage is quoted from "Cock Lorells Bote," printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1506.

William King and Sisly his wife are thought fitt to be presented for kepinge of a house suspected for bauderies, and alsoe for keping Margrett Tomkins and Elizabeth Gaunt, the first a suspicious person.

John Roades and Agnes his wife suspected for baudery.

Hall Watty and his wife for harboring of Isabell Lawes, a woeman big with [def. in MS.] and for keping Alise Blackden and Susan Darking • • maides at their owne handes."

Upon the back of this paper Alleyn made various memoranda, not at all relating to the subject, but to the purchase or sale of hay, straw, wheat, barley, &c.; for we are to recollect that he had been for some time lord of the manor of Dulwich, and a considerable landed proprietor there. The extant letters and notes from Sir Francis Calton to Alleyn requesting loans of money are numerous, and year after year the knight seems to have grown poorer and more importunate, until at last he was obliged to sell his estate, and the lordships of both his manors of Dulwich and Lewisham. What follows is one of the communications of Sir Francis Calton; but it is evident, from the tenor of it, that it was by no means the first of its kind. In the present instance he had a design of advantageously marrying his daughter, if Alleyn would consent to advance him £250, required by his intended son-in-law, who had hopes of being appointed one of the Physicians to the Queen.

"To my very good frend Edward Allen Esqr. these be dd.

"Mr Allen, there is one Doctor Mollyers, a phisition with whom for good reasons I have a purpose to match my seconde daughter, and the reason why it hath not yet taken effecte is because his demaundes did still exceede my habilitie, howbeit hes is now contente to accepte of my offer, so as he maye be assured to have 250 li against the 24 of this presente monethe, meanes to doe which yow knowe I have none yet, but by your selfe, whom I very hartelye requeste to stedde me herein. The cause both of this my shorte warninge to yow and his sodaine agreemente with mee is for that he hathe a very good confidence to have [def. in MS.] Doctor Martins place, who died sodainlye the laste Sondaye nighte: hee was Phisition to the Queene. Wherefore nowe presentlye to furnishe him

conveniently as wilbe fittinge, and happelye to bestowe som gratuities, for both yow and I knowe that places in Courte fall not into mens mouthes for gapinge, he is contente to abate 100 li of what he hathe hitherto insisted upon. Nowe, for somuch as the matter fallethe oute bothe to my ease of charge and the hopefull preferment of my childe, I make no doubte but that yow will advaunce your best meanes to fulfill my desyre; and the rather for that before that daye, the fyve yeares wilbe fullye accomplished for your securitie, which wilbe even as good as fiteene. Thus hopinge yow will have a due consideration hereof, with a disposition awnswerable to the importance of the busines, I hartelye commende me to yow and your good wyfe, expectinge your resolution in wrytinge either by this bearer or som other, for the which I comitte yow to God. In haste this 9 of Maye 1611.

“ Your verye frend,

“ FRAN. CALTON.”

What is here said about Alleyn's "security," and the "five years" which were to expire, is not very intelligible, but it cannot be doubted that in May 1611 he was considerably in advance to Sir Francis Calton beyond the price Alleyn paid for the manor of Dulwich, which we find from other documents had been in possession of Calton's family since the reign of Henry VIII. and the dissolution of the monasteries.

There is one point upon which we are without distinct evidence derived from any quarter: the MSS. at Dulwich, including Henslowe's Diary, are all silent regarding it—we mean the date when Alleyn finally quitted the stage. He had become lord of the manor of Dulwich in 1606, and we might be led to conjecture that he had retired from the profession, as an actor, even at that comparatively early date. Supposing him to have commenced in 1580, when he would be in his fourteenth year (and Fuller says that he was bred to the stage) he would have been more than a quarter of a century on the boards in 1606. Shakespeare had seceded entirely as a performer for about two years, and Alleyn might wish to follow his example, as soon as he could do so with a due regard to his interests. He had always been an applauded and popular actor; and independently of his own

disposition, Henslowe had constantly been a pattern to him of worldly prudence, so that Alleyn had no doubt made considerable savings even before James I. ascended the throne. Though generous and charitable, * he was careful and frugal, and seems to have indulged in no luxuries for mere selfish gratification. In these views he was seconded by his excellent wife, who, as far as we have the means of judging, was watchful and economical, and was always regarded by her husband with respect and affection.

From the year 1592, to the date to which we are now adverting, Alleyn had been joint owner with Henslowe at least in two theatres, the Rose and the Fortune; and the exhibitions at Paris Garden, notwithstanding what may occasionally appear

* His fellow-actors constantly made appeals to him, and not in vain. Malone found and printed, though, as usual, far from accurately, the subsequent letter from an actor of the name of Richard Jones to Alleyn: it is without date, but it was no doubt prior to 1600. There was another actor of the name of Richard Jones in 1633, and possibly he was the son of the writer of the following.

“ Mr Allen I commend my love and humble duty to you, geving you thanks for your great bounty bestowed upon me in my sicknes, when I was in great want: god blese you for it. Sir, this it is: I am to go over beyond the seas with Mr browne and the company, but not by his meanes, for he is put to half a shaer, and to stay hear, for they ar all against his going: now, good Sir, as you have ever byne my worthie frend, so helpe me nowe. I have a sut of clothes and a cloke at pane for three pound, and if it shall pleas you to lend me so much to release them, I shall be bound to pray for you so longe as I leve; for if I go over and have no clothes, I shall not be esteemed of, and by gods help the first mony that I get I will send it over unto you, for hear I get nothinge: some tymes I have a shillinge a day, and some tymes nothinge, so that I leve in great poverty hear, and so humbly take my leave praeinge to god, I and my wiffe, for your health and mistris allenes, which god continew.

“ Your poor frend to command

“ RICHARD JONES.”

It would be easy to multiply proofs of the same kind, and some of them will necessarily be noticed hereafter.

to the contrary, must have been to both a productive source of emolument.

It may be doubted whether Alleyn ever really liked his profession, and, as has already been remarked, Henslowe's Letters, as well as his Diary, show that in 1598 he withdrew, for a time, at least, from its more ostensible and public duties. The question is, how long he continued them after he had been prevailed upon to resume them, and it is a question which we have no means of determining satisfactorily. The later portion of his life presents a singular contrast to the earlier portion of it, and there is every ground for believing that after he withdrew from public life, he gave way to the natural bent of his disposition. On the death of Henslowe (which, we shall find, occurred in the beginning of 1616) and of Agnes Henslowe, his widow, in the year following, Alleyn succeeded, if not to the whole, to the greater part of the property in the Rose, the Fortune, and Paris Garden.* Besides the houses, &c. he had derived from his own father, he had also acquired other valuable theatrical property, (of which we shall speak in its place) and, although this acquisition did not occur until 1612, there is good ground for concluding that for some years before that date he was in such easy circumstances as to require no addition to his income from his own personal appearance and exertions on the stage.

Whatever date we may be disposed to assign to Alleyn's retirement, there is proof that in 1611 he ceased in a con-

* The following receipt, dated about the period of which we are now speaking, relates to his leasehold property on the Bankside, which he held under Lord Montague.

"R. the xxvth. day of October 1611 of Mr. Edwarde Allen Esquier, for one halfe yeares rent of his howse and wharfe within the Cloose of St. Maryoveries, dewe to the Ryghte Honorable Antony Lorde Viscounte Monntague, att the feast of St. Mychaell Tharchaungell last past, the some of fiftye shillings of lawfull Englishe money: I say R. l. s.

"Per me MATHEWE WOODWARDE."

siderable degree to interfere with the management of the theatres, in which he had with Henslowe a pecuniary interest. Henceforward we shall see that he left the control of the company or companies very much to Henslowe, and the earliest piece of evidence on the point is the following bond entered into between Henslowe and the players of Prince Henry, for the fulfilment of certain articles which have not survived. Nothing is said in it of Alleyn, although, at a posterior date and in one instance, he was called upon by the association to interpose in their favour against a person of whose proceedings they had reason to complain. The date of the subjoined instrument is ascertained from the Latin form by which it is preceded to be the 29th of August, 1611 :—

“ The condition of this obligation is suche that if the within bound John Townsend, William Barksted, Joseph Taylor, Giles Cary, Robert Hamlytt, Thomas Hunte, Joseph Moore, John Rice, William Carpenter, Thomas Basse, and Alexander Foster, their executors administrators and assignes, and each and every of them, doe for their and every of their partes well and trulie hould observe, paie, performe, fulfill and keepe all and every the covenantes, grauntes, articles, paymentes and agreementes which on their and each and every of their partes are or ought to be houlden, observed, perfourmed, paid, fulfilled and kepte, mentioned and contayned in certen Articles indented bearinge the date within written, made betweene the within named Phillipp Henslowe on thone parte, and the parties abovementioned on thother partes, and that in and by all thinges according to the tenor effect purport and true meaning of the same Articles in every respect, that then this present obligation to be void and of none effect, or elles to remayne in full force and vertue.

“ JOHN TOWNSEND

“ WILL. BARKSTED

“ JOSEPH TAYLOR

“ WILLIAM ECCLESTON

“ GILLES CARY

“ THOMAS HUNT

“ JOHN RICE

“ ROBT. HAMLETT

“ WILL. CARPENTER

“ THOMAS BASSE

“ JOSEPH MOORE

“ ALEXANDER FOSTER.”

But although Alleyn might cease to take a prominent part in the management of the companies of players in whose receipts he still had an interest, he was compelled by virtue of the office of Master of the Games, which he filled jointly with Henslowe, to superintend the affairs of the Bear Garden. We have seen that under the patent to Henslowe and Alleyn, after they had bought the office of Sir W. Stuart, they were authorized "to take up" any bears, bulls, or dogs, in any part of the kingdom for the service of his majesty, on payment of what might be considered a reasonable price. For this purpose they had granted a license to a person of the name of Bryan Bradley, but, as he was unable to discharge the duty alone, Henslowe and Alleyn, by the following instrument dated the 18th of April, 1612, under their hands and seals, sent two others named Morgan and Tyler to his assistance. Why assistance in this particular instance became necessary we shall see presently :—

"Whereas wee Phillip Henslowe Esquier, one of the Sewers of his highnes Chamber, and Edward Alleyn Esquier, servant to the high and mightie Prince of Wales, Cheif M^{rs}. Rulers and Overseers of his Ma^{ties} game of Beares Bulls and dogges, have deputed lycensed and authorised our servant Bryan Bradley to take upp and provide for his highnes Beares, Bulls and Dogges, whersoever the same shall or may be found, as by our deputation to that effect made at larg appeareth. And forasmuch as our saide servant is not of him self able and sufficient to take upp keepe and provide suche dogges as shalbe taken and thought fitt for his Ma^{ties} saide game, wee have therefore sent our servantes John Morgan and Richard Tyler, the Bearers hereof, to be aiding and asisting unto him in the execution of the premisses, that by their asistance his highnes said service may be the better effected. Wherefore wee, the said Phillip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, according to the tenor of his highnes Letters Patentes to us graunted, and by force and vertue of the power and authority therby to us given, doe will and requier all his Ma^{ties} officers and loving subjectes to be aiding and asisting unto our saide servantes in the execution of the premisses, and to permit and suffer them quietly to passe and repasse to and from any place or places whatsoever about his Ma^{ties} saide service without any your lett or interruption, behaving them selves well and honestly as wee trust they will. In witnes whereof wee the said Phillip

Henslowe and Edward Alleyn have hereunto sett our handes and seales. Yeoven the Eighteenth daie of Aprill 1612, and in the tenth yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lord King James &c.

“PHILLIPPE HENSLOWE
(L.S.)

“ED. ALLEYN
(L.S.)

“ Sealed and subscribed by the above
named Phillipp Henslowe and
Edward Alleyn in the presence of

“THOMAS MASON Scrivener.”

We can have no hesitation in believing that persons like Bradley, Morgan, and Tyler, sent down from the Bear Garden into distant parts of the country, to seize upon any dogs they pleased, under pretext that they were required for the king's service, often exercised the power entrusted to them in a most arbitrary and unwarrantable manner. We cannot wonder, therefore, that they sometimes met with strong resistance, and it was owing to some opposition of the kind, particularly in appropriating to themselves a dog belonging to a Mr. Venables, a gentleman of Cheshire, that the assistance of Morgan and Tyler was considered necessary by Henslowe and Alleyn. Even then the dog-deputies from Paris Garden were unable to accomplish their object, and it appears from the subsequent communication, that Henslowe solicited the interposition of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Suffolk, in his behalf :—

“To my lovinge freindes Thomas Dutton, John Ireland, Thomas Brooke, Edward Stanley, Thomas Marbery, and John Ashton esquiers, Justices of the peace in the Counties of Chester and Lancaster, or to any fower or two of them, these.

“ After my hartie comendations. I have bene informed by Mr. Phillipp Henslowe, one of the Maisters of the game of Beares Bulls and Mastiffe dogges by pattent from his Ma^{tie}, that his deputies and servants have bene very much abused in the execution of his Comission for taking up of dogges in Lancashire and Cheshire. Forasmuch as he is an officer under my chardge, and his place under my direction for his Ma^{tie} sport, so long as his servants do not misbehave themselves I most and will see their wronges redressed ; and at this tyme did purpose, though the waye be farr, to send for the offenders by pурсevant and to punishe them here above ; but under-

standing that you are gent. judicious and discreete in the admystration of Justice in those places you hold, I have thought good to recomend the examination, punishment of the offenders, and redresse of the wronges comitted unto yow, as in your discretions yow shall thinke fitt and finde cause. The names of the principalls that have repugned the comission, and abused and beaten the servants, as I understand, were theis:— One Lathome, Richard Penketh of Penketh, Richard Massy his servant, and Raph Barnes of Warrington. By the examination of these yow shall finde the rest, and I pray you take such a corse as to equitie and justice shall apperteyne, that there may be no further cause of complaint in that behalf. And so I rest

“ Your loving freind,

“ T. SUFFOLKE.

“ Whitehall xiiijth. of July 1613.”

The delivery of the above was entrusted to Bryan Bradley and Thomas Bradford (whose name now appears for the first time in the transaction), as deputies to Henslowe and Alleyn: they placed it in the hands of the magistrates to whom it was addressed, and the reply of the magistrates, which is subjoined from the original, evinces no great willingness on their part to support the authority of the agents of the Masters of the King's Games; particularly as Mr. Venables, in spite of the Great Seal which was appended to the deputation of Bradley and Bradford, had charged them with felony in stealing his dog, and had threatened to prosecute them at the assizes for the theft.

“ To the Right Ho. our verie good Lord, the Earle of Suffolke, Lord Chamberlayn to his Ma^{tie}.

“ Right Ho: having seen your Lpp lettre by the delyverie of Bryan Bradley and Thoms Bradford, deputies, as appeires unto us, under Mr Henslow and Mr Allen, Maisters of the game for Beares, Bulls and Dogges, wee shall endeavour our selves to accomplish your Honors request, although hitherto wee have not much delt therin, for that all the parties offenders named in your Lps lettre dwell in Lankashire, and must be proceeded withall before we can well deale with anie other. And withall we have been hindered by accydent of taking a dog from Mr John Venables of Agdon in this county, who hath brought the takers (the said deputies) before us and will, as he affirmeth, prosecute them for felonie for taking

his dog, and did importune us to have bound them over to answer at our next assizes for Chester, which doth comence the xxth of September next. But wee, seeing the greate Seale of England and their deputations, neither of which wee are willing to questyon or withstand, have only taken the examination of some witnesses produced uppon M^r Venables behalfe, whereof wee have sent your Ho. true copies, and (to our understandings conceiving noe such misdemeanour) have gyven our promis that the parties shalbe readie at thassizes to answer what M^r Venables shall then object against them: wherein wee humbly pray your Honors consideration, and that they may be presente with their deputation and lettres patentes already shewed unto us (with your Lps further directions if so it seeme good to yow) to justifie before the Judges of thassizes what they have donne. And soe wee shalbe excused for our proceedings herin. Thus craving pardon for our boldnes, we take leave and rest

“ Your Honors ever ready,

“ THO. DUTTON

“ Dutton 17^o Auguste 1613.”

“ THO^o BROOKE.

The following letter from Sir Anthony Cooke appears to refer to a somewhat similar transaction in a different part of the kingdom. It is, like the others, preserved at Dulwich College, and, doubtless, came into Alleyn's hands from the Lord Chamberlain:—

“ To the right hon. the Earle of Suffolke, Lorde Chamberlayne to his Ma^{ty}, and one of his Highnesse moste honorable pryvey Counsaile att Courte, give these.

“ Righte Honorable and my verye good Lorde &c.

“ Your Honors letter, sente me this presente morninge by one John Skales, keeper of the beere garden, I have receyved, whereby I perceyve your Honor hath receyved a verye synister and unjust information agaynst me, conserninge the staye of certeyne persones, who have sundrye wayes mysbehaved them selves within this place, both in the manner and in the matter, as also in particular abuse to my selfe (which I doe least respect); but when your honorable Lordshipp shalbe trewely informed that what I have done is onelie juste, and what in this place I houlde here I am bounde in dewetye unto, I nothinge dowght but that your Honor will in your nexte lett me here from you in a more myelde manner, then these your foremer lyenes nowe receyved. For first, my honorable Lord, I have not made staye of the dogges in generall taken by them elles where, but onelye of one dogge taken by them in this place of pryvledge, wherein

no dogge can be taken, as more at lardge I shall make knowen unto your Honor, when it shall please your Honor to commaunde mee. Next, that they have taken anye dogges at all by your Honors authoretie hath not yett appeared to me in auie thinge that they ever shewed me, but that I understande soe muche now by your Honors letter. But I doe nothinge dowghte, but that they whoe have so badelye behaved them selves heere, will alsoe as unhonestlye proceede in abusing your honorable Lordship with untrewre informations. For conclusion, pleaseth yt your honorable Lordshipp to understande, the dogges I have all sente awaye by this messenger that came with your Honors letter, which for anye staye I made of them might have bene theire sooner yf theye woulde them selves, onely I doo make staye of that dogge taken by them heere, which I maye not parte withall, without breache of our Lybertyes and pryvyldges, graunted by the Kinges Ma^{te} under his greate seale. Thus nothinge dowghtinge but that your Honor will conceyve of me, both in this and in all thinges els, as of a man that hath bene bredd to knowe better manners then to give the least suspecte of forgettingte the dewetye I owe to a persone of your dignytie and place, my humbleste dewetye remembered, I cease your Honors farther trouble, restinge now and always,

“ Your Honors poore kynseman

“ and servaunte to commaunde,

“ ANTHO: COOKE.”

What was the result in either case we have now no means of knowing. We have inserted these documents, not merely because Alleyn was immediately concerned in the transactions to which they relate, but because we are not aware of the existence of any others of a similar description.

CHAPTER XI.

Shakespeare's Retirement from London to Stratford-upon-Avon—His Purchase and Mortgage of the Tenement in the Blackfriars—Facts tending to prove that Alleyn became the Purchaser of Shakespeare's Property in the Blackfriars Theatre—Alleyn interested in the Receipts at the Red Bull Theatre—Charles Massy's (the Actor) Letter to Alleyn for a Loan of £50—Massy's intimacy with Alleyn.

It may almost be taken for granted, that about the time Shakespeare finally quitted London for his native town,

Stratford-upon-Avon, he was possessed of a large interest in the two houses at which his plays had been usually performed—the public theatre, called the Globe, on the Bankside, and the private theatre, called, after the name of the precinct in which it stood, the Blackfriars. In settling the question at what date Shakespeare permanently left the metropolis, nobody seems to have adverted sufficiently to the fact, that in both the latest documents (excepting his will) yet discovered, in which his name occurs, he is called “William Shakespeare of Stratford upon Avon, in the Countie of Warwick, Gentleman.” This was in March 1612-13, and, taken by itself, it really seems to decide the question; for if he had been living in Southwark at the time he executed the conveyance and the mortgage (Malone’s *Shakesp.* by Bosw. ii. 585 and 592) in London, why should he have been described as “of Stratford-upon-Avon?” No answer can be made to this inquiry, and the truth, no doubt, is, that in March 1613 he had for some time retired to the place of his birth. He probably went there not very long after the production of his last play, which may have come out in 1611, and was perhaps a Roman or a Greek drama, *Coriolanus* or *Timon*. The *Tempest* and the *Winter’s Tale* would both seem (for reasons not necessary to be detailed here) to have been earlier, although hitherto placed last by the best authorities; therefore we should be disposed to fix the date of his departure perhaps a year prior to March 1613—the spring of 1612—when the country was beginning to present its natural invitation to its admirers.

Why Shakespeare returned to the metropolis for the purpose of purchasing, and on the next day mortgaging the tenement in the Blackfriars, is a question that does not appear to have occurred to his biographers. One of the parties named in both the deeds was John Hemming (or Hemyng, as it is there spelt), who was a principal manager of the King’s Company occupying the Globe and the Blackfriars

theatres; and it is very possible that both the purchase and the mortgage were in some way, not now easily explained, connected with the sale of Shakespeare's theatrical property, of which, of course, he was desirous to dispose, with a view to his undisturbed residence at Stratford. What then became of that property, and into whose hands did it devolve?

Shakespeare's property in the Globe might be sold to some principal members of the company, before that theatre was burned down on the 29th June, 1613 (*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii. 298); but it seems very likely, from evidence now for the first time to be adduced, that Alleyn became the purchaser of our great dramatist's interest in the theatre, properties, wardrobe, and stock of the Blackfriars. Among the miscellaneous scraps of paper at Dulwich College is one which appears to be a rough memorandum, in Alleyn's hand-writing, of various sums paid by him in April, 1612, for the Blackfriars; and though the theatre is not there expressly named, it will be rendered evident hereafter that it was the "play-house." The paper is precisely in this form:—

" April 1612

Money paid by me E. A. for the Blackfryers	. 160 <i>l</i>
More for the Blackfryers	. 126 <i>l</i>
More againe for the Leasse	. 310 <i>l</i>
The writings for the same and other small charges	3 <i>l</i> . 6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> ."

The whole sum is £599 6*s*. 8*d*., which would be equal to nearly £3,000 of our present money; and would, no doubt, entitle him to a very considerable share of the property. To whom the money was paid, is nowhere stated; but, for aught we know, it was to Shakespeare himself, and just anterior to his departure from London.

The preceding memorandum is not unlike several others existing at Dulwich; and it was, perhaps, made with a view to an entry of the total amount in a book, which Alleyn may have kept for the purpose. One of these is still preserved, with religious care, at the College; but it applies (and we

shall have occasion to advert to it frequently hereafter) to a date considerably posterior to this transaction, beginning in 1617, and ending in 1622. However, during those years it is kept so regularly and systematically, that any person inspecting its contents can feel no hesitation in believing that Alleyn had long previously been in the habit of minutely recording his daily payments and expenses. It is to be presumed that the other books of the same kind have unfortunately been lost or destroyed; but this, which is still extant, affords strong confirmation, indeed, indisputable proof, that Alleyn was a considerable owner of leasehold property in the Blackfryers: the only question here is whether it included the theatre. The following are some of the entries, which are here given, out of their place, in point of date, but not of subject: the first item occurs regularly, though not precisely in the same words, every quarter.

	<i>li</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" Oct. 22. [1617.] Pd Mr. Travise rent for the Blackfryars	40	0	0
Aug. 27. [1618.] Pole brought me word that the building would be puld downe, so I went to London—first water to the Strond to Coronell Cussell	0	0	6
He being gone I followed to Chelsey	0	3	0
From the Fryers to La. Clarks att Supper	0	0	2
Sep. 28. [1618.] More disbursed for the building of the Blackfryars for this yeare, and in anno 1617 when itt first begane with the 200 <i>li</i> first disbursed by my fater buy- eng in off leases: charges in lawe: and the building itt selfe, with making meanes to kepe them from being puld downe is	1105	0	2
Oct. 9. [1620.] Bere at the Fryers	0	0	6
Sep. 24. [1621.] Disbursed 2 years att the Fryars, last ending at Mic.	23	6	6
July 23. [1622.] Jones and I mett at the Fryers on our scytation by Mr. Hicks, Mr. Place, and Mr. Traviss: the dinner coast 8 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> I spent 6 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> and was paid, so	0	7	2"

Hence we learn that the rent paid by Alleyn to a Mr. Travise, was £160 per annum, a large sum in those times; that some building, or the repair of some building, was commenced in 1617; that in the next year Alleyn received information that it would be pulled down, perhaps because it had been left in a dangerous condition; that a very large amount was expended upon it in 1618; that in this sum Alleyn included £200 which his "father"—(meaning, in all probability, Henslowe)—had spent in buying in of leases; and that Alleyn and a person of the name of Jones (perhaps Inigo Jones, employed by Alleyn as his architect,) in July, 1622, received what Alleyn calls "a citation" from three persons, one of them, Mr. Travise, (to whom he regularly paid rent), most likely in reference to the same property. It seems evident, therefore, that Alleyn's "father," Henslowe, had become possessed of some portion of the Blackfriars property, and that, in April, 1612, Alleyn increased it, by expending nearly £600 in the purchase of additions; which additions may have been the share Shakespeare owned in the Blackfriars Theatre and its appurtenances, which he disposed of before he withdrew from London to Stratford. The coincidences of time and place are, at all events, remarkable.

In fact, Alleyn seems to have been a general owner of theatrical property in different parts of the town; and, in his Account-book of disbursements, quoted above, two of the earliest entries establish that he had some interest in the receipts at the Red Bull Theatre, which was situated at the upper end of St. John Street, Smithfield. Under the dates of October, 1st and 3rd, 1617 (the book begins on the 29th September in that year,) we read as follows:—

" Oct. 1. 1617.	I came to London in the Coach and went to the red Bull	0. 0. 2
Oct. 3.	I went to the red bull and R [i e received] for the younger brother but 3 <i>li</i> . 6 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> . water	0. 0. 4"

What expense was covered by two-pence in the first entry, it is difficult to say :—the price of admission to some parts of the house was that sum ; but we must suppose that Alleyn was free, considering the share of the receipts to which the second entry shews he was entitled. “Water,” in the second entry, refers to the cost of conveying him, probably, from Southwark to the landing-place nearest to the Red Bull Theatre. The play performed was “The Younger Brother ;” and such a drama was entered at Stationers’ Hall for publication in 1653, about which date several plays were printed that had long remained in manuscript. The theatres at that time were closed by authority ; and the poor actors and booksellers thus sought to raise a little money, as well as to gratify the public curiosity. Alleyn records that he received but £3 6s. 4d., as if he were greatly disappointed in the amount he expected to obtain. It is to be remarked that, subsequent to this date, we find no entries in Alleyn’s Account-book regarding the Red Bull ; and we may be tempted from this circumstance to conjecture that, as the concern proved unprofitable, he soon afterwards sold such shares as he held in it.

We have already had evidence that when any member of the profession was in pecuniary difficulty, resort was sometimes had to Alleyn and to his known liberality. Among the members of the theatrical association which Prince Henry took into his service in 1603, was Charles Massye (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage* i. 351,) who continued long afterwards a performer ; and finally, as we shall see, became one of Alleyn’s tenants at the Fortune in 1617, and on its re-construction after the fire of 1621. About 1612 he was embarrassed in his affairs, and applied to Alleyn for an advance of £50. The letter containing his urgent request is extant at Dulwich, but in a most mutilated state from damp : it is without date, but we can ascertain the time when it was written pretty exactly, because Alleyn made some memoranda on the back

of it in July, 1613; and the letter itself speaks of Mrs. Towne as a widow, and her husband died before November, 1612. It was written, therefore, in the following supplicatory form (as far as that form can be made out, in consequence of the decay of the paper) to Alleyn, between November, 1612, and July, 1613.

“To his worshipfull good frende Mr. Edwarde Allen, at his house at Dulledg, give these.

“Ser. I besече your pardon in that I make boulede to wryte to yow wordes consernynge my selfe, and it may be distastfull to yow, but necesete hath no lawe, and therfore I hope the contrarye. Ser, diverse ocasions before the Prynces • • man • crosses sense hath brought me in tow debt • • • and danger • • • if yow woulde please to helpe me • • • • not withstandinge I ever shall rest ever to be com • • • with the world I desire yow should hasard the • • • • by me • • • by such for, ser, I know you understand • • • • compositions betwene oure compenie that if • • • • ever with consent of his fellowes he is to paye the • • score and ten pounds antony Jeffes hath paid so much • • if any one dye his wife or frends whome he appoyntes it tow reseve fyfte pounds. Mrs. Pavye and Mrs. Toune hath had the lyke, be sides that lyke moste I have in the play houses, which I would willingly pas over unto you by dede of gifte, or any course you would set doune for your securete, and that you should be shure I do it not withoute my wifes consent, she wilbe willinge to set her hand to any thinge that might secure it to you. Ser, fyfte poundes would pay my detes, which for one hole twelvemonth I would take up and pay the intreste, and that I might the better pay it in at the yeares ende, I would get Mr. Jube to reserve my gallery mony, and my quarter of the housse mony for a yeare to pay it in with all, and if in • • monthes, I say, the gallery mony would not dowble • • • the other six monthes he should reserve • • • share, only reservinge a marke a weke • • • my house with all the eyghtenth of this • • • pay to Mr. Bankes thurte pounds and other • • • other dettes I owe, if ether you serve • • • the monye or any other whome yow shall appoynt, for I know wher you will you may. I shall ever reste your poore servant to perform any offyse you shall comand me. Ther is one Mr. Mathers, at the bell in newgate market, that six wekes agoe did offer me fyfte poundes for a twelf-

month grates, but be desird good securete. Ser, I besече howsoever pardon me in that bouldly I have presumd to wryte unto you. Thus not darynge to troble you any longer, I comyt you to god, to home I will ever pray to blesse you.

“Ever to be comded by you,

“CHARLES MASSYE.”

Alleyn most likely complied with this urgent request, and Massye fulfilled his engagement with respect to repayment, for they continued friends ever afterwards; and from Alleyn's Diary we learn that Massye was not unfrequently a guest at his table, from 1617 to 1622. As before stated, he became one of Alleyn's tenants for the Fortune.

We may take it for granted, although Paris Garden was not originally built for the purpose of theatrical representations, that plays had been occasionally acted there from an early date. The Globe Theatre in its vicinity was burnt down on the 29th June, 1613; and, in less than a month afterwards, Henslowe and a person of the name of Jacob Meade, taking advantage of the opportunity, entered into an agreement with Gilbert Katherens, a carpenter, to convert Paris Garden into “a play-house,” as well as “a game place.” All the particulars are inserted in the Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 284; and it is not necessary here to state more than the fact. How Meade came into the concern, we know not; but, perhaps, as Alleyn (though still called the Prince's servant in 1612) had at this date withdrawn from all that related to theatrical management, and Henslowe had grown old and infirm, he took Meade into partnership to assist him, and Meade's name will henceforwards frequently occur. Paris Garden thus became a theatre, as well as a place for the baiting of animals.

CHAPTER XII.

The Building of Dulwich College—Sutton's Hospital — Original Contract for Building Dulwich College — College of St. Saviour's — Letter to Alleyn from Samuel Jeynans, on behalf of Chelsea College—Agreement between Henslowe, Meade, and Nathaniel Field, the Actor, for Paris Garden—Bond given in 1615 by Daiborne and Massinger to Henslowe, for a Loan of £3.

THE building of God's Gift College at Dulwich, and the endowment of it with the greater part of his property, was unquestionably the most important event of Alleyn's life.

We now arrive at the period when he seems to have taken the first step to carry this great and benevolent project into execution. How long anterior to this date he had contemplated the possibility of such an undertaking, we cannot determine; but, having considerable estates and no family, it was natural that in his 47th year, which he had now attained, he should take into consideration the best and most beneficial mode of disposing of his possessions. The story told by credulous Aubrey, that Alleyn was worked upon by having seen the apparition of the Devil, while playing a dæmon in one of Shakespeare's plays, is merely ridiculous: first of all, Alleyn had left off playing before he appears to have entertained the intention of devoting his affluence to purposes of charity: next, he would not have condescended to play such a part as that of a dæmon; and, thirdly, we have no direct evidence to establish that he ever played in any of Shakespeare's plays, though there is little doubt he represented the hero in dramas founded upon some of the same stories or events. It is possible that the absurd report originated in an event recorded in "The Blacke Booke," by Middleton, printed in 1604, where it is said (Sign. B. 4,) that on one occasion "the old theatre" (the Rose) "cracked and frightened the audience," while a devil was upon the stage in

Marlowe's "Faustus," the hero of which, there is no doubt, Alleyn sustained. *

This incident may have been exaggerated and distorted into Aubrey's tradition; and we may be quite sure that when Alleyn avowed his purpose of establishing his College, the Puritans, and the other enemies of theatrical performances, did not fail to impute it to remorse for his long career of wickedness and profanity.

It has been said that he took his first notion of Dulwich College from Sutton's Hospital, the Charterhouse; but the only hint to that effect was furnished by himself, when he had nearly completed his design. It is to be found in his own Diary, which begins at Michaelmas, 1617: at the very opening, he makes the following note.

"29th Sep. My wife, Mr. Austin, Mr. Young and my self
went to see Sutton Hospitall—water 0. 1 0."

From the terms used in this entry, we might be led to conclude that Sutton's Hospital was then a novelty to Alleyn, and that he had never seen it before. But there is no need to suppose that he was governed or influenced by any particular precedent in his undertaking, or that he would not have expended his money upon the College, if he had not previously witnessed what others had done elsewhere in a similar benevolent spirit.

We are told in the "General Biographical Dictionary," (ii. 13) that Alleyn "began the foundation of the College under the direction of Inigo Jones in 1614." The fact is, that he began the foundation of the College in the summer of 1613, as appears upon the unquestionable evidence of the original indenture for the brick-work between Alleyn and

* This passage from "The Blacke Booke" has been cited and commented upon by Oldys, in his *Life of Alleyn*, in the *Biographia Britannica*: "The Blacke Booke" has been reprinted by Mr. Dyce, in his edition of *Middleton*, from the only known copy in the possession of the writer of the present memoir.

John Benson, a bricklayer of Westminster, which bears date on the 17th of May, 1613. This document still exists at Dulwich College, and it is stipulated in it that Benson was to commence his work on or before the last day of May: that he did so we need not doubt, as Alleyn paid Benson £20 on the 19th of June, on account of work already done, Alleyn having agreed to pay £10 for every five rods as the undertaking proceeded. Therefore, we may conclude that ten rods of work had been finished by the 19th of June, 1613. Alleyn was to dig the foundation, to find materials and scaffolding, and to allow Benson forty shillings for every rod of brickwork. The indenture is extremely minute in its specifications, so as to give an exact notion of the whole edifice as originally constructed, consisting of a chapel, a school-house, a kitchen, offices, and twelve alms-houses. It will be found in the Appendix, being somewhat too long for insertion here, and it includes a number of curious details. At the back are eleven endorsements in Alleyn's hand-writing (subscribed by Benson) of sums paid as the work went on; and, as they show exactly the progress towards the completion of the College between the 19th of June, 1613, and the 22nd of April, 1614, we shall not hesitate to quote them:—

“ Received this 19 th of June 1613 of Ed. Alleyn in part of payment	20 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 14 of August 1613	10 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 28 th of August 1613	10 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 11 th of September 1713	10
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 18 th of September 1613	10 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 9 th of October 1613, the sum of	20 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	
“ Received more this 30 th of November 1613, the sum of	20 ^l
“ JOHN BENSON”	

“ Received more this 15 th of December 1613, the sum of . . .	05
“ JOHN BENSON ”	
“ Received more this 24 of December 1613, the sum of . . .	05
“ JOHN BENSON ”	
“ Received more this 10 th of Januarie 1613, the sum off . . .	10
“ JOHN BENSON ”	
“ Received more this 22 of aprill 1614, the some of . . .	7
“ Received from the Kostermonger.”	

The last item is not receipted by Benson, but the money appears to have been sent to him; and perhaps it was the balance of the account between the founder of God's Gift College and the bricklayer he employed. The whole sum paid by Alleyn was £127; and it is to be recollected that this was for workmanship only, and it does not include the account of the plasterer, the carpenter, the plumber, or the glazier. With regard to the statement that the building was erected under the direction of Inigo Jones, we are without any documentary evidence of the fact: on the contrary, it appears by the contract between Alleyn and Benson, that “the plott” of the building had been “made and drawn” by the latter.

In March 1613-14, shortly before the completion of the brickwork of the College, Alleyn, perhaps with a view to his own Patent, procured that of the Hospital of the Poor of St. Saviour's parish to be delivered into his hands.

“ ix^o Marcij 1613

“ Memorand: there was delivered, the daye and yeare aforesaid, to Mr Edward Allin in the vestrye the letters Patentes of the Corporation of the Colledge or Hospitall of the pore of St. Savioures in Southwark, and also the copie of the booke of order for the Colledge.

“ EDWARD ALLEYN.”

This was ten months after the signature of the contract with Benson, and if Alleyn were incited to this splendid act of charity by any thing but the naturally benevolent and generous impulses of his own mind, it was, probably, by observing what had been done for the assistance of those who required it in the very parish, for a liberty of which he had been churchwarden only three years before.

It is pretty clear, from the contents of the following undated letter, preserved at Dulwich, that when it was written Alleyn had not distinctly promulgated his intention as to the appropriation of his known fortune. That he entertained some charitable purpose seems to have been understood, and he was therefore earnestly applied to by the writer, Samuel Jeynens, who was probably a zealous divine, to contribute a sum toward the completion of Chelsea College, which had been founded in 1610 for the maintenance of polemical clergymen, bound to advocate the doctrines of the church against the Roman Catholics. About the date of which we are now speaking the design languished for want of funds, Dr. Sutchiffe, the originator of the scheme, having expended upon it a very large sum out of his own private purse. It will be seen that Jeynens also makes other suggestions to Alleyn, respecting the application of his money to religious purposes.

“ To the worshipfull and well affected to all good purposes, Mr Allen, all health and happines in this life and in another.

“ Blessed be god who hath stirred up your hart to do so many gracious and good deedes to gods glory, the relief of many which ar bound to pray for you, and the good example of many which may do good and do not ; and to your owne comfort at the latter day, when it shalbe said, Come ye blessed of my fater, inherit ye the kingdome prepared for you ; for when I was hungry ye fed me, naked ye clothed me, sick and in prison and ye visited me, and so forth. Beside, this is a thing more acceptable to god and more comfortable to you, that in your life tyme you se this worke perfourmed, which many deferre till after deth, which some devines do hold to be no deedes of theres, being left to others, nor so acceptable to god, rathar regarding the good deedes of the living, then of the dead. Againe, ether there executours do very slowly perfourme that which they would have done, or do it not at all.

“ Among all which deedes of almes, though all be good, yet in my conceit those are most to be thought on as ar most necessary, that is, which ar most for god's glory, the good of the church, and common weale. Wherein, yf it might stand with your good liking and it might please you so to accept it and thinke of it, I would gladly move you to a worke of charity toward Chelsey Colledge, neere London, which was founded, though not yet finished, to this intent, that learned men might there have main-

tenance to aunswere all the adversaries of religion. M^r Doctor Sutcliffe, that spent all his meanes about it, coming short of the full performance, got the Kings letter to the Maior of London that then was: he told me he could not obtaine so much as on denier. I framed petitions of my oune accord and privat motion (the worke being so profitable and commendable) to the Lord Maior, Recorder and others, yet fearing that little or no good would come to passe, I did forbear to exhibit them. What may fall out hereafter I kno not.

“ Since M^r Doctor hath got leave to make a collection in the countries and shires for the effecting of this busines, and the contribution being brought into the Bishops hands is yet kept back, that he cannot go forward with the worke, as he himself told me, although the bishops themselves were the meanes to set him on to build. So, because it goes not forward as it begun, the Papists in derision gave it the name of an Alehouse. But yet he saith, yf I could be a meanes to helpe him to a hundred pounds, a hundred pounds he hath of his owne, he saith he would establish mainenance for 4 learned men. In which worke I would humbly beseech you to helpe him.

“ Or yf I might move another project to your self, that it would please you to build some half a score lodging roomes, more or lesse neere unto you, yf it be no more but to give lodging to divers schollers that come from the University. Some would be ministers and some schoolemasters, and for want of meanes to stayer heere about London till they could be provided, they are forced to go away againe and to looce all opportunities that might fall out. Yf they had chamber roomes, which heere in London is hard and costly, diet would be more easy, and so ether by preaching they might put forth themselves, or by harkening how they might place themselves to tech schollers, they might have helpe till some preferment might be obtained.

“ Amongst those lodgings, yf it pleased you, you might build a library and furnish it with some bookes, now some, then some, as you saw cause, as might be very beneficiall, not only for strangers, but for those that ar maintained by you.

“ To all theis good workes I pray god incline your hart, and I pray you give me leave to be a petitioner for them and a remembrancer to you, as King Phillip had every morning on to call at his chamber doore and to tell him he was but a mortall man. Which is a good memorandum to put all of us in minde to do all the good we can in our life, for as our Saviour Christ saith, The night cometh wherein no man can worke.

“ Yours in his devotion, and to be

“ comaunded at your pleasure,

“ SAMUEL JEYNENS.”

There is no reason to believe that Alleyn lent a favourable ear to this request : it is much more likely that having already matured his plan, he resolved to complete his undertaking at Dulwich.

At about the date of which we are now speaking, we meet with the following memorandum, the whole of which, excepting the signatures, is in Alleyn's hand-writing : it seems to be the final settlement of all accounts between him and the Calton family, in respect of the property he had purchased of them in the vicinity of the spot he had selected for the site of his college of God's Gift :—

“ Md. that this 9th. of november, 1614, all reckonings, debts and demaundes what so ever, from the begining of the world to this present daye, due unto me, Thomas Calton, from Edw. Alleyn, is in all threeskore powndes, wheroff receved this 9th afore sayd xxx^{li} : rest dew to me more in all 30^{li}.

“ By me THO. CALTON.”

“ Received more this 18th. of november, 1614, the sum of twentye powndes, I say R. xx^{li}.

“ By me THO. CALTON.”

“ Received this 26th of november, 1614, in full payment and satisfaction, the sum of tenn powndes of lawfull money off England, I say R. x^{li}.

“ By me THOMAS CALTON.”

Before we proceed farther upon this subject, it is necessary to revert to theatrical affairs, the long prosperity of which had enabled Alleyn to indulge his favourite design in the village of which at this time he was, no doubt, the chief proprietor. We have noticed the conversion of Paris Garden into a regular theatre under Henslowe and Meade in the summer of 1613. At this date the actors who had been the players of Prince Henry (who died on the 6th of November 1612) had become the theatrical servants of the Palatine of the Rhine, who had married the daughter of James I. The company continued to perform at the Fortune ; and Henslowe and Meade, wanting a company for Paris Garden, after it was altered so as to answer the double purpose, seem to have entered into an

engagement with Nathaniel Field, a very celebrated actor, (whose portrait still hangs in Dulwich College) who, as the leader of the association, came to terms with Henslowe and Meade on behalf of himself and his fellows. Field is first heard of in 1600, when he played in Ben Jonson's "Cynthia's Revels," but in 1609 he had become one of the children of the Queen's Revels, occupying the Whitefriars theatre, where he continued, perhaps, until Henslowe and Meade proposed to him to perform with others at Paris Garden. The following is a copy of the instrument, in the title of which it is stated that Henslowe and Meade had lately raised a company of players: in fact they were only raising a company.

"Articles of Agreement made concluded and agreed uppon, and which are on the part and behalfe of Phillip Henslowe Esq^r. and Jacob Meade, Waterman, to be performed touching and concerning the Company of Players which they have latelie raised viz;

"Imprimis the said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade doe for them their executors, and administrators covenante promise and graunt by these presentes, to and with Nathan Feilde Gent, that they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade, or one of them, shall and will during the space of three yeares at all times (when noe restraynte of playenge shall be) at there or some of there owne proper costes and charges fynde and provide a sufficient house or houses for the saide company to play in: and also shall and will at all tymes duringe the said tearme disburse and lay out all suche some and somes of money as fower or five sharers of the same company, chosen by the said Phillip and Jacob, shall thynk fittinge for the furnishinge of the said company with playenge apparell towards the setting out of their newe playes. And further, that the saide Phillipe Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall and will at all tymes during the saide terme, when the said company shall play in or near the cittie of London, furnish the saide company of players, as well with such stock of apparell and other properties as the said Phillip Henslowe hath already bought, as also with such other stock of apparell as the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall hereafter provide and buy for the same company during the saide tearme. And further, shall and will, at such tyme and tymes during the saide tearme as the saide company of players shall by meanes of any restraynte or sicknes go into the country, deliver and furnishe the saide

company with fitting apparell out of both the saide stockes of apparell. And further, the saide Phillip Henslow and Jacob Meade doe, for them their executors and administrators, covenant and graunt to and with the saide Nathan Feilde by theis presentes in manner and forme followinge, that is to saye: that they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade or one of them shall and will, from tyme to tyme during the said tearme, disburse and lay out such somme or sommes of money as shalbe thought fittinge by fower or five of the sharers of the saide company, to be paide for any play which they shall buy or condition or agree for, so alwaies as the said company doe and shall truly repay unto the said Phillip and Jacob, their executors or assignes, all such somme or sommes of money as they shall disburse for any play, uppon the second or third daie whereon the same plaie shalbe plaide by the saide company, without fraud or longer delay. And further, they the said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall and will at all tymes, uppon request made by the major parte of the sharers of the saide company,

* * *

remove and putt out of the said company any of the saide company of players of the said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall fynde saide requests to be just, and there be no hope of conformity in the partie complayned of. And further, that they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall and will at all tymes, uppon request made by the saide company or major parte thereof, pay unto them all such sommes of money as shall come unto their hands * * * of any forfeitures for rehearsals or such like paymentes. And also shall and will, uppon the request of the saide company or the major parte of them, * * *

the persons by whom such forfeiture shalbe made as aforesaid, and after or uppon the recovery and receipt thereof (their charges disbursed about the recovery of the same being first deducted and allowed) shall and will make satisfaction of the remaynder thereof unto the said company without fraud or guile. And further, that they the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade doe covenant and agree that there shalbe a due accompt given every night to any one that shall by the said company be appointed thereunto * * * halfe of the galleries allowed toward the payment of the said sum of one hundred twenty and four pounds," &c. *

This document, as the asterisks imply, is in a very imperfect state, and the conclusion of it has entirely disappeared.

* To this date, or somewhat earlier, may be assigned the interesting letter tripartite, which Malone found at Dulwich College, addressed by Field, Daborne, and Massinger to Henslowe for a loan of money. It has been printed in vol. iii. p. 337, of Boswell's edition of Malone's Shakespeare, and in Gifford's Introduction to Massinger's Works, copied from Malone, but in both instances with so many variations (though some of them minute)

It establishes that Henslowe was ostensibly proceeding without the interference of Alleyn. Whether he had any share in the new theatrical speculation by Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden may, therefore, be doubted, but he certainly retained his interest in the exhibitions of baiting bears, bulls, &c. at that place.

What was the age of Henslowe we have no means of ascertaining, but we shall see presently that he died in the very commencement of 1616, according to our present mode

that it may be worth while here to insert it accurately from the original. It is addressed by Field:--

“ To our most loving frend Mr Phillip Hinchlow Esquire these.”

And at the back, below the direction, is written the subsequent receipt:—

“ Rec. by mee Robert Dauison of Mr Hinchlowe for y^e use of Mr Dauboern Mr Feild Mr Messenger the some of v^l

“ ROBERT DAUISON.”

The body of the letter runs *literatim* as follows:—

“ Mr Hinchlow.

“ You vnderstand o^r vnfortunate extremitie, and I doe not thinke you so void of christianitie, but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you; rather then endanger so many innocent liues; you know there is xⁱ more at least to be receaued of you for the play, wee desire you to lend vs v^l of that, w^{ch} shall be allowed to you w^howt w^{ch} wee cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be dispatch'd, it will loose you xx^l ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hinderance of the next new play, pray S^r Consider our Cases wth humanitie, and now giue vs cause to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede; wee haue entreated Mr Dauison to deliver this note, as well to wittnesse yo^r loue, as o^r promises, and allwayes acknowledgment to be ever

“ Yo^r most thanckfull; and louing freinds

“ NAT: FIELD

“ The mony shall be abated out of the mony remayns for the play of Mr Fletcher & ours

“ ROB. DABORNE

“ I have ever founde you a true lovinge freinde to mee & in soe small a suite it beeing honest I hope yow will not faile vs

“ PHILIP MASSINGER.”

of computing the year ; and one of his latest known acts was to take a bond from Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger, for the advance of only £3. It was lent to them, we may conclude, on the day the bond bears date, 4th July, 1615, and they stipulated to repay it on or before the 1st August, at Henslowe's house on the Bankside. If Malone saw this document, he passed it over without notice, and Gifford knew nothing of the Dulwich papers but from Malone. Malone, indeed, discovered and transcribed many notes from Daborne, Rowley, Shaw, Day, and other dramatists ; but they were printed with marvellous inaccuracy in vol. xxi. of Boswell's edition of Malone's Shakespeare. The copies vary from the originals, still extant, in hundreds of instances, and sometimes the errors are important.* None of them are posterior to 31st December, 1613 ; whereas the following shews that Massinger was in pecuniary distress two years and a half subsequent to that date :—

Noverint Universi, &c. 4^o die Julij 1615.

“ The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bownden Robert Daborn and Phillip Massinger, or eather of them, shuld pay or cause to be payd unto the above named Phillip Heneblow, his exors administrators or assignes, the full and intier somm of three powndes of lawfull mony of England, at or upon the first day of August next insuing the date of these presents, at the now dwellinge howse of the said Phillip Henchlow, scituate one the Banksyde, without fraude or farther delay, then and from thencforth this present obligation to be voyd and of noe effect, or ells to remayn and abide in full power strength and virtue

“ ROB: DABORNE (L. S.)

“ PHILIP MASSINGER (L. S.)

“ Sealed and delivered in the
presence of us

“ WALTER HOPKINS”

* The following may be taken as a specimen. On p. 393, of vol. xxi., is a note, without date, though marked by Malone as of November, 1599, from Robert Shaw (or Shaa, as he spells his own name) to Henslowe, respecting the price of a play ; and at the back is a singular memorandum, clearly referring to some projected drama on the reign of Richard III. Faithfully

CHAPTER XIII.

Death of Philip Henslowe—Bill filed by John Henslowe against Agnes Henslowe, Alleyn, and Roger Cole—The Answer, with Particulars of Henslowe's Death and Property—Depositions of Witnesses—Alleyn's Liberality to the Prince Palatine's Players—Agreement of Alleyn with them, signed by the whole Company.

THE bond with which the preceding chapter concludes was the last act of the life of Henslowe, in relation to theatres, of which we have any information. He was afflicted with the palsy before his death,* and perhaps it rendered him for some months incapable of attending to business. He must have died about the 9th January, 1615-16, for a bill was filed in Chancery on the 23d January of that year, in which it is stated that he had then been dead "about fourteen days." This bill was filed by John Henslowe against Agnes Henslowe, Alleyn, and a person of the name of Roger Cole, executrix and overseers of the last will and testament of Philip Henslowe, and it is asserted in it that he died worth about £10,000 or £12,000; but, according to the answer of Agnes Henslowe, Alleyn, and Cole, the precise value of Henslowe's property at the time of his death was

copied it runs thus, and the remarkable differences may be seen on comparison.

" 1 Sce. W^m. Wor. and Ansill, and to them the plowghmen.

" 2 Sce. Richard and Q. Eliza. Catesbie, Lovell, Rice ap Tho., Blunt, Banester.

" 3 Sce. Ansell, Daug^r. Denys, Hen. Oxf. Courtney, Bouchier and Grace. To them Rice ap Tho. and his Souldiers.

" 4 Sce. Milton, Ban. his wyfe and children.

" 5 Sce. K. Rich. Catesb, Lovell, Norf. Northumb. Percye."

Besides other uistakes, Malone omitted the whole of the characters who were to be engaged in the fourth scene. The above was probably the scheme of an entire act, drawn up by concert, and as a guide, between two or more dramatists engaged on the same play.

* It appears from Henslowe's Diary that he had a sister who died of the same disorder.

£1700 12s. 8d. Two brief sheets of paper (the last unluckily imperfect), entitled,

“ The Breviat of the Cause depending in Chancery between

“ JOHN HENCHLOW Pl. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{EDWARD ALLIN} \\ \text{AGNES HENCHLOW} \\ \text{ROGER COLE} \end{array} \right\}$ Deff.”

are preserved at Dulwich. They contain the whole of the Bill, and apparently all that was very material of the Answer; and as they throw much light upon the relations of the parties, and shew precisely how and under what circumstances Henslowe disposed of his property, they are here inserted.

“ The Bill exhibited 23 Januari 1615.

“ Bill.

“ That Phillip Henschlow, one of the Sewers to the Kinge, having taken to wif the deff. Agnes, widdow to one Woodward, by whome she had one onely daughter named Joan married to the Deff. Edward Allin, being seized in fee of divers lands and tenements and possessed of divers leases goods and chattells to the valew of ten or twelv thowsand pownds about 14 days last past deceased without issue; after whose death the sayd estate ought to descend to the Pl. as his heyr at the common law, to which purpose the sayd Phillip Henschlow had made a former will in the tyme of his health and perfect memory.

“ That the Deff Edward Allin did confederate and practise with the defendants Agnes and Roger Cole to draw the sayd Phillip Henschlow to alter the sayd former will, and to settle his estate by a new will upon the sayd Agnes, an old decrepit woman, unable to governe such an estate, whearby all the estate of the sayd Phillip Henschlow might by this means come to the defendt Allen, as the man that having married hir daughter should have the governing of the sayd Agnes during hir lif, and after hir decease the possession of all in right of his wif.

“ That to this purpose the sayd Allin and Cole cawsed a draught of a will to be made, whearin they made the sayd Agnes his sole executrix and them selves his overseers, conveyng thearby the estate of his freehold lands to the sayd Agnes for term of her lif, as all the rest of his estate whatsoever, and brought the sayd will, so made betwixt them, to the sayd Phillip Hinchlow 2 or 3 howrs before his death, being past all sence and understanding; in soe much that the deff Allin put a pen into his hand, and would

hav guided the same to the subscribing of his name, but that he was other-ways advised, in so much that the sayd Phillip Hinchlow made onely some mark, like a dash with the penn, whoe in his perfect health was well able to write his name.

“That the sayd Phillip Hinchlow, being demaunded, wheather it wear his will or noe, made a pawse, not being able to speak, and at last cried, noe will, noe will.

“That to prov the confederacy, the deff Allin of his own devise cawsed the deff Cole to insert a clawse to his own advantage, of the legacy of such a one as should refuse to be orderd by the overseers, in case thear rose any question amongst any of them.

“That the deff Allin cawsed the will to be proved the next morning after the decease of the sayd Phillip Hinchlow, although it wear sabaoth day.

“AWNSWER.

“The effect of the Awnswere.

“That the Pl being a man of an ill carriage towards Phillip Hinchlow, his unkle deceased, the sayd Phillip had in his lif tyme often sayd he, the sayd Pl, should never have penny of his goods.*

“That Phillip Hinchlow married Agnes at such tyme as she was his M^{rs} and he hir servant, being wholly advanced by hir, whoe ever acknowledged the same and promised, if he died before hir, to make hir amends.

“That the goods and leases of the sayd Phillip wear, by sworn prayzers and the neighbors, prised and valewd only at 1700^l xijs 8d whearof 400^l was desperat debts; and as for the fee simple, the Pl sonn is to hav the greatest part thearof, after the decease of the sayd Agnes.

“That there never was any confederacy betwixt them, neither did any of them ever perswade the sayd Phillip Hinchlow to alter any former will; only the deff Cole sayth, that being sent for to the sayd Phillip Hinchlow in the tyme of sicknes, as a frynd and neighbor he advised him to settle his estate and make his will, upon whose motion the sayd Phillip Hinchlow did willingly prepare himself, and named what legacies he would giv, which the deff Cole set down in wrightinge; as also nominated the deff Agnes for his sole exor, and the deff Allin and Cole for twoe of his overseers, without any provocation or ordging of the deff, the sayd Phillip being of perfect memory.

“That the deff Cole, reading the will after it was drawn up accordinge to the former dyrections of the sayd Phillip, excepted at twoo things: one was

* In Henslowe's Diary at different dates are entries for money paid for John Henslowe's clothes, &c. One account is for law expenses, when John Henslowe disputed his father's will.

at the setting down only of 20 gowned for 20 poor men, saying he would be buried like the kings servant, and caused 40 to be sett downe. The 2 exception was, that whearas the overseers and others advised to put in a clawse into the will, that in case any question should arise about legaces, such a one as should refuse to be orderd by the overseers should forfeyt his or hir legacy, and the deff Agnes should hav the same. Now, the sayd Phillip altered the same and would have such legacy so forfeyed come to the deff Alleyn, alleadging this reason, that Agnes was old and unable to curbe them that should be turbulent in this case.

“That the deff Allin caused the will to be proved the next morning, though it wear Sunday, bycause the deff Agnes was so sick and weak, that he dispayred of hir lif till the next day.

“That the sayd Phillip Hinchlow was stroken sick with the palsy, and could not write his name by reason of the violent shaking of his hand, which maide the deff. Allin offer to guide him, after the sayd Phillip had of him self called for pen and ink to subscribe his sayd last will * * *.”

What we have inserted above obviously formed a portion of the brief given to Alleyn's counsel, who made some notes on a blank space, from which we gather that proceedings had been directed by the Lord Chancellor to try the validity of Henslowe's will. Among other notes are what appear to be memoranda of the depositions of witnesses on both sides, and, though they are incomplete, it may be well to quote them just as they stand in the hand-writing of the counsel, whoever he might be:—

“1 Pl not prejudiced by the obtaining of the will, for there is no devise to him.

“2 The guifte of the land not *ad bonum* of Allen.

“3 landes and leases during her life: the residue to the wife.

“4 Not of memorie in the forenoone.

“5 A will precedent suppressed.

“Robert Moore (a kinsman) had no legacie. He hath heard that the Pl is heere.

“6 The Thursday before he died he said he had made a will, written with his owne hand, but not finished, but he would doe it.

“7 Uppon the Saterdag Allen tolde him that he and Mr Cole had gotten him to make his will. The will being brought he made a scratch. P. H. beinge asked if it were his will, sayd yea: if he lived it was noe will: he setto his name, not as a witsesse, but to knowe it agayne.

“ 9 To the 9th. interr : he was not of perfit memorie to his understandinge.

“ Mich Shepd. 6. he knoweth not, but hath heard of a former will : he hath heard that Allen and Cole perswaded P. H. to make a will.

“ He sealed and subscribed the will in his presence : he ingrossed the will, but had not his instructions from the testator.

“ The will read by Mr. Cole the afternoone next before his death.

“ Ph. Hen. pulled of the seale, his understandinge reasonable good.

“ 40 gownes, the question how many gownes.

“ Noe thinge leaffe out nor added, except the devise of his sowle. and the power to the overseers.

“ W^m. Gooden 6. he was with him the morninge before his death.

“ 22. Uppon Saturday morninge, at 8 of the clocke, Mr Allen sayd he was sicke and not fitt to receive money : he is perswaded he was not fitt at that tyme to have disposed of his estate.

“ Edw. Griffin. 22. he was but once with him, one the Saturday at 3 of the clocke : he questioned with him to trye his memorie. He knewe him, and called him by his name.

“ He beinge asked if he heard them pray for him, he answered noe.”

The result probably was to establish the will, but upon this question we have little better than conjecture for our guide : no other documents regarding the suit are extant ; but Alleyn, after the death of his wife's mother in 1617, (as established by other papers at Dulwich), seems to have come into most of Henslowe's property, which was added to his own * while the College was in a course of construction.

The death of Henslowe necessarily re-involved Alleyn in theatrical affairs, and led to some painful and expensive disputes. His first act was one of liberality and generosity. The company of the Prince Palatine's players had become indebted to Henslowe to the extent of £400 ; and, on the 20th of March, 1615-16, about three months after the

* It appears by the original lease preserved at Dulwich College, that on the 19th of June, 1615, Alleyn let to Henry Harris two dwelling-houses, together with “ Pye Alley” and garden, “ standing next the mansion, place, or house, called Fisher's Folly,” in the parish of St. Botolph, for £30 per annum. These he had derived from his father.

death of Henslowe, we find Alleyn forgiving them at once £200 of what they owed, and accepting from the company an undertaking to pay the reduced sum by degrees, by allowing him one-fourth of the receipts of the galleries until the debt was liquidated. Jacob Meade was also a party to the deed, as far as related to the observance of certain articles previously entered into by the company with him and Henslowe; for at the time of Henslowe's demise he appears to have been in partnership with Meade, not only in Paris Garden, but in the Hope Theatre on the Bankside. The instrument itself, with all the original signatures of the players, is preserved at Dulwich, and the subsequent is a copy of it.

“Articles of Agreement indented, had, made, concluded and agreed upon the twentieth daye of Marche, Anno Dom 1615, betwene Edward Allen Esqr. and Jacob Meade of the one partie, and William Rowley, Robt. Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robt. Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, gents, of thother partie, as followeth viz.

“Where the said William Rowley Robt. Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, together with others, as well for divers sommes of monnye lent them by Phillip Henschlowe Esqr deceased, as for a stock of apparell used for playinge apparell to the valewe of 400^{li} pounds, heretofore delivered unto them by the said Phillip, are and doe stand joyntlye and severally bound unto the said Phillip and to the said Jacob Meade or one of them, in and by divers and sundry obligations of great sommes of monnye, to the somme of 400^{li} and upwards, as also for performance of certen Articles of Agreement on their the said William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn and others their parts and behalfe to be observed performed and kept, as in and by the same obligations and Articles of Agreement more at large it doth and may appeare: Item where there is at the speciall intreaty of them the said William Rowley, Robt Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, the daie of the date hereof, a quiet and peaceable agreement had and made by and betwene all the said parties to

these presents, and that he the said Edward Allen is contented and pleased to take of them the said William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton and other the parties to these presents the somme of twoe hundred pound only, to be paid in manner and forme herein after mentioned. First the said William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robt Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth, and William Penn for themselves joyntlye, and everye of them severallye their severall executors, and administrators, doe covenant promis and agree to and with the said Edward Allen and Jacob Meade, their executors and administrators, by these presentes that they the said William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, their executors and administrators, shall and will dayly and everye daye well and truly satisfye content and paye unto the said Edward Allen his executors, administrators and assignes, the fowerth parte of all suche somme and sommes of monnye, proffit and gayne shalbe gathered or taken, by playinge or otherwise, out and for the whole galleryes of the Playe House comonly called the Hope, scituate in the parishe of St. Savior in the countye of Surrey, or in anye other house, private or publique, wherein they shall playe, as the same shalbe dayly gathered or taken, accordinge to the full rate and proportion of the gayne and proffitt of the fowerth parte of the said galleryes, untill the said somme of 200^{li} shalbe there with fully satisfied and paid. And that they shall and will at all tymes from and after the sealinge hereof, well and truly observe performe, fullfill and kepe all and every the said Articles of Agreement heretofore made with the said Phillipp and Jacob or eyther of them, on their or any of their partes hereafter to be observed performed or kept. And that they the said William Rowley, Robert Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robt. Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn shall and will playe at the said House called the Hope, or elswhere with the likinge of the said Edward and Jacob, accordinge to the former Articles of Agreement had and made with the said Phillipp and Jacob or eyther of them, and their late promis synce in that behalfe made with the said Edward and Jacob. Item the said Edward and Jacob, for them their executors and administrators, doe promis and agree to and with them the said William Rowley, Robt. Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robt. Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, their executors and administrators, by these presentes that all and everye the bonds writings obligations and articles of agreement wherein and whereby they or anye of them stand

bound, or by which they doe owe to them, the said Phillipp or Jacob or eyther of them, anye somme of monney (except suche bonds bills and writings by which they or anye of them stand bound to the said Phillipp and Jacob or eyther of them for anye private dett borrowed of the said Phillipp, to or for his or their owne particuler use) shall from and after the full payment of the said somme of 200^{li} in forme aforesaid, and performance of the said articles of agreement, aswell heretofore made as herein and hereby promised to be kept hereafter on their parts to be observed performed and kept, be utterly voide frustrate and of none effect, only against them the said William Rowley, Rob^t Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Tho^s Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, their executors and administrators. And that then they shall or may have to their own use all such stock of apparell as they or anye of them had or received of or from the said Phillip, Edward and Jacob or anye of them. Provided that yf the said William Rowley, Rob^t. Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Robert Hamlett, John Newton, Hugh Attewell, William Barksted, Thomas Hobbs, Antony Smyth and William Penn, their executors and administrators and everye of them, shall not well and trulye paie the said somme of 200^{li}, as before the same is herein lymitted tobe paid, and performe the said articles of agreement, as well heretofore as by these presents promised tobe performed as aforesaid, that then the said Edward and Jacob their executors and administrators shalbe at free libertye to have and take all advantage in lawe against them the said William Rowley, Rob^t Pallant, Joseph Taylor, Rob^t Hamlett, John Newton and all other the said parties, their executors and administrators, and everye or anye of them, uppon all and every such bonds writings obligations and articles of agreement, and everye or anye of them, by which they or anye of them, by themselves or with others, are and doe stand bound or doe owe unto the said Phillip and Jacob, or either of them, anye somme of monnye. And also have full power and lawfull authoritye to take and seize into their, or some or one of their hands and possession all such stocke of playnge apparrell as they or anye of them now have or shall have, and the same detayne and keepe for and towards the payment of the sommes of monnye in the said bonds and obligations and every or anye of them mentioned, untill they shalbe thereof fully satisfied and paid, as if this present agreement had never byn had nor made.

“ Lastlye, it is agreed betweene all the said parties to these presents that they the said Edward and Jacob, their executors and administrators, shall and maye at all tymes hereafter have and take to their owne use all advantage and benefitt uppon the said bonds, obligations and articles of agreement, and every or anye of them, against anye person or persons, their

executors and administrators, named in the said bonds obligations and writings of agreement or anye of them, not beinge parties to these presents In witnes whereof the said parties aforesaid to these presents enterchangeably have sett their hands and seales, the daye and yeare first above written.

“ WILLIAM ROWLEY ROB^r PALLANT

“ JOSEPH TAYLOR

“ ROB^r HAMLETT JOHN NEWTON

“ WILL BARKSTED

“ ANTHONY T. HOBBS

“ SMITH

“ WILLIAM PENN HUGH ATWELL

“ Sealed and delivered in the
presence of

“ ROBERT DABORNE

“ THO. FOSTER EDW. KNIGHT.”

Thus we see, in this instance as in many others, a strong desire on the part of Alleyne to remain on the best terms with the parties with whom he was connected, and to make considerable pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of promoting peace and good-will. By this agreement he at once relinquished a sum equal to about £1000 of our present money.

CHAPTER XIV.

Progress and near completion of Dulwich College—Letter from Thomas Dekker to Alleyne—The Earl of Arundel's Letter to Alleyne on behalf of an Orphan—Stephen Gosson's (Rector of St. Botolph) early Attacks upon Theatrical Performances—His Letter to Alleyne respecting proper objects of his Charity—Second Letter from Gosson and certain Inhabitants of St. Botolph—Alleyne's Letter to Serjeant Greene respecting the Claim of a Person of the name of Burnett.

By the autumn of 1616, the construction of Dulwich College, which Alleyne named "The College of God's Gift," must have been considerably advanced, and it must have been then ready for the reception of some of the objects of the founder's

bounty. At this date Alleyn received a letter from one of Shakespeare's most popular and distinguished contemporaries, whose name will be very familiar to the ears of all who are only slightly acquainted with our ancient drama and its poets—Thomas Dekker. He was a playwright of great celebrity some years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and had written most of his pieces for companies with which Alleyn and Henslowe were connected. Like many of his class, he seems to have been a man of careless habits, as regarded his pecuniary affairs, living from hand to mouth, by turns affluent and needy, and supplying his pressing wants by the produce of his prolific pen. At the date of the following communication he was a prisoner in the King's Bench; and it was, no doubt, intended to induce Alleyn to make Dekker a present in return for some inclosed verses "in praise of charity," and in celebration of the benevolent work which was now approaching completion. The verses themselves have not survived, but the letter containing them was this:—

"To my worthy and wor^d freind Edw. Allin Esquier, at his house at Dullidge."

"Sr

"Out of that respect w^{ch} I ever caryed to yo^r Worth (now heightned by a Pillar of yo^r owne erecting) doe I send theis poore testimonies of a more rich Affection. I am glad (yf I bee the First) that I am the first to Consecrate to Memory (yf at least you so embrace it) So noble and pious a Work, as This, yo^r last and worthiest is. A passionate desire of expressing gladnes to See Goodnes so well delivered having bin long in labour in the world made mee thus far to venture. And it best becomes mee to Sing any thing in praise of Charity, because, albeit I have felt few handes warme thorough that complexion, yett imprisonment may make me long for them. Yf any thing in my Eûlogium (or Praise) of yo^r and yo^r noble Act bee offensive, lett-it bee excused because I live amongst the Gothes and Vandalls, where Barbarousnes is predominant. Accept my will howsoever And mee

"Ready to doe yo^r any service

"THO. DEKKER

"King's Bench Sept 12. 1616."

Dekker was a poet of ability, and a prose writer of great variety: he always "scribbled for bread," and has left behind him much that is utterly worthless in point of literary merit, but much also that well deserves preservation. It is to be regretted that his tribute to Alleyn has shared the fate of many things he and his contemporaries composed. We need entertain little doubt that Alleyn took steps to relieve his old friend's necessities, and, as it is stated that Dekker was released from prison in the very year his letter bears date,* it may not be too much to suppose that Alleyn had a hand in his liberation.

Another proof that the establishment of Dulwich College was so far completed as to be in a state for the reception of those for whom it was erected, is to be found in the subsequent note from the Earl of Arundell to Alleyn. This worthy nobleman had, doubtless, a great respect for Alleyn's sterling character, and subscribes himself "your loving friend," a style not very usual at that time for a peer to adopt towards a person who had been an actor, and in point of station so much his inferior. The intimacy was long kept up between them, and Alleyn mentions in his Diary, that he was at Arundell House in 1621, and that he had taken his lordship's opinion on the plan for rebuilding the Fortune theatre.

"To my loving frend, Mr. Allayne Esquire, these:

"Mr Allayne; wheras I am given to understand that you are in hand with an hospitall for the succouring of poore old people and the mainteynance and education of yong, and have now almost perfected your charitable worke: I am, at the instant request of this bearer, to desire you to accept of a poore fatherles boy to be one of your number, of whose case and necessitie this saed bearer will better informe you, which if yow shall doe at my request I shall take it kindly at your hands, and uppon occasion requite it, and rest

"Your loving frend

"T: ARUNDELL.

"Arundell house, the xvijth of
September 1616."

* By Oldys in his MS. notes to Langbaine.

The poor of the parish in which Alleyn was born, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, were objects of his earliest attention and regard, and in deciding upon fit persons to receive the benefit of his charity, he called to his aid the rector, whose advice would of course be valuable. Singularly enough the incumbent of the living in 1616, and for some years afterwards, was Stephen Gosson, who, having written plays himself, which were publicly acted, became as early as 1579 the bitter enemy of theatrical representations. He then printed his "School of Abuse, containing a pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters," &c. which he followed up at a later date by other attacks. He subsequently entered the Church; and, in 1598, when he printed a sermon called "The Trumpet of War," he called himself "Parson of Great Wigborow in Essex."

By what means, or in what year, he obtained the living of St. Botolph, is not known; but, as far as we can learn, he was conscientious and zealous in the discharge of his sacred duties. It is a strange coincidence, that this violent and vigorous adversary of the stage should, in the end, become a willing witness of the christian piety and humanity of one of its greatest ornaments, who derived much of his wealth from theatres, and who was anxious to apply it to such an admirable purpose. Gosson must have rejoiced in being an instrument towards its accomplishment, and in bearing testimony to the private virtues of a man who had belonged to a class which he had formerly so vehemently maligned. The earliest letter from him to Alleyn is in these terms:—

"To the worshipfull Edward Allen Esquire, at his howse at Dulwich,
give theis with speed."

"Salutem in Christo.

"Sir, I have now sente you a personale view of those three poore persons whose names were presented unto yow from the Church upon Sunday laste. .Mawde Lee, a very poore widow and a pensior of our parish, aged threescore yeares, and upward: Henrie Philippes, an almes man also of owers, upon the point of three score yeares; and John Muggieton of the

lyke age, trusting that upon this enterview yow will give them their direction when they shall be admitted unto your hospitale of poore folkes, which are the pledges Christ hath lefte with yow in his absence, whoe hath told us longe agoe that the poore you shall alwayes haue amonge yow corporally present, untill he come agayne in body to iudge the world and give recompence to those that have for his sake shewed any mercy heere to his images, and needy members heere. Thus recommendinge to the grace of ower good god, I rest,

“ Your verie lovinge and ancient freend,

“ STEPH : GOSSON Rect.

“ At my howse in St.

Botolphes withoute

Bishopsgate, 2 Octb.

1616.”

Hence we find that on the Sunday preceding the date of the above letter Alleyn had visited St. Botolph's Church, when the names of the poor candidates for his bounty, whom he afterwards saw personally at Dulwich, were given to him. We may conclude that they were admitted to the benefit of the charity; but another letter from the rector, the churchwardens, and five of the parishioners, dated nearly a year afterwards, shews that John Muggleton, one of the persons previously recommended, had been, for some unexplained cause, removed.* A successor was, therefore, recommended in the person of Edward Cullen, who was a single man; for, at this date, (1st September, 1617,) Alleyn had come to the determination that no poor man who was encumbered with a wife should be entitled to the advantages afforded by the College. The testimonials of the churchwardens and inhabitants were added to the recommendation of the rector, possibly because, in the case of Muggleton, the latter only had not been found sufficient.

* On the 21st July, 1620, the subsequent entry was made by Alleyn, shewing that the “removal” of Muggleton was not a solitary case:—
“Pd the pore ther pension, all but one man who was expulsed, and Boane that was drounk—7^{li}. 0^s. 0^d.” When paid without any deduction the monthly pension of the poor brothers and sisters was £8 8s. Boane was again fined 12d. for drunkenness on the 14th October, 1621.

“ To the worshipfull Edward Allin Esquire.

“ Our very hartly Commendations beinge Rendered. Whereas the Last weeke (upon the Removall of Muggleston) wee did commend unto yow one John Woodhouse, who, for that hee hath a wife, could not obtayne your acceptance to bee one of your Beadsmen. Wee have therefore made Choyce of one Edward Cullen, the bearer heerof, who is a Single man and hath longe time bin one of our pentioners: and for hee is aged and therefore past his labour, and withall knowne to us to bee of good Conversation, wee are the more Imbouldened to Commend him to yow, desireinge that yow would be pleased to admit of him to bee a participator of your deedes of Charitye, not doubtinge but hee will bee a very thankfull man both to god and yow, and so with our best wishes for your wellfare, we take our Leave, this first of September 1617.

“ Your worships very Loveinge frendes,

“ STEPH: GOSSON Rect.

(and seven others.)

Alleyn seems to have had a readier and abler use of his pen than might have been expected from his want of education, and from the active nature of his early life. He sometimes kept copies of his letters, or rather he made rough drafts of them, when they were upon any matter of importance, and did not destroy the drafts after he had sent away the fair copies. Several of these rough drafts are still in being, but until now they appear to have escaped all observation, and it certainly was no easy task to decipher them. Not long after the death of Henslowe, Alleyn was pestered for money by a person of the name of Burnett, who formerly was a man of property, and had expectations of getting into parliament. Elizabeth had been dead about five years, when a negociation was entered into between Burnett and Henslowe for the purchase of the Sewers' Office, which the latter had long held ;*

* At Dulwich College is preserved a bond given by Henslowe (witnessed by Alleyn and others), stipulating that he would relinquish his office of Sewer of the King's Chamber to Thomas Burnett, in consideration of the sum of £220. Alleyn is therein said to be “ of the parish of S^t Saviour's Southwark ;” but the money was to be paid to him at the house of Henslowe, as if he had himself no residence there in 1607.

but as the bargain was not completed, a sum of money, which Burnett had paid in anticipation, was returned. Subsequently, Burnet having consumed his estate applied to Henslowe twice for pecuniary assistance, and twice obtained it, not as a matter of right, but of compassion. When Burnett could procure no further supplies by entreaty, he appealed to a nobleman (most probably the Duke of Lennox), who heard the claim and Henslowe's answer to it, and decided against Burnett. Nevertheless, at the instance of Alleyn, Henslowe afterwards consented to make Burnett a present of an additional sum, taking, as he had done before, an acquittance against all future demands. After the death of Henslowe, in January 1615-16, Burnett resorted to Alleyn, and failing by solicitation had recourse to threats; upon which occasion Alleyn wrote the following letter (transcribed from his own rough draft) to Mr. Serjeant Greene (who is named in it) and another individual, not named (for no address is given), explaining exactly and clearly how the case stood: it will be found a very manly and straightforward statement, consistent with the plain dealing, plain sense, and plain language of the writer. It has no date, but it evidently belongs to the period at which we have now arrived.

“ Sir, att the first sight of the Letter you sent me, I was driven into an admiration to consider the bouldness of that audacious persone, whome nether tyme nor trouble can stop the swift current of his false and undeserved clamour; and although I have manye tymes sufficiently satisfied both hym and his frends concerning this matter, yett onc more I ame contented to deliver you the naked trueth of this busines.

“ About the first coming in of the King ther wase som contractt between my father Hensloe and Tho. Burnett for his place of a Sewer, my selfe being but only a stander by and a wittnes to the bargayne; and for his money I never had itt onc nigh in my custody, for itt apertheyned nott unto me, but only to my father Hensloe, as will apere by a great mans letter whoe writt to my father about the staying off the same money, for nott doing the which he purchast no small hate of the said party.

“ Afterwards I wase a wittnes that my father dd. and payd to the said Tho. Burnett, and to his use, all the said moneys back againe as the said

Tho. Burnett in theys wordes or the like dd. to me; I asking hym whether they 2 wear agreed, and he answered me yea, and that all matters wase fully satisfied and ended between them; and so itt aperd, for they contynued lovers and frendes a great while after that. But when the said Tho. Burnett had consumed his estat and living in great want, his witts began to wrest his honesty, and looking back to the former agreement would needes pick a quarrell with the trewth, yett never so bowldly as in this fashion he now doth, for he entreated me to move my father to consyder of his estat, in regard off the acquaintance was had with hym, which I faythfully did and procured a some of money tobe then given hym; but my father, verie wisely understanding by his letters in this busines his clamors nature, att the delyverie off the said some recevd off hym a generall release and acquittance, which I have to show. Some 3 or 4 yeere after that, having nothing to work on but his witts, [he] begon againe to harpe on the owld string, complaynd to my Lord Duke off supposed wrong don to hym by my father Hensloe, wher they often mett and wher, to the great disgrace of the said Burnett, my father verie sufficiently clerd hym selfe.

“Yett after this, in a verie mean fashion I was againe sowght by hym selfe and some frends off his, one Mr. Hindson Josin of St. Ellings and others, to move my father, that although ther did acrew to hym nothin off right, or dwty, yett in regard off his poverty he would doe some thing for gods [sake], which I did so effectually, that although I found hym extreamly unwilling, by the reson he had charged hym so unjustly before my Lord Duke, I procured him once more to give hym an other som of money, he pretending itt wase for his so great good as possible could be, or to furnish hym into the Parlmt, and that he would, if god ever made hym able, requitt with all thankfullnes. And uppon the rec. of the moneys the said Tho. Burnett made hym another acquittance and release. Nowe in all this progress he never demaunded any off me, but still made me the meane to move my father; but now my father Hensloe is gone, belike he thinkes to work on me for soome spending money: if he do, he wilbe much deceived. For the terrors of complaynt, which he would make me stand in fear off, he knowes is to no purpose, for the last tyme he spoke to me in the Strond, about a yeare and a half sinc, I then bid hym doe his worst, and so I do and will, for I fear no complaynt wher I haue made no offenc. And for a full conclusion to all his demaunds in breef thus:—I never delt with hym for on farthing, and therefore owe hym nott a farthing, but if I or my father had, I haue 2 sufficiet releases that will aquitt all his demaunds. And so much for the law: for conscienc, which is the Chancellor in every mans brest, iff that could tell me I ever ought hym on mitte, I would give hym 2 for itt, for, I thank god off his bounty, I am both able and willing to paye every man his owne. Thus

much have I thought good to wright unto your self and Mr Sergiant Greene, that you might not be carried away with the stream of slander, and with all to give you some information of the matter of his demaund, resting my self contented that they and such like false aclamations, being the theames of envie, hapen to me and others, ar rewards for hum[ility] and to cut of our love to earthly ambition, springing our desiers forward to the harbor of peac. And so, with my love and kind remembranc to you both, I comitt you to God, and shall always continue your trewe frend

“ E. A.”

Alleyn seems to have been governed by a praiseworthy economy in all his domestic arrangements, and he made the rough copies of his letters upon paper which had previously been applied to some other purpose, and was then of no apparent value. Thus the preceding letter was scribbled upon the back of an old bond given by Francis Henslowe to his relative Philip, dated the 16th of March, 1604.

CHAPTER XV.

Alleyn's Diary in his own Hand-writing — Cost of the Patent for Dulwich College, and Difficulties in obtaining it — Lord Bacon's Opposition — Completion of the College celebrated by a Banquet — Alleyn's Letter to Sir Francis Calton, respecting the Purchase of the Manor of Dulwich — Letter from the Rev. John Harrison, Alleyn's Chaplain, proposing to marry his Niece.

It will have been observed that the last document we have inserted, with a date, is Stephen Gosson's letter to Alleyn, of the 1st of September, 1617. Alleyn's Diary commences on the 29th of that month, and from it we shall now glean some particulars not yet touched upon. To a few points established by this very curious and authentic record,* we have already adverted in the course of our narrative.

* It is a long, narrow folio, bound in parchment, the cover being made of an old lease which had been cancelled.

On the 30th of September, when Alleyn went to Croydon to dine with "the borough men," as he calls them, he paid Gilpin, the mace-bearer to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "his fee of the consecration," that is, of the consecration of the chapel of the college, which was then, of course, finished. We may infer that this ceremony was performed by the archbishop himself, Dr. Abbott, with whom Alleyn was upon intimate terms, for he not unfrequently registers that he went to dine with his grace. On the 6th of August, 1619, Alleyn says, "I dind with my Lo. of Canterbury, and red to hym the Corporation and the foundation," meaning the Patent under the Great Seal, which he had obtained on the 16th of July preceding, and for which under that date he enters the following charges:—

" July 16. Mathias [Alleyn] fetcht the Great Sealle—		
water		0. 0. 6
" The charge for the Great Seale.		
The Seale	8. 13. 0	} 18 ^{li} . 16 ^s . 10 ^d "
The Dockett and rec.	0. 3. 0	
The inrowlment	2. 0. 0	
The dividant	2. 0. 0	
The officers fee	2. 13. 4	
For drawing, ingrossing and } entering the dockett	0. 3. 4	
Vellome and Strings	0. 17. 6	
The clark	1. 0. 0	
	17. 10. 2	
For vellome and ingrossing of the first patent	1. 6. 8	

Alleyn did not accomplish this great object of his life without much difficulty, for he had to encounter and overcome the opposition of Lord Chancellor Bacon, to which we shall advert more particularly presently. On the 8th of July, 1617, Alleyn informs us that he had gone to the Attorney General

“about my foundation,” and on the 11th he received it from him, who liberally refused to accept any fee; but to Mr. Beale and other officers Alleyn paid £6 17s. 6d. for it. At this time the royal signature was wanting, and on the 14th of July Alleyn “rode to Wanstead, where the Marquis of Buckingham undertook the king’s hand” to it. He left it with the Marquis, and sent Mathias Alleyn for it two days afterwards, but he came back without it, and Alleyn went to London several times, being still unable to procure it. On the 16th of August he paid Mr. Anthony £8 “for the Patent, and for putting the signet and privy seal,” and on the next day he “went to London to the Lord Chancellor’s about staying the Patent.”

Lord Bacon’s letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, explaining why he had “stayed the Patent at the Great Seal,” bears date on the 18th of August, the very day after he had seen Alleyn. He tells the Marquis, “I now write to give the King an account of a Patent I have stayed at the Seal: it is of license to give in mortmain £800 land, though it be of tenure in chief, to Allen that was the player, for an hospital. I like well that Alleyn playeth the last act of his life so well; but if his Majesty give way thus to amortize his tenures, the Court of Wards will decay, which I had well hoped should improve. But that which moved me chiefly is, that his Majesty now lately did absolutely deny Sir Henry Saville for £200, and Sir Edward Sandys for £100 to the perpetuating of two lectures, the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge, foundations of singular honour to his Majesty, and of which there is great want; whereas hospitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit less. If his Majesty do like to pass the book at all, yet if he would be pleased to abridge the £800 to £500, and then give way to the other two books for the universities, it were a princely work, and I would make an humble suit to the King, and desire your Lordship to join in it, that it might be so.”

On the 18th of September, Alleyn paid a shilling “for

ingrossing a particular of the lands *in capite* to shew the Lord Chancellor:" on the 13th and 26th of October he took "wine with Lord Chancellor's gentlemen," and thus the matter rested until the 14th of January, when he had another interview with the Lord Chancellor, but no result is stated. On the 26th of May he again saw the Attorney General, when Allen records, "after that I received my Patent once more of Mr. Attorney, who as before refused to accept any fee." On the next day he says, "I rode to Greenwich, and got the King's hand." On the 7th of June he "paid once more for the signet and privy seal" £5; on the 15th of July he waited upon the Lord Chancellor respecting the Great Seal, and on the next day, as has been already shown, Mathias Alleyn brought it to Dulwich. Such, with five shillings "paid to Tomsone for a box to keep the Great Seal in," is the history of the tedious process by which Alleyn at length accomplished his benevolent design. It seems more than probable that the impediments which so long stood in his way were removed by the kind instrumentality of the Duke (then Marquis) of Buckingham. *

* In Alleyn's Diary, under date of 26th May, 1620, we read as follows:—

"My wife and I acknowledge the fyne att the Comon Pleas barre of all my landes to the Colledge. Blessd be God that hath lent us lyffe to doe itt."

His wife Joane, there is every reason to suppose, was a willing party to the whole arrangement; at least Alleyn gives no hint to the contrary. The subsequent entries precede that above quoted:—

"May 15. Pd for inrowlling the Colledge deed in the
 Chauncerie 2. 2. 0
 Water to Westminster to acknowledge it in
 the Comon Pleas 0. 0. 4
 23. Pd my fyne being rated, all the landes att 65^u,
 the Howses within Bishopsgate at 20^u, the
 Fortune att 20^u. I pd the xth per c. which
 came to 10. 10. 0."

The deed of foundation of "God's Gift College," which was enrolled on the 15th May, 1619, bears date on the 13th April preceding, and the Patent on the 21st June, though Alleyn did not get possession of it until the 16th July. The 13th September was a day of signal triumph to him, for then it was that the foundation and completion of the great work of charity and munificence were celebrated. The following entry is copied from his autograph Diary:—

"This daye was the fowndation off the Colledge finisht, and there were present, the Lord Chancellor; the Lo. of Arondell; Lo. Coronell Cieccl; Sir Jo. Howland, High Shreve; Sir Edward Bowyare; Sir Tho. Grymes; Sir Jo. Bodley; Sir Jo. Tunstall; Inigo Jones, the K. Surveyor; Jo. Finch, Councillor; Ric. Tayleboyce; Ric. Jones; Jo. Anthony. They first herde a Sermond, and after the Instrument of Creacion was by me read, and after an Anthem they went to dinner."

To this is appended a list of the viands, with their quantities and prices, the whole expense having been £20. 9s. 2d.* more than £100 of our money at its present value.

We thus see the founder in full possession of the manor of Dulwich and other lands for the endowment of his College, now nearly completed, and sanctioned by a royal Patent under the Great Seal of England. We may therefore take this opportunity of inserting a letter which throws a great deal of light upon the particular mode in which the manor of Dulwich devolved into Alleyn's hands. It is from Alleyn in reply to Sir Francis Calton, who, after he had parted with the estate, seems to have repented that he had sold it, and to have reproached Alleyn with some undue proceeding in obtaining it. Alleyn repels the imputation with becoming indignation. Our transcript is from Alleyn's rough copy, without date and much mutilated, but still enough can be

* The details of the banquet may be seen extracted at large, by such as have curiosity in matters of the kind, in Lysons' "Environs," i. 98. The reverend author also made other quotations from Alleyn's Diary, but with frequent errors of transcription.

made out to render the reply in most of its parts sufficiently intelligible, and to show how much the better Alleyn had of the argument, treating the subject as he does in his usual distinct, manly, and straightforward way, and without "much schollership." He asserts that Dulwich had cost him £5000, that he had purchased it when no other buyer could be found, and that he had been compelled to pay 800 marks for the patronage, which ought in fact to have gone with the rest.

Sir Francis Calton in his letters (which cannot be found) had taunted Alleyn, among other things, with having been originally a player, a point which the latter seems, in the first instance, to have intended to have passed over in silence; but he added a slip at the end, in which he makes a retort that could not have been very grateful to the feelings of the knight, who had evidently foolishly squandered the property left him by his father. The details of the transaction are not always clear for want of the epistles to which what follows is the answer; but Alleyn, as we learn from other sources, had exchanged some property at Kennington with Sir Francis Calton, in completing the bargain for Dulwich. This, too, it appears the knight afterwards sold, and complained that he had been deceived about its value. Mention is also made of a house at Greenwich with which Sir Francis Calton was not contented, no doubt referring to the assignment by Alleyn to the knight of the lease of a dwelling at Greenwich, "near the Park," on the 8th Feb. 1615, which lease Alleyn had purchased on the 26th May, 1608, as appears by original evidences.

"Sir Fr. I have received your strange letter. Itt beres no date, and therefore I can nott conjecture howe long you have bene in this mind; for as I take itt at our last parting all was [def. in MS.] at least on your side, for you reseivd your right, but I nott myne, which long er this I expected would have bene performed. Nowe to answer your severell rashe unfrendly letters for these 3 [def. in MS.] bear, though nott with so much schollership, for I have none at all, as you, yett with a great deal more

trewth, I thus begin. First you complayne of 15^l [def. in MS.] in Kenington as a great some, and thereby I knowe you have well studied the art of multiplication. I answer that my selfe hard you att our first meeting with [def. in MS.] Carey 1800^l which you refusing, so it coust you 2050^l and you would not [def. in MS.] fiftye. What after bargaine you made with hym I know nott: so iff you had [def. in MS.] itt, your loss had ben but 200^l, but had you sould itt for 500^l or given itt for nothing, what is this to me, no more then my giving awaye [def. in MS.] ing all Dull. as iff you had bene for lack of a good tytle. Unkind by lawe [def. in MS.] wear some thing [def. in MS.] and yett is that to me nothing, for I well remember and well [def. in MS.] any tyme be dep [def. in MS.] one first person about itt, you asked me of the tytle, and I answerd itt [def. in MS.] you disliking. I further said in theys wordes, Whie, Sir Fr. you have now asked me no further in the sute of Dull. for that which for my evidence I have but the Gr. Seal of England, and so have you for Kenington, and iff the state should be at any tyme pleased to returne all Abeylandes to ther former use, I must lose Dull. for which I have paid now 5000^l. So likewise iff all such leases made by queen Eliz. should by the king or prince be cald in and made frustrate, you must indure the losse of Kenington which you paid 2000^l [for]; to which you answered and said, In trewth all thinges in this world is uncertayn, and so you concluded to receive it most willingly without any pressing you to itt once, or proving itt on your show, for it wase your earnest desier. Nether was I so willing to leave itt as you suppose, for then I could have accepted the offer of 2 persones, which would have given me as much for itt as you paid.

“ And whereas you touch on my disposition in the dedycating of that mite which god hath given me (and bleast itt with me) bringing example from Kanut, David and Selymus, all in despight and derogatory of my sincere and well meaning act, wherein I confess you have shewen much reading, and with all much envie. You say you forbere to make aplycation: you may very well, you have proved itt so playnly; but judge no man least you be judged. My hart in that action is best knowne to god that gave itt me. Yf I have don itt for worldly glorie or vayne ostentation, god knowes and will reward accordingly. All the sons off Adam are full off sin: ther is none that doth good, no nott one; and I confess my selfe to be the most sinfullst of all, and how then can I attribut to my selfe any action of goodnes? You demaund what hope I justly could have that god would blesse or prosper the purchase which I had procured by so unjust and so indirect meanes? I must withstand your murmur and harshe phrases, protesting I never intended to deal so unjustly with you, as you dyd by me in making me paye 800 markes more then I bargained for the patronage, then I should have

done, affirming untrewly it was sowld to Sir E. Duke and divers such like thinges which I cau call to memorie when tyme shall serve; and for the prosperity of the purchase, I thank god of his goodaes he hath blest itt better to me then eather to your father or your selfe; and, I give hym prayse, not only Dull. and Kennington, but all the thinges that ever I mett with all hath bene most prosperous and behoofefull unto me, where contrary wise all that ever you delt with all, so farre as my knowledge will goe, hath bene unfortunat to your great losse: for having Dull. you wear still at law with the tenautes, in so much that your self towld me that you never sawe itt but with a heavie hart (wher, I thank god, I look uppon itt with joy). Your pencioners place you cowlde nott kepe: Greenwich howes could nott content you; nor many other places. Kennington itt self had you kept [def. in MS.] M^r Alexsander had bene a bargayn good enough, but wher your [def. in MS.] ing of god is not all thinges turned to the worse, as gayne to losse, wisdom to folly, rest to contest, peace to discontent; and whilst a man thinkes to avoyd this fate by shifting many places, he doth but lyke the [def. in MS.] diseased, who hopes by changing beddes and chambers to leave his greef behind [def. in MS.] when he bears your envie in his brest.

“ I wright nott theys thinges to greve you, but wishe you to look back upon your self before you judge another: nether will I any waye judge you, nor my self, but lett god be the judge between you and I. All this is but a short and rude answer to your discontent. More, lett me shewe you a little of my owne. First for the purchase of Dull. Sir, you made me pay more for itt then any other man should have done: witnes Sir Hugh Brownings own wordes, which many tymes he affirmed: next, when we had agreed, you towld me the patronage was gone to your brother Duke, and so gleand the Coll. of my bargayne; but when I towld you twas parte of your bargaine and a thing fitt for me, being allwayes belonging to Dull. then you wrested me to paye you 800 markes more, being in all above 1000^l more then any man would give for itt; for a skriverer in London towld me you offred him 40^l to gett you a chapman for it, being 7 year upon sale and refused by all men. Next, when I requierd to see your evidence, to shewe itt my councell, you towld me you had nothing but a greate seale and that the title was playne: your grand father bought itt of the K, your father had itt from hym, and you of your father; but before I could have and se the greate seale I was fayne to pay 1700^l for redemption out off mortgage, on which I disbursed to your sol^r. 300^l more, and made up the somme 2000^l. Then coming to councell you could not produce the manor evidence that showld derive the land to you, and your father being the yongest brother, and so nott heyr to your grand father,

the purchaser; which made my councillor saye, you went about to cheat me and wisht me nott to deal with itt at any termes, unless that wrighting weare brought forth. Therupon you stayd 6 months, and I resolved nott to deale with itt; but you continually importuned me to receive itt, saying you were utterly undon unless I went forward with itt. I offred you to pass itt to any other man, and to lett you have the use of my 2000^l for nothing, but you replyd itt wase for no man if not for me. So in a maner you forst me to take itt, and for my better security 3000^l showld rest in my handes 6 yeares tyll all fynes and reconizances were perfyted by lawe, you receaving annually for the forbearance 213^l 6^s. 8^d which duly was performed on my parte.* But you, still discontented, as nowe you are, never willing to receive the paymentes according to the agreementes, but must have your quartredge before itt was due, and many tymes 2 q^r. to geather. Then I wase importuned to disburse parte of the principall for the purchase of Greenwich howse, and more to serve your occasions in building or otherwise, so the 1000^l of the 3 was received and out of my handes longe before itt showld: the other 2000^l in my handes wase still a great eye sore with you, so that continually I was importuned to lett you have that also, to which I answered that att your daye you showld have itt."

On a loose slip, marked with an asterisk:—

"* And where you tell me of my poore originall and of my quality as a Player. What is that? If I am richer then my auncesters, I hope I maye be able to doe more good with my riches then ever your auncesters did with their riches. You must now beare povertye and if you beare it more patiently then I, your desert wilbe the gretter. That I was a player I can not deny, and I am sure I will not. My meanes of living were honest, and with the poore abilytyes wherewith god blesst me I was able to doe something for my selfe, my relatives and my frendes, many of them nowe lyving at this daye will not refuse to owne what they owght me. Therefore am I not ashamed."

The whole letter is very difficult to be read; but it has few erasures, and it is written as an indorsement on a brief sheet, of what seems to have been originally intended by Alleyn as part of his will. At the back, and meant probably

* This passage refers to transactions as far back as the year 1606. A deed is preserved at Dulwich, thus indorsed by Alleyn: "Bargaine and sale of the Mannor of Dulwich, from Sir Fra. Calton and his Ladie to me, Ed. Alleyn."

as portion of the same letter, we read as follows, but there is no indication of the place where the passage ought to be inserted :—

“ Howe so ever you handled the matter I know nott, but had I kept itt, still I would nott have lost one peny by itt; for I knowe the Prince, at the tyme my most excellent M^r., whose love to all his servantes wase suche, that I knowe he would have protected me in my right; and iff I had not gayned, yett he would nott have sene me sustayne losse in his servis.”

It has been shewn, that Alleyn, long before he finally obtained his Patent for endowing Dulwich College with lands to the amount of £800 a year, had admitted and maintained various objects of charity. On Christmas Day, 1617, he and his wife “received and dined the poor people, and they did so again on the 4th January. On the 24th March, 1617-18, we meet with the following memoranda :—

“ Pd M ^r Young, my chapline and Schoo ^l m ^r ., for his q ^{rs} . wages	5. 0. 0
Pd M ^r Harrisone,* my chapline and Usher, for his q ^{rs} . wages	3. 6. 8”

So that he had two chaplains, who were employed to teach the children whom he charitably maintained, considerably more than a year before he finally procured his Patent.

There is extant at Dulwich a long and formal letter, without date, from the Rev. Mr. Harrison, the chaplain and

* Under date of January 22, 1618-19, we read the subsequent memorandum :—

“ Bought between me and Jo Harrison, my Chap- line, M ^r Minchawes dictionarie, being ij lan- guages, the price was 22 ^s . whereof I gave	0. 11. 0”
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He does not, however, seem to have purchased many books. In different parts of his Diary we read of the following added to his stock :—“ The general Practice of Physic;” “ A book of the Bishop of Spalates;” “ Fall of Shabot;” “ A booke of Articles;” “ Two bookes of Googes Husbandry;” “ Rules of Lyfe;” “ The Black Prince;” “ An of Bullen;” “ The Cur-rant of News.”

usher above mentioned, which has no address, but was doubtless sent to Alleyn. It contains an avowal by the writer, that he had secretly married Alleyn's niece, who lived in the College in the capacity of a servant. The rev. gentleman very elaborately argues the matter, presenting the case in all its bearings; and we may presume that he succeeded in reconciling the founder, as he left "the wife of John Harrison, clerk," a legacy in his will. It runs thus:—

"Worth Sir. Not unfitlye is it spoken of the Poett, (*Dicere quæ puduit, scribere jussit Amor*) what shamefastnes forbids to speake, love commandes to write, like another alured about a match, not with Spaine but mine owne. Whereas, whether to your knowledge or without your knowledge, there hath bene affections bred and combined betwixt your kinswoman and me, and now united in a more sure maner then I presume yow know of: though many and sundry causes, and of them not a few, to me have seemed somewhat more serious then peradventure in other mens judgements they are, caused me to conceale this matter even from your self, to whom I confesse it ought to have bene first imparted, which though it come now a day after the faire, yet I hope not after the acceptance, nor after the desire of your best wishes upon it. To implead any mediate cause in this or that kinde were to be reputed rather like Eves defect, a crime then argument of this conclusion, and therefore not humane, much lesse schollerlike: onely, I appeale to the everliving god who (I do verily beleve) had an extraordinary hand in it, as is best knowne to my selfe by the passages thereof betwixt us, and I hope he hath ordeined it to both our good, to meward I verily beleve, if it please god to doe so much by me to herward. To satisfye then your self, whom I know none ought more to expect it then your self (settinge aside both our parents if extant) the conclusions were so hasty betwixt us (which I confesse argues want of judgement in me) that I did undergoe this concealed course for diverse reasons: viz^t if the worlde had noted my supposed folly in so affectinge, it might happily have prevented my fortune (the question is better or worse)—2^{dly} She was under the name of your servaut. I know no other, and it would have bene thought unfit in my poore judgement that a Ministers wife should have served tables, especially the wife of one (be it spoken without arrogancye) that hath taken the degree of M^r. of Artes. Yf concent on all sides had bene graunted, and the marriage more publicly celebrated, there might have bene more adooe then needed, and expences greater then I am sure there are, and I lesse contented, lovinge plainenes. 4^{thly} The nature of

this place moved me much to this silent course, by cause I am and was always loath to be a prejudice to any future statute which I have conceived to have extended by yow, howsoever I thought it would be lesse offensive or prejudiciall to your self, whom in this case I confess I onely respect. Be it so, thes reasons may be reputed no reasons, blamed I may be, shamed I cannot be in this action because honest and godly. Other reasons I could alledge as likely consequences of the former. As in respect of the inconveniences which might have happened upon it, as appeared evidently at the not to be mentioned distast yow had of me not longe since, and other occasions in the like nature I could instance in. 2^y The now breeding estate of your schole, which if it be intercepted before it come to a fuller growth, a greater inconvenience may happily arise then yow expect and others suggest unto yow, though I confess I not so worthy as I could wish. Other occasions in another nature which I leave to your mature judgement and consideration without my advise or declaration. If there be any other error (as far as I see) it is to my self, that I prepared myself like an Atlas, or an asse, to beare as questionlesse the worlde, so soone as it comes to light, may repute me, consideringe what matches I might have had, if carefull of my self, though now through my inconsideratenes I seeme to stand at the hazardes mouth: yet two thinges my comfort, my hope and love; the first to god an allsufficient father, who will not suffer me to fall, though I know some fat buls may thrust sore at me to make me fall, nor to want, seinge I have often prayed and in part learned to be content with what estate soever, knowinge that godlines is the onely true gaine: the second my love recipocall betwixt her and me, in that truest concent that (I protest) in respect of my assurance that god hath bestowed on me a virtuous and well disposed maide. I would not (I once againe protest) exchange, observing the course of the worlde, for the revenue of the best man in this parishe, (which for ought I know is your self) so much I esteme an honest and godly mind beyond riches; yea though I should not acquire one farthinge by her, yet I hope to be happy with her. You may impose rashnes by cause, not bitt with the worlde, I impute beleefe the basis of a lively hope. Thus (with many others) casting myself on your (I must confess) foretasted curtesye, I doubt not that you will thinke me unworthy of your kinswoman by cause the thinge hath proceded from the Lord who hath thought me worthy, nor my freeindes thinke me too worthy of one so well qualified; but with your favours and their furtherance we may love and live to gods glory, your good likinge, our freendes comfort and our own soules health and happines. And though I cannot add to your happines which (god be thanked) god hath so largely bestowed on yow, yet perad-

venture somewhat to your use, and I rather brave a free dismisse then be any prejudice, which I thinke cannot be Durante vita vestra, which I pray god longe to continue to your endles happines and the comfort of many to whom god hath made yow a fosterfather; or els, rather then I should admitt any disgrace, which may many wayes happen in respect of my self or my wife, I pray god direct yow aright herein to his farther glory and the mutuall love of yow and us. Thus daly prayinge for your welfare and your bedfellowes, I rest ever

“ Yours not so much in tongue as affection

“ Jo. HARRISON.”

The commencement would lead us to suppose, that the letter was written while the match with the Infanta of Spain was on the tapis; but it is clear that Alleyn had not yet come to the resolution, afterwards embodied in one of his laws for the College, that none of the fellows should be married men.

CHAPTER XVI.

Alleyn's Diary continued — His Birth-day and Wedding-day celebrated — His Guests and Friends at Dulwich — Jack Wilson, the Singer — Marston's Play of Columbus — Mathew Roydon's Poverty — A Play performed by the Boys at Dulwich College — Alleyn's Fee at Court, and discharge of the Duties of his Office — Hymn in his hand-writing — Alleyn's health — Petition from Alleyn against Jacob Meade — Arbitration of their dispute. V

THOSE objects of Alleyn's bounty and benevolence whom he called, in his Diary and elsewhere, “ the poor brothers and sisters,” were accustomed to dine with the founder and his wife and family on particular occasions. One of these was the birthday of Alleyn, and, on the 1st Sept. 1618, he made an entry in his Diary in the following terms:—

“ 1618 Sept. 1. This day the pore people dind with us, it being my birth daye and my 52 year owld: blessed be the Lord God, the giver of life. Amen.”

There is a similar note on the same day next year; and, on Sept. 1st, 1620, we have the additional information, that on that day "the 12 brothers and sisters had their gowns," for he furnished them with part of their clothing, as well as with food and lodging. In 1621 he "celebrated" his birthday, for some reason, on the 2d Sept.; and the last entry of the kind is Sept. 1st, 1622, which runs thus:—

"Wee took the communion, feasted the pore, and gave the 12 ther newe gownes; and this being my birth day I am full 56 years owld: blessed be the Lord God, the giver of lyffe. Amen."

The Diary ends at Michaelmas, 1622, in the following manner:—

"This Booke contaynes the account of 5 years, viz from Michellmass 1617, to Michellmass 1622.

The generall disbursed for theys years is	. 8504.	04.	8½
Wheroff in particuler as followeth.			
Howshowld charge . . . . .	. 0917.	11.	2
The Colledge . . . . .	. 1315.	04.	2
Rentes . . . . .	. 1547.	19.	2
Debtes, building and repairing . . . . .	. 3373.	17.	7
Lawe . . . . .	. 0207.	8.	1½
Aparell . . . . .	. 0078.	18.	8½
Some of theys particulers . . . . .	. 7440.	19.	0
Other Expenses . . . . .	. 1063.	5.	8½
In theys 5 years hath bene disbursed about			
building or repairing the Colledg . . . . .	. 0802.	07.	9
"Praysed be the name off our good God, both now and ever, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen."			

Thus it is evident, as the building and repairing of the College only cost £802 7s. 9d. in five years, that the greater part of the money expended upon the structure, &c. had been disbursed before Alleyn kept this book,* and was, doubtless, entered in one of a preceding date, which is un-

* Yet he enters various sums at different dates for alterations, additions, and improvements, as well as for ornaments. One of the most remarkable of the latter was the erection of a chimney-piece in "the great chamber," made out of the "upper part of the Queene's barge," which Alleyn bought

fortunately not now in existence. The latest entry in his extant Diary relates to money expended upon the College, &c. and it runs thus :—

“ 30 Sept. 1622. Disbursed for building this yeare, since the 1 of January 1621 to this 28 off September 1622, in repairing Baxtors howse about 8^u: the rest for the Colledg, as finishing the gates and walls off the cloysters, chymneyes and foundation, tilling the cloysters, the Mast. hows, the outer porch, the great Garden hows, and reparing all the other roofes and leaden spouts, with cestron and pipes, with cocks, paving the great kitchen, with other things 163*li*. 2*s*. 2*d*.”

On the 13th of July, 1620, he says : “ I laid the first brick of the fowndation of the Almes houses in Finsburie ;” and on the 23d June 1621 he paid £4 “ for five chaldron of coale for the 10 members in St. Giles Parish.”

He mentions his wife on the 24th Sept. 1622, and she lived about nine months after the Diary closed. We have seen that, according to the memorandum in Henslowe’s account-book, Alleyn was married to Joane Woodward on the 22d Oct. 1592. The twenty-fifth anniversary would, therefore, have fallen on the 22d Oct. 1617 ; but, in Alleyn’s Diary, we meet with the subsequent note, dated the 19th Oct. :—

“ Our wedding daye: there dind with us Doc. Nott, ould Best, his wife. Canterburie, his wiffe. Jo. Boane, Mr Harris and his frend Ro. Joace.”

for £2. 2*s*. 6*d*. on 19th Dec. 1618. On the 16th July, 1619, he paid £1. 17*s*. 6*d*. for the joiner’s work in putting it up ; and, without the original cost of the materials, the whole expense was £2. 9*s*. 5*d*. This is no doubt the same “ chimney-piece” which is now in the Library, and the columns there used probably originally supported the roof of the Queen’s barge. Much praise cannot be given to the founder’s taste in the affair : the paintings, we presume, were executed for him, and they are not certainly favourable specimens of the arts in his time. They were possibly by the same hand that furnished his fourteen heads of the Kings of England, which he bought on the 29th Sept. and 8th Oct. 1618, and his “ 14 heads of Christ, our La. and the 12 Apostels,” which he procured from Mr. Gibkin at “ a noble a pece.” In Aug. 1620 he paid £1. 4*s*. for carvings of the Four Seasons, which, on the 4th Sept., were put up as ornaments to chimney-pieces.

In the next year, Alleyn tells us that the 25th Oct. was his wedding-day, but possibly he kept it then instead of on the 22d Oct., because on that day he had to ride to London to meet Sir Francis Calton on business. No memorandum relating to it is found in 1619, but, in 1620, the celebration is noted under the date originally given by Henslowe :—

“ Oct. 22. This daye was our weding daye, and ther dind with us Mr Knight, Mr Maund, and his wife, Mr Mylyor, Mr Jeffes, and 2 frendes with them, a precher and his frend, Mr Wilson the singer,* with others.”

Therefore, there is no doubt that Henslowe was correct, though for some cause, not explained, Alleyn's wedding-day was twice kept on other days. The Diary is silent as to 1621, and it does not come down so low as Oct. 1622.

Much proof is given in the Diary of Alleyn's hospitality, especially to persons who continued in the profession of which he was formerly so great an ornament. The first name that we meet with among his guests of this description is that of William Cartwright, probably the father of him who in 1687 bequeathed to Dulwich College his books and pictures ; and who, in his edition of Heywood's " Apology for Actors," (first printed in 1612) under the title of " The Actor's Vindication," (without date, but during the suppression of theatrical representations), thus speaks of Alleyn :—

“ In his life time he erected a College at Dulwich for poor people, and for education of youth : when this College was finished this famous man was so equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own pensioner, humbly submitting himself to that proportion of diet and clothes which he had bestowed on others, and afterwards was interred in the same College.”†

* It seems highly probable that this " Mr. Wilson, the singer," was no other than " Jacke Wilson," who personated Bathazar in " Much ado about Nothing," and whose name is inserted in the first folio of Shakespeare, instead of that of the character he represented. Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, vii. 59.

† In the General Biographical Dictionary, it is absurdly enough stated that Heywood, writing in 1612, had given this eulogium upon Alleyn, who

Besides that of Cartwright we meet with the names of Lowin, Gunnell, Parr, Dunston, Juby, Massye, Taylor, Hobbs, Jeffes, Price, Borne, Grace, Hunt, and others, as having dined at Dulwich, sometimes with their wives, sons, and daughters; while entries, that "5 of the Fortune Company," "four of the Princes men," "the King of Bohemes men," were present on similar occasions, are not unfrequent.*

Considering that dramatic poets were so numerous about this period, and a little earlier, and that Alleyn must necessarily have been acquainted with many of them, we are surprised not to see such men as Jonson, Chapman, Dekker, Heywood, Webster, Marston,† Middleton, &c. among the persons occasionally entertained at Dulwich; but we find none such, and Alleyn does not seem, in this respect, to have kept up his connection with the stage. In one instance we

had not then built his College, and who died 14 years afterwards. The error arose from thinking Cartwright's re-publication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors" a mere reprint; whereas, he made several changes and additions, of which the passage above quoted is one.

* On the 26th October, 1619, Alleyn attended "the buriall of Mr. Benfield," who had been an actor, and was one of Alleyn's most intimate friends.

† The following undated note from Marston to Henslowe may not be unfitly introduced here: it refers to a play by Marston on the subject of Columbus, of which we hear on no other authority. It is one of the scraps of correspondence between Henslowe and the poets in his employ, existing at Dulwich College, of the major part of which Malone has given copies, but omitting the subsequent, which is certainly one of the most interesting of the whole collection.

"Mr. Hensloe, at the rose on the Bankside.

"If you like my play of Columbus, it is verie well and you shall give me noe more then twentie poundes for it, but If nott, lett mee have it by this Bearer againe, as I knowe the kinges Men will freeleie give mee asmuch for it, and the profitts of the third daye moreover.

"Soe I rest yours

"JOHN MARSTON."

Marston had written for Henslowe in 1602.

read that "Goodman poet dind here," and a "Mr. Mondy" (perhaps Anthony Munday) was also received by Alleyn. With the date of 25th May, 1620, we read "Mr. Myddleton brought me a booke," for which Alleyn presented him with 5^d.; and on 12th December, 1618, he gave "Jo Taylor, the poett, for his jorney into Scotland," 4^d.; meaning, probably, that he purchased of Taylor a copy of the book containing a narrative of his journey; but, in general, Alleyn seems to have had little to do with authors of any class after his retirement to Dulwich. One of the earliest items in the book is, however, "8^d. given to Mr. Roydon;" and in one of the last the same name again occurs:—"Aug. 16th, 1622, Given to Matthew Roydon, 6^d.;" which shews that it was no other than the poet, who wrote an elegy on Sir P. Sidney about 1586. Roydon must have been very old and very poor in 1622, when Alleyn relieved his wants by the gift of sixpence.

Alleyn appears to have frequented theatres very little, if at all, as places of amusement, after he became settled at Dulwich, or rather, after the date when his Diary commences. He visited the Red Bull, as has been already noticed, on October 3d, 1617, and he went "to the Fortune" on 9th April; but it is probable that it was for the purpose of collecting his rents, as he speaks at the same time of "the tenants."* On the 15th November, he gave a shilling "to the boyes of

* This opportunity may be taken for stating that if Alleyn at this date (April, 1618,) kept the Fortune Theatre in his own hands, he very soon afterwards let it to the Company there, consisting of Edward Jubye, William Birde (alias Bourne) Frank Grace, Richard Gunnell, Charles Massye, William Stratford, William Cartwright, Richard Price, William Parre, and Richard Fowler. The counterpart of the lease, subscribed by the players, is extant at Dulwich College. It bears date 31st October, 1618, and is for 31 years, at a rent of £200 per annum, and "two roundlets of wine, one of sack, and the other of claret," of the value of 10s. each, to be delivered every Christmas. The fire at the Fortune, of which we shall speak by-and-by, probably again brought the theatre into the possession of Alleyn.

Powles ;” but the “Children of Pauls,” as they were originally called, were not then actors. On the 6th January, 1621-2, twelfth day, he had some friends to supper, “Mr. Steele, Mr. Fowler, and their wives, and Tho. Allen and his wife ;” and he adds, “the boyes play’d a playe,” which is a solitary item of the kind. Most likely it was a dramatic entertainment acted by the poor boys taught in the school at Dulwich College.*

He received his fee from the Court, as Master of the King’s Games, quarterly ; and he usually enters it in the following form.

“Mar 20. 1617. Pd at rec. of my fee at Courte,	<i>li s. d.</i>	
beeing	5. 6. 4	} 0. 4. 6.”
for the M ^r . of the office	2. 6	
Given to the Clearks	1. 0	
The Chamberkeeper	1. 0	

He was naturally anxious to stand well with the Lord Chamberlain ; and, on New-year’s day, 1617-18, he made Lady Suffolk a present of a book (the contents of it are not stated) which cost him £15. He gives the items of this present thus :—

“Water to Suffolk House	0. 1. 0
Given my La. with my silver booke	
Pd for wrighting the verses	0. 10. 0
To Burkett for lyming it	
To Mr. Bramheel for the glass work	1. 2. 0
The whole valewe was 15 ^{li} .”	

On the 21st November, 1618, he gave Burkett 6s. “for paynting a smalle tytle to a booke, which I gave to my Ladye of Suffolke.”

* It is difficult to explain the following entry, “Feby 6, 1617—18. Pd Mr. Pyd for my babe in the Counter at Lee sute—2s. 8d.” “My babe” looks like some term of endearment bestowed upon a near friend, who had unluckily been arrested.”

He continued to discharge the duties of his office, as far as we can now ascertain, to the very last, and some of the latest memoranda in his Diary refer to them. Thus, on 22d May, 1621, he says, "I bayted before the King at Greenwich:" again, on the 10th June, 1622, the following droll mixture of discordant topics is inserted, "Baighted before the King, and my man washd my shepe: pd 2^d. a skore." As we have already observed, he bestowed minute attention on rural affairs, and he himself sometimes bought or sold the produce and stock of his land. On the 24th June, 1622, he tells us, "I went to Croydon fayer, wher I sould my browne mare: sowlt to Ingram for 41*s*. and I bowght a baye mare of Tho. Denny of Kingston for 44*s*. And I bowght of Rych, the Constable of Eltham, 12 steres 4 year owld, and j of a year owled for 5*li*. 15*s*. 0*d*."

The accounts he gives, regarding his agricultural operations, the expenses of farming utensils, hay, straw, corn, &c. are extremely particular, but often hardly legible, from the small space into which he crowded his details. Every quarter terminates with a general summary, wound up with the words, "Blessed be the Lorde Gode everlasting, the gever of all. Amen," which he used, not as a mere form, but with unaffected piety. Among his scattered papers is the subsequent hymn, in his own hand-writing, and possibly of his own composition. It would seem to have been intended for the congregation of the College, and very likely was sung to the "pair of organes," which, on the 27th of April, 1618, he bought of "Mr. Gibbs of Powles," for £8. 2*s*., and which were put up in the chapel.*

* Alleyn had engaged an organist a month before he bought his organ, as the following memorandum proves.

"Memd. One Thursday the 26 off Marche (1617-18) Jo Hopkins the organist came to me.

A year afterwards Alleyn had "a diapason stop" put to the organ by a person of the name of Baret, and "other alterations" cost 5*s*. 10*d*.

O prayse the Lord, y^e servantes all,
 Prayse y^e his holly name ;
 Bless hym from East to West, henceforth
 For ever doe the same.

The Lord is great above all kings,
 Then Heven his glorie hier,
 Who's like to hym ? dwelling so highe
 Yett humbles his desier,

To see y^e things y^t ar in Heaven,
 And on the Earth be lowe ;
 Taking the pore and simple out
 Of dust and myre, we know ;

That he may seat hym for to sitt
 W^t princes of the land,
 Even w^t the princes of his people,
 His lawes to understand.

He make [s] a baren woman bear,
 And keep her House with joye ;
 To cheer her Hart he children gives
 To gard hir from annoye.

All this and more our god doth send
 To us, y^t gid of peace :
 For w^{ch} to prayse his holy name
 My Hart shall never seasse.

The chief recommendation of these stanzas is, certainly, their piety and simplicity. On the 16th of December, 1620, Alleyn registers that he had "bought five song bookes for the boyes" for fourpence.*

During the five years covered by his Diary Alleyn appears to have enjoyed excellent health, which is, perhaps, in part to be attributed to his temperate diet, and to the exercise he took on horseback : he usually rode to London, and that not unfre-

* On the 16th April, 1620, the subsequent entry occurs. "Easter daye. We received the Comunion with M^r Robinsone and his wife and all the pore. This daye the Chapple was furnished with basone and candell-stickes : the children with 10 surplices, and the fellowes alsoe."

quently.* There are, however, two occasions on which he appears to have been unwell : one of them was on the 25th of April, 1618, when he says, " This morning, blessed be God, I sickend att my La Clarks. Water for Watt. Sent Doc. Lister my water." He was unable to return home, and next day " my wife came to me ;" and on the 28th of April, he was visited by Dr. Lister, and paid him eleven shillings for his fee. Alleyn was not able to return to the college until the 9th of May : — " this day, blessed be God, I came home." The second instance of indisposition was in March, 1619, on the 13th of which month he sent his water to Dr. Gullson, and on the 27th of April " paid the Apothecaries bill for my last sicknes," amounting to only four shillings.

The autograph manuscript which has afforded us so much information, contains frequent mention of Jacob Meade, who had been taken into partnership by Henslowe in his shares of Paris Garden and the Hope theatre not very long before his death. How long after that event Alleyn and Meade proceeded harmoniously it is not possible to state ; but it appears that they had disputes, and that Alleyn, who always disliked law, was willing to have the matters in difference settled by arbitration. On the 25th of April, 1619, he informs us, " I rode to London to meete with Jacob : spent at dinner with the arbytrators 0^{li}. 7^s. 0^d. The following documents have no dates, but they seem to belong to this period, and the first refers to a petition which had been presented some time before by Alleyn to the Lord Chamberlain, while Lord Pembroke was attending King James in Scotland. It is at least likely that the points in question between Alleyn and Meade, which were arbitrated

* His journeys were generally confined to travelling from Dulwich to London, Windsor, Greenwich, or wherever the court might be ; but, on one occasion, in August, 1617, he states that he went to Winchester, and slept at the house of a Mr. Allen, (perhaps some relation) on his way thither. He started on the 3rd of August, and was back again by the 10th ; therefore he probably went upon business, and not for his health or pleasure.

in the spring of 1619, are contained in the subsequent petition :—

“To the right hble William Earle of Pembroke, L. Chamberleine to the Kinges Ma^{tye}, and one of his highnes right hble privie councill.

“The hnmble petition of Edward Allen, Esquire.

“Whereas there was a petition preferred to your Honor att Edenboughe, in Scotland, one the behalfe of Jacobbe Meede, touchinge some interruptions by him pretended to be made by the petitioner, touchinge the baytinge of beares and bulls and the keepinge of that game, the which petition remaineth with your honors secretarie. The petitioner humblie desireth your honor to take consideration of his aunswer to the said petition, which is as followeth.

“First, the petitioner hath not made anie assignment of the pattent mentioned in the said Jacobbe Meedes petition, but onlie from tyme to tyme, as occasion serveth, doth make to him, or such as he shall appoynte, deputations of the said pattent, and that for no tyme certaine but duringe your petitioners pleasure.

“Secondlie, that he hath not since the tyme that the house and game, mentioned in the said Meedes petition, weare in his custodie received out of the xchequer, neither the wages and fees dewe by the Patent, nor the 4^s per diem for the Leopard and other beastes mentioned in the said Meedes petition.

“Thirddie, the said Meede hath covenanted with your petitioner, that if the wages and fees doe not amounte to 60^l per Ann, then the said Meede to allowe to your petitioner yerelie so much as the same want of 60^l per Ann.

“Fowerthlie, the said Meede doth not paye your petitioner the rent of 100^l per Ann for the house, but refuseth to paye it, and combineth with those [who] oppose your petitioners title, to defeate your petitioner of the possession of the said house and his interest therein.

“Fifthlie, the said Jacobbe Meede, not payenge his rent nor performinge the articles made betweene your petitioner and the said Meede, your petitioner wardnd the said Meede to forbear to baite the said beares, but the said Meede continewd baytinge, notwithstanding which the petitioner did not hinder.”

It may be doubted whether this is the termination of the paper, as it concludes abruptly, but no more is extant. It is not in Alleyn's hand-writing, but it was wrapped up in the

annexed statement, which was written by the founder, and contains particularities of grievance in themselves curious.

“Imprim. I demaund the rentes dwe unto me since my mothers decease.

“2 The stock of beares, bulls, doggs and other things apertayning to the personall estate of Phillip Henslowe, nott by hym bequeathed.

“3 60^l per Ann^m for the use of my Comission for so longe as the said Jacob hath used the same [‘3 yeeres’ in the margin.]

“The rentes accrew by 2 Leases, the one from Phill. Henslowe, the other from Annis Henslowe and my selfe: the rentes dwe by bothe these leases att mydsomer next is 200^l.

“Now Jacobs answer to this can be but that he paid the said rentes where he thought in his conscienc they were dwe; but the trueth is for to gayne to hym self a firme leas for 21 yeares, for that booth the other leases went with conditions and lymitations, and Jacob entred into on bond of 300^l for performance of the coveanates, and an other bond of 200^l to stand to an arbitrement.

“For the stock, that is playnly sett downe in a sedule which Jacob is to make good in his first lease, and when my mother lett hym the other moyety, we were about to frame a new sedule; but after considering that by the first lease and sedule he was charged with such a stock, and now in the second lease the whole state demised unto hym, we forbore to make any new sedull, the first being still in force. But some small cubbs which weare bread up betwixt my father and hym as a surplusage of the stock, I rec. mony for my mothers part, and so likewise of some hoggs.

“Nowe his answer wilbe for the stock that they wear all dead before my father dyed, or that he hath already paid for them or some such like.

“For the 60^l per Ann^m for my Comission he will saye ther is more then that owing me off the Court in fees and rewardes, according to his cove-naunt.

“Lett that apere, and I shalbe satisfied although I never receive itt.

“But that allowances must amount to above 60^l per Ann, besides M^{rs} fee of 14^d per diem, in respectt ther was 60^l allwayes paid and allowed for the Comission by the farmer theroff many years agoe, who never had any thing to doe with the fe 14^d per dyem.”

Whether the preceding papers did or did not relate to the arbitration, referred to in Alleyn’s Diary under date of 25th April, 1619, there is good reason to believe that the

points in difference were settled, though not till after the lapse of some months. On the 22nd September, 1619, Alleyn thus congratulated himself:—"I went to town to meet with Jacob. I dind with Jacob, M^r Adys and M^r Foster, and wee concluded our matters, both with him and Tho. Angell: blessed be the God of peac."*

CHAPTER XVII.

Alleyn's Accumulation of Property—His Purchase of the Manor of Lewisham—God's Gift College also a Boarding-school—Mrs. Henslowe's Death—Burning of the Fortune Theatre—Its Reconstruction; and the mode in which the Money for the purpose was raised—Alleyn's Leases of various Shares to his Tenants—Charles Massye's Counterpart—Date of the Completion of the New Theatre.

NOTWITHSTANDING Alleyn's heavy outlay for the College, he seems still to have gone on accumulating, and his purchases, whether leasehold or freehold, as he told Sir F. Calton, prospered in his hands. On the 21st April, 1621, he thus enumerates the rents he paid quarterly.

" The K's Ma ^{ty} for the Bancksyde	13	17	5†
M ^r Billson	1	0	0
M ^r Luntley	3	10	0
M ^r Travis	40	0	0
M ^r Danson	2	10	0
M ^r Cuxsone	7	10	0
The K's rent for Lewshame	14	14	6
To M ^r Watsons rent	9	17	6
M ^r Sedley for Lewshame	75	0	0"

* Several entries respecting Jacob Meade, of a subsequent date, look as if Alleyne and he had been engaged in some common cause, defending their rights with respect to Paris Garden; but the expressions are general and ambiguous.

† This was the same amount of rent as he had paid on 22nd Oct., 1617, "Pd the Kings rent for the Bancke, 13^{li} 17^s. 5^d."—Diary.

It is to be remarked that we have no means of knowing what Alleyn received, only what he paid; so that we cannot tell to what advantage he sub-let any part of the property. Lewisham appears here for the first time, for he had completed the purchase of the manor and parsonage rather more than three months before. On the 11th December, 1620, he records, "I was in London with Sir Jo. Wildgosse about the maner of Lewishame;" and on the 15th of the same month he says, "This daye I paid for the maner and parsonage of Lewisham £1000."* This was in itself a large sum, and we have just seen that he had besides to pay rent to the king to the extent of £58 18s. per annum for one part of the manor, and of £300 per annum to Mr. Sedley for another part. The rent of £160 per annum to Mr. Travis was for the Blackfriars, and no doubt he sub-let the theatre and other tenements at a considerably improved rent. Had the book of Alleyn's receipts, as well as of his payments, been recovered, we should have seen at once what proportion of his income was derived from these various sources. He makes a memorandum that, as lord of the manor, he "kept the first Court at Lewisham" on the 16th April, 1621. He had some copyhold property also in Lambeth Marsh, and for this he regularly enters the payment of quit-rent.† He also paid quit-rent and tithes for the Fortune, or for part of the ground on which it stood.‡

Besides the poor children who were gratuitously fed, taught,

* Among the miscellaneous papers at Dulwich is a list, dated 20th March, 1622, of persons to be fined for non-attendance upon juries, &c., in which Alleyn is termed "his Majesty's farmer of the maner of Lewisham."

† On October 2nd, 1621, the following memorandum was made by Alleyn. "This daye att a Court held in Kenington I was admitted tenant;" but of what he does not any where mention: probably of some copyhold houses or lands.

‡ In his will Alleyn mentions "all my lands in Yorkshire, lately purchased of George Cole." Of this acquisition we have no other notice.

and clothed, boys were also taken in to be boarded and educated; but whether the sums paid on this account went to the master and usher of the school, or to increase the general funds of the College, must be left to conjecture. On the 15th June, 1620, we read the following — “ Mem : that M^r Rogers sent this daye his three sones att boord and scholing, for 12^h per Ann. a peece ;” and on the 12th September of the same year occurs the subsequent entry : “ This day M^r Woodward's sone came to sojorne and be taught here, at 20^h per Ann.”

Agnes Henslowe, the mother of Alleyn's wife, having died shortly before the commencement of the Diary from which so many of the preceding particulars are taken, on the 6th February, 1617-18, Alleyn paid two shillings for “ bringing in the inventorie of my mother,” as he always called her. On the 28th June, 1618, he enters, “ This daye was Judith Alleyn, the daughter of Mathias Alleyn, buried.”

The statutes of the College evince the founder's partiality to the name of Alleyn, or Allen, since they require that the master and warden shall bear it; and he seems always to have given a preference to persons who were called Allen, whether they did or did not belong to his family. Thus on one occasion he invited an Irish preacher to dine with him because he was an Allen. He was also on terms of intimacy with Sheriff Allen, and “ Allen the Goldsmith.” On the 27th January, 1621-2, he makes the subsequent memorandum. “ This day I took a pore fatherless child, Ed. Alleyn ;” and, on the 22nd August, 1622, he states that another “ Nedd Alleyn” came to reside at the College.

During the five years to which this record applies the founder was much invited out to the houses of the nobility and gentry. He dined with the Lord Treasurer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Richard Smith, Count Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador, Sir T. Grymes, the Countess of Kildare, the Dean of

St. Paul's, the Lord Mayor of London, &c. In the same way various persons of distinction came to partake of Alleyn's hospitality at his College.

When he went to London he not unfrequently dined, as he states, at Lady Clark's; but most commonly, when he was upon business, he resorted with his friends to houses of public entertainment. He was accustomed to go to Young's ordinary, and to Hart's ordinary near the Fortune; to the Bear, the Horn, the Mermaid, the Cardinal's Hat, the Bell (in Westminster), the Dancing Bears (near Paris Garden), the Paul's Head, the Bull's Head, the King's Arms, the Red Cross, the Three Tuns (in Southwark), the Hart (in Smithfield), and a place he calls "Dolls," which seems to have been near the Rose theatre.

By a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton we learn, that the Fortune Theatre was consumed by fire on the Sunday night preceding the 15th of December (Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 309); but Alleyn in his Diary furnishes the precise date of this calamity in the subsequent entry:—

"~~1621~~ 1621. Dec. 9. Md. this night att 12 of the Clock the Fortune was burnt."

The loss to him must have been considerable, but he makes not the slightest observation in reference to it; and not long afterwards, as appears by other notes, he set about the reconstruction of the theatre. Thus we read, "Dinner at the Hart in Smithfield, with the builders of the Fortune:" "I went to Westminster to meet the workmen of the Fortune:" "I met the workmen at Ric: Gunnells." &c. On the 13th May, 1622, he made the first payment of £25 upon it. On the 12th June he went to Lord Arundell's, and shewed him the ground-plot of the new edifice, which was a large round brick building, and not a square wooden house, as before. (Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii. 309.) On

the 19th July Allen informs us that he "sold the lease of the Fortune," by which he means that he sold the lease of a part of it before it was reconstructed; for, as we shall presently see, he divided it into twenty-four shares, and at various dates disposed of separate leases of each share to different parties. Thus he had many tenants, and a divided responsibility as to payment, which was a very prudent course for him to adopt. These leases were not all sold or sealed on 6th September, 1622, when Alleyn adds as follows to one of his memoranda:—"From thence to the Fortune, and dind with M^r Axell and gave his wife for M^r Houghton 20^s.* I gave his man 6^d and her mayd 6^d. So I sealed att Underwoods † the Fortune Leases, and so came home." This is the last we hear of the Fortune upon the same authority.

However, he left behind him quite as indisputable evidence to shew what he did with this property, and how he contrived to have it rebuilt without drawing on his own purse.

He divided it, as has been remarked, into twenty-four shares, letting each share upon a lease for fifty-one years, at a rent of £5 6s. 11d., requiring the tenant of every share to pay down, in the first instance, the sum of £41 13s. 4d. towards the rebuilding. Thus he raised a capital of £1000 for completing the new structure, and secured to himself an income of £128 6s. a year afterwards. These facts are esta-

* There was a player of the name of Robert Axell, or Axen, and this, no doubt, was he with whom Alleyn dined. Mr. Houghton was very likely the old play-poet, William Houghton, or Haughton, whose name often occurs in Henslowe's Diary. He was, perhaps, at this time old, and necessitous. There was also a "young Haughton."

† Henry Underwood was probably a scrivener, but there was an actor named John Underwood, of whom we first hear in 1601, when he was one of the children of the chapel. In 1620 he was one of the King's Servants, and so he seems to have continued in 1623; but, perhaps, he was also a speculator in the Fortune theatre on the recommencement of performances after the fire. Actors were often interested in the receipts of more than one playhouse.

blished by the existence at Dulwich College of the counter-parts (or "counterpanes," as they are called in the indorsements) of two leases to Charles Massye* and Richard Price (both actors), which are exact copies of each other, and one of which is subjoined. It bears date on the 20th May, 1622, but it was, probably, one of those executed at Underwood's, on the 6th September, having been prepared ready for signature some time before.

" This Indenture made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1622, and in the yeeres of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James by the grace of god king of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith &c. That is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the twentieth, and of Scotland the five and fiftith. Betweene Edward Alleyn of Dulwich in the County of Surrey, Residue, of thone part, and Charles Massy of London, gent, of thother part. Witnesseth, that whereas the said Edward Alleyn the day of the date of these presentes is seized in his desmeane as of fee of and in all that part or parcel of ground upon part whereof lately stood a Playhouse or building, called the Fortune, with a Taphouse belonging to the same, a tenement in the occupation of Marke Briggum, one other tenement heretofore demised to one John Russell, one other tenement in the occupation of William Bird, alias Bourne, and one other tenement in the occupation of John Passie, conteyning in breadth from East to West one hundred and thirty foote, and in length one hundred and thirty one foote and eight inches or thereabout, abutting on the East West North and South as is specified in a plottforme. And is also seized of and in one other messuage or tenement contayning a shopp, a chamber and a garrett towards the streete, and two roomes and a garrett behinde the same, and

* Alleyn seems to have been very kind to Massye, and possibly the loan to him of £50, solicited in a letter already inserted, enabled him afterwards to save money enough to pay down £41 13s. 4d. towards the reconstruction of the Fortune, and to yield Alleyn a yearly rent of £5 6s. 11d. An item in the founder's Diary, dated 19th November, 1622, would seem to shew that Massye had then taken a benefit at the Fortune theatre, and that Alleyn had presented him with 5s. : it is, " Given Charles Massye at his play 0. 5. 0," and it is the only entry of the kind. This was about three weeks before the Fortune was consumed, at which date it was in possession of the company called " The Palsgrave's Servants," who, as has been shewn, were formerly the players of Prince Henry.

one yard thereto belonging, late in the tenure of William Garrell, and now in the occupation of Henry Smith, scituate on the North side of the way leading to the said Playhouse, all scituate lying and being betweene Whitecrosse streete and Golding lane, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate in the county of Midd. upon part of which said ground there is intended to be erected and sett upp a new Playhouse. Now this Indenture witnesseth, that the said Edward Alleyn, as well for and in consideration of the rentes hereunder reserved, as also for that the said Charles Massy is to pay or cause to be paid unto Anthony Jarman and Thomas Wiggitt for the new building and erecting of a Playhouse in Golding lane aforesaid, according to the plottforme by them allready drawne, for his part the somme of forty one pounds thirteene shillings and fourpence, proportionally according to the foure and twentieth part thereof, and according to such dayes and tymes as in one paire of indentures of Articles of Agreement, indented bearing date with these presentes, made betweene Thomas Wiggitt Cittizen and Bricklayer of London, and Anthony Jarman Cittizen and Carpinter of London of thone part, and Thomas Sparkes, Cittizen and Merchanttaylor of London, William Gwalter Cittizen and Innholder of London, Richard Gunnell of London, gent, Charles Massy of London, gent, Richard Price of London, gent, Adam Islipp of London, Stationer, John Fisher of London, Barber Chirurgion, Edward Jackson of London, gent, and Frauncis Juby of Southwark in the County of Surrey widowe of thother part, him, the said Edward Alleyn hereunto especially moving, hath demised graunted and to ferme letten, and by these presentes doth demise graunt and to ferme lett unto the said Charles Massy one part of the said ground and premisses, in foure and twenty equall partes to be devided, with all easements wayes and passages, proffits and commodities thereunto belonging or in any wise appertayning, to have and to hold the said one part of the said ground and premisses, in foure and twenty equall partes to be devided as is aforesaid, with all and every thappurtenances, unto the said Charles Massy his executors administrators and assignes, from the feast day of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing the date hereof unto the full end and tearme of fiftie and one yeares from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleate and ended, yeilding and paying therefore, yeerely and every yeere during the said terme, unto the said Edward Alleyn his heires or assignes, five pounds six shillings and eleaven pence of lawfull English money at foure most usuall feastes or termes in the yeere, that is to say St. Michaell tharchangell, the Birth of our Lord god, thannunciation of our blessed Lady St. Mary the virgin, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist, by even and equall portions at or in the College called Godsgifte in Dulwich aforesaid. And the said Charles

Massy for him his executors administrators and assignes doth covenant promise and graunt to and with the said Edward Alleyn his heires and assignes by these presentes, that he the said Charles Massy his executors administrators and assignes, the said one part of the said ground and premisses, in foure and twenty equall partes to be devided, and likewise one part of foure and twenty equall partes to be devided of all buildings and edifices which shall hereafter be erected and sett upp upon the said plott of ground or upon any part or parcell thereof, or of any the premisses, in by and with all manner of needful and necessary reparations whatsoever well and sufficiently for and concernyng the said foure and twentieth part, shall repayre, uphold, susteyne, fence, maintaine and keepe, and the pavements, wayes and passages leading to the said plott of ground and premisses shall well and sufficiently pave, repayre, amend, rateably according to the foure and twentieth part thereof as is aforesaid, from tyme to tyme when and as often as neede shall require during the said terme. And in the end of the said terme, or other sooner determination of this present lease, the said foure and twentieth part of ground and premisses so demised as aforesaid and the buildings thereupon to be erected as aforesaid, soe well and sufficiently repayed upholden, susteyned maintayned kept paved and amended, shall leave surrender and yeild up unto the said Edward Alleyn his heires or assignes. And further, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Edward Alleyn his heires and assignes, with workemen and others at his and their willes and pleasures, twice in every yeere yeerely or oftener during the said terme, at convenient tymes to enter and come into all the said buildings and premisses, there to view search and see the state of the reparations of the same, and if any default or want of reparations then and there be upon any such view found thereof to give or leave notice or warning in writing to or for the said Charles Massy or to his executors administrators or assignes to repayre and amend all and every such decayes, defaultes, or wantes of reparations according to the rateable proportion of the foure and twentieth part thereof as is aforesaid, within sixe monthes next ensueing such warneing given. And further, the said Charles Massy for him his executors administrators and assignes doth covenant promise and graunt to and with the said Edward Alleyn his heires and assignes by these presentes, that he the said Charles Massy his executors administrators or assignes shall not at any tyme hereafter devide part, alter, transport or otherwise convert the said one part of the said ground and premisses, in foure and twenty equall partes to be devided, or any the edifices and buildings that now are or shalbe hereafter erected and sett upp as is aforesaid, to any other use or uses then as a Playhouse for recreation of his Majesty's subjectes his heires and successors. Provided alwayes, and it is covenanted

condiscented, concluded and fully agreed upon by and betweene the said parties to these presentes, that if it shall happen the said yeerely rent of five poundes sixe shillings and eleaven pence, or any part or parcell thereof, to be behinde and unpaide by the space of eight and twenty dayes next after any feaste or terme of payment thereof in which the same ought to be paid at the place aforesaid, or if the said Charles Massy, his executors administrators or assignes, doe not for his and their partes pay or cause to be paid unto the aforesaid Anthony Jarman and Thomas Wigpitt severally such sommes of money, for their part and proportion of the said Playhouse according to the lymitation of the aforesaid Articles of Agreement, or if the said reparations be not well and sufficiently done within the tyme and lymitation above said, and all and every other the covenantes, promises, and agreementes abovesaid, which on the part and behalfe of the said Charles Massy his executors, administrators and assignes are and ought to be performed and kept, be not well and sufficiently observed, performed, fulfilled and kept according to the intent and true meaning of these presentes, that then and at all tymes after, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Edward Alleyn his heires and assignes into all and singular the said demised premisses wholly to reenter, and the same to have againe, repossesse and enjoy as in his and their former estate, and the occupiers thereof from thence utterly to expell, putt out and amove, anything herein contayned to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnes whereof the parties first above named to these present Indentures their seales, either to other, interchangably have putt. Yeoven the day and yeere first above written.

“ CHARLES MASSYE.

“ Sealed and delivered in the presence of

“ HENR. UNDERWOOD.

“ MATHIAS ALLEYN.”

How long it occupied to build the new theatre we have no precise information, Alleyn's Diary not coming down to so late a date; but it was certainly finished by the 29th January, 1623, because on that day Alleyn granted a lease to Margaret Gray of two twenty-fourth (or one twelfth, as it is called in the instrument) shares of the Fortune, at a yearly rent of £10 13s. 10d., with the same covenants as in the lease to Massye, with a difference in the description of the property, inasmuch as it is stated in Margaret Gray's lease that the edifice was “ one new Play-house or building

called the Fortune, with a Tap-house belonging to the same, being a tenement now in the occupation of one Robert Hart." On the 20th February following, Alleyn granted a similar lease of a twenty-fourth share to George Bosgrave, which is likewise extant. At this date, therefore, the house was finished, and ready for the performance of dramatic entertainments. We have the evidence of Thomas Heywood, whose "English Traveller" was printed in 1633, having been acted, in all probability, at the Fortune after its reconstruction, that "the picture of Dame Fortune" was exposed on the outside of the house as its sign. No doubt such had been the case from the period when it was first opened by Henslowe and Alleyn in the very commencement of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Death of Alleyn's first Wife — Her Character — Alleyn's Courtship of his second Wife — Alleyn's Letter to Dr. Donne after having married his Daughter—Alleyn's desire to obtain a Knighthood—Letter to him from Henry Gibb upon the subject—Alleyn's acquaintance with Sir W. Alexander—Original Stanzas addressed by the latter to the former.

THE inscription on the flat stone over the grave in the chapel in Dulwich College states that Alleyn's first wife, Joane Woodward, whom he had married in October, 1592, died on the 28th of June, 1623. This was only about nine months after the close of Alleyn's autograph diary or account-book at Michaelmas, 1622, and she seems to have enjoyed good health during the whole of the five years to which that MS. relates. Her husband never hints at any indisposition on her part, and there is not a single entry of any payment for medicine or attendance for her. They seem to have lived together for more than thirty years in uninterrupted comfort and harmony: Alleyn was a man of a quiet and contented temper, and his

wife most likely possessed an amiable and complying disposition, looking up with respect and admiration to her husband, and happy to second his plans and purposes. When he went out to visit his friends she usually accompanied him, and one of the very latest entries is of this kind : — “ Sep. 24 [1622] I and my wife dined at Sir Tho. Grymes;” and there is not a syllable in any of the papers at Dulwich to show that they ever had the slightest disagreement.

The taking of a second wife has been held by some a tribute to the first, or, at all events, to the matrimonial state: if so, Alleyn appears to have paid that tribute early; since we have it upon his own admission, that on the 23rd of October, 1623, less than four months after the death of his wife Joane, he was in treaty with the father of his second wife, whose christian name appears to have been Constance. What was her surname has been questioned: the General Biographical Dictionary asserts broadly that it was Kinchtoe, and that Alleyn married her “about two years” after the death of his first wife. This is clearly an error, and the documents preserved at Dulwich strongly support the tradition that she was a daughter of Dr. Donne. Alleyn’s Diary shows that he was acquainted with Donne, for he records under date of the 23rd of May, 1620, “ Mr. Donne preached here,” meaning in the College Chapel; and on the 20th of July, in the following year, it appears that Dr. Donne visited Alleyn. The memorandum is this: “ I herd Dr. Done at Camberwell, and after dind with Sir Thomas Grymes. They and Mr. Angell came to Dull. in the after none.” Now, Sir Thomas Grymes appears to have been a person very much concerned in the negotiation for the marriage of Alleyn with his second wife Constance, and we find, under Alleyn’s own hand, that his father-in-law was of a “reverend calling.” This fact, and other particulars of a highly interesting nature in relation to the biographies both of Alleyn and Donne, are contained in the copy of a letter found at Dulwich, which has no date, but must have been written

after the 24th of January, 1624-5, because it is scribbled very illegibly by Alleyn on the spare spaces of a letter to him of that date from William Becher the elder, recommending a poor man for reception into the College. Alleyn was then married, and he enters into a variety of curious details respecting the whole affair, alleging that the union had been hastened by Dr. Donne's illness, and showing that serious disputes had subsequently arisen between him and Dr. Donne on the subject of money, in the course of which the latter had even gone so far as to give the lie to the former. Here, also, we find it distinctly stated by Alleyn, that a portion of his property was "the playhouse" in the Blackfriars, which was worth £120 a year, exclusive, we suppose, of the other tenements. This is the interest which in a former part of the present memoir it has been conjectured he purchased from Shakespeare. The whole of what follows will be read with great curiosity: as already mentioned, it is from the original in Alleyn's handwriting, and in some places it is penned so illegibly as to be deciphered with considerable difficulty.

"Sir. Your unkind, unexpected and undeserved denial off the common curtesie afforded to a frend asking the loane off unusefull money, which yourselfe som few dayes before, I making you acquainted with all my proceedings, did then so lovingly grant unto, besides voluntary offer of 500^{li} more then I entreated, and your after repetition off it to Sir Tho. Grymes, made me wonder what so strangely altered your mind at the very pointe of my occasion: and trewly, Sir, I can nott dwell in quiett till I bee in som sort resolved herin, and to that end I have examined my selfe, in all my proceedings towching you and yours, to see if I cowlde find any such cawse of offenc in me to move you to this bad dealing; and surly I can find none. Yet it seems you conceive it wholly to bee in me, but I hope I shall allwayes be able before god and the world well and trewly to cleer my selfe off the least breach of any jott of that promise I first made, and for your better remembranc, I pray you, look backe and revert to the whole process off the business, which as farre as I can remember I will here trewly sett downe.

"Then thus: after motion made by Sir Tho. Grymes on both sides, I. was envited to your house the 21 of october 1623, wher after dinner in your parlor you declard your intencion to bestow with your daughter Con. all

the benefit of your pryme Leet which, as you said, you knew would shortly be received, and that you were assured iff I stayd till michaellmass next to bee worth 500^l att the least, and when so ever it showld rise to more it showld wholly be hers. My offer was to doe as much for her as your selfe, and add to that at my death 500^l more, and so her estat should be a 1000^l. This gave you content; and Sir Tho. perswaded me to doe some what more which I did, and promis'd to leave her at my death 2000 markes. This was accepted and security demanded. I then towld you all my landes were stated on the Coll. 3 leases I had, one of them was given to the Coll. the other 2 being the manor and rectorie of Lewsham worth 120^l a year, and divers tenementes in the Black-friars, as the plaie howse theare, worth 120^l the year, booth which cost me 2500^l: iff nowe my statute or recognisance would serve, those 2 leases should be past over to some persone in trust that after my death, shee surviving, should be leaft 2000 markes. This was accepted on all sides, and your selfe being calld away by the coming of some Ladyes, you tooke your leave of Sir Tho., and referd the accomplishing of these businesses to his direction.

“I presently returned to Peekham, and coming then to Con. towld her what had past; and more, to show my love to her, off my owne voluntary, I towld her before Sir Tho. I would make it upp 1500^l, which was then by your selfe and Sir Tho. extraordinary contented with. All this while there was no 200^l a yeere spoken off nor any other joynter, but so muche mony at my death: tis trew itt wase thought more convenient for her to have 200^l a yeere then 1500^l in money, and as I sayd divers tymes iff god enabled me, I shalbe more willing to doe itt, and soe it was a desire rather then a promise.* Thus past itt on till the beginning of your sicknesse, and then you desire our maryag should be performd with as much speed as might bee; for as you sayd the world tooke surer knowledge of itt, and for what wase promisd on your part, iff god lent you lyfe should be really performd.† I directly went on, urging you to nothing, but rested wholly on your bare word (which I then thought 10 tymes the vawle could not make you breake). Itt is now allmoste 3 quarters sinc our maryag: I have all this tyme loved her, kept her and maynteyned her, and never thought to have so great a cause off discontent as your selfe now gave.

* In his will Alleyn left his wife £1500, secured upon his property in Southwark, consisting of the “capital messuage and Inn” called the Unicorn, and three other houses with the signs of the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock. He also gave her £100 in money for “present use.” Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, were trustees for Mrs. Alleyn under the will.

† It is known that Dr. Donne had so severe an illness about this period, that his life was considered in danger.

“ Thus I may safly take god and the world to witness I have with trew love and affection performd all that ought to be don on my part to you and yours. My conscience knowing made me angered att your soudeyn deniall of that which before you had graunted, and delever those passionat wordes you tooke so hanously, seeing thereby I must be branded either for a foole or a knave in the business I had undergone; but itt seems itt wase your desire to drive me into that defenc, els you would never continew me in hope till very late, and then forste me uppon all termes; but the Lord judge this caus beetwen you and me, and so the Lord deale with me, either in mercie or judgment, as I had a trew intention to doe good to those pore men, and no wrong to you nor yours. My language you tooke so harsh was this — that I now perceived you esteemd 500^{li} befor my honesty, yea, my reputation, or your daughters good. You presently being enflamd sayd, that it was false, and a lye, wordes in my mynd fitting you 30 years ago, when you might be questiond for them, then now under so reverent a calling as you are. But as fals as you suppos them, I wish they prove not all trew, for some off them, I am to well assurd off before this violenc brake forth. You calld me a playn man: I desire alwayes so to be, for I thank god I never could deceive in my lyfe, and I am to owld now to turne [and] wear it off, the cursedst felow in Christendom. My hart and tong must goe to gather, and although this be thought great folly in the world, yett I hope [it] will easely forgive the fault, iff it be one. Therefore, sinc I am willing to be so as your knowledg long held of me, I pray you pardon such faultes as my hart in its playness committes.

“ And now in playne termes give me leave to enquire what faultes of myne hath caused so manie unkind passages in you? as first after our marriage, before Sir Tho. Grymes upon your recovery, the people all giving joy, you then promised to send my wyfe her mothers embroiderd linnen for new years guift. After that my wyfe had a great desire to a little nagg off yours, for her owne selfe to use for her health to take the ayre, and hearing you many tymes saye it did you no servis, caused her brother George to move you for itt on her be half, which she making no doubt of was very much hurt in, but to prevent her of the comfort, the nagg was suddeynly sent away to Oxenford. Again, she having but 2 dyamond ringes you wisht me to tell her you were importund for your owne, and if she would send you itt, you would return her the ring with the stone you received in lew thereof. I brought you your owne, but the other you have still. Again; one tyme you towld me in the great Chamber you had 9^{li} for the Leet, but Con. should have but 500^{li}, when as you allways promised the uttermost valew. Agayn, you were very fond to wish me to [be] as bowld in your house as in my owne, and to take a lodging at any tyme when I pleasd; but when I towld you this term my occasion would have me in town, and

that I was willing to accept your former loving offer, you answered, noe with favour, and so I took itt. Many tymes have I moved you for matters of indifference belonging to your place, but they were eather put by to circumstance, or flatty denied.

“ All these backward favors, was it for some fault in me or your judgement? but you can not find itt, unless it be to much commodity to trust wordes in sted off deedes. For my wyfe's mony I should receive, you may conceive I desire itt owt of covetousness: itt is coveting that to make itt better for her, and iff you can imploy itt more for her good then I intend, of your own discretion: for the enlarging of my own estate I never desired itt, for I thank my good god I have enough for my selfe and others, but my care in this was onely for her, which, I thank you, you now took from me.

“ In this little tyme of our so nere acquaintanc iff ever you had found me as a man altogether unfitt to receive any frendly curtesie off your handes, for I here you profess it largely to severall persons, then for a conclusion lett me entreat you, as I find you no waye willing to my furtheranc, so be not any ways a meane of my hindranc; and as your daughter Luce is good companie for my wife, so your ability is better able to bear her charge then myn. And thus, beeing a playn man, I hope you will pardon me in delivering my mind in playn termes, yet ever ready with my best love to your daughter, and my best servis to you, I — &c.”

The whole contents of this singular and valuable relic serve to illustrate very forcibly the character which we have seen Alleyn from the first so consistently sustain.

Alleyn's second marriage had taken place “almost three-quarters” of a year before the preceding letter was written. In July 1624, Alleyn entertained some ambitious views with regard to rank, not hinted at by any of his biographers. He was lord of the manors of Dulwich and Lewisham, the owner of much land and several houses in those manors, the chief proprietor, as far as we can now learn, of the Blackfriars Theatre, and the sole owner of the Fortune, besides having lands in Yorkshire, estates in Bishopgate, and in the parish of Lambeth. The former possessor of much of the property which had devolved into his hands, as well as the holder of the office he filled, had been knighted, and Alleyn seems to have entertained the hope of himself enjoying the

same distinction. Such is the interpretation which, we apprehend, must be put upon the following letter, obviously written by some Scotch gentleman about the person of the king, to whom Alleyn had resorted for advice and assistance, in return, perhaps, for having received a poor boy upon his charitable foundation at Dulwich.

“To my much respected and loveinge friend, Mr Alleyn, at his hous at Dulwith, thes dd.

“Sir

“I receavd your letter wherby I understand that you have now receavd the boy I wrett unto you for, and of your cair towards him, wherof I doubt not, and for the which I kyndly thank yow. I understand by it also your desire to have sum further dignetie conferd upon you, accordinge to the qualetie of the place wherin you serve, wherof I should be very glad, and will not only advise, but assist with all willingnes. But for the present I can not satisfie yow so weill as I wold, in regaird yow know that now we ar in prograsse and still staieinge; but if yow will be pleased, my opinion is that yow defer a litell, untill sutch tyme as the K be cumminge homward nere Windsor forrest, against when I shall speik with all these men that Mr Holliburton speiks of, and see how I find them affected towards him; and do all I can for your advantage, alwayes reservinge to my self who the party is: and shall not fail to send you adverteisement by a lyne or twoo, what I shall learne. And in the meane tyme if I can any way, ather in that or to any other of your desirs, be usfull, latt me butt know, and gif your self the assurance that non shall be reddier to satisfie them, then

“Your loveinge freind in what I cane,

“Westminster this
23d of July 1624.”

“HENRY GIBB.

If the inference we have drawn from the preceding communication be correct, it supplies an incident not by any means in keeping with the general tenor of Alleyn's tranquil and retiring character. It is very possible that his second wife had induced him to make the application, and that he rather sought to gratify her wishes than his own. James I. had rendered knighthood cheap, in every sense of the word, and if money alone had been necessary, Alleyn could have found no difficulty in accomplishing the object; but it is very likely

that his origin and early occupation stood materially in his way, and we certainly have no evidence that his friend Gibb was ever able to obtain what was desired. The expressions in the preceding letter of "some further dignity," "according to the quality of the place wherein you serve," may be said to be a little equivocal, but the communication does not read as if Alleyn's wish were merely to procure some higher situation at court.

At about this period, and earlier, Alleyn appears to have been upon terms of friendship with Sir William Alexander, the distinguished poet, (afterwards Earl of Stirling,) now high in favour with King James. We do not find that he was in any way applied to to forward Alleyn's design in procuring "some further dignity;" and among the miscellaneous papers at Dulwich are four stanzas, addressed by Sir William Alexander to Alleyn, which are not of a complexion to lead us to suppose that he suspected any such ambitious disposition in the founder of Dulwich College. The lines were probably written some years anterior to the date to which we are now adverting; and they sufficiently intelligibly allude to the profession to which Alleyn had been bred, and in which "he far exceeded both ancients and moderns:" they also notice the "better state" to which Alleyn had risen, but justly speak of his great work of charity, as if he had had no worldly purpose in commencing and completing it. We may take this opportunity of inserting them as an addition to the poetical remains of so distinguished an author.

"To his deservedlie honored frend Mr. Edward Allane, the first founder and Master of the Colleige of God's Gift.

"Some greate by birth or chance, whom fortune blindes,
Where (if it were) trew vertue wold burst forth,
They, since not haveing, can afford no worth,
And by their meanes doe but condemne their myndes.
To honour such I should disgrace my penne,
Who might prove more, I count them lesse then men.

“But thee to praise I dare be bould indeede,
 By fortunes strictnesse whilst at first suppress'd,
 Who at the height of that which thou profess'd
 Both ancients, moderns, all didst farr exceede ;
 Thus vertue many ways may use hir pow'r ;
 The Bees draw honnie out of evrie flow'r.

“And when they state was to a better chang'd,
 That thou enabled wast for doing goode,
 To clothe the naked, give the hungrie foode,
 As one that was from avarice estrang'd :
 Then what was fitt thou scorn'd to seeke for more,
 Whilst bent to doe what was design'd before.

“Then prosecute this noble course of thyne
 As prince or priest for state, in charge though none,
 For acting this brave part, when thou art gone,
 Thy fame more bright then somes' more high shall shyne.
 Since thou turnd great, who this worlds stage doe trace,
 With whom it seemes thou hast exchanged thy place.

“ W. ALEXANDER.”

CHAPTER XIX.

Alleyn only twice married—His Will and Last Illness—George Coles' Letter to Alleyn—The Day of Alleyn's Death—Alms-houses built by him in Cripplegate, and ordered by his Will in St. Botolph and St. Saviour—Fragments of a former Will—Plays in which Alleyn was particularly concerned—Second Letter to him from T. Dekker—Conclusion.

WE are now rapidly drawing towards the close of the most useful, honourable, and benevolent career of Edward Alleyn. He adds one more proof to the many already existing, that life is generally much shortened, when a man, considerably past the prime and strength of his years, marries a comparatively young woman. How much younger the second Mrs. Alleyn was than her husband we have no means of deciding, as we know

not when Constance Donne (as we suppose her to have been) was born ; but, in 1624, when their union took place, Alleyn was in his fifty-eighth year. There is a tradition in Dulwich College, and it has been mentioned by some of the biographers of Alleyn, that he was married three times ; but not a particle of evidence to support it has been discovered. He lived with Joane Woodward (to whom he was united in 1592) until 1623, and then married Constance, who survived him, as appears by his will. It is true, he might have been a widower in 1592 ; but no hint of the kind is given in any of the extant papers, and we may therefore conclude, pretty confidently, that he was only twice married.

His will, which bears date 13th November, 1626, states that he was then "sick in body," and how long he had been ill before he made this final disposition of his property can only be conjectured : it appears that he had executed former wills, which were revoked by that which was proved by his executors, Thomas and Mathias Alleyn, whom the testator calls his "kinsmen," without mentioning the degree of their relationship. One letter is extant at Dulwich, which seems to shew that Alleyn was in his usual health in the middle of February, preceding his death in November ; for it speaks of his coming to London upon business, and other matters, as if there were no infirmity to prevent him. It also mentions the claims of two persons of the name of Wright and Boyer, one for £50, and the other for £20, which Alleyn, for some unexplained cause, had not settled. Of course it could not arise from want of money, for Alleyn was affluent. The writer, Mr. George Cole, who had sold Alleyn some "lands in Yorkshire," was probably a barrister, and Alleyn's legal adviser upon a case which he had drawn, and upon which he had given his opinion. The nature of it does not appear ; but we gather from it that Alleyn, almost to the last, was annoyed by the necessity of proceedings at law. He had evidently a strong dislike of contention, especially when it involved him in suits

and actions; and on one occasion, when stating in his Diary his quarterly expenses he put down a sum for "law," he added to the entry that it was the "worst of all" his charges. Cole's letter runs thus :

"To the wo^l. his very loving frind, Edward Allen Esq, give thease att Dulledge.

"Sir, the bearer hearof, Mr. Henry Wright, hath ben with me for the 50^l due unto him, and saith that he was comming to you about it. I have therfore made a reconing with him, and given him satisfaction for the intrest till the end of Micaelmas terme last ; and so there wilbe about 20^s for you to pay unto him, besides the 50^l uppon the vacating of the recognizance, which shalbe don when you come to London.

"I do entrete you to send Mr Allen to Mr Boyer in the Poultry, to give him content for his 20^l; and of the use we shal speake at your comming to London.

"I have drawne your Case, and set downe myne owne opinion, and you may have it written againe, and see the variety of opinions, if any be, uppon your Case, and then resolve what course you will take uppon them.

"Thus in hast, remembring my love to your wife, and referring divers conferences till your comming to London, I rest

"Your very lov. frind

"16 Febr. 1625."

"GEO COLZ.

This is the latest extant document, with a date, we have been able to find at Dulwich: "16 Febr. 1625," was, of course, (according to the then mode of calculating the beginning of the year from Lady-day,) 16th Febr. 1626. Alleyn died on Saturday the 25th November following.

The precise day has hitherto been doubted, or mis-stated. Aubrey (as quoted in Lysons' "Environs," i. 96,) gives it "the twenty-first day of November 1626;" and an existing inscription on the flat stone in the chapel of the College, where he was buried, states that "the worthy founder departed this life Nov. 26 A.D. 1626, Ætat. 61." Both are wrong; and Aubrey probably misread "twenty-first" for "twenty-fift," as it was then commonly spelt; for, as we have said, the correct date is Saturday the twenty-fifth of November 1626. Before

the death of the founder, Thomas Alleyn became Master, and Mathias Alleyn Warden of the College, and it was the business of the latter to keep the accounts of the institution: his original book preserved at Dulwich commences thus, and ascertains the point in dispute beyond contradiction.

“The accompt of Mr Mathias Alleyn, Warden of the College of Godsgift, in Dulwich in the Countie of Surrey, from the death of the Fownder of the said College, viz the xxvth of November 1626, being Saterdag, to Saterdag the third day of November 1627.”

The error in this particular has arisen, as in many other cases, from not consulting original and authentic documents. Alleyn's burial took place, as appears by the College Register, on the Monday immediately subsequent to his decease; and he especially charged his executors that his funeral should be plain and unostentatious, and that he should be buried in “Christ's Chapel,” the name which the religious edifice, forming part of the College, had received at its consecration.

One of the provisions in Alleyn's will was, that his executors, Thomas and Mathias Alleyn, should build twenty Alms-houses, ten in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, and ten more in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark. From his autograph Diary we have learned that he had himself superintended the construction of Alms-houses in the Liberty of Finsbury, near the Fortune Theatre, having “laid the first brick” on the 13th July, 1620. On the 29th April following, he placed “three men and seven women” in them; and on the 23d June, he paid £4 for five chaldrons of coals for the inhabitants of them. Therefore, as far as the parish of Cripple-gate was concerned, the charitable work was accomplished in Alleyn's life-time; but he left it to his executors to fulfil the injunctions of his will in the parishes of St. Botolph and St. Saviour. At Dulwich is preserved a single sheet of what was obviously a former, and therefore a revoked will by Alleyn: his last will consisted of two sheets, but this

is clearly only a fragment, and injury to the paper has rendered it in some places illegible : it probably was the middle sheet of three, and the two outside sheets have been lost, or have perished ; but it is in Alleyn's hand—is written in a very large clear character, and was signed by him at the conclusion. It was prepared before he had built the Alms-houses in Finsbury, for in it he states his desire that such accommodation for the poor should be provided at the expence of his estate in three parishes ; whereas, in his last will he names only two. As a particular declaration of his wishes and intentions, before the year 1620, it is worth preserving, and it begins abruptly as follows :—

“ in theyr upper coates and} capps, which I will shalbe black and off the same prisse and goodenes as the brothers and sisters are. And I will my Cosen Thomas Allen, barber surgion of London aforesayd, and his sone Edward Alleyn, my godson, and the survivor off them, in consideration off the legacie before given them, to be during theyr lyfe surgions to the Colledge, or to find and alowe a sufficient and skilfull persone for the performance theroff. And further more, for that I see the number of pore daly to encrease in and about the Cittye off London, being in theyr youth brought up to a faculty [def. in MS.] theyr age nott able to labore, receiving pensions of ther parishes which will scarce find them bread, sitting att great rentes and nott able to pay, according to that tallent which god hath lent me I am desirus to resarve [def. in MS.] in the most needfull things viz House rent, fuell [def. in MS.] Therfor my will is to have in the 3 parishes in or nere London [def. in MS.] Almes Howses built; vid^{at} 10 in each parish, contayning one roome apece, and on such wast grownd as the said parishes will alowe for that purpose, which said howses [def. in MS.] 30 of the most aged and porest pencioners off the said parishes, and to those 30 persones I give unto everie one of them a gowne off the same goodnes, and att the same tyme the brothers and sisters shall receive theirs, being one in 2 years, and on the 1 daye of September, and more I give to the said 30 persons on the same daye yearly to each off them, halfe a chaldron off sea Coales, and tenn shillings a piece in money, to be paid and delevered unto each of them eather quarterly, or yearly upon the said first daye of September for ever : which 30 persones aforesaid shalbe taken and reputed as members of gods guift Colledge aforesaid for ever, and upon the death or departuer off any brother or sister off—

“ E. ALLEYN.”

There can be no doubt that this will was cancelled by Alleyn some time before his death, as he used the back of the sheet for the rough draft of his letter to Sir Francis Calton, already inserted. The subsequent is a document of a similar kind, also in the hand-writing of the founder: it is at the back of a deed, which precedes the Statutes of the College, and it refers to his "will," but in all probability to a former will, revoked by that of the 13th November, 1626:—

"Item I ordeyn and for ever establish, that wheras I have given in my will to the Churchwardens off the parishe of s^t butholphe without beshoppes gate London, and to theyr successors for ever, a tenement in Dullwich called the blew Howse, with the purtenances ther unto beeloning, now in the tenur of Edm. Kipping, for the only benefitt of the pore of the sd parish, shalbe thus disposed on and distrybuted, in maner and form following and no otherwise; that is to say, every year yearly for ever, on the first sonday in September after morning prayer, the whol years rent shalby sd Churchwardens [be] given to the most nedest pore off the sd parishe, 12^s apece, wherof the 10 members in the sd parish shalbe first payd 12^s apece, and after to as many more as the sd rent will rech unto."

Having corrected the date of the day of Alleyn's death, it may be necessary to give his age with exactness. The inscription on the stone over his tomb is, that he was "Ætat. 61." As he was born on September 1st, 1566, he was precisely sixty years, two months, and twenty-five days old when he died on the 25th November, 1626. There can be no possible doubt upon this point, because, as we have seen, Alleyn records his age very distinctly in his autograph Diary several times over.

There is one point of Alleyn's character upon which we have not touched in the course of the present memoir. It might be supposed, from certain memoranda in Henslowe's account-book, that Alleyn was an author: in August, 1602, he received £4 for "two books," "Philip of Spain," and "Longshanks;" in October of the same year he was paid

forty shillings for "his booke of Tambercame;" and on another occasion he was similarly remunerated for "a book" called "Machomett." Nevertheless, it is not to be supposed that he was concerned in the writing, though he very likely was instrumental in the getting up of those pieces, the unnamed poets having entrusted their productions to him in consequence of his interest in the theatre. "The plott of the first parte of Tamar Cam" was formerly preserved at Dulwich, and is printed in Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 356. What was the precise nature of this species of performance we can only conjecture, but much of it appears to have consisted of dumb shew, accompanied by an explanatory chorus. Alleyn was an actor in it, and doubtless lent his assistance in preparing it for the stage; and in this way, possibly, he entitled himself to the forty shillings paid to him by Henslowe "at the appointment of the company." He might, however, only receive it in trust for those who were engaged with him in bringing it before the public.

Another production of the same description is "the Plott of Frederick and Basilea," in which the prologue and epilogue were spoken by Richard Alleyn, whom Steevens confounded with Edward Alleyn, observing that "as manager he took both prologue and epilogue to his own share." Edward Alleyn is throughout the piece called "Mr. Allen;" and Richard Alleyn, who delivered the prologue and epilogue, we know, entered the company on 25th March, 1598, as "a hired seryant" to Henslowe. (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, iii., 431.) He might be some relation to Edward Alleyn, or he might be retained by Alleyn's influence merely on account of his name; for throughout life the founder of Dulwich College was fond of collecting round him persons who bore the same appellation. Of this various proofs have been already adduced, and the subsequent undated letter from Thomas Dekker to Alleyn, existing among the hitherto unnoticed papers at Dulwich, may be added to them.

“ Sr.

“ I give you thanks for the last remembrance of your love. I write nowe, not poetically, but as an orrator, not by waye of declamation, but by petition, that you would be pleased, upon my lovinge lynes, to receive a yong man (sonn to a worthie yeoman of Kent here prisoner) able by his owne meanes to mayntayne himselfe, whose fortunes will answer it. Hee is a yonge man lovinge you, beinge of your name, and desires no greater happines than to depend upon [you] You shall doe mee much honor if you thinke him fitt to serve you as a servant, and him much love, because of your name, to receive. The yonge man is of good parts, both of bodie and mynd. I knowe you respect such a one, and I would not (upon that reputation I hold with you) offer a servant to bee unworthie of your attendance. If you please to receive him upon my commendation and your owne tryall, I shall thinck my selfe beholden to you, and you, as I hope, no waye repent the receavinge of such a servant of your owne name. Soe I rest

“ Your lovinge freind,

“ THO. DEKKER.”

The emphasis with which Dekker repeatedly dwells upon the circumstance, that the party he recommended was of Alleyn's name, of itself seems to shew that any body possessing it had a prior and peculiar claim to the founder's favour. The letter above quoted is remarkable on other accounts. When Dekker before made an appeal to Alleyn's known liberality (see p. 131), and sent him some laudatory verses, Dekker was in confinement in the King's Bench, and we see that he was again a prisoner when he introduced a young man to Alleyn's notice as a servant: the expression, “ I give you thanks for the last remembrance of your love,” warrants the conclusion that Alleyn had sent pecuniary assistance to Dekker on more than one previous occasion. Respecting the date of the letter we can give no information, and the back of the sheet having been torn off, the address has been lost; but, considering its contents, and the place where it was found, we cannot entertain a doubt that it was sent to the benevolent man who had devoted all the later portion of his life to deeds of disinterested kindness and charity,

and, besides amply providing for his wife and for other relations, had built "God's Gift College," had endowed it to the extent of £800 a year, and had provided thirty almshouses for the poor, in the three parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, St. Botolph, Bishopgate, and St. Saviour, Southwark.

It deserves notice, in conclusion, that, notwithstanding his disputes with Sir Francis Calton, and the abuse he had received from the knight, Alleyn left him £100 as a legacy, besides forgiving him £20 which had been long owing. The will makes no mention of his wife's father, whom we have supposed to be Dr. Donne, and who survived Alleyn several years. It is somewhat remarkable, also, that Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Donne*, does not allude to an incident so important as the marriage of his daughter to the founder of Dulwich College. This fact ought, perhaps, to induce caution in receiving the tradition upon the point, even supported as it is by various confirmatory circumstances noticed in the preceding pages.



NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 5, line 15. By a deed, preserved at Dulwich College, (discovered since the passage relating to the building of the Rose Theatre was written) it appears that in the 6th Edw. VI. Thomasin Symondes of London, widow, late wife of Raphe Symondes, citizen and fishmonger, solde "her messuage or tenement, called the Little Rose, with two gardens to the same adjoining," in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, to Ambrose Nicholas and others. On the 17th Nov., 17th Eliz., Nicholas and others let the same to William Griffin, citizen and vintner, for thirty-one years at £7 per annum. This lease was assigned, on 11th Dec. 1579, to Robert Withens. On 24th March, 1584, Withens assigned his right in the same premises, "in consideration of a certain competent sum of lawful money," to Philip Hinchley, citizen and dyer, of London.

Thus we see exactly in what way, and at what date, Henslowe (or Hinchley, as his name was often spelt) came into possession of a lease of the Rose. From another deed (also existing at Dulwich) between Philip Hinshley, citizen and dyer, of the one part, and John Cholmley, citizen and grocer, of the other part, we learn that Henslowe and Cholmley agreed to enter into partnership for eight years and three months, in "all that parcel of ground or garden plot, containing in length and breadth square every way four score and fourteen foot of assize, little more or less, as also to and of the havings takings and receivage of all the benefit, sums of money, profits and advantage of a play-house now in framing, and shortly to be erected and set up, upon the same ground or garden plot." Cholmley was to have half the receipts, in consideration of the sum of £816, to be paid quarterly, at the rate of £25 per quarter, for the eight years and three months. Cholmley was also to be allowed to "hold and occupy

a small tenement or dwelling house in Maiden Lane and Rose Alley," at the end of the ground, for the purpose of keeping "victualling in, or to put to any other use." Henslowe, on his part, covenanted to complete the playhouse by the aid of John Grigges, a carpenter, with all convenient speed. Cholmley and Henslowe were "jointly to appoint and permit such person and persons, players, to use, exercise and play in the said play house:" and Henslowe undertook to keep the premises in repair, together with "all the bridges and wharfs, belonging to the said parcel of ground." Further, Henslowe covenanted not to permit any other person but Cholmley, or those by him appointed, "to utter sell or put to sale, in or about the said parcel of ground play house or garden," &c. "any bread or drink, other than such as shall be sold to and for the use and behoof of the said John Cholmley."

Page 15, line 26. The parsonage of Firle, in Sussex, has not been "before mentioned."

Page 17, line 9. These particulars are not inserted in the Appendix, but among the Notes and Corrections.

Page 38, line 10. The documents at Dulwich do not elucidate the following additional extract from Henslowe's Diary. No names are subscribed to it, and, perhaps, the money was not paid. The entry is in a strange hand, most likely that of some scrivener.

"Md. that the xxixth daye of September 1596, being Michaelmas daye, the some of one hundred and xxvjth was tendered and redye to be payd yⁿ the house of Mr Phillippe Henslowe, the daye and year aforesayd, which sayd some was to be payd by Edward Allene, as aforesayd, before the settinge of the sunne of the same daye, yⁿ the presentes of those whose names are herunder wryten unto Arthure Langworthe gent."

Page 46, line 33. In the last number of the "New Monthly Magazine" for Jan. 1841, is a very interesting letter from W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., to Thomas Amyot, Esq., Treasurer S. A., on the subject of the performance of English actors in Germany early in the seventeenth century. Is it possible that the journey of Lodge and Sewell "into the Arch Dukes Country" had any connection with this enterprise?

Page 50, line 29. For "recontre" read *rencontre*.

Page 51, line 19. For "Heglowe" read *Henslowe*.

Page 52, line 8. This statement requires some qualification, because it is not at all certain that "the Comedy of Humours" (or, as it is spelt in Henslowe's Diary, "the comodey of Umers"), was the same as Ben Jonson's "Every man in his Humour," more particularly as that play was certainly acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1598. It may have been first played by the Lord Admiral's servants, and Ben Jonson may have taken it away from them to the association playing at the Globe and at the Blackfriars. Possibly this gave offence to Henslowe, and he might, therefore, in the letter of the 26th September, 1598, call Ben Jonson "brick-layer" in derision.

Page 59, line 16. At the back of Streete's agreement for building the Fortune, dated the 8th January, 1599, are entered receipts of money, by Streete, for the work as it proceeded. The last of these is dated 11th June, 1600. How nearly finished the building then was is not stated.

Page 60, line 23. For "the date of the Patent to Bowes bears date," &c., read, *the Patent to Bowes bears date, &c.*

Page 82, line 22. The oldest document in Dulwich College, respecting the purchase of the manor by Alleyn, is dated 3d October, 1605. It is indorsed "Sir Fran. Calton's livery. The extent and value of the land," and runs as follows:

"Md it is agreed betweene St. Francis Calton, knight, and Edward Alleyn, gent. this third daie of October 1605, That the said St. Francis Calton shall bargaine, sell, and assure to the said Edward Alleyn and his heires the Mannor of Dulwich in the Countie of Surrey, with all the Roialties and appurtenances thereof, all his landes in the parische of Camberwell, except onelie the Advowson of the vicaridge of Camberwell, and shall passe the same as the learned Councell of the said Edward Alleyn shall reasonable devise, with warrantie against the said St. Francis and his heirs, and all that shall clayme by, frome, or under his father or his grandfather, and with warrantie that the said Mannor with the appurtenances is worth, as it is nowe letten, the cleare yearlie value of Cv^h at the leist, besides all chardges and reprises, and besides the wooddes and woodlandes, which are noe parcell of the demeanes. And that the said St. Francis shall procure the Ladie Dorotheie, his wife, to joyne with him in a fine, for the better conveyance of the said estate. All which assurances are to be doen and perfected before thend of the next tearme, with a sta-

tute of viij M^u frome S^r Frauncis for performance of the bargaine. In consideration of which bargaine and conveyance the said Edward Alleyn ys to paie to the said S^r Frauncis Calton the some of fower thowsand and nyne hundred poundes in this manner; viz, upon thensealinge of the Indenture of bargaine and sale, one thowsand and eight hundred poundes, and uppon the acknowledginge of the fine one hundred poundes, and uppon thensealinge of the said Indenture of bargaine and sale the said Edward Alleyn shall enter into statute to the said S^r Frauncis in the some of v M^u, that either he shall paie to S^r Frauncis twoe thowsand poundes att thend of vj monethes next after the date of the said Indenture, or ells paie the said S^r Frauncis vij C^u att thend of the same sixe monethes, and Cxx^u by yeare for forbearance of the xij C^u for iij yeares then following; and then att thend of the same three yeares to paie the said S^r Frauncis the said xij C^u in money, or ells in satisfaction thereof to assure to S^r Frauncis Calton the Lease of the parsonadge of Firles in the Countie of Sussex, with such landes there which the said Edward Allen latelie purchased, att the choice and election of the said S^r Frauncis. Soe as six monethes before thend of the said three yeares the said Sir Frauncis Calton geve to the said Edward Alleyn direct notice which he will accept. And alsoe the said Edward Alleyn by the said statute shall stande bound for paiement of the other thowsand poundes residue of the purchase, att thend of one yeare and a half next after the date of the said Indenture. Of which some of iij M ix C^u the said Edward Allen hath paid to the said S^r. Frauncis in earnest of the bargaine the some of v^u which is to be accepted as in parte of the first payment. In witnes whereof the said parties have hereunto sett their handes.

“FRAN: CALTON

“ED. ALLEYN”

Page 83, line 36. Mathias Alleyn was *warden* of the College, and Thomas Alleyn master, in 1619, seven years before the death of Alleyn, as he himself records in the Register.

Page 95, line 16. This point is made clear by a subsequent letter from Alleyn, by which it appears that part of the purchase money of Dulwich was to remain in Alleyn's hands for a certain time, he allowing Sir F. Calton interest for it.

Page 95, line 25. Malone, (*Shaksp.* by Boswell, iii., 222) expressed his belief that Alleyn did not quit the stage until 1616, and on the next page in a note asserts, on the authority of Lord Bacon's Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, that Alleyn quitted the stage in 1618. It is quite clear that neither date is the correct one. (*Vide*

Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, iii., 312) and that Alleyn ceased to be connected with theatres as an actor much earlier.

Page 98, line 4. In vol. xxi., p. 416, of Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, will be found certain "Articles of grievance against Mr. Henslowe," which, probably, were found at Dulwich College, though not now extant there. They must have come into Alleyn's hands, when the players appealed to him on some occasion against the "oppression" of Henslowe.

Page 99, line 5. Alleyn's connection with the Bear Garden no doubt brought the following curious document into his hands. He probably bought the lion, which Morris and Grove sold to Peadle. It is indorsed by Alleyn, "Sale of a Lyon to Pedle."

"Be it knowen unto all men by these presentes, that we Thomas Morris of London, gentleman, and William Grove of London, fustian dresser, for and in consideration of the somme of twelve poundes of lawfull monny of England to us in hand, att or before thensealling and delivery of these presentes by William Peadle of London, citizen and armorer, truly paid, whereof and wherewith we doe acknowledge our selves fully satisfied and paid, and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof we doe clearly acquite and dischargde the said William Peadle, his executors and administrators and every of them by these presentes, have bargained, sold and delivered, and by these presentes doe fully clearly and absolutely bargaine, sell and deliver unto the said William Peadle one male Lyon, to have, holde, use, possess and enjoye the said Lyon unto the said William Peadle, his executors, administrators and assignes, to his and their owne proper use and behouff, and as his and their owne proper goodes and cattalls for ever. And we the said Thomas Morris and William Grove, for us and eyther of us, our executors and administrators, doe covenante and graunte to and with the said William Peadle, his executors administrators and assignes, by these presentes to warrante and defende the sale of the said Lyon against all people for ever by these presentes. In wittesse whereof we have hereunto sett our handes and seales. Dated the thirteenth daye of April in the teuth yeere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, Kinge of England Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the Faith &c. And of Scotland the fyve and forth. 1612.

" THOMAS MORRYS (L.S)

" per me WILLIAM GROVE (I.S)

" Sigillat. et deliberat. in prtia mei

" HENRICI DOUGHTY

" et ROGERI DOUGHTY."

Page 104, line 9. Yet in a note on p. 135, it appears that Alleyn was said to be "of the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark," when he might have no residence there in 1607. It is, however, very doubtful whether at this early date he did not still occupy a house near that of Henslowe. The time of his final and entire removal to Dulwich is quite uncertain.

Page 107, line 33. The entry respecting the receipts on this occasion at the Red Bull Theatre is quoted by Malone. (Shakesp. by Boswell, iii., 223). In Tatham's "Fancies Theatre," 1640, is "a Prologue on the removing of the late Fortune Players to the Bull," but this must have been considerably after Alleyn's death. The same performers might be interested in both houses, and remove to the Bull, because it was in a more populous vicinity, or because the theatre was better liked. Tatham informs us that the appointments at the Bull were superior to those at the Fortune; at least, they had a silk curtain at the former, and only a worsted one at the latter.

Page 110, line 12. Charles Massye did not long survive Alleyn; and in Dulwich College account books, kept by Mathias Alleyn, "the widow Massye" is entered as the tenant paying rent for her share of the Fortune. "Old Massye" is also introduced as another tenant at the same time.

Page 117, line 11. It may be worth while to insert the following though of a somewhat earlier date, than that at which we have now arrived. The precise degree of relationship between Thomas Calton and Sir Francis Calton does not appear.

"Md. that Thomas Calton, gent, hath bargained, this present ixth of Novembr 1611, to convey to Edw^d. Alleyn Esquier all that nowe dwelling house of the said Tho. Calton in Dulwich with the appurtenances, and all theis landes there, viz the three acres next the house, Addingtons meadowes, Carters hall, and great Brownings, as by the Councell of the said Ed. Alleyn shalbe advised, in consideration of fyve hundred poundes for the full purchase thereof; and hereupon yt is agreed that three hundred poundes of this money shall remayne in M^r Allens handes untill M^r Caltons wief do levy a fyne of this land, and in the mean tyme M^r Alleyn is to have for the mony partely disbursed after the rate of the purchase, and M^r Calton is to hold his house and land untill Michmas next rent free, and M^{rs} Calton is to have x^{li} given at the delivery of the fyne as above.

"THOMAS CALTON. ED. ALLEYN

"Teste me JOHANNES EWEN.

“ Rd this 15th of november bye me Thomas Calton of Edward Allen, in parte payement of the concideration above sayde, the sum of 116^l of good and lawfull mony of England, in wittnesse where of I the sayd Thomas have sett too my hand.

“ By me THOMAS CALTON

“ Rd more this xxixth of november xxijth”

Page 121, line 15. Many of the notes are without dates, and may have been written subsequent to 31st December, 1613, but that is the latest paper marked with the day, month, and year.

Page 147, line 32. Could the “ Fall of Shabot,” here mentioned, be an earlier edition of Chapman’s and Shirley’s play of “ Chabot, Admiral of France,” which, as far as we now know, was first printed in 1639? It was licensed in 1635; but that might possibly have been its second appearance before the Master of the Revels. Perhaps the “ Fall of Shabot” was a tract or narrative, which Chapman and Shirley subsequently used in the composition of their tragedy.

Page 153, line 28. The statement of Cartwright, that Alleyn “ submitted himself to that proportion of diet and clothes” which he bestowed on others, hardly seems borne out by Alleyn’s Diary, from which we find that he was somewhat particular as to his dress. Thus we meet with the following memoranda there.

“ Pd Booth for dressing my bever hatt . . .	. 0. 2. 6
Lyning itt with Taffata in the head . . .	. 0. 1. 6
M ^r Fludd sent me a night cap and my wife a pair of rich gloves—given . . .	. 0. 2. 0
Bought a sattin embroydered hatt band . . .	. 0. 3. 0
Orang tawney silke for a night cap . . .	. 0. 0. 4
M ^r Calton sent a pair of gloves of cordivaunt for me, and a pair of rich furd for my wife” . . .	. . . .

At the end of the book is the following :

“ A noat of silk stockins which hath beene knitt for me.
 A p^r of watshed
 A p^r of rose collerd
 A p^r of poppingay
 ashe colord
 decoy
 Se water green.”

The founder's portrait in Dulwich College is not that of a man who appeared to be inattentive to dress.

Page 155, line 5. Taylor's "Penyless Pilgrimage" from London to Edinburgh was printed in 1618.

Page 182, line 19. Alleyn himself commenced the Register of the College, in 1616, in the following terms, whence it is certain that the chapel was consecrated by Archbishop Abbott.

"A Register book for this Colledge of Gods guift in Dullwich in the Countie off Surrey, wherin is contayned first of all the names of the Colledgiantes. Then all Christenings Burialls or mariages, which hath bene since the Chapple of the sd Colledge wase consecrated, and dedicated to the Honor off Christ, by the most Reverent father in god, George Abbot Archbishopp of Canterbury bis grace, on Sundaye the first of September, and in the yeare off our Lord 1616."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The WILL of EDWARD ALLEYN, Senior.

In the name of God amen. The xth daye of September in the yeare of our Lord god 1570. I Edward Allen, Cittizen and Inholder of London, and of the parishe of St.Botolphe without Bushoppes gate of London, sicke in body but in good and perfect remembrance, I hartely thanke Allmightie god therefore, do make my laste will and testament in manner and forme followinge &c. Fyrst and principally I gyve and commend my soule to Allmightie god my only Creator, Saviour, redemer and sanctifier, and I will my body to be buried at the discretion of my Executrix and Overseer herunder named, and gyve all my landes and tenementes to my welbelovyd wife Margaret, to have and to enjoye all the same duringe her lyfe tyme only, and after her decease I gyve all the same landes and tenementes to all my children and their heires, equally to be devidyd amonge them. And as touchinge all my goodes, leases and redy mony (my funerall charges and debtes, and also this my will proved and paid) I will to be devidyd into two partes, thone parte my said wife to have, and the other parte I will to be devidyd amonge my children by even portions, parte and parte like. And of this my laste will and testament I do appoynte and make the said Margaret, my said wife, my sole Executrix, and I hartely desire my neighbour and fellowe to be overseer of this the same my laste will and testament, whose name is Hewgh Walker of the same parishe, brasier, whome I will my Executrix honestly to content and paye for his paines. Theis persons followinge beinge witnesses Peter Maria, John Buffin, the minister, and Willm Reave the clerke of the same parishe, Margaret Hopkins, Rose Somers, and Margaret Hardee and others. Per me Johem

Buffum ministrum dictæ ecclesiæ. Hugh Walkers marke . this marke is Margaret Hardee . this marke is Peter Maria . By me William Reve parishe clarke . this marke is Rose Somers.

No. II.

Agreement between ALLEYN and R. JONES.

Be it known unto all men by this presentes that I Richard Jones of London, yoman, for and in consideration of the somme of Thirtie Seaven poundes and Tenne shillings of lawfull mony of Englande to me by Edward Allen of London, gent, well and trulie paid, have bargayned, and solde, and in playne and open market, within the citie of London, have delivered to the said Edwarde Allen all and singular suche share, parte and portion of playing apparalles, playe bookes, Instrumentes, and other commodities whatsoever belonginge to the same, as I the said Richard Jones nowe have or of right ought to have, joyntly with the said Edward Allen, John Allen, citizen and Inholder, of London, and Robert Browne, yoman. To have and enjoye all and singular my said share of playinge apparell, playe bookes, instrumentes and other commodities whatsoever, above bargained and solde to the said Edward Allen, his executors administrators and assignes, as his and their owne goodes, freelie, peaceable and quyettlie for evermore, without let, clayme or disturbance of me the said Richard Jones, my executors, administrators, or assignes or any of us, or of any other person or persons by our meanes consent or procurement. In witnes whereof I the said Richard Jones to this my present writinge have set my hande and seale, the thirde daie of Januarye a^o dni 1588 And in the one and thirtiethe yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of god Quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the Faithe &c.

By me RICHARD JONES L. S.

Sigillat. et debat. in presentia mei JOHANNIS
HARNEY apprentic. THO. WRIGHTSON SCR.

No. III.

ALLEYN'S Part in R. GREENE'S "Orlando Furioso."

* * * * gloriouse waine
* * * * viewe of Daphnes excellence;

* * * morn, faire bewty of the even,
 • • * Orlando languishing in love
 • • • groves, wheare the nimphes
 • • pleasance laugh to see the Satyres playe,
 * • Orlandos faith unto his love
 • she thes lawndes, sweet flora, bost thy flowers
 seek she for shade, spred cedars for her sake.
 Kinde Flora, make her couch fair cristall springes :
 washe you her Roses, yf she long to drink.
 oh thought my heaven, oh heaven y^t knowes my thought!
 Smyle joy in hir that my content hath wrought.

— dwell.

Orlando, what contrarious thoughts are those
 that flock with doutfull motion in thy minde ?
 heavens smile, thes trees doe boast ther somer pride ;
 Venus hath graven hir triumphes here beside.

— shall ensewe.

Angelica ! ah, sweet and blessed name
 life to my life, an essence to my ioye !
 this gordyon knott together counites
 ah medor, partner in hir peerlesse love.
 unkind, and will she bend hir thoughts to chaunge ?
 hir name, hir writing ! foolishe and unkind !
 no name of hers, unlesse the brokes relent
 to hear hir name, and Rhodanus vouchsafe
 to rayse his moystened lockes from out the Reedes,
 and flowe with calme along his turning bowndes.
 no name of hers, unlesse the zephire blowe
 hir dignities along the desert woodes
 of Arden, wher the world for wonders waightes.
 and yet hir name ! for why, Angelica ?
 but mixt with Medor, then not Angelica.
 only by me was loved Angelica ;
 only for me must live Angelica.
 I fynd hir drift ; perhappes the modest pledg
 of my content hath wth a privy thought,
 and sweet disguise, restrayned hir fancy thus,

shadowing Orlando under Medors name :
 fyne drift, faire nymphe, Orlando hopes no lesse.
 yet more ! are muses maskine in these trees,
 forming ther dittyes in conceited lynes,
 making a goddesse in despight of me,
 that have no goddess but Angelica ?

————— sorowes dwell.

dare Medor court my venus ? can hir eyes
 bayte any lookes but suche as must admyre ?
 • • • what may Orlando deeme ?

Etna, forsake the bowndes of Sicelye,
 for why, in me thy restlesse flames appere.
 refusd, contemd, disdaynd, what not, then thus.
 * * * * * angry brest.

Argalio. ————— my Lord.

come hether, Argalio : vilayne, behold these lynes ;
 see all these trees carved wth true love knottes,
 wherin are figurd Medor and Angelica.
 what thinkst thou of it ? —————

————— is a woeman
 and what then ? ————— some newes.

what messenger hath Ate sent abrode
 wth Idle lookes to listen my lament ?
 Sirha, who w^{ronged} happy nature thus,
 to spoyle thes trees wth this Angelica ?
 yet in hir name, Orlando, they are blest.

————— folow love.

As follow love ! darest thou disprayse my heaven ?
 offer disgrace, and preiudice hir name ?
 is not Angelica the queene of love,
 deckt wth the compound wreath of Adons flowers ?
 she is : then speak, thou pesant, what he is
 that dare attempt, or court my quene of love,
 or I will send thy soule to Charons charge.

————— and Medors love.

Nought but Angelica, and Medors love !
 shall Medor, then, possesse Orlandos love ?

danty and gladsome beames of my delight,
 why feast your gleames on others lustfull thoughtes?
 delicious browes, why smile your heaven for those,
 that wondrous you prove poor Orlandos foes?
 Lend me your playntes, you sweet Arcadian nimphe,
 that wont to sing your late departed loves.
 thou weeping floud, leave Orpheus wayle for me.
 proude Titans neces, gather all in one
 those fluent springes of your lamenting eyes,
 and let them streame along my faintfull lookes.

of S [def. in MS.]

Argalio, seek me out Medor, seek out that same,
 that dare inchase him with Angelica.

be [def. in MS.]

O femminile ingegno, di tutti mali sede,
 come ti vuolgi et muti facilmente
 contrario oggetto proprio de la fede

O inf credi

. . . portune super

prive di amor, di fede, et di Consiglio;
 temerarie, crudeli, inique, ingrato,
 per pestilenza eterna all mundo natae.

vilayne, Argalio, whers medor? medor is, medor a knave; what,
 lyes he here,

and braves me to my face? by heaven, Ile tear

[*dragges him in*]

him pecemeale in dispight of these.

[*enters with a mans legg*]

villayns, provide me straight a lions skynne.

on his neck.

for I, thou seest, am mighty Hercules.

see whers my massy clubb upon my neck.

I must to hell to fight wth Cerberus,

and find out Medor ther, you vilaynes, or Ile dye.

shall I doe?

ah, ah, ah, Sirha, Argalio!

Ile weare the speare framd out of • • •
 • • • • • • • •
 • • • • • • • •

ORLANDO.

Solus. _____

Woodes, trees, leaves, leaves, trees, woodes : tria sequuntur tria, ergo optimus vir non est optimus magistratus. a peny for a pott of beer and sixe pence for a peec of beife? wounds! what am I the worse? o minerva! salve; god morrow; how doe you to day? sweet goddesse, now I see thou lovest thy ulisses. lovely Minerva, tell thy ulisses, will Jove send Mercury to Calipso to lett me goe?

Here he harkens.] will he? why then he is a good fellow; nay more, he is a gentleman, every haire of the head of him. tell him I have bread and beife for him: lett him put his arme into my bag thus deep, yf he will eate. goddesse, he shall have it. thre blew beans [def. in MS.] a blewe bladder, rattle bladder [def. in MS.] Lantorne and candle light; child [def. in MS.] children, a god when _____

He walketh up and downe] but soft you, minerva, whats a clock? [def. in MS.] hye tree.

He singes.] I am Orlando [def. in MS.] so bragg: [def. in MS.] who • • Jupiters brayne when you were

He whistles for him.] begotten. Argalio, Argalio! farewell, good Minerva; have me recommended to vulcan, and tell him I would fayne see him dance a galyard.

_____ my lord.

I pray the, tell me one thing: dost thou not know wherfore I cald the • • •?

_____ neither.

Why knowest thou not? nay nothing, thou mayst be gone. stay, stay, villayne, I tell thee, Angelica is dead, nay she is in deed.

_____ lord.

but my Angelica is dead.

_____ my lord.

He beats] and canst thou not weepe

————— Lord.

Why then begin, but first lett me geve

[def. in MS.]

A begins to weepe] your watchword, Argalio.

Argalio, stay.

• • • •
• * • •

That the belydes. youle fetch me hir, sir.

spare no cost, run me to Charlemagne,

and say Orlando sent for Angelica. away, villayne !

————— your humor.

Oh, oh ! as though y^t Sagitar in all his pride

could take faire Leda from stout Jupiter ;

and yet, forsooth, Medor durst enterprise

to reave Orlando of Angelica.

syrha, you that are the messenger to Jove,

you that can sweep it through the milke white pathe

that leades unto the synode howse of Mars,

fetch me my helme, tempred of azure steele,

my sheild, forged by the cicloppe for Anchises sonne,

and see yf I dare combat for Angelica.

heaven, and hell, godes and devylls ! whers Argalio ?

————— Angelica.

Ah, my dear Angelica !

syrha, fetch me the harping starr from heaven,

Lyra, the pleasant mynstrell of the spheares,

that I may dance a galyard wth. Angelica.

ride me to Pan ; bidd all his waternimphes

come wth. ther bagpypes and ther tamberins.

————— for a woeman.

howe fares my sweet Angelica ?

————— for his honesty.

art thou not fayre Angelica,

wth. browes as faire as faire Ibythia,

that darks Canopus wth. her silver hewe ?

————— art Angelica.

Why are not these those ruddy coulered cheekes,

Wher both the lillye and the blushing rose
 syttes equall suted with a natyve redd.

————— a ballad.

Are not, my sweet, thes eyes, these sparkling lampes,
 Wherout proud Phebus flasheth fourth his lights ?

————— wth. an othe.

but tell me, false Angelica,
 strumpett, worse then the whorish love of Mars,
 traytresse, surpassing trothleas Cresida,
 that so in chast his name wthin that grove,
 wheres medor ? say me for truth wher medor is.
 yf Jupiter hath shutt him wth young Ganymede,
 by heaven, Ile fetch him from the heles of Jove.
 inconstant, base, injurious and untrue !
 such strumpetts shall not scape away wth. life.

————— god be wth. you.

[def. in MS.] wher are my souldiours ? whers all
 the campe, the captayns, leutenantes, sargeantes,
 [def. in MS] of the band, corporalles, and, ancpresades,
 gentlemen and mercenaries ? seest thou not, medor
 standes braving me at the gates of Rome ?

————— to much wages.

follow me ! I may goe seek my captaynes out,
 that Medor may not have Angelica.

Exit.]

ENTER.

Sirha, is she not like those purple coulered swannes,
 y^t gallopp by the coche of Cinthya ?
 her face silvered like to the milkwhite shape
 y^t Jove came dauncing in to Semele ?
 tell me, Argalio, what sayes Charlemagne ?
 his nephew Orlando, palantyne of fraunce,
 is poet laureat for geometry.

ORLANDO.

————— in the w [def. in MS.]

base mynded traytors ! yf you dare but say
 Thetis is fayrer then Angelica,

Ile place a peal of rysing rivers in your throates
 [def. in MS.] Virgill, Lucian, Ovide, Ennius,
 Sirha, were not these poettes? ——— yes, my lord.
 Then Jove, trotting upon proud Eolus,
 shall not gaynesay, but maugre all his boules
 Ile try wth vulcane cracking of a launce,
 Yf any of the godes mislikes my rondelayes.
 Argalio, these be the lockes Apollo turnd to bowes,
 when crimson daphne ran away for love.
 love! whats love, vilayne, but the bastard of Mars,
 the poyson of penns, and yet thou seest I wear
 badges of a poet laureat ——— the world.
 Clyme up the cloudes to Galaxsy straight,
 And tell Apollo that orlando sittes
 making of verses for Angelica.
 Yf he denye to send me downe the shirt
 that Deianyra sent to Hercules,
 to make me brave upon my wedding day,
 Ile up the Alpes and post to Meroe, the
 watry lakishe hill, and pull the harper
 from out the ministrilla handes and pawne.
 [def. in MS.] to lovely Proserpine, y^t she
 may fetch me fayre Angelica.
 vilayne, will he not send me it?

————— no answeerr.

So, Orlando must become a poet.
 No, the palatyne is sent champion unto y^e warrs.
 take the Laurell, Latonas bastard sonne :
 I will to flora, sirha, downe upon the ground,
 for I must talke in secrett to the starres.
 ————— doth lye.
 when Jove rent all the welkin wth. a crake.
 fye, fye ! tis a false verse. ——— penylesse.
 how, fellow, wher is the Artick bear, late baighted
 from his poel? scurvy poetry ! a litell to long.
 ————— by force.
 Oh, my sweet Angelica, braver then Juno was.
 but, vilayne, she converst with Medor.

————— I give.
 drown'd be Canopus child in those arcadyan twins.
 is not that sweet, Argalio ?

————— confesse it.
 stabbd the old whore, and send her soule to the divell.
 Lende me the nett that vulcan trapt for Mars.
 [def. in MS.] felows, vilaynes, whats there adoe ?
 the court is cald, an nere a Senatur.
 Argalio, geve me the chayre ; I will be judg
 my selfe ————— souldioures.
 So, sirs, what sayes Cassius ? why stabbd he Cæsar
 in the senate howse ?

————— his furye.
 Why speakes not, vilayne, thou peasaunt !
 Yf thou beest a wandring knight, say who
 hath crackt a Launce with the ? ——— to him.
 what sayest ? Is it for the armour of
 Achilles thou doest strive ? yf be Ajax
 shall trot away to troy, geve me thy
 hand ulisses, it is thine. ——— Armorer.
 And you, fair virgin, what say you ?
 Argalio, make her confesse all ———

ORLANDO.

————— have relet.
 [def. in MS.] the flowes of Ilium.
 Fear not Achilles, overmadding boy :
 Pyrrhus shall not. Argalio, why sufferest
 this olde trot to come so nere me.
 away with thes rages !
 fetch me the Robe that proud Apollo wears,
 that I may Jett it in the capytoll.
 Argalio, is Medor here ? say whiche of
 these is he. courage ! for why, the palatyne
 of fraunce straight will make slaughter
 of these daring foes. *currunt.*

are all the troyans fiedd ? then geve me
 some drynke, some drink.—— my lord.
 els will I sett my mouth to Tigris streames,
 and drink up overflowing Euphrates.

————— my lord.
 This is the gesey shepherdes bottle, that Darius
 quaft. so, so, so, oh so. ——

Inchaunt]

What heavenly sightes of pleasaunce filles my eyes,
 that feed the pride with view of such regard ?
 [def. in MS.] admyres to se the slombring dreams.
 skyes are fullfid wth lampes of lasting joye,
 that boste the pride of haught Latonas sonne,
 who lightneth all the candells of the night.
 nemosene had kist the kingly Jove,
 and entertayn a feast wth in my braynes,
 making her daughters solace on my browes.
 Methinkes I feel how Cinthias tyms conceipts
 of sad repent, and meloweth those desires
 that frenzy scarce had ripened in my braynes.
 Ate, Ile kise thy restlesse cheek awhile,
 and suffer fruitlesse passion byde controle.

Recumbit] —————

What sightes, what shapes, what strange conceipted dreams !
 more dreadfull then apperd to Hecuba,
 when fall of troy was figured in her sleeps.
 Juno, methought, sent from the heaven by Jove,
 cam sweping swiftly thorow the glomye ayre,
 and calling Iris, sent her straight abrode
 to sommon fawnes, the satires and the nimphes,
 the dryades and all the demygodes
 to secret consayle, [def. in MS.] parle past,
 she gave them [def. in MS.] full of heavenly dew.
 with that, mounted upon hir party coulered coach,
 she slipt with Iris to the sphear of Jove.
 what thoughts arise upon this fearfull showe !
 wher ? in what woodes ? what uncouth grove is this ?
 how thus disguysd ? where is Argalio ? Argalio !

mad humores.

say me, sir boy, how cam I thus disguyd,
like mad Orestes quaintly thus attyred ?

you are.

As I am ! villayne, termest me lunaticke ?
tell me what furye hath inchaunted me ?

what art thou some sibill, or some godes,
or what ? frely say on.

ORLANDO.

batt [def. in MS.]

Hath then the [def. in MS.] of Alcumenas child
ledd fourth my thoughts, wth. for more egar rage
then wrestled in the brayne of Phillips sonne,
when madd wth. wyne he practised Clytus fall.
break from the cloudes, yon burning brandes of Ire,
that styrr wthin the thunderers wrathfull fistes,
and fixe your hideous fyers on Sacrapant.
from out your fatall tresoryes of wrath,
you wastfull furyes, draw those eben bowles,
that bosted lukewarme bloud at Centaures feast,
to choak with bloud the thirsty Sacrapant,
thorough whom my Clymene and hebe fell,
thorow whom my sprittes wth fury wer supprett.
my fancyes, post you unto Pindus topp :
ther midst the sacred troupes of nimphes inquire,
seek for my Venus nere Erycinne,
or in the vale of [def. in MS.] yf she sleep.
tell her Orlando [def. in MS.] second Mars,
hath robd the burning hill of Cicelye
of all the Ciclops treasurs ther bestowed,
to venge hir wronges. and stoupe those haught conceiptes,
that sought my Jelowsye and hir disgrace.
Ride, Nemesis, upon this angry steel
that thretneth those that hate Angelica,
who is the sonne of glory that consumes
Orlando, even the phenix of affect. [Exit.]

_____ slave as he.

Prynces, for shame! unto your royall campes.
base not your selves to combatt such a dogg.
follow the chase, mount on your coursers strong;
manage your spears, and lett your slaughtering swordes
be taynted with the bloud of them that flee.
from him passe ye; he shalbe combated.

_____ within.

I am, thou seest, a cuntry servile swayne,
homely attired, but of so hawty thoughtes
as nought can serve to quench the aspiring flames,
that scorch as doe the fiers of Cicelye,
unlesse I win that princly diademe
that semes so ill upon thy cowardes head.

_____ a king.

Then mayst thou deme some second mars from heaven
is sent, as was Amphitrios foster sonne,
to vale thy plumes and heave the from a crowne.
prove what thou art, I wreke not of thy gree:
as Lampethusas brother from his coach,
prauncing and visor open, went his course
and tumbled from Apollo's chariott,
so shall thy fortunes and thy honor fall.
to prove it, Ile have the guerdon of my sword
w^{ch}. is the glory of thy diademe.

_____ thy name?

first thine. _____

ORLANDO.

_____ Sacrapant.

Then lett me at thy dying day intreat,
by that same spear wherin thy soule shall rest,
yf Joue deny not passage to thy ghost,
then tell me, yf thou wrongst Angelica or no?

_____ thy name.

Extinguish, proud tesyphone, those brandes:
fetch dark Alecto from black phlegeton,

or Lethe water to appease those flames,
 that wrathfull Nemesis hath sett on fire.
 dead is the fatall author of my yll.
 vassall! base vilayne! worthlesse of a crowne,
 knowe that the man that stabd the dismall stroke
 is Orlando, the palatyne of fraunce,
 whom fortune sent to quittance all thy wrong.
 thou foyld and slaine, it now behoves me, dogg,
 to hye me fast to massacre thy men—*exit*
 _____ hir love.

French man, for so thy quaint aray importes,
 beest thou a peer, or beest thou Charlemayne,
 or hadst thou hectors or Achilles hartes,
 or never daunted thoughtes of hercules,
 the infusd metemichosis of them all,
 I tell the, sir, thou liest wth in thy throate,
 the gretest brave Cis alpine fraunce can brook,
 in saing y^t sacred Angelica
 did offer wrong unto the palatyne.
 I am a slavishe Indian mercenary,
 yet for I see the princesse is abusd
 by newcome straglers from an uncooth coast,
 I dare the proudest of the westernne Lordes
 to crack a blade in tryall of hir right.
 _____ foyld.

Twelve peres of fraunce, twelve divylles, whats y^t?
 what I have spoke, ther I pawne my sword
 to seale it on the helme of him that dare,
 Malgrado of his honor, combatt me.

_____ Lords of India.
 You that so proudly bid him fight,
 out wth your blade, for why, your turne is next.
 tis not this champion can discourage me.

Pugnant M. victus]

You, sir, that braved your heraldry,
 wher is the honor of the howse of fraunce?

_____ to doe.
 faire princesse, what I may belongs to the :
 wittnes, I well have hanseled yet my sword.
 now, sir, you that will chastyce when you meet,
 bestirr you, french man, for Ile taske you hard.

Oliver victus] _____
 Provide you, lordes ; determyne who is next :
 pick out the stoutest champion of you all.
 they wer but striplinges : call you those the peers ?
 Hold, madam, and yf my life but last it out,
 Ile gard your person with the peires of fraunce.

by my side. _____
 So, sir, you have made a godly oracion,
 but use your sword better, lest I well
 beswinge you.

Pugnant] _____
 by my faith, you have done pretily well ; but
 sirha, french man, thinck you to breath ? come,
 fall to this geer close : dispatch, for we must
 have no parle. _____

O. victus] _____ Orlando.
 Ogier, sweet cuss, geve me thy hand, my lord,
 and say thast found the county Palatyne.

_____ Lunacye.
 So was I, Lordes ; but geve me leave a while,
 humbly as mars did to his paramour
 when as his god head wrongd hir wth suspect,
 so to submitt to faire Angelica,
 upon whose lovly Roseat cheekes, me semes,
 the cristall of hir morne more clerly spredes,
 then doth y^e dew upon Adonis flower.
 faire nimphe, about whose browes sittes floras pride,
 Elisian bewty trappes about thy lookes,
 pardon thy Lord, who, perst wth. Jelowsie,
 darkned thy vertues wth a great ecllipse.
 pardon thy Lord, faire saynt Angelica,
 whose love, stealing by steppes into extremes,

grew by suspition to causlesse Lunacye.

_____ in his.

Thanks, sweet Angelica.

but why standes the prince of Africa,
and Mandrycard, the King of mexico,
so deep in dumpes, when all rejoyse besides ?

_____ Palatyne.

And that, my leig, durandall hath averd
agaynst my kinsmen and the peires of fraunce,
next know, my lord, I slaughtered Sacrapant.
I am the man y^t did the slave to death,
who falsely wrongd Angelica and me ;
for when I stabd the traytor to the hart,
and he lay breathing in his latest gaspe,
he frankly made confession at his death
that he ingravd the Rondelays on the trees,
and hung the scedule of poor Medors love,
entending by suspect to bred debate
deeply twixt me and fair Angelica.

his hope had happ, but we had all the harme.
and now revendg, leaping from out the seat
of him that can commaund sterne Nemesis,
hath heapd his treasons justly on his head.

_____ honor the.

Thanks, Angelica, for her.

but nowe, my Lordes of fraunce, frolick, my frendes,
and welcome to the courts of Africa.

courage, companyons, y^t have past the seas
furrowing the playnes of neptune wth your keles
to seeke your frend the county Palatyne.

you thre, my Lordes, I welcome with my sword,
the rest, brave gentlemen, my hart and hand.

what welth wth in the clime of Africa,
what pleasure longst the costes of mexico,
Lordinges commaund, I dare be bold so far
with Mandrycard and prince Marsilius.
the pretious shrubbes, the * * of mirh,

the founts as riche as Eden did aford,
 whatso ever is faire and pleasing, Lordinges, use,
 and welcome to the county Palatyne.

_____ or none. ♣

Thankes, Affrike vicroye, for the Lordes of fraunce.
 and, fellow mates, be merry, we will home
 as sone as pleaseth King Marsilius
 to lett his doughter passe wth us to fraunce.
 meane while wele richly rigg up all our fleet
 more brave then wer the [def. in MS.] keles.

No. IV.

HENSLOWE and the Mastership of the Games.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland Defendor of the Faith &c. To all to whome their presents shall come greetinge. Wee lett youwitt that wee, of our speciall grace, certen knowledge and meere motion uppon surrender to us of a former Patent or Comission heretofore by us _____ and graunted to our welbeloved servant Raphe Bowes Esquire, have geven and graunted, to and by theis presents doe geve and graunte, unto our welbeloved servante Phillipp Hensley, for and in consideration of his faithfull service heretofore doen unto us, the roome or office of Cheife Mr., Overseer and Ruler of all and singular our games pastymes and sportes, that is to saye, of all and everie our Beares, Bulls and Mastiff Dogges meete for that purpose, and the same Phillipp Hensley, cheif Mr, Ruler and Overseer of all and every our games sportes and pastymes aforesaid, wee doe make, ordaine and constitute by theis presentes. To have and to hould the same roome or office to the said Phillipp Hensley, by himselfe or his sufficient Deputie or Deputies, for and duringe his naturall lief with all and al manner rewardes, preheminance, liberties, proffitts, comodities and advantages whatsoever to the same office or roome in any wise belonging or apperteyning, in as large and ample manner and form as Cuthbert Vaughan or Sir Richard Longe, knighte, deceased, or the said Raphe Bowes, or any other havinge and exercising the same office att any tyme in his or their lief or lyves, ever had, used, perceived and enjoyed in, for, and by reson of the same roome or office.

And of our further speciall grace wee doe geve and graunt by theis presentes unto the said Phillipp Hensley, and to his said Deputie or Deputies, duering his said lief, full power, comission and authoretie, not onelie to take upp and lead for our service, pastyme and sporte any Mastiff Dogg or Dogges and Mastiff Bitches, Beares, Bulls and other lyke, meete and convenient for our said service and pastyme, any of them beeing within this our Realme, or other our domynions, att and for suche reasonable price and prizes as our said servant can agree with the owner or owners for the same Beares and Bulls; but alsoe to staie, or cause to be staied, att his discretion, all and every or any suche Mastiff dogges or bitches as the said Phillipp Hensley or his assignes shall fortune at any tyme hereafter to take and finde goinge, passinge or conveighinge, or to be conveyed in any wise unto any parte of beyond the seas, without our speciall lycense warrant and comission for conveighinge of the same. Willinge, and streightlie charginge and comandinge by theis presentes, that as well all our officers, Mynisters and subjectes and everie of them, from henceforth from time to time, to aide, assiste, strengthen and helpe the said Phillipp Hensley in exercisinge of his said office and other the said premisses, but alsoe other our officers and mynisters in any wise apperteyninge to our said games shall dilligentlie obeie and bee attendinge, and doe every thing and things reasonable that the said Phillipp, as Mr. and cheef Ruler of our said games, shall commaunde for our better service therein. And alsoe of our further speciall grace, for the consideration aforesaid, wee doe geve and graunt full power and authoretie by theis presentes to the said Phillipp Hensley to bayte or cause to be bayted our said Beares and others, beinge of our said games, in all and everie convenient place and places, and att any tymes and att his discretion, and that noe other officer or under officer belonginge or in any manner apperteyninge to our said Beares and [illegible] for the tyme beeing, ne any of them, shall from henceforth bayte or cause to be bayted any of our said Beares or others of our games aforesaid, in any yarde or other place or places, without the speciall lycence and appointment of the said Phillipp; nor that any of them shall from henceforth take upp any beare or beares, or any other apperteyninge to our said games, or for our service and comoditie without the [illegible] appointment of our said servant as is aforesaid.

Any manner of graunte or lycense, heretofore made or hereafter to be made to any of them for the same, to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstandinge. In witnes &c.

[The above seems to have been drawn up by Henslowe's orders, when he had some expectation of obtaining the office to which it refers before the death of Elizabeth. The copy from which it is taken was subsequently altered by him in his own hand, to suit the reign of James I., when Henslowe hoped to be made Master of the King's Games, in preference, probably, to Sir John Dorington.]

No. V.

The BUILDING of DULWICH COLLEGE.

This Indenture, made the seaventeenth day of May, 1613, and in the yeres of the raigne of our soveraigne Lorde James, by the grace of God, Kinge of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faethe &c the eleaventh, and of Scotland the sixe and forteth, Betweene Edward Alleyn of Dulwich in the parishe of Camerwell in the County of Surrey, Esquier, on th'one partye, and John Benson of Westminster in the County of Midd, bricklayer, on th'other party. Witnessethe, that it is covenanted, graunted, concluded, condescended and agreed by and betwene the saide partees to thees presentes, and the said John Benson for him selfe covenanteth and graunteth to and with the saide Edward Alleyn his executors and assignes by thees presentes in manner and forme as hereunder from article to article is expressed, that is to say; That the saide John Benson or his assignes shall and will (for the consideration hereunder written and specified) builde erect and sett up, upon a certen parcell of ground appoynted and layde out for that purpose upon Dulwich Greene in the parishe of Camerwell aforesaide, the trench for the foundation to be digged and made fitt by the saide Edward Alleyn, his executors or assignes, a certaine buildinge of brick, of and with such bricke, lyme, sand, or other stuff belonginge to brickeworke, as shalbe provided and delivered to him att the place aforesaide by the saide Edward Alleyn his executors or assignes, which buildinge shalbe for a Chappell, a Schoole howse, and twelve Almeshowes,

proportionably accordinge to a plott thereof made and drawn by the saide John Benson and subscribed by the saide parties; the saide Chappell and Schoolehowse to be in lengthe from east to west fower-skore and fyfteene foote of assize, and in bredthe from out side to out side twenty and nyne foote of assize, and in height from the upper parte of the foundation even from the grounde to the raysinge peece thertye foote of assize, and upon the head or topp of the same height sixe foote of assize of finishinge worke. And in the middle of the forefront of the said Chappell shall erect and build one faire porche, to conteyne in length eighteene foote of assize and in bredthe from the other buildinge forward nyne foote of assize, the same porche to be bewtified and fynished as hereunder is mentioned. And behinde on the backe parte of the saide buildinge, directly against the saide porche, shall erect and sett upp one Tower of bricke to be eighteene foote of assize square from out to outside, and in height to be threeskore foote of assize, with decent and comely fyneshinge, and at each corner of the same Tower one pynacle of brick: and in the midst of the same Chappell and scholehowse, for a partition betweene them, shall make one partition wall to be in thicknes one brick and a halfe. To sett out the rome appoynted for the parlor of the saide Schole-howse backward by way of inlargement ten foote of assize, and under the same parlor and rome before the same appoynted for an entree and staire case, shall make one cellar of brick to be in bredthe thirteene foote of assize and in lengthe thirty fower foote of assize, and seven foote of assize deepe. And in the same Scholehowse shall make and erect sixe chimneys sufficiently and substancially to be made and wrought, with arched mantle trees of brick, and to carry and avoide smoke cleane thorough the tonnells of the same chimneys; that is to say, one chimney in the parlor, one in the chamber over the parlor, one in the chamber or garrett over the same parlor chamber, one in the kitchen, one in the chamber over the kitchen, and one in the chamber over the Scholehowse. The foundation of the Chappell walls within the grounde to be in thicknes sixe bricke, and so racted of untill at the upper parte of the grounde it be brought to fower bricke in thicknes; and from the grounde to the watertable to be three bricke and a halfe in thicknes; and from the watertable to the raysinge peece the walls to be three bricke in thicknes. The foun-

dition of the Tower and the walls thereof to be of the same thicknes as the Chappell is within the grounde, and the walls from the grounde upward to the covering of the same Tower to be three bricke in thicknes, and even with the ridge of the Chappell the same Tower to have a decent watertable, and from the watertable upward the same Tower to have forward twoe pillasters, and suche other bewtifyinge and fynishinge as the forfront of the saide porch is to have, as hereunder is mentioned. And that the forefront of the said Chappell and Scholehowse shalbe bewtified with sixe Dorick pillasters with petty-stalls, bases, capitalls and cornishe, to reach from the lowest part of the foundation within the grounde unto the raysinge peece, and twoe pillasters to bewtifie the same porche, and the saide sixe foote of fynishinge worke on the hedd or topp before mentioned, to rise and be made with a small pillaster on the heade of every greate pillaster, with three kinde of tafferells on the forefront; that is to say, one over the porche, and on either side of the porch one; and in the same forefront fower halfe roundes for the bewtifyinge, and betweene every tafferell and halfe rounde one piramides. And in the forefront of the same Chappell, Scholehowse and porche shall make fowerteene windowes, viz; in the Chappell sixe, in the Scholehowse sixe, and over the saide porch twoe, every windowe to have fower lightes with a transsam, each light to be arched or turned over with brick, and every light to be twoe foote wide, besides the monyon, which monyon is to be nyne ynches thick. And att the east end of the saide Chappell shall make one faire windowe, wherein shalbe ten arched lightes with a transsam in the middle thereof, all the lightes and monyons thereof to be of the proportion of the saide former windowes, and on the back parte of the saide Chappell, towardes the south, shall make one dore rome and butteres and sixe arched windowes in the same Chappell, proportionable to the windowes in the forefront. The walls of the Scholehowse, and romes thereunto appoynted as aforesaide, to be in thicknes as hereafter followeth, viz; from the lowest parte of the foundation within the grounde to the watertable twoe bricke and a halfe in thicknes; from the watertable to the first story twoe bricke in thicknes, and from the first story to the topp a brick and a halfe in thicknes, with sufficient windowes in every of the saide romes, as the same romes and storyes will conveniently beare and

require. And in the kitchen chimney of the same Scholehowse shall make twoe meete and sufficient ovens; one greater and th'other lesser. And that sixe of the saide Almes'howses shalbe made and erected from the east corner of the saide Chappell northwardes, and th'other sixe Almeshowses from the west corner of the saide Scholehowse northwardes, as by the said plott is prescribed and prefigured, every of the same Almeshowses to be twelve foote square within the walls: and in the same Almeshowses shall make twelve severall chimneyes viz; to each Almeshowse one, the mantle trees of the same chimneyes to be arched or turned over with brick, and to be made to carry and avoid smoke cleane through the tonnells of the same: and in every of the same Almeshowses shall make one windowe with twoe lightes, and under the eves of the same Almeshouses small make a slight cornishe, and to each Almeshowse one dore rome to be arched or turned over with brick. And at the north end of eache of the same rankes of Almeshowses shall erect one howse of office, to conteyne ten foote one way and twelve foote another, with a vault to each howse of office of brick, eight foote deepe, and a vent out of each howse of office in the manner of a chimney above the ridge of the same Almes howses: and also shall erect one wall of brick thwart from end to end of the saide Almes howses to enclose the courte, eight foote high, and in the midst of the same wall one faire gate rome to be fynished in the best and most decent manner with pillasters, freze, cornishe and piramides: the saide wall to be a brick and a halfe in thicknes. All the pillasters, freezes, cornishe and windowes and fawmes of the saide buildinge to be fairely and cleanelly fynished white, as is accustomed in buildings of like nature. And all the same worke before prescribed, and all other bricklayers worke to the same buildinge apperteyninge, shall well, workemanlike and sufficiently worke make and fynishe in all thinges to the trade of a bricklayer belonginge. And shall and will begin the same worke on or before the last day of this instant moneth of May, and shall and will contynue at the same worke and fynishe the same with as much convenient speede as possibly may be, and as the saide Edward Alleyn his executors or assignes shall require the same, shall provide stuffe for doeing thereof. For and in consideration of which worke and covenantes, in forme aforesaide to be done and performed, the said Edward Alleyn, for him, his executors and

administrators, covenanteth and graunteth to and with the saide John Benson, his executors and assignes, by these presentes in manner and forme followinge; that is to say, That he the said Edward Alleyn, his executors or assignes, shall finde and allowe sufficient scaffolding boards, cordes and nailes for the buildinge aforesaid. And also upon the fyneshinge of every five rodd square of the saide buildinge, every rodd conteyninge sixteene foote and a half of assize, shall pay or cause to be paide to the said John Benson the sume of seaven poundes ten shillinges of lawfull mony of England, the same to be measured one with another, and runninge measure, which is thirty shillinges for every rodd. And upon the full fynishinge and endinge of the saide worke and buildinge for every rodd the same shalbe measured into, one with another after the measure aforesaide ten shillinges more, which in all is after the rate of forty shillinges a rodd, without fraud or covyn. In witnes whereof the said parties to theis present Indentures interchangeably have sett their handes and seales. Yeoven the day and yeres first above written.

JOHN BENSON

Sealed and delivered in presence of me

THOMAS BOLTON Scr.

ANTHONY WILLIAMS

Servant to the said Tho. BOLTON.

THE END.

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P R O S P E C T U S
OF
THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

It is remarkable that all that has hitherto been done for the illustration of Shakespeare has been accomplished by individuals, and that no Literary Association has yet been formed for the purpose of collecting materials, or of circulating information, by which he may be thoroughly understood and fully appreciated.

To supply this deficiency THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY has been established ; and it is hoped that, when once its purpose is generally known, it will produce a spirit of inquiry and examination, the result of which may be the discovery of much curious and valuable information, in private hands and among family papers, of the very existence of which the possessors are not at present aware. Every thing, whether derived from manuscript or printed sources, that will throw light on our early Dramatic Literature and Stage, will come within the design of the Society. The cabinets of collectors and our public libraries contain much that will contribute to this end.

Some of the productions of our Dramatists prior to the Restoration have never yet been published, and the printed copies of many Old Plays have the rarity of manuscripts. The best of these will be edited under the sanction of the Society, accompanied by biographical sketches and notes.

The Tracts by such prolific authors as Nash, Greene, Harvey, Dekker, Breton, Munday, Rowlands, Rich, Taylor, Jordan, &c., are known to comprise matter of great interest and curiosity, in connexion, either immediate or remote, with our early Stage and its Poetry ; and to the republication of these the attention of the Society will also be directed. In time complete sets may thus be afforded of the scattered productions of distinguished and once popular Writers.

The Works of Northbrooke, Gosson, Lodge, Rankins, Whetstone, Stubbes, Heywood, and others, who wrote for or against theatrical representations in their comparative infancy, are important in the History of our Drama, and these (most of which are of the rarest possible occurrence), it is intended to reprint in a connected series.

The Society is limited to one thousand Subscribers, and, until this limit is attained, Members are admitted on the introduction of one of the Council, or by application to the Secretary or Treasurer.

Communications relative to the Society may be addressed to the Secretary, 186, Fleet Street, or any other Member of the Council, or to Mr. ROBB, Bookseller, 2, Newport Street, Long Acre. Subscriptions of Members received at the Metropolitan Bank, 4, Pall Mall East.

LAWS OF THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

I. The Society shall be called "The Shakespeare Society."

II. The chief object of the Society shall be to afford every species of illustration to the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries, by the publication or reprinting of works connected with the origin and progress of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, anterior to the Restoration. Attention will also be directed to the general Literature of the period, in relation, either immediate or remote, to dramatic representations, and to the lives, characters, and opinions of such as have in any way been concerned in them.

III. The Society shall consist of One Thousand Subscribers of £1 annually; such subscription to be paid in advance, on or before the 1st day of January in every year.

IV. The controlling power of the Society shall be vested in the general body of the Members, who, at their General Meetings, shall elect the Council, and make regulations affecting the Society.

V. The management of the affairs of the Society, and the election of Officers, shall be vested in a Council composed of Twenty-one Members, exclusive of a President and four Vice-Presidents.

VI. Five Members of the Council shall be a quorum.

VII. The present Council shall continue in office until the 25th of April, 1842; and thenceforward the Council shall be elected annually.

VIII. Five Members of the Council shall retire in each year, and not be re-eligible for the ensuing year.

IX. If any Member of the Council shall resign, or a vacancy be otherwise occasioned, the remaining Members of the Council may fill up such vacancy.

X. The Council shall, from amongst their own body, elect a Director, who shall act as Chairman of the Council in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents.

XI. A General Meeting of the Members shall be held on the 25th of April, 1842, and on each succeeding 25th of April, unless it fall on a Sunday, and in that case on the following day.

XII. The accounts of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by three Auditors, to be elected at the General Meetings, and the Report of the Auditors, with an abstract of the accounts, shall be printed.

XIII. No Member shall be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose Subscription is in arrear.

XIV. The Chairman of the Council for the time being shall have a Second Vote in case of equality of numbers.

XV. Every Member not in arrear of his Annual Subscription shall be entitled to one copy of every work printed by the Society during that year.

XVI. The Members shall be invited to contribute Works for publication.

XVII. The Editors of Works printed by the Society shall be entitled to twelve copies of the Works they edit.

XVIII. Any Member of the Society may at any time compound for his future annual subscriptions by payment of £10 over and above his subscription for the current year.

XIX. Every Member of the Society who shall not pay his subscription for the current year within three months after his election, or after such subscription shall have become due, shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

XX. The Council may appoint Local Secretaries in such places and with such authorities as shall be deemed expedient: every Local Secretary being a Member of the Society.

XXI. The Works issued by the Society not to be sold by the Society.

XXII. After the 25th of April, 1842, no alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at a General Meeting, nor then, unless one month's notice of any alteration intended to be proposed at such Meeting shall have been given in writing to the Secretary. Until the 25th of April, 1842, the Council shall have power to amend or add to the above Laws.

ALREADY PRINTED.

1. MEMOIRS OF EDWARD ALLEYN, the Actor, Founder of Dulwich College, from original sources, with new information respecting Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Lodge, Dekker, Marston, and other contemporary Dramatists and Actors. By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

WORKS IN THE PRESS.

2. THE SCHOOL OF ABUSE: containing a pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, &c. By STEPHEN GOSSON. From the edition of 1579, compared with the impression of 1587.

3. THE DIARY AND ACCOUNT BOOK OF PHILIP HENSLOWE, between the years 1590 and 1610, in which he entered his various Transactions relating to Plays, Players, and Dramatic Authors, (parts only of which were imperfectly printed by Malone), from the original MS. at Dulwich College. By permission of the Master, Warden, and Fellows.

4. A COLLECTION OF ALL THE DOCUMENTS which have reference to the Events of Shakespeare's Life. The Will edited by SIR FREDERICK MADDEN, F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, with Fac-similes of the Signatures. The Marriage Licence, transcripts from the Registers at Stratford-upon-Avon, and all the other Documents, edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.

5. THE DEBATE BETWEEN PRIDE AND LOWLINESS, pleaded in an Issue of Assize, &c. by FRANCIS THYNNE. Imprinted at London by John Charlwood, &c. n.d. B.L. 8vo. This work is in verse, and is the original from which Robert Greene, the Dramatist, took his "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," 1592, 4to.

WORKS SUGGESTED FOR PUBLICATION.

6. SIR THOMAS MORE: an unprinted Historical Play, on the Life and Death of that great Statesman and Lawyer: written and licensed for the Stage about the year 1590, and preserved in the original manuscript in the British Museum.

7. FOUR EARLY GERMAN PLAYS, thought to be translations of English Dramas not now known to be extant, but from which Shakespeare derived the plots of four of his Plays. To be edited, with an English translation, by WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq., F.S.A.

8. AN ACCOUNT OF, and extracts from some of the OLD PLAYS, (many of them *unique*) in the Library of the Right. Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P.: accompanied by remarks historical, bibliographical, critical, and biographical, illustrative of our early Stage and Dramatic Poetry. By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

9. AN ANSWER TO STEPHEN GOSSON'S SCHOOL OF ABUSE. By THOMAS LODGE. This work was printed about the year 1580; but, as the writer informs us, it was "suppressed by authority," and the only copies known are both without title-pages.

10. **AN APOLOGY FOR ACTORS, &c.** By **THOMAS HEYWOOD**. From the edition by **Nicholas Okes** in 1612, compared with **Cartwright's** edition printed during the Civil Wars.

11. **LUDUS COVENTRIÆ: A COLLECTION OF MIRACLE PLAYS**, formerly represented at **Coventry** on the Feast of **Corpus Christi**. From a MS. in the **British Museum** of the Reign of **Edward IV.** To be edited by **JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.**

12. **TARLTON'S NEWS OUT OF PURGATORY: only such a Jest as his Jig, fit for Gentlemen to laugh at an hour, &c. ;** published by an old companion of his, **Robin Goodfellow.** From the earliest edition, printed by **Edward White** about 1590, compared with the impression of 1630.

13. **PIERCE PENNYLESS, HIS SUPPLICATION TO THE DEVIL.** By **THOMAS NASH.** To be printed from the first edition of 1592, compared with the two other impressions in the same year.

14. **THE PLEASANT COMEDY OF PATIENT GRISSELL.** By **THOMAS DEKKER, HENRY CHETTLE, and WILLIAM HAUGHTON.** 1603. With an introduction on the origin of the story, and its application to the Stage in various countries of Europe.

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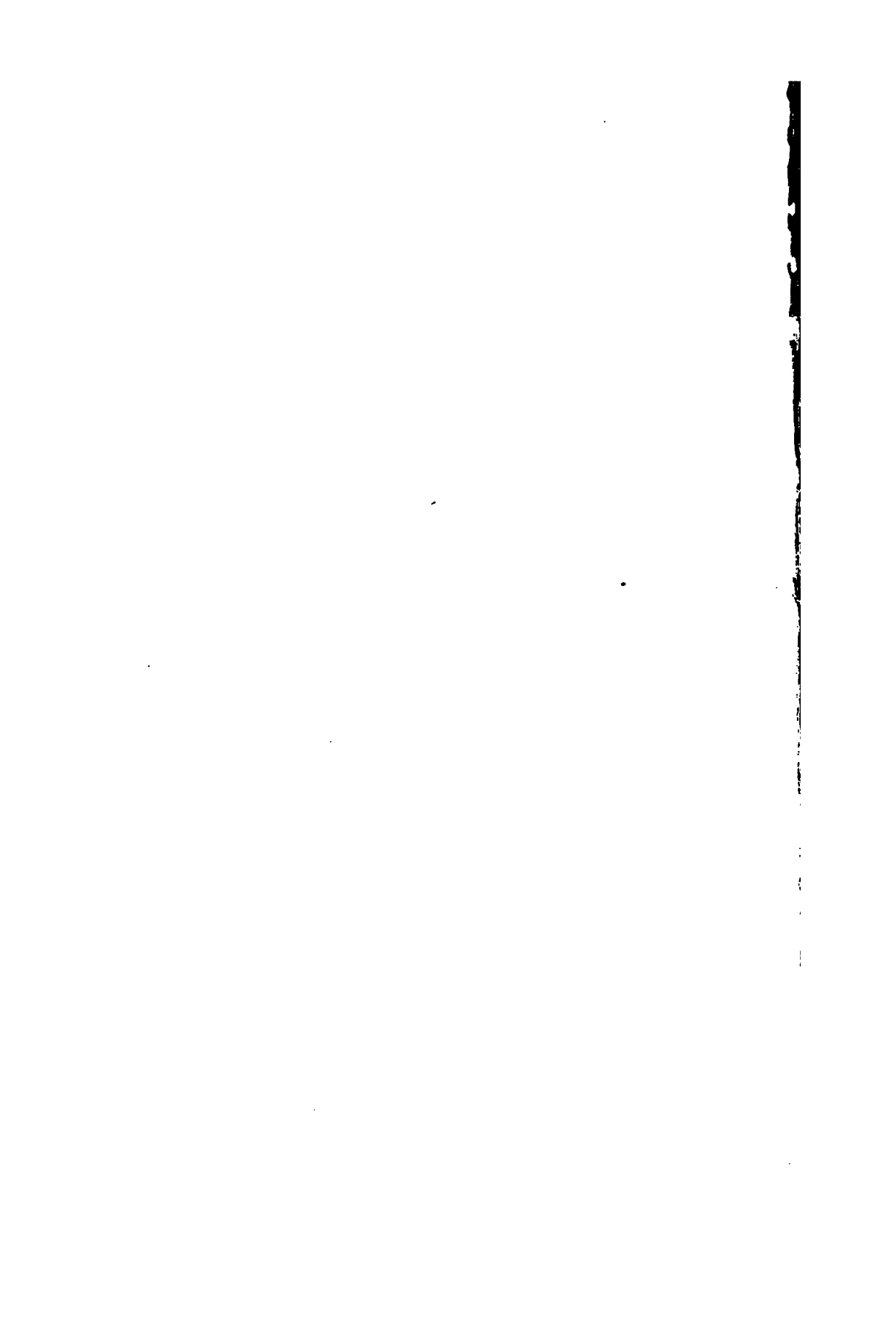
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