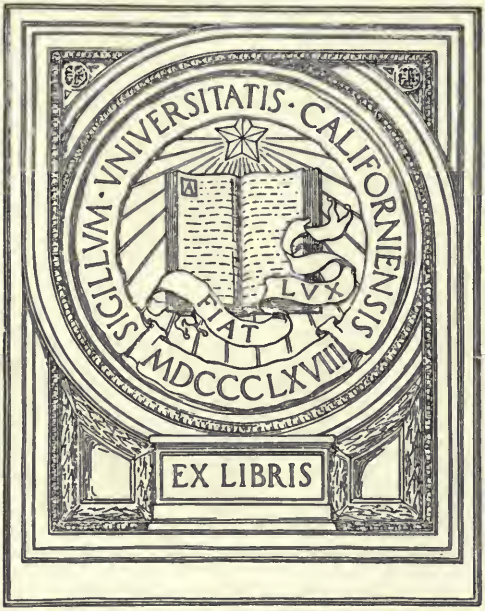

Shakespeare
Selective Bibliography
and
Biographical Notes

Shakespeare
Selective Bibliography
and
Biographical Notes

COMPILED BY
KATHARINE LEE BATES
AND
LILLA WEED

WELLESLEY COLLEGE
1913

This bibliography is an enlargement and revision of that given in *English Drama: A Working Basis* (pp. 50-57), compiled by Katharine Lee Bates and Lydia Boker Godfrey and privately printed, 1896.

SUBURBAN PRESS, NATICK, MASS.

CONTENTS

NOTE

This brief syllabus is prepared for the use of an undergraduate class. More advanced students would do well to avail themselves of the fuller bibliographies on pages 21-22. The place of publication of any book listed may be assumed to be London unless otherwise given. The following abbreviations are employed:

ac.—acted.
assoc.—association.
B. M.—British Museum.
btw.—between.
D. N. B.—Dictionary of National Biography.
ed.—edited, editor.
E. E. T. S.—Early English Text Society.
Eliz.—Elizabethan.
Eng.—English.
Engl. Stud.—Englische Studien.
ex.—extra.
exc.—except.
F.—Folio.
facs.—facsimile.
Harl.—Harleian.
introd.—introduction.
Jahrb.—Jahrbuch.
lang.—language.
lib.—library.
mod.—modern.
MS.—manuscript.
n. d.—no date.
opp.—opposite.
orig.—original.
pr.—printed.
pts.—parts.
pub.—publication, published.
Q.—Quarto.
repr.—reprint.
reprod.—reproduction.
rptd.—reprinted.
rev.—revised, revision.
ser.—series.
soc.—society.
S. R.—Registers of the Company of Stationers.
tr.—translated, translation.
trans.—transaction.
univ.—university.
v.—volume.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

NOTE: The following thirty-six plays, here arranged in conjectural order of composition, with all known dates of first production, of registry and printing, and with references to the most helpful and accessible books on each play, are those collected in the First Folio. The ? prefixed indicates a likelihood that the play is Shakespeare's only in part. Dates in full-faced type designate quartos that have been reproduced in *The Shakspere Quarto Facsimiles* (Griggs and Praetorius, 1880-89). The dates on a few of these quartos, *viz.* the Roberts quarto (1600) of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the Roberts quarto (1600) of *The Merchant of Venice,* the Pavier quarto (1608) of *Henry V* and the second Butter quarto (1608) of *King Lear* appear to be spurious, all these having been issued, with six others, in Pavier's volume of ten collected Shakespeare plays, 1619. (See, under *Bibliography,* Greg and Pollard.)

? *Titus Andronicus.*
Ac. Jan. 23, 1594. S. R. Feb. 6, 1594. Pr. 1594, **1600**, 1611.
Robertson, J. M. *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* 1905.

? *1 Henry VI.*
Ac. Mar. 3, 1592. ? S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

? *2 Henry VI.*
(Rev. of *The Contention,* pr. **1594**, 1600, **1619**.) Pr. F. 1623.

? *3 Henry VI.*
(Rev. of *The True Tragedy,* pr. **1595**, 1600, **1619**.)
Brooke, Tucker, C. F.
The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. New Haven, Conn. 1912.
Haley, Adelaide.
A Study toward the Methods of Revision: Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3.
M. A. Thesis, Wellesley College, June, 1911. *MS.*

Henneman, J. B.
The Episodes in Shakespeare's 1 Henry VI.
Mod. Lang. Assoc. Pub. 1900. 15.

Lee, Jane.
On the Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.
New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1875-6.

Rives, G. L.
An Essay on the Authorship of the First, Second and Third Parts of Henry VI. 1874.

Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

The Comedy of Errors

? Ac. Dec. 28, 1594, at Gray's Inn. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

The Menaechmi of Plautus.
(Latin text with Eliz. tr.)
Shakespeare Classics. 1912.

? *Richard III.*

S. R. Oct. 20, 1597. Pr. **1597**, 1598, **1602**, 1605, 1612, **1622**.

Furness Variorum. 1908.

Field, Barron.
The True Tragedy of Richard the Third; with the Latin play of Richardus Tertius. Shakespeare Soc. 1844.

Lowell, James Russell.
Shakespeare's Richard III.
(In *Latest Literary Essays and Addresses.* Boston. 1892.)

Wood, Alice I. Perry.
The Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third. New York. 1909.
(Columbia Univ. Studies in Eng.) With bibliography.

Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

Love's Labours Lost.

S. R. Jan. 22, 1607. Ac. at Court, Christmas, 1597. Pr. (Rev.) **1598**.

Furness Variorum. 1904.

Pater, Walter.
Love's Labours Lost. (In *Appreciations.* 1889.)

The Two Gentlemen of Verona.
Ac. before 1598. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.
The Shepherdess Felismena (from Yonge's tr. of Montemayor's *Diana*). Collier-Hazlitt *Shakespeare's Library*, v. 1. 1875.

? *The Taming of The Shrew.*
(Rev. of *The Taming of A Shrew*, pr. **1594**, 1596, 1607.) Pr. F. 1623.
The Taming of A Shrew.
Shakespeare Classics. 1908.
Gascoigne's *Supposes.* Ed. Cunliffe, J. W. Boston. 1906. (Belles Lettres Series.)

King John.
(Rev. of *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, pr. **1591**, 1611, 1622. Announced in Shakespeare Classics.)
Ac. before 1598. Pr. F. 1623.
French, Clara.
The Dramatic Action and Motive of King John.
Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

A Midsummer Night's Dream.
Ac. before 1598. S. R. Oct. 8, 1600. Pr. **1600** (Fisher), **1600** (Roberts. But see note above.)
Furness Variorum. 1895.
The Sources and Analogues of A Midsummer Night's Dream. Shakespeare Classics. 1908.

Richard II.
S. R. Aug. 29, 1597. Pr. **1597**, 1598, **1608**, (Law), 1608, 1615.
Pater, Walter.
Shakespeare's English Kings. (In *Appreciations.* 1889.)
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

Romeo and Juliet.
S. R. Jan. 22, 1607. Pr. **1597**, **1599**, 1609, *n. d.?*
Furness Variorum. 1871.
Brooke's Poem of *Romeus and Juliet.*
Shakespeare Classics. 1907.
Rhomeus and Julietta.
(The twenty-fifth novel in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure.* Ed. Jacobs, Joseph. 1890.)

The Merchant of Venice.
S. R. July 22, 1598. Pr. **1600** (Roberts), **1600** (Heyes. But see note above.)
Furness Variorum. 1888.

Lee, (Sir) Sidney. *Roderigo Lopez.* D. N. B.

1 Henry IV.
S. R. Feb. 25, 1598. Pr. **1598**, 1599, 1604, 1608, 1613, 1622.

2 Henry IV.
S. R. Aug. 23, 1600. Pr. **1600** (2).
The Famous Victories of Henry V. 1598.
Morgann, Maurice.
An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff. 1777. 1825.
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

The Merry Wives of Windsor.
S. R. Jan. 18, 1602. Pr. **1602**, 1619.

Henry V.
Ac. btw. April and Sept., 1599? S. R. Aug. 4 (1600?) ("to be staid.")
Pr. **1600**, 1602, **1608**. (But see note above.)
Bradley, A. C.
The Rejection of Falstaff.
(In Oxford *Lectures on Poetry.* 1909.)
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.
Yeats, William Butler.
At Stratford-on-Avon.
(In *Ideas of Good and Evil.* 1903.)

All's Well that Ends Well. (Love's Labours Won?)
Ac. before 1598 (?). S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.
Giletta of Narbona.
(The thirty-eighth novel in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure.* Ed. Jacobs, Joseph. 1890.)

As You Like It.
S. R. Aug. 4 (1600?). ("to be staid.") Pr. F. 1623.
Furness Variorum. 1890.
Lodge's Rosalynde.
Shakespeare Classics. 1907.
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakespeare's As You Like It and Lodge's Rosalynde compared. New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1880-6.

Much Ado about Nothing.
S. R. Aug. 4 (1600?). ("to be staid.") Pr. **1600**.
Furness Variorum. 1899.

Julius Caesar.
Ac. in 1599 (?). S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.
Shakespeare's Plutarch. v. 1.
Shakespeare Classics. 1909.

Twelfth Night.
Ac. Feb. 2, 1602, Middle Temple. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623.
Pr. F. 1623.
Furness Variorum. 1901.
Rich's Apolonius and Silla. 1581.
Shakespeare Classics. 1912.

Hamlet.
S. R. July 26, 1602. Pr. **1603**, **1604**, 1605, 1611, *n.d.* (?)
Parallel Texts of Q_1, Q_2 and F., ed. Viëtor, W.
Marburg, 1891.
Furness Variorum. 1877. 2v..
Bradley, A. C.
Hamlet. (In *Shakespearean Tragedy.* 1904.)
Corbin, John.
The Elizabethan Hamlet. 1863.
Gollancz, Israel.
The History of Hamlet.
Shakespeare Classics. 2v. (Announced.)
Lewis, Charlton M.
The Genesis of Hamlet. New York. 1907.
Tolman, Albert H.
A View of the Views about Hamlet.
Mod. Lang. Assoc. Pub. 1898. 13.

Othello.
Ac. at Harefield Manor (house of Sir Thomas Egerton) on occasion of visit from Queen Elizabeth, July 31-Aug. 3, 1602, and at Court Nov. 1, 1604. S. R. Oct. 6, 1621. Pr. 1622.
Furness Variorum. 1886.
Bradley, A. C.
Othello. (In *Shakespearean Tragedy.* 1904.)

Troilus and Cressida.
S. R. Feb. 7, 1603. Pr. **1609**.
Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye.*
Ed. Sommer, H. O. 1895.

Measure for Measure.
Ac. at Court Dec. 26, 1604. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623.
Pr. F. 1623.
Whetstone, George.
Promos and Cassandra. Shakespeare Classics.
(Announced.)

Macbeth.
Ac. at Globe, April 20, 1610. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623.
Pr. F. 1623.
Furness Variorum. 1873; rev. ed. 1903.
Bradley, A. C.
Macbeth. (In *Shakespearean Tragedy.* 1904.)
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's Holinshed. 1896.

King Lear.
Ac. at Court Dec. 26, 1606. S. R. Nov. 26, 1607.
Pr. **1608** (Pide Bull). **1608** (Butter. But see note above.)
Parallel Texts of Q_1 and F., Viëtor, W. Marburg, 1886; rev. ed. 1892.
Furness Variorum. 1880.
Bradley, A. C.
King Lear. (In *Shakespearean Tragedy.* 1904.)
Chronicle History of King Leir.
Shakespeare Classics. 1909.
Stone, W. C. Boswell-
Shakspere's *Holinshed.* 1896.

? *Timon of Athens.*
S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.
Timon of Athens.
(The twenty-eighth novel in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure.* Ed. Jacobs, Joseph. 1890.)
Wright, Ernest H.
The Authorship of Timon of Athens. New York. 1910. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Eng.) With bibliography.

Antony and Cleopatra.
S. R. May 20, 1608. Pr. F. 1623.
Furness Variorum. 1907.
Bradley, A. C.
Antony and Cleopatra. (In *Oxford Lectures on Poetry.* 1909.)
Shakespeare's Plutarch.
Shakespeare Classics. 1909. v. 2.

Coriolanus.

S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

Shakespeare's Plutarch.

Shakespeare Classics. 1909. v. 2.

Cymbeline.

Ac. at Globe, 1610 or 11. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

Reich, H.

Zur Quelle des Cymbeline. Sh. Jahrb. 1905. 41.

Thorndike, A. H.

The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspere. Worcester, Mass. 1901.

The Winter's Tale.

Ac. at Globe, May 15, 1611, and at Court, Nov. 5, 1611. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

Furness Variorum. 1898.

Greene's Pandosto. Shakespeare Classics. 1907.

Thorndike, A. H.

The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspere. Worcester, Mass. 1901.

The Tempest.

Ac. at Court, Nov. 1, 1611. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

Furness Variorum. 1892.

Thorndike, A. H.

The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspere. Worcester, Mass. 1901.

? *Henry VIII.*

Ac. at Globe June 29, 1613. S. R. Nov. 8, 1623. Pr. F. 1623.

Boyle, Robert.

Henry VIII: an investigation into the origin and authorship of the play.
New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1880-6.

Spedding, James

Who wrote Shakespeare's Henry VIII?
Rptd. in New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1874.

THE DOUBTFUL PLAYS

Collected Edition

Brooke, C. F. Tucker.

The Shakespeare Apocrypha. Oxford. 1908.

SEVEN PLAYS ADDED TO THE THIRD FOLIO, 1664.

Pericles.

S. R. May 20, 1608. Pr. **1609** (By William Shakespeare); 1611 (By William Shakespeare); 1619 (Written by W. Shakespeare).

Boyle, R.

On Wilkins's Share in Pericles. New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1880-86.

Mariana, a dramatic romance; being the Shakesperian portion of the tragedy of Pericles. Ed. Wellwood, S. 1902.

Smyth, A. H.

Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre. Phila. 1898.

The London Prodigal.

Pr. 1605 (By William Shakespeare); 1709.

The Puritan (Widow).

S. R. Aug. 6, 1607. Pr. 1607 (Written by W. S.)

Bullen, A. H.

Works of Thomas Middleton. (Introd.) 1885.

Thomas Lord Cromwell.

S. R. Aug. 11, 1602. Pr. 1602 (Written by W. S.); 1613 (Written by W. S.)

Streit, Willy.

Thomas Lord Cromwell; eine literarhistorische Untersuchung. Jena. 1904.

Sir John Oldcastle. Part I.

Note: Henslowe's Diary, Oct. 16, 1599, fixes the authorship on Monday, Drayton, Wilson, Hathway.

S. R. Aug. 11, 1600. Pr. 1600, 1600 (Written by William Shakespeare), but see note under List of Shakespeare's Plays. Pr. Malone Soc. 1908.

A Yorkshire Tragedy.

S. R. May 2, 1608 ("Written by Wylliam Shakespere").
Pr. 1608 (Written by W. Shakespeare); 1619 (Written by W. Shakespeare).

Lee, (Sir) Sidney.
Walter Calverley. D. N. B.

Margerison, Samuel.
Registers of the Parish Church of Calverley, v. 1. Bradford. 1880.
(For records concerning characters in *A Yorkshire Tragedy*).

Locrine.

S. R. July 20, 1594. Pr. 1595 (By W. S.). Rptd. Malone Soc. 1908.

Collins, J. Churton.
Works of Robert Greene. (Introd.) Oxford. 1905.

Gaud, W. S.
The Authorship of Locrine. Mod. Philology. Jan. 1904.

TWO OTHER PLAYS ASCRIBED TO SHAKESPEARE IN EARLY EDITIONS.

The Two Noble Kinsmen.

S. R. Apr. 8, 1634, "by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare."
Pr. 1634. "Written by the most memorable Worthies of their time; Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. William Shakespeare."
Pr. 1679, without mention of Shakespeare, in the second Beaumont-Fletcher folio.

Note: Over twenty reprints, listed in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha,* pp. 446-7, have since appeared, the play keeping its place in the works of Fletcher and being sometimes included, as by Knight, Dyce, Furnivall, Rolfe and Hudson, in editions of Shakespeare.

Herford, C. H.
The Two Noble Kinsmen. The Temple Dramatists. 1897.

The Birth of Merlin.

Pr. 1662. "Written by William Shakspear and William Rowley". (Kirkman.)

Ed. Warnke and Proescholdt. Halle. 1887.

Howe, F. A.
The Authorship of The Birth of Merlin. Mod. Philology. July, 1906.

SIX OTHER PLAYS IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE'S TOUCH HAS BEEN SUSPECTED.

NOTE: For a fuller list, numbering forty-two, see *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, pp. ix-xi.

Edward III.

S. R. Dec. 1, 1595. Pr. 1596, 1599.

Note: Eleven reprints, including editions by Furnivall, 1877; Collier, 1878; Warnke and Proescholdt, 1886; and Smith, G. C., Moore-, Temple Dramatists, 1897, have since appeared.

Phipson, Emma.
On Edward III. New Shakspere Soc. Trans. 1887-92.

Swinburne, A. C.
On the Historical Play of King Edward III.
(In *A Study of Shakespeare.* 1895.)

Sir Thomas More.

MS. in British Museum (Harl. 7368).

Ed. Dyce, A., Shakespeare Soc., 1844.

Ed. Greg, W. W., Malone Soc., 1911 (with facsimiles of the five hands in the MS., of which one may be Dekker's and another is possibly Shakespeare's).

Arden of Feversham.

S. R. April 3, 1592. Pr. 1592, 1599, 1633.

Note: Of the seven editions since issued, the most significant are those by Bullen, A. H., 1887; Warnke and Proescholdt, 1888; and Bayne, R., Temple Dramatists, 1897.

Boas, F. S.
Works of Thomas Kyd (Introd.) Oxford. 1901.

Crawford, Charles.
The Authorship of Arden of Feversham.
Sh. Jahrb. 1903. 39.

Donne, C. E.
An Essay on the Tragedy of Arden of Feversham.
1873.

Sarrazin, G.
Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis. Berlin. 1892.

Mucedorus.

Pr. 1598, 1606, 1610, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1619, 1621, 1626, 1631, 1634, 1639, 1663, 1668, n. d., lost title-page.

Note: The suggestion of Shakespearean authorship relates to the "new additions" first appearing in the third of the above seventeen early editions.

Warnke and Proescholdt.
The Comedy of Mucedorus. Halle. 1878.
Collins, J. Churton.
Works of Robert Greene. (Introd.). Oxford. 1905.
Greg, W. W.
On the Editions of "Mucedorus". Sh. Jahrb. 1904. 40.

The Merry Devil of Edmonton.
S. R. Oct. 22, 1607. Pr. 1608, 1612, 1617, 1626, 1631, 1655.
Note: Of the ten editions since issued, the most significant are those by Warnke and Proescholdt, 1884, and by Walker, Temple Dramatists, 1897.

Fair Em.
Pr. n. d., 1631.
Warnke and Proescholdt.
The Comedie of Faire Em. Halle. 1883.

LOST PLAYS WITH WHICH SHAKESPEARE'S NAME HAS BEEN CONNECTED.

The History of Cardenio.
S. R. Sept. 9, 1653, "by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare".
Note: Theobald claimed to have re-written this play in his *Double Falsehood, or, The Distrest Lovers.* 1728.
Bradford, Gamaliel.
The History of Cardenio.
Mod. Lang. Notes. Feb., 1910.

Henry I.
S. R. Sept. 9, 1653, "by Wm. Shakespeare and Robert Davenport".

Henry II.
S. R. Sept. 9, 1653, "by Wm. Shakespeare and Robert Davenport".

The History of King Stephen.
S. R. June 29, 1660, "by W. Shakespeare".

Duke Humphrey, a Tragedy.
S. R. June 29, 1660, "by W. Shakespeare".

Iphis and Ianthe, or, A Marriage without a Man.
S. R. June 29, 1660, "by W. Shakespeare".

SHAKESPEARE'S POEMS

Collected Editions.

Poems: written by Wil. Shakespeare, Gent. 1640.
Rptd. 1885. (Contains the *Sonnets, A Lover's Complaint, The Passionate Pilgrim, Phoenix and Turtle.*)
Note: Other collected editions appeared in 1709-10 (Lintott); 1832 (Dyce); 1879 (Palgrave); and in connection with various editions of the plays, such editions being listed as *Works* on pp. 18-20.

Wyndham, George.
The Poems of Shakespeare. 1898.
(Contains *Venus and Adonis, Lucrece, Sonnets, A Lover's Complaint.*)

Porter, Charlotte.
Sonnets and Minor Poems. New York. 1903.
(Contains *Sonnets, A Lover's Complaint, The Passionate Pilgrim, Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musicke, Phoenix and Turtle.)*

Lee, (Sir) Sidney.
Shakespeare's Poems and Pericles. Oxford. 1905.
(Reproduces in facsimile *Venus and Adonis,* 1593; *Lucrece,* 1594; *The Passionate Pilgrim,* 1599; Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint,* 1609.)

Venus and Adonis.

S. R. Apr. 18, 1593. Pr. **1593**, 1594, 1596, 1599 (rptd. with *The Passionate Pilgrim,* Isham Reprints, 1870); 1600? (title-page lost); 1602 (2); 1617; 1620; 1627 (Edinburgh); 1630; title-page lost; 1636; 1675.

Dürnhofer, M. *Shakespeares Venus and Adonis im Verhältnis zu Ovids Metamorphosen und Constables Schäfergesang.* Halle. 1890.

Morgan, J. A.
Venus and Adonis, a study in Warwickshire dialect. New York. 1885.

Lucrece.

S. R. May 9, 1594. Pr. **1594**, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1616, 1624, 1632, 1655.

Ewig, Wilhelm.
Shakespeare's Lucrece. Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung. Anglia. 1899. 22.

Golding, Arthur.
Metamorphoses. 1565-67. (*Shakespeare's Ovid.* 1904.)

The Passionate Pilgrim.

Note: This is the general title of a lyric miscellany issued by the unscrupulous publisher, W. Jaggard, 1599. Fourteen poems follow directly upon this title; a second title, *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musicke,* is inserted before the closing group of six. Of these twenty lyrics five have been identified as Shakespeare's, *viz.* sonnet 138, sonnet 144, Longaville's sonnet (in *Love's Labours Lost,* IV, III, 60-73), Biron's sonnet (in *Love's Labours Lost,* IV, II, 109-22) and Dumain's song *On a day* (in *Love's Labours Lost,* IV, III, 101-20). A few other songs or snatches of song have been traced to Marlowe (*The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*), Raleigh, Barnfield and Griffin, but the authorship of half the lyrics is unknown.

Pr. **1599**; 1612 ("third ed."); rptd. with *Venus and Adonis,* Isham Reprints. 1870.

Phoenix and Turtle.

First pr. (signed William Shakespeare) in Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr, or, Rosaline's Complaint,* 1601 (reissued as *The Annals of Great Britain,* 1611). Repr. of 1601 ed. by Grosart, A. B., for New Shakspere Soc., 1878, and in his series of *Occasional Issues,* 1878.

Sonnets.

S. R. May 20, 1609. Pr. **1609**. (See also *Poems.*) Notable modern editions by Dowden, Edward, 1881 (and re-issues); Tyler, Thomas, 1890; Beeching, H. C., Boston, 1904; Stopes, (Mrs.) C. C. 1904; Hadow, W. H. Oxford, 1907; Walsh, C. M., A New Arrangement, 1908.

Acheson, Arthur.
Shakespeare and the Rival Poet. 1903.

Brown, Henry.
The Sonnets of Shakespeare solved. 1870.

Lee, (Sir) Sidney.
Southampton in D. N. B.

Massey, Gerald.
Shakespeare's Sonnets never before interpreted. 1886.

Newdegate (Lady) Anne E. Newdigate-.
Gossip from a Muniment Room. 1897.

Palmer, G. H.
Intimations of Immortality in the Sonnets of Shakspere. Boston. 1912.

Simpson, Richard.
An Introduction to the Philosophy of Shakespeare's Sonnets. 1868.
Tyler, Thomas.
The Herbert-Fitton Theory: A Reply. 1899.
Wilde, Oscar.
The Portrait of Mr. W. H. Portland, Maine (Mosher). 1901. (Rptd. from Blackwood's, July, 1889).

? *A Lover's Complaint.*
Appended to *Shakespeare's Sonnets,* **1609**; included in *Poems,* 1640; and often in later editions.

SHAKESPEARE EDITIONS

NOTE: This list comprises the seventeenth century folios, all important eighteenth century editions, and the most valuable of the complete editions since issued. The dates are according to Lowndes with corrections marked B. M. from British Museum Catalogue.

First Folio, 1623, ed. Heming, J. and Condell, H.
Rptd. Wright, E. and J. 1807-8; Booth, L. 1864; reprod. in exact facs., ed. Staunton, H. 1866; reprod. in reduced facs. with introd., Halliwell-Phillips, J. O. 1876; reprod. in facs. with introd. and Census of Extant Copies (this last a pamphlet in separate cover) by Lee, (Sir) Sidney, 1902. Notes and Additions to Census. 1906. Methuen Facs. Reprint 1910.

Second Folio, 1632; Methuen Facs. Reprint 1909.

Smith, C. A. The Chief Differences between the First and the Second Folios of Shakespeare. Engl. Stud. 1902. 30.

Third Folio, 1st Issue, 1663. (Without the 7 add. plays.) 2d Issue, 1664. (With Pericles, The London Prodigal, Thomas Lord Cromwell, Sir John Oldcastle, The Puritan Widow, A Yorkshire Tragedy, Locrine.)
Methuen Facs. Reprint 1905.

Fourth Folio, 1685. (Reprint of the Third F. with modernized spelling.) Methuen Facs. Reprint 1904.

1709-10. Works. Rowe, N. 7v. Rptd. 1714. (Includes the 7 add. plays.)

1723-5. Works. Pope, A. (and Sewell, G.) 7v. Rptd. 1728; 1731; 1735; 1766, Glasgow; 1768, Birmingham. (Rejects the 7 add. plays.)

1733. Works, with textual emendations. Theobald, L. 7v. Rptd. 1740; 1752; 1757; 1762; 1767; 1772; 1773.

1744-6 (B. M. 1743-4.) Plays. Hanmer, Sir T. Oxford. 6v. Rptd. 1747; 1751; 1760; Oxford. 1770-1.

1747. Plays. Warburton, W. 8v. Rptd. Dublin. 1747.

1753. Works. Blair, H. Edinburgh. 8v. Rptd. Edin. 1771.

1765. Plays. Johnson, S. 8v. Rptd. 1768.

1766. Twenty ... Plays printed from Orig. Quartos. Steevens, G. 4v.

n. d. [1767-8.] (B. M. 1760-68.) Plays. Capell, E. 10v. Notes. [1779-80.] (B. M. n. d.) 3v.

1773. Plays. Johnson, S. and Steevens, G. 10v. (First attempt at Variorum.)
Rptd. 1778 (Reed, I.) with Malone Supplement. 1780. 2v. (Poems, The 7 add. plays.)
1785 (Reed, I.); 1793 (Steevens.) 15v.;
1803 (Reed.) 21v., (1st Variorum);
1813 (Malone.) 21v., (2d Variorum.)
1786-94. Plays. Rann, Joseph. Oxford. 6v.
1790. Works. Malone, E. 10v. in 11.
1795. Works. Johnson, S. Phila. 8v. (1st Amer. ed.)
1799-1801. (B. M. 1797-1801.) Works. Wagner, C. 8v. Brunswick. (1st Continental ed.)

1802. Plays, with 100 engravings. Boydell, John. 9v. F.
1805. Plays. Chalmers, A. 9v.
1821. Works. Boswell, J. and Malone, E. 21v. (3d Variorum.) (Known as "1821 Variorum," or, "Boswell's Malone".)
1825. Plays. Harness, W. 8v.
1826. Plays. Singer, S. W. 10v.
Rptd. 1856 with Essays by W. W. Lloyd.
1832-4. Works. Valpy, A. J. 15v.
1838-43. (B. M. 1839-42.) Works. Knight, C. 8v. "Pictorial Edition". (Many issues.)
1852-7. Works. Hudson, H. N. Boston. 11v. (Many issues.)
1853. Plays. Collier, J. P. With emendations (forged) from the F. 1632.
1853-65. Works. Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. 16v. F.
1854-61. Works. Delius, N. Elberfeld. 7v.
1857. Works. Dyce, A. 6 v. 5th ed. 1886. 10 v.
1857-60. Works. White, R. G. Boston. 12 v.
1858-60. Works. Staunton, H. 3 v.
1862-71. Quarto Facsimiles (lithograph.) Ashbee, E. W. 48v. Issued by Halliwell-Phillipps. Limited ed.
1863-66. Works. Clark, W. G., Glover, J., Wright, W. A. 9 v. "Cambridge Shakespeare."
1864. Works. Clark, W. G. and Wright, W. A. "Globe edition."
1864. Works. Clarke, Charles and Mary Cowden-. 4 v.
1871. Plays. Furness, H. H. "New Variorum edition". In progress. (See under separate plays.)
1871-96. Works. Rolfe, W. J. New York. 40 v.
1877. Works. Furnivall, F. J. "Leopold Shakspere". (Text of Delius.)

1880-89. Quarto Facsimiles. (Lithograph.) Griggs, W. and Praetorius, C. 43 v. (See dates in full-faced type under separate plays.)

1888-1906. Plays. Morgan, A. 22 v. (New York Shakespeare Soc.) (Folio and Quarto texts, 20 plays, on opp. pages.)

1894-96. Works. Gollancz, I. 40 v. "Temple Shakespeare".

1899. Works. Herford, C. H. 10v. "Eversley edition".

1903-1912. Plays. Porter, C., and Clarke, H. A. New York. 40 v. "First Folio edition".

WORKS OF REFERENCE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Birmingham Free Library. An Index to the Shakespeare Memorial Library. Birmingham. 1900-3. 3 pts.

Boston Public Library. Catalogue of the Barton Shakespeare Collection. Boston. 1876-80. 2 v.

British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books. William Shakespeare. 1897.

Cambridge History of English Literature. New York. 1910. v. 5.

Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Jahrbuch. Weimar. 1865—

Eddy, Ruth D. Shakespeare's Plays. Editions to 1623. Privately printed. Dep't. of Eng. Literature. Wellesley College

Greg, W. W. A Descriptive Catalogue of the early Editions of the Works of Shakespeare . . . in the Library of Eton College. [1909.]

Greg, W. W. Capell's Shakespeareana, Catalogue of the Books presented by Edward Capell to Trinity College, Cambridge. Camb. 1903.

A List of English Plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700. 1900. (Bibliographical Soc.)

On Certain False Dates in Shakespeare's Quartos. The Library. 1908-9.

Halliwell-Phillips, J. O. Shakespeariana. A Catalogue of the Early Editions of Shakespeare's Plays. 1841.

Jaggard, William. Shakespeare Bibliography. Stratford-on-Avon. 1911.

Katalog der Bibliothek der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Weimar. 1909.

Koch, Max. Shakespeare's Dramatische Werke. Stuttgart. [1883.] Anhang.

Körting, G. Grundriss der Geschichte der englishchen Litteratur. 4. ausg. Münster. 1905.

Lowndes, W. T. The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, revised . . . by H. G. Bohn. 1857-64. 4:2252—2366.

Meres, Francis. Palladis Tamia. Pr. 1598. (Contains the earliest printed list of Shakespeare's Works.)

Pollard, A. W. Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos, a Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685. 1909.

Rolfe, W. J. A Life of William Shakespeare. 1904. Bibliog. pp. 491-517.
Schelling, F. E. Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642. Boston. 1908. 2 v.
Tolman, A. H. Questions on Shakespeare. Chicago. 1910. 2 v.
Winsor, Justin. Bibliography of original Quartos and Folios of Shakespeare with particular reference to copies in America. Boston. 1876.

LINGUISTICS (INCL. GRAMMAR, CONCORDANCES, PROSODY, ETC.)

Abbott, E. A. A Shakespearian Grammar. 1869. (Many reprints.)
Bartlett, John. A New and Complete Concordance to Words, Phrases and Passages in Shakespeare. 1894.
Browne, G. H. Notes on Shakespeare's Versification. Boston. 1884.
Clarke, Charles and Mary Cowden-. The Shakespeare Key, unlocking the Treasures of his Style. 1879.
Clarke, Mary Cowden- The Complete Concordance to Shakespeare. 1888. (Plays only.)
Craik, G. L. The English of Shakespeare. 1900.
Cunliffe, R. J. A New Shakespearean Dictionary. 1910.
Dam, B. A. P. van. William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text. [1900].
Dyce, Alex. A Glossary to the Works of William Shakespeare, rev. by H. Littledale. 1902.
Edwardes, M. A Pocket Lexicon and Concordance to the Temple Shakespeare. New York. 1909.
Ellis, A. J. On Early English Pronunciation with especial Reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer. 1869-89. (E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser. 2, 7, 14, 23.)
Fleay, F. G. Shakespeare Manual. 1876.
Foster, John. A Shakespeare Word-Book. 1908.
Franz, W. Shakespeare-Grammatik. Halle. 1900. (Heidelberg. 1909.)
Furness, (Mrs.) H. H. Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems. Phila. 1874.
Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words. 1887. 2v. (Contains Shakespeare glossary.)
Lounsbury, T. R. The Text of Shakespeare. New York. 1906.
Nares, Robert. Glossary of Words, Phrases, Names and Allusions in ... Shakespeare and his Contemporaries. New ed. 1904.
Onions, C. T. A Shakespeare Glossary. Oxford. 1911.

Phin, John. Shakespeare Cyclopaedia and Glossary. New York. 1902.
Schmidt, Alex. Shakespeare Lexikon. 3. aufl. Berlin. 1902. 2 v.
Theobald, Lewis. Shakespeare Restored. 1726.
Viëtor, W. A Shakespeare Phonology, with a Rime-index to the Poems as a pronouncing Vocabulary. Marburg. 1906. 2 v.

BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM.

See also under Plays, Poems, Bibliography and Linguistics.

Albright, V. E. The Shakespearian Stage. New York. 1909. (Columbia Univ. Studies in English.)

Anders, H. R. D. Shakespeare's Books. Berlin. 1904.

Anglia. Halle. 1878—. See Contents.

Arber, Edward. (Ed.) A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640. 1875-94. 5v.

Baker, G. P. The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist. New York. 1907.

Baynes, T. S. Shakespeare Studies. 1894.

Bennett, John. Master Skylark; a Story of Shakspere's Time. New York. 1898.

Besant, (Sir) Walter. London in the Time of the Tudors. 1904.

Black, William. Judith Shakespeare. New York. 1884.

Boas, F. S. Shakspere and his Predecessors. New York. 1896.

Bradley, A. C. Shakespearean Tragedy. 2d ed. 1905.

Brandes, Georg. William Shakespeare: a Critical Study. New York. 1898. 2v.

Brooke, S. A. On Ten Plays of Shakespeare. New York. 1905.
Contents: A Midsummer Night's Dream, Romeo and Juliet, Richard II, Richard III, The Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Macbeth, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest.

Bucknill, (Dr.) J. C. The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare. 1860.

The Mad Folk of Shakespeare. 2d ed. 1867.

Cambridge History of English Literature. Camb. 1910. v. 5.

Campbell, J. (Lord.) Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements. 1859.

Campbell, Lewis. Tragic Drama in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare. 1904.

Cohn, Albert. Shakespeare in Germany in the 16th and 17th Centuries. 1865.

Coleridge, S. T. Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare; ed. by Mrs. Hartley N. Coleridge. 1849. 2v.

Collier, J. P. Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare. Shakespeare Soc. 1846.

Collins, J. Churton. Essays and Studies. 1895.

Studies in Shakespeare. 1904.

Corbin, John. A New Portrait of Shakespeare. 1903.

Courthope, W. J. A History of English Poetry. New York. 1903. v. 4.
Cunningham, Peter. Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels. Shakespeare Soc. 1842.
Dekker, Thomas. The Gull's Hornbook. 1609.
Rptd. Temple Classics. 1904.
Doubleday, H. A. and Page, W. A History of Warwickshire. n. d. 4 v.
Dowden, Edward. Introduction to Shakespeare. 1893.
Shakspere. New York. 1878. (Literature Primers.)
Shakspere. His Mind and Art. New York. 1881.
Transcripts and Studies. 1888.
Dryden, John. Of Dramatic Poesie. 1668.
Dyer, T. F. T. The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare. 1883.
Ellacombe, H. N. Plant-Lore of Shakespeare. New ed. 1896.
Elson, L. C. Shakespeare in Music. Boston. 1901.
Elton, C. I. William Shakespeare, his Family and Friends. 1904.
Englische Studien. 1877—. See Contents.
Farmer, Richard. An Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare. 1767.
Fleay, F. G. A Chronicle History of the Life and Works of Shakespeare. 1886.
A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642. 1890. New York. 1909.
A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642. 1891. 2v.
French, G. R. Shakespeareana Genealogica. 1869.
Freytag, Gustav. The Technique of the Drama; tr. from the 6th German ed. Chicago. 2d ed. 1896.
Furnivall, F. J. Introduction to the Leopold Shakspere. 1877.
Furnivall, F. J. and Munro, John. Shakespeare: Life and Work. New York. 1908. (Century Shakespeare.)
Gervinus, G. G. Shakespeare Commentaries: tr. by F. E. Bunnètt. 1883.
Gildersleeve, Virginia C. Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama. New York. 1908. (Columbia Univ. Studies in English.)
Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O. Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare. 11th ed. 1907. 2v.
Visits of Shakespeare's Company of Actors to the provincial Cities and Towns of England. 1887.
Harrison, W. Description of England in Shakspere's Youth, ed. Furnivall. 1877-1881. Selections ("Elizabethan England".) 1902.
Harting, J. E. The Ornithology of Shakespeare. 1871.

Hazlitt, William. Characters of Shakespeare's Plays. 1817. (Bohn Lib. 1869.)
Hazlitt, W. C. Shakespeare, the Man and his Work. 1902.
Hudson, H. N. Shakespeare: His Life, Art, and Characters. Rev. ed. New York. 1882. 2v.
Hughes, C. E. The Praise of Shakespeare, an English Anthology (1596-1902). 1904.
Ingleby, C. M. Complete View of the (Collier) Shakspere Controversy. 1861.
Ingleby, C. M. (Ed.) Shakspere Allusion-Books. New Shakspere Soc. Pub. 1874.
Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse. 2d. ed. rev. with many additions by Lucy Toulmin Smith. New Shakspere Soc. Pub. 1879.
Fresh Allusions to Shakspere. Ed. Furnivall. New Shakspere Soc. Pub. 1886.
Shakspere Allusion-Book. Ed. John Munro. New York. 1909. 2v.
Ireland, W. H. Confessions with Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare MS., with Introd. by R. G. White. New York. 1874.
Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments under the Hand and Seal of Shakspeare. (Forgery.) 1796.
Jameson, (Mrs.) Anna. Shakespeare's Heroines. 1879. (Bohn Lib.)
Jusserand, J. J. A Literary History of the English People. New York. 1909. v. 3.
Lambert, D. H. Cartae Shakespeareanæ: Shakespeare Documents. 1904.
Landor, W. S. Citation and Examination of William Shakespeare touching Deer-stealing. 1834.
Laneham, Robert. Letter: Describing Part of the Entertainment to Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, 1575. Ed. Furnivall. 1907.
Lanier, Sidney. Shakspere and his Forerunners. New York. 1902. 2 v.
Law, E. P. A. Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber. 1910.
Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries. 1911. (Vindicating Cunningham, q. v.)
Lee, (Sir) Sidney. Shakespeare. D. N. B.
A Life of William Shakespeare. New York. 1898. Rev. ed. 1909.
Stratford-on-Avon. New ed. 1890.

Lounsbury, T. R. First Editors of Shakespeare. (Pope and Theobald.) The story of the first Shakesperian Controversy and of the earliest attempt to establish a critical text. 1906.

Shakespeare as a Dramatic artist. New York. 1901. (Shakespearean Wars. v. 1.)

Shakespeare and Voltaire. New York. 1902. (Shakespearean Wars. v. 2.)

The Text of Shakespeare. New York. 1906. (Shakespearean Wars. v. 3.)

MacCracken, H. W. *and others.* An Introduction to Shakespeare. New York. 1910.

Madden, D. H. The Diary of Master William Silence: A Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport. 1897.

Malone, Edmond. Life of Shakspeare. Works. 1821. v. 2.

Manningham, John. Diary of. Published by Camden Soc. 1868.

Meres, Francis. Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury. 1598.

(See page 45 below.)

Moulton, R. G. Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist. 3d. ed. Oxford. 1893.

Murray, J. T. English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642. 1910. 2v.

New Shakspere Society Publications. 1872-92.

Nichols, J. Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century. 1817.

Norris, J. P. Portraits of Shakespeare. Phila. 1885.

Noyes, Alfred. Tales of the Mermaid Tavern. New York. 1913.

Ordish, T. F. Early London Theatres. 1894.

Shakespeare's London. 1897.

Phipson, Emma. The Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time. 1883.

Raleigh, (Sir) Walter. Shakespeare. New York. 1907. (English Men of Letters.)

Rolfe, W. J. Shakespeare the Boy. New York. 1896.

Rushton, W. L. Shakespeare and the *Arte of English Poesie.* Liverpool. 1909. (Shakespeare's debt to Puttenham.)

Rye, W. B. England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First. 1865.

Rymer, Thomas. The Tragedies of the Last Age considered and examined. 1678.

Short View of Tragedy. 1693.

Schelling, F. E. Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642. Boston. 1908. 2v.
The English Chronicle Play. New York. 1902.
English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare. New York. 1910.
Schlegel, A. W. Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. 1846.
Shakespeare's Library: a collection of the Romances, Novels, Poems, and Histories used by Shakespeare as the Foundation of his Dramas. Ed. Collier, J. P. 1843. 2v. New ed. Hazlitt, W. C. 1875. 6v.
Smith, D. Nichol. Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare. Glasgow. 1903.
Stephenson, H. T. Shakspere's London. New York. 1905.
Stopes, (Mrs.) C. C. Shakespeare's Family. 1901.
Sullivan, Mary. Court Masques of James I. Lincoln, Neb. 1913.
Swinburne, A. C. A Study of Shakespeare. New York. 1880.
Thompson, E. N. S. The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage. New York. 1903.
(Yale Studies in English.)
Thornbury, G. W. Shakspere's England. 1856. 2v.
Thorndike, A. H. Tragedy. Boston. 1908.
Ulrici, H. The Dramatic Art of Shakespeare. [tr.] 1876. 2v. (Bohn Lib.)
Walder, E. Shakespearean Criticism, textual and literary, from Dryden to the End of the 18th Century. Bradford. 1895.
Wallace, C. W. The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare. Berlin. 1912. v. 1.
New Shakespeare Discoveries. Harper's Magazine, March, 1910. Century Magazine, August-Sept. 1910.
Ward, A. H. A History of English Dramatic Literature. 1899. 3v.
Warner, B. E. English History in Shakespeare's Plays. 1894.
Watson, Foster. The English Grammar Schools to 1660. Cambridge. 1908.
Wendell, Barrett. William Shakspere: A Study in Elizabethan Literature. New York. 1894.
White, R. G. Memoirs of the Life of Shakespeare. Boston. 1865.
Shakespeare's Scholar. New York. 1854.
Wilder, D. W. Life of Shakespeare. Boston. 1893.
Williams, J. L. Home and Haunts of Shakespeare. 1893.

Woodbridge, Elizabeth. The Drama: Its Laws and Its Technique. New York. 1898.
Wordsworth, (Bishop) Charles. Shakspeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible. 2d. ed. 1864.
[Wright, James.] Historia Histrionica. 1699.
(See Dodsley. 1825.)

Biographical Tables and Notes

Robert Arden of Park Hall. (Wife unknown.)
Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, 1438.
Ex. on block, Wars of Roses, 1452.

Walter Arden of Park Hall
(Wife, Eleanor Hampden.)

(Sir) John Arden of Park Hall. Esquire of the Body to Henry VII.	Thomas Arden of Wilmcote in the parish of Aston Cantlow. (Wife unknown.) Bought (with others) Snitterfield land, 1501.	Martin.	Robert.	Henry.	William.	Alicia	Margaret.

Robert Arden of Wilmcote. Died 1556. (First wife, mother of his children, unknown; second wife, Agnes Webbe, widow of W. Hill.)

Agnes. Married, first, John Hewyns of Bearley (children, Thomas and Margaret); second, 1550, Thomas Stringer (children, Ellice, John and Arden.) Died before October, 1576.	Joan. Married Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath (son, John.) She died 1593; her husband in April, 1587.	Katharine. Married Thomas Edkins of Wilmcote (son, Thomas.)	Margaret. Married, first, Alexander Webbe of Bearley, died 1573, (son, Robert); second, Edward Cornwall (or Cornell) of Snitterfield.	Joyce.	Alice.	Mary Arden. Married John Shakespeare, probably son of the farmer, Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield, tenant of Robert Arden.

NOTE: *The Ardens.*

It is clear from the genealogical table that the Ardens were a family of gentle blood. The head of the house in Shakespeare's boyhood was Edward Arden of Park Hall, who had filled, in 1575, the office of High Sheriff of Warwickshire. He incurred the hatred of Lord Leicester, whose livery he refused to wear and whose immoralities he openly disapproved. Leicester found his opportunity for revenge when Arden's young son-in-law, John Somerville of Wootten-on-Wawen, who, like the Ardens of Park Hall, held to the old religion, started out one morning, in a half-crazed condition, talking wildly of going to London to kill the Queen. Not only was Somerville arrested and imprisoned, but his wife, sister, priest, and even the father-in-law, with his wife and brother, were seized, taken to London and thrown into the Tower. After examinations, perhaps under torture, and a hasty trial, all except Somerville's wife and sister were condemned to die as traitors, but only Edward Arden actually suffered that barbarous death. Somerville was found strangled in his Newgate cell the day before that set for his execution, Francis Arden and Edward Arden's wife were ultimately released, but the gallant gentleman of Park Hall, almost certainly innocent, perished on the scaffold December 20, 1583. Sir Thomas Lucy had been active in the arrests, and it is apparently soon after this time that William Shakespeare, a youth of nineteen, though already a husband and father, disappeared from Warwickshire.

NOTE: *The Shakespeares.*

The name Shakespeare occurs from the 13th century on in the records of various English counties. The first Shakespeare as yet discovered in Warwickshire is one Thomas, a felon, who fled from the law in 1359. Toward the end of the fourteenth century there were landed Shakespeares at Baddesley, and this family held its own into the sixteenth. Shakespeare names appear, in the second half of the fifteenth century, on the register of the Guild of Knowle, whose membership embraced the leading people of the county. By the sixteenth century, there were Shakespeares in at least twenty-five towns and villages of Warwickshire, and by the seventeenth, thirty-four. These Warwickshire Shakespeares were, in general, of the yeoman class, living by the soil, by crafts and petty trade. Among the men, the most common names were William, John and Richard; among the women, the favorite name was Joan.

John Shakespeare
Buried Sept. 8, 1601.
"Mr. Johannis Shakspere."

Mary Arden.
Buried Sept. 9, 1608.
"Mayry Shaxspere, wydowe."

Joan.
Baptized Sept. 15, 1558, "Jone Shakspere, daughter to John Shaxspere." (No burial record; probably died before 1569.)

Margaret.
Baptized Dec. 2, 1562, "Margareta, filia Johannis Shakspere." Buried April 30, 1563.

William
Baptized April 26, 1564, "Gulielmus, filius Johannis Shakspere." (For marriage to Anne Hathaway--buried Aug. 8, 1623, "Mrs. Shakspeare,"—see Note.) Buried April 25, 1616, "Will Shakspere, gent."

Susanna.
Baptized May 26, 1583, "Susanna, daughter to William Shakspere." Married to Dr. John Hall June 5, 1607. "John Hall, gentleman, and Susanna Shaxspere." (Buried Nov. 26, 1635, "Johannes Hall, medicus peritissimus.") Died July 11, 1649.

Baptized, Feb. 21, 1608, "Elizabeth, daughter to John Hall, gen." Married, April 22, 1626, "Mr. Thomas Nash." (Died April 4, 1647). Married, June 5, 1649, Mr. John Barnard of Abington Manor, Northamptonshire, knighted by Charles II, 1661. Lady Barnard buried at Abington Feb. 17, 1670. No descendants.

Hamnet.
Buried Aug. 11, 1596, "Hamnet, filius William Shakspere."

Twins.
Baptized Feb. 2, 1585, "Hamnet and Judith, sonne and daughter to William Shakspere."

Judith
Married to Thomas Quiney, Feb. 10, 1616. "Tho. Queeny tow Judith Shakspere."

Baptized Nov. 23, 1616, "Shaksper, filius Thomas Quyny, gent." (Buried May 8, 1617, "Shakspere, fillius Tho. Quiny, gent.") Baptized Feb. 9, 1618, "Richard, fillius Thomas Quinee." (Buried Feb. 26, 1639, "Richardus, filius Tho. Quiney.") Baptized Jan. 23, 1620, "Thomas, fili. to Thomas Queeny." (Buried, Jan. 28, 1639, "Thomas, filius Thomae Quiney.") Buried, Feb. 9, 1662, "Judith, uxor Thomas Quiney, gent."

Gilbert.	Joan.	Anne.	Richard.	Edmund.
Baptized Oct. 13, 1566, "Gilbertus, filius Johannis Shakspere." (The burial entry for "Gilbertus Shakspeare, adolescens," Feb. 3, 1612, probably refers to a son. His own burial is not recorded.)	Baptized April 15, 1569, "Jone, the daughter of John Shakspere." Married William Hart, the Hatter, who died a week before Shakespeare. They had one daughter, Mary, who died in early childhood, and three sons, William the player, (whose eldest son, Charles, was a famous Restoration actor), Thomas, whose direct descendants held the Henley Street houses till 1806, and Michael, who died in boyhood. Joan Hart died Nov. 4, 1646.	Baptized Sept. 28, 1571, "Anna, filia magistri Shakspere." Buried April 4, 1579, "Anne, daughter to Mr. John Shakspere."	Baptized March 11, 1574, "Richard, sonne to Mr. John Shakspeer." Buried Feb. 4, 1613, "Rich. Shakspeare."	Baptized May 3, 1580, "Edmund, sonne to Mr. John Shakspere." Buried in St. Saviour's, London, Dec. 31, 1607, "Edmond Shakespeare, a player, buried in the Church with a forenoone knell of the great bell."

NOTE: *John Shakespeare.*

From modest beginnings, John Shakespeare rose to the position of a leading citizen in Stratford-on-Avon. The likelihood is that he came in young manhood to the market-town from Snitterfield, a village four miles to the north, and that the Richard Shakespeare who was farming there in 1528, rented land of Robert Arden in 1550 and died in 1560, was his father. If so, William Shakespeare had an Uncle Henry (buried Dec. 29, 1596, less than two months before Margaret, his wife) and possibly an Uncle Thomas at Snitterfield. The name of John Shakespeare first appears in the municipal records, April, 1552, when he was dwelling in Henley Street and was fined a shilling for the public nuisance of his refuse-heap. One of his fellow-offenders was Adrian Quiney, a mercer, destined to have for a grandson the husband of Judith Shakespeare.

John Shakespeare is next heard of in a law-suit, 1556, where he is called a glover. In that same year, he bought two houses in Stratford, one of them adjoining on the east the so-called Birthplace. In 1557 he was elected to his first municipal office, that of ale-taster (inspector of malt liquors and bread), and was made, soon after, a member of the town council. He began 1558 by incurring, together with the Master Bailiff, Adrian Quiney and two other substantial citizens, a fine of fourpence "for not kepynge ther gutters cleane," but in September of that year, and again in October of 1559, he was appointed one of the four petty constables. Twice, too, 1559 and 1561, he was chosen one of the affeerors (adjusters of fines). In the autumn of 1561 he was elected one of the two chamberlains (treasurers) of the borough, a responsible position that he filled for two successive years. Although he made his mark, usually a rude, heavy cross, by way of signature, he must have been expert at accounts, for he gave his help to later chamberlains and superintended their reports. July 4, 1566, he was appointed alderman, and in the autumn of 1567 was put in nomination for High Bailiff (Mayor). The two other candidates were a brewer and a butcher, and the butcher won, but now for the first time the town records speak of "Mr. Shakspeyr." At the election of the year following (Sept. 4, 1568) he attained the greatest honor in the gift of the borough, the office of High Bailiff.

This thriving citizen had made, meanwhile, an ambitious and wealthy marriage. At the village of Wilmcote, about three miles to the north-west of Stratford, on the Shottery road, died, late in 1556, Robert Arden, leaving for division among

his seven daughters and their stepmother a considerable property, embracing, in addition to his holdings in Wilmcote, over one hundred acres of land and two farmhouses at Snitterfield. His will, which especially favored his two youngest daughters, Alice and Mary, directed that his body be buried in the churchyard of St. John the Baptist, their parish church located still a little further to the north-west, in Aston-Cantlow. It was here, probably, that John Shakespeare and Mary Arden were married, in the summer or autumn of 1557. Mary Arden brought her husband not only the graces of gentle blood, but what was, for the times, a small fortune. Besides a moderate sum of money and an interest in the two farms at Snitterfield, she had inherited the estate, no longer to be identified, called Asbies, a house with some fifty or sixty acres of land, at Wilmcote. This large Arden family was not without its quarrels. Robert Arden's will indicates difficulties with the stepmother, whose portion was to be diminished in case she would not suffer his daughter Alice "quyetly to occupy" the homestead with her. But the troubles that befell the Shakespeares came chiefly from Joan's husband, Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath, (perhaps commemorated in Old Sly of Burtonheath, *Taming of the Shrew,* Induction, II, 17). To him, Nov. 4, 1578, John Shakespeare mortgaged Asbies as security for a loan of forty pounds (equivalent in present value to about two thousand dollars), Lambert to receive, in lieu of interest, the "issues and profits" of the estate.

During the years between John Shakespeare's term as High Bailiff and this unlucky transaction, he had begun to slip from prosperity to adversity. He was chief alderman from the autumn of 1571 to that of 1572, and at the first council meeting of this second year, when some legal business was pending, he enjoyed a crowning proof of public confidence, in that it was agreed "by the assent and consent of the aldermen and burgesses aforesaid, that Mr. Adrian Queny, now baylif, and Mr. John Shakespere shall at Hillary terme next ensuinge deale in the affayres concerninge the commen wealthe of the borroughe accordinge to theire discrecions." But from this time on he had less and less to do with the town government. By 1575 he had become irregular in his attendance on the meetings of the council. In October of this year he expended forty pounds in the purchase of two houses at Stratford, but three years later was unable to bear his share with the other councillors either in contributing toward the equipment of the half-dozen soldiers sent by Stratford to the county muster or in giving a weekly fourpence for the relief of the poor. Whereas he had formerly been able to advance small sums to the Corporation, he was

now borrowing money of his neighbors. In 1578, again, he could not pay his municipal dues, though to his seven-year-old daughter Anne, who died in April of the following year, was given a stately burial. The bell of Holy Trinity was tolled, at a charge of fourpence, as the little body was borne on a hand-bier along the Waterside, and another fourpence went for the sombre dignity of the church pall, often rented out for councillors and other people of consequence, but seldom for a child.

Evidently John Shakespeare had understood that he could recover Asbies by paying back the mortgage loan of forty pounds at Michaelmas (Sept. 29), 1580, and this he promptly made ready to do. He turned to his nephew, Robert Webbe. whose father, Alexander Webbe, first husband of Margaret Arden, had settled with his family at Snitterfield, gradually buying up the shares of the other Arden sisters. The Webbes seem to have been on especially friendly terms with the Shakespeares, for Alexander Webbe, who died in 1573, had made John Shakespeare executor of his will. "Henry Shaxspere," too, was one of the witnesses and appraisers. Robert Webbe, on the point of marriage, seems readily to have paid forty pounds for what was the main portion of Mary Arden's holding at Snitterfield, and on Michaelmas, 1580, John Shakespeare took his way to Barton-on-the-Heath, on the southern border of the county, with the redemption money for Asbies in his wallet, "which somme," as the outwitted borrower afterwards complained in Chancery, "the said Edmunde did refuse to receyve, sayinge that he owed him other money, and unless that he, the said John, would paie him altogether, as well the said fortie poundes as the other money, which he owed him over and above, he would not receave the said fortie poundes." So Mary Arden's inheritance of fair and fruitful acres, both in Wilmcote and Snitterfield, was lost, for although Edmund Lambert died in 1587, and his wife Joan six years later, their son, John Lambert, proved even harder and trickier than his father. John Shakespeare vainly appealed to the law then and again in 1597, when it was, almost certainly, William Shakespeare who, in the name of his parents, instigated a new action to recover Asbies. If so, it was only to learn that, though he could write *Hamlet,* he could not win back for his mother her forfeited possessions.

Meanwhile John Shakespeare, oppressed with private cares, had lost his once so active interest in the affairs of Stratford-on-Avon. Through 1580 and on for the next five years he seems to have attended but one meeting of the council. It is not strange that in 1586 this negligent alderman was replaced by a more public-spirited citizen, for "Mr. Shaxspere

dothe not come to the halles * * * nor hathe not done of longe tyme." He was harassed by his own creditors and, apparently, by those of Henry Shakespeare. When Sir Thomas Lucy and others, in 1592, included him in a list of the recusants of Warwickshire, noting his failure to come once a month "to the Churche according to hir Majesties lawes," they suggested that he might be absenting himself through fear of arrest for debt. It was in the spring of 1595 that the last suit was brought against him in the local court, his old colleague, Adrian Quiney, being one of the plaintiffs. It is a reasonable inference that William Shakespeare, by this time well established as a London player, paid his father's debts. In 1596 there was made, in John Shakespeare's name, an application to the College of Heralds for a coat-of-arms, which, if granted, would raise the family to the position of gentry. The application was based on services rendered by their "late antecessors" to Henry VII, on their good standing in the county and on the fact that John Shakespeare had "maryed Mary, daughter and heiress of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, gent.," further described in a footnote as "a gent. of worship." It was not until 1599, two years before the death of John Shakespeare, that the shield was finally granted. In the last year of his life, 1601, he rendered a final service to his town, acting as one of a committee of five, including Adrian Quiney, in assisting the counsel engaged to defend Stratford in a suit concerning toll-corn.

A mention of John Shakespeare has recently come to light in a pocket notebook kept, about the middle of the seventeenth century, by a clergyman, Archdeacon Plume of Rochester, who bequeathed his papers to his native town of Maldon, Essex. Plume jotted down that Shakespeare was a glover's son, adding: "Sir John Mennes saw once his old father in his shop —a merry cheeked old man that said 'Will was a good Honest Fellow, but he darest have crackt a jeast with him at any time.'" (For the Ardens, the Shakespeares and the Stratford records, see Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare,* Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*—1909 ed.—and Mrs. Stopes' *Shakespeare's Family*).

NOTE: *Shakespeare's Boyhood.*

There is no recorded mention of William Shakespeare from his christening to his marriage, and the traditions of his being taken from school, at the beginning of his father's misfortunes, and apprenticed to a butcher, of his killing a calf "in a high style" with a speech, of his poaching in Charlecote Park and so provoking the hostility of Sir Thomas Lucy, on whom he made a mocking ballad, while all likely enough, are mere hearsay gossip of matters already dim with time. The family history, so far as the Warwickshire records set it forth, embodies his boyhood. His mother, who had already lost a baby Margaret and probably a baby Joan, would have rejoiced over this, her third infant, with a fear and trembling enhanced by the plague that swept Stratford when her boy was three months old. As a child, he would have been vastly proud of that exalted father who awed the other boys as he walked the streets, on his way to the Guildhall, in all the gowned magnificence of High Bailiff or chief alderman. As a growing boy, he would have felt the responsibilities of elder brother, not only to his playmate, Gilbert, but to the small sisters, Joan and Anne, and to Richard, nine years his junior and for seven years the household baby. When the money troubles gathered, the eldest son and heir would have been taken, to some extent, into the family councils. But money troubles would have waxed insignificant beside the grave of little Anne, whose death may well have been Shakespeare's first sorrow. To the broken family the next spring brought the comfort of baby Edmund, perhaps named for the crafty Uncle Edmund who dashed all their hopes and plans that autumn by refusing the redemption money for Asbies. By this time the hazel-eyed, chestnut-haired lad of sixteen must have been entering keenly into the anxieties and humiliations of his parents, hotly indignant with the Lamberts and sensitive to every shrug and whisper of the neighbors.

Numerous and varied hints of Shakespeare's boyhood may be found in the plays,—which even remember Stratford names, as Fluellen and Christopher Sly,—especially in *Love's Labours Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It* and those two presenting a satiric portrait of Sir Thomas Lucy in the guise of Justice Shallow, *II Henry IV* and *Merry Wives of Windsor.* And into many a beautiful line of the sonnets he wrote his native Warwickshire, whose later charm for him is manifest in *The Winter's Tale.*

Another approach to Shakespeare's boyhood is through a

study of the Grammar Schools of the period. Shakespeare's schoolroom was the top story of the long, half-timbered, venerable building originally erected, toward the close of the thirteenth century, by the Guild of the Holy Cross. Meant for a hospital, it was built beside their Guild Chapel, whose grave tower still overlooks it. Both buildings were confiscated by Henry VIII, when the old guild was dissolved, but were restored by Edward VII to the borough, whose new corporation, consisting of bailiff, ten aldermen and ten burgesses, took over the government formerly exercised by the guild. The school for boys, which the guild had carried on since the fifteenth century, was re-established in the upper hall, under those same black rafters of Arden oak that are seen there today, and the lower hall was used for council meetings, which the members of the corporation, Master John Shakespeare among them, solemnly attended in their gowns of office. The names of Shakespeare's school-masters may have been Walter Roche, 1570-71; Simon Hunt, B. A., 1571-77; Thomas Jenkins, 1577-79; John Cottom of London, 1579—, but we know them better as Holofernes and Sir Hugh Evans. The school, free to the sons of the burgesses, should have been a good one, for the master had a salary double that of the master of Eton. By way of the hornbook Shakespeare would have learned to read, and his extant signatures show that he was taught to write the old-fashioned English script, akin to the German, rather than the new Italian hand; but the principal study was Latin, in which he would have advanced from Lilly's Latin Grammar and the conversation book, *Sententiae Pueriles,* to the classic Roman literature, reading Ovid almost certainly and perhaps Seneca, Plautus and Terence. The Bible, too, as well as manners, music and play-acting had a share in his education, probably in school as well as out.

Shakespeare had early opportunity to see plays. The year in which his "merry-cheeked" father was High Bailiff (Michaelmas, 1568—Michaelmas 1569) strolling players, apparently for the first time, were welcomed to Stratford. That year two companies, the Queen's men and Worcester's men, played in the Guildhall before the council. Leicester's men played at Stratford in 1573, Warwick's and Worcester's in 1576, Leicester's and Worcester's in 1577, the Countess of Essex' and the Earl of Derby's in 1580, and no less than four companies, Leicester's, the Queen's, the Earl of Essex' and Lord Stafford's in 1586-7. Coventry, less than twenty miles to the north, City of the Three Spires, where the old religious drama made still a yearly festival, was a favorite stand for these strolling companies, and it is noteworthy that

Lord Strange's men performed at Coventry in 1579. But apart from the professional actors, there could have been no lack of plays in this heart of Merry England. The youths of Stratford may have had their "Whitsun Pastorals;" there may have been rustic troupes, in the villages roundabout, with stars as bright as Nick Bottom; the schoolboys, more likely than not, acted the Nine Worthies or some kindred interlude on occasion, and the eleven-year-old son of the Stratford alderman would have done his best to see something of the famous pageants at Kenilworth Castle, less than fifteen miles away, in honor of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Lord Leicester in 1575.

(See Rolfe's *Shakespeare the Boy,* Lee's *Stratford-on-Avon,* Watson's *The English Grammar Schools to* 1660, Murray's *English Dramatic Companies,* Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures of the Courte at Kenilworth.*)

NOTE: *Shakespeare's Marriage.*

In the Episcopal Register of the Diocese of Worcester is a guarantee bond, dated November 27, 1582, wherein two Shottery farmers, Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, undertake, in order, it would seem, to hasten the marriage of "Willm Shagspere" to "Anne Hathwey of Stratford," to assume full responsibility, should there be any consequences embarrassing to the bishop and his clergy. There was to be but one asking of the banns and, although the bridegroom was a minor, only eighteen and a half years old, the consent of his parents does not figure in the transaction. "Anne Hathwey" is presumably Agnes Hathaway, then a woman of some twenty-six years, eldest daughter of Richard Hathaway of Shottery, a hamlet in the parish of Stratford and but a short walk across fields from Shakespeare's home. Richard Hathaway, a fairly prosperous farmer, had died at some time between Sept. 1, 1581, when his will was made, and July 9, 1852, when it was proved. He left a widow, four sons and three daughters. By the provisions of his will, each of his daughters was to receive a sum equivalent in present value to about three hundred dollars. Fulk Sandells, described by the testator as "my trustie frende and neighbour," was supervisor of the will, and John Richardson one of the witnesses. The record of the marriage has not been found and is probably not extant.

(For text of the bond, see Halliwell-Phillips' *Outlines* or Lambert's *Shakespeare Documents.* The less favorable interpretation is given by Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare,* 1909 ed., pp. 19-25; the more favorable is urged by Mrs. Stopes in *Shakespeare's Family,* pp. 61-64. Elton's *William Shakespeare: His Family and Friends* states the argument against identifying Shakespeare's wife with Agnes Hathaway of Shottery.)

NOTE: *Shakespeare's Standing in London by 1592.*

The first sure mention known to us of Shakespeare in London is from the pen of Robert Greene, who died Sept. 3, 1592. In his latest work, a pamphlet, he gives evidence that Shakespeare had already advanced far in the two arts of acting and of dramatic writing, so arousing the jealous anger of this university-bred playwright, who looked on him as a presumptuous rustic, a conceited ignoramus. Greene, dying in poverty and shame, girds at actors in general as burrs, puppets, antics, apes, peasants, rude grooms, pasteboard gentlemen, painted monsters, ungrateful to the poets who give them the words they speak, and at Shakespeare in particular as an upstart crow, tiger-hearted, a mere Jack of All Trades who has the effrontery to deem himself not only the prince of players but a dramatist as well. The general opinion, from which Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke (see his monograph on *The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of 'King Henry VI'*) emphatically dissents, is that Greene's bitter accusation of Shakespeare includes a charge of plagiarism.

Toward the close of his tract, *Greene's Groats-worth of Wit; bought with a Million of Repentaunce,* is inserted a letter addressed "To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies." These authors are apparently Marlowe, "famous gracer of Tragedians," Nash, "young Juvenall, that byting Satyrist," and George Peele, addressed as follows:

"And thou no lesse deserving then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driven (as my selfe) to extreame shifts; a little have I to say to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned: for unto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleave: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they al have beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they al have beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide,* supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum,* is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses: and let these Apes imitate your past excellence,

and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. I know the best husband of you all will never prove an usurer and the kindest of them all wil never proove a kinde nurse: yet, whilst you may, seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes.

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

This sick-bed scrawl came into the hands of Henry Chettle, playwright as well as publisher, who copied it, that it might be legible at Stationers' Hall, where it had to be registered. He says he left out, in his transcript, some of the more offensive references to Marlowe, whom, on the ground of atheism, Greene exhorted in intolerable terms. The pamphlet was published that autumn, and it would seem that Marlowe and Shakespeare resented the imputations cast upon them, for in the prefatory address "To the Gentlemen Readers" of a treatise of his own, *Kind-Harts Dreame* (S. R. Dec. 8, 1592). Chettle made such apology as he could. He had evidently seen Shakespeare on the stage and bears personal testimony to his courteous, modest carriage and the excellence of his acting, adding that persons of standing had vouched, furthermore, for his honorable dealing and ready flow of poetry. The passage runs:

"About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter, written to divers playmakers, is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author; and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy, but it must light on me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently proove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion,—especially in such a case, the author beeing dead,—that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because myselfe have seene his demeanor no

lesse civill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes;—besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooves his art. For the first, whose learning I reverence, and, at the perusing of Greenes booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ; or, had it beene true, yet to publish it was intollerable; him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share;—it was il written, as sometimes Greenes hand was none of the best; licensd it must be ere it could bee printed, which could never be if it might not be read. To be breife, I writ it over; and, as neare as I could, followed the copy; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some unjustly have affirmed."

NOTE: *Shakespeare's Rank as a Writer by 1598.*

Several slight allusions in print to "Sweet Shakespeare,' "Honie-tong'd Shakespeare," especially as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece,* have been found for the five years immediately following Greene's abuse and Chettle's apology, but it is in 1598 that he is first clearly acclaimed as a supreme poet,—a lyrist of high excellence and the best of English dramatists. Francis Meres, "Maister of Arts in both Universities and Student in Divinity," one year Shakespeare's junior, was living in London in 1597, aware, as few were then aware, of the surpassing poetic splendor of his time. He contributed the second volume to a series of four school books that consisted, in the main, of brief passages, instructive or edifying, culled from both ancient and modern writers. *Politeuphuia: Wits Commonwealth* had appeared in 1597. In 1598 (S.R. Sept. 7) was issued *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury: being the second part of Wits Commonwealth.* Into this "Treasurie of Goulden Sentences, Similies and Examples: Set forth cheefely for the benefitt of young Schollers," Meres inserted a chapter entitled "A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greek, Latin and Italian Poets." (The principal sections of this chapter are reprinted in Arber's *English Garner* and G. Gregory Smith's *Critical Essays.* See also Dorothy Firman's M S. thesis in Wellesley College library.) Among the several enthusiastic mentions of Shakespeare, the following are most significant:

"As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by *Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides* and *Aristophanes;* and the Latine tongue by *Virgill, Ovid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius*

and *Claudianus:* so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeouslie invested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by sir *Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow* and *Chapman.*

"As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to live in *Pythagoras:* so the sweete wittie soule of *Ovid* lives in mellifluous & hon'y-tongued *Shakespeare,* witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis,* his *Lucrece,* his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.

"As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines; so *Shakespeare* among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Getleme* of Verona, his Errors, his Love labors lost, his Love labours wonne, his *Midsummers night dreame* & his *Merchant of Venice:* for Tragedy his *Richard the* 2, *Richard the* 3, *Henry the* 4, *King John, Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo* and *Juliet.*

"As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with *Shakespeares* fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.

"As *Pindarus, Anacreon* and *Callimachus* among the Greekes; and *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are *Spencer* (who excelleth in all kinds) *Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.*"

NOTE: *Shakespeare's Theatrical Career.*

When and how Shakespeare came to London is unknown. It is easy to conjecture reasons for his leaving Stratford. Sir Thomas Lucy, whose duty it was as magistrate to keep a sharp lookout on all persons suspected of Catholic sympathies, was perhaps a dangerous neighbor for the son of Mary Arden. Park Hall, located in the north-west of the county, was at a distance, but Wootten-on-Wawen, only a little way beyond Aston-Cantlow, was within the compass of a morning's walk, and the sorrows of the Somervilles would not tend to make their young kinsman a model of loyalty. The home life must have been heavily clouded, too, not only by this recent tragedy, but by the fretting cares of debt and law-suits. If the boy had brought his wife to his father's house, that father, already deeply plunged into poverty, with Gilbert, Joan, Richard and little Edmund to provide for, may have found this second family, with its three babies, a sore perplexity. As for Shakespeare's mother, one wonders whence her comforts came in

those years when the Arden name was in disgrace, her inheritance gone, her husband struggling in vain against his "sea of troubles," and her eldest son hampered by his inauspicious marriage. But in whatever mood Shakespeare broke away from Stratford, he was ultimately, if not constantly, faithful to his obligations there, restoring and exalting the family fortunes.

Between the christening of the twins, Feb. 2, 1585, and Greene's attack in the late summer of 1592, the only known mention of Shakespeare's name belongs to the autumn of 1589. Edmund Lambert had died in the spring of 1587, and John Shakespeare, in Michaelmas term, 1589, brought a bill of complaint against John Lambert, the son and heir, alleging that this young Lambert, on his father's death, under threat of a law-suit had agreed, "in consideration of the said John and Mary and their son William," to a compromise by which he was to become absolute owner of Asbies on paying John Shakespeare twenty pounds, over and above the forty pounds already lent on mortgage; but the payment had not been made. Shakespeare's assent as heir was necessary to these proceedings —which came to nothing,—but not, apparently, his personal presence.

Modern biographers incline to the opinion that Leicester's men, playing at Stratford in 1587, gave Shakespeare his chance of escape, but it is hard to believe, in view of the Arden history, that he would have consented to wear Leicester's livery. One could almost as easily picture him among Sir Thomas Lucy's players, for this Puritan magistrate was not averse to the drama, but sometimes invited a strolling troupe to Charlecote and even maintained, for at least a year (1583-84), a company of his own. The fact that no children were born after the twins indicates, too, that Shakespeare had left Stratford earlier than 1587. Five years, moreover, would have been but a brief period in which to attain the results disclosed by the testimony of Greene and Chettle.

We know that by the close of 1594, Shakespeare was a leading member of the Lord Chamberlain's company, for in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber is entered, under date of March 15, 1595, the payment of twenty pounds to "Willm Kempe, Willm Shakespeare & Richarde Burbage, servaunts to the Lord Chamberleyne—for twoe severall Comedies or enterludes shewed by them before her Majestie in Christmas tyme laste paste, viz: upon St. Stephens daye and Innocentes daye." (For full text see Lambert's *Shakespeare Documents*). These unnamed comedies, played at Greenwich December 26 and 28, may well have been Shakespeare's own, but in any case

the association of his name with the names of so famous a tragedian as Burbage and so popular a comedian as Kemp suggests his prominence in the company. The Lord Chamberlain's men had originally been known as Lord Strange's men. From 1576 they had been under the patronage of the young Lord Strange (Ferdinando Stanley), a poet and a liberal friend of poets, who became, Sept. 25, 1593, the Earl of Derby, so that his company was called, for a brief period, the Earl of Derby's men. On April 16, 1594, this fine-spirited earl died in his prime, and a much older man, Lord Hunsdon (Henry Carey), first cousin to Queen Elizabeth on the Boleyn side, took over the players. As Lord Hunsdon held the office of Lord Chamberlain, his players were known as the Lord Chamberlain's men. On his death, July 22, 1596, his eldest son, the second Lord Hunsdon (George Carey), became their patron, and for a few months they were styled Lord Hunsdon's men. But on March 17, 1597, this Lord Hunsdon, like his father, was made Lord Chamberlain, so that the players were again the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

The chief "cry of players" in England from the accession of Elizabeth for nearly a quarter century was Lord Leicester's company, whose leader, judging from the license of 1574, was James Burbage, by trade a carpenter; but in 1583 a new company, under royal patronage, was made by choosing out the twelve best actors from the other troupes. The Queen's Players, with the irresistibly comic Tarleton for their clown, now took the lead and held it for the next few years, figuring largely in the Christmas festivities at court. Meanwhile Leicester's company, at his death (Sept. 4, 1588), was plundered again, Lord Strange's servants securing the best actors. With its strength thus augmented, Lord Strange's company, which had hitherto been playing in the provinces and had, possibly, already picked up Shakespeare, ventured to establish itself in London where it is first heard of as defying, in November, 1589, the authority of the Lord Mayor. At this time Lord Strange's men seem to have been playing in an inn-yard, at Cross Keys tavern in Gracechurch Street,—popularly called in Elizabethan comedy "Gracious Street."

There were, however, by this date, two regular playhouses in London, the Theatre and the Curtain, both located north of the walls, close by the open space of Finsbury Fields. Their erection was forced upon the players by the hostility of the city government. The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen stood for order and decency in their London, and the crowded inn-yards had too often become centres of disturbance. So by an ordinance of 1574, hedging about such performances with vex-

atious restrictions, and by a flat prohibition, a few years later, of public acting within the city limits, the council forced the companies forth to territory beyond the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction. They were still free, however, to play before the Queen at her bidding, or in the palaces of their noble patrons, or elsewhere under private auspices. In the spring (April 13) of 1576, James Burbage leased from one Giles Allen for twenty-one years land formerly in the holding of the ruined Holywell Priory and proceeded to build upon it the Theatre,—a wooden enclosure presumably fashioned on the general model of an innyard, open to the sky, with a double row of galleries running around it, and a platform at the upper end. A similar playhouse, the Curtain, whose builder is unknown, speedily arose beside it, and such Londoners as were on pleasure bent flocked through Moorgate and across the Fields on foot, or rode out, if they had horses to ride,—and horses could readily be had of the enterprising James Burbage, who had set up a livery stable at Smithfield,—by way of the highroad from Bishopsgate. There is a tradition to the effect that Shakespeare's first theatrical employment in London was to hold horses at the playhouse door. If so, it would have been at the door of the Theatre or the Curtain.

On February 19, 1592, Lord Strange's servants opened at a new theatre, the Rose, on the Bankside across the Thames, south of the city boundaries. The Bankside, like the neighborhood of Finsbury Fields, in which archery and other sports were carried on, was a foreign quarter, given over to holiday making, with its Bear Garden and its Bull Garden and its cockpits, where the torture of animals made sport for men. There was no question of horses here. Access must be by foot over London Bridge, with the heads of traitors peering dolefully down on the merry-makers, or by wherry across the Thames, which resounded with the shouts of the watermen: "Eastward Ho!" "Westward Ho!" as they called for passengers. The Rose had been built by the theatrical speculator of the day, Philip Henslowe. This inveterate money-maker began life in the service of the steward of Viscount Montague, whose estate lay partly in Southwark across the Thames. On the death of the steward, Henslowe married the wealthy widow, settled in Southwark, and accumulated, sometimes by nefarious practices, a fortune that robed his later years with respectability. He was at various times a dyer, a manufacturer of starch, a dealer in hides and timber, and pretty constantly pawn-broker, money-lender and landlord. He owned a number of lodging-houses in Southwark, some of them disreputable, and a number of inns, and had the name of showing no mercy

to poor tenants. Especially did he batten on the new theatrical profession, building and leasing playhouses, advancing money to companies and to authors, supplying theatrical wardrobes and stage properties, but although he may have driven hard bargains with the impecunious poets, Dekker, Heywood, Chapman, Day, Jonson, Drayton, Middleton, Webster and the rest, yet their best lovers forgive him because of the light his old account-book, scribbled and grotesquely misspelled, casts on the history of Elizabethan drama. *Henslowe's Diary*, so-called, deals mainly with the period from 1592 to 1603. It is through these precious pages, preserved by chance, that we are enabled to follow the fortunes of Lord Strange's men at the Rose, Henslow's new theatre, circular, it would seem, according to the model of the bear-baiting ring, rather than rectangular, after the fashion of the innyard. Over the stage, which was painted, there was a thatch, and a mast carried the flag that waved invitingly above an Elizabethan playhouse when a play was on hand.

By Henslowe's business record of his receipts from the daily performances, we know that Lord Strange's company, which by this date probably included Shakespeare, played at the Rose till June 22 (1592). Within these four months they acted twenty-three plays, beginning with Greene's *Friar Bacon*, given nine times. Their most successful venture was Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, which achieved thirty-six performances. Next stood *I Henry VI* and Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, each having a run of sixteen afternoons. A riot in Southwark of the prentices, June 11, "by occasion & pretence of their meeting at a play" (not at the Rose) on Sunday, led the Privy Council, composed of the ministers of the Crown, to take action, prohibiting Sunday performances altogether and suspending any public acting in and about London till Michaelmas. Addressing the justices of Middlesex, the Lords of the Council said: "Moreover for avoidinge of theis unlawfull assemblies in those quarters yt is thoughte meete you shall take order that there be noe playes used in anye place neere thereabouts, as the theator, curtayne or other usual places there where the same are comonly used, nor no other sorte of unlawful or forbidden pastymes that drawe togeather the baser sorte of people from hence forth untill the feast of St. Michael." (For full text see Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*.) The indications are that an appeal was made by Lord Strange's men or in their behalf and that, as a result, they were allowed to act three days a week at Newington Butts. About this theatre, or building used as a theatre, perhaps an innyard, perhaps a bear-ring, little is known. It

was located at a considerable distance from London proper, south-west of Southwark, beyond an open space called St. George's Fields. It may possibly have been the earlier London playhouse of Lord Strange's men, for although the Theatre and the Curtain were occupied by different companies in turn, the Queen's servants often playing at the Theatre, Lord Strange's company, prior to the opening of the Rose, has been traced only to the innyard of the Cross Keys. This concession of the Privy Council did not satisfy the players. They could not maintain themselves on such scanty opportunity for earnings and yet hesitated to go on tour. For to this summer belongs, apparently, a petition, undated in the extant copy, from Lord Strange's men to the Privy Council, begging that the restraint be removed and the use of their playhouse again permitted to them, "fforasmuche (righte honorable) oure Companie is greate, and thearbie or chardge intollerable, in travellinge the Countrie, and the Contynuaunce thereof, wilbe a meane to bringe us to division and seperacon, whearebie wee shall not onelie be undone, but alsoe unreadie to serve her matie, when it shall please her highnes to commaund us, And for that the use of or 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." The watermen chimed in with a petition of their own, and the Privy Council finally sanctioned the re-opening of the Rose, on the customary condition that it should close again in case of an outbreak of the plague: "Wheareas not longe since upon some Consideracons we did restraine the Lord Straunge his srvaunts from playinge at the rose on the banckside, and enioyned them to plaie three daies at newington Butts, Now forasmuch as we are satisfied that by reason of the tediousnes of the waie and yt of longe tyme plaies have not there bene used on working daies. And for that a nomber of poore watermen are thereby releeved, You shall pmitt and suffer them or any other there to exercise yemselves in suche sorte as they have done heretofore, And that the Rose maie be at libertie wthout any restrainte, solonge as yt shalbe free from infection of sicknes." (For full text of petitions and warrant see *Henslowe Papers,* edited by Greg, whose searching interpretation of the vexed questions involved is followed here.)

On these delays came the plague, making all concourse of Londoners unsafe, so that it was not until the end of the year, December 29, that the Rose opened again with Lord Strange's company. They had time to present but three plays, including Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris,* when in the end of January the terrible sickness, then in full rage, shut the doors of all the

theatres and drove the companies out to stroll the provinces. With Lord Strange's company travelled Henslowe's son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, who, though a Lord Admiral's man, seems to have acted with Lord Strange's servants at the Rose, probably as their manager as well as their chief tragedian. Perhaps other members of the Lord Admiral's company, which may have been dispersed at this time, were temporarily united with Lord Strange's men. However that may be, Henslowe would naturally have relied upon Alleyn to ensure the success of the new theatre, for this brilliant young actor, on the stage since boyhood, was already a tragic star. The travelling license, granted early in May, 1593, names Alleyn, Kemp and four others as the principal players. The fact that Shakespeare is not named does not necessarily mean that he did not make the tour. There must have been some half dozen or more members of the company besides those six specifically mentioned. It is possible, of course, that Shakespeare had not yet joined Lord Strange's men, though in some company, somewhere, he must have been learning and practising the actor's art,—in which Chettle declared him excellent in 1592—as well as the arts of poet and dramatist. But now, at last, he comes into view. It was in the autumn of 1592 that Greene, chief playwright of the Queen's men, assailed him, especially exasperated, apparently, by Shakespeare's revision of *III Henry VI,* in whose original version, *The True Tragedy of Richard III,* as well as in *The Contention,* the earlier form of *II Henry VI,* Marlowe and Greene may have collaborated. During the spring of 1593, when the theatres were closed, Shakespeare was very likely writing his *Venus and Adonis* (S.R. April 18), which he dedicated, as "the first heir of my invention," to that dazzling young nobleman, the Earl of Southampton. This poem, published by a stationer whom Shakespeare had known when they were boys together at Stratford, Richard Field, was in a vein made popular by Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* (1589). In the following spring Drayton had ready for the press (S. R. April 12) his *Endymion and Phoebe,* and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* was left unfinished when his most pitiful, untimely death (June 1, 1593) must have shaken the heart of Shakespeare, who owed so much to that first master of English tragedy.

Lord Strange's men travelled far on their summer and autumn tour, from Bristol to Shrewsbury and from Chester to York. They played at Coventry and Leicester, early in December, as the Earl of Derby's men. Returning to London, they found the plague somewhat allayed, but as a measure of precaution the Privy Council still kept the theatres closed. Shakespeare turned his enforced leisure to account by writing

a second poem, *Lucrece,* dedicated like the first to the Earl of Southampton, this time not in formal phrase, but in the language of intimate devotion: "The love I dedicate to your lordship is without end.**What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have, devoted yours." *Venus and Adonis* had hit the public taste; *Lucrece,* by far the greater poem, was hardly less applauded.

With the death of the new Earl of Derby, the next April, the company was left without a patron, but soon became the Lord Chamberlain's men and, as such, opened at Newington Butts in brief union with the Lord Admiral's servants, June 3-13, 1594. In their ten performances they gave seven plays, including the ever popular *Jew of Malta.* Four of the seven appear to have belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's men,—*Hester and Assueros* (lost), *Titus Andronicus, The Taming of a Shrew* and *Hamlet.* Two of the four, *Titus* and *A Shrew,* had been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's men, as is stated on their title pages, for both went to the press in 1594. The Earl of Sussex' servants, an evanescent company, had produced *Titus* at the Rose as a new play, January 23, 1594. The plague soon closed the theatre, and when it re-opened at Easter, Sussex' men appeared there in conjunction with the Queen's servants. Little more is known, after that, of this group of players, who may have sold out their stock in trade and disbanded. Since the promising but short-lived Pembroke's company, for which Marlowe and perhaps Shakespeare wrote, had acted both this play and *A Shrew,* it is likely that all four dramas had been its property. The straits to which it was brought in the summer of 1593, when Henslowe wrote to Alleyn, then on tour with Lord Strange's servants, that Pembroke's men could not pay their way in the provinces but had come back to London, where they were reduced to pawning their stage wardrobe, might have led them to sell some of their playbooks. *Titus* and *A Shrew* were apparently sold to players as well as to publishers. At all events, we here find the Lord Chamberlain's company in possession of three plays which their fellow, Gentle Will, remodeled for their use. It is difficult to believe that he did more than touch here and there the lines of *Titus Andronicus. The Taming of the Shrew,* though more spirited and more gracious than *The Taming of a Shrew,* is at no far remove from its original. The first *Hamlet* is lost. The *Hamlet* we know, though still, even in its fuller version of 1604, it impresses one as not perfectly assimilated, harmonized, complete, is supreme in literature. If the *Hamlet* played by the Lord Chamberlain's men in June of 1594 was Kyd's *Hamlet* by right of authorship, it had become, we may believe, theirs by right of purchase and,

transformed, was soon to pass into Shakespeare's *Hamlet* by right of genius.

At this most interesting point in their fortunes the Lord Chamberlain's players pass out of Henslowe's theatres and out of Henslowe's account book. But they have left traces of themselves in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, who duly recorded the amounts paid for the performances at Court. Through the eighties Lord Strange's tumblers usually entertained her Majesty in the course of the Christmas revels with "certen feates of Activitie." By the nineties these boy acrobats had grown up into actors, or been replaced or re-enforced by actors. Lord Strange's men presented before the Court four plays (on December 27 and 28, and January 1 and 9) in connection with the Christmas festivities of 1591, two more (on February 6 and 8) at the following Shrovetide, and three more (on December 26 and 31, and January 1) for the Christmas revels of 1592. The Queen's men, who had stood first in the royal grace since their formation as a company in 1583, were now quite superseded by these new favorites. The Queen's players appeared at Court for the last time December 26, 1591. Henceforward Lord Strange's company, under its varying styles, kept the lead until the Puritans, in 1642, did away with their profession. On February 20, 1592, they were paid in all sixty pounds for their six plays at Whitehall. On March 7, 1593 they received thirty pounds for their three plays at Hampton Court. Apparently Queen Bess did not keep a merry Yuletide at the close of the distressful plague year, 1593, but we have already noted that Kemp and Shakespeare and Burbage were given the usual sum, ten pounds a play, for the two comedies with which the Lord Chamberlain's men entertained the Court at Greenwich in the Christmas revels of 1594. The second play, which may have been the *Comedy of Errors,* was performed on December 28, and apparently in the morning or early afternoon, for late that evening the *Errors* was presented at Grey's Inn with unfortunate results. The Law Students of Grey's Inn, according to the contemporary account published in 1688 as *Gesta Grayorum,* were keeping their Yule with a succession of various revels. For this evening of Innocents' Day they had planned, with other delights, a comedy, and had erected scaffolds in their beautiful hall, for the accommodation of spectators. Among the guests there came the students of the Inner Temple, as in a masque, "brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets." But there were not seats enough, so that crowding and confusion ensued, and the students of the Inner Temple, much affronted took their leave. "After their departure," relates the *Gesta Gray-*

orum, "the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them continued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever; in regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing of the Templarians, it was thought good not to offer anything of account saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and, after such sports, a Comedy of Errors, like to Plautus his Menechmus, was played by the players; so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors, whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors." All this was matter for fresh fun the following evening, when a mock Commission sat upon the riot and threw all the blame on the poor players, pronouncing that the trouble was due to a sorcerer who had "foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of errors and confusions."

In the preceding autumn Lord Hunsdon, in a letter of October 8, 1594, to the Lord Mayor, had asked that his players, who had been touring through the summer, might be permitted to return to their old quarters, the innyard of the Cross Keys: "After my hartie comendacons, where my nowe companie of Players haue byn accustomed for the better exercise of their qualitie, & for the seruice of her Matie if need soe requier to plaie this winter time within the Citye at the Crosse kayes in Gracious street. These are to requier & praye yor Lo. the time beinge such as thankes be to god there is nowe no danger of the sickness) to permitt & suffer them soe to doe; The wch I praie you the rather to doe for that they haue vndertaken to me that where heretofore they began not their Plaies till towards fower a clock, they will now begin at two, & haue don betwene fower and fiue and will nott vse anie Drumes or trumpetts att all for the callinge of peopell together, and shalbe contributories to the poore of the parishe where they plaie accordinge to their habilities And soe not dowting of yor willingnes to yeeld herevnto, vppon theise resonable condicions I comitt yow to the Almightie."

By 1595, then, Shakespeare was well established as an actor and already famous as love-poet and dramatist. John Weever's epigram of this year, *Ad Gulielmum Shakspeare,* praises as fit to be the children of Apollo not only Adonis and Lucrece, but also Romeo and Richard. Rich as this closing decade of the century was in English poetry,—the *Fairy Queen,* the *Amoretti,* the *Epithalamium,* Chapman's *Iliad,* with Daniel, Drayton, Peele, Barnes, Watson, Constable, Southwell for lyric chorus, Shakespeare had already compelled the attention of

the greatest. For we may be all but sure it was of him that Spenser wrote, in 1594:

> "And there, though last not least, is Aetion;
> A gentler shepherd may no where be found,
> Whose muse, full of high thoughts' invention,
> Doth, like himself, heroically sound."

For the Christmas revels of 1595, the Lord Chamberlain's men presented four plays at Court (on December 26, 27, 28, and January 6), together with a Shrovetide play (on February 22), but did not receive payment for these five performances until December 21, 1596. Shakespeare had become familiar with palaces. The rude life of Stratford-on-Avon, where chimneys were still an innovation, where "a stack of chaff" was counted a luxurious pillow as against the "good round log" of his father's boyhood and where wooden trenchers and wooden spoons, though Mary Arden may have brought from Wilmcote a few pieces of pewter, were deemed suitable for a yeoman's table, might have seemed more strange to him by this time than the finer ways of London. Yet Shakespeare lived there in humble fashion enough. He was dwelling in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where his goods were rated at five pounds, early in the decade, but had removed from that locality, so convenient to the Shoreditch play-houses (the Theatre and the Curtain), at some time (probably several years) before the autumn of 1596, coming to that other theatrical neighborhood, the Bankside. Here his lodging, Alleyn said, was near the Bear Garden,—not so close, one would hope, as to fill his ears with the barking and the roaring and the bellowing that issued from that cruel pit.

By 1596, and probably earlier, the Lord Chamberlain's men were playing at the Theatre. Here they acted either the original *Hamlet* or a very early revision by Shakespeare, whose plays had become their "get-penny." An anonymous comedy apparently of this date, *Wily Beguilde,* has echoes of *Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice* and perhaps of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Their patron died that summer, on July 23, and on August 11 Shakespeare's only son, little Hamnet, was buried at Stratford. The father may not have heard of the death until some days had passed, for the company was on tour, as we know from the record of a performance by them at Faversham, in Kent. Strolling players of the poorer sort often travelled on foot in their stage costumes, paying a penny a night for their beds. Ben Jonson (in *The Poetaster,* III, I) sketches a graphic picture of such an unlucky actor: "If he

pen for thee once, thou shalt not need to travel with thy pumps full of gravel any more, after a blind jade and a hamper, and stalk upon boards and barrel heads to an old crack'd trumpet." With Shakespeare to pen for them, Lord Hunsdon's men would have ridden in some state of plumes and banners. They were back in London in time for the Christmas and Shrovetide revels, presenting six plays before her Majesty, for which they were not paid until November 27 of the following year.

James Burbage died in February of 1597, and his twenty-one years' lease of the Theatre expired April 13.. He had been anxious about that lease, claiming that he was entitled by the original agreement to a renewal for ten years. Meanwhile he had bought a large private house in Blackfriars, the site of one of those dismantled monasteries that made Shakespeare's London a city of ruins, and, as such, a precinct reserved to the Crown from the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor. The dwellers in that Liberty protested to the Privy Council against having a common playhouse in their midst, and it may be for this reason that the Blackfriars theatre, ready for use in 1597, was not, for some thirteen years, occupied by the Lord Chamberlain's men, but was leased to one of the choirboy companies, the Children of the Chapel Royal. Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert, the sons of the veteran theatre-builder, carried on the contention with their landlord, Giles Allen, but that summer the wrath of the Privy Council descended on all the London players, closing their houses from July 28 till October 11 and threatening them with total destruction. A main reason for this sudden rigor is guessed to be the acting at the Rose, apparently by the Lord Admiral's men, of a play "contanynge very seditious and sclanderous matter," *The Isle of Dogs,*— ingeniously spelled by Henslowe *Jeylle of dooges.* Nash admitted writing the Induction and First Act, but claimed that the parts which gave offense were supplied by the players. The Lord Chamberlain's men travelled in the south of England that summer, leaving traces of their progress in the municipal accounts of Rye and Dover in the east and of Marlboro, Bath and Bristol in the west. Apparently they re-opened at the Curtain, for Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* (S.R. Sept. 8, 1598) refers to *Romeo and Juliet* in connection with "Curtaine plaudeties." *Romeo and Juliet* was printed this year, as were also *Richard II* and *Richard III,* all in anonymous quartos, those sixpenny playbooks now worth many times their weight in gold. The only Shakespeare play (so-called) printed earlier than these is *Titus Andronicus,* issued in quarto 1594; the unique copy found in Sweden in 1905 brought ten thousand dollars. These piratical publications were to the chagrin of the Lord Chamber-

lain's men, who believed it better business, both as regarded the reading public and rival companies, to keep their plays to themselves. Shakespeare seems never to have sanctioned the publication of any of his works except those early poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Together with his fellows, he doubtless did his best to guard his manuscripts from the greedy clutch of unscrupulous stationers, who nevertheless, by bribing needy actors or taking down garbled versions in shorthand at the theatre, succeeded in stealing sixteen out of the thirty-six plays ultimately collected in the First Folio. This is the time, it would seem, in which Shakespeare's heart turned back to Stratford. Up to 1596 his father's financial embarrassments had been unrelieved; Shakespeare's wife had been reduced to borrowing forty shillings of an old man who had served as her father's shepherd. But now the villagers, Dogberry, Dame Quickly, Holofernes, the Gravedigger and the rest, had matter enough to set their wise tongues wagging. The wild lad, who married in haste, mocked Sir Thomas Lucy and broke away from home and family to turn play-actor, was pouring a stream of gold into the astonished and somewhat scandalized town. In the spring (May 4) he purchased for sixty pounds, equivalent in present value to about three thousand dollars, what had been the grandest house in Stratford, though then somewhat out of repair, New Place. In November a fresh and vigorous effort was put forth, in the name of his parents, to recover Asbies.

By 1598 the canny burgesses of Stratford were quite ready to claim Shakespeare as their fellow-townsman and make use of his money and influence. On January 24 Abraham Sturley, writing in language well spiced with Latin and with Puritanic phrase, to his brother-in-law, Richard Quiney, then in London on business for the Corporation, urged him to press upon Shakespeare the purchase of the Stratford tithes. He had learned from Adrian Quiney, Richard Quiney's father and John Shakespeare's frequent associate, "that our countriman, Mr. Shaksper, is willinge to disburse some monei upon some od yarde land or other att Shotterie or neare about us; he thinketh it a veri fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. Bi the instruccuons u can geve him theareof, and bi the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote att, and not unpossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us muche good." On October 25 Richard Quiney wrote from a London inn to his "Loveinge good ffrend & contreymann mr wm Shackespere," asking for a loan of thirty pounds to enable him to dis-

charge "all the debettes" he owed in London. The letter seems to imply that Shakespeare would negotiate the loan through a friend. An undated letter from Adrian Quiney, perhaps aware of his son's necessities, advises him: "Yff you bargen with Wm. Sha. or receve money therfor, bringe youre money homme that yow maye." A second letter from Abraham Sturley to Richard Quiney, November 4, says word has come "that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us monei, which I will like of as I shall heare when, and wheare, and howe; and I prai let not go that occasion if it mai sorte to ani indifferent condicions." (For full text of these letters, see Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines.*) Meanwhile the player and playwright was busier than ever. In the festal season of 1597-1598 the Lord Chamberlain's men presented four plays at Court, for which they were not paid until December of the latter year. One of these plays was *Love's Labours Lost,* as we know from its title page,—"A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called *Loves labors lost.* As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakespere, 1598." This is the first time that Shakespeare's name appeared on the title-page of a play. *I Henry IV* was printed this year, too, but not with the author's name. Richard Barnfield's *Poems in Divers Humors,* 1598, praises Shakespeare's "hony-flowing Vaine," and this is the year of *Palladis Tamia.* Of the six comedies that Meres assigns to Shakespeare, the only one—apart from the unidentified *Love's Labours Won*—of which, up to date, we have no other trace is the *Two Gentlemen of Verona;* of the six tragedies, *King John.* The Lord Chamberlain's servants had far outdistanced all their rivals except the Lord Admiral's men, a thriving company under Henslowe's management, with Edward Alleyn as their tragedian. They had not been called to Court since 1591, when they were still a troupe of acrobats, until the Christmas revels of 1597-1598, when they presented two plays before the Queen. On February 19, 1598, the Privy Council announced that the Lord Admiral's men and the Lord Chamberlain's were the only authorized companies in London and ordered that all others be suppressed. The two favored companies soon set about providing themselves with new theatres. The Burbages could not come to terms with Giles Allen in the matter of the renewal of their lease and so hit upon the expedient of removing the fabric of the Theatre to the Bankside. The process began in December of this year, and their new playhouse, the Globe, fashioned mainly out of the timber of the demolished structure, but circular in form like the other Bankside places of amusement, seems to have been ready for occupancy by midsummer of 1599. By the end of

1600 the Admiral's men were ensconced, the breadth of the city away, in their new house, the Fortune, built by Henslowe and Alleyn outside the north wall of London, just beyond Cripplegate, and as much like the Globe as a square building could be like a round one. Henslowe had at this time a number of playwrights in his pay, among them Dekker, who turned out in the two years 1598-1599 six plays written alone and twenty in collaboration with others. (See Dr. Mary Leland Hunt's *Thomas Dekker.*) It would be interesting to know something of the circumstances attending the arrest of Dekker at the suit of the Chamberlain's men in January of 1593 and his release on Henslowe's advance of three pounds ten. A dramatist who wrote at different times for both companies is Ben Jonson, who appears in Henslowe's *Diary in* 1597 both as player and playwright. His satiric comedy, *Every Man in His Humor,* was acted by the Chamberlain's men a little earlier than September 20, a few days before Jonson brought himself into the danger of the law by slaying Gabriel Spenser, an Admiral's man, in a duel. In the Jonson folio (1616) the list of actors is given as follows:

Will Shakespeare	Ric. Burbage
Aug. Philips	Joh. Hemings
Hen. Condel	Tho. Pope
Will. Slye	Chr. Beeston
Will. Kempe	Joh. Duke

The Lord Chamberlain's men played at Whitehall three times in the Christmas and Shrovetide revels of 1598-1599, on December 26, January 1, and February 20. They were duly paid October 2, 1599. It is plausibly conjectured that they opened at the Globe with *Henry V,* whose prologue expresses the popular enthusiasm for the dashing Earl of Essex. Of his campaign in Ireland, where he had been sent to suppress Tyrone's rebellion, great things were expected, and doubtless the "wooden O" of the new theatre resounded with applause in response to the words:

> "Were now the general of our gracious empress
> (As, in good time, he may) from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit,
> To welcome him!"

The Earl of Southampton, who had been in disgrace at Court ever since his secret marriage to Elizabeth Vernon the

year before and had consoled himself as best he could by "going to plays every day," was with Essex on this expedition. In September Essex returned, unsuccessful and insubordinate, and was placed under arrest. Among the charges on which he was brought to trial, in January 1600, was the promotion of Southampton, contrary to Elizabeth's express commands. Essex was dismissed from all offices of state and confined in Essex House during the Queen's pleasure. Soon released, this reckless, imperious Hotspur set on foot a conspiracy to usurp the throne. On Saturday, February 7, 1601, *Richard II* was played at the Globe by request of the conspirators, who paid the actors, on the Thursday preceding, forty shillings to secure the performance. The intention was to remind the people that there was historic precedent for the deposition of an English sovereign. The 1597 edition of this play, as well as the second edition in 1598, had omitted the gist of the deposition scene (IV, I, 154-318), which was not put in print until five years after the death of the Queen. How sensitive Elizabeth was on the subject is shown by her words, in conversation with the antiquary William Lambard, the summer after the failure of the conspiracy. "I am Richard II, know ye not that?—this tragedie was played 40tie times in open streets and houses." Early Sunday morning, February 8, the Earl of Essex, followed by "some sixty knights and gentlemen of greate blood," rode through the streets, summoning the citizens, whose idol he believed he was, to arm in his cause. The loyal Londoners, save for a few scores that followed on, stood silent, while a royal herald proclaimed Essex a traitor. Before the Queen's troops his followers were soon scattered. Essex and Southampton were thrown into the Tower, tried on February 19 and condemned to death. Essex was executed six days later, but the sentence of Southampton was commuted to imprisonment for life.

All these events must have touched Shakespeare to the quick. Whether or no Southampton, nine years his junior, were the Friend of the Sonnets, the poet would not have been faithless to the loving service vowed in the dedication of *Lucrece*. Even if the young Earl of Pembroke had supplanted Southampton in the inmost shrine of Shakespeare's great and generous heart, there was little comfort for him in that wayward career. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, was sixteen years younger than Shakespeare, to whom he had shown such favor that Hemings and Condell, the poet's fellows in the Lord Chamberlain's company, dedicated the First Folio to him and his brother Philip. A fair-faced, moody lad of eighteeen, "exceedingly beloved of all men," Pembroke took

up his abode in London early in 1598. He was back at Wilton, the family seat, ill with a malady whose best remedy he found to be tobacco, through the winter of 1599-1600. Returning to London, he still showed no disposition to marry, although his solicitous parents were doing their best to find him a fitting bride, but he had hardly succeeded to the earldom, January 19, 1601, when it became evident that he had brought shame upon Mary Fitton, one of Elizabeth's maids of honor. The incensed Queen clapped him straightway into the Fleet and, on his release, banished him the Court. He was refused permission to travel abroad, his revenues were seriously impaired, and during the rest of Elizabeth's reign he had to submit to her curt command and "keep house in the country."

But whether Shakespeare's soul was sick with anxiety or bitter with unavailing wrath, he went on with his work, as a man must. As an actor, his name is traditionally associated with the rôles of old Adam in *As You Like It* and the Ghost in *Hamlet*. As Burbage was the tragic star, and Kemp the comic, of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and if, as one suspects, the "gentle Shakespeare" was endowed with grace and dignity of bearing, romantic and stately parts, especially parts involving sustained declamation, would naturally fall to him. The speeches of Biron, Mercutio and Jacques would not be long for an audience listening to those rapid lines as they rang out from the lips of the poet himself, the poet

> "whose enchanting quill
> Commanded mirth and passion."

A friendly address from John Davies of Hereford, paying tribute to Shakespeare's rare personal quality, suggests that he often played the king:

> "Some say (good *Will*) which I, in sport, do sing,
> Had'st thou not plaid some Kingly parts in sport,
> Thou hadst bin a companion for a *King;*
> And beene a King among the meaner sort."

Fleay thinks that Shakespeare took the part of *King Edward I* in Peele's play so entitled, deriving his conclusion from the lines:

> "*Shake* thou thy *spear* in honor of *his name,*
> Under whose royalty thou wear'st the same."

The Lord Chamberlain's men, now that they were established in the Globe, were more prosperous than ever, although

the Admiral's men, making the most of Dekker's blithe comedies, pressed them hard, and the re-organized company of Worcester's men, with Thomas Heywood for their main playwright, were trying to get a foothold in London. They won away several of the Globe players, including Kemp. The Queen was interested in the Admiral's men as well as in the Chamberlain's, who found it not always easy to maintain their lead. They acted before her Highness three times (December 26, January 6, February 3) during the holiday revels of 1599-1600 and were paid on February 7, much more promptly than usual. But the Admiral's company also played three times at Court that year, taking part in the Easter festival, presenting *Old Fortunatus* December 27 and *The Shoemaker's Holiday* on New Year's night of 1600. In the season of 1600-1601 the Lord Chamberlain's servants appeared, as before, on December 26 and January 6, and although the Essex rebellion had blazed up meanwhile, the Globe players performed before the unhappy Queen February 24, on the very eve of the earl's execution. One would give much to know what play it was that Shakespeare and his fellows, moving and speaking like men bound in a dream, played in that tense presence. They received the usual "remuneration" March 31, but Elizabeth had not forgotten *Richard II* and on the following Christmas the Lord Chamberlain's men were not bidden to the Court. Yet they played before her Majesty on their accustomed day, the day after Christmas, in 1602, and on February 2, 1603, they were summoned to Richmond to divert the Queen, if so they might, from her dying mood of brooding melancholy.

Elizabeth died March 24, an event whose appalling effect upon London and England at large the lively language of Dekker's *The Wonderful Year* can hardly over-state: "The report of her death (like a thunder clap) was able to kill thousands; it tooke away hearts from millions; for having brought up (even under her wing) a nation that was almost begotten and borne under her; that never shouted any other *Ave* than for her name, never saw the face of any Prince but herself, never understoode what that strange out-landish word *Change* signified: how was it possible, but that her sicknes should throw abroad an universall feare, and her death an astonishment? Her Herse, as it was borne, seemed to be an Iland swimming in water, for round about it there rayned showers of teares, about her death-bed none: for her departure was so sudden and so strange, that men knew not how to weepe, because they had never bin taught to shed teares of that making."

It may be questioned whether Shakespeare, probably bred in Papist sympathies, with the sufferings of his Arden kinsfolk

stamped in memory,—the player whose sympathies with Southampton and Essex had brought him dangerously close to their rebellion, had ever shared the courtly worship of Elizabeth. She was the true daughter of Henry VIII, with a relish for coarse pleasures curiously blended with a Renaissance delight in beauty. One of her courtiers wrote to a correspondent in 1600: "Her Majesty is very well. This day she appoints to see a Frenchman do feats upon a rope, in the conduit court. Tomorrow she hath commanded the bears, the bull and the ape to be baited in the tiltyard. Upon Wednesday she will have solemn dancing." Shakespeare's judgment of the poetic appreciation of Queen Bess may perhaps be measured by the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, written, according to tradition, at the Queen's command for a play that should show Falstaff in love. Apart from the allusion to "our gracious empress" quoted above, there is no recorded word of his in her praise—if we put the doubtful *Henry VIII* out of the reckoning—other than the exquisite but not extravagant passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Such a *Prologue at Court* as Dekker prefixed to his *Old Fortunatus* Shakespeare seems to have steadfastly disdained, though probably the Admiral's men were the gainers by Dekker's flattery as against Shakespeare's silence. That silence he maintained after Elizabeth's death, taking no part in the chorus of elegiac eulogy, though rebuked by his old champion against Greene, Henry Chettle, who wrote:

> "Nor doth the silver tongued Melicert
> Drop from his honied muse one sable tear
> To mourn her death that graced his desert,
> And to his lays opened her Royal ear.
> Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
> And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, Death."

An anonymous ballad, too, called on him by name to praise the perished Majesty of England, but evoked no response. Certain holders of the Southampton theory of the sonnets hear in Sonnet CVII a note of triumph over a tyrant's death, but such an interpretation of the crucial line:

> "The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,"

is beset with difficulties.

Yet Elizabeth's successor, the grotesque, pedantic James, that "wisest fool in Christendom," with his unworthy favorites, unseemly orgies and his long-winded theological arguments, could hardly have realized a poet's ideal of royalty. Shakespeare on the stage was a better king than James on the throne. Although the friend of Southampton and of Pembroke may

have resented the Queen's austerity of morals, the gross indecencies of this first Stuart at Whitehall must have affronted Shakespeare's Hamlet sense. No wonder that the taste of life grew flat and stale upon his tongue and that the day of his "sunshine comedies" was over.

At the outset of the new reign Shakespeare may have shared the exultation of Southampton, who had been freed from the Tower by warrant of King James the month after Elizabeth's death. The Globe players, too, had their hope fulfilled. The Essex faction had been in secret correspondence with the Stuart for several years and there had been ample opportunity to urge the claims of their friends in all degrees. Twelve days after the arrival of James in London, the following licence converted the Lord Chamberlain's men into the King's players, henceforward their constant style until the closing of the theatres:

"Iames by the grace of god &c' To all Iustices Maiors Sheriffs Constables hedborowes and other our Officers and louinge Subjects greetinge knowe yee that Wee of our speciall grace certeine knowledge & mere motion haue licenced and aucthorized and by theise p'sentes doe licence and aucthorize theise our Servaunts lawrence ffletcher Willm Shakespeare Richard Burbage Augustyne Phillippes John henings henrie Condell Willm Sly Robt Armyn Richard Cowly and the rest of theire Assosiates freely to vse and exercise the Arte and faculty of playinge Comedies Tragedies histories Enterludes moralls pastoralls Stageplaies and Suche others like as theie haue alreadie studied or hereafter shall vse or studie as well for the recreation of our lovinge Subjects as for our Solace and pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them duringe our pleasure. And the said Comedies tragedies histories Enterludes Morralls Pastoralls Stageplayes and suche like to shewe and exercise publiquely to theire best Comoditie when the infection of the plague shall decrease aswell within theire nowe vsual howse called the Globe within our County of Surrey as alsoe within anie towne halls or Moute halls or other conveniente places within the libties and freedome of anie other Cittie vniversitie towne or Boroughe whatsoever within our said Realmes and domynions willinge and Commaundinge you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onelie to pmitt and suffer them herein without anie your letts and hindrances or molestacions during our said pleasure but alsoe to be aidinge and assistinge to them yf anie wronge be to them offered. And to allowe them such former Curtesies as hath bene given to men of theire place and quallitie and alsoe what further favour you shall shewe to theise our Servauntes for our sake

wee shall take kindlie at your handes In wytnesse whereof &c' witnesse our selfe at westm the nyntenth day of May."

Through all the apprehensions and excitements of these years since Shakespeare and his fellows opened at the Globe, his supreme work as a dramatist had gone triumphantly on. Other dramas than his were acted by the company, as Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humor* in 1598; but the red-letter days on the Bankside were those in which a new play by Will Shakespeare filled pit and galleries to the overflow. The *Henry IV* and *Henry V* histories, with the *Merry Wives of Windsor,* achieved such a success that they could not be shielded from the stationers. A second edition of *I Henry IV,* this time with the author's name, was published in 1598, *II Henry IV* and *Henry V* in 1600, the *Merry Wives* in 1602. A master in historical drama, Shakespeare had also attained the heights of romantic comedy. In 1600 *Much Ado about Nothing* was printed, in spite of an effort to "stay" the publication. This play, *Henry V* and *As You Like It* were entered together in the Stationers' Registers on August 4 (probably of 1600), but against the entry was written the order "to be staid,"—an order finally effective only in the case of *As You Like It.* The memorandum book of one John Manningham, then a law student at the Middle Temple, tells us that on their Twelfth Night feast, January 6, 1601, they "had a play called Twelve Night or What you Will." He considered it much like the *Comedy of Errors* and especially delighted in the gulling of Malvolio. The only comedy that has left no trace is the puzzling *All's Well that Ends Well,* apparently a revision, at about this date, of an early play that may or may not have been *Love's Labours Won.* Another puzzling play, *Troilus and Cressida,* printed 1609, seems to have been on the stage in 1602.

Turning from the well-worn pages of his Holinshed's *Chronicles* and his Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* to Plutarch's *Lives,* Shakespeare had already entered on his great series of Roman tragedies. If it is to Shakespeare's play, as seems most likely, that his early admirer, John Weever, refers in the following lines from *The Mirror of Martyrs* (Sir John Oldcastle), published in 1601, but ready for the press two years earlier, *Julius Caesar* would have been upon the stage in 1599:

> "The many-headed multitude were drawne
> By Brutus speech, that *Caesar* was ambitious,
> When eloquent *Mark Antonie* had showne
> His vertues, who but *Brutus* then was vicious?"

The quarrel between Brutus and Cassius, as well as the great Forum scene, won swift appreciation. Leonard Diggs, reviewing in 1640 the golden days of Elizabethan drama, wrote:

> "So have I seene, when Cesar would appeare,
> And on the stage at halfe-sword parley were
> *Brutus* and *Cassius;* oh how the Audience
> Were ravish'd, with what wonder they went thence!"

(For the full text of this graphic poem see Munro's edition of *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*). The poet's name had by this time become a literary asset. The keen-scented Jaggard, having laid his profane hands in some way on two of Shakespeare's manuscript sonnets, those "sugred Sonnets among his private friends" first mentioned in the *Palladis Tamia,* proceeded, in 1599, to print *The Passionate Pilgrim* (see *Poems* above) as a volume of lyrics by Shakespeare, and the shifty Pavier had the peculiar impudence to put "Written by William Shakespeare" on the title-page of the second quarto of *Sir John Oldcastle,* a play penned in refutation of Shakespeare's Falstaff by a group of well-known Henslowe authors and acted, as the quarto itself states, by the Lord Admiral's men. Henceforth this trick was often the resort of wily publishers who sometimes ventured only on the initials W. S. (See *Doubtful Plays* above.) Shakespeare himself, however, seems to have contributed, as one of "the best and chiefest of our moderne writers," the veiled lyric *Phœnix and Turtle,* with its poignant *Threnos,* to Chester's *Loves Martyr,* 1601, a volume that included, also, "diverse Poeticall Essaies" by Chapman, Jonson and Marston. Enthusiasm for the poet had now reached a point where it was matter for jest. In the *Returne from Parnassus* (Part I, 1600) the Gull is announced as talking "nothinge but pure Shakspeare and shreds of poetrie that he hath gathered at the theators," and the Gull fulfils expectation, with his sigh of "O sweet Mr. Shakspeare! I'le have his picture in my study at the courte," and his vow: "I'le worshipp sweet Mr. Shakspeare, and to honoure him will lay his Venus and Adonis under my pillowe." In this same play, a wiser character comments on Shakespeare thus:

> "Who loves not Adons love, or Lucrece rape?
> His sweeter verse contaynes hart-robbing life,
> Could but a graver subject him content,
> Without loves foolish lazy languishment."

(For exact text see *Allusion Book.*) How deep an impression those early poems had made is indicated by the fact that John Bodenham in his *Belvedere* (1600), a collection of poetical quotations, cites more than two hundred from Shakespeare and of these thirty-five are from *Venus and Adonis* and ninety-two from *Lucrece.* But the poet had already found his "graver subject." The first *Hamlet* quarto came out in 1603; the second, "enlarged to almost as much againe as it was," in 1604.

The earlier *Hamlet* speaks of the play as having been "diverse times acted by his Highnesse servants in the Cittie of London; as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where." The university towns were probably visited by the King's men in their spring and summer tour of 1603, for again a dread outbreak of the plague, like that of 1593, had befallen London. Before May was over, all the theatres were closed. So there was nothing for it but to travel, and out they rode in the sweet spring weather, ill-pleased, for, on the high authority of *Hamlet*, "their residence both in reputation and profit was better both ways." An occasional town expense account gives fragmentary note of their whereabouts. They earned twenty shillings at Shrewsbury, thirty shillings at Bath, forty shillings at Coventry. They acted at Richmond and Mortlake, just to the south-west of London, and were at Mortlake when summoned to Wilton House, the seat of the young Earl of Pembroke, where the Court, to escape the plague, was then installed. Here, on December 2, they played before the King, receiving for the performance and for their travelling expenses the liberal sum of thirty pounds.

Their Majesties kept a magnificent Christmas at Hampton Court, with thirty plays and three masques, besides banquets, runnings at the ring and other festivities. The King's men presented one fifth of the total number of plays, acting four times before the King, on December 26, 27, 28 and January 1, and twice, in the daytime, before the nine-year-old Prince Henry, on December 30 and January 1. Their old rivals, the Lord Admiral's men, now the Prince's company, appeared three times before the Prince and once before the King; and the Earl of Worcester's servants, now the Queen's men, played twice before Prince Henry and once before the King. The King's servants were promptly paid, on January 18, at the customary court rates for the plays before the King and a third less for those before the Prince. The theatres still remained closed and on February 8 King James gave Burbage thirty pounds "for the mayntenance and reliefe of himselfe and the reste of his Companye beinge prohibited to present anie playes

publiquelie in or neere London by reason of greate perill that might growe through the extraordinarie concourse and assemblie of people to a newe increase of the plague till it shall please God to settle the Cyttie in a more perfect health." This was a free gift, for the King's men received full payment, February 28, for the two plays performed before their royal patron on February 2 and 18. The ceremonial entry into London, which King James postponed as long as possible, finally took place on March 15. It was a great holiday, with the conduits of Cornhill, of Cheapside and of Fleet street running "Claret wine very plenteously." King James left the Tower at noon, eight knights bearing a canopy over him, and moved so slowly through the press, under the elaborate triumphal arches, "erected up to the Cloudes," that he was five hours in reaching Whitehall. In common with other members of the Royal Household, as perfumers, falconers, pewterers, Shakespeare and his fellows each received, at the charge of "the Master of the Great Wardrobe," four and a half yards of "red cloth, against his Majesties Royall Proceeding through the Citie of London," but it does not appear that the players took part in the procession. (See Law's *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber.*) The red cloth for a cloak, by way of royal livery, seems to have been bestowed upon them every second year.

In August the King's players, then twelve instead of nine in number, were summoned to the Queen's own palace, Somerset House, which she had put, for the time being, at the disposal of a distinguished Spaniard, the Constable of Castile, special envoy from Philip III, to serve, not as actors, but as gentlemen in waiting during the eighteen days of his sojourn. Mr. Law thus pictures the scene in whose glow and glitter Shakespeare bore his modest part:

"Landing at the stairs of Somerset House, the Constable was met by the King's body-guard, and those of his own suite and servants—a hundred or two—who, with their horses and carriages, had gone by the road. Thence he entered the palace, and passing through two ante-rooms, he came to the splendid Presence Chamber, the rich decoration of which, with old tapestries of silk and gold, and an embroidered canopy and throne emblazoned with the Royal Arms made him exclaim with admiration. Still more was he pleased to see ranged around a retinue of court officials, specially appointed to wait on him during his stay in London, 'people chosen for their good disposition and nobility, who were to serve him as pages or grooms-in-waiting, as their Majesties did not require their services themselves.'

"Among them was a group of twelve gentlemen in red doublets and hose, with cloaks of the same, embroidered in gold with the King's cypher crowned; and among these was one, more notable than the rest, who may well have been, then or later, pointed out to the Ambassador, a certain interesting individual, known to the King and all the Court, the intimate associate of several prominent nobles, one of His Majesty's 'Grooms of the Chamber,' and the foremost poet and dramatist in England, no other, in fact, than William Shakespeare."

The London theatres had re-opened that spring, the King's men at the Globe, the Prince's men at the Fortune, and the Queen's men at the old Curtain. The Prince's men were still formidable rivals. In the winter of 1604-1605 the Prince's men played eight times at Court, but the King's men twelve times, presenting in glorious succession *The Moor of Venice* (November 1), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (November 4), *Measure for Measure* (December 26), *The Comedy of Errors* (December 28), *Love's Labours Lost* (between January 1 and January 6), *Henry V* (January 7), *Every Man out of His Humour* (January 8), *Every Man in His Humour* (February 2), *The Merchant of Venice* (February 10 and, "again commanded by the King's Majesty," February 12.) In addition to these ten performances, a play entitled *The Spanish Maz* (conjectured by Fleay to be *Mucedorus*) was played on February 11, and Hemings, who had now for some years served as treasurer of the company, was paid, also, for an unnamed play acted February 3. (For extracts from *The Revells Booke*, published by Peter Cunningham in 1842 and long suspected to be a forgery, see Law's *A Shakespeare "Forgery" Re-examined*, vindicating Cunningham.) In the *Book of Accounts of the Revels* the poet "wch mayd the plaies" *Measure for Measure, Errors* and *The Merchant of Venice* is entered as "Shaxberd."

The above list shows that the King's men were loyal to Ben Jonson, whose *Sejanus* they had presented as a new play in 1603, Shakespeare taking a part. It shows, too, that *Measure for Measure* and *Othello* were now added to their repertory. There are two passages in *Measure for Measure* (I, I, 76-81; II, IV, 30-33) which sound like an attempt to excuse the King's aversion to public appearances and so date it in the Stuart reign. It has hitherto been thought that 1604 was the earliest date for *Othello*, but it now appears that Queen Elizabeth did not die too soon to see that wondrous tragedy. She paid a royal visit, July 31-August 3, to the Countess of Derby and her second husband, Sir Thomas Egerton, at their house, Harefield, in Middlesex. They lavished a sum equivalent to

over eighty thousand dollars (in present values) on the Queen's entertainment, a little out of that abundance going to "Burbidges players for Othello." (See M. A. Scott on *A Great Lady and a Great Tradition* in *The Dial,* March 1, 1913.) This drama the King's men succeeded in keeping from the stationers until 1622.

But players were still only players, as may be illustrated from the tone of Sir Walter Cope who, a trifle out of temper, wrote in 1604 about what may have been that very performance, cited above, of *Love's Labours Lost,* payment for which does not seem to have been made in the usual way:

"To the right honorable the Lorde Vycount Cranborne at the Courte.

Sir, I have sent and bene all thys morning huntyng for players juglers and Such Kinde of Creaturs but fynde them harde to fiynde—wherfore leavinge notes for them to seeke me—burbage ys come—and Sayes ther ys no new playe that the queene hath not seene—but they have Revyved an olde one—Cawled Loves Labore lost wch for wytt and mirthe he sayes will please her excedingly. And Thys ys apointed to be playd to-Morowe night at my Lord of Sowthamptons unless yow send a wrytt to Remove the Corpus Cum Causa to yor howse in strande. Burbage ys my messenger Ready attendynge yor pleasure.

Yours most humbly
Walter Cope.

From your Library."

These crowded years were bringing Shakespeare vexations as well as successes. The popularity of the boys' companies was, as we know from *Hamlet,* an annoyance to him, and he would hardly have welcomed, in 1605, the re-appearance of the Children of the Chapel as the Queen's Revels Children. By way of consolation, there were the merry meetings at the Mermaid Tavern, where, says *Fuller* in his *Worthies* (for which he was gathering material in 1643): "Many were the *wit-combates* betwixt him and *Ben Johnson;* which two I behold like a *Spanish great Gallion* and an *English man of war;* Master Johnson (like the former) was built far higher in Learning; *Solid,* but *Slow,* in his performances. *Shakespear,* with the *English man of War,* lesser in *bulk,* but lighter in *sailing,* could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his Wit and Invention."

In the autumn of 1605 the King's players took the road again. Records have been found of performances by them in Oxford and in Barnstable. They must have missed as they

journeyed one of their best comrades, Augustine Phillips, musician as well as actor, who had died in May. His will remembered them affectionately: "Item, I give and bequeathe to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in gould; to my fellowe, Henry Condell, one other thirty shillings in gould; to my servaunte, Christopher Beeston, thirty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Lawrence Fletcher, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellow, Robert Armyne, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellow, Alexander Cook, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Nicholas Tooley, twenty shillings in gould."

During the winter of 1605-1606 the King's men gave ten plays, including *Mucedorus,* at Court, as against six given by their keen competitors, the Prince's men. This company had, apparently, lost "Ned Alleyn," the only tragedian in London who could hold his own against Burbage. Alleyn was now given over, like his father-in-law, Henslowe, to mere money-making. They controlled both the Rose and the Fortune. As Master of the King's Games of Bears, Bulls and Dogs, Alleyn, who had played Faustus, was now busy in arranging and supervising bear-baitings, where poor Bruin usurped the tragic rôle.

The plague drove the companies out into the provinces that summer. The King's men appeared at Marlborough and Oxford. They probably were at Cambridge, too, for Saffron-Walden, a little town about fifteen miles from that university city, invested six shillings eightpence in Shakespeare and his fellows. Leicester, more bountiful, gave them forty shillings, although right on their heels was following a troop of performing baboons. They were in Kent in September. Maidstone, which bestowed only twenty shillings upon the Prince's men, gave them forty-five, but the five extra shillings were perhaps for "the Trompetters." Dover, that sent the Queen's men on their way with twenty shillings, spent forty on these twice-welcome visitors. It would seem that Shakespeare's imagination, sombre and terrible now, was brooding the vast tragedy of *King Lear* as he rode by hill and heath that summer. Here at Dover we know that he listened to the "murmuring surge," watched the sampire gatherers at their "dreadful trade" and stood, in spirit if not in fact, upon "the crown o' the cliff." *Lear* was presented at Whitehall December 26 and was in print by 1608. We know the name of but one other of the nine plays acted at Court that Christmas by the King's men, as against six by the Prince's men,—*The Divil's Charter, a Tragedie containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the Sixt,* by Barnabe Barnes the lyrist.

Two events of the year 1606 would have had their special significance for Shakespeare. One was the act of Parliament, passed in May, "for the preventing and avoiding of the great abuse of the Holy Name of God in stage playes, Interludes, Maygames, Shows and such like." Ten pounds was the penalty fixed for each offense, and the King's men, like the other companies, must needs go over their manuscripts, crossing out all dangerous expletives and invocations and supplying pagan substitutes. Thus it comes about that the Puritan Malvolio, for instance, renders thanks to Jove. The other event was the death, in November, of Lyly, the influence of whose comedies on the early work of Shakespeare had been hardly less than that of Marlowe's tragedies. The stage had been swiftly cleared of that bright young group, immortal in memory, who taught the country lad his art. Greene had gone in 1592, Marlowe in 1593, Kyd in 1594, Peele in 1596 or 7, Spenser in 1599, Nash at the turn of the century. Now there was only Lodge left, yet the blithe Tom Lodge who gave Shakespeare his Rosalind was gone, too, for Lodge had fled, in 1596, from the quicksands of that London Bohemia, saving himself alive by turning dull and respectable,—"Mr. Thomas Lodge, Doctor in Physicke" and translator of Josephus. What would the scholar-poets have said to Kemp's confident assertion in *The Returne from Parnassus?*—"Few of the university pen plaies well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Prosepina & Juppiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I, and Ben Jonson too."

The plague, that had been barely held at bay through the winter months, broke out with renewed virulence in the summer of 1607, and again the players had to travel. The King's men, who now had Jonson's *Volpone* in their stock, played at Oxford and probably at Cambridge, and once more they rode through the heather of Devonshire, Raleigh's Devonshire, and played at Barnstable. The new tragedy that Shakespeare brought back to the Bankside and the Court may have been *Antony and Cleopatra,* entered in the Stationers' Registers May 20, 1608, but not suffered to go to press. On the same date was entered *Pericles* (published in 1609) in which Shakespeare's part (acts III-V, exclusive of the Gower prologues, dumb-show and perhaps the prose scenes) resounds with the great voices of the sea.

Home interests must have claimed an unusual share of the poet's attention this year. Ever since his purchase of New Place in 1597, he had been quietly accumulating considerable property in Stratford and vicinity, gradually acquiring a landed

estate worthy of a Warwickshire gentleman. His father had died in 1601, and his brother Gilbert and, sometimes, his cousin Thomas Greene, seem to have acted as Shakespeare's representatives and business agents in the county. (For full details see Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines,* and for a more compact statement Lee's *Life,* chapter XII, though Lee's estimate of the amount and sources of Shakespeare's income should be corrected by Professor Wallace's articles in the *Century,* August-September, 1910.) Shakespeare's elder daughter, Susanna, "witty above her sexe," was married that summer, on June 5, to Dr. John Hall, a rising physician in Stratford. The King's men gave thirteen plays in the Christmas revels at Court, but for Shakespeare it was a sorrowful Yule. He probably played with his fellows on December 26, 27, 28; on December 30 there was buried in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, "with a forenoon knell of the great bell," the poet's youngest brother, "Edmund Shakespeare, a player." No cost was spared in paying honor to this man of twenty-seven, of whom we otherwise know as little as we would have known of Shakespeare himself, had he died at the same age. This youth, only three years older than Susanna, a child with Shakespeare's own children when the young fortune-seeker left home, may have taken in the bereaved fatherhood of the poet the place of a son. The only one of all the Warwickshire kin to follow his great brother to London, Edmund may have had rare parts and shown high promise. But the King's player must turn away from that untimely grave and take up his heavy duty of mirth-making at the Court. The company gave a play on January second, two on the sixth, one on the seventh, one on the ninth, two on the seventeenth, one on the twenty-sixth, one on February second and one on February sixth. It would have been a busy season at the Globe, too, for this was the winter of The Great Frost, when the Thames was frozen over,—"that body of fresh waters all covered over with ice." On that "very pavement of glass," which showed "like grey marble roughly hewn out," the wondering Londoners crossed over to the Bankside, while the wherries of the watermen lay idle. The plague was held in check till midsummer, when it suddenly leapt upon the city like a beast of prey, and the theatres had to close. The King's players performed at Marlborough that late summer or early autumn; on October twenty-ninth, at Coventry. Shakespeare had been at Stratford earlier in the month, for on the sixteenth he stood at the old font in Holy Trinity as godfather to a certain little William, son of Henry Walker, mercer and alderman. He would hardly have failed to be at Stratford in the preceding month, also, seeking the beautiful riverside church

on a sadder errand, for again it was his to know "how hard true sorrow hits." For the widowed mother had borne her last grief in the death, out of her reach in London, of her youngest son. She was buried on the ninth of September, seven years after the neighbors had borne her husband to his grave.

The pestilence was so slow in subsiding that the theatres would hardly have re-opened before December, when the eagerness of the public, in addition to the demands of the Court, where the King's men presented twelve plays that season, must have meant constant excitement and exertion. The Prince's company had lost ground, performing only four plays the preceding Christmas and this year only three, but the Queen's men, who had now provided themselves with a new theatre, the Red Bull, located, like the Fortune, north of the city walls, were pushing forward into closer rivalry. Dekker was writing for them, and Webster, whose *White Devil* it was their glory to produce, while *The Four Ages* of Heywood, their own actor-playwright, pleased the populace. Not to be outdone, the Burbage brothers, who had hitherto allowed the Children of the Chapel, now known as the Children of the Queen's Revels, to occupy the Blackfriars theatre, installed the King's players there. The advantage of having two theatres at their command lay largely in the fact that while the open Globe was pleasanter for afternoon performances in the sunshiny half of the year, the Blackfriars, essentially a large hall within a house, admitted of winter performances by candlelight. The Blackfriars, known as a private theatre, had higher rates for admission and allowed the gallants to occupy stools on the stage,—an insolent practice that, whenever attempted in the Globe or the other public theatres, called forth howls of "Fool! fool!" from the pit. Several new men, Field, Underwood, Ostler, brilliant young actors who had grown up in the company known as the Children of the Queen's Revels, were now, or a little later, taken over by the King's players to fill up their ranks, from which the old Lord Chamberlain's men were falling out. William Sly, the Verges to Kemp's Dogberry, had died in August of the preceding year. The popularity of the boy actors, "little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't," had always displeased Shakespeare, and at this point the King's men put an end to one of these troublesome companies, the Children of Paul's, by covenanting to pay their choirmaster twenty pounds a year on condition that the children cease to act. (See Wallace's *Evolution of the English Drama,* pp. 173-4.) But the Children of the Queen's Revels re-organized and, braving the

King's players, presently established themselves on another Crown precinct within the walls of London, at their new theatre of Whitefriars. The earlier company had acted several of the comedies of Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels, The Poetaster, The Silent Woman,* as well as *Eastward Ho,* and Field, the playwright as well as "the Burbage" among these new actors that had come to the King's players, was "sealed of the tribe of Ben." Jonson was in his glory now, contriving with Inigo Jones those gorgeous masques that delighted the Stuart court. The great twin brethren of English drama, Beaumont and Fletcher, made much of him. Beaumont and Jonson, especially, heaped poetic praises upon each other, while more and more Shakespeare withdraws into his own majestic silence,—a silence that, nevertheless, was broken to the heart this year by the unauthorized publication of his Sonnets. From the fact that his cousin, Thomas Greene, was occupying New Place, it is certain that the poet, however world-weary, had not yet taken up his residence at Stratford, though there was a new attraction there in the small person of Elizabeth Hall, born in February. The King's men were on tour in the spring, but we hear of them only in the south-east of England, at Ipswich (May 9), Hythe (May 16), and New Romney (May 17), yet a new grandfather might have managed to make Stratford lie in his path.

There is no record of any plays or masques at Court to celebrate the Christmas of 1609. The London theatres were apparently open until the middle of July and then closed by the plague until early in December. During the interval the King's men travelled somewhat widely, as their playing is recorded at Dover, Oxford and Shrewsbury. It is in this year we find the first certain mention of *Macbeth,* a drama that was not published until the Folio and then, apparently, in a late stage version, cut for acting and with Middleton (?) interpolations. This Scotch tragedy would seem to date earlier than 1610, perhaps in 1606. In common with *Measure for Measure,* it relates itself to the new king and the new dynasty. James, full of Celtic superstitions, was a special believer in demonology,—a taste to which we may owe what Dr. Forman called the "3 women feiries or Nimphes." That the incorruptible Banquo should be represented as the ancestor of King James was, with the allusion to the "twofold balls and treble scepters," as far as Shakespeare could bring himself to go in the way of courtly compliment. *Coriolanus,* as well as *Macbeth,* is without authentic evidence of date; and so, also, is *Timon of Athens,* an incomplete tragedy of the master's afterwards patched and pieced out by a bungling hand that

confused and nearly spoiled the pattern. (See Wright's *The Authorship of Timon of Athens.*)

The Christmas and Shrovetide revels at Court, in 1610-11, were made merrier by no less than fifteen plays from the King's company. The likelihood is that one of these was *The Winter's Tale,* which Dr. Forman tells us was presented at the Globe on May 15, 1611, and another, *Cymbeline.* This divine drama he saw and noted, too, but failed to date the note, which his death in September of that year nevertheless dates, in part, for him. (The earliest date his note-book gives is April 20, 1610.) The King's men had played at Shrewsbury for two successive summers and it may well have been that there, on the Welsh border, the spirit of the mountains passed into *Cymbeline. The Winter's Tale,* on the other hand, has the sea in it, and such a homely sheep-shearing feast as the poet may have smiled upon in his own Warwickshire.

If we may trust the *Booke of the Revells,* as it now appears that we may: "Hallomas nyght was presented att Whitehall before ye Kinges Matie a play called The Tempest," by the King's players. From this October 30 through the following April 26 they had performed twenty-two plays at Court; six before the King; twelve before Prince Henry and the Duke of York (Charles I who was to be); one before the Lady Elizabeth and her elder brother, Prince Henry; two before the Lady Elizabeth and her younger brother, the Duke of York; and one before Prince Henry. Of these plays only four, in addition to *The Tempest,* are named in the record. Before his Majesty was acted, on November 5, *The Winter's Tale;* on December 6, *A King and No King,* by Beaumont and Fletcher. On the last day of the year, *The Twins' Tragedy,* by the poet Richard Niccols, was acted before the royal boys, who saw on February 23 *The Nobleman,* the lost play of that powerful dramatist, Cyril Tourneur. In addition to all this, the King's men seem to have united with the Queen's men in producing, on January 12 and 13, two of Heywood's classic dramas, *The Silver Age* and *Lucrece.* This would be an unusual procedure for the King's company, but *The Silver Age* has thirty-three distinct characters besides "2 Captaines, 6 Centaures, Servingmen, Swaines, Theban Ladies, The seven Planets, Furies," and Heywood states, in his prefatory address to *The Iron Age,* that the two parts of this Trojan play had been often "Publickely Acted by two Companies, upon one Stage at once." The Queen's men gave four more plays at Court this Christmastide, but the death in the following summer of their popular fool, Thomas Greene, no mean rival to

"honest gamesome Robin Armin," who had taken Kemp's place as comedian with the King's men, dashed their fortunes. Thenceforward the supremacy of Shakespeare's company stood unchallenged to the end.

It seems probable that Shakespeare retired from the stage in this spring of 1612,—probable that *The Tempest,* in which he may have taken the part of Prospero, was his farewell. For some five and twenty years he had been living at a tremendous rate. The brain that fashioned *Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, Othello,* had toiled terribly. The heart from whose storm-torn depths foamed up the sonnets might well crave rest. What more had London to give him? His ears were weary with the applause of the playhouse and the compliments of the Court. And what more had he to give? He had entertained the Bankside for his hour. New dramatists and new dramas were already pressing for his place. He would be at peace for a little before the end. It could not matter. A universe that tossed away a Marlowe and let a Spenser die of want did not set store by poets. Besides, all life was poetry. Through rudest words thrilled the eternal music. Stratford was as great a place as London, now that he had come to understand. It was time that he went home.

The silence that deepens about Shakespeare's latest years on earth is hardly stirred by the occasional mention of a contemporary. Webster, who might have been expected to know genius when he touched it, expresses, in the preface to *The White Divel,* published in 1612, his "good opinion of other mens worthy labours; especially of that full and haightened stile of Maister *Jonson* the no less worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Maister *Beaumont,* & Maister *Fletcher,* and lastly (without wrong last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of M. *Shake-speare,* M. *Dekker,* & M. *Heywood.*" In this same year Heywood, protesting against liberties taken with verses of his own in a later edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim,* says that Shakespeare was displeased with the unwarranted use of his name upon the title-page of that stolen anthology,—"much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknown to him), presumed to make so bold with his name."

It is not clear that Shakespeare gave up, now or later, his lodgings in London. He was in the city May 17, 1612, when he testified in court as a witness in behalf of Stephen Bellott, a young Frenchman who was at odds with his French father-in-law, Christopher Mountjoy. It was shown that Mountjoy, a maker of wigs and headdresses, resident in the north of London, at the corner of Silver and Muggle (Monkwell)

Streets, had in 1598 taken Bellott as a prentice. The shop was part of the house—according to custom, the ground floor front —and, probably over it, Shakespeare had a chamber or chambers. His special aversion to false hair was, under the circumstances, natural enough. As he passed in and out he would often have seen the lad Stephen working with Mary, the only child of the Mountjoys, over "beauty's dead fleece," "the right of sepulchres." At the end of the six years of apprenticeship, young Bellott seemed to the parents a fit husband for Mary and, in 1604, Madame Mountjoy asked her lodger to let Bellott know that a substantial dower would go with the bride. The poet willingly rendered the family this friendly service and the marriage took place in November of that year. For a while the young couple had a room not far away, in the house, or inn, of George Wilkins (a playwright some twelve years younger than Shakespeare and his probable collaborator in *Pericles*), but at the time when quarrels over the dower and kindred matters brought them into court, the Bellotts were living again with Mountjoy, who had still a "Sojourner" in his house. Among the several witnesses summoned was "William Shakespeare of Stratford upon Aven in the Countye of Warwicke gentleman," whose signed deposition, couched in the dry language of courts, implies that he had been lodging with the Mountjoys during the period of Bellott's apprenticeship (1598-1604) and does not suggest that he had since changed his quarters. He was in a convenient neighborhood there, with his theatrical friends close by. At a second hearing of the case, in midsummer, Shakespeare, though often quoted, was not present. (For all this see Professor Wallace's article, *New Shakespeare Discoveries,* in Harper's Monthly Magazine, March, 1910.) Shakespeare was in London in the spring of the following year, as is known by his signature to the purchase-deed of a house in the Blackfriars precinct (March 10, 1613),—a house that he leased the next day to one John Robinson. In November of 1614 Shakespeare was in London and was called upon there by his cousin, Thomas Greene, town-clerk of Stratford, who writes in his diary: "17 Nov., my cosen Shakespeare comying yesterday to towne, I went to see him how he did." The poet was still in London late in December. One of Professor Wallace's happy discoveries has shown that he was there again in the spring of 1615, joining with six other householders in Blackfriars in a suit to recover from a certain Matthew Bacon a collection of deeds relating to their titles. The researches of Professor Wallace have also established the fact that Shakespeare owned one fourteenth of the Globe and one seventh of the Blackfriars, but as these theatre shares were

not bequeathed in his will, he must have disposed of them at some date before January, 1616, when the will was drafted.

How far Shakespeare bore a part in the fortunes of his company, how far he retained an interest in the affairs of Court and City during the last four years of his life, are questions beyond our knowledge. The stormy autumn of 1612 brought grief to England in the death of Prince Henry, that youth of eighteen on whose rich promise the nation's hope was set. The poets rushed to press with emulous elegies,—Webster, Chapman, Tourneur, Heywood and many another, but Shakespeare was silent. The winter mourning of the Court was transformed to springtide revel for the wedding of England's only princess, the sixteen-year-old Lady Elizabeth, to her young German bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, champion of the Protestant faith. Now marriage odes crowded the pages of the Stationers' Registers, but Shakespeare published no Epithalamium. Yet among the plays presented before the Lady Elizabeth and Prince Palatine was *The Tempest,* which has such perfect touches of tenderness and beauty appropriate to the loss of Prince Henry, as well as to the youthful bridal, that one would like to believe that as Shakespeare began, perhaps, his enchanting series of romantic dramas with *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* revised for some noble wedding, so he closed it with this last magic vision of love and life, revised for royal nuptials. The fourteeen plays included five more by Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing, The Winter's Tale, "Sir John Falstaff," "The Moor of Venice,"* and *"Caesar's Tragedy,"* and in a second group of six plays acted before King James were *"Hotspur," "Benedicite and Bettris"* and *Cardenna.* This last was performed again on June 8 before the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, and is thought to be identical with *The History of Cardenio* entered on the Stationers' Registers September 9, 1653, as by Fletcher and Shakespeare. (On the tantalizing question as to whether this play may be imbedded in Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood, or the Distrest Lovers* see Mr. Bradford's discussion in *Modern Language Notes,* February, 1910). A like partnership was claimed for *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* first printed in 1634, a romantic drama of a few great scenes and highly poetic passages, degraded by the Fletcher intermixture.

On June 29, 1613, the Globe caught fire, while the King's men were acting "a new play called All Is True, representing some principal pieces of the Raign of Henry V. ** Now, King Henry making a masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain canons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on

the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran around like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that vertuous fabrique; wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks." (Letter of Sir Henry Wotten, July 2, 1613.) This destruction of the famous playhouse was noted in several private letters of the time and also in a burlesque lament (for which see Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines,* II, 310-11.) Not one of these accounts mentions Shakespeare as present, though we learn how Burbage ran out and how

> "with swolne eyes, like druncken Flemminges,
> Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges,"

and how the people prayed for the fool and Henry Condell. Although this reference to the fool, taken in connection with the prologue to the extant *Henry VIII,* must give us pause, yet still the likelihood is that the audience were anxious about the Globe comedian, Armin, just as they were about their other favorite, Condell, and that the play in process was no other than the puzzling *Henry VIII* printed in the First Folio, apparently another instance of a great dramatic conception only half executed by its creator and left to be blurred and broken by the uncomprehending interference of Fletcher, who until his death in 1625 was Shakespeare's successor as chief dramatist to the King's company. In the spring of 1614 the Globe was "new builded in farre fairer maner than before," but it was not Shakespeare's Globe, "the glory of the Bank."

There is one more scrap of information linking the last years of Shakespeare to his London life. From an entry in the Belvoir Household Book it appears that on March 31, 1613, the steward of the Earl of Rutland paid forty-shillings "to Mr. Shakespeare in gold about my Lordes Impreso" and the same sum to "Richard Burbage for paynting and making yt in gold," —more than the amount that even the King's players were accustomed to receive for a performance in the provinces. This Earl of Rutland, newly come to the title, was a friend of Southampton and had been implicated, with his two brothers, in the Essex rebellion. He apparently had a fancy for what was then much in vogue,—a symbolic device illustrated by a motto. He naturally applied to Shakespeare, as the cleverest man he knew, for the design, and commissioned Burbage, who apparently was something of a goldsmith as well as a painter, to fashion and emblazon it. The earl was impartial in his

reward of the labor of head and hand.

If little is heard of Shakespeare in London during these closing years of his life, even less echo of him comes from Stratford. His brother Richard died in February of 1613, and was buried ten days before the wedding of the Lady Elizabeth. If Shakespeare still retained any active connection with the King's players, who were then busily making ready for their twenty festal performances, he could hardly have been free to follow this brother to the grave. A malicious slander buzzed for a moment about his daughter Susanna, that "good Mistress Hall" whom her epitaph declared "wise to salvation," but who might better have been worse and taken care, vanity though they were, of her dead father's books and manuscripts. There were local land-questions that would interest the owner of one hundred and twenty-seven acres. There was trouble about the tithes. In the spring of 1614, when Shakespeare may or may not have been at home, an itinerant preacher, stopping at New Place, was there presented by the Corporation with one quart of claret wine and another of sack. The town had grown Puritan, but undoubtedly little Elizabeth Hall and her grandfather could still find fairies in the Forest of Arden.

The spring of 1616 was a winter to English poetry. Beaumont died in March and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Shakespeare died in April and, because he was a tithe-owner, was admitted to a grave in the chancel of Holy Trinity. He had lived fifty-two years and has been living ever since.

His will carefully provided for the integrity of his estate, of which his elder daughter, in default of a son, was heir. For his daughter Judith, recently married, for his sister Joan, still more recently widowed, and for his granddaughter he made adequate provision. He remembered the poor of Stratford, several of his neighbors, his godson William Walker, and his fellows, Hemings, Burbage and Condell, now, apparently, the only comrades left to him from the old Lord Chamberlain's company.

Richard Burbage died three years later, in the spring of 1619. He, too, had accumulated a fortune. In 1623 John Hemings, better at finance than acting and best at loyalty, and Henry Condell, who had lived on to play the Cardinal in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, published Shakespeare's plays in the First Folio "without ambition either of selfe-profit or fame, only to keepe the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare."

(The fullest biographer of Shakespeare is Halliwell-Phillipps; the most authoritative to-day is Sir Sidney Lee. Yet the

statements even of the latter need to be scrutinized in the light of the keen study that has been put of late upon the theatrical conditions of the Tudor and Stuart reigns. Fleay blazed scores of paths; his *Chronicle History of the London Stage* is still indispensable. A more cautious scholar is Mr. Greg, whose edition of *Henslowe's Diary* is a final recourse for the limited time it covers. Mr. Murray's *English Dramatic Companies* brings new facts to bear, and Mr. Law's probing investigations, as well as Professor Wallace's remarkable discoveries, correct and amplify the accepted story of Shakespeare's life. Especially trustworthy is Miss Gildersleeve's monograph, with bibliography, on *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama.*)

ON MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

By

WILLIAM BASSE

Renowned Spenser lye a-thought more nye
To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumond lye
A little neerer Spenser, to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold, fowerfold Tombe.
To lodge all fowre in one bed make a shift
Vntill Doomesdaye, for hardly will a fift
Betwixt ys day and yt by Fate be slayne,
For whom your Curtaines may be drawn againe.
If your precedency in death doth barre
A fourth place in your sacred sepulcher,
Vnder this carued marble of thine owne,
Sleepe, rare Tragoedian, Shakespeare, sleep alone;
Thy unmolested peace, vnshared Caue,
Possesse as Lord, not Tenant, of thy Graue,
That vnto us & others it may be
Honor hereafter to be layde by thee.