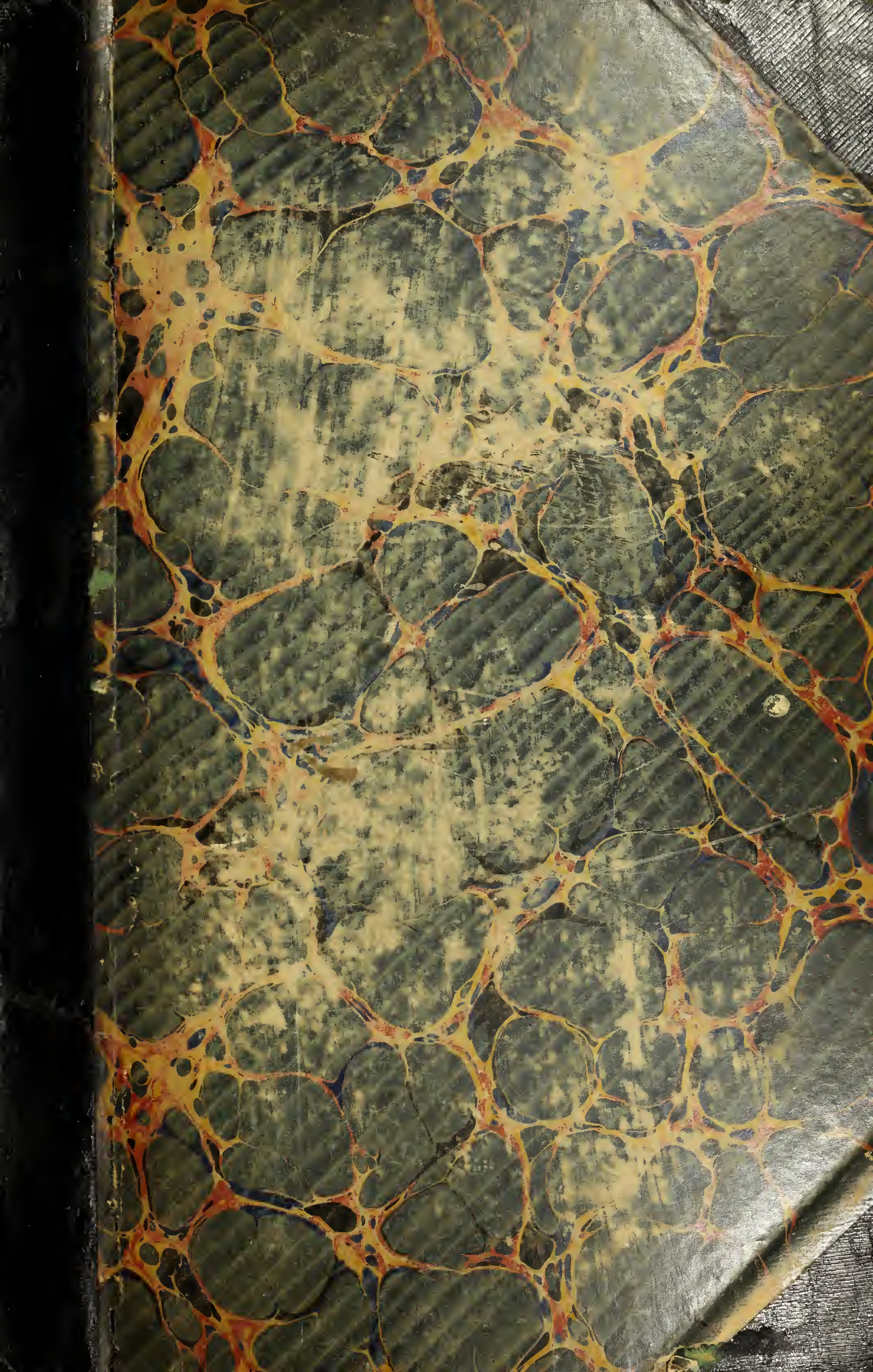

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THE WORKS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,

WITH A

New Collation of the early Editions,

ALL THE

ORIGINAL NOVELS AND TALES ON WHICH THE PLAYS ARE FOUNDED;
COPIOUS ARCHÆOLOGICAL ILLUSTRATIONS TO EACH PLAY;
AND A LIFE OF THE POET:

BY

JAMES O. HALLIWELL, ESQ. F.R.S.

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY; THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE; THE NEWCASTLE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY; THE ASHMOLEAN SOCIETY, AND OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE; FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES OF SCOTLAND, POICTIERS, PICARDIE, AND CAEN (ACADEMIE DES SCIENCES), AND OF THE COMITÉ DES ARTS ET MONUMENTS, ETC.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS BY AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

F. W. FAIRHOLT, ESQ., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF "COSTUME IN ENGLAND", ETC.

THE preparation of this work has occupied my earnest attention for nearly twelve years; my object being to bring together, from the stores of Elizabethan literature, art, or science, whatever really tends to illustrate the pages of the great poet of the world, in the full conviction there yet remains room for one comprehensive edition which shall answer the requirements of the student and zealous inquirer. Granting that the general spirit of Shakespeare may be appreciated without the assistance of lengthened commentary, it cannot be denied there is much which is obscure to the modern reader,—numerous allusions to the literature, manners, and phraseology of the times, which require explanation and careful discussion.

This is a labour which has never yet been attempted on a large scale. In the preface to the translation of Karl Simrock's *Remarks*, 8vo, 1850, I have shown there are *upwards of two thousand obsolete words and phrases in Shakespeare left without any explanation in the editions of Mr. Knight and Mr. Collier.* Here is, undoubtedly, a field of criticism, which deserves the labour of the student; and without attempting to supply all these deficiencies, it may still be allowed me, without presumption, to promise an extensive advance on what has been accomplished by my predecessors.

Each play will be accompanied by every kind of useful literary and antiquarian illustration, copious philological notes, complete copies of all novels, tales, or dramas on which it is founded, entire impressions of the first sketches, and all documents of a really illustrative character. Some of these will be novelties to the student; others will be collected from a variety of sources not readily accessible, being dispersed through a number of volumes, some of great rarity; while the reprints of ancient tracts already well known to Shaksperian readers, the insertion of which is of course a matter of absolute necessity in a monograph design, will be carefully re-collated with the originals. In fact, no pains will be spared to render this edition the most complete in every respect that has yet been produced; superseding entirely the Variorum edition of 1821, with the addition of all Shakespearian discoveries of any

importance which have been made since that period. The work will be copiously illustrated by facsimiles and woodcuts, the direction of which has been undertaken by Mr. Fairholt, who has also most kindly promised to assist me in the selection. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the importance of such assistance, and the valuable aid to be expected from Mr. Fairholt's extensive reading in Elizabethan literature and intimate acquaintance with every department of ancient art.

The engravings throughout will be rigidly restricted to subjects which really elucidate the text, giving representations of articles mentioned by Shakespeare, or to which he may refer, however slightly, thus serving as pictorial notes to his works. In the case of the historic plays, monumental effigies of the principal characters, personal reliques, or antique views of places alluded to, will be admissible: but in no case will truthfulness be sacrificed, or a false taste for meretricious picture-making allowed. The engravings will be rigid facsimiles of the original subjects in all cases, and will depend on their own intrinsic merit as Shaksperian illustrations. There is much in public and private museums which has never yet been used in this way, and which it will be our care to investigate, searching far and wide for objects which may secure to our readers a correct idea of their form and character, as they were present to the mind of the great dramatist. For such purposes, we may observe we have already full access to Lord Londesborough's collection, and have availed ourselves of others at home and abroad.

It is difficult to enter at length into a prospective account of the literary department of the work, without some risk of misleading the reader. This much, however, I may safely be allowed to promise, that the value of this edition will mainly depend on its antiquarian notes and collections of facts. Whatever is to be found in contemporary and early technical works, bearing on technical allusions,—whatever real illustrations can be collected from the numerous Elizabethan tracts which exhibit popular life and manners as they are delineated by Shakespeare,—wherever a long course of reading will assist in developing the generally hidden meaning of the colloquial phraseology used by the poet,—there will the chief labour be bestowed. In short, from every source of archæological matter-of-fact commentary, it will be my endeavour to collect that which shall be really useful to those who desire to have the best information on the many obsolete subjects alluded to by the poet. All adverse criticism on the labours of others will be carefully avoided, and, where the true interpretation is still a matter of dispute, the best opinions will be honestly reproduced and commented upon, in the hope of the discovery of Truth, not in the spirit of controversy.

The size of the first folio, after much consideration, has been adopted, not only because it is the most convenient folio form (barely measuring fourteen inches by nine), and suits the size of the facsimiles, most of which would otherwise have to be folded, but the magnitude of the undertaking precludes any other, were it intended to complete it in any reasonable number of volumes. As it is, it must occupy at least twenty volumes; *but should an additional volume be required, it will be presented to the original subscribers.*

We now proceed to speak of the mode of circulation; and in anxiously considering this subject, have been careful to bear in mind the obligations due to the original subscribers of so expensive a work, as well as the necessity of the large expenditure being reimbursed, to say nothing of an adequate return for the literary labour,—the attainment of which is more than problematical, as it would be incompatible with any arrangement which secured the permanency of a high price. Now, it is a well-known fact, that no literary or artistic work maintains its original value unless the impression is strictly limited; and it is proposed to adopt this course on the present occasion. The Editor, therefore, pledges himself to limit the number of copies to *one hundred and fifty*, under the following conditions:—

1. The impression of this edition of Shakespeare will be most strictly limited to one hundred and fifty copies, and each copy will have the printer's autograph certificate that that limit has been preserved.

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The original subscription price of each volume (a thick folio, copiously illustrated) will be *Two Guineas*, an estimate which will be at once acknowledged moderate by those who are at all acquainted with the cost of printing and engraving; and bearing in mind the above restrictions, and the expenditure requisite for such a work, the

Editor is confident that price will not only be retained, but, in all probability, greatly raised within a few years. The whole will be completed (D.V.) in six years; so that for a comparatively small annual expenditure (about six guineas) during that period, the subscriber will possess the most complete monograph edition of the works of the greatest poet of all ages. Nor can it be anticipated he will be purchasing what is likely to fall in value. He will possess a work that can never come into the market, but, in its pecuniary relations, will stand somewhat in the position of a proof engraving, only to be possessed by a very limited number.

The Editor has been anxious thus to state at some length the considerations which have urged him to limit the impression of the work so strictly; for however willing, on many accounts, to seek a more extensive circulation, he could not bring himself personally to ask for support without taking every means to ensure, in their fullest extent, the interests of those who are inclined to encourage an arduous undertaking of this kind. The risk, moreover, was too great to venture the publication in the ordinary way, and he was, therefore, compelled either to abandon the hope of printing his materials, or to appeal to the select few likely to understand the merits of the design.

To those few, the Editor hopes he may, without arrogance, avow the design of offering the most copious edition of Shakespeare ever printed, and one of the most important series of volumes that could be placed in an English library.

It is due to the curators and possessors of the chief Shakespearian collections to acknowledge, with gratitude, the readiness with which they have given or promised every facility for the purposes of this undertaking; and, in addition to the sources accessible to my predecessors, the literary treasures of Mr. Daniel, who, it is well known, possesses the finest private collection of early quarto Shakespeares in the world, will be available for the first time in the preparation of the present edition. The Earl of Ellesmere has kindly allowed me to insert a fac-simile of the celebrated early letter mentioning Shakespeare, one of the most curious and important memorials of the poet known to exist, now in his lordship's possession; and His Grace the Duke of Newcastle not only freely permitted the use of the curious library at Clumber, but insisted upon my taking home with me, for more careful examination, the valuable copy of the first folio preserved in that collection. These great advantages, it is unnecessary to observe, result more from appreciation of the design of the work than from personal considerations; but they are yet gratifying evidences that the labours of so many years have not been lavished on an unworthy project. The completeness, moreover, of my own library, in the department of *Shakespeariana*, renders me to some extent independent of other repositories, having purchased, for several years, every work on the subject which has occurred for sale, which was not procurable in public libraries. The expense hence incurred would appear unreasonable to those who were not conversant with the prices realized for dramatic rarities; two tracts alone having cost me upwards of £100, and several others averaging very large prices; a circumstance only alluded to for the purpose of remarking that no exertions have been spared in the collection of my materials.

In conclusion, I am sanguine this long-cherished design should not, will not, fail for want of appreciation. The works of Shakespeare, the greatest of all uninspired authors, should surely be surrounded, in one edition at least, by the reading of the student, and the pencil of the archæological draughtsman. In one edition, let every source of useful illustration be explored and rendered accessible to the student and the future editor; and even, if there be something redundant, much will remain suggestive of familiar explanations of obscurities and more popular uses.

All communications or suggestions respecting this work should be addressed to Mr. Halliwell, Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill, Surrey.

Subscribers will oblige by giving their names in the form in which they should appear in the list to be affixed *to each volume.*

As the demand for this edition will, no doubt, greatly exceed the very narrow limits assigned to the impression, *the Editor reserves to himself the absolute right of selection in all cases, and it is especially his desire to give a preference to permanent libraries,* until the completion of the first volume, when the subscription list will be finally arranged. It is particularly requested that all applications from libraries be forwarded without delay, as the list of subscribers is rapidly increasing.

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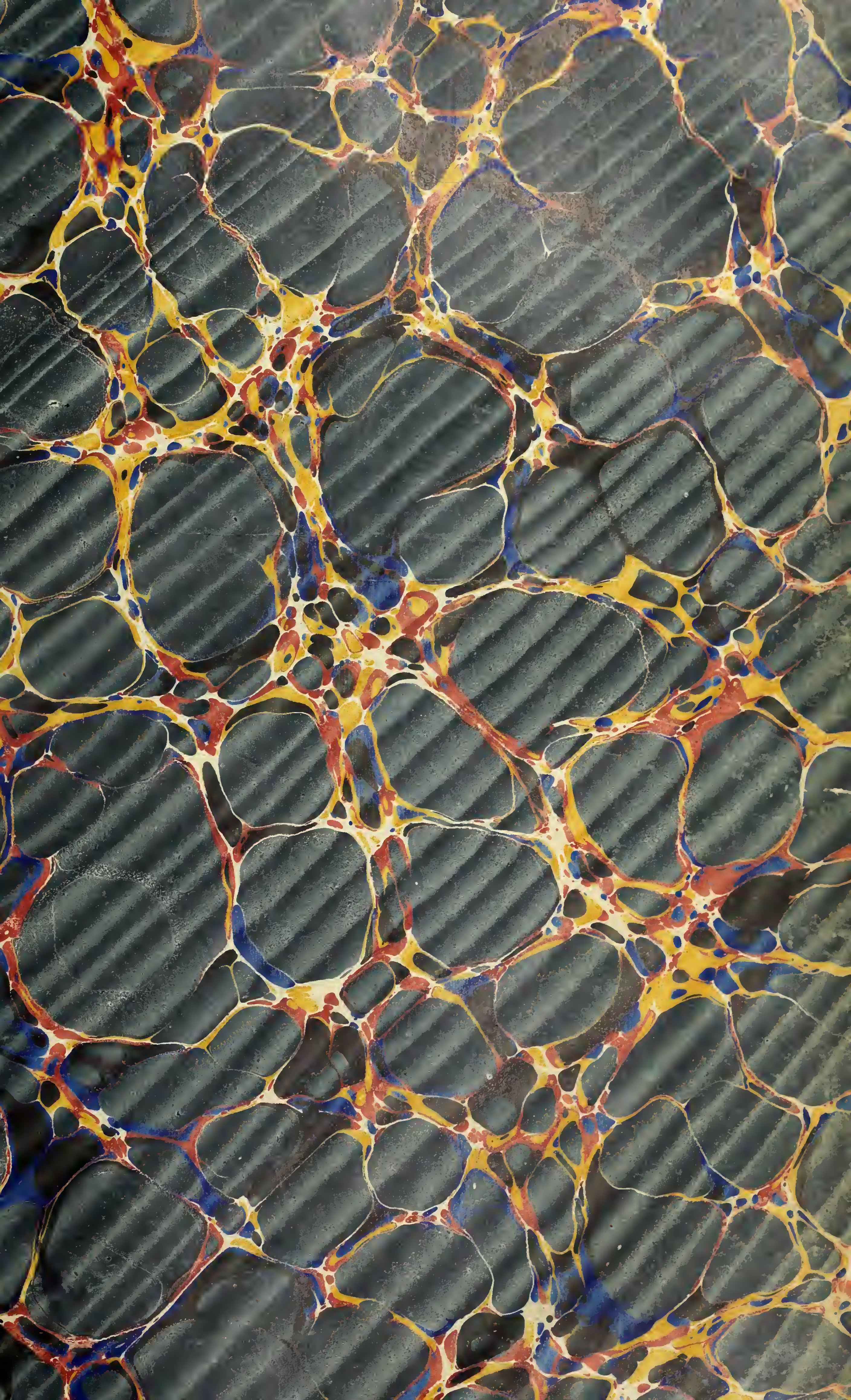

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OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

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We hereby certify that the impression of the present edition of Shakespeare has been strictly limited to One Hundred and Fifty copies, and that we are also under an engagement to furnish the Editor with an exact account of the number of the waste sheets.

C. & J. Adlard

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J. O. Halliwell

N°. 110.

The paper on which this work is printed is of the best and most durable quality, manufactured by Messrs. Dickinson and Co.

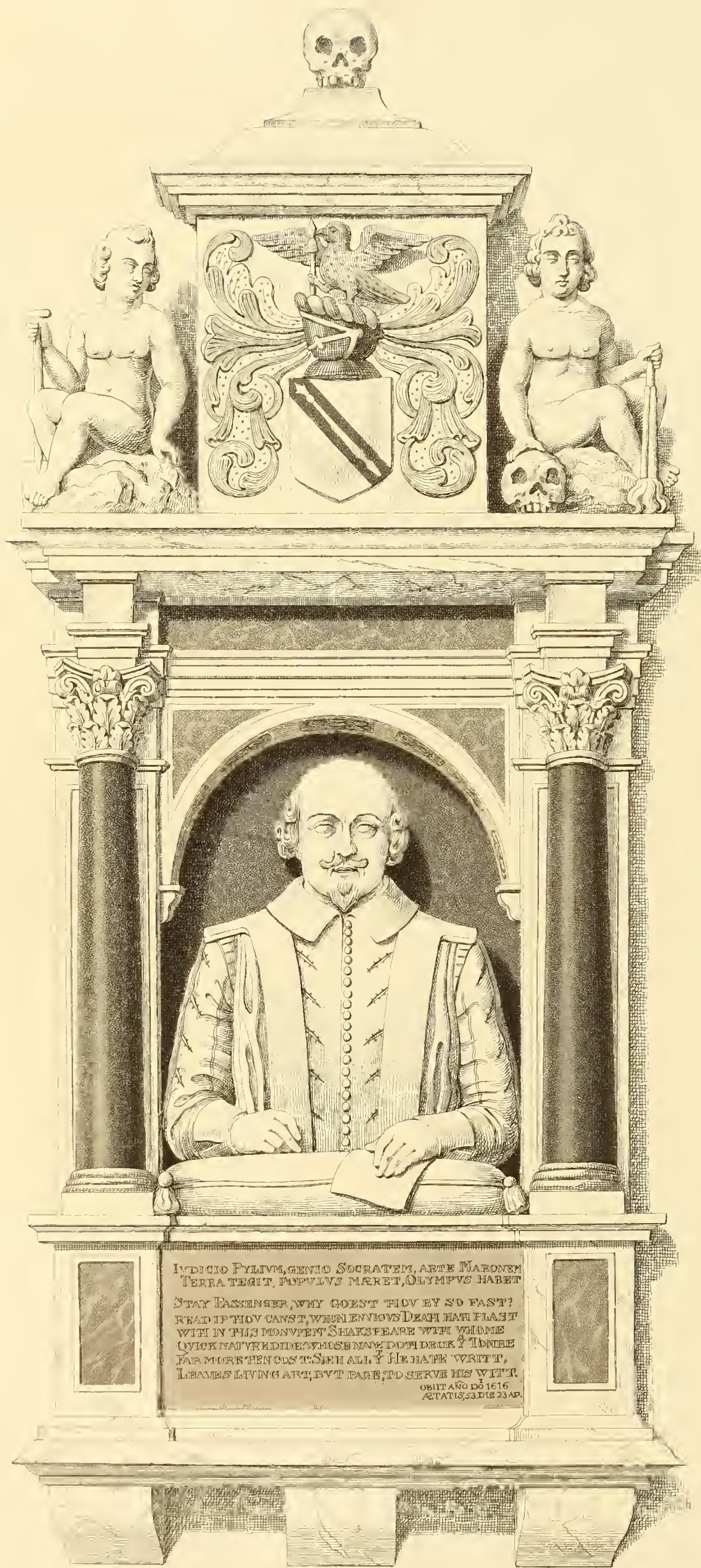
Preface.

Long explanatory prefaces so seldom answer any useful purpose, I am anxious, even at the risk of being thought abrupt, to state the general design of the present work in the fewest words. The object proposed to be accomplished is to offer the student an edition of the works of Shakespeare, accompanied by a collection of all the facts and documents respecting their literary history of any importance that have yet been discovered; by copious and discursive annotations on their obsolete phraseology, and obscure allusions, elucidated, wherever requisite, by archæological engravings; and by illustrative extracts from contemporary works, exhibiting the popular opinions of the time on natural history, science, and philosophy, many of which are adopted, or alluded to, by the great dramatist. It is also proposed to investigate the materials which have been collected by previous editors, with the view of determining those which are authentic, and those respecting the genuineness of which any doubts can be fairly entertained. For nearly a century, the illustration of the language and meanings of Shakespeare's plays, derived from early sources, has occupied the attention of archæologists; a vast collection of annotation, much of which is valuable, although some portion, as might be expected, is useless or erroneous, has been gathered together: while there is another portion, which unfortunately is not to be safely received without minute examination.

A careful investigation of the genuineness of the materials used by previous biographers and editors, will, it is believed,

lead to many unexpected results. The scantiness of the ascertained particulars respecting the biography of Shakespeare, has, it is well known, suggested materials for the ingenuity of some of the most skilful fabricators of modern times. It was therefore essential that every document of the slightest importance respecting the poet's history, quoted in the present volume, should be most carefully examined; and I was not satisfied without personally inspecting, and testing in every possible way, the authenticity of each instrument, calling to my aid the assistance of independent judgments wherever there existed the possibility of successful deception. This severe examination has resulted in the exclusion of the celebrated Bridgewater manuscripts, which have heretofore held so prominent a place in modern critical works on Shakespeare. It is scarcely necessary to repeat my own convictions of their spuriousness, as it may hardly be believed their noble owner will retard the discovery of truth, where such important materials for criticism are involved, by delaying to submit them to the consideration of really competent judges. The consummate skill with which one of these papers is executed, the fac-simile exhibiting a fluency of the old character that might deceive the most practised, demonstrates the necessity that existed for scrutinizing the originals. It will likewise be observed that these are not the only manuscripts that have been rejected from the biography of the great dramatist.

It is also much to be regretted that the efforts of the literary fabricator should not have been limited to the creation of fictitious documents. The same spirit which suggested the latter practice, has occasioned the introduction of numerous extracts, apparently from early printed works, that are not to be depended upon. This mode of deception has not been in the least degree suspected, although it has been the means of perpetuating error for very many years. Even the most cautious critics have adopted imaginary extracts without the slightest hesitation. The Rev. J. Hunter, for instance, whose acuteness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STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST?
READ IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOVS DEATH HATH PLAST
WITH IN THIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE WITH WHOME
QVICK NATVRE DIDE: WHOSE NAME DOTH DECK Y^S TOMBE
FAR MORE THEN COST: SIEH ALL Y^T HE HATH WRITT,
LEAVES LIVING ART, BVT PAGE, TO SERVE HIS WITT.
OBIIT AÑO DÕ 1616
ÆTATIS, 53 DIE 23 AP.
F W Fairholt del. et Sc. 1852

THE WORKS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,

THE TEXT FORMED FROM

A new Collation of the early Editions:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ALL

THE ORIGINAL NOVELS AND TALES ON WHICH THE PLAYS ARE FOUNDED;
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AN ESSAY ON THE FORMATION OF THE TEXT.
THE TEMPEST.

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BY

FREDERICK WILLIAM FAIRHOLT, ESQ., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'COSTUME IN ENGLAND,' ETC.

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is unquestionable, and who elaborately argued against the authenticity of the Bridgewater manuscripts, has selected one of his most important philological notes from a work that existed only in the imagination of the inventor; and there is a popular little work on Shakespeare, in which the most conspicuous quotation must also be referred to similar ingenuity. It will be my earnest endeavour, in the present edition, to detect all instances of this kind; preferring to omit examples, rather than incur the slightest risk of introducing fabrications. Care will likewise be taken to refer to genuine copies of early works, for it may be well to mention, especially for the information of students in America, that the English market is overloaded with old works made perfect by means of more than one copy, often without regard to the particular edition. Several of the early quartos of Shakespeare's plays, which have been sold of late years, are not really genuine copies.

The reader will understand, from the above few remarks, that my chief object has been to collect together all the information I could procure likely to prove of value to the critical student, and to establish its authenticity beyond the probability of doubt. In the prosecution of this design, in the endeavour to omit nothing likely to be useful, and having more than doubled, by my own researches, the collective extent of the annotations of all former critics, there is necessarily an occasional diffusiveness in the whole beyond the requirements of any single reader; but whoever will be at the pains to compare the several popular editions of Shakespeare with that which is usually termed the variorum, will discover that, although there is undoubtedly in the latter much which is of small value, scarcely a note can be indicated in it which has not been more or less used in the later editions. A consideration of this circumstance should shield the elder commentators from the censures of those writers, who sometimes condemn their labours without reflecting how greatly all modern critics are indebted to them; and it is occasionally to be remarked that their observations are

unfairly regarded as trifling, in cases where a minute examination would result in a different conclusion. I have frequently imitated their copiousness, avoiding, however, as much as possible, discussions of a controversial character. It has also been my endeavour to adhere strictly to the subject of the work, without admitting any digressions; and foot-notes, which rarely, except as references, relate rigorously to the text, have been entirely dispensed with.

It is scarcely necessary to add more respecting the method intended to be pursued in the execution of the work, the plan of which will be sufficiently observed from the present volume; but there remains the agreeable duty of returning my grateful thanks for the many facilities that have been kindly afforded me in its preparation—to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, for the opportunity of inspecting the MSS. and rare books at Clumber, and for the loan of His Grace's copy of the first folio; to the Earl Howe, for a minute account of the valuable collection of Shakespearian quartos preserved at Gopsall; to the Earl of Ellesmere, for the opportunity of inspecting the Shakespearian manuscripts in the Bridgewater collection; to Viscount Palmerston, for permission to have a fac-simile taken from the important document respecting the poet, preserved in Her Majesty's State Paper Office; to the Lord Londesborough, for access to his valuable collection of antiquities; to S. Christy, Esq., M.P., for copies of very curious unique ballads in the Miller library at Britwell; to R. Bernal, Esq., M.P., for permission to give an engraving of an antique striking-watch in his collection; to the Hon. R. Curzon, for information respecting a portrait of Shakespeare; to the Corporation and the Rev. the Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, for their kindness in permitting me to make a minute examination of the valuable archives in their custody; to R. B. Wheler, Esq., for the use of his important collection of Shakespearian manuscripts; to George Daniel, Esq., for access to his curious library of early English literature; to the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for

permission to take a fac-simile of Fulman's MS.; to Dr. Smart, for copies of MSS. preserved at Warwick Castle; to Dr. Jackson, for the loan of Dr. Hall's manuscript Case-book; to Richard Greene, Esq., F.S.A., for the use of his family papers respecting Stratford; to J. P. Collier, Esq., for the copy of the manuscript printed at p. 35, which he had previously communicated to the Society of Antiquaries; to Captain W. H. Smyth, K.S.F., for some useful notes on ancient clocks, and on old sea-terms; to Joseph Phillips, Esq., Jun., for the communication of a few pages of notes by the late O. Gilchrist; and lastly, but most of all, to Mr. Fairholt, for his aid in the selection of the engravings, for the accuracy of which his name is a sufficient guarantee. I have been careful, in the several places, to acknowledge every kind of assistance that has been afforded me, and shall restate my obligations (adding greatly, I hope, to the above list) at the conclusion of the work; but the chief aid has been derived from the free communication of books and manuscripts. My disappointments, in this respect, are few indeed; and the only ones deserving remark are limited to the refusal of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire to permit me to have a fac-simile of the first edition of *Hamlet*, which has, however, fortunately been accurately reprinted; and to the impossibility of persuading the authorities of the Prerogative Office that a public service would be rendered by the publication of a fac-simile of the poet's will.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

March, 1853.

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*** A small portion of the wood-engravings illustrating the biography have been borrowed from Mr. Fairholt's 'Home of Shakspere,' and the editor's 'Life of Shakespeare,' because the same objects, being required to be produced by the same artist, would merely have been copies; and this arrangement has enabled the editor to render the illustrative portion of the 'Life' more complete than could otherwise have been accomplished by the means at his disposal.

A Life

of

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

The biographer of Shakespeare labours under the disadvantage of being compelled to seek his materials from the records of an age in which the importance of preserving memorials, respecting the private lives and characters of literary men, was neither appreciated nor understood. The curiosity of the public in these matters was limited to the history of persons occupying distinguished social positions; and even with regard to them, popular enquiry was directed rather to their actions in connexion with political movements, than to social characteristics, the knowledge of which is now considered so essential and interesting a portion of man's written life. In our own day, the minutest intelligence concerning individuals of eminence in any department of politics, literature, science, or art, is sought after with an avidity that tends to render the loss of domestic privacy almost a consequence to the attainment of distinction. Shakespeare lived in less inquisitive times. The actor and dramatist, however distinguished, did not attain that degree of eminence in society which was required to invite the attention of the biographer or chronicler to the circumstances of their personal history. They sank into the grave with ordinary men, too often leaving no successors in a position to raise to them even the friendly memorial of a tomb; and it is well if posterity can recover any particulars regarding their lives, beyond what are furnished by the record of their last wishes, or by the sterile information to be derived from the parish register.

It is to accident, to the casual preservation of correspondence during a period of more than two centuries, or to the pages of

the eccentric diarist, that we can hope for the discovery of that class of evidence which alone could furnish us with a full and correct delineation of Shakespeare's character. The search, even now, has not been entirely fruitless, but it must be admitted nothing whatever has yet presented itself, which discloses those finer traits of thought and action we are sure must have pervaded the author of *Lear* and *Hamlet* in his communication with the more cultivated of his contemporaries. The enquirer must be contented with details, which will be admitted to be curious, at the same time that they fail to convey to the mind more than a bare outline of the poet as a man. He is traced in a variety of positions which exhibit him as a prudent man of the world, actively engaged in the promotion of his fortune, and intent on the foundation and preservation to his posterity of the estates he had won by his writings. There is much in this which will shock the poetic temperament; much that will tend to destroy that finely drawn appreciation of Shakespeare's life, which owes its existence to the fiction of later days. On the other hand, there appears to be nothing in the documentary evidence yet discovered that is contradictory to the noble testimony paid to his character by his personal friends; nothing which is inconsistent with the attributing to him the possession of those higher qualities of the heart and mind, we instinctively refuse to believe could have been dissociated from the "gentle Shakespeare."

It has been my earnest endeavour in the following pages to produce, in all their authenticity, the genuine records by which the events of the life of the poet, as far as they have been preserved to modern times, are determined. I have no favorite generic theory to confirm; no distasteful one to refute; and approach the consideration of the subject with only one determination, that of the discovery of truth. If my deductions are erroneous, they are at least subject to the correction of any reader who will patiently examine the documents on which they are sought to be established, and which are here produced as nearly as possible in their original form. The collation of these evidences has exercised the most diligent attention and care; and, wherever practicable, the originals have been anxiously and minutely examined, so that the student will sometimes trace in the copies here given the barbarous and erroneous Latinity found in the manuscripts themselves. It is impossible to say that these corruptions may not, in certain

cases, assist in determining their authenticity; and no particulars, however minute, are too trifling for our notice, if they in any way serve so important a consideration. The efforts of the inventor have been so often directed to the manufacture of papers asserted to bear reference to the life and writings of Shakespeare, it would be unpardonable to neglect any means in our power that tend to discover the truth of those on which this biography is founded. The first care with each relic or document purporting to illustrate the career of the poet, will be to ascertain its claims to admission; knowing well the severest test is required, would we exclude the host of supposititious testimonies, that are scattered abroad in all directions, snares for the enthusiastic but unwary enquirer, and, lamentably enough, formed with sufficient skill to raise a well-found fear that, in after ages, when produced under circumstances leading to no suspicion of their spuriousness, and when the knowledge of the practice has died away, they may be paraded as genuine with the pomp of discovery. No caution too great can be exercised in dealing with a class of records, in which so much fraud has been practised.

With a view to establish, beyond the probability of doubt, the authenticity of the Shakespearian documents introduced into this work, facsimiles have been procured, wherever practicable, of most of the manuscripts, excepting generally only those which are preserved in public libraries, or those that are found amongst the ancient records of the country in the custody of the government. In either of the latter two cases, they are so open to the examination of practised archæologists, that any deception could not long remain undetected. But wherever important testimonies are in the custody of private individuals, or placed in localities not readily accessible to the public, no exertions have been spared to obtain facsimile copies of them, or, at least, of portions sufficient to enable palæographists to determine the degree of credit to be attached to the originals.

It appeared necessary to say thus much, to warn the reader on the one hand, not to anticipate, at this late day, biographical materials respecting Shakespeare of a kind that will satisfy the philosophical enquirer; on the other, to call his attention to the circumstance that there are nevertheless facts of undoubted curiosity, interest and value, to be gleaned from the records here collected; and, further, that those records, before they are

submitted to his notice, have been subjected to the best tests of truthfulness that could be obtained. The search has been chiefly amidst documents presenting many difficulties in their examination, and requiring, in their discussion, an acquaintance with ancient intricate legal practice, respecting which information is often not readily to be obtained; but it is believed the deductions sought to be gathered from them are mainly to be depended upon. I shall commence by exhibiting the evidences that have been preserved respecting the poet's ancestry, and proceed by entering into a minute account of the history of his parents, which will be found to bear very essential relations to various theories that have been formed regarding events in his own life. Incidental notices of a local character, and of persons with whom Shakespeare lived in familar intercourse, will not, it is thought, be considered digressions altogether useless. It brings us something nearer the poet, to be informed of the circumstances under which he lived, and of the positions in which his friends and connexions were placed.

The Shakespeares were settled in Warwickshire as early as the fourteenth century, and, shortly afterwards, we find the name spread through the country, appearing in much of the documentary evidence of any extent we now have relating to that part of England from the time of Henry VI. The name also occurs, though rarely, in early manuscripts connected with other English counties; but the earliest instance of the name yet discovered is that of *Thomas Shakespere*, who was connected in an official capacity with the port of Youghal in Ireland in 49 Edward III., 1375, [Rot. Pat. et Claus. Cancell. Hibern. Calend.] He was probably an Englishman. A second early notice, of a less agreeable kind, relates to another Thomas Shakespere, who was indicted of felony at Coventry in the reign of Henry the Fourth, and who was, according to Mr. Hunter, *mercerius*, perhaps a kind of Autolycus, for the value of his goods and chattels amounts to no more than the sum of two shillings.

All the arguments for and against the study of pedigree and genealogy might here be repeated. Shakespeare has told us that "nature cannot choose his origin;" and, failing in the attempt to discover with any degree of certainty the particular branch from which the poet was descended, the curious can at least console themselves with the reflection, that an approximation has at length been obtained to the solution of the

momentous question—that "great problem of all," as it is termed by one of those antiquaries who regard the value of enquiries of this kind in an inverse ratio to their importance,—who was Shakespeare's grandfather? Before this subject is entered upon, it may perhaps not be without its use to direct the reader's attention to the following notices of the name of Shakespeare in Warwickshire, during the century immediately preceding the establishment of our poet's family at Stratford. If it be impossible to indicate, amongst any of these names, Shakespeare's immediate ancestors, the coincidence of the recurrence of the same Christian names will afford a strong presumption that the root of the family was originally the same. They are extracted from a very valuable manuscript on vellum in the possession of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge House, near Warwick, entitled, *Registrum fratrum et sororum Gildæ Sanctæ Annæ de Knolle; incipiebatur in die et in festo Sanctæ Annæ anno Domini millesimo cccc.*[mo] *vij.*[o], a register of the guild of St. Anne of Knolle, from the year 1407 to its dissolution in 1535:

(Circa 1460). Pro anima Ricardi Shakspere et Aliciæ uxor. ejus de Woldiche.
1464, 4 Edw. IV. Johanna Schakespere.
——————— Radulphus Schakespeire et Isabella uxor ejus, et pro anima Johannæ uxoris primæ.
——————— Ricardus Schakespeire de Wroxsale et Margeria uxor ejus.
(Circa 1464). Johannes Shakespeyre ejusdem villæ (Rowington) et Alicia uxor ejus.
1476, 16 Edw. IV. Thomas Chacsper et Christian. cons. suæ de Rowneton.
1486, 1 Hen. VII. Pro anima Thomæ Schakspere.
——————— Thomas Shakspere, pro anima ejus.
——————— Thomas Shakspere et Alicia uxor ejus de Balsale.
19 Hen. VII. Orate pro anima Isabellæ Shakspere quondam Priorissa de Wraxale.
3 Hen. VIII. *Ballishalle.* Alicia Shakespere et pro anima Thomæ Shakespere.
——————— *Meriden.* Christophorus Shakespere et Isabella uxor ejus de Pacwode.
18 Hen. VIII. Domina Jane Shakspere.
——————— Ricardus Shakspere et Alicia uxor.
——————— Willielmus Shakspere et Agnes uxor.
——————— Johannes Shakspere et Johanna uxor.

Both public and private manuscripts would yield much to add to these early notices of the Shakespeares, and numerous instances of the name at a later period may be found in the rich collection of the public records of this country; but the impossibility of tracing even a remote genealogical connexion

between the Shakespeares of Warwickshire and persons of the same name settled in other parts of England, would render the search merely one of useless curiosity. The Shakespeares of Rowington are perhaps most frequently mentioned, and numerous documents respecting them are preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster: they continued to reside at Rowington till a late period, local deeds mentioning the Shakespeares down to the close of the last century. The early registers are unfortunately lost, but a Margaret Shakespeare was married there in 1665. A MS. copy of the customs of the manor, in the possession of Mr. Lea, dated 1614, exhibits a William Shakespeare as one of the jury at that period. Thomas Shaekspear, of Rowington, is assessed on goods of the value of £3 in the Subsidy Roll, 39 Eliz.; and Thomas Shaxper, senior, of the same place, is assessed on land of the value of thirty shillings, in a similar roll of 7 James I. Some early undated fragments of records relating to Warwickshire, preserved in the Carlton Ride, contain mention of a John Shakeseper, of Rowington; and a survey of crown lands in Warwickshire, 4 Jac. I, in the Land Revenue Office, notices Thomas, George, Richard, and John Shakespeare, as holding property there. Among the proceedings in the Star Chamber, 7 Feb. 44 Eliz., is a case, Holte *v.* Thomas Shakespeere of Rowington, for being concerned in damages done in the previous May to the common of Bushwood olim Lapworth. This Thomas Shakespeare might have been a disciple of Jack Cade, for he signs with a mark.

The name occurs under various forms. In the year 1589, we find the case of "Marye Ruswell againste John Vale and Katheryn his wyefe, and Aylese Shackspire." The Alice Shakespeare here mentioned was John Vale's mother-in-law. In the same repository of records is a fine, levied Mich. 12 Jac. I., "inter Willielmum Shackespeare et Georgium Shackespeare quer. et Thomam Spencer armigerum, Christoferum Flecknoe, et Thomam Tompson deforc. de octo acris pasturæ cum pertinentiis in Claverdon alias Claredon," and this person was not the only one our poet had the fortune to honour by an identity of appellation. A William Saxspere was drowned in the Avon in 1579, as appears from the following curious entry in the parish register of St. Nicholas, Warwick, here quoted with the literal errors of the original, "1579, Junii: sexto die hujus mensis sepultus fuet Gulielmus Saxspere, qui demersus fuet in rivulo aquæ qui vel quæ vocatur Avona."

This William Shakespeare of Warwick was probably the son of Thomas Shakespeare, of that town, whose other son is also mentioned in the same register: "1598, Junii 21. Solemnizatum matrimonium inter Thomam Shaxeper et Elizabeth Letherberrow." Thomas Shaxpere gent. was elected bailiff of Warwick on 1 Nov. 10 Jac. I., and again 1 Nov. 2 Car. I., and the family was resident at Warwick during the whole of that century. The name is spelt Shackspeere in the Black Book of Warwick, f. 243, a valuable MS. belonging to the Corporation of that town; and he is also alluded to in the municipal records of Stratford, but there does not appear to be any evidence that he was even remotely connected with our poet's family.

Other branches of the Shakespeares were located at Wroxhall, Hampton, Lapworth, Nuneaton, Kineton, and various other places in Warwickshire; but notwithstanding the masses of evidence we possess in which the name occurs, and the laborious antiquarian researches continued for nearly a century, the history of our poet's descent is still very imperfect. If genealogical enquiries are ever worthy of pursuit, they must have some value in the reasonable curiosity to ascertain from what class of society the greatest author of the world arose. We may well be content that this information has not been withheld; and the tracer of the pedigree any further back in the lapse of time will scarcely deserve our thanks. The evidence we possess on this subject may thus be briefly stated.

VILLAGE OF WILMECOTE, OR WINCOT, 1852.

Robert Arden, of Wilmecote, a hamlet partly in the parish of Stratford, and partly in Aston Cantlowe, was the maternal grandfather of Shakespeare, and on the 17th of July, 1550, he executed the following deed, conveying certain lands and tene-

ments in Snitterfield, then in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare, in trust for three daughters, *after the death of Robert and Agnes Arden.*

Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Ardern de Wylmecote in parochia de Aston Cantlowe in com. Warr., husbandman, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea tripartiter indentat. confirmavi Adæ Palmer de Aston Cantlowe prædict. et Hugoni Porter de Snytterfylde in com. prædicto, totum illud mesuagium meum cum suis pertinentiis in Snytterfylde prædict., *quæ nunc sunt in tenura cujusdam Ricardi Shakespere*, ac omnia illa mea terr. prat. pascua et pasturas cum suis pertinentiis in Snytterfylde prædict. eidem mesuagio spectant. et pertinent., quæ nunc sunt in tenura prædicti Ricardi Shakespere, Habendum et tenendum omnia prædict. mesuagium terr. prat. pascua et pasturas cum suis pertinentiis prædictis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter hæredibus et assign. suis ad usum et opus mei prædicti Roberti Ardern et Agnetis, nunc uxoris meæ, pro termino vitæ nostrum eorundem Roberti et Agnetis, ac diucius viventis nostrum, et post decessum diucius viventis nostrum prædictorum Roberti Ardern et Agnetis nunc uxoris meæ, tunc ad usus et opus sequent,—Scilicet, unam terciam partem omnium prædict. mesuagii terr. prat. pascuor. et pasturar. cum suis pertin. ad usum et opus Agnetis Strynger nunc uxoris Thomæ Strynger, ac nuper uxoris Johannis Hewyns, dudum de Bereley, modo defunct., filiæ mei prædict. Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Agnetis Strynger in perpetuum; et alteram terciam partem omnium eorundem mesuagii terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertinentiis, ad usum et opus Johannæ Lambart nunc uxoris Edwardi Lambert de Barton super lez Hethe, al. filiæ mei prædicti Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Johannæ Lambert in perpetuum; aliamque terciam partem omnium prædictorum mesuagii terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertinentiis, ad usum et opus Katerinæ Etkyns nunc uxoris Thomæ Etkyns de Wylmecote prædict., al. filiæ mei prædicti Roberti Ardern, ac hæredum et assign. ejusdem Katerinæ Etkyns in perpetuum, de capitalib. dominis feod. ill. per servic. inde prius debit. et de jure consuet. Et ego vero prædictus Robertus Ardern et hæredes mei omnia prædict. mesuagium terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertin. præfatis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter hæredibus et assign. suis ad usus et opus supradict. contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et in perpetuum defendemus per præsentes. Sciatis insuper me prædictum Robertum Ardern plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in prædict. mesuagio terr. prat. pasc. et pastur. cum suis pertin. præfatis Adæ Palmer et Hugoni Porter ad usus et opus superius specificat. secundum vim, formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ meæ tripartiter indentat. inde eis confect. in propria persona mea tradidisse et liberasse. In cujus rei testimonium cuilibet parti hujus præsentis cartæ meæ tripartiter indentat. sigillum meum apposui. Dat. decimo septimo die Julii, anno regni domini Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ Franc. et Hibern. regis, Fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, quarto.

On the same day he executed a similar deed of other property in Snitterfield, to the same trustees, for the benefit, after the death of Robert and Agnes Arden, of three other daughters, Jocose Arden, Alicia Arden, and Margaret Webbe, the latter of whom was the wife of Alexander Webbe, of Bearley, but who,

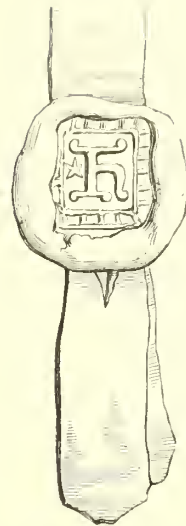
Commencement of a Deed of Trust of Robert Arden, Shakespeare's maternal Grandfather:

From the Original, preserved amongst the Borough Records, Stratford-on-Avon.

Court-Roll of a House at Stratford-on-Avon, purchased by Shakespeare in the year 1602.

From the Original, in the possession of W. O. Hunt Esqre., the present owner.

as is shown by a deed of 12 Feb. 11 Elizabeth, 1569, afterwards resided at Snitterfield. By conveyances, dated on the 14th and 21st of December, 1519, we find that Robert Arden purchased property in Snitterfield from Richard Rushby and Agnes his wife, and he also bought a tenement in the same village of John Palmer on October 1st, 1529. It appears also from another charter, preserved at Stratford on Avon, that, as early as 16 Hen. VII, die Lunæ proximo post festum Invencionis Sanctæ Crucis, May, 1501, property in Snitterfield was conveyed by one John Mayowe to several persons, amongst them, *Thomæ Ardern de Wylmecote et Roberto Ardern filio ejusdem Thomæ Ardern.* These were ancestors on the mother's side of William Shakespeare, this Robert, or his son, being the individual named in the above deed. Many years afterwards, there was a law-suit between a descendant of Mayowe, and Robert Webbe of Snitterfield, who had purchased property of Shakespeare's aunts, the Ardens, respecting this property; and, in the year 1582, John Shakespeare was subpœnaed to give evidence in the matter. The original subpœna was discovered by me some years ago in the Council Chamber of Stratford on Avon, folded into a minute wedge of vellum, and used instead of a knot at the bottom of a string which held a bundle of writs of the Court of Record. It is addressed to John Shakespere, John Wager, and Adam Palmer, requiring them to appear before Sir Fulk Grevyle, Sir Thomas Lucy, Humphrey Peto, and William Clopton, commissioners, to furnish evidence in the case between Thomas Mayowe, plaintiff, and Robert Webbe and others, defendants. This circumstance seems to prove that John Shakespeare had been acquainted with the Ardens from an early period of life, for all testimony in the suit, to have been of any value, must have referred to a time not far removed from the grant of the property to Thomas Ardern. Any later evidence could necessarily have been furnished, with greater propriety, by written documents. It is worthy of remark that John Shakespeare's brother, Henry, was also a witness in the same suit.



SEAL OF ROBERT ARDEN, OF WILMECOTE, C. 1550.

Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield was, in all probability, Shakespeare's grandfather. Mr. Collier was the first to pro-

mulgate this theory, but he grounded it principally on the possibility that it was in this way John Shakespeare became introduced to the Ardens. Another and a much stronger reason is found in the fact that John Shakespeare had a brother Henry, *who lived at Snitterfield*, and was most probably a son of Richard Shakespeare, the registers of that village showing only one family of the name at that early period. He died in the year 1596, his burial being thus recorded:

1581-2. Baptizatus fuet John filius Thomæ Shaxper the x.th of March, 1581.
1586, 4 Sept. Baptysed Henry Townsend, the sonn of John Townsend and Darrity his wyff, William Meaydes, Henry Shaxsper, Elizabeth Perkes, pleages.
1595. Johanna Shaxspere mortua est, et sepulta Januarii quinto an° 1595.
1596. Henrey Saxspere was bureyd the xxix.th day of December, anno 1596.
1596-7. Margret Saxspere widow, being times the wyff of Henry Shakspere, was bured ix. Feb.

That Shakespeare's father had a brother Henry is shown by the following declaration, filed in the Court of Record at Stratford, where an action was brought by Nicholas Lane against John Shakespeare for debt, 1 Feb., 29 Eliz., 1587. The original is preserved in the Council Chamber of that town.

Johannes Shakespere attachiatus fuit per servient. ad clavam ibidem secundum consuetudinem burgi prædicti ad respondendum Nicholao Lane de placito transgressionis super casum, &c., et sunt pleg. de prosecq. Johannes Doe et Willielmus Roe, &c. Et unde idem Nicholaus Lane, per Thomam Trussell, attorn. suum, dicit quod cum quarto die Junii anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensoris, &c. vicessimo octavo, hic apud Stretford prædictum ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, quoddam colloquium tractatum et habitum fuit inter præfatum Johannem Shakesper et dictum Nicholaum Lane de quodam debito viginti et duarum libr. legalis monetæ Angliæ, in quibus Henricus Shakspere, *frater dicti Johannis*, debito modo indebitatus fuit præfato Nicholao Lane, et super colloquium illud aggreat. et concordat. fuit. Et postea, scilicet die et anno supradicto, hic apud Stretford prædictum et infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, pro et in consideratione præmissorum ac pro et in consideracione quatuor denariorum legalis, &c. præfato Johanni ad tunc et ibidem per præfatum Nicholaum præmanibus solut. super se assumpsit, et præfato Nicholao ad tunc et ibidem fideliter promisit quod si dictus Henricus Shakspcr non solveret præfato Nicholao decem libras, parcellam dictæ summæ viginti et duarum librarum, in festo sancti Michaelis archangeli ex tunc proxime sequente, quod tunc ipse idem Johannes Shakspcr dictam summam decem librarum parcellam, &c. præfato

Nicholao bene et fideliter solvere et contentare vellet, cum inde ad hoc requisit. fuer. etc. Et prædictus Nicholaus dicit in facto quod prædictus Henricus Shackspere non solvit præfato Nicholao Lane dictam sommam decem librarum parcellam &c. in festo sancti Michaeli archangeli prædict. seu unquam antea vel postea. Unde actio accrevit præfato Nicholao Lane ad habendum et exigend. de præfato Johanne Shakspere dictam summam decem librarum parcellam etc. secundum assumptiones et fidel. promissiones suas prædictas, etc. prædictæ summæ; Johannes Shakspere assumpt. et fideles promiss. suas prædict. quoad dictas decem libras, parcellam, &c. minime curans vel ponderans, sed machinans ipsum Nicholaum in hac parte callide et deceptive decipere et defraudare, dictam summam decem librarum, parcellam &c. præfato Nicholao Lane nondum solvit seu aliquo modo contentavit, sed ill. ei huc usque solvere aut contentare omnino contradixit et adhuc contradicit, licet sæpius ad hoc secundum assumpt. et fidel. promiss. suas prædictas requisitus fuit. Unde dictus Nicholaus Lane dicit quod deterior est et dampnum habet ad valenciam viginti librarum. Et inde produc. sect. &c.

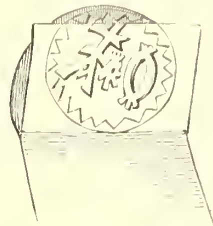
We here find John Shakespeare becoming surety to his brother Henry in a case of debt, and the latter not paying, his brother was proceeded against for the amount. Henry was probably in difficulties, and while this paper shows John Shakespeare's kindness to a relative, it leads to the supposition it was not the sole instance. This may be the case with some other entries hereafter to be quoted from the same record, in which the name of the former occurs as a defendant. He is named as Hary Shakspere, his familiar designation, in a list of witnesses to a suit, previously mentioned, on the part of Robert Webbe. Another notice of him occurs in the will of Cristopher Smyth, alias Court, of Stratford, made November 2d, 1586, to which is subjoined a list of the "detts due to me the sayd Cristopher," and amongst them, "Item, Henry Shaxspere of Snytterfild oweth me v.*li.* ix.*s.*" The last notice of Henry Shakespeare before his death occurs in the registry of the Court of Record, 29 Sept. 38 Eliz. "Henricus Shackespere attachiatus fuit per servient. ad clav. ibidem ad sect. Johannis Tomlyns in placito debiti, Henr. Wylson m. pro deff."

Robert Arden, in his will dated 1556, mentions his wife's jointure in Snitterfield, which was doubtlessly other property in that village, not that which is mentioned in the deeds quoted above. The following document shows that this settlement was made in 4 Edw. VI., 1550, in which year he probably married Agnes Arden, and it does not seem impossible that

Mary Shakespeare's interest in Snitterfield was on this same property, in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare as late as 1560, the description in both deeds being identical. The indenture of the 21st May, 2 Elizabeth, here referred to, "Betwene Agnes Arderne of Wylmecote in the Countie of Warr: wydowe on the one partie and Alexander Webbe of Bereley in the same countie husbandeman on the other partie, Wytnessyth that the said Agnes Arderne ffor dyverse and sondry consyderations hath demysed graunted sett and to fferme lett, and by these presentes demyseth graunteth setteth and to fferme letteth unto the said Alexander Webbe and to his assignes All those her two measuages with a cottage with all and singuler their appurtenaunces in Snytterfeld, and a yarde and a halfe of ayrable lande therunto belongyng, with all landes medowes pastures commons profettes and commodities in any wyse therunto apperteynynge, seituate lying and beyng in the towne and ffyldes of Snytterfield afforsaid, *all whiche now are in the occupation of Richarde Shakespere*, John Henley, and John Hargreve, To have and to holde the said two measuages or tenementes and cottage wyth their appurtenaunces, a yarde and a half of lande arrable, and all other the premysses with all and synguler their appurtenaunces, unto the said Alexander Webbe his executers and assignes, ffrom the ffeast of thannuncyacion of our Lady next ensuyng the date hereof untyll the ende and terme of ffourtie yeares next and ymmediatly followyng fully to be completed and ended, yff the said Agnes Arderne so longe do lyve, yeldynge and paying therfore yearely duryng the said terme," the yearly rent of £2 to Agnes Arden. It may be as well to observe that Alexander Webbe was her brother.

To all to whom thes presentes shall come, Agnes Arden of Wilmcote in the countie of Warr: widowe greting, knowe ye that I the sayd Agnes have receaved of Allexander Webb and still doe receave of his executors and assignes for twoe messuages one cottage and all landes and tenementes with thappertenaunces belonginge to the same lying and being in Snitterfield in the countie aforesayd, one yearly rent of fortie shillinges, according to the demise thereof made by me the sayd Agnes to the sayd Allexander Webb bearing date the one and twenteth daie of Maii in the second yeare of the raigne of the Queenes Majesties that nowe is for the terme of fortie yeares, if I the sayd Agnes so long doe lyve; Of which sayd messuage and premisses estate was made to me the sayd Agnes for terme of my lyffe by Roberte Arden my late husband in the fourth yeare of the raigne of the late King Edward the sixt, of which sayd estate for terme of my liffe I am yet seased. All which to be true I have thought good to testifie by this my wryting, and am and wilbe readye to depose the same upon myne othe att all

tymes and places if I weare able to travell, being aged and impotent. In wytnes whereof to thes presentes I have putt my seale the fifte daie of July, 1580.



Sealed and delyvered in the presence of Adam Palmer, and Anthony Osbaston and Jhon Hill.

Agnes Arden did not long survive the execution of this document, the register of Aston Cantlow containing the following entry in 1580, "the xxix day of December was bureyd Agnis Arden wydow, anno prædicto." Her will was proved at Worcester, March 31st, 1581, and a careful transcript of it, with the inventory of her goods, is here given from the original MSS. preserved in the consistory archives of that city.

In the name of God . . . . yeare of our Lorde God 1579, and in the . . . . yeare of the raigne off our Soveraigne . . . . Queene Elyzabethe, by the grace off . . . . . . Fraunce, and Irlande, Queene, deffendris of the faythe, &c.; I, Agnes Ardenne, of Wylmcote in the perishe of Aston Cantlowe, wydowe, do make my laste wyll and testamente in manner and forme followinge. First, I bequethe my soule to Almighty God my maker and redeemer, and my bodie to the earthe. Item, I geve and bequethe to the poore people and inhabitaunce of Bearley iiij.*s.* Item, I geve and bequeth to the poore people inhabited in Aston perishe, x.*s.*, to be equallie devided by the discrecion of my overseers. Item, I geve and bequeth to everi one of my god-children xij.*d.* a peece. Item, I give and bequeth to Averie Fullwod ij. sheepe, yf they doe lyve after my desease. Item, I give and bequeth to Rychard Petyvere j. sheepe; and to Nycolas Mase, j. sheepe; and Elizabeth Gretwhiche and Elyzabethe Bentley, eyther of them one shepe. Item, I geve and bequeeth to everie off Jhon Hill's children everi one of them one sheep; and allso to John Fullwodes children everi one of them one shepe. My wyll is, that they said sheepe soe geven them shall goe fforward in a stocke to they use of they sayd children untyll the come to the age of discrecion. Item, I geve and bequethe to John Payge and his wyfe, the longer liver off them, vj.*s.* viij.*d.*, and to John Page his brother, j. strike of wheat and one strike of maulte. I geve to John Fullwod and Edwarde Hill my godchilde, everi one of them, one shipe more. Allso I geve to Robarte Haskettes iij.*s.* iiij.*d.* Also, I geve to John Peter ij.*s.* And allso to Henrie Berrie, xij.*d.* Item, I give to Jhohan Lamberde, xij.*d.* And to Elizabethe Stiche, my olde gowne. Item, [I geve] and bequeth to John Hill my sonne, my parte and moitie of my croppe in the ffieldes, as well wheate, barley, and pease, painge for the same half the lordes rente and ducties belonginge to the same, so that my wyll is the sayd John Hill shall have the nexte croppe uppon the

grounde after my desease. I geve to the said Jhon Hill my best platter of the best sorte, and my best platter of the second sorte, and j. poringer, one sawcer, and one best candlesticke. And also I geve to the said John two paire of sheetes. I give to said Jhon Hill my second potte, my best panne. Item, I geve and bequeth to Jhon Fullwod, my sonne in lawe, all the rest of my housholde stuffe. Item, I give and bequeth to John Hill my sonne, one cowe with the white rumpe. And also I geve to John Fullwod, j. browne steare of the age of two yeares olde. Item, I give and bequeth to my brother Alexander Webbes children, everi one of them xij.*d.* a peece. The rest of all my goodes moveables, and unmoveables, not bequethid, my bodie brought home, my debtes and legacies paid, I geve and bequeth to John Fullwod and to John Hill, to the use and behalf of the said John Fullwodes and John Hilles children, to be delivered unto them and everie of them when the come to age of discrecion. Yf any of the said children doe die before they recover their partes so geven by me, their partes deseased shall remain to the other so levinge with the said John Fullwod and John Hill, [whom] I do ordaine and make my ffull executors of this my last wyll. Allso, I ordeyne and make my overseers, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes. These being witnesses, Thomas Edkins, Richarde Petifere, with others.

The inventorie of all the goodes moveable and unmoveable of Annes Ardenne of Wylmcote deceased, praised by Thomas Boothe, Addam Palmer, George Gibbes, Thomas Edkins thelder, Thomas Edkins the younger, the xix[th] *day of Januarye, anno regni Elizabethæ reginæ xxiij.*

Inprimis in the halle twoe table bordes with a coobbarde and a painted clothe, three coshens with shilves, other formes and benches - - viij.*s.*

Item, three pottes of brasse, ij. calderons, ij. brasse pannes, ij. peeces of pewter, with iij. candelstickes, with two saltes, xvj.*s.*

Item, ij. broches, j. payre of cobbardes, j. fireshovell, with pott-hokes and linkes for the same, xvj.*d.*

Item, in the chambers her apparrell, l.*s.*

Item, the beddinge and bedstides with apreeware in the said chambers, iij.*li.* iij.*s.* iij.*d.*

Item, three coffers with a peece of woollen clothe, xv.*s.*

Item, the cowperie ware, with a maulte mylle, one knedinge troughe with syves, and a stryke - - - - - x.*s.*

Item, ffowre oxenne, ffowre kyne, ij. yearlinge calves xij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iij.*d.*

Item, xxxviij[th] sheepe - - - - iij.*s.*

Item, three horses and one mare - - - iiij.*li.*

Item, five score pigges - - - xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*

Item, wayne and wayne geares, plowe and plowgeres, carte and cart geares - - - - - - xxx.*s.*

Item, the wheate in the barne her parte, iiij.*li.*

Item, her part of barly in the barne, iij.*li.*

Item, her parte of hey in the barnes, xiiij.*s.*

Item, the wheate one grounde in the fieldes her parte, v.*li.*

Item, her parte of peason, iii.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

Summa totalis, xlv.*li.*

It has been proved by Mr. Hunter, and appears indeed from this will, that Agnes Arden was first married to a person of the name of Hill; and she was a widow when assessed at Bearley on

£7 in the 37th of Henry VIII., 1546. She was, therefore, the second wife of Robert Arden, and was only step-mother to the family of seven daughters, of whom Mary, the wife of John Shakespeare, was the youngest. Shakespeare's grandmother on either side has still to be discovered. Mary Hill, a daughter of Agnes Arden by her first husband, married John Fullwood in 1561, at Aston Cantlow, "John Fullwood and Marey Hill weare mareyd the xv.th of November." Their children are mentioned in the will of Agnes Arden, who seems to have been estranged from the family of her second husband, for even if we suppose she did not approve of the matrimonial choice of Mary Shakespeare, there seems to be no reason why remembrances of some kind should not have been given to the other branches of the family. On the other hand, when Robert Arden married Agnes Hill, which event no doubt took place in or shortly before the year 1550, one of his daughters, Margaret, had married Alexander Webbe of Bearley, his second wife's brother. Margaret Webbe, therefore, found a step-mother in her husband's sister. Alexander Webbe, as previously noticed, afterwards resided at Snitterfield; and when, in February, 1569, Thomas Stringer demised to him, and Margaret his wife, an interest in property in that village for a term of years to commence after the decease of Agnes Arden, the name of *John Shaxpere* is discovered amongst the witnesses to the indenture. There is scarcely room for doubting that this John Shaxpere was the poet's father; and finding him present at Snitterfield amongst the connexions of his wife, would be a ground for believing the family alliance with the Ardens had not resulted in any circumstances to occasion a desire on their part to shrink from his acquaintance.

Be this as it may, and it is impossible to obtain certain information on the subject, Mary Arden shared the affection and confidence of her father with her sister Alice, being nominated with her as executrix to his will, November 24th, 1556. To Mary he leaves his estate called Ashbies in Wilmecote, a farm of considerable value. Robert Arden, as appears from this will, was a substantial yeoman, a class whose proverbial vigour and honour would do no discredit to a poet's descent. Richard Shakespeare was also a considerable holder of land, and thus we find the poet of nature rising where we would wish to find him rise, from the inhabitants of the valley and woodland, carrying in his blood the impress of the

healthiest and most virtuous class possessed in those days by England. The reader will peruse with interest the will of Robert Arden, Shakespeare's maternal grandfather, which is here carefully transcribed from the original preserved in the consistory court at Worcester.

In the name of God, Amen, the xxiiij[th] daye of November in the yeare of our Lorde God 1556, in the thirde and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveragne Lorde and ladye, Phylipe and Marye, kyng and quene, &c. I Robart Arden of Wyllmcote in the paryche of Aston Caunntlow, seeke in bodye and good and perfett of rememberenc, make this my laste will and testement in maner and forme folowyng.

Fyryste, I bequethe my solle to Allmyghtye God and to our bleside Laydye Sent Marye, and to all the holye compenye of heven, and my bodye to be beryde in the churchyarde of Seynt Jhon the baptyste in Aston aforsayde.

Allso I give and bequethe to my youngste dowghter Marye all my lande in Willmecote, cawlide Asbyes, and the crop apon the grounde sowne and tyllide as hitt is. And vj.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* of monye to be payde orr ere my goodes be devydide. Allso I gyve and bequethe to my dawghter Ales the thyrde parte of all mye goodes moveable and unmoveable in ffylde and towne, after my dettes and leggeses be performyde, besydes that goode she hathe of her owne att this tyme. Allso I gyve and bequethe to Agnes my wife vj.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* apon this condysione, that [she] shall sofer my dowghter Ales quyetlye to ynyoye halfe my copye houlde in Wyllmcote dwryng the tyme of her wyddowewhodde: and if she will nott soffer my dowghter Ales quyetlye to occuppye halfe with her, then I will that my wyfe shall have butt iij.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.* and her gintur in Snyterfylde.

Item, I will that the resedowe of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable, my ffuneralles and my dettes dyschargyde, I gyve and bequethe to my other cheldren to be equaleye devidide amongeste them by the desereshyon of Adam Palmer, Hugh Porter of Snytterfyld, and Jhon Skerlett, whome I do orden and make my overseeres of this my last will and testament, and they to have for ther peynes takyng in this behalfe xx.*s.* apese. Allso I orden and constytute and make my ffull executores Ales and Marye my dowghteres of this my last will and testament, and they to have no more for ther peynes takyng now as afore geven them. Allso I gyve and bequethe to every house that hathe no teme in the paryche of Aston to every howse iiij.*d.*

Thes beyng wyttnesses,

Sir Wylliam Bouton, Curett.
Adam Palmer.
Jhon Skerlett.
Thomas Jhenkes.
William Pytt.
with other mo.

Probat. fuit &c. Wigorn. &c. xvj° die mensis Decembris anno Domini, 1556.

The Ynventory of all the goodes moveable and unmoveable of Robart Ardennes of Wyllmcote late desseside, made the ix[th] day of December in the thyrde and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraygne lorde and ladye Phylipe and Marye, kyng and quen, &c. 1556.

Imprimis, in the halle ij. table bordes, iij. choyeres, ij. fformes, one cobbowrde, ij. coshenes, iij. benches and one lytle table with shellves, presede att, viij.*s.*

It. ij. peyntide clothes in the hall and v. peyntid clothes in the chamber, vij. peire of shettes, ii. cofferes, one which, preside at xviiij.*s.*

It. v. borde clothes, ij. toweles and one dyeper towelle, presid att vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

It. one ffether bedde, ij. mattereses, viij. canvases, one coverlett, iij. bosteres, one pelowe, iiij. peyntide clothes, one whyche, presid att xxvj.*s.* viij.*d.*

It. in the kechen iiij. panes, iiij. pottes, iij. candell stykes, one bason, one chafyng dyche, ij. cathernes, ij. skellettes, one frying pane, a gredyerene, and pott hanginges with hookes, presed att lj.*s.* viij.*d.*

It. one broche, a peare of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, iiij. nagares, ij. hatchettes, an ades, a mattoke, a yren crowe, one ffatt, iiij. barrelles, iiij. payles, a quyrne, a knedyng trogh, a lonng seve, a hansaw, presid at xx.*s.* ij.*d.*

It. viij. oxen, ij. bollokes, vij. kyne, iiij. weyyng caves, xxiiij.*li.*

It. iiij. horses, iij. coltes, presid att viij.*li.*

It. lto. [52] shepe, presid att vij.*li.*

It. the whate in the barnes, and the barley, presid att xviij.*li.*

It. the heye and the pease, ottes and the strawe, presed att iij.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

It. ix. swyne presid att xxvj.*s.* viij.*d.*

It. the bees and powltrye, presed att v.*s.*

It. carte and carte geares, and plogh and plogh geares with harrowes, presed att xl.*s.*

It. the wodd in the yarde, and the batten in the roffe, presid att xxx.*s.*

It. the wheate in the ffylde, presid att vj.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*

Summa totalis, lxxvij.*li.* xj.*s.* x.*d.*

The Ardens, as we have already seen, were established in the parish of Aston Cantlow as early as 1501, and thus Shakespeare's ancestors, on the maternal side, had been landed proprietors for a considerable time before the marriage of his father. The exact history of the family, during this period, has not been satisfactorily determined, and there is no good proof that the Robert Arden, Groom of the Chamber to Henry VII., and rewarded by that sovereign, a fact which appears from the Patent Rolls of that reign, was related to the Ardens of Wilmecote; but there can be little doubt, from the identity of coat-armour, that the latter were connected with the John Arden, Esquire for the Body to Henry VII., whose will, dated in 1526, would appear to show that the King had honoured him with visits. It was most probably one of the Ardens who is referred to in the papers at the College of Arms respecting a grant of arms to John Shakespeare, "whose antecessors were for there valeant and faithefull service advaunced and rewarded by the most prudent prince King Henry the Seventh." The three drafts of the paper in which this passage occurs exhibit alterations that show the uncertainty regarding the exact place in the pedigree in which these "antecessors" were to be placed, and the rolls of that reign do not contain the name of Shakespeare. In the irregular phraseology of the day, the

ancestors of Mary Arden would have been unhesitatingly regarded as those also of her husband. Remote connexions, where there was no consanguinity, are constantly found spoken of as though they were direct relatives.

It would be very desirable to obtain more positive evidence for all these discussions, but what is now before us will enable future biographers to say, without risking the accusation of presumption, that John Shakespeare, father of the ever-living poet, was the son of a substantial farmer at Snitterfield. He came to reside as a tradesman at Stratford-upon-Avon about the year 1551. No long time elapsed before he filled the successive offices of the corporation, having attained the highest elevation in 1568, when he was elected High Bailiff. It is sufficiently evident that he was during the earlier part of his career at Stratford in thriving circumstances; and it may be presumed he was esteemed a good man of business and a careful accountant, for had it been otherwise, he would hardly have been selected to prepare the accounts of the corporations for chamberlains who were either unequal to the duty, or unable from other circumstances to attend to them:—"thaccompt of William Tylor and William Smythe, chamburlens, made by John Shakspeyr the xv.t day of February, in the eight yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elyzabeth." Yet John Shakespeare could not write his own name! This fact has been attempted to be overruled, but sufficient evidence will here be adduced to place it beyond the reach of further doubt. Under the date of September 27th, 1565, we have, in the original book of the corporation still preserved at Stratford, an order signed by nineteen names, aldermen and burgesses. Among these, in the position indicated by the accompanying fac-simile,

is found the name of Jhon Shaeksper. It will be observed that his mark is under his name, opposite to the name of Thomas Dyxon, who was apparently compelled to place his mark on

the other side. The name of John Shakespeare is undoubtedly written by the same hand which transcribed the names of four other persons of that Christian name found in the same column. To say that they are not written by one person, merely because the upper stroke of the letter *h* is in a small degree longer in one instance than in the other, could only be asserted by those who are quite unaccustomed to the examination of ancient writings. But there are several instances of John Shakespeare's mark, and in the one annexed, which occurs in a list of names appended to the proceedings of a court-leet, dated 5 Oct. 1 Eliz., 1559, we find it amongst others altogether detached from the name. In the latter part of his life, he generally used the mark of a cross.

John Shakespeare resided in Henley Street, Stratford, as early as 1552, and seems to have commenced business as a glover, for we find him so described in the register of the proceedings of the bailiff's court, dated June 17th, 1556, when Thomas Siche brought an action against him for the sum of £8:—

> "Stretford, ss. Cur. Philippi et Mariæ, Dei gratia regis et reginæ Angliæ, Hispaniarum, &c. secundo et tercio, ibidem tent. die Marcurii, videlicet xvij.° die Junii, anno prædicto, coram Johanni Burbage ballivo, &c.
>
> "Thomas Siche de Arscotte in com. Wigorn. queritur versus Johannem Shakyspere de Stretford in com. Warwici *glover* in placito quod reddat ei octo libras, &c."

This being the only passage in which his trade is noticed, the reader is presented with a fac-simile made with great care by Mr. Fairholt, that given by Mr. Knight not being very accurate. It has been stated we should read x.*s.* at the close of

the second paragraph, but the last letter is clearly a *c*, and a comparison with other entries sufficiently proves the correctness of the above reading. It is by no means unusual to find an English word of this kind in the middle of a Latin sentence in such documents, and a very pertinent example may be seen in a monumental brass in the church of Fletching, co. Sussex, to the memory of a glover, which has an inscription in Latin introducing the name of the trade in English,—*Hic jacet Petrus Denot glover cujus animæ propicietur Deus.* There cannot, indeed, be a moment's hesitation in writing it *glover*, the contraction for the last syllable being unquestionably *er*. We have the same word in a similar position and with the same contraction in a rent-roll of the College of Stratford, 34 Hen. VIII., still preserved in the archives in the Council Chamber, "Johannes Purs *glover* pro duobus ten. per annum vj.*s.* viij.*d.*" It is thus established, on the best possible evidence, that John Shakespeare, the father of the poet, was a glover in the year 1556; there being no reason whatever for believing that more than one person of that name then resided at Stratford. John Shakespeare, the shoemaker, is not named in the corporation records till many years afterwards.

The poet's father was, however, engaged in other occupations even at this period, for on November 19th, in the same year, he brought an action of trespass against Henry Fyld, for unjustly detaining a quantity of barley. In the chamberlain's accounts for 1564, the following entry occurs: "Item, payd to Shakspeyr for a pec tymbur, iij.*s.*" These circumstances lead directly to the conclusion that John Shakespeare was occupied in agricultural pursuits, and in 1579 he seems to have been entirely engaged in them; for in a deed executed in that year he is styled "Johannes Shackspere de Stratford uppon Avon in comitatu Warwici *yoman*." We may now accept Rowe's state-

ment that he was "a considerable dealer in wool" without being accused of violating the probabilities of the case. It was by no means unusual for a burgess of Stratford, in Shakespeare's time, to deal in gloves and wool. In "the trwe inventory of the goodes of Joyce Hobday, late of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwycke, wydowe, decessed, taken the 3. day of Apriell, 1602," the following entries occur in the list of debts: "George Shacleton oweth for woll, xxiiij.*s.*; John Edwards oweth for ij. pere of gloves, viij.*d.*" Another copy of this inventory mentions, besides these debts, one for calves' leather. The skins chiefly used in the manufacture of gloves were those of deer and goats, but those of sheep were sometimes employed; and presuming that John Shakespeare occupied land, and reared sheep, both of which circumstances appear to be highly probable, Mr. Knight's theory, that in this is the mystery of glover, butcher, and wool-dealer solved, may be readily admitted; with the reservation that, although the first-named trade might have been naturally arising out of his agricultural engagements, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that he was really and absolutely a dealer in gloves, and so recognised in Stratford in 1556.

The ancient records of Stratford are so voluminous, that we may conclude, with safety, the establishment of the Shakespeares in that town did not take place before the middle of the sixteenth century, from the fact of the name not occurring in the archives of the borough previously to that period. The older subsidy rolls do not yield any information respecting them, and the earliest notice of the Shakespeare family at Stratford-on-Avon was discovered by Mr. Hunter in a Court Roll dated April 29th, 1552, preserved in the Carlton Ride Record Office:

Stratford Burgus. } Visus franci plegii cum cur. illustrissimi principis Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, regis, Fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, ibidem tent. xxix°. die Aprilis anno regni sui sexto.

Item, [juratores] present. super sacramentum suum quod Humfridus Reynoldes (xij.*d.*) Adrianus Quyney (xij.*d.*) et Johannes Shakyspere (xij.*d.*) fecerunt sterquinarium in vico vocato Hendley Strete contra ordinationem curiæ. Ideo ipsi in misericordia, ut patet.

It appears, therefore, that Shakespeare's father lived in the very street in which the poet's birthplace is still traditionally pointed out, as early as the year 1552. Henley Street, even in

these days, is not particularly to be recommended for its beauty or general effect, but at this time John Shakespeare was not the only inhabitant who offended against the local bye-laws, by permitting the accumulation of filth in the public road. It was a very common offence, and one of those most frequently visited by fines in the Stratford court. In April, 1558, John Shakespeare was again fined for not keeping his gutters clean, —"Fraunces Harbadge, master bely that now ys, Adreane Quyny, Mr. Hall, Mr. Clopton, for the gutter along the chappell in Chappell Lane, John Shakspeyr, for not kepynge ther gutter cleane, they stand amerced." The fine was four-pence in each case, as appears from the interlineated memoranda in the original manuscript.

It appears from a deed dated 20th April, 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. 1555, that John Shakespeare was not then a member of the Corporation of Stratford, and Malone alludes to a document which proves he had not attained that distinction on Michaelmas day, 1557. He was certainly chosen a burgess very shortly after this latter date. On April 30, 1557, he was marked one of the jury of the Court Leet, but not sworn, his name being crossed out in the original record; and he was on a similar jury on September 30th, 1558. In 1557, he was chosen an ale-taster, "an officer appointed in every Court Leet, and sworn to look to the assize and goodness of bread and ale, or beer, within the precincts of that lordship;" and his name occurs in the registry of the Court of Record as being fined for non-attendance during his occupancy of this office,

> Stratford } Curia de recordo ibidem tent. secundo die Junii, annis regnorum
> Burgus. } Philippi et Mariæ, &c. tercio et quarto.
> viij.*d.* De Johanne Shakysper uno testat. serviciæ burgi, quod quia non venit ad exequendum officium suum pro iij. curiis. Ideo in misericordia.

On September 30th, 1558, he was chosen one of the four constables, the circumstance being thus noted in the contemporary record:

> The xij. men have ordenyd ther trysty and welbelovyd Robert Perot to be bely for one wholl yere now next comynge.
> Item, ther trysty and welbelovyd Henry Byddyll capytall alderman (jur.)
> Item, ther trysty and welbelovyd Humfrey Plymley, Roger Sadler, John Taylor, and John Shakspeyr (jur.), constabulles.

He was again elected constable for another year on October 6th, 1559, and on the same day he was chosen one of the four

affeerors appointed to determine the fines for those offences which were punishable arbitrarily, and for which no express penalties were prescribed by statute. This latter office he again filled in 1561, in the September of which year he was elected one of the chamberlains of the borough, an office he held for two years. In a deed relating to "a tenneimente in the Rother strete," called "Roder stret" in the body of the document, dated December 26th, 5 Eliz.—"John Shakspeyre and John Taylere, chaumburlens and capytall burgesez." Another deed dated Jan. 20th, 5 Eliz.—"John Taylor and John Shakspeyr, chamburleins." We have also "thaccount of John Tayler and John Shakspeyre, chamburlens, made the xxiiij.th day of January in the v.th yere of the reigne of [our] sovereign Lady Elyzabeth." An indenture dated 26 Apr. 5 Eliz.—"John Shackspere and John Tayler, chamberleyns;" and a lease dated May 27, 5 Eliz., of a tenement in High Street to William Trowte, "John Taylor and John Shakspere, chamberleyns." On July 4th, 1565, he was chosen an alderman, "at thys hall John Shakspeyr ys appwntyd an alderman;" and from Michaelmas, 1568, to Michaelmas, 1569, he was the high bailiff of Stratford, thus attaining the chief honour the corporation could bestow. "Mr. John Shakspere hyȝgh balyf," MS. dated Oct. 1st, 1568. "Mr. John Shakyspere hyȝgh balyf," Sept. 7th, 1569. "Mr. John Shakspere, hyȝgh balyf of the sayd burrowe," Jan. 26th, 1569." On the 5th of September, 1571, he was elected chief alderman, "Mr. John Shakespere was elected alderman for the yere to come, and ys sworne ut supra, &c." 10 Oct. 13 Eliz. Ad primam aulam Adriani Queny ballivi burgi prædicti ac *Johannis Shakespere cap. aldermanni* ejusdem burgi ibidem tent. *Borough Records*. This was in the year 1571. He continued chief alderman till Sept. 3d, 1572; and thus concludes the account of the local honours shadowed over Shakespeare's father.

As early as 1556, John Shakespeare became the holder of two copyhold estates of inheritance at Stratford, which were alienated to him by George Turnor and Edward West, on October 2d. One of these was situated in Greenhill Street, the other in Henley Street:

Stratford super Avon. Visus franci plegii cum cur. et session. pacis tent. ibidem secundo die Octobris annis regnorum Philippi et Mariæ, Dei gratia, &c. tercio et quarto.

Item, præsentant quod Georgius Turnour alienavit Johanni Shakespere et hæredibus suis unum ten. cum gardin. et croft. cum pertinentiis in Greenhyll

Strete, tent. de domino libere per cartam pro redd. inde domino per annum vj.*d.* et sect. cur. et idem Johannes prædictus in curia fecit domino fidelitatem pro eisdem.

Et quod Edwardus West alienavit prædicto Johanni Shakespere unum ten cum gardin. adjacen. in Henley Stret, pro redd. inde domino per annum vj.*d.* et sect. cur. et idem Johannes prædictus in curia fecit fidelitatem.

The purchase of this property, nearly equal in its tenure to freehold, exhibits him as thriving in his occupations. How long he continued to possess the premises in Greenhill Street does not appear, but he certainly owned the copyhold in Henley Street as late as 1590, as also another copyhold estate in the same locality, for they are mentioned in a return to a commission, dated in that year, issued out of the exchequer for the survey of the possessions of Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, preserved in the Carlton Ride Record Office, the following entries occurring in the list under *vicus vocatus Henley Strete*:—

Johannes Shackespere tenet libere unum tenementum cum pertinentiis pro redd. per annum vj.*d.* sect. cur. - - - vj.*d.*

Idem Johannes tenet libere unum ten. cum pertinentiis pro redd. per annum xiij.*d.* sect. cur. - - - - - - xiij.*d.*

John Shakespeare's marriage with Mary Arden took place most probably in 1557. She was unmarried on November 24th, 1556, the date of her father's will, and Joan, her first child, was baptized at Stratford on September 15th, 1558, "Jone Shakspere daughter to John Shakspere." It should, however, be recollected that the baptismal registers of Stratford do not commence till March 1558, so that it is by no means impossible Joan was the second child, and I am inclined to think that Rowe's statement of their having had ten children was founded on substantial information, not from the parish registers. Those who believe in the minute personal application of the Sonnets have not found an argument for this assertion;

> That's for thyself to breed another thee,
> Or ten times happier, be it ten for one;
> Ten times thyself were happier than thou art,
> If ten of thine ten times refigur'd thee.

The following extracts from the registers of Stratford will show the names of the other children, other notices of the name, and some of the connexions of the family:

1. Baptisms, 1562, December 2, Margareta filia Johannis Shakspere. Burials, 1563, April 30, Margareta filia Johannis Shakspere.—Named probably after her aunt Margret Saxspere, who is mentioned at p. 10.

2. William. Baptisms, 1564, April 26, Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere.

3. Baptisms, October 13, 1566, Gilbertus filius Johannis Shakspere. — In the register for burials, Feb. 3, 1611-12, occurs, Gilbertus Shackspeare adolescens. This was perhaps a son. Malone (ii. 615) asserts that the elder Gilbert certainly died before his son. For this I find no authority, no notice of his decease appearing in the registers; but he lived at Stratford, and his signature occurs as a witness to a deed made in 1609. This signature is sufficiently interesting to be given in fac-simile.

The reader will thus be enabled to see the autograph of one of Shakespeare's brothers, affording us a genuine example of the name written by one of the family without the elision of the middle *e*. The deed referred to is a lease from Margery Lord, widow, to her son Richard Smyth alias Courte, of the site of a chimney in Middle Row, Stratford, one of the oldest parts of the town now remaining, and it was " sealed, subscribed, and delivered in the presence of" Richard Wylliams, Gilbart Shakespere, and William Bellamye.

Margery Lord her merke.

4. Baptisms, 1569, April 15, Jone, the daughter of John Shakspere.—This being the second daughter so named, it has been presumed that the former Joan died before this period. She married William Hart of Stratford, of whom there are several notices in the Registry of the Court of Record, e. g.— 17 Dec. 43 Eliz. Arthurus Ange queritur versus Williehnum Harte in placito debiti. 11 Feb. 43 Eliz. Willielmus Harte defaltum fecit super esson. ad sect. Willielmi Wyett in placito debiti; and the baptismal registers mention their children— 1600, Aug. 28, Wilhelmus filius Wilhelmi Hart; 1603, Jun. 5, Maria filia Willielmi Hart; 1605, Julii 24, Thomas filius Willielmi Hart hatter; 1608, Sept. 23, Mychaell sonne to Willyam Hart.—Among the burials, 1607, Dec. 17, Mary dawghter to Willyam Hart; 1616, Aprill 17, Will. Hartt hatter.

Joan Hart was buried at Stratford, Nov. 4, 1646. Both Joan and her sons are kindly mentioned in Shakespeare's will. The Harts are the only lineal descendants of the poet's family, who have continued to our times to bear the honour of an origin far more illustrious than the proudest feudal ancestry; yet it offers little satisfaction to trace them to their present recesses. The pedigree is not complete, and there is only a descent from the second son Thomas, to whose son Thomas, with a remainder to his brother George, the Maidenhead Inn and adjoining premises at Stratford were bequeathed by Lady Bernard in 1669. Thomas Hart, dying without issue, they became the property of George Hart, who died in 1702, and continued in the possession of the family till the commencement of the present century. In the eighteenth century, some of the Harts removed to Tewkesbury, where, I believe, the descendants of the poet's sisters are still to be traced. A few years ago, I called on a person there who claimed the nearest place in the descent from the Shakespeares of Henley Street, and, strange to say, it was no fanciful similarity that the most casual observer would trace between his features and those delineated in the Stratford monument. This individual was, I am told, Thomas Shakespeare Hart, the eighth in descent from the poet's sister. He died in 1850.

5. Baptisms, 1571, Sept. 28, Anna filia Magistri Shakspere. Burials, 1579, April 4, Anne daughter to Mr. John Shakspere. —In the Chamberlains' accounts for 1579 is the following curious entry of the sum of eight-pence having been paid for the passing-bell and the funeral pall,—"Item, for the bell and pall for Mr. Shaxpers dawghter, viij.*d.*" The passing-bell in this case was probably rung in the night, the expense being greater than that charged to others for the same service, the "bell for Mr. Trusseles child" being only four-pence. Perhaps, however, the pall was not included in the latter instance.

6. Baptisms, March 11, 1573-4, Richard sonne to Mr John Shakspeer. Burials, Feb. 4, 1612-3, Rich. Shakspeare.

7. Baptisms, May 3, 1580, Edmund sonne to Mr. John Shakspere.—This Edmund was a player, and died in London in December, 1607. See Collier's Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays, Introd. p. 14. There cannot, I

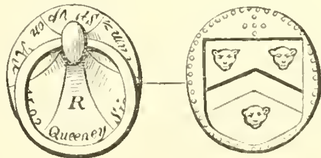
think, be much doubt as to the identity of these two, although Oldys mentions one of Shakespeare's younger brothers who was alive many years afterwards.

8. Baptisms, May 26, 1583, Susanna daughter to William Shakspere. Marriages, Junii 5, 1607, John Hall gentleman and Susanna Shaxspere. Baptisms, 1607-8, Feb. 21, Elizabeth dawghter to John Hall gen.—Dr. Hall died Nov. 25, 1635, and was buried in the chancel of Stratford Church on the following day. Mrs. Hall died on July 11th, 1649, and was buried near her husband on July 16th. Their monumental tablets are still preserved, and copies of the inscriptions upon them will be found at the end of the present memoir.

9. Baptisms, Feb. 10, 1583-4, Elizabeth daughter to Antony Shaksper of Hamton.

10. Marriages, Nov. 25, 1584, John Shakspere and Margery Roberts.—This entry relates to Shakespeare the shoemaker.—Burials, Oct. 29, 1587, Margery wife to John Shakspere.

11. Baptisms, Feb. 2, 1584-5, Hamnet and Judeth sonne and daughter to William Shakspere. Burials, Aug. 11, 1596, Hamnet filius William Shakspere.—Malone says in a letter dated 1788, "when I was some years ago at Stratford, the sexton, I think, told me that Shakspeare's only son Samuel [Hamnet], who died in 1596, aged 12, lies buried in the same grave with his mother."—Marriages, Feb. 10, 1615-6, Tho. Queeny tow Judith Shakspere. Baptisms, Nov. 23, 1616, Shaksper fillius Thomas Quyny gent. Feb. 9, 1617-8, Richard fillius Thomas Quinee.—Thomas Queeny was a vintner at Stratford, the son of Richard Quiney, who was bailiff in 1601, and whose seal, when he held that office, is here engraved. It appears to me, everything which serves to show the social position of the families connected with the poet is a legitimate subject for illustration.—Burials, May 8, 1617, Shakspere fillius Tho: Quyny gent.—It may be just worth notice that in the list of payments made to the Chamberlains in 1617 for the privilege of having the "great bell" rung, is an entry of four-pence paid "at the death of Thomas Quyniis child." He had another son, christened Thomas, in January, 1619-20.



Thomas and Richard died in 1638-9. Judith Quiny was buried at Stratford, Feb. 9, 1661-2.

12. Baptisms, March 11, 1588-9, Ursula daughter to John Shakspere; May 24, 1590, Humphrey sonne to John Shakspere; Sept. 21, 1591, Phillippus filius Johannes Shakspere.—These entries are supposed to refer to Shakespeare the shoemaker, the poet's father being usually styled *Mr.* in the register. It should be observed, however, that this distinction does not always appear in the records of the Corporation.

13. Burials, March 6, 1589-90, Thomas Green alias Shakspere.

14. Burials, 1601, Sep. 8, Mr. Johannes Shakspeare; Sept. 9, 1608, Mayry Shaxspere wydowe.—The father and mother of William Shakespeare.

15. Burials, Aug. 8, 1623, Mrs. Shakspeare.—She died on August 6th, and was buried next to her husband in the chancel of Stratford Church. The entry of her burial in the register under August, 1623, occurs as follows:

8 { Mrs. Shakspeare.
Anna uxor Richardi James.

August
8 { Mrs Shakspeare
Anna uxor Richardi James.

Mr. Harness supposes both these entries to relate to Mrs. Shakespeare. The conjecture is most improbable, the epitaph in the chancel alone deciding in the negative. The bracket was of course placed there because the two obsequies occurred on the same day.

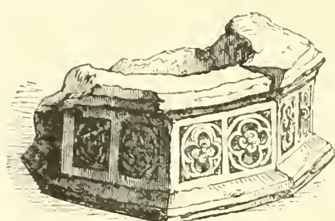
At the time of Shakespeare's birth in 1564, his father was possessed of two copyhold tenements in Stratford, Ashbies, a farm at Wilmecote, and his wife's share of property at Snitterfield. Ashbies is variously described in different records as consisting of fifty, fifty-four, and fifty-six acres, but the probability is that it comprised fifty-four acres. The balance of evidence seems to be in favour of that estimate. There was also a residence upon this property, and according to a fine, dated 1579, there were two houses and two gardens; but I suspect, in fines, the extent is frequently increased by legal fiction, and that they are not good authorities for the exact account of property. John Shakespeare afterwards occupied a

farm called Ingon, consisting of about fourteen acres; so that we may fairly conclude he took his station as a yeoman not long after his marriage with Mary Arden, however uncertain it may be how long his dealings in gloves and wool continued. William Shakespeare was baptized at Stratford on April 26th, 1564. The accompanying fac-simile from the parish register will convey to the reader an exact idea of the document on which this fact is established; and if it be objected that names long since

1564	
April 3	Edwardus filius Thomæ Sheffe
6	Bonedicta filia Thomæ Fflemming
22	Johannes filius William Brooke
26	Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere

forgotten are here recorded with one so distinguished, the answer is that on this testimony the absolute date of the year and month is alone securely ascertained. For this reason it was thought advisable to give a copy which should clearly exhibit the date. It is generally said the day of Shakespeare's death, April 23d, was also the anniversary of his birth, but this statement rests on a late tradition, no written authority for it being met with previously to the time of Oldys; and had so singular a circumstance occurred, I cannot but think it would have been remarked by some one among those of the seventeenth century who have recorded notices of him, even if it had not been particularly mentioned in his monumental inscription. At the same time it must be remarked that three days was often the period which elapsed between birth and baptism. Arthur Dee was born 13th of July, 1579, and christened on the 16th; and Katherine Dee was born 7th of June, 1581, and christened on the 10th. On the other hand, Theodore Dee was born 28th of February, 1588, and christened on March 1st; and Margaret Dee was not christened till a fortnight after her birth. These instances are selected from Dr. Dee's Diary, and tend to show there was no great regularity observed in such matters. Shakespeare's monumental inscription records he was in his fifty-third year on April 23d, 1616, which, if correct, proves he was born on or before that day in 1564, as his fifty-third year would

obviously not have commenced till his birthday in 1616. A font is still shown at Stratford as having been that in which the poet was baptized, the upper portion of it, represented in the annexed engraving, being all that remains. It is now preserved



in a builder's garden, which is situated not far from the Grammar Schools; but although the probability is that it is part of the font that was in Stratford Church in the sixteenth century, the frequency of domestic baptisms in those days renders it somewhat doubtful whether it was used at the poet's christening.

Henley Street, the locality of Shakespeare's nativity, is one of the most ancient parts of the town of Stratford. It is mentioned as early as 43 Edward III., 1369, in a charter preserved in the Council Chamber. In proceeding from the Guild-Chapel along the High Street, passing the site of the ancient market-place, immediately to the left is Wood Street, and Henley Street is on the same side of the way, in a slanting direction, forming an inclination with the former street, the present Market-house being at the corner of each. Continuing our path along Henley Street from this direction, the house shown as the poet's birth-place is nearly at the further end, on the right hand side, not far from the boundaries of the borough; for about two or three hundred yards from the house, on the road to Henley-in-Arden, whence the name of the street, stood the Boundary Elm. Till within the last few years, the site was

THE BOUNDARY ELM, STRATFORD.

marked by an ancient tree, which if not the same that flourished there in Shakespeare's time, was at all events an appropriate representative, growing on the same spot, and undoubtedly of considerable antiquity. Mr. Wheler possesses an early perambulation of Stratford, 1591, which mentions "the elme at the Dovehouse-close end." For centuries, therefore, this boundary has been indicated by an elm; and it must necessarily have been an object familiar to Shakespeare in early life. The annexed representation of the tree was taken in the autumn of 1847.

The fact that Shakespeare was born in the house in Henley Street, which is now assigned as the place of his birth, rests solely, as to the event itself, on tradition,—on the unvarying tradition of the inhabitants of Stratford. An attempt has been made to invalidate this testimony, by a bold assertion that no attribution of the birth-place was made till after the year 1790; but it was indicated as such, as a spot of peculiar interest, at the Jubilee in 1769, when the song "Here Nature nurs'd her darling boy," was sung opposite to it; and Gough (Camden's Britannia, 1789, ii. 340, additions,) expressly mentions "the house in which constant tradition has uniformly affirmed he first drew breath remains unaltered, being built of timber and plaister, like most in the town." An earlier notice of it occurs in the *Annual Register* for 1765, where it is stated, "an old walnut-tree, which flourished before the door of Shakespear's father, at Stratford upon Avon, at the birth of that poet, having been lately cut down, several gentlemen had images, resembling that in Westminster Abbey, carved from it." This evidence would obviously not be sufficient to establish the truth of the tradition, but there are important early testimonies, bearing upon the fact, and yet in themselves independent of it, that tend to confirm the general belief, and substantiate it as nearly as could be expected in regard to any circumstance of the kind belonging to so remote a period. John Shakespeare, as appears from an ancient court-roll previously quoted, resided in Henley Street as early as 1552. In 1556, he purchased a copyhold estate in the same street, consisting of one tenement with a garden. In 1575, he bought the freehold premises which now constitute what is termed the Shakespeare Property, consisting of the birth-place and adjoining houses. It would appear, also, from a survey made in 1590, that he then owned another copyhold tenement in Henley Street, so that John Shakespeare possessed no less than four houses in that street, any one of which, without further evidence, might have been his residence in 1564; but a deed, which will be shortly quoted at length, dated in January, 1596-7, yields the important information that at that time he occupied the birth-place. This testimony is most valuable, and, regarded in connexion with tradition and later authorities, may fairly be considered decisive. Shakespeare's father resided in Henley Street in 1552; the exact locality in which he lived in 1596-7 is ascertained by indubitable authority; and that locality has been indicated as the birth-place from

time immemorial, the fact being handed down by persons unacquainted with the evidence alluded to. It is unreasonable to expect, at this day, a more exact line of proof. The most probable supposition is that John Shakespeare lived in the birth-place during the whole of his residence in Stratford, first as tenant, and afterwards as owner; there being no reason for believing that he ever inhabited any one of his copyhold tenements, which were in all probability houses of a very inferior description.

John Shakespeare's freehold property in Henley Street is described as consisting of two messuages, two gardens, and two orchards, on the authority of the following fine, which was levied on the occasion of the purchase in the year 1575:

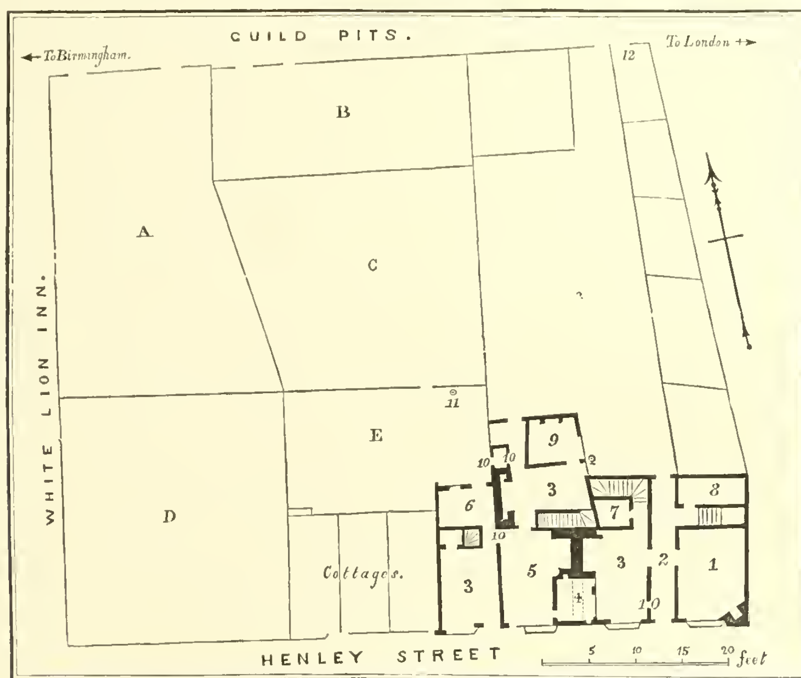
Hæc est finalis concordia facta in curia dominæ reginæ apud Westm. a die Sancti Michaelis in unum mensem, anno regnor. Elizabeth. Dei gratia Angl. Franc. et Hibern. Reginæ, Fidei defensoris, &c. a conquestu decimo septimo, coram Jacobo Dyer, Ricardo Harpur, Rogero Manwood, et Roberto Mounson, justic. et aliis dominæ reginæ fidelibus tunc ibi præsentibus, inter Johannem Shakespere quer. et Edmundum Hall et Emmam uxorem ejus deforc., de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis, et duobus pomariis, cum pertinentiis, in Stretford super Avon, unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos in eadem curia, scilicet quod prædicti Edm. et Emma recogn. prædict. ten. cum pertin. esse jus ipsius Johannis ut ill. quæ idem Johannes habet de dono prædictorum Edmundi et Emmæ, et ill. remiser. et quietaclam. de ipsis Edmundo et Emma et hæred. suis prædicto Johanni et hæred. suis in perpetuum. Et præterea iidem Edmundus et Emma concesser. pro se et hæred. ipsius Emmæ quod ipsi warant. prædicto Johanni et hæred. suis prædict. ten. cum pertin. contra prædictos Edmundum et Emmam et hæred. ipsius Emmæ in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. remissione quietaclam. warant. fine et concordia idem Johannes dedit prædictis Edmundo et Emmæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

But the extent of a property was frequently duplicated, in these documents, by a legal fiction, and although, for the sake of intelligibility, that now under consideration is mentioned as comprising two houses, it admits of a doubt whether Shakespeare's father did not occupy the whole as one tenement. A minute examination of some deeds relating to the property has nearly convinced me that this must have been the case, and that it was not formed into two houses until long after the birth of Shakespeare. In the plan on the opposite page, the portion marked by the thick lines constitutes his house in its original extent, No. 5 being the shop at the birth-place, the Swan and Maidenhead being on the right, and No. 3 on the left a portion of Shakespeare's house, but now a separate cottage. The property on the west included the site of the three cottages

Deed of Assignment from John Shakespeare to George Badger of a small parcel of Ground in Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon.

This Deed proves that Shakespeare's father resided at the house now shown as the Birth-place.

near the White Lion Inn, which were probably erected at the commencement of the eighteenth century; and it appears that early in the year 1597, John Shakespeare parted with a small portion of ground to the West of this to one George Badger,



who owned the adjoining house, which is described in a conveyance, dated 1591, as *totum illud messuagium sive tenementum meum cum pertinentiis scituat. jacen. et existen. in Stretford prædicto, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Henley Streete, inter tenementum Roberti Johnsons ex una parte, et tenementum Johannis Shakespere ex altera parte.* It is clear, from the description in the following conveyance, that the land sold by Shakespeare was a narrow slip extending the whole length between Henley Street and the Guild Pits. The deed itself is so extremely important in its connexion with the argument respecting the locality of Shakespeare's birth, that a fac-simile of it is here given. *On this deed alone, it may be fairly said, rests the now indisputable fact that John Shakespeare resided at the house known as the birth-place.* The scribe's Latinity is not very good, but it was thought best to follow the original as closely as possible.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit, Johannes Shakespere de Stratford super Avon in comitatu Warwici yoman salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum Johannem pro et in consideracione summæ quinquaginta solidorum bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ mihi per quendam Georgium Badger de Stretford prædict. draper præmanibus solut. unde fateor me fideliter esse solut. et satisfact. dictumque Georgium Badger hæredes executores

et administratores suos inde quiet. esse et exonerat. imperpetuum per præsentes, barganizavi et vendidi, necnon dedi et concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus et assignatis suis, totum illud toftum et parcellum terræ meæ cum pertinentiis jacencium et existen. in Stretford super Avon prædicto, in quodam vico ibidem vocato Henlye Strete, inter liberum tenementum mei prædicti Johannis Shakespere ex parte orientali et liberum tenementum prædicti Georgii Badger ex parte occidentali, continent. in latitudine per æstimacionem dimid. unius virgat. apud uterque fines, et jacet in longitudine a prædicto vico vocat. Henlye Strete ex parte austral. usque regiam viam ibidem vocatam Gyllpyttes ex parte boreali, continen. per æstimacionem in longitudine viginti et octo virgat. vel circa, *et modo est in tenura sive occupatione mei prædicti Johannis Shakespere;* habendum et tenendum prædictum toftum et parcellam terræ cum pertinentiis præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus et assignatis suis, ad solum et proprium opus et usum ejusdem Georgii, hæred. et assign. suorum, imperpetuum, tenendum de capitalibus dominis feod. ill. per servicium inde prius debit. et de jure consuet. Et ego vero prædictus Johannes Shakespere et hæredes mei totum prædictum toftum et parcellam terræ cum pertinentiis præfato Georgio Badger, hæredibus et assignatis suis, ad opus et usum supradictis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per præsentes. Sciatis insuper me præfatum Johannem Shakespere plenam et pacificam possessionem et seisinam de et in prædicto tofto et parcella terræ cum pertinentiis præfato Georgio Badger, secundum vim, formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ meæ inde ei confect. in propria persona mea tradidisse et deliberasse. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti scripto meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo sexto die Januarii anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, Fidei defensor. &c. tricesimo nono, 1596. Signum Johannis + Shakespere. [*See fac-simile.*]

Sigillat. et deliberat. ac pacifica possessio et seisina de tofto et parcell. terræ infrascript. deliberat. fuit per infra-nominatum Johannem Shakespere infra-scripto Georgio Badger, die et anno infrascripto, secundum formam, tenorem, et effectum hujus præsentis cartæ, in præsencia viz. Richard Lane, Harry Walker, per me Willielmum Courte scriptor. Thomas Loche, Thomas Beseley.

The three modern cottages on the West of the birth-place, the ground marked E, the portion No. 3, and the site of a barn, supposed by Mr. Wheler to be the same which is mentioned in Lady Bernard's will, marked B, were sold by Thomas Hart in 1771. Some years previously, in 1746, Shakespeare Hart had parted with a piece of ground between his garden and the yard of the Swan Inn (now the White Lion), which is, I believe, the portion marked C. This account will exhibit the extent of the Shakespeare property on the West side; and it also appears from a document relating to a suit contested in 1638, that about the year 1598, John Shakespeare sold to his next neighbour on the East side, who was desirous of amalgamating "twoe small burgages or tenements," into one, "and wantinge roome for that purpose," a small piece of ground on that side of the birth-place, measuring "aboute seaventeene foote square, as hee taketh it." It is, therefore, evident that John Shakespeare

made at least two small alienations from the original property in the sixteenth century. The evidence of the last is contained in an answer sworn in the Court of Requests, 9 October, 14 Car. I., 1638, entitled, "The severall answeare of Thomas Willis, defendant, to the bill of complaint of Allen Wastell, complainant;" the original of which is preserved in the collection of records in the Chapter House:

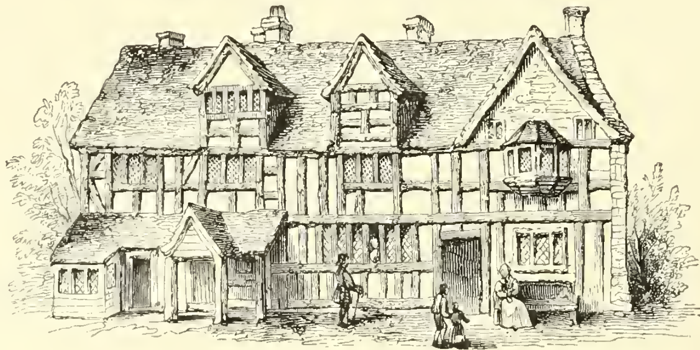
The said defendant, &c., thinketh and hopeth to prove that Edward Willis, of Kingsnorton, in the countie of Wigorn, in the said bill of complaint named, was in his life tyme lawfully seised in his demeasne as of fee of and in twoe small burgages or tenementes, with thappurtenances, in Stratford upon Avon, in the countie of Warwicke; and beinge desirous to make the same one tenement dwelling, and wantinge roome for that purpose, thereupon the said Edward Willis, &c., did about fortie yeares since purchase to him and his heires, of and from one Shakespeare, one parcell of land, conteyninge aboute seaventeene foote square (as hee taketh it), next adjoyninge to one of the said burgages or tenementes, and which parcell of ground and backside this defendant conceiveth to be the parcell of ground or backside intended by the said bill. And the said Edward Willis, &c., about fortie yeares since did make and erect one intire tenement upon a greate parte of the same; and havinge soe made, erected, and converted the same into one tenement, thereupon and after the same was soe made into one tenement, and had bene soe enjoyed for diverse yeares, hee the said Edward Willis, &c., by deed indented bearinge date the twentith daye of July, in the seaventh yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lord Kinge James of England, &c., geve, grante, &c., to Thomas Osborne and Bartholemewe Austeyne, and their heires, all the said twoe burgages or tenementes and parcell of ground and backside, &c., all that messuage or tenement and burgage, with thappurtenaunces called the Bell, otherwise the signe of the Bell, heretofore used or occupied in twoe tenementes, scituate and beinge in Stratford upon Avon, in the countie of Warwick, in a streete there commonly called Henley Streete, and nowe or late in the tenure or occupacion of Robert Brookes, or of his assignes or undertenantes, betweene the tenement of Thomas Horneby on the east parte, and the tenement late of William Shakespeare on the west parte, and the streete aforesaid on the south parte, and the King's highe way called Gilpittes on the north parte, &c.

A visitor to the insignificant cottage now exhibited as the poet's birth-place, would derive a very incorrect idea of the premises as they existed in the sixteenth century, were he unacquainted with the circumstance that it is only a small portion of the original building, which must then have constituted a respectable and substantial dwelling. The earliest authentic representation of this interesting locality was made in or before the year 1769 by Mr. Richard Greene, a surgeon at Lichfield, a gentleman deeply interested in all that related to Shakespeare, and extremely fond of antiquarian literature. He was the brother of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Free School of Stratford, and his correspondence, still preserved by the

family, exhibits him as a person who engaged in archæological researches with intelligence, and a due appreciation of the value of accuracy. The drawing, therefore, which he made of the birthplace may be safely confided in. It appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1769, and there is reason for

THE BIRTH-PLACE, FROM A DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

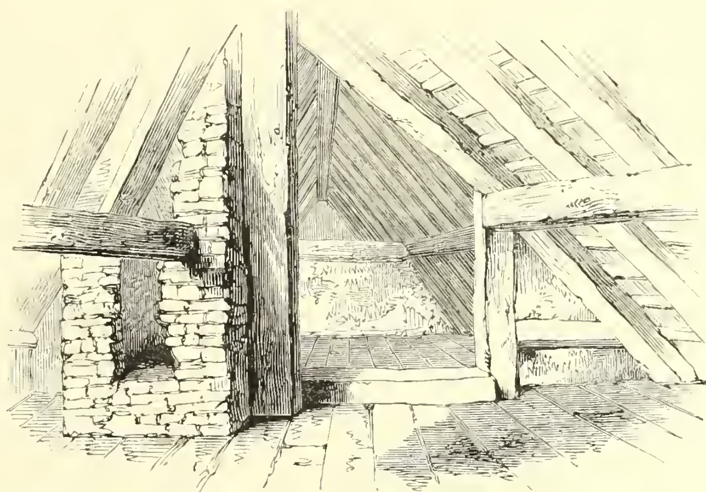
believing that the representation published by Colonel Delamotte in 1788 is merely a copy of it, with a few scarcely perceptible alterations, and that the latter is not taken from an independent drawing. The one given above, from an old sketch in the British Museum, is also, I suspect, adapted either from Greene or Delamotte, for it has not the characteristics of a drawing made on the spot. The following view agrees very nearly with



THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE, A.D. 1769.

Delamotte's, though neither for this is there good testimony for its authenticity as an original sketch. Either of the above, however, correspond so closely with Greene's delineation of the houses, that they will readily serve all practical purposes in describing the subsequent alterations; while the latter is so accessible in the pages of one of our most common periodicals, having also been reproduced by Malone in 1780, any reader, who is curious in the matter, can readily compare it with them. Other views, exhibiting the houses on each side, are borrowed

from the one by Greene, who evidently consulted his fancy in representing the Shakespeare houses as detached in 1769, although they probably were so, certainly on the West side, in the time of Elizabeth. Believing, as I think there is every reason to suppose, that these buildings were not greatly altered before the close of the last century, the views above given will convey a fair idea of their external character in Shakespeare's day; the dormer windows, projecting parlour, and the porch, on one side, and the gable, with the bay-window on the other, investing them with a very picturesque appearance. The removal of the dormer windows, converting the upper rooms into a dark and useless garret, is deeply to be regretted. The accompanying sketch of the present appearance of the interior



GARRET OVER THE ROOM IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE WAS BORN.

will enable the reader to form a correct judgment of the former extent of this portion of the building, which at one time evidently comprised serviceable apartments. It was between the rafters and the tiling of this garret, somewhere about the year 1770, that the supposititious Confession of Faith of John Shakespeare was pretended to have been found.

At the same time that the dormer windows on the Western side of the birth-place disappeared, the gable was also removed, the roof being uniformly continued the whole length, and in place of the bay-window, which forms so pleasing a feature in the old views, a flat latticed one, similar to those in the other parts of the building, was substituted. This alteration had taken place before Ireland made his sketch of the birth-place in October, 1792, from which also it would appear that at

that time the porch, or at least that portion of it over the butcher's shop, had been entirely removed. Very careful enquiries, however, instituted at Stratford-on-Avon of persons whose memories extend beyond that period, have convinced me that Ireland's view, in this respect, is not to be depended upon; that the penthouse over the shop-window was a remnant of the original porch, perhaps composed of renovated materials, and that it has always been there since the alterations were made. The porch itself was certainly taken down, and, in its stead, two small penthouses were placed over the doors of the western parlour, and of the shop at the birth-place, as is observed in the annexed view, taken in 1806. The adjoining house is the Swan and Maidenhead Inn, or the Maidenhead, as it was called in the seventeenth century, the timber work and the lattice windows being the only characteristics belonging to the ancient house then remaining. These were displaced some years afterwards by the landlord of the inn, who destroyed every external vestige of its antiquity by entirely modernizing the front, substituting one of red brick, which is described by Mr. Fairholt as being "exactly of the approved fashion in which rows of houses are built in small towns, and which consists generally of an alternate door and window, repeated at regular intervals below, while a monotonous range of windows above effectually repulses attention."

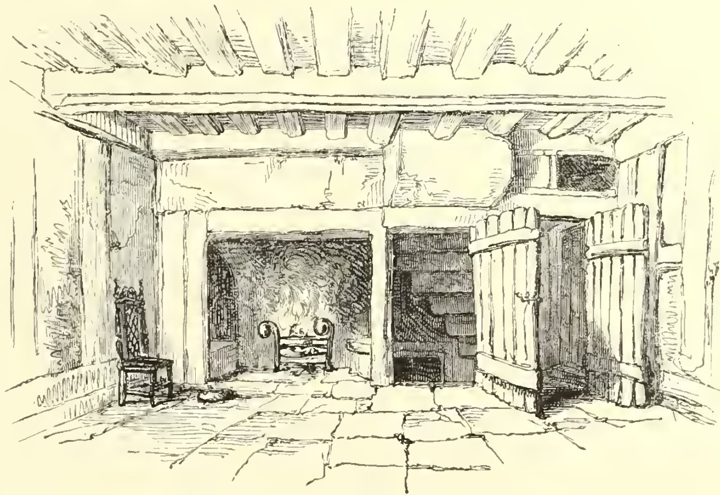
THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE, A.D. 1806.

This alteration has unfortunately obliterated the indications which, till then, very distinctly exhibited to the observer the original extent of the premises, so that at this day, all that remains of them externally are the small portions represented in the adjoined sketch, taken in September, 1847, which consists of the birth-place and the little cottage, the projecting parlour of which, now slightly modernized, is the Western boundary of the house in the early views. The

SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTH-PLACE, SEPTEMBER, 1847.

changes that have been made during the last seventy years will be readily and minutely traced by means of the engravings above given, which will show of how respectable a character was the ancient edifice, and how little it could have corresponded with the description of the "mean-looking" building mentioned by Washington Irving as "a true nestling-place of genius, which seems to delight in hatching its offspring in by-corners." At the period of Shakespeare's birth, there can be no doubt that it was a dwelling suitable to the means of a substantial trading yeoman of the day.

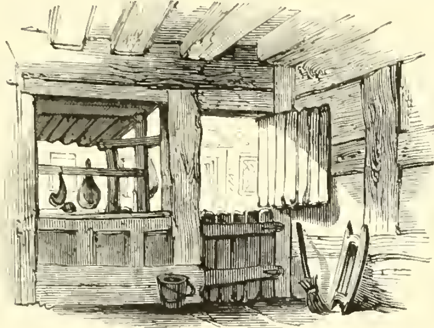
The Maidenhead Inn having undergone such great changes, the exterior being completely modernized, and even in the interior, excepting a portion of the garret previously mentioned, which extends the whole length of the premises, scarcely any of the original, save a few of the timbers, now remaining, the further account of the home of Shakespeare's youth may be restricted to that portion which is represented in the last engraving. The cottage to the left, an integral part of John



A LOWER ROOM IN JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S HOUSE, 1852.

Shakespeare's house, still retains much of its original character, especially in the room on the ground floor, here represented. The chief interest, however, centres in the adjoining cottage, which contains the apartment that tradition has asserted, from time immemorial, to be the actual birth-place of the poet. Passing into the shop, the door, Mr. Fairholt says, "is divided into a hatch, and we look back into the street above the lower half, and through the open window, with its projecting stall for meat,

and its wooden roof above. The walls of this room are of plaster, and the solid oak beams rest on the stone foundation." The floor is rudely paved with variously sized stones, and on the right is a spacious fire place, the sides, as the same writer observes, being built of brick, and "the chimney-piece above cut with a low-pointed arch out of a massive beam of oak." The construction is primitive, and tells of times gone by, the days of draughts, when the chimney corner was an envied seat. On the left is a small recess, which appears to have been used for a bacon-cupboard. Passing through this room, a raised step leads into another apartment, which is termed the kitchen, a room somewhat similar to the other, with a stone floor and timbered ceiling. The fireplace is of an ancient construction, of the same date as that in the shop. The beam across the opening, the ancient mantlepiece, consists of an immense oblong piece of timber. In the window facing the fireplace was formerly the circular pane of glass, about six inches in diameter, ornamented with the arms of the merchants of the wool-staple, which was produced by Malone as an evidence that John Shakespeare dealt in wool; but there can be little doubt, from the testimony brought forward by Mr. Wheler, that the glass originally came from the Guild Chapel, and was inserted in the window in Henley Street by Shakespeare Hart, a glazier, a Hart of the third descent from Shakespeare's sister. According to Mr. Wheler, "old Thomas Hart constantly declared that his great uncle, Shakespeare Hart, being employed, as he certainly was upon such occasions towards the close of the seventeenth century, to repair the



SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTH-PLACE—INTERIOR OF THE SHOP.

SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTH-PLACE—THE KITCHEN.

windows of the Chapel, brought it from thence, and introduced it into his own window." This account is so intelligible and probable, it has not been considered worth while to insert a representation of a relic which does not appear to have originally belonged to the house. There is another vestige of antiquity, that formerly stood in the South-East corner of the parlour of the Maidenhead Inn, which is traditionally said to have been in the house since Shakespeare's time, and certainly no cogent reason against such a supposition has been adduced. It is a bas-relief in plaster, formerly dated 1606, representing the conflict between David and Goliah. This date of course excludes the consideration of it as a relic of Shakespeare's boyhood, but it seems worthy of preservation as a memorial of the ancient decorations of the house. According to Ireland, it was repaired and painted in a variety of colours by Thomas Hart in 1759, who assured him the following motto was then around the border, delineated in the old black letter :—

Golith coms with sword and spear,
And David with a sling;
Although Golith rage and sweare,
Down David doth him bring.

Ascending from the kitchen, by a small flight of steps, the visitor is introduced into the room in which Shakespeare was born. The ceiling is low, as is generally the case in the upper part of most English houses of so early a date; a fire-place of simple, but massive construction, is near the door on the left hand; and the room is lighted by a window, now glazed in the modern fashion, but formerly consisting of a flat lattice of three lights, as appears from Greene's view of the exterior of the house. This apartment, in the sixteenth century, hung with painted cloths, and appropriately furnished, would not have induced that idea of discomfort which now pervades it. Shakespeare was not born in a room enclosed by whitewashed walls; and it must always be recollected that the home of the poet, in its present state, can at best only suggest a mere outline, from the existence of a few of the more enduring features, of what it originally was. "The walls of this chamber," observes Washington Irving, "are covered with names and inscriptions, in every language, by pilgrims of all nations, ranks, and conditions, from the prince to the peasant, and present a simple but

striking instance of the spontaneous and universal homage of mankind to the great poet of nature." The truthfulness of this most interesting room is fortunately no longer violated by the

THE ROOM IN WHICH SHAKESPEARE WAS BORN.

exhibition of the relics which so long excited the ridicule of all intelligent visitors, and tended to create a doubt in many minds as to the integrity of the house itself in regard to its connexion with Shakespeare.

Early in the seventeenth century, the birth-place was inhabited by the poet's sister, Joan Hart, to whom it is left in his will at the nominal yearly rent of twelve-pence during her life. She continued to reside there till 1639, and probably till her death in 1646, the adjoining premises at the former period being occupied by Mrs. Hiccox, a widow, and shortly afterwards by one John Rutter. After the death of Joan Hart, the birth-place became the residence of Thomas Hart; and Lady Bernard, in 1669-70, bequeathed the whole of the premises, including the Maidenhead Inn, to her "kinsman, Thomas Hart, the son of Thomas Hart, late of Stratford-upon-Avon," with remainders to his issue, or in default of such issue, to his brother George Hart. The Shakespeare property continued in the possession of this family till the year 1806, when it was bought by Mr. Thomas Court; but being again submitted for sale, in 1847, it was purchased by public subscription, and is now confided to the care of the Government.

In the absence of any direct contemporary evidence respecting the early days of Shakespeare, it is a matter of importance to trace the history of his father, it having been usually asserted that, owing to the circumstances of the latter, his education was in some degree neglected. That John Shakespeare at certain periods of his life found it convenient to raise money on mortgage,

and occasionally to borrow small sums, must be readily admitted; and the evidence altogether tends to the conclusion that, for some reason not now known, his circumstances did not improve after 1575, in which year, when Shakespeare was eleven, he gave £40 for the premises in Henley Street. But that poverty is shown must not be too readily conceded. And in pursuing this subject, the evidence on which I wish to place fully before the reader, it will be well to submit all entries of cases respecting him to be found in the registry of the Court of Record, especially as erroneous conclusions have been arrived at by those who have contented themselves with the brief extracts heretofore given. Unfortunately the registry is deficient from 12 to 26 Eliz. inclusively, a period that would, in all probability, have furnished several entries of great interest.

Jul. 15, 2 et 3 Phil. et Mar. Ad hanc curiam venit Johannes Shakyspere in propria persona sua, et def. vim et injur. quand. etc. et petit lic. interloquend. hic usque ad proximam curiam, &c. et habet, &c.

Aug. 12, 3 et 4 Phil. et Mar. Ad hanc curiam [venit] Johannes Shakyspere per Thomam Marten consil. ad barr. et petit judicium versus Thomam Siche, quia non protulit actionem quæ habuit versus prædictum Johannem Shakyspere, et habet judicium cum expensis. [This refers to the action mentioned at p. 19.]

Nov. 19, 3 et 4 Phil. et Mar. Johannes Shakysper queritur versus Henr. Fyld in placito quod reddat ei xviij. quarteria ordei quæ ei injuste detinet, &c.—Actio inter Brace et Rawson comittitur Rogero Myller et Johanni Shakysper usque proximam curiam.

Dec. 2, 3 et 4 Phil. et Mar. Actio inter Johannem Shakispere et Henr. Fyld continuatur ex concensu partium usque ad proximam curiam.

Dec. 16, 3 et 4 Phil. et Mar. Actio inter Shakysper et Henr. Fyld continuatur ulterius usque proximam curiam.

Sept. 22, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Ricardum Wagstaff in placito debiti x.*s.*

Oct. 6, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Richardus Wagstaff esson. ad hunc diem ad sect. Johannis Shakespere in placito debiti &c. per Radulphum Chester.—Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Willielmum Rychardson de placito transgr.

Oct. 20, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Willielmus Rychardson ad hunc diem comparuit ad sect. Johannis Shakespere, et quer. habet ultimum diem ad narr.—Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Johannem Asshell in placito debiti super demand. xlij.*s.*

Nov. 17, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Ad hanc curiam venit Johannes Asshell in propria persona, et fatetur actionem Johannis Shakspeyr xlij.*s.* et dat. est dies dict. deff. ad solvendum dict. solucion. modo et forma sequent. videlicet ad festum Sancti Andreæ Apostoli proximum sequen. hujus curiæ xx.*s.* et ad festum Natalis Dominæ ex tunc prox. sequen. xxij.*s.* et si defect. fiat in parte solucionis vel in toto ad aliquem festum festorum prædictorum quod solvi debeat, quod tunc fiet executio pro toto &c. —— Ad hanc curiam venit Ricardus Wagstaf in propria persona, et fatetur actionem Johannis Shakspeyr, videlicit x.*s.* et dat. est dies dicto deff. ad solvend. dict. x.*s.* ante festum Natalis Domini prox. sequent. hujus curiæ, ac pro misis et custag. circa cur. etc. x.*d.* et si defect. fiat in parte solutione

prædict. vel in toto ad festum prædictum quod solvi debeat, quod tunc fiat executio pro toto &c.

Dec. 1, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. De Willielmo Rychardson pro li. con. cum Johanne Shakespere in placito transgr.—Willielmus Wyngfyld traditur in ball. Johanni Shakespere et Johanni West, videlicit prædictus Johannes et Johannes manuceper. pro dicto Willielmo Wyngfyld, quod si contigerit eum convinci in aliqua actione ad sectam Radulphi Cawdrey, quod tunc prædictus Willielmus solvet et contentabit omnia hujusmodi debita et dampna in quibus contigerit eum convinci, aut se prisonæ infra burgum prædictum submittet; alioquin ipsi prædicti Johannes et Johannes manuceper. solvere prædicto Radulpho Cawdrey debita et dampna prædicta pro prædicto Willielmo Wyngfyld.

April. 19, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Adrianus Quenye et Thomas Knyght quer. versus Johannem Shakespere de placito debiti super demand. vj.*li.*

Maij 6, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Adreanus Quyny et Thomas Knyght pet. distring. versus Johannem Shakspeyr in placito debiti. Willielmus Malpes queritur versus Johannem Shakspeyr in placito debiti super demand. viij.*s.*—Judicium. Ad hanc curiam venit Johannes Shakspeyr, et fatetur actionem Adreani Quyny et Thomæ Knyght, videlicet vj.*li.* post cons. per cur. quod q. recuperent debit. prædictum et xvj.*d.* pro mis. et custag. Ideo fiat levari.

Jun. 5, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Willielmus Malpas ad hunc diem petit distr. versus Johannem Shakespere in placito debiti pro viij.*s.*

Jul. 13, 4 et 5 Phil. et Mar. Johannes Shakespere quer. versus Willielmum Malpas in placito debiti et q. petit diem ad narr. usque proximam curiam.

Jul. 27, 5 et 6 Phil. et Mar. De Willielmo Malpas quia non pros. actionem suam versus Johannem Shakespere in placito debiti.

Nov. 9, 5 et 6 Phil. et Mar. Franciscus Herbage queritur versus Johannem Shakespere de placito debiti super demand. x.*s.*

Nov. 23, 1 Eliz. Johannes Shakespere ad hunc diem esson. per Robertum Lock ad sect. Francisci Herbage.

Dec. 21, 1 Eliz. De Francisco Herbage quia non pros. actionem suam versus Johannem Shakesper in placito debiti.

Feb. 1, 1 Eliz. Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Matheum Bramley de placito debiti.

Feb. 15, 1 Eliz. De Johanne Shakespere quia quod non pros. actionem suam versus Matheuum Bramley in placito debiti.

April. 26, 1 Eliz. Adreanus Quyny et Thomas Knyght petunt capias satisfaciend. versus Johannem Shakspeyr pro quinque libris &c. [This was originally entered as follows:]—"Adreanus Quyny et Thomas Knyght quer. versus Johannem Shakspeyr de placito debiti super demand. v.*li.* pleg. de pros. Rogerus Sadler et Ricardus Harenton."

Jul. 5, 1 Eliz. Johannes Shakspeyr queritur versus Ricardum Court in placito debiti vj.*s.* viij.*d.*—Johannes Shakspeyr queritur versus Ricardum Court in placito detenc.

Aug. 19, 1 Eliz. Actio continuatur ex assensu partium. Actio inter Johannem Shackspere et Ricardum Court ponitur ad Radulff. Cawdrie et Johannem Ichyver ad audiendum et terminandum aliter ad satisfaciendum ad proximam curiam.

Sept. 20, 1 Eliz. Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Matheum Bromley in placito debiti esson. per Johannem Mors.—Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Aliciam Nevell viduam in placito debiti esson. per Ricardum Sponer; non pros. est q. ideo in misericordia.

Oct. 17, 1 Eliz. Pon. in arbitrium. Actio detenc. inter Edwardum Bate

Note of a Writ of Distringas, issued against John Shakespeare:
From the Borough Records of Stratford-on-Avon

A Notice of the Play of Twelfth Night, and a contemporary anecdote of Shakespeare:
From the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

Extracts from the Medical Case-Book of Dr. John Hall, the Poet's Son-in-law.
From the Original MS.

quer. et Cristofer Smythe ponitur Ric. Bidill, Johanni Wheler, Ric. Hill, et Johanni Shakspere, ad audiendum et terminandum ante proximam curiam aliter ad certificandum ad dictam curiam, &c.

April. 2, 3 Eliz. Robertus Locke queritur versus Johannem Shackspere in placito debiti.

Jan. 20, 5 Eliz. Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Ricardum Court in placito debiti.

Feb. 3, 5 Eliz. Actio debiti inter Johannem Shackspere et Ricardum Court concord. per arbitrimentum, et dismissa fuit extra curiam.

Sept. 1, 5 Eliz. Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Ricardum Careles in placito debiti.

Sept. 15, 5 Eliz. Dat. est dies Johanni Shakspere usque proximam curiam ad narrandum versus Ricardum Carcles in placito debiti.

Jan. 19, 6 Eliz. Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Humfridum Gadeley in placito debiti.

Jun. 6, 6 Eliz. Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Humfridum Gadeley in placito debiti.

Jul. 5, 6 Eliz. Humfridus Gadeley solempniter exactus ad respond. Johanni Shakspere in placito debiti, et non venit; ideo ipse in misericordia. Et dictus Johannes petit proc. de distr. et ei conceditur quod petit.

Jun. 6, 7 Eliz. Johannes Shakspere queritur versus Johannem Mille in placito debiti.

Nov. 2, 11 Eliz. Johannes Shakyspere, Lewes ap Wyllyams, deligantur ex parte Henrici Bragge ad arbitrandum materiam inter eos.

Sept. 1, 27 Eliz. Johannes Yovins queritur versus Thomam Shaxper de placito . . . . . .

Oct. 27, 27 Eliz. Johannes [Browne] queritur versus Johannem Shakesper deff. de placito debiti.

Nov. 10, 27 Eliz. Fiat distr. versus Johannem Shaxpeare ad sect. Johannis Browne in placito debiti.

Nov. 24, 28 Eliz. Fiat alias distr. versus Johannem Shaxpeare ad sect. Johannis Browne in placito debiti.

Jan. 19, 28 Eliz. Ad hunc diem servient. ad clavam burgi præd. retorn. proc. de distr. eis direct. versus Johannem Shackspere ad sect. Johannis Browne, quod præd. Johannes Shackspere nihil habet unde distr. potest. Ideo fiat ca. versus eundem Johannem Shackspere ad sect. prædicti Johannis Browne, si petatur.

Feb. 16, 28 Eliz. Fiat cap. versus Johannem Shaxkspere ad sect. Johannis Browne in placito debiti.

Mar. 2, 28 Eliz. Fiat alias capias versus Johannem Shaxspere ad sect. Johannis Browne in placito debiti. [In the margin is written, "non sold. per Browne."]

Jan. 18, 29 Eliz. Johannes Shaxpere attach. fuit per servient. ad clavam ibidem ad respondend. Nicolao Lane in placito transgr. super casum, et Ricardus Hyll m. pro deff. etc. [Resulting from this suit the following precept was issued against the person of John Shakespeare:—]

Stretford Burgus. } Precept. est servien. ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu unus eorum capiat, Johannem Shackspere, si etc. et cum salvum &c. ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi præd. ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenend. ad respondend. Nicholao Lane gen. de placito transgr. super casum, et hoc &c. Datum xxv^to^ die Januarii, anno regni Dominæ Elizabethæ, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, Fidei defensoris, &c. xxix°.

Feb. 1, 29 Eliz. Nicolaus Lane narr. versus Johannem Shaxpere in placito transgr. super casum et deff. li. lo.

Mar. 1, 29 Eliz. Johannes Shakesper per Williehnum Courte venit &c. et dicit quod non assumpsit præfato Nicolao Lane modo et forma prout præd. Nicholaus versus eum narr.

Mar. 29, 29 Eliz. Johannes Shakesper protulit breve dominæ reginæ de habeas corpus cum causa coram domina regina r. in curia prox. post xviij. Paschæ.

Jun. 20, 30 Eliz. Johannes Shaxpere queritur versus Johannem Tomson in placito debiti.

Jul. 3, 30 Eliz. Continuatur actio inter Johannem Shaxpere quer. et Johannem Tompson deff. ex assensu partium.

Jul. 17, 30 Eliz. De Johanne Shackspere quia non pros.

April. 23, 31 Eliz. Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Willielmum Grene de placito debiti (concord.)

Oct. 22, 31 Eliz. Johannes Shaxpere queritur versus Johannem Tompson in placito debiti.—Johannes Shaxpere queritur versus Ricardum Sutton in placito debiti.

Nov. 5, 31 Eliz. Fiat distr. versus Johannem Tompson ad sect. Johannis Shaxpere in placito debiti.—Fiat distr. versus Ricardum Sutton ad sect. Johannis Shaxpere in placito debiti.

Nov. 19, 32 Eliz. Johannes Tompson esson. ad sect. Johannis Shaxpere in placito debiti.

Dec. . . . 32 Eliz. Johannes Tompson defalt. fecit super esson. ad sect. Johannis Shaxpere in placito debiti.

Feb. 24, 33 Eliz. Adrianus Quiney, Humffridus Plumley, et Ricardus Hyll quer. versus Johannem Shaxsper in placito debiti.

Mar. 10, 33 Eliz. Fiat. distr. versus Johannem Shaxspere ad sect. Adriani Quyney et aliorum in placito debiti.

Mar. 24, 33 Eliz. Fiat capias pro corpore Johannis Shaxspere et Ricardi Sponer ad sect. Adriani Quyney, Humffrd. Plumley, et Ricardi Hyll, in placito debiti.

Apr. 7, 33 Eliz. Johannes Shaxspere esson. ad sect. Adriani Quyney et al. in placito debiti.

Apr. 21, 33 Eliz. Johannes Shaxspere defalt. fecit super esson. ad sect. Adriani Quyney et al. in placito debiti.—Johannes Shaxspere queritur versus Thomam West in placito . . . . .—Johannes Shaksper quer. versus Robertum Jones de placito debiti ix.*s.* j.*d.* ob.

Maij 19, 33 Eliz. Actio inter Adrianum Queeney et alios quer. versus Johannem Shaksper deff. est in respectu usque proximam curiam.—Thomas West deff. profert hic in cur. unum de le cantheriam ad sect. Johannis Shacksper etc. et finit. est actio.—Robertus Jones comparuit ad actionem Johannis Shakspere quer. de placito debiti &c. quer. petit diem ad narr.—Transgr. super casum, &c. Johannes Shakspere manucepit pro deff. et Thomas Greene m. pro quer.—Johannes Shaxpere queritur versus Robertum Yonge in placito transgr. super casum.—Johannes Shaxpere queritur versus Thomam West in placito transgr. super casum.

Jun. 2, 33 Eliz. Johannes Shaxpere defalt. fecit super esson. ad sect. Adriani Quyney, Humffrd. Plumley, et Ricardi Hylle, in placito debiti.—Johannes Shaxpere narr. versus Robertum Jones in placito debiti.

Jun. 30, 33 Eliz. Robertus Jones nichil dicit ad accionem Johannis Shaxpere in placito debiti. Ideo conc. per cur. quod præd. Johannes recuperet debitum suum præd. et pro misis suis &c.

Sept. 8, 33 Eliz. Henricus Shakspere attachiat. fuit ad sect. Ricardi Ange in placito transgr. super casum et def. r. in prison.

Sept. 22, 33 Eliz. Ricardus Ange narr. versus Henricum Shaxkespere in placito transgr. super casum.—Judicium redd. est versus Robertum Jones pro . . . . . . pro misis et cust. Johannis Shaxper quos sibi adjudicat. fuerint.

Oct. 20, 33 Eliz. Henricus Shaxspere nichill dicit ad narr. Ricardi Ange in placito transgr. super casum. Ideo fiat precept. ad inquirend. quæ dampn. præd. Ricardus sustinuit accione.—Johannes Shaxspere et Robertus Jones concord. sunt.

Jan. 10, 35 Eliz. Ricardus Tyler queritur versus Johannem Shaxpere in placito debiti.

Jan. 24, 35 Eliz. Fiat distr. versus Johannem Shaxpere ad sect. Ricardi Tyler in placito debiti.

Feb. 21, 35 Eliz. Ricardus Tyler narr. versus Johannem Shaxpere in placito debiti et deff. li. lo.—Johannes Shaxpere attachiat. fuit per servient. ad clavam ibidem ad respondend. Henrico Wilson in placito transgr.

Mar. 21, 35 Eliz. Johannes Shaxpere nichill dicit ad actionem Ricardi Tyler in placito debiti.

Mar. 19, 37 Eliz. Idem [Adrianus Quyney] versus Philippum Grene, *chaundeler*, Henricum Rogers, *butcher*, et Johannem Shaxspere, in placito debiti v.*li.*

This last entry, dated 1595, contains the latest mention of Shakespeare's father in the registry of the Court of Record, and is in itself a proof that he was engaged in no craft at that period. Had he been a glover, or in any other trade, it is impossible not to conclude that it would have been so inserted in the registry, the callings of the other two defendants being particularized; and it may safely be inferred that the reason the trade of John Shakespeare is not noticed in the Stratford records after 1556, is to be traced in the most probable fact that, becoming a yeoman not many years after his marriage, he relinquished his retail trade, and afterwards occupied himself chiefly in agricultural matters. It should be added that, in the action here mentioned, Adrian Quiney proceeded afterwards against the other defendants, omitting John Shakespeare, so that probably the latter settled whatever claim was preferred against him; but the pleas or declarations having been preserved in very few instances, there are unfortunately no means of ascertaining the precise nature of most of the transactions alluded to in the above notices. The following plea is one of the few that remain, and refers to the cause brought by Lane against John Shakespeare, 1 Mar. 29 Eliz., 1587:

Stretford } Et prædictus Johannes Shakesper per Williehnum Court attorn.
Burgus. } suum venit, et defend. vim et injuriam quando &c. Et dicit quod prædictus Nicholaus Lane actionem suam inde versus eum habere non debet,

quia dicit quod narracio prædicti Nicholai minus sufficiens in lege existit, ad quam ipse necesse non habet, nec per legem terræ tenetur, respondere; protestando quod prædictus Henricus Shakesper in narracione ipsius Nicholai specificat. per scriptum suum obligat. concessisset se teneri præfat. Nicholao Lane in . . . . . libris pro solucione viginti et duarum librarum, viz. in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli ult. præterit. debit. modo decem librarum et in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli ex tunc prox. futur. duodecim libras de prædictis viginti et duarum librarum resid. et non cognoscend. aliquam in narracione prædicti Nicholai fore vera, sed pro placito idem Johannes Shakesper dicit quod prædictus Nicholaus Lane non solvebat præfat. Johanni Shakesper quatuor denarios legal. &c. in consideracione assumpcionis et promissionis dicti Johannis; ac salvis sibi omnibus advantagiis tam ad narrationem quam ad querelam prædicti Nicholai dicit ulterius quod ipse non assumpsit modo et forma prout idem Nicholaus Lane in narracione sua prædicta superius versus eum narravit. Et de hoc ponit se super patriam &c.

The preceding document refers to the same action as the plea of Nicholas Lane, previously given; but the reader must be warned from these—which might appear from the brief notices in the register to convey inferences against the prosperity of John Shakespeare's circumstances, but which do not when thus exhibited in particulars—that he cannot safely use those entries *in every case* as evidences of the state of his pecuniary affairs. The ancient forms of process in actions of debt must also be considered, and it will, I think, be found that even the most formidable circumstance which is entered under the date of Jan. 19, 1586, "quod prædictus Johannes Shaekspere nihil habet unde distringi potest," must be construed in a great measure by legal formality, not necessarily as an actual fact. On Feb. 16th, a *capias* issued against John Shakespeare, and on March 2d an *alias capias*, but the marginal note to the entry of the latter seems to imply that the debt after all was not discharged. When the return was made in January, that John Shakespeare had no goods on which distraint could be made, there can be little doubt that he was keeping himself out of the way of the service of a process; and on March 29th, 29 Eliz. 1587, when mention is made of his producing a writ of habeas corpus, it may, perhaps, be concluded that he was in custody or imprisoned for debt; but not with certainty, for the form of a writ of *habeas corpus cum causa*, when a cause was removed from an inferior court to a superior jurisdiction, would have been the same whether the defendant was actually in custody, had been delivered to bail, or had merely entered a formal appearance. In any case, however, there seems to be a sufficient ground for believing that he was in difficulties of considerable moment; and when this fact is placed in juxta-position with the probable date of Shakespeare's removal

to London, it will, I think, be found to raise a strong probability in favour of the supposition that the circumstances of the family had some relation with that important step in the poet's life.

Shakespeare was born in 1564, and the Chamberlains' accounts for that year exhibit his father in a creditable social position, and selling to the corporation "a pec tymbur," probably from his estate of Ashbies. The apparent smallness of the sum will not create surprise, when the value of money at that period is taken into consideration, and as it appears the corporation was indebted to him in the sum of £1 5*s.* 8*d.*, it may be safely concluded that he was not then involved in his pecuniary affairs.

Thaccompt of John Tayler and John Shakspeyr, chamburlens, made the x.th day of January in the syxte yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lady Elyzabethe, by the grace of God quene of Englond, Fraunce, and Irelond, Defendor of the feythe, &c. ut sequitur.

Item, payd for makyng yrons for the gret bell - - ij.*s.*
Item, payd to Shakspeyr for a pec tymbur - - - iij.*s.*
Item, paid the scollmaster - - - - xvj.*li.*
Item, payd for defasyng ymages in the chappell - - ij.*s.*
Item, payd for carryeng tymber to the pynfold - - viij.*d.*
Item, payd for kepyng the clokkes - - - - xvj.*s.*
Item, payd to Alen for techyng the chylder - - iiij.*li.*

Anno prædicto.

Stratford. At a hall ther holdon the xxvj[t] day of January anno prædicto, the chambur ys ffound in arerage and in dept unto Lews ap William xxvj.*s.* vij.*d.*

Item, at the same hall the chambur ys found in arrerage and ys in det unto John Shakspeyre - - - - - - xxv.*s.* viij.*d.*

In a similar account made for the 15th of February, 8 Eliz. 1566, the following entries occur. It appears from a memorandum in the original manuscript, that the second sum was not repaid to John Shakespeare till January, 1568:

Item, payd to Shakspeyr for a rest of old det - iij.*li.* ij.*s.* vij.*d.* ob.

In this accompt the chaumber ys in det unto John Shakspeyr to be payd unto hym by the next chamburlens - - - - vij.*s.* iij.*d.*

There is good evidence of his position in the year of Shakespeare's birth, in a list of contributions paid towards the

relief of the poor. Being then only a burgess, not an alderman, he appears as a donor of twelve-pence, the second in amount in the list of subscriptions of the burgesses. This document, which has hitherto been printed with great inaccuracy, is here given at length from the original MS. in the council chamber at Stratford.

At the hall holldyn in oure garden, the 30. daye of Auguste, a°. 1564, moneye paid towardes the releeff of the povre.

Mr. Baylye, iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
Mr. Alderman, ij.*s.* viij.*d.*
Mr. Smythe, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Mr. Jefferes, xiij.*d.*
Mr. Caudre, ij.*s.*
Mr. Adryan Quine, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Mr. Lewes, ij.*s.*
Rycharde Hylle, ij.*s.*
Jhon Weler, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Robarte Brate, vj.*d.*
Mr. Parot, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Mr. Plumley, ij.*s.*
Mr. Botte, iiij.*s.*
Jhon Tayler, viij.*d.*
Jhon Shacksper, xij.*d.*
Jhon Lewes, viij.*d.*
Jhon Sadler, viij.*d.*
Jhon Hychavre, xvj.*d.*
Willm. Tyller, xij.*d.*
Wm. Smyth, habberdasser, xij.*d.*
Wm. Smyth, corvesar, iiij.*d.*
Jhon Belle, xij.*d.*
Wm. Brace, ij.*s.*
Thomas Dyxun, viij.*d.*
Thomas Dyer, ij.*s.*
Rychard Symons, ... vij.*s.* iiij.*d.*

On Sept. 6th the bailiff and six aldermen gave twelve-pence each "to the relief of those that be visited," and John Shakespeare gave six-pence. On Sept. 27th another donation followed, nearly in the same proportion, John Shakespeare again giving six-pence; and on Oct. 20th he gave eight-pence. This was on account of the plague, which visited Stratford in 1564, and was the reason of the hall just mentioned being "holldyn in oure garden." John Shakespeare, as we have already seen, was now possessed of a landed estate and valuable property at Stratford. In a subsidy roll of 9 Eliz. 1567, he is assessed in goods of the value of £4 3*s.* 4*d.*, as appears from the original MS. in the possession of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge House, near Warwick. In 1570 we find him in the occupation, at the annual rent of £8, of a small farm, called Ingon Meadow, which is described as "one other meadowe with thappurtenaunces called or knowen by the name of Ingon alias Ington meadowe, conteynynge by estymacion fouretene acres, be it more or lesse, then or late in the tenure or occupacion of John Shaxpere or his assignes." [Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz. par. 10.] He

had not been long a tenant of this property, for it appears from an indenture, made May 30th, 1568, that it was not then in his occupation. In 1575 he purchased the Henley Street property, and after that period, he is found on the other side of the account, selling and mortgaging. The first evidence of this is in 1578, when Shakespeare was fourteen years of age. Dates are now important, for Rowe tells us "he had bred him for some time at a free-school, where, 'tis probable, he acquired that little Latin he was master of: but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language." This statement is well confirmed by the evidence I am about to submit to the reader's careful attention. Perhaps the word *forced* should be written *induced*. John Shakespeare's circumstances began to fail him when William was about fourteen, and he then withdrew him from the grammar-school, for the purpose of obtaining his assistance in his agricultural pursuits. The entries in the registry of the Court of Record show that John Shakespeare's transactions were numerous, necessarily requiring constant attention and vigilance. The following notices are taken from the records of the proceedings of the corporation of Stratford:

January 29, 1577-8.

Burgus Stratford. } Ad aulam ibidem tent. xxix° die Januarii, a° regni dominæ Elizabethæ reginæ nostræ &c. vicesimo.

At this hall yt ys agreed that every alderman except suche underwrytten excepted, shall paye towardes the furniture of thre pikemen, ij. billmen, and one archer, vj.*s.* viij.*d.* and every burgese, except suche underwrytten excepted, shall pay iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*

Mr. Plumley, v.*s.*
Mr. Shaxpeare, iij.*s.* iv.*d.* } Aldermen.

John Walker, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Robert Bratt, nothinge in this place.
Thomas Brogden, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
William Brace, ij.*s.*
Anthony Tanner, ij.*s.* vj.*d.*
Summa, vj.*li.* xiiij.*d.*

The inhabitantes of every ward are taxed at this hall as by notes to them delivered yt may appeare.

November 19, 1578.

Ad aulam ibidem tent. xix°. die Novembris anno regni dominæ Elizabeth. reginæ nostræ, &c. xxj°.

Item, yt ys ordened that every alderman shall paye weekley towardes the releif of the poore iiij.*d.* savinge Mr. John Shaxpeare, and Mr. Robert Bratt, who shall not be taxed to pay anythinge. Mr. Lewes and Mr. Plumley are taxed to paye weekely, eyther of them iij.*d.*, and every burgeses are taxed weekeley at ij.*d.* apece.

It may be observed that, in the above document, the prefix *Mr.* is written above the name of John Shakespeare, as if it had been inserted after the body of the document was written. In an account of money levied on the inhabitants in the following year, March 11th, 1579, for the purchase of armour and defensive weapons, the name of John Shakespeare is found amongst the defaulters.

John Tonge, iiij.*d.* George Badger, xij.*d.* Thomas Ward, vj.*d.* Mr. Shaxpeare, iij.*s.* iiij.*d.* Mr. Nashe, iij.*s.* iiij.*d.* Mr. Reynoldes, iij.*s.* iiij.*d.* William Brokes, ij.*s.* Basill Burdet, iiij.*d.* Hugh Pyggin, vj.*d.* Widow Bell, iiij.*d.*	These somes are unpayd and unaccompted for.

This class of evidence may be concluded with an entry in a list of debts due to Roger Sadler, a baker of Stratford, appended to his will, preserved in the Prerogative Office, dated Nov. 14, 1578, and proved Jan. 17, 1578-9: "Item of Edmonde Lambarte and . . . Cornishe for the debte of Mr. John Shaksper, v.*li.*;" from which it would appear that he had obtained these two persons to be collateral securities for the payment of the debt. If Edmund Lambert, who was connected by marriage with Mary Shakespeare, paid this sum for John Shakespeare, it may be included in the "certayne other money which they did owe unto him for other matters," mentioned in the Chancery records of 1597, hereafter printed. The first two entries are summarily despatched by Mr. Knight, who, coupling John Shakespeare and Robert Bratt together, and guided by the entry, *nothinge in this place*, attached to the name of the latter, dismisses them at once as no evidences of his poverty. There is,

indeed, so much uncertainty in reasoning on indications such as these, which might have been caused by a variety of circumstances, that I cannot think they prove the distress attributed to John Shakespeare by Malone.

There is, however, quite sufficient evidence to show that from the year 1578 the state of his property deteriorated. In the spring of that year, John and Mary Shakespeare mortgaged their estate of Ashbies to Edmund Lambert for the sum of £40. The original note of the fine, afterwards levied on this occasion according to law, is here printed from the bundle of Easter Term, 21 Eliz. (1579), in the Chapter House:

Inter Edmundum Lambert quer. et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam uxorem ejus deforc. de duobus mesuagiis, duobus gardinis, quinquaginta acris terræ, duabus acris prati, quatuor acris pasturæ, et communia pasturæ pro omnimodis averiis, cum pertinentiis, in Awston Cawntlett. Unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos, &c., scilicet quod prædicti Johannes et Maria recogn. prædicta ten. et communiam pasturæ cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Edmundi, ut ill. quæ idem Edmundus habet de dono prædictorum Johannis et Mariæ, et ill. remiserunt et quietclam. de ipsis Johanne et Maria et hæredibus suis prædicto Edmundo et hæredibus suis in perpetuum. Et præterea iidem Johannes et Maria concesserunt pro se et hæred. ipsius Mariæ quod ipsi warant. prædicto Edmundo et hæredibus suis prædicta ten. et communiam pasturæ cum pertin. contra prædictos Johannem et Mariam et hæredes ipsius Mariæ in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. remissione quietaclam. warant. fine &c. idem Edmundus dedit prædictis Johanni et Mariæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

The following note of a fine, also taken from the same repository of records, exhibits Shakespeare's parents interested in other land at Wilmecote, and its importance and curiosity in developing the history of their circumstances at this period will be at once perceived. It will be difficult to say exactly what particular property is referred to, but it clearly exhibits a further extension of the county interests of John and Mary Shakespeare, beyond what has been yet supposed. It refers to their interest in a considerable landed estate at Wilmecote, so that there must, in all probability, have been some deed executed before 1556, giving Mary Arden shares of property in that hamlet.

Inter Thomam Webbe et Humfridum Hooper quer. et Johannem Shakespere et Mariam uxorem ejus, et Georgium Gybbes, deforc. de septuaginta acris terræ, sex acris prati, decem acris pasturæ, et communia pasturæ pro omnimodis averiis, cum pertinentiis in Wylmecote, unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos, &c., scilicet, quod prædicti Johannes et Maria et Georgius recogn. prædicta ten. et communiam pasturæ cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Thomæ, ut illa quæ iidem Thomas et Humfridus habent de dono prædictorum Johannis et Mariæ et Georgii, et ill. remiserunt et quietclam. de ipsis Johanne et Maria et

Georgio et hæredibus suis, prædictis Thomæ et Humfrido et hæredibus ipsius Thomæ in perpetuum. Et præterea iidem Johannes et Maria concesserunt pro se et hæredibus ipsius Mariæ quod ipsi warant. prædictis Thomæ et Humfrido et hæredibus ipsius Thomæ prædicta tenementa et communiam pasturæ cum pertinentiis contra omnes homines in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. remissione quietaclam. warant. fine, &c., iidem Thomas et Humfridus concesserunt prædicto Georgio prædicta tenementa et communiam pasturæ cum pertinentiis; et ill. ei reddiderunt, &c., habendum et tenendum eidem Georgio a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli quod erit in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo et octogesimo usque finem termini viginti et unius annorum ex tunc prox. sequen. et plenarie complend., reddend. inde annuatim prædictis Thomæ et Humfrido et hæredibus ipsius Thomæ medietatem unius quarterii tritici et medietatem unius quarterii ordei ad festum Natalis Domini annuatim solvend. Et si contingat prædictum redditum medietatis unius quarterii tritici et medietatis unius quarterii ordei aut aliquam inde parcellam a retro fore in parte vel in toto post festum prædictum quo (ut præfertur) solvi debeat non solut. per spacium viginti dierum, quod tunc bene licebit prædictis Thomæ et Humfrido et hæredibus ipsius Thomæ in prædicta tenementa et communiam pasturæ cum pertinentiis intrare et distringere, districciones sic ibidem capt. et habit. licite abducere, asportare, et effugare, ac penes se retinere quousque de prædicto redditu medietatis unius quarterii tritici et medietatis unius quarterii ordei cum arreragiis ejusdem, si quæ fuerint, plenar. fuerit satisfactum et persolutum. Concesserunt eciam prædicti Thomas et Humfridus prædictis Johanni et Mariæ revercionem ten. et communiæ pasturæ prædictorum cum pertinentiis, ac prædictum redditum superius reservatum, et illa eis reddiderunt, &c., habendum et tenendum eisdem Johanni et Mariæ et hæredibus ipsius Mariæ de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia quæ ad prædicta ten. et communiam pasturæ pertinent in perpetuum. [Term Hil. 21 Eliz. 1579.]

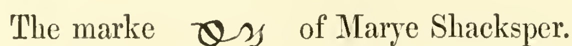
The same eventful year, 1579, finds John and Mary Shakespeare selling some of their property in Snitterfield, or rather their interest in it, to Robert Webbe, for the sum of £4, as mentioned in the following indenture of sale. The purchase money is so small, that it may be conjectured this deed was executed in connexion with some other arrangements.

This indenture made the fyftenthe daye of Octobar, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne ladye Elyzabethe bye the grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland Quene, defendour of the faithe, &c., the twentythe and one, Betwene John Shackspere of Stratford uppon Avon in the countye of Warwicke yoman and Marye his wyeffe on the one partye, and Robert Webbe of Snitterfylde in the same countye yoman on the other partye, Wittnessethe that the said John Shackspere and Marye his wieffe, for and in consideracion of the somme of foure poundes of goode and lawfull Englishe money by the aforesaid Roberte Webbe unto the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe before the delyverie of these presentes well and trulye contented and paied, of the which said somme the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe doe acknowledge themselves fully satisfyed contented and paied, and thereof and of everye part thereof the said Robert Webbe his heires executors administrators and assignes doe fullye freely and cleerelye acquyte exonerate and dyscharge for ever, by these presentes have gyven graunted bargayned and solde, and by these presentes doe gyve graunte

bargayne and sell, unto the said Robart Webbe his heires and assignes for ever, all that theire moitye parte and partes, be yt more or lesse, of and in twoo messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, sett lyenge and beynge in Snitterfield aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, and of all and singular houses, edifices, barnes, stables, gardens, orchardes, medowes, lesues, pastures, feedinges, commons, furres, brushewoodes, underwoodes, waters, landes, tenementes, hereditamentes, profyttes, commodyties whatsoever or wheresoever, in any wise to the said twoo messuages or tenementes or any of them belonginge or apperteininge, or occupyed with the same, in whose tenure or occupacion soever they or any of them or any parte or parcell of them nowe be. And furthermore, the revertion and revertions, remaynder and remaynders of the same, and the rentes, dutyes, profyttes and commodyties whatsoever to the said revertion or revertions remaynder or remaynders in any wyse belonginge, incident, or apperteyninge, or excepted or reserved uppon any manner of graunte or demyse thereof heretofore had or made, or of any of the graunted premisses, together with all and singular deedes, cherters, evydences, wrytynges and mynimentes whatsoever towchinge and concerninge onely the foresaid twoo messuages or tenementes, or all or any of thaforesaid premisses which theye the foresaid John Shackspere or Marye his wyeffe, or eyther of them, or anye other persons [*sic*] or persons, eyther by theyre or any of theyre delyverie, or by theire or eyther of theire knowledge, nowe have or ought to have. To have and to holde theire said moitye, parte and partes of the said twoo messuages or tenementes, and of all and singular the graunted premisses, with theire and everye of theire appurtenaunces, unto thaforesaide Roberte Webbe his heires and assignes for ever, to his and theire onelye proper use and behoofe; all which theire said moitye parte and partes of the said twoo messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, and of all and singular the graunted premisses with theire and everye of theire appurtenaunces, thafforesayd John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, for them and theire heires and the heires of eyther of them, by these presentes to thafforesaid Robert Webbe his heires and assignes doe warrante and promysse to defende against the said John and Marye his wiffe and theire heires, and the heires of eyther of them, for ever by these presentes. And the saide John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, for the consideracion aforesaid, for them, theire heires, and the heires of eyther of them, theire executors administrators and assignes, and everye of them, doe covenaunt, promysse and graunte to and with the said Roberte Webbe, his heires, executors administrators and assignes, and everye of them, by these presentes, that theire said moitye, parte and partes of thafforesaide twoo messuages or tenementes, and of all and singular the graunted premisses with theire appurtenaunces, at all tyme and tymes henceforth after the delyverie of these presentes maye and shall lawfully and rightfully come be and remayne unto thaforesaid Robert Webbe his heires and assignes, accordinge to the true tenour and effecte of the graunte thereof before made in these presentes, free cleere and voyde or otherwise well and sufficientlie saved harmelesse by the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, theire heires and the heires of eyther of them and theire assignes, of and from all and singular bargaines, sales, feoffmentes, grauntes, intayles, joyntures, dowars, leases, willes, uses, rent-charge, rent-seetes, arrereges of rentes, recognizaunce, statute marchant, and of the staple obligacions, judgementes, executions, condempnacions, yssues, fynes, amercementes, intrusions, forfaitures, alienacions without lycens, and of and from all other charges, troubles and incombraunces whatsoever heretofore had made or done by the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wieffe or eyther of them, or of theire heires or the heires of eyther of them, or by any other person or persons, by thorough or under

theire or any of theire right tytle or interest acte consent or procurement (the rentes custumes and services due to the chieffe lord or lordes of the fee or fees onely excepted and foreprised), And that theye the foresaid John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, and all and everye other person and persons (except before excepted) nowe havinge, claiminge or pretendinge to have, or that hereafter shall have claime or pretend to have any manner of lawfull and just right tytle and intereste of in to or out of theire said moitye parte and partes of the foresaid twoo messnages or tenementes, and of all or any of the graunted premisses with theire appurtenaunces, in by or thoroughe the right tytle or intereste of the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe and theire heires, and the heires of eyther of them, at all tyme and tymes hereafter from and after the delyverie of these presentes from tyme to tyme uppon lawfull warninge and request made by the said Robert Webbe his heires and assignes unto thaforesaid John Shackspere and Mary his wyeffe and theire heires and the heires of eyther of them, at the proper costes and charges in the lawe of the said Robert Webbe his heires or assignes, shall and wyll doe cause and suffer to be doone all and everye reasonable and lawfull acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devyse and devyses, for the more better and perfect assuraunce and sure makenge in the lawe of thaforesaid moitye parte and partes of the said twoo messuages or tenementes, and of all and singular the graunted premisses with theire appurtenaunces to the said Robert Webbe, his heires and assignes, to his and theire onely use and behoofe, be yt by fyne, feoffment, recovery with single or double voucher, deedes inrolled, inrollement of these presentes, or by any or by all of them, or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever, with warranty against them the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe and theire heires, and the heires of eyther of them, as shalbe advised or devised by the said Robert Webbe, his heires and assignes, or by his or theire councell learned in the lawe. And furthermore that the said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe and theire heires, and the heires of eyther of them and theire assignes, shall and wyll delyver uncanceled and undefaced unto the said Roberte Webbe his heires or assignes, before the feast of Easter next ensuenge the date of these presentes, all and singular the cherters, deedes, evidences, wrytinges and mynimentes before in these presentes bargained and sold, which theye may come by without suite in the lawe, and that of all other cherters, evydences, wrytings and mynimentes, which theye [the] said John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe hath, or that theye theire heires executors or assignes at any tyme hereafter maye lawfully come by, without suite in the lawe, towchinge and concerninge thaforesaid twoo messuages or tenementes or the before bargained premisses or any of them, they the said John Shackspere and Mary his wyeffe or one of them uppon lawfull request of the said Roberte Webbe his heires and assignes, at his and theire proper costes and charges unto them the said John and Marye theyre heires and assignes had and made, shall deliver or cause to be delyvered to the said Robart Webbe his heires and assignes the true and perfecte coppie and coppies at all tyme and tymes hereafter. In wittnesse whereof the parties abovesaid to these present indentures interchangeblie have put to theire handes and seales the daye and yeare fyrst above wrytten.

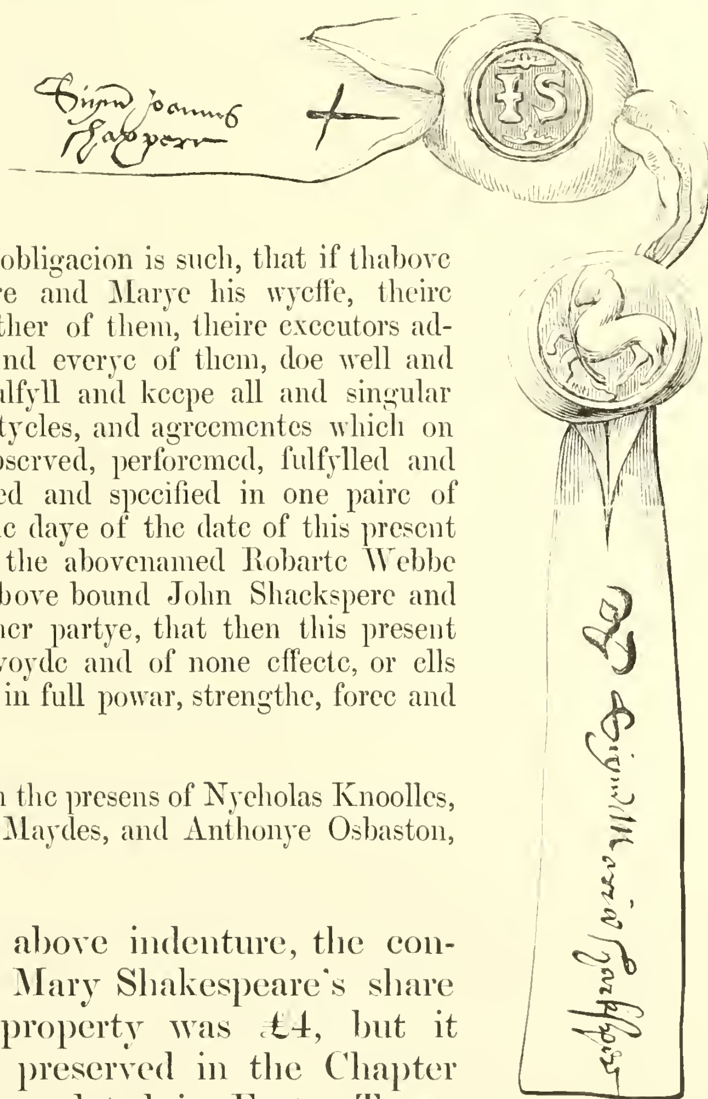
The marke of John Shackspere.


The marke of Marye Shacksper.

Sealed and delivered in the presens of Nycholas Knooles, vicar of Auston, Wyllyam Maydes, and Anthony Osbaston, with other moe.

This curious document is accompanied by the following bond for the performance of the foregoing covenants, and to both of them the reader will see appended the marks which were used by Shakespeare's parents:

Noverint universi per præsentes nos Johannem Shackspere de Stratford uppon Avon in com. Warwici yoman et Mariam uxor. ejus teneri et firmiter obligari Roberto Webbe de Snitterfielde in com. prædicto yoman, in viginti marcis bonæ et legalis monet. Angliæ, solvendum eidem Roberto aut suo certo attornat. executoribus, administratoribus, vel assignatis suis; ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciendum obligamus nos hæredes, executores, et administratores nostros firmiter per præsentes sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat decimo quinto die mensis Octobris, anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabeth. Dei gratia Angliæ, Frauneiæ et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, &c. vicesimo primo.



The condition of this obligacion is such, that if thabove bounden John Shackspere and Marye his wyeffe, theire heires and the heires of eyther of them, theire executors administrators and assignes and everye of them, doe well and trulye observe, performe, fulfyll and keepe all and singular coven[a]untes, grauntes, artycles, and agreementes which on theire partes are to be observed, performed, fulfylled and kepte, contayned, comprised and specified in one paire of indentures bearinge date the daye of the date of this present obligacion, made betwene the abovenamed Robarte Webbe on the one partye, and thabove bound John Shackspere and Marie his wieffe on the other partye, that then this present obligacion to be utterlye voyde and of none effecte, or ells to stande, remayne and be in full powar, strengthe, force and vertue.

Sealed and delyvered in the presens of Nycholas Knoolles, vicar of Auston, Wyllyam Maydes, and Anthonye Osbaston, with other moe.

According to the above indenture, the consideration given for Mary Shakespeare's share in the Snitterfield property was £4, but it appears from a fine, preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, dated in Easter Term, 22 Eliz. 1580, that she had a reversionary interest, on the death of Agnes Arden, in the same property, of far higher value; for it is parted with to the same Robert Webbe for £40.

This curious fact, and the circumstances of the property, will be better understood by an entire transcript of the note of the fine:

[Inter Robertum Webbe quer. et] Johannem Shackspere et Mariam uxorem ejus deforc. de sexta parte duarum partium . . . . duorum pomar., sexaginta acrarum terræ, decem acrarum prati, et triginta acrarum . . . . in tres partes dividend. in Snitterfylde, unde placitum conveneionis sum. fuit . . . . dicti Johannes et Maria recogn. prædictam sextam partem cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius . . . . pro se et hæred. ipsius Mariæ, quod prædicta sexta pars cum pertinentiis quam Agnes Arden vidua tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ de hæreditate prædictæ Mariæ die quo hæc concordia facta fuit, et quæ post decessum ipsius Agnetis ad prædictam Mariam et hæred. suos debuit reverti, post decessum ipsius Agnetis integre reman. prædicto Roberto et hæredibus suis, tenend. de capitalibus dominis feodi ill. per servic. quæ ad prædictam sextam partem pertinent in perpetuum. Et prædicti Johannes et Maria et hæredes ipsius Mariæ warant. prædicto Roberto et hæredibus suis prædictam sextam partem cum pertinentiis (sicut prædictum est) contra prædictos Johannem et Mariam et hæredes ipsius Mariæ in perpetuum. Et pro hac recogn. concessione warant. fine, &c., idem Robertus dedit prædictis Johanni et Mariæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum.

This copy of the fine is unfortunately imperfect, and a search at the other repository of the same description of records proved fruitless; but the following entry, which I discovered in the King's Silver Books at Carlton Ride, supplies the information lost by the lacunæ in the above:—

Warr. Inter Robertum Webbe q. et Johannem Shackspere et Mariam uxorem ejus def. de sexta parte duarum partium duorum mesuagiorum, duorum gardinorum, duorum pomar., lx. acr. terræ, x. acrarum prati, et xxx. acr. jampnorum et bruer. cum pertinentiis, in tres partes dividend. in Snitterfylde. [Pasch. 22 Eliz.]

The following memorandum, which is preserved in the Council Chamber at Stratford, relates to the same property:—

Warr. ss. In onere Georgii Digbie arm. vic. com. præd. de anno vicesimo tercio reginæ Elizabeth.

Fines de Banco anno vicesimo secundo reginæ Elizabeth. pro term. Paschæ.

De Roberto Webbe pro li. con. cum Jo. Shackespeare et al. de placito con. de vj. parte ij. partium ij. mess. ij. gard. ij. pom. lx. acr. terræ et al. cum pertin. in Snytterfeild. } vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

R. per me Johannem Cowper, subvic.

The above notices respecting the circumstances of John Shakespeare at this period lead inevitably to the conclusion that for some reason or other he was greatly in want of money. It is not very easy to say how long this pressure continued, but it was probably of considerable duration; for it seems that on

Sept. 29th, 1580, he tendered the mortgage-money due to Lambert, but was unable or unwilling to pay other debts at the same time. This appears from the replication of John and Mary Shakespeare in the proceedings of the Chancery suit, 1597, and the fine above given leads to the conclusion that, in order to furnish the mortgage-money, he was obliged to dispose of a valuable reversionary interest; for it is hardly likely, considering the age and ill-health of Agnes Arden in 1580, anything short of necessity would have induced him to sell it. The proceedings of the Chancery suit, relating to this period, although taking place in 1597, will properly be introduced here. John and Mary Shakespeare mortgaged the estate to Lambert in 1578 for £40, and two years afterwards they tendered that sum in discharge, which was declined, unless other debts, also due to Lambert, were paid. In 1579, as has been before noticed, Lambert was security for John Shakespeare to the amount of £5; but there were no doubt other liabilities of which no account has been found. On Lambert's death his son John retained possession of the premises, and the present suit was instituted to recover them; but so long afterwards, that it may almost be inferred John Shakespeare had no means of commencing an expensive litigation in 1580, but waited till his son's increasing fortune enabled him to do so. The defendant, however, alleged an approaching increase of value in the property to be obtained on the falling in of a lease, as the reason for the suit having been commenced against him. The former supposition is most likely to be correct, for the value of Ashbies, an estate in fee consisting of upwards of fifty acres of land, with a messuage, must certainly far have exceeded the amount of the mortgage, a circumstance which is a strong evidence in favour of the opinion above advanced. The estate could scarcely have been worth less than £10 per annum, duly considering the value of money in the reign of Elizabeth; and taking Malone's estimate that the rate of purchase was ten years, the property would have been estimated at £100. No decree in this case has been found, and Mr. Collier gives it as his opinion that the estate was relinquished by Lambert to John Shakespeare, "perhaps on the payment of the £40, and of the sums which his father had required from John and Mary Shakespeare in 1580, and which in 1597 they did not dispute to have been due;" but surely if John Shakespeare's tender in 1580 were legal, some compensation would have been awarded

for the illegal occupation by Lambert. It appears from the following documents that two bills were filed by the Shakespeares, and, from a MS. exhibited some years ago before the members of the Shakespeare Society, that it was referred to the Master to decide which should be proceeded with. The Master's report has not been preserved, but, in consequence of it, an order was made for a commission for the examination of witnesses respecting the dispute.

To the righte honorable Sir Thomas Egerton, knighte, lorde keper of the greate seale of Englande.

In most humble wise complayninge, sheweth unto your good lordshippe your dailye oratours John Shakespere of Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwicke, and Mary his wief, that whereas your saide oratours were lawfully seised in their demesne as of fee, as in the righte of the saide Mary, of and in one mesuage and one yard land with thappurtenaunces, lyinge and beinge in Wylnecote, in the saide county: And they beinge thereof so sesed, for and in consideracion of the some of fowerty pounds to them, by one Edmounde Lamberte of Barton on the Heath in the saide countie paide, your sayde oratours were contente that he the saide Edmounde Lamberte shoulde have and enjoye the same premisses, untill suche tyme as your sayde oratours did repaie unto him the saide some of fowertie pounds: By reasone whereof the saide Edmounde did enter into the premisses and did occupie the same for the space of three or fower yeares; and thissues and profyttes thereof did receyve and take, after which your saide oratours did tender unto the saide Edmounde the sayde somme of fowerty pounds, and desired that they mighte have agayne the sayd premisses accordinge to theire agreement; which money he the sayde Edmounde then refused to receyve, sayinge, that he woulde not receyve the same, nor suffer your sayde oratours to have the saide premisses agayne, unlesse they woulde paye unto him certayne other money which they did owe unto him for other matters; all which notwithstandinge, nowe so yt ys; and yt maye please your good lordshippe, that shortelie after the tendringe of the sayde fowertie pounds to the saide Edmounde, and the desyre of your sayde oratours to have theire lande agayne from him, he the saide Edmounde att Barton aforesayde dyed, after whose deathe one John Lamberte, as sonne and heire of the saide Edmounde, entred into the said premisses and occupied the same; after which entrie of the sayde John your said oratours came to him and tendred the saide money unto him, and likewise requested him that he woulde suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to theire righte and tytle therein and the promise of his saide father to your saide oratours made, which he the saide John denyed in all things, and did withstande them for entringe into the premisses, and as yet doeth so contynewe still; and by reasone that certaine deedes and other evydences concerninge the premisses and that of righte belong to your saide oratours, are coume to the hands and possession of the sayde John, he wrongfullie still keepeth and detayneth the possession of the saide premisses from your saide oratours, and will in noe wise permytt and suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to theire righte in and to the same; and he the saide John Lamberte hathe of late made sondrie secreate estates of the premisses to dyvers persones to your said oratours unknowen, whereby your saide oratours cannot tell againste whome to bringe theire accions att the comen lawe, for the recovery of the premisses: In

tender consideracion whereof, and for so muche as your saide oratours knowe not the certaine dates or contentes of the saide wrytings, nor whether the same be contayned in bagge, boxe, or cheste, sealed locked or noe, and therefore have no remeadie to recover the same evydences and wrytings by the due course of the comen lawes of this realme; and for that also by reasone of the saide secreate estates so made by the saide John Lamberte as aforesaide, and want of your saide oratours havinge of the evidences and wrytings as aforesaide, your sayde oratours cannot tell what accions or against whome, or in what manner to bring theire accion for the recoverie of the premisses at the comen lawe; and for that also, the sayde John Lamberte ys of greate wealthe and abilitie, and well frended and alied amongest gentlemen and freeholders of the countrey in the saide countie of Warwicke, where he dwelleth, and your saide oratours are of small wealthe and verey fewe frends and alyance in the saide countie, maye yt therefore please your good lordshippe to graunt unto your saide oratours the Queenes Majesties moste gracyous writte of subpœna, to be directed to the saide John Lamberte, comandinge him thereby att a certaine daie and under a certaine payne therein to be lymytted, personally to appear before your good lordshippe in her Majesties highnes courte of chauncerie, then and there to answere the premisses; and further to stande to and abyde suche order and direction therein, as to your good lordshippe shall seeme best to stande, with righte, equytie, and good conscyence, and your sayde oratours shall daylie praye to God for the prosperous healthe of your good lordshippe with increase of honour longe to contynewe.

J. Stovell.

The answeare of John Lamberte, defendante, to the byll of complainte of John Shakspeere and Mary his wief complainantes.

The said defendante (savinge to himselfe both nowe and att all tymes hereafter, all advantage of excepcion to the uncertentie and insufficiencie of the said complainants byll, and also savinge to this defendante such advantage as by the order of this honorable courte he shalbe adjudged to have, for that the like byll, in effecte conteyninge the selfe-same matter, hath byne heretofore exhibited into this honorable courte againste this defendante, wherunto this defendante hath made a full and directe answeare wherin the said complainante hath not proceeded to hearinge) for a seconde full and directe answeare unto the said complainantes byll sayeth, that true yt is (as this defendante verylie thinkethe) that the said complainants were, or one of them was, lawfully seized in theire or one of theire demeasne, as of fee, of and in one messuage, and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces, lyeinge and beinge in Wilmecott, in the parishe of Aston Cawntloe in the countie of Warwicke, and that they or one of them soe beinge thereof seized, the said complainante John Shakspeere by indenture beringe date uppon or about the fowertenth daye of November, in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lady the Queenes Majestie that now ys, for and in consideracion of the summe of fortie pownds of lawfull Englishe monney unto the said complainante paide by Edmunde Lamberte, this defendants father in the said byll named, did geve, graunte, bargaine, and sell the said messuage, and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires and assignes, to have and to holde the said messuage, one yearde, and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, his heires and assignes, for ever: In which indenture there is a condicionall provisoe conteyned, that if the said complainante did paye unto the said Edmunde Lamberte the summe of fortie pownds uppon the feast daie of St. Michell tharchangell which shoulde

be in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande fyve hundred and eightie, att the dwellinge howse of the said Edmund Lamberte, in Barton on the Heath in the said countie of Warwicke, that then the said graunte, bargaine, and sale, and all the covenannts, graunts, and agreements therin conteyned, shulde cease and be voyde, as by the said indenture, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie doth referre himselfe, may appeare; and afterward, the said complainante John Shakspeere, by his Deede Pole and Liverie theruppon made, did infeoffe the said Edmunde Lamberte of the saide premisses, to have and to holde unto him the said Edmunde Lamberte and his heires for ever; after al' which, in the term of Ester, in the one and twenteth yeare of the Queenes Majesties raigne that nowe ys, the said complainantes in due forme of lawe did levye a fyne of the said messuage and yearde lande, and other the premisses, before the Queenes Majesties justices of the comon plees att Westminster, unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte, and his heires, sur conizance de droyt, as that which the said Edmunde had of the gifte of the said John Shakspeere, as by the said pole deede, and the chirographe of the said fine, wherunto this defendante for his better certentie referreth himselfe, yt doth and maye appeare: and this defendante further sayeth, that the said complainante did not tender or paye the said summe of fortie pownds unto the said Edmunde Lamberte, this defendants father, uppon the saide feaste daye, which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thowsande fyve hundred and eightie, accordinge to the said provisoe in the said indenture expressed. By reason whereof this defendants said father was lawfully and absolutly seized of the said premisses in his demeasne as of fee, and aboute eleven yeares laste paste thereof, dyed seized: by and after whose decease the said messuage and premisses with thappurtenaunces descended and came, as of righte the same oughte to descende and come, unto this defendante, as sonne and nexte he're of the said Edmunde: by vertue whereof this defendante was and yet is of the said messuage, yearde lande and premisses, lawfully seized in his demeasne as of fee, which this defendante hopeth he oughte both by lawe and equitie to enjoye, accordinge to his lawfull righte and tytle therin: and this defendante further sayeth, that the said messuage, yearde lande, and other the said premisses or the moste parte thereof, have ever sythence the purches therof by this defendantes father, byne in lease by the demise of the said complainante; and the lease therof beinge nowe somewhat nere expyred, wherby a greater value is to be yearly raised therby, they the said complainants doe now trowble and moleste this defendante by unjuste suts in lawe, thinkinge therby (as yt shoulde seme) to wringe from him this defendante some further recompence for the said premisses then they have alreddy received: without that that yt was agreed that the said Edmunde Lamberte shoulde have and enjoy the said premisses in anie other manner and forme (to the knowledge of this defendante) then this defendante hath in his said answeare heretofore expressed, and without that, that anie deedes or evidences concernynge the premisses that of righte belonge to the said complainantes are come to the handes and possession of this defendante, as in the said byll is untruly supposed, and without that, that anie other matter, cause, or thinge, in the said complainantes byll conteined, materiall or effectuall in the lawe, to be answeared unto, towchinge or concernynge him this defendante, and herein before not answeared unto, confessed and avoyded, traversed or denied, is true, to this defendants knowledge or remembrance, in suche manner and forme as in the said byll the same is sett downe and declared. All which matters this defendante is reddy to averre and prove, as this honorable courte shall awarde, and prayethe to be dismissed therhence with his reasonable costs and charges in this wrongfull sute by him unjustly susteyned.

OVERBURY.

The replicacion of John Shakespere and Mary his wief, plent, to the answere of John Lamberte, defendant.

The said complaynaunts, for replicacion to the answere of the said defendant, saie that theire bill of complaynt ys certayne and sufficient in the lawe to be answered; which said bill, and matters therein conteyned, these complainants will avowe, verefie, and justifie to be true and sufficient in the lawe to be answered unto, in such sorte, manner, and forme, as the same be sett forthe and declared in the said bill; and further they saie that thanswere of the said defendaunt is untrue and insufficient in lawe to be replied unto, for many apparent causes in the same appearinge, thadvantage whereof these complainants praie may be to theym nowe and at all tymes saved, then and not ells; for further replicacion to the said answere, they saie that accordinge to the condicion or proviso mencioned in the said indenture of bargaine and sale of the premisses mencioned in the said bill of complaynt, he this complainant John Shakspere did come to the dwellinge house of the said Edmunde Lambert, in Barton uppon the heathe, uppon the feaste daie of St. Michaell tharcheangell, which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousand fyve hundred and eightie, and then and there tendered to paie unto him the said Edmunde Lambert, the said fortie poundes, which he was to paie for the redempcion of the said premisses; which somme the said Edmunde did refuse to receyve, sayinge that he owed him other money, and unles that he the said John would paie him altogether, as well the said fortie pounds as the other money, which he owed him over and above, he would not receave the said fortie pounds, and imediatlie after he the said Edmunde dyed, and by reason thereof, he the said defendant entered into the said premisses, and wrongfullie kepeth and detayneth the said premisses from him the said complainant: without that any other matter or thinge, materiall or effectuall, for these complainantes to replie unto, and not herein sufficientlie confessed and avoyded, denyed and traversed, ys true: all which matters and things thes complaynants are redie to averr and prove, as this honorable court will awarde, and pray as before in theire said bill they have praied.

J. Stovell.

In dorso, Ter. Michael. Annis 40 et 41.

John Shakespeare has already been traced through the various offices of the corporation to 1569, when he was the chief magistrate of Stratford. From 1570 to 1586, he continued one of the aldermen, and he appears to have been a most regular attendant at the councils of the corporation till 1577, his name very seldom occurring as an absentee before that period. From 1577, however, till his removal in 1586, he scarcely made his appearance in the chamber. In a list of aldermen at a meeting held January 23d, 1577, "ab. Johannes Shaxpeare," and he is not marked as being present till October 4th, 1577; he then attended regularly till January 15th, 1578, after which he absents himself till September 5th, 1582, when he is again marked as being present, and he is also mentioned among the "alldermen present," at a hall holden November 4th, 1582, in a loose paper at the end of the corporation book

marked A. After this, he attended no more meetings of the corporation, and on September 6th, 1586, he was deprived of his alderman's gown:—

Stratford } Ad aulam ibidem, tent. vj. die Septembris anno regni Dominæ
Burgus. } Elizabethæ, &c. vicesimo octavo.

At thys halle William Smythe and Richard Courte are chosen to be aldermen in the places of John Wheler and John Shaxspere; for that Mr. Wheler dothe desyre to be put owt of the companye, and Mr. Shaxspere dothe not come to the halles when they be warned, nor hathe not done of longe tyme.

The pertinacity with which John Shakespeare absented himself, arose most probably from a desire to withdraw himself from the corporation. Mr. Collier thinks that as it is stated that Wheler desired to withdraw, so also, if John Shakespeare had had the same wish, it would have been adduced. But Wheler may have resigned officially, and the council were not obliged to recognise any such desire, however well known, unless especially communicated to them. At a hall held on September 4th, 1583, John Shakespeare was the only alderman not present. He is marked as being there on August 31st, 1586, but this is so much at variance with the note above given, that it may perhaps be merely a clerical error. Yet is the fact of his continual absences so far from being an evidence of a falling off in circumstances, that it implies on the contrary the ability to pay the fines for non-attendance; for we cannot doubt if he had not paid them, some notice, earlier than the above, would have appeared in the books. At a hall on November 19th, 1578, it was "ordened at this hall that every alderman and burgese that hath made default not comminge to this hall accordinge to the order shall paye their merciament." That he was in Stratford and able to attend in the year he was excluded from the corporation is unquestionable, for he was summoned on a jury of a Court of Record, May 25th, 28 Eliz.

The occupations of John Shakespeare about this period were probably those of an ordinary yeoman of the time. His name is found in a list of "the *gentlemen and freholders*" in Barlichway hundred, 1580, kindly communicated by Mr. Collier from the original in the State Paper Office. There is reason to believe that his activity continued for many years afterwards. In 1592, he is found engaged in two instances assisting in making inventories of the goods of persons deceased, a task which the old law-books tell us should be performed by "four credible men or more." One of these is entitled, "A

trew and a perfecte inventory of the goodes and cattells which were the goodes and cattells of Henry Feelde late of Stretford uppon Avon in the cownty of Warwyke tanner, now deceased, beynge in Stretford aforsayd, the xxj.the daye of Auguste, a° Domini, 1592, by Thomas Trussell, gentyllman, Mr. John Shaksper, Richard Sponer, and others," the document being entirely in the handwriting of Thomas Trussell, with the exception of the signature of Richard Sponer, who signed his own name. John Shakespeare signs with a mark a little below his name on the right side, in the position indicated in the annexed fac-simile, the words *by me* clearly showing the cross cannot belong to the name of Sponer; and the character of the writing proves, moreover, that the first name is in the handwriting of Trussell. The addition of *senior* to John Shakespeare is rather inexplicable, but the readiest way of explaining it is to presume that Trussell, the transcriber, was not aware he had no son of the name of John, and so subjoined the appellation to distinguish him as the head of the family. John Shakespeare also assisted on another occasion of a similar kind in the same year. Amongst the Stratford records is preserved, "The true and perfect inventory of Raph Shawe of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwycke woll-dryver deceased, taken the xxiiij.th day of Julye in the xxxiiij.th yeare of the rayngne of our soverayngne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God of Eyngland, Fraunce, and Ierland, Queene, defender of the Feyth, &c. by the discretyon of Mr. John Shaxspere, Mr. Willyam Wilson, and Valentyne Tant, with others." The duties performed by John Shakespeare on these occasions were probably more nominal than real; but we may yet infer, from the selection of his name, that he was actively engaged in the business of life, and regarded as a person of useful practical knowledge.

In the same year, in the list of the moneys received by the Chamberlains of Stratford, is the following, "of John Shackesper for Richard Fletcher, xx.*s.*;" but this is one of the very few entries which may relate to Shakespeare the

shoemaker, and as it does not seem to yield any information of value, it may be passed over without further remark. Mr. Collier has quoted a MS. in the State Paper Office of far greater importance. It is a return from Sir Thomas Lucy and other commissioners appointed to make enquiries respecting jesuits, priests, and recusants in Warwickshire, dated 25 Sept. 34 Eliz., 1592; and in the return for Stratford on Avon occurs a very curious notice of John Shakespeare, implying that he was at that time in pecuniary difficulties, not attending the church for fear of a process of debt. The above-mentioned writer thinks no such process could be served on a Sunday; but this is one of the many errors which result from measuring the usage of an early period by that of our own, for the abolition of arrest for debt on the Sabbath-day was not enacted until long after the time to which this paper relates:

The names of all sutch recusantes as have bene hearetofore presented for not comminge monethlie to the churche according to hir Majesties lawes, and yet are thoughte to forbeare the church for debtt and for feare of processe, or for soom other worse faultes, or for age, sicknes, or impotencye of bodie.

In the hundred of Barlichewaye in the parrishe of Stratford upon Avon.

Mr. John Wheeler. John Wheeler his soon. Mr. John Shackespere. Mr. Nicholas Barneshurste. Thomas James alias Gyles. William Bainton. Richard Harrington. William Fluellen. George Bardolfe.	It is sayd that these laste nine coom not to churche for feare of processe for debtte.
Mris. Geffreyes vid. Mris. Barber. Julian Coorte. Griffen ap Robertes. Joane Welche. Mris. Wheeler.	Weare all here presented for recusantes, and doo all so continewe, saving Mris. Wheeler, who is conformed, and Griffen ap Roberts now deade. But the presenters say that all or the most of theese cannot coom to the church for age and other infirmities.

It must be remarked of this document that it distinctly professes to contain a list *of all such recusants as have been heretofore presented for not coming monthly to the church,* so that we may take it for granted that John Shakespeare's name had appeared as a non-attendant at divine service in an earlier return. How far it may be said to prove him distinctly a recusant is a question that must be left to be decided hereafter by evidence not now known; but he could not, years before, have

held the high position he did in the Corporation, had he not then, at least outwardly, fully conformed to the Protestant religion. In the same parcel with the MS. now mentioned is an information presented by one Roger Shakespere, a name that has not yet occurred in the account of the family. The original copies of the presentments are preserved in the muniment room at Warwick Castle, and, although they give no additional information, the portion relating to John Shakespeare may be said to contain a sufficient difference, in the wording of the reason for absence, to be worth repeating:—

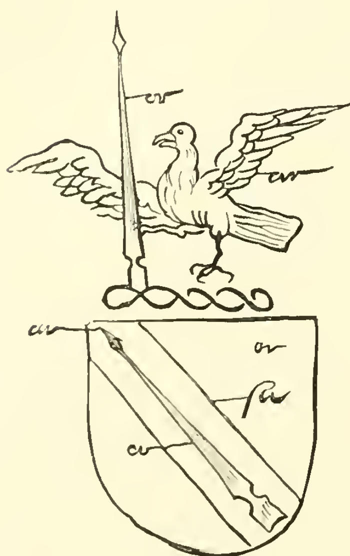
Stretford super Avon. } Wee suspect theese nyne persons next ensuinge absent themselves for feare of prosses.

Mr. John Wheeler.
John his sonne.
Mr. John Shackspeare.
Mr. Nycholas Barnehurste.
Thomas James alias Giles.
William Baynton.
Rychard Harington.
William Fluellen.
George Bardell.

In 1596, John Shakespeare applied at the Heralds' College for a grant of arms, the draft of a grant by Dethick being dated in that year, and between that time and 1599, communications probably took place between him and the College on the subject, the draft of another grant from Dethick and Camden bearing the latter date. I entirely concur with Malone and Collier in considering that this attempt to make John Shakespeare a gentleman originated with his son William; and, indeed, it would be difficult to imagine an old man in John Shakespeare's position seeking the distinction for himself, the effort being attended with considerable expense. We can well imagine the poet, at a period when the greatest success and the possession of the highest genius did not altogether efface the disagreeable impression of being considered, as he probably was considered by his aristocratic neighbours, a *parvenu*, seeking to raise his parents in the social scale by the purchase of a right to coat-armour. The practice was a common one, and is frequently satirized by the writers of the day. Harrison, who wrote about 1580, tells us that a man not in trade, and willing to pay for the honour, "shall *for monie* have a cote and armes bestowed upon him by heralds, who, in the charter of the same, *doo of custome pretend antiquitie and service*,

and manie gaie things," a circumstance which goes some way towards invalidating the statement respecting the services rendered by Shakespeare's ancestors. It must also be observed that Shakespeare's profession would, in all probability, have prevented the heralds from conferring the honour of coat-armour on the poet himself. No grant of arms was made to John Shakespeare before 1597, for he is called *yeoman* in a deed dated in that year, so that the "patierne under Clarenc Cookes hand" must be a pleasing fiction, unless it be conjectured the *patierne* was merely a suggestive trick of arms not ratified by the heralds. The grant would therefore have been made after that date, and the single arms here described are placed over Shakespeare's monument at Stratford, not impaled with those of Arden, as the second grant authorised. As to the grant of lands to Shakespeare's ancestor, let any one carefully look at the interlineations and alterations in these drafts, and remembering the proofs here given that Dethick's notes were not always true, he will be inclined to come to the conclusion that no dependence whatever is to be placed on the correctness of the assertion. It is not at all necessary to suppose that Camden had any part in it; for the second draft, in which only his name occurs, is evidently formed in that respect from the former one.

There are two drafts of the intended grant of 1596 and one of 1599 preserved in the College of Arms. In a trick appended to one of the first, here copied in fac-simile, the motto is *non sanz droict*, which would seem to imply, on the part of the person who selected it, a determination to insist upon the absolute right of the Shakespeares to coat-armour. This trick has some slight variations from the one contained in the later draft. As these drafts have not been fully exhibited in print by former biographers, they are here given at length, the interlineations being marked in italics, and the first compared with the other copy of the same grant. There are also a few erasures, which do not appear to deserve any special notice:



Draft of a grant of arms to John Shakespeare, 1596, *MS. Vincent. Coll. Arm.* 157, *art.* 23, (*compared with art.* 24, *here designated MS. A.*)

Shakespere, 1596.

To all and singuler noble and gentillmen of what estate or degre bearing arms to whom these presentes shall come, William Dethick alias Garter principall king of arms sendethe greetinges. Knowe yee that wheras by the authorite and auncyent *pryrelege and* custome *perteyning to* my *said* office *of principall king of arms from* the Quenes most exc. majeste and her highnes most noble and verteous [victorious, MS. A.] progenitors, I am to take generall notice and record and to make publique demonstracion and testemonie for all causes of arms *and matters of* gentrie thoroughe out all her Majestes kingdoms and domynions, principalites, isles, and provinces, To thend that as some [manie gentelmen, MS. A.] by theyre auncyent names [of, MS. A.] families, kyndredes and descentes, have and enjoye sonderie ensoignes and [cotes] of arms, so other for theyre valiant factes, magnanimite, vertue, dignites, and descertes, maye have suche markes and tokens of honor and worthinesse, whereby theyr name and good fame shalbe [knowen] and divulged, and theyre children and posterite *in all vertue to the* service of theyre prynce and contrie [encouraged]. Being therefore solicited and [by] credible report informed *that* John Shakespeare of Stratford uppon Avon in the counte of Warwick, whose *parentes and late* antecessors [grandfather, MS. A.] were for there [his, MS. A.] valeant and faithefull service advaunced and rewarded by the most prudent prince king Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sythence whiche tyme they have continewed *at those partes* in good reputacion and credit; *and that the said John having maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heyrs of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, in the said counte, gent.* In consideration wherof, and for encouragement of his posterite, *to whom theyse achivmentes maie desend by the auncient custom and lawes of armes,* I have *therfore* assigned graunted *and by these presentes confirmed* this shield or cote of arms, viz. Gould on a bend sable a speare of the first, *the poynt steeled, proper* [argent, MS. A.] and for his creast or cognizance, a faulcon, *his winges displayed, argent,* standing on a wrethe of his coullors, supporting a speare gould steeled *as aforesaid,* sett upon a healmett with mantelles and tasselles as *hath ben accustomed and* more playnely appearethe depicted on this margent. Signefieng hereby [and by the authorite of my office aforesaid ratifieng, MS. A.] that it shalbe lawfull for the sayd John Shakespeare gent. and for his children yssue and posterite *at all tymes convenient and to make shewe of* and beare *blazon* the same *atcherement* on *theyre* shield or escucheons, *cote of arms,* seales, ringes, signettes, *creast, cognizance or penons, guydons, edefices, utensiles, lyveries, tombes or monumentes,* or otherwyse, *at all tymes* in all lawfull warrlyke factes or civile use and exercises, *according to the lawes of armes,* without lett or interruption of any *other* person or persons. Yn wittnesse wherof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and fastened the seale of my office endorzed with the signett of my arms, At the Office of Arms, London, the xx.th daye of October, in the xxxix.te [xxxviij, MS. A.] yeare of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c. 1596.

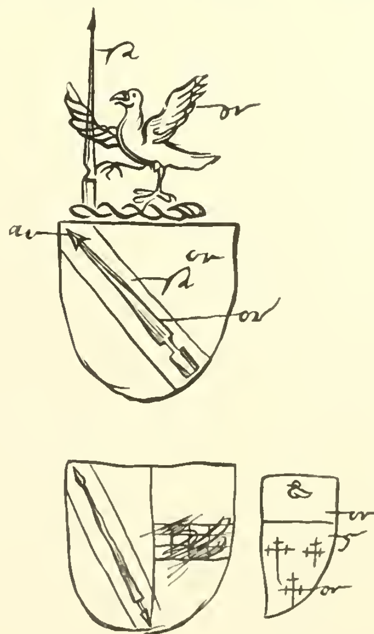
At the bottom of the second draft of this grant, the following curious note occurs, the passage in brackets in the last line being now lost by decay of the manuscript; but the lacuna has been supplied from a copy made many years ago by

Malone. By *patierne* is merely meant a trick of the arms, not a *patent*, as the word has usually been interpreted, till Mr. Hunter restored the genuine reading. It has been often quoted, but never quite correctly,—

> This John hath a patierne therof under Clarenc Cookes hand in paper xx. years past.
> A justice of peace, and was baylefe, officer, and cheffe of the towne of Stratford uppon Avon xv. or xvj. years past.
> That he hathe landes and tenementes of good wealth and substance, 500*li.*
> That he mar[ried a daughter and heyre of Arden, a gent. of worship.]

The second paragraph in these few notes is sufficient of itself to show there was an attempt to make a good case by exceeding the truth. It implies that John Shakespeare was a justice of the peace appointed by the sovereign, not merely *ex officio* as Bailiff of Stratford. He certainly was never in that position in any other capacity, except possibly when he was chief alderman. The "othe of the baylyffe and principall alderman" commences, "yow shalle swere that *as a justice of the peace* and baylyffe of thys borowghe of Stratford and liberties therof." The first paragraph has hitherto been written *this John sheweth*, but *sheweth* is evidently not the word in the MS., which seems to me to be *hath*, although it will probably never be determined with certainty, one word having been written over another, rendering the whole most indistinct. In the grant for 1599, it was originally stated that *he shewed and produced* his coat of arms, but this was erased, and the whole matter is so confused, hesitating, and uncertain, that we may readily believe the real history perished with Dethick and Shakespeare. This conclusion is the more probable, when it is remembered that the former was charged with having granted arms improperly; in a MS. in the Herald's College, W. Z. 276, is preserved "the answere of Garter and Clarenciaux, kinges of armes, to a libellous scrowle against certein arms supposed to be wrongfully given," and under the head *Shakespere*, they say, "It may as well be said that Harely, who beareth gould a bend betweene two cotizes sables, and all other that [bear] or and argent a bend sables, usurpe the coate of the Lo. Mauley. As for the speare in bend is a patible difference; and the person to whome it was granted hath borne magestracy, and was justice of peace at Stratford upon Avon: he maried the daughter and heire of Arderne, and was able to maintaine that estate." We still have the truth exceeded in the implication that he was a magistrate

appointed by royalty; but another copy of this document, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, says, with a slight variation, which may imply the truth, if it does not state it, that "the man was a magistrat in Stratford upon Avon, a justice of peace: he maryed the daughter and heyre of Ardern, and was of good substance and habelite." The latter part of this statement may be also received with some reservation, and it is probably a mere variation of the preceding note, that "he hathe landes and tenementes of good wealth and substance, 500*li*." I am aware its absolute truth has been attempted to be inferred from a recital in a late settlement, where certain property is mentioned as "heretofore the *inheritance* of William Shakespeare, gent., deceased;" and this has been supposed to mean that the property came to the poet *by descent*, as heir-at-law of his father; but it does not require a very wide acquaintance with legal phraseology to be acquainted with the fact that the word *inheritance* was constantly applied to any property that could be inherited, and was therefore correctly used in relation to Shakespeare's own purchase. The following is no doubt a draft of the grant actually made. Even were there no other evidence, had a grant been made in 1596, it would have been so stated in 1599, supposing application had been made for permission to impale the arms of Arden. In the lower part of the trick here given, the Arden coat is placed on one side merely because an error had been made in tracing the original shield. It is almost unnecessary to observe that *Wellingcote*, in the following document, is only an error for *Wilmecote*, as it rightly appears in the previous draft.



Draft of a grant of Arms to John Shakespeare, 1599, *MS. Coll. Arm.* R. 21.

To all and singuller noble and gentelmen of all estates and degrees bearing arms to whom these presentes shall com, William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms of England, and William Camden, alias Clarencieulx, King of Arms for the sowth east and weste partes of this realme, sendethe greetinges. Knowe yee that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembrances of the valeant factes and verteous dispositions of worthie men have ben made knowen and divulged by certeyne shieldes of arms and tokens of chevalrie, the grant and testimonie wherof apperteynethe unto us by vertu of our

offices from the Quenes most exc. majeste, and her highenes most noble and victorious progenitors: wherfore being solicited and by credible report informed, that John Shakespere, nowe of Stratford uppon Avon in the counte of Warwik gent., whose parent, *great grandfather*, and *late* antecessor, for his faithefull and approved service to *the late most prudent prince* King H. 7. of famous memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with landes and tenementes geven to him in those partes of Warwikeshere, where they have continewed by *some* descentes in good reputacion and credit; *and for that* the said John Shakespere having maryed the daughter and one of the heyrs of Robert Arden of Wellingcote in the said countie, and also produced *this his* auncient *cote* of arms heretofore assigned to him whilest he was *her Majesties officer* and baylefe of that towne, In consideration *of the premisses* [originally, *whereof*], and for the encouragement of his posterite, unto whom suche blazon of arms *and atchevementes of inheritance* from theyre *said* mother by the auncyent custome and lawes of arms maye *lawfully* descend, We the said Garter and Clarencieulx have assigned, graunted, and confirmed, and *by these presentes exemplefied* unto the said John Shakespere, and to his posterite that shield and cote of arms, [originally, *Whiche he shewed and produced*, but afterwards erased,] viz. In a field of gould uppon a bend sables a speare of the first the poynt upward hedded argent [originally, *with steele argent*]; and for his creast or cognisance a ffalcon with his wynges displayed standing on a wrethe of his coullers supporting a speare [originally, *in pale*] *armed* hedded *or* steeled *sylver*, fyxed uppon a hemlet with mantelles and tasselles, as more playnely *maye* appeare depicted on this margent; and we have *lykewise uppon on other escucheon* impaled the same with the auncyent arms of *the said* Arden of Wellingcote, signifeing thereby that it *maye and* shalbe lawefull for the said John Shakespere gent. to beare and use the same *shieldes of arms*, single or impaled as aforesaid, during his naturall lyffe; and that it shalbe lawfull for his children, *yssue*, and posteryte (lawfully begotten) to beare, use, and quarter *and shewe forthe* the same with theyre dewe differences *in* all lawfull warlyke factes and civile use or exercises, according to the lawes of arms and custome that to gent. belongethe, without let or interuption of any person or person[s] for use or for bearing the same. In wyttnesse and testemonye wherof we have subscribed our names and fastened the seales of our offices, yeven at the Office of Arms, London, the . . . . in the xlij.te. yeare of the reigne of our most gratious soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, ... France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faythe, &c. 1599.

The discrepancies which present themselves in the heraldic drafts are worthy of attentive consideration. In one, the "parentes and late antecessors" of John Shakespeare are stated to have been advanced and rewarded by Henry the Seventh; in another, this fact is limited to the *grandfather*, while the last mentions the person who was thus noticed as his "parent, great grandfather, and late antecessor." In the first two, dated 1596, "advaunced and rewarded" expresses the whole of the information produced on this subject; but in the later draft of 1599, it is recorded that John Shakespeare's ancestor "was advaunced and rewarded with landes and tenementes geven to *him* in those partes of Warwikeshere, where *they* have continewed by some

descentes in good reputacion and credit." Malone correctly argues, "if such a grant had been made by King Henry the Seventh to any of John Shakespeare's lineal ancestors, the first question that may be asked is, how came John Shakespeare, or at least some one of his name, not to be in possession of those lands when these armorial ensigns were a second time assigned to him?" The same writer justly adds that if the lands and tenements thus granted had been forfeited, or otherwise alienated, the original record of such a fact would indubitably have appeared in the Patent Rolls. This argument appears to be sound, and decisive as to the little degree of historical credibility to be attached to the statements recorded by the heralds.

The latest notice of John Shakespeare hitherto met with occurs in a paper in the Council Chamber at Stratford, containing notes respecting an action of trespass brought by Sir Edward Grevil against several burgesses of Stratford in 1601. His name is in a list that appears amongst memoranda of the defendant's case, perhaps of the witnesses intended to be called, —"Mr. Jhon Sackesper," which adds one more specimen to the varieties of the Shakespeare orthography. Adrian Quiney, a neighbour, is found in the same list. John Shakespeare was buried on September 8th, 1601, so that supposing he had only attained his majority when he is first discovered as a resident in Henley Street, he was at least seventy when he departed from the scene. It would have pleased us better had we found Shakespeare raising monuments to his parents in the venerable pile which now covers his own remains.

Adventitious circumstances lead us now to commemorate a person in humble life, who has hitherto served more biographical purposes than are at all necessary. Whenever an entry relating to the poet's father was displeasing to an editor, or did not answer the purposes of his argument, a reply was always ready, —it refers to John Shakespeare the shoemaker, who lived at Stratford, and was a contemporary with his namesake. It is essential that this question of identity should be in some degree limited. This John Shakespeare, who was certainly not a native of Stratford, as appears from the circumstances under which he obtained his freedom, is mentioned in the books of the corporation as a burgess present at a hall, 9 March, 22 Eliz. 1580. On Oct. 1st, 1585, he was sworn as one of the tasters, having been previously elected a constable on Sept. 6th, "George Badger, Roger Welshe, John Shaxspere, and Humffrey

Brace;" and in the following January, the Chamberlains' accounts for 1586 record, "reseved of Shakspeare the shumaker for his fredom the xix. day of Jenuarey, xxx.*s*." But he was poor, or he would not have availed himself in 1587 of Oken's charity, a loan to be employed in his business. At a meeting of the Corporation held on February 17th, 1587, he borrowed £5 from this charity, his sureties being Richard Sponer and Robert Yonge; and the acceptance of this loan also proves he was young, that being one of the express conditions in Oken's will, [MS. Black Book, Corpor. Arch. Warw.] In a deed made June 10th, 1588, one of the witnesses is "John Shaksper, corvizare." About this period he resided in Bridge Street, for in a list of the rents of the Corporation made in October, 1589, he is noticed as a tenant of a house in that street, and the following entry occurs in a similar list dated Jan. 12th, 1590-1, headed, "Brydge Strett warde."

On Oct. 29th, 1587, his wife Margery, whom he had married on Nov. 25th, 1584, was buried, but he appears to have soon married again, for a daughter Ursula was baptized March 11th, 1588-9, a son Humphrey on May 24th, 1590, and a son Philip on Sept. 21st, 1591. He is mentioned in the Corporation books as "Master of the companie of shoemakers," and he appears to have left Stratford about 1595, for then his house in Bridge Street was inhabited by another person, and he is heard of no more in the records of that town.

Now bearing in mind the very humble station and circumstances of this John Shakespeare, the rent of his house being only twelve shillings, and appearing in every way a very obscure person; the period of his residence at Stratford, moreover, being brought within very narrow limits, and it being clearly seen he obtained no rank in the Corporation, is it necessary that the unfortunate identity of name with Shakespeare's father should any longer be a hinderance to our researches respecting the latter? It need be so in reality in very few cases. The parish register makes a difference between them, *Mr.* John Shakespeare being the ex-bailiff, John Shakespeare being the shoemaker; for it must be remembered that they lived at a period when these kind of

distinctions were jealously preserved. The poet's father appears to have been always recognized as Mr. John Shakespeare after he had held the office of bailiff, the *Mr.* being in fact the token of a superiority which was far from being nominal. There is every reason to believe the trade of Shakespeare the shoemaker is inserted in the registry of the Court of Record whenever he is referred to, as in a case 25 Feb. 32 Eliz., where he is merely bail for a party,—"Thomas Tetherton comparuit per Williehnum Courte atturn. suum ad sect. Willielmi Tetherton in placito transgr. super casum querens narr. et deff. li. lo. et *Johannes Shaxpere, shumaker*, m. pro deff.;" and in another record of the same court, dated in November, 1591, he is styled, *Johannes Shaksper cordinarius*. In the register of the Corporation proceedings, no difficulty whatever is found in distinguishing between the two; the trade of John Shakespeare, the shoemaker, always being annexed to his name, whenever he is mentioned.

So many theories regarding the early life of Shakespeare have been founded on the alleged circumstances of his father, that the pains here taken to remove some of the doubts relating to the history of the latter, and to distinguish between him and his namesake with more accuracy than has yet been accomplished, will be found of essential service in forming the most probable theory on the manner in which the poet's youth was passed. We are, unfortunately, without the means of attaining beyond a probability in this matter; for nearly a century elapsed before any one committed to paper the slightest intelligence on the subject, Shakespeare's contemporaries and immediate successors, who alone could have told much, passing away without suspecting how earnest would be the curiosity of posterity. About the year 1680, an inveterate gossip, who recorded every statement and anecdote that came in his way, and has, as might be expected, left us a legacy of biographical history where the glimmerings of truth are with difficulty to be recognized amidst exaggerations and inaccuracies, favoured Shakespeare by becoming his first biographer. In Aubrey's MSS. at the Ashmolean Museum are contained the following curious memoranda, and however little they are deserving of credit, it is necessary the reader should be put in full possession of their contents. In this, as in other instances, instead of quoting a document by fragments, I shall insert it entire, and refer to it where necessary. A small part of

Aubrey's narrative relates to Shakespeare's early life; but the reader will be enabled to judge much better of the value of the evidence by having it before him at once, than if it were merely quoted as occasion served:—

Mr. William Shakespear was borne at Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwick; his father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade, but when he kill'd a calfe, he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech. There was at that time another butcher's son in this towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance and coetanean, but dyed young. This Wm., being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18, and was an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well. Now B. Johnson was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor. He began early to make essayes at dramatiq: poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes tooke well. He was a handsome well shap't man, very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth witt. The humour of . . . . the cunstable, in Midsomer Night's Dreame, he happened to take at Grendon in Bucks, which is the roade from London to Stratford, and there was living that constable about 1642, when I first came to Oxon. I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there. Mr. Jos. Howe is of that parish, and knew him. Ben: Johnson and he did gather humours of men dayly whereever they came. One time, as he was at the tavern at Stratford super Avon, one Combes, an old rich usurer, was to be buryed, he makes there this extemporary epitaph,

> Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,
> But Combes will have twelve he sweares and vowes;
> If any one askes who lies in this tombe,
> Hoh! quoth the devill, 'Tis my John o' Combe!

He was wont to goe to his native countrey once a yeare. I thinke I have been told that he left 2 or 300 *lib.* per annum there and thereabout to a sister. I have heard Sir Wm. Davenant and Mr. Thomas Shadwell (who is counted the best comœdian we have now) say that he had a most prodigious witt (v. his Epitaph in Dugdale's Warw.), and did admire his naturall parts beyond all other dramaticall writers. He (Ben Johnsons Underwoods) was wont to say that he never blotted out a line in his life; sayd Ben Johnson, "I wish he had bloted out a thousand." His comœdies will remaine witt as long as the English tongue is understood, for that he handles *mores hominum:* now our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons and coxcombeities, that 20 yeares hence they will not be understood. Though, as Ben Johnson sayes of him, that he had but little Latine and lesse Greek, he understood Latine pretty well, for he had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the countrey. From Mr. . . Beeston.

The authority of Mr. Beeston, which is here quoted, does not refer to the whole account, but only to the last paragraph, which seems to have been added after the other part of the manuscript had been written. This circumstance is of importance, and worth careful notice, for it explains in some

4 Mr William Shakespear.

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was borne at Stratford upon Avon in the County of Warwick his father was a Butcher, & I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his fathers Trade, but when he kill'd a Calfe, he would doe it in a high style, & make a Speech. There was at that time another Butchers son in this Towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance & coetanean but dyed young. This Wm being inclined naturally to Poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18: and was an Actor at one of the Play-houses and did act exceedingly well: now B. Johnson was never a good Actor, but an excellent Instructor. He began early to make essayes at Dramatique Poetry, wch at that time was very lowe; and his Playes tooke well: He was a handsome well shap't man: very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth Witt. The Humour of ..... the Constable in a Midsomersnight's Dreame, he happened to take at *Grendon in Bucks wch is the roade from London to Stratford and there was living that Constable about 1642 when I first came to Oxon. Mr Jos: Howe is of yt parish and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather Humours of men dayly where ever they came. One time as he was at the Tavern at Stratford sup Avon, one Combes an old rich Usurer was to be buryed, he makes there this extemporary Epitaph

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*I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there--

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v. his Epitaph in Dugdales Warw.

B. Johnsons Underwoods.

from Mr ... Beeston.

Ashbee & [illegible] lithog

measure the inconsistency in the two accounts of Shakespeare's having been a butcher and a schoolmaster in his youth. Aubrey recorded the first story as he heard it, or as he thought he had heard it, and this Mr. Beeston told him some time afterwards the poet had occupied himself in scholastic duties. This of course is likewise noted down, and if Aubrey had been told a dozen more accounts, we should also have had them recorded in the same farrago of unsubstantial gossip. The only safe plan of dealing with a writer of this mischievous class is to read, be amused, then examine his inconsistencies, and believe nothing unless it be confirmed by other evidence. Aubrey's narrative must be considered as exhibiting very indistinctly and imperfectly the floating Shakespearian traditions of his time, and little more. It is sufficiently evident the poet's father was not a butcher; but it is a singular circumstance that the parish clerk of Stratford in 1693, then more than eighty years old, asserted that Shakespeare was bound apprentice to that trade. This we have on unimpeachable authority, and it shows whence the first part of Aubrey's account was originally obtained. It shows more than this; for, however it may shock our fancy, it cannot be denied but that the best authority for the nature of the profession that Shakespeare was first engaged in exhibits him occupied under no poetic circumstances, unless killing a calf "in a high style" can be so interpreted. This authority was a native of Stratford, in a position that argues him likely to have been well informed, whose memory could most probably date back with accuracy from a time when the history of the matter was well known. On April 10th, 1693, a person of the name of Dowdall addressed a small treatise in the form of a letter to Mr. Edward Southwell, endorsed by the latter "Description of severall places in Warwickshire," in which he gives the following account of Shakespeare, including information nowhere else to be met with. A fac-simile of the most interesting portion of this curious manuscript is here given from the original in my own possession. It is of great curiosity as one of the earliest independent authorities for the life of Shakespeare:—

The first remarkable place in this County that I visitted was Stratford super Avon, where I saw the effigies of our English tragedian Mr. Shakspeare; parte of his epitaph I sent Mr. Lowther, and desired he would impart it to you, which I finde by his last letter he has done: but here I send you the whole inscription.

Just under his Effigies in the wall of the chancell is this written.

Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mœrett, Olympus habet.

Stay, passenger, why goest thou by soe fast?
Read, if thou canst, whome envious death hath plac't
Within this monument: Shakspeare, with whome
Quick nature dyed; whose name doth deck the tombe
Far more then cost, sith all that he hath writt
Leaves liveing art but page to serve his witt.
Obii[t] A. Dni. 1616.
Ætat. 53, Die 23 Apr.

Neare the wall where his monument is erected lyeth a plaine free stone, underneath which his bodie is buried with this epitaph, made by himselfe a little before his death.

Good friend, for Jesus sake forbeare
To digg the dust inclosed here!
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curs't be he that moves my bones!

The clarke that shew'd me this church is above 80 years old; he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this towne bound apprenti[c]e to a butcher, but that he run from his master to London, and there was received into the playhouse as a serviture, and by this meanes had an oppertunity to be what he afterwards prov'd. He was the best of his family, but the male line is extinguishd: not one for feare of the curse abovesaid dare touch his grave-stone, tho his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be layd in the same grave with him.

The singular statement in Aubrey's account that Shakespeare, "when he kill'd a calfe, he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech," has been supposed by Mr. Raine to allude to an old semi-dramatic entertainment, entitled *Killing the Calf*, played by a person who was concealed from the spectators behind a curtain. It appears from the household-book of the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., that a representation of this interlude was exhibited before her at Christmas, 13 Henry VIII., 1521, when she was quite a child,—"Item, paid to a man at Wyndesore for kyllyng of a calffe before my lady's grace behynde a clothe, viij.*d.*" The possibility that Shakespeare, in his early days, contributed to the amusement of his neighbours by a performance of this kind, and that it is to such a circumstance Aubrey alludes in the passage above quoted, derives some support from the fact that this early entertainment was one of those vernacular traditional pastimes, which have tenaciously held a place in the popular mind for centuries. The interlude of *Killing the Calf* was commonly known in the North of England till within a recent period; and it is yet remembered in some parts of Scotland, Mr. G. V.

Account of Shakespeare's Tomb and Anecdotes respecting the Poet
from a MS written in the year 1693

The 1st Remarkable place in this County yt I visitted was Stratford super avon, where I saw the Effigies of our English tragedian mr. Shakspeare, parte of his Epitaph I sent mr Lowther and desired he wd Impart it to you, wch I finde by his Last Letter he has done: but here I send you the whole Inscription.

Just under his Effigies in the wall of the Chancell is this written

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Terra tegit populus maerett, olympus habet
Stay passenger why goest thou by soe fast
Read if thou canst whome envious death hath plast
wthin this monument Shakspeare wth whome
quick nature dyed whose name doth deck ye Tombe
far more then cost sith all that he hath writt
Leaves living art but page to serve his witt

Obij A. Dni. 1616.
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Neare the Wall where his monument is Erected Lyeth a plaine free stone, underneath wch his bodie is Buried wth this Epitaph, made by himselfe a little before his death

Good Friend for Jesus sake forbeare
to digg the dust Inclosed here
Blest be the man yt spares these stones
And Curst be he that moves my bones.

The Clarke that shewed me this Church is above 80 yrs old he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this Towne bound apprentice to a butcher; but that he Run from his master to London & there was Received Into the play house as a serviture, & by this meanes had an opportunity to be wt he afterwards prov'd. he was the best of his family but the male Line is Extinguisht not one for feare of the Curse abovesd dare touch his Grave stone tho his wife and Daughters did Earnestly desire to be Layd in the same Grave wth him.

Ashbee & Tuckerhead Fac Sim lithog

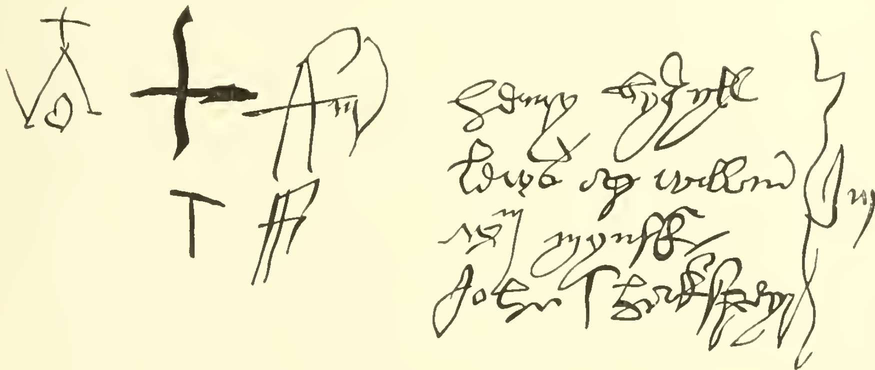
Irving having thence recovered a copy of it as performed by the working-classes of Forfarshire and Lanarkshire, which, though evidently of a character too greatly altered from the original to be here introduced, is exceedingly curious as a proof of its long-continued popularity. The performer retires behind a screen, and carries on a dialogue in two voices, representing of course two characters, with occasional imitations of sounds, such as grinding, produced by rubbing a piece of stone on the floor, or by any similar contrivance. The first character, a travelling cadger, calls on Wattie, a farmer, for the purpose of buying a calf. "Wattie," says the cadger, "that's no a fat calf, it's hard as wude." The farmer combats this opinion, and offers the calf for five groats. The cadger makes a deeper bargain, and they shake hands upon it,—"but I'll no gie ye five groats, but if ye'll kill the calf, and skin the calf, and carry the calf hame for me, I'll gie ye foure groats, and ilka hole ye cut in the calf's skin shall be a groat out of the price o't." The poor farmer, in his attempt to skin the calf with inappropriate utensils, makes no less than three holes in the skin, and the cadger consequently obtains the animal for a single groat. These simple circumstances are expanded into a dialogue of some length, which, *mutatis mutandis*, is often adapted to the locality in which the performance takes place. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the modern traditional version can suggest little more than the probable outline of the original; but there cannot be much doubt that the former exhibits the character at least of the ancient entertainment. The words now used in the interlude of *Punch and Judy*, still so common and so popular, are not of great antiquity, yet no one doubts that the performance itself is derived from the puppet-show of Punchinello, exhibited at Charing Cross in the time of Charles II.; and the singular tenacity with which the primitive amusements of the people are retained from one generation to another, renders it not improbable that the dramatic dialogue of *Killing the Calf* should have orally descended, in variations of form, through upwards of three centuries.

It was probably somewhere about the year 1690, that Betterton the actor collected the biographical particulars on which was founded the Life of Shakespeare by Rowe, in 1709, the latter informing us (p. 34) that "his [Betterton's] veneration for the memory of Shakespear engag'd him to make a journey into Warwickshire on purpose to gather up what remains he

could of a name for which he had so great a value." Rowe's biography of Shakespeare is the first connected history of his life that was published, the accounts of him furnished by such writers as Fuller, Langbaine, and others, consisting of little more than incidental notices; and it displays so much caution and judgment in the relation of those particulars in which we are mostly interested, that great value and credibility may reasonably be admitted to belong to the performance. When Betterton instituted his enquiries, much of Shakespeare's authentic history must have been known at Stratford; and the fact that Rowe does not record the minuter traditions, which were unquestionably current, speaks much for the probability of his having exercised great prudence in the selection of his materials. Rowe is altogether silent respecting the tradition above alluded to, but he gives a very intelligible account of Shakespeare's youth. "His father," he says (ed. 1709, p. 2), "who was a considerable dealer in wool, had so large a family, ten children in all, that tho' he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, 'tis true, for some time at a free school, where, 'tis probable, he acquir'd that little Latin he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forc'd his father to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language." There is a probability that this statement may be founded on truth, in the circumstance that John Shakespeare was not a person likely to appreciate the disadvantage attending his son's too early removal from school. Neither of Shakespeare's parents, as has been previously observed, could write their own names. Education seems by no means to have been considered essential to the family. The cabalistic looking character here delineated from an old deed is the mark of Joan Lambert, the poet's aunt, or, to speak more correctly, one of her marks, for there seems to have been a fancy displayed in these designs, which may probably be ascribed rather to caprice than to the result of a system. In another document there occur the following marks of this same lady and her husband, that used by the former differing greatly from the specimen just given.

The merke of Edmond Lambert. The merke of Joane Lambert.

John Shakespeare also varied the form of his mark-signature, using at least three variations. In the early part of his life, he appears to have adhered chiefly to the curious symbol copied at pp. 18, 19, which may, by possibility, be typical of an instrument used in his trade. A similar, but somewhat different mark, appears in the accompanying copy of the signatures to a



presentation, made when he was one of the affeerers, 4th May, 3 Elizabeth, 1561, the mark belonging to the name of John Shakespeare being that on the right-hand side of the two lowest signs. It does not appear that there was any particular period when he relinquished this intricate species for the more simple type of the cross, although he seems to have used the latter almost exclusively in his declining years. The earliest instance which has occurred to me is found appended to an account dated in the year 1563, which is signed by a cross in the form here indicated. Without digressing further, it will thus not fail to strike the reader's attention that Shakespeare belonged to a family where the knowledge of letters was not greatly in request; and considering, in relation with this fact, that even one of his sisters had not been taught to write, the presumption is great that if John Shakespeare found it conducive to his interests to recall his son from school to assist him in his occupations at home, very little idea of the importance of literary progress would have intervened to prevent him from carrying such a purpose into effect. The mark of Judith Shakespeare, here delineated, is copied from a deed executed in December, 1611, the property of Mr. Wheler. Her mark occurs twice, in that deed, in slightly varied forms.

Shakespeare was educated at the free-school at Stratford; for, even were there no direct evidence to that effect, when his father's position in the Corporation during his youth is considered, the probability that such was the case is so great that it may safely be accepted as an ascertained fact. Stratford had had the advantage of a free-school from a very early period, and Edward VI., in 1553, granted a charter, in which it was ordered from thenceforth to be called *The King's New School of Stratford upon Avon.* I have not discovered any account of the course of education pursued in this school; but Latin was taught in all the free-schools of any note at that period. The books usually read included Lilly's *Grammar*, Æsop's *Fables*, Terence, Sallust, Cicero, Pliny, Horace, and Virgil. Dr. Forman, describing an ignorant minister, in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, says of him, "he could read English well, but he could noe Lattine more then the singell accidens, and that he lerned of his too sonnes that went daily to a free scolle;" and the Doctor himself affirms that he learned Latin when he was bedfellow to "on Gird of Kirton that wente every dai to the free scole." There is reason to believe that the school at Stratford afforded means for a superior education, the local records preserving a letter entirely in Latin, written by one of the boys to his father, an alderman, towards the close of the sixteenth century. Some of the members of the Corporation had also pretensions to learning, and were fond of exhibiting it by interspersing Latin sentences in their letters, an accomplishment no doubt acquired at the King's New School. Ben Jonson's testimony seems in favour of Shakespeare's having received a certain degree of education, "though thou hadst small Latine and lesse Greeke;" implying that he was not, as Jonson was, a scholar in the strict sense of the term, but that he certainly had some knowledge of those languages. Had Shakespeare not been educated at the free-school, Jonson would have had to tell us of his "no Latin and no Greek;" and W. Towers, who wrote some commendatory verses to Cartwright's Comedies, 8vo, 1657, referring to Jonson's celebrated remark, changes it to "little Latin and no Greek." The passage is too curious not to be given entire:

EXTERIOR OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Thy skill in wit was not so poorely meek
As theirs, whose little Latin and no Greek
Confin'd their whole discourse to a street-phrase,
Such dialect as their next neighbour's was;
Their birthplace brought o' th' stage, the clown and quean
Were full as dear to them as Persian scean.
Thou (to whom ware, thus offer'd, smelt as strong
As the clown's foot) hadst led thy muse along
Through all learn'd times and authors; thy rich pen
Travers'd more languages than they read men;
They but to Spain or Italy advance
The leg, or shrugg, or to our neighbour France;
Thy universall genius did know
The whole world's posture, and mixt idioms too:
But these, as modern faculties, thy soul
Rear'd higher up, learnt only to controul;
In abler works and tongues yet more refin'd,
Thou wedgd'st thyself, till they grew to thy mind;
They were so wrapt about thee, none could tell
A difference, but that Cartwright did excell!

If this applies chiefly to Shakespeare, as would appear from the allusion just mentioned, it affords a curious evidence in favour of attributing to him a knowledge of European languages. The whole is directed against a dramatist who drew chiefly from native "humours" and continental inventions. That Shakespeare was acquainted with Italian sufficiently appears from the very curious entry relating to *Twelfth Night* in Manningham's Diary, 1602; and the name of one of his characters, Pistol, is taken from the Italian *pistolfo*, translated by Florio, ed. 1611, p. 384, "a roguing beggar, a cantler, an upright man that liveth by cosenage." There can be no reasonable doubt of the fact that Shakespeare was well read in the literature of his day, but this admission by no means precludes a strong probability in favour of Rowe's assertion, that he was removed from school before he had attained great proficiency in the learned languages.

The opinion that Shakespeare's classical education had been of a superficial character, receives a strong support from the continual allusions in early writers to his deriving his powers from the gift of Nature, not from cultivation or training. Ward, the vicar of Stratford, writing about the year 1662, "heard that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all." Drayton, in his *Elegies*, speaks of his "naturall braine;" Cartwright observes, in his *Poems*, 1651, p. 273, "Nature was all his art;" in similar language, Fuller declares,

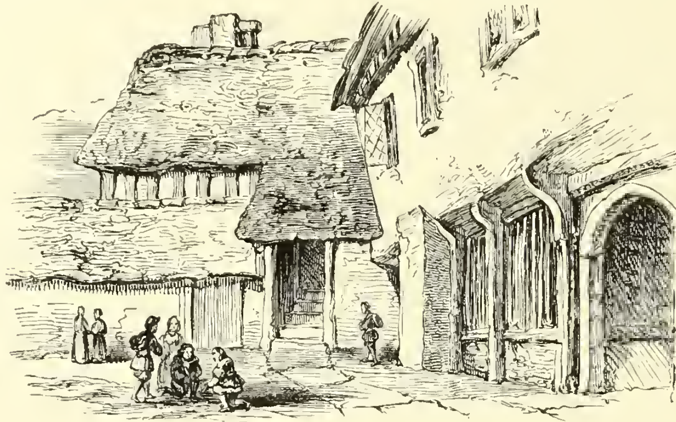
"Nature itself was all the art that was used upon him;" L. Digges, in some lines printed in 1640, says, "Nature only helped him;" and the writer of a poem to the memory of Ben Jonson, printed in *Parnassus Biceps*, 1656, p. 133, classes Beaumont, Fletcher, and Shakespeare together, as dramatists who had became great without the aid of learning, insinuating that "rare Ben" could have equalled them "without Latine helps." Milton's graceful allusion to Shakespeare warbling "his native wood-notes wild," is almost too familiar to all to require a reference. Ben Jonson's observation to Drummond of Hawthornden, that "Shakspeer wanted arte," appears to be neutralised in some measure by the opinion expressed in the verses prefixed to the first folio. The direct evidences of an early date that the poet was not deeply skilled in the dead languages of ancient Greece and Rome are unanimous and important; and in addition to those previously quoted, may be added the testimony of H. Ramsay, an Oxford student, who, writing in 1637 or 1638, says of Ben Jonson, he could command that Latin which Shakespeare "scarce could understand." It seems impossible to account for this class of notices of the great poet, without concluding there existed for some time after his death a general belief that he had not been read in the learning of the schools. At the same time, it is quite unnecessary to assume he was ignorant of Latin altogether. On the supposition that he superintended the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, the selection of the motto on the title-page of that work would lead to a different conclusion; and there seems to be every reason for confiding in the general truth of Rowe's statement on the subject. Shakespeare might have retained an imperfect knowledge of Latin, a knowledge that would have amply sufficed for casual reference; but it is more consistent with what has been ascertained respecting the sources of his plots to suppose that his attention, in after life, was rather directed to the acquisition of continental languages, which would have been far more serviceable to him than a familiarity with that ancient literature, which has been considered so greatly and injuriously to have influenced the character of the works of his great contemporary.

Rowe, in his *Life of Shakespear*, 1709, speaking of the difference in scholarship between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, records an anecdote which deserves mentioning, for though it may not contain the exact truth of the occurrence, there is, in

all probability, some foundation for it. "In a conversation," he says, "between Sir John Suckling, Sir William D'Avenant, Endymion Porter, Mr. Hales of Eaton, and Ben Johnson; Sir John Suckling, who was a profess'd admirer of Shakespear, had undertaken his defence against Ben Johnson with some warmth. Mr. Hales, who had sat still for some time, hearing Ben frequently reproaching him with the want of learning, and ignorance of the antients, told him at last, *That if Mr. Shakespear had not read the antients, he had likewise not stollen anything from 'em*,—a fault the other made no conscience of,—*and that if he would produce any one topick finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something upon the same subject at least as well written by Shakespear.*"

It would be a difficult task to identify the exact position of the room in which Shakespeare was educated, yet the subject is one worthy of local investigation. From an entry in the Corporation books in 1595, it appears that the school had then been kept in the Chapel of the Guild, but from several entries in the Chamberlains' accounts, it may be concluded this was only a temporary arrangement. In the accounts for 1568, mention is made of *the scole, the olde scole*, and *the soller over the scole*. This last entry would alone seem to prove that the school was not then in the chapel, but in another building, perhaps that adjoining it, in which the boys are at this day educated, and where the passion of the multitude for the exhibition of personal relics of great men has led to the attribution of the title of "Shakespeare's desk" to an unwieldy article, which may have been the schoolmaster's throne some two centuries ago. It is certainly old, but if every scholar had had so extensive a table for his initiatory literary labours, Stratford itself would scarcely have held the pupils and their desks. The suppositititious relic, supposititious at least as regards its having been used by Shakespeare, unless we give countenance to Aubrey's assertion that he was once a schoolmaster, has been perpetuated by Mr. Fairholt, who has, however, compensated for this probable want of authenticity by giving a sketch of the schools as they appeared a few years ago, "approached by an antique external stair, roofed with tile, and up which the boys had ascended from the time of Shakespeare;" and lamentable it is that so characteristic a fragment of the olden Stratford should now be for ever lost. This author evidently adopts the most probable supposition that the occupation of the chapel as

a school, about 1595, was only temporary; and yet, were not my belief too well armed against the reception of personal allusions in Shakespeare's works, I should be almost inclined to



COURT-YARD OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, STRATFORD.

admit the possibility of a sly notice of his schoolmaster, when Malvolio is described as most villanously cross-gartered, "like a pedant that keeps a school i' the church." The Chapel of the Guild, close to the old town-hall, is a plain but good structure in the architectural style of the reign of Henry VII. The chancel is of greater antiquity, and was apparently the only portion of the more ancient edifice allowed to remain when Sir Hugh Clopton rebuilt the chapel. In this building it has been supposed that Shakespeare received his education, and, however much that may be doubted, still is it connected with his history, for here has been from time immemorial a pew appropriated to the owner of New Place, and, in that chapel, Shakespeare, after 1597, would listen to the ministers of the reformed religion.

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF THE GUILD.

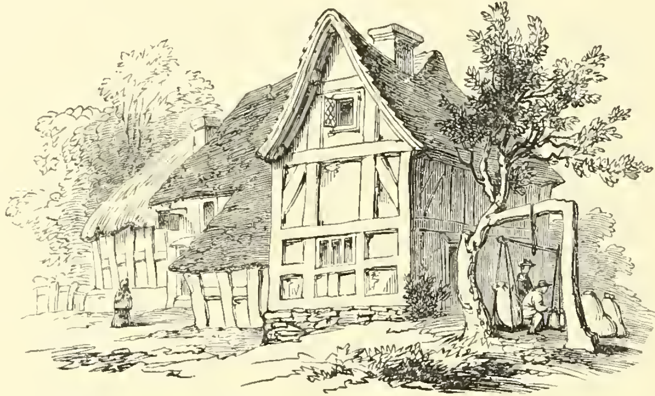
More than a century elapsed after Henley Street had been the scene of Shakespeare's youth, before any one recorded the trade that he was originally destined to follow. The opinion of the parish clerk in 1693, supported by Aubrey's random history, is entitled to the preference, as the best evidence on

this subject, although it be of so late a date, "this Shakespear was formerly in this towne bound apprentice to a butcher." Rowe's assertion that he followed his father's occupation, and dealt in wool, is by no means at variance with this presumed fact, the truth of which it would be bold to assert; yet it may be doubted whether better authorities for a contrary opinion can be produced. There seems to be no reason against its reception on the ground of disparity of social position, for one of the bailiffs of the town was a butcher, and Shakespeare's sister married a hatter. Mr. Collier follows Malone in considering there is sufficient internal evidence in Shakespeare's plays to warrant the belief that he was employed in the office of an attorney after he had quitted the free-school. He says, "proofs of something like a legal education are to be found in many of his plays, and it may be safely asserted that they do not occur anything like so frequently in the dramatic productions of his contemporaries;" but surely the frequent and correct use Shakespeare made of such terms may have been readily taught by the numerous legal transactions in which his parents were implicated, and the proceedings of the local court, which were extensive, and held in regular form, would of themselves have rendered the technicalities of the law familiar to any attentive observer. If biographers of the poet are to accept what is termed the internal evidences of his history to be found in his sonnets and dramas, any given problem might be solved, or any result might be obtained. There is not a technical term in Shakespeare's plays the use of which may not be accounted for in some such manner. There is another conjecture, however, which is more probable. "He had been in his younger yeares," says Aubrey, "a schoolmaster in the countrey;" and this is explained on the supposition that he had been employed by the master of the free-school to aid him in the instruction of the younger boys. It certainly appears from several writers that such a course was not unusual, and Dr. Forman [MS. in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, No. 208] tells of something similar respecting himself.

Shakespeare has thus been traced, as well as our sources of information will permit, through the first two stages of life, in his nurse's arms, and then the "whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face." At eighteen years of age he entered on the next,—

> ———— then the lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow,

the dark eyebrow of Anne Hathaway, a lovely maiden of the picturesque hamlet of Shottery, her cottage within a walk of



ENTRANCE TO SHOTTERY,—THE SHAKESPEARE INN.

Stratford. To her, most probably, were the earliest efforts of Shakespeare's muse addressed, in terms such as these:

> If thy soul check thee that I come so near,
> Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy *Will*,
> And will, thy soul knows, is admitted there;
> Thus far for love, my love-suit, sweet, fulfil.

and his love-suit was not rejected. The espousals of the lovers were celebrated in the summer of 1582. In those days betrothment or contract of matrimony often preceded actual marriage; and there need be no hesitation in believing that this ceremony was passed through by Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway. There is the direct testimony of an author of 1543 that in some places it was regarded in all essential particulars as a regular marriage; and provided the ceremony was celebrated in a reasonable time, no criminality could be alleged after the contract had been made. This opinion is well illustrated by a passage in the *Winter's Tale*, act i, sc. 2, expressive of disgust at one who "puts to *before her troth-plight*." The parish register of Stratford will show it was usual for cohabitation to take place before actual marriage; the existence of a contract fully counteracting any charge of impropriety. Shakespeare's nuptials were celebrated in the latter part of the year 1582, and "on the granting of licences, bond is to be taken that there is no impediment of pre-contract, consanguinity, &c." The

FACSIMILE OF SHAKESPEARE'S MARRIAGE BOND, FROM THE ORIGINAL PRESERVED AT WORCESTER.

bond which was given on the occasion of Shakespeare's intended marriage is still preserved at Worcester, and a copy of it is here given, carefully taken from the original document. There is no peculiarity to be observed in it, nor can I agree with Mr. Collier in admitting "that the whole proceeding seems to indicate haste and secrecy." In fact, the bond is exactly similar to those which were usually granted on such occasions, and several others of a like kind are to be seen in the office of the Worcester registry. It is necessary in these discussions to pay attention to the ordinary usages of the period, and the more minutely they are investigated, the less necessity will there be in this case for suggesting any insinuation against the character of the poet.

Noverint universi per præsentes nos Fulconem Sandells de Stratford in comitatu Warwici agricolam, et Johannem Rychardson ibidem agricolam, teneri et firmiter obligari Ricardo Cosin generoso et Roberto Warmstry notario publico in quadraginta libris bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvend. eisdem Ricardo et Roberto hæred. execut. vel assignat. suis, ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligamus nos et utrumque nostrum per se pro toto et in solid. hæred. executor. et administrator. nostros firmiter per præsentes sigillis nostris sigillat. Dat. 28 die Novem. anno regni dominæ nostræ Eliz. Dei gratia Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensor. &c. 25°.

The condicion of this obligacion ys suche, that if herafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consangui[ni]tie, affinitie, or by any other lawfull meanes whatsoever, but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Anne Hathwey, of Stratford in the dioces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solennize matrimony together, and in the same afterwardes remaine and continew like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided: and, moreover, if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrell or demaund, moved or depending before any judge, ecclesiasticall or temporall, for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment: and, moreover, if the said William Shagspere do not proceed to solemnizacion of mariadg with the said Anne Hathwey without the consent of hir frindes: and also, if the said William do, upon his owne proper costes and expenses, defend and save harmles the right reverend Father in God, Lord John Bushop of Worcester, and his offycers, for licencing them the said William and Anne to be maried together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony betwene them, and for all other causes which may ensue by reason or occasion therof, that then the said obligacion to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and vertue.

No entry of Shakespeare's marriage occurs in the Stratford register, and he must therefore have been married elsewhere in the diocese of Worcester. So many of the early parish registers have been lost or destroyed, that the locality in which the ceremony was performed will not now probably be ascertained, the most careful researches having failed to discover any record of the event. The initials on the seal used when the bond was

executed are R. H., no doubt belonging to a member of the Hathaway family, and perhaps to Richard Hathaway, for although he had died in the previous year, his seal might have

been produced on this occasion. The circumstance is a trifling one, and only deserves mentioning, because it is a slight testimony in favour of the transaction having taken place under the sanction of Anne's relatives. There is no necessity for supposing, with some biographers, that Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway went to Worcester when the above document was granted, as it may have been issued from one of the local courts in the diocese.

Hathaway is a Warwickshire name, and it is of ancient date in that county. Shakespeare's father-in-law was Richard Hathaway of Shottery, who is mentioned in a subsidy-roll of 9 Elizabeth, 1567, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. Staunton of Longbridge House, near Warwick, as being assessed on goods of the value of £4, which is but a slight criterion of his position, for he was unquestionably a respectable farmer of the day. Rowe says he was "a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford;" and the circumstance of his having been the first to record the maiden name of the poet's wife, shows that he, or Betterton, had access to a correct source of information. Anne Hathaway was born in the year 1556, so that no record of her baptism is to be found at Stratford. There was a cluster of Hathaways in Stratford and the neighbourhood in the sixteenth century, and the genealogical enquirer must be warned on the threshold not to confuse the families, for the evidence afforded by registers and legal papers involves several questions of descent not easily solved; and I have traced no less than three Anne Hathaways contemporary with their celebrated namesake. Anne's father died in September, 1581, when she was in her twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year, his burial taking place at Stratford on the seventh of that

September
7 Richard Hathaway

month. In his will, he mentions his sons Bartholomew, Thomas, John, and William; and his daughters, Agnes, Catherine, and Margaret. Bartholomew, the eldest, was probably born before 1558, his birth not being recorded in the register. The three other sons were born respectively in 1569, 1575, and 1578. Richard Hathaway's widow, Joan, long survived him, the

register of her burial bearing date February 23d, 1608-9. His will, dated September 1st, 1581, which is preserved in the Prerogative Office, is important, as exhibiting the position of the family into which Shakespeare married.

In the name of God amen; The firste daie of September, in the yeare of oure Lorde God one thowsande fyve hundred eightie one, and in the three and twentithe yeare of thee raigne of oure soveraigne ladye Elizabethe, by the grace of God queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe, etc. I Richard Hathway of Shottree in the perishe of Stratford uppon Avon in the countie of Warwick, husbandman, beinge sicke in bodye but of perfecte memorye, I thancke my Lord God, doe ordaine and make this my last will and testamente in manner and forme followinge. Firste, I bequeathe my sowle unto Allmightie God, trustinge to be saved by the meritts of Christes Passion, and my bodye to be buried in the churche or churche yarde of Stratforde aforesaide. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Thomas my sonne sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeath unto John my sonne sixe poundes thirtene shillings fower pence, to be paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeathe unto William my sonne tenne poundes to bee paide unto him at the age of twentie yeares. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Agnes my daughter sixe poundes thirtene shillinges fower pence, to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Catherine my daughter sixe poundes thirtene shillinges fower pence, to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage. Item, I give and bequeathe unto Margaret my daughter sixe pounds thirtene shillinges fower pence, to be paide unto her at the age of seaventene yeares. And if it fortune that any of my said sonnes or daughters before named, that is to saie, Thomas, John, William, Agnes, Catherine, or Margarett, to decease before theie receyve theire legacies, then my will is that the legacies of he or she so deceased to remayne equallie amonge the rest, and so unto the longest lyvers of theme. Item, my will is (withe consente of Jone my wife) that my eldiste sonne Barthellmewe shall have the use, commoditie and profytt, of one halfe yearde lande withe all pastures and meadowinge therto belonginge, withe appurtenaunces, to be tilled, mucked, and sowed at the charges of Joane my wyffe, he onelie findinge seede duringe the naturall life or widdowehode of the same Johan my wife, to be severed from the other parte of my lande for his commoditie and profitte. And my will is that he the same Bartholomewe shalbe a guide to my saide wife in hir husbandrye, and also a comforte unto his bretherne and sisters to his power, Provided alwaies that if the saide Joane my wife shall at anye tyme or tymes at-after my decease goe aboute to disannull or to take awaye from my saide sonne Bartholomewe the foresaide half yarde lande withe the appurtenaunces, so that he doe not enjoye the commoditye and proffitte of the same, accordinge to the trewe meaninge of this my last will and testamente, then my will is that the sayde Joane my wief shall gyve delyver and paye unto my saide sonne Bartholomewe, within one yeare after any suche deniall or discharge, the somme of fortie poundes of lawfull Englishe monney. Item, my will is that all the seelings in my hall howse, withe twoe joyned beddes in my parlor, shall contynewe and stande unremoved duringe thee naturall liffe or widowhode of Jone my wyffe, and the naturiall lief of Bartholomewe my sonne, and John my sonne, and the longest lyver of theme. Item, I gyve and bequeathe unto everie of my godchildrenne fower pence a peece of theme. Item, I gyve and bequeathe unto Agnes Hathway and Elizabeth

Hathway, daughters unto Thomas Hathway, a sheepe a peece of theme. This bequest donne, debts paide, and legacies leavied, and my bodye honestlie buried, then I gyve and bequeathe all the rest of my goods moveable and unmoveable unto Joane my wief, whome I make my sole executrixe to see this my last will and testament trulye performed. And I desier my trustie frende and neighbours Stephen Burman and Fowlke Sandelles to be my supervisors of this my last will and testamente, and theie to have for theire paynes therin to be taken twelve pence apeece of theme. Witnesses, sir William Gilbard clark and curate in Stretforde, Richarde Burman, John Richardson, and John Hemynge, withe others. Signum + Richardi Hathwaie testatoris. Debtes to be paide. Imprimis, I doe owe unto my neighbour John Pace fortye shillings. Item, I owe unto John Barber thirtie sixe shillings fower pence. Item, I owe unto Thomas Whittington, my sheepherd, fower poundes sixe shillings eight pence. Item, I owe unto Edwarde Hollyocke for woode twenty shillings.

This will was proved in July, 1582. It will be observed that the testator executes it by a mark, being in the same category, in this respect, with John Shakespeare. The name of Anne Hathaway is not mentioned, a circumstance in itself unsatisfactory, but by no means invalidating the conclusion above arrived at, that the Richard Hathaway here mentioned was her parent. Independently of the circumstance that unvarying tradition has indicated Shottery to have been her place of residence, and that there was only this family of the Hathaways in that village that had any pretensions to the respectable grade to which Anne's father is believed to have belonged, there are several other indications that tend to the same conclusion. Anne was evidently a favorite name with this branch of the family, as is shown by the registers; and Richard Hathaway was on friendly terms with John Shakespeare, a fact which shows how the dramatist had the means of becoming acquainted with his future partner. Fulke Sandells, one of the supervisors of Hathaway's will, and John Richardson, one of the witnesses to it, were the two bondsmen on the occasion of the bond being obtained preliminary to Shakespeare's marriage. Another very curious circumstance is, that years afterwards, Hathaway's shepherd, Thomas Whittington, who is here mentioned as a creditor to the amount of £4 6*s.* 8*d.*, in his will dated in April, 1601, leaves "unto the poore people of Stratford xl. *s.*, *that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wyfe unto Mr. Wyllyam Shaxspere*, and is due debt unto me, beyng paid to mine executor by the sayd Wyllyam Shaxspere, or his assignes, according to the true meanyng of this my wyll." Whittington was buried at Stratford on April 10th, 1601, and his will, whence the preceding extract is taken, is preserved at Worcester.

It affords the only notice that has come down to us of any intercourse between Anne Shakespeare and the friends of her youth at Shottery. The sum of two pounds, mentioned by Whittington, was, in all probability, merely placed for security in the hands of Anne Shakespeare, as a person in whom he had great confidence. He also left twelve-pence to "Thomas Hathaway, sonne to the late Margret Hathway." This Margaret was daughter of Richard Hathaway. She died in 1600. Thomas was, therefore, Anne's nephew. There was a Richard Hathaway, born in 1559, though whether he was a son of Shakespeare's father-in-law is not apparent; but it seems clear that there was no family connexion between the latter and a person who, in the Stratford register, is called "Ricardus Hathaway alias Gardner de Shotery." This second Richard Hathaway had a son Richard, born in 1562, and there were also other Richard Hathaways, one of whom, whose signature is here copied from a manuscript at Dulwich College, was a dramatic writer in London contemporary with Shakespeare; but whether he belonged to the Warwickshire Hathaways is not certain.

The Shottery estate, unless of greater magnitude than appears from the will of Richard Hathaway, was much increased during the life of his son Bartholomew, who died, at an advanced age, in 1624. Bartholomew Hathaway leaves his daughter Anne, born January 1583-4, who had married Richard Edwards in 1610, thirty shillings, and to each of her six children, six shillings and eightpence. To his son Richard he bequeaths twenty shillings; to Edmund, born in March, 1589-90, £120, to be paid within seven years after his decease; and to his son John, born Feb. 1585-6, married 1610, he bequeaths a life interest in his messuage in Shottery, with the appurtenances, and in two yard lands and a half lying in the fields of Shottery and Old Stratford, with remainders to his male issue and his brothers. To each of John's children, whose names were Alice (b. 1612), Richard (b. 1614-15), Anne (b. 1617), and Ursula (b. 1620), he gives one of his best ewes. One of his executors is Dr. John Hall of Stratford, another circumstance which shows an intimacy

between these Hathaways and Shakespeare's family. From what branch came the Thomas Hathaway, whom Lady Bernard, in 1669-70, calls her kinsman, has not been ascertained; but there does not appear to be great improbability in the supposition he was descended from one of Bartholomew's brothers, perhaps the son of his nephew Thomas Hathaway, who was born in 1586. He is mentioned in 1647, in connexion with a relative, William Hathaway of Weston upon Avon, yeoman, as parties to a deed, which was executed in that year, and which related to a settlement of Shakespeare's property. There is nothing in the circumstance of this William being settled at Weston upon Avon, which is only a short distance from Shottery on the other side of the river, that is at variance with the probability that he came originally from the same family of which Bartholomew Hathaway, in 1581, was the head.

Richard Hathaway, in the will above printed, leaves a sheep to Agnes Hathaway, and another to Elizabeth Hathaway, who were daughters to Thomas Hathaway. This Thomas was probably not a relative, or he would have been so mentioned. There was a Thomas Hathaway, married to Margaret Smith in 1575, who had daughters of the name of *Anne* and Elizabeth, the first born in 1577, the other in 1579; but no name of Agnes has presented itself in the course of long-continued researches respecting the Hathaway families. This seems to afford some ground for the conjecture that Ann and Agnes were convertible names, as they often are to this day in Scotland, leading to the possibility that the Agnes Hathaway of the will was the Anne Hathaway of Shakespeare. It is worthy of remark that Agnes Arden is called *Annes Ardenne* in the inventory of her goods (see p. 14), dated in 1581.

That Richard Hathaway was on terms of friendship with John Shakespeare is proved by the following precepts of the Court of Record at Stratford, dated in 1566, which were issued on the same day on which the brief abstracts are dated in the registry of the court, and while the plaintiffs are respectively the same in both documents, the name of John Shakespeare is substituted in each instance in the precepts for that of the defendant. He had, therefore, become bail for Hathaway; a fact which also appears from another document which was issued in the first suit. The distringas in each was afterwards withdrawn.

11 Sept. 8 Eliz. (Distr.) Johannes Page queritur versus Ricardum Hatheway de placito detencionis &c. ad valenc. octo librarum.—(Distr.) Johanna Byddoll queritur versus Ricardum Hatheway de placito detencionis &c. ad valenc. xj.*li.*

Stratford Burgus. } Johannes Whelar justic. de pace ac ball. infra burg. prædict. Humfrid. Plymley justic. de pace ac capital. alderman. infra burg. prædict. Willielmo Butlar et Henric. Russell servient. ad clavam salutem. Vobis precipimus et mandamus quod capiatis, seu unus vestrum capiat, per corpus suum Ricard. Hatheway, ita quod habetis corpus ejus coram nobis justic. prædict. apud prox. cur. de recordo tent. ibidem ad respondendum Johanni Page de placito de debit. et de pleg. bo. inter Willielmum Reve et Johannam Stone dict. diff. tradetur in ballio Johanni Shakspeyr usque ad finem placiti. Per me Henric. Hygford senescall. ibidem. *Cepimus infra nominat. corpus suum Ricardi Hatheway, prout nobis preceptum, Willielm. Butlar, Henric. Russell.*

Stratford Burgus. } Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam quod distr. seu unus vestrum distr. Johannem Shakespere per omnia bona et catalla sua, ita quod sit apud proximam curiam de recordo tent. ibidem ad respondend. Johanni Pagge de placito debiti &c. Datum sub sigillo meo xj.mo die Septembris, anno regni Dominæ Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Angl. Franc. et Hibern. reginæ, fidei defenc. &c. octavo.

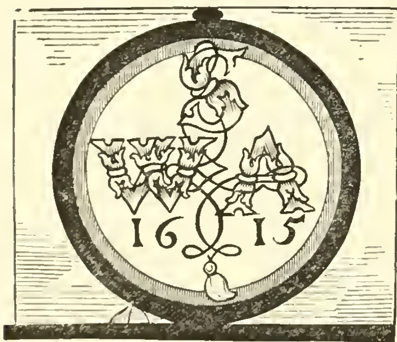
Stratford Burgus. } Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam quod distr. seu unus vestrum distr. Johannem Shakespere per omnia bona et catalla sua, ita quod sit apud proximam curiam de recordo tent. ibidem ad respondendum Johanni Byddele de placito debiti, &c. Datum sub sigillo meo xj.mo die Septembris, anno regni Dominæ Elizabethæ, Dei grac. Angl. Franc. et Hibern. reginæ, fidei defenc. &c. octavo.

Shakespeare's family at Stratford were consequently friendly with the Hathaways of Shottery, during the whole period of the poet's youth. Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway were undoubtedly playmates in childhood, and his love for her had very probably that tenacity of character which frequently attends an affection derived from the power of early and constant association. They who conclude, from the well-known passage in the play of *Twelfth Night*, which condemns, as a general rule, inequality of years in marriage, that the great dramatist had in view the results of his own experience, surely overlook the indelicacy of which they presuppose Shakespeare could be guilty, in alluding, in a public drama, to his own domestic unhappiness. It is strange, indeed, to find psychological critics joining in a theory which at once destroys what is termed their "belief" in the perfection of Shakespeare's art, by presuming he would violate it by a violent and unfeeling personal allusion, not introduced, where anything of the kind could only have appeared, in a comic dialogue, but rendered subservient to the action of a serious scene. The Duke's reflection, in *Twelfth Night*, belongs solely to the play; he, in love with an object younger than himself, merely

replies to an antithesis he has received in the intelligence that youthful Viola (in her assumed character) affects one of nearly his own age. That Shakespeare, however greatly he may have mingled in the amusements of the metropolis, was on affectionate terms with his wife, throughout his career, scarcely admits of a doubt; for we possess the distinct evidence of one who must have had good opportunities of obtaining correct information on such a subject, that "his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be layd in the same grave with him." This is the testimony of an inhabitant of Stratford in 1693. Would you desire better sympathy? Then is there the pleasing memorial of filial affection in the chancel of Stratford church, a monument raised by her daughter, which tells us how revered was Anne Shakespeare's memory, and plainly teaches us to infer she possessed "as much virtue as could die." Such a being must have lived happily with the "gentle Shakespeare:"

> Ubera tu, mater, tu lac vitamque dedisti:
> Væ mihi! pro tanto munere saxa dabo.

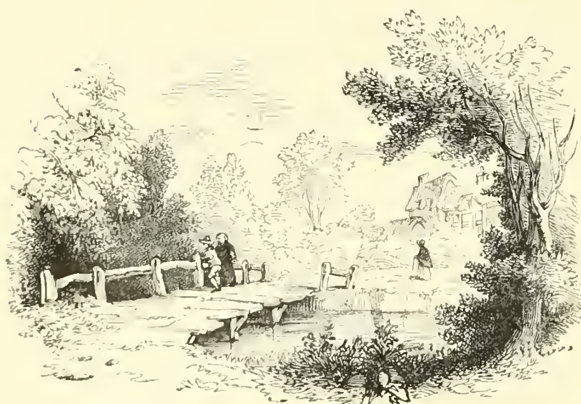
A possible testimony in the same direction may be adduced in a relic of New Place, the residence of Shakespeare at a later period of life, consisting of a circular piece of glass leaded in a square pane, measuring nine inches by seven, in which the letters W. A. and S. occur, connected by a true lover's knot, and bearing date the year before the death of Shakespeare. The initials are supposed to be intended for those of William and Anne Shakespeare, and, if the relic be genuine, it is a slight collateral evidence of their affection for each other. The glass certainly belongs to the period assigned to it, and no appearances of deception are to be discovered; but it must be received with great caution, its history, which even orally descends to scarcely a century, being unsatisfactory. It would be pleasing could we safely regard it as a memorial of the poet's long-continued esteem for the partner he had erewhile won from Shottery, in deference to whom, and respecting associations connected with his courtship, he may have been desirous, in 1598, of effecting the purchase of "some od yarde land or other" in that hamlet.



The conclusion, which has been drawn from the marriage-bond, that Shakespeare's nuptials were celebrated in obscurity and secrecy, is certainly erroneous. In that document, Anne Hathaway is described as of Stratford, but so are the two bondsmen, who were respectable neighbours of the Hathaways of Shottery. They are mentioned together as being bail for a party, in the registry of the Court of Record, 26th April, 29 Eliz., 1587, when Elizabeth Smythe, widow, was sued by one Robert Parrett, "Johannes Richardson de Shottrey et Fulcus Sandells de Shottrey præd. m. pro præd. Elizabeth. &c. concord." The marriage was no doubt conducted under the care of Anne Hathaway's neighbours and friends. It has been said that Sandels and Richardson were rude, unlettered husbandmen, unfitted to attend a poet's bridal. They could not, it is true, write their own names, but neither could many of the principal inhabitants of Stratford. Richardson was a farmer, as appears from the inventory of his goods made in November, 1594, his friend Sandels being one of the persons engaged in its compilation; and from the account of his stock, there given, it is clear that his social position was not far removed from that of the Hathaways. The grain and hay in the barns were valued at £40, the wheat already sown at £5, four horses at £2, one hundred and thirty sheep at £12, and several other farming stock and implements are also mentioned. The difference in the value of money in those times, as compared with that in our own, will be carefully borne in mind; and it must also be recollected the epithet *husbandman* did not denote that inferior condition, which those who have reasoned on the bond have generally imputed to it. When Robert Myddylton, "pryste and chaunter in the College of Stratford," made his will in 1538, still preserved at Worcester, he named for his executors "William Wyllshay, pryste and vycare of the College of Warwycke, and Thomas Cole, husbandman in Shoterey." The husbandman of Shottery was not, then, necessarily a "heavy ploughman." His position in society did no discredit to the part taken by him in Shakespeare's nuptials. If one husbandman could with propriety be a priest's executor, surely another might sign a bond, without the circumstance giving rise to mysterious arguments.

Shottery is a little hamlet in the parish of Stratford, situated about a mile to the West of the town by a pathway across the

fields. Some years ago, I mean recently, within my own recollection, although there was little or nothing of a romantic kind, the meadows were thoroughly rural, and so was the village; and this constituted the great charm to the thoughtful visitor. On the one hand, a more modern species of enclosure, and, on the other, that desire to imitate the utilitarian dwellings of the towns which now pervades so greatly the inhabitants of the country districts, have so much modernized the scene, that the recollection of those who have observed it under other circumstances will not correspond with that of the recent pilgrim. Approaching the hamlet from Stratford, at the entrance of the lane past the fields, stands the Shakespeare Inn (see p. 88), a pleasing example of the old half-timbered houses that must formerly have been common in Shottery, and of which a few lingering traces still remain in spite of innovation. It is now greatly changed in its external features; but a few years since, it was a genuine relic of Shakespeare's age, and inhabited by a family of the name of Pace, whose ancestors were neighbours of the Hathaways, and are mentioned in the early Stratford register. Proceeding down the lane, as we arrive in sight of Anne Hathaway's cottage, a clear and ample brook crossed the road, once traversed by means of a picturesque wooden bridge, composing a scene that the most prosaic would admit harmonized with the idea of the locality of a poet's love. It is to the discriminating care of Mr. Fairholt, who arrested time by making the accompanying sketch some years ago, that posterity is indebted for a knowledge of the real appearance of this interesting spot. The stream now is narrowed, and the wooden bridge has given place to a sightless one of brick. After the infliction of so much injudicious change, it is pleasing to think that the residence of the Hathaways itself should have been preserved in its original integrity, and in a state much more nearly approaching what it must have been in Shakespeare's time than can be at all claimed for the birth-place in Henley Street. It


WOODEN BRIDGE NEAR ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE.

is situated on the brow of a hill by the side of the lane represented in the preceding engraving, which leads past what is called Shottery Green, into the Alcester Road; and may be described as a long-thatched tenement, of timber-framing and plaster-work, or *post and pane*, as it was sometimes called. The lower parts of the walls are formed of slabs of lias shale; and the whole house is of a substantial character. It was formerly one tenement, the entrance being nearly in the centre of the lowest half of the building. The barn seen on the left of the above sketch was a recent erection, and is now pulled down. A few years ago a garden, orchard, and pasture-ground were attached to the

ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE, 1827.

ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE FROM THE GARDEN.

house, but the first two are now separated from it. The exterior of the dwelling has, however, probably undergone little alteration since the time of William III., the view of 1827 agreeing in all essential points with one taken at the close of the last century, in which no symptoms of modernization are to be traced. In the year 1697, it appears to have been thoroughly repaired and renovated by John Hathaway, the record of which still remains in the front of the exterior of the central chimney, his initials and the date being engraved on a stone let into the bricks

near the top. The house is now subdivided into three tenements, the portion where the roof is higher than the other forming one. In this division, a door and a chimney have been added. The second is that part which is situated between this cottage and the other entrance; the remaining portion to the right constituting the third tenement. The little shed or hovel joining the side of the house, near the road, is a modern addition, not harmonizing in any way with the original building, which is, on the whole, an excellent specimen of the ancient dwellings of the English farmer. The back view of the house, which Mr. Fairholt has represented in the annexed

ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE—BACK VIEW.

engraving, is nearly as picturesque as the one seen from the front. The ground rises till it reaches the level of the back-door, which is at the end of the passage leading from the ancient entrance on the other side. The old timbers remain in their original state. A rustic stile at a short distance from the back-door is at the commencement of a path that leads to some cottages of considerable antiquity, situated very near the abode of the Hathaways. In one of these, their shepherd, Whittington, who has been previously noticed as a friend of the Shakespeares, might possibly have resided; though it must be admitted there is no evidence to produce in favour of such a conjecture, which is solely grounded on the probability that he lived in the immediate vicinity of his employer.

The principal entrance to Anne Hathaway's house, through a door fastened with an old-fashioned wooden latch, introduces the visitor to the chief passage, or hall, as it would have been formerly termed, though of too small dimensions to be now so distinguished. The ancient settle here exhibited, a "relic"

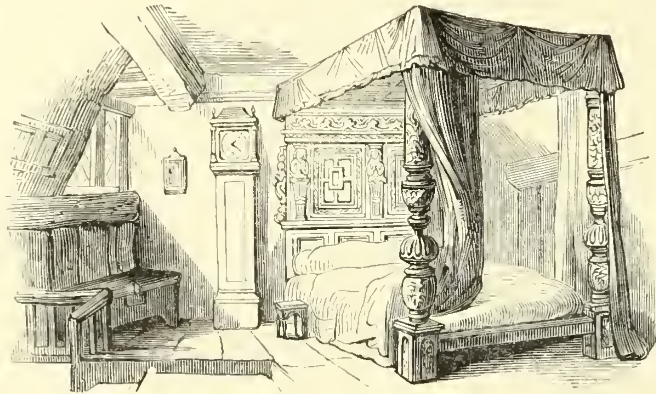
which is the worthy successor of the "courting chair" seen by Ireland, may well be dismissed from consideration in any pages treating of authentic history. A door on the left leads to the principal room. It is an apartment of considerable size for a house of this description, with a rude stone floor and a timbered roof, and greatly resembles the lower rooms of Shakespeare's birth-place. Portions of the oaken wainscoat, which probably took the place of the more ancient painted cloths or arras sometime in the seventeenth century, are still remaining. It does not appear to belong to Shakespeare's time, and as wainscoating was not often used for any but the higher class of houses in the reign of Elizabeth, the probability is that it was not introduced previously to the reparations made by John Hathaway. The present appearance of the room is faithfully represented in the subjoined engraving, the table on the left being part of the old furniture belonging to the Hathaway family. It is marked with the initials M. H., but though of some antiquity, is evidently not of the Shakespearian period. Most of the ancient furniture, and, according to Mr. Fairholt, a full service of antique pewter, which had garnished the dresser for many years, disappeared in the latter part of the last century. In a recess to the left of the spacious fire-place, is an old bacon-cupboard, the transverse bar of its latticed door recording the initials of John and Elizabeth Hathaway, and possibly those of the maker of the cupboard in the year 1697. This portion of the building is still inhabited by descendants of the Hathaways, the wife of the occupier being the grand-daughter of John Hathaway Taylor, whose mother was the last of the family of the name of Hathaway belonging to the direct line from Richard Hathaway, the poet's father-in-law.

INTERIOR OF ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE.

IH EH IB 1697

In the bed-room over the apartment last noticed is an ancient carved oak bedstead, of the Elizabethan period, which has long been associated with the name of Anne Hathaway.

It is said to have been an heir-loom in the house from the sixteenth century, but although it is most unlikely to have



BED-ROOM IN ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE.

supported the bed occupied by the betrothed of Shakespeare, there is no improbability in the supposition it was the distinguished ornament of the best bed-room of the Hathaways, and one of several bedsteads which are mentioned in an inventory of the goods of Bartholomew Hathaway, of Shottery, which was taken in October, 1624. Even if it be not directly connected with the personal history of Anne Hathaway, it is of considerable interest as a memorial of the social position held by her family. In the adjoining chest are preserved a pillow-case and sheet, of heavy home-spun linen, ornamented with open-work, the execution of one E. H., which are probably the initials of Elizabeth Hathaway, about the close of the seventeenth century.

In pursuing our enquiries into the history of Shakespeare's life, which must necessarily to some extent be founded on conjecture, it will be well to observe that the theft of deer and rabbits was an amusement indulged in by the youths of Shakespeare's time, and although legally punishable, was regarded by the public as a venial offence, not detrimental to the characters of the persons who committed the depredation. Hall, in his *Chronicle*, Henry VIII., f. 149, laments the proclamation against bowls and similar games, observing that young men, now they were prohibited from these amusements, "fell to drinkyng, and some to feretting of other mennes conies, *and stealyng of dere in parkes*, and other unthriftines." Dr. Forman, in his Autobiography, MS. Ashmole 208, speaking of two Oxford students in 1573, "the one of them was Sir Thornbury,

that after was bishope of Limerike, and he was of Magdalen College, the other was Sir Pinckney his cossine of St. Mary Halle," proceeds to say, "thes too loved him [Forman] nying welle, and many tymes wold make Simon to goo forth tho Loes, the keper of Shottofer, for his houndes to goe on huntinge from morninge to nighte; and they never studied nor gave themselves to their bockes, but to goe to scolles of defence, to the daunceing scolles, *to stealle dear and connyes,* and to hunt the hare, and to woinge of wentches, to goe to Doctor Lawrence of Cowly, for he had too fair daughters, Besse and Martha." Raynoldes, who wrote against plays in 1599, couples deer-stealing and orchard-robbing together, as offences of the same magnitude; and the former was not only considered venial but fashionable, as may be gathered from the following passage in the *Wizard,* a play written about the year 1640, preserved in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 10306:

> Gentlemanlike! he nere kept horse
> Nor hounds; you might as soon have got him to
> The gallows, as to th' stealing of a deer:
> Since hee has made a journey to London,
> Shall have him in the twelvepenny seat at
> Playhowses, nere sit in the stage pitt.

The public records contain many notices of deer-stealing. In 1583, Lord Berkeley issued a bill in the Star Chamber against twenty persons who had hunted deer unlawfully in his forests. The answer of William Weare, one of the defendants, is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, xciv. 24, and he confesses having killed a doe, but, notwithstanding that admission, asserts that the proceedings against him were malicious and uncalled for. The delinquency was so common, that even the cooks' shops of London were supplied with stolen deer, a circumstance which called forth the remonstrance of the Privy Council in 1585. Fosbroke (Hist. Glouc., i. 125) mentions an anecdote tending to show that respectable persons in the county of Gloucestershire, adjoining Warwickshire, were not ashamed of this ancient mode of poaching. Several attorneys and others, "all men of mettall, and good woodmen, I mean old notorious deer stealers, well armed, came in the night-time to Michaelwood, with deer-nets and dogs, to steale deer." The practice continued to a late period, for Lee, in his play of the *Princess of Cleve,* 4to, 1689, p. 20, mentions those who "take

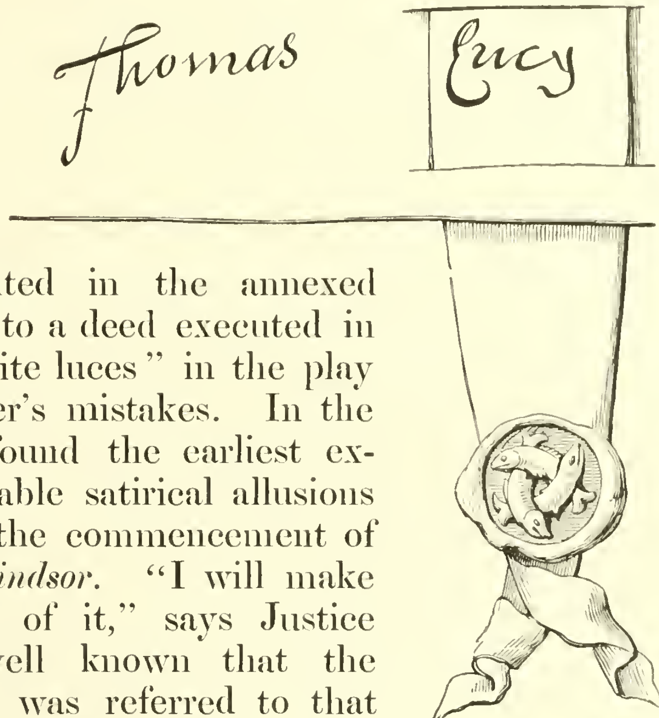
pleasure to go a deer-steeling, that have fine parks of their own." Shakespeare is said, on good authority, to have been implicated in a frolic of this kind, perpetrated in the park of Charlecote, the seat of the Lucy family near Stratford, and, although the earliest notice of the tale was not penned till nearly eighty years after the death of the poet, yet the person who recorded it resided in a neighbouring county, and being a clergyman, with no motive whatever to mislead, his testimony is of great value. The Rev. William Fulman, who died in June, 1688, at Meysey-Hampton, co. Gloucester, bequeathed his biographical collections to his friend the Rev. Richard Davies, afterwards (1695) rector of Sapperton, in Gloucestershire, who made several additions to them. Davies died in June, 1708, and these manuscripts were presented to the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where they are still preserved. Under the article *Shakespeare*, Fulman made very few notes, and those of little importance; but Davies inserted the curious information, so important in the consideration of the deer-stealing story. The following is a complete copy of what the MS. contains respecting Shakespeare, the additions made by Davies being distinguished by italics:

THE OLD MANSION OF CHARLECOTE, NEAR STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

William Shakespeare was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, about 1563-4. *Much given to all unluckinesse in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sr . . . Lucy, who had him oft whipt and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement, but his reveng was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate, and calls him a great man, and that in allusion to his name bore three lowses rampant for his arms.* From an actor of playes he became a composer. He dyed Apr. 23, 1616, ætat. 53, probably at Stratford, for there he is buryed, and hath a monument (Dugd. p. 520), *on which he lays a heavy curse upon any one who shal remoove his bones. He dyed a papist.*

This testimony has been questioned, because no such character as Clodpate occurs in any of Shakespeare's plays; but it was a generic term of the time for a foolish person, and that Davies so used it, there can, I think, be little doubt. In the MS.

account of Warwickshire, 1693, before quoted, the writer calls the judge of the Warwick assizes Mr. Justice Clodpate, intending to characterize him as an ignorant, stupid man. The "three louses rampant" refer to the arms actually borne by Lucy, and they are observed entwined on his seal, an impression of which, with his autograph, as represented in the annexed engraving, is appended to a deed executed in 1586. The "dozen white luces" in the play is merely one of Slender's mistakes. In the deer-stealing story is found the earliest explanation of the remarkable satirical allusions to the Lucy family at the commencement of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. "I will make a Star-chamber matter of it," says Justice Shallow; and it is well known that the offence of deer-stealing was referred to that arbitrary court. "You have beaten my men, killed my deer, and broke open my lodge." Davies affirms, moreover, what would have been suspected independently of his authority, that Sir Thomas Lucy was ridiculed under one of his characters. That character is Justice Shallow, and the satire is by no means confined to one play. There can be little doubt but that the exquisite descriptions of a country justice of peace, in the *Second Part of Henry IV.*, are in some degree founded upon the knight of Charlecote. When Falstaff says, "if the young dace be a bait for the old pike, I see no reason, in the law of nature, but I may snap at him," there is a direct personal allusion, a luce being merely a full-grown pike. The probability is, that the scenes in which Shallow is introduced have more references to local circumstances than can now be explained. Thus the mention of Stamford fair seems quite out of place, but Stratford was probably in the author's mind, though the introduction of that town by name would have made the satire too apparent; which is a sufficient reason to account for Shakespeare inserting the name of another place somewhat similar in sound. If the play were ever acted at Stratford-on-Avon, the audience would necessarily have



appreciated the numerous satirical touches of character, that would more severely wound an individual, if Sir Thomas was recognised by such foibles, than the keenest verses attached to the gates of Charlecote Park. This view of the case, confiding in the account given by Davies, may surely be adopted without incurring the error of particularising a generic character. Shakespeare's inventions were undoubtedly "not of an age, but for all time;" but in this instance there is palpable evidence of an allusion to an individual, a neighbour of Shakespeare, introduced in a manner to leave no room for hesitating to believe that a retaliating satire was intended. The correctness of the opinion that there may be good foundation for the tradition, receives no slight confirmation from the fact that Sir Thomas Lucy was favorable to the puritanical party, who were invariably strict disciplinarians. Another circumstance may also be mentioned, which is important in estimating the credibility of the anecdote. It appears that Sir Thomas was personally interested in the preservation of game, for when he was in Parliament, in March, 1585, a bill for the protection of corn and game was specially delivered into his hands, which suggests the probability that he was the person chiefly concerned in its introduction into the House of Commons. It is not impossible that the idea of the bill, which did not, however, pass into law, originated in depredations upon the park of Charlecote.

The next account of the deer-stealing anecdote, in order of time, is that given by Rowe in the year 1709, who informs us that, "Upon his leaving school, he seems to have given intirely into that way of living which his father propos'd to him; and in order to settle in the world after a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hathaway, said to have been a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford. In this kind of settlement he continu'd for some time, till an extravagance that he was guilty of, forc'd him both out of his country and that way of living which he had taken up; and tho' it seem'd at first to be a blemish upon his good manners and a misfortune to him, yet it afterwards happily prov'd the occasion of exerting one of the greatest genius's that ever was known in dramatick poetry. He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and amongst them,

some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engag'd him with them more than once in robbing a park that belong'd to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Cherlecot, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. And tho' this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was oblig'd to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time, and shelter himself in London." It will be observed that the relations given by Davies and Rowe agree as nearly as could be expected of two independent narratives, both of which are derived from tradition. Each of these authorities imply, the former indirectly, the latter in positive terms, that Shakespeare was concerned in more than one depredation against the preserves of the knight of Charlecote. The next recorder of the tale was the well-known antiquary Oldys, who died in 1761, and who left behind him some manuscript collections for a biography of Shakespeare, which were partially printed by Steevens in 1778. Oldys not only confirms the existence of the tradition, but produces the first stanza of the ballad, the "first essay" of Shakespeare's poetry, which Rowe states to have been forgotten in 1709, accompanied by the following account of its recovery:—"There was a very aged gentleman living in the neighbourhood of Stratford, where he died fifty years since, who had not only heard, from several old people in that town, of Shakespeare's transgression, but could remember the first stanza of that bitter ballad, which, repeating to one of his acquaintance, he preserved it in writing; and here it is, neither better nor worse, but faithfully transcribed from the copy which his relation very curteously communicated to me." The verses in Oldys's copy are exactly as follows:

A parliemente member, a justice of peace,
At home a poor scare-crowe, at London an asse;
If lowsie is Lucy, as some volke miscalle it,
Then Lucy is lowsie, whatever befall it:
He thinks himself greate,
Yet an asse in his state
We allowe by his ears but with asses to mate.
If Lucy is lowsie, as some volke miscalle it,
Sing lowsie Lucy, whatever befall it.

The account given by Oldys receives a strong collateral

evidence from the independent testimony of Capell, whose integrity is beyond a doubt, and who, writing before the year 1781, says, referring to the ballad mentioned by Rowe,—"One stanza of it, which has the appearance of genuine, was put into the editor's hands *many years ago* by an ingenious gentleman, grandson of its preserver, with this account of the way in which it descended to him. Mr. Thomas Jones, who dwelt at Tarbick, a village in Worcestershire a few miles from Stratford on Avon, and dy'd in the year 1703, aged upwards of ninety, remember'd to have heard from several old people at Stratford the story of Shakespeare's robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park; and their account of it agreed with Mr. Rowe's, with this addition,—that the ballad written against Sir Thomas by Shakespeare was stuck upon his park gate, which exasperated the knight to apply to a lawyer at Warwick to proceed against him; Mr. Jones had put down in writing the first stanza of this ballad, which was all he remember'd of it, and Mr. Thomas Wilkes (my grandfather) transmitted it to my father by memory, who also took it in writing, and his copy is this." The copy transmitted to Capell agrees with that given above by Oldys. Tarbick is a village in Worcestershire, near Bromsgrove; and, in itself, it is not an impossible circumstance that a stanza of a song which Betterton could not recover when he visited Stratford, should be recollected by a nonogenarian in an adjoining county, whose memory would refer to a period when the traditional version of the ballad was perfectly well known. Capell's account indisputably carries the evidence of the existence of the stanza to a time, when it could have been faithfully communicated through the sources he describes; and as the channels through which it arrived to him differ from those whence it was obtained by Oldys, though the original relator was the same in both instances, it is scarcely possible to withhold an assent to the supposition that the narratives of Capell and Oldys are mutually confirmatory of the story. The internal evidence of the authenticity of the lines is not so satisfactory; and if it be contended that they are exactly as they came from the pen of Shakespeare, they cannot be received as genuine. But I am disposed to regard the fragment as a very corrupt version of the original, greatly vitiated in its

SIR T. LUCY—MONUMENT IN CHARLECOTE CHURCH.

traditional progress, yet nevertheless containing an adumbration of the poet's own language. There is something in the jingling quibble that tells of a species of playful composition, in which it is evident Shakespeare delighted to indulge, especially in the earlier productions of his muse. The first words of the song, *a parliament member*, seems scarcely the language of Shakespeare's time; though it would be presumptuous to venture on the negative assertion that the expression is not to be found in contemporary writings. On the supposition, however, that the lines have come down to us in a corrupted state, difficulties of this kind are at once removed; it being only necessary to believe that the reading of the original was, "*a parliament man and* a justice of peace," or some other variation, that would satisfy the condition of the stanza belonging to the Elizabethan period. It is almost unnecessary to observe that the poem which is called a "complete copy of the verses on Sir Thomas Lucy," in which the above stanza is followed by several others, is not genuine. The additional verses were a modern fabrication by Jordan, a native of Stratford, who attempted to impose several pretended Shakespearian discoveries upon Malone, and who succeeded in deceiving other enquirers interested in the biography of the great dramatist. Jordan pretended that these verses were found in a chest of drawers that formerly belonged to Mrs. Dorothy Tyler of Shottery, who died in the year 1778, at the age of eighty.

Some other lines of this celebrated song were stated by Chetwood, in a MS. History of the Stage written about 1730, to have been procured by Joshua Barnes at Stratford about the year 1690. Chetwood's name is unfortunately associated with several literary impositions, so that his authority cannot well be allowed to possess much weight, excepting on the supposition that at the period he wrote, this was not exactly the subject on which a fabricator would be likely to exercise his skill. According to this writer, "the learned Mr. Joshua Barnes, late Greek Professor of the University of Cambridge, baiting about forty years ago at an inn in Stratford, and hearing an old woman singing part of the above-said song, such was his respect for Mr. Shakespeare's genius, that he gave her a new gown for the two following stanzas in it; and, could she have said it all, he would, as he often said in company, when any discourse has casually arose about him, have given her ten guineas." Then follow the verses alluded to,—

Sir Thomas was too covetous
To covet so much deer,
When horns enough upon his head
Most plainly did appear.

Had not his worship one deer left?
What then? He had a wife
Took pains enough to find him horns
Should last him during life.

Whiter, an able critic, contended for the authenticity of these latter verses on internal evidence, as being written in the style of Shakespeare's time, and containing a quibble which the poet has employed more than once in his plays. It is worthy of remark that there is, in Charlecote Church, a long epitaph to Lady Lucy, which, though bearing special testimony to her virtues, would almost tend to raise a suspicion the voice of the "envious" had been whispered against her; but the metrical composition of the above effectually excludes the supposition that it can belong to the ballad which was partially remembered by Jones of Tarbick. One of the two fragments must necessarily be rejected, and the balance of evidence is so clearly in favour of the latter, that the lines recorded by Chetwood may be safely dismissed from consideration.

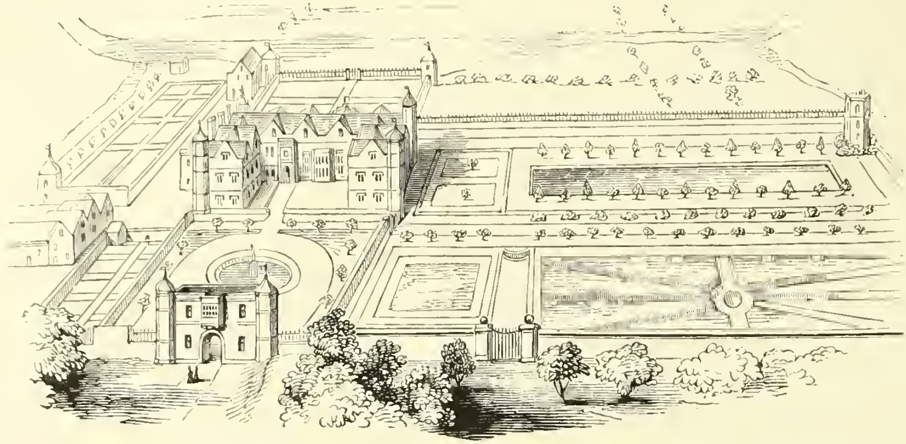
It is impossible to make an impartial examination of the authorities here produced respecting the circumstance of Shakespeare having been implicated in a trespass against Sir Thomas Lucy, without yielding assent to the high probability that it is founded on truth. Malone, with a profusion of learning, has brought forward every possible evidence that can be adduced against its reception, but his arguments amount to little more than this, that there was not at Charlecote what would be entitled to be termed a park in the legal sense of the word, and that it was only such a kind of park which would have been protected by the common law. This puts the case too strongly, for though there may not have been a legalized park at Charlecote, Sir Thomas Lucy might have had an enclosure in which deer were preserved; and that this was probably the fact may be inferred from the circumstance that the second Sir Thomas Lucy, in 1602, presented a buck to the Lord Keeper Egerton on the occasion of his entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Harefield, as appears from an original manuscript preserved amongst the Egerton papers, published by Mr. Collier. The Lucys, therefore, in all probability were in the possession

of deer long before this period; and presuming that the elder Sir Thomas Lucy possessed an enclosure such as has just been mentioned, it would undoubtedly have been protected by the common law, so that the owner might have punished a trespasser on his grounds, even if he could not enforce the penalties, provided by the Statute 5 Eliz., ch. 21, against those who were convicted of illegally hunting deer in parks or licensed enclosures. There is a tradition, which has not been traced beyond the latter part of the last century, which states that Shakespeare was detected in the deer-stealing exploit at night, and that he was detained in the keeper's lodge at Fulbrooke, a neighbouring estate, till it was time to take him before Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote. The lodge itself, now modernized, is indicated by tradition, and the adjoining representation, which is taken from a drawing made some years ago, exhibits its state before it was altered. The truth of a circumstantial tradition of this kind is necessarily subject to considerable doubt; and Fulbrooke did not come into the possession of the Lucy family till the time of James I. It is only barely possible that the trespasser was taken, for reasons of convenience, to a lodge at a little distance from the scene of his adventure.

THE KEEPER'S LODGE AT FULBROOKE.

The certainty that a misunderstanding of some description had occurred between the Lucys and Shakespeare, whether we accept or reject the account of Davies respecting the cause of it, will ever connect the old family mansion of Charlecote with the personal history of the great dramatist. The village of Charlecote is situated about four miles from Stratford, and the mansion of the Lucys, a brick building with stone coins, lies on the banks of the Avon, the view previously given being of that side which is furthest from the river. It was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the form of the letter E, out of compliment to that Sovereign. A very good idea of the house and grounds in their original state may be gathered from the bird's-eye view on the following page, drawn by H. Beighton in 1722, here copied and reduced from an engraving in Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, fol. 1730, vol. I, p. 507. Very little alteration has been made in the exterior of the

building, and, in fact, the outside of the house itself, if we except the modernized windows, and a recent addition on the South side, is very nearly in the same state in which it was in

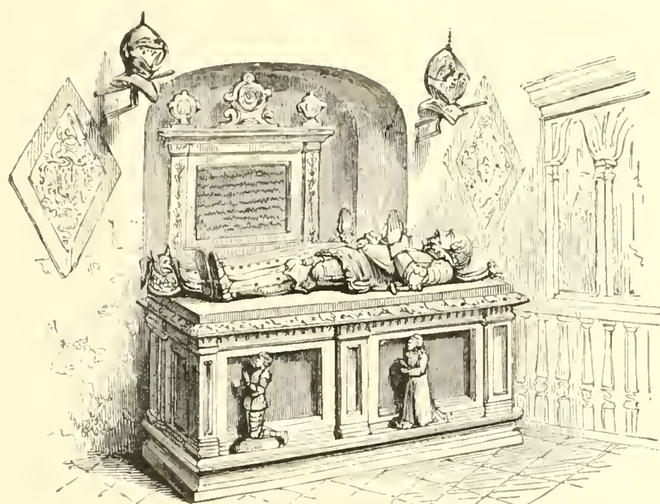


CHARLECOTE, AS IT APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1722.

Shakespeare's time. The two small turreted buildings, at the further corners of the enclosure between the mansion and the river, as also the tower adjoining the stables on the left, have been removed. The large garden on the right is now laid down in turf, and modern parterres take the place of the old fountain and the court-yard between the house and the ancient gate, which, with its turrets and oriel window, forms an interesting feature in Shakespeare's Charlecote.

The interior of Charlecote House has been so greatly altered, that it will not bring to the mind any realization of its appearance in the days of the poet. A few armorial bearings in the painted glass, and the Elizabethan fire-place in the entrance hall, over which is a painting representing the second Sir Thomas Lucy sitting at a table with his lady, are nearly all that connect themselves with the ancient family. The hall, in its modernized state, can scarcely deserve a representation in a work of this description. It is said, on no certain authority, that here Shakespeare was brought, a culprit before the country justice, after the adventure of the deer, possibly after he had been detained a few hours in the keeper's lodge at Fulbrooke, as is affirmed in the tradition previously mentioned. On the mantel-piece of the ancient fire-place are the initials (T. L.) of Sir Thomas Lucy, who built the present house in the year 1558. He was knighted in 1565 by Queen Elizabeth, who honoured him with a visit at Charlecote in August, 1572. He died on

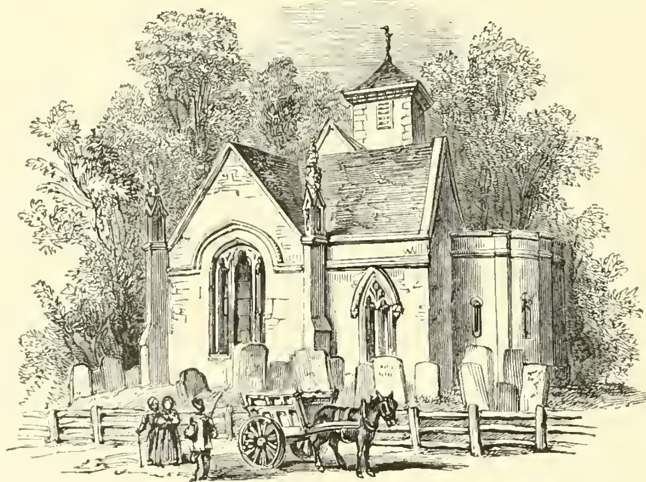
July 6th, 1600, and was buried on the 16th of the same month in the little church of Charlecote, which adjoined his own park. The accompanying engraving of his monument is from a sketch by Mr. Fairholt, made before the old church was removed. It is now preserved in a new structure erected near the site of the ancient building.



TOMB OF SIR THOMAS LUCY IN CHARLECOTE CHURCH.

Sir Thomas Lucy was a member of the Parliament which sat from November 27th, 1584, to March 29th, 1585, and was dissolved on September 14th, 1586. If, therefore, credence be given to the authenticity of the stanza recorded by Oldys and Capell, so far as to believe that Shakespeare alluded to Sir Thomas being a member of Parliament, it will be conceded that the prosecution of Shakespeare took place somewhere between the first and last of the above dates, in all probability early in 1585, in which year it may be safely assumed that his metropolitan career was commenced. His twin-children, Hamnet and Judith, were born at Stratford early in that year; his eldest daughter being then nearly two years old. Rowe distinctly says that when Shakespeare removed to London, he left his business and family in Warwickshire; and it is to be observed that no contemporary evidence has been produced to show that his family ever resided with him in the metropolis. The poet's attachment to Stratford was unvarying; and were any circumstances respecting his communication with his family between 1585 and 1596 to be recovered, they would probably exhibit the assistance he afforded them from the increasing means derived from the profession he had adopted. Scarcely twelve

years had elapsed since his departure from Stratford, before he appeared as the owner of one of the largest houses in the town of his nativity, a circumstance which agreeably demonstrates that the adventure of stealing the deer could have had no great local influence on his character of a deteriorating nature, at least not in a way to destroy his feelings of self-respect in his communications with his fellow citizens. It is rather to be inferred that Shakespeare's return to Stratford originated in an unconquerable attachment to the neighbourhood, than that any suggestions of wounded pride should have induced him in his prosperity to approach the locality of his former persecutor, when he had attained a position that placed him beyond the oppression of the owner of Charlecote.



THE OLD CHURCH AT CHARLECOTE, NOW REMOVED.

As an evidence that Shakespeare, throughout his life, retained a strong affection for his native town, it is singular to observe how often he adopted the names of his characters from his neighbours in Warwickshire. Bardolf and Fluellen were appellations well known at Stratford. At a meeting of the town council, 9th March, 1604, it was "ordered that Isabell Bardolf, widow, shall have and enjoy one tenement in the almeshouse with widdow Bishopp." In the registry of the Court of Record, August 19th, 1584, William Parsons brought an action of debt against William Fluellen, "Willielmus Parsons quer. versus Willielmum Flewellyn def. de placito debiti;" and Anne Fluellen is mentioned in the Chamberlains' accounts for 1604, "the summe of monye receyved in the consell house, and of Isabell Hudson, Anne Fluellyn, and widow Cowle, elected

almesweomen, and from the ringers of the chappels great bell, is, 11*li.* 13*s.* 6*d.*" William Fluellen and George Bardolf are found in the list of Stratford recusants, 1592. Mr. Collier (p. 139) mentions a document in the State Paper Office which includes the name of Audrey; and that of Shallow's servant Davy may either have been taken from Davy Jones, an inhabitant of Stratford, who is mentioned in the Chamberlains' accounts as exhibiting a "pastyme" at Whitsuntide; or from one Edward Davy, who was married at Stratford in October, 1579. A member of the family of Perkes, an inhabitant of Snitterfield, has already been noticed; an Edward Perkes of Shottery is mentioned in the Stratford register; and Peto was a Warwickshire magistrate contemporary with Sir Thomas Lucy, being mentioned in a MS., 15 Eliz., in the Corporation archives at Warwick, entitled "The note of such typlers and alehouse-kepers as the justices of peax have returned to me this Michilmas sessions: thies underwriten were returnyd by Sir Thomas Lucy and Humfrey Peyto, esquire." The names of Sly, Herne, Horne, Brome, Page, and Ford, will be found in the following extracts from the MSS. in the Council Chamber at Stratford. It may be necessary to add that Herne the hunter is called *Horne* in the first sketch of the Merry Wives, and that *Brome* will be found to be Ford's assumed name in the first folio, in the place of *Brook* of the earlier editions. A Robert Brooks lived in Henley Street in Shakespeare's time; he is mentioned in a "noate of corne and malte" taken at Stratford in the early part of the year 1598.

1570. Imprimis for a howse and a barne in Henley Stret in the tenure of John Page and John Carpenter als. - - ix.*s.*iiij.*d.*
Item, we praie allowaunce for the muckhill in the Rather Stret in the tenure and occupacion of John Page - - viij.*d.*
1585. Paid to John Page for mendynge the grete bell, when the clypps of iron were loste - - - - - ij.*s.*
Paid to Herne for iij. dayes worke - - - ij.*s.*vj.*d.*
1597. R. of Mr. Parsons for the house where John Page dwelled - iiij.*d.*
R. of Thomas Fordes wiffe - - - - vj.*s.*viij.*d.*
1606. Reginalde Brome, of Woodlowe in the countye of Warwicke, *deed dated Dec.* 20*th*, 4 *Jac. I.*
1613. Paid to Hearne for mending a dorman in the scole before the glasse was set in yt, ij.*d.*, and for lath nailes, ob., in all - - ij.*d.* ob.
1626. Thomas Greene, Symon Horne, John Heminges, of Bishopton, concerned in a purchase of tithes.
1630. Item, of Joane Slie for breaking the Sabath by traveling - 3—4.
1633. William Horne, mentioned in a deed, May 17, 9 Car. I.

An entry more curious than any of these exhibits the name of Stephen Sly, one of the friends of Christopher Sly, mentioned in the Induction to the *Taming of the Shrew.* This Stephen Sly was a labourer in the employ of William Combe, and the annexed fac-simile is taken from a MS. preserved at Stratford, which relates to the intended enclosure of Welcombe fields. It is very probable that notices of "old John Naps of Greece," Peter Turf, and Henry Pimpernell, may hereafter be discovered; for it is scarcely likely this very singular and interesting memorandum of the name of Stephen Sly can arise from a mere coincidence.

Whatever may have been the peculiar circumstances which induced Shakespeare to enter the theatrical world, and adopt acting and dramatic authorship for his profession, it is satisfactorily ascertained that the tendencies of his mind in that direction might have received an impulse from the patronage bestowed on actors in his native town during the whole of his early life. The bailiff and aldermen of Stratford appear to have constantly encouraged their performances. Willis, who was Shakespeare's contemporary, and born in the same year as the poet, informs us (Mount Tabor, 1639, p. 110,) that "when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the mayor, to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publique playing; and if the mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the aldermen and common counsell of the city; and that is called the mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit, to shew respect unto them." It cannot be inferred from this curious notice that every company which obtained permission to play was so honoured by the mayor or bailiff, but there can be little danger in believing that no year passed in Stratford, during the youth of Shakespeare, without theatrical amusements. No one then can be at a loss to discover facilities in the way of the poet's imbibing a taste for the art in which he became so great a master; but there is a probability to be founded on entries in the accounts above mentioned, tending to exhibit Shakespeare's father as an especial patron of the stage. There

can be no doubt that much depended in these matters on the personal taste of the mayor. In 1617, notwithstanding the strict orders the Corporation had issued against the performance of plays, the bailiff of the year gave his sanction to the performances of actors and showmen. The first companies, as far as any record has been preserved, who had the honour of publicly exhibiting their plays in the hall, were so favoured when John Shakespeare was bailiff, in 1569, William being then five years of age, and in all likelihood a spectator at the performances. The Chamberlains' accounts for this year show a payment of nine shillings to the Queen's players, and one shilling to those of the Earl of Worcester. We hear no more of them till 1573, when Lord Leicester's players visited the town, receiving from the bailiff five shillings and eightpence; and in 1576 two companies are mentioned, those of the Earls of Warwick and Worcester, that of the former receiving seventeen shillings, and that of the latter five shillings and eightpence. The following notices of the actors who performed at Stratford during Shakespeare's youth, are extracted from the original books of the Chamberlains preserved in that town:

1569.	Item, payd to the Quenes pleyers - - -	ix.*s.*
	Item, to the Erle of Worcesters pleers - -	xij.*d.*
1573.	Paid to Mr. Bayly for the Earle of Lecesters players -	v.*s.* viij.*d.*
1576.	Geven my lord of Warwicke players - -	xvij.*s.*
	Paid the Earle of Worceter players - -	v.*s.* viij.*d.*
1577.	Paid to my lord of Leyster players - - - -	xv.*s.*
	Paid to my lord of Wosters players - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
1579.	Paid at the commaundement of Mr. Baliffe to the Countys of Essex plears - - - - - -	xiiij.*s.* vj.*d.*
1580.	Paid to the Earle of Darbyes players at the commaundement of Mr. Baliffe - - - - -	viij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
1581.	Paid to the Earle of Worcester his players - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
	Paid to the L. Bartlett his players - - -	iij.*s.* ij.*d.*
1582.	Payed to Henry Russell for the Earle of Worcesters players -	v.*s.*
1583.	Payd to Mr. Alderman that he layd downe to the Lord Bartlite his players, and to a preacher - - - - -	v.*s.*
	Payd to the Lord Shandowes players - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
1584.	Geven to my lord of Oxfordes pleers - - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
	Geven to the Earle of Worceter pleers - - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
	Geven to the Earle of Essex pleers - -	iij.*s.* viij.*d.*
1586.	Paide to Mr. Tiler for the pleyers - - - -	v.*s.*
1587.	Item, paid for mendinge of a forme that was broken by the Quenes players - - - - -	xvj.*d.*
	Item, gyven to the Quenes players - -	xx.*s.*
	Item, gyven to my Lo. of Essex players - -	v.*s.*
	Item, gyven to therle of Leycester his players - -	x.*s.*
	Item, gyven to another companye - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*

1587.	Item, gyven to my Lo. of Staffordes men - -	iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
1592.	Payd to the Queenes players - - - -	xx.*s.*
1593.	Paid unto the Queenes players - - -	xx.*s.*

It thus appears that from 1569, when Shakespeare was five years of age, to 1587, when he was in his twenty-fifth year, Stratford had received a succession of theatrical visitors. They had appeared, however, but seldom before 1579, but from that time, when the poet was fifteen, up to 1587, only one year, 1585, is recorded as having passed without their presence. The youthful dramatist may have cultivated a friendship with some of these players, and there seems to be nothing improbable in the supposition that, even at this early date, his pen had added something to their literary stores. Few great authors are discovered that have not, in one way or another, commenced writing at a very early period of life. It would be presumptuous, in adopting this line of argument, to imply that Shakespeare was actually a writer of complete dramas as early as 1585, for such a conclusion would necessarily include an admission that *Venus and Adonis*, which, on his own authority, must always be considered the "first heir" of his invention, was written before this period; but it is by no means improbable that some of the plays which were produced before the inhabitants of Stratford received improvements and additions from his pen. Believing, then, that there was something in respect to the misunderstanding with Sir Thomas Lucy that led to his departure from Stratford, and also thinking it probable a decline in his father's circumstances affected his own position sufficiently to render such a step desirable, still it seems unreasonable to consider his determination to select the stage as the mere result of accident. His inclinations may have long been directed to the same arena; and a comparatively trifling provocation might have led him, in 1585 or 1586, to turn his steps to the metropolis, and join his friends in a profession which has ever afforded the most seductive inducements to imaginative minds. It is also possible that, before this, he may have enlisted in one of the provincial bodies of comedians for a limited period. There has been, from time immemorial, a tradition recorded at Leicester that Shakespeare once performed in the Guildhall of that city; though, were this the fact, it most probably occurred after he had joined the metropolitan actors.

The best accounts which have been preserved assert that Shakespeare commenced in a "very mean rank" in the

company; according to Dowdall's letter, 1693, he was "received into the playhouse as a serviture," really meaning, I suppose, that Shakespeare was either an "apprentice" to an actor of some standing, or entered the company as a performer of inferior rank. He became no doubt an actor of considerable reputation, although his merits as a writer threw his histrionic abilities into the shade. According to Rowe, "the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own Hamlet;" but this statement rests on slender authority, and is undoubtedly an exaggeration, for an early elegy upon Shakespeare alludes to him as "that famous writer and actor." The writer of a life of Shakespeare, published in a work entitled, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, 12mo, Lond. 1753, gives another account of the introduction of the great dramatist to the London playhouses :—

I cannot forbear relating a story which Sir William Davenant told Mr. Betterton, who communicated it to Mr. Rowe; Rowe told it Mr. Pope, and Mr. Pope told it to Dr. Newton, the late editor of Milton, and from a gentleman who heard it from him, 'tis here related. Concerning Shakespear's first appearance in the playhouse. When he came to London, he was without money and friends, and being a stranger, he knew not to whom to apply, nor by what means to support himself. At that time, coaches not being in use, and as gentlemen were accustomed to ride to the playhouse, Shakespear, driven to the last necessity, went to the playhouse door, and pick'd up a little money by taking care of the gentlemen's horses who came to the play; he became eminent even in that profession, and was taken notice of for his diligence and skill in it; he had soon more business than he himself could manage, and at last hired boys under him, who were known by the name of Shakespear's boys. Some of the players, accidentally conversing with him, found him so acute, and master of so fine a conversation, that, struck therewith, they [introduced] and recommended him to the house, in which he was first admitted in a very low station; but he did not long remain so, for he soon distinguished himself, if not as an extraordinary actor, at least as a fine writer. (Vol. i., pp. 130-1.)

This anecdote is repeated by Dr. Johnson, with several variations. According to his authority, Shakespeare became "so conspicuous for his care and readiness" in holding the horses, "that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will. Shakspeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will. Shakspeare could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakspeare, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will. Shakspeare was summoned, were immediately to present themselves, *I am Shakspeare's boy, sir*. In time, Shakspeare found higher employment, but as long as the practice of riding to the play-

house continued, the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of *Shakspeare's boys.*" It will be observed that the story thus amplified is much more incredible than the original version in the *Lives of the Poets,* which may have been obtained from Oldys or Coxeter, part of their manuscripts having been used in the compilation of that work. The gentleman who heard it from Bishop Newton was Dr. Johnson, one of his schoolfellows, so that there is but one line of authority for the tradition, which at best can only be fairly presumed to be partially founded on truth. Rowe does not mention it in 1709; but it is worthy of remark that the practice of riding to the theatres, which is occasionally mentioned by writers contemporary with Shakespeare, had long been discontinued, and it is unlikely that a fabricator of the commencement of the last century should have been acquainted with such a piece of minute antiquarian information. Sir John Davys, in an epigram in the collection appended to Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Elegies,* expressly alludes to the custom.

The earliest allusion to Shakespeare in the printed literature of this country is said to be found in Spenser's *Teares of the Muses,* which appeared early in 1591, having been entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company towards the close of the previous year; and the supposed notice of the poet in that work is so beautifully expressed, and so prophetically truthful, that no great taste is necessary to create a desire that Spenser really designed Shakespeare. But the object of these pages is the discovery of truth, rather than the development of pretty theories; and although I am prepared to admit the belief that Shakespeare is intended is not to be relinquished on light authority, still will such an opinion have very serious evidence against its reception as a truth. The *Teares of the Muses* is the second poem in a small collection, entitled, *Complaints, containing sundrie small Poemes of the Worlds Vanitie,* in the preface to which the publisher says, "Since my late setting foorth of the *Faerie Queene,* finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you, I have sithence endevoured, by all good meanes, for the better encrease and accomplishment of your delights, to get into my handes such smale poemes of the same authors as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands, and not easie to bee come by by himselfe, *some of them having bene diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him since his departure over sea; of the which* I have

by good meanes gathered togeather these fewe parcels present, which I have caused to bee imprinted altogeather." It is evident, from this statement, that the poem was not a new one at the time of its publication; and although the passage in question might, with some license, be asserted to apply to Shakespeare in 1590 or 1591, yet few would be bold enough to say that it could have been intended for him if composed any great while before that date. Even accepting the former supposition, it is rather prophetic than true of things as they existed, and it is difficult to believe so just an appreciation of Shakespeare could have been attained so early in his career. Its exact application is rather a proof against such an opinion, and it must be remembered Spenser has elsewhere recorded extravagant estimates of poets now forgotten. The subject of Spenser's poem, a strong satire "keen and critical," is the decay of literature, the Muses being introduced lamenting its fallen state; and Thalia, in her turn, is dolorous on the decline of the drama. She deplores the loss of the "sweete delights of *learnings* treasure" that erewhile had adorned the English comedies. Tragedies, conceived in the worst taste, the offspring of "ugly barbarisme and brutish ignorance," had usurped the place of the chaster productions of the comic muse. All real images of life and truthful delineation of character, "by which," as he says, "man's life in his likest image was limned forth," had given place to "scoffing scurrilitie." The poets who had produced the legitimate comedy were "despiz'd and made a laughing game," and "Willy," rather than accommodate himself to the prevalent taste of the day, had abandoned, at least for a time, the exercise of his literary labours. It seems impossible to reconcile this account with the probable history of Shakespeare, who, if the ordinary hypothesis be correct, must be presumed to have relinquished his works in the very day-spring of his genius, for reasons that are wholly incompatible with the well-grounded belief that he himself, about that period, commenced the great reform of the English drama. Spenser's words are :—

> And he the man, whom Nature selfe had made
> To mock herselfe, and Truth to imitate,
> With kindly counter under mimick shade,
> Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late:
> With whom all joy and jolly meriment
> Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.

In stead thereof scoffing Scurrilitie,
And scornfull Follie with Contempt is crept,
Rolling in rymes of shameles ribaudrie,
Without regard or due decorum kept;
Each idle wit at will presumes to make,
And doth the Learneds taske upon him take.

But that same gentle spirit, from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete Nectar flowe,
Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell.

Mr. Todd, whose opinion, grounded on an intimate knowledge of Spenser's works and the literature of his day, deserves great consideration, believes the above-mentioned poem to have been written in 1580, and he conjectures that Sir Philip Sidney is the person alluded to in these verses. The notice of Sidney in the *Ruines of Time*, in which he is also termed *gentle spirit*, strongly supports this view; and he is known to have been the author of masques. He is several times termed *Willy* in a *Pastorall made long since upon the death of Sir Phillip Sidney*, printed in Davison's *Poems, or a Poeticall Rapsodie*, ed. 1621, p. 179, so that the appellation need be no argument against Mr. Todd's theory. It must, on the other hand, be admitted, that Rowe tells us Dryden always considered Spenser's Willy was intended for Shakespeare; but, as the passage was omitted in the second edition of his biography of the poet, it may be presumed he discovered his former statement was not correct; and Dryden's knowledge of the literary history of the Elizabethan period was but insignificant. Malone has entered into an elaborate argument to prove that Lilly the dramatist was the person meant by "Willy." If, however, Spenser alludes to Shakespeare in his *Colin Clout's come Home again*, written after April, 1594, the description he gives of his muse in that work certainly does not correspond with that in the *Teares of the Muses*. Here, again, is some uncertainty, for the lines seem to apply with equal propriety to Warner,—

And there, though last, not least, is Action,
  A gentler shepheard may nowhere be found;
Whose muse, full of high thoughts invention,
  Doth, like himselfe, heroically sound.

Although the appropriation of Spenser's "pleasant Willy" to Shakespeare is, for the reasons above stated, a matter of

doubt, there can be no question the great dramatist was familiarly known as "Will Shakespeare" to his contemporaries. It is only necessary to refer to the well-known lines of Heywood,—

> Mellifluous Shake-speare, whose inchanting Quill
> Commanded Mirth or Passion, was but *Will;*

and a curious allusion to the poet under this appellation was met with by Mr. Collier in the archives of Dulwich College, in some verses addressed to Alleyn, alluding to a theatrical wager in which he, as one of the Lord Admiral's players, was, for a part not named, to be matched against Kempe, who belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's company. The notice of "Willes newe playe" is not only curious in itself, but tends to show that a new drama by Shakespeare was one of the greatest attractions in the theatrical circles of the day. There is no date in the original manuscript which contains these lines, but they were probably written about the year 1598.

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

The first incontestable notice of Shakespeare by a contemporary writer occurs in a work published at the close of the year 1592, entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company on

September 20th, "uppon the perill of Henrye Chettle, a booke intituled Greenes Groatsworth of Wyt, bought with a million of Repentance." It has been suggested that Chettle may himself have written this tract, availing himself of Greene's popularity for the sake of gain; but a careful examination of the edition of 1596, in which the prefatory matter is in a purer state than that appears which is to be found in the later copies, supplies internal evidence to the contrary. Chettle and Nash were both accused of the authorship, and both distinctly denied any share in its composition. Chettle states, "I had onely in the copy this share; it was il written, as sometime Greenes hand was none of the best; licens'd it must be ere it could bee printed, which could never be, if it might not be read. To be briefe, 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." In the *Groatsworth of Wit* is contained a very curious address, "To those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise and wisedome to prevent his extremities," in which, in the course of an address to George Peele, the writer alludes to Shakespeare in one of the most singular contemporary notices of the great dramatist that have yet been discovered. "And thou," says Greene to Peele, "no less deserving then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour, driven, as myselfe, to extreame shifts, a little have I to say to thee; and were it not an idolatrous oath, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art unworthy better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men, all three of you, if by my misery yee bee not warned: for unto none of you (like me) sought those burs to cleave: those puppits (I mean) that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whome they all have bin beholding; is it not like that you, to whom they all have bin beholding, shall (were yee in that case that I am now) be both of them at once forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygres heart, wrapt in a players hyde*, supposes hee is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and beeing an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is, in his owne conceyt, the onely *Shake-scene* in a countrey. Oh that I might intreat your rare wittes to bee imployed in more profitable courses, and let these

apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaynte them with your admyred inventions. I knowe the best husband of you all will never proove an usurer, and the kindest of them all will never proove a kinde nurse; yet whilst you may, seeke you better maisters; for it is pitty men of such rare wits should bee subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes."

This important allusion to the great poet deserves a minute investigation. It proves how actively he had been employed in his profession as early as the year 1592, and it also implies that he had attained a certain degree of reputation at that period. A writer who had obtained little popularity would scarcely have received so bitter an attack from a rival dramatist; and the parody on a passage in the *Third Part of Henry VI.* exhibits Shakespeare as the author or adapter of that play previously to September, 1592. There is fortunately preserved a sequel to this history. It appears that Marlow and Shakespeare were offended with the severe notices of them in this tract, and Chettle, the editor, who published another work, entitled *Kind-Harts Dreame* a few months afterwards, in the course of a curious preface, pays a warm and interesting tribute to the poet, who is introduced as one of gentle manners, an excellent actor, an honest man, and an able dramatist. Chettle's testimony in this respect is in the highest degree pleasing, and his apology deserves to be carefully perused, although of course a slight allowance should be made for the complimentary character which generally pervades acknowledgments of this nature. "About three moneths since," he observes, "died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers hands; among other his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken, and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author: and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have, all the time of my conversing in printing, hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne, and how in that I dealt I can sufficiently proove. *With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had*, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have usde my owne discretion, especially in such a case, the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the originall fault had 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 uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, which aprooves his art." This extract is taken from a copy of the work that formerly belonged to Burton, the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, now preserved in the Bodleian Library; which differs, in some insignificant particulars, from other copies of the same tract.

There was a stage tradition, current in the theatres after the Restoration, that Taylor and Lowen, two of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays, had been specially instructed by the great dramatist. Although this circumstance was not published till more than eighty years after the death of the poet, it is given on fair authority, that of Downes, who was prompter at one of the theatres about the year 1662, and for some time afterwards. One of the critics appears to doubt the correctness of the characters attributed to these players by that writer; but even if there be some error in detail, he could hardly have misrepresented the fact in two instances. It is by no means impossible that a few of the traditional stage technicalities, yet retained in the performance of some of Shakespeare's plays, were originally suggested by the author himself. Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, speaking of Sir W. Davenant's theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields between 1662 and 1665, mentions the tragedy of *Hamlet*, "Hamlet being perform'd by Mr. Betterton, Sir William having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-fryars company act it, who, being instructed by the author, Mr. Shakespear, taught Mr. Betterton in every particle of it; which, by his exact performance of it, gain'd him esteem and reputation superlative to all other plays." Again, speaking of *Henry VIII.*, he says, "This play, by order of Sir William Davenant, was all new cloath'd in proper habits: the King's was new, all the lords, the cardinals, the bishops, the doctors, proctors, lawyers, tip-staves; new scenes. The part of the King was so right and justly done by Mr. Betterton, he being instructed in it by Sir William, who had it from old Mr. Lowen, that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespear himself, that I dare and will aver none can or will come near him in this age in the performance of that part." The representations of both these plays were very successful.

According to Aubrey, Shakespeare "did act exceedingly well," and the balance of evidence is in favour of his possessing

considerable ability as a performer, although Wright, in 1699, had "heard our author was a better poet than actor." He was one of the performers in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, produced in the year 1598, and in the same author's *Sejanus*, which was first acted in 1603. There is a conjecture of old standing [Capell, iii. 479, says a tradition,] that he was the "happy genius" who had a share in the composition of the latter play, in the form in which it was first written; but there appears to be no sufficient reason for believing this to have been the fact. Capell relates an anecdote, which, if true, might in itself favour the supposition that Shakespeare acted in his native town. According to him [*Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare*, 1779, i. 60], "a traditional story was current some years ago about Stratford, that a very old man of that place, of weak intellects, but yet related to Shakespeare, being ask'd by some of his neighbours what he remember'd about him, answer'd that he saw him once brought on the stage upon another man's back; which answer was apply'd by the hearers to his having seen him perform in this scene the part of Adam." Capell, who of course refers to the play of *As You Like It*, derived the authority indirectly from the Mr. Jones of Tarbick, co. Worcester, who has been previously mentioned as the early relator of the verses on Sir Thomas Lucy; and there might have been a *relation* of Shakespeare's at Stratford, in the condition which is here mentioned, at the period the anecdote, if true, was in circulation. The tale is related more circumstantially by Oldys, but with additions that can scarcely be correct. According to this authority, "one of Shakespeare's younger brothers, who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles II., would in his younger days come to London to visit his brother Will, as he called him, and be a spectator of him as an actor in some of his own plays. This custom, as his brother's fame enlarged, and his dramatick entertainments grew the greatest support of our principal if not of all our theatres, he continued, it seems, so long after his brother's death as even to the latter end of his own life. The curiosity at this time of the most noted actors to learn something from him of his brother, &c., they justly held him in the highest veneration; and it may be well believed, as there was besides a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor amongst them. This opportunity made them greedily inquisitive into every little circumstance,

more especially in his dramatick character, which his brother could relate of him; but he, it seems, was so stricken in years, and possibly his memory so weakened with infirmities, which might make him the easier pass for a man of weak intellects, that he could give them but little light into their enquiries; and all that could be recollected from him of his brother Will in that station was the faint, general, and almost lost ideas he had of having once seen him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein, being to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping, and unable to walk, that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company who were eating, and one of them sung a song."

It is not at all likely that any of Shakespeare's brothers were living even in 1616, the date of his will, in which they would, in all probability, have been mentioned, had they not died previously. There was certainly no elder brother alive at that period, or the houses in Henley Street, John Shakespeare dying intestate, would not have been inherited by the poet. His brother Gilbert, born in 1566, was not living in the year 1612; Richard Shakespeare died in 1613; and Edmund Shakespeare, who was an actor, died in London in December, 1607, and was buried in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the register of burials recording, under the date of December 31st, "Edmond Shakespeare, a player: in the church." An additional notice is furnished by Mr. Collier from a MS. account-book belonging to that church,—"1607. Dec. 31, Edmund Shakespeare, a player, buried in the church, with a forenoone knell of the great bell, 20*s*." It is worthy of remark that there was an Edward Shakespeare, an actor, living in London, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate in 1607, who is supposed by Mr. Collier to have been an actor at the Fortune Theatre. The following entry occurs in the burial-register of that parish,—"Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere, player, base borne, 12 August, 1607." The only relative of Shakespeare who is presumed to have been connected with the stage after the death of Edmund Shakespeare, is William Hart, the eldest son of his sister Joan, a person of that name being mentioned, in a warrant of the time of Charles I., as an assistant to the King's players, one of those who were "employed by his Majesties servants of the Blackfryers, and of special use unto them, both on the stage

and otherwise." William Hart is also included in a list of actors who were empowered, by royal warrant, to perform in the towns through which they passed, when the company was called upon to attend the King in his progress. The original warrant, dated May 17th, 1636, recites, "Whereas William Pen, Thomas Hobbes, William Trigg, William Patrick, Richard Baxter, Alexander Gough, *William Hart*, and Richard Hawley, *together with ten more or thereabouts of their fellows, his Majesties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Black-fryers, London*, are commaunded to attend his majestie, and be nigh about the court this summer progress, in readiness when they shall be called upon to act before his majestie; for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto," &c. It has been supposed that Oldys alludes to Charles Hart, when he mentions "a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor amongst them;" but there is no good proof that this person was descended from the Harts of Stratford. The William Hart above mentioned died at Stratford in 1639. He was probably introduced to the company of players at the Blackfriars by Shakespeare himself.

The contemporary allusions to the fact that the great dramatist attained distinction as a performer on the stage, although generally exhibited in somewhat obscure language, are of far greater importance than traditional notices of a later date. Amongst the most curious may be mentioned a passage referring to players in Davies' *Humours Heav'n on Earth*, 1609, p. 208, which, from a marginal note to the fifth line, "W. S. R. B.," seems to allude to Shakespeare and Burbage, and may have been written several years before the publication of that work. To be coupled with Burbage, and be said not to have been guerdoned by Fortune to his deserts, certainly implies a high compliment to Shakespeare as an actor:

> Some followed her [Fortune] by acting all mens parts,
> These on a stage she rais'd (in scorne) to fall,
> And made them mirrors by their acting arts,
> Wherin men saw their faults, though ne'r so small;
> Yet some she guerdond not to their desarts;
> But othersome were but ill-action all,
> Who, while they acted ill, ill staid behinde,
> By custome of their maners, in their minde.

Davies could have told much that is interesting relating to Shakespeare, and even the few notices he has recorded of him are curious and valuable. The following, which occurs in his

Scourge of Folly, p. 76, addressed, "To our English Terence, Mr. Will: Shake-speare," alludes apparently to some anecdote now lost; but it may be inferred that the latter had acted the part of a king in certain plays, and the concluding lines seem intended as a compliment to his character,—

> Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
> Had'st thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,
> Thou hadst bin a companion for a king,
> And beene a king among the meaner sort.
> Some others raile, but raile as they thinke fit,
> Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning wit:
> And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,
> So to increase their stocke, which they do keepe.

The allusion is obscure, but it may be conjectured to mean that had not Shakespeare performed in some characters displeasing to James I., he would have been specially patronised by that monarch; and it tells us that the poet had his detractors, "some others raile." It is well known that, early in the reign of James, he was a member of the company enrolled under the title of the King's Servants, and in an advertisement prefixed to Lintot's edition of the Poems, published in 1710, it is said that "King James the First was pleas'd with his own hand to write an amicable letter to Mr. Shakespeare, which letter, tho now lost, remain'd long in the hands of Sir William D'Avenant, as a credible person now living can testify." Oldys, in a manuscript note to his copy of Fuller's *Worthies*, distinctly says the Duke of Buckingham told Lintot he had seen it in the possession of Sir William D'Avenant. The year 1710 was anterior to the date of intentional Shakespearian fabrications, and I am somewhat at a loss to appreciate the grounds on which this statement has been disbelieved, receiving, as it does, the weight of the circumstantial evidence of Oldys; though it is not unlikely that the letter itself may have partaken more of an official character than the words of Lintot would imply. If, then, the verses of Davies are to be received literally, the offence was probably committed some time after the accession of James to the throne, and it is known that severe animadversions on his government were covertly alluded to in some of the dramas of the time. Admitting this, Shakespeare must be presumed to have acted on the stage, at least occasionally, till within a few years of his

death, an assumption which is not quite compatible with the general opinion respecting the mode in which the latter part of his life was passed. A tradition of a much later date than the one just cited asserts that Queen Elizabeth was in the theatre one evening, *when Shakespeare was personating the part of a king*, and, in crossing the stage, moved politely to the poet without the honour being duly recognised. Her majesty, it is said, with a view to ascertain whether the omission was intentional, or if he had merely resolved not to lose for an instant the personification of the character he supported, again passed the stage near him, and dropped her glove, which was immediately taken up by the poet, who added these lines to a speech just then concluded, "and so aptly were they delivered, that they seemed to belong to it,"—

> And though now bent on this high embassy,
> Yet stoop we to take up our cousin's glove.

He then retired from the stage, and presented the glove to the queen, who is said to have been greatly pleased with his conduct, and to have complimented him upon it. There does not appear to be any good authority for this story, however possible it may be that it is grounded on a more ancient and less circumstantial tradition. It is found in several theatrical works of modern date, and no early notice of it has yet been discovered; but, in the same way, till the anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbage was incontestably shown to belong to the Elizabethan period, the earliest authority for it was a tradition of the close of the last century.

Shakespeare was certainly fortunate enough to attract the notice and commendation of royalty early in his career. Ben Jonson bears testimony to the pleasure Elizabeth and her successor derived from his surpassing talent, in the noble lines of his prefixed to the first folio, in which he alludes to "those flights" of the poet "upon the banks of Thames," which were so highly appreciated by those sovereigns, or, in his own words, "so did *take* Eliza and our James." The *Merry Wives of Windsor*, written as early as 1593, is said on very fair authority to have been composed especially for the queen's gratification, and she was so impatient to see it acted, that it was completed in a fortnight. Dennis, in an epistle prefixed to the *Comical Gallant*, 1702, says of the above-mentioned play, "I knew very well that it had pleas'd one of the greatest queens

that ever was in the world; this comedy was written at her command, and by her direction, and she was so eager to see it acted, that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days, and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleas'd with the representation." Rowe, in 1709, affirms that Elizabeth "was so well pleased with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of *Henry IV.*, that she commanded him to continue it for one play more, and to show him in love: this is said to be the occasion of his writing the *Merry Wives of Windsor;*" and Gildon, in 1710, partially confirms both these accounts. The tradition regarding the play last mentioned, in one respect is corroborated by the title-page of the edition of 1602, which states that the comedy had been performed "before her Majestie and elsewhere." Compliment and patronage are often twins. One of the most elegant pieces of flattery ever addressed to a sovereign is found in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* where the queen is described as the imperial votaress passing on, "in maiden meditation, fancy-free," a character of allusion we know was received with untiring delight by Elizabeth. As late as December, 1602, when she dined at Sir Robert Cecil's, in the Strand, there were "sundry devises at hir entrance: three women, a maid, a widow, and a wife, eache contending for their owne states, but the virgin preferred." It cannot be doubted that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* gratified the monarch; and that the poet was in her favour is proved by the direct authority of Chettle, in his *Englandes Mourning Garment,* 1603, in which he complains of Shakespeare's neglecting to write an elegy upon the queen,—

> Nor doth the silver-tonged Melicert
> Drop from his honied muse one sable teare,
> To mourne her death that graced his desert,
> And to his laies opened her royall eare.
> Shepheard, remember our Elizabeth,
> And sing her Rape, done by that Tarquin, Death;

and the remembrance of the great dramatist enjoying court favour lived for a century after his death, and was universally received as a truth. Otway, in his Prologue to *Caius Marius,* 1692, alluding to Shakespeare, observes that "a gracious prince's favour chear'd his muse," and that it was a "constant favour he ne'er fear'd to lose." The accounts of the revels in the reign of James I., as far as they have been preserved, show how popular his plays were at the court of that sovereign; the following entries occurring in

a mere fragment of the original register, which was discovered by Mr. P. Cunningham at the Audit Office :—

The Plaiers.	1605.	*The poets which mayd the plaies.*
By the Kings Ma^tis plaiers.	Hallamas Day being the first of Novembar, A play in the Banketinge House att Whithall called the Moor of Venis. [Nov. 1st, 1604.]	
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	The Sunday ffollowinge, a play of the Merry Wives of Winsor. [Nov. 4th, 1604.]	
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	On St. Stivens night in the hall a play caled Mesur for Mesur. [Dec. 26th, 1604.]	Shaxberd.
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	On Inosents Night the Plaie of Errors. [Dec. 28th, 1604.]	Shaxberd.
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	Betwin Newers day and Twelfe day a play of Loves Labours Lost. [1605.]	
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	On the 7 of January was played the play of Henry the fift. [1605.]	
By his Ma^tis plaiers.	On Shrovsunday a play of the Marchant of Venis. [Mar. 24th, 1605.]	Shaxberd.
By his Ma^tis players.	On Shrovtusday a play cauled the Martchant of Venis againe commanded by the Kings Matie. [26 Mar. 1605.]	Shaxberd.
	[Accounts from Oct. 31st, 1611, to Nov. 1st, 1612.]	
By the Kings players.	Hallomas nyght was presented att Whithall before the Kinges Matie a play called the Tempest. [Nov. 1st, 1611.]	
The Kings players.	The 5th of November: A play called the Winters Nightes Tayle. [1611.]	

If any number of the royal household books of the early part of the seventeenth century should hereafter be discovered, it will probably be found that Shakespeare's plays received the approbation and patronage of Prince Henry and Prince Charles, the sons of James I. I have seen a small account-book of the expenses incurred by the former, which notices amusements of various kinds to which he was attached, but the drama, on which he doubtlessly bestowed some of his leisure hours, is not alluded to. Charles I., it is well known, was a great reader of Shakespeare, "the closet companion of these his solitudes," as Milton writes in his answer to *Eikon Basilike.* A copy of the second folio, the edition of 1632, which formerly belonged to that unfortunate monarch, is still preserved in the library of Windsor Castle. He had witnessed the representation of some of the plays of the great dramatist in early life. In the accounts

of Lord Harrington, Treasurer of the Chamber to James I., for 1613, the titles of several plays occur as having been presented before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector, the two latter having left England in the April of that year. Many other dramas were also played in the presence of the illustrious foreigners, but the following entry is the only one in which any of Shakespeare's are mentioned. The original MS. of these accounts is preserved in the Bodleian Library, in Rawlinson's collection, A. 239:—"Paid to John Heminges uppon the councells warrant, dated at Whitehall, xx°. die Maii, 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Hignes, the La. Elizabeth, and the Prince Pallatyne Elector, fowerteene severall playes, viz. one playe called Filaster, one other call'd the Knott of Fooles, one other *Much Adoe abowte Nothinge*, the Mayeds Tragedie, the Merye Dyvell of Edmonton, *the Tempest*, a Kinge and no Kinge, the Twins Tragedie, *the Winters' Tale*, *Sir John Falstafe*, *the Moore of Venice*, the Nobleman, *Cæsars Tragedye*, and one other called Love lyes a Bleedinge, all which playes weare played within the tyme of this accompte, viz. paid the some of iiij.(xx).xiij.*li.* vj.*s.* viij.*d.*" At a later period, many of Shakespeare's plays were performed before Charles I. and his Queen. On the anniversary of the Queen's birthday in 1633, *Richard III.* was acted at St. James's, "it being the first play the Queene sawe since her Majesty's delivery of the Duke of York." A few days afterwards the *Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited before them, and received their approbation; and when *Cymbeline* was performed at Court on January 1st, 1634, it is recorded that it was "well likte by the Kinge." The *Winters Tale* was also one of the plays that met with the commendation of Charles I.

Although Shakespeare found royal patrons in Elizabeth and James, it is, however, probable that any favours he received from those sovereigns were far exceeded by the support derived from the friendship of Henry, Earl of Southampton, who, although young when the poet's early works appeared, was already one of the most accomplished noblemen of the day, and had evinced a disposition to patronize literature. There seems to be good evidence for believing that, in 1593, encouragement of no ordinary kind had been bestowed on Shakespeare by this nobleman. *Venus and Adonis*, printed by Richard Field, the son of a tanner at Stratford, and a friend of the Shakespeare family, appeared in that year, with a sort of apologetic address

to the Earl,—"I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your lordship, nor how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden; only if your Honour seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honoured you with some graver labour." The dedication to *Lucrece*, 1594, addressed to the same, is in a tone far more confident,—"The warrant I have of your honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutored lines, makes it assured of acceptance: what I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have devoted yours." These dedications are precious fragments, the only letters of Shakespeare that have descended to our times. It would appear from the latter that Lord Southampton had rewarded the author of *Venus and Adonis*, and it has been conjectured that the munificent gift of that nobleman to the dramatist, recorded by Rowe, was presented in return for the dedication of that poem. The Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Free-School of Stratford, writing in the year 1759, asserts that "the unanimous tradition of the neighbourhood where he lived is, that by the uncommon bounty of the then Earl of Southampton, he was enabled to purchase houses and land at Stratford, the place of his nativity," (MS. penes R. Greene, esq., F.S.A.) Rowe speaks of the gift above alluded to with great diffidence. "There is," he says, "one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakspear's, that if I had not been assur'd that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventur'd to have inserted, that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." This amount must be exaggerated, for, considering the value of money in those days, such a gift is altogether incredible. Apart from this limitation, there is every reason for believing the general truth of Rowe's account; but if the purpose for which the present was made be rightly stated, Lord Southampton's generosity was probably displayed at a later period. The terms of the dedication to *Lucrece* certainly imply acknowledgment for previous favours conferred on the author, and it cannot be doubted that Shakespeare owed some of his prosperity to the discriminating patronage of the young nobleman. There is, indeed, no reason whatever for doubting that

Lord Southampton's friendship to the poet continued through life; and it is by no means impossible, not only that the dedications to the minor poems were liberally acknowledged, but that a free gift of considerable amount might have been offered some years afterwards, and accepted by the author. A personage like Lord Southampton, devotedly attached to the lighter literature of his country, and a daily attendant at the theatres, as we read he was in the year 1599, may well be supposed to have eagerly seized an opportunity of serving the great dramatist, whose reputation, even at the time his poems appeared, was considerable. Gervase Markham, in his *Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richarde Grinvile*, 12mo, Lond. 1595, has a sonnet to Lord Southampton, at the commencement of which he is supposed to allude to that nobleman's patronage of Shakespeare :—

> Thou glorious Laurell of the Muses hill,
> Whose eyes doth crowne the most victorius pen;

and if this attribution be correct, the notice is an important evidence of the reputation the great poet had acquired in 1595. It is probable that the allusion is to Shakespeare, and is an instance of the tendency which his contemporaries appeared to have for associating his name with images derived from the occupations and exploits of war.

Soon after the appearance of *Venus and Adonis*, the erection of the Globe Theatre, in which many of Shakespeare's plays were afterwards acted, was commenced. This building was used for dramatic performances by the Lord Chamberlain's servants during the summer, the other house in the Blackfriars being their winter theatre. The former was situated near the Bankside, on the Southern bank of the Thames, and was originally a wooden building, the stage being covered by a thatched roof. The locality, with respect to the river, will be observed in the fac-simile on the following page, which is taken from an ancient map of the metropolis, preserved in the British Museum. This map is unfortunately not dated, and it may, therefore, be doubted whether the representation of the theatre there inserted is not that of the edifice after it was rebuilt. The Globe was not sufficiently warm or protected from the weather to be used in the winter time, and it seems that, in the course of the year 1596, the company were desirous of repairing and enlarging the Blackfriars theatre, "to make the same more

Petition of Shakespeare and other Members of the Lord Chamberlain's Company to the Privy Council, 1596.

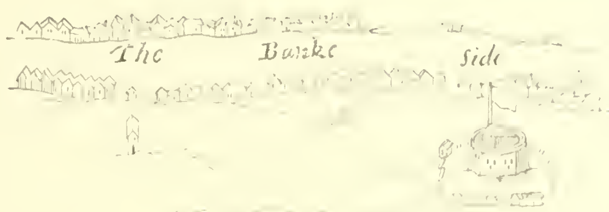
from the Original preserved in the State Paper Office

To the right honorable the LL of her Maties most honorable privie Counsell

The humble petition of Thomas Pope Richard Burbadge John Hemings Augustine Phillips Willm
Shakespeare Willm Kempe Willm Slye Nicholas Tooley and others servauntes to the right honorable the L. Chamberlaine to
her Matie — Sheweth most humbly that yor petitioners are owners and players of the private house or theater in the precinct
and libertie of the Blackfriers wch hath beene for manie yeares vsed and occupied for the playing of tragedies commedies histories
enterludes and playes That the same by reason of having beene soe long built hath falne into great decaye and that besides the
reparation thereof it hath beene found necessarie to make the same more convenient for the entertainment of auditories comming
thereto That to this end yor petitioners have all and eche of them putt downe sommes of money according to their shares in the saide
theater and wch they have iustly and honestlie gained by the exercise of their qualitie of Stage players but that certaine persons (some of
them of honour) inhabitants of the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers have as yor petitioners are enformed besought yor honorable
Lps not to permitt the saide private house anie longer to remaine open but hereafter to be shutt vpp and closed to the manifest and
great iniurie of yor petitioners who have no other meanes whereby to maintaine their wives and families but by the exercise of
their qualitie as they have heretofore done. Furthermore that in the summer season yor petitioners are able to playe at their
newe built house on the Bankside calld the Globe but that in the winter they are compelled to come to the Blackfriers and if
yor honorable Lps give consent unto that wch is prayde against yor petitioners they will not onely while the winter endureth loose the
meanes whereby they nowe support them selves and their families but be unable to practise them selves in anie playes or enterludes
when calde upon to performe for the recreation and solace of her Matie and her honorable Court as they have beene heretofore
accustomed. The humble prayer of yor petitioners therefore is that yor honble Lps will graunt permission to finishe the
reparations and alterations they have begunne and as yor petitioners have hitherto beene well ordered in their behaviour
and iust in their dealinges that yor honorable Lps will not inhibit them from acting at their above named private house in
the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers and yor petitioners as in dutie most bounden will ever praye for the encreasing
honour and happinesse of yor honorable Lps.

Ashbee & Dangerfield Fac Sim lith

convenient for the entertainment of auditories coming thereto." In this project they were opposed by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who appear to have been great enemies to theatrical amusements; and the players therefore found it necessary to petition the Privy Council, which they did in the following curious document, discovered by Mr. Collier in the State Paper Office :—



To the right honorable the Lords of her Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell.

The humble petition of Thomas Pope, Richard Burbadge, John Hemings, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, William Slye, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servauntes to the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine to her Majestie, Sheweth most humbly, that your petitioners are owners and players of the private house, or theater, in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, which hath beene for manie yeares used and occupied for the playing of tragedies, commodies, histories, enterludes, and playes. That the same, by reason of having beene soe long built, hath falne into great decaye, and that besides the reparation thereof, it hath been founde necessarie to make the same more convenient for the entertainement of auditories comming thereto. That to this end your petitioners have all and eche of them putt downe somnes of money, according to their shares in the saide theater, and which they have justly and honestlie gained by the exercise of their qualitie of stage-players; but that certaine persons, (some of them of honour) inhabitantes of the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, have, as your petitioners are enfourmed, besought your honorable lordships not to permitt the saide private house anie longer to remaine open, but hereafter to be shutt upp and closed, to the manifest and great injurie of your petitioners, who have no other meanes whereby to maintaine their wives and families, but by the exersise of their qualitie as they have heretofore done. Furthermore, that in the summer season your petitioners are able to playe at their newe built house on the Bankside callde the Globe, but that in the winter they are compelled to come to the Blackfriers; and if your honorable Lordships give consent unto that which is prayde against your petitioners, they will not onely, while the winter endureth, loose the meanes whereby they noue support themselves and their families, but be unable to practise themselves in any playes or enterludes, when calde upon to performe for the recreation and solace of her Ma[tie] and her honorable court, as they have beene hertofore accustomed. The humble prayer of your petitioners therefore is, that your honorable lordships will graunt permission to finishe the reparations and alterations they have begunne; and as your petitioners have hitherto beene well ordred in their behaviour, and just in their dealinges, that your honorable lordships will not inhibit them from acting at their above named private house in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, and your petitioners, as in dutie most bounden, will ever praye for the encreasing honour and happiness of your honorable lordships.

The petition of the inhabitants of the precinct of the Blackfriars to the Privy Council, the document to which the preceding is a reply, sets forth, "that whereas one Burbage hath lately bought certaine roomes in the saied precinct neere adjoyning unto the dwelling houses of the right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord of Hunsdon, which romes the said Burbage is now altering, and meaneth very shortly to convert and turne the same into a *comon playhouse.*" The efforts of the petitioners were evidently directed against the enlargement of the play-house, and the attempt of Burbage and his company to convert it from a private into a public theatre. Amongst other inconveniences they considered would be incurred by the project, were it carried into effect, they state that "the same playhouse is so neere the church, that the noyse of the drummes and trumpettes will greatly disturbe and hinder both the ministers and parishioners in tyme of devine service and sermones;" but the real ground of objection was the natural fear that a public stage in the immediate vicinity of their residences would attract crowds, and encourage the constant assemblage of the lower characters of the metropolis. They even went so far as to solicit the Privy Council to abolish the play-house entirely, but although this prayer was not granted, their remonstrances prevented the company from enlarging the theatre, permission being "given unto theym to make good the decaye of the saide house, butt not to make the same larger then in former tyme hath bene." The petition of the actors, above printed, is of high interest and importance, proving that Shakespeare, in 1596, held a respectable position in the Lord Chamberlain's company; that he had obtained the possession of means by exercising his "quality of stage-player;" and that he was one of the *owners* of the Blackfriars' play-house, the term *owner* not necessarily implying a share in the proprietorship of the building itself, but unquestionably showing that he was interested, with the others, in the proceeds of the theatre.

For the next discovery respecting the poet we are again indebted to the untiring zeal of Mr. Collier, who, however, did not ascertain the purport of the document in which it is contained. It appears that Alleyn's Bear-garden was a source of annoyance to some of the inhabitants of Southwark who resided in its immediate vicinity, and in the month of July, 1596, they made a formal complaint of their grievances, "Mr. Shaksper" being one of the complainants. It is thus established that

Shakespeare resided near the Bear-garden in Southwark at that period. The following paper relating to this subject is preserved at Dulwich College:—

Inhabitantes of Southerk as have complaned this . . . . . *Jully*, 1596.

Mr. Markis.
Mr. Tuppin.
Mr. Langorth.
Wilsone the pyper.
Mr. Barett.
Mr. Shaksper.
Phellipes.
Tomson.
Mother Golden the baude.
Nagges.
Fillpott, and no more, and soe well ended.

There is another Shakespearian document dated in the same year, which, though leading to no certain information, is too curious to be omitted. It consists of a memorandum, in all probability made by the judge who tried the cause, on the back of the panel of a jury called on the occasion of a suit between one Margaret Younge and one Jane Perat, November, 1596. This panel is found with a writ of error returnable in the King's Bench, but it does not appear where the cause was tried. From the circumstance of the papers being preserved at Stratford, it may be inferred the writ was not acted upon, and that the suit was adjudicated upon before the local court. The following memoranda are found on the back of the panel alluded to:—

Mr. Shaxpere, one boke.
Mr. Barber, a coverlet, ij. daggars, the 3 bokes.
Ursula Fylld the apparell and the bedding clothes at Whytsontyde was twelmonth.
Emily Blacke. Dettes due to the partie ded.

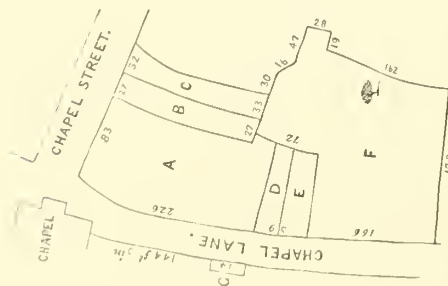
A notice of this kind is perplexing, because its exact application must necessarily be a mere subject for conjecture. The probability is that, in discussing the various items, the values of which were sought to be recovered from Perat, witnesses were produced to prove that some of them were in the hands of other parties, who were, in fact, the persons indebted for them to Margaret Younge. Taking this view of the matter, it may be inferred that a "Mr. Shaxpere" was indebted to M. Younge for "one boke;" and as Shakespeare, the shoemaker, had left

Stratford before 1596, the appropriation of the name, in this instance, must rest between John Shakespeare of Henley Street, and his son, the poet. It seems unlikely that the former, in the decline of life, and an illiterate person, should be the individual alluded to; and the balance of evidence unquestionably leads to the conclusion that the above is an early and authentic notice of the great dramatist.

Shakespeare was still a very young man, and probably had not been familiar to a metropolitan audience for more than eleven or twelve years, when, turning to the beloved town of his youth, he meditated the first investment in property his professional gains enabled him to accomplish. Early in the year 1597, he purchased from William Underhill one of the best houses in Stratford, a dwelling-house called New Place, described as consisting of one messuage, two barns, and two gardens, with their appurtenances, for the sum of sixty pounds, as appears from the following note of the fine levied on that occasion, preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster. A contemporary exemplification of this fine is in the possession of Mr. Wheler of Stratford.

Inter Willielmum Shakespeare quer. et Willielmum Underhill generosum deforc. de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, et duobus gardinis, cum pertinentiis, in Stratford super Avon, unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos &c. scilicet quod prædictus Willielmus Underhill recogn. prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespeare ut illa quæ idem Willielmus habet de dono prædicti Willielmi Underhill, et ill. remisit et quietclam. de se et hæred. suis prædicto Willielmo Shakespeare et hæred. suis in perpetuum; et præterea idem Willielmus Underhill concessit pro se et hæred. suis quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo Shakespeare et hæred. suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis in perpetuum. Et pro hac &c. idem Willielmus Shakespeare dedit prædicto Willielmo Underhill sexaginta libras sterlingorum. [Pasch. 39 Eliz.]

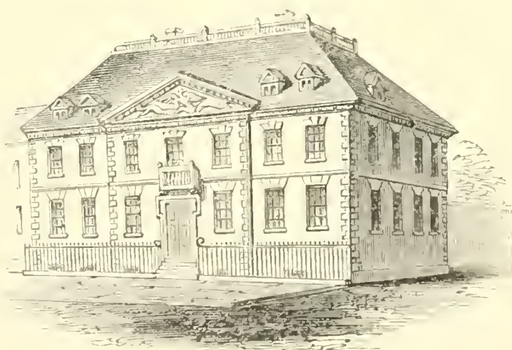
The annexed plan exhibits the site of New Place (A), with the extensive grounds (F) originally connected with it. The top of Chapel Lane, between the Guild Chapel and the poet's house, was formerly much narrower, a small portion having been taken from the latter for the purpose of widening the street. It has been generally said that



Shakespeare, having repaired the house when he purchased it of Underhill in 1597, changed its name to New Place. This must be an error; for it is stated in a survey taken in 1590,

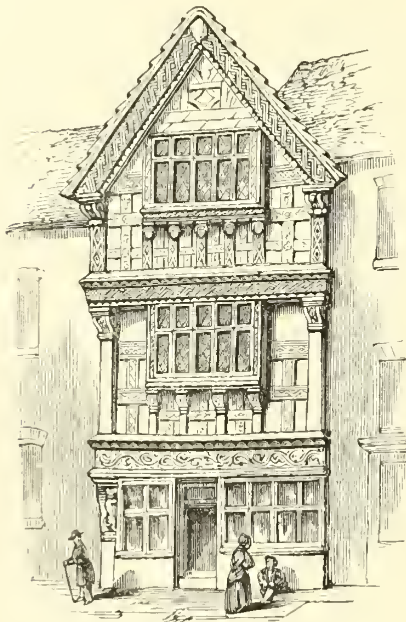
preserved in the Carlton Ride Record Office, that "Williehnus Underhill gen. tenet libere quandam domum vocatam *the newe place* cum pertinentiis pro reddit. per annum xij.*d.* sect. cur." It seems to have been one of the best houses in Stratford; and early in the sixteenth century, when it belonged to the Clopton family, it was called '*the great house.* Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I., stopped here in 1643, in her progress from Newark. In the eighteenth century it was again in the possession of the Cloptons, and it was thoroughly repaired, and a modern front added, by Sir Hugh Clopton, who died there in 1751. The next possessor, the Rev. Francis Gastrell, pulled down the house, and destroyed the celebrated mulberry-tree; the only vestiges of the former now remaining being two fragments in stone, one of which was ornamented with a shield, the arms being now obliterated. The other is a lintel. Both are preserved in a garden belonging to Mr. W. O. Hunt, and are represented in the above sketch.

The panelling of one of the rooms of New Place, says Mr. Fairholt, "was fitted up in the parlour of the Falcon Inn opposite, where it still remains. It exhibits a series of square sunk panels, covering the entire walls, the upper row being elongated, with a plain cornice and dentels above." The view of New Place, pretended to have been copied "from a Drawing in the Margin of an Ancient Survey made by Order of Sir George Carew, afterwards Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totness, and found at Clopton, near Stratford upon Avon, in 1786," is well known to be a forgery executed by Jordan, the poetical wheel-right of Stratford. It was first published by Malone in 1790, and has, unfortunately, been reproduced in even modern works as if it were genuine. No authentic record has been preserved of the appearance of New Place as it existed in Shakespeare's time, but the annexed engraving exhibits the house as it appeared after the alterations made by Sir Hugh Clopton.



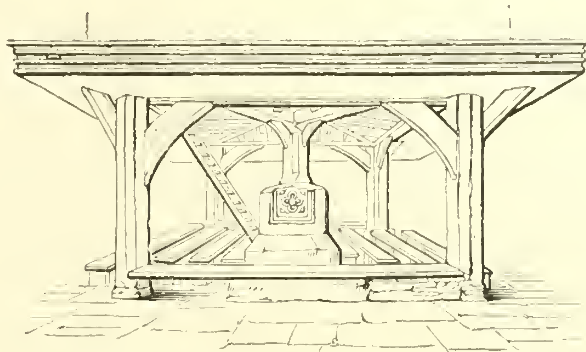
NEW PLACE, STRATFORD, A.D. 1742.

To those who would desire to bring to their minds some realization of the general character and appearance of Shakespeare's Stratford, the town that the poet himself looked upon, the absence of any representation or account of New Place, as it originally existed, must be a source of great though unavailing regret. There is little remaining of a kind that will compensate for this loss, and but one house in Stratford now exists which retains its Elizabethan character in integrity. The year before Shakespeare purchased the "Great House," there had been erected in the High Street, not far from New Place, but on the opposite side of the way, a house of a design that displayed considerable taste, which still remains; but the reader would draw an erroneous conclusion were he to imagine that any great part of Stratford at this period was composed of dwellings so picturesque as this. Here and there might have occurred a house suited for the artist's appreciation, and satisfactory to those who would invest ancient Stratford with those characteristics that harmonize with the idea a poetical imagination would form of a poet's locality. There can, however, be little doubt that a great portion of the dwellings were mean habitations of wood, or wood and plaster, covered with thatch, a mode of building which was necessarily subject to the ravages of fire; and it is accordingly discovered that, when accidents occurred, the devastation was of wide extent. The rebuildings which followed these disasters were probably of an improved character; but the town must long have continued to possess a large number of houses of a very inferior description, some indications of which may possibly still be discovered in a careful search for the minute portions of old timber buildings which exist in the obscure lanes and alleys. It must also be recollected that, although a town of considerable size, ancient Stratford would be disadvantageously compared with the Stratford of the nineteenth century. When Shakespeare acquired New Place, the number of houses in the parish was between four and five hundred, and the population could



HOUSE IN HIGH STREET, STRATFORD, 1596.

scarcely have exceeded two thousand. At this time, the borough alone, a portion only of the parish, contains a population of nearly three thousand four hundred, and the extent of the town has been and is rapidly increasing. The divisions of the streets in the older part of Stratford are, however, very nearly the same as they were in Shakespeare's time. On entering the town from the Warwick road, over Clopton's bridge, so called from Sir Hugh Clopton, at whose expense it was erected in the sixteenth century, the first antique buildings which present themselves are those consisting of the clump called Middle Row. Part of these are of considerable antiquity, though, in some places, additions and alterations belonging to the end of the seventeenth century are clearly to be traced. Reaching the end of Middle Row, and looking towards the West, on the left is the High Street, at the corner of which was the old market house, or Cross, as it was termed, and in the front, Wood Street being on one side, and Henley Street on the other, stood the characteristic old houses represented in the annexed engraving, on the site occupied by the present Market House. Proceeding along the High Street, and passing the house, dated 1596, previously noticed, on the left appears the Clopton Chapel, one of the few buildings which has retained its original external character. Adjoining this, on the South side, are the Guild Hall and the Grammar School, in one building; contiguous to which is a series of alms-houses of undoubted antiquity, though, like the Guild Hall, so much altered on the outside, as to offer a very

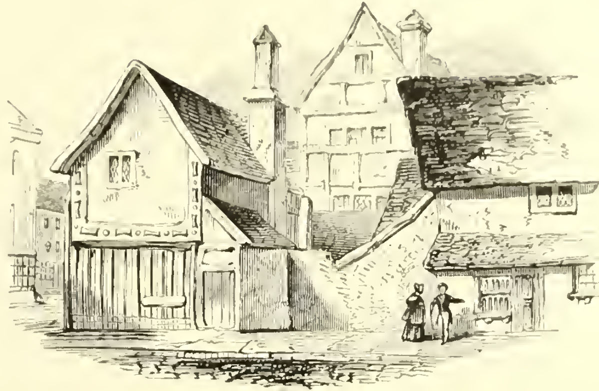


THE OLD MARKET CROSS, NOW REMOVED.

OLD HOUSES IN HENLEY STREET, 1810.

imperfect idea of their ancient form. Even that beautiful structure, the church of Stratford, was not presented to the view of Shakespeare when it possessed the graceful spire to which it owes so much of its external elegance, the tower having been formerly surmounted with a timber steeple, of inferior height, covered with lead. It will thus be seen how small and insignificant are the relics now existing of that Stratford which was the home of the great dramatist. A few traces of the ancient town may be found in the occasional occurrence of half-timbered houses, which are gradually disappearing, or, at least, so subject to the progress of modernization, that in a few years, with the exception of the birth-place, which has been much altered, the house in High Street, the Clopton Chapel, the Bridge, and the Church, there will not be a single structure remaining in Stratford which would now be recognized by those who lived in that town in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. On the other hand, could Stratford, as it then existed, be placed before our view, the change would not be less striking. We should behold a few picturesque buildings, a number of substantial houses that bore date before the Reformation, the College, the Church, and the Hall and Chapel of the Guild; but our fancy would be outraged by observing these in the midst of squalid tenements of thatch, surrounded by undrained gardens, collections of ill-kept manure, and streets of imperfect cleanliness. All the fines imposed by the courts-leet could neither hinder the accumulation of refuse of all kinds in the open streets, nor induce the inhabitants to keep the gutters in a proper state. The social manners of the inhabitants were of course equally removed in their kind from those of the present day; but it would obviously be entering into too wide and generic a field of digression to enter upon that subject. My object, in the above few remarks, is to impress upon the visitor to the Shakespearian localities how little he can depend upon them in their present state as indications of the town as it appeared when it was inhabited by the poet. The engravings in this work will afford a clearer idea of its ancient character than could be obtained from a visit. The Market Cross has disappeared; the boundary elm has been felled; the antique houses opposite Middle Row have long since been demolished; Adrian Quiney's house could not be recognized; and only a small portion of the subject represented in the woodcut on the opposite page now remains. It is barely in time that these

records of their appearance have been preserved. They will, however imperfectly, represent to posterity the chief fragments of the chosen town of the great dramatist that can now ever be hoped to be recovered.



ANCIENT HOUSES IN HENLEY STREET, 1820.

The country in the neighbourhood of Stratford, the locality in which Shakespeare doubtlessly gathered his profound uninstructed knowledge of natural history and rural life, must also be greatly altered. Where is now seen field after field enclosed and highly cultivated, were formerly tracts of imperfect tillage, copiously intersected by large patches of common, and no small portion of useless moor and undrained marsh. This defective state of cultivation necessarily induced the continual presence of numerous birds and animals which would now only be seen in very remote districts; and the accurate information the poet evidently possessed on points of natural history of a somewhat recondite character, may be most probably traced to the opportunities of observation which were thus afforded. A person of his unrivalled perceptive faculty, and strong retentive memory, could not fail to have treasured in his mind the results of his rural experience. There is no doubt that the country must have had an enduring influence on Shakespeare's mental character, and there is much that is beautiful in his works which could not have emanated, even from his genius, had he been always "in city pent." His plays are full of allusions which demonstrate how deeply rooted in him was the memory of rural life, its occupations and amusements. The neighbourhood of Stratford is not, nor ever could have been, of a romantic character; but it is undulatory, and there are portions of it, especially on the uplands which are skirted by the river winding along their base, that are extremely pleasing and picturesque. A moderate enthusiast will be well contented that the poet was surrounded by so much of the poetry of nature. Passing out of Stratford towards Gloucestershire, over the Mill Bridge, the foundations of which belong to the time of Elizabeth, we first, at the Wear Brake, approach a singularly graceful distribution

of hill and dale, and of wooded dell, that no mere casual visitor would imagine could be afforded by the apparently barren nature of the country. Nearly the whole of the land on the Western side of the river near Stratford is of a similar undulating character. The Welcombe fields, where Shakespeare's property laid, the intrenchment called the Dyngles, Wilmecote, Snitterfield, and Aston Cantlowe, should all be visited by those who would make themselves acquainted with the localities that must have been familiar to the great dramatist. They have certainly undergone great changes since Shakespeare's time, but the earnest and attentive observer may here trace his path with more clearness than can be recalled by any memorials in modern Stratford.

Amidst the material remains connected with the history of Shakespeare at Stratford, that have existed until within a comparatively recent period, may be mentioned the mulberry-tree planted by his own hands in the garden at New Place, that celebrated tree which has given rise to the fabrication of so vast a number of supposititious relics. "That Shakespeare planted this tree," observes Malone, "is as well authenticated as anything of that nature can be. The Rev. Mr. Davenport informed me that Mr. Hugh Taylor, the father of his clerk, who was then (1790) eighty-five years old, and an alderman of Warwick, told him that he lived, when a boy, at the next house to New Place; that his family had inhabited the house for almost three hundred years: that it was transmitted from father to son during the last and present century, that this tree (of the fruit of which he had often eaten in his younger days, some of its branches hanging over his father's garden,) was planted by Shakespeare; and that till this was planted, there was no mulberry-tree in that neighbourhood." A similar tradition was preserved in the Clopton family, and Sir Hugh Clopton, in the year 1742, entertained three eminent actors, Garrick, Macklin, and Delane, under the honoured mulberry-tree then flourishing in the garden at New Place.

There seems to be every reason for believing that New Place became the residence of the poet immediately after his purchase of it from Underhill. A curious manuscript list, formed during a period when there was a great scarcity of grain in Warwickshire, corn being "deare and overdeare," as stated in a contemporary letter, contains an account of corn and malt in Stratford in February, 1598, and mentions Shakespeare as

holding the large quantity of ten quarters of corn. It is further of importance, because it exhibits him as residing in Chapel Street Ward, the part of the town in which New Place was situated. Abraham Sturley, in a letter dated January 24th, gives an account in which four quarters and four strikes of wheat are charged at £12, from which it would appear that this grain was then producing the extraordinary price of £1 13*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, which, considering the difference that has taken place in the value of money, may be considered equivalent to at least £6 at the present day. As a kind of negative evidence against the probability of John Shakespeare being then in good circumstances, it may be mentioned that his name does not occur in this list. The MS. is entitled, "The noate of corne and malte taken the iiij.th of Februarii, 1597, in the xl.th yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious soveraigne ladie Queen Elizabethe;" and the following is the account of the *corn* in the hands of the inhabitants of "Chapple Street Warde" on that day, viz. Feb. 4th, 1597-8. It will be observed that only two persons in the locality had a larger stock than Shakespeare. We learn who were his neighbours, and, as far as one can judge from such uncertain criteria, their relative social position. The residence of Julius Shaw, who was on intimate terms with the poet, and was one of the witnesses to his will, still remains, modernized to some extent it is true, but yet retaining part of its original character. This house was the next but one to New Place on the North side, leading towards the market-place.

JULIUS SHAW'S HOUSE, STRATFORD.

Frauncys Smythe jun. iij. quarters.
Jhon Coxe v. quarters.
Mr. Thomas Dyxon xvij. quarters, d.
Mr. Thomas Barbor iij. quarters.
Mychaell Hare v. quarters.
Mr. Bifielde vj. quarters.
Hughe Aynger vj. quarters.
Thomas Badsey vj. quarters, bareley j. quarter.
Jhon Rogers x. str.

Wm. Emmettes viij. quarters.
Mr. Aspinall aboute xj. quarters.
Wm. Shackespere x. quarters.
Julii Shawe vij. quarters.

From this period Shakespeare is discovered, at intervals of no long duration, engaged in transactions which exhibit him as a respectable inhabitant of Stratford, and if not occupied in agricultural matters, at least occasionally indulging in negociations of a kindred character. In 1598, the same year in which the manuscript just quoted was written, he sold a load of stone to the Corporation of Stratford, probably from his garden at New Place, for the sum of tenpence,—"Paid to Mr. Shaxspere for on lod of ston, x.*d.*" This curious fact is recorded in the Chamberlains' accounts for that year,—

There is not much doubt that this entry relates to the poet. Shakespeare the shoemaker had left Stratford before 1598; and were not that the case, there is not much probability that such a notice would refer either to him or to the poet's father, unless it be supposed the latter had recovered the estate of Ashbies, and that it was thence that the stone was procured. It may also be observed that in the list of the possessors of corn, Shakespeare's name has not the prefix of *Mr.*, but as he is so termed in letters dated in 1598, this circumstance can scarcely be thought to have much weight. The above entry is rather curious than important, but the probabilities are certainly in favour of assigning it to refer to the dramatist.

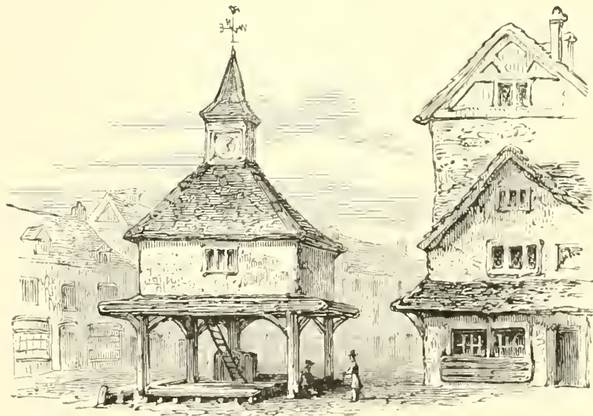
Shakespeare's increasing wealth, and the consideration and respect with which he was regarded at Stratford about this period, are very singularly illustrated by a letter preserved in the Council Chamber of that town, written by Abraham Sturley, dated at Stratford, January 24th, 1597-8, in which he urges his

correspondent to persuade Shakespeare to make a purchase at Shottery, and, among other inducements, mentions "the

frendes he can make therefore," clearly exhibiting that the poet's desire to establish himself influentially at Stratford was well known to Sturley. It also appears that the purchase would have been advantageous to the corporation; "it obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good." The notice of Shakespeare occurs in the first portion of the letter, which is too long to be given entire. The following extract includes all that relates in any way to the poet.

Most loving and belovedd in the Lord, in plaine Engl[i]she we remember u in the Lord, and ourselves unto u. I would write nothinge unto u nowe, but come home. I prai God send u comfortabli home. This is one speciall remembrance ffrom ur ffathers motion. It semeth bi him that our countriman, Mr. Shakspere, is willinge to disburse some monei upon some od yarde land or other att Shottri or neare about us; he thinketh it a veri fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. Bi the instruccions u can geve him theareof, and bi the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote att, and not unpossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, and would do us much good. Hoc movere, et quantum in te est permovere, ne necligas, hoc enim et sibi et nobis maximi erit momenti. Hic labor, hic opus esset eximiæ et gloriæ et laudis sibi.

The following curious letter, which contains another notice of Shakespeare, tends to show that the poet was engaged in pecuniary transactions with persons living at Stratford. The original is also preserved in the Council Chamber of that town. It is not dated, but it was most likely written in the same year as the last, 1598, and neither has it any signature, but from a comparison of it with other letters at Stratford, the writer is ascertained to be Adrian Quiney. As it is addressed to his son Richard, who was in London, it would appear that Shakespeare was then in the metropolis, the endorsement being, "to my lovynge sonne Rycharde Qwyney, at the Belle in Carter Leyne, deliver thesse in London." The mention of the great dramatist—"yff yow bargen with Wm. Sha . . or receve money therfor, brynge your money home that yow maye"—is important, when viewed in connexion with other testimonies, in the consideration of the well-founded opinion that he was regarded by his provincial



THE MARKET CROSS, STRATFORD, WITH THE HOUSE OF ADRIAN QUINEY ON THE WEST SIDE.

friends as a capitalist, whose means were available to them on the production of reasonable securities.

Yow shalle, God wyllyng, receve from youre wyfe by Mr. Baylye thys brr. asowrance of *x.s.*, and she wold have yow to bye sume groceryе, yff hyt be resonable; yow maye have carryage by a woman who I wyllyd to com to you. Mr. Layne by report hath receved a great summ of money of Mr. Smyth of Wotten, but wylle not be knowyn of hyt, and denyd to lend your wyff any, but hys wyffe sayd that he had receved v.*li.* which was gevyn hyr, and wysshd hym to lent that to your wyff, which he dyde; she hopyth to mayk provyssyon to paye Mr. Combes and alle the rest. I wrot to yow concernyng Jhon Rogerss; the howsse goythe greatlye to dekaye; ask secretli therin, and doo somewhat therin, as he ys in doubt that Mr. Parsonss wylle not paye the 3*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Wherfor wryte to hym yff yow maye have carryage to bye some such warys as yow may selle presentlye with profet. Yff yow bargen with Wm. Sha. . . or receve money

Yff yow bargen with Wm. Sha. . . or receve money

therfor, brynge your money home that yow maye. And see howe knite stockynges be sold; ther ys gret byinge of them at Ayssham. Edward Wheat and Harrye, youre brother man, were both at Evysham thys daye senet, and as I harde bestow 20*li.* ther in knyt hosse; wherfor I thynke yow maye doo good, yff yow can have money.

Another letter, dated November 4th, 1598, contains a third allusion to Shakespeare, and also relates to the subject of money; not a very poetical theme, but one in which the dramatist evidently took a lively interest, having seen, perhaps, that "if money go before, all ways do lie open," and that it is "a good soldier, and will on." These are proverbial truths, the force of which has been felt in all ages and countries, and has not been greatly influenced by the progress of civilization. This letter was written at Stratford by Abraham Sturley, or *Sturlei,* as he signs his name, and is addressed "to his most lovinge brother, Mr. Richard Quinei, att the Bell in Carter lane att London." The following extract from the commencement is sufficient to exhibit the manner in which Shakespeare's name

And that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us money.

is introduced. The writer had heard from Richard Quiney, who was in London, that "our countriman Mr. William Shak. would procure us monei," the particulars of which he desires to know before he gives his approval to the arrangement. It appears from this letter that Shakespeare was in London in October, 1598.

[Nov. 4, 1598.] All health, happines of suites and wellfare, be multiplied unto u and ur labours in God our Father bi Christ our Lord.

Ur letter of the 25. of Octobr came to mi handes the laste of the same att night per Grenwai, which imported a stai of suites by Sr. Ed. Gr. advise, untill &c. and that onli u should followe on for tax and sub. presentli, and allso ur travell and hinderance of answere therein, bi ur longe travell and thaffaires of the Courte: and that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us monei, wc. 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. Allso that if monei might be had for 30 or 40*l.*, a lease, &c. might be procured. Oh howe can u make dowbt of monei, who will not beare xxx.tie or xl.*s* towardes sutch a match!

The curious and interesting letters here quoted, illustrate the attention which was bestowed by Shakespeare on his pecuniary affairs. They afford a proof that habits of business are not incompatible with the possession of the highest genius; and were no other fact to be elicited from the recesses of the uninviting records of Stratford, they will not have been explored in vain. The romance of the imaginative biographer may be disproved, and, for a time, that revelation which is antagonistic to our preconceived opinions, unfolding a characteristic in the poet which was least expected, may retard its reception as a truth; but the fact will eventually be admitted, being grounded on documentary evidence of indisputable authenticity. In the seventeenth century, no circumstance respecting Shakespeare's character was more generally credited, and it is comparatively of late years that it has been dismissed as altogether improbable, chiefly through the efforts of writers who would deduce, from his mental eminence, the conclusion that he was endowed with too great an elevation of disposition to allow himself to be disturbed by the ordinary anxieties of every day life. No doubt, however, can exist in the mind of any impartial critic, that the great dramatist most carefully attended to his worldly interests; and confirmations of this opinion may be produced from numerous early sources. Thus Randolph, in his *Pleasant Comedie entituled Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*, 4to, Lond. 1651, expressly alludes to Shakespeare having composed his dramas for the sake of the remuneration which was derived from them; and we all remember the words of Pope, which undoubtedly express one truth, even if they are not to be entirely accepted,—

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

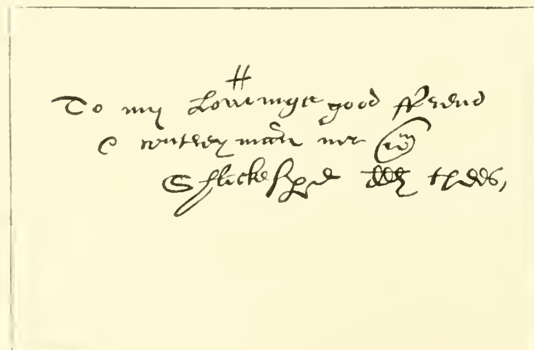
In connexion with this subject may be mentioned one of the most curious documents connected with Shakespeare known to exist, a letter from Richard Quiney to the poet, requesting the loan of £30 on his own security joined with that of a friend. The reader must be requested to bear constantly in mind the value of money at that early period, £30 in 1598 being at least equivalent to four times that sum in reference to its intrinsic worth at the present time, and it will then be seen in what pecuniary circumstances Shakespeare must have been for an application to be made to him for a loan of that amount, Quiney evidently writing in the full conviction that he was able, without the slightest difficulty, to advance the money.

Loveinge contreyman, I am bolde of yow, as of a ffrende, craveinge yowr helpe with xxx.*li.* uppon Mr. Bushells and my securytee, or Mr. Myttons with me. Mr. Rosswell is nott come to London as yeate, and I have especiall cawse. Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeing me out of all the debettes I owe in London, I thanck God, and muche quiet my mynde, which wolde nott be indebeted. I am nowe towardes the Cowrte, in hope of answer for the dispatche of my buysenes. Yow shall nether loose creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; and nowe butt perswade yowrselfe soe, as I hope, and yow shall nott need to feare, butt, with all heartie thanckefullnes, I wyll holde my tyme, and content yowr ffreende, and yf we bargaine farther, yow shalbe the paie-master yowrselfe. My tyme biddes me hasten to an ende, and soe I committ thys [to] yowr care and hope of yowr helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe thys night ffrom the Cowrte. Haste. The Lorde be with yow and with us all, Amen! ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane, the 25. October, 1598.

Yowrs in all kyndenes,

To my loveinge good ffrend and contreyman Mr. Wm. Shackespere deliver thees.

This precious evidence in the history of Shakespeare's social life, which brings him before our view as occupied in



the ordinary business of ordinary men, is one of the few genuine relics of the great poet that can safely be stated to have been in his own hands, and it is the only letter addressed to him known to exist. It is a very small document, folding up in the exact size here indicated, and directed in the

Letter from Richard Quyney to Shakespeare 1598.

from the Original in the possession of R B Wheler Esq.r of Stratford on Avon

Loveinge Contreyman I am bolde of yowe as of a ffrende, craveinge yowe helpe with xxx li vppon Mr Bushells & my securytee or Mr Myttons with me. Mr Rosswell is nott come to London as yeate & I have especiall cawse. yowe shall ffrende me muche in helpeinge me out of all the debettes I owe in London I thancke god & muche quiet my mynde which wolde nott be indebeted I am nowe towardes the Cowrte in hope of answer for the dispatche of my Buysenes. yowe shall neither loase creddytt nor monney by me the Lorde wyllinge & nowe butt perswade yowe selfe soe as I hope & yowe shall nott need to feare butt with all hartie thanckefullenes I will holde my tyme & content yowe ffrende & yf we Bargaine farther yowe shalbe the paiemaster yowe self. my tyme biddes me hasten to an ende & soe I committ thys yowe care & hope of yowe helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe thys night ffrom the Cowrte. Haste. the Lorde be with yowe & with vs all Amen / ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 october 1598 /

Yowes in all kyndenes
Ryc. Quyney

Notices of Shakespeare collected by W Fulman and R Davies.

from the Original M.S. in the Library of Corpus Christi College Oxford.

7. William Shakespeare.

William Shakespeare was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire about 1563. 4.

much given to all unluckinesse in stealing venison & Rabbits particularly from Sr Lucy who had him oft whipt & sometimes Imprisoned & at last made Him fly his Native Country to his great Advancemt. but His reveng was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate and calls him a great man & yt in allusion to his name bore three lowses rampant for his Arms

From an Actor of Playes, he became a Composer

Ætat. 53.

He dyed Apr. 23. 1616. probably at Stratford, for there he is buryed, and hath a Monument on wch He lays a Heavy curse upon any one who shal remoove his bones He dyed a papist.

Dugd. p. 520

customary style of the period. The original is in the possession of Mr. R. B. Wheler, and a fac-simile of the whole letter is given in the annexed plate. Richard Quiney went to London on business for the Corporation, to which he alludes when he says, "I am nowe towardes the Cowrte in hope of answer for the dispatche of my buysenes." He appears to have left Stratford the previous month, and his London debts may have been partly incurred on behalf of the Corporation.

It seems to be probable that Shakespeare may, even at this early period, have had possessions of which no record, as far as he is concerned, now remains; for Mr. Hunter discovered his name in a subsidy roll of 1598, assessed on property of the value of £5, in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The original of this document is preserved at the Carlton Ride Record Office, and Mr. Hunter considers it proves Shakespeare was a resident in that parish in 1598, apparently overlooking the memorandum *affid.* attached to his name, which may possibly exhibit him as one of the parties who did not live in the district, and were consequently compelled to produce certificates or affidavits of non-residence. If the poet ever did reside in that part of London, it could only have been for a very short period. Perhaps the exact nature of the property held by Shakespeare in St. Helen's may hereafter be discovered, but it is worthy of remark that his name does not occur in the roll of a subsidy levied two years afterwards; and it would be more satisfactory were better evidence to be forthcoming that the William Shakespeare named in the roll is really the poet, not another person of the same name. The reader will, at all events, be careful not to draw any conclusion from this testimony, until further information on the subject is produced. The MS., which is dated October 1st, 40 Elizabeth, 1598, is an assessment roll for levying the first of three entire subsidies which were granted by Parliament to the Queen in the 39th year of her reign, and the name of Shakespeare is thus entered, "*Affid.* William Shakespeare, v.*l.* = xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*"

In the same year (1598) Shakespeare was one of the "principal comedians" in Ben Jonson's play of *Every Man in his Humour*, performed by the Lord Chamberlain's servants at the

Globe Theatre; and Rowe has recorded an anecdote respecting rare Ben's introduction to the stage, which, if true, occurred not very long before the appearance of that comedy. "His acquaintance with Ben Johnson," he says, "began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature: Mr. Johnson, who was at that time altogether unknown to the world, had offer'd one of his plays to the players in order to have it acted, and the persons into whose hands it was put, after having turn'd it carelessly and superciliously over, were just upon returning it to him with an ill-natur'd answer that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespear luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnson and his writings to the publick." In the first edition of his *Life of Shakespear*, Rowe had added a long paragraph to this, omitted in the next impression, in the course of which he said, "after this they were profess'd friends, tho' I don't know whether the other ever made him an equal return of gentleness and sincerity." There is nothing in this tradition dissonant to what is known of Jonson's career, and Gifford's arguments against it are established on erroneous data, the play of *Umers*, mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, certainly not being Jonson's celebrated drama. The curious allusion in the *Returne from Pernassus, or the Scourge of Simony*, 1606, exhibits an opinion of Shakespeare's great superiority over Jonson. Kemp is introduced as saying, "Few of the University pen plaies well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of Proserpina and Juppiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, I (*ay*) and Ben Jonson too. O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit." To this Burbage shortly replies, "It's a shrewd fellow, indeed." If there be any particular allusion in the latter part of Kempe's speech, there are now no means of unravelling it; but, on the whole, it is safer to conclude that a general testimony to the powers of the genius of Shakespeare, beyond those of Jonson, is all that is intended.

Rowe, in the first edition of his biography, accuses Jonson of having been "naturally proud and insolent," and, referring to his alleged envious disposition, alludes to Ben's remark on Shakespeare's "seldom altering or blotting out what he writ" as an

evidence of this. Nothing can be more erroneous than such an inference, for Jonson's criticism (*Timber, or Discoveries*, 1641,) was evidently written with a spirit of great kindness. "I remember," he says, "the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, Would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted; and to justifie mine owne candor, *for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any.* Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantsie, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein hee flow'd with that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd: *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power; would the rule of it had beene so too. Many times hee fell into those things could not escape laughter: as when hee said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." Hee replyed, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause," and such like; which were ridiculous. But hee redeemed his vices with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praysed then to be pardoned." John Heminge (or Heminges, as he generally signed his name,) and Henry Condell, in their address prefixed to the first collected edition of Shakespeare's

plays, 1623, observe that "his mind and hand went together, and what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers." Jonson "had not told posterity this, but for their [the players'] ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted;" in fact, a deficiency in that careful retouching considered requisite by Jonson, the want of which even the most extravagant admirer of Shakespeare must admit is occasionally felt in his plays. This habit of writing with great rapidity occasioned, no doubt, the mistake which Jonson quotes from *Julius Cæsar*, which is exactly one of those errors even the greatest genius might commit, and, once published, would, with the players, "be argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever." For some reason or other, perhaps from unnecessary

but kindly feelings towards the memory of Shakespeare, the passage quoted by Jonson is mutilated in the folio edition of his works. The probabilities are greatly in favour of believing that Jonson quoted correctly, and there is additional evidence for this opinion in the fact that the passage had been previously alluded to by him in the Induction to the *Staple of News*, which was produced in the year 1625.

Rare Ben's noble testimony "to the memory of my beloved, the author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us," is of itself sufficient to acquit him of any posthumous ill-feeling to his friend; yet it is remarkable that even in the first line he seems to allude to the charge of envy, that had been previously brought against him, as is ascertained from some lines in Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, p. 75, which seem to imply that Jonson had been unfairly maligned. Fuller, in his *History of the Worthies of England*, 1662, speaking of Shakespeare, thus mentions his intimacy with rare Ben,—"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 performances; Shake-spear, 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." Some of these wit-combats have been handed down to posterity, but unfortunately they are not of the most brilliant description, as will appear from the following specimen preserved in the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford, No. 38, p. 181:—"Mr. Ben. Johnson and Mr. Wm. Shake-speare being merrye att a tavern, Mr. Jonson haveing begune this for his epitaph,

Here lies Ben Johnson, that was once one.

"he gives ytt to Mr. Shakspear to make upp, who presently wrightes,

Who while hee liv'de was a sloe thinge,
And now being dead is nothinge."

It is not particularly easy to appreciate the exact force of the wit here exhibited, but the anecdote comes to us in a "questionable shape," and is most probably corrupted. Perhaps the conclusion of the first line of the epitaph should be "that was *one's son*," for in an early MS. common-place book I have seen the following lines, *B. Johnson in seipsum*,—

Heere lies Johnson,
Who was ones sonne:
Hee had a litle hayre on his chin,
His name was Benjamin!

an amusing allusion to his personal appearance, as any one may see who will turn to Ben's portrait. Oldys has preserved some lines by Jonson and Shakespeare contained in an early manuscript, and bearing greater marks of authenticity, in the circumstance of their involving a comparison which was afterwards expanded in the celebrated speech of Jaques. They are entitled "verses by Ben Jonson and Shakspeare, occasioned by the motto to the Globe Theatre, *totus mundus agit histrionem.*"

Jonson. If but stage actors all the world displays,
Where shall we find spectators of their plays?
Shakspeare. Little or much of what we see we do;
We are all both actors and spectators too.

Gifford has assumed that Shakespeare was a member of a convivial club established at the Mermaid by Sir Walter Raleigh, but for this I find no authority, however probable such a supposition may be in itself. Mr. Collier states it as a fact mentioned by Fuller, but he seems to have relied on Gifford's assertion without referring to the original authority, for Fuller is silent on the subject. The following anecdote relating to the two poets is preserved in MS. Harl. 6395, entitled *Merry Passages and Jeasts*, compiled by Sir Nicholas Lestrange during the civil wars, and is given on the authority of a Mr. Dun, who has been conjectured to be Donne, the poet. Latten was a kind of mixed metal, very much resembling brass in its nature and colour:—"Shake-speare was god-father to one of Ben Johnsons children, and after the christning, being in a deepe study, Johnson came to cheere him up, and askt him why he was so melancholy. No, faith, Ben, sayes he, not I; but I have beene considering a great while what should be the fittest gift for me to bestow upon my god-child, and I have resolv'd at last. I prythe what, sayes he. *'Ifaith, Ben, I'le e'en give him a douzen good Lattin spoones, and thou shalt translate them.*"

The above notices of Jonson and Shakespeare, even if they are not to be implicitly relied upon, are sufficient to indicate the probability that they were intimate with each other during many years. It must nevertheless be observed, with reference to the anecdote recorded by Rowe, and in estimating the degree of credit with which it is to be received, that Jonson could not

fairly be said, at the period that *Every Man in his Humour* was produced, to have been "altogether unknown to the world;" but he was excessively poor at that time, and it is not impossible that Shakespeare protected him against the contingency of the manager of the theatre taking advantage of the state of his purse. Gifford thinks that, in 1598, when the above-mentioned play was first acted, Jonson "was as well known as Shakespeare, and perhaps better;" but although this opinion certainly implies more than the truth, Jonson must undoubtedly have commenced his career as a dramatic writer before that period, or he would not have been mentioned by Meres as one of the principal authors of English tragedies. He could, however, have written but few plays previously to that time in comparison with Shakespeare. It appears from Meres that the latter, as early as the year 1598, when he was thirty-four years of age, had written at least twelve plays, believing, as I think there is every reason to believe, that *Love's Labour's Won* is either a play now lost, but perhaps hereafter to be discovered in some of our numerous unexplored collections of manuscripts; or that it was a second, and perhaps the original title, of *All's Well that ends Well.* That writer, in his work entitled, *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury, being the Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*, 12mo, Lond. 1598, gives the following very curious notices of Shakespeare,—

> As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honytongued Shakespeare; witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c.
>
> As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love Labors Lost, his Love Labours Wonne, his Midsummers Night Dreame, and his Merchant of Venice: for tragedy, his Richard the 2., Richard the 3., Henry the 4., King John, Titus Andronicus, and his Romeo and Juliet.
>
> As Epius Stolo said that the muses would speake with Plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin, so I say that the muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.

It should be observed that Meres does not seem by any means to write as if the list he had given of Shakespeare's plays in 1598 was more than a selection, and the tendency of modern discovery is certainly towards the earlier composition of most of the dramas than the elder critics were willing to allow. There is great uncertainty in drawing any conclusion in these enquiries from internal evidence, the arguments of the most eminent

critics having so frequently been disproved by the accidental discovery of early memoranda. The author's words certainly appear to imply that the plays of Shakespeare which he mentions were only a portion of those which had then been written; and if so, there is every reason to suppose that the majority of his works were produced before the end of the reign of Elizabeth. It may be that Shakespeare's energies required in some measure the impulse of necessity to develop them in their full extent; and that, after he had secured an independent position, acting and writing became secondary objects. Meres' testimony seems to show decisively that he had written a great deal, and had attained considerable popularity, during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

It appears from several allusions in early works that Shakespeare's plays met with general approbation, and were by no means so neglected by the public of his own time as some writers would seem to believe. Yet this success does great credit to the popular taste of that age, for most of his dramas are better fitted for the closet than for representation, and it is scarcely possible all his writings could have been thoroughly appreciated by those before whom they first appeared. It is, however, not improbable that the direction of public favour received an impulse from the excellent acting of Burbage, one of the most accomplished actors this country has ever produced. Shakespeare may have had him in view when he was writing some of his plays, and to the size of Burbage must be attributed the description of Hamlet, "he's fat and scant of breath," so discordant to all poetical taste. An early poem has been preserved, in which a description of Burbage's personal appearance is given nearly in the same words; and, in confirmation of this opinion, it may be observed how very seldom we are enabled to realize the persons of any of Shakespeare's creations, except in the case of Falstaff and a few of his comic characters. Burbage was on intimate terms with Shakespeare, and he is remembered with Heminges and Condell in the poet's will. Manningham, in his Diary, MS. Harl. 5353, mentions an anecdote respecting them on the authority of Tooley, who was, according to Mr. Collier, Burbage's apprentice. Manningham heard this story in March, 1601-2, and it is thus noticed in his book,—"March 13, 1601; Upon a tyme, when Burbidge played Rich. 3, there was a

citizen greue soe farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play, shee appointed him to come that night unto hir by the name of Ri. the 3. Shakespeare overhearing their conclusion, went before, was intertained, and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then, message being brought that Rich. the 3[d]. was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made that William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3. Shakespeares name Willm.—Mr. Tooly (?)." It is worthy of remark that tradition carried the same tale with great fidelity up to the close of the last century; and it is to be feared that the theatrical morals of Shakespeare's time rendered the circumstances of the anecdote possible. In the same MS. diary, Mr. Collier also discovered the following curious and valuable notice of the performance of *Twelfth Night* in 1602, at the Middle Temple: "1601, Febr. 2. At our feast, wee had a play called Twelve Night, or What you Will, much like the Commedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the steward beleeve his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a lettre as from his lady in generall termes, telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c., and then when he came to practise, making him beleeve they tooke him to be mad, &c." Before this curious memorandum was discovered, the year 1607 was usually assigned by the critics as the date of the composition of the play.

The above quotations from Manningham's *Diary*, especially the second, have great claims to be considered truthful; but it must be admitted that the majority of allusions to Shakespeare in early MS. miscellanies, particularly where short pieces of poetry are assigned to his pen, are to be received with much caution. Thus in a volume of songs and poems, collected by one Richard Jackson early in the seventeenth century, the song, "From the rich Lavinian shore," is entitled, *Shakespeare's rime which he made at the Mytre in Fleete Streete;* and, in the same manuscript, an epigram by Ben Jonson is attributed to the great dramatist. The late Mr. Boswell possessed a MS. containing four halting lines entitled, *Shakespeare upon the King*, but an earlier copy in the Ashmolean Museum, MS. No. 38, preserves the name of the real author, as they were, in fact, instead of belonging to Shakespeare, "Certayne verses wrighten by Mr. Robert Barker, his Majestis printer, under his Majestis

picture." The verses printed by Mr. Collier, supposed to be signed *W. Sh.*, have been ascertained to be the production of Sir William Skipwith. There are also some stanzas, dated 1606, signed W. S., in a MS. common-place book in the City Library of Hamburgh, which are attributed by the Germans to Shakespeare; but the internal evidence, on which alone a correct conclusion can be arrived at, is altogether unsatisfactory. The same observation will apply to many other poetical fragments, which have been ascribed to the great dramatist on the uncertain evidence of initials; amongst which, as a specimen, may be selected two absurd lines in a MS. poem, written in the year 1600, entitled, *The Newe Metamorphosis, or a Feaste of Fancie*, the author of which was on intimate terms with several of the principal dramatists and poets of the day, and may be conjectured, in the following passage, to allude to some jocular observation made by Shakespeare; as for the couplet itself, it is evidently too contemptible to be assigned to him:—

Who hath a lovinge wife and loves her not,
He is no better then a witlesse sotte;
Let such have wives to recompence their merite,
Even Menelaus forked face inherite.
Is love in wives good, not in husbands too?
Why doe men sweare they love then when they wooe?
It seemes tis true that W. S. said,
When once he heard one courting of a mayde,
Beleeve not thou mens fayned flatteryes,
Lovers will tell a bushell-full of lyes!

Amongst the minor pieces which have been ascribed to Shakespeare, and which cannot be satisfactorily accepted as genuine productions, may be mentioned several epitaphs, including those on himself and Combe. In Dugdale's collection of monumental inscriptions for the County of Salop, taken in 1663 (a MS. in the Herald's College), is given the inscription upon a tomb still preserved in Tong Church to the memory of Sir Thomas Stanley, who died in 1576, upon the East and West ends of which respectively are the following verses, written, according to Dugdale, "by William Shakespeare, the late famous tragedian:"—

Aske who lyes here, but do not weepe,
He is not dead, he doth but sleepe.
This stony register is for his bones,
His fame is more perpetuall than these stones,
And his own goodness, wth himself being gone,
Shall live when earthly monument is none.

Not monumentall stone preserves our fame,
Nor skye-aspiring piramids our name;
The memory of him for whom this stands
Shall outlive marble and defacers' hands:
When all to time's consumption shall be given,
Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven!

In a manuscript of the time of Charles I., a much earlier authority than Dugdale, these verses, divided into two epitaphs,

Shakspeare An Epitaph on Sr Edward Standly.
Ingraven on his Toombe in
Tong Church.
Not monumentall stones preserves our Fame,
Nor skye-aspiring Piramides our name;
The memory of him for whom this standes
Shall outlive marble and defacers hands
When all to times consumption shall bee given,
Standly for whom this stands shall stand in Heaven.
Idem, ibidem: On Sr Thomas Standly
Aske who lies heere but doe not weepe;
Hee is not deade; Hee doth but sleepe;
This stony Register is for his bones,
His Fame is more perpetuall, then these stones.
And his owne goodnesse wth himselfe being gone,
Shall live when Earthly monument is nonne.

one on Sir Edward, the other on Sir Thomas Stanley, are also attributed to Shakespeare; and I am told that they are likewise ascribed to the great poet by the unvarying tradition of the inhabitants of Tong. The external evidence is, therefore, greatly in favour of their being correctly assigned to the right author in these two manuscripts; but a consideration of the merit of the poetry would lead to a different conclusion. The fac-simile above given is taken from the last-mentioned volume. Another epitaph of far less merit, on Elias James, who was perhaps one of a family of that name who resided at Stratford, has been ascribed to Shakespeare on the authority of an early manuscript in Rawlinson's collection in the Bodleian Library, where it is attributed to "Wm. Shakspeare." There can be no hesitation in dismissing this composition from the list of his authentic pieces. It was first published by Malone in 1790:

When God was pleas'd, the world unwilling yet,
Elias James to Nature payd his debt.
And here reposeth: as he liv'd he dyde,
The saying in him strongly verefide,—
Such life, such death: then, the known truth to tell,
He liv'd a godly life, and dyde as well.

In the year 1602, Shakespeare added considerably to his Stratford property, by the purchase of a hundred and seven acres of arable land in the parish of old Stratford, from William and John Combe. The original indenture, dated May 1st, and bearing the signatures of the two vendors, is in the possession of Mr. R. B. Wheler. Shakespeare was not at Stratford when the conveyance was executed, and the counterpart of the indenture, also in Mr. Wheler's collection, does not contain his signature; but it appears from the following memorandum on the back of the deed,—"Sealed and delivered to Gilbert Shakespere, to the use of the within named William Shakespere, in the presence of Anthony Nasshe, William Sheldon, Humfrey Maynwaringe, Rychard Mason, Jhon Nashe,"—that the business was transacted for the poet by his brother Gilbert.

This Indenture, made the ffirste daie of Maye, in the ffowre and ffortieth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene, Defendresse of the faithe, &c. Betweene William Combe, of Warrwicke, in the countie of Warrwick, esquier, and John Combe, of Olde Stretford, in the countie aforesaide, gentleman, on the one partie, and William Shakespere, of Stretford-uppon-Avon, in the countie aforesaide, gentleman, on thother partye; Witnesseth, that the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for and in consideracion of the somme of three hundred and twentie poundes of currant Englishe money, to them in hande, at and before the ensealinge and deliverie of theis presentes, well and trulie satisfied, contented, and paide; wherof and wherwith they acknowledge themselves fullie satisfied, contented, and paide, and therof, and of everie parte and parcell therof, doe clearlie exonerate, acquite, and discharge the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes for ever; by theis presentes, have aliened, bargayned, solde, geven, graunted and confirmed, and by theis presentes, doe fullye, clearlie, and absolutelie alien, bargayne, sell, give, graunte, and confirme unto the saide William Shakespere, all and singuler those errable landes, with thappurtenaunces, conteyninge by estymacion ffowre yarde lande of errable lande, scytuate, lyinge or beinge within the parrishe, feildes, or towne of Olde Stretford aforesaide, in the saide countie of Warrwick, conteyninge by estimacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse; and also all the common of pasture for sheepe, horse, kyne, or other cattle, in the feildes of Olde Stretford aforesaide, to the saide ffowre yarde lande belonginge, or in any wise apperteyninge; And also all hades, leys, tyinges, proffites, advantages, and commodities whatsoever, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces to the saide bargayned premisses belonginge or apperteyninge, or hertofore reputed, taken, knowne, or occupied as parte, parcell, or member of the same, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the same bargayned premisses, and of everie parte and parcell therof, nowe or late in the severall tenures or occupacions of Thomas Hiccoxe, and Lewes Hiccoxe, or of either of them, or of their assignes, or any of them: together also with all charters, deedes, writinges, escriptes, and mynumentes whatsoever, touchinge or concerninge the same premisses onlie, or only any parte or parcell therof: and also the true copies of all other deedes, evidences, charters, writinges,

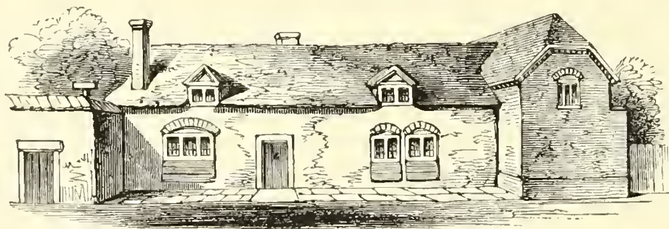
escriptes, and mynumentes, which doe touche and concerne the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or any parte or parcell therof, which the saide William Combe, or John Combe, nowe have in their custodie, or herafter may have, or which they may lawfullye gett, or come by, without suite in lawe. To have and to holde the saide ffowre yarde of errable lande, conteyninge by estymacion one hundred and seaven acres, be they more or lesse, and all and singuler other the premisses before by theis presentes aliened and solde, or mencioned, or entended to be aliened and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof; and all deedes, charters, writinges, escriptes, and mynumentes, before by theis presentes bargayned and solde unto the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes for ever, to the onlie proper use and behoofe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, for ever. And the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, and administrators, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, are seazde, or one of them is seazde, of a good, sure, perfect, and absolute estate, in fee simple, of the same premisses, before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment, or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, without any further condicion, or lymyttacion of use, or estate, uses, or estates: and that he, the saide John Combe, his heires and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes herafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, and indempnified, as well the saide ffowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seaven acres, and all other the premisses, with their appurtenaunces, before bargayned and solde, or mencioned or entended to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, as also the saide William Shakespere, and his heires and assignes, and everie of them, of and from all former bargaynes, sales, leases, joyntures, dowers, wills, statutes, recognizances, writinges obligatorie, ffynes, feoffamentes, entayles, judgmentes, execucions, charges, titles, forfeytures, and encombrances whatsoever, at any tyme before the ensealinge herof, had, made, knowledged, done, or suffred by the saide John Combe, or by the saide William Combe, or either of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, any thinge lawfullye clayminge or havinge, from, by, or under them, or either of them; (the rentes and services herafter to be due, in respect of the premisses before mencioned or entended to be bargayned and solde to the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees onlie excepted and foreprized.) And the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that they, the saide William and John Combe, or one of them, hathe rightfull power and lawfull auethoritie for any acte or actes done by them, the saide William and John Combe, or by the sufferance or procurement of them, the saide William and John Combe, to geve, graunte, bargayne, sell, convey, and assure the saide ffowre yardes of errable lande, conteyninge one hundred and seaven acres, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, or ment or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, in suche manner and forme, as in and by theis presentes is lymytted, expressed, and declared: And that they, the saide William and John Combe, and their heires, and also all and everie other person, and persons, and their heires, nowe, or herafter havinge or clayminge any lawfull estate, righte, title, or interest, of, in, or to the saide errable lande, and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargayned and solde, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces (other then the cheife lorde or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for their rentes and services onlye) at all tymes herafter, duringe the space of ffyve yeares next

ensewinge the date herof, shall doe, cause, knowledge, and suffer to be done and knowledged, all and every suche further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances whatsoever, for the further, more better, and perfect assurance, suretie, sure makinge and conveyinge of all the saide premisses before bargayned and solde, or mencioned to be bargayned and solde, with their appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell therof, to the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, for ever, accordinge to the true entent and meaninge of theis presentes, as by the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, or his or their learned counsell in the lawe, shalbe reasonablye devized, or advized, and required, be yt by fyne or fynes, with proclamacion, recoverye with voucher or vouchers over, deede or deedes enrolled, enrollment of theis presentes, feoffament, releaze, confirmacion, or otherwise; with warrantie against the saide William Combe, and John Combe, their heires and assignes, and all other persons clayminge by, from, or under them, or any of them, or without warrantie, at the costes and charges in the lawe of the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, so as for the makinge of any suche estate, or assurance, the saide William and John Combe be not compeld to travell above sixe myles. And the saide William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, doe covenant, promise, and graunte to and with the saide William Shakespere, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, by theis presentes, that the saide William Shakespere, his heires and assignes, shall or may, from tyme to tyme, from henceforth for ever, peaceably and quietlye have, holde, occupie, possesse, and enjoye the saide ffowre yardes of errable lande, and all other the bargayned premisses, with their appurtenaunces, and everie parte and parcell therof, without any manner of lett, trouble, or eviccion of them, the saide William Combe, and John Combe, their heires, or assignes; and without the lawfull lett, trouble or eviccion, of any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfullie havinge, or clayminge any thinge in, of, or out of the saide premisses, or any parte therof, by, from, or under them, the saide William Combe, and John Combe, or either of them, or the heires or assignes of them, or either of them, or their, or any of their estate, title, or interest. In wytnes wherof, the parties to theis presentes have enterchangeably set to their handes and seales, the daie and yeare firste above written. 1602.

A fine was levied on this property in Trinity Term, 1611, between William Shakespeare, plaintiff, and William and John Combe, defendants, but twenty acres of pasture land, not mentioned in the above indenture, are here described with the one hundred and seven acres of arable land; so that Shakespeare may then have added to his former purchase, and in a deed, which bears date in 1652, this land is also stated to be of the same extent. It should be mentioned that the lands of Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, were, at this period, a series of consecutive unenclosed fields, all within the parish of Stratford, which will account for an apparent discrepancy between the description in the deed of feoffment and that in the will. The one hundred pounds here assigned as the purchase money was probably a mere legal fiction. The foot of this fine is printed from the original preserved at the Chapter House.

Inter Willielmum Shakespere generosum quer. et Willielmum Combe armigerum et Johannem Combe generosum deforc. de centum et septem acris terræ et viginti acris pasturæ cum pertinentiis in Old Stratford et Stratford super Avon, unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos, &c. Scilicet quod prædicti Willielmus Combe et Johannes recogn. prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi Shakespere ut illa quæ idem Willielmus habet de dono prædictorum Willielmi Combe et Johannis, et ill. remiser. et quietclam. de ipsis Willielmo Combe et Johanne et hæredibus suis prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæredibus suis in perpetuum; et præterea idem Willielmus Combe concessit pro se et hæredibus suis quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæredibus suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra prædictum Willielmum Combe et hæredes suos in perpetuum. Et ulterius idem Johannes concessit pro se et hæredibus suis quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo Shakespere et hæred. suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra prædictum Johannem et hæredes suos in perpetuum. Et pro hac &c. idem Willielmus Shakespere dedit prædictis Willielmo Combe et Johanni centum libras sterlingorum. [Trin. 8 Jac. I.]

On September 28th, 1602, at a court baron of the manor of Rowington, Walter Getley surrendered to Shakespeare a house in Dead Lane, Stratford, near New Place, its exact position in



HOUSE SOLD BY GETLEY TO SHAKESPEARE, 1602.

respect to which may be observed in the plan of that estate previously given, where it is marked G, the street being now called Chapel Lane. It appears from the Court Roll that Shakespeare was not at Stratford at the time of the surrender, there being a proviso that the property should remain in the possession of the lady of the manor till the purchaser had done suit and service in the court. A stipulation in his will that Judith Shakespeare, on payment of a legacy, should relinquish any claim to an interest in this copyhold, was unnecessary, the eldest son inheriting, or, in default of male issue, the eldest daughter, by the custom of the manor. Getley's cottage was in existence a few years ago, but a modern building has now usurped its place. The property is still held under the manor of Rowington, and is now in the possession of Mr. W. O. Hunt.

Rowington. Vis. franc. pleg. cum cur. baron. prænobilis dominæ Annæ comitissæ Warwici ibidem tent. xxviij°. die Septembris, anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ, Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensor. &c.

quadragesimo quarto, coram Henr. Michell generoso deputat. seenescall. Johannis Huggeford ar. capitalis seenescalli ibidem.

Ad hanc curiam venit Walterus Getley per Thomam Tibbottes jun. attorn. suum, unum customar. tenen. manerii prædicti (præd. Thoma Tibbottes jur. pro veritate inde), et sursumredd. in manus dominæ manerii prædicti unum cotagium cum pertinent. scit. jacen. et existen. in Stratford super Avon, in quodam vico ibidem vocato *Walkers Streete* alias *Dead Lane*, ad opus et usum Willielmi Shackespere et hæred. suorum in perpetuum, secundum consuetudinem manerii prædicti; et sic remanet in manibus dominæ manerii prædicti, quousque prædictus Willielmus Shakespere ven. ad capiend. præmissa prædicta. In cujus rei testimonium, prædictus Henricus Michell huic præsenti copiæ sigillum suum apposuit die et anno supradictis.

Per me HENR. MICHELL.

This property is mentioned in a survey of the manor of Rowington, dated 1st Aug. 4 Jac. I. 1606, preserved in the Land Revenue Office; and from the circumstance of Shakespeare not having appeared, and the particulars not being furnished, it may be safely concluded that he was not at Stratford at that period.

Tenen. Custum.

Stratford super Avon.	Willielmus Shakespere tenet per cop. dat. die . . . . . . Anno		
	viz.		
	Dom. manss.		ij.*s.* fin. her. Ann. val.
	Habend.	Redd. per annum	dimitt.

In the same year in which he made the purchases last mentioned, 1602, Shakespeare also bought an estate from Hercules Underhill, described as consisting of one messuage, two barns, two gardens, and two orchards, for the sum of sixty pounds. The following foot of the fine levied on this occasion is taken from the original preserved in the Chapter House:

Inter Willielmum Shakespeare generosum quer. et Herculem Underhill generosum deforc. de uno mesuagio, duobus horreis, duobus gardinis, et duobus pomariis, cum pertinentiis, in Stretford super Avon; unde placitum convencionis sum. fuit inter eos &c. scilicet quod prædictus Hercules recogn. prædicta ten. cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsius Willielmi, ut ill. quæ idem Willielmus habet de dono prædicti Herculis, et ill. remisit et quietclam. de se et hæred. suis prædicto Willielmo et hæred. suis in perpetuum. Et præterea idem Hercules concessit pro se et hæred. suis quod ipsi warant. prædicto Willielmo et hæred. suis prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis contra prædictum Herculem et hæred. suos in perpetuum; Et pro hac recogn. remis. quietclam. &c. idem Willielmus dedit prædicto Herculi sexaginta libras sterlingorum. [Mich. 44 & 45 Eliz.]

It has already been observed that Shakespeare enjoyed the patronage of Elizabeth and her successor, and this seems the proper place for introducing the warrant for a patent, authorising the performances of the company to which the poet belonged, which was granted by James soon after his arrival in England. The patent itself, Pat. 1 Jac. P. 2. m. 4, is dated May 19th, 1603. The Lord Chamberlain's players were taken into the king's service, and they were afterwards called the King's Players. The warrant alluded to bears date May 17th, 1603, and is preserved at the Chapter House, Westminster, amongst the Privy Seal Papers, No. 71.

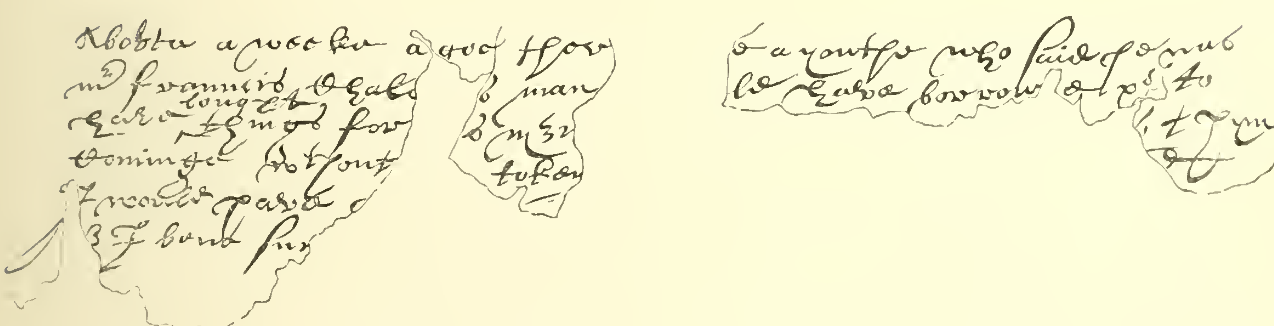
By the King. Right trusty and welbeloved counsellor, we greete you well, and will and commaund you, that under our privie seale in your custody for the time being, you cause our letters to be derected to the keeper of our greate seale of England, commaunding him under our said greate seale, he cause our letters to be made patents in forme following. James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Irland, defendor of the faith, &c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjects, greeting; Know ye, that we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have licenced and authorized, and by these presentes doe licence and authorize, these our servants, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associats, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage plaies, and such other like, as thei have already studied, or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure; and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within theire now usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls, or mout halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other citie, universitie, towne or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them heerin, without any your letts, hinderances, or molestations, during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding or assisting to them yf any wrong be to them offered; and to allowe them such former courtesies, as hathe bene given to men of their place and qualitie, and also what further favour you shall shew to these our servants for our sake we shall take kindly at your hands, and these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our signet at our mannor of Greenewiche the seavententh day of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the six and thirtieth.

It may here be observed that a notice which first appeared in Mr. Collier's interesting *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, 1841, p. 63, apparently showing that Shakespeare was in London in the month of October, 1603, conveys an inaccurate reading of

the original manuscript preserved at Dulwich College, and cannot, therefore, be received as evidence. The following,—

> Aboute a weeke agoe ther . . . . . e a youthe who said he was
> Mr. Fraunçis Chalo . . . s man . . . . . . ld have borrow.d x.*s* to
> have bought things for . . . . s Mr. . . . . t hym
> cominge without . . . . . token . . . . d
> I would have . . . .
> . . I bene sur . . . .
> and inquire after the fellow, and said he had lent hym a horse. I feare me he gulled hym, thoughe he gulled not us. The youthe was a prety youthe, and hansom in appayrell: we know not what became of hym. Mr. Bromfeild commendes hym: he was heare yesterdaye. Nicke and Jeames be well, and commend them: so dothe Mr. Cooke and his weife in the kyndest sorte, and so once more in the hartiest manner farwell.

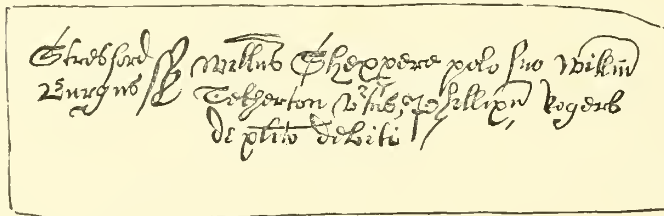
is all that now remains of a postcript to a letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband, the celebrated actor, dated October 20th, 1603. This letter is written on a folio leaf of paper, the



commencement of the above postcript being at the end of the first page, the top of the second page, which is perfect, beginning with the words, *and inquire.* The portion of the letter containing the first lines of our extract, is in a very decayed state, the bottom of the leaf being rotten, and the writing not very easily to be understood; but the accompanying fac-simile, which was carefully traced from the original by Mr. Fairholt, proves that Mr. Collier's interpretation cannot be correct, inasmuch as it is irreconcileable with the position of words that are clearly to be discovered in the remaining fragment. The surpassing value of fac-simile copies is here apparent. It is so easy, in a laborious work like the one in which the above error occurs, to misread difficult writing, which even at a second glance, unless most carefully examined in a strong light, may be misinterpreted; the only safe resource, in all difficult cases, is to substantiate the reading by obtaining the

assistance of the artist. It would be bold to affirm, in opposition to Mr. Collier, that the whole has been misunderstood, and that the name of Shakespeare has taken the place of some other similar in form; but even admitting that it was originally to be found in the decayed fragment, a circumstance which appears to be extremely uncertain, it is beyond a doubt that the sentence in which it occurred has been printed erroneously, and that the true information the letter conveyed respecting the dramatist is now probably not to be recovered. The reader will bear in mind that the original investigator of a large collection of documents, does not possess the advantages that attend those later enquirers, who are concentrating their attention to papers on a particular subject.

In the following year, 1604, Shakespeare appears to have resided for some time at Stratford. It seems from a declaration that he filed in the local Court of Record against Philip Rogers, that he had sold that person at Stratford several bushels of malt at various times between March and the end of May, 1604, and that the latter did not, or could not, pay the debt thus incurred, amounting to £1 15*s.* 10*d.*, when it was applied for. Shakespeare had sold him malt to the value of £1 19*s.* 10*d.*, and on June 25th, Rogers borrowed two shillings of the poet at Stratford, making in all £2 1*s.* 10*d.* Six shillings of this were afterwards paid, so that the action was only brought to recover the remainder, the sum above stated. In the following copy of the declaration, it is said that the first portion of the debt was incurred on March 27th in the first year of James, which day fell in 1603, but this is most probably a clerical error. The document itself appears to be so curious, that a fac-simile of it is given in the accompanying plate. It satisfactorily shows that Shakespeare did not disdain the occupations and cares of rural life, at a time when he was the most successful dramatic writer of the day, and high in the favour of the Court. The original MS. is in the possession of Mr. Wheler.



Phillipus Rogers summonitus fuit per servient. ad clavam ibidem ad respond. Willielmo Shexpere de placito quod reddat ei triginta et quinque solid. decem denar. quos ei debet et injuste detinet, et sunt pleg. de prosequend. Johannes Doe

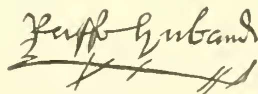
Particulars of an Action brought by Shakespeare against Phillip Rogers for malt sold to the latter 1604

From the Original MS. in the possession of R. B. Wheler Esq.re

Stratford Burgus ss. Phillipus Rogers summonitus fuit per servientes ad clavam ibidem ad respondendum Willielmo Shexpere
de placito quod reddat ei triginta et quinque solidos decem denarios quos ei debet et iniuste
detinet. Et sunt plegii de prosequendo Johannes Doe et Ricardus Roe &c. Et unde idem Willielmus
per Willielmum Tetherton Attornatum suum dicit quod cum predictus Phillipus Rogers vicesimo septimo
die Martii Anno regni domini nostri Jacobi Regis nunc Anglie Francie et Hibernie primo
et Scotie tricesimo septimo, hic apud Stratford predictam ac infra iurisdictionem huius
curie emisset de eodem Willielmo tres modios brasii pro sex solidis de predictis triginta et quinque
solidis decem denariis, ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus Rogers decimo die Aprilis Anno
regni dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. secundo apud Stratford predictam ac infra iurisdic-
tionem huius curie emisset de eodem Willielmo quatuor modios brasii pro octo solidis
de predictis 35s solidis, decem denariis. ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus vicesimo quarto die
dicti Aprilis Anno regni dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. secundo. hic apud Stratford
predictam infra iurisdictionem huius curie, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios tres modios brasii pro
sex solidis de predictis 35s solidis 10 denariis, ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus tertio die
Maii dicto regni dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. secundo hic apud Stratford predictam ac
infra iurisdictionem huius curie emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii
pro octo solidis de predictis 35s solidis 10 denariis, ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus decimo
sexto die Maii dicto regni dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. secundo hic apud Stratford
predictam infra iurisdictionem huius curie emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii
pro octo solidis de predictis 35s solidis 10 denariis. ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus tricesimo
die Maii dicto regni dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. secundo, hic apud Stratford predictam
ac infra iurisdictionem huius curie emisset de eodem Willielmo duos modios brasii pro
tres solidis decem denariis de predictis 35s solidis 10 denariis. ac etiam quod cum predictus Phillipus
vicesimo quinto die Junii dicto dicti domini Regis nunc Anglie &c. hic apud Stratford
predictam ac infra iurisdictionem huius curie mutuatus fuisset duos solidos legalis monete &c. de predictis
35s solidis 10 denariis residuum solvendum eidem Willielmo cum inde requisitus fuisset. Que omnia
separales summe attingunt se in toto ad quadraginta et unum solidos decem denarios. Et
predictus Phillipus Rogers de sex solidis inde eidem Willielmo postea satisfecisset, predictus tamen
Phillipus licet sepius requisitus predictos triginta et quinque solidos decem denarios residuos
eidem Willielmo non dum reddidit sed illos ei huc usque reddere contradixit, et adhuc
contradicit unde dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valentiam decem solidorum.
Et inde producit sectam &c.

et Ricardus &c., et unde idem Willielmus, per Willielmum Tetherton attorn. suum, dicit quod cum prædictus Phillippus Rogers vicesimo septimo die Marcii, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi regis, nunc Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ, primo, et Scociæ tricesimo septimo, hic apud Stretford præd. ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ emisset de eodem Willielmo tres modios [modor. MS.] brasii pro sex solid. de præd. triginti et quinque solid. decem denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus Rogers, decimo die Aprillis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd. ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo quatuor modios brasii pro octo solid. de præd. 35 solid. decem denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus vicesimo quarto die dicti Aprillis, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ, &c., secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios tres modios brasii pro sex solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, tercio die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii pro octo solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, decimo sexto die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ, &c., secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo alios quatuor modios brasii pro octo solid. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, tricesimo die Maii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ, &c. secundo, hic apud Stretford præd., ac infra jurisdictionem hujus curiæ, emisset de eodem Willielmo duos modios brasii pro tres solid. decem denar. de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar., ac etiam quod cum præd. Phillipus, vicesimo quinto die Junii, anno dicti domini regis nunc Angliæ, &c., hic apud Stretford præd., ac infra jurisdictionem hujus [curiæ], mutuatus fuisset duos solid. legalis monetæ, &c., de præd. 35 solid. 10 denar. resid. solvend. eidem Willielmo, cum inde requisit. fuisset; quæ omnia seperal. somn. attingunt se in toto ad quadraginta et unum solid. decem denar. Et prædictus Phillipus Rogers de sex solid. inde eidem Willielmo postea satisfecisset, prædictus tamen Phillipus, licet sepius requisit., prædictos trigint. et quinque solid. decem denar. resid. eidem Willielmo nondum reddidit, sed illa ei huc usque reddere contradixit et adhuc contradic., unde dic. quod deter. est et dampna habet ad valenc. decem solidorum. Et inde producit sectam, &c.

In July, 1605, Shakespeare made the largest, and, in a pecuniary point of view, perhaps the most judicious purchase he ever completed, giving the sum of £440 for the unexpired term of a moiety of the interest in a lease, granted in 1544 for ninety-two years, of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, subject to certain annual payments, viz., £17 to the Corporation of Stratford, and £5 to John Barker, the latter being part of his reserved rent of £27 13*s.* 4*d.* Shakespeare bought this moiety from Ralph Huband, of Ipsley, brother to Sir John Huband, to whom the entire lease had been assigned by Barker



in the year 1580. In the indenture of conveyance, which is in the possession of Mr. Wheler, and in a contemporary draft of the same, preserved in the Council Chamber, he is described as

of Stratford upon Avon, gentleman; and, as he is similarly designated three years earlier, when he was in London, it may be concluded that, after the acquisition of New Place, he had taken up a permanent abode in his native town. It appears that, as early as 1598, the subject of Shakespeare becoming the purchaser of these tithes had been mooted at Stratford, and the management of them would probably require great prudential care. It is not impossible that confidence was entertained in Shakespeare's tact and judgment, and that this, as well as his command of capital, were the reasons that induced the Council of Stratford, who received a rent from these tithes, to desire that he should be the purchaser.

This indenture made the ffoure and twentythe daye of Julye in the yeares of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lorde James, by the grace of God of Englande, Scotlande, Fraunce and Irelande, Kynge, defender of the ffayeth, &c., That is to saye, of Englande, Fraunce and Irlande the Thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and Thirtythe, Betweene Raphe Hubande of Ippesley in the countye of Warr. esquier on thone parte, and William Shakespear of Stratforde upon Avon in the sayed countye of Warr. gent. on thother parte, Whereas Anthonye Barker clarke, late Warden of the Colledge or Collegiate Churche of Stratforde upon Avon aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr. and Gyles Coventrie subwarden there, and the whole chapiter of the same late colledge, by their deade indented, sealed with their chapter seale, Dated the seaventh daye of September in the sixe and thirtyth yeare of the raigne of the late kinge of famous memorie Kinge Henrye the eighte, demysed, graunted, and to farme lett (amongste diverse other thinges) unto one William Barker of Sonnynge in the countye of Bark. gent., all and all manner of tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye yearelye and from tyme to tyme comynge, encreasinge, reneweinge, arrysinge, groweinge, yssueinge or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken out, upon of or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes and ffyeldes of Stratforde upon Avon, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and Bushopton in the sayed countye of Warr., and alsoe all and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and other small and pryvie tythes, oblacions, obvencions, alterages, mynumentes and offeringes whatsoever yearelye and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweinge or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved or taken within the parishe of Stratforde upon Avon aforesayed in the sayed countye of Warr. by the name or names of all and singuler their mannours, landes, tenementes, meadowes, pastures, feedinges, woodes, underwoodes, rentes, revercions, services, courtes, leetes, releeves, wardes, marriages, harriottes, perquisites of courtes, liberties, jurisdiccions, and all other hereditamentes, with all and singuler other rightes, commodities, and their appurtenaunces, togeather with all manner of parsonages, gleebe landes, tythes, alterages, oblacions, obvencions, mynumentes, offeringes, and all other issues, proffittes, emolumentes and advantages in the countye of Warr. or Worcester, or elcewhere whatsoever they bee, unto the sayed then colledge apperteyninge, (the mancion-house and the scite of the sayed colledge, with their appurtenaunces within the precinctes of the walls of the sayed Colledge unto the sayed warden and subwarden onlye excepted), To have and to holde all the sayed mannours, landes, tenementes, and all other the premisses with all and singuler their appurtenaunces (excepte before excepted) unto the sayed Colledge belonginge or in

anie wyse apperteyninge, unto the sayed William Barker, his executours and assignes, from the ffeast of St. Michaell tharchangell then laste paste before the date of the sayed indenture, unto thend and terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares then nexte ensueinge, yeldinge and payenge therefore yearelye unto the sayed warden and subwarden and their successours att the sayed colledge cxxij.*li.* xviij.*s.* ix.*d.* of lawfull money of Englande, as more playnely appeareth by the sayed indenture; And whereas alsoe the revercion of all and singuler the sayed premisses, amonge other thinges, by vertue of the acte of Parliament made in the ffyrst yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lorde Kinge Edwarde the sixte for the dissolucion of chauntries, colledges, and ffree chappels, or by some other meanes, came to the handes and possession of the sayed late Kinge Edwarde, and whereas the sayed late Kinge Edwarde the sixte beinge seised, as in right of his crowne of Englande, of and in the revercion of all and singuler the premisses, by his lettres patentes bearinge date the eight and twentyth daye of June in the seaventh yeare of his raigne, for the consideracion therein expressed, did gyve and graunte unto the baylief and burgesses of Stratforde aforesayed, and to their successors, amonge other thinges, all and all manner of the sayed tythes of corne, graine and heye, comynge, encreasinge or arrysinge, in the villages and ffyeldes of Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and Bushopton aforesayed, in the sayed countye of Warr. then or late in the tenure of John Barker, and to the late Colledge of Stratford upon Avon in the sayed countye of Warr. of late belonginge and apperteyninge, and parcell of the possessions thereof beinge, and alsoe all and all manner the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages, whatsoever, within the parishe of Stratford upon Avon aforesayed, and to the sayed late Colledge of Stratford upon Avon belonginge or apperteyninge, and then or late in the tenure of William Barker or of his assignes, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the sayed tythes, and everye parte and parcell thereof, and the rentes, revenues, and other yearelye profittes whatsoever reserved upon anye demise or graunte of the sayed tythes or anie parte or parcell thereof: and whereas alsoe the interest of the sayed premisses in the sayed originall lease mencioned, and the interest of certein copieholdes in Shotterie in the parishe of Stratford aforesayed, beinge by good and lawfull conveyans and assurance in the lawe before that tyme conveyed and assured to John Barker of Hurste in the sayed countye of Berk, hee the sayed John Barker by his indenture bearinge date the ffoure and twentyth daye of June in the twoe and twentythe yeare of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth for the consideracions therein specifyed, Did gyve, graunte, assigne and sett over unto Sir John Hubande Knighte, brother of the sayed Raphe Hubande, all and singuler the sayed laste mencioned premisses, and all his estate, righte, title and interest that he then had to come, of, in and to all and singuler the sayed premisses, and of all other mannours, messuages, landes, tenementes, gleebe landes, tythes, oblacions, commodities, and proffittes in the sayed originall lease mencioned, for and duringe all the yeares and terme then to come unexpired in the sayed originall lease, (exceptinge as in and by the sayed laste mencioned indenture is excepted), as by the same indenture more att large maye appeare, To have and to holde all and singuler the sayed recyted premisses (excepte before excepted) to the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executours and assignes, for and duringe the yeares then to come of and in the same, Yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearelye after the ffeast of St. Michaell tharchangell nexte ensuinge the date of the sayed laste mencioned indenture, for and duringe all the yeares mencioned in the sayed first mencioned indenture then to come and not expired, unto the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, and assignes, one annuall or yearelye rente of twentie seaven poundes

thirteene shillinges ffoure pence by the yeare, to be yssueinge and goeinge out of all the mannours, landes, tenementes, tythes and hereditamentes, in the sayed indenture specyfied, to bee payed yearlye to the sayed John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, by the said Sir John Huband, his executours, administrators, and assignes, att the ffeastes of the Annunciacion of our Ladye and St. Michaell tharchangell, or within ffortye dayes after the sayed ffeastes, in the porche of the Parishe Churche of Stratford aforesayed by even porcions, And further payeinge, doeinge, and performinge all suche other rentes, dutyes, and servyces, as att anie tyme from thencefourth, and from tyme to tyme, for and duringe the terme aforesayed, should become due to any personne or persons for the same premisses, or anie parte thereof, and thereof to discharge the sayed John Barker, his executours and administrators; And yf yt shoulde happen the sayed twentye-seaven poundes thirteene shillinges ffoure pence to bee behinde and unpayed, in parte or in all, by the space of ffortye dayes nexte after anie of the sayed ffeastes or daies of payement, in which, as is aforesayed, it ought to bee payed, beinge lawfullie asked, That then yt shoulde bee lawfull to and for the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the premisses, with their appurtenaunces and every parte and parcell thereof, to reenter and the same to have againe, as in his or their former righte, and that then and from thenceforthe the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, and everye article, covenaunte, clause, provisoe and agreement, therein conteyned on the parte and behalf of the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, and assignes, to bee performed, should ceasse and bee utterlie voyde and of none effect, with diverse other covenauntes, grauntes, articles and agreementes in the said indenture of assignemente specified to be observed and performed by the sayed Sir John Hubande, his executours and assignes, as in and by the sayed recyted indenture it doth and maye appeare. And whereas the sayed Sir John Hubande did, by his deade obligatorie, bynd himself and his heires to the sayed John Barker in a greate some of money for the performance of all and singuler the covenauntes, grauntes, articles and agreementes, which on the parte of the sayed Sir John Huband were to bee observed and performed, conteyned and specyfied as well in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, as alsoe in one other indenture, bearinge the date of the sayed recyted indenture of assignement, made betweene the sayed John Barker on thone partie and the sayed Sir John Hubande on thother partie, as by the sayed deade obligatorie more att large it doth and maye appeare. And whereas alsoe the sayed Sir John Hubande, by his laste will and testament in writinge, did gyve and bequeath unto his executours, amongst other things, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes, as well greate as smalle, before mencioned, to bee graunted to the sayed baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford, and duringe soe longe tyme, and untill of the yssues and profittes thereof, soe much as with other thinges in his sayed will to that purposse willed, lymitted, or appointed, shoulde bee sufficient to discharge, beare, and paye his funeralls debtes and legacies, and alsoe by his sayed laste will and testament did gyve and bequeath the other moytie or one half of the sayed tythes unto the sayed Raphe Hubande and his assignes, duringe all the yeares then to come in the sayed ffirst mencioned indenture and not expired, payeinge the one half of the rentes and other charges dewe or goeinge out of or for the same, that is to saye the one half of tenne poundes by yeare to bee payed to the sayed John Barker, over and above the rentes thereof reserved upon the sayed originall lease for the same, as by the sayed will and testament more playnelye appeareth; This indenture nowe witnesseth that the sayede Raphe Hubande, for and in consideracion of the somme of ffoure hundred and ffourtye poundes of lawfull Englishe money to

him by the sayed William Shakespeare, before thensealinge and deliverye of thees presentes, well and truelye contented and payed, whereof and of everye parte and parcell whereof hee, the sayed Raphe Hubande, dothe by thees presentes acknowledge the receipt, and thereof and of everye parte and parcell thereof dothe clerelye acquite, exonerate and discharge the sayed William Shakespeare, his executours and administrators, for ever, by thees presentes Hathe demised, graunted, assigned, and sett over, and by thees presentes dothe demise, graunte, assigne, and sett over unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executours and assignes, the moytie or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, grayne, blade and heye, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme cominge, encreasinge, reneweinge, arrysinge, groweinge, issueinge, or happenynge or to bee had, receyved, perceyved, or taken out, of, upon, or in the townes, villages, hamlettes, groundes, and ffyeldes of Stratforde, Olde Stratforde, Welcombe, and Bushopton, in the sayed Countye of Warr., and alsoe the moytie aforesayed or one half of all and singuler the sayed tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage, oblacions, obvencions, alterages, mynumentes, and offeringes, whatsoever, yearelye, and from tyme to tyme, cominge, encreasinge, reneweinge, or happeninge, or to bee had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the parishe of Stratforde upon Avon aforesayed: and alsoe the moytie or one half of all and all manner of tythes, as well greate as smalle whatsoever, which were by the laste will and testament of the sayed Sir John Hubande gyven and bequeathed to the sayed Raphe Hubande, arrysing, encreasinge, reneweinge, or groweinge, within the sayed parishe of Stratford upon Avon, and whereof the sayed Raphe Huband hath att anie tyme heretofore been, or of right ought to have been, possessed, or whereunto hee nowe hath, or att any tyme hereafter should have, anie estate, right, or interest, in possession or revercion, and all thestate, right, tytle, interest, terme, claime, and demaunde whatsoever, of the sayed Raphe Hubande, of, in, and to all and singler the premisses hereby lastelie mencioned to be graunted and assigned, and everie or anie parte or parcell thereof, and the revercion and revercions of all and singuler the sayed premisses, and all and singuler rentes and yearely profyttes reserved upon anie demise, graunte, or assignement thereof, or of anie parte or partes thereof heretofore made, (the pryvie tythes of Luddington and suche parte of the tythe heye, and pryvie tythes of Bushopton, as of righte doe belonge to the vicar, curate or minister there for the tyme beinge, alwayes excepted and foreprised), To have and to holde all and everye the sayed moyties or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, before, in, and by thees presentes lastelye mencioned to bee graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell of them, and everye of them, and all thestate, right, tytle, and interest, of the sayed Raphe Huband, of, in, and to the same, and all other thafore demised premisses, and everye parte and parcell thereof (except before excepted) unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executours and assignes, from the daye of the date hereof, for and duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares in the sayed first recited indenture mencioned, and for suche and soe longe terme and tyme, and in as large, ample, and benefyciall manner as the sayed Raphe Hubande should or oughte enjoye the same, yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearely duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come and unexpired, the rentes hereafter mencioned, in manner and forme followeinge, that is to saye, unto the baylyffe and burgesses of Stratford aforesaied, and their successours, the yearelye rent of seaventeene poundes, att the ffeastes of St. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of blessed Marye the Virgin by equall porcions, and unto the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators or assignes, the annuall yearelye rente of ffyve poundes att the ffeaste dayes and place lymitted, appointed and mencioned in the sayed recyted indenture of assignement

made by the sayed John Barker, (or within ffortye dayes after the sayed ffeastes by even porcions) as parcell of the sayed annuall rent of twentye seaven poundes, thirteene shillinges, foure pence, in the sayed assignement meneioned; And the sayed Raphe Hubande dothe, by thees presentes, for him, his heires, executours, and administrators, covenaunte and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear, his executours, administrators, and assignes, that hee the sayed Raphe Hubande att the tyme of thensealinge and delyverye of thees presentes hath, and att the tyme of the first execucion, or intention of anie execucion, of anie estate by force of thees presentes shall have, full power, and lawfull and sufficient aucthoritie, certeinlie, suerlye, and absolutelie, to graunte, demise, assigne, and sett over all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes, and other the premisses before in thees presentes lastelye meneioned to bee assigned and sett over, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakespear, his executours and assignes, accordinge to the true meaninge of thees presentes; and alsoe that the sayed William Shakespear, his executours, administrators, or assignes, shall and maye from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of ffoure score and tuelve yeares yet to come and unexpired, for the yearelye severall rentes above by thees presentes reserved, peaceablie, lawfullye and quietlie have, holde, occupie, possesse and enjoie all and everye the sayed moyties, or one halfe of all and singuler the sayed tythes of corne, graine, blade, heye, woolle, lambe and other smalle and pryvie tythes, herbage, oblacions, obvencion[s], offeringes, and other the premisses before by thees presentes graunted and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof (excepte before excepted) without anie lett, trouble, entrie, distresse, claime, deniall, interrupcion, or molestacion whatsoever of the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or of anie other personne or personns havinge or claymingе to have, or which, att anie tyme or tymes hereafter, shall or maye have, or claime to have, anie thinge of, in, or to the afore graunted premisses or anie parte thereof, by, from, or under the sayed Raphe Huband, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, (or by, from, or under the sayed Sir John Hubande, or by theire or anie of their meanes, consent, forfeiture, act, or procurement,) and without anie lawfull lett, trouble, distresse, claime, denyall, entrie or demaunde whatsoever, other then for the sayed yearely rent of twentye seaven poundes thirteene shillinges ffourepence by the sayed recyted assignement reserved of the sayed John Barker, his executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or of anie personne or personns clayeminge by, from, or under them, or anie of them, (thestate and interest of the Lorde Carewe of, in and to the tythes of Bridgtowne and Ryen Clyfforde, and the interest of Sir Edward Grevill knight of and in the moytie of the tythe, heye, woolle, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes, oblacions, obvencions, offeringes, and proffittes, before by thees presentes graunted and assigned unto the sayed William Shakesphear, which is to endure untill the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell next ensueinge the date hereof, and noe longer, onelye excepted and foreprised), and the sayed Raphe Hubande doth by thees presentes, for him his heires, executours, and administrators, covenaunte and graunte to and with the sayed William Shakespear, his executours, administrators, and assignes, that all and everye the sayed moyties of the sayed tythes before mencioned to be graunted to the sayed William Shakespear, and other the premisses (except before excepted) nowe are, and soe from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter duringe the residewe of the saied terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares yet to come and unexpired, according to the true meaninge hereof unto the sayed William his executours or assignes, shalbe, remaine, and contynewe, ffree and clere, and freelye and clerelye acquyted, exonerated and discharged, or well

and sufficientlie saved and kept harmelesse, of and from all and all manner of bargaines, sales, guiftes, assignementes, leases, recognizances, statutes mercheant, and of the staple, outlaries, judgementes, execucions, titles, troubles, charges, encumbraunces, and demaundes whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, comitted, omitted, or suffered, or hereafter to bee had, made, done, comitted, omitted, or suffered, by the sayed Raphe Hubande, Sir John Hubande, and John Barker, or anie of them, their or anie of their executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or by anie personne, or personnes whatsoever, clayming, or which att anie tyme hereafter during the residewe of the saied terme, shall or maie claime, by, from, or under them or anie of them, their or anie of their executours, administrators, or assignes, or anie of them, or by anie personne or personns whatsoever clayminge by, from or under them, or anie of them, or by their or anie of their meanes, act, title, graunte, forfeiture, consent, or procurement, except before excepted; and alsoe that hee the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, and assignes, shall and will, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes duringe the space of three yeares next ensucing, upon reasonable requeste, and att the costes and charges in the lawe of the sayed William Shakespear, his executours or assignes, doe, performe, and execute, and cause, permitt, and suffer to bee done, performed, and executed, all and everye suche further and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and thinges, devyse and devyses in the lawe, whatsoever, bee yt or they by anie meane, course, acte, devise, or assurans in the lawe whatsoever, (as by the sayed William Shakespear, his executours or assignes, or his or their learned councell shalbe reasonablie devised, advised, or required,) for the confirmacion of thees presentes, or for the further or more better or firmer assurans, suertye, suer makinge and conveyeinge of all and singuler the premisses before by thees presentes demised and assigned, or ment or intended to bee demised and assigned, and everye parte and parcell thereof, unto the sayed William Shakspear, his executours and assignes, for and duringe all the residewe of the sayed terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares which bee yet to come and unexpired, according to the tenor and true meaninge of thees presentes, soe as the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours or assignes, bee not hereby compelled to travell from Ippesley aforesayed for the doeinge thereof; And the sayed William Shakespear doth by thees presentes for him, his heires, executours, and administrators, covenaunte and graunte to and with the sayed Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators, and assignes, that hee the sayed William Shakespeare, his executours, administrators and assignes, shall and will, duringe the residewe of the sayed terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares, which bee yet to come and unexpired, yearelie content and paye the severall rentes above mencioned, vidlt. seaventene poundes to the baylief and burgesses of Stratford aforesayed, and fyve poundes to the sayed John Barker, his executours or assignes, att the dayes and places aforesayed in which it ought to bee payed accordinge to the purporte and true meaninge of thees presentes, and thereof shall and will discharge the saied Raphe Hubande, his executours, administrators and assignes. In witnes whereof the partyes abovesayed to thees presentes interchangeablie have sett their seales the daie and yeare ffyrst written.

Bond for the performance of covenants.

Noverint universi per præsentes me Radulphum Huband de Ippesley in com. Warr. armigerum teneri et firmiter obligari Willielmo Shakespeare de Stratforde super Avon in dicto com. Warr. generoso, in octoginta libris bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ solvend. eidem Willielmo, aut suo certo attorn. executoribus vel assign. suis, ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligo me, hæredes, executores, et administratores meos firmiter per præsentes sigillo meo

sigillat. Dat. vicesimo quarto die Julii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scociæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, &c. scilicet Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, tertio, et Scociæ tricesimo octavo.

The condicion of this obligacion is suche, that if thabove bounden Raphe Hubande, his heires, executours, administrators and assignes, and everye of them, shall and doe, from tyme to tyme and att all tymes, well and truelye observe, performe, fulfill and keepe all and everye covenaunte, graunte, article, clause, sentence, and thinge mencioned, expressed and declared in a certein writinge indented, bearinge date with thees presentes, made betweene the sayed Raphe Hubande on thone parte and the abovenamed William Shakespear on thother parte, and which on the parte and behalf of the saied Raphe, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or anie of them, are to bee observed, performed, fulfilled, or kept, according to the purporte and true meaninge of the saied writinge, That then this present obligacion to bee voyde and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force, power, and vertue.

A copy of a rent-roll of the borough of Stratford, preserved in the Council Chamber, contains the following notice of the property to which the above documents refer. In the original, "the executours of Sir John Hubande" was formerly in the place of "Mr. William Shakespear," the latter name of course having been inserted after Shakespeare had made the purchase above mentioned:—"Mr. Thomas Combes and Mr. William Shakespear doe holde all maner of tythes of corne, grayne, and hey, in the townes, hamlettes, villages, and feildes of Olde Stratford, Welcome and Bishopton, and all maner of tythes of woole, lambe, hempe, flaxe, and other small and privie tythes, for the yerely rent of xxxiiij.*li.* paiable at our Lady Day and Michaelmas." Some Chancery proceedings respecting these tithes, hereafter noticed, will give further information regarding the parties who were interested in them. The indenture and bond were each of them executed by Ralph Huband in the presence of William Huband, Anthony Nash, and Francis Collins, the last two of whom are mentioned as legatees in the poet's will. Anthony Nash was the father of Thomas Nash, who married Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's grand-daughter, in 1626.

Ward, the vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, in his Diary written in 1662, the original manuscript, whence the following fac-simile is taken, being preserved in the library of the Medical Society of London, after observing, "I have heard that

Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all," asserts that "hee frequented the plays all his younger time, but in his elder days livd at Stratford, and supplied the stage with two plays every yeer, and for that had an allowance so large that hee spent att the rate of a 1000l. a yeer, as I have heard." The words "1000l. a yeer," *i. e.*, a thousand a year, of course mean £1000 annually; and although this amount is probably exaggerated, yet the information given by Ward clearly exhibits the opinion of the poet's means which was held at Stratford by the generation immediately succeeding him. It is certain he must have been most successful in his profession, or his gains would not have enabled him to complete such large purchases as those which have just been mentioned; but it must not, however, be forgotten that, after the year 1605, he made few investments of any magnitude, so that perhaps he did not consider it necessary after that period to retain any large portion of his income for the purpose of increasing his possessions. With the exception of the house in the Blackfriars, there is no property mentioned in his will of which he was not possessed in 1605, supposing that the two houses in Henley Street were inherited by him on his father's dying intestate in 1601, and there is every reason for believing that to have been the case. Shakespeare's property has been differently valued. According to Gildon (*Letters and Essays*, 1694) his income was £300 a year, but Malone computes it at £200, not having all the evidence before him that has now been made attainable. A precise opinion on this subject is difficult to form, for a portion of his estates or theatrical interests was perhaps settled before his death in making provisions for those members of his family, who have been thought by some biographers to have been neglected by him in his will; but, unless he derived an extravagant income from the theatres, the most favorable conclusion that could be drawn from his known possessions would scarcely point to a larger sum than that named by Gildon. It must be recollected that £300 then was equivalent to upwards of £1000 of money at its present value, so that, even accepting this moderate estimate,

Shakespeare was a person of considerable fortune. A curious passage in a tract entitled, *Ratseis Ghost, or the Second Part of his madde Prankes and Robberies,* is supposed by Mr. Collier to allude to Shakespeare's acquisition of wealth. Ratsey was a celebrated highwayman, who was executed at Bedford in March, 1605, and the above tract was probably written soon after that date, when the memory of his exploits was fresh in the mind of the public. He is represented as thus addressing himself to the principal performer of a company of strolling actors:—"And for you, sirrah, thou hast a good presence upon a stage, methinks thou darkenst thy merit by playing in the country: get thee to London, for if one man were dead, they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts; my conceit is such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head to play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learne to be frugal (for players were never so thrifty as they are now about London), and to feed upon all men; to let none feed upon thee; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy heart slow to perform thy tongue's promise; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place of lordship in the country, that, growing weary of playing, thy money may there bring thee to dignity and reputation: then thou needest care for no man; no, not for them that before made thee proud with speaking their words on the stage. Sir, I thank you (quoth the player) for this good council: I promise you I will make use of it, for I have heard, indeed, of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceeding wealthy." The concluding sentence seems unquestionably to allude to Shakespeare, for it applies correctly to no other actor of the time.

The exact period at which Shakespeare retired from the stage is not known, but he was one of the original actors in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus,* which was produced at the Globe in 1603; and his name is not found amongst the actors who performed *Volpone* at the same theatre in 1605. His name, however, occurs in a list of the King's Company appended to an order, dated April 9th, 1604, from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of the peace in Middlesex and Surrey, commanding them to permit the King's, Queen's and Prince's companies of players to perform at the Globe, Fortune, and Curtain theatres, unless the weekly

mortality from the plague in London exceeded the number of thirty; but there is some doubt whether he might not have been retained in such a list as long as he continued to possess an interest in the profits of the theatre, even although he had relinquished his profession as an actor. It seems evident, from the account of the action against Philip Rogers, previously quoted, that in 1604, Shakespeare was occupied in pursuits of quite a different kind at Stratford, and the transactions there mentioned are of a character to lead to the conclusion that he was then a resident in that town, especially as they are spread over a considerable period. The original of the order above mentioned is preserved at Dulwich College, and the list of the King's Company, annexed in fac-simile, is not written by the same person who copied the letter, but is evidently in another hand. Perhaps it was a memorandum made by Alleyn.

"After our hartie . . . . . to your Lo. Wheras the Kings Majesties plaiers have given . . . . . highnes good service in ther quallitie of playinge, and for as moch lickewise as they are at all times to be emploed in that service, whensoever they shalbe comaunded, We thinke it therfore fitt, the time of Lent being now past, that your L. doe permitt and suffer the three companies of plaiers to the King, Queene, and Prince, publicklie to exercise ther plaies in their severall usuall howses for that purpose, and noe other, vz. the Globe scituate in Maiden Lane on the Banckside in the countie of Surrey, the Fortun in Goldinge Lane, and the Curtaine in Hollywelle, in the cowntie of Midlesex, without any lett or interrupption in respect of any former lettres of prohibition heertofore written by us to your Lop., except ther shall happen weeklie to die of the plague above the number of thirtie within the cittie of London and the liberties therof, att which time wee thinke itt fitt they shall cease and forbeare any further publicklie to playe untill the sicknes be again decreaced to the saide number. And so we bid your Lo. hartilie farewell. From the court at Whitehalle, the ix.th of Aprille, 1604.

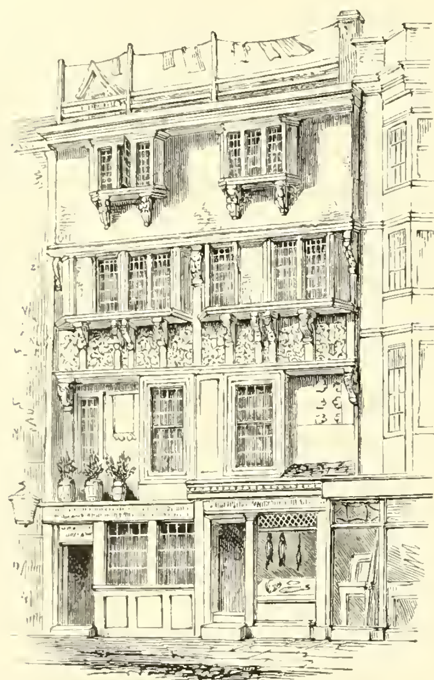
Your very loving ffrends,
Nottingham.
Suffock.
Gill Shrowsberie.
Ed. Worster.
W. Knowles.
J. Stanhopp."

To our verie good L. the Lord Maior of the cittie of London, and to the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Midlesex and Surrey.

Ks. Comp.—Burbidge, Shakspere, Fletcher, Phillips, Condle, Hemminges, Armyn, Slye, Cowley, Hostler, Day.

The play of *Sejanus* was probably one of the last in which

Shakespeare performed before a metropolitan audience. He appears to have resided at Stratford during the whole of the Spring in the year following the production of that play, and the evidences that have been preserved lead to the supposition that he only visited London occasionally after that period. According to Aubrey, "he was wont to goe to his native countrey once a yeare," which may mean, in the loose style of that writer, that he passed a certain portion of each year at Stratford. The route usually taken from Stratford to London lay through Oxford, and afterwards by Wheatley, or sometimes by the old road which passed through Islip. Shakespeare, when at Oxford, took up his abode at the Crown Inn, a substantial hostelry near Carfax Church, the exterior of which is still preserved in nearly its original state. It is now subdivided into two shops, the name of the inn being transferred to a neighbouring house. In Warton's time, it was still used as a tavern, but he describes it as an old decayed house, though probably once a principal inn in Oxford, and mentions a large upper room, in which there was a bow-window with three pieces of excellent painted glass, containing representations of armorial shields. In Shakespeare's time the tavern was kept by John Davenant, father of Sir William, "a very grave and discreet citizen, yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare;" and the hostess, says Wood, "was a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation, in which she was imitated by none of her children but by this William." Aubrey agrees with this account, but in his hands the story is considerably improved upon, as the following extract from the life of Davenant, in his manuscript collections in the Ashmolean Museum, will show:



THE CROWN INN, OXFORD, 1853.

Sir William Davenant, knight, poet-laureate, was borne about the end of February in . . . . street in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne: baptized 3. of March, A.D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen: his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of

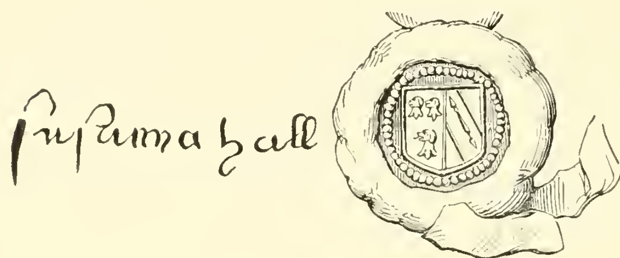
a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreable. . . . . Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respected. *I have heard Parson Robert say that Mr. W. Shakspeare has given him a hundred kisses.* Now Sir Wm. would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, e. g. Sam Butler (author of Hudibras) &c. say that it seemed [*the word* ' *seemd*' *interlined*] to him that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare . . . . . and was contented [' *contentended*' *in the MS.*] enough to be thought his son; he would tell them the story as above. *Now, by the way, his mother had a very light report. In those days she was called a trader.*

The passages marked in italics, which commence with the words *I* and *now*, have been carefully cancelled by a late hand, but the writing can with some difficulty be deciphered. All that is to be gathered from Aubrey of a credible nature is the existence of an obscure tradition, about 1680, that Davenant was Shakespeare's son, and that Sir William appears to have preferred the credit of an illegitimate descent from the great poet to a humbler though more honest pedigree. Oldys, in his MS. collections for a life of Shakespeare, repeats the tale, with some variations, as it was related to him by Pope. "If tradition," says he, "may be trusted, Shakspeare often baited at the Crown Inn or Tavern in Oxford, in his journey to and from London. The landlady was a woman of great beauty and sprightly wit, and her husband, Mr. John Davenant, (afterwards mayor of that city,) a grave melancholy man; who, as well as his wife, used much to delight in Shakspeare's pleasant company. Their son, young Will. Davenant (afterwards Sir William), was then a little school-boy in the town, of about seven or eight years old, and so fond also of Shakspeare, that whenever he heard of his arrival, he would fly from school to see him. One day an old townsman, observing the boy running homeward almost out of breath, asked him whither he was posting in that heat and hurry. He answered, to see his god-father Shakspeare. There's a good boy, said the other, but have a care that you don't take God's name in vain." Oldys says that this anecdote was related to him by Pope, who quoted Betterton for his authority; a fact which would appear to show that the story was one of the traditions rejected by Rowe as being of little authority. It was narrated by Pope "at the Earl of Oxford's table, upon occasion of some discourse which arose about Shakespeare's monument then newly erected in Westminster Abbey." The conversation, therefore, took place about the year 1740.

Anthony Wood is the earliest authority for the Crown Inn

having been Shakespeare's hostelry in his travels between the metropolis and his native town, and according to Warton, "it was always a constant tradition in Oxford that Shakspeare was the father of Davenant the poet," adding that he had seen the circumstance expressly mentioned in some of Wood's papers. The evidence here adduced cannot, however, be said to substantiate Aubrey's statement; but some writers have attacked Shakespeare's character on much more questionable grounds, relying solely on an entry in the Stratford baptismal register, April 26th, 1600, "Wilhelmus filius Wilhelmi," for attributing another circumstance of the same kind to Shakespeare. This opinion is as little entitled to credit as the anecdote related by Oldys, which is a common one in early jest-books, and has been attributed to several individuals. Taylor, the Water-poet, thus relates it in his *Workes*, ed. 1630, ii. 184,—"A boy, whose mother was noted to be one not overloden with honesty, went to seeke his godfather, and enquiring for him, quoth one to him, who is thy godfather? The boy repli'd, his name is goodman Digland the gardiner. Oh, said the man, if he be thy godfather, he is at the next alehouse, but I feare thou takest God's name in vaine."

Shakespeare's eldest daughter, Susanna, was married at Stratford, on June 5th, 1607, to John Hall, and the poet was most likely present at the nuptial ceremony, for that the union met with his special approval may be inferred from the position she occupies in her father's will. In the following December,



Shakespeare lost his brother Edmund, and, before another year had elapsed, his mother, who had lived to witness the success of her eldest son, had also passed away. Mary Shakespeare was buried at Stratford on September 9th, 1608. She had probably, after the death of her husband, continued to reside at the birthplace in Henley Street. On October 16th, in the same year, Shakespeare was godfather to William Walker, of Stratford, who is mentioned in his will; but this circumstance is hardly of itself sufficient to prove he was then at Stratford, for the office was one that was frequently performed by proxy.

It is much to be regretted that it now seems necessary to pass, for a time, from the consideration of the authentic records on which the account of Shakespeare's personal history is founded. They have not, it is true, furnished as much as could be wished of that description of information which is chiefly of use to the moralist or philosopher; but what little has been laboriously collected from the ancient manuscripts of Stratford, London, and Worcester, is certainly not to be despised. It has, at least, the merit of perfect authenticity; for, aware of the lamentable attempts that have been made to deceive the world in all that relates to the great dramatist, I was determined, at the risk of encountering a vast labour which can only find its reward in the future appreciation of the authority of the work, to make a personal inspection and examination of every document of the slightest importance respecting the history of Shakespeare and his family. It appeared to be more advisable to hazard the possibility of rejecting a genuine paper by an excess of caution, than to impair the value of the biography by the insertion of any that were subject to the expression of the slightest doubt; and in the prosecution of these enquiries, I have been aided by the judgment of Mr. W. H. Black, an assistant-keeper of Her Majesty's records, and well-known as one of the most accomplished palæographists of the day, whose advice has been always most kindly and generously afforded. The reader may, therefore, be assured that every care has been taken to avoid the possibility of deception; and that all the evidences here printed have been submitted to the minutest examination, and the most anxious scrutiny.

Having adopted these severe regulations for the guidance of my researches, it was inevitably essential that the remarkable papers which were discovered by Mr. Collier in the archives of the Earl of Ellesmere, and published by him in the year 1835, should be carefully examined. There was, in fact, a special necessity for these documents, beyond all others, being critically scrutinized, for they were the only records that of late years have found a place in the biographies of Shakespeare, the genuineness of which has been questioned. There is nothing in the account of their discovery to suggest a doubt. They were derived, observes Mr. Collier, "from the manuscripts of Lord Ellesmere, whose name is of course well known to every reader of our history, as Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Chancellor to James I. They are pre-

served at Bridgewater House; and Lord Francis Egerton gave me instant and unrestrained access to them, with permission to make use of any literary or historical information I could discover. The Rev. H. J. Todd had been there before me, and had classed some of the documents and correspondence; *but large bundles of papers, ranging in point of date between* 1581, *when Lord Ellesmere was made Solicitor General, and* 1616, *when he retired from the office of Lord Chancellor, remained unexplored, and it was evident that many of them had never been opened from the time when, perhaps, his own hands tied them together.*" It was amongst these latter that the Shakespeare manuscripts were discovered; and if, as is possible, a fabricator had inserted them in those bundles, a more recent enquirer, investigating the collection under the impression it had not been examined for upwards of two centuries, would be inclined to receive every paper as genuine, and as not requiring any minute investigation for the establishment of its authority. Suspicion would be disarmed; and it is possible that in this way Mr. Collier has been deceived.

When I came to make a personal inspection of these interesting papers, facilities for which were kindly granted by their noble owner, grave doubts were at once created as to their authenticity. The most important of all, the certificate from the players of the Blackfriars' theatre to the Privy Council in 1589, instead of being either the original or a contemporary copy, is evidently at best merely a late transcript, if it be not altogether a recent fabrication.

The question naturally arises, for what purpose could a document of this description have been copied in the seventeenth century, presuming it to belong to so early a period? It is comparatively of recent times that the slightest literary interest has been taken in the history of our early theatres, or even in the biography of Shakespeare; and, unless it was apparent that papers of this kind were transcribed for some legal or other special purpose, there should be great hesitation in accepting the evidence on any other but contemporary authority. The suspicious appearance of this certificate is of itself sufficient to justify great difficulties in its reception; but the doubt thus induced as to the integrity of the collection was considerably increased by an examination of a paper in the same volume, purporting to be a warrant appointing Daborne, Shakespeare, Field, and Kirkham, instructors of the Children of the Queen's Revels, which unquestionably appears to be a modern forgery. This

document is styled by Mr. Collier "a draft either for a Patent or a Privy Seal." It is not a draft, for the lines are written book-wise, and it is also dated; neither is it a copy of a patent, as appears from the direction, "Right trustie and welbeloved;" but, if genuine, it must be considered an abridged transcript of a warrant, under the sign-manual and signet, for a patent to be issued. Now if it be shown that the Letters Patent to "Daborne and others" were granted on the same day on which Lord Ellesmere's paper is dated; and if it be further proved that the contents of the latter are altogether inconsistent with the circumstances detailed in the real patent, it will, I think, be conceded that no genuine draft or transcript, of the nature of that printed by Mr. Collier, can possibly exist.

It appears that the following note occurs in an entry-book of patents, that passed the Great Seal while it was in the hands of Lord Ellesmere in 7 James I.:—"A Warrant for Robert Daborne and others, the Queenes Servants, to bring up and practise Children in Plaies by the name of the Children of the Queen's Revells, for the pleasure of her Majestie, 4° Januarii, anno septimo Jacobi." This entry may have suggested the fabrication, the date of the questionable MS. corresponding with that here given; though it is capable of proof that, if it were authentic, it must have been dated previously, for the books of the Signet Office show that the authority for Daborne's warrant was obtained by the influence of Sir Thomas Munson in the previous December, and they also inform us that it was granted "to Robert Daborne, and other servauntes to the Queene, from time to time to provide and bring up a convenient nomber of children to practize in the quality of playing, by the name of the Children of the Revells to the Queene, *in the White Fryers, London*, or any other convenient place where he shall thinke fit." The enrolment of the instrument, which was issued in the form of Letters Patent under the Great Seal, recites, "Whereas the Quene, our deerest wyfe, hathe for hir pleasure and recreacion, when shee shall thinke it fitt to have any playes or shewes, appoynted hir servantes Robert Daborne, Phillippe Rosseter, John Tarbock, Richard Jones, and Robert Browne, to provide and bring upp a convenient nomber of children, whoe shalbe called Children of hir Revelles, Knowe ye that wee have appoynted and authorised, and by theis presentes do authorize and appoynte the said Robert Daborne, &c., from tyme to tyme, to provide, keepe, and bring upp a convenient nomber of

children, and them to practice and exercise in the quality of playing, by the name of Children of the Revells to the Queene, within the White Fryers in the Suburbs of our Citty of London, or in any other convenyent place where they shall thinke fitt for that purpose." This patent is dated January 4th, 7 Jac. I., 1609-10, so that any draft, or projected warrant, exhibiting other names than the above, could not possibly have had this exact date. It will be observed that the names, with the exception of that of Daborne, are entirely different in the two documents, and this company of children was to play at the Whitefriars, not at the Blackfriars. The fabricator seems to have relied on the supposition that the entry relative to "Daborne and others" referred to the latter theatre; and consequently inserted the name of Edward Kirkham, who is known to have been one of the instructors to the Children of the Revels at the Blackfriars in the year 1604. There is, in fact, no reasonable supposition on which the Ellesmere paper can be regarded as authentic. Had no date been attached to it, it might have been said that the whole related merely to some contemplated arrangement which was afterwards altered; although, even in that case, the form of the copy would alone have been a serious reason against its reception. In its present state, it is clearly impossible to reconcile it with the contents of the enrolment just quoted. Fortunately for the interests of truth, indications of forgery are detected in trifling circumstances that are almost invariably neglected by the inventor, however ingeniously the deception be contrived. Were it not for this, the search for historical truth would yield results sufficiently uncertain to deter the most enthusiastic enquirer from pursuing the investigation.

The remaining Shakespearian MSS. in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere, consist of a letter of Daniel the poet, mentioning the great dramatist as a candidate for the Mastership of the Queen's Revels; accounts in which a performance of *Othello* is stated to have taken place in the year 1602; a remarkable paper detailing the values of the shares held by Shakespeare and others in the Blackfriars' Theatre; and a presumed early copy of a letter signed "H. S.," supposed to have been written by Lord Southampton, and containing singular notices of Burbage and Shakespeare. The first two of these I have not seen, the volume including only a recent transcript of Daniel's letter; but the other two, which have been carefully inspected, present an appearance by no means

satisfactory. Although the caligraphy is of a highly skilful character, and judging solely from a fac-simile of the letter, I should certainly have accepted it as genuine; yet an examination of the originals leads to a different judgment, the paper and ink not appearing to belong to so early a date. It is a suspicious circumstance that both these documents are written in an unusually large character on folio leaves of paper, *by the same hand*, and are evidently not contemporaneous copies. Again may the question be asked, why should transcripts of such papers have been made after the period to which the originals are supposed to refer? It is also curious that copies only of these important records should be preserved; and, on the whole, without offering a decisive opinion as to the spuriousness of the two last mentioned, there is sufficient doubt respecting the whole collection to justify a reasonable hesitation for the present in admitting any of them as genuine. The interests of literature demand that these documents should be submitted to a careful and minute examination by the best record-readers of the day, by those who are continually engaged in the study of ancient manuscripts; such, for example, as are the Deputy and various Assistant-keepers of the Public Records, and the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Should such an investigation take place, the water-marks in the paper should be observed, and no minutiæ omitted that are deserving of notice in such an enquiry.

The records of Stratford exhibit Shakespeare, in 1608 and 1609, engaged in a suit with a townsman for the recovery of a debt; another proof, if any were required, that the poet carefully attended to his pecuniary interests, and was occupied in his native town in the ordinary affairs of life. In August, 1608, he commenced an action against one John Addenbroke, the summons to the defendant to appear and answer bearing date 17 Aug. 6 Jac. I. The action then seems to have been in abeyance for a time, the precept for a jury in the cause being dated December 21st, 1608; after which there was another delay, possibly in the hope of the matter being amicably arranged, a peremptory summons to the same jury having been issued on February 15th, in the following year. A verdict was then given in favour of Shakespeare for £6, and £1 4*s.* costs, and execution went forth against the defendant; but the sergeant at mace returning that he was not to be found within the liberty of the borough, Shakespeare proceeded against a person of the name of Horneby, who had become bail for Addenbroke. This last

process is dated on June 7th, 1609, so that nearly a year passed in the prosecution of this suit. I have not met with the rules and orders made in the cause, the Court books not being in existence. The following documents will clearly show the history of the transaction :

Stratford } Precept. est servien. ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu &c., Burgus. } Johannem Addenbrooke gen., si &c., et eum salvo &c., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi prædicti ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenend. ad respondend. Willielmo Shackspeare gen. de placito debiti; et habeant ibi tunc hoc precept. Teste Henr. Walker gen. ballivo ibidem xvij. die Augusti, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ sexto, et Scotiæ quadragesimo.

Virtute istius precept. cepi infranominatum Johannem, cujus corpus promtum habeo, prout interius mihi precipitur. Manucaptor pro defendente Tho. Hornebye; Gilbertus Charnock servien.

Stratford } Precept. est servien. ad clavam ibidem quod habeant, seu &c., Burgus. } corpora Philippi Greene, Jacobi Elliottes, Edwardi Hunt, Roberti Wilson, Thomæ Kerby, Thomæ Bridges, Ricardi Collyns, Johannis Ingraham, Danielis Smyth, Willielmi Walker, Thomæ Mylls, Johannis Tubb, Ricardi Pincke, Johannis Smyth pannarii, Laurencii Holmes, Johannis Boyce, Hugonis Piggen, Johannis Samvell, Roberti Cawdry, Johannis Castle, Pauli Bartlett, Johannis Yeate, Thomæ Bradshawe, Johannis Gunne, jur. sum. in curia domini regis hic tent. coram ballivo ibidem ad faciendum quandam jur. patriæ inter Willielmum Shackspeare gen. quer. et Johannem Addenbrooke def. in placito debiti; et habeant ibi tunc hoc precept. Teste Francisco Smyth jun. gen. ball. ibidem, xxj. die Decembris, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ Fraunciæ et Hiberniæ sexto et Scotiæ quadragesimo secundo.

Executio istius precept. patet in quodam panello huic precepto annex. Gilb. Charnock servien.

Stratford } Precept. est servien. ad clavam ibidem, quod distringant, seu &c., Burgus. } Philippum Greene, Jacobum Elliotts, Edwardum Hunt, Robertum Wilson, Thomam Kerbey, Thomam Bridges, Ricardum Collins, Johannem Ingraham, Daniel Smyth, William Walker, Thomam Mylls, Johannem Tubb, Ricardum Pincke, Johannem Smyth pannarium, Laurencium Holmes, Johannem Boyce, Hugonem Piggin, Johannem Samwell, Robertum Cawdry, Johannem Castle, Paulum Bartlett, Johannem Yate, Thomam Bradshawe, et Johannem Gunne, jur. sum. in cur. domini regis de recordo hic tent. inter Willielmum Shackspeare querentem et Johannem Addenbroke def. in placito debiti, per omnes terras et cattalla sua, in balliva sua, ita quod nec ipsi nec aliquis per ipsos ad ea manum apponant, donec aliud inde a curia prædicta habuerit preceptum; et quod de exitibus eorundem de curia prædicta respondeant. Et quod habeant corpora eorum coram ballivo burgi prædicti, ad proximam curiam de recordo ibidem tenend. ad faciend. juratam illam, et ad audiendum judicium suum de pluribus defaltis. Et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Francisco Smyth jun. gen. ballivo ibidem, xv° die Februarii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ sexto, et Scotiæ quadragesimo secundo.

Executio istius precepti patet in quodam panello huic precepto annex. Fr. Boyce servien.

Stratford } Precept. est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod capiant, seu &c., Burgus. } Johannem Addenbrooke, si &c. et eum salvo &c. ita quod habeant

corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi prædicti ad prox. cur. de recordo ibidem tenend., ad satisfaciend. Willielmo Shackspeare gen. tam de sex libr. debit. quos prædictus Willielmus in eadem curia versus eum recuperavit, quam de viginti et quatuor solid. qui ei adjudicat. fuer. pro dampnis et custag. suis quos sustinuit occasione detencionis debiti prædicti; et habeant ibi tunc hoc precept. Teste Francisco Smyth jun. gen. ball. ibidem, xv. die Marcii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, sexto, et Scotiæ 42°.

Infranominat. Johannes non est invent. infra libertat. hujus burgi. Fr. Boyce servien.

Stratford Burgus. } Precept. est servientibus ad clavam ibidem quod cum quidam Willielmus Shackspeare gen. nuper in cur. domini Jacobi, nunc regis Angliæ, burgi prædicti ibidem tent. virtute literarum patent. domini Edwardi, nuper regis Angliæ, sexti, levavit quandam quer. suam versus quendam Johannem Addenbrooke de placito debiti; cumque eciam quidam Thomas Horneby de burgo prædicto in eadem quer. devenit pleg. et manucap. præd. Johannis, scilicet quod si prædictus Johannes in quer. ill. legitimo modo convinceretur, quod idem Johannes satisfaceret præfato Willielmo Shackspeare tam debit. in quer. ill. per præfat. Willielmum versus præd. Johannem in cur. præd. recuperand. quam mis. et custag. quæ eidem Willielmo in quer. ill. per eandem cur. adjudicat. forent versus eundem Johannem, vel idem se redderet prisonæ dicti domini regis Jacobi nunc burg. præd. ad satisfaciendum eidem Willielmo eadem debit. mis. et custag.; et ulterius quod si idem Johannes non satisfaceret eidem Willielmo debit. et mis. et custag. nec se redderet præd. prisonæ dicti domini regis nunc, ad satisfaciendum eidem Willielmo in forma præd. quod tunc ipse idem Thomas Horneby debit. sic recuperand. et mis. et custag. sic adjudicat. eidem Willielmo satisfacere vellet. Cumque eciam in quer. ill. taliter process. fuit in eadem curia quod prædictus Willielmus in loquela ill. per judicium ejusdem curiæ recuperabat versus prædictum Johannem tam sex libr. de debito quam viginti et quatuor solid. pro decrement. mis. et custag. ipsius Willielmi in sect. querela ill. apposit. Super quo precept. fuit servient. ad clavam ibidem quod capiat, seu &c., præd. Johannem, si &c., et cum salvo &c., ita quod habeant corpus ejus coram ballivo burgi prædicti ad prox. cur. de recordo ibidem tenend., ad satisfaciendum prædicto Willielmo de debito præd. sic recuperat. quam de viginti et quatuor solid. pro præd. dampnis et custag. adjudicat. unde Franc. Boyce, tunc et nunc servien. ad clavam, ad diem retorn. inde mand. quod prædictus Johannes non est invent. in balliva sua; unde idem Willielmus ad præd. cur. dicti domini regis supplicavit sibi de remedio congruo versus præd. manucaptorem in hac parte provideri, super quod precept. est servient. ad clavam ibidem quod per probos et legales homines de burgo prædicto scire fac. seu &c. præfat. Thomam, quod sit coram ballivo burgi præd. ad prox. cur. de recordo in burgo prædicto tenend., ostensur. si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat, quare prædictus Willielmus execucionem suam versus eundem Thomam de debito et mis. et custag. ill. habere non debeat, juxta vim, formam, et effectum manucapcionis præd. si sibi viderit expedire, et ulterius factur. et receptur. quod præd. cur. dicti domini regis cons. in ea parte; et habeant ibi tunc hoc preceptum. Teste Franc. Smyth jun. gen. ball. ibidem, septimo die Junii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia regis Angliæ, Franc. et Hiberniæ, septimo, et Scotiæ xlij°.

Virtute istius precept. mihi direct. per Johannem Hemynges et Gilbertum Chadwell, probos et legales homines burgi infrascript., scire feci infranominat. Thomam Hornebye, prout interius mihi precipitur. Franciscus Boyce servien.

Documents of this description, if they do not yield much positive information, at all events bring Shakespeare to our view

in the ordinary occupations of life. It is curious to trace a name, now almost regarded with superstitious reverence, in the prosaic records of a provincial court; and perhaps the reader will scarcely sympathize with the interest which appeared to me in the discovery of the list of the jury who decided the dispute between Shakespeare and Addenbroke. Yet any circumstances which tend to show what were his objects and pursuits in his retirement at Stratford, are worthy of careful preservation, for we know not whether they may not be made to yield information of value. The names in this panel, which of course belongs to the jury summons above printed, are not of much interest. The William Walker was perhaps the father of Shakespeare's god-son, who has been previously mentioned.

Nomina Juratorum inter Willielmum Shackspere querentem, et Johannem Addenbrooke, de placito debiti.

Philippus Greene	
Jacobus Elliottes	
Edwardus Hunt	
Robertus Wilson	jur.
Thomas Kerby	
Thomas Bridges	
Ricardus Collyns	jur.
Johannes Ingraham	jur.
Daniel Smyth	jur.
Willielmus Walker	jur.
Thomas Mills	jur.
Johannes Tubb	jur.
Ricardus Pincke	jur.
Johannes Smyth, pannarius	jur.
Laurence Holmes	
Johannes Boyce	
Hugo Piggin	jur.
Johannes Samvell	
Robertus Cawdrey	jur.
Johannes Castle	
Paulus Bartlett	
Johannes Yate	jur.
Thomas Bradshawe	
Johannes Gunne	

Quilibet jurator prædictus per se separatim attachiatus est per plegios, Johannem Doo, Ricardum Roo. Exitus cujuslibet eorum per se—vj.*s.* viij.*d.*

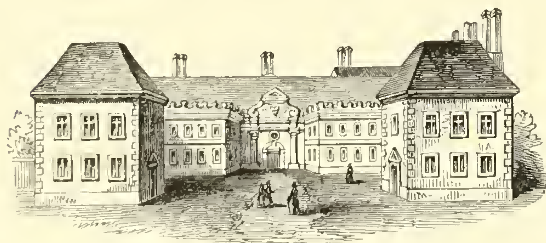
The conclusion that may possibly be drawn from the delays which occurred in the prosecution of the suit between Shakespeare and Addenbroke, that the plaintiff was absent from

Stratford during part of the years 1608 and 1609, derives support from a document preserved at Dulwich College, from which it appears that "Mr. Shakespeare" was assessed, in April, 1609, at sixpence a week towards the relief of the poor in Southwark. The name occurs in a list which refers to the inhabitants of Southwark in the liberty of the Clink, so that unless the poet was assessed on the property he held in the Globe Theatre, it may be inferred he still retained a residence in Southwark. Two contemporary copies of this list are preserved at Dulwich College, from one of which the above fac-simile is taken.

It has usually been considered that, soon after this period, Shakespeare made a final retirement to Stratford. During the latter part of his life, the drama had been greatly discouraged in his native town, a circumstance which renders his attachment to Stratford still more remarkable. After 1593, no notices of plays occur in the Chamberlains' accounts till 1596, when the Queen's servants received ten shillings, and the players of the Earl of Derby and Lord Ogle also visited Stratford. In 1597, four companies of actors received nineteen shillings and fourpence, after which period these accounts afford no further information respecting plays till after Shakespeare's decease. On December 17th, 1602, it was "ordered that there shalbe no pleys or enterlewedes playd in the chamber, the guildhalle, nor in any parte of the howsse or courte, ffrom hensforward, upon payne that whosoever of the baylief, aldermen, and burgesses of this boroughe shall gyve leave or licence thereunto, shall forfeyt for everie offence x.*s*." But it seems that this penalty had not the desired effect, for on February 7th, 1612, the following more stringent order appears on the register of the corporation: —"The inconvenience of plaies beinge verie seriouslie considered of, with the unlawfullnes, and howe contrarie the sufferance of them is againste the orders heretofore made, and againste the examples of other well-governed citties and burrowes, the companie heare are contented and theie conclude that the penaltie of x.*s*. imposed in Mr. Bakers yeare for breakinge the order, shall from henceforth be x.*li*. upon the breakers of that order, and this to holde untill the nexte commen councell, and from thenceforth for ever, excepted, that

be then finalli revoked and made voide." It appears scarcely likely that theatricals were not in some way encouraged, even in opposition to the influence of the Puritans, who had some time ere this obtained considerable strength at Stratford. I cannot readily divest myself of the opinion that a few of Shakespeare's plays were performed in his own life-time in his native town, and that there were names and allusions in some of them which were intended for a local audience. How else can we account for the very remarkable adoption of the names of persons actually living at Stratford, of Stephen Sly, and others of that description? Would the satire on Sir Thomas Lucy have been understood at the Globe Theatre, or is it not more likely that these matters were intended for the appreciation of a Warwickshire audience? What if the *Taming of the Shrew*, with its treasury of provincial notices, should have been written and acted at Stratford-on-Avon? Certain it is, that, many years afterwards, the ale of Wilmecote is mentioned in some lines addressed by Sir Aston Cokaine, a Warwickshire gentleman, to a Mr. Fisher of that village, as renowned on account of its being alluded to by the poet. The verses themselves will be found in the notes to the above-mentioned play.

The circumstance that Shakespeare resided at Stratford during a great part of the later years of his life, is ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt. "The latter part of his life," says Rowe, "was spent, as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and the conversation of his friends. He had the good fortune to gather an estate equal to his occasion, and, in that, to his wish; and is said to have spent some years before his death at his native Stratford. His pleasurable wit and good nature engag'd him in the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship,



STRATFORD COLLEGE, THE RESIDENCE OF JOHN COMBE.

of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood." Rowe then proceeds to relate one of the most popular traditional anecdotes respecting the poet that has been preserved; the well-known story of his writing a satirical epitaph on John Combe, "an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth and usury," who resided at the best house in Stratford, the ancient College, a capacious stone edifice situated near the Church. "It happen'd,

that in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakspear in a laughing manner, that he fancy'd he intended to write his epitaph, if he happen'd to outlive him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desir'd it might be done immediately; upon which Shakspear gave him these four verses :—

"Ten in the Hundred lies here ingrav'd;
'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav'd:
If any man ask, Who lies in this tomb?
Oh! ho! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe."

The above lines, a different version of which, recorded by Aubrey, has been already given, are constantly found, under slightly varied forms, in epigrammatical collections of the seventeenth century; and a selection of a few instances will enable the reader to draw his own conclusion on the possibility of Shakespeare being the originator of them, by the production of the miserable doggrel just quoted :—

Ten in the hundred lies under this stone,
And a hundred to ten to the devil he's gone.
Parrot's More the Merrier, 4to, 1608.

Here lies ten in the hundred
In the ground fast ram'd;
'Tis an hundred to ten
But his soule is dam'd.
Camden's Remaines, 4to, 1629, pp. 342, 343.

Ten in the hundred lyes under this stone,
And a hundred to ten but to th' devill he's gone.
S. Pick's Festum Voluptatis, 4to, Lond. 1639.

Ten in the hundred lies under this stone,
An hundred to ten to the devil he's gone.
MS. Addit. 15227, p. 18.

Here lyes 10 with 100 under this stone,
A 100 to one but to th' divel hees gone.
MS. Sloane 1489, f. 11.

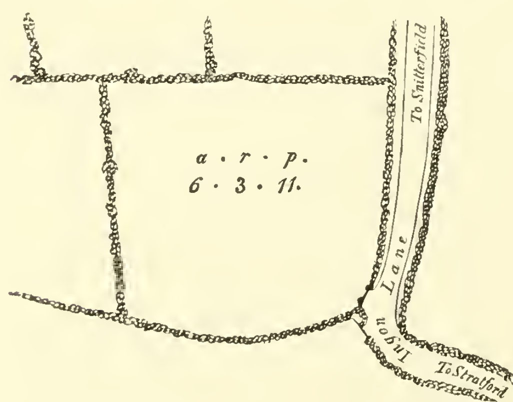
Who is this lyes under this hearse?
Ho, ho, quoth the divel, tis my Dr. Pearse.
MS. Sloane 1489, f. 11.

Here lies at least ten in the hundred,
Shackled up both hands and feet,
That at such as lent mony *gratis* wondred,
The gain of usury was so sweet;
But thus being now of life bereav'n,
Tis a hundred to ten he's scarce gone to heav'n.
Wits Interpreter, the English Parnassus, 1671.

As usual with traditions, for *omnis fabula fundatur in historia*, we find the general statement accurate, and the particulars incorrect. Shakespeare did write verses on Combe, but not those which are assigned to him. It appears, from an account of a journey undertaken in 1634, preserved in MS. Lansd. 213, f. 336, that three officers of the army saw in that year at Stratford "a neat monument of that famous English poet, Mr. Wm. Shakespeere, who was borne heere; and one of an old gentleman, a batchelor, Mr. Combe, *upon whose name* the sayd poet did merrily fann up some witty and facetious verses, which time would nott give us leave to sacke up." These verses were of course, as Mr. Hunter says, "written in the punning style of the times, allusive to the double sense of the word *Combe*, as the name of the person there interred, and the name also of a certain measure of corn;" but it is not at all likely such lines were ever in Stratford Church, as that author asserts, and there is nothing in the extract just given to warrant such a conclusion. According to Rowe, Shakespeare offended Combe by the satire "so severely, that he never forgave it;" but this at least is very doubtful, for the latter left him a legacy of £5 in 1614, "to Mr. William Shackspere five poundes," and the poet gave his sword, by will, to Mr. Thomas Combe. The will of John Combe exhibits his wealth and social position. After mentioning his tomb, he commences by leaving £200 to his cousin, Sir Henry Clare; he gives an estate at Warwick to his brother John for life, with remainders; £300 to his brother's children; an estate at Hampton Lucy to his nephew William; another estate at Hampton to his nephew Thomas, both with remainders. To his brother George he devises "all those closes or grounds, with the appurtenances, called or known by the name of Parson's Close,

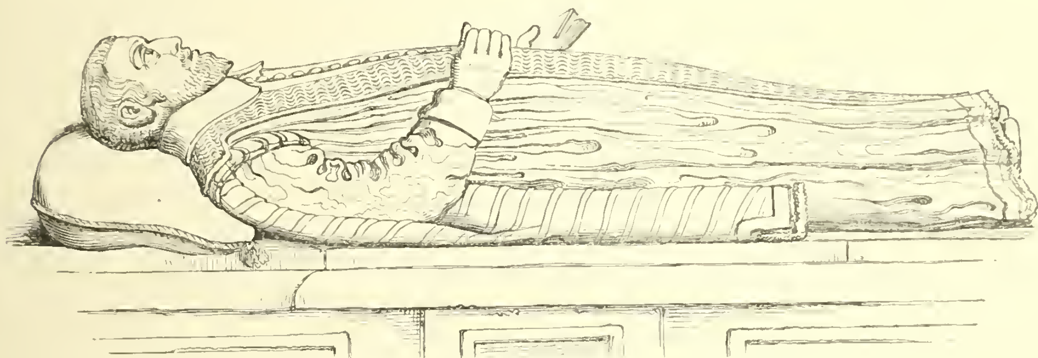
And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr Combe, upon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann up some witty, & facetious verses, wch time would nott give us leave to sacke up.

Jo Combe



PARSON'S CLOSE, ALIAS SHAKESPEARE'S CLOSE.

alias Shakespere's Close, lying and being in Hampton aforesaid." The coincidence of the name of Shakespeare, thus occurring in relation with Combe's property, is curious; but it must be admitted there is no direct evidence to connect the appellation of the field in any way with the poet's family, although it is possible it may have belonged at one time to John Shakespeare, or, at least, been in his occupation; for, in 1570, he held as tenant Ingon Meadow, in the same parish, and from a document now before me, it would appear that Ingon Meadow and Parson's Close were very near, if not absolutely contiguous to each other. The remainder of the will, which is of great extent, contains a large number of legacies of various amounts, including some for beneficial public purposes.



EFFIGY OF JOHN COMBE IN STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH.

It is much to be regretted that the three officers, in recording their tour of 1634, did not insert in their journal the "witty and facetious" verses which Shakespeare did so "merrily fann up." There is not much probability that these will ever be recovered; but it is worthy of remark that a different version of the anecdote is related in MS. Ashmole 38, p. 180, written not many years after the death of Shakespeare,—

On John Combe, a coveteous rich man, Mr. Wm. Shak-spear wright this att his request while hee was yett liveing for his epitaphe.

Who lies in this tombe?
Hough, quoth the devill, tis my sone John a Combe. *Finis.*

But being dead and making the poore his heiers, hee after wrightes this for his epitaph.

Howere he lived, judge not,
John Combe shall never be forgott
While poor hath memmorye, for hee did gather
To make the poore his issue: hee their father,
As record of his tilth and seedes,
Did crowne him in his latter needes. *Finis W. Shak.*

Peck, in his New Memoirs of Milton, 1740, has preserved another tale, in which it is stated that Shakespeare also wrote a satirical epitaph on the brother of John Combe. It is equally authentic with the former. "Every body," he says, "knows Shakespeare's epitaph for John a Combe, and I am told he afterwards wrote another for Tom a Combe, alias Thin-beard, brother of the said John, and that it was never yet printed." This second composition is in the following strain, —

> Thin in beard, and thick in purse,
> Never man beloved worse;
> He went to th' grave with many a curse:
> The devil and he had both one nurse.

It may be worth adding, that, in the last century, there was a traditional tale, of doubtful authority, current at Stratford, in which the verses on John and Thomas Combe are introduced in a somewhat different manner. One day in a tavern, said to be the sign of the Bear, in the Bridge street, in Stratford, John Combe said to Shakespeare, "I suppose you will write my epitaph when I am dead; you may as well do it now, that I may know what you will say of me when I am gone." The latter immediately replied, "It shall be this, 'Ten in the hundred, &c.'" The company burst into a loud laugh, "perhaps," says the relator, "from the justness of the idea, and the hatred all men have to the character of a miser and usurer." After the mirth had somewhat subsided, they desired to hear what he had to say of Thomas Combe, brother of the former gentleman, when he instantly said, "But thin in beard, &c." Another traditional anecdote has likewise been stated to refer to one of the Combes, but the best version of it introduces a blacksmith as the chief actor, and Combe's name does not appear. A blacksmith accosted Shakespeare, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with

> Now, Mr. Shakespeare, tell me, if you can,
> The difference between a youth and a young man.

To which the poet immediately replied,—

> Thou son of fire, with thy face like a maple,
> The same difference as between a scalded and a coddled apple.

According to Malone, in 1790, "this anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratford, by a person then above eighty years of age, whose father might have been

contemporary with Shakespeare." I have, however, seen an unpublished letter, written by that critic in 1788, in which, alluding to this tradition, he observes, "Mr. Macklin tells but a blind story of Sir Hugh Clopton's having sent for a very old woman, near ninety, who repeated to him a couplet that she remembered to have heard in her youth, and which was said to have been made by Shakspeare on old John Combe, in which he compared his face to a maple. I gave no great credit to this at first, but having yesterday found the same satirical comparison in a book of Queen Elizabeth's age, I begin to be less incredulous. Perhaps Mr. Taylor may remember this old woman. It is certain much tradition might have been handed down about our great poet, for the mother of the very old woman I speak of might have been a servant to his daughter Mrs. Queeny, and have heard many particulars from her so late as the Restoration." The old work to which Malone referred in confirmation of this narrative was, *Tarltons Jests drawne into these three parts, his court-witty jests, his sound city jests, his countrey-pretty jests, full of delight, wit, and honest mirth*, 4to, 1638, first published in 1600, and also containing an anecdote (sig. B 2), entitled, "A jest of an apple hitting Tarlton on the face," in which a person's face is compared to a maple. Tarlton was playing at the Bull in Bishopsgate-street, when a person in the gallery threw an apple at him. The wit of the actor's retort, which partly refers to a previous attack, is not of the choicest description:—

THE HALL OF JOHN COMBE'S HOUSE.

> Gentlemen, this fellow, with this face of mapple,
> Instead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple.
> But as for an apple, he hath cast a crab,
> So, instead of an honest woman, God hath sent him a drab.

It will be recollected that a similar comparison is used by Shakespeare, "this grained face of mine;" and considering that the genealogy of the story is very correctly deduced by Malone, there may by possibility have been some foundation for it. At all events, it is of far better authority than the tales relating to Shakespeare that found their way into the jest books of the

last century, one of which, published in 1769, under the title of, *Shakespear's Jests, or the Jubilee Jester,* is filled with supposititious anecdotes respecting the poet, who is sometimes familiarly denominated "our wag." There is, however, a traditional tale regarding Shakespeare, not recorded by Rowe, which certainly seems to deserve consideration, were it only from the circumstance of the wide-spread belief in it throughout Warwickshire, and the fact that it was current long before the era of Ireland and Jordan. I am satisfactorily assured by a gentleman, whose recollection extends as far back as the year 1790, he was then confidently informed that the aged inhabitants of Stratford concurred in asserting that the story was current in that town early in the eighteenth century. If tradition in such matters is to be trusted at all, then must the anecdote of the crab-tree hold a place in the authentic history of the great dramatist. It is not necessary, of course, to place implicit reliance on the story in all the minute particulars, but the circumstance of Shakespeare having uttered the verses given below extempore, whilst in some way he was indebted for shelter to this celebrated tree, seems clearly to have been insisted upon by the unvarying testimony of the inhabitants of Stratford and the neighbourhood for nearly a century and a half; for as long, in fact, as our enquiries can now by any possibility ascertain. There is, therefore, a reasonable presumption that the tradition is of still older date; though it is very possible that the verses themselves may have been much distorted, since they first came from the lips of their author. Mr. Wheler informs me that the representation of the crab-tree given by Ireland, and which is here reproduced, is a faithful delineation of the curious relic. It is not now in existence. It stood about a mile from Bidford on the road to

SHAKESPEARE'S CRAB-TREE.

Stratford. The Bidfordians will show the very house where so much good ale was consumed by Shakespeare and his companions.

"Amongst the many juvenile levities of Shakespeare," observes Jordan, in an unpublished manuscript, "I cannot omit delineating some other traits of his character; tradition says that he loved hearty draughts of English beer or ale, and that there were then two companies of people who usually met at a village called Bidford, about seven miles below Stratford, upon the banks of the Avon, who distinguished themselves by the appellations of the topers and sippers, the former of whom were accounted the most eminent in the science of drinking the largest quantity of liquor without being intoxicated; yet the latter were also very powerful, and looked on themselves superior to most other companies of drinkers in this country. These sons of Bacchus challenged all the men in England to drink with them, to try the strength of their heads; the Stratford bard and his companions accepted it, and repaired to Bidford on a Whitsun Monday to make a trial with the topers, but, to their disappointment, they discovered that they were gone to Evesham Fair upon a like excursion; so the Stratfordians with Shakespeare were obliged to take up with the sippers, who they scoffed at as unworthy the contest; but upon trial they found themselves very inferior to their opponents, and were at last obliged to own their superiority, for the poet and his companions got so intoxicated, that they were obliged to decline any further trial; and, leaving Bidford, they proceeded homeward; but poor William, when he came about half a mile from the village, unable to go on, laid himself down on the verdant turf, beneath the umbrageous boughs of a wide-spreading crab-tree, where he took his night's repose; the lark's early matins awaked him, and he was invited to return to Bidford by some of his convivial companions to renew the contest, but he refused; says he, I have drank with

> Piping Pebworth, Dancing Marston,
> Haunted Hillbro', hungry Grafton,
> Dadging Exhall, Papist Wixford,
> Beggarly Broom, and Drunken Bidford.

These lines seem to intimate that the opponents consisted of a motley group selected from the above villages; Pebworth is still celebrated for the skill of its inhabitants in music and rural festivity; and Long Marston, or Marston Sicca (as it is commonly wrote), the inhabitants of which are noted for their

activity in country dances; and Hillborough is a lonely hamlet, said by the tradition of the vicinage to have been haunted by spirits and fairies: Hungry Grafton, I suppose, received that appellation from the barrenness of its soil; but, however that may be, the produce of its excellent stone quarries make sufficient amends for the sterility of the land. Dadging Exhall,—I must confess I am at a loss how to account for the appellation of Dadging; but Papist Wixford is a village belonging to the Throckmorton family, and the tenants are most of them of the Roman Catholick religion. Beggarly Broom must have been so called from the badness of the soil; and drunken Bidford still deserves the name, for though it is but a small village, there are five public houses in it, and the people love ale as well as they did in the days of Shakespeare. Of this I am certain, from my own observations, having resided amongst them above half a year." Jordan has, perhaps, a little "improved" the tradition, which appears originally to have attributed to the poet little beyond the usual consequences of a merry meeting, where he may have been accompanied by inhabitants of the villages above mentioned. The well-accredited fact that Shakespeare was of a social disposition, loving to see his friends around him, and to afford them of the best, for nothing beyond that can be believed of the circumstances recorded by Ward, led to a general persuasion that occasional excesses might truthfully be attributed. There is an obscure allusion to something of this kind in the *Mercurius Britannicus*, where Shakespeare is classed with some other dramatists as authorities for the value of ale and wine to the literary composer; but a very indistinct symptom is this that there was, in the seventeenth century, a belief that the dramatist shared in what the Puritans would have termed abominations; and to a similar notion may be referred a stupid anecdote recorded in an old jest-book, entitled *Jocabella, or a Cabinet of Conceits*, 1640, of a person who, being asked what Shakespeare's works were worth, replied that his *plays* were of great value, but that he had never heard his *works* "were worth anything at all."

Recurring to the more positive records of Shakespeare's life, it may be observed that his name occurs in a list of donations, "colected towardes the charge of prosecutyng the bill in Parliament for the better repayre of the highe waies, and amendinge divers defectes in the statutes alredy made," dated Wednesday, September 11th, 1611. This MS. evidently relates

to Stratford, but no sum is affixed to Shakespeare's name, and from its being placed in the margin, it would appear that he was not then in that town, and that the insertion was an afterthought. A fac-simile of the memorandum of his name is annexed.

No record of the sale of Shakespeare's interest in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres has yet been discovered, but it is presumed he parted with them before his death, for they are not mentioned in his will. It has been well conjectured by Mr. Knight that a tenement in the Blackfriars, purchased by the poet in 1613, had reference to some object connected with his theatrical property. In March, 1612-13, Shakespeare bought of Henry Walker a house in the Blackfriars, "abutting upon a street leading down to Puddle Wharf, on the East part, right against the King's Majesty's Wardrobe." This house had been purchased by Walker in October, 1604, from Mathew Bacon, of Gray's Inn. The sum to be paid by Shakespeare for it was £140, but it appears that he paid down only £80 of the purchase money, and mortgaged the premises for the remainder. It has been somewhat too hastily inferred from this circumstance that Shakespeare was not in a position to furnish the whole sum, but we may more reasonably conclude the transaction had reference to arrangements not now known. The tenement is described as having been "sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner esquior, and since that, in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes." On March 11th, 1612-13, Shakespeare gave this Ireland a lease of the premises for one hundred years at the rent of a pepper-corn, with a proviso that on the payment of the mortgage, the former should be void. When he had paid off the whole of the purchase-money, he made a lease for a term of years to John Robinson, and a house near St. Andrew's church is still pointed out as having been the property of the great dramatist; though I have

JOHN ROBINSON'S TENEMENT.

no *evidence* to produce which will establish the fact. Singularly enough, with a trifling exception, the house seems to have been tenanted by the Robinson family till within the last few years; but one John Robinson, the last of the race, appears to have been unfortunate, and has now resigned his residence to the use of others. At the time of the Gordon riots, it was a blacksmith's shop, and the John Robinson of the day is said to have had the honour of releasing the shackles from some of the prisoners liberated from the Fleet.

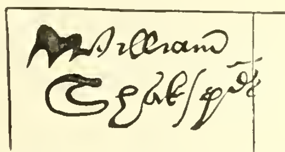
The counterpart of the conveyance of Robinson's house to Shakespeare is still in existence, and is now preserved in the library of the corporation of the City of London at Guildhall. A very careful copy of it is here given from the original, which possesses great interest as containing one of the very few genuine autographs of the poet that have descended to modern times. A fac-simile of this signature, recently made with the greatest care by Mr. Fairholt, is appended to the transcript; and it may be as well to add that the conveyance is also to be found, literally copied, amongst the records at the Rolls Chapel, Close Rolls 11 Jac. I., 31 pars: "et memorandum quod undecimo die Marcii anno suprascript. præfat. Henricus Walker venit coram dicto domino rege in cancellar. sua, et recogn. indentur. prædict. ac omnia et singula in eadem content. et specificat. in forma supradicta." Copies are added of the mortgage-deed, and the surrender of the trust by Heminge and his co-trustees in 1618, which will furnish the reader with the whole of the particulars relating to this purchase, as far as they are at present known. The reason of these trustees being appointed is not very apparent, as Shakespeare was clearly the sole purchaser, but perhaps the law of the time rendered a reservation of the legal estate necessary for the security of the mortgage.

This Indenture made the tenthe day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lord God according to the computacion of the church of England one thowsand six hundred and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. that is to saie, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene Henry Walker citizein and minstrell of London of thone partie, and William Shakespeare of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman, William Johnson citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng of London gentlemen, on thother partie; Witnesseth, that the said Henry Walker, for and in consideracion of the somme of one hundred and fortie poundes of lawfull money of England to him in hande before thensealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well and trulie paid, whereof and wherewith hee the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himselfe

fullie satisfied and contented, and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doth cleerlie acquite and discharge the saide William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, by theis presents hath bargayned and soulde, and by theis presents doth fullie cleerlie and absolutlie bargayne and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, all that dwelling house or tenement with thappurtenaunces situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Blackffryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner esquior, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue gent. and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Pudle Wharffe on the East part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall mesuage which sometyme was in the tenure of William Blackwell esquior deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honorable Henry now Earle of Northumberland; and also all that plott of ground on the West side of the same tenement which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widowe, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise; and being on the thirde side inclosed with an olde brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometyme parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyde ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground; with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in by and through the said greate gate and yarde thereunto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities, and hereditamentes whatsoever, to the said dwelling house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning; and the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses, and of every parcell thereof; and also all rentes and yearlie profittes whatsoever reserved and from hensforth to growe due and paiable upon whatsoever lease, dimise or graunt, leases, dimises, or grauntes, made of the premisses or of any parcell thereof; and also all thestate, right, title, interest, propertie, use, possession, clayme, and demaunde whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have, of in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof; and also all and every the deedes, evidences, charters, escriptes, minimentes, and writinges whatsoever, which hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or any other person or persons to his use have or hath, or which hee may lawfullie come by without suite in the lawe, which touch or concerne the premisses onlie, or onlie any part or parcell thereof, togeither with the true coppies of all such deedes, evidences, and writinges as concerne the premisses (amounges other thinges), to bee written and taken out at the onlie costes and charges of the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes; which said dwelling house or tenement, and other the premisses above by theis presents mencioned to bee bargayned and soulde, the said Henry Walker late purchased and had to him, his heires and assignes, for ever, of Mathie Bacon of Graies Inne in the countie of Middlesex gentleman, by indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of October in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsand six hundred and fower, and in the yeares of the reigne of our said sovereigne lord king James of his realmes of England Fraunce and Ireland the second, and of Scotland the eight and thirtith: To have and to holde the said dwelling house or tenement, shopps, cellours, sollers, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulde, and every part

and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes for ever, to thonlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes for ever. And the said Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, administratours, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promisse and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes, in forme following, that is to saie, that hee the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate, and discharge, or otherwise from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles, the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes and every of them, of for and concernyng the bargayne and sale of the premisses, and the said bargayned premisses and every part and parcell thereof with thappurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joyntures, dowers, intailes, lymittacion and lym'ttacions of use and uses, extentes, judgmentes, execucions, annuities, and of and from all and every other charges, titles, and incumbraunces whatsoever, wittinglie and wilfullie had, made, committed, suffered, or donne by him the said Henrye Walker, or any other under his authoritie or right, before thensealing and deliverye of theis presents, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses from hensforth, for or in respecte of his or their seigniorie or seigniories onlie to bee due and donne. And further the saide Henry Walker, for himselfe, his heires, executours, and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenaunt promisse and graunt to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis presentes in forme following, that is to saie, that for and notwithstanding any acte or thing donne by him the said Henry Walker to the contrarye, hee the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, shall or lawfullie maye peaceablie and quietlie have, holde, occupie and enjoye the said dwelling house or tenement, cellours, sollers, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee bargayned and soulde, and every part and parcell thereof with thappurtenaunces, and the rentes, yssues, and profittes thereof, and of every part and parcell thereof, to his and their owne use receave perceave take and enjoye from hensforth for ever without the lett, troble, eviccion or interrupcion of the said Henry Walker, his heires, executours or administratours or any of them, or of or by any other person or persons which have, or may before the date hereof pretende to have, any lawfull estate, righte, title, use, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under him the said Henry Walker. And also that hee, the said Henry Walker, and his heires, and all and every other person and persons and their heires, which have or that shall lawfullie and rightfullie have or clayme to have any lawfull and rightfull estate, right, title, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under the said Henry Walker, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes from hensforth, for and during the space of three yeares now next ensuing, at or upon the reasonable request and costes and charges in the lawe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, doe make knowledge and suffer to bee donne made and knowledgede all and every such further lawfull and reasonable acte and actes, thing and thinges, devise and devises in the law whatsoever, for the conveying of the premises, bee it by deed or deedes inrolled or not inrolled, inrolment of theis presentes, fyne, feoffament, recoverye, release, confirmacion, or otherwise, with warrantie of the said Henry Walker and his heires against him the said Henry Walker and his heires onlie,

or otherwise without warrantie, or by all any or as many of the wayes, meanes, and devises aforesaid, as by the said William Shakespeare, his heires or assignes, or his or their councell learned in the lawe shalbee reasonablie devised or advised, ffor the further, better, and more perfect assurance, suertie, suermaking and conveying of all and singuler the premisses, and every parcell thereof, with thappurtenannces, unto the saide William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, to th'use and in forme aforesaid; And further that all and every fyne and fynes to bee levyed, recoveryes to bee suffered, estates and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had, made, executed or passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses, or of any parcell thereof, shalbee, and shalbee esteemed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to bee, to thonlie and proper use and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, for ever, and to none other use, intent, or purpose. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.



Wm. Johnsonn. Jo. Jacksonn.

Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will Atkinson.
Ed. Overy.
Robert Andrewes Scr.
Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scr.

The original indenture of the foregoing lease, with the signature and seal of Henry Walker, the vendor, attested by the same persons, is also preserved; but, as might be expected, it possesses nothing of interest beyond the transcript of the deed here printed. The mortgage deed, relating to the same property, a copy of which is appended, belongs to Mr. Troward, who has kindly permitted me to collate the printed edition of Malone with the original, and has also given Mr. Fairholt the opportunity of making an exact tracing from the poet's signature, which, it is believed, is now copied for the first time with strict accuracy. Neither of these documents was signed by Heminge.

This Indenture made the eleaventh day of March, in the yeares of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the Faith &c. that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith, Betweene William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson, and John Hemyng of London, gentlemen, of thone partie, and Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, of thother partie: Witnesseth, that the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, have dimised, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theis presentes doe dimise, graunt, and to ferme lett unto the said Henry Walker, all that dwelling house or tenement, with

thappurtenaunces, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquiour, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharffe, on the East part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe: part of which said tenement is erected over a greate gate leading to a capitall mesuage, which sometyme was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquiour, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right honourable Henry now Earle of Northumberland: and also all that plott of ground on the West side of the said tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof, by Anne Bacon, widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an olde brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometyme parcell and taken out of a great voyde peece of ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground, with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in, by, and through, the said great gate and yarde there, unto the usuall dore of the said tenement, and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities, and appurtenaunces whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning: to have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellers, sollers, romes, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee dimised, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said Henrye Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, from the feast of thannunciacion of the blessed Virgin Marye next comming after the date hereof, unto thende and terme of one hundred yeares from thence next ensuing, and fullie to bee compleat and ended, without ympeachment of or for any manner of waste: yelding and paying therefore yearlie during the said terme unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes, a pepper corne at the feast of Easter yearlie, yf the same bee lawfullie demaunded, and noe more; provided alwayes, that if the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours, or assignes, or any of them, doe well and trulie paie or cause to bee paid to the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours or assignes, the somme of threescore poundes of lawfull money of England, in and upon the nyne and twentith day of September next comming after the date hereof, at, or in, the nowe dwelling-house of the said Henry Walker, situate and being in the parish of Saint Martyn neere Ludgate, of London, at one entier payment without delaie, that then and from thensforth this presente lease, dimise and graunt, and all and every matter and thing herein conteyned (other then this provisoe) shall cease, determyne, and bee utterlie voyde, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never beene had ne made, theis presentes or any thing therein conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And the said William Shakespeare, for himselfe, his heires, executours, and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promisse and graunt to and with the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, by theis presentes, that hee the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate, and discharge, or from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours, and assignes, and every of them, and the said premisses by theis presentes dimised,

and every parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former and other bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, jointures, dowers, intailes, statutes, recognizaunces, judgmentes, execucions, and of and from all and every other charge, titles, trobles, and incumbraunces whatsoever by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemmyng, or any of them, or by their or any of their meanes, had, made, committed, or donne, before thensealing and delivery of theis presentes, or hereafter before the said nyne and twentith day of September next comming after the date hereof, to bee had, made, committed or done, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for or in respect of his or their seigniorie or seigniories onlie, to bee due and donne. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungeablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written. 1612.

Wm. Shakspere. Wm. Johnson. Jo. Jackson.

Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of

Will. Atkinson.	Robert Andrewes scr.
Ed. Overy.	Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scr.

Declaration of Trust.—This Indenture, made the tenth day of February in the yeres of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. that is to say, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, the fifteenth, and of Scotland the one and fiftith; Between John Jackson and John Hemyuge of London, gentlemen, and William Johnson, citizen and vintiner of London, of thone part, and John Greene of Clements Inn in the County of Midd. gent. and Matthew Morryes of Stretford upon Avon in the County of Warwick gent. of thother part; Witnesseth, that the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, as well for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakespeare, deceased, late of Stretford aforesaid, gent., and to thend and intent that the lands tenements and hereditaments hereafter in theis presents mencioned and expressed, may be conveyed and assured according to the true intent and meaning of the last will and testament of the said William Shakespeare, and for the some of ffyve shillings of lawfull money of England to them payd, for and on behalf of Susanna Hall, one of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and now wife of John Hall of Stretford aforesaid gent. before thensealling and delivery of theis presents, Have aliened bargained sold and confirmed, and by theis presents doe and every of them doth fully cleerely and absolutely alien bargaine sell and confirme unto the said John Greene and Matthew Morrys, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling house or tenement with thappurtenaunces scituat and being within the precinct, circuite, and compase of the late Black-frieres, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquier, and since that in the tenure

of John Fortescue gent., and, now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a street leadinge downe to Puddle Wharfe, on the east part, right against the kings Majesties warderobe, part of which tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall messuage which sometymes was in the tenure of William Blackwell esquier deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right Honourable Henry Earle of Northumberland, and also all that plot of ground on the west side of the said tenement, which was lately inclosed with boords on twoe sides thereof by Anne Bacon widdow, soe farr and in such sort as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise; and being on the third side inclosed with an ould brick wall; which said plot of ground was sometymes parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyd ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth; and also the said brick wall and boords which doe inclose the said plot of ground, with free entry, access, ingres, egres, and regres, in by and through the said great gate and yarde there unto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all and singuler cellers, sollars, roomes, lights, easements, profitts, comodyties, and hereditaments whatsoever to the said dwelling house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning, and the revercion and revercions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses and of every parcell thereof; and also all rents and yerely profitts whatsoever reserved and from henceforth to grow due and payable upon whatsoever lease demisse or graunt, leases demises or graunts, made of the premisses or any parcell thereof; and also all thestate, right, title, interest, property, use, clayme, and demaund whatsoever, which they the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, now have or any of them hath or of right may, might, shoold, or ought to have in the premises: To have and to holde the said dwelling howse or tenement, lights, cellers, sollers, plot of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presents mencioned to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunces, unto the said John Green and Mathew Morrys their heires and assignes for ever, to the use and behoofes hereafter in theis presents declared mencioned expressed and lymitted, and to none other use, behoofe, intent, or purpose: That is to say, to the use and behoofe of the aforesaid Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall life, and after her deceas to the use and behoofe of the first sonne of her body lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said first sonne lawfully yssueing; and for the want of such heires to the use and behoofe of the second sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said second sonne lawfully yssueing; and for want of such heires to the use of the third sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said third son lawfully yssueing; and for want of such heires, to the use and behoofe of the fowerth, fiveth, sixt, and seaventh sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the severall heirs males of the severall bodyes of the said fowerth, fiveth, sixt, and seaventh sonnes, lawfully yssueing, in such manner as it is before lymitted to be and remeyne to the first, second, and third sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and to their heires males as aforesaid; and for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Elizabeth Hall daughter of the said Susanna Hall, and of the heires males of her body lawfully yssueing; and for default of such heires, to the use and behoofe of Judyth Quiney now wife of Thomas Quiney of Stretford aforesaid vintner, one other of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare, and of the heires males of the body of the said Judyth lawfully yssueing; and for default of such yssue, to the use and behoofe of the right heires of the said William Shakespeare for ever.

And the said John Jackson, for himself, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys and either of them, their or either of their heires and assignes, by theis presents, that he the said John Jackson, his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request to him or them made, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guifts, graunts, leases, statuts, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extents, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Jackson alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever; except the rente and services to the cheiffe lord or lords of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due, and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said John Hemynge, for himself, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Greene and Mathew Morrys, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presentes, that he the said John Hemynge, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guifts, graunts, leases, statuts, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extents, judgments, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Hemynge alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rentes and service to the chieffe lord or lords of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemyng and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relacion be had at large doth appeare. And the said William Johnson, for himself, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morryes, and either of them, their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis presents, that he the said William Johnson, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmles the said bargained premisses, and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guifts, graunts, leases, statutes, recognizaunces, joynctures, dowers, intayles, uses, extents, judgements, execucions, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had made comitted or done by him the said William Johnson alone, or joyntly with any other person or persons whatsoever, except the rents and service to the cheiff lord or lords of the fee or

fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, and except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappurtenaunces heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, unto one John Robinson, now tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, as by the same whereunto relation be had at large doth appeare. In witnes whereof the parties aforesaid to theis presente indentures have interchaungeably sett their hands and sealls. Yeoven the day and yeres first above written, 1617.

Jo. Jackson. John Heminges. Wm. Johnson.

Sealed and delyvered by the within named John Jackson in the presence of Roe. Swale, John Prise.

Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed William Johnson in the presence of Nickolas Harysone, John Prise.

Sealed and delyvered by the withinamed John Hemynges in the presence of Matt[y] Benson, John Prise.

Memorandum that the xj[th]. day of Februarye in the yeres within written, John Robinson, tenant of the premysses withinmencioned, did geve and delyver unto John Greene withinnamed, to the use of Susanna Hall withinnamed, five pence of lawfull money of England in name of Attornment, in the presence of Matt. Benson, John Prise. By me Richarde Tylor.

Not very long before Shakespeare purchased this tenement in the Blackfriars, he was engaged in a lawsuit respecting the share in the tithes he had bought in 1605. It appears from the following draft of a bill to be filed before Lord Ellesmere, that some of the lessees refusing to contribute their proper shares of a reserved rent, a greater proportion than was right fell to Lane, Greene, and Shakespeare. The result of the suit is not stated, but the draft is important, as declaring the exact value of Shakespeare's income derived from these tithes. There are several interlineations and corrections in the original manuscript, in the handwriting of Thomas Greene. The following is a copy of the document in its corrected state.

Richard Lane et al. quer., et Dominus Carewe et al deff. in Canc. bill. To the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Ellesmere, lord Chauncellour of England.

In humble wise complayninge, shewen unto your honorable good Lordshipp your dayly oratours Richard Lane of Awston in the cownty of Warwicke esquire, Thomas Greene of Stratford uppon Avon in the said county of Warwicke esquire, and William Shackspeare of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke gentleman, that whereas Anthonie Barker clarke, late warden of the late dissolved Colledge of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwicke, and Gyles Coventrey late subwarden of the same colledge, and the chapter of the said colledge, were heretofore seised in their demesne as of ffee in the right of the said colledge, of and in divers messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge, and beinge within the parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne, and haye, and of and

in all, and all manner of tythes of wooll, lambe, and all other small and pryvye tythes and oblacions and alterages whatsoever, cominge groweinge aryseinge reneweinge or happeninge within the whole parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, And beinge soe thereof seised by their indenture beareinge date in or aboute the seaventh day of September in the six and thirtyth yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lord of ffamous memory Kinge Henry the Eight sealed with their chapter seale, they did demise, graunte and to fferme lett (amongst divers mannours, and other messuages landes tenementes and hereditamentes) unto one William Barker, gentleman, nowe deceassed, the aforesaid messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate, lyeinge, and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, And the aforesaid tythes of corne grayne and hay, and all and all manner other the said tythes of wooll, lambe, and smale and pryvie tythes, oblacions and alterages whatsoever; To have and to hould from the feast of Ste. Michaell tharchangell then last past, for and duringe the terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares thence next and imediately followeinge, and fully to be compleate and ended, By vertue of which demise the said William Barker entred into the said demised premisses, and was thereof possessed for all the said terme of yeares therein to come and not expired, and being soe thereof possessed of such estate, terme, and interest, the said estate, terme, and interest of the said William Barker, by some sufficient meanes in the law afterwards, came unto one John Barker, gent., by vertue whereof the said John Barker entred into the same premisses soe demised to the said William Barker, and was thereof possessed for and duringe the residue of the sayd terme of yeares then to come and not expired, and beinge soe thereof possessed, he the said John Barker, in or aboute the xxij.th yeare of the raigne of our late soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, by sufficiente assureance and conveyance in the lawe, did assigne assure and convey over unto Sir John Huband knight, synce deceassed, the said messuages, landes, tenementes, and glebe landes, scituate lyeinge and beinge within the said parishe of Stratford uppon Avon, and all and singuler the tythes before specified, and all his estate, right, tytle, interest and terme of yeares of and in the same: To have and to hould for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired, reserveinge uppon and by the said assureance and conveyance the annuell or yearely rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* of lawfull money of England at the ffeastes of Ste. Michaell tharchangell and thannunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin, by even and equall porcions, In and by which said assureance and conveyance (as one Henry Barker gent. executour of the last will and testamente of the said John Barker, or administratour of his goodes and chattles, or otherwise assignee of the said rente from the said John Barker, hath divers and sundry tymes given forth; and of which, yf the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* or anie parte thereof shall happe at anie tyme to be unpaid, the tenauntes of the premisses as he sayeth shall find) there was, by some sufficiente meanes, good and sufficiente provision causion and securyty hadd and made, that yf the said annuell or yearely rente or anie parte thereof, should be behind and unpaid in parte or in all after eyther of the said ffeaste dayes wherein the same ought to be paid by the space of fforty dayes, beinge lawfully demaunded at the porch of the parishe church of Stratford aforesaid, That then yt should and might be lawfull to and for the said William Barker his executours administrators and assignes, into all and singuler the said messuages, landes, tenementes, glebe land and tythes, and other the premisses soe assured and assigned unto the said Sir John Huband, to enter, and the same to have againe repossesse [repossede, MS.] and enjoy as in his or their former estate; By vertue of which said assignemente assureance and conveyance soe made to the

said Sir John Huband, he the said Sir John Huband entred into all and singuler the same premisses soe assigned unto him, and was thereof possessed for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares then to come, and not expired, under the condicion aforesaid, and subjecte to the forfeyture of all the said terme to him assured and conveyed, yf defaulte of payemente of the aforesaid rente xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* happened to be mad contrary to the true entente and meaninge of the said provision and security in and uppon the same assureance soe hadd and made: And whereas sythence the said assureance and conveyance soe made to the said Sir John Huband, all the said assigned premisses are of divers and sundry parcells, and by divers and sundry severall sufficiente meane assignementes and under estates deryved under the said assureance and conveyance soe made unto the said Sir John Huband, for very greate sumes of money and valuable consideracions, come unto and nowe remayne in your said oratours, and other the persons hereafter in theis presentes named, and they have severall estates of and in the same parcells, as followeth; That is to saie, your oratour Richard Lane an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne and grayne of and in the barony of Clopton, and the village of Shottery, being of and within the parishe of Stratford uppon Avon, of the yearely value of lxxx.*li.*, and of and in divers messuages, landes, tenementes and other hereditamentes in Shottery aforesaid and Drayton, within the said parishe of Stratford uppon Avon, of the yearely value of x.*li.* by the yeare; and your oratour Thomas Greene an estate or interest for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of and in one messuage with thappurtenaunces in Old Stratford, of the yearely value of three powndes; and your oratour William Shackspeare hath an estate and interest of and in the moyty or one half of all tythes of corne and grayne aryseinge within the townes villages and ffieldes of Old Stratford, Byshopton and Welcombe, being of and in the said parishe of Stratford, and of and in the moity or half of all tythes of wool and lamb, and of all small and privy tythes, oblacions, and alterages arisynge or increasyng in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesayd, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, beinge of the yearely value of threescore powndes; and the right honorable Sir George Carewe knight, Lord Carewe of Clopton, hath an estate and interest for the terme of nyneteene yeares or thereaboutes yet to come, of and in the tythes of corne grayne and hay aryseinge in the village and fieldes of Bridgtowne in the said parishe of Stratford of the value of xx.*li.*; and your oratour the said Richard Lane an estate of and in the same, in reversion thereof, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares then to come and not expired: and Sir Edward Grevill knight the reversion of one messuage at Stratford aforesaid, after the estate of one John Lupton therein determined, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares, beinge of the yearely value of fforty shillinges or thereaboutes; and Sir Edward Conway, knight, hath an estate and interest for and duringe the residue of the said terme of and in the tythes of corne grayne and haye of Loddington, another village of and within the said parishe of Stratford uppon Avon, of the yearely value of xxx.*li.*; and Mary Combe widowe and William Combe gent. and John Combe gent., or some or one of them, an estate for the terme of six yeares or thereaboutes yet to come of and in the other moyty or half of the tythes of corne and grayne aryseinge within the townes villages and ffieldes of Old Stratford aforesaid, and Bishopton and Welcome in the said parishe of Stratford, and of and in the moyty or half of all tythes of wooll and lambe and of all smale and pryvy tythes oblacions and alterages ariseinge or encreasinge in or within the wholl parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of lx.*li.*

(and of and in the tythes of corne, grayne and hay of Rien Clyfford, within the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x.*li.*); and the said Thomas Greene an estate of and in the reversion of the same moyty of all the same tythes of corne and grayne, and wooll and lambe, and smale and privie tythes, oblacions and alterages, for and during all the residue of the said terme of ffourescore and twelve yeares which after the ffeast day of thannunciacion of our blessed lady Ste. Mary the Virgin which shalbe in the yeare of our Lord God 1613 shalbe to come and unexpired, and John Nashe gent. an estate of and in the tythes of corne, grayne, and haie aryseinge within the village and fieldes of Drayton within the parish of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xx. markes for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares; and John Lane gent. an estate for and duringe all the residue of the said terme, of and in one hereditamente in Stratford aforesaid, heretofore called Byddles Barne, lately made and converted into divers and sundry tenementes or dwellinge howses, and divers other messuages or tenementes of the yearely value of viij.*li.* or thereaboutes; and Anthonie Nashe an estate of and in one messuage or tenemente in Bridgstreete in Stratford aforesaid of the yearely value of ffoure powndes, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of yeares yet to come; the said William Combe and Mary Combe widowe, mother of the said William, or one of them, an estate of and in divers cottages and gardens in Old Stratford, and of and in ffyve leyes of pasture in Ryen-Clyfford in the said parishe of Stratford aforesaid, and of and in certayne landes or leyes in their or one of their closse or enclosure called Ste. Hill in the same parishe, of the yearely value of ffyve powndes [xl.*s*, *interlined*] or thereaboutes, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Daniell Baker gent. an estate [of] and in the tythes of Shottery meadowe and Broad Meadowe within the said parishe, of the yearely value of xx.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; John Smyth gent. an estate of and in divers messuages, tenementes, barnes, and gardens in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of viij.*li.* by the yeare, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Frauncys Smyth the younger gent. an estate of and in two barnes and divers messuages and tenementes with thappurtenaunces in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of xij.*li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; William Walford draper an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes lyeinge and beinge in the Chappell Streete in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of xl.*s.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; William Courte gent. an estate of and in two messuages or tenementes in the Chappell streete in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; John Browne gent. an estate of and in one messuage in Bridge streete aforesaid, in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the same terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Christopher Smyth of Willmecott an estate of and in one messuage with the appurtenaunces in Henley Streete in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, of the yearely value of iiij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and unexpired; Thomas Jakeman ["Tho. Jakeman in the bill named of Shottery I take is of Bynton, for eyther Jakeman, Kampson, or Cowper, bought the land in Bynton. The land which you entytle Jakeman to have, doth ly in Bynton ffields," MS. note.] an estate of and in one yard land in Shottery aforesayd in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of x.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij.

yeares yet to come and unexpired; and Richard Kempson of Bynton one yard land and a half in Bynton of the yerely value of eight poundes for and duryng all the residue of the sayd terme of lxxxxij. yeres yet to come and unexpired; Stephen Burman an estate of and in one yard land and a half in Shotterey aforesaid in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the [rep. in MS.] yearely value of xv.*li.*, for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired: Thomas Burman an estate of and in half a yard land in Shottery in the parishe of Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of v.*li.* for and dureinge all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired; and William Burman and the said Thomas Burman, executours of the last will and testament of one Stephen Burman late deceassed, an estate of and in one tenemente in Church Streete in Stratford aforesaid, of the yearely value of iij.*li.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. [yeares] yet to come and not expired; Thomas Horneby an estate of and in the messuage wherein he nowe dwelleth in Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid of the yearely value of iij.*li.* x.*s.* for and duringe all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares yet to come and not expired; Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Aynge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte widowe, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . Peare widowe, . . Younge widowe, and . . Byddle, have every of them severall estates for all the residue of the said terme of lxxxxij. yeares, some of them of and in severall messuages with thappurtenaunces, and others of them of and in severall shoppes barnes and severall gardens, every of the said severall messuages and partes of the premisses wherein they severally have such estates, beinge of the severall yearely values of three powndes by the yeare or thereaboutes; and by reason of the said severall estates and interestes soe respectyvely beinge in the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and in your said oratours, and in the sayd Mary Combe, William Combe, John Combe, John Lane, Anthonie Nashe, Thomas Barber, Daniell Baker, John Smyth, Frauncys Smyth, John Nashe, William Walford, William Courte, John Browne, Christopher Smyth, Thomas Jakeman, Stephen Burman, William Burman, Thomas Burman, John Lupton, Thomas Horneby, Thomas Hamond, John Fifield, William Smarte, Thomas Aynge, Thomas Holmes, Edward Ingram, Richard Ingram, Thomas Bucke, Thomas Gryffin, Edward Wylkes, . . Brunte, Thomas Vicars, Roberte Gryffin, Phillipp Rogers, . . . Fletcher, . . . Peare, . . . Younge, and . . . Byddle, every of them, and every of their executours and assignes, ought in all right, equity, reason, and good conscience, for and duringe the severall respectyve contynuances of their severall respectyve interestes, estates, and termes in the premisses, and accordinge to the severall values of the said severall premisses soe enjoyed by them, and the rentes they doe yearely receyve for the same, to pay unto the executours, administrators, or assignes of the said John Barker, a ratable and proporcionable parte and porcion of the same annuell or yearely rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* by and uppon the said assureance and conveyance soe as aforesaid by the said John Barker made unto the said Sir John Huband reserved and payeable; But soe yt is, yf yt may please your honorable good lordshippe, that the said Lord Carewe, Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, Mary Combe, William Combe, or anie other the said other partyes, at anie tyme synce the said assureances and conveyances soe made and derived from or under the said interest of the said Sir John Huband, for that uppon or by the deedes of their severall under estates or assignementes unto them made, they, or those under whom they clayme (excepte the said Mary Combe, Thomas Greene,

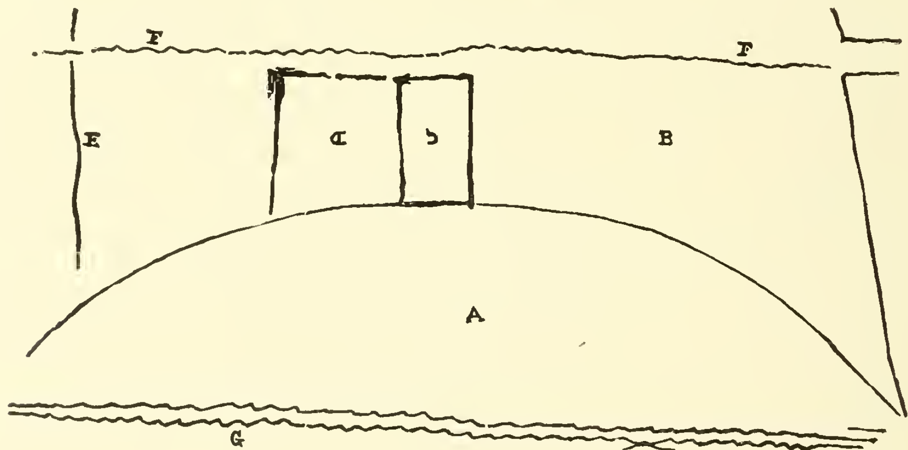
William Combe, John Combe, and William Shackspeare, whoe only are to pay for tythes of their said severall moytyes before specified v.*li.* and noe more yearely duringe their said respectyve interestes), were not directed nor appoynted nor anie covenauntes by them or anie of them, or anie other under whom they or anie of them doe clayme (excepte touchinge the said severall yearely ffyve powndes soe to be paid for the said moytyes) were made, whereby yt might appeare howe much of the same rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* ought to be paid for every of the said severall premisses (excepte concernyng the sayd moityes) could never yet be drawen to agree howe to paye the residue of the said rente, or be brought to pay anie precise parte or porcion at all towardes the same; but divers of them, beinge of greate ability, doe divers tymes forebeare and deny to pay anie parte at all towardes the same (except the persons before excepted only as touchinge the said severall ffyve powndes for their said severall moytyes), alledginge and saieinge, Lett them that are affrayd to forfeyte or loose their estates looke to yt, and amongst them see the said rente be truely and duelye paid, for they doubte but they shall doe well enoughe with the executours or assignes of the said Jo. Barker; further excusinge their not paieinge anie rente at all for the residue of the premisses other then the said moytyes, by sayeinge that yf they could fynd anie thinge in anie of their deedes of assignmentes or conveyances chargeinge them precisely with any part thereof, or in anie wise declareinge howe much they are to pay, they would willingly as is fitt pay such rate and porcion as they were soe bownd unto, but because they find noe such matter to charge them (excepte the said parties excepted, which by the deedes of their estates are directed for the said severall moytyes to pay the said severall yearely rentes of v.*li.* apeece), therefore they will not paye anie thinge at all towardes the said residue of the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*, untyll, by some legall course or proceedinge in some courte of equity, yt shalbe declared what parte or porcion in reason and equity every severall owner of the said severall premisses ought to pay towardes the same, and be judicially ordered thereunto, which lett them that thinke that a good course endevour to bringe to passe, when they shall see good, or wordes to such lyke effecte; soe as your oratours, their said respectyve estates and interestes of and in their said severall premisses aforesaid, and the estates of divers of the said partyes, which would gladly pay a reasonable parte towardes the said rente, but doe nowe refuse to joyne with your said oratours in this their said suite, for feare of some other of the said parties which doe soe refuse to contrybute, doe remayne and stand subjecte to be forfeyted by the negligence or willfullnes of divers or anie other of the said partyes, which manie tymes will pay nothinge, whenas your oratours Richard Lane and William Shackspeare, and some fewe others of the said parties, are wholly, and against all equity and good conscience, usually dryven to pay the same for preservacion of their estates of and in the partes of the premisses belonginge unto them, and albeyt your said oratours have taken greate paynes and travayle in entreatinge and endevoringe to bringe the said parties of their owne accordes, and without suite of lawe, to agree every one to a reasonable contribucion toward the same residue of the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* accordinge to the value of such of the premisses as they enjoy, and onely for their respectyve tymes and termes therein, yet have they refused and denied and styll doe refuse and deny to be perswaded or drawen thereunto, and some of them beinge encoraged, as yt should seme, by some frendly and kind promise of the said Henry Barker, assignee of the said John Barker, that they should find favour, thoughe their said estates should be all forfeyted, have given yt forth that they should be glade and cared not a whitt yf the estates of some or all the said premisses should be forfeyted, for they should doe well enough with the sayd

Henry Barker. In tender consideracion whereof, and for soe much as yt is against all equitye and reason that the estates of some that are willinge to paie a reasonable parte toward the said residue of the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.* havinge respecte to the smalnes of the values of the thinges they doe possesse, should depend uppon the earlesnes and frowardnes or other practices of others, which will not paie a reasonable parte or anie thinge at all toward the same, and for that yt is most agreeable to all reason, equity and good conscience, that every person, his executours and assignes, should be ratably charged with a yearely porcion toward the said residue of the sayd rente, accordinge to the yearely benefitt he enjoyeth or receaveth, and for that your oratours have noe meanes, by the order or course of the common lawes of this realme, to enforce or compell anie of the said partyes to yeald anie certayne contrybucion toward the same, and soe are and styll shalbee remediles therein, unles they may be in that behalf relieved by your Lordshippes gracious clemency and relyef to others in such lyke cases extended; May yt therefore please your good lordshippe, the premisses considered, and yt beinge alsoe considered that very manie poore peoples estates are subjecte to be overthrowen by breach of the condicion aforesaid, and thereby doe depend uppon the negligences, wills, or practices of others, and shall contynue dayly in doubte to be turned out of doores, with their wives and familes, thorough the practice or wilfullnes of such others, to write your honorable lettres unto the said Lord Carewe, thereby requiringe him to appeare in the highe Courte of Chancery to answere to the premisses, and to graunte unto your said oratours his Majesties most gracious writtes of subpena to be directed unto the said Sir Edward Grevill, Sir Edward Conway, and other the said parties before named, and to the said Henry Barker, whoe claymeth under the right and tytle of the said John Barker, and usually receyveth the said rente in his owne name, and usually maketh acquittaunces upon the receipt thereof, under his owne hand and in his owne name, as in his owne right, and usually maketh acquittances of divers partes thereof, thereby comaundinge them and every of them at a certayne day, and under a certayne payne therein to be lymitted, to be and personally appeare before your good lordshippe in his highnes most honorable Courte of Chancery, fully, perfectly, and directly to awnswere to all and every the premisses, and to sett forth the severall yearely values of the severall premisses soe by them enjoyed, and to shewe good cause whie a comission should not be awarded forth of the said most honorable courte for the examininge of witnesses to the severall values aforesaid, and for the assessinge, taxinge, and ratinge thereof, that thereuppon yt may appeare howe much every of the said parties, and their executours, administrators, and assignes, for and duringe their said severall respectyve estates and interestes, ought in reason proporcionably to pay for the same towardes the said residue of the said yearely rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*, that the same may be ordered and established by decree of your most honorable good Lordshippe accordingly, and the said Henry Barker to awnswere to the premisses, and to sett forth what estate or interest he claymeth in the said rente of xxvij.*li.* xiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*, and alsoe to shewe good cause whie he should not be ordered to accept the rentes ratablye to be assessed as aforesaid, and to enter onely into the tenement and estate onely of such persons which shall refuse or neglecte to pay suche parte of the said rente, as by your most honorable order there shalbe sett downe and rated uppon them severally to paie, and further to stand to and abide such further and other order and direccions touchinge the premisses as to your good Lordshipp shall seeme to stand with right equity and good conscience. And your Lordshipps said oratours shall dayly pray unto thalmightie for your Lordshippes health with dayly encrease in all honour and happines.

In the same year, the Globe Theatre was destroyed by fire, but it is not known whether Shakespeare was then a proprietor in that establishment. If this circumstance did not affect his pecuniary affairs, it is most likely that many of his manuscripts were unfortunately lost upon that occasion, and perhaps may have thus prevented the first collected edition of his works being as complete as could have been desired. The fire of London, and several accidents at Stratford, may also afterwards have destroyed some of the poet's writings and copies of his plays; yet it is extremely difficult to account for their total disappearance, and I cannot help thinking that letters of Shakespeare are still preserved in some obscure recess. According to Roberts (*An Answer to Mr. Pope's Preface to Shakespear*, 1729, p. 46), two large chests full of Shakespeare's loose papers and manuscripts were destroyed in the great fire at Warwick. They were, he says, "in the hands of an ignorant baker of Warwick, who married one of the descendants from Shakespear;" and he adds, that they "were carelesly scatter'd and thrown about as garret lumber and litter, to the particular knowledge of the late Sir William Bishop, till they were all consum'd in the general fire and destruction of that town." Not a vestige of any of Shakespeare's plays in his own handwriting is now known to be in existence, but a contemporary manuscript of one was recently found in the library of Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden, co. Kent, with alterations and corrections that render it probable it was used in some private theatricals performed by the Dering family. The disinterment of the vast stores of ancient papers which are preserved in the archives of the county families of England, is taking place by very slow degrees, and further evidences of importance may yet be looked for; but it will be well if succeeding enquirers do not hastily adopt alleged discoveries, for presumed early documents having of late years been skilfully fabricated, they should, in all cases, be subjected to the severest tests of authenticity.

In the year 1614, the attention of Shakespeare was directed to proposed enclosures in the open fields near Stratford, which were vehemently, and in the end successfully, opposed by the Corporation. He was interested in them on two accounts; for the land which he had purchased of the Combes in 1602 was situated in these fields, and the tithes bought of Huband extended over the grounds that were intended to be enclosed. The former estate is thus mentioned in a list of the "Auncient

ffreholdors in the ffields of Old Stratford and Welcombe," dated September 5th, 1614, and evidently drawn up for some purpose connected with the discussion of the question on behalf of the Corporation, — "Mr. Shakspeare, 4 yard land, noe common nor grownd beyond Gospell-bushe, nor grownd in Sandfield, nor none in Slow-hill-field beyond Bishopton, nor none in the enclosures beyond Bishopton." This property consisted wholly of arable land, and there were rights of common, connected with it, that would have been affected by any extended enclosure. It will be seen from the following plan, which is copied from a contemporary drawing, that the Welcombe field (A) was, at



this time, entirely open, and that the only enclosures between the river (G), and the "Warwick way" (F), consisted of two small plots (C) and (D), the first of which is described as "a former enclosure mad befor Mr. Combs tyme," and the latter, "the present newe enclosure abowt 14 acres." This was the commencement of the practical efforts made by Combe to accomplish his purposes. The land beyond the Warwick Way consisted of arable fields and common greensward; and the whole of this part of the country, with the insignificant exceptions just mentioned, was evidently quite open. In the plan, the land marked (B) is noted as being "comon greensword," and the left boundary (E) an "old dytch belongyng to Mr. Henry Smyth." Shakespeare, who must necessarily have disliked the enclosures, certainly appears, however, to have been apprehensive that they would be carried into effect; and, with the view of protecting his own interests, it seems that he

insisted upon receiving equitable compensation from the proprietors who expected to be benefited by the proposed design. The following paper, entitled *Coppy of the articles with Mr. Shakspeare*, which seems to be a contemporary extract from an agreement conceding a claim of this nature, is preserved in the collection of Mr. R. B. Wheler.

Vicesimo octavo die Octobris, anno Domini 1614. Articles of agreement indented [and] made betwene William Shackespeare of Stretford in the County of Warwicke gent. on the one partye, and William Replingham of Greete Harborowe in the Countie of Warwick gent. on the other partie, the daye and yeare abovesaid.

Inter alia. Item, the said William Replingham for him, his heires, executours, and assignes, doth covenaunte and agree to and with the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, That he the said William Replingham, his heires or assignes, shall, uppon reasonable request, satisfie content and make recompence unto him the said William Shackespeare or his assignes, for all such losse, detriment, and hinderance as he the said William Shackespeare, his heires and assignes, and one Thomas Greene gent., shall or maye be thought in the viewe and judgement of foure indifferent persons, to be indifferentlie elected by the said William and William, and their heires, and in default of the said William Replingham, by the said William Shackespeare or his heires onely, to survey and judge the same to sustayne or incurre for or in respecte of the increasinge of the yearlie value of the tythes they the said William Shackespeare and Thomas doe joyntlie or severallie hold and enjoy in the said fieldes or anie of them, by reason of anie inclosure or decaye of tyllage there ment and intended by the said William Replingham, and that the said William Replingham and his heires shall procure such sufficient securitie unto the said William Shackespeare and his heires for the performance of theis covenauntes, as shal bee devised by learned counsell; In witnes whereof the parties abovsaid to theis presentes interchangeablie their handes and seales have put, the daye and yeare first above wrytten.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us, Tho. Lucas, Jo. Rogers, Anthonie Nasshe, Mich. Olney.

A calamitous fire had happened at Stratford in the previous summer, and the Corporation alleged the distress of the poorer classes on that account as a reason their sufferings should not be increased by the enclosure. They sent their clerk, Thomas Greene, to London on this business. He was a lawyer, and appears to have been distantly related to Shakespeare, whom he terms his cousin, a word of very wide import in those days. It is possible that he belonged to the same family with a Thomas Green, *alias* Shakspere, who was buried at Stratford on March 6th, 1589-90. In the course of some memoranda by him, on a folio sheet in the possession of Mr. Wheler, Greene thus notices a conversation he had with Shakespeare on the subject under consideration:—" 1614. Jovis, 17 No. My cosen Shakspear comyng yesterdy to town, I went to see him how he

did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose no further than to Gospell Bush, and so upp straight (leavyng out part of the Dyngles to the ffield) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisburyes peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say they think ther will be nothyng done at all." Greene returned to Stratford about a fortnight after this date, and continuing his notes, he asserts that letters were sent by the Corporation to Shakespeare, and to Mainwaring, a person in the household of Lord Ellesmere:—"23 Dec. A hall. Lettres wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring, another to Mr. Shakspear, with almost all the company's hands to eyther. I also wrytte myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our acts (?), and then also a not of the inconvenyences wold happen by the inclosure." The letter addressed to Mainwaring is still in existence, detailing the inconveniences the projected enclosures would occasion; but that to the poet is unfortunately lost. It is possible that some influence had been exercised to endeavour to obtain Shakespeare's concurrence, which, if granted at first, was certainly afterwards withdrawn.

The tithes of corn and grain would necessarily have been affected by the transaction, William Combe's purpose being to turn the arable land into pasture, and plough up "the green sward of the meeres and banks." He had effected this to some extent, and an order of the Privy Council, in 1618, directs "that the land converted into pasture be again made arable for corn and grain, according to the course of husbandry there; and lastly that the meeres and banks be restored and made perfect." These *meeres* were slips of pasture land which served to mark the boundaries between various estates; and they were also termed *slades*. Most, if not all, of these meeres or slades, which were sometimes of considerable breadth, were common grounds. The contemplated measures would, undoubtedly, have been prejudicial to the Corporation and to Shakespeare, who were interested in the preservation of the arable land on account of their property in the tithes; and the poor of Stratford would naturally have condemned an innovation, which threatened the loss of common rights that were of great importance to them. William Combe persevered, from 1614 to 1618, in his endeavours to effect the enclosure, and the manuscript papers on the subject, which have been preserved, detail the history of the popular resistance to the design, which appears to have led

to disorders of a very serious nature. Shakespeare's attention, during the last two years of his life, was probably greatly directed to this subject, in connexion with which I have fortunately discovered three authentic notices of the great dramatist, which exhibit him in his retirement at Stratford-on-Avon, paying attention to business and local interests. They occur in a continuation of Thomas Greene's diary, the single leaf of which, in the possession of Mr. Wheler, has been previously quoted:—

1. [1614-15.] "10 Januarii, 1614. Mr. Manwaryng and his agreement for me with my cosen Shakspeare."

2. [1614-15.] "9 Jan. 1614. Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakspear, and then I was putt in by Thursday."

3. [1615.] "1 Sept. Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe."

The first of these entries would appear to show that Shakespeare had procured an agreement from Mainwaring, one of the proprietors, in order to protect his interests in the tithes, in the same way that he had obtained a similar security from Replingham. It is sufficiently apparent that, however much the poet disapproved of the project, he was fearful it might be effected, and therefore took every means in his power to preserve his own interests in the matter, in case Combe and the other proprietors succeeded in their efforts. The second notice refers to the agreement between Shakespeare and Replingham, previously quoted, in which the name of the writer of the diary, Thomas Greene, "was putt in by Thursday." The third, and by far the most important entry, affords an interesting authentic note of Shakespeare's familiar conversation in every-day life, exhibiting him in Stratford only a few months before his decease, speaking, in his own person, of the great dislike he felt towards the proposal of the enclosure. The important position he held in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and the degree of local influence he must have possessed, are evinced in a remarkable degree by the value evidently attached to his opinions on this subject; which were of sufficient moment not only to render them worthy of this special memorandum by Greene, but also to produce a letter to him signed by nearly all

the members of the Corporation, at a period when it is possible he might have been inclined to give a hesitating compliance to the wishes of Combe. Thomas Greene's writing belongs to the most difficult description of all the small running hands of the time for the modern decipherer; but by patient examination, and careful perusal of many of his papers, a familiarity with the character has been acquired, which enables me to say, with some confidence, that the interpretation above given may be depended upon. A fac-simile of the last and most curious memorandum is given on the previous page.

The career of the great dramatist was now drawing towards its close. In the following January, he is described as in "perfect health and memory," but in the third month afterwards, he was no more; a circumstance which appears to be in some measure confirmatory of an opinion which existed at Stratford early in the reign of Charles II., that his death resulted from a fever. The Rev. John Ward, vicar of Stratford, in a MS. memorandum-book which was commenced in February, 1661-2, and completed in April, 1663, "att Mr. Brooks his house in Stratford uppon Avon in Warwickeshire," asserts that "Shakespear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted." This memorandum was made at Stratford within fifty years after the poet's decease, and may be relied upon as exhibiting the belief of persons to whom the history of the event would probably have been familiar. The account is to be estimated at something considerably beyond the value of a tradition; and, making allowance for a vulgar exaggeration that the fever was contracted from the effects of a convivial meeting, Ward's testimony may reasonably be accepted. The meeting itself may very likely have occurred shortly before Shakespeare's death. Drayton was a frequent visitor in the neighbourhood of Stratford, and there is no improbability in the supposition that occasionally parties were entertained at New Place, to which himself, Ben Jonson, and other literary friends were invited. The two circumstances recorded by Ward are of the highest degree of probability. It is their presumed connexion with each other that must be rejected. Shakespeare expired at New Place on

April 23d, 1616, and was interred in the chancel of Stratford Church two days afterwards, the parish register recording the burial of "Will. Shakspere gent." on the 25th of that month.

The poet was only fifty-two years of age at the time of his decease; "an untimely death for the world," observes Washington Irving, "for what fruit might not have been expected from the golden autumn of such a mind, sheltered as it was from the stormy vicissitudes of life, and flourishing in the sunshine of popular and royal favour."

It is hardly to be expected, at this distance of time, that a more exact account of the poet's last days will be recovered, unless, by some fortunate accident, any memoranda on the subject made, with a religious view, by Mrs. Hall or her husband, should have been preserved. The paragraph at the commencement of the will, which commends the poet's soul into the hands of God, "hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting," appears to be the usual formula employed by the Protestant scriveners of the day, and, therefore, not to be accepted as an evidence in the consideration of his opinions. The Rev. R. Davies, who died in 1708, asserts that "he dyed a papist;" but this statement is irreconcilable with the history of his family, who, it is well known, were deeply imbued with the Puritanical spirit which prevailed so strongly at Stratford in the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1614, as appears from the Chamberlains' accounts, a preacher, one of the religious propagandists of the day, was entertained at New Place,—

"Item, for on quart of sack, and on quart of clarrett winne, geven to a precher at the New Place, xx.*d.*" This minister was received at Stratford under the sanction of a Puritanical Corporation, and was entertained partly at their expense at

Shakespeare's residence, a circumstance which shows at how early a period his family were turning their attention to serious subjects. It may be questioned whether the poet himself shared in their enthusiasm, but there can be no doubt, from the important notice just quoted, that he had at least the graceful taste not to interpose any impediments in their path. His own departure was probably soothed by the presence of the religious friends of the Halls; but there is, unfortunately, a testimony in the epitaph on his daughter which implies that his life had not been one of piety:—

> Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
> Wise to salvation was good Mistriss Hall.
> *Something of Shakespeare was in that*, but this
> *Wholy* of Him with whom she's now in blisse.

Amongst the tributes to his memory which the death of the great poet suggested to the writers of the day, many of which

On Mr William Shakespeare
who dyed in Aprill 1616./.

Renowned Spenser, lye a thought more nye
To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumont lye
A little neerer Spencer, to make roome
for Shakespeare in yo' threefold fowerfold tombe!
To lodge all fower in one bedd make a shift
Untill Doomsday; for hardly will a fift
Betwixt this day and that, by fate be slaine
for whom your Curtaines may be drawne againe.
If your precedency in death doth barre
A fourth place in your sacred Sepulchre
Under this carved marble of thyne owne
Sleepe rare Tragedian, Shakespeare sleep alone
Thy unmolested peace, unshared Cave
Possesse as Lord, not Tennant of thy grave.
That unto us and others it may bee
Honor hereafter to be laid by thee:/
Mr Willm Basse./

have probably perished, the most popular was an elegy by William Basse, of Moreton, near Thame, in Oxfordshire, which

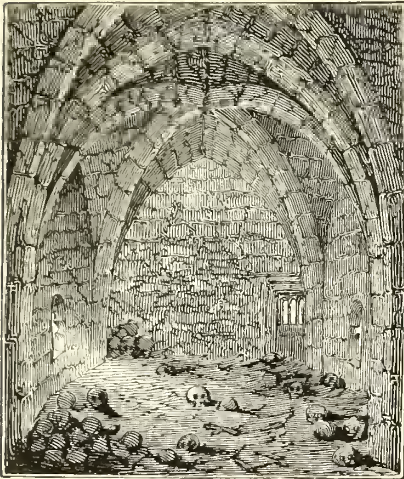
possesses some merit and great interest, and may possibly have suggested those famous lines of the "three poets in three distant ages born." Basse was the author of several poems, now forgotten. Like many other authors, he will be remembered by a few short lines; for most of his efforts belong to those of the "mob who write with ease." The foregoing elegy was written before the year 1623, being mentioned in the commendatory verses of Ben Jonson prefixed to the first folio; and it seems reasonable to presume that it appeared very shortly after Shakespeare's death. It is continually found in early manuscript miscellanies, one of which, in transposing the names of Spenser and Chaucer, in the first two lines, suggests an improved, if not the original, reading. Another copy of it will be found in a future volume, collated with the best manuscripts that can be referred to. The fac-simile on the preceding page is taken from an early and pure transcript, preserved in the Chetham library at Manchester. This composition has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Dr. Donne.

Shakespeare was buried in the chancel of Stratford church, a few paces from that part of the wall against which the charnel-house was erected, the arch of the door-way which led to it, with its ancient corbels, still remaining. A flat stone covers his remains, with the following inscription,—

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE:
BLESE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.

but the poet's name does not appear. No reasonable doubt, however, can be raised as to the fact of this being his last resting-place. It is parallel with the graves of the other members of the family, and Dugdale, in 1656, expressly states that "his body is buried" underneath this stone. The writer of a letter previously quoted asserts that this epitaph was "made by himselfe a little before his death," a late belief, unnoticed before the year 1693, the date of that letter, and not given on the testimony of the old parish clerk, who furnished the writer with other information of a less doubtful character. It is unnecessary to say such wretched doggrel never could have proceeded from the pen of Shakespeare, though it is by no

means improbable that it had its origin with a relative or a friend, who was acquainted with the poet's own wishes respecting the repose of his remains; and the feeling conveyed by the lines is entitled to respect, however humble be the guise in which it has come down to us. There has long been an opinion that Shakespeare's solicitude on this subject was derived from an aversion to the horrors of the old charnel-house, which Ireland (*Picturesque Views*, 8vo, 1795, p. 212,) mentions as containing "the largest assemblage of human bones" he had ever beheld, and which was no doubt an object familiar to the great dramatist. But whether this be the truth, or if it were merely the natural wish of a sensitive and thoughtful mind, it is a source of congratulation that those four uninstructed lines should have protected his ashes undisturbed for so many generations. The nearest approach to an excavation into the grave of Shakespeare was made in the summer of 1796, in digging a vault about a foot from the head of it, when an opening appeared which was presumed to indicate the commencement of the locality of the bard's remains, but the most scrupulous care was taken not to disturb the neighbouring earth in the slightest degree; and Mr. Wheler, who well remembers the circumstance, says the clerk was placed there until the brick-work of the adjoining vault was completed, to prevent any one making an examination. No relics whatever were visible through the small opening that thus presented itself, and as the poet was buried in the ground, not in a vault, the earth moreover including a considerable degree of moisture, the great probability is that dust alone remains; a consideration that may tend to discourage an opinion expressed by some, that it is due to the interests of science to unfold to the world the material abode which formerly held so great an intellect. It is not many years since a phalanx of "trouble-tombs," lanterns and spades in hand, assembled in the chancel of Stratford church at dead of night, intent on disobeying the solemn injunction that the dust of Shakespeare should not be disturbed. But the humble lines prevailed. There were some amongst the number who,



INTERIOR OF THE CHARNEL HOUSE.

at the last moment, refused to incur the warning condemnation, and the design was happily abandoned.

Near the entrance to the charnel-house, on the North wall of the chancel, is erected a monument to Shakespeare, at an elevation of about five feet from the floor. This interesting memorial, as appears from a memorandum made by Dugdale, (*Life, Diary, &c.*, 4to, 1827, p. 99,) in 1653, was the work either of a Dutch sculptor and "tombe-maker," one Gerard Johnson, a native of Amsterdam, who was settled in London, in St. Thomas Apostle's, in the Ward of Vintry; or of one of his sons. My reason for suggesting the latter, is that the elder Gerard having been an English resident twenty-six years in 1593, it is most probable he had at least relinquished the practice of his profession in 1616. Dugdale's words are,—"Shakspeares and John Combes monuments, at Stratford super Avon, made by one Gerard Johnson;" so that it appears that Johnson was also the artist engaged for the execution of John Combe's effigy. Combe left no less a sum than £60 for the erection of a "convenient tombe" to be raised to his memory within a year after his death, but as his will was not proved till November, 1615, although he had died in the previous year, the probability is that the executors did not comply with this direction till after Shakespeare's death; and presuming, as is most reasonable to do, that both monuments, being made in the same costume by the same designer, at what was in those days an inconvenient and expensive distance for their conveyance to Stratford, were ordered in some kind of connexion with each other, it may be concluded that the one to the memory of the poet was executed within a very short time after his decease. Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr. Hall, was in London a few weeks after his death; and, adopting the opinion of most eminent sculptors, who include the name of Sir Francis Chantrey,—an opinion which is supported by tradition,—that the face was copied from a cast after Nature, it may reasonably be conjectured that one of the first duties he performed towards the

EXTERIOR OF THE CHARNEL HOUSE, STRATFORD.

memory of his friend, was to place into the sculptor's hands the best materials he could procure to enable him to produce a resemblance which should be satisfactory. The monument was certainly erected in Stratford church before the year 1623, being mentioned in some verses prefixed to the first folio edition of Shakespeare; and must, therefore, have been subjected to the criticism of his relatives and friends, who could scarcely be supposed to have accepted a mere fanciful likeness. The bust, when minutely examined, contains indications of individuality that render such a supposition altogether inadmissible; for no artist, working either from a picture, or relying on memory, description, or imagination, would have introduced the peculiarities which belong to it, amongst which may be specially noticed the slight but singular fall of the cheek under the right eye, which has been attributed to the sculptor copying from a cast taken after death. The forehead and the formation of the head should alone be decisive evidences in favour of its authenticity. There is, in truth, a convincing and a mental likeness in this monument, one that grows upon us by contemplation, and makes us unwilling to accept any other resemblance. If it has fallen beneath a cloud, the reason must be sought for in the circumstance that an image, the composition of which derives no assistance from the ideal, can scarcely be expected to satisfy the imagination in the delineation of features belonging to so great an intellect. But to those who can bring themselves to believe that, notwithstanding his unrivalled genius, Shakespeare was a realization of existence, and in his daily career, much as other men were, the bust at Stratford will convey very nearly all that it is desirable to know of his outward form. The careful and excellent drawing of the monument by Mr. Fairholt, which forms the frontispiece to the present volume, will give the reader a clearer idea of the original than could be afforded by any description. The material of the bust itself, and of the cushion on which it rests, is a limestone of a blue tint; the columns on either side are of black polished marble; and the capitals and bases belonging to them are composed of freestone. The whole of the entablatures were formerly of white alabaster, but when the monument was repaired in 1749, the architraves being decayed, new ones of marble were substituted; but no other material alteration, if we except that of the old colours, seems to have been made in the original. The early engraving by Hollar,

published in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1656, which was copied or imitated by Vandergucht, is evidently too inaccurate to be of any authority; the probability being that it was not taken from the monument itself, and a comparison of it with Vertue's drawing, published in Pope's edition of Shakespeare, 1725, evidently showing that the details were fanciful. Vertue introduced a copy of the Chandos portrait in place of the original bust, but the other portion of his engraving is important as exhibiting the general state of the monument long before the renovations of 1749. It may be observed that the hour-glass beneath the hand of the boy on the left hand side, in Vertue's print, appears to be an artistical introduction. The artists of the last century disdained accuracy in such matters, and Mr. Greene possesses a painting of the monument made before it was restored, which has other variations that are clearly inaccurate. Hollar's delineation is beyond measure fantastically curious, the bard being represented in a most awkward position, unmeaningly pressing a cushion against his body, while lions' heads surmount each of the columns, and at the corners of the upper part are the children, not as in Mr. Fairholt's drawing, but seated on the outward edges, with their legs dangling over the entablature.

The bust was originally painted to resemble life. The face and hands were of a flesh colour, the eyes a light hazel, the hair and beard auburn. The doublet was scarlet, and the loose gown was painted black. The monument was repaired, and the old colours renovated, in the year 1749, but great care was fortunately taken to preserve the genuine character of the whole. The Rev. Joseph Greene, in a letter dated September 27th, 1749, observes, "In repairing the whole, which was done by contribution of the neighbourhood early in the current year, care was taken, as nearly as cou'd be, not to add to or diminish from what the work consisted of and appear'd to be, when first erected; and really, except changing the substance of the architraves from white alabaster to white marble, nothing has been done but supplying with the original materials whatsoever was by accident broken off, reviving the old colouring, and renewing the gilding that was lost." The colours remained till the year 1793, when the bust was painted white, under the direction of Malone, not delicately and artistically, but by a common house-painter. It is to be feared that this injudicious act has irretrievably effaced some of its

more characteristic features, and the regret is the greater, for no other representation of the bard is so authentic.

As the subject is one of considerable interest, a few brief particulars respecting the steps which were taken for the purpose of restoring the monument, may not be deemed surperfluous. They are chiefly derived from the MS. papers of the Rev. Joseph Greene, previously mentioned as Master of the Stratford School at the time, which were very kindly placed in my hands by his descendant, Richard Greene, Esq., F.S.A. The Committee, who undertook the management of the restoration, met at the Falcon Inn, opposite New Place, and employed one John Hall, *limner*, for the execution of the work, *provided he takes care, according to his ability, that the monument shall become as like as possible to what it was when first erected.* The extract from Greene's letter above given satisfactorily shows that this direction, which confers great credit on the taste of the Committee, was carefully adhered to. It seems, from Greene's memoranda, that several difficulties arose in the pecuniary management of the business, and that the monument was not restored till the commencement of the year 1749, although sufficient funds had been collected some time previously. The bust does not appear to have been in a very bad state of repair, beyond what was caused by the decay of the paint, but its appearance was probably, from that cause, somewhat impaired. A person who visited Stratford a few years after the restoration by Hall, after observing that he could not discover a single person of the name of Shakespeare in Stratford, says, "his monument the sexton's wife told me had been very much neglected, and had *a lamentable appearance* till about four or five years since, when Ward's company of comedians repaired and beautified it from the produce of a benefit play exhibited for that purpose." An inhabitant of Stratford gives a rather interesting account of the actors here alluded to. "A company of strolling players," he says, "much the best set I have seen out of London, came here in May last (1748), and continu'd, with a little intermission, 'till September: the master of these wanderers, one Mr. John Ward, prevailed with my father Bartlett, the present mayor, to lend him our spatious Town-hall, wherein to erect his theatre for the term afore-mentioned, on the previous condition of depositing in his hands five guineas for the use of the poor of Stratford. The actors met with much encouragement, even beyond what they themselves cou'd have expected;

and Mr. Ward, to express his gratitude, voluntarily made another generous proposal of acting a play of Shakespeare, the profit arising from which he declar'd shou'd be solely appropriated (as the bill expresses it) to the repairing the original monument of the poet, very genteely refusing to apply a shilling of the money to his own use. Printed bills were therefore given out for this purpose; and on the ninth of this instant September, about sixteen or seventeen pounds were receiv'd from the spectators of the play of *Othello* then acted in the Town-hall." It is greatly to Ward's credit, that when he heard of the difficulties anticipated to take place in carrying out the design of repairing the monument, he voluntarily offered to endeavour to supply any deficiency by the repetition of a gratuitous performance.

On a tablet under the monumental effigy are eight lines, two in Latin and six in English, eulogizing the deceased poet in friendly and judicious language, at least, even if the prosody of the former be impugned. A few years ago, an ingenious metrical translation of the first two lines was published, in fictitious old orthography,

IVDICIO PYLIVM, GENIO SOCRATEM, ARTE MARONEM,
TERRA TEGIT, POPVLVS MÆRET, OLYMPVS HABET.

STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST?
READ IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOVS DEATH HATH PLAST,
WITH IN THIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE WITH WHOME
QVICK NATVRE DIDE: WHOSE NAME DOTH DECK YS TOMBE
FAR MORE THEN COST: SIEH ALL, YT HE HATH WRITT,
LEAVES LIVING ART, BVT PAGE, TO SERVE HIS WITT.

OBIIT ANO DOI 1616
ÆTATIS, 53, DIE 23 AP.

as being derived from a contemporary manuscript; but I have ascertained, from unquestionable authority, that it is a modern fabrication,—so surrounded is the path of Shakespearian enquiry by snares and delusions. The whole is a pleasing testimony to Shakespeare's literary reputation, and of the estimation in which his writings were held by his successors. It may be as well to observe that the word *sith* in the seventh line, an archaism for *since*, is, by an error, engraved *sieh* in the original; and the mistake is intentionally retained in the above faithful copy, which was reduced from a careful rubbing of the entire inscription. It is scarcely necessary to observe that 'mæret' should be 'mœret.'

This account of the poet's monument would be incomplete were there not to be added an artist's description and opinion of its value and authenticity. The above few remarks chiefly relate to the history of the effigy; but where any observations, indicating expressions of opinion, are noticed, they will, I trust, be regarded as merely those of one who is not in any way conversant with either the theory or practice of art. The following interesting

essay on this subject, which was kindly written by F. W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A., expressly for the present work, will amply supply my own deficiencies in this important respect. When Mr. Fairholt was at Stratford, engaged in preparing the representation of the monument affixed to this volume, peculiar facilities were granted by the vicar for enabling him to make a very close examination of the original.

The Stratford Monument has been singularly fortunate in having received a less amount of injury than has fallen to the share of many similar memorials. Had it not been for Malone's paint, we should look upon the bust in its pristine integrity, as Shakespeare's own family saw it, uninjured in any serious degree. Notwithstanding the oft-repeated regret at the paucity of personal relics of the poet, the world is so far fortunate as to still retain this—the most interesting one—in so satisfactory a condition. I believe it to be a careful and accurate transcript of the features of our greatest bard; it was executed under the immediate superintendence of his own family, has received the sanction and approval of his own personal friends, and has happily come down to us uninjured. I am strengthened in my reliance on this bust as the only portrait of Shakespeare to be implicitly depended on, the more I study its details, and contrast its claims with those of any other presumed likeness. When Bullock made a careful cast from it in 1814, he expressed his great delight at its excellence; and in a letter to John Britton (Appendix to Autobiography, 1850, p. 6), he says, "It is a fine work of art, and I perceive on the face evident signs of its being taken from a cast, which at once stamps the validity of its being a real likeness." In this opinion I fully concur; and it is most likely that, as the sculptor lived in London, a cast was sent to him to work from, and the monument executed in his own workshop and forwarded to Stratford when finished. A very careful examination of the bust will enable us to detect minute and delicate traits of features, which would scarcely have been preserved except through such means. There are slightly indicated furrows in the forehead, a very marked peculiarity in the muscle which passes from the summit of the nose round the lower part of the right eye; and a most life-like exactness and individuality about those which surround the mouth, particularly upon the left side. Indeed, the whole of the face has been sculptured with singular delicacy and remarkable care, except in one instance, which, indeed, still more strongly confirms the position now assumed. The eyes are not only badly executed, but are untrue to nature. They are mere elliptical openings, exhibiting none of the delicate curvatures which ought to be expressed; the ciliary cartilages are straight, hard, and unmeaning, and the glands in the corners next to the nose are entirely omitted. This remarkable want of truthfulness can easily be accounted for, if we believe the sculptor to have worked from a cast of the features, in which the eyes would have been closed. In his copy it was essential that they should be opened; and the inartistic manner in which this is done, is a still greater proof of his inability to have executed the rest of the face so well, had he not entirely followed a good model in every minute particular.

Gerard Johnson, the sculptor of the monument, was a professed "tombe-maker," and is so described in a list of foreigners residing in London, compiled in 1593. He was born at Amsterdam, and lived in the parish of "St. Thomas Apostells," employing at that time "four jurnimen; two prentizes, and one Englishman at work." He had been before employed to execute the effigy of Shakespeare's friend, John Combe, for Stratford Church; but he appears to have

performed his task with less care than he bestowed on the poet's bust. Combe's is certainly an inferior performance, but possesses an additional interest in coming from the same hand, and being a full-length figure dressed precisely in the same style as the poet, it enables us more clearly to comprehend the entire effect of the great dramatist's costume only partially delineated on his tomb. It is possible that Shakespeare's friends and fellow-actors may have watched the progress of Johnson's work in London, and that it may have been sculptured under considerable advantages of this kind, before it received the final sanction of his own family at Stratford. Certainly all other portions of the monument are executed with less care than the face of the poet; and that would appear to have been the result rather of some authentic mould to work from, than of the artistic power of the sculptor, who, when left to himself (as in opening the eyes), appears to have been sufficiently prosaic. The features of the children seated in the entablature are additional confirmations of this.

It is only in recent times that the bust has received its due appreciation as a portrait of the poet; and this has been established by the most careful analysis, and direct testing of all objection. When viewed from the floor of the chancel, the fleshy character of the lower part of the face predominates, and the great length of the upper lip is too distinctly visible; but fairly examined at the proper and natural elevation, the whole of the head is singularly satisfactory. The upper part is high, and the forehead broad and capacious, but it is by no means unnaturally so; nor is its height so entirely peculiar and remarkable as we see it expressed in some of the painted portraits claiming to be genuine. Indeed, this bare and high forehead is no bad test of the truth or falsehood of some of these productions, which represent disease rather than intellect, and show traces of exaggerated additions of this kind to features entirely misappropriated. The objection frequently urged against the length of the upper lip was met on one occasion, and most triumphantly refuted, in the presence of the late Sir Walter Scott. Mr. Britton relates that Bullock, in finishing his cast from the monument, invited Sir Walter Scott, West, (the President of the Royal Academy,) Dr. Spurzheim, the phrenologist, and himself, to inspect it. Sir Walter "could not reconcile himself to the extraordinary, and, as he remarked, the unnatural space between the nose and the upper lip. This, all agreed, manifested some error in the sculptor; until Bullock, looking at Sir W. Scott, said that his features had the same peculiarity, even more remarkably than those of Shakespeare. Scott doubted this, and even wagered that it was not so; when a pair of compasses was employed to settle the question, and the modern bard lost his wager by a quarter of an inch." I may here remark that Sir Francis Chantry expressed his conviction that the bust was executed from a plaster mould taken from the face of the poet, and that several living artists and sculptors have confirmed the opinion.

The poet is represented in the act of composing his immortal works. His right hand once held a pen; his left rests on a sheet of paper placed on the cushion before him. The bust was originally coloured to resemble life, but was thickly covered with white paint, in the year 1793, at the instigation of Mr. Malone. Had this been done with the utmost delicacy, it would still have been a subject for regret at losing the characteristic features of the bard, "in his habit as he lived:" but the act appears to have been committed in a reckless and wanton manner by the commonest house painter, who has laid on the colour so thickly and so coarsely, that the rough grain of the brush is everywhere visible, and some of the minuter features of the dress almost obliterated. They cannot be seen from the ground, and are only to be detected by a closer contact than is usually allowed. The pen which was once held in the right hand was long since

detached by some visitor; it was formed of lead, like the coronets on the effigies of the Earl and Countess of Totness in the same church; not an unusual circumstance as a means of supplying the finer details of sculpture. A real pen was afterwards placed in the fingers, which were originally perforated for that purpose; but this also is now removed. The first finger of the right hand has been broken through, between the base of the nail and the first joint; this reprehensible act was that of a visitor who had actually removed it, but it was recovered, and replaced. The fracture extends into the second finger; and this is all the damage which the effigy has received during the last two centuries.

As the bust was originally coloured, it represented Shakespeare habited in a scarlet doublet, with a close row of buttons down the centre, five "slashes" appearing on each side. The sleeves of the doublet are also slashed, and a narrow lace "guards" the seam down the middle. Over this is worn a loose black gown, the hanging sleeves just apparent at the back of the dress. A plain white band surrounds the neck, and broad white wristbands the hands. The eyes were of light hazel; the hair and beard auburn, the former arranged in short curls; the moustachios trimmed upward, and increasing in size from the nose; and the beard is confined to the chin, being arranged in two tufts of unequal sizes, the smallest being the uppermost. The cushion in front was originally coloured green on the upper part, and crimson on the lower; a gilt cord passed along the centre, the tassels on each end of which were gilt. The bust is placed under an arch and entablature, supported by Corinthian columns of black marble, with gilded bases and capitals. Under the soffit of the arch are seven sunk panels, each filled with a rose sculptured in relief; the centre of the latter being gilt, and the leaves red, tinged with gold externally. The wall behind the bust was painted black in 1834, before which time it had been of a dark lavender tint. The bust is rough on the back, and there is a considerable indentation at the back of the head. It was lifted out for Mr. Bullock when making his cast, and has not been put back close to the wall as it ought to have been. On the entablature above is a central pier containing the poet's arms in bas-relief, in a shield *or*, on a bend *sable*, a tilting spear of the first, headed *argent*, the point upwards. The crest a falcon, with outspread wings, bearing a golden spear, and standing on an esquire's helmet. The helmet and orle are tinted black and gold; the falcon is painted light brown, with darker spots all over it. The mantling which surrounds the shield is red externally, and white internally with dark spots. This portion of the monument is very rudely executed. A skull, coloured brown, is placed upon the apex of the tomb.

On each side of the arms are seated two figures of children upon fragments of rock. The one on the spectator's right has the eyes closed, and holds in the left hand an inverted torch, as if about to extinguish the flame, resting the right on a skull. The figure on the other side rests the right hand on a spade, and the left on the rock, and looks and turns towards the other figure. They may be intended as emblematic representations of Death and the Grave. They are coarsely executed and vulgar in feature, without expression, and are unfinished behind, being flat and rough next the wall, the hair of that to the right being a mere rude lump of stone. An examination of the entablature, upon which the figures are seated, will show that the veining of the marble is not real; it has a deep broad tint of black running diagonally across it, but it has been painted with fancy veining in a course contrary to this and to nature. It is evident that the figures of the children have been untouched, although they have been so variously represented. Thus, in Vertue's engraving, the one to the left rests his hand on a hour-glass; but the hand is so firmly sculptured on the rock, that this never could have been the case; the other attributes are omitted, and both are represented holding lighted torches

upright with halos round them! Even Boydell's finished engraving—the best of the series—depicts the spade held by the figure to the left as an inverted torch. This print shows the dark broad tint formerly painted on the wall all round the tomb, as a relief. Mr. Wheler also informs me that he remembers, many years ago, a wooden canopy over it.

In my own attempt at delineating this important memorial, I have been only actuated by a desire to represent it truthfully; the proportions of the parts varying greatly in every view of it already published, and many of the details being omitted, tampered with, or occasionally improved upon, in a way not consistent with fact.

It will be readily conceded that, if the view here taken of the authenticity of the Stratford bust be correct, no other representation of the poet is an authority to be placed in opposition to the reception of any of the features there delineated. The earliest engraving of a portrait of Shakespeare was executed by Martin Droeshout, for the purpose of illustrating the first collective edition of his plays. A few impressions of this engraving bear the date of 1622, and although the defects in the drawing are painfully apparent, yet, as being in all probability a copy from a genuine original picture, it is entitled to respectful consideration. Making allowances for inaccurate proportions, there appears to me to be a sufficient similarity between the bust and the print to lead to the conclusion that both are authentic and confirmatory of each other. The opinions, however, on this question, are so conflicting, that the decision had better remain with the reader, who is furnished with the means of making an exact comparison. Droeshout's portrait is placed in the letterpress title-page of the first edition, opposite to which is a leaf containing the following verses by Ben Jonson. The same verses are also found in the later folios, with slight typographical variations; e. g., in the second folio, *with* in the fourth line is printed *VVith*; in the third, several of the words appear in italics; and in the fourth, the poet's name is spelt *Shakespear:* all being addressed, "To the Reader."

This Figure, that thou here feeft put,
It was for gentle Shakefpeare cut;
Wherein the Grauer had a ftrife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but haue drawne his wit
As well in braffe, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then furpaffe
All, that vvas euer vvrit in braffe.
But, fince he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

Droeshout's engraving, indeed the same plate, was used for

all the first four editions of the plays. A reduced copy of it, reversed, with alterations in the dress, the left hand holding a sprig of laurel, was engraved by Marshall, and affixed to the octavo edition of Shakespeare's *Poems,* which was published in 1640. Underneath this frontispiece are a few lines, chiefly borrowed from Ben Jonson's noble poem to the memory of the great dramatist. Another copy of Droeshout's portrait, reversed, a medallion in an oval, occurs at the top of a frontispiece to the rare edition of the *Rape of Lucrece,* 16mo, Lond. 1655. The only other early engraving deserving notice is one by Gaywood, a frontispiece to Cotgrave's *Wit's Interpreter, or the English Parnassus,* 8vo, 1655, which includes a fanciful miniature portrait, the head being encircled by a wreath of laurel.

No well-authenticated contemporary painting of Shakespeare is now known to remain; and there is no actual record of the existence of any memorial of the kind till after the Restoration. There was a portrait of the dramatist in the noble collection at Clarendon House, but it is not now to be found. The celebrated Chandos portrait, so called from having been in the possession of the Duke of Chandos, and now preserved in the gallery of the Earl of Ellesmere, is first heard of late in the seventeenth century, when Sir Godfrey Kneller, some time after the year 1683, made a copy of it, which he presented to Dryden. This copy is now in the possession of the Earl Fitzwilliam. There is a tradition, or rather a statement of uncertain authority, that the Chandos picture belonged to Davenant, but with this circumstance others of so doubtful a character are introduced, little reliance can be placed upon it; and the first owner to whom it can be distinctly traced is Betterton, the actor. While it was in his possession, it was engraved by Vandergucht in a small oval for Rowe's edition of 1709. The evidence in favour of this portrait is by no means satisfactory; for the argument which has been alleged, that Dryden would have rejected a fanciful portrait, can scarcely be allowed to have much weight, it being impossible to communicate the recollection of features from one generation to another; and unless it could be shown that the representation was considered as such by those who were personally acquainted with Shakespeare, the circumstance that Dryden regarded it as a genuine likeness seventy years after his death, is not, in itself, a sufficient testimony to its authenticity. It would be enough for him to observe, that there was some trifling kind of similarity to be traced between the copy given

to him by Kneller and the early engravings; if, indeed the picture were not accepted unhesitatingly as a real portrait, by one who could have had no certain knowledge of the features of the great dramatist. Even if it were capable of proof that it was in the possession of Sir William Davenant, the fact itself would be of little importance, unless it were also ascertained in what estimation it was held by that poet. Before the Chandos picture can be received as an authority, evidence should be produced of its history before it came into the hands of Betterton; and more satisfactory reasons ought to be given that it is a contemporary portrait, not a production belonging to a period after the Restoration. In the latter case, the value to be attached to it is small indeed. Oldys mentions three opinions he had heard on the subject; one that the picture was the work of Cornelius Jansen,—another that it was painted by Richard Burbage,—and a third that it was by one John Taylor, discrepancies which show that nothing certain was known respecting the artist.

The history of a portrait, representing an individual who flourished in the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James, should be better authenticated than this, if it be to prevail against the evidences of two independent likenesses, which were publicly exhibited within a few years after his death. Although a slight resemblance may be observed between the Chandos and Droeshout portraits, it is very improbable that they can both represent the same person, and impossible that the former can be genuine, if the Stratford bust be truthful. The balance of evidence is very easily weighed. We either accept the Chandos portrait, and dismiss the two more ancient representations; or we accept the latter, and reject the painting. There cannot, indeed, be room for much reflection on the alternative to be selected, for all testimony of value is in favour of the bust and the engraving. The numerous other paintings which have been attributed to represent Shakespeare, do not deserve enumeration, no satisfactory history of any one of them being forthcoming. Their manufacture has unfortunately been sufficiently rewarded by success, to render it a matter of doubt whether the trade will ever be relinquished, so long as there are individuals to be found who will confide in the imperfect evidences of authenticity which accompany them. It will suffice to observe that the formation of Shakespearian portraits, both from old pictures of other persons, and by modern

paintings subjected to operations which give them the appearance of antiquity, are truths too well ascertained, to enable us, with prudence, to give credence to any resemblance of the poet which may be produced, unless its pedigree can be clearly and indisputably traced. The circumstances of the case leave no other safe criterion; although it may still be admitted we are incurring, by these means, the remote but possible contingency of rejecting a genuine portrait to be hereafter recovered from obscurity, merely to share the undeserved fate prepared for its reception, by the prevalence of the unscrupulous arts which have been so freely practised in the creation of Shakespearian forgeries.

There now only remains for the consideration of the biographer, the record of the last wishes of the poet, as they are detailed in his will, and the particulars connected with that most interesting document. Edward Alleyn, the celebrated actor, and Shakespeare's contemporary, made a large fortune by his professional labours, and took the surest method of succeeding in a praiseworthy desire to hand down his name and industry to future generations, by a noble foundation not affected by the vicissitudes which attend the continuance of property in the hands of descendants. The name of Shakespeare is bequeathed by his works in perpetuity to all posterity, and it needs no artificial support such as this; but it is undeniable that, unconscious of his future eminence, the great dramatist was actuated by a similar anxiety, and that his continued increase of property in the neighbourhood of his early home, had constant reference to the establishment of a family which should for ages inherit the fruits of his exertions. The limitations of the law of entail occasioned the poet's wishes to be defeated within a very short period after his decease; and although no lineal descendants from him remain, there yet are the representatives of Shakespeare on his sister's side, who are, however, unfortunately not in a position that can be contemplated with satisfaction. The will is the last document written in the lifetime of the poet, connected with his history, that can be produced. It is preserved in the Prerogative Office, London, and is guarded with unusual care, the public not being permitted to collate it; so that a great deal of what has been said about the difficulty of editing it, really arises from want of opportunity, not from the manuscript itself, which is written with sufficient clearness. There are several erasures and interlineations in this document, which renders it difficult to

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

Vicesimo quinto die [Januarii] *Martii*, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Angliæ, &c. decimo quarto, et Scotiæ xlix°. annoque Domini 1616.

T. Wmi. Shackspeare.

In the name of God, amen! I William Shackspeare, of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of Warr. gent. in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, ffirst, I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeving, through thonelie merites of Jesus Christe my Saviour, to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my [sonne and] daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in manner and forme foloweing, that ys to saye, one hundred poundes *in discharge of her marriage porcion* within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe unpaied unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residewe thereof upon her surrendring *of*, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of to surrender or graunte all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or *that shee* nowe hath, of in or to one copiehold tenemente with thappurtenaunces lyeing and being in Stratford upon Avon aforesaied in the saied countye of Warr. being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie be lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours are to paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the rate aforesaied; and if she dye within the saied tearme without issue of her bodye, then my will ys, and I doe give and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge shalbe payed to my saied sister Jone, and after her deceas the saied l.*li.* shall remaine amongst the children of my saied sister equallie to be devided amongst them; but if my saied daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys and soe I devise and bequeath the saied hundred and fyftie poundes to be sett out *by my executours and overseers* for the best benefitt of her and her issue, and *the stock* not *to be* paied unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron [by my executours and overseers]; but my will ys that she shall have the consideracion yearelie paied unto her during her lief, and, after her deceas, the saied stocke and consideracion to bee paied to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the saied terme after my deceas, Provided that yf suche husbond, as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be marryed unto, or att anie after (*sic*), doe sufficientlie assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudged soe by my executours and overseers, then my will ys that the saied cl.*li.* shalbe paied to such husbond as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. Item, I give and bequeath unto my saied sister Jone xx.*li.* and all my

wearing apparrell, to be paied and delivered within one yeare after my deceas; and I doe will and devise unto her *the house* with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearlie rent of xij.d. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonnes, William Harte, ... Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve poundes a peece, to be paied within one yeare after my deceas [to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best profitt, untill her mariage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paied unto her]. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto [her] *the saied Elizabeth Hall* all my plate, *except my brod silver and gilt bole*, that I now have att the date of this my will. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaied tenn poundes; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes, and to Frauncis Collins of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr. gentleman thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, and eight pence, to be paied within one yeare after my deceas. Item, I gyve and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler thelder] *Hamlett Sadler* xxvj.*s.* viij.*d.* to buy him a ringe; *to William Raynoldes, gent. xxvj.s. viij.d. to buy him a ringe;* to my godson William Walker xx.s. in gold; to Anthonye Nashe gent. xxvj.s viij.d., and to Mr. John Nashe xxvj.s. *viij.d.* [in gold]; *and to my fellowes John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj.s. viij.d. a peece to buy them ringes.* Item, I gyve, will, bequeath and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, *for better enabling of her to performe this my will, and towardes the performans thereof*, all that capitall messuage or tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, *in Stratford aforesaid*, called the New Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and two messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, seituat lyeing and being in Henley streete within the borough of Stratford aforesaied; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever, seituat lyeing and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamletes, villages, fieldes and groundes of Stratford upon Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the said countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, seituat lyeng and being in the Blackfriers in London nere the Wardrobe; and all other my landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses with theire appurtenaunces unto the saied Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remaine to the ffourth [sonne], ffyfth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the saied fourth, fifth, sixte and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine to the first, second and third sonns of her bodie, and to theire heires males, and for defalt of such issue, the saied premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie yssue-

ing, and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. *Item, I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furniture.* Item, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goodes, chattel, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paied, and my funerall expences dischardged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my sonne in lawe, John Hall gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint *the saied* Thomas Russell esquier and Fraunicis Collins gent. to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my [seale] *hand* the daie and yeare first abovewritten.

By me William Shakspeare

witnes to the publyshing
hereof, Fra: Collyns
Julyus Shawe
John Robinson
Hamnet Sadler
Robert Whattcott

Probatum coram magistro Willielmo Byrde, legum doctore comiss. &c. xxij.do die mensis Junii, anno Domini 1616, juramento Johannis Hall, unius executorum, &c. cui &c. de bene &c. jurat. reservat. potestate &c. Susannæ Hall alteri executorum &c. cum venerit petitur. &c. (Inv. ex.)

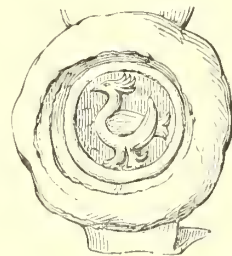
A close examination of the poet's will, having especial regard to the corrections and interlineations, leads to the conclusion that the body of it was originally written in January, 1615-16, and before the marriage of his daughter Judith. Nearly at the top of the second sheet is a clause, now erased, which had undoubtedly a reference to this union; it is irrelevant in the place where it occurs, and must be referred to the bequest of a hundred pounds to be paid to her within one year after the poet's decease. So much is said in the will which regards contingencies arising from the marriage of this daughter, it is impossible not to conclude there was reference to the engagement she had formed with Thomas Quiney. The ceremony took place at Stratford on the 10th of February, and on the 25th of March, the probabilities are that Shakespeare was so dangerously ill, there was thought to be no sufficient time for a

corrected copy of the will to be transcribed, and it was hastily executed with the interlineations that exhibit to us the changes two months had rendered necessary, and the records of the testator's dying wishes. There are many indications of haste. Even the Christian name of one of his nephews is omitted. Judith's marriage suggested the insertion of the words, *in discharge of her marriage porcion*, after the bequest of the hundred pounds. A few other corrections are of an obvious character. But the precious interlineated fragments recording gifts of affection to Hamlet Sadler, who, before the poet left Stratford, in his obscurity, had stood godfather to his only son; to William Reynolds; to his "fellows," Heminge, Burbage, and Condell; and, lastly, the token of kind remembrance to his beloved partner,—these are the testimonies we may cherish of his last faltering accents to the world he was leaving.

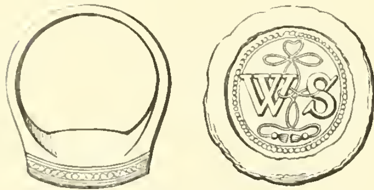
It may also be fairly concluded from Shakespeare's will, that the general opinion, that Susanna was his favorite daughter, is substantially correct. There seems to be a greater disposition of property in her favour than would have been suggested by the mere wish of perpetuating an entail; and the bequest of the residuary estate to her and her husband, which included most of the no doubt valuable personalities at New Place, clearly shows it was the poet's wish that Mr. and Mrs. Hall should occupy his own position in Stratford, to the comparative exclusion of his daughter Judith. His plate, with a trifling exception, was bequeathed to his grand-daughter Elizabeth; and, indeed, the tenor of the will undoubtedly favours the conclusion that his sympathies were chiefly directed towards the family of the Halls. It is no mean support to the truth of this opinion that Rowe, in 1709, writing from information obtained at Stratford, and without any notice of the will, expressly says, in allusion to Shakespeare's daughters, that Mrs. Hall was "his favourite." It must not, however, be supposed that there was any unkind feeling between Judith Shakespeare and her father, for her first child, Shakespeare Quiney, born in November, 1616, was named after the deceased poet.

Shakespeare's retirement at Stratford had long been of a permanent character, and this may account for our finding in the will so few allusions to his literary friends. We may be sure that amongst them were included many names, now looked upon as contributing to a list which forms a golden era in poetical and dramatic literature. It comprised, at least probably, at an

earlier period, Marlowe, Drayton, Chapman, and Ben Jonson, and doubtlessly many others of the higher class of writers. Of authors of inferior celebrity, Shakespeare was acquainted with Robert Chester, the author of *Loves Martyr*, 1601; with Anthony Scoloker, who wrote, *Diaphantus, or the Passions of Love*, 1604; and with Thomas Freeman, whose *Rub and a great Cast*, 1614, is well known to poetical antiquaries. He was also on friendly terms with Endymion Porter. With many of the principal actors of the time, he must necessarily have been in familiar intercourse. Augustine Phillips, who acted in some of his plays, and in others with the great dramatist himself, in his will, dated 1605, bequeaths "to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in gould." At Stratford, he was surrounded by "troops of friends." There was his near neighbour, Julius Shaw, who was called in to witness his will; William Reynolds, probably of the same family to which belonged the Humphrey Reynolds, a neighbour of his father in Henley Street in 1552; Hamnet and Judith Sadler, who were godfather and godmother to his twin-children; his godson William Walker, whose father was elected an alderman in 1606; Anthony Nash of Welcombe; Mr. Thomas Combe; and many other names, that show how much Shakespeare thought of Stratford-on-Avon, and how little he recked of London. He had made his native town renowned in the sight of all by whom the poetry and drama of England were cherished. Even as early as 1639, twenty-three years only after his death, a writer casually alluding to Stratford-on-Avon, brings to the remembrance of his readers that it was "a towne most remarkeable for the birth of famous William Shakespeare." The mere accidental locality of his birth would not have been so celebrated, had not the poet connected himself so closely with it in his latter days. It is worthy of remark that the vicar of Stratford, writing about the year 1662, makes a memorandum in his diary,—"Remember to peruse Shakespear's plays, and bee versed in them, that I may not bee ignorant in that matter." Thus the memory and literary fame of Shakespeare were dear to the inhabitants of his native town in the seventeenth century, as they are at the present day.



An inventory of Shakespeare's goods was delivered into court, but has never been discovered, and it is a somewhat singular circumstance that no relic of a personal character now exists which can be proved to have belonged to him. None of the articles which were in the possession of the Harts of Tewkesbury, and were asserted to have belonged to the great bard, will bear the test of examination; by which I mean that, although they might very possibly have belonged to the period of Shakespeare, the evidence on which alone we could rely for believing them to have ever been in his possession was altogether wanting. The miserable trash recorded and ridiculed by Washington Irving, constituting the "antiques" formerly shown by Mary Hornby, had scarcely required a notice, were it not that, by the audacity of their owners, they are still unblushingly exhibited as genuine. Many other claims have been put forward, but, in fact, the only personal Shakespeare relic, at all entitled to a belief in its authenticity, is a gold seal-ring, weighing 12 dwts., and bearing the initials W. S. engraved in Roman characters, which was found, in the year 1810, by a labourer's wife upon the surface of the mill close, adjoining Stratford church-yard, and which is now in the possession of Mr. Wheler. The initials are connected by a knotted thread, in a common device of the time. It is a singular circumstance that Shakespeare's will, as at first written, concludes with, "In witness whereof I have hereunto put my *seale* the daie and yeare first abovewritten;" but the word *seale* was afterwards altered to *hand*, possibly on account of the seal having been then lost. Other explanations, however, may be given of this, which may be merely an accidental coincidence. The chief evidence in favour of the authenticity of the ring, as a Shakespearian relic, consists in its clearly belonging to the period of the dramatist, in its having probably been owned by a respectable inhabitant of the locality in which it was discovered, and Shakespeare being the only W. S. to whom it can at present be assigned. There was only one other individual at Stratford, in Shakespeare's time, having the same initials, who was likely to have possessed a ring of the kind, and that person was William Smith, a mercer and draper; but he used one of a different device, with the emblems of mortality over



SHAKESPEARE'S SEAL RING.

the letters of his name, as may be observed in the annexed cut, which is taken from the seal to a conveyance of some property at Stratford from him to William Combe, dated 11 Feb., 1612-13. Although this species of evidence amounts to little more than an imperfect *reductio ad absurdum*, that, supposing the ring did not belong to Shakespeare, it belonged to no one, at least to no one at Stratford, I am disposed to confide in the attribution of the relic as having belonged to him, firmly relying on the severe integrity which it is well known accompanies all Mr. Wheler's researches, that if he had discovered any facts tending to an opposite conclusion, during the many years he has laboriously investigated the local sources of information, they would unhesitatingly have been communicated. The ring is certainly not *proved* to have belonged to the dramatist; but, considering the circumstances, the evidence in its favour is as strong as can reasonably be expected.

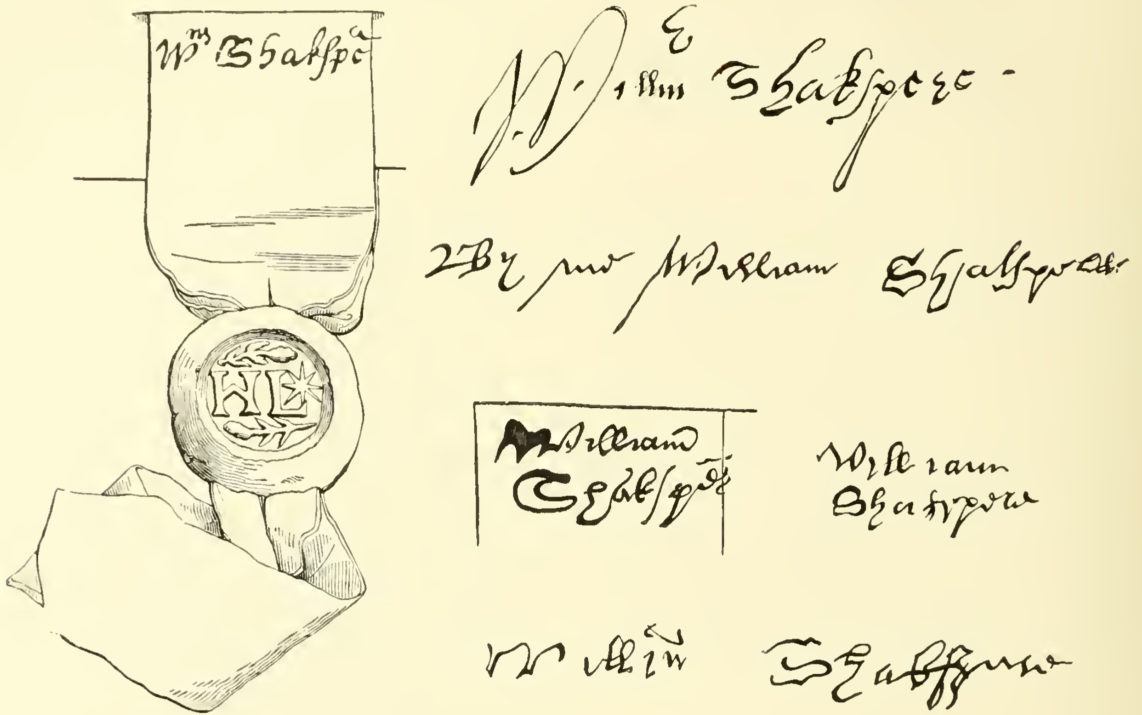
The indistinctness with which the signatures to the will are written, has occasioned conflicting opinions respecting the idle question of the orthography of the poet's name; some contending it is *Shakspere* in all the instances, others that the letter *a* appears in the second syllable in the last. The question will probably ever be doubtful; for if we read *Shakspere*, a redundancy appears for which it is difficult to account, the final stroke belonging to an *e*, certainly not to a mere flourish; and it would be scarcely prudent to express a decided opinion on the matter, the signatures being apparently traced by a tremulous hand, and very badly executed. In the probate of the will, of which a copy, made in 1747, is in MS. Lansd. 721, the signature is written *Shackspeare*. The first autograph has been much damaged since it was traced by Steevens in 1776, and the facsimile here given has been completed by the copy published by him in 1778. When Steevens made his tracing he was accompanied by Malone, and the latter thus mentions their visit to the Prerogative Office, in a MS. in the Bodleian Library,—

"On the 24th of September, 1776, I went with my friend, Mr. Steevens, to the Prerogative Office in Doctors Commons to see Shakspeare's original will, in order to get a fac-simile of the handwriting. The will is written in the clerical hand of that age on three small (?) sheets, fastned at top like a lawyer's brief. Shakspeare's name is signed at the bottom of the first and second sheet, and his final signature, 'by me William Shakspeare,' is in the middle of the third sheet. The name, however, at the bottom of the first sheet, is not in the usual place, but in the margin at the left hand, and is so different from the others, that we doubted whether it was his handwriting. He appears to have been very ill and weak when he signed his will, for the hand is very irregular and tremulous. I suspect he signed his name at the end of the will first, and so went backwards, which will account for that in the first page being worse written than the rest, the hand growing gradually weaker." The three large sheets of paper on which the will is written are joined together in the middle of the top margins, which are covered with a narrow slip of parchment; but, although protected with the greatest care, if it be left in its present state, it is to be feared nothing can prevent the gradual decay of this precious relic, which has even materially suffered since Steevens made tracings from it seventy years ago. The office in which it is kept is properly guarded by the strictest regulations, for manuscripts required for legal purposes demand a verification seldom necessary in literary enquiries; and it seems these rules forbid the separation of the sheets of the will, which, singly, could be safely preserved between plates of glass, and so daily examined without the slightest injury. At present the folding and unfolding requisite on every inspection of the document, imperceptibly tend to the deterioration of the fragile substance on which it is written; and it is earnestly to be hoped that the consent of the registrars will at length be given to the adoption of a course, which shall permanently save this interesting record of the last wishes of the great poet, the most important memorial of him that has descended to our days.

The three signatures of Shakespeare attached to his will, that appended to the indenture preserved in the library of the Corporation of London, and the one on the mortgage deed of the property in the Blackfriars, are the only autographs of the poet of unquestionable authority that are now known to exist. Most careful fac-similes of all of these, from the accurate pencil

of Mr. Fairholt, are given in the preceding pages, and the reader will thus be enabled to judge of the manner in which the dramatist signed his name. It is unnecessary to say that many alleged autographs of Shakespeare have been exhibited; but forgeries of them are so numerous, and the continuity of design, which a fabricator cannot readily produce in a long document, is so easy to obtain in a mere signature, that the only safe course is to adopt none as genuine on internal evidence. A signature in a copy of Florio's translation of Montaigne, 1603, is open to this objection; that the *verbal* evidence as to its existence only extends as far back as 1780, after the publication of Steevens's fac-simile of the last autograph in the will, of which it may be a copy with intentional variations. The well-known coincidence of a passage in this work with one in the *Tempest*, so far from being a testimony in favour of the autograph, is the reverse; for the similarity was pointed out long before 1780, and nothing is more likely than that a forger should select a book known to have been read by Shakespeare for the object on which to exercise his skill. Even supposing we can find the same formed capitals elsewhere, and a contraction precisely similar to the very unusual one over the letter *m*, no evidence on such a subject which does not commence much earlier can safely be confided in. On the other hand, there are no indications of a character which could be confidently asserted to be fatal to its authenticity; and if it could be *proved* to have been in existence so far back as 1780, I should feel inclined to rely upon it on the ground that the forgeries of that day do not, as far as we know, exhibit that skill which must be allowed to attend the signature under consideration, if it be not genuine. A comparison of it with the five acknowledged signatures will, however, clearly show that it wants the *looped S* of those autographs, the character of that letter in the Florio copy being altogether different. In the fac-similes printed on the next page, the signature in the Florio is placed nearest the top on the right hand, so that each reader may have facile means of comparison. My opinion that there is a doubt is given with great reluctance, for it would be well to know there exists one book, at least, which the great poet handled and read; but invention has been active in the formation of Shakespeare autographs, and this may possibly be of them. There was an inhabitant of Stratford in the latter part of the last century, who, though in many respects scrupulously honest, descended to the production of several

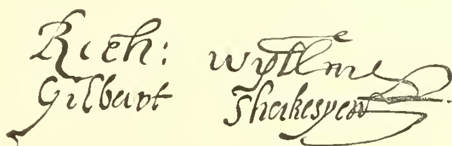
literary impositions,—I refer to the "poet Jordan," a person of some natural talent, who died in the year 1798. Jordan certainly manufactured one Shakespeare autograph, on the fly-



leaf of an old edition of Bacon's *Essays*, which he showed to Mr. Wheler; and the fabricator of one may have been the ingenious author of others.

It will be observed that it is, therefore, a matter of great uncertainty whether Shakespeare was one of the few persons of the time who adopted an uniform orthography in his signature; but, on the supposition that he always wrote his name *Shakspere*, it was contended as early as 1784 that it should be printed in this curtailed form. The question is one of very small importance, and the only circumstance worth consideration in the matter is the tendency of this innovation to introduce the pronunciation of *Shaxpere*, a piece of affectation so far dangerous, inasmuch as it harmonizes not with the beautiful lines that have been consecrated to his memory by Ben Jonson and other eminent poets; and those who have adopted it seem to have overlooked the fact, that, in the orthography of proper names, the printed literature of the day is the only safe criterion. In the case of Shakespeare, there are the poems of *Lucrece*, and *Venus and Adonis*, published under his own superintendence, in which the name occurs *Shake-speare*, and so it is found

in almost every work printed in the lifetime of the poet. Shakespeare's son-in-law, in the earlier part of his life, signed his name *Hawle*, and afterwards *Hall*. In 1581, Sir Walter Raleigh signed his name *Rauley;* five years afterwards, we find it *Ralegh*. Henslowe sometimes wrote *Heglowe;* and so in innumerable instances. There were doubtlessly exceptions, as in the case of Lord Burghley and a few others; but there is no sufficient evidence to show that Shakespeare adhered to any uniform rule. "Our English proper names," observes Edward Coote, Master of the Free-school at Bury St. Edmunds, in his *English Schoole Master*, ed. 1621, p. 23, "are written as it pleaseth the painter, or as men have received them by tradition;" and, after giving some examples, he exclaims, "yea, I have knowne two naturall brethren, both learned, to write their owne names differently." It is somewhat singular there is a case here stated, which exactly applies to the name under consideration. Shakespeare's brother Gilbert spelt his name *Shakespere*, as is seen in the accompanying fac-simile of his autograph; so that if we adopted the system of guiding our orthography by autographs, we should, when speaking of the poet, write *Shakspere* or *Shakspeare;* but when we have occasion to mention his relative, it must be *Shakespere*.



The only method of reconciling these inconsistencies, is to adopt the name as it is bequeathed to us by his contemporaries; and there is a great additional reason for doing so, when we reflect on the certainty that the poet, who used his pen, or *shook his spear*, as Bancroft has it in his *Epigrammes*, 1639, was called Shake-speare by his literary friends. The martial character of the name was admitted from an early period, Verstegan classing it with "surnames imposed upon the first bearers of them for valour and feates of armes." Camden derives it from the mere use of the weapon; and Bogan, in his additions to the *Archæologicæ Atticæ* of Francis Rous, says that *Shakespeare* is equivalent to *soldier*. The poet's coat-armour affords another evidence in the same direction; a parallel instance occurring in the broken lance in the arms of Nicholas *Break-speare*, as described by Upton, in his treatise *De Studio Militari*, fol. Lond. 1654. It may be added further that Mr. Wheler of Stratford possesses what may be fairly considered as the only sentence

known to exist, which can be supposed with any probability to be in the poet's handwriting. It is an endorsement on the indenture between Shakespeare and the Combes in 1602, a document that certainly belonged to the dramatist; and Mr. Wheler is of opinion that no scrivener or clerk would have described a deed in such a manner. I certainly agree with him in considering it to be in the autograph of Shakespeare, or of one of the family; and there are similarities to be traced between this and some of the poet's acknowledged signatures. Here is observed another orthography, *Shackspeare,* and the latter part *eare,* the *a* appearing like *u,* is so similar to that portion of the name in the two last signatures in the will, that it is at once an argument in favour of the appropriation of the above to Shakespeare, and of the correctness of reading *Shakspeare* in those two autographs.

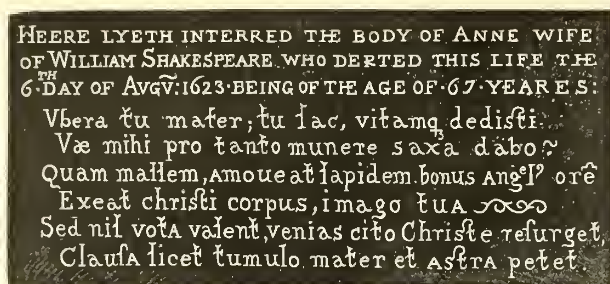
Combe to Shackspeare of the 4 yd land in Stratford field

I have elsewhere noticed a popular belief that Shakespeare's union was not productive of much social happiness, and an interlined clause in the will has unnecessarily tended to perpetuate this notion,—"Item, I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furniture." So far from this bequest being one of slight importance, and exhibiting small esteem, it was the usual mode of expressing a mark of great affection. The first bequest in the will of Joyce Hobday, of Stratford, dated March 28th, 1602, is, "I geve and bequeth to my brother Rychard Ward of Warwycke my best fether bed, one boulster, a pillowe, and the best coveryng for a bed." Henry Harte, of Andover, whose will (in the Prerogative Office) was proved in 1586, gives "unto John Harte one bedde one the right hande comminge in at the doore in the Starr Chamber with all the furniture, and twoe other beddes, with twoe coverletts, and twoe bolsters, and twoe blanketts; item, I give to William Harte one bedd with all the furniture, in the chamber called the Hallffe Moone." William Underhill, in his will dated 1595, proved in 1599, in the same office, bequeaths two similar legacies of beds with their furniture to near relatives; and John Sadler, whose will is dated in 1625, gives and bequeaths "to my sone John Sadler of London the bed and whole furniture thereunto

belonging in the parlour where I lye." Avery Fulwood of Stratford-on-Avon, in his will dated 1630-31, descends even to bequests of affection of a still more trifling kind, giving to one of his sons, "my greene coate, my canvas dubblett, my worser jerkin and worser bretches, my worser hatt, one of my best shirtes, my worser paire of stockins, and one paire of shewes." These instances might be multiplied, and the will of a contemporary poet, a no less distinguished one than Samuel Daniel, might also be made to yield an analogous example; but what is here before us is quite sufficient to show, that the ordinary opinion concerning this often-quoted bequest of Shakespeare to his wife is altogether erroneous. On equally uncertain grounds, it was alleged that the poet left his partner no provision for her life; and it was reserved for Mr. Knight to point out that she was provided for by dower, a circumstance which would have been unnecessary to have mentioned in the will. It is also not improbable that she may have received from Shakespeare some previous settlement or gift, which rendered any further bequest needless. Thus each allegation on which the above-mentioned belief is founded has been dissipated. It has also been supposed that the poet in some respect neglected part of his family, to found an inheritance of great magnitude for a favorite daughter, but it must be recollected no proof has yet been adduced of the manner in which he employed the large sum he probably received for his shares in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and, in the absence of any direct evidence on the subject, it is not unreasonable to assume that it was expended for the benefit of his family.

No reliance is, therefore, to be placed on the passage in the will, as an evidence in favour of the opinion that the poet's wedded life was not happy; and what slight indications can be traced from contemporary sources, dismissing the well-known passage in *Twelfth Night* as altogether too uncertain a criterion, tend towards an opposite conclusion. It is to be regretted we have no satisfactory information respecting Anne Shakespeare. Oldys incidentally observes she was beautiful, but apparently without any real authority for the assertion. She survived her husband several years, and was buried near him in the chancel of Stratford church, on August 8th, 1623. A brass plate on the stone which covers her remains pays tribute to her religious worth, in the epitaph here copied in a reduced fac-simile. The gravestones of the Shakespeare family are in a row with this, facing the rail of the altar. That of Anne Shakespeare is

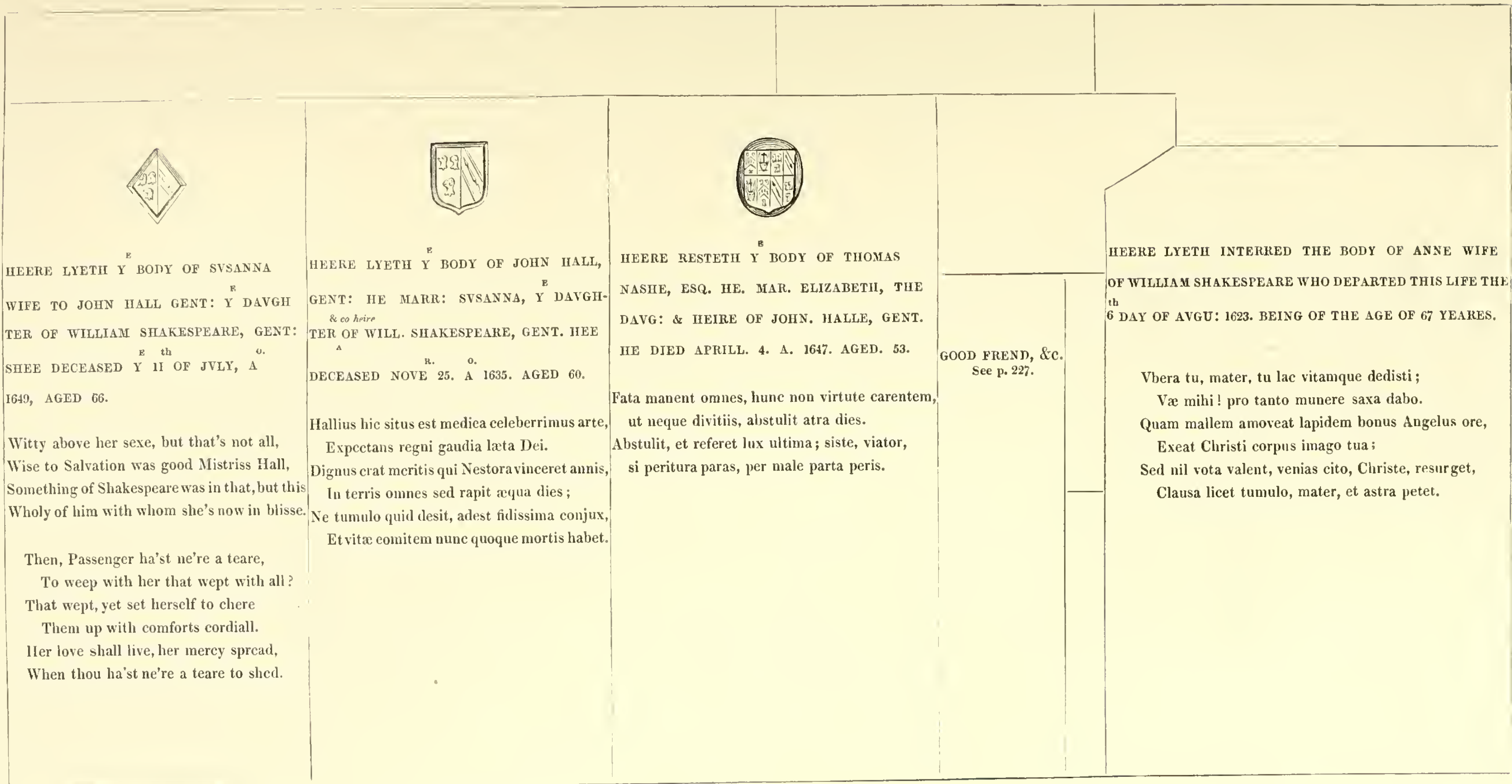
immediately beneath the poet's monument; next comes the stone with the verses, "Good friend," &c., adjoining to which are inscriptions to the memory of Thomas Nash, who married the only daughter of Susanna Hall; Dr. John Hall, son-in-law



to the dramatist; and Susanna Hall, Shakespeare's eldest daughter. The tabular account of these inscriptions, on the opposite page, will show their relative positions more clearly.

Dr. Hall was a physician of considerable reputation, and sought after by many of the leading families in the County of Warwick. The Stratford register affirms he was *medicus peritissimus*, and perhaps the best indication of the great estimation in which he was held, is to be noted in the circumstance of his having been employed by persons of various religious persuasions, at a time when differences in religion created excessive prejudices. He was born in the year 1575, and appears to have settled at Stratford, in the Old Town, sometime about 1600; but as he had travelled abroad, the probability is in favour of his not having taken up a permanent residence there before that date. After Shakespeare's death, he resided at New Place, and took an active part in the management of the religious affairs of the town. In 1628, he was appointed one of the borough church-wardens, having some time previously presented a pulpit to the church. He died in 1635, and a few years afterwards, a surgeon named James Cooke, attending in his professional capacity on a detachment stationed at Stratford bridge during the civil wars, was invited to New Place to examine the books the doctor had left behind him. The account which Cooke gives of the interview between Mrs. Hall and himself is too curious to be abridged. "After a view of them," *i.e.* the books, "she told me she had some books left by one that professed physic with her husband, for some money. I told her, if I liked them, I would give her the money again; she brought them forth, amongst which there was this, with

COPIES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE GRAVESTONES OF THE SHAKESPEARE FAMILY.



HEERE LYETH Y^{E} BODY OF SVSANNA
WIFE TO JOHN HALL GENT: Y^{E} DAVGH
TER OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, GENT:
SHEE DECEASED Y^{E} 11th OF JVLY, A^{o}.
1649, AGED 66.

Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to Salvation was good Mistriss Hall,
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.

Then, Passenger ha'st ne're a teare,
To weep with her that wept with all?
That wept, yet set herself to chere
Them up with comforts cordiall.
Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
When thou ha'st ne're a teare to shed.

HEERE LYETH Y^{E} BODY OF JOHN HALL,
GENT: HE MARR: SVSANNA, Y^{E} DAVGH-
TER (*& co heire*) OF WILL. SHAKESPEARE, GENT. HEE
DECEASED NOVE^{R}. 25. A^{o}. 1635. AGED 60.

Hallius hic situs est medica celeberrimus arte,
Expectans regni gaudia læta Dei.
Dignus erat meritis qui Nestora vinceret annis,
In terris omnes sed rapit æqua dies;
Ne tumulo quid desit, adest fidissima conjux,
Et vitæ comitem nunc quoque mortis habet.

HEERE RESTETH Y^{E} BODY OF THOMAS
NASHE, ESQ. HE. MAR. ELIZABETH, THE
DAVG: & HEIRE OF JOHN. HALLE, GENT.
HE DIED APRILL. 4. A. 1647. AGED. 53.

Fata manent omnes, hunc non virtute carentem,
ut neque divitiis, abstulit atra dies.
Abstulit, et referet lux ultima; siste, viator,
si peritura paras, per male parta peris.

GOOD FREND, &c.
See p. 227.

HEERE LYETH INTERRED THE BODY OF ANNE WIFE
OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
6th DAY OF AVGU: 1623. BEING OF THE AGE OF 67 YEARES.

Vbera tu, mater, tu lac vitamque dedisti;
Væ mihi! pro tanto munere saxa dabo.
Quam mallem amoveat lapidem bonus Angelus ore,
Exeat Christi corpus imago tua;
Sed nil vota valent, venias cito, Christe, resurget,
Clausa licet tumulo, mater, et astra petet.

another of the author's, both intended for the press. I being acquainted with Mr. Hall's hand, told her that one or two of them were her husband's, and showed them her. She denied: I affirmed; till I perceived she began to be offended. At last I returned her the money. After some time of trial of what had been observed, I resolved to put it to press, according to preconceived intentions; to which end I sent it to London, where, after being viewed by an able doctor, he returned answer, that it might be useful, but the Latin was so abbreviated and false, that it would require the like pains as to write a new one." The manuscript here referred to is still preserved, being in the possession of Dr. Jackson. It is written in a neat hand, and amongst the cases recorded are those of Mrs. Hall, and his daughter Elizabeth. In the printed English translation, first published in 1657, under the title of, *Select Observations on English Bodies*, the former is described as that of "Mrs Hall of Stratford, my wife, being miserably tormented with the collick," and the latter, "Elizabeth Hall, my onely daughter, was vexed with *tortura oris*, or the convulsion of the mouth."

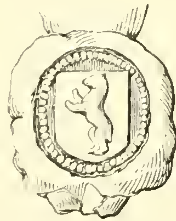
The conversation between Mrs. Hall and Cooke, recorded by the latter, would almost appear to show that her education had not been of an enlarged character; that books and manuscripts, even when they were the productions of her own husband, were not of great interest to her. Were it otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the pertinacity with which she insisted upon the book of cases not being in the doctor's handwriting; for Hall's caligraphy is of an uniform and somewhat peculiar description, not readily to be mistaken for any of the ordinary styles of writing then in use. The discourse on the manuscripts, just referred to, must have occurred at New Place about thirty years after Shakespeare's death; and it is something to have now before me, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the identical volume which was the subject of dispute between Cooke and the poet's favorite daughter. It is a small octavo, containing 131 leaves, 107 of which comprise Hall's memoranda of cases, with an index, the remainder, excepting a few blank leaves, consisting of observations and notes added by Cooke. The former, with unaffected piety, prefacing his book with the motto, *Sanitas a Domino*, entitles it, *Curationum Historicarum et Empiricarum in certis locis et notis personis expertarum et probatarum libellus*. The first case mentioned is that of the Countess of Northampton, *circa ætatis*

annum 44, *anno Domini* 1622, and the next that of the Earl of Northampton, then President of Wales, both of whom he attended in the same year at Ludlow; but earlier cases being recorded in other parts of the volume, it is evident that the MS. was compiled from other papers, and that it does not contain the contemporary memoranda that were made at the time he attended on his patients. Cooke, in the printed copy, asserts that the cases he published "were chosen by him from all the rest of his own, which I conjectured could be no less than a thousand, as fittest for public view." If, therefore, Dr. Hall's earliest memoranda are any where preserved, they would probably be found to include some account of the circumstances of the poet's last illness. He does not appear to have placed any great value upon them, for in his nuncupative will, dated on November 25th, 1635, he says,—"as for my manuscripts, I would have given them to Mr. Boles, if he had been here; but forasmuch he is not here present, you may, son Nash, burn them, or do with them what you please." Some of Shakespeare's own writings and papers might have been included in the collection, thus unceremoniously bequeathed to Thomas Nash.

The fac-similes which have been previously given from Dr. Hall's case-book, will convey to the reader a faithful idea of the character of the original. The first is a copy of the superscription, and the seven commencing lines of the account of the case of Elizabeth Hall, his only daughter; and the second is a fac-simile of the entire observations on the cholic of Shakespeare's daughter, Susanna Hall. Amongst the other cases of interest may be mentioned that of George Quiney, a brother of the poet's son-in-law, who was curate of Stratford, and died there of consumption in the year 1624. He is highly spoken of by Dr. Hall, as a youth of an amiable disposition, who had possessed considerable attainments. "Mr. Quiney, tussi gravi, cum magna phlegmatis copia, et cibi vomitu, feb. lenta debilitatus," &c. The case concludes thus: "Anno seq: (no year is mentioned either in this or in the preceding case) in hoc malum incidebat. Multa frustra tentata;—placide cum Domino dormit. Fuit boni indolis, et linguarum expertus, et pro juveni omnifariam doctus." Another case relates to the poet Drayton, who was doubtlessly on intimate terms with the family, although it is to be remarked, as a rather singular circumstance, that he is not mentioned in Shakespeare's will.

The latter case is headed, *Magister Drayton, poeta laureatus.* The selection of a few other names mentioned in this singularly interesting volume, may not be deemed irrelevant: Mr. Wilsune theologus; M. Bettes de Ludlowe; generosa Nash; generosa Wincoll, pedissiqua (*sic*) comitissæ Northamptoniæ; generosa Boughton de Causon; capitanus Basset; generosus Kempson; Browne, sacerdos Romanus; Jone Chidkin de Southam; Dr. Throckmorton, &c. Dr. Hall's practice was evidently very extensive amongst all classes of society.

Susanna Hall was only tenant for life of the freehold estates under her father's will, which were strictly entailed on her male issue, with several remainders. Before many years had elapsed, this property suffered the infliction of many legal fictions, the entail was barred, and the estates dispersed. The verses on her tombstone were obliterated many years ago to make room for an inscription on some one else, but they had fortunately been preserved by Dugdale (*Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, fol. 1656, p. 518), and have recently been judiciously restored. For this welcome service we are indebted to the taste of Mr. Wheler, and the liberality of the Rev. W. Harness. Mrs. Hall was buried on July 16th, 1649, "July 16, Mrs. Susanna Hall widow." At Shakespeare's death, in 1616, his family consisted of his wife, his daughter Susanna, married to Dr. Hall, his daughter Judith, married to Thomas Quiney, and Elizabeth Hall, a grand-daughter. Judith Quiney had several children, who were all dead in 1639, she herself living till 1662. The poet's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall, was married in 1626 to Thomas Nash, who died in 1647, without issue; and secondly, in 1649, to John Barnard, afterwards Sir John Barnard, of Abington,

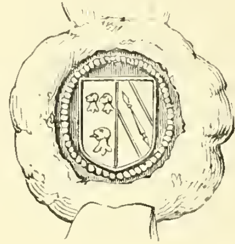


co. Northampton, by whom she had no family. She died in 1670, leaving no children, and with her the lineal descent from Shakespeare perished. The persons who now claim to be the poet's descendants belong to the Hart family, into which Joan, his sister, married; but the term *descendants* is scarcely applicable to any of the family, further than this, that its members

may claim the honour of a pedigree commencing with the same ancestry whence Shakespeare himself derived his origin.

A brief sketch of the history of Shakespeare's property, so long as it continued in the possession of his descendants, may interest the more minute enquirer. The shares he owned in the lease of the tithes is not mentioned in the will, but it fell no doubt into the hands of the Halls, as a portion of his personal estate, being sold by them in the year 1625, and their title to it thus expressed in the indenture of sale, "And whereas the said William Shakespere, being possessed of the said moitie, or parcell of the said tythes, to him soe graunted and assigned by the said Raphe Huband, by his laste will and testament, bearing date the fyve and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord James, now Kinge over England the fowerteenth, of Scotland the nyne and ffortythe, did devise and will unto the said John Hall and Susanna his wife all the said moitye, or one halfe parte of the said tythes to him soe graunted or assigned by the said Raphe Huband, together with all his estate and terme of years therein then to come and unexpired; by force and virtue whereof, or some other good assurance in lawe, the said John Hall and Susanna doe, or one of them doeth, nowe stand lawfullie estated and possessed of the said moitie of all and everie the said tythes for and duering the resydue of the said tyme of fourscore and twelve yeares yett to come and not expired." The property strictly entailed on Susanna Hall and her male issue consisted of New Place, the two houses in Henley Street, the arable and pasture lands in the parishes of Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, and the house in the Blackfriars. By a deed of settlement, dated 27th May, 1639, and a fine and recovery of 15 Charles I., Mrs. Hall, combining with Mr. Thomas Nash and his wife, her son-in-law and daughter, barred the original entail, re-settling the estates by giving a life interest in them to Mrs. Hall, and after her death to Mr. Thomas Nash and Elizabeth his wife for their lives, with remainders to their issue, or, in default of such issue, to Thomas Nash and his heirs. This Thomas Nash died on April 4th, 1647, leaving no issue, and devising by will his reversionary interest in nearly all the entailed Shakespeare estates to his kinsman Edward Nash, "the son of his uncle George Nash of London." The portion of the estates omitted in this devise consisted of the two tenements in Henley Street. To prevent the large portion of the property thus devised to

Edward Nash from passing into his hands, a new settlement took place, and on June 2d, 1647, Shakespeare's land and houses were confirmed to Susanna Hall for her life, and, after her death, to Elizabeth Nash and her heirs. The latter, when

Eliza: Barnard 

Lady Barnard, devised the Henley Street premises to the Harts. New Place and the lands in Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, were sold in 1675 to Sir Edward Walker for the sum of £1060. The destination of some of the minor estates do not appear to be ascertainable. In the settlement of 1639, mention is made of a messuage at Acton, apparently as if it were a portion of the Shakespeare property; but it is limited, in another part of the deed, exclusively to the Nashes, and was undoubtedly part of Dr. Hall's own estate.

Conclusion.—The preceding pages furnish the reader with all the evidences of any importance respecting the personal history of Shakespeare that have yet been discovered; and when it is remembered how deficient the lives of authors generally are in those striking events which chiefly attracted the notice and commemoration of contemporary writers, at a period which dates before manners and opinions were regarded worthy of general record, it would not have been surprising had even less information regarding him been preserved. It has been too much the fashion with the unreflecting to decry those patient labours of the antiquary, which have been bestowed on unravelling recondite facts, that have yielded no immediate information of use to the philosophical biographer; but they who are accustomed to the examination of evidence on subjects such as these, where the materials are to be extracted from the obscurest sources, and frequently require subtle discussion before their exact nature can be determined, well know that facts, which appear in themselves to be insignificant, may, when considered in connexion with others, prove of the greatest value. Of such a description are the numerous circumstances here unfolded

respecting the history of Shakespeare's pecuniary affairs, any one of which, by itself, is worthless, or nearly so, for the purposes of argument. Viewed altogether, they discover the curious phase that Shakespeare's ambition, like that of Sir Walter Scott, turned towards the accumulation of a fortune and the foundation of a family, losing in the contemplation of these objects, as far as we can tell, any deep regard for the preservation to posterity, in their genuine form, elaborated for the pages of a permanent record, the efforts of his mighty genius.

The character of Shakespeare, as drawn by his contemporaries, and immediate successors, yields little more than an external outline. But that outline is one to be regarded with satisfaction. Ben Jonson observes, "he was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions." To the same effect is the incidental allusion in the commendatory verses in the first folio, where he says that Shakespeare's "mind and manners" were reflected in his "well-turned and true-filed lines;" a testimony which is confirmed by Chettle, who, writing as early as 1593, bears witness to his reputation for "uprightness of dealing," and "facetious grace in writing." Davies, in the *Microcosmos*, 1603, p. 215, informs us that Shakespeare and Burbage were "generous," or magnanimous, "in minde and moode," at the same time, in reference to Roscius, insinuating the stage "doth staine pure gentle bloud;" he regrets they were not reserved for "better uses;" and expressly assigns to both, "wit, courage, good shape, good partes." This contemporary testimony is confirmed by Aubrey, who asserts that Shakespeare "was a handsome well-shap't man, very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth witt;" and Rowe, in 1709, observes, "his pleasurable wit and good nature engag'd him in the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood," meaning the neighbourhood of Stratford. Fuller quaintly writes that, in his conversation, he "could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds by the quickness of his wit and invention;" and Oldys, a later authority adds, "his conversation was admir'd by some of the greatest men in his own time." "Gentle," and "beloved," and "sweet swan of Avon," are the affectionate epithets applied to the poet by Ben Jonson. He was the "worthy friend and fellow" of Heminge and Condell. Tradition recorded his "candour and good nature" nearly a century after his decease.

Shakespeare was, in truth, amiable. It is impossible for any careful reader of his works not to be affected by the generous view he takes of human nature, nor to feel convinced that the writer's heart, while it condemned the baser vices with sternness, made charitable deductions for the imperfections of our being. Such a writer, whatever venial defects of character may have been his portion, must have had qualities to raise, in many besides Ben Jonson, a love and honour, "on this side idolatry, as much as any."

Further than this, it is not permitted us at present to know. Shakespeare can scarcely be said to be observed in any of his characters, though in every line of his dramatic works, he individualised himself for the time with the person to whom that line belonged; but this must be referred to the power of his unrivalled genius, rather than to a reflection of his own feeling or character. It is idle, even if it be not taking somewhat from a belief in his high dramatic art, to attempt to trace the William Shakespeare of Southwark and New Place, in the enduring dramatic inventions of the world's Shakespeare. Neither are the *Sonnets* to be considered, with a few exceptions, to yield more certain information respecting the mind of their author. Written undoubtedly at various times, on manifold occasions, the gravest doubts must await conjectures that would invest them with the interest attending a reflex of the poet's sensibilities. Before, therefore, any passages in this great author are attributed to refer to circumstances in his personal history, it should be carefully considered whether they may not naturally belong to the drama or poem in which they appear; for it is scarcely asserting too much of Shakespeare, that the expression of every possible thought, and the delineation of every variety of character, in all their combinations, emanated spontaneously from his pen. "Nature," observes a writer of the last century, "has made as great a distinction between every individual man by the turn of his mind, as by the form of his countenance: in this Shakespeare has excelled all the poets, for he has not only distinguished his principal persons, but there is scarce a messenger comes in but is visibly different from all the rest of the persons in the play; so that you need not to mention the names of the person that speaks, when you read the play." This observation, which is to be found in the first modern edition of the poet's works by Rowe, suggests one of the most important canons for the foundation of true criticism on the plays of Shakespeare;

who, beyond all other writers, has furnished an exhaustless variety of subjects for the consideration of the psychologist, by the unbounded diversity and truthfulness of his creations. In the present work, which is designed rather to explain the meaning, and establish the truth, of the original text of the plays of the great dramatist, and to unravel the intentions of the author in obscure passages and scenes, than to exhibit much discussion belonging to the more subtle branches of philosophical criticism, this fundamental truth is intended to be always kept carefully in view. It is, indeed, the key to the real appreciation of the genius of Shakespeare; who is ever faithful to the language of Nature, either in the midst of comedy, or in the depths of passion.

The Formation of the Text.

The plays of Shakespeare were written, to select the most extended limits, between the years 1580 and 1616. At this period, the English language had assumed its present form. The ancient inflections, which are occasionally to be met with, especially in metrical compositions, as late as the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, had then entirely disappeared; so that, in fact, the only differences to be traced between the language of Shakespeare and our own consist of peculiarities of diction and phraseology, to which is to be added, in written and printed works, an unsettled orthography. In editing the more ancient poets, Chaucer for example, a modernization of spelling, by interfering with the inflections, would destroy the original construction of the language; but in printing the works of Shakespeare, no advantage would be derived from adhering to the old orthography, because it had ceased, in his time, to form an integral portion of English grammar. This being the case, an exact reprint of the early editions of the works of the great dramatist, in their original state, the old spelling being preserved, would unnecessarily embarrass their perusal by modern readers, without yielding any corresponding benefit.

Notwithstanding the great changes which took place in the language during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many traces, though generally in a corrupted shape, still remained of the older forms and constructions. The organic alteration arising from the disuse of the inflections was, to some extent, gradually effected; and many vulgarisms of the Elizabethan period may be most probably referred to the lingering use of grammatical terminations. A few of these may judiciously be corrected by a modern editor; such, for example, as the use of a singular verb after a plural substantive, which is of constant occurrence in most Elizabethan writers. A distinguished modern philologist is of opinion that although Shakespeare may have used this inaccurate construction both in speaking and writing, yet that the circumstance may be attributed to the influence of custom, and that, had the question been asked, he would have readily admitted that the phraseology was erroneous. But a careful examination of a large number of writings of the sixteenth century has convinced me that this idiom, which is not to be classed as of the same origin with that of the sudden transition from the plural number to the singular, was really in serious use by cultivated authors. The latter is countenanced by classical usage, and may be met with in comparatively modern works; but the misuse of the singular verb seems to be, in many cases, a remnant of the old plural form *th*, softened into *s*. This usage was continued till the commencement of the seventeenth century, when it almost entirely disappeared; for we find Ben Jonson lamenting the want of distinction between the plural cases and the first person singular. "Seeing," he observes, "*time* and *person* be, as it were, the right and left-hand of a verb, what can the maiming bring else but a lameness to the whole body?" So far, however, from thinking that the existence of the corrupted form

of the third person plural in Shakespeare's plays is due to a careless adaptation to vulgar usage, or that it is to be attributed to the compositors, there seems to be good reasons for believing that the poet was merely following the accustomed phraseology of the day, in all probability without being acquainted with the origin of the idiom; and in confirmation of this, it appears sufficient to refer to the numerous instances in which the rhyme or metre requires that the vicious construction should be retained, such, for example, as in the beautiful lines in *Venus and Adonis*,—

> She lifts the coffer-lids that close his eyes,
> Where, lo! *two lamps*, burnt out, in darkness *lies*.

This mode of construction is clearly so essentially corrupt, that it may safely be classed with the vulgarisms of Elizabethan language. An editor will, therefore, be justified in correcting it in all cases where the alteration is practicable; but before the slightest variation, otherwise than in the orthography, is allowed to be made from the original text, it should be seriously and anxiously considered whether the old copy of the sentence in which the change is proposed be really a solecism, or a genuine example of the phraseology of the day. To alter the author's own idiom is to re-write his work; and the unvarying canon of the critic who desires to present a faithful edition of any writings of Shakespeare's period, should be this,—that no phraseology shall be altered, if it can be shown to be consonant to the grammatical usages of the time, unless it can be distinctly proved to be a mere vulgarism of language. It is an editor's chief—if not his most difficult—task, to distinguish between corruptions and genuine idioms, and between absolute archaisms and different forms of words; but an acquaintance with some of the most prominent peculiarities of Elizabethan language will render the labour comparatively easy. The general reader likewise will find the difficulty of following Shakespeare's constructions very considerably lessened, by a little attention to the grammatical usages of the period; for there are numerous passages not only in the plays of Shakespeare, but in the works of contemporary dramatists, appearing to demand separate annotation, which may be more readily explained by a careful attention to a few simple rules. Thus a large surface of commentary may be removed from the pages of the variorum edition by the enunciation of one of the best-ascertained facts in the history of the language, that, in Shakespeare's time, almost every kind of transposition, both of words and sentences, was in strict consonance with the grammatical constructions then in use. Amongst the numerous passages that might be adduced in confirmation of this, may be selected one from the drama printed in the present volume,—

> The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
> The very virtue of compassion in thee,
> I have, with such provision in mine art,
> So safely order'd, that there is no soul—
> No, not so much perdition as an hair,
> *Betid to any creature in the vessel*
> *Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink.*

The author meaning to say, "betid to any creature which thou heard'st cry in the vessel which thou saw'st sink." The critics do not presume to attempt any alteration, the metre evidently showing the construction is that intended by Shakespeare; but difficulties are sometimes unnecessarily raised, when passages similarly involved occur in prose. A few examples of the usage itself may suffice to confirm the fact that it was employed by the writers of the Elizabethan age. "Free from our feasts and banquets bloody knives," *Macbeth;* that is, our feasts

and banquets free from bloody knives. "Meaning *that by* Brutus and Cassius," North's Plutarch, 1579, for, *by that*. "That meant he by the lordes of the queenes kindred," Holinshed's Chron., for, *by that meant he*. "This meant he by Catesby," *ibid.* Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, after mentioning a curious metrical riddle, says, "The good old gentlewoman would tell us that were children how it was meant by a furd gloove," *i.e.*, how a furred glove was meant by it. "But goes this with thy heart," that is, but goes thy heart with this, *King Lear*. "To make your house our Tower," to make our Tower your house, *Henry VIII.* "Good my lord," is of too common occurrence to require an example. Harmonious charmingly, *Tempest;* miserable most, *Mids. Night's Dream;* valiant truly, Shirley's *Young Admiral;* glorious foolish, *Wild Goose Chase*. "The Dauphin, *whom of* succour we entreated," *Henry V.* "I shall desire *you of* more acquaintance, good master Cobweb," *Midsummer Night's Dream*. "Madame, I set your eyes before mine woes," *Puttenham*, 1589: "And if I *not performe*," *ibid.;* "a corrall lippe of hewe," *ibid.* The inversion of parenthetical sentences is also of frequent occurrence. So, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Mrs. Page says, "I warrant he hath a thousand of these letters, writ with blank space for different names, (*sure more*), and these are of the second edition:" where the second folio, perhaps by an accidental error, reads *sue more;* a MS. of the play in my possession unnecessarily, *shuh! more;* and the MS. annotator of the Dent third folio, not understanding the construction, boldly alters the passage to, *see mine*. The usage referred to was, however, common in Shakespeare's time, and is still retained in the Scriptures, as in the well known sentence,—"Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot," *John*, xiv. 22. Connected with this usage may be mentioned a "manner of disordered speach" recorded by Puttenham, which consists of a transposition, detrimental to the sense, made for the sake of the rhythm.

It will be well, also, for the reader to bear in mind that nearly all the particles were formerly employed in senses and positions altogether different from what would now be considered accurate. Even as late as the last century, many of them were very licentiously used by some of the best writers; but, in works of Shakespeare's time, there is scarcely a preposition, conjunction, or adverb, that is not to be found in almost every possible variety of meaning and situation. An editor has no choice but to follow the original text in all instances of this kind; these usages by no means being corruptions, but belonging to the true and accepted idioms of the author's age. Shakespeare's uses of the particles may be divided into two grand divisions, viz., those which are in senses and positions different from what is now thought correct; and those which are redundant: but to these may be added, as connected with the subject, the numerous instances in which they are understood. The collection of examples, here given, will sufficiently exhibit the large number of variations arising from this class of words; but it is scarcely necessary to observe that the list might be almost indefinitely increased, by a careful examination of the works of contemporary writers. The reader will, however, here be furnished with competent data to suggest the danger of altering any particles in the original text, merely because they render the composition incongruous with our present notions of grammatical propriety. If they are solecisms now, they were not so in Shakespeare's time; and to exchange them for others, is to enter upon the task of modernising his language.

I. OBSOLETE USES OF PARTICLES.

As old and withered as I am myself, I could become a hood well enough, and behave myself as well in such attire as any other whatsoever, and I would not learn *at* never a one of them all.—*The Pleasant History of Jacke of Newberie.*

> Scryppe and burdon can he take,
> And toke leve *at* hys wyfe.
> *MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab.* Ff. ii. 38.

If he relied upon that title, he could be but a king *at* courtesie.—*Bacon's History of Henry VII.*

> What, *in* your own part, can you say to this?
> *Othello*, act i.

O, for the love of laughter, hinder not the humour of his design; let him fetch off his drum *in* any hand.—*All's Well that ends Well*, act iii.

He must be a free citizen of Rome *in* any hand.—*Holland's Pliny.*

> To whom being going, almost spent with hunger,
> I am fallen *in* this offence.
> *Cymbeline*, act iii.

Thy will be done *in* earth, as it is in heaven.—*The Lord's Prayer.*

> I have stolen nought; nor would not, though I had found
> Gold strew'd *in* the floor.—*Cymbeline*, act iii.

> Falsely to draw me *in* these vile suspects.
> *Richard III.*, act i.

> Of all the favourites that the absent king
> *In* deputation left behind him here.
> *First Part of Henry IV.*, act iv.

What other, *in* a vengeance? No man but Samio is left at home to keepe the house.—*Terence in English*, 4to, Lond. 1614.

By means of the wars our King had with other countries, many merchant strangers were prohibited *for* coming to England.—*The Pleasant History of Jacke of Newberie.*

> And let another half stand laughing by,
> All out of work, and cold *for* action.
> *King Henry V.*, act i.

> And shuns it still, though she *for* thirst do die.
> *Davies' Nosce Teipsum*, 1599.

For, i. e., because. "I curse myself, *for* they are sent by me," *Two Gentlemen of Verona.* Also, therefore. "*For* for this cause, pay ye tribute also," *Romans*, xiii. 6. Also, for fear of: very common; see instances in Nares.

The poor hate the rich, because they will not set them *on* work, and the rich hate the poor, because they seem burthenous, so that both are offended for want of gain.—*The Pleasant History of Jacke of Newberie.*

He drew foorth a little booke out of his bosome, whether it were Lattin or English it skils not, for he could not read a word *on* it.—*Nixon's Scourge of Corruption*, 1615.

The xvj. day of July was bered master Cowper's wyff, behyng the shreyffe of London, with as great funeral as ever was *on* a shreyff's wyff.—*Machyn's Diary*, A. D. 1552.

To him will I go, and complain *on* the judge and the usurer both.—*Greene's Looking-Glass for London and England.*

Or have we eaten *on* the insane root,
That takes the reason prisoner?
Macbeth, act i.

Who cries *on* murder? lady, was it you?
Eastward Hoe, 1605.

And with a palsy-fumbling *on* his gorget.
Troilus and Cressida, act i.

I am asham'd *on* thee.—*Wit without Money.*

——We are such stuff
As dreams are made *on*, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.
Tempest, act iv.

One officer in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his lord *on* sleep with tales vaine and frivolous.—*Campion's Ireland*, 1633.

And mount Sinai was altogether *on* a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.—*Exodus*, xix. 18.

How canst thou want worth, who hast such an ample faculty in emblazoning, and (indeed sometimes) adding to the worth of other men? It likes my humour well to describe thine *so* well as I could: the best *on* it is, thy humour is my priviledge.—*Harry White's Humour*, c. 1659.

The palmere thankes that lady free,
And in hir courte thare thus duellys he,
And thankes God *of* alle.
The Thornton Romances, p. 112.

Prayed of, for *prayed for*, occurs in Golding's *Ovid.* "Crie out *of* him," *for* him.—*Terence in English*, 4to, 1614.

Long had they not walked within the green wood
But Robin he was espy'd
Of a beautiful damsel all alone,
That on a black palfrey did ride.
Ballad of Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John.

He sets too high a price *of* his art. Hee is covetous in setting price *of* his craft.—*Terence in English*, 4to, 1614.

"Left and abandon'd *of* his velvet friends," *As You Like It.* Compare Matthew, iv. 1; John, v. 30. "Should nowe be laught at *of* any," *the Newe Metamorphosis*, 1600, MS.

Loe, he commeth forth *of* the schole dores.—*Terence in English*, 1614.

We John Cade, so termed *of* our supposed father.—2 *Henry VI.*, act iv.

I promise you, *of* my honestie.—*The Supposes*, 1566.

The others also were drawn almost dry, and had consumed all that they received *of* their wares on sumptuous banquets and fair women.—*History of Fortunatus*, 1682.

—— save for a night of groans
Endur'd *of* her, for whom you bid like sorrow.
Richard III., act iv.

Provided *of.*—*Merchant of Venice.*

All the time of her life a true and faithfull servant of her good God, never detected *of* any crime or vice.—*Epitaph on Lady Lucy at Charlecote.*

That she, deare she, might take som pleasure *of* my paine.
Sidney's Astrophel and Stella.

They lyve *of* raw fleshe, and a certayne sweete roote which they call Capar.—*Eden's History of Travayle*, 1577. Several instances of *of* for *on* occur in the first folio. "If I did not put distaste into my cariage *of* purpose," *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 4to. Lond. 1606.

Yea, but of them both I had my bribes;
My maysters, the broker can play *of* both sides.
The Tyde Taryeth no Man, 1576.

And when the people gave me *of*,
And said I moste needs die.
Dr. Forman's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum.

Of, in the sense of *belonging to*, is scarcely yet obsolete. "Of the house," belonging to the house.

He first burnt his owne cariage, and next his frendes, and then commaunded that they should also set the cariage of the Macedonians afire, which counsell seemed more daungerous to be *resolved of*, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte.—*North's Plutarch*, 1579.

Wee maie by one worde bothe praise a faithfull servaunt, and, if he bee naught, we maie also jest *of* hym, and praise hym.—*Wilson's Arte of Rhetorike*, 1584.

But Phalantus, angry *of* this defacing his shield, came upon the black knight, and, with the pommell of his sword, set fire to his eyes.—*Sir P. Sidney's Arcadia.*

Of, for *with*, was in very common use. "He was well garnished *of* spear, sword, and armoure," *History of Helias.*

Out alas, I am a forlorne man? this mischeife begins now againe *of fresh.* Is it meete that both I and shee (silly soules) should be thus vexed and disquieted through thy meanes? for doubtlesse that is the cause shee now sends for me, having understood *of* the marriage I am towards.—*Terence in English*, 1614.

Simon, perceivinge his mother wold doe nothinge for him, was dryven to great extremity and hunger, *gave of* to be a scoller any longer, for lacke of maintenance.—*MS. Ashmole* 208.

I suffered the pangs of three several deaths: first, an intolerable fright, to be detected *with* a jealous rotten bell-wether.—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iii.

I rather will suspect the sun *with* cold,
Than thee *with* wantonness.
Merry Wives of Windsor, act. iv.

He was torn to pieces *with* a bear: this avouches the shepherd's son.—*Winter's Tale*, act. v.

—— I liv'd
Too happy in my holiday trim of glory,
And courted *with* felicity.
Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, xi. 110.

I beleeve that no body hath suffered more bitter griefes for love then I have done. Alas, unfortunate wretch that I am, is this the miserable life that I have *abstained to* make an end of?—*Terence in English*, 1614.

She was very charitable *to* her fortune, which was not such as she deserved from her husband, whom she had carefully nursed and attended as a servant in many sicknesses, but left her barely her jointure.—*Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, p. 352.

The Greeks are strong, and skilful *to* their strength,
Fierce *to* their skill, and *to* their fierceness valiant.
Troilus and Cressida, act i.

He hath more worthy interest *to* the state,
Than thou the shadow of succession.
1 *Henry IV.*, act iii.

And is less frequent *to* his princely exercises than formerly.—*Winter's Tale*, act iv.

A sweet thing is love,
That rules both heart and mind:
There is no comfort in the world
To women that are kind.
Wily Beguiled, ap. Hawkins, iii. 317.

Shakespeare occasionally uses the old English prefix *to*, which, in composition with verbs of Anglo-Saxon origin, implies deterioration. To-pinch, *Merry Wives of Windsor;* to-spend, *King John;* to-bless, *Pericles.*

The sign of the infinitive is very licentiously used in such passages as the following, in *Summers Last Will and Testament*, 1600,—"the lusty courser, if he be in a barrayne plot, and spye better grasse in some pasture neere adjoyning, breakes over hedge and ditch, and *to goe*, ere he will be pent in, and not have his belly full." It is also frequently merely used redundantly. Sometimes, the present participle with a possessive is used in place of the infinitive mood. "Was and is the occasion to incourag me *of presenting* this unto your view," *Yates' Chariot of Chastitie*, 1582.

Hammering this in his heade, on he went to the smith's house: Now, smith, quoth hee, good morrow, is thy wife up? No, quoth the smith, but she is awake; go up and carry your linnen, *a* Gods name.—*Cobler of Canterburie*, 1608.

Whose chanel choked is with troublous grounds of miry mud,
And belching boiles *a* sand, which to the banks it throws from deepes.
Virgil, translated by Phaer, ed. 1600.

If you so did leyck him, you shall have him of mey; faith, hee is a marvailous good boole, and shuch a on as I think you have had but few shuch, for I aseure you that I hould him as good a doble bole as that which you had *a* mee last a single.—*The Alleyn Papers*, ed. Collier, (vulg.)

There are several other uses of this article very common in familiar dialogue, and sometimes improperly introduced into poetry, but they are mostly vulgar corruptions.

Break *up* the gates; I'll be your warrantize.
1 *Henry VI.*, act i.

Rottura, a burglarie or breaking *up* of a house,"—*Florio's Worlde of Wordes*, fol. Lond. 1598.

Advanc'd their eye-lids, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music. *Tempest*, act iv.

He utters them *as* he had eaten ballads, and all men's ears grew to his tunes.—*Winter's Tale*, act iv.

As our acquaintance sprong but yesterday.
Sir Gyles Goosecappe, 1606, sig. B. iv.

Our moderne poets to that passe are driven,
Those names are curtal'd which they first had given;

And, *as* we wisht to have their memories drown'd,
We scarcely can afford them halfe their sound.
Heywood's Hierarchie of the blessed Angells, 1635, p. 206.

It was a pretty part in the old church playes, when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly, like a jackanapes, *into* the devil's necke, and ride the devil a course.—*Harsnet's Declaration of Popish Impostures*, 1602.

They that have justed with him *into* this day have been as richly beseen.—*Paston Letters.*

What time it pleased her to ryde forth *into* the chase.—*Laneham's Letter*, 1575.

—— I'll stay at home,
And pray God's blessing *into* thy attempt.
All's Well that ends Well, act i.

And he shall abide in it *unto* the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil.—*Numbers*, xxxv. 25.

—— Thither Macduff
Is gone to pray the holy king, *upon* his aid
To wake Northumberland, and warlike Siward.
Macbeth, act iii.

Flows a cold sweat, with a continual rheum,
Forth the resolved corners of his eyes.
Ben Jonson, ed. Gifford, iii. 189.

This is *from* my business.
The Mayor of Queenborough, 1661.

"To think gold *that* is brass," *Spenser*, *i. e.*, to think gold that which is brass. "To do always *that* is righteous in thy sight," *Liturgy.*

—— as now at last
Given hostile strokes, and that *not* in the presence
Of dreaded justice, but on the ministers
That do distribute it.—*Coriolanus*, act iii.

The tempests rend the oakes, and cedars brake,
And make *not* trees, but rocks and mountains shake.
Fairfax, vii. 116.

He, therefore, that despiseth these things, depiseth *not* man, but God who hath even given you his holy Spirit.—1 *Thessalonians*, iv. 8.

I did burne them for feare of the translator, more than for any yll that I knewe *by* them.—*Stowe's Chronicles.*

Give us once a drinke *for and* the black bole,
Sing, gentle butler, *balla moy;*
For and the black bole,
Sing, gentle butler, *balla moy.*
Deuteromelia, 1609.

Ænone, *while* we bin disposed to walk,
Tell me what shall be the subject of our talk?
The Arraignment of Paris, i. 5.

The definite and indefinite articles were sometimes interchangeably used. Thus Sir P. Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesie*, says, "In Wales, the true remnant of the ancient Brittons, as there are good authorities to shew, *the* long time they had poets which they called bardes."

II. REDUNDANT PARTICLES.

Lucina then received the writinges, and *brake* them *up*.—*The Patterne of Painefull Adventures*, n. d.

In the weeke before Easter last past, in this present yeare of our Lord God, 1607, the sea, forcing a breach through the banke a little from Lynne, came flowing in with such a furious spring-tide, that it *drowned up* a great part of the towne.—*A True Relation of the Great Floodes*, 1607.

> Whereas a holsome and penurious dearth
> Purges the soile of such vile excrements,
> And *kils the vipers up*.
> *Every Man out of his Humour*, fol. ed., p. 97.

> When I *to perfect up* some wondrous deed.
> *Lilly's Woman in the Moone*, 1597.

> And there are shipwrights sent for too,
> To *build* me *up* a bigger bote.
> *Wilson's Cobler's Prophesie*, 1594.

An it shall please you to *break up* this, it shall seem to signify.—*Merchant of Venice*, act ii.

Break *up* the seals, and read.—*Winter's Tale*, act iii.

> Kill'd *up* with cold, and pinde with evil fare.
> *Davison's Poems*, 1621.

The remembrance of theire poore, indigent, and beggerlye old age, kylleth them *up*.—*More's Utopia*, 1598.

The Spaniardes, which were quite slaine *uppe* of the Turkes arrowes.—*Ascham's Toxophilus*, 1589.

The great deluge, which drowned them *up*, as it dyd all other quarters.—*Bale's English Votaries*, 1560.

> To fright the animals, and to kill them *up*,
> In their assign'd and native dwelling place.
> *As You Like It*, act ii.

Killed *up* with colde.—*Apuleius, Golden Asse, by Adlington*, 1582.

> Why, universal plodding poisons *up*
> The nimble spirits in the arteries.
> *Love's Labour's Lost*, act iv.

> If this, or more than this, I would deny,
> To flatter *up* these powers of mine with rest,
> The sudden hand of death close up mine eye!
> Hence ever then my heart is in thy breast.—*Ibid.*, act v.

> Put but a little water in a spoon,
> And it shall be as all the ocean,
> Enough to stifle such a villain *up*.—*King John*, act iv.

The bodie is still *pampered uppe* in pompe, in pride, and in the very dropsie of excesse, whilest the soule remayneth poor, naked, and needy.—*Rich's Honestie of this Age*, 1614.

What vile excuses canst make? how canst thou hide thy lust? Wouldst wrap thy sinne in perjurie to *mussell up* thy villany?—*Cupid's Whirligig*, 1630.

And, Winter, with thy wrythen frostie face,
Smoothe up thy visage when thou look'st on her.
Nash's Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600.

Guiltie therefore are you of all those crimes which they commit, and accessarie to their enormities whom you secure and *sooth up* in follies.—*The Man in the Moone telling strange Fortunes*, 1609.

Your servant *and* Costard.—*Love's Labour's Lost.*

And as Obadiah was in the way, behold, Elijah met him: and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Art thou *that* my lord Elijah?—1 *Kings*, xviii. 7.

The Cardinall caused the Kynge so muche to myslyke *of* that tale, that Chaucer must be nowe printed, and that discourse of the Pilgrymes Tale lefte oute.—*Thynne's Animadversions.*

O how happy a thing it is,
And joyful *for* to see.—*Psalms*, old tr.

And where we took you for a wise man before, we are contented to account *of* ye as our foole for ever heerafter.—*John a Kent and John a Cumber*, p. 52.

To make myselfe sumptuous with the pompe of your excellent wit, is the onely cloathing *of* mee with your devise, that so I may be knowne for one of yours, and in truth I am glad thereof.—*The Passenger of Benvenuto*, 1612.

The yeomans sonne, not liking *of*
His father's honest state,
Will climbe to be a gentleman,
And every gentle's mate.
The Forrest of Fancy, 4to. Lond. 1579.

No marvel; you have so bestirred your valour. You cowardly rascal, nature disclaims *in* thee; a tailor made thee.—*King Lear*, act ii.

I will disclaim *in* your favour hereafter.
Brome's Northern Lasse, 1632.

I think I shall drink *in* pipe-wine first with him; I'll make him dance.—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iii.

If he goe to the taverne, they will not onely make him paie for the wine, but for all he drinks *in* besides.—*Greene's Ghost Haunting Conicatchers*, 1602.

A player acting upon a stage a man killed, but being troubled with an extreme cold, as he was lying upon the stage fell a coughing; the people laughing, he rushed up, ran off the stage, saying, Thus it is for a man to drink *in* porridge, for then he will be sure to cough in his grave.—*Chamberlaine's Jocabella, or a Cabinet of Conceits*, 1640.

The sign of the infinitive mood of a verb is frequently used redundantly, as in the following passage in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1586, *Historie of Scotland*, p. 150,—"their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might have remooved the chamber over them sooner than *to* have awaked them out of their droonken sleepe." Several instances of this usage occurs in Shakespeare. The preposition *to* is also sometimes used redundantly, as in Matthew, xxvii. 14, "and he answered him *to* never a word."

But the most part resisted *to* the killing of the princesse, fore-seeing their lives would never be safe after such a fact committed.—*Sidney's Arcadia*, 1598.

III. PARTICLES UNDERSTOOD.

I see well, Apollonius, you have skill in all things, and is nothing to be *wished* in a gentleman, but you have perfectly learned it.—*The Patterne of Painefull Adventures*, n. d.

Sir, of all men I holde you most senselesse, who, without certaine ground and sure experience, should misconceit that which was never *meant you.*—*The Man in the Moone*, 1609.

He hath been all this day to *look you.*—*As You Like It.*

And yet, ere I go, let me go with that I *came*, which is, with knowing what hath passed between you and Claudio.—*Much Ado about Nothing*, act v.

And your supply, which you have *wish'd* so long,
Is cast away and sunk on Goodwin sands.—*King John*, act v.

Why, Abigail, it is not yet long since
That I did *labour* thy admission.
Marlowe's Works, ed. Dyce, i. 293.

—— I am in blood
Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious *as go o'er.*—*Macbeth*, act iii.

Then weigh what loss your honour may sustain,
If with too credent ear you *list* his songs.—*Hamlet*, act i.

A bed-swerver, even as bad as those
That vulgars *give bold'st titles.*—*Winter's Tale*, act ii.

Players and their factors, who put away the stuff, and make the best of it they possibly can, as indeed 'tis their parts so to do, your gallant, your courtier, and your captain had wont to be the soundest *paymasters.*—*Decker's Gull's Horn-Book*, 1609.

Industrious, therefore, ought you *be* to get your master's favour; and having gotten it, circumspect to keepe the same.—*The Man in the Moone*, 1609.

Sufficeth my reasons are both good and weighty.
Taming of the Shrew, act. i.

Warton mentions several examples of this ellipsis in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, vol. i, p. 321. This pronoun is sometimes omitted when it should properly follow a verb.

Where did I *leave?*—No matter where, quoth he.
Venus and Adonis.

——discover to me
What both you spur and *stop.*
Cymbeline, act i.

Would *grant continuance.*—*Merchant of Venice.*

——the queen is spotless . . . .
In this which you accuse her.
Winter's Tale, act ii.

A *maner Latin* corrupt was hire speche.
The Man of Lawes Tale.

To *smell* was used where we should now write, *smell of.* "Though she *smelt* brown bread and garlick."—*Measure for Measure.*

If the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlicke.—*Tom of all Trades*, 1631.

> Only he hath an eye to gaze on beauty,
> And dotes on what *he looks*, 'gainst law or duty.
> *Rape of Lucrece.*

> ——Forthwith, they fly
> *Chickens*, the way which they stoop'd *eagles.*
> *Cymbeline*, act v.

We doubt not, madam, but if it please your Ladiship to *put up* their abuses.—*Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606.

> Go bid thy mistress, when my drink is ready,
> *She strike* upon the bell.—*Macbeth*, act ii.

> If you do thrust, be sure it be to th' hilts,
> A surgeon may see through him.
> *Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Dyce, vii. 224.

The indefinite and definite articles are frequently understood, but the former oftener than the latter.

Well, for this one night's exhortation, I vow never to be good husband while I live.—*Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1600.

> ——men rede,
> That love is *thing* aie full of busie drede.
> *Chaucer's Troilus and Creseide*, iv. 1645.

> ——himself, behind,
> Was left unseen, save to the eye *of mind.*
> *Rape of Lucrece.*

Which was the pendant of a hill *to* life, with divers boscages and grovets upon the steepe or hanging grounds thereof.—*The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne*, 1612.

The above examples comprise a small portion of the number that might be readily collected from the works of Shakespeare, and his contemporaries; but they will probably suffice to convince the reader of the variety of grammatical uses to which the particles were formerly applied. So little, however, has the subject been studied, that writers are still to be found who, in discussing matters connected with Shakespearian criticism, persistently deny some of the best-established facts of this kind, such, for instance, as the simple but important circumstance that the particle *up* was constantly used as a redundant augmentative, sometimes but not necessarily conveying even a slight intensative power. The reader will find the knowledge of the poet's language more easy of acquirement, by a little attention to the numerous grammatical usages of this kind. Next to the articles, in regard to the extent to which they are obsoletely employed, and perhaps in point of importance, may be mentioned the continual occurrence of the ellipsis, which is met with, not only in Shakespeare, but in most writers of the day. This peculiarity not unfrequently renders a passage extremely harsh to the unpractised ear, and it also tends, in many instances, to create obscurity. The ellipsis of the auxiliary verbs, and of the personal and relative pronouns, is perhaps more common than that of other parts of the sentence; but omissions of nearly all kinds are to be discovered, that are not to be ascribed to any settled rules of composition, but

are to be more properly considered as the results of a license permitted by the usages of the period, that enabled the author, without violating the grammar of the language, to adopt a construction in which part of the sentence was understood, rendering the whole only to be explained by reference to what was implied by the context. A vast number of passages in the early poets and dramatists, can only be satisfactorily interpreted by the admission of this mode of construction, which was occasionally carried out to a very injudicious extent; and a few examples are carefully considered in the notes to the plays. It is hardly necessary to give instances of the ordinary kinds of ellipsis, which are well understood by most readers of old English poetry; and I now proceed to indicate a few of the other grammatical idioms, that were used by the great dramatist:

(1). The tenses of the relative pronouns are not always correctly used, and one of them is sometimes employed for another.

> Being once perfected how to grant suits,
> How to deny them: *who* to advance, and *who*
> To trash for over-topping. *Tempest*, act i.

> And others more, going to seek the grave
> Of Arthur, *whom*, they say, is kill'd to-night
> On your suggestion. *King John*, act iv.

Instances of *who* for *whom*, and of *whom* for *who*, are exceedingly numerous in Elizabethan writers. *Which* for *who* is common in old works, and is still retained in the Lord's Prayer; and it occasionally takes the place of *whose*. The relative is sometimes most licentiously used instead of the personal pronoun. Several passages in old plays, apparently hopelessly involved, will be readily explained by the adoption of this amongst the grammatical usages of the time. Several other irregular uses of the relative may also be traced. It occurs very ungrammatically in the following passage:

> But lend it rather to thine enemy,
> *Who* if he break, thou may'st with better face
> Exact the penalty.

And sometimes the relative is used altogether redundantly, as in the following lines in the *Mirour for Magistrates*, 1587,—

> *Which* when they aunswerd him they lov'd their father more
> Than they themselves did love, or any wordly wight.

(2). The relative pronoun does not necessarily refer to the nearest antecedent. Thus, in *Richard II.*,

> ——know'st thou not,
> That when the searching eye of heaven is hid
> Behind the globe, *that* lights the lower world,
> Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen:

modern editors, following Dr. Johnson, read *and* for *that*, which certainly improves the sentence according to our present grammatical usage, though the old editions unquestionably contain Shakespeare's genuine words. *That* refers to *the searching eye of heaven.*

> Madam, I part with some unhappinesse
> To lose your presence: give me leave I may
> Be absent your admirer, to *whose* memory
> I write myselfe a servant.
> *Shirley's Maides Revenge*, 1639, sig. C. iv.

Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, *Gonzalo*,
Out of his charity, *who* being then appointed
Master of this design, did give us.—*Tempest*, act i.

——This your *son-in-law*,
And son unto the king, *whom* heavens directing,
Is troth-plight to your daughter.
Winter's Tale, act v.

——Thither shall it then;
And happily may your *sweet self* put on
The lineal state and glory of the land!
To *whom*, with all submission, on my knee,
I do bequeath my faithful services
And true subjection everlastingly.
King John, act v.

——wretched I,
To imitate thee well, against my heart
Will fix a sharp knife, to affright mine eye:
Who, if it wink, shall thereon fall and die.
Rape of Lucrece.

(3). Shakespeare, writing the language of familiar life, sometimes makes the personal pronoun refer to what is implied rather than to what is expressed. This loose construction is common in old English works.

There's not *a man* I meet, but doth salute me
As if I were *their* well acquainted friend.
Comedy of Errors, act iv.

For, if the *French* be lords of this loud day,
He means to recompense the pains you take,
By cutting off your heads.—*King John*, act v.

(4). The pronoun is sometimes repeated, with the intention of strengthening the force of the sentence. This idiom is so very common, a few instances will suffice.

I tell thee, *I*, that thou hast marr'd her gown.
Taming of the Shrew, act iv.

I shall forestall *thee*, Lord Ulysses, *thou!*
Troilus and Cressida, act iv.

Although *this* lord of weak remembrance, *this*.
Tempest, act ii.

I love thee not, Sabidius,
I cannot tell thee why:
I can saie naught but this alone,
I do not love thee, *I*.
Kendall's Epigrammes, 1577.

I warrant thee, *I*, thou hast figured him well enough as it is.—*Nash's Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596.

(5). The preposition is frequently repeated, generally when the verb that governs it is placed at a distance from its first occurrence; but the repetition likewise occurs under other circumstances.

Then shall I give waye to a thousande mischiefes and inconveniences, which daily happen by occasion of beholding and haunting suche spectacles. Therefore, let me understande *of* what sort and kynde of playes you speake *of*.—*Northbroke's Treatise against Dicing*, 1577.

In what enormity is Marcius poor *in*, that you two have not in abundance?—*Coriolanus*, ed. 1623.

> My wishes rise, as covetous of your love,
> And *to* as warm alarums spur my will *to*.
> *Fletcher's Double Marriage*, 1647.

> And thou shalt be my heir; I'll leave thee all;
> Heaven knows *to* what 'twill mount *to*.
> *Massinger's Very Woman*, 1655.

> And *through* what seas of hazard I sail'd *through*.
> *The Humorous Lieutenant*, 1647.

> For she is sweeter than perfume itself,
> *To* whom they go *to*.
> *Taming of the Shrew*, ed. 1623.

(6). Names of places and persons are adjectively used before a substantive, instead of the genitive case.

> Draw them to *Tiber* banks, and weep your tears
> Into the channel, till the lowest stream
> Do kiss the most exalted shores of all.—*Julius Cæsar*, act i.

It may be observed that even substantives, that have no relation to places or persons, were sometimes so used. So Turbervile, in his *Tragical Tales*, 1587,—

> Lorenzo was the *prentise name*.

The expression *moment leisure* in Hamlet, as printed in the first folio, may, therefore, be right; and had the Rev. A. Dyce been acquainted with this somewhat trite idiom, a severe notice of Mr. Collier's edition in his *Remarks*, p. 209, might have been spared. Some philologists have erroneously considered the old use of *self*, in such instances as *Nature self* for *Nature herself*, where we now write *Nature's-self*, as analogous to this idiom. It is obviously the genuine Anglo-Saxon construction.

(7). The double negative is frequently used, not to destroy, but to increase the force of the negative. This idiom was even used by Bentley in his letter on Phalaris, and is still retained in many of the provincial dialects, as well as in the vulgar phraseology of the metropolis.

> I *cannot* go *no* faster; I must rest.
> *Lilly's Woman in the Moone*, 1597.

> O horror! horror! horror! Tongue *nor* heart,
> *Cannot* conceive, *nor* name thee.—*Macbeth*, act ii.

Nay, good Sir Cutt, doe *not* agravate him *no* more.—*Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 4to. Lond. 1606, sig. B.

(8). Words of negative import are sometimes used for words of positive meaning, in cases where other words implying negation or detraction are placed in connexion with them. This apparent solecism is merely a subtle variation of the use of the double negative.

I pray you, sir, take patience; I have hope
You *less* know how to value her desert,
Than she to *scant* her duty.—*King Lear*, act ii.

Here *scant* is used in opposition to *less*, and has a positive, not a negative meaning. A similar kind of phraseology occurs in the *Tempest*, act i.—"*nor* this man's threats, ... are but *light* to me," where the conjunction *nor*, in opposition with *light*, may be interpreted positively. Modern editors substitute *or*, but, I think, unnecessarily.

I ne'er heard yet
That any of these bolder vices *wanted*
Less impudence to gainsay what they did,
Than to perform it first.—*The Winter's Tale*, act iii.

Fortune *forbid* my outside have *not* charm'd her!
Twelfth Night, act ii.

I beseech you let his *lack* of years be *no impediment* to let him *lack* a reverend estimation.—*Merchant of Venice*, act iv.

I, that with my sword
Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
With ships made cities, condemn myself to *lack*
The courage of a woman; *less* noble mind
Than she. *Antony and Cleopatra*, act iv.

He must acknowledge that he has a less noble mind than she. The negative quality of *lack* is ineffective; and the correctness of this clearly appears from the original language in North's Plutarch,—"I am indeede condemned to be judged of lesse courage and noble minde than a woman."

Who *cannot want* the thought, how monstrous
It was for Malcolm, and for Donalbain,
To kill their gracious father?—*Macbeth*, act iii.

(9). The objective case of the first person of the personal pronoun is sometimes placed after a verb redundantly. Thus, in the *Taming of the Shrew*,

Villain, I say, knock *me* at this gate,
And rap *me* well, or I'll knock your knave's pate.

Grumio is not acquainted with this rather affected idiom, and takes Petruchio's meaning in its literal sense. The scene consequently affords a remarkably good illustration of the usage, which is very common in Shakespeare and contemporary works. Other cases of the personal pronoun are also occasionally used in a similar manner.

(10). Substantives, adjectives, and verbs, used interchangeably. This license was constantly taken advantage of by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. A few examples will suffice to exhibit its use.

For if thou *path* thy native semblance on,
Not Erebus itself were dim enough
To hide thee from prevention.—*Julius Cæsar*, act ii.

The meanes how Langleyes progenie may rise,
Pathing young Henry's unadvised wayes.
Drayton's Poems, p. 264.

Let the superfluous, and lust-dieted man,
That *slaves* your ordinance, that will not see
Because he doth not feel, feel your power quickly.
King Lear, act iv.

What shall I do? my love I will not *slave*
To an old king, though he my love should crave.
Heywood's Pleasant Dialogues, 1637.

And dogged York, that reaches at the moon,
Whose overweening arm I have pluck'd back,
By false *accuse* doth level at my life.
2 *Henry VI.*, act iii.

All that is mine I leave at thy *dispose*,
My goods, my lands, my reputation.
Two Gentlemen of Verona, act ii.

Pembroke and Stafford, you, in our behalf,
Go levy men, and make *prepare* for war.
3 *Henry VI.*, act iv.

Unjustly he with them hath delt,
His *greedy* was so strong.
King Cambises, ap. Hawkins, i. 273.

—— these piercing fires
As soft as now severe, our temper changed
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The *sensible* of pain. *Paradise Lost*, ii. 278.

—— and make all his craft
Sail with his ruin, for his father *saf't*.
Chapman's Homer, Odyssey, b. iv.

(11). Cases in which the substantive, when put in the genitive case, or governing a genitive case, is to be construed adjectively. This mode of construction is met with in classical writers. Upton refers to Lucretius, *caliginis aer*, the air of darkness, *i. e.*, the dark air; and in Luke, xviii. 6, an example of the phrase in Greek, ὁ κριτης της αδικιας, the judge of injustice, *i. e.*, the unjust judge. "The flower of England's face," *Richard II.*, act iii., means, England's flowery face; and Sir P. Sidney uses a similar expression in his *Arcadia*,—"the sweet and beautiful flower of her face." Compare also the latter work, ed. 1590, f. 2,—"at that turning, she spake unto us all, opening the cherrie of her lips," *i. e.*, opening her cherry lips.

Let it not enter in *your mind of love*.
Merchant of Venice, act ii.

Those that speak freely, have *no mind of treason*.
Tragedie of Crœsus, 1604.

Yet hath he in him such *a mind of honour*.
Measure for Measure, act ii.

—— I had thought *thy minde*
Had beene *of honour*.
Philaster, or Love Lies a Bleeding, 1622, p. 32.

"Though Page be a secure fool, and stands so firmly on *his wife's frailty*," *i. e.*, his frail wife, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act ii. Of a similar phraseology, unless it be merely an example of a redundant possessive, is perhaps the expression

"your lady's love," in *Romeo and Juliet*, for *your loving lady*, or the lady you love. *Discourse of reason, i. e.*, reasoning discourse. The correctness of this idiom, which occurs in *Hamlet*, act i., and of the explanation here given, is well supported by Malone. "Upon a naturall wit and discourse of reason," *Savile's Tacitus*, the original Latin being merely, *naturali prudentia.*

——Is your blood
So madly hot, that no *discourse of reason*,
Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,
Can qualify the same.
Troilus and Cressida, act ii.

This idea have I conceived of him, not out of mine own imagination, or weak *discourse of reason.*—*Sir John Davies's Reports*, 1674, pref. ded.

And on my face he turn'd *an eye of death.*
1 *Henry IV.*, act i.

That is, a deathly eye.

And see already how he doth begin
To make us strangers to his *looks of love.*
1 *Henry IV.*, act i.

That is, his loving looks.

(12). Numerous cases occur in which the active participle is used for the passive; and, on the contrary, other instances are usual in which the passive participle is used for the active. Thus *discontenting* for *discontented*, and *becomed* for *becoming.* Mr. Collier restores *beholding* from the first folio as an instance of this ordinary usage; but this is merely a corruption of *beholden*, which latter should, I think, always be the form adopted in a modern text. It is, as elsewhere remarked, difficult to distinguish always between genuine usages and corruptions; and the subject has not been very minutely considered in some of the restorations accepted by recent editors.

(13). Two substantives are sometimes united by a conjunction, one substantive having the force of an adjective governed by the other. Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, calls this idiom, "Endiadis, or the Figure of Twinnes," and he gives several curious examples of its use, viz., *your lowrs nor your lookes*, your louring looks; *of fortune nor her frowning face*, of fortune's frowning face; *with horses and with barbes*, with barbed horses; *with venim and with dartes*, with venomous darts. Several instances of this curious usage occur in Shakespeare.

(14). Adjectives used adverbially, as *valiant* for *valiantly*, *indifferent* for *indifferently*, &c. It is unnecessary to give many instances of an usage, which was common even at the commencement of the last century. "I'll beat thee *damnable*," *Massinger.* "She can love *reasonable* constantly, for she loved her husband only almost a whole yeere togeather," *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606. When, however, this same idiom is used in a transposed sentence, as is occasionally the case, the meaning is sometimes apparently obscure.

All but within those banks, where rivers now
Stream, and *perpetual* draw their humid train.
Paradise Lost, vii. 305.

(15). Double comparatives. This pleonasm is common in many writers contemporary with Shakespeare.

—— nor that I am *more better*
Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell.
Tempest, act i., sc. 2.

Yet were Phœbe's locks *more whiter*.
Euphues Golden Legacie, 1590.

(16). Old writers frequently use curtailed forms of the participle past; and the substantive belonging to the latter is also occasionally used in its stead. Thus *wed* for *wedded*, in Shakespeare; and also in the *Maid's Tragedie*, 1622,—

Good morrow, sister; he that understands
Whom you have *wed*, neede not to wish you joy;

and *lift*, for *lifted*, occurs in the old translation of John, xiii. 18,—"he that eateth bread with me, hath *lift* up his heel against me;" so, also, in Exodus, xii. 8, ed. 1640, *roast*, for *roasted*.

Then were the furies with his viewe *affright*,
And shrunke to hide their wave-like snakie haires.
Rodomonths Infernall, 12mo. Lond. 1598.

The sudden transition from one person to another occurs in several plays. Compare also the Scriptures, Acts, xvii. 2, 3—"And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alledging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ." A complicated instance occurs in the *Winter's Tale*, where *her*, *she*, and *thee*, are found in one passage, all referring to the same person.

(17). Involved sentences, which would now be considered very ungrammatical, occur in the works of nearly all the Elizabethan dramatists; and they are often only to be explained by a careful reference to the context. The most difficult are those which include two or more obsolete grammatical constructions; and such passages should not be pronounced to be corrupt, until a close examination has been made. Some of these kind of obscurities are perhaps to be referred to Shakespeare's continual practice of adopting the lower vernacular phraseology of the period in which he lived.

(18). The proper construction of sentences, involving the use of the pronoun and the relative in connexion with each other, was not well attended to. "It is a shamefull thing *that* who are well borne, *they* should live shamelesly."—*Survey of the English Tongue*, 1632.

Amidst a variety of peculiar, and, for the most part, less general, modes of construction, may be mentioned, (*a*) the auxiliary verb was occasionally omitted or understood; (*b*) the infinitive mood of a verb used adjectively, or for the present participle; (*c*) substantives used adjectively; (*d*) the adverb of time used for the adjective; (*e*) the objective case of the third person of the personal pronoun was sometimes used for the reciprocal pronoun; (*f*) the word *all* employed, when two persons only are mentioned; (*g*) the nominative case of the personal pronoun was used instead of the objective, but as this solecism can scarcely be said to be even now obsolete, it is unnecessary to record examples of it; (*h*) the tenses of verbs were sometimes irregularly used, the present instead of the past, and *vice versa;* (*i*) the distinctions now made between the auxiliary verbs, *shall* and *will*, were not carefully preserved; (*k*) a verb was sometimes understood before a preposition, which, in an ordinary construction, would have been governed by the verb;

(*l*) words used interchangeably, such, for example, as *where* and *whereas*, and the personal and neutral pronouns; (*m*) intention, wish or desire, was sometimes understood in the use of verbs, especially in that of the auxiliary *to have;* (*n*) neuter verbs used actively, as, for example, to *fall*, to let fall, to drop; and active verbs used neutrally; (*o*) the use of two possessives, though clearly inaccurate, is not even yet obsolete; it occurs several times in the early editions; (*p*) the adjective passive used actively, and the active participle used passively; (*q*) words lengthened by the addition of a Latin termination; (*r*) the future tense of a verb used instead of the present; (*s*) nouns of multitude used as singular substantives; (*t*) adverbs used as substantives; (*u*) when a plural idea is conveyed by a singular noun, the verb it governs was in the plural; (*v*) the use of *ye* as the objective case plural of *thou;* (*w*) *his* used for the possessive case of the neuter pronoun, instead of *its;* (*x*) *be* used for *is* in the third person singular of the present tense of *to be;* (*y*) participles now contracted were used as regularly formed from the verb; (*z*) the irregular terminations of participles did not always correspond with those now used; (*ab*) the negative was frequently placed before the verb; (*ac*) the first or last syllables of certain words were sometimes omitted, by poetical license, without any intention of altering the sense; (*ad*) the nominative case was sometimes used without the verb, generally followed by another construction in which the objective case of the pronoun after the verb in the second sentence referred to the first nominative; (*ae*) in the construction of some sentences, a phrase or sentence grounded on the earlier part is to be understood at the conclusion; (*af*) the pronoun *either* was used for the conjunction *or*, as in James, iii. 12. To these idioms, and modes of construction, may be added the use of the abstract for the concrete, which is also to be found in the works of writers belonging to much later periods.

This subject is one which is capable of almost indefinite extension, for there is scarcely a writer of the Elizabethan period that might not be quoted in illustration of the grammatical usages which occur in the works of Shakespeare. These are by no means peculiar to the great dramatist, and it may reasonably be doubted whether a single mode of construction met with in the early editions of his plays, except in passages that are obviously in a corrupt state, may not be illustrated by quotations from contemporary productions. Many of the idioms, which, till they are reconciled to the ear by a little practice, appear to be exceedingly harsh and disagreeeble, are really genuine characteristics of the style of the author and of the writers of his own time; and no editor, convinced of this truth, can willingly exchange them for the most plausible conjectural substitutions. On the other hand, care should be taken to distinguish between words and passages which unquestionably belong to the language of the Shakespearian period, and formed an essential part of it, and those which may be fairly considered corruptions or vulgarisms. A too rigid adherence to the original text, on the one hand, and an undue facility in admitting variations from it, on the other, are errors easily incurred, and beyond the ability of any editor, however sound may be the principles on which his text is formed, entirely to avoid; but a determination to adhere to the phraseology of the earliest editions, whenever the idiom is clearly established to be genuine, and a desire to accept the best emendations in cases where the old readings are corrupt or unmeaning, are, it is sincerely believed, the best means of creating a text that shall, for the most part, be accepted as permanent.

The punctuation, as well as the orthography, seems to be, in almost all cases, entirely at the judgment of the modern editor to vary or correct. There are a few instances in which the pointing may have been carefully considered in the old

editions, but, as a general rule, they are no authorities whatever in this respect; and, in fact, the art of correct punctuation was neither practised, nor generally understood, in the time of Shakespeare. The apostrophe, also, was not introduced with sufficient regularity, to enable the modern reader to follow its use in the first folio with exactness; and the simplest, as well as the safest, method of securing uniformity, is to leave the elisions, in most cases, to his own discrimination; excepting only when the omission to notice an intentional syncope or apocope, may be likely to lead to embarrassment. The old editions are besides often unquestionably defective guides in questions connected with the metre; for although Shakespeare's plays are, on the whole, better printed in this respect than many others; yet the elisions are not always correctly introduced; verse is sometimes printed as if it were prose; and, on the other hand, good prose occasionally becomes, in the hands of Heminge and Condell, very bad verse. A too rigid adherence to the old editions in these particulars would, therefore, be productive of many inconveniences; and it is surely in the discretion of an editor, when it can be accomplished without injury to the beautiful freedom and natural cadence of Shakespeare's versification, so to arrange the text, without changing a word of the original, that even its metrical irregularities may generally belong to one or other of the classes of licenses sanctioned by contemporary usage.

There are a few, but not many, instances, in which the original text of Shakespeare was affected by external causes. By a statute passed in the year 1605, 3 Jac. I. c. 21, it was provided that no one should profanely use the name of God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Ghost, or Trinity, in any stage-play, show, May-game or pageant, under the penalty of incurring a fine of £10, to be divided between the Crown and the prosecutor. This statute, the provisions of which are in themselves unexceptionable, had the effect of causing numerous alterations in the author's original text, in cases where no profanity was really committed or intended, and which are to be referred merely to Shakespeare's system of invariably following what the speakers themselves would naturally have spoken, had the dialogue belonged to fact instead of to fiction. Thus, when Falstaff says, "By the Lord, a buck-basket;" the reading of the first folio, "Yes, a buck-basket," is clearly to be ascribed to the statute and not to the dramatist. Instances of this kind may surely be left to an editor's judgment, to restore the old reading, on the authority of the quartos; not unnecessarily introducing strong vernacular affirmations, but not refraining from adopting that course, when the conduct of the dialogue appears to require the restoration of the original. The asseverations introduced by Shakespeare are comparatively harmless, and are certainly, in all cases, strictly belonging to the characters, without the slightest profane intention on the part of the writer; very different, indeed, to the gross and vulgar oaths that disgrace the pages of some of our later dramas.

Having thus noticed the most important general principles to be considered by an editor of English dramas belonging to the period of Elizabeth and the first James, a few observations will be expected to be added respecting the authorized sources whence the "original text" of Shakespeare is to be derived; a subject which has been the occasion of considerable dispute. The poet, unfortunately, died before he had an opportunity of revising an edition of his own works; and there is no reason for supposing that a single printed copy of any of his plays, published in his life-time, was corrected by himself. The duty, however, was nobly performed by his "fellows," John Heminge and Henry Condell, who put forth a collective edition in the year 1623, professedly edited by them with great care. In their dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, they hope that the "delight" in their collection "may be ever your Lordships', the reputation

his (Shakespeare's), *and the faults ours, if any may be committed by a payre so careful to show their gratitude both to the living and the dead.*" They speak still more explicitly on this subject in their address to the readers:—"It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected and publish'd them; *and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them; who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers.* But it is not our province, who onely gather his works, and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: and if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade yourselves and others. And such Readers we wish him." The general statement here made respecting the early quarto editions, slightly exceeds the truth, even if the term *divers* be supposed to restrict the absolute assertion to the few that are acknowledged to have been surreptitiously published; for the implication is certainly to the effect that all previous copies were "maimed and deformed;" and a little exaggeration may fairly be attributed to an evident desire to enhance the importance of the publication. Notwithstanding this, however, it will be observed that there is no indication in the volume of that vulgar adulation which was so frequently met with in works of that time; there is no symptom of the spirit which led the ingenious producers of the quartos to advertise their wares as "pleasant and conceited," or "mixed with sundry variable and pleasing humours;" but, on the whole, the prefaces and commendatory verses partake of a dignity that is fitted to the occasion. That the address of the editors was, in the main, truthful, cannot reasonably be questioned; and it may, therefore, be concluded that the chief part of the volume was printed from the author's own manuscripts, which were so neatly written, and so slightly corrected, that they "scarce received from him a blot in his papers." The majority of Shakespeare's plays, in a genuine state, appeared for the first time in this folio edition of 1623, so that the reader will perceive that the question of authority respecting a large number of them is exclusively confined to that edition. The following tabular statement will, perhaps, be found useful in considering this subject:

Tempest	First folio	No quarto.
Two Gentlemen of Verona	ib.	No quarto.
Merry Wives of Windsor	ib.	No early authentic quarto.
Measure for Measure	ib.	No quarto.
Comedy of Errors	ib.	No quarto.
Much Ado about Nothing	ib.	Quarto, 1600.
Love's Labour's Lost	ib.	Quarto, 1598.
A Midsummer Night's Dream	ib.	Quarto, 1600.
Merchant of Venice	ib.	Quarto, 1600.

As You Like It	First folio .	No quarto.
Taming of the Shrew . . .	ib. .	No early quarto.
All's Well that Ends Well . .	ib. .	No quarto.
Twelfth Night, or What you Will .	ib. .	No quarto.
The Winter's Tale . . .	ib. .	No quarto.
King John	ib. .	No quarto.
Richard II.	ib. .	Quarto, 1597.
Henry IV. Two Parts . . .	ib. .	Quartos, 1598, 1600.
Henry V.	ib. .	No early authentic quarto.
Henry VI. Part 1 . . .	ib. .	No quarto.
Henry VI. Parts 2 and 3 . .	ib. .	No early authentic quartos.
Richard III.	ib. .	Quarto, 1597.
Henry VIII.	ib. .	No quarto.
Troilus and Cressida . . .	ib. .	Quarto, 1609.
Coriolanus	ib. .	No quarto.
Titus Andronicus	ib. .	Quarto, 1594.
Romeo and Juliet	ib. .	Authentic quarto, 1599.
Timon of Athens	ib. .	No quarto.
Julius Cæsar	ib. .	No quarto.
Macbeth	ib. .	No quarto.
Hamlet	ib. .	Authentic quarto, 1604.
King Lear	ib. .	Quarto, 1608.
Othello	ib. .	Quarto, 1622.
Antony and Cleopatra . . .	ib. .	No quarto.
Cymbeline	ib. .	No quarto.
Pericles	*Third* folio .	Quarto, 1609.

The values of the early quarto editions, as authorities for the text, are considered in the introductions to the various plays. Some of them are of great importance, and are to be regarded as the most ancient authorities; for even a surreptitious publication need not bring forth an imperfect copy of the author's work. Others, however, are to be received with caution; for it is beyond a doubt they were not only printed without the consent of the actors, but do not always preserve the authentic text. I possess an unique edition of *Richard III.*, printed about the year 1600, which contains a singular number of variations from any other known copy; but scarcely one of them would be acknowledged to be genuine readings. The literary history of these publications is involved in great obscurity; and it has not been satisfactorily ascertained whether they were, in some cases, printed directly from the prompter's books, or from transcripts surreptitiously obtained. My own impression is that the few correct first quarto editions were printed from the original prompter's books, and that the published copies were afterwards used in the theatre instead of the latter, with the occasional corrections of the author, or the memoranda of the players. I have had the opportunity of collating an exceedingly interesting copy of the 1599 edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, with stage directions in a nearly contemporary hand, showing it had been a stage-copy; and there is, in my own collection, a yet more remarkable specimen, a copy of the first edition of the second part of *Henry IV.*, with similar though more numerous stage-directions, and containing in one place a little outline of the position of the characters as they were to place themselves on the stage. If it be supposed that in the case of *Much Ado about Nothing*, for instance, the printed copy supplied, after the year 1600, the place of the original manuscript, a rational explanation is afforded of the singular circumstance that whereas the folio is

proved to have been printed from the quarto by the substitution of the names of Kemp (in both misprinted, in one instance, *Keeper*) and Cowley for those of Dogberry and Verges, the former has another theatrical allusion, one to Jack Wilson, which is not found in the quarto. Mr. Knight's conclusion, therefore, that the text of this play in the folio "was printed from the playhouse copy" appears to me to be incontrovertible; and the circumstances above mentioned seem to prove satisfactorily that that playhouse copy was the printed edition, containing certain manuscript corrections and additional memoranda. When the collective edition of Shakespeare's works was projected, the interests in the plays which had been published in quarto were to some extent divided between Smethwick and Aspley, both of whom were part proprietors of the folio. The latter person was probably the surviving partner of Andrew Wise, two of the early quartos being printed for Andrew Wise and William Aspley, and three for the former (assigned to Matthew Law in 1603), all of which are found in the folio. It seems most improbable that the two first-named quartos were published surreptitiously, for were this the case, Heminge and Condell must be supposed to have condemned the practice pursued by one of the proprietors under whose direction, and at whose expense, the volume was prepared. Smethwick, another of the proprietors of the first folio, had also obtained possession of others of the quartos; so that, in fact, the projectors of the collective edition had not many important interests to purchase for the due completion of their work. It may be presumed that, amongst these, was the edition of *Troilus and Cressida*, published in 1609 "for R. Bonian and H. Walley," and that a difficulty in obtaining it was the reason that its insertion in the first folio was a late act.

It will thus be seen that, for the greater number of the plays of Shakespeare, the folio edition of 1623 is the first genuine authority; and that for the others, where copies in quarto are to be found, the degree of critical value is to be ascertained by a careful regard to the circumstances under which the earlier editions appeared, and by a minute examination of the state of the texts. An indiscriminate adherence to the readings of the quartos, would endanger the restoration of much that may have been intentionally altered or omitted by the author himself; while, on the other hand, in some few cases the texts of the quartos are to be preferred as authorities to those in the folio, because they are the earliest impressions from the original manuscripts. The real and only authorities, properly speaking, for the text of Shakespeare, are the first folio and the earlier editions of some of the quartos. Every old edition is, of course, worthy of careful examination, for it may contain happy corrections of corrupted passages; but, beyond this, none of the later copies are of any value whatever, and should never be cited as *authorities*. Among these, may be mentioned the second and later folios; and the establishment of the fact, which is undeniable, that they are merely copies from the first edition, possessing a certain number of corrections of obvious errors, and numerous unwarrantable variations, is of such vast importance, the reader will excuse a somewhat tedious examination of the subject, especially as it will have the effect of rendering unnecessary a large amount of discussion, arising from this question, to be met with in the notes to the variorum editions.

The true character of the differences between the readings of the first and second folios, will be best ascertained by a patient analysis of the variations afforded by a collation of a few of the plays; and if the first five comedies be selected for this purpose, not one of which appeared in an authentic form previously to the publication of the folio of 1623, the student will possess ample means of forming a correct opinion on this important subject. Commencing with the *Tempest*, the following appear to be the variations that are most worthy of notice, the first-

mentioned readings being that of the edition of 1623, and the second that of the folio of 1632:—"I have with such *provision* in mine art"—the second folio reads *compassion*, erroneously repeating the word from the previous line. "*Betid* to any creature"—altered to, *betide*. "Left me to *a* bootless inquisition"—the indefinite article is wrongly changed to *the*. "As thou *saist*"—altered to *sayest*, in disregard to the original metre. "*Through* all the signories"—*though*. "*Do'st* thou attend me"—*doest*. "*Who* t'advance, and *who* to trash"—undoubtedly Shakespeare's phraseology; but the editor of the second folio, not knowing that the tenses of the relative pronouns were interchangeably used, alters *who* in both instances to *whom*. A similar unnecessary alteration of *whom* to *who* occurs in the fifth act. "Which but by *being so retir'd*"—*being retired*. "To *most* ignoble stooping"—*much*. "Nor tackle, *sail*, nor mast"—*nor sail*, to the manifest injury of the metre. "Yea, his *dread* trident shake"—*dead*, perhaps only a printer's error. "And *think'st* it much"—*thinkest*. "Was *grown* into a hoop"—*gown*. "Go make thyself *like* a nymph o' th' sea"—*like to*. "And *serves in offices* that profit us"—*serves offices*. "And then I *lov'd* thee and *shew'd* thee"—and then I *loved* thee and *shewed* thee. "Curs'd be I *that did so*"—*that I did so;* an unnecessary and very prejudicial alteration. "Abhorred slave, which any print of goodness *wilt* not take;" the editor of the second folio reads *will*, not observing that the second personal pronoun was understood at the commencement of the speech. "No, it *begins* again"—*begin*. "Why speaks my father so *ungently*"—*urgently*. "Who *mak'st* a shew, but dar'st not strike, thy conscience *is so possest* with guilt"—who *makes* a shew, but dar'st not strike, thy conscience *is possest* with guilt.—[*Tempest*, act ii.] "*One:* Tell"—*on*. These words were interchangeably printed. "With an eye of green *in't*"—*in' it*. "Is not, sir, my doublet"—is not my doublet, sir. "But rather *loose* her to an African"—*lose*. These words seem to have been written indifferently. At the commencement of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the word *loosing* in the first folio is rightly altered in two instances to *losing* in the second; and *loose* is correctly changed to *lose*. "How shall that Claribel measure us back *to* Naples"—*by*. "Were I in England now (as once I was) and had but *this* fish painted"—*his*. "Suffered by a *thunderbolt*"—*thundebolt*. "His forward voice now is to speak *well* of his friend; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract;" the word *well* is omitted in the second folio. "I will furnish it anon *with new contents*"—*with the new contents*. "This is a very shallow monster: I afeard of him? a very *weak* monster." For *weak* the second folio reads *shallow*, erroneously repeating the word from the previous line. "I'll shew thee every fertile inch o'the *Island*"—*Isle*.—[*Tempest*, act iii.] "Most busy *lest*, when I do it"—*least*. "Those logs that *you are enjoin'd* to pile"—*thou art enjoined*. "With a heart *as* willing as bondage ere of freedom"—*so*. "But my *rejoycing*"—*rejoying*. "Wilt thou *tell* a monstrous lie"—*tell me*. "I'll go *farther* off"—*no further*. This reading of the second folio destroys the sense, as Trinculo had not been asked to move away, but goes a little further off from Stephano of his own accord. "My old bones *akes*"—*ake*. "No longer for my *flatterer*"—*flatterers*. "If I should say I saw such *islands*"—*islanders*. "Shall step by step attend"—shall step step, by attend. This error only occurs in some copies of the second folio.—[*Tempest*, act iv.] "*But* if thou do'st break"—*but* is omitted in the second folio. "Earth's increase, foizon plenty"—the second folio reads, "*and* foizon plenty," the editor modernizing the original irregular metre of Shakespeare. "I have *from their* confines"—*from all their*. "And like the baseless fabrick of *this* vision"—and like the baseless fabrick of *their* vision. "Filthy mantled pool beyond *your* cell"—misprinted *you*. "I will have *none* on't"—*done*. "Charge

my goblins that *they* grind their joints"—*thou.*—[*Tempest*, act v.] "His tears *runs* down"—*run.* "But *howsoer'r* you have been justled from your senses"—*howsoever.* "Coragio Bully-Monster *Corasio*"—*Coragio.* "To see the *nuptial*" —*nuptials.* The former is Shakespeare's usual word, and in other places he speaks of *a nuptial.*—[*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act i.] "And on a love-book pray for *my* success"—the second folio erroneously reads *thy.* "My master is a shepherd then, and I sheep"—my master is a shepherd then, and I *a* sheep. "You ask me if she did nod, *and I say I*"—*and I said I.* "That the money and the matter may be both *at once* delivered." The words *at once* are omitted in the second folio. "I fear she'll prove as hard to you in telling *your* mind"—*her.* "I thank you, you have *cestern'd* me"—*testern'd.* "*Henceforth*, carry your *letters* yourself"—*hencefore, letter.* "But say, Lucetta, now *we are* alone" —*are we.* "To be so angred with another letter." The second folio inserts here the stage-direction *Exit*, and another one, *Enter*, when Lucetta enters after Julia's next speech. "Not being tried, *and* tutor'd in the world"—*nor.* "Then tell me *whether* were I best to send him"—*whither.* This, however, is scarcely more than a variation of orthography, *whither* being frequently printed *whether* in old English books. "Oh heavenly Julia." The prefix to this line, which occurs in the first folio, is correctly omitted in the second. "With *Valentinus*"—*Valentino.* "A cloud takes all away." After this, the second folio inserts the stage-direction, *Enter.* "Your *fathers call's* for you"—*Father call's.*—[*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act ii.] "Like a young wench that had *buried* her grandam"—*lost.* "That letter hath she deliver'd, and *there* an end"—*there's.* "My Lord, I will be thankful to any *happy* messenger from thence." The word *happy* is omitted in the second folio. "Know *ye* Don Antonio"—*you.* "I think 'tis no *un-welcome* news to you. The second folio reads *welcome* for *un-welcome*, which makes nonsense of the passage. "Love can wink"—*Enter*, inserted in the second folio. "Confirm *his* welcome"—*this.* "To have a look of such a worthy *a* mistress." The last article is omitted in the second folio. "O flatter me, for Love delights in *praises*"—*praise.* "Whose worth *make* other worthies"—*makes.* "Will you make haste?" The stage-direction here is omitted in the second folio. "It is mine or Valentines praise?"—is it mine then, or Valentineans praise? "And that hath dazzled my reasons light." The editor of the second folio, not understanding Shakespeare's metre, reads, "and that hath dazzl'd *so* my reasons light." In the next scene, Speed's name is erroneously omitted from a speech in the second folio; while, on the other hand, there are two corrections in that edition, the omission of the word *that* in a subsequent speech by Speed, and the insertion of *so* in a speech by Launce,—"if thou wilt go with me to the ale-house, *so*,"—which may unhesitatingly be accepted. "Thus find I *by* their loss"—*but.* "To plot *this* drift"—*his.* "To be *fantastique* may become a youth"—*fantantastique.* "And instances *of* infinite of Love"—*as.*—[*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act iii.] "And *that* thou may'st perceive my fear of this." The word *that* is omitted in the second folio. "Sir Valentine is coming." After this line, the stage-direction *Enter* is inserted in the second folio. "If she do chide, *'tis* not to have you gone"—*'its.* "Make speed from hence." The stage-direction, *Exit*, is inserted after this line in the second folio; and another, *Enter Pro. and Launs.*, at the end of the following speech. "*Who* wouldst thou strike"—*who*, incorrectly altered to *whom*, as previously noted. "Hapless Valentine." Here the stage-direction, *Exeunt*, is inserted in the second folio, and, *Enter Speed*, at the end of the succeeding speech. "For then she need not be wash'd and scour'd"—for then she need not *to* be wash'd and scour'd. "Here *follow* her vices"—*follows.* "Oh, *villain*, that set *this* down among her

vices"—*villanie.* "Item, she hath more *hair* than wit"—*hairs.* "She was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that *last* article." The word *last* is omitted in the second folio. "My daughter takes his going *grievously*"—*heavily.* "Longer than I prove *loyal* to your Grace"—*royal.* "Upon *your* Grace"—*you.* "And also, I think"—and also I *do* think. "By one whom she *esteemetha* s his friend"—*esteemes.* "Forsake unsounded deeps, *to* dance on sands"—*and.*—[*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act iv.] "Then know that I have *little wealth to lose*"—*little to lose.* "Or else I often had been *often* miserable"—*often* omitted. "And live as we do in *this* wilderness"—*the.* "Let's *tune*, and to it lustily a while"—*turn.* "Fear not *you* I will so plead"—fear not I will so plead. "My will is *even* this"—*ever.* "For in *her* grave"—*his.* To the last speech by Proteus, and to the last by Julia, in this scene, the stage-direction, *Exeunt*, is added in the second folio. "No grief did *ever* come so near thy heart." The word *ever* is omitted in the second folio. "I'll do what I can"—I'll do, *sir*, what I can. "By the hangman's *boys*"—*boy.* "Turns me to shame." After this line, p. 35, col. i, the stage-direction *Exit* is inserted in the second folio. "Therefore know *thee*, for this I entertain *thee*"—therefore know *thou*, for this I entertain *hee.* "Where thou shalt find me sad and solitary." The stage-direction *Exit* follows this line in the second folio, and *Enter Silvia* after the words, "I would not have him speed." "As *easily* as I do tear his paper"—*easy.* "Here, youth, there is *my* purse"—*a.* At the end of this act, *Exeunt* in the first folio is corrected to *Exit* in the second. —[*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act v.] "Which of you *saw* Eglamour of late"—*say saw sir.* "She's fled unto *that* peasant"—*the.* "That flies her fortune *when* it follows her"—*where.* "And all those oaths descended into perjury, to *love* me"—*deceive.* This is a striking example of the little knowledge of the author's text possessed by the editor of the second folio, the alteration evidently having been made by a person who was considering the line by itself, without reference to the context. "I'll *woo* you like a soldier, at arms end"—*move.* "*Treacherous* man, thou hast beguil'd my hopes"—*thou treacherous.* "Who should be *trusted*, when ones right hand"—*trusted now.* These additions, like others in the second edition, were made in ignorance of the poet's metre. "Plead a new state in thy *un-rival'd* merit"—*arrival'd.* "With triumphs, mirth, and *rare* solemnity"—*all.* —[*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act i.] "It is not meet the Council *hear* a riot"—*hear of.* "Take *your* viza-ments in that"—*you.* "She has brown hair, and speaks *small* like a woman." The word *small* is omitted in the second folio. "And *here* young Master Slender"—*here's.* "It is a fery *discetion-answere*"—*discretion answer.* "Yet I live *like* a poor gentleman born." The word *like* is omitted in the second folio. "I will entertain Bardolf; he *shall* draw, he *shall* tap"—he *will* draw, he *will* tap. "Sometimes the beam of her view *guilded* my foot"—*guided.* "Bear you these letters *tightly*"—*rightly.* The first reading is evidently the one intended by the author. "Plod away *ith'* hoof"—*oth'.* "Wherefore *shall* I be content-a"—*should.* "I'll do *yoe* your master what good I can"—*for.*—[*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act ii.] "What, *have scap'd* love-letters"—*have I scap'd.* "It is as much as I can do to keep the *terms* of my *hononor* precise"—*term, honor.* "Enter Caius, Rugby, *Page*, Shallow." *Page* is omitted in the second folio.—[*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iii.] "The *pittie-ward*"—the *pitty-wary*, perhaps only a misprint. "Or else I could not be in that mind." The stage-direction *Within* follows this line in the second folio. "*Sweating* and blowing"—*swearing.* After Mrs. Ford's next speech, the second folio has the stage-direction, *Enter Mis. Page.* "It is not jealous in France." After this line, the second folio reads *Exeunt.* "That *foolishion* carion"—*foolish.* "Let him be sent for to-morrow eight a clock"—*by* eight a clock. After this

speech, the second folio has the stage direction, *Enter All.* "Heaven forgive my sins *at the day of Judgement.*" The latter part of this sentence is omitted in the second folio. "What does Mr. *Fenter* here"—*Fenton.* In the second folio, the two last speeches in this scene are each followed by *Exit*, and four other stage-directions are inserted in the following scene in the same edition, which has many other similar additions that scarcely require separate notice. "I'll no *pullet-spersm*"—*pullet-sperm.* "*Yes,* a buck-basket"—*yea.*—[*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iv.] "How might we disguise him." The repetition of *Mist. Ford*, to whom the line belongs, is rightly dispensed with in the second folio. "I'll first *direct direct* my men"—*direct.* "Pray Heaven it be not full of Knight again"—full of *the* Knight again. The humour of the original is entirely lost by this alteration. "A *gin*, a pack"—*ging.* "*Thi* is not well indeed"—*this.* "Now doth thy honor stand, in him that was of late an heretick, as firm *as* faith." For *as*, the second folio erroneously reads *of.* "Be not *as* extreme in submission as in offence." The first *as* is omitted in the second folio. "You say he *has* been thrown *in* the *rivers*"—*hath, into, river.* "At *still* midnight"—*still of.* "And *make* milch-kine"—*makes.* "Get us properties and tricking for *our* fairies"—*your.* "Der is no Duke *that* the Court is know"—*dat.* "Fat *Falstaff* hath a great scene"—*Sir John Falstaff.*—[*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act v.] "If he be not amaz'd, he will be mock'd: If he be amaz'd, he will *every way* be mock'd." The words *every way* are omitted in the second folio. In the speech by Evans, in the next scene, the characteristic *pid* of the first folio is altered to *bid.* "Do not these fair *yoakes* become the forest better than the town"—*okes.*—[*Measure for Measure*, act i.] "I come to know *your pleasure*"—*your Graces pleasure.* This is an unnecessary and injudicious tampering with the metre. "The stealth of our most mutual entertainment, &c., is writ *on* Juliet." The second folio reads *in* for *on.* "Where youth, and cost, *witless* bravery keeps"—*and witless.* "The needful bits and curbs *to* headstrong weeds"—*for.* "For *terror*, not to use"—*error.* "At *our* more leisure"—*your.* "All their petitions are as *freely* theirs"—*truly.*—*Measure for Measure*, act ii.] "Fornication, adultery, and all *uncleanliness* there"—*uncleanness.* "Which at that very *distant* time"—*instant.* "And longing (as I said) for prunes, and having *but two* in the dish"—*no more.* "You are partly a baud, Pompey, howsoever you colour it *in* being a tapster." The particle *in* is omitted in the second folio. "And splay all the youth *of* the city"—*in.* "If your worship will take order for the drabs and *the* knaves." The particle in italics is omitted in the second folio. "There *is* pretty orders beginning"—*are.* "If this law hold in Vienna ten *year*"—*years.* "I pray you *home* to dinner with me"—*go home.* "*You are* too cold"—*yo art.* *Yo*, though so printed, is probably intended as the contraction for *thou.* "I that do speak a word may call it *again*"—*back again.* "*Splits* the unwedgable"—*splitst.* "Let be ignorant, and in nothing good"—let *me* be ignorant, &c.—[*Measure for Measure*, act iii.] "*Sapego* and the rheum"—*sarpego.* "Bring them to *hear me* speak, where I may be conceal'd"—bring them to speak, where I may be conceal'd, *yet hear them.* "The *prenzie* Angelo . . . . in *prenzie* gards"—the *princely* Angelo . . . . in *princely* gards. "Age, ache, *perjury*, and imprisonment"—*penury.* "Oh hear me, Isabella." After this, the stage-direction, *Duke steps in*, is inserted in the second folio. "Was affianced to her oath"—*by* oath. "And he, a marble to her *tears*, is washed with them, but relents not"—*ears.* "From our faults, as faults from seeming free"—*free* from our faults, as faults from seeming free.—[*Measure for Measure*, act iv.] "With these false, and most contrarious *quest*"—*quests.* "Who call'd here of late? . . . *Pro. None* since the curfew rung." The second folio reads *now* for *none.* "But *hear* you"—*heave.* "His beard and

head just of *his* colour." The word in italics is omitted in the second folio. "Given me *by* so holy a man"—*be*. "If bandy talk offend you, we'll have very little of *it:* nay, friar, I am a kind of burr"—if &c., we'll have very little of: nay, friar, I am a kind of *a* burr. "And why meet him at the gates, and *reliver* our authorities there"—and why meet him at the gates, and *deliver* our authorities there?—[*Measure for Measure*, act v.] "Many and hearty thankings to you both" —*be* to you both. "Oh your desert speaks loud, and I should wrong *it*." The last word is omitted in the second folio. "And she will speak most bitterly *and strange*." The last two words are omitted in the folio of 1632. "This gentleman told *somewhat* of my tale"—*something*. "In brief, to set the needless *process* by." The word *process* is omitted in the second folio. "Know you that friar Lodowick *that* she speaks of"—*which*. "Intended *'gainst* Lord Angelo"—*against*. "First, let her show *your* face"—*her*. "Why, *you are* nothing then"—*are you*. "Were testimonies *against* his worth"—*gainst*. "If you handled her privately, she *would* sooner confess"—*should*. "Wast thou *ere* contracted to this woman"—*ever*. "Although by *confutation* they are ours"—*confiscation*. "I *would* thou hadst done so by Claudio"—*wouldst*. "*And* pray thee take this mercy to provide"—*I*.—[*Comedy of Errors*, act i.] "Than I to speak my *griefs* unspeakable"—*grief*. "And by *me*"—*me too*. "And he great *care* of goods at random *left*"—*store, leaving*. "A *mean* woman was delivered"—*poor mean*. "Yet the incessant *weepings* of my wife"—*weeping*. "Which being violently born *up*"—*up upon*. "Gave *healthful* welcome to their ship-wreck'd guests"—*helpful*. "And for the *sake* of them thou sorrowest for"—*sakes*. "*So* his case was like"—*for*. "This very day a *Syracusian* merchant"—*Syracusan*. "Within this hour," &c. This and the next line are improperly transposed in the second folio. "Having so good a *mean*"—*means*. "And then go to *my* inn"—*the*. "I will go loose *myself*"—*my life*. "He that commends me to *mine* own content"—*my*. "In quest of *them* (*unhappy a*) lose myself"—*him* (*unhappy*).—[*Comedy of Errors*, act ii.] "Perhaps some *merchant* hath invited him"—*merchans*. "He takes it *thus*"—*ill*. "Lord of the wide world, and *wild* watry seas"—*wide*. In the next two lines, *souls* and *fowls* are changed to the singular number in the second folio. "He ask'd me for a *hundred* marks in gold"—1000. "Out on *thy* mistress"—*my*. "I bare home upon *my* shoulders"—*thy*. "Unkindness *blunts* it more than marble hard" —*blots*. "Would that *alone*, *a lone* he would detain"—*alone*, *alone*. "Where gold and no man," &c. This and the next line are entirely omitted in the second folio. "Thou *did didst* answer me"—*didst*. "I pray you eat *none* of it"—*not*. "Nay, not sound, I pray you"—sound *ones*. "*Here* is no time for all things"—*there*. "*In* no time to recover hair." The particle *in* is omitted in the second folio. "Some other mistress hath *thy* sweet aspects"—*some*. "Shouldst thou *but* hear." The word *but* is omitted in the second folio. "I do digest the poison of *thy* flesh"—*my*. "And *this* thou didst return from him"—*thus*. "Owles and *sprights*"—*Elves Sprights*. In three lines after this, the words, *and answer'st not*, are omitted in the second folio. "Thou Dromio, *thou* snail"—thou Dromio, snail. "To put the finger in *the* eye"—*thy*.—[*Comedy of Errors*, act iii.] "Your *own* handwriting"—your handwriting. "If thou hadst *been* Dromio"—*bid*. "It would make a man *mad* as a buck"—*as mad*. "A word with *your*, sir"—*you*. This blunder, which here occurs in the first folio, is much more frequent in the second edition. "Where it gets possession"—where it *once* gets possession. "That chain *will I* bestow"—*I will*. "Upon *mine* hostess there"—*my*. "Some hour hence"—some hour, *sir*, hence. "Ill deeds *is* doubled"—*are*. "Feeble, *shallow*, weak"—*shaddow*. "And as a *bud* I'll take thee"—*bed*. "I look'd for the *chalkle* cliffs" —*chalky*. "As the *mark* of my shoulder"—*marks*.—[*Comedy of Errors*, act iv.]

"Both wind and tide stays for *this* gentleman"—*the.* "You wrong me *more*, sir, in denying it." The word *more* is omitted in the second folio. "Either consent to pay *this* sum for me"—*the.* In the second line after this, the word *thee* is omitted in the second folio. "*And* then, sir, she beares away"—*and* is omitted. "I have *bought* the oil"—*brought.* "Stigmatical in making, worse *in* mind"—*the.* "*On* whose hard heart"—*one.* This, however, may only be a variation of orthography, these words being often printed indiscriminately in early works. "*Thus* he unknown to me"—*that.* "One that thinks a man always going to bed, and *saies*"—*saieth.* "Is there any *ships* puts forth to night"—*ship.* "Master, *if do* expect spoon-meat"—*if you do.* "My bones *bears* witness"—*bear.* "Is't good to *sooth* him in these *crontraries*"—*smooth, contraries.* "And *art* confederate with a damned pack"—*are.* "You saw they *speak* as fair"—*spake.*—[*Comedy of Errors*, act v.] "Though most dishonestly he *doth* deny it"—*did.* "And *much* different from the man he was"—*much much.* "Hath he not lost much wealth by wrack *of* sea"—*at.* "Unquiet meals *make* ill digestions"—*makes.* "*Thou* sayest his sports"—*thy.* "But *moody* and dull melancholy"—*muddy.* "*Hath* scar'd thy husband"—*have.* "The Merchant of Siracuse *bare head*"—*bareheaded.* "*Who* I made Lord of me"—*whom.* "At your *important* letters this ill day"—*impotent.* "Into this abbey, *whether* we pursu'd them"—*whither.* "Unless you send some present help"—some *other* present help. "And that is false thou dost report *to* us"—and that is false thou dost report *of* us. "*While* she with harlots feasted"—*whilst.* "That I this day *of* him"—*from.* "Till gnawing with my teeth my bonds *in sunder*"—*asunder.* "I am sure *you* both of you remember me." The second folio omits the first *you.* The same edition, a few lines afterwards, restores the letter *x*, accidentally omitted in the first edition. "And *these* two Dromios"—*those.* "And this fair gentlewoman, *her sister*, here"—the words in italics are omitted in the second folio. "Thirty-three years have I *but* gone in travail"—*been.* "My heavy *burthen* are delivered"—*burthens.* "That's a question, how shall *we* try it"—*I.* A few of the printer's errors in the above five plays in the second folio may be mentioned as proofs that no great care was exercised in the preparation of that edition, viz., *marinors* for *mariners*, *e'th* for *i'th*, *is* for *his*, *sunne* for *son*, *wondrons* for *wondrous*, *feesh* for *fresh*, *rest* for *test*, *certaines* for *certaine*, *too* for *toe*, *thre* for *thee*, *makind* for *mankind*, *frm* for *from*, *swet* for *sweet*, *quarta* for *quinta*, *as as* for *as*, *clocke* for *cloake*, *shrinkd* for *shrinke*, *things* for *thing*, *Slvia* for *Silvia*, *sue* for *sure*, *bee* for *hee*, *boe* for *boy*, *rememember* for *remember*, *you* for *your* (in several places), *marrow* for *morrow*, *conclusioe* for *conclusion*, *conversie* for *converse*, *raccat* for *charact*, *shak* for *shake*, *high* for *hie*, &c. It may be safely asserted that, although a considerable number of the typographical oversights of the first folio are corrected in the second, a larger number of similar errors will be found to be peculiar to the latter edition.

A careful examination of these variations introduced into the folio edition of 1632, will convince an impartial enquirer that they are neither authorized corrections resulting from a collation of Shakespeare's original manuscripts, nor such readings as would have been obtained by an editor availing himself of authentic sources of information. In either of these cases, it might be reasonably expected that some of the many unquestionably vitiated passages, that have raised the chiefest difficulties to later critics, would have been elucidated by emendations of acknowledged truthfulness; but so far from this being the fact, the alterations made in the second folio are for the most part either errors in themselves, or corrections of the more obvious inaccuracies. Several erroneous changes which are adopted in that edition would have been easily avoided by an attentive perusal

of the context; a circumstance which leads to the supposition that the printer, or corrector of the press, was the real editor of this folio. It was evidently reprinted from the first edition of 1623, as it adopted numerous typographical blunders belonging to that impression; but a large number of insignificant and unnecessary alterations were introduced, accidental omissions were frequently passed unnoticed, and numerous variations were made which could only have been suggested by some one not well acquainted with the phraseology and metre of the great dramatist.

The enumeration of the principal differences between the two editions that occur in the first five comedies, which is given above, include a considerable number of minor variations of the original text, that are of no value to the modern editor; but it is necessary to call the reader's attention to them, for the purpose of affirming the statements here made respecting the character of the readings of the second folio. It is natural that a student to whom this subject is one of recent consideration, regarding chiefly the few happy corrections of that copy which have been universally adopted, most editors having judiciously relieved their annotations from the tedious collations of the two copies, should conclude that a volume furnishing good and undoubted readings is one of some degree of authority. A corrective to such an opinion will be found in the examination of the variations when collected together. There are many that are, in themselves, decisive as to the little reliance that can be placed upon the text of the second folio.

Although it is obviously unnecessary to continue a minute analysis of the variations, between the editions of 1623 and 1632, throughout all the plays, for it would merely exhibit a continuation of the same class of different readings; yet an entire collation having been made for the purposes of the present edition, a few of the more important changes introduced into the second folio may be selected in confirmation of the view here adopted. The reader is assured the result of that laborious examination shows that the minor alterations, in the plays above mentioned, are fair examples of those which are found in the subsequent dramas. The various readings that are the most important in the consideration of the question of authority, are undoubtedly those which tend to prove that the editor of the second folio was accustomed to modernize the original text, adapting the language to the changes that had been made in grammatical usages. Thus few idioms were more common in Shakespeare's time than the use of the double negative; but although a few instances of this construction may be produced from the works of later writers, it went out of fashion soon after the death of Shakespeare, and accordingly, in the folio of 1632, the poet's own language is unjustifiably altered. Beatrice, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, according to the original text, says to Benedick, "*Nor* will you *not* tell me who you are?" This line is changed in the second folio to, "Nor will you tell me who you are?" In *As You Like It*, Celia says, "I pray you bear with me, I *cannot* go *no* further." In the second folio, *cannot* is altered to *can*. The alteration, which may be tolerated in prose, becomes insufferable when introduced into verse. Thus, in that pleasing speech in the *Comedy of Errors*, which has all the charm of the author's early poetry effectively increased by dramatic situation,—

> But if that I am I, then well I know
> Your weeping sister is no wife of mine,
> *Nor to her bed no homage do I owe;*
> Far more, far more, to you do I decline.

The beauty of the verse is sensibly impaired by the grammatical modernization of the second folio,—

> Nor to her bed *a* homage do I owe.

Although the second folio was published only sixteen years after the death of Shakespeare, several archaisms and phrases in ordinary use when the plays were written had become obsolete. Some of these the editor evidently did not understand; others were injudiciously modernized. In *As You Like It*, the phrase *having in beard*, being unintelligible to him, was altered to *having no beard.* Lafeu, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, says, "I had rather be in this choice, than throw *ames-ace* for my life." The second folio has *deuce-ace*, in which the original meaning is nearly lost. At the commencement of the *Winter's Tale*, the substantive *vast* not being understood, is altered into an adjective, the word *sea* being added. In the same play, when *Camillo* says, "I am appointed him to murther you," the editor, not being familiar with the idiom, destroys the sense by reading, "I appointed him to murther you;" and shortly afterwards, he alters *some five* to *sons five*, in the line, "The second and the third, nine and some five," which clearly shows he did not understand the original. "I must go buy spices for our sheep-shearing," is altered to, "I must go *to* buy spices," &c. In *Richard III.*, the sentence in the original edition, "the hour of death is *expiate*," is arbitrarily altered to, "the hour of death is *now expir'd*," the editor not understanding the former construction. In the same play, the archaism *egally* is modernized to *equally;* but the older Anglo-Norman form, which occurs several times in the first folio, should surely be retained. Mr. Collier always adopts the modern form, but other editors in one place adhere to the old reading, and in other instances change it for the former. The want of uniformity in these matters has chiefly arisen from the circumstance of no general system being adhered to. *Egal*, in *Titus Andronicus*, is altered to *equal* in the second folio. In *Julius Cæsar*, the editor alters "the *dank* morning" of the original to "the *dark* morning;" and, in the same play, apparently not understanding the somewhat unusual term *hurtled*, destroys the sense of a fine line by reading, "the noise of battle *hurried* in the air." So, also, the term *inch* in *Macbeth*, not being understood in relation to place, is altered to *hill.* In the same play, the term *weird*, spelt *weyard* and *weyward* in the old editions, is changed in one place to *wizard.* Shakespeare's use of the particles, and his mode of employing them, are constantly misunderstood in the second folio. Thus, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Hero says, "there will she hide her, to listen our purpose;" the latter edition unnecessarily reads, "to listen *to* our purpose," either construction being correct. *Bestow of*, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, is altered to *bestow on.* Some of these unnecessary variations have been collected by Malone, but the subject has never yet been fully investigated.

The erroneous and unnecessary alterations and omissions made in the text by the editor of the second folio are exceedingly numerous.—*Much Ado about Nothing:* "If he have caught the Benedict, it will cost him a thousand pound ere *he* be cur'd"—*it.* "You embrace your charge *too* willingly"—*more.* "That she may be the better prepared for *an* answer"—*an* is omitted. "Bait the hook well: *this* fish will bite"—*the.* "I may chance have some odd quirks and *remnants* of wit broken on me"—*remains* of wit. "I'll make her come, I warrant *you*, presently"—*you* is omitted, as it is again in a following passage, "so will you say, when *you* have seen the sequel." In act iv., Claudio says,

——Not to be married,
Not *to* knit my soul to an approved wanton.

The second *to* is omitted. "*O* one too much by thee"—*O* is omitted; and, in fact, the omission of particles is so frequent, that it would be unnecessarily tedious to enumerate all the instances. "What, a feast? *a feast?*"—*a feast* omitted. "Yea, and paid me *richly* for the practice of it"—*rich.* "I cannot bid you *bid*

my daughter live"—the words in italics are omitted. "They were never so truly turned over *and over*, as my poor self in love"—the words *and over* omitted. "Well, daughter, and *you* gentlewomen all"—*young*.—*Love's Labour's Lost.* "Light seeking light, doth light *of light* beguile"—*of light* omitted. "With a *refined* traveller of Spain"—*conceited.* "Or, for thy more *sweet* understanding, a woman"—*sweet* is omitted. "By *thy* sweet Graces officer"—*the.* "*I* was taken with none, sir"—*it.* "He speaks the *mere* contrary"—*clean.* "In spending your wit in *the* praise of mine"—in spending *thus* your wit in praise of mine. "Marry, thus *much* I have learnt"—*much* is omitted. "Some enigma, some riddle; *come, thy* l'envoy, begin"—*no.* "Being a watch"—being *but* a watch. "The treason and you go in peace *away* together"—*away* is omitted. "*As* I guess"—*or.* "To show his teeth as white *as whales bone*"—*as whale his bone.*—*A Midsummer Night's Dream.* "This *man* hath bewitch'd the bosom of my child"—*man* is omitted. "Would that *he* were gone"—*we.* "Since *once* I sat upon a promontory"—*once* is omitted. "The deepest loathing to *the* stomach brings"—*a.* "My love, *my life*, my soul, fair Helena"—the words *my life* are omitted.—*The Merchant of Venice.* "Than my *heart* cool with mortifying grones"—*heat.* "*Is* indeed deceased"—*in.* Perhaps this may be fairly considered a mere misprint. "But *he* sleeps by day more than the wild cat"—*he* is omitted. "I'll read the writing." This short line is entirely omitted in the second folio. "And jewels, *two stones*, two rich and precious stones"—the words *two stones* are omitted. "To ich it, and *to* draw it out in length"—the second *to* is left out in the second folio. "That *only* to stand high in your account"—the word *only* is omitted. "Sweet *soul*"—sweet *love.* "Orpheus drew *trees*, stones, and floods"—*tears.* "And never be Bassanio so *for* me"—*from.*—*As You Like It.* "Praise her for *her* virtues"—the second *her* is omitted. "Maids as we are, to travel *forth so* far"—*for* far. "Come not *within* these doors"—*with.* "No matter whither, *so* you come not here"—*for.* "I care not for their names; they *owe* me nothing"—*own* me. Rosalind's speech, commencing, "O most gentle Jupiter," is very carelessly printed in the second folio, seven words being wrongly repeated. "Then in mine own person, I *die*"—I *do.* "To make thee an instrument, and play false *strains* upon thee"—*strings.*—*Taming of the Shrew.* "She moves me not, or not removes, at least, affection's edge in *me*"—*time.* "Mistake me not; I speak but *as* I find"—*what.* "Shall have *my* Bianca's love"—*my* is omitted. "Now, for my life, *the* knave doth court my love"—*that.* "For such an injury would vex a *very* saint"—*very* is omitted. "Yet, as they are, *here are* they come to meet you"—the words *here are* are omitted in the second folio. "And *so* I take my leave"—*so* is omitted. "Or else we are all *undone*"—*done.* "An *hasty-witted* body"—*hasty witty.* "My heart *as* great"—*is.*—*All's Well that Ends Well.* "Fall on thy *head*"—*hand.* "So thou wilt be capable of *a* courtier's counsel"—*the.* "I could *neither* believe nor misdoubt"—*never.* "In so true a flame of *liking*"—*living.* "That seeks not to find that *her* search implies"—*her* is omitted. "I will tell *truth*"—*true.* "But give me leave to *try* success"—*try* is omitted. "Yet stand off in differences *so* mighty"—*of.* "Or I will *throw* thee"—*through.* "If not *to* thy estate"—*in.* "Smile upon *this* contract"—*the.* "And *now* he's a cat to me"—*now* is omitted. "His grace *is at*"—*it.* "Still *the* fine's the crown"—*that.* "I would cozen the man of *his* wife"—*this.* "If *he* does think"—*be.* "She knew her distance, and did angle *for* me"—*of.*—*Twelfth Night.* "Observe *his* construction of it"—*this.* "I do *not* now fool myself, to let imagination jade me"—the word *not* is omitted. "And thanks, and ever," &c. This and the next line are omitted in the second folio. "I would we were *well* rid of this knavery"—were *all.* "All *his* in dedication"—

this. "He's drunk, sir *Toby,* an hour agone"—*above.* "Nor can there be *that* deity in my nature"—*a.*—*Winter's Tale.* "I think, this *coming* summer"—*common.* "None i'th' *world*"—*would.* "Not neat, *but* cleanly, captain"—*but* is omitted. "Things *not* so held"—*not be.* "Thoughts that *would* thick my blood"—*should.* "What need we commune with you *of* this"—*for.* "And in his parties," &c. This line is omitted in the second folio. "At *least,* thus much"—*last.* "Without *more* mercy"—*much.* "Upon *this* sword of justice"—*the.* "Good luck, an't be *thy* will"—*the.* "My father's *honour'd* friend"—*honour'd* is omitted. "Good *my* lord"—*me.*—*King John.* "And *of* you"—*if.* "If zealous love *should* go"—*should* is omitted. "This all-changing *word*"—*world.* "Then with a passion *would I* shake the world"—*I would.* "To break *within* the bloody house of life"—*within* is omitted. "The little number of *your* doubtful friends"—*your* is omitted. "The English lords, by his persuasion, are *again* fall'n off"—*at length.* "Myself, well mounted, *hardly* have escap'd"—*hardly* is omitted. "And *his* siege is now"—*her.* "His soul and body *to* their lasting rest"—*to* is omitted. "The salt *in* them is hot"—*of.*—*Richard II.* "Let not my *cold* words"—*cool.* "The which no *balm* can cure"—*blame.* The same error is committed in the latter part of this play. "Never did *captive* with a freer heart"—*captain.* "Can change *their* moons"—*the.* "None *for* me"—*by.* "Whose compass is no bigger than thy *head*"—*hand.* "His designs crave haste, *his haste* good hope"—the words *his haste* are omitted. "Now comes *the* sick hour"—*his.* "Thy father, and *myself*"—*thyself.* It is very doubtful if this reading be intentional. "Through *our* security"—*their.* "Hath clouded all *thy* happy days"—*my.* "If we prevail, their *heads* shall pay for it"—*hands.* "To pay *their* awful duty"—*the.* "And friends their *helpful* swords"—*hopeful.* "Showing, as in a model, our firm *estate*"—*state.* "To *tutor* me to this submission"—*return.* "The heavy accent of *thy* moving tongue"—*my.* "And lasting fealty *to* the new-made King"—*in.* "Bring *me* my boots"—*me* is omitted. "But I will have them, *if I* once know where"—the words *if I* are omitted. "That blood should sprinkle me, *to* make me grow"—*and.*—*Henry IV.* "In as high a flow as the *ridge* of the gallows"—*ride.* "Which they *shall* have no sooner achieved"—*shall* is omitted. "Which the proud *soul* ne'er pays"—*soul* is omitted. "So honour cross *it*"—*in.* "Shall secretly *into* the bosom creep"—*in.* "Than *to* the fernseed"—*to* is omitted. "There *thou shalt* find him"—*shalt thou.* "You are Grand Jurors, *are ye*"—the last two words are omitted. "When thou rann'st up *Gad's Hill*"—*Gad's Head.* "But what mean I to speak *so true* at first"—*of truth.* This is a very unjustifiable alteration. "When every thing is ended, *then* you come"—*thou.* "Thou bring'st me happiness *and peace*"—the last two words are omitted. "And as we hear you do *reform* yourselves"—*redeem.* "And modest *to* the world"—*in.* "All the gentlewomen here have *forgiven* me"—*forgotten.*—*Henry V.* "We lose the better *half* of our possession"—*part.* "So do the kings of France *unto* this day"—*upon.* "And some are *yet* ungotten"—*it.* "On treason, and *on* murder"—*no.* "In *cases* of defence"—*causes.* "Arrayed in *flames* like to the Prince of Fiends"—*games.* "We *did* but sleep"—*bid.*—*Henry VI.* "Awake, *awake*, English nobility"—*away.* "But both of you were vowed Duke Humfrey's *foes*"—*death.* "And if what pleases him shall *pleasure* you"—*please.* A large number of unauthorised, and, for the most part, injudicious alterations, are introduced into the three parts of this play in the second folio.—*Richard III.* "He should for that commit your *godfathers*"—*grandfathers.* "Who spoke *of* love"—*in.* "I *scarcely* know myself"—*hardly.* "Canst thou *demise* to any child of mine"—*devise.* "Upon *my life*, my Lord"—*myself.*—*Henry VIII.* "*One*, certes, that promises

no element"—*once.* "*Of* an excellent and unmatch'd wit"—*and.* Two variations in this play are worthy of notice, as exhibiting the carelessness of the editor of the second folio. In one passage *require* is erroneously altered to *requite*, while in another sentence, in a different part of the play, *requite* is as erroneously altered to *require.*—*Troilus and Cressida.* "The *wild* and wandring flood"—*mild.* "For thy place and *sway*"—*may.* "Or that *we* women"—*the.* "Do *you* think I will" —*not.* "Till then, I'll *sweat*"—*swear.*—*Coriolanus.* "And topping all others in *boasting*"—*boast.* "Shed for *my* thankless country"—*thy.* The alterations made in this play are chiefly literal.—*Titus Andronicus.* "By factions and *by* friends" —*my.*—*Romeo and Juliet.* "On *courtiers'* knees"—*countries.* "Appear thou in the likeness of a *sigh*"—*fight.* "On the fair *daughter* of rich Capulet"—*danger.* "For a hand, and a foot, and a *body*"—*bawdy.* "Thy wild acts *denote*"—*do note.* —*Timon of Athens.* "Tell Athens, in the *sequence* of degree"—*frequence.* "Or we had cause *of* fear"—*to.*—*Julius Cæsar.* "Be hung *with* Cæsar's trophies"— *with the.* "Upon the word, *accouter'd* as I was"—*accounted.* This is possibly merely a very careless misprint. "Opens graves, and *roars*"—*tears.* The two lines commencing, "Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes," are printed in a confused manner in the second folio.—*Macbeth.* "I prithee *contradict* thyself"—*contract.* "I am in blood *stept* in so far"—*spent.* "Malicious, *smacking* of every sin"— *smoking.* "Let our *just* censures *attend* the true event"—*best, before.* "*Dusty* death"—*study.*—*Hamlet.* "At this *dead* hour"—*same.* "My *hour* is almost come"—*honour.* "I was about to say *something*"—*nothing.* "He rais'd a sigh so *piteous* and profound"—*hideous.* "When *we* have shuffled off"—*he.* "That unmatch'd *form* and feature"—*fortune.* "Like a mildew'd *ear*"—*dear.* "Why, now *you speak* like a good child"—*what noise is that*, carelessly caught from a following sentence. "And *indued* unto that element"—*deduced.* "Equivocation will *undo* us"—*follow.*—*Othello.* "Or I'll *knock* you o'er the mazzard"—*know.* —*Antony and Cleopatra.* "You have been a *great* thief by sea"—*good.* "The ram to batter the *fortress* of it"—*fortune.* "Through proof of harness to my *heart*"—*part.* "I *must* obey"—*much.*—*Cymbeline.* "I do extend him, sir, *within* himself"—*which.* "But *some* natural notes"—*so she.*

The additions and insertions of the second folio are perhaps more prejudicial to the text than mere alterations; for they not infrequently impair the natural beauty of the author's metre, and the power of his language. Nearly all of them are evidently made without authority, and they are chiefly suggested in a bad taste. In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Leonato exclaims, in an agony of apprehension—

> Would the princes lie? and Claudio lie,
> Who lov'd her so, that, speaking of her foulness,
> Wash'd it with tears?

The quarto reads, "would the *two princes* lie," but the second folio has, "Would the prince lie? and Claudio, *would he* lie," which is clearly a conjectural addition, and a very injudicious one, made on account of the metre. In the fifth act of the same play, the old quarto has, "Nor let no *comforter* delight mine ear." In the first folio two letters are accidentally omitted, *comfort* being put for *comforter;* but the editor of the second folio, attempting to restore the metre, reads, "Nor let no comfort *else* delight mine ear." In the same act, the word *thou* being improperly repeated in the first folio, *art thou, art thou*, is the incorrect reading of the second. At the end of the third act of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the last line but one, *and* is improperly inserted before *groan;* and two insertions in the line, "Faith infringed, which such zeal did swear," are evidently the result of a want of acquaintance with the original metre. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the line in the quarto,

"Ah me! for aught that I could ever read," is injudiciously changed to, "Hermia, for ought that ever I could read;" and, in the same play, in the line in the quartos and first folio, "When I come where he calls, then he's gone," the pronoun *me* is inserted after *calls*. Antonio says, in the *Merchant of Venice*, according to the quartos, "And out of doubt, you do *me now* more wrong;" the words in italics being accidentally omitted in the first folio, they are wrongly supplied by *to me* in the second folio. In the line in the second act, "So, begone; you are sped," the word *sir* is inserted after *begone*, with an erroneous idea of amending the metre. In the third act of the same play, a line in the quarto, "Shall lose a hair through Bassanio's fault," is given in the first folio with the *i* in the proper name omitted. The editor of the second folio incorrectly reads, "Shall lose a haire through *my* Bassanio's fault." In the fourth act, Antonio says,—

> You may as well use question with the wolf,
> Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb:

but in the first folio *you may* is altered to *or even*, and, in the second line, the words, *why he hath made*, are accidentally left out, and they are supplied in the second folio, though printed in the wrong place, by the words, *when you behold*. At the commencement of the fifth act, *and* is tastelessly inserted, in two instances, before the passage, "In such a night." In the *Taming of the Shrew*, the commencement of a speech by Petruchio, "O monstrous arrogance," is altered to, "O *most* monstrous arrogance;" and, in a subsequent speech, the same word is twice needlessly introduced. The word, *sir*, is also added in two instances, but without any sufficient reason. At the commencement of the *Winter's Tale*, a line is injured by the unnecessary insertion of the negative, "*no*, nor dream'd;" and there are several very injudicious additions in the same play, chiefly arising from the editor's want of acquaintance with the irregularity of Shakespeare's metre. In *Richard II.*, the line, "The plate, coin, revenues," &c., is printed, "The plate, coin, *and* revenues;" and in another speech in the same play, two words are needlessly omitted, and one added, for the sake of the metre. A song in *Troilus and Cressida* is greatly injured by the insertion of one word,—

> For, O, Love's bow
> Shoots *both* buck and doe.

the word *both* being introduced by the editor of the second folio. A more remarkable instance of an unauthorised introduction occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, in the line, "And all this day, an unaccustomed spirit," which being accidentally misprinted in the first folio, "And all this *an* day *an accustom'd spirit*," the editor of the second folio thus ventures to give his version,—"And all this *winged unaccustom'd* spirit." It would be difficult to discover another instance more decisive of the nature of the latter edition, or more characteristic of its absolute want of authority.

There are to be traced in the second folio several indications that corrections were made by a person who was altogether unacquainted with the context, and altered with reference only to the particular sentences in which the supposed errors occur. Thus Dogberry, in his blundering phraseology, says to the watch, "be *vigitant*, I beseech you." *Vigitant* is altered to *vigilant* in the second folio. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Pyramus, in a similar style, says,—

> I *see* a voice; now will I to the chink,
> To spy an I can *hear* my Thisby's face:

but the editor of the second folio, not understanding the humour of the speech, transposes the words *see* and *hear*. When Orlando, in *As You Like It*, says, "the thorny point of bare distress hath ta'en from me the show of smooth

civility," the editor of the second folio, not looking to the context, printed *that hath ta'en, &c.*, or perhaps he intended the lines thus,—

> You touch'd my vein at first, the thorny point
> Of bare distress, that hath taken, &c.

which is clearly erroneous. In the same play, Orlando says, "I will chide no breather in the world but myself, against whom I know *most faults*," which, being misunderstood, is printed *no faults* in the second folio. In *All's Well that ends Well*, in a speech by the Countess, "As heaven shall work in me for *thine avail*," the second editor, not considering the whole, but regarding only the particular line, prints *mine avail.* In a similar manner, in *Richard II.*,—

> And, for our coffers, with too great a Court,
> And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,
> We are enforc'd to farm our royal realm;
> The revenue whereof shall furnish us
> For our affairs in hand. If *that* come short, &c.

The pronoun *that* of course referring to *the revenue;* but the editor of the second folio, looking solely at the last line, alters *that* to *they.* A more significant alteration occurs in the same play, where Bolingbroke is made to say, "I must find that title in your *town*," a reading which can only be explained on the supposition that the corrector did not understand the text he was tampering with. At the end of the play, "and with it joy *thy life*," the editor, not looking to the next line, prints, "and with it joy *thyself.*" In the First Part of *Henry IV.*, Hotspur says,—

> I had rather hear a brazen canstick turn'd,
> Or a dry wheel grate on the axle-tree,
> And that would set my teeth *nothing* on edge,
> Nothing so much as mincing poetry.

The first *nothing* is omitted in the second folio, although the repetition was evidently intentional. In *Henry V.*, the questionable line in the first folio, "Let us *die* in once more back again," is absurdly altered to, "Let us *fly*," &c., the editor not comprehending the line, and correcting without taking the pains to examine the context. In *Romeo and Juliet*, when the Nurse says, "And yet to my *teen* be it spoken," the editor writes *teeth*, supposing the sentence to refer to the last substantive of the previous line. In the same play, in the line, "prick'd from the lazy finger of a *maid*," the first folio corruptly reading *man*, the editor of the second, clearly not referring to any authority, reads *woman*. Again, in the second act, the line, "I'faith, I am sorry that thou art not well," is misprinted in the first folio, "I'faith, I am sorry *that that* thou art *so well*;" but the editor of the second, correcting the first obvious blunder, and observing the words *so well* did not make sense, arbitrarily alters them to, *so ill.* Another capricious variation occurs in *Julius Cæsar*, in the line, "Caius Ligarius doth bear Cæsar *hard*," where the editor reads *hatred*, observing only the next line, and paying no regard to the author's phraseology. In *Macbeth*, in the line, "and with his former title *greet* Macbeth," the word *greet* is altered to *great*, which is possibly a mere misprint, although it implies as if the editor thought the latter word more suitable to the particular line. Worse alterations occur in the same play, "the *lated* traveller" being metamorphosed into, "the *latest* traveller;" and, "hang those that *talk of* fear," to, "hang those that *stand in* fear." In *King Lear*, "beweep *this cause* again," is altered to, "beweep *thee once* again;" and towards the end of the play, "Look *up*, my Lord," is changed to, "Look *to* my Lord," an error which a slight acquaintance with the context would have enabled the editor to have avoided.

It is obvious that if the editor of the second folio had been at the pains to refer to the author's copies, or even if he had possessed a large acquaintance with the plays themselves, either as a reader or as a spectator at their performances, he could not have fallen into the class of blunders here pointed out; and there is no evidence whatever to show that any later copies were corrected by recourse to authentic sources of information. But, as Dryden observes, in his *Essay on the Dramatique Poetry of the Last Age*, ed. 1673, p. 160, "malice and partiality set apart, let any man who understands English read diligently the works of Shakespeare and Fletcher, and I dare undertake that he will find, in every page, either some solecism of speech, or some notorious flaw in sence; and yet these men are reverenc'd, when we are not forgiven." Here is exposed the true origin of many of the vicious alterations of the text of Shakespeare which are to be referred to the latter part of the seventeenth century; made chiefly by men who, without any deep reverence for the author, desired to exchange his language for their own, never considering that solecisms are the creations of time, and that each age had a syntax peculiar to itself, which may not be greatly changed, without injury to the spirit in which the works were originally composed. The editions of Shakespeare which were produced after the Restoration, should be referred to with great caution. The third folio, published in 1664, is merely a reprint of the second edition, with a few insignificant alterations and additional blunders; and the fourth folio, which appeared in 1685, is similarly reprinted from the third, with the retention of obvious typographical errors. The quarto editions of Dryden's period are generally sad examples of the effects of a vitiated taste, interfering with compositions it did not comprehend.

The rapidity with which the diction of Shakespeare became obsolete, imposed serious obstacles in the path of a thorough appreciation of his works during the eras succeeding the author's death. So greatly were these inconveniences felt by readers who were otherwise capable of entering into much of his meaning, that it was not an unusual practice for them to attempt unauthorised revisions of the text; the results of which have come down to our times in the shape of manuscript annotations inserted in various copies of the folio editions. In the library of Count Gondomar, which was lately preserved at the *Casa del Sol* at Valladolid, was an exemplar of the first folio, formerly belonging to the Count, the margins of which, according to M. de Gayangos, who saw the book in the year 1832, "were in several places covered with writing, in an English hand of the time, and some of this additional matter was in verse." The Count had no doubt obtained this volume in England, and the annotations might have been the work of some of the players of the time. The late Mr. Dent possessed a copy of the third folio, which realized a large sum at his sale on account of a number of MS. emendations in a hand very nearly coeval with the date of the publication. Through the kindness of its present owner, I have had the opportunity of making a minute examination of the alterations, but although many of them are exceedingly ingenious and plausible, I am convinced they are entirely conjectural. I have also seen other copies of the second and third folios, and one copy of the fourth, partly annotated in a similar manner. It is my sincere conviction that all variations obtained from such sources should be received with the utmost caution.

The most curious of these altered editions yet discovered, is in the possession of Mr. Collier. It is a copy of the second folio, profusely annotated by an unknown hand of the seventeenth century, and containing numerous specious variations from the accepted copies, many of which are identical with later suggestions, but some appear to belong exclusively to this particular volume. The question of authority can scarcely here be raised, except to be at once dismissed;

indications of readings that are indisputably conjectural, being too numerous to render the subject one of doubt; but all the deviations of any importance made in Mr. Collier's volume from the original, will be found to have been carefully considered in the preparation of our text, though sometimes without a particular reference, whenever the new reading is palpably erroneous. Thus, in the present volume (p. 383), it being shown that *flote* was a recognized substantive in Shakespeare's time, it appeared scarcely requisite to call attention to the circumstance that the manuscript annotator did not understand the line he was attempting to correct, because the establishment of the fact alluded to renders all further discussion unnecessary. In this, and in other cases, wherever the integrity of the old text is inconvertibly affirmed, I have deemed it unnecessary to occupy time and space by the introduction of theories, that could only be mentioned for the sake of exhibiting the process of their refutation. The principal new readings afforded by Mr. Collier's annotated folio, have been recently published; but the editor himself, in some of his supplemental notes, appears to admit their general want of authority, a fact which is incontestably confirmed by parallelisms quoted in the present work. Sometimes the anonymous critic strikingly exhibits the conjectural character of his alterations, by a ludicrous misapprehension of the author's intention. Thus when Dogberry says he is "a fellow that hath had *losses*," the annotator, wholly unconscious of the exquisite satire, proposes to read, *a fellow that hath had leases*. There is something more involved than mere difference of opinion, when the finer meanings of Shakespeare are thus in danger of being obscured or lost.

Enough has now been said to exhibit the principles of criticism, on which the text of this edition of Shakespeare is constructed. Others have acknowledged, in greater or lesser degrees, the truth of most of the positions here sought to be established; but no editor has yet resolved them into a comprehensive philological system, to be carried out in an uniform manner throughout the formation of the entire text. The result is, that in all previous editions, readings are selected, and the ancient text altered, according to the judgment or fancy of the editor having reference only to the particular word or passage; or, at all events, without the assistance which would have been afforded by the adoption of a sound generic theory. The present text will, it is hoped, exhibit that uniformity and truthfulness of character, which should attend the adoption of critical rules formed on the convictions resulting from a long course of reading; and its errors restricted to individual cases, where no philological canons are strictly applicable.

The Tempest.

EARLY EDITIONS.

(1). In the folio edition of 1623; the first play in the division of *Comedies*, pp. 1 to 19 inclusive, sigs. A 1—6, B 1—4 r°.

(2). In the folio of 1632. The pagination and signatures are the same as in the above.

(3). In the folio of 1664. The pagination and signatures are the same as in the above.

(4). In the folio of 1685; pp. 1—17 inclusive, sigs. A 1—6, B 1—3 r°.

INTRODUCTION.

The machinery of enchantment, witchcraft, and sorcery, was familiar to the English stage before Shakespeare commenced his dramatic career; but it was of a coarse, unpoetical character, suited only to the melo-dramatic pieces in which it was introduced. Shakespeare was the first to clothe the popular mythology on these subjects with the refinement that is essential to their acceptance as agents in the composition of a work of high literary art. In the present drama, for example, by introducing a magician, who makes use of his preternatural influence solely for the purposes of retributive justice, the alleged impiety which attended the employment of magic power is concealed by the pure objects to which it is applied. In the earlier plays, in the *Historie of Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay*, for instance, although there are several points of similarity between the Oxford magician and Prospero, the moral character of the latter, his mildness, wisdom, and benevolence, his very severity the unwilling offspring of his judgment,—the qualities that hide the unlawfulness of his art, are not to be traced in the hero of Greene's drama. Bacon is represented as deriving his wonderful abilities from his necromantic books; by which he has arrived at the power of raising thunders, darkening the moon, and making "the devils plead homage to his words." As is the case with Prospero, all this is accomplished by means of his magic books,—

> Thou knowest that I have dived into hell,
> And sought the darkest pallaces of fiendes;
> That with my magick spels great Belcephon
> Hath left his lodge, and kneeled at my cell:
> The rafters of the earth rent from the poles,
> And three-form'd Luna hid her silver looks,
> Trembling upon her concave contenent,
> When Bacon red upon his magick booke.—ed. 1594.

And a few other generic similarities may be pointed out; but the purpose and conclusion of the introduction of the two characters are entirely distinct. Bacon's power, being employed for worldly objects, fails in the accomplishment of its object, and he abjures the practice of magic as a wicked act; whereas Prospero, having attained his just ends, relinquishes it with the consciousness of having used its influences for righteous purposes, and retires to Milan, where "every third thought" shall be his grave.

The novel or tale on which the *Tempest* was probably founded, has not yet been discovered; but there is a circumstance told of Collins, the poet, that he had once met with it in a romance, in which the principal character was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a spirit like Ariel to obey his call, and perform his services. There can be little doubt, judging from the known sources of many other of Shakespeare's plays, and from the mysterious allusion to the act of Sycorax, for which her life was spared, that some such romance did exist; and I am inclined to suspect, should it ever be recovered, we shall find that the poet has etherealized an old magical story, which involves none of the wild and natural grandeur, or of the ideal refinement of the play. It is also possible that the ancient story yielded little more than the names of the characters, and the outline ideas of the magician and his attendant spirit. There is an old German play by Ayrer, a notary of Nuremberg, contemporary with Shakespeare, entitled *Die Schöne Sidea*, or, as it is given in full, "A comedy respecting the beautiful Sidea, how she fared until she was wedded," which contains some incidents that bear slight resemblances to others in the *Tempest*. In both plays, there is a distinguished personage employing the art of magic; there are his daughter, and a captive prince, the latter of whom is enslaved, his weapons become powerless, and he is made to carry logs of wood; there is an attendant spirit on the duke; and, finally, there is the process of retribution, and the union of the prince and the magician's daughter. But the spirit of the two compositions is essentially different. Sidea, who takes the place of Miranda, is a worldly calculating lady, who is considering the amount of the prince's ransom, and the recovery of her father's property. The prince, who is condemned by Ludolph (Prospero) to be her slave, not cleaving some wood with sufficient rapidity, she tells him to make haste, if he wishes to escape a sound beating, using at the same time

language that is not of the choicest description. She is, however, affected by the representations of distress made by the prince Engelbrecht, and, on his promising to be true to her, gives him the offer of her hand, which is gratefully accepted. Runcifal is a vulgar spirit, who unwillingly obeys Rudolph's summons, and informs him of the near approach of the period of his avenging himself for the wrongs he had sustained. It will be seen, from this brief notice, that although there is no probability that Ayrer's play could either have been founded on Shakespeare's, or on an earlier English drama used by the latter, or that it is itself the foundation of the *Tempest;* yet there is sufficient similarity to be traced between the two, to suggest the conclusion that they are both derived in some way, though perhaps very remotely, from one and the same source. The incident of the logs of wood, considered by Mr. Thoms to bear so striking a resemblance to one in the English play, belongs, in all probability, to medieval fiction, and is not quite peculiar to Ayrer and Shakespeare.

The circumstance lastly mentioned explains the difficulty which Mr. Hunter perceived in the employment assigned to Ferdinand, of piling up thousands of logs of wood, an incident which does not appear like "the invention of a poet working at its own free pleasure." There is an old German tale, communicated to me by Dr. Bell, in which a prince, who has unfortunately found his way into a magician's castle, has the offer of his life on the condition of chopping up a large quantity of fire-wood with a wooden axe. This is evidently a type of one of the punishments familiar to the medieval writers of romance. The probabilities are that, in the original story on which the *Tempest* was founded, an apparently impracticable performance is assigned to the Prince, which is nevertheless accomplished by means of some preternatural agency, most likely effected by the prototype of Miranda. Shakespeare, who is careful not to stimulate too highly the reader's imagination by an unnecessary introduction of the supernatural, changes this to a task, which, however difficult, does not appear to be physically impossible. The most important resemblance to be traced between *De Schöne Sidea* and the present drama, consists in the action of each being founded on the idea of retributive justice, arising from events that bear, in the whole, a striking similarity to each other. This will be apparent from the following analysis of the story of the German drama, which is given nearly in the words

of Mr. Thoms. Shortly after the commencement of the play, Ludolph having been vanquished by his rival, and with his daughter Sidea driven into a forest, rebukes her for complaining of their change of fortune, and then summons his spirit Runcifal to learn from him his future destiny, and prospects of revenge. Runcifal, who is, like Ariel, somewhat "moody," announces to Ludolph that the son of his enemy will shortly become his prisoner. After a comic episode, most probably introduced by the German, we see Prince Leudegast, with his son Engelbrecht, and the councillors, hunting in the same forest; when Engelbrecht and his companion Famulus, having separated from their associates, are suddenly encountered by Ludolph and his daughter. On his commanding them to yield themselves prisoners, they refuse, but on their attempting to draw their swords, Ludolph renders them powerless by the touch of his magical wand, and gives the Prince over to Sidea to carry logs of wood for her, and to obey her commands in all respects. The resemblance between the German and English plays is continued in a later part of the former production, when Sidea, moved by pity for the labours of Engelbrecht in carrying logs, exclaims she would "feel great joy, if he would prove faithful to me, and take me in wedlock;" an event which, in the end, is happily brought about, and leads to the reconciliation of their parents, the rival princes. Mr. Thoms thinks these resemblances are sufficient to enforce assent to the conclusion drawn from them by Tieck, that Ayrer's *Sidea* and Shakespeare's *Tempest* "were both derived from one common source, and that an earlier English drama." The reader has the means of judging for himself on this interesting question. It is only necessary to add that the greater part of the German play bears no similarity to the other drama; and that, were Tieck's theory correct, it might have been expected that some traces, however indistinct, of an English origin, might have been discovered in the former.

There is another incident in the *Tempest*, which, like that of the logs of wood, no doubt was originally derived from medieval fiction. I allude to the exposure of Prospero and his daughter in the "rotten carcass of a boat." This kind of contrivance is found in several ancient romances, and whenever it occurs in more modern compositions, the story may invariably be considered to be derived from an early source. There is a notice of something similar in the metrical tale of *Kyng Horn*, where

Horn and his companions are put by the King of the Saracens to sea in a vessel having neither sail nor rudder,—

Ous hy duden lede
In to a galeye,
With the see to pleye;
Day is gon and other,
Withoute seyl and rother,
Ure ship flet forth y-lome,
And her to londe hit ys y-come.

And, perhaps, the resemblance to the story adopted by Shakespeare, is still greater in the Anglo-Norman version preserved in the Douce collection of MSS. at Oxford:—

Sire, fet-il, prenez un de vos vielz chalanz,
Metez icels valez ki jo vei ici estanz,
K'il n'aient avirum dunt ascient aidanz,
Sigle ne guvernad, dunt il seint vaianz.

In the old romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, which was printed in the sixteenth century (although the only perfect copy of it known is preserved in manuscript in the Chetham Library), a king expels his daughter, and her illegitimate offspring, by surrendering them in a boat to the mercy of the waves; but this cruel action is avenged by Torrent, the beloved object of the daughter's affections, who exposes the father in a similar manner,—

They ordeyned a shipp alle of tree,
And sett hym oute into the see,
Among the wawes to gone. . . . . .
A bote of tre they brought hym befforn,
Fulle of holis it was boryn;
Howselle and shryfte had he.

This subject is capable of much further illustration, but what is here before us will be sufficient to show that the incident belongs to the romances of the middle ages. It may, in fact, have been in some cases regarded as a means of establishing innocence or guilt, by thus leaving the issue in the hands of a superior power.

No prototype of the *Tempest* has yet been discovered amongst the remains of early English literature that have been preserved. Greene's *Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, 1599, and one of Turbervile's *Tragical Tales*, 1587, are supposed by Malone to have furnished a few trifling hints to Shakespeare; but the probability that they did so, is of the slightest kind. In the former work, there are a King of Naples, a requisition of homage, the name of Ferdinand, and a Duke of Milan brought

to the cell of the man whom he had contributed to banish; but these circumstances are introduced in a manner totally different to the similar incidents in the action of the later drama. Turbervile's tale, which is unnecessarily presumed to have suggested the introduction of the marriage of the King of Naples' daughter to the King of Tunis, has really no resemblance of any kind to the story used by the great dramatist. The oldest piece, in English, indisputably formed either on that romance, or on the play, is a ballad entitled, *The Inchanted Island*, preserved in a manuscript, said to be of the time of the Commonwealth, in the possession of Mr. Collier, in which the scene of the tale is laid in Arragon. The date of the volume may possibly be in some degree ascertained from the accompanying fac-simile, the tracing of which was very kindly sent by the owner; but the diction seems to belong to a somewhat recent period. As, however, ballads were frequently modernized in the process of transcription, the present may be a copy of a much earlier one; though I rather incline to the opinion that it is a late composition, constructed upon the story of the play. Some of the incidents vary from those in Shakespeare's drama, and the whole is more nearly allied to the ballads of the seventeenth century that were founded upon the early metrical romances: in fact, it would almost appear as if the writer of this manuscript, whoever he may be, had imitated one of the latter pieces. The ballad in the manuscript is subscribed by the initials R. G., which have been somewhat rashly conjectured to stand for Robert Greene. The verbal resemblances between the ballad and the play are few and unimportant, and if it were written subsequently to the latter, the author perhaps intentionally avoided too near an approach to Shakespeare, for not only are the names and localities different, but, as a narrative, it commences long anterior to the time of the opening scene of the *Tempest*. The following is a brief abstract of the conduct of the story, as it is presented in this ballad.

Geraldo, King of Arragon, leaving the cares of state to his brother Benormo, the latter usurped his crown, and banished the lawful sovereign, with his daughter Ida, out of the kingdom, and, although it was in the depths of winter, without allowing them any attendants. After wandering for a long time, they reached the coast, and embarking in a merchant vessel, then lying at anchor, the ship was afterwards wrecked on the shores of an enchanted island, and all hands unfortunately perished. It was, indeed, only by miracle that Geraldo and his daughter escaped the danger of being involved in the catastrophe; but the exiled sovereign had fortunately brought with him a magic book, and a staff belonging to that forbidden art, by means of which he controlled even the spirits of the air, and escaped in safety with his daughter from the perils of the tempest. Years passed away in their retirement on the enchanted isle; Geraldo's locks grew grey; Ida was changed from a little girl into a beautiful woman; and, in the meanwhile, Benormo had a son, grown up to manhood, named Alfonso, whose virtues were admirably contrasted with the usurper's wickedness. It happened, at this period, that the two latter were summoned to attend the marriage of the son of the King of Sicily to the daughter of the King of Naples; and, on their way thither, Geraldo, who knew of their coming by the prescience of his art, raised a mighty storm, which cast all the passengers and crew on the island, their lives, however, being preternaturally saved. Benormo, stricken with conscience, submissively desires the pardon of Geraldo; while Alfonso, at the first glance, falls distractedly in love with his beautiful cousin. The youthful pair are eventually united, and ascend the throne of Arragon, which is relinquished by Geraldo in their favour on account of his advanced years.

One of the most curious ascertained circumstances respecting the literary history of the play, is the well-known fact that Shakespeare derived a part of his description of an Utopian commonwealth, in the second act, from a chapter in Montaigne's *Essays;* which, curiously enough, though this latter coincidence may be accidental, relates to the canibals, the singular of which is the metathesis of Caliban. Montaigne is describing the newly-discovered country he calls *Antartick France*, and a portion of his account is adopted, almost word for word, by Shakespeare; as will be seen from the following extract, taken from the English translation which appeared in 1603. It cannot fail to be of

interest, as one of the few miscellaneous pieces of contemporary literature, that can be proved to have been perused by the great dramatist; though the use he made of it is so different from that intended by the original author, the charge of plagiarism can only be raised, for the purpose of remarking on the extraordinary skill exhibited by Shakespeare, in the uses to which he applied the fragments of other writers that were stored in his memory:

Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have beene informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, unlesse men call that barbarisme, which is not common to them. As, indeede, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, then the example and idea of the opinions and customes of the countrie we live in; where is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleate use of all things. They are even savage, as we call those fruites wilde, which nature of hirselfe, and of hir ordinarie progresse, hath produced; whereas, indeede, they are those which ourselves have altered by our artificiall devises, and diverted from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall proprieties most livelie and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. *And if, notwithstanding, in divers fruites of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that, in respect of ours, they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste; there is no reason arte should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature.* We have so much by our inventions surcharged the beauties and riches of hir workes, that we have altogether over choaked hir: yet where-ever hir puritie shineth, she makes our vaine and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed. Al our endevours, or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the neast of the least birdlet, it's contexture, beautie, profit and use; no nor the webbe of a seelie spider. "All things," saith Plato, "are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by arte. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first; the least and imperfect by the last." Those nations seeme, therefore, so barbarous unto mee, because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature do yet commaund them, which are but little bastardized by ours; and that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time ther were men that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie Licurgus and Plato had it not; for meseemeth that what in those nations wee see by experience, *doth not onelie exceede all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath prowdly imbellished the golden age*, and al hir quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophie. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we see it by experience; nor ever beleeve our societie might be maintained with so little arte and humane combination. *It is a nation, would I answere Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividences; no occupation but idle; no respect of kinred, but common, no apparrell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulation, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them.* How dissonant would hee finde his imaginary commonwealth from this perfection? Furthermore, they live in a country of so

exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that, as my testimonies have tolde me, it is very rare to see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eyes dropping, or crooked and stooping through age. They are seated alongst the sea coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepie mountaines, having betweene both a hundred leagues or there-abouts of open and champaine ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eate them without any sawces, or skill of cookerie, but plaine boiled or broyled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that, before they could take notice of him, they slew him with arrowes.

[The original French of the most important portion of the above, is here given; it corresponds very closely to the translation by Florio:—"C'est une nation, diroy-je à Platon, en laquelle il n'y à *aucune espece de trafique*, *nulle cognoissance de lettres*, nulle science de nombres, *nul nom de magistrat*, ny de superiorité politique, *nul goust* (*usage*, ed. 1598) *de service*, *de richesse*, *ou de pauvreté*, *nuls contrats*, *nulles successions*, *nuls partages*, *nulles occupations qu' oysives*, nul respect de parenté que commun, nuls vestemens, *nulle agriculture*, *nul metal*, *nul usage de vin ou de bled*. *Les paroles mesmes*, *qui signifient* le mensonge, *la trahison*, la dissimulation, l'avarice, l'envie, la detraction, le pardon, *inouyes*. Combien trouveroit il la Republique qu'il à imaginée, esloignée de cette perfection?"—*Essais de Montaigne*, 4to. Par. 1588.]

The similarities between the passages in Montaigne and the play are clearly too great to be attributed to accidental coincidences; and it will, therefore, be conceded that the *Tempest* was written after the year 1603, unless it be thought that Shakespeare may have read the *Essays* in their original French, a suggestion which, as it relates to a period when the continental languages were very generally studied, is not to be dismissed as altogether impossible. Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the amount of Shakespeare's classical scholarship, it is in the highest degree probable that he possessed a reasonable acquaintance with French and Italian. Mr. Hunter was the first to intimate that the *Tempest* might be an early play; and although for some time I was disposed to regard the passage in Montaigne as an insurmountable argument against such an opinion; yet, on further consideration, having reference to the somewhat apologetic character of Prospero's epilogue, and to the uncertainty of all reasoning on internal evidence when it is applied to the history of the working of such a mind as Shakespeare's, I must candidly acknowledge to the belief that Mr. Hunter's conclusions on this point should not be hastily rejected. The external testimonies, which have been produced in favour of this view, are not, however, of a satisfactory character. Ben Jonson has been supposed to allude

to the *Tempest*, in the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, which was produced in the year 1598:—

> He rather prayes you will be pleas'd to see
> One such to-day, as other playes should be;
> Where neither chorus wafts you ore the seas,
> Nor creaking throne comes downe the boyes to please;
> Nor nimble squibbe is seene, to make afeard
> The gentlewomen; nor roul'd bullet heard
> To say, it thunders; nor tempestuous drumme
> Rumbles, to tell you when the storme doth come:

but apart from the circumstance that it is hardly likely a satire should here be aimed at Shakespeare, in a play in which he was one of the performers, there is really nothing in the above lines which may not have applied to other dramas of the time. That the descent of a creaking throne was not peculiar to the *Tempest*, may be gathered from Lovelace's *Lucasta;* and as for thunder, lightning, and monsters, they were part of the stock of the elder drama. Mr. Hunter seems to think the hope expressed by Jonson that the audience "that have so grac'd monsters, may like men," must refer to Caliban; but if the expression *monsters* does not allude metaphorically to creations which are not true to nature, it at all events has certainly a general signification in relation to the characters of the earlier drama. A complaint of something of the same kind, in relation to tragedy, had previously been made by the author of *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594, sig. C 3. A more distinct, but yet uncertain, allusion to Shakespeare's play occurs in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, produced at the Hope Theatre in October, 1614,—"If there bee neuer a *Seruant-monster* i' the *Fayre*, who can helpe it? he sayes; nor a nest of *Antiques?* Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales, Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*, to mixe his head with other mens heeles; let the concupiscence of *Iigges* and *Dances* raigne as strong as it will amongst you: yet if the *Puppets* will please any body, they shall be entreated to come in." This is printed with the original punctuation and italics; but little attention is to be bestowed on the latter as any distinctive characteristic of satire, the other part of the same Induction being capriciously regulated in a similar manner. The coincidence of the compound word *servant-monster* with the term applied to Caliban is somewhat curious; but Jonson appears to be rather referring to drolleries, such as were produced at fairs, than to regular

dramas. It is worthy of remark that, many years afterwards, a "new droll call'd the *Tempest*" was one of the attractions of Bartholomew Fair, an old hand-bill informing us that, "At Miller's Booth, over against the Cross-daggers near the Crown Tavern, during the time of Bartholomew Fair, will be presented an excellent new droll, call'd *The Tempest, or the Distressed Lovers,* with the English Hero and the Island Princess, with the comical humours of the inchanted Scotchman, or Jockey and the three witches: shewing how a nobleman of England was cast away upon the Indian shore, and in his travel found the princess of the country, with whom he fell in love, and after many dangers and perils, was married to her: and his faithful Scotchman, who was saved with him, travelling thorow woods, fell in among witches, where between 'em is abundance of comical diversion: there in the Tempest is Neptune, with his tritons, in his chariot drawn with sea-horses, and mairmaids singing: with variety of entertainments performed by the best masters: the particulars would be too tedious to be inserted here." On the whole, it is more likely that Jonson alludes to some entertainment such as this, rather than that he should make a somewhat clumsy reference to a drama, the merits of which he must, at least in a great degree, have appreciated.

There is, according to Dr. Farmer, good evidence that the *Tempest* was written after the production of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* at the Globe Theatre in the year 1598. Two of the characters in the latter play, at least in the earliest edition, were Prospero and Stephano, and here, says Farmer, "Ben Jonson taught him (Shakespeare) the pronunciation of the latter word, which is always right in the *Tempest*, and always wrong in his earlier play, the *Merchant of Venice*, which had been on the stage at least two or three years before its publication in 1600." Mr. Collier puts the case too strongly, when he says, "in the *Merchant of Venice*, written before 1598, the name of Stephano is invariably to be pronounced with the accent on the second syllable, while in the *Tempest*, the proper pronunciation is as constantly required by the verse." The fact is that the name very rarely occurs in Shakespeare's verse, and the indications of its accentuation in the latter play are exceedingly indistinct.

Great uncertainty invariably attends the attempt to draw large deductions from insignificant circumstances, and the numerous cases in which the elder commentators have been

proved to be in the wrong, for the most part belong to conclusions adopted from minute coincidences. It is naturally to be expected, that, as the works of Shakespeare involve so large an amount of human thought, parallel passages should be readily produced from a great variety of authors; but plagiarism, on either side, is not to be hastily inferred. Malone, for instance, imagines that the resemblance between the following lines in Lord Sterline's *Tragedie of Darius*, 4to. Lond. 1604,—

> Let greatnesse of her glascie scepters vaunt,
> Not sceptours, no, but reeds, soone brus'd, soone broken;
> And let this worldlie pompe our wits inchant,
> All fades, and scarcelie leaves behinde a token.
> Those golden pallaces, those gorgeous halles,
> With fourniture superfluouslie faire:
> Those statelie courts, those sky-encountring walles,
> Evanish all like vapours in the aire:

and Prospero's celebrated speech, in the fourth act, is sufficient to prove that one was copied from the other. Lord Sterline has, perhaps, more nearly approached the language of Shakespeare in a previous verse in the same play, when he speaks of greatness as,—

> A meere illusion made to mock the sight,
> Whose best was but the shaddow of a dreame:

but reflections of this kind belong to writers of all ages and countries, and there is not a sufficient identity of language to warrant the supposition that there must necessarily have been any positive imitation, unless, indeed, in the sense that both authors may have derived their chief idea on the subject from that impressive passage in the Revelations,—"And I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat upon it, from whose Face the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was no place for them." That the view here taken is correct, may be well supported by another parallel passage in Arthur Warren's *Poore Man's Passions*, 4to. 1605, sig. I, which also bears a slight similarity to the passage in Shakespeare, with which, however, it evidently has no connexion:—

> *Pallaces, temples*, castells, citties, townes,
> *Towers* and turrets equall to the skies,
> Subverted by resistlesse fortune's frownes,
> Leave nought which their memorialls testifies.

No conclusion respecting the chronology is to be drawn from the position which the comedy occupies in the first folio; for the editors, having adopted the three grand divisions of

comedies, histories, and tragedies, appear otherwise to have arranged the plays arbitrarily, except as regards the second, in which they are printed in order of the time of action. One of the early critics has a curious theory on the subject, which is that the *Tempest* holds the first place, because it was the author's last drama, and the editors of the folio desired to call prominent attention to it on that account, thus giving the collection as much the appearance of novelty as possible. The probabilities are, however, that the circumstance of this play being the first in the volume, is solely to be attributed to a capricious arrangement.

The *Tempest* was originally produced at the Blackfriars' Theatre, and they who found arguments on minute coincidences, may possibly see in this circumstance, that establishment being only open during the winter months, some evidence that when the play was produced at Court on November 1st, 1611, it was then a new piece. To the latter circumstance, Malone probably alludes, when he said, as long ago as the year 1809, "I know that it had a being and a name in the autumn of 1611;" but the untimely death of that critic, before he had completed his great work, is no doubt the reason of this and other discoveries being now reserved for later enquirers. The memorandum of the performance of the *Tempest* on Hallowmas night, 1611, in the books at the Audit Office (see p. 133), is the earliest notice of the play hitherto discovered; and it is extremely valuable, even if it were merely considered as a decisive means of removing a large extent of commentary, which refers the question of the date of composition to the consideration of the accounts of the maritime expeditions of the period. There are few kinds of reasoning so uncertain, as that which is founded on the occurrence of a few similarities of language and incident traced in compositions that have no real connexion with each other; and I have looked in vain, amidst the elaborate arguments of Malone and Chalmers, for a single coincidence between the play, and the tracts quoted by them,

that may not be reasonably considered to be entirely accidental. The scene of the former, moreover, is unquestionably placed in the Mediterranean, not in the Atlantic: and the mention of Lampedusa, in an old MS. journal, as the *Enchanted Island*, led the late Mr. Rodd to imagine that it was the locality of Shakespeare's drama. This opinion has been very ably supported by Mr. Hunter; and although the probability is that the poet intended an undefined vagueness, inconsistent with the introduction of any particular spot, there seems to be reason for believing that Lampedusa may be the scene of the story in the original romance. It is worthy of remark that, according to Mr. Thoms, there exists amongst the Jews a tradition that the tempest which dispersed the fleet of Charles V. off the coast of Lampedusa, was raised by the magical skill of an Algerine Jew; a slight corroborative evidence that this island was the locality in which the tale was at first laid.

The notices of Lampedusa, collected by Mr. Hunter, seem to furnish something in favour of this opinion. It is a desolate island, situated in a boisterous sea, and according to Crusius, who wrote in Shakespeare's time, *noctes ibi spectris tumultuosæ*. Another writer, Cluverius, says that "the reason of its being abandoned is absurdly ascribed by some to the spectres and phantoms that haunt it: by others, to its unwholsome air, which causes frightful dreams and visions;" and Coronelli observes, "even writers worthy of confidence assert that no one can remain on the island on account of phantasms, spectres, and horrible visions, that appear in the night, repose and quiet being banished by the formidable apparitions and frightful dreams that fatally afflict, with death-like terrors, whosoever doth remain so much as one night." It is clear from these accounts, which are extracted from Mr. Hunter's work, that Lampedusa was exactly the island that would have been selected by a romance writer of the sixteenth century for the situation of a tale involving the agency of magic and enchantment. When Shakespeare came to adopt some of the circumstances from this ancient source, he heightened the romantic interest of his ideal drama by placing the scene in "an un-inhabited island," and studiously avoiding all reference to it as having a geographical existence. The few allusions which determine the outline of the narrative to belong to the Mediterranean, are not sufficiently historical to demand that the mysterious island of Prospero should be identified, in the play, with any real locality.

The utmost that could be reasonably affirmed of the early accounts of the Bermudas, presuming the *Tempest* to have been a late play, is that they may possibly have suggested a few of the subordinate circumstances mentioned by the poet. The Bermudas were represented as being under the influence of enchantment; in the shipwreck of Sir George Sommers, his ship had been split between two rocks; during his abode there, one or more conspiracies had taken place, and a sea-monster, in the shape of a man, had been seen. These are really all the notices of any moment involving coincidences of the slightest importance; and as Shakespeare leaves us to infer the Bermudas were not the scene of the play, they appear scarcely worthy of consideration. Jourdan, in his *Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels,* 4to. Lond. 1610, observes that they "were never inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and inchanted place, affoording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather." He proceeds, however, to say that the air was temperate, and the country "aboundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries;" but these kind of indications are too trivial for the foundation of an argument. The uninhabited island of the *Tempest* is, moreover, represented in slightly different colours. The only incident in the Bermuda tracts which bears a remarkable similarity to any portion of this drama, occurs in Stith's *History of Virginia*, 1747, a valuable and interesting work compiled from authentic books and documents of Shakespeare's time. When Sir George Somers left the island in the year 1610, three persons, named Carter, Waters, and Chard, remained behind. Sir George's vessel being "once out of sight, these three lords and sole inhabitants of all those islands, began to erect their little commonwealth with equal power and brotherly regency, building a house, preparing the ground, planting their corn, and such seeds and fruits as they had, and providing other necessaries and conveniences. Then, making search among the crevices and corners of those craggy rocks, what the ocean, from the world's creation, had thrown up among them, besides divers smaller pieces, they happened upon the largest block of ambergrease that had ever been seen or heard of in one lump. It weighed fourscore pounds, and is said, itself alone, besides the others, to have been then worth nine or ten thousand pounds. And *now, being rich, they grew so resty and ambitious, that these three forlorn men, above three thousand miles from their native country, and with*

little probability of ever seeing it again, fell out for the superiority and rule; and their competition and quarrel grew so high, that Chard and Waters, being of the greatest spirit, had appointed to decide the matter in the field: but Carter wisely stole their arms, chusing rather to bear with such troublesome rivals, than, by being rid of them, to live alone." There is here a relation bearing a singular resemblance to the scene in which regal authority is assumed by Stephano; but the coincidence is no doubt purely accidental.

The author of *A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, 4to. 1610, after describing the storm and the effects of it on the fleet of Sir George Somers, asks, "what is there in all this *tragicall-comœdie*, that should discourage us with impossibilitie of the enterprise, when, of all the fleete, one onely ship by a secret leake was indangered, and yet in the gulfe of despaire was so graciously preserved?" It seems almost incredible that this casual allusion, in which the writer compares the danger and escape to a dramatic composition, should be seriously thought to have suggested to Shakespeare the idea of forming a play in which this storm should be the prototype of his ideal tempest. Yet so it is; and the circumstance only exhibits what slight indications are considered by some as evidences, if they happen to support a favorite theory. The author of the tract above mentioned ridicules the popular notion of the Bermudas being under the influence of enchantment. These islands, as he observes, "have ever beene accounted as an inchaunted pile of rockes, and a desert inhabitation for divels; but all the fairies of the rocks were but flocks of birds, and all the divels that haunted the woods were but heards of swine." These swine are supposed to have suggested the *urchins* of the play; the ship jammed between the two Bermuda rocks is presumed to answer to the preservation of the king's ship in the "deep nook;" in both the history of the voyage and in the drama, the disaster happened very near the shore, not a single person perished, and the mariners fell asleep from fatigue; and lastly, the dispersion of the fleet, its arrival in Virginia without the admiral's vessel, which was believed to have perished,—these are thought to be resemblances in the aggregate too remarkable to be attributable to accident. The reader will, however, bear in mind that the coincidences do not occur in incidents that are in the slightest degree analogous to each other. They belong to narratives essentially distinct in their characters; and it is in the highest

degree improbable, that a purely imaginative drama should have been made the medium of allusion to the disasters of a contemporary voyage.

The *Tempest*, as has been already seen, was in existence under that title in the autumn of the year 1611. There is another notice of its having been acted at Court, but unfortunately at a later period, so that it is not of much value for the purposes of this argument. It was one of the dramas already mentioned (p. 134) as having been selected early in the year 1613, for representation before Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector. The introduction of the masque, in the fourth act, affords some ground for the conjecture that the comedy was originally written expressly for its performance before the Court. Tieck is of opinion that it had a reference to the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palsgrave Frederick, a notion which is of course disproved by the evidence above given; and it is rather to be regretted he should be inclined to consider the interlude of Miranda's courtship with Ferdinand as bearing any relation to that event. The fact is, that however capable foreigners may be of entering into the general spirit of the works of Shakespeare, it is beyond a doubt that much of their criticism upon them will not bear a too rigid analysis; and many of the speculations suggested by a writer even of that deservedly great eminence which is associated with the name of Tieck, will never carry conviction to readers who are acquainted with the old English language, and the literature of the Shakespearian period. Holt, a critic of the last century, conjectured that the masque was intended as a compliment to the Earl of Essex, on his being united in wedlock, in the year 1611, to Lady Frances Howard, to whom he had been contracted some years before. Mere suppositions of this kind, advanced without the sanction of evidence, are not worth the labour of much investigation.

There is something less uncertain in the allusion to the dead Indian, in the second act, which is adduced by Chalmers as an evidence in the question of the chronology of the play; but the circumstances, assumed by that writer to relate to the particular exhibition mentioned by Shakespeare, are extremely vague and unsatisfactory; amounting to little more than this, that as the Earl of Southampton and Sir Francis Gorges, in 1611, brought to England five Indians, four of whom left England alive some time afterwards, " we may easily suppose" of the other that he

Item paid to John Heminges uppon the Cowncells warrāt
dated att Whitehall xx° die Maij 1613 for presentinge
before the Princes Highnes the La: Elizabeth and the Prince
Pallatyne Elector fowerteene severall playes viz one
playe called Filaster, One other called the Knott of Fooles,
One other Much adoe abowte nothinge, The Mayds Tragedy,
The merye Dyvell of Edmonton, The Tempest, A kinge
and no kinge, The Twins Tragedie, The Winters
Tale, Sr John Falstafe, The Moore of Venice, The
Nobleman, Cæsars Tragedye And one other called Love
lyes a bleedinge, All wch playes weare played wthin the
tyme of this accompte, viz p^d the some of

iiij^xx xiij^li vj^s viij^d

NOTE OF PLAYS, INCLUDING THE TEMPEST, ACTED AT COURT IN THE YEAR 1613, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

"died in London, and was exhibited for a show." This indefinite kind of reasoning is scarcely substantial enough to justify a conjecture, much less to support an argument. The exhibition of wax-models of dead Indians was familiar to the inhabitants of London, when the great dramatist first arrived at the metropolis; and probably continued popular for many years. As early as the year 1576, Sir Martin Frobisher, on his return from his first voyage for the discovery of a North-West Passage, brought over a native Indian, who dying in this country "of colde which he had taken at sea," his body was embalmed, and sent back again. In his *True Discourse*, published in 1578, he terms him a "strange infidel, whose like was never seen, red, nor harde of before, and whose language was neyther knowne nor understoode of anye." The original accounts of the voyage, still preserved in manuscript, include a payment of five pounds "to Mr. Crowe the surgyon, for openinge of the Indian man, and balmyng him dead, preservid to have him bin sent backe againe into his countrye." A large pictorial representation of him, described as "a great picture of the whole bodye of the strainge man in his garmentes," was presented to Queen Elizabeth; and a wax model of him was also made, the sum of £1 13*s.* 4*d.* being "paid William Cure, Duchemane, graver, for making a moulde of hard earthe of the Tartar man ymage, to be caste in waxe."

In the following year, 1577, Frobisher brought over three Indians, a man, a woman, and a child, the first of whom having died at Bristol, was taken to London, and afterwards buried in St. Olave's church-yard. These "strange kind of people," as they are described in a contemporary broadside, created a great deal of attention at the time, and appear to have been far more celebrated than the Indian brought over in the first voyage. It is not improbable that the man's body was publicly shown in London, otherwise it would be difficult to account for its having been removed from Bristol; and as the poet's father was in the metropolis for a short time about this period, it is most likely an account of the "dead Indian" reached Shakespeare in one way or other, even if it were merely in the shape of a pictorial ballad. That the Indians last mentioned were of long-continued notoriety, may be collected from the circumstance that their portraitures were distributed some years after their decease, the following exceedingly interesting and characteristic representation of them having been copied in a pen-and-ink drawing, about

the year 1590, probably from a printed broadside issued in 1581, four years after Frobisher's return. The original of this very curious drawing, the features being far more in detail than

in the engravings appended to some of the Latin editions of the voyages, is preserved in a manuscript in the library of Canterbury Cathedral, entitled, *A boke of drawing of the shapes and formes of diverse beasts, foules, and birds, fyshes, monsteres, and serpents, trees, herbes, plantes and flowres, with diverse accidents of armorye, drawne by me, William Burch, alias Ellis, alias Vicar of the Kinges Benche in Sowthwarke,* 1590, &c. It appears from the original accounts of the expenses of Frobisher's voyage, that numerous pictures were made of Collinshough ; *Cornellis Ketteller, paynter,* executed "a greate picture of the strainge man in his aperell ; a great picture of him in Englishe aperell ; another picture of him in his apparell ; a smalle picture of him." One pound also was paid "for his picture naked or waxe molde ;" so that there was likewise a model of this Indian, as well as of the other ; and, on the whole, admitting it to be possible that Shakespeare alludes to some exhibition of a later date, yet as the body of the personage who came over in 1577 was the only "dead Indian" known to

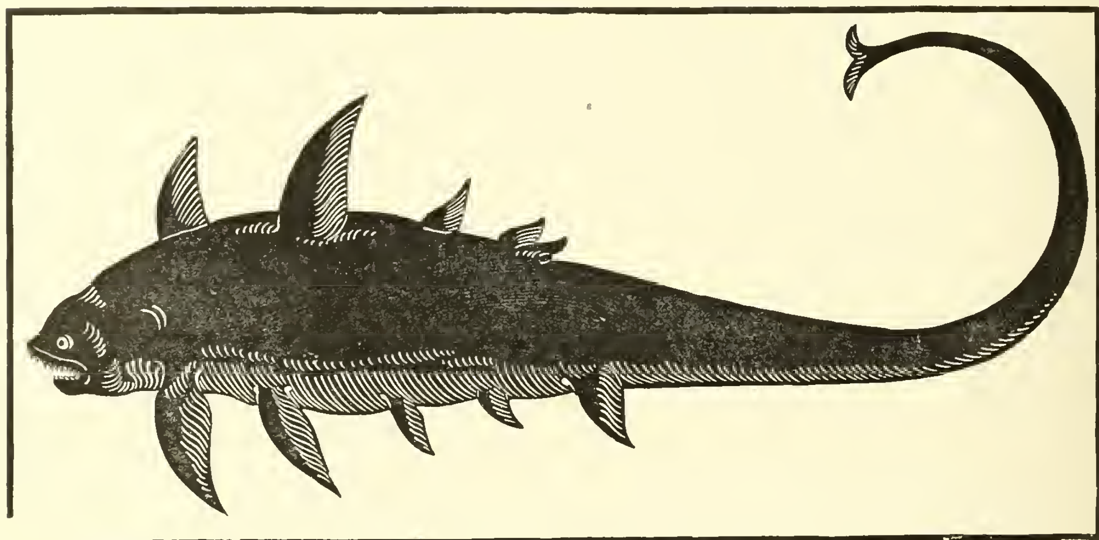
have been sent to London, the probabilities are at present in favour of Collinshough being the individual mentioned in the *Tempest.* The only other notice I am acquainted with, that is at all applicable, relates to the "mummied princes" which were amongst the sights of the city some years afterwards. It occurs in some verses written by Henry Peacham about the year 1609, which give a curious list of most of the popular exhibitions then to be seen in the metropolis, together with a few notices of some of the sights of the country.

> Why doe the rude vulgar so hastily post in a madnesse,
> To gaze at trifles and toyes not worthy the viewing?
> And thinke them happy, when may be shew'd for a penny,
> The Fleet-streete mandrakes, that heavenly motion of Eltham,
> Westminster monuments, and Guild-hall huge Corinæus,
> That horne of Windsor (of an unicorne very likely)
> The cave of Merlin, the skirts of old Tom a Lincolne.
> King Johns sword at Linne, with the cup the Fraternity drinke in;
> The Tombe of Beauchampe, and sword of Sir Guy a Warwicke;
> The great long Dutchman, and roaring Marget a Barwicke,
> The *Mummied Princes*, and Cæsars wine yet i' Dover,
> Saint James his Ginney Hens, the Cassawarway moreover;
> The Beaver i' the Parke (strange beast as er'e any man saw)
> Downe-shearing willowes with teeth as sharpe as a hand-saw.
> The Lance of John a Gaunt and Brandons still i' the Tower:
> The fall of Ninive, with Norwich built in an hower!
> King Henries slip-shoes, the sword of valiant Edward;
> The Coventry boares-shield, and fire-workes seen but to bedward.
> Drakes ship at Detford, King Richards bed-sted i' Leyster,
> The White Hall whale-bones, the silver Bason i' Chester;
> The live-caught dog-fish, the Wolfe, and Harry the Lyon,
> Hunks of the Beare-garden, to be feared, if he be nigh on.

There appears to have been an old exhibition, called *the Indian*, but no precise information has been obtained respecting it, and it is doubtful whether it bears any reference to the present subject. The records of Lewes exhibit a payment of three shillings and sixpence to a company of vagrant showmen in the year 1694, being the "expenses in playing the Indian twice, and in cleansing the rome whear hee stands, in all 3*s.* 6*d.*"

In the same speech in which Trinculo mentions the dead Indian, he exclaims, in allusion to Caliban, "a strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man." There is no necessity for supposing

that Shakespeare, in this passage, alludes to any particular exhibition; and it cannot, therefore, be considered an evidence in the question which regards the date of the composition of the play. Fishes were somewhat favorite sights in Shakespeare's time; and it is to be remarked, as a curious circumstance, that most of the early broadside accounts of them, which have been preserved, should relate to specimens possessing no great rarity. One of the most curious of these fugitive pieces, all of which are of great value and scarcity, is preserved in the choice library of Mr. George Daniel, and may be considered in its kind as the best illustration of the passage above quoted. It is in black-letter, and entitled, "The true discription of this marveilous *straunge fishe*, whiche was taken on Thursday was sennight, the xvi. day of June this present month, in the yeare of our Lord



God, M.DLXIX." The fish was brought to Billingsgate on June 17th, "and ther it was seene and vewid of manie, which marveiled much at the straungnes of it, for here hath never the lyke of it ben seene." It had been "taken betweene Callis and Dover by sertayne English fisshermen, whych were a fyshynge for mackrell; and this straunge and merveylous fyshe, folowynge after the scooles of mackrell, came rushinge into the fishermens netts, and brake and tore their nettes marveilouslie in such sorte, that, at the fyrst, they weare muche amased therat, and marveiled what it should bee that kept suche a sturr with their netts." The writer proceeds to relate that, "this straunge fishe is in length xvij. foote, and iij. foote broad, and in compas about the bodie vj. foote, and proporcioned as you see here by this picture;

and is round snowted, short headdid as you see, having iij. ranckes of teeth on eyther jawe marvaylous sharpe and very short, ij. eyes growing neare his snout, and as big as a horses eyes, and his hart as big as an oxes hart, and likewyse his liver and lightes bige as an oxes, but all the garbidge that was in hys bellie besides would have gone into a felt hat: also ix. finns, and ij. of the formost bee iij. quarters of a yeard longe from the body, and a verie big one on the fore parte of his backe, as you see here by this picture, blackish on the backe, and a litle whitishe on the belly, a slender tayle, and had but one bone, and that was a great rydge bone runninge alonge his backe, from the head unto the tayle, and had great force in his tayle when he was in the water: also it hath v. gills of eache side of the head, shoing white, as you see: ther is no proper name for it that I knowe, but that sertayne men of Captayne Haukinses doth call it a sharke." The above engraving is two thirds of the size of the one affixed to the original broadside. The fish was afterwards stuffed, and exhibited at the Red Lion in Fleet Street.

It may be well to add a few other notices of similar exhibitions, to show how popular they were amongst the English people. Batman, in his additions to Glanvil, 1582, speaking of crocodiles, says, "of late yeares there hath bene brought into England the cases or skinnes of such crocodiles to be seene, *and much money given for the sight thereof;* the policy of strangers laugh at our folly, either that we are too wealthy, or else that we know not how to bestow our money." The late Mr. Heber possessed a broadside of, "A moste true and marveilous straunge wonder, the lyke hath seldom been seene, of xvij. monstrous fisshes taken in Suffolke, at Downam brydge, within a myle of Ipswiche," 1568. Another, printed by Wolfe in 1586, describes a monster fish found in the heart of a horse; and there was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in May, 1595, an account "of a strange and hughe fishe dryven on the sandes at Outhorne in Holdernes, in Februarye before." The capacity of the public for receiving these accounts is again ridiculed by Shakespeare in the *Winter's Tale.*

It is sufficiently evident from these notices, that the allusion which Shakespeare makes to the exhibition of the fish, is not in itself to be in any way accepted as an evidence in the question of chronology. Equally uncertain, in this respect, is the mention of men "whose heads stood in their breasts," in the

third act, which is conjectured by Mr. Hunter (and earlier by Theobald) to have been suggested by the following passage in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, 4to. Lond. 1596, pp. 69-70, "Next unto Arui there are two rivers Atoica and Caora, and on that braunch which is called Caora are a nation of people whose heades appeare not above their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of haire groweth backward betwen their shoulders." These singular reports were believed by a large portion of the public in Shakespeare's time. They would be familiar to all from a more ancient period, by the popular editions of the travels of Maundevile, which were very extensively read in the sixteenth century; while even the more cultivated classes might have considered the authority of Pliny to be a sufficient apology for a belief in their existence. The accompanying engraving is copied from an ancient manuscript of Maundevile, preserved in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 3954: the early woodcuts of these mythical creatures are of a similar character, though generally of a coarser description.

The question is whether the passage in the *Tempest* is introduced in the manner, to lead to the conclusion that a particular satire was intended, or that he was merely alluding in general terms to the singular gambling mode of insurance then usual amongst all classes of society, and that persons who undertook dangerous journies on those conditions were frequently somewhat profuse in their descriptions of the wonders which had professedly come under their observation. The context appears to show that the latter was the case, and accounts of the goitre and the anthropophagi were far too common, to warrant a conclusion that any single exaggeration was intended to have been ridiculed. On the other hand, there can be little doubt but that Raleigh's work produced a considerable sensation at the time; and were there sufficient reasons for

thinking that the play was written so early as 1596, there cannot be much hesitation in believing that the allusion would be highly palatable to a metropolitan audience. There is no limit to the discussions on possibilities such as these; but the subject required a rather lengthened notice, for it must be acknowledged Mr. Hunter has collected much ingenious reasoning in support of his opinion. Raleigh, it should be observed, somewhat naively confesses he had not himself seen any of these extraordinary people. "Such a nation," he says, "was written of by Maundevile, whose reportes were held for fables many yeares, and yet, since the East Indies were discovered, wee finde his relations true of such thinges as heeretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part, I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethinke to make the report." Some time afterwards, a Spaniard, "a most honest man of his word, and in all thinges else," assured Raleigh, when he was at Cumana, that he had seen several of the Ewaipanoma.

The *Tempest* was probably not often performed after the death of its author. It does not, at least, appear to have been one of the favorite pieces in the reign of Charles I. With the Restoration came a taste for the most debased literature to which England has ever given birth, a taste which was altogether unfriendly to the appreciation of most of Shakespeare's plays, and especially of one like the present. It is not, therefore, surprising, that when Davenant and Dryden joined together to improve the *Tempest*, they should have greatly injured the original. "Sir William Davenant," observes the latter, "as he was a man of quick and piercing imagination, soon found that somewhat might be added to the design of Shakespear, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling had ever thought: and therefore, to put the last hand to it, he design'd the counterpart to Shakespear's plot, namely, that of a man who had never seen a woman; that, by this means, those two characters of Innocence and Love might the more illustrate and commend each other." Dryden must have had a curious idea of the illustration of Innocence, for the pure and artless Miranda is made to use language bordering on indelicacy; and her sister Dorianda, a new introduction, positively revels in coarseness. But the alteration was suited to the vitiated taste of the age, and succeeded, with the assistance of scenery and music, beyond the expectations

of the manager. The opening scene, which is described at great length in the stage-direction, is said to have been exceedingly splendid. The instrumental music was composed by Matthew Lock, and published in 1675; and no less than four editions of the play itself appeared before the close of the century, dated respectively in 1670, 1674, 1676, and 1690. The latter was so popular, that a prose version of the story, under the title of *The Force of Nature, or the Loves of Hippolito and Dorinda*, was formed from it, and sold in the series of cheap popular chap-books. It may be as well to add that the play by Sir John Suckling, to which Dryden alludes, is, *The Goblins, a Comedy presented at the Private House in Black-Fryers by His Majesties servants*, 8vo. Lond. 1646, in which the character of Reginella is faintly imitated from that of Miranda. Fletcher's *Sea Voyage* is a sad example of what is produced, even by a writer of genius, when any of the designs of Shakespeare are attempted to be followed. The opening dialogue, spoken in the midst of a storm, is not without merit; but it is disadvantageously contrasted with the corresponding scene in the earlier drama.

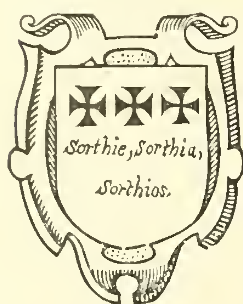
The success that attended the production of the alteration by Dryden and Davenant, suggested a burlesque by Duffet, which was acted at a rival theatre, and published, in 1675, under the title of, *The Mock-Tempest, or the Enchanted Castle, acted at the Theatre Royal*, 4to. It is impossible to select a quotation from the loathsome balderdash contained in this rare volume, which is fortunately one of the scarcest of that author's dramatic works. The curiosity of the reader will probably be satisfied with the information, that Ariel was introduced in the person of Betty Mackarel. According to Langbaine, ed. 1691, p. 177, "the design of this play was to draw the town from the Duke's Theatre, who, for a considerable time, had frequented that admirable reviv'd comedy call'd the *Tempest*." Two years previously to the production of this burlesque, Shakespeare's play had been transformed into an opera by Shadwell, having, according to Downes, "all new in it, as scenes, machines; one scene painted with myriads of aerial spirits, and another flying away, with a table furnished out with fruits, sweatmeats, and all sorts of viands, just when duke Trinculo and his company were going to dinner; all things were performed in it so admirably well, that not any succeeding opera got more money."

Changes in Shakespeare for the more sensual uses of opera, may perhaps be allowed; but it is comparatively of very recent

times, that the *Tempest* has been suffered to retain its original shape, even for the purposes of ordinary stage representation. As late as 1807, the version by Dryden and Davenant was re-published under the editorship of J. P. Kemble; and a few years previously, Waldron, a critic of no ordinary judgment, attempted a sequel to this inimitable comedy, under the title of *The Virgin Queen, a Drama, in five Acts; attempted as a Sequel to Shakspeare's Tempest*, 8vo. 1797. The public taste of the present day is fortunately opposed to any alterations or additions in the original text of the great dramatist; and the *Tempest* will now, it is to be hoped for ever, be left to its own influences.

The period of the action of this play, although the story is of course entirely fanciful, may be referred, for the sake of those who may require to be informed of the appropriate costume of the characters, to the latter part of the fifteenth century. There was at this period a real Alphonso or Alonzo, King of Naples, who had a son called Ferdinand. The latter, although illegitimate, was named by the Pope as successor to his father's crown (Thomas's *Historye of Italye*, 1561, f. 133); and, after he had succeeded to the throne, was enabled to withstand the attack of an invader by the assistance afforded him by the Pope and the reigning duke of Milan. Previously to this, an attempt had been made by Charles the Eighth of France, at the instigation of a former Duke of Milan, "to expulse Kyng Alfonso out of Naples, because he had before taken him for his enemy, for sekying to mainteigne the astate of Giovanni, the sonne of Galeazo, agaynste hym." The writer of the romance on which the *Tempest* was founded, most likely followed a not unusual custom, in adopting the names of some of his characters from real history. There was, says Mr. Hunter, a Francis, Duke of Milan, who seems "to have had a taste for the studies in which Prospero was so accomplished an adept; for I have a treatise on witchcraft, printed at Milan in 1490, in which the reality of the whole of what goes under the name of magic is affirmed, and the book is dedicated to this Duke by its author, Jerome Visconti." Other small coincidences may probably be traced by further research; but what is stated above, gleaned merely from the early compilation by Thomas, is sufficient to indicate the date to which the action is to be referred, when a fact of the kind is desired for determining the nature of the accessories required for the purposes of art or representation. The costume of Prospero, when he appears in his necromantic dress, should

assimilate to that of the ancient magician, one of whom is described, in a very curious early English manuscript in the possession of Lord Londesborough, as "being aperelled in a blacke cote, and cape cloke, with a payer of blacke silke nether stockes, gartered with blacke garteres crose above the knee, having a velvet cap and a blacke fether." The same authority says that there was to be a magical parchment affixed to the sleeve, during the process of an enchantment; and Reginald Scot, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, gives the accompanying form of one of these necromantic symbols, which he says was to be attached to the magician's breast, when he desired to invoke a spirit. Something of the same kind may also be seen in the very curious drawing of the magician in his charmed circle, which will be found in one of the plates illustrating this play. As it may, however, be doubted whether Shakespeare intended Prospero should be regarded, even in his costume, as a type of the popular idea of a necromancer, it would probably be nearly sufficient to adopt a plain black gown distinguished by the magical cross, and leave the rest to the taste of the artist, limited by a regard to the period of the action. The only other characters whose appropriate dresses are likely to create an embarrassment to the designer, are Trinculo and Caliban, the former of whom is described as "a jester" in the first edition of the play; but Douce rightly distinguishes him as an allowed domestic buffoon, not, properly speaking, a clown. He is designated by Caliban as "a pied ninny," and should, therefore, appear habited in a particoloured dress. As for Caliban himself, the extent of his ichthyological character will be determined from allusions in the play to be comparatively slight, perhaps restricted to the finny appearance of his arms. A misshapen man, with this peculiarity, would indicate a monster as unnatural as could with propriety be introduced as a dramatic character taking an active share in the action of the play. Caliban is certainly neither a Dagon nor a monkey, the two extremes which have been assigned to him by the critics.



The contrast of Caliban, the delicate creation, Ariel, belongs rather to the closet than the stage; but as all these plays were composed for the purpose of representation, a fact which should be always present to the critic's mind, it may not be

considered irrelevant to bring before the reader's notice the following representation of the form in which such a character was introduced upon the ancient stage. It is taken from one of the original sketches made by Inigo Jones for the elaborate masques, that were so popular at Court in the early part of the seventeenth century. Ariel is termed "an ayrie spirit," in the original list of the characters in the *Tempest*, appended to the play in the first folio; but shortly after his first appearance, he is commanded by Prospero to make himself "like a nymph o'the sea," a contrivance no doubt introduced for the sake of stage effect, for he was to be invisible to all but Prospero. It is worthy of remark there was a conventional costume for characters presumed to be unseen by the rest of the players; for the old theatrical accounts, preserved at Dulwich College, mention a payment, under the date of 1598, for "a robe for to goo invisibell." The name of Ariel is presumed by Mr. Thoms to be derived from the Hebrew, in which it is the appellation of one of the seven princes of angels or spirits who preside over waters under Michael; but Shakespeare, unless he adopted the name from an older romance, might have readily and naturally formed it from the adjective. "Aerial spirits or devils," observes Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1652, p. 46, "are such as keep quarter most part in the aire, cause many tempests, thunder and lightnings, tear oakes, fire steeples, houses, strike men and beasts, make it raine stones, counterfeit armies in the air, strange noyses, swords, &c.; they cause whirlewindes on a sudden, and tempestuous stormes, which, though our meteorologists generally refer to natural causes, yet I am of Bodines minde, they are more often caused by those aerial devils in their several quarters."

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

Alonso, *King of Naples.*

Sebastian, *his Brother.*

Prospero, *the rightful Duke of Milan.*

Antonio, *his Brother, the usurping Duke of Milan.*

Ferdinand, *Son to the King of Naples.*

Gonzalo, *an honest old Counsellor.*

Adrian, } *Lords.*
Francisco, }

Caliban, *a savage and deformed Slave.*

Trinculo, *a Jester.*

Stephano, *a drunken Butler.*

A Master of a Ship, Boatswain, and Mariners.

Miranda, *Daughter to Prospero.*

Ariel, *an airy Spirit.*

Iris, }
Ceres, }
Juno, } *Spirits.*
Nymphs, }
Reapers. }

Other Spirits attending on Prospero.

SCENE, *the Sea, with a Ship; afterwards an enchanted Island.*

THE TEMPEST.

Actus primus, Scena prima.

A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard: Enter a Ship-master, and a Boteswaine.

Master.

BOte-swaine.

Botes. Heere Master: What cheere?

Mast. Good: Speake to th'Mariners: fall too't, yarely, or we run our selues a ground, bestirre, bestirre. *Exit.*

Enter Mariners.

Botes. Heigh my hearts, cheerely, cheerely my harts: yare, yare: Take in the toppe-sale: Tend to th'Masters whistle: Blow till thou burst thy winde, if roome enough.

Enter Alonso, Sebastian, Anthonio, Ferdinando, Gonzalo, and others.

Alon. Good Boteswaine haue care: where's the Master? Play the men.

Botes. I pray now keepe below.

Anth. Where is the Master, Boson?

Botes. Do you not heare him? you marre our labour, Keepe your Cabines: you do assist the storme.

Gonz. Nay, good be patient.

Botes. When the Sea is: hence, what cares these roarers for the name of King? to Cabine; silence: trouble vs not.

Gon. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboord.

Botes. None that I more loue then my selfe. You are a Counsellor, if you can command these Elements to silence, and worke the peace of the present, wee will not hand a rope more, vse your authoritie: If you cannot, giue thankes you haue liu'd so long, and make your selfe readie in your Cabine for the mischance of the houre, if it so hap. Cheerely good hearts: out of our way I say. *Exit.*

Gon. I haue great comfort from this fellow: methinks he hath no drowning marke vpon him, his complexion is perfect Gallowes: stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our owne doth little aduantage: If he be not borne to bee hang'd, our case is miserable. *Exit.*

Enter Boteswaine.

Botes. Downe with the top-Mast: yare, lower, lower, bring her to Try with Maine-course. A plague ——

A cry within. *Enter Sebastian, Anthonio & Gonzalo.*

vpon this howling: they are lowder then the weather, or our office: yet againe? What do you heere? Shal we giue ore and drowne, haue you a minde to sinke?

Sebas. A poxe o'your throat, you bawling, blasphemous incharitable Dog.

Botes. Worke you then.

Anth. Hang cur, hang, you whoreson insolent Noysemaker, we are lesse afraid to be drownde, then thou art.

Gonz. I'le warrant him for drowning, though the Ship were no stronger then a Nutt-shell, and as leaky as an vnstanched wench.

Botes. Lay her a hold, a hold, set her two courses off to Sea againe, lay her off.

Enter Mariners wet.

Mari. All lost, to prayers, to prayers, all lost.

Botes. What must our mouths be cold?

Gonz. The King, and Prince, at prayers, let's assist them, for our case is as theirs.

Sebas. I'am out of patience.

An. We are meerly cheated of our liues by drunkards, This wide-chopt-rascall, would thou mightst lye drowning the washing of ten Tides.

Gonz. Hee'l be hang'd yet,
Though euery drop of water sweare against it,
And gape at widst to glut him. *A confused noyse within.*
Mercy on vs.
We split, we split, Farewell my wife, and children,
Farewell brother: we split, we split, we split.

Anth. Let's all sinke with' King

Seb. Let's take leaue of him. *Exit.*

Gonz. Now would I giue a thousand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of barren ground: Long heath, Browne firrs, any thing: the wills aboue be done, but I would faine dye a dry death. *Exit.*

Scena Secunda.

Enter Prospero and Miranda.

Mira. If by your Art (my deerest father) you haue
Put the wild waters in this Rore; alay them:
The skye it seemes would powre down stinking pitch,
But that the Sea, mounting to th' welkins cheeke,
Dashes the fire out. Oh! I haue suffered
With those that I saw suffer: A braue vessell

Act the First.

SCENE I.—*On a Ship at Sea. A Storm, with Thunder and Lightning.*

Enter a Shipmaster *and a* Boatswain.[1]

Master. Boatswain!

Boats. Here, master: what cheer?[2]

Master. Good, speak to the mariners:[3] fall to 't yarely,[4] or we run ourselves aground: bestir, bestir. [*Exit.*

Enter Mariners.

Boats. Heigh, my hearts! cheerly, cheerly, my hearts; yare, yare! Take in the topsail! Tend to the master's whistle.[5] Blow, till thou burst thy wind, if room enough![6]

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO, *and others.*

Alon. Good boatswain, have care.[7] Where's the master? Play the men.[8]

Boats. I pray now, keep below.

Ant. Where is the master, boatswain?[9]

Boats. Do you not hear him? You mar our labour. Keep your cabins: you do assist the storm.[10]

Gon. Nay, good, be patient.

Boats. When the sea is. Hence! What care these roarers for the name of king? To cabin: silence! trouble us not.

Gon. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

Boats. None that I more love than myself. You are a counsellor; if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present,[11] we will not hand a rope more;[12] use your authority. If you cannot, give thanks you have lived so long, and make yourself ready in your cabin for the

mischance of the hour, if it so hap. Cheerly, good hearts! Out of our way, I say. [*Exit.*

Gon. I have great comfort from this fellow. Methinks he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to his hanging! make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage! If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable. [*Exeunt.*

Re-enter Boatswain.

Boats. Down with the topmast; yare; lower, lower; bring her to try with main-course.[13] [*A cry within.*] A plague upon this howling; it is louder than the weather, or our office.—

Re-enter SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, *and* GONZALO

Yet again? what do you here? Shall we give o'er, and drown? Have you a mind to sink?

Seb. A pox o' your throat! you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog!

Boats. Work you, then.

Ant. Hang, cur, hang! you whoreson, insolent noise-maker, we are less afraid to be drowned than thou art.

Gon. I 'll warrant him for drowning, though the ship were no stronger than a nutshell, and as leaky as an unstanched wench.[14]

Boats. Lay her a-hold, a-hold: set her two courses;[15] off to sea again; lay her off.

Enter Mariners, *wet.*

Mar. All lost! to prayers, to prayers! all lost! [*Exeunt*

Boats. What! must our mouths be cold?

Gon. The king and prince at prayers! Let us assist them,
For our case is as theirs.

Seb. I am out of patience.

Ant. We are merely[16] cheated of our lives by drunkards.—
This wide-chapp'd rascal;[17]—Would thou might'st lie drowning,
The washing of ten tides![18]

Gon. He 'll be hanged yet,
Though every drop of water swear against it,
And gape at wid'st to glut[19] him.

[*A confused noise within.—'Mercy on us!*[20]
We split, we split!—Farewell, my wife and children!—Farewell, brother!—We split, we split, we split!']

Ant. Let 's all sink with the king. [*Exit.*

Seb. Let 's take leave of him. [*Exit.*

Gon. Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground; long heath, brown furze,[21] anything: The wills above be done! but I would fain die a dry death. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.—*The Enchanted Island, near the Cell of* Prospero.

Enter PROSPERO *and* MIRANDA.[22]

Mira. If by your art, my dearest father, you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them:
The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffer'd
With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,
Who had no doubt some noble creatures in her,[23]
Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
Against my very heart! Poor souls! they perish'd.
Had I been any god of power, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth, or e'er[24]
It should the good ship so have swallow'd, and
The fraughting[25] souls within her.

Pro. Be collected;
No more amazement: tell your piteous heart,
There's no harm done.

Mira. O, woe the day![26]

Pro. No harm.
I have done nothing but in care of thee,
(Of thee, my dear one! thee, my daughter!) who
Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
Of whence I am; nor that I am more better[27]
Than Prospero, master of a full-poor cell,[28]
And thy no greater father.

Mira. More to know
Did never meddle with my thoughts.[29]

Pro. 'Tis time
I should inform thee further. Lend thy hand,
And pluck my magic garment from me.—So:
[*Lays down his mantle.*
Lie there, my art.[30]—Wipe thou thine eyes; have comfort.
The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compassion in thee,[31]
I have with such provision in mine art[32]
So safely order'd, that there is no soul[33]—

No, not so much perdition as an hair[34]
Betid to any creature in the vessel
Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink. Sit down;
For thou must now know further.
Mira. You have often
Begun to tell me what I am; but stopp'd,
And left me to a bootless inquisition,
Concluding, 'Stay; not yet.'
Pro. The hour 's now come;
The very minute bids thee ope thine ear;
Obey, and be attentive. Canst thou remember
A time before we came unto this cell?
I do not think thou canst; for then thou wast not
Out three years old.[35]
Mira. Certainly, sir, I can.
Pro. By what? by any other house, or person?
Of anything the image tell me, that
Hath kept with thy remembrance.
Mira. 'T is far off;
And rather like a dream, than an assurance
That my remembrance warrants: Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended me?
Pro. Thou hadst, and more, Miranda: But how is it,
That this lives in thy mind? What seest thou else
In the dark backward and abysm[36] of time?
If thou remember'st aught ere thou cam'st here,
How thou cam'st here thou mayst.
Mira. But that I do not.
Pro. Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since,[37]
Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
A prince of power.
Mira. Sir, are not you my father?
Pro. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said—thou wast my daughter; and thy father
Was duke of Milan; and his only heir[38]
And princess,—no worse issued.
Mira. O, the heavens!
What foul play had we, that we came from thence?
Or blessed was 't, we did?
Pro. Both, both, my girl;
By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heav'd thence;
But blessedly holp hither.[39]

Mira. O, my heart bleeds
To think o' th' teen[40] that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance! Please you, further.
Pro. My brother, and thy uncle, call'd Antonio,—
I pray thee, mark me, that a brother should
Be so perfidious!—he whom, next thyself,
Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put
The manage of my state; as, at that time,
Through all the signories it was the first,
And Prospero the prime duke; being so reputed
In dignity, and, for the liberal arts,
Without a parallel; those being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle—
Dost thou attend me?
Mira. Sir, most heedfully.
Pro. Being once perfected how to grant suits,
How to deny them; who to advance, and who
To trash[41] for over-topping; new created
The creatures that were mine; I say, or chang'd them,
Or else new form'd them; having both the key[42]
Of officer and office, set all hearts i' th' state
To what tune pleas'd his ear; that now he was
The ivy, which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on 't.—Thou attend'st not.
Mira. O, good sir, I do!
Pro. I pray thee, mark me.
I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which, but by being so retir'd,
O'erpriz'd all popular rate,—in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature: and my trust,
Like a good parent,[43] did beget of him
A falsehood, in its contrary as great
As my trust was,—which had, indeed, no limit,
A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,
But what my power might else exact,—like one
Who, having into truth, by telling of it,[44]
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie,—he did believe

He was indeed the duke; out of the substitution,
And executing the outward face of royalty,
With all prerogative:—Hence his ambition growing,—
Dost thou hear?

Mira. Your tale, sir, would cure deafness.

Pro. To have no screen between this part he play'd,
And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan. Me, poor man! my library
Was dukedom large enough; of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable: confederates,—
So dry he was for sway,[45]—with the king of Naples,
To give him annual tribute, do him homage;
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd,—alas, poor Milan!—
To most ignoble stooping.

Mira. O the heavens!

Pro. Mark his condition, and the event; then tell me,
If this might be a brother.

Mira. I should sin
To think but nobly of my grandmother;[46]
Good wombs have borne bad sons.

Pro. Now the condition.
This king of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit;
Which was, that he, in lieu[47] o' the premises,
Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,
Should presently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom; and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother: Whereon,
A treacherous army levied, one midnight,
Fated to the purpose, did Antonio open
The gates of Milan;[48] and, i' the dead of darkness,
The ministers for the purpose hurried thence
Me and thy crying self.

Mira. Alack, for pity!
I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then,
Will cry it o'er again: it is a hint,
That wrings mine eyes to't.

Pro. Hear a little further,
And then I 'll bring thee to the present business
Which now 's upon us; without the which, this story
Were most impertinent.

Mira. Wherefore did they not
That hour destroy us?
Pro. Well demanded, wench;[49]
My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst not,—
So dear the love my people bore me,—nor set
A mark so bloody on the business; but
With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
In few,[50] they hurried us aboard a bark;
Bore us some leagues to sea; where they prepar'd
A rotten carcass of a boat,[51] not rigg'd,
Nor tackle, sail, nor mast; the very rats
Instinctively have quit it:[52] there they hoist us,
To cry to the sea that roar'd to us; to sigh
To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.
Mira. Alack! what trouble
Was I then to you!
Pro. O! a cherubin[53]
Thou wast, that did preserve me! Thou didst smile,
Infused with a fortitude from heaven,
When I have deck'd[54] the sea with drops full salt;
Under my burden groan'd; which rais'd in me
An undergoing stomach,[55] to bear up
Against what should ensue.
Mira. How came we ashore?
Pro. By Providence divine.
Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
Out of his charity, who being then appointed[56]
Master of this design, did give us; with
Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries,
Which since have steaded much. So, of his gentleness,
Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me,
From mine own library, with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom.
Mira. Would I might
But ever see that man!
Pro. Now I arise:[57]—
Sit still, and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.
Here in this island we arriv'd; and here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
Than other princess' can,[58] that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful

Mira. Heavens thank you for 't! And now, I pray you, sir,—
For still 't is beating in my mind,—your reason
For raising this sea-storm.

Pro. Know thus far forth.
By accident most strange, bountiful Fortune,
Now my dear lady,[59] hath mine enemies
Brought to this shore; and, by my prescience,
I find my zenith doth depend upon[60]
A most auspicious star; whose influence
If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes
Will ever after droop.—Here, cease more questions:
Thou art inclin'd to sleep; 't is a good dulness,
And give it way;—I know thou canst not choose.

[MIRANDA *sleeps.*

Come away, servant, come! I am ready now;
Approach, my Ariel. Come![61]

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. All hail, great master! grave sir, hail! I come
To answer thy best pleasure; be 't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curled clouds; to thy strong bidding task
Ariel, and all his quality.

Pro. Hast thou, spirit,
Perform'd to point[62] the tempest that I bade thee?

Ari. To every article.
I boarded the king's ship: now on the beak,[63]
Now in the waist,[64] the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement. Sometime I'd divide,
And burn in many places;[65] on the topmast,
The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,—
Then meet and join. Jove's lightnings, the precursors
O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
And sight-out-running were not. The fire, and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune
Seem to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake!

Pro. My brave spirit!
Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil
Would not infect his reason?

Ari. Not a soul
But felt a fever of the mad,[66] and play'd
Some tricks of desperation: All, but mariners,

Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel,
Then all a-fire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring,[67]—then like reeds, not hair,—
Was the first man that leap'd; cried, 'Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here.'[68]

Pro. Why, that 's my spirit!
But was not this nigh shore?

Ari. Close by, my master.

Pro. But are they, Ariel, safe?

Ari. Not a hair perish'd;
On their sustaining garments[69] not a blemish,
But fresher than before! and, as thou bad'st me,
In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the isle:
The king's son have I landed by himself,
Whom I left cooling of the air with sighs,
In an odd angle of the isle, and sitting,
His arms in this sad knot.

Pro. Of the king's ship
The mariners, say, how thou hast dispos'd,
And all the rest o' the fleet?

Ari. Safely in harbour
Is the king's ship; in the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vex'd Bermoothes,[70] there she's hid:
The mariners all under hatches stow'd;
Who, with a charm join'd to their suffer'd labour,
I have left asleep: and for the rest o' the fleet,
Which I dispers'd, they all have met again,
And are upon the Mediterranean flote,[71]
Bound sadly home for Naples;
Supposing that they saw the king's ship wreck'd,
And his great person perish.

Pro. Ariel, thy charge
Exactly is perform'd; but there 's more work:
What is the time o' the day?

Ari. Past the mid season.

Pro. At least two glasses.[72] The time 'twixt six and now
Must by us both be spent most preciously.

Ari. Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,
Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd,
Which is not yet perform'd me.

Pro. How now, moody?
What is 't thou canst demand?
Ari. My liberty.
Pro. Before the time be out? no more!
Ari. I prithee
Remember, I have done thee worthy service,
Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, serv'd
Without or grudge, or grumblings: thou didst promise
To bate me a full year.
Pro. Dost thou forget[73]
From what a torment I did free thee?
Ari. No.
Pro. Thou dost! and think'st it much, to tread the ooze
Of the salt deep;
To run upon the sharp wind of the north;[74]
To do me business in the veins o' the earth,
When it is bak'd with frost.
Ari. I do not, sir.
Pro. Thou liest, malignant thing! Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who, with age and envy,
Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?
Ari. No, sir.
Pro. Thou hast: Where was she born? Speak; tell me.
Ari. Sir, in Argier.[75]
Pro. O! was she so? I must,
Once in a month, recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damn'd witch, Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd; for one thing she did,
They would not take her life. Is not this true?
Ari. Ay, sir.
Pro. This blue-ey'd hag[76] was hither brought with child,
And here was left by the sailors. Thou, my slave,
As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant:
And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,
Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers,
And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine; within which rift
Imprison'd, thou didst painfully remain

A dozen years; within which space she died,
And left thee there; where thou didst vent thy groans,
As fast as mill-wheels strike. Then was this island,—
Save for the son that she did litter here,
A freckled whelp, hag-born,—not honour'd with
A human shape.

Ari. Yes; Caliban, her son.[77]

Pro. Dull thing, I say so; he, that Caliban,
Whom now I keep in service. Thou best know'st
What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts
Of ever-angry bears: it was a torment
To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax
Could not again undo; it was mine art,
When I arriv'd, and heard thee, that made gape
The pine, and let thee out.

Ari. I thank thee, master.

Pro. If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak,
And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.

Ari. Pardon, master!
I will be correspondent to command,
And do my spriting gently.

Pro. Do so; and after two days
I will discharge thee.

Ari. That 's my noble master!
What shall I do? say what,—what shall I do?

Pro. Go make thyself like a nymph o' the sea; be subject
To no sight but thine and mine; invisible
To every eye-ball else. Go, take this shape,
And hither come in 't. Go; hence, with diligence!

[*Exit* ARIEL.

Awake, dear heart, awake! thou hast slept well;
Awake!

Mira. The strangeness of your story put
Heaviness in me.

Pro. Shake it off: Come on;
We 'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

Mira. 'T is a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.

Pro. But, as 't is,

We cannot miss him :[78] he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us. What ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! speak.

Cal. [*Within.*] There 's wood enough within.

Pro. Come forth, I say; there 's other business for thee:
Come, thou tortoise! when?[79]

Re-enter ARIEL, *like a water-nymph.*

Fine apparition! My quaint[80] Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

Ari. My lord, it shall be done. [*Exit.*

Pro. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

Cal. As wicked[81] dew as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather from unwholesome fen,
Drop on you both! a south-west blow on ye,
And blister you all o'er!

Pro. For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps,
Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins[82]
Shall, for that vast of night that they may work,[83]
All exercise on thee: thou shalt be pinch'd
As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made them.

Cal. I must eat my dinner.
This island 's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me, and mad'st much of me; would'st give me
Water with berries in 't; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,[84]
That burn by day and night: and then I lov'd thee,
And show'd thee all the qualities o' the isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits,—barren place, and fertile;
Cursed be I that did so!—All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king: and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest of the island.

Pro. Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness: I have us'd thee,

Filth as thou art, with human care; and lodg'd thee
In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
The honour of my child.
Cal. O ho! O ho![85]—would it had been done!
Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else
This isle with Calibans.
Pro. Abhorred slave,
Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning,[86] but would'st gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known: But thy vile race,[87]
Though thou didst learn, had that in 't which good natures
Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
Deservedly confin'd into this rock,
Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison.
Cal. You taught me language, and my profit on 't
Is, I know how to curse! the red plague rid you,[88]
For learning me your language!
Pro. Hag-seed, hence!
Fetch us in fuel; and be quick, thou wert best,
To answer other business. Shrugg'st thou, malice?[89]
If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps;
Fill all thy bones with aches;[90] make thee roar,
That beasts shall tremble at thy din.
Cal. No, pray thee!
I must obey: his art is of such power, [*Aside.*
It would control my dam's god, Setebos,[91]
And make a vassal of him.
Pro. So, slave; hence! [*Exit* CALIBAN.

Re-enter ARIEL *invisible, playing and singing;*
FERDINAND *following him.*

ARIEL'S Song.

Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands:
Courtsied when you have, and kiss'd,—
The wild waves whist,[92]—
Foot it featly[93] here and there;
And, sweet sprites, the burden bear.

Hark, hark! [*Burd.* (*dispersedly*). Bowgh, wowgh.
The watch-dogs bark: [*Burd.* (*dispersedly*). Bowgh, wowgh.
Hark, hark! I hear
The strain of strutting chanticleer
Cry, cock-a-doodle-dow.[94]

Fer. Where should this music be? i' the air, or the earth?
It sounds no more:—and, sure, it waits upon
Some god o' the island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck,[95]
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
With its sweet air: thence I have follow'd it,
Or it hath drawn me rather:—But 't is gone!
No, it begins again.

ARIEL *sings.*

Full fathom five thy father lies;[96]
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him, that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell.
[*Burden*, ding-dong.
Hark! now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell.[97]

Fer. The ditty does remember my drown'd father:—
This is no mortal business, nor no sound
That the earth owes:[98]—I hear it now above me.

Pro. The fringed curtains of thine eye advance,[99]
And say what thou seest yond.

Mira. What is 't? a spirit?
Lord, how it looks about! Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form:—But 't is a spirit.

Pro. No, wench; it eats, and sleeps, and hath such senses
As we have, such. This gallant, which thou seest,
Was in the wreck; and but he 's something stain'd
With grief, that 's beauty's canker, thou might'st call him
A goodly person. He hath lost his fellows,
And strays about to find them.

Mira. I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble.

Pro. It goes on, I see, [*Aside.*

As my soul prompts it:—Spirit, fine spirit! I 'll free thee
Within two days for this.
Fer. Most sure, the goddess[100]
On whom these airs attend!—Vouchsafe my prayer,
May know if you remain upon this island;
And that you will some good instruction give,
How I may bear me here: My prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder!
If you be maid or no?[101]
Mira. No wonder, sir,
But certainly a maid.
Fer. My language! heavens!—
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 't is spoken.
Pro. How the best?
What wert thou, if the king of Naples heard thee?
Fer. A single thing,[102] as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples. He does hear me;
And, that he does, I weep: myself am Naples,
Who, with mine eyes, ne'er since at ebb, beheld
The king, my father, wreck'd.
Mira. Alack, for mercy!
Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the duke of Milan,
And his brave son,[103] being twain.
Pro. The duke of Milan,
And his more braver daughter, could control thee,[104]
If now 't were fit to do 't:—At the first sight [*Aside.*
They have chang'd eyes:[105]—Delicate Ariel,
I 'll set thee free for this!—A word, good sir;
I fear you have done yourself some wrong:[106]—a word!
Mira. Why speaks my father so ungently? This
Is the third man that e'er I saw; the first
That e'er I sigh'd for. Pity move my father
To be inclin'd my way!
Fer. O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I 'll make you
The queen of Naples.
Pro. Soft, sir! one word more.—
They are both in either's powers; but this swift business [*Aside.*
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light.—One word more; I charge thee
That thou attend me: thou dost here usurp

The name thou ow'st not, and hast put thyself
Upon this island, as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on 't.

Fer No, as I am a man!

Mira. There 's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple:
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with 't.

Pro. Follow me.— [*To* FERDINAND.
Speak not you for him; he's a traitor.—Come!
I 'll manacle thy neck and feet together:[107]
Sea-water shalt thou drink; thy food shall be
The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled: Follow!

Fer. No;
I will resist such entertainment, till
Mine enemy has more power.

[*He draws, and is charmed from moving.*

Mira. O dear father,
Make not too rash a trial of him, for
He's gentle, and not fearful.[108]

Pro. What! I say;
My foot my tutor![109] Put thy sword up, traitor!
Who mak'st a show, but dar'st not strike,—thy conscience
Is so possess'd with guilt: come from thy ward,[110]
For I can here disarm thee with this stick,
And make thy weapon drop.

Mira. Beseech you, father!

Pro. Hence! hang not on my garments.

Mira. Sir, have pity:
I 'll be his surety.

Pro. Silence! one word more
Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What!
An advocate for an impostor? hush!
Thou think'st there are no more such shapes as he,
Having seen but him and Caliban: Foolish wench!
To the most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.

Mira. My affections
Are then most humble; I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man.

Pro. Come on; obey: [*To* FERDINAND.

Thy nerves are in their infancy again,
And have no vigour in them.
Fer. So they are:
My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.[111]
My father's loss, the weakness which I feel,
The wreck of all my friends, nor this man's threats,
To whom I am subdued, are but light to me,
Might I but through my prison once a day[112]
Behold this maid: all corners else o' the earth
Let liberty make use of; space enough
Have I in such a prison.
Pro. It works:—Come on.—
Thou hast done well, fine Ariel!—Follow me.—
[*To* FERDINAND *and* MIRANDA.
Hark, what thou else shalt do me. [*To* ARIEL.
Mira. Be of comfort;
My father 's of a better nature, sir,
Than he appears by speech; this is unwonted,
Which now came from him.
Pro. [*To* ARIEL.] Thou shalt be as free
As mountain winds: but then exactly do
All points of my command.
Ari. To the syllable!
Pro. Come, follow; speak not for him. [*Exeunt.*

Notes to the First Act.

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[1] *Enter a Ship-master and a Boatswain.*

To this stage-direction there is added, in Mr. Collier's annotated second folio, the sentence, "as on ship-board, shaking off wet;" but the addition is unnecessary, at least, if not incongruous with the intended action of the scene, the tempest being suddenly induced by preternatural influence. It is also inconsistent with a succeeding direction in the original, "Enter mariners, wet."

[2] *What cheer?*

A common familiar phrase, still in use by sailors. The prologue to the *Spanish Wives*, 4to. 1696, which was "spoken by Mr. Penkethman in a press-master's habit," commences,—

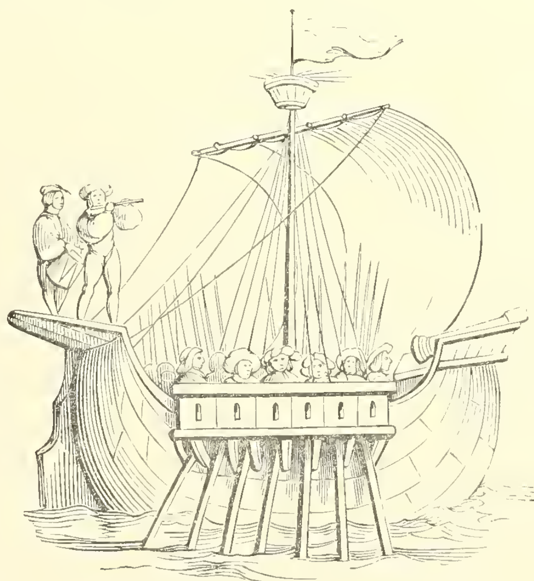
> What chear, my lads? Igad, I'm come to say,
> I'll press to sea all those who damn this play.

[3] *Good, speak to the mariners.*

Shakespeare constantly uses elliptical expressions. *Good*, in this passage, is put for *good friend*, as in two speeches afterwards spoken by Gonzalo. "Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit."—*Marston's Dutch Courtezan*, 1605, sig. D. iv.

[4] *Fall to't yarely.*

Yarely, quickly, readily, briskly. It was a word in common use, not exclusively a sea-term. "Never was fencer found so quicke and *yare* to avoid a blow."—*The Passenger of Benvenuto*, 1612. "They'll make his muse as yare as a tumbler."—*Decker's Satiromastix*, ap. Hawkins, iii. 118. Ray, in his *Collection of English Words not generally used*, 1674, p. 80, gives *yare* as a Suffolk word in the sense of, "nimble, sprightly, smart." "Go we full yare."—*A pleasaunt Treatyse of the Smyth that brent hys Dame*, n. d. "As yare as a hawk,"—*Behn's Lucky Chance*, 1687, p. 28. "A yare hand heave out water apace."—*Old sea ballad.*



A GALLEY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The following observations on the conduct of this scene, written by the

second Lord Mulgrave, and here re-printed with a few alterations and additions, give a very intelligible account of the movements of the vessel:—

The first scene of the *Tempest* is a very striking instance of the great accuracy of Shakespeare's knowledge in a professional science, the most difficult to attain without the help of experience. He must have acquired it by conversation with some of the most skilful seamen of that time. No books had then been published on the subject. The first publication, in the year 1626, was, *An Accidence or the Path-way to Experience, necessary for all young Sea-men, or those that are desirous to goe to Sea*; by Captain John Smith, some time Governor of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. In his Dedication he says, "I have been persuaded to print this Discourse, being a subject I never see writ before." His book is very short; there is an example of a ship carried through a variety of situations, with all the words of command expressed; there are several of those used by Shakespeare, intermixed with many others of more detail.

The next book on the subject was the *Seaman's Dictionary*, composed by Sir Henry Manwaring, and by him presented to the Duke of Buckingham, the then Lord High Admiral. In his preface he says, "The use of this book is to instruct one whose quality, attendance, or the like, cannot permit him to gain the knowledge of terms, names, words, the parts, qualities, and manner of doing things with ships by long experience, without which hath not any one as yet arrived to the least judgement or knowledge of them. It being so, that very few gentlemen (though they be called seamen) do fully and wholly understand what belongs to their profession, having only some scrabbling terms and names belonging to some parts of a ship, whence it is that so many gentlemen go long voyages, and return in a manner as ignorant as when they went out. To understand the art of navigation, is far easier learnt than to know the pratique of working ships; in respect there are many helps for the first, by many books; but for the other, there was not so much as a means thought of till this, to inform any one in it." I have quoted these authorities to show how difficult it was, at that time, to acquire any knowledge of seamanship.

The succession of events is strictly observed in the natural progress of the distress described; the expedients adopted are the most proper that could have been devised for a chance of safety: and it is neither to the want of skill of the seamen, or the bad qualities of the ship, but solely to the power of Prospero, that the shipwreck is to be attributed. The words of command are not strictly proper, but are only such as point the object to be attained, and no superfluous ones of detail. Shakespeare's ship was too well manned, to make it necessary to tell the seamen how they were to do it, as well as what they were to do. He has shown a knowledge of the new improvements, as well as the doubtful points of seamanship; one of the latter he has introduced, under the only circumstance in which it was indisputable.

1st Position. "Fall to't yarely, or we run ourselves aground." Land discovered under the lee; the wind blowing too fresh to haul upon a wind with the topsail set. This first command is a notice to be ready to execute any orders quickly.

2d Position. "Yare yare, take in the topsail; blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough." The topsail is taken in.—"Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough." The danger in a good sea boat is only from being too near the land: this is introduced here to account for the next order.

3d Position. "Down with the top mast.—Yare, lower, lower; bring her to try with main course." The gale increasing, the topmast is struck, to take the weight from aloft, make the ship drive less to leeward, and bear the mainsail under which the ship is laid to. The striking the topmasts was a new invention in

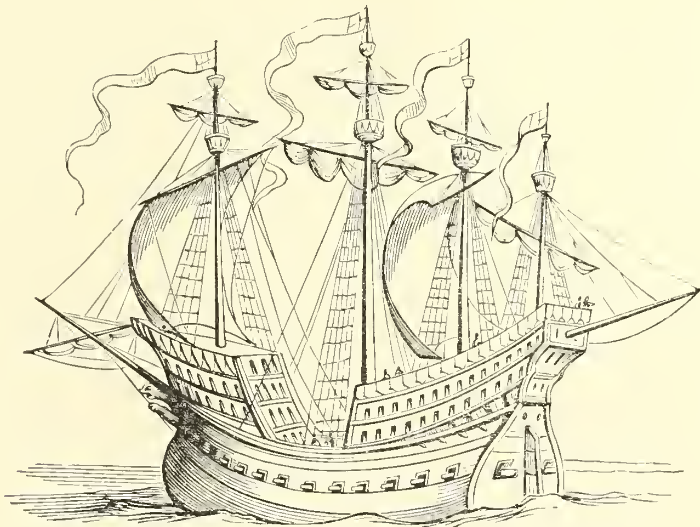
Shakespeare's time, which he here very properly introduces. Sir Henry Manwaring says, "It is not yet agreed amongst all seamen whether it is better for a ship to hull with her topmast up or down." In the Postscript to the *Dictionary*, he afterwards gives his own opinion: "If you have sea room, it is never good to strike the topmast." Shakespeare has placed his ship in the situation in which it was indisputably right to strike the topmast, when he had not sea room.

4th Position. "Lay her a hold, a hold: set her two courses; off to sea again; lay her off." The ship, having driven near the shore, the mainsail is hauled up; the ship wore, and the two courses set on the other tack, to endeavour to clear the land that way. *Lay her a hold*, that is, observes Captain Smyth, set the courses, and put the helm, so that she will, in the usual sea-parlance, "hold her own" in clawing off the land.

5th Position. "We split, we split." The ship, not able to weather a point, is driven on shore. Captain Smyth observes that *split*, though obvious enough, means, in nautical phrase, the situation of a ship bilged on the rocks.

Mr. Holt, who wrote a tract on this play printed in 1749, says, "the whole dialogue here, consisting of sea-terms and phrases, though not quite perfect, is by much the best of that kind ever introduced on the stage; for unless when Gonzalo mentions the cable, which is of no use but when the ship is at anchor, and here it is plain they are under sail, there is not one improperly used." It should, however, be recollected that Gonzalo is not a sailor.

The two engravings of ancient ships, illustrating this note, have been selected by Mr. Fairholt. The first is from a German woodcut by Hans Burgmair, which furnishes a good example of the war-galley of the sixteenth century, built in the



THE GREAT HARRY, BUILT BY COMMAND OF HENRY VIII.

antique fashion as a coasting-vessel for the transport of troops. The second is the famous vessel called the Great Harry, which was built in the reign of Henry VIII., a sovereign who took great interest in the improvement of naval architecture.

[5] *Tend to the master's whistle.*

"Here Shakespeare," observes Captain Smyth, "uses a term of import in naval archæology, the call or whistle being then the appendage of the higher officers, as even admirals wore what is now only used by the boatswain and his mates."

[6] *Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough.*

It is no consequence how strong the wind blows, if there be sufficient sea-room. Similar passages occur in *Pericles* and *King Lear*. Compare also the two following extracts from the *Workes of John Taylor, the Water-Poet*, fol. 1630:

Then with a whiffe, the winds againe doe puffe,
And then the Master cries, aluffe, aluffe,
Make ready th'anker, ready th'anker hoe,
Cleere, cleere the boighrope, steddy, well steer'd, so;
Hale up the boat, in sprit-sayle there afore;
Blow, winde, and burst, and then thou wilt give o're;
Aluffe, clap helme a lee, yea, yea, done, done;
Downe, downe alow, into the hold quicke runne.

* * * * *

Cimerian darknesse curtain'd all the world,
An ebon mantle o'er the globe was hurld;
The wallowing waves turmoild the restless ships,
Like school-boies shuttlecocks that leaps and skips;
The top-mast seemes to play with Phœbus nose,
Strait downe toward Erebus amaine she goes;
Blow, wind, quoth Neptune, till thy entrails breake;
Against my force, thy force shall be too weake.

And Chapman, in his translation of the Odyssey, at the end of the fifth book, p. 85,—

——Large he made it; for there,
For two or three men ample coverings were,
Such as might shield them from the winter's worst,
Though steele it breath'd, *and blew as it would burst.*

So, also, in Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. 1647,—

Rise winds, blow till you burst the aire;
Blow till ye burst the aire, and swell the seas.

[7] *Good boatswain, have care.*

Dryden and Davenant write, *have a care*, which is also the reading of Mr. Collier's annotated folio. Trifling and unnecessary variations of this description will not generally be noticed; but it may be as well to remark that the omission of the article is of constant occurrence in works of the Shakespearian period, and it should not be supplied except on contemporary authority. Thus, shortly afterwards, Heath proposes to read, "bring her to try with *the* main course."

[8] *Play the men.*

That is, behave like men, act with spirit. The phrase again occurs in 1 *Henry VI.*, and analogous idioms, *play the woman*, *play the coward*, &c., are common. "Be of good courage, and let us *play the men* for our people."—2 *Samuel*, x. 12. Now, Pedringano, or never, *plaie the man.*"—*Spanish Tragedie.* Compare Marlow, i. ed. Dyce, i. 173,—"Viceroys and peers of Turkey, play the men;" the Historye of Promos and Cassandra, rep. p. 79,—"Helpe, Rapax, play the man."

When I give you a wink, shake off your chaynes, and let us *play the men*, and make havocke amongst them, drive them out of the house, and maintaine possession by force of armes.—*Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1590.

Which doing, thou shalt know what chiefs, what souldiers *play the men*,
And what the cowards; for they all will fight in severall then.
Chapman's translation of the Iliad, 2d book, p. 24.

To conquest these fellowes *the man* I wil *play*.
A Commedy of King Cambises, ap. Hawkins, i. 261.

[9] *Where is the master, boatswain?*

The first folio reads, *boson*, which is merely a corrupted familiar form of *boatswain*. So Dryden,—

The merry *boson* from his side
His whistle takes, to check and chide
The ling'ring lad's delay:

where the other form of the word would not so well suit the verse. "*Boson*, corrupte pro *boatswain*, præpositus remigum, scaphiarius," Lye's additions to *Junii Etymologicum Anglicanum*, 1743. The introduction of *boson* in the old text, in the present instance, is rightly attributed by Mr. Dyce to the unsettled state of the orthography.

"The Turkes were aboord and sounded their trumpets; yet notwithstanding, our men assaulted them so fiercely, that they forced them off, and the *boson* (seeing them flye) most undantedly with a whistle blourd them to the skirmish, if so they durst."—*Taylor's Workes*, 1630.

[10] *You do assist the storm.*

Compare *Pericles*,—"Patience, good sir; do not assist the storm." This parallel is sufficient to substantiate a phrase, the correctness of which Mr. Hunter considers to require confirmation. It was a common superstition amongst sailors, that noise assisted to increase the violence of a storm. The boatswain afterwards adds, "*silence:* trouble us not."

[11] *The peace of the present.*

Present, for *present time*, *present instant*, is a common ellipsis in old English writers. "Of whom the greater part remain unto this *present*," 1 *Corinth.* xv. 6. "Sit downe, my ghestes, and be merie with this, which God of his goodnes hath sent us *at this present*."—*Baret's Alvearie*, 1580.

[12] *We will not hand a rope more.*

"Ben Block was the first man who taught him to reef, steer, and hand a rope."—*Roderick Random.* Captain Smyth says *hand* is not used by Shakespeare in its usual sea-meaning, but merely in the sense of *handle*.

[13] *Bring her to try with main course.*

Smith, in his *Sea-Man's Grammar*, ed. 1653, p. 38, explains this phrase, "to hale the tacke aboord, the sheat close aft, the boling set up, and the helme tied close aboord." Compare Hakluyt's *Voyages*,—"and then betweene these two ankers we traversed the ship's head to seawards, and set our fore saile and maine sayle; and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out al that day with our maine corse." To *try*, says Captain Smyth, "is a sound phrase; it means to lay the ship with her side close to the wind, and lash the tiller to the lee-side." The literal meaning would be, to work with the main-sail; but the nautical one implies something more.

"The fourth of October, the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse, being in the winde of us, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had

received some grievous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with us: but we durst not hull in that unmercifull storme, but sometimes *tried under our maine coarse*, sometime with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea."—*Hakluyt's Third and last Volume*, 1600, p. 848.

[14] *As leaky as an unstanched wench.*

In Killigrew's play of the *Prisoners*, 12mo. 1641, the master, speaking of the ship, says, "a —— upon her for a whore! she leakes." The meaning is evident. "Be quiet, and be *staunch* too; *no inundations*."—*Mad Lover*, act v. sc. 3.

[15] *Set her two courses.*

"The courses meant in this place are two of the three lowest and largest sails of a ship, which are so called, because, as largest, they contribute most to give her way through the water, and consequently enable her to feel her helm, and steer her course better, than when they are not set or spread to the wind."—*An Attempte to Rescue that aunciente English Poet and Play-wrighte, Maister Willianme Shakespere, from the maney Errours faulsely charged on him by certaine new-fangled Wittes*, 8vo. Lond. 1749, p. 19. "Out with your courses."—*Decker's If this be not a good Play*, sig. E. "Up with a course or two, and tack about." —*Two Noble Kinsmen*, act iii, sc. 4.

[16] *We are merely cheated of our lives.*

Merely, absolutely, entirely. "Musidorus, who besides he was *meerely* unacquainted in the countrie, had his wits astonished with sorow."—*Sydney's Arcadia*. This is the interpretation usually given by the editors, but perhaps the ordinary meaning, simply, thus and no other way, is all that is implied.

[17] *This wide-chapp'd rascal.*

An expression of great contempt, a wide mouth having been considered as indicative of bad qualities in its possessor. Richard Saunders, in his *Physiognomie and Chiromancie*, fol. 1671, p. 196, says, "He that hath a great and broad mouth is shameless, a great babler and lyar, a carrier of false tales, very foolish, impudent, couragious, but perfidious withal."

[18] *The washing of ten tides.*

The literal meaning of Antonio's speech is evident, but Mr. Akerman considers there is here an allusion to an ancient punishment of criminals by exposing them on the shore to the approach of the tide:—"Qui fanum effregerit, et ibi aliquid de sacris tulerit, ducitur ad mare, et in sabulo, quod accessus maris operire solet, finduntur aures ejus, et castratur, et immolatur diis, quorum templa violavit."—*Lex Frisonum*. This quotation can scarcely be decisive.

[19] *To glut him.*

Glut, to swallow, to devour, from *glutio*, Lat. It is now obsolete in this sense. Steevens quotes from Gorges' Lucan,

——oylie fragments scarcely burn'd,
Together she doth scrape and *glut*.

Milton has *glutted*, swallowed. The word is used by both these writers without the idea of satiety being implied.

As thus he spake, Goffo from off the tree
Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it:
Which, when he gan to feele, my friend, quoth he,
I pray thee stirre my jawes, that I may *glut* it.
Lane's Tom Tel-Troths Message, 1600.

[20] *Mercy on us, &c.*

Dr. Johnson is evidently right in considering that the lines succeeding the "confused noise within" should be considered as spoken by no determinate characters. The epithet *confused* of course implies that the exclamatory sentences were uttered, at the same time, by different persons in the vessel.

[21] *Long heath, brown furze.*

Sir T. Hanmer unnecessarily proposes to read, "ling, heath, broom, furze." The epithet *long* merely refers to the large expanse of heath. "I have consumed all, plaid away long acre."—*A Yorkshire Tragedie*, 1619, sig. D. Before the notes to this scene are dismissed, it may not be thought injudicious to transcribe the alteration of it, made by Dryden and Davenant, which is less objectionable than other portions in their play, and has several points of interest, especially in the long and curious opening stage-direction already referred to.

The front of the stage is open'd, and the band of 24 Violins, with the harpsicals and theorbo's which accompany the voices, are plac'd between the pit and the stage. While the overture is playing, the curtain rises, and discovers a new frontispiece, joyn'd to the great pylasters on each side of the stage. This frontispiece is a noble arch, supported by large wreathed columns of the *Corinthian* order; the wreathings of the columns are beautifi'd with roses wound round them, and several *Cupids* flying about them. On the cornice, just over the capitals, sits on either side a figure, with a trumpet in one hand and a palm in the other, representing *Fame*. A little farther on the same cornice, on each side of a compass-pediment, lie a Lion and a Unicorn, the supporters of the Royal Arms of *England*. In the middle of the arch are several Angels, holding the King's Arms, as if they were placing them in the midst of that compass-pediment. Behind this is the Scene, which represents a thick cloudy sky, a very rocky coast, and a tempestuous sea in perpetual agitation. This tempest (suppos'd to be rais'd by magick) has many dreadfull objects in it, as several spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the sailers, then rising and crossing in the air. And when the Ship is sink'ng, the whole House is darken'd, and a shower of fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with lightning, and several claps of thunder, to the end of the storm.

Enter MUSTACHO *and* VENTOSO.

Vent. What a sea comes in?
Must. A hoaming sea! We shall have foul weather.

Enter TRINCALO.

Trinc. The scud comes against the wind; 'twill blow hard.

Enter STEPHANO.

Steph. Bosen!
Trinc. Here, Master, what say you?
Steph. Ill weather! Let's off to sea.

Must. Let's have sea-room enough and then let it blow the Devils head off.
Steph. Boy! boy! [*Enter Cabin-boy.*
Boy. Yaw, yaw, here, Master.
Steph. Give the pilot a dram of the bottle. [*Exeunt* STEPHANO *and Boy.*

Enter Marriners, and pass over the Stage.

Trinc. Bring the cable to the capstorm.

Enter ALONZO, ANTONIO, GONZALO.

Alon. Good Bosen, have a care. Where's the Master?
Play the men.
Trinc. Pray keep below.
Anto. Where's the Master, Bosen?
Trinc. Do you not hear him? You hinder us: keep your cabin, you help the storm.
Gonz. Nay, good friend, be patient.
Trinc. I, when the sea is: hence; what care these roarers for the name of Duke; to cabin; silence; trouble us not.
Gonz. Good friend, remember whom thou hast aboard.
Trinc. None that I love more than myself: you are a counsellor; if you can advise these elements to silence, use your wisdom: if you cannot, make your self ready in the cabin for the ill hour. Cheerly good hearts! out of our way, sirs.
[*Exeunt* TRINCALO *and Marriners.*

Gonz. I have great comfort from this fellow! methinks his complexion is perfect gallows; stand fast, good fate, to his hanging; make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own does little advantage us; if he be not born to be hang'd, we shall be drown'd. [*Exit.*

Enter TRINCALO *and* STEPHANO.

Trinc. Up aloft, lads. Come, reef both topsails.
Steph. Make hast, let's weigh, let's weigh, and off to sea. [*Ex.* STEPH.

Enter two Marriners, and pass over the Stage.

Trinc. Hands down! man your main-capstorm.

Enter MUSTACHO *and* VENTOSO *at the other door.*

Must. Up aloft, and man your steere-capstorm.
Vent. My lads, my hearts of gold, get in your capstorm-bar.
Hoa up, hoa up, &c. [*Exeunt* MUSTACHO *and* VENTOSO.

Enter STEPHANO.

Steph. Hold on well! hold on well! nip well there;
Quarter-master, get's more nippers. [*Exit* STEPH.

Enter two Marriners, and pass over again.

Trinc. Turn out, turn out, all hands to capstorm.
You dogs, is this a time to sleep? lubbord.
Heave together, lads. [TRINCALO *whistles.*
[*Exeunt* MUSTACHO *and* VENTOSO.
Must. within. Our vial's broke.
Vent. within. 'Tis but our vial-block has given way. Come heave, lads! we are fix'd again. Heave together, bullyes!

Enter STEPHANO.

Steph. Cut down the hammocks! cut down the hammocks!
Come, my lads: come bullyes, chear up! heave lustily.
The anchor's a peck.

Trinc. Is the anchor a peek?

Steph. Is a weigh! is a weigh.

Trinc. Up aloft, my lads, upon the fore-castle!
Cut the anchor, cut him.

All within. Haul catt, haul catt, &c. Haul catt, haul:
Haul catt, haul. Below.

Steph. Aft, aft, and lose the misen!

Trinc. Get the misen-tack aboard. Haul aft misen-sheet!

Enter MUSTACHO.

Must. Loose the main-top-sail!

Steph. Let him alone, there's too much wind.

Trinc. Loose fore-sail! Haul aft both sheets! trim her right afore the wind.
Aft! aft! lads, and hale up the misen here!

Must. A mackrel-gale, Master.

Steph. within. Port hard, port! The wind veeres forward; bring the tack aboard port is. Star-board, star-board, a little steady; now steady, keep her thus, no nearer you cannot come, till the sails are loose.

Enter VENTOSO.

Vent. Some hands down: the guns are loose. [*Ex.* MUST.

Trinc. Try the pump, try the pump. [*Exit* VENT.

Enter MUSTACHO *at the other door.*

Must. O Master! six foot water in hold.

Steph. Clap the helm hard awether! Flat, flat, flat in the fore-sheet there.

Trinc. Over-haul your sore-boling.

Steph. Brace in the lar-board. [*Exit.*

Trinc. A curse upon this houling! [*A great cry within.*
They are louder than the weather. [*Enter* ANTONIO *and* GONZALO.
Yet again, what do you here? Shall we give o'r, and drown? ha' you a mind to sink?

Gonz. A pox o' your throat, you bawling, blasphemous, uncharitable dog.

Trinc. Work you then, and be poxt.

Anto. Hang, cur, hang, you whorson insolent noise-maker, we are less afraid to be drown'd than thou art.

Trinc. Ease the fore-brace a little. [*Exit.*

Gonz. I'l warrant him for drowning, though the ship were no stronger than a nut-shell, and as leaky as an unstanch'd wench.

Enter ALONZO *and* FERDINAND.

Ferd. For my self I care not, but your loss brings a thousand deaths to me.

Alonz. O name not me, I am grown old, my son; I now am tedious to the world, and that, by use, is so to me. But, Ferdinand, I grieve my subjects loss in thee. Alas, I suffer justly for my crimes, but why thou should'st—O Heaven! [*A cry within.*] Heark, farewel, my son, a long farewel!

Enter TRINCALO, MUSTACHO, *and* VENTOSO.

Trinc. What, must our mouths be cold, then?

Vent. All's lost. To prayers, to prayers.

Gonz. The Duke and Prince are gone within to prayers.
Let's assist them.
Must. Nay, we may e'en pray too; our case is now alike.
Anto. Mercy upon us; we split, we split.
Gonz. Let's all sink with the Duke, and the young Prince. [*Exeunt.*

Enter STEPHANO, TRINCALO.

Trinc. The ship is sinking. [*A new cry within.*
Steph. Run her ashore!
Trinc. Luff! luff; or we are all lost! there's a rock upon the starboard-bow.
Steph. She strikes, she strikes! All shift for themselves. [*Exeunt.*

[22] *Enter Prospero and Miranda.*

Mr. Hunter thinks the first name may have been suggested by the name of the celebrated commander, Prospero Colonna, "who had much to do in all the affairs of the Milanese during the troubles." It is, however, worthy of remark that there was in England, in Shakespeare's time, a foreigner of this name, who gained considerable notoriety by his management of horses. He is mentioned in the second book of Baret's *Vineyard of Horsemanship*, 4to. 1618, in the following passage,—"For if any man (comming from a strange countrey) use any new fashioned invention, (though never so cruell) then are we ready to imitate him in the like, thinking that novelties doe produce perfection: Whereby (like sheepe) we are led to the slaughter of ignorance; in that wee will never take paines to consult with reason what digression such crueltie doth make from the truth. For when Signior Prospero first came into England, he flourished in fame for a time, (through that affectionated blindnes we are vailed withall, in exalting strangers for their strange fashions) and so, though hee used such tormenting cavezans, as were more fit for a massacring butcher then a horseman, yet, for all that, well was he that could goe neerest him in such Turkish tortures: And besides those, hee would have a thicke truncheon to beat those cavezans into his nose, the further to torment him, as if art had consisted in cruell torturing poore horses." The name of Prospero also occurs in the *New-found Politicke*, 4to. Lond. 1626; and "Prospero, a young Count," is one of the characters in Davenant's *Love and Honour;* but no conclusion is to be safely drawn from these kind of coincidences. It may be just worth while to observe that Ferdinando is the name of a pilot mentioned in Sir W. Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, 1596, p. 40; and that Trincalo and Antonio are two of the characters in *Albumazar*, 4to. 1615. Miranda is the name of an Italian *gentleman* in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of Malta.*

[23] *Who had no doubt some noble creatures in her.*

The original reads *creature*, which is adopted by Mr. Knight, with the following note,—"Miranda means to say that, in addition to those she saw suffer,—the 'poor souls' that perished, the common sailors—there was no doubt some superior person on board, some *noble creature.*" This explanation appears to me to be unnecessarily refined. The singulars and plurals are used with so much license in the old text, that they are generally fairly subject to an editor's judgment for alteration; and, in the present instance, the plural may be adopted, for it agrees better with the context, and Miranda, who had seen but her father and Caliban, was not likely to have imagined the vessel contained a person of dignity superior to the rest of the crew.

[24] *Or e'er.*

Or, in the sense of *ere*, before, A.S. ær, is very common in old English. *Or*

ever, before ever, occurs in Ecclesiastes, xii. 6; Daniel, vi. 24. Robert Arden leaves his daughter Mary, who was afterwards the mother of Shakespeare, a sum of money "to be payde *orr ere* my goodes be devydide." See the present volume, p. 16.

> Ryde we hens, quod Keye anon,
> We schalle have harbrowe *or* we gone.
> *Syr Gawayne*, Porkington MS., f. 14 b.

[25] *The fraughting souls within her.*

Fraughting, *i. e.*, fraught or freighted, the present participle used instead of the past. The form *fraught* is retained, being genuine Anglo-Saxon and Middle-English.

[26] *O, woe the day!*

"I know not whether Shakspeare did not make Miranda speak thus: 'O, woe the day! no harm?' To which Prospero properly answers:—'I have done nothing but in care of thee.' Miranda, when she speaks the words, 'O, woe the day!' supposes, not that the crew had escaped, but that her father thought differently from her and counted their destruction no harm."—*Dr. Johnson.*

[27] *Nor that I am more better.*

A very common pleonasm. See p. 283. An annotated copy of the third folio, in the possession of Mr. Wheler, proposes to read, "Nor yet that I am better."

[28] *Master of a full-poor cell.*

Full seems to be here used in composition, and is accordingly printed with a hyphen. *Full-poor* answers to the Latin *perpauper*.

[29] *Did never meddle with my thoughts.*

Meddle, to mix, to mingle. This use of the word is very common in old English. "I medyll, I myxt thynges togyther."—*Palsgrave.*

> Thus *medlyde* sche with joy wo,
> And with hyre sorwe joye alle so.
> *Gower, MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab.* Ff. i. 6.

[30] *Lie there my art.*

The magical power of his mantle is here alluded to. [Cf. 1 Kings, xix.; 2 Kings, ii.] Fuller, speaking of Lord Burghley, says, "At night, when he put of his gown, he used to say, *Lie there, Lord Treasurer*, and bidding adieu to all State affairs, disposed himself to his quiet rest."—*Holy State*, ed. 1642, p. 269.

[31] *The very virtue of compassion in thee.*

"*Virtue*, the most efficacious part, the energetic quality; in a like sense we say,—The virtue of a plant is in the extract."—*Dr. Johnson.*

[32] *I have with such provision in mine art.*

Mr. Hunter, in his *New Illustrations*, i. 186, suggests the reading *prevision*, on the authority of a passage in the *Modern Policies*, a satirical work attributed to Archbishop Sancroft, published in 1652,—"We allow the disburthening of a ship in imminent peril of wrack, but this will not excuse those who, upon a fond or feigned *prevision of a state-tempest*, shall immediately cast law and conscience overboard, discard and quit rudder and steerage, and thus assist the danger they pretend to fear." The passage is scarcely parallel with that in the play, but surely *provision*, a foresight in providing a contrivance, makes as good sense as *prevision*, a foresight in observing; added to which the word prevision is a Latinism of very

unfrequent occurrence in early English. Mr. Collier also proposes to read *prevision* on the authority of his corrected second folio, observing it "supplies a higher and finer sense, showing that the great magician *had by his art foreseen* that there should not be 'so much perdition as an hair' among the whole crew." This argument in favour of the new reading completely destroys the meaning of Prospero's speech, in which he distinctly states that the preservation of the crew is due to the immediate agency of his own art,—

> *I have*, with such provision in mine art,
> *So safely order'd*, that there is, &c.

The word *provision* was commonly applied, in Shakespeare's time, to any kind of contrivance. "Furthermore," says Bourne, in his *Inventions or Devises*, 4to. 1578, "you may make a boate to goe without oares or sayle, by the placing of certaine wheeles on the outside of the boate, in that sort that the armes of the wheeles may goe into the water, and so turning the wheeles by some *provision*, and so the wheeles shall make the boate to goe." In the language of that day, the steam engine would have been a wonderful provision in mechanical art.

[33] *So safely order'd, that there is no soul—*

Prospero here energetically breaks the sentence, and means to imply that not only was no soul lost, but "not so much," &c.

[34] *No, not so much perdition as an hair.*

So, in the account of St. Paul's shipwreck on the island of Melita, *Acts*, xxvii. 34,—"Wherefore I pray you to take some meat; for this is for your health: *for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you.*"

[35] *Out three years old.*

Still in provincial use. "*Out*, fully; as *not out ten years old*, not having completely reached that age."—*Glossary of Provincial Words used in Herefordshire*, 8vo. 1839, p. 76.

[36] *In the dark backward and abysm of time.*

Abysm, the same as *abyss*, from the old French *abysme*. This form of the word is used by several early English writers. It occurs in *A Learned Summary upon Du Bartas*, fol. 1621, p. 18,—"the darkenes was then upon the face of the abisme, that is to say, the earth remained hidden under the water."

> And chase him from the deep abysms below.
> *Heywood's Brazen Age*, 1613.

[37] *Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since.*

This is the correct reading of the early editions, first restored by Mr. Knight. Nouns of time and distance were frequently written in the singular instead of in the plural; but the usage was not general after the time of Shakespeare. In *Measure for Measure*, the editor of the second folio has altered the *ten yeare* of the first edition to, *ten yeares*. "He kept a poor man in Ludgate once *twelve year* for sixteen shillings."—*Ben Jonson*, ii. 204.

[38] *And his only heir, and princess.*

The construction of this speech is somewhat irregular, but not more so than that of numerous other passages, where a parenthetical sentence is transposed, and the sense follows on in the same way as if it had been more correctly written. Dr. Johnson, and, at an earlier period, a MS. annotator of Mr. Wheler's copy of the third folio, propose to read, *and thou his only heir;* while Kenrick thinks *and* should

be omitted in this latter reading, which then coincides with that in Mr. Collier's and Dent's annotated folios, and it is so printed by Rann, 1786. Another conjectural reading is, "And his only heir, *a* princess."

[39] *But blessedly holp hither.*

Holp, the old past tense of *help*, was in common use till within the last century.

[40] *To think o' the teen that I have turn'd you to.*

Teen, grief, sorrow, trouble. See examples of this word in the notes to *Romeo and Juliet.*

[41] *And who to trash for over-topping.*

Trash, an old sporting term, is here metaphorically used in the sense of, *to check*. So Harrington, *Works*, ed. 1747, p. 303,—"prolongation of magistracy, *trashing* the wheel of rotation, destroys the life or natural motion of a commonwealth." A trash, observes an anonymous critic, "is a term still in use among hunters to denote a piece of leather, couples, or any other weight fastened round the neck of a dog, when his speed is superior to the rest of the pack."

Steevens considers the term metaphorical from a gardening word, to *trash*, to cut away the superfluities, to trim, to lop; an interpretation derived perhaps from the alteration of the play by Dryden and Davenant, where the passage runs thus,—"having attain'd the craft of granting suits, and of denying them, whom to advance, *or lop for over-topping*, soon was grown the ivy which did hide my princely trunk, and suck'd my verdure out." The metaphor of the ivy would almost appear to countenance the view adopted by the above-mentioned critic. A similar imagery occurs in *Richard II.*,

Go, thou, and, like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too-fast growing sprays,
That look too lofty in our commonwealth.

[42] *Having both the key of officer and office.*

"*Key* in this place seems to signify the key of a musical instrument, by which he set *hearts to tune*. This doubtless is meant of a key for tuning the harpsichord, spinnet, or virginal; we call it now a tuning hammer, as it is used as well to strike down the iron pins whereon the strings are wound, as to turn them. As a key, it acts like that of a watch."—*Dr. Johnson and Hawkins.*

[43] *Like a good parent.*

"Alluding," says Dr. Johnson, "to the observation that a father above the common rate of men, has commonly a son below it."

[44] *Who having, into truth, by telling of it.*

Into, for *unto*. See several instances in p. 272. This line has occasioned much controversy, but there is neither corruption, nor, remembering the involved sentences which are so common in Shakespeare, any difficulty. The correlative is licentiously placed after the pronoun which refers to it, but transpositions of nearly every description are continually met with in Elizabethan writers. The meaning is this,—like one, who has made such a sinner of his memory to truth, that he credits his own lie by repeating it, or repeats his own lie till he believes it. It has been proposed to read, *in untruth* (Dr. Hoadly, MS. Bodl. Lib.), and *to untruth* (Mr. Collier's MS. annot.), but a person who believes in a falsehood, makes a sinner of his memory to truth, not to untruth. Malone quotes a curious parallel passage from Bacon's *Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh*, fol. 1641, p. 120, which writer, in speaking of Perkin Warbeck, observes that he

"did in all things notably acquit himself; insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himselfe, with long and continuall counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lye, was turned by habit almost into the thing hee seemed to bee; and from a lyer to a beleever." Warburton suggested, *injured truth;* and Kenrick, *telling oft.*

"The use of the pronoun," observes Lord Chedworth, "before the noun to which it relates, though improper, is not very uncommon in conversation: the following is an instance of it in Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*,—'The bodies which we daily handle make us perceive that whilst they remain between *them*, they do, by an insurmountable force, hinder the approach of the parts of our hands that press them.' The thought is something like the *fingebant simul credebantque* of Tacitus," they invented falsehood, and believed it themselves.

[45] *So dry he was for sway.*

Dry is now a vulgarism, and seems oddly introduced into poetry; but it was a word of respectable use in Shakespeare's time. Steevens cites a corresponding passage from *Leicester's Commonwealth;*—"against the designments of the hasty Erle, who thirsteth a kingdome with great intemperance." In a previous line, Mr. Wheler's annotated folio reads, "*For* me, poor man."

[46] *To think but nobly of my grandmother.*

But, otherwise than, a sense marked by Dr. Johnson as obsolete. It is a mere variation of the old English meaning.

[47] *In lieu o' the premises.*

In lieu, in consideration. So in *Love's Labour's Lost*,—"I give thee thy liberty, set thee from durance, and, in lieu thereof, impose on thee nothing but this." Mr. Wheler's annotated copy of the third folio unnecessarily proposes to read, at the commencement of this speech, "*on which* this king of Naples," and, in a subsequent line, *whereupon* for *whereon.*

[48] *The gates of Milan.*

"There is no other Italian play, by our poet, which I consider to have been written after 1597, except the *Tempest*, and the characters in it are sufficiently national. As this is one of his last plays, if it could be proved there is a topographical error in it (as is insinuated by Henley, in a note to a passage, misunderstood by him, in *Othello*), I grant that my arguments are much weakened. The note says, 'Shakespeare's acquaintance with the topography of Italy, as appears from the *Tempest*, was very imperfect.' In vain have I looked for the imperfection; nor can I guess in what passage it was imagined, unless in Prospero's account of his having been forced from Milan to the sea, the annotator assuming that the poet believed Milan was a sea-port. He neither wrote so, nor ought any one to be impressed with such a notion. Prospero was hurried from Milan, and also hurried aboard a bark; but no distance is specified, nor is it necessary. A man may be hurried from Portsmouth to the sea, or from Paris to the sea at Marseilles. State prisoners, in close carriages, are hurried to this day, for hundreds of miles, across Italy, as I myself have witnessed. But this is not all: a common mode of reaching the sea from Milan, is to travel by land merely to Piacenza, and thence in a bark down the wide, deep, and rapid Po. So plain is either of these methods, that I am still in doubt if I rightly interpret Henley's critical note; but I can find no other peg whereon to hang it."—*Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems*, by C. A. Brown, 8vo. Lond., 1838.

[49] *Well demanded, wench.*

Wench did not formerly suggest that idea of contempt which is now attached to the term. It was synonymous with, and used exactly as we now employ the word *girl*. "The same daye was buried ij. twynnes, a boy and a *wenche*, of his, before there tyme."—*Register of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London*, 1578. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cleopatra is termed a *royal wench*.

[50] *In few.*

Elliptically, in few words; in short. So, in Kendall's *Flowres of Epigrammes*, 12mo. Lond. 1577,—

> Wherefore now breefly, Blastus, show,
> *In fewe* declare to mee
> Why thou hast made hym in suche sort,
> As here I doe hym see?

[51] *A rotten carcass of a boat.*

The first three folios read *Butt*, the fourth, *But*. This corrupted reading was altered by Dryden and Rowe to *boat*. "Welckome, wiffe, into this *botte*," *i. e.*, boat, *Chester Plays*, i. 54; "the morners departed to theyre *botts*," MS. account of a funeral, 1557. *Pups*, for *poops*, occurs in Phaer's translation of Virgil, ed. 1600, sig. G. 5, and also at the end of the sixth book; and *butts*, for *boots*, in an early inventory printed in Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua*, 1797, p. 22.

The x. day of September, ther wher iij. grett fishes dryffyn up to London-bryge with a grett nomber of *botts*, sum with netts, &c.—*Machyn's Diary*, 1552.

In the mornyng, master Wyat and ys compeny retorned bake towhard Kyngton apon Temes, and ther the bridge was pluckyd up, and he causyd on of ys men to swym over for to feytche a *bott*, and so whent at nyght toward Kensyngtun.—*Ibid.*, 1553-4.

[52] *Instinctively have quit it.*

The third person of the present tense, used instead of the perfect, is very common in the works of old English writers.

[53] *A cherubin thou wast.*

"I have here," says Dr. Verplanck, "restored the old spelling, which many of the best editors have altered, here and elsewhere, to cherubim. *Cherubin* is both the critical and the customary mode of spelling the singular form of this noun, which came into our language through the Italian. Cherubim is the Hebrew plural of *cherub*, and was received in English from the Latin of the Church." It may be added that *cherubin* is the form generally used by Shakespeare's contemporaries. "The best hymn a *cherubin* can sing."—*Overbury's Characters*, 1616.

[54] *When I have deck'd the sea with drops full salt.*

The exact meaning of the word *deck'd* in this line has occasioned much discussion, but it appears to be used in its ordinary signification, *grac'd*, *adorn'd*. So Antony, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, gives the recommendation,—

> —— do not please sharp fate,
> *To grace it with your sorrows:*

which is an expression similar to the passage in the text; and there is a still more apposite passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, vol. ii., p. 207, "to crave a tear from those fair eyes . . . to *deck* his funeral." "Decking with liquid pearl the bladed grass."—*Mids. Night's Dream*. Dr. Johnson thinks *deck* may be used in its original sense, *to cover;* and Steevens cites from Verstegan, who,

speaking of beer, says, "So the *overdecking* or *covering* of beer came to be called *berham*." According to Malone, to *deck* signifies in the North, to sprinkle. "With tearful eyes add water to the sea."—3 *Henry VI.* Palsgrave gives a peculiar, and perhaps a cognate sense of the word,—"I decke or typpe the haft of a knyfe or sworde with any worke."

Her body is the tilted lees of pleasure, dasht over with a little *decking* to hold colour; taste her, she's dead, and fals upon the pallate.—*Overbury's New and Choise Characters*, 1615.

[55] *An undergoing stomach.*

Metaphorically for, spirit, resolution. "Basenesse of wit and stomach, not able to compasse or atchieve anie great enterprise, *pectoris angustiæ*."—*Baret's Alvearie*, 1580.

[56] *Who being then appointed.*

This licentious use of the relative pronoun is very common in old English, and, by inversion, the passage reads thus,—"Gonzalo, being then appointed master of this design, out of his charity did give us." The improper use of the pronoun and its relative is found even in Tillotson,—"*who* instead of going about doing good, *they* are perpetually intent upon doing mischief." A similar redundant construction is pointed out by Lowth in one of Bentley's dissertations,—"commend me to an argument, *that*, like a flail, there's no fence against *it*."

[57] *Now I arise.*

That these words are used in their literal sense, not in the metaphorical one suggested by Steevens, is clear from the next sentence, "sit still," addressed to Miranda, who perhaps is supposed to begin to rise from her seat on seeing her father do so. Both had sat down when Prospero says, "Sit down, for thou must now know further." There is a stage direction, *Put on robe again*, in Mr. Collier's annotated second folio, written in the margin opposite the words, "Now, I arise," which that editor considers to imply that, in the original performance, as in the theatre at the present day, the magic garment was resumed for the purpose of casting Miranda into a slumber; and though this interpretation seems scarcely reconcileable with Prospero's questioning her so often whether she is attentive to his story, a circumstance which Warburton and Johnson attribute to his having by his art produced a sleepiness, "of which he knew not how soon the effect would begin;" on the other hand, Prospero's art was clearly not of that limited character implied by this objection, and his questions may be more reasonably attributed to an anxiety that Miranda should listen with great attention to his narrative. On the whole, therefore, as Prospero uses his preternatural powers again in this same scene, the stage direction may be accepted; unless we adopt the more obvious one, that he touches Miranda with his magic wand, when he says, "Here cease more questions."

There is a curious theory, originating, I believe, with Warburton, that when Miranda helped Prospero to "pluck this magic garment" from him, the touch communicated the charm which was to lay her to sleep; and that this was the reason of his continual questioning, for the reason above mentioned.

"The poet seems to have been apprehensive that the audience, as well as Miranda, would sleep over this long but necessary tale, and therefore strives to break it. First, by making Prospero divest himself of his magic robe and wand: then by waking her attention no less than six times by verbal interruption: then by varying the action, when he rises and bids her continue sitting: and lastly, by carrying on the business of the fable while Miranda sleeps, by which she is continued on the stage till the poet has occasion for her again."—*Warner.*

[58] *Than other princess' can.*

This is the old reading, and is one of the many instances in which a singular substantive is followed by a plural verb. In the present case, the nature of the verse will not admit of a satisfactory emendation. It should be *princesses.*

[59] *Now my dear lady.*

Referring to "bountiful Fortune."

[60] *I find my zenith doth depend upon.*

"*Zenith* is made to stand, with much boldness, for—my fortune's supream altitude."—*Capell.*

[61] *Approach, my Ariel; come.*

The manner in which the spirit Ariel is invoked, or perhaps rather *called*, by Prospero, is admirably contrasted with the vulgar incantations familiar to all readers of the history of magic and witchcraft; and, in fact, Shakespeare has so etherealized the common opinions of his age on those subjects, that contemporary treatises on necromancy are only slightly illustrative of the present drama. It may not, however, be thought irrelevant, to give a few extracts from one of the most singular works of the day, the well-known *Discoverie of Witchcraft, wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notablie detected, the knaverie of conjurors, the impietie of inchantors, the follie of soothsaiers*, by Reginald Scot, 4to. Lond. 1584, which will exhibit the popular notions on the subject then confided in. In the *Tempest*, observes Mr. Wright, after mentioning the witches of Middleton, "the spiritual part of the plot is more delicately imaginative. Prospero is the magician in his most refined character, a kind of transcendental Dr. Dee; and Ariel is a spirit that has been brought under the witches' power, not a diabolical imp, but one of the fairies or good people, a class we have already seen figuring in the witchcraft cases in Scotland, and which we shall now find under the same circumstances in South Britain." There can, however, be little doubt but that the character of Ariel, to a great extent, is Shakespeare's own invention, and that his prototype was of a far less refined nature. In selecting the following extracts, the object was only to present the reader with a few of the curious formulæ employed by the magician of the sixteenth century, all of which are unfortunately impious; but they will suffice to convey a good idea of the powers thus sought for, and believed to have been secured.

An experiment of Bealphares. This is proved the noblest carrier that ever did serve anie man upon the earth, and here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, and how to have a true answer of him, without anie craft or harme; and he will appeare unto thee in the likenesse of a faire man, or faire woman, the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee: or if thou wilt go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule. Therefore [Memorandum with what vices the cousenor (the conjuror I should saie) must not be polluted: therfore he must be no knave, &c.] he that will doo this worke, shall absteine from lecherousnes and dronkennesse, and from false swearing, and doo all the abstinence that he may doo; and namelie three daies before he go to worke, and in the third daie, when the night is come, and when the starres doo shine, and the element faire and cleare, he shall bath himselfe and his fellowes (if he have anie) all together in a quicke welspring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must have another privie place, and beare with him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God Almightie in his

right hand ✠ Agla ✠ and in his left hand this name, ✠ [characters] ✠ [*These characters are also on the magicians's knife.*]
And he must have a drie thong of a lions or of a harts skin, and make thereof a girdle, and write the holie names of God all about, and in the end ✠ A and Ω ✠. And upon his brest he must have this present figure or marke written in virgine parchment, as it is here shewed.

And it must be sowed upon a peece of new linnen, and so made fast upon thy brest. And if thou wilt have a fellow to worke with thee, he must be appointed in the same maner. You must have also a bright knife that was never occupied, and he must write on the one side of the blade of the knife ✠ Agla ✠ and on the other side of the knifes blade (*see above*, l. 2). And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called Salomons circle. When that he is made, go into the circle, and close againe the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and saie; *Per crucis hoc signum* ✠ *fugiat procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum* ✠ *salvetur quodque benignum*, and make suffumigations to thy selfe, and to thy fellowe or fellowes, with frankincense, mastike, *lignum aloes:* then put it in wine, and saie with good devotion, in the worship of the high God Almightie, all togethcr, that he may defend you from all evils. And when he that is maister will close the spirit, he shall saie towards the east, with meeke and devout devotion, these psalmes and praiers as followeth here in order.

¶ *The two and twentieth psalme.* O my God, my God, looke upon me, whie hast thou forsaken me, and art so farre from my health, and from the words of my complaint? ¶ And so foorth to the end of the same psalme, as it is to be found in the booke. [Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51. psalmes all over: or else rehearse them by hart: for these are counted necessarie, &c.]

This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times over, &c. Have mercie upon me, O God, after thy great goodnes, according to the multitude of thy mercies, doo awaie mine offenses. ¶ And so foorth to the end of the same psalme, concluding it with, Glorie to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the Holie Ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen. Then saie this verse: O Lord leave not my soule with the wicked; nor my life with the bloudthirstie. Then saie a *Pater noster* an *Ave Maria*, and a *Credo, et ne nos inducas.* O Lord shew us thy mercie, and we shall be saved. Lord heare our praier, and let our crie come unto thee. Let us praie.

O Lord God almightie, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the three kings of Cullen, Jasper, Melchior, and Balthasar, when they came with worshipfull presents towards Bethleem: Jasper brought myrrh; Melchior, incense; Balthasar, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Jesus Gods sonne of heaven, the second person in Trinitie, being borne of the holie and cleane virgine S. Marie, queene of heaven, empresse of hell, and ladie of all the world: at that time the holie angell Gabriel warned and bad the foresaid three kings, that they should take another waie, for dread of perill, that Herod the king by his ordinance would have destroied these three noble kings [Gaspar, Balthsar, and Melchior, who followed the starre, wherin was the image of a litle babe bearing a crosse: if *Longa legenda Coloniæ* lie not], that meekelie sought out our Lord and Saviour. As wittilie and truelie as these three kings turned for dread, and tooke another waie: so wiselie and so truelie, O Lord God, of thy mightifull mercie, blesse us now at this time, for thy blessed passion save us, and keepe us all together from all evill; and thy holie angell defend us. Let us praie.

O Lord, king of all kings, which conteinest the throne of heavens, and beholdest all deepes, weighest the hilles, and shuttest up with thy hand the earth; heare us, most meekest God, and grant unto us (being unworthie) according to thy great mercie, to have the veritie and vertue of knowledge of hidden treasures by this spirit invocated, through thy helpe, O Lord Jesus Christ, to whome be all honour and glorie, from worlds to worlds everlastinglie, Amen. Then saie these names ✠ *Helie* ✠ *helyon* ✠ *esseiere* ✠ *Deus æternus* ✠ *eloy* ✠ *clemens* ✠ *heloye* ✠ *Deus sanctus* ✠ *sabaoth* ✠ *Deus exercituum* ✠ *adonay* ✠ *Deus mirabilis* ✠ *iao* ✠ *verax* ✠ *anepheneton* ✠ *Deus ineffabilis* ✠ *sodoy* ✠ *dominator dominus* ✠ *on fortissimus* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *qui*, the which wouldest be praied unto of sinners: receive (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our meeke praiers, which we unworthie doo offer unto thy divine maiestie. Deliver us, and have mercie upon us, and prevent with thy holie spirit this worke, and with thy blessed helpe to followe after; that this our worke begunne of thee, may be ended by thy mightie power, Amen. Then saie this anon after ✠ *Homo* ✠ *sacarus* ✠ *museolameas* ✠ *cherubozca* ✠ being the figure upon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blesse the circle with holie water, and sit downe in the middest, and read this conjuration as followeth, sitting backe to backe at the first time.

I exorcise and conjure Bealphares, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heavens and of earth, and by his vertue, and by his unspeakeable name Tetragrammaton, and by all the holie sacraments, and by the holie majestie and deitie of the living God. I conjure and exorcise thee, Bealphares, by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your maister, that you doo come unto us, in faire forme of man or womankind, here visiblie, before this circle, and not terrible by anie manner of waies. This circle [which must be environed with a goodlie companie of crosses] being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodnes of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that you doo make answer truelie, without craft or deceipt, unto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

An Experiment of the Dead. First go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare an oth unto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the daies of thy life, and will doo thee true service, as it is conteined in the oth and promise following. Then laie thy hand on thy booke, and sweare this oth unto him. I N. doo sweare and promise to thee N. to give for thee an almesse everie moneth, and also to praie for thee once in everie weeke, to saie the Lords praier for thee, and so to continue all the daies of my life, as God me helpe and holie doome, and by the contents of this booke, Amen.

Then let him make his oth to thee as followeth, and let him saie after thee, laieng his hand upon the booke. ¶ I N. doo sweare this oth to thee N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by his pretious bloud which hath redeemed all the world, by the which bloud I doo trust to be saved at the generall daie of Judgment, and by the vertues therof, I N. doo sweare this oth to thee N. that my spirit that is within my bodie now, shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to anie place of rest, but shall come to thee N. and be verie well pleased to remaine with thee N. all the daies of thy life, and so to be bound to thee N. and to appeare to thee N. in anie christall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting-place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my bodie, streightwaie to be at your commandements, and that in and at all daies, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient unto thee N.

being called of thee by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, and out of hand to have common talke with thee at all times, and in all houres and minuts, to open and declare to thee N. the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to worke the magike art, and all other noble sciences, under the throne of God. If I doo not performe this oth and promise to thee N. but doo flie from anie part thereof, then to be condemned for ever and ever, Amen.

Also I N. doo sweare to thee by God the Holie-ghost, and by the great wisedome that is in the divine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all the holie angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their virtues doo I N. sweare, and promise thee to be obedient as is rehearsed. And heere, for a witnesse, doo I N. give thee N. my right hand, and doo plight thee my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holie doome. And by the holie contents in this booke doo I N. sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true servant, all the daies of thy life, as is before rehearsed. And here for a witnesse, that my spirit shall be obedient to thee N. and to those bonds of words that be written in this N. before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thrise; else to be damned for ever: and thereto saie all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

Then let him sweare this oth three times, [Three times, in reverence (peradventure) of the Trinitie, P.F.SS.], and at everie time kisse the booke, and at everie time make marks to the bond. Then perceiving the time that he will depart, get awaie the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and saie the *Paternoster*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, and this praier as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words; and in the end of everie bond, saie oftentimes: Remember thine oth and promise. And bind him stronglie to thee, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, reading thy bond 24 times. And everie daie when you doo call him by your other bond, bind him stronglie by the first bond: by the space of 24 daies applie it, and thou shalt be made a man for ever.

Now the Paternoster, Ave, and Credo must be said, and then the praier immediatlie following. "O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of Tobias, the which diddest deliver the three children from the hot burning oven, Sidrac, Misac, and Abdenago, and Susanna from the false crime, and Daniel from the lions power: even so, O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee, for thy great mercie sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliver me this spirit of N. that he may be a true subject to me N. all the daies of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N., all the daies of my life. O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holie-ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to give me power by thine holie name, merits, and vertues, wherby I may conjure and constreine this spirit of N. that he may be obedient unto me, and may fulfill his oth and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holines. This grant, O Lord God of Hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine everlasting kingdoms, and in the divinitie of thine everlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glory, now and for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.—I N. conjure and constreine the spirit of N. by the living God, by the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of thee N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy bodie, to no place of rest, but onelie to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the daies of my life, according to thine oth and promise. I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. by these holie names of God ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Saday*

✠ *Sabaoth* ✠ *planabothe* ✠ *panthon* ✠ *craton* ✠ *neupmaton* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *homo* ✠ *omnipotens* ✠ *sempiternus* ✠ *ysus* ✠ *terra* ✠ *unigenitus* ✠ *salvator* ✠ *via* ✠ *vita* ✠ *manus* ✠ *fons* ✠ *origo* ✠ *filius* ✠ and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not rest nor remaine in the fier, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in anie privie place of the earth, but onelie with me N. and with this N. all the daies of my life. I charge the spirit of N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation, remember thine oth and promise. Also I conjure the spirit of N. and constreine thee by the excellent name of Jesus Christ, Α and Ω, the first and the last; for this holie name of Jesus is above all names, for [Scripture as well applied of the conjuror, as that of Satan in tempting Christ, Matth. 4, 6,] unto it all knees doo bow and obey, both of heavenlie things, earthlie things, and infernalles. Nor is there anie other name given to man, whereby we have anie salvation, but by the name of Jesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and by his nativitie, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that apperteineth to his passion, and by their vertues and powers, I doo conjure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take anie resting place in the ☉ nor in the ☽ nor in ♄ nor in ♃ nor in ♂ nor in ♀ nor in ☿ nor in anie of the twelve signes, nor in the concavitie of the clouds, nor in anie other privie place, to rest or staie in, but onelie with me N. or with this N. all the daies of my life. If thou be not obedient unto me, according to thine oth and promise, I N. doo condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for ever, Amen.

I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. by the bloud of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, the which was shed upon the crosse, for all those that doo obeie unto it, and beleeve in it, shall be saved and by the vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names and words of the living God by mee pronounced, I doo conjure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou be obedient unto me, according to thine oth and promise. If thou doo refuse to doo as is aforesaid, I N. by the holie trinitie, and by his vertue and power, doo condemne the spirit of N. into the place whereas there is no hope of remedie, but everlasting condemnation, and horror, and paine upon paine, dailie, horriblie, and lamentablie the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the gravell sand in the sea: except thou spirit of N. obeie me N. as is afore rehearsed; else I N. doo condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat*, *fiat*, Amen. Also I conjure thee, and constreine the spirit of N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the foure evangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and John, and by all things conteined in the old lawe and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelve apostles, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen, is, and shall be, which followeth the lambe of God; and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. stronglie, to have common talke with me, at all times, and in all daies, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother toong plainelie, that I may heare it, and understand it, declaring the truth unto me of all things, according to thine oth and promise; else to be condemned for ever; *Fiat*, *fiat*, Amen.

Also I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. by the golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ, [There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was woorth a golden girdle,] so thou spirit of N. be thou bound, and cast into the pit of everlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and unreverent regard that thou hast to the holie names and words of God almightie, by me pronounced: *Fiat*, Amen.

Also I conjure, constreine, command, and bind the spirit of N. by the two edged sword, which John saw proceed out of the mouth of God almightie: except thou

be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in peeces, and condemne thee into the pit of everlasting paines, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; *Fiat*, *fiat*, *fiat*, Amen.

Also I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heavens under him, and by the celestiall citie new Jerusalem, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all things created and conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all the infernalles, and by their vertues and powers, and all things conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, I conjure and constreine the spirit of N. that now immediatlie thou be obedient unto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced, according to thine oth and promise: [Is it possible to be greater than S. Adelberts cursse? *See in Habar, lib.* 12. *ca.* 17. *pag.* 263, 264, 265,] else let the great cursse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of everlasting condemnation be upon thee thou spirit of N. for ever and ever, bicause thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and salvation, for thy great disobedience thou art worthie to be condemned. Therefore let the divine trinitie, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the generall daie of judgment, condemne the spirit of N. for ever and ever, and be a witnesse against thee, bicause of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, *Fiat*, *fiat*, Amen.

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient unto thee, whether he will or no: proove this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of ♄ to bind or inchant anie thing, and in the houre of ♃ for peace and concord, in the houre of ♂ to marre, to destroie, and to make sicke, in the houre of the ☉ to bind toongs and other bonds of men, in the houre of ♀ to increase love, joy, and good will, in the hour of ☿ to put awaie enimitie or hatred, to know of theft, in the houre of the ☽ for love, goodwill and concord, ♄ lead ♃ tinne ♂ iron ☉ gold ♀ coppar ☿ quicksilver ☽ silver, &c. [These planetarie houres must in anie case be observed.]

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your christall stone, or glasse, &c. Also I doo conjure thee spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holie-ghost, A and Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of judgement, of them which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thee spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the christall stone in his hand, and to appeare visiblie, as hereafter foloweth. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by these holie names of God ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Adonay ✠ El ✠ Ousion ✠ Agla ✠ Jesus ✠ of Nazareth ✠ and by the vertues thereof, and by his nativitie, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things apperteining unto his passion, and by the blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Jesu Christ, and by all the joy which shee had when shee saw hir sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers therof I constreine thee spirit N. to come into the christall stone, and to appeare visiblie, as herafter shalbe declared. Also I conjure thee N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the ☉☽♄♃♂♀☿, and by the twelve signes, and by their vertues and powers, and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thee spirit N. to appeare visiblie in that christall stone, in faire forme [Belike he had the gift to appeare in sundrie shapes, as it is said of *Proteus in Ovid, lib. metamor.* 8. *fab.* 10: and of *Vertumnus, lib. metamor.* 14. *fab.* 16.] and shape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boie, a maiden virgine, a white grehound, a divell with great hornes, without anie

hurt or danger of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew unto us, true visions of all things in that christall stone, according to thine oth and promise, and that without anie hinderance or tarrieng, to appeare visiblie, by this bond of words read over by mee three times, upon paine of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

Then being appeared, saie these words following.

I conjure thee spirit, by God the father, that thou shew true visions in that christall stone, where there be anie N. in such a place or no, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat*, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the sonne Jesus Christ, that thou doo shew true visions unto us, whether it be gold or silver, or anie other metals, or whether there were anie or no, upon paine of condemnation, *Fiat*, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the Holie-ghost, the which dooth sanctifie all faithfull soules and spirits, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thee spirit N. to speake, open, and to declare, the true waie, how we may come by these treasures hidden in N. and how to have it in our custodie, and who are the keepers thereof, and how manie there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to shew me true visions of what sort and similitude they be, and how long they have kept it, and to knowe in what daies and houres we shall call such a spirit, N. to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation ✠ Also I constreine thee spirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, that you doo shew a true vision in this christall stone, who did conveie or steale away such a N. and where it is, and who hath it, and how farre off, and what is his or hir name, and how and when to come unto it, upon paine of eternall condemnation, *Fiat*, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿ and by all the characters in the firmament, that thou doo shew unto me a true vision in this christall stone, where such N. and in what state he is, and how long he hath beene there, and what time he will be in such a place, what daie and houre: and this and all other things to declare plainelie, in paine of hell fier; *Fiat*, Amen.

A license to depart.—Depart out of the sight of this christall stone in peace for a time, and readie to appeare therein againe at anie time or times I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeere visiblie, as the words be rehersed. I constreine thee spirit N. by the divinitie of the Godhead, to be obedient unto these words rehearsed, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.

When to talke with spirits, and to have true answers to find out a theefe.—The daies and houres of ♄ ♂ ☿ and the ☽ is best to doo all crafts of necromancie, and for to speake with spirits, and for to find theft, and to have true answer thereof, or of anie other such like. ¶ And in the daies and houres of ☉ ♃ ♀ is best to doo all experiments of love, and to purchase grace, and for to be invisible, and to doo anie operation, whatsoever it be, for anie thing, the ☽ being in a convenient signe. ¶ As when thou laborest for theft, see the moone be in an earthie signe, as ♉ ♍ ♑, or of the aier, as ♊ ♎ ♒. ¶ And if it be for love, favor or grace, let the ☽ be in a signe of the fier, as ♈ ♌ ♐, and for hatred, in a signe of the water, as ♋ ♏ ♓. For anie other experiment, let the ☽ be in ♈. ¶ And if thou findest the ☉ and the ☽ in one signe that is called in even number, then thou maiest write, consecrate, conjure, and make readie all maner of things that thou wilt doo, &c. [This is condemned for ranke follie by the doctors: as by *Chrysost. sup. Matth. Gregor. in homil. sup. Epiphan. Domini*, and others.]

To speake with spirits.—Call these names, Orimoth, Belimoth, Lymocke, and say thus: I conjure you up by the names of the angels Satur and Azimor, that you intend to me in this houre, and send unto me a spirit called Sagrigrit, that hee doo fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can understand my words for one or two yeares, or as long as I will, &c.

A confutation of conjuration, especiallie of the raising, binding and dismissing of the divell, of going invisible, and other lewd practises.—Thus farre have we waded in shewing at large the vanitie of necromancers, conjurors, and such as pretend to have reall conference and consultation with spirits and divels: wherein (I trust) you see what notorious blasphemie is committed, besides other blind superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from building up the endevors of these blacke art practitioners, that they doo altogether ruinate and overthrow them, making them in their follies and falshoods as bare and naked as an anatomie. As for these ridiculous conjurations, last rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by T. R. (for so much of his name he bewraieth) and John Cokars, invented and devised for the augmentation and maintenance of their living, for the edifieng of the poore, and for the propagating and inlarging of God's glorie, as in the beginning of their booke of conjurations they protest; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impietie, and of the witchmongers follie and credulitie, I thought good to insert, whereby the residue of their proceedings may be judged, or rather detected. For if we seriouslie behold the matter of conjuration, and the drift of conjurors, we shall find them, in mine opinion, more faultie than such as take upon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the majestie of God, and his holie lawe, and as apparent violators of the lawes and quietnesse of this realme: although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised and urged by credulous persons, cousceners, liers, and witchmongers. For these are alwaies learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselves by others abused.

But let us see what appearance of truth or possibilitie is wrapped within these mysteries, and let us unfold the deceipt. They have made choice of certeine words, whereby they saie they can worke miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call divels and soules out of hell (though we find in the scriptures manifest proofes that all passages are stopped concerning the egresse out of hell) so as they may go thither, but they shall never get out, for *ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they have gotten them up, they shut them in a circle made with chalke, which is so stronglie beset and invironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their lives get out; which is a verie probable matter. Then can they bind them, and lose them at their pleasures, and make them that have beene liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: yea, they can compell them to doo anie thing. And the divels are forced to be obedient unto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience unto God their Creator. This done (I saie) they can worke all maner of miracles (saving blew miracles) and this is beleeved of manie to be true:

> So light of beleefe is the mind of man,
> And attentive to tales his eares now and than.

But if Christ (onelie for a time) left the power of working miracles among his apostles and disciples for the confirmation of his gospell, and the faith of his elect; yet I denie altogether, that he left that power with these knaves, which hide their cousening purposes under those lewd and foolish words, according to that which Peter saith; with feined words they make merchandize of you. And therefore the counsell is good that Paule giveth us, when he biddeth us take heed that no man

deceive us with vaine words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great woonders, and bringeth mightie things to passe. *It is also written, that Gods word, and not the words of conjurors, or the charmes of witches, healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.*

But put case the divell could be fetched up and fettered, and loosed againe at their pleasure, &c. I marvell yet, that anie can be so bewitched, as to be made to beleeve, that by vertue of their words, anie earthlie creature can be made invisible. We thinke it a lie, to saie that white is blacke, and blacke white: but it is a more shamelesse assertion to affirme, that white is not, or blacke is not at all; and yet more impudencie to hold that a man is a horsse; but most apparent impudencie to saie, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantitie, as therby he may be invisible, and yet remaine in life and health, &c.: and that in the cleare light of the daie, even in the presence of them that are not blind. But surelie, he that cannot make one haire white or blacke, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall providence, can never bring to passe that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powred therinto by God the creator of all things.

[62] *Perform'd to point.*

Cotgrave translates *à poinct*, "aptly, fitly, conveniently, to purpose, in good time, in due season;" but the English phrase implies rather more than this, *exactly, to the minutest article, in every point.* In the *Chances*, act i. sc. 5, a gentleman, in reply to the Duke's question "are ye all fit?" says, "*To point*, sir."

It may be as well to observe, of Ariel's previous speech, that *quality* need not be accepted in the strained sense attributed to it by Steevens, but is to be taken in its literal signification. Fletcher appears to have imitated part of the speech in his *Faithful Shepherdess*, ed. Dyce, ii. 119,

—— tell me, sweetest,
What new service now is meetest
For the Satyr; shall I stray
In the middle air, and stay
The sailing rack, or nimbly take
Hold by the moon, and gently make
Suit to the pale queen of night,
For a beam to give thee light?
Shall I dive into the sea,
And bring thee coral, making way
Through the rising waves, &c.

[63] *Now on the beak.*

"The beak of a ship, *rostra;* the beak head, *extremitas proræ,*" Coles. The term is here applied to the fore part of the vessel. "Their beaks do beat the brink," *Phaer's Virgil*, 1600.

[64] *Now in the waist.*

The middle deck, or floor of a ship; the part between the quarter-deck and the forecastle.—*Dr. Johnson.*

[65] *And burn in many places.*

Douce considers the passage in the text to be "a very elegant description of a meteor well known to sailors, called by the several names of Saint Helen, Saint Elm, Saint Herm, Saint Clare, Saint Peter, and Saint Nicholas;" but although the following passage from Hakluyt is sufficiently illustrative to deserve the

quotation, there surely cannot be a necessity for discovering a prototype of Ariel's beautiful speech. The meteor alluded to is described in numerous old works.

"I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the *Cuerpo Santo*, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the advocate of Sailers . . . . . . This light continued aboord our ship about three houres, *flying from maste to maste, and from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once.* I informed myselfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so, for that I have seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once."—*Hakluyt's Third and Last Volume*, 1600, pp. 449-450.

So also De Loier, speaking of "strange sights happening in the seas," *Treatise of Specters*, 4to. 1605, f. 67: "Sometimes they shall see the fire which the saylors call *Saint Hermes*, to fly uppon their shippe, and *to alight upon the toppe of the mast;* and sometimes they shall perceive a wind that stirreth such stormes as will run round about their shippe, and play about it in such sort, as by the hurling and beating of the clowdes will rayse uppe *a fire that will burne uppe the yardes, the sayles, and the tacklings of the shippe*."

[66] *But felt a fever of the mad.*

Dryden, in the vain attempt to improve the expressive idiomatic phraseology of Shakespeare, alters *mad* to *mind*. The phrase, "a fever of the mind," was used by an Elizabethan poet,—

A syren songe, *a fever of the mynde*,
A rangingе cloude that comes before the winde.

[67] *With hair up-staring.*

Stare, to stand up, is now obsolete. It was specially applied to the hair. "His haire stareth, or standeth on end," *Baret's Alvearie*, 1580. "Starings of ones haires," *Florio*, ed. 1611, p. 15. "My hair to stare," *Julius Cæsar*.

With ragged weedes, and lockes *up-staring* hye,
As if he did from some late daunger fly.
Spenser's Faerie Queene, VI. xi. 27.

[68] *And all the devils are here.*

"Truly it hath lightned and thundred lustily: I beleeve that all the divels are unchained to day," *Eliot's Fruits for the French*, 1593. Compare Fairfax's Tasso, ix. 15; Rebellion of Naples, 1649, p. 14.

The thunder following did so fiercely rave,
And through the thick clouds with such fury drave,
As hell had beene set open for the nonce,
And all the divels heard to rore at once.—*Drayton's Moon-Calfe*.

[69] *On their sustaining garments not a blemish.*

Sustaining garments, the garments which sustained or bore the violence of the tempest, or, perhaps, merely the garments which were subjected to it. *Sustain* was sometimes used in the sense of *suffer*. Query, the garments sustained or supported, *i. e.*, worn, by themselves?

[70] *To fetch dew from the still-vex'd Bermoothes.*

An eminent French geographer, M. Davezac, in his *Iles de l'Afrique*, 8vo. Paris, 1848, has a curious notion that the dew was fetched from the Bermudas, as the material out of which the storm was created by Prospero. An anonymous critic gives a similar, and most likely an independent, elucidation of the passage,—"The commentators have not explained Prospero's object in sending for 'dew' to the 'vex'd Bermoothes,' nor to what purpose it was to be applied. But the illustration seems obvious, and if our reading be correct, it would explain why the Bermudean seas were mentioned. Allusions to 'dew,' in various senses, abound in Shakespeare, and in other writers of his time; and it may have been here used to describe the element out of which Prospero created the storm to wreck Alonzo's ship. Knowing that the Bermudean seas produced frightful hurricanes, and wishing to raise a storm of a similar description, Prospero sent Ariel at midnight to that magazine of tempestuous matter for the necessary material. His first address to Ariel is, 'Hast thou perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee?' so that he had previously given his commands on the subject; and it is evident by 'to point,' that they consisted of minute details of which the mission to Bermuda may easily be presumed to have formed a part." Ariel's own expression, "where *once* thou call'dst me up," seems somewhat at variance with the above theory.

"The epithet here applied to the Bermudas," says Henley, "will be best understood by those who have seen the chafing of the sea over the rugged rocks by which they are surrounded, and which render access to them so dangerous;" and the sea about the Bermudas is mentioned by Raleigh, in 1596, as "a hellish sea for thunder, lightening, and stormes." It was an early opinion that these islands were haunted with evil spirits, a notion which is alluded to in a curious tract entitled, *Abortive of an Idle Houre*, 4to. 1620 (which is so rare, that I have only heard of the existence of a single copy, the one preserved in the Bodleian Library), in an address by the author "to his worthy friend Captaine Butler, Governour of Bermuda or the Summer Ilands,"—

> I marveil, I, what mischiefes or what evils
> Hath made men call your iles the Iles of Devils;
> Is't for the perillous rockes, or for the swine,
> In whom our Lord the Legion did confine?
> What ere it be, let's heare no more complaints;
> So governe you, they may be Iles of Saints.

A marginal note to *rockes* says, "By reason of rocks the entrance into those ilands is very dangerous;" and another to *swine*, "In the beginning of that plantation, great store of hoggs were found there." Decker, in his *Strange Horse-Race*, 1613, thinks Bermudas were "called the Iland of Divels by reason of the grunting of swine heard from thence to the sea." Jourdan's account, first published in 1610, is entitled, "A Discovery of the Barmudas, *otherwise called the Isle of Divels;*" and Coryat, in his *Crudities*, 1611, alludes to them, "Kept, as suppos'd, by hels infernall dogs." The form *Bermoothes*, variously spelt, occurs in Middleton's *Any Thing for a Quiet Life*, 1662; in Webster's *Dutchess of Malfi*, ed. Dyce, i. 243; and in Fletcher's *Women Pleased.* Capell says that this spelling is a defective attempt to give in English the Spanish sound of Bermudas.

[71] *And are upon the Mediterranean flote.*

"A flote or wave," Minsheu, ed. 1627, who derives it from *flot*, Fr. The term is Anglo-Saxon, *fleot*, a place where vessels float. "Draw to ebb the *float* of those desires," *i. e.*, flow, flood, Middleton, ed. Dyce, iv. 113. Aubrey, in his *Natural History of Wilts*, a MS. in the library of the Royal Society, p. 123, men-

tions "the *floted* meadows," *i. e.*, flooded, watery. Kennett, MS. Lansd. 1033, informs us that in Surrey, in his time, the term *flote* was applied to *dew*, a sense which was no doubt derived from the older meaning of the word. *Fleet*, a stream or pool, occurs in the translation of the *Aminta*, 1628.

[72] *At least two glasses.*

That is, two hours, referring to the method of measuring time by the hour-glass. The boatswain, in the fifth act, calls attention to the duration of the action of the play, speaking of the ship,—

Which, *but three glasses since*, we gave out split.

where *glasses* evidently stands for *hours*. The word *glass* is now in use amongst seamen to signify half-an-hour, and is measured by the half-hour glass by which the watches on duty are regulated.

Upton proposed to assign this sentence to Ariel's speech, and Dr. Johnson suggests another arrangement,—

Pro. What is the time o' the day? Past the mid season?
Ari. At least two glasses.
Pro. The time 'twixt six and now, &c.:

but the original text is unquestionably right. Prospero says, "at least two glasses," to impress upon Ariel how brief was the period of the day that remained, and the consequent necessity of rapidity and vigorous action.

"The unity of time is most rigidly observed in this piece. The fable scarcely takes up a greater number of hours than are employed in the representation: and from the very particular care which our author takes to point out this circumstance in so many other passages, as well as here, it should seem as if it were not accidental, but purposely designed to shew the admirers of Ben Jonson's art, and the cavillers of the time, that he too could write a play within all the strictest laws of regularity, when he chose to load himself with the critick's fetters."—*Steevens.*

[73] *Dost thou forget from what a torment.*

Dr. Johnson here observes,—"That the character and conduct of Prospero may be understood, something must be known of the system of enchantment, which supplied all the marvellous found in the romances of the middle ages. This system seems to be founded on the opinion that the fallen spirits, having different degrees of guilt, had different habitations allotted them at their expulsion, some being confined in hell, 'some,' as Hooker, who delivers the opinion of our poet's age, expresses it, 'dispersed in air, some on earth, some in water, others in caves, dens, or minerals under the earth.' Of these, some were more malignant and mischievous than others. The earthy spirits seem to have been thought the most depraved, and the aerial the less vitiated. Thus Prospero observes of Ariel;

—— Thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her *earthy* and abhorr'd commands.

Over these spirits a power might be obtained by certain rites performed or charms learned. This power was called the Black Art, or Knowledge of Enchantment. The enchanter being, as King James observes in his *Demonology*, 'one who commands the devil, whereas the witch serves him.' Those who thought best of this art, the existence of which was, I am afraid, believed very seriously, held that certain sounds and characters had a physical power over spirits, and compelled their agency; others who condemned the practice, which in reality was surely never practised, were of opinion with more reason, that the power of charms

arose *only* from compact, and was no more than the spirits voluntarily allowed them for the seduction of man. The art was held by all, though not equally criminal, yet unlawful, and therefore Casaubon, speaking of one who had commerce with spirits, blames him, though he imagines him one of the best kind, who dealt with them by way of command. Thus Prospero repents of his art in the last scene. The spirits were always considered as in some measure enslaved to the enchanter, at least for a time, and as serving with unwillingness; therefore Ariel so often begs for liberty; and Caliban observes, that the spirits serve Prospero with no good will, but hate him rootedly."

[74] *To run upon the sharp wind of the north.*

A similar expression occurs in the Psalms, civ. 3, "who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; *who walketh upon the wings of the wind.*" The line is improperly altered by Dryden and Davenant, "to run *against*," &c.

[75] *In Argier.*

Argier is the ancient name of Algiers. William Davies, barber-surgeon of London, in, *A true Relation of the Travailes and most miserable Captivitie, &c.*, 4to. Lond. 1614, says, "*Argeir* is a marvellous strong citie, and governed by the Turk, lying upon the side of an upright hill, close upon the sea." So Cowley, in the prologue to the *Cutter of Coleman Street*, 1663,—

As when the midland sea is nowhere clear
From dreadfull fleets of Tunis and *Argier.*

[76] *This blue-ey'd hag.*

An old MS. annotator reads *blear-ey'd*, an ingenious but unnecessary variation.

[77] *Yes; Caliban her son.*

Farmer observes that *Caliban* is the metathesis of *Canibal;* but the name was probably not the poet's invention. A witch named *Calib* is found in Kirke's *Seven Champions of Christendome*, 1638, and a careful examination of early books of witchcraft would probably result in the discovery of the name of Caliban. One of the spirits or imps of Mother Samwell, the witch of Warboys, was named Calicot. There was an early idea that Shakespeare had appropriated a peculiar kind of language to the character of Caliban. "No man," observes Dryden, in the preface to his *Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found Too Late*, 4to. Lond. 1679, "ever drew so many characters, or generally distinguished 'em better from one another, excepting only Johnson: I will instance but in one, to show the copiousness of his invention; 'tis that of Calyban, or the monster in the *Tempest.* He seems there to have created a person which was not in Nature, a boldness which at first sight would appear intolerable: for he makes him a species of himself, begotten by an incubus on a witch; but this, as I have elsewhere prov'd, is not wholly beyond the bounds of credibility; at least the vulgar stile believe it. We have the separated notions of a spirit, and of a witch; (and spirits, according to Plato, are vested with a subtil body; according to some of his followers, have different sexes) therefore as from the distinct apprehensions of a horse, and of a man, imagination has form'd a centaur, so from those of an incubus and a sorceress, Shakespear has produc'd his monster. Whether or no his generation can be defended, I leave to philosophy; but of this I am certain, that the poet has most judiciously furnish'd him with a person, a language, and a character, which will suit him, both by fathers and mothers side: he has all the discontents, and malice of a witch, and of a devil; besides a convenient proportion of the deadly sins;

gluttony, sloth, and lust, are manifest; the dejectedness of a slave is likewise given him, and the ignorance of one bred up in a desart island. His person is monstrous, as he is the product of unnatural lust; and his language is as hobgoblin as his person: in all things he is distinguish'd from other mortals."

Rowe mentions that Lord Falkland, Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, and Selden, concurred in the opinion "that Shakespear had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had also devis'd and adapted a new manner of language for that character;" and Bentley, taking the observation in a more literal meaning than was intended, alludes to Caliban's language as a "new phrase and diction unknown to all others."

"Whence these critics derived the notion of a new language appropriated to Caliban, I cannot find: they certainly mistook brutality of sentiment for uncouthness of words. Caliban had learned to speak of Prospero and his daughter; he had no names for the sun and moon before their arrival; and could not have invented a language of his own, without more understanding than Shakspeare has thought it proper to bestow upon him. His diction is indeed somewhat clouded by the gloominess of his temper, and the malignity of his purposes; but let any other being entertain the same thoughts, and he will find them easily issue in the same expressions."—*Johnson.*

It may be just worth adding that, a few lines afterwards, Mr. Wheler's annotated third folio reads,—

If thou e'er murmurs't more, I'll rend an oak.

[78] *We cannot miss him.*

We cannot miss him, *i. e.*, we cannot do without him, a phrase, according to Malone, current in the midland counties. Palsgrave has, "I mysse, I wante a thyng that I seke for," and he gives a very similar idiom in his *Table of Verbes*, f. 180—"I can nat want my gloves, *je ne me puis passer sans mes gans.*" So also Cotgrave, in v. *Passer*, "*De cela je ne puis passer*, I can by no meanes want it, I cannot bee without it."

And he is one *that cannot wanted be*,
But still God keepe him farre enough from me.
Taylor's Workes, 1630, part ii., p. 134.

Allas! why wantyd he hys wede?
Syr Tryamoure, MS. Cantab.

In like sort they *want* venemous beasts, cheefelie such as doo delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures.—*Harrison's Description of Britaine*, p. 42. (Cf. p. 226).

Leave the government there, during your absence, in the fittest hands that you shall judge to discharge it; *for I may not want you* here to command those forces which will be brought from thence, and such as from hence shall be joined to them.—*Letter in MS. Harl.* 4231.

I will have honest, valiant souls about me;
I cannot miss thee.
Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, vi. 144.

[79] *Come, thou tortoise! when?*

When is an expresssion indicative of great impatience, very common in old plays. "Nay then, sweete sir, give reason; come on, *when.*"—*Marston's What you Will*, 1607.

[80] *My quaint Ariel.*

"*Coint, cointe*, quaint, compt, neat, fine, spruce, briske, smirke, snug, daintie, trim, tricked up."—*Cotgrave.*

[81] *As wicked dew.*

Wicked, in the sense of *baneful, hurtful*, is often met with in old medical works applied to sores and wounds. "A wykked felone," *i. e.*, a bad sore, is mentioned in a tract on hawking, MS. Harl. 2340. The term was also used more generally, as in the old romance of *Ywaine and Gawin*, 1293,—

> The king kest water on the stane;
> The storme rase ful sone onane,
> With *wikked* weders kene and calde,
> Als it was byfore-hand talde.

and in Maundevile's Travels, ed. 1839, p. 276, "to voyden awey alle *wykkede* eyres and corrupcions." An analogous use of the word, *fierce, savage*, is mentioned in *A Glossary of Provincial Words used in Herefordshire*, 1839, p. 119, as still current.

Disposition to vomit (called Nausea) which is a naughty and *wicked* motion of the expulsive vertue of the stomach, is caused of a vicious humour contained in the stomach, being either hot or cold, which humor either swimmeth in the concavitie and hollownesse of the stomach, or it is stuffed in the filmes of the stomach.—*Burrough's Method of Physick*, 1624.

"The following passage," observes Douce, "in Batman *uppon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum*, 1582, folio, will not only throw considerable light on these lines, but furnish at the same time grounds for a conjecture that Shakspeare was indebted to it, with a slight alteration, for the name of Caliban's mother Sycorax the witch. 'The raven is called corvus of Corax . . . . . . it is sayd that *ravens birdes* be fed with *deaw* of heaven all the time that they have no blacke *feathers* by benefite of age.' The same author will also account for the choice which is made, in the monster's speech, of the *South-west wind.* 'This *Southerne winde* is hot and moyst. . . . . . . *Southerne winds* unbind humours, and move them out of the inner parts outwarde; and they cause hevinesse of wits and of feeling: they corrupt and destroye; they heat and maketh men fall into sicknesse.' "

[82] *Urchins.*

The term *urchin* was formerly applied both to a hedgehog, and to a kind of spirit or fairy. It is here, and in the next act, used in the latter sense. In Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse*, 4to. Lond. 1614, are the *fairies* dance, the *elves* dance, and the *urchins* dance, set to music, the words to the last being as follows,—

> By the moone we sport and play,
> With the night begins our day;
> As we friske, the dew doth fall;
> Trip it, little *urchins* all,
> Lightly as the little bee,
> Two by two, and three by three;
> And about goe wee, goe wee.

In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, the children are dressed to represent, "urchins, ouphes, and fairies;" and Milton, in *Comus*, speaks of Sabrina as—

> Helping all urchin blasts, and ill luck signs
> That the shrewd meddling elf delights to make.

[83] *For that vast of night that they may work.*

Vast is probably a substantive formed from the adjective, signifying a great space.

In the dead vast and middle of the night.
Hamlet, edition of 1603.

[84] *To name the bigger light, and how the less.*

And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night.—*Genesis*, i. 16.

[85] *O ho, O ho!*

This was the common exclamation assigned to the devil, and characters allied with him, in the early English drama.

By the masse, ich saw him of late cal up a great blacke devill:
O, the knave cryed, *ho, ho;* he roared and he thundered.
Gammer Gurton's Needle.

[86] *Know thine own meaning.*

That is, make thine own meaning known. This idiom also occurs in Ben Jonson.

[87] *But thy vile race.*

Race, disposition. See notes to *Measure for Measure.*

[88] *The red plague rid you.*

Rid, *i. e.*, cause to rid or drive away, in another word, destroy. The red plague, or pestilence, is again alluded to in *Coriolanus*. In the *General Practise of Physicke*, 1605, p. 675, three different kinds of the plague sore are mentioned,—"sometimes it is red, otherwhiles yellow, and sometimes blacke, which is the very worst and most venimous." Dr. Forman, in his metrical autobiography preserved in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, mentioning an attack of the plague he was afflicted with in the year 1592, says,—

The tokens alsoe I had then,
As red as any blod,
As big as pence, and some bigger,
Of humors like to mud.

An early MS. medical commonplace-book, in my possession, says, "the plague and pestilence, *or red plage*, doth moste abounde from Midsomer to Autume; for in the great plagus 1592 and 1593, the plague began about Midsomer, and continued till December; and in 1603, the plague begane about Midsomer, and ended in November." The same volume prescribes bloodletting every twenty-four hours for this disease, which Steevens erroneously supposed was the erysipelas.

[89] *Shrug'st thou, malice?*

Malice is here used in a similar manner to that in which *scelus* sometimes is in Latin. "*Ubi illic scelus est, qui me perdidit?*—Where is that mischievous varlet that hath cleane undone me?"—*Bernard's Terence*, ed. 1614, pp. 56, 57.

[90] *Fill all thy bones with aches.*

Aches was formerly a dissyllable, pronounced *aitches*, but the verb was spoken as at present. "The *ache*, or payne of body or minde," *Baret's Alvearie*, 1580. "*Ake* is the verbe of this substantive ach, *ch* being turned into *k*," *ibid.* Minsheu makes the same distinction.

For, while he bathes with Gascoyne wines and Spanish,
Thereby old *aches* from his limmes to banish,
Hunts after youthfull company, enticing
Them to the sports of bowling, carding, dicing.
Harington's Most Elegant and Wittie Epigrams, 1633.

Can by their pains and *a-ches* find
All turns and changes of the wind.
Hudibras, III. ii. 407.

[91] *It would control my dam's god, Setebos.*

Setebos is mentioned in Magellan's voyage as one of the mythological personages in the creed of the Patagonians. There is a curious notice of Setebos in Pigafetta's account of that voyage, an abbreviated translation of which appeared in Eden's *History of Travayle*, 4to. Lond. 1577, a book which has been supposed to have suggested to Shakespeare a few hints for the *Tempest;* but the occurrence of the names of Alonso, Ferdinand, Sebastian, Gonzales, and Antonia, in the former, on which this opinion is chiefly grounded, appears to be merely an accidental coincidence. They do not appear in reference to any story at all similar to that on which the play is founded. Dr. Vincent thinks that the character of Caliban was partly founded on some passages in Eden's work, referring chiefly to the slight indications in the following extract:—

"Departyng from hence, they sayled to the 49 degree and a halfe under the pole antartike; where beyng wyntered, they were inforced to remayne there for the space of two monethes: all which tyme they sawe no man, excepte that one day by chaunce they espyed a man of the stature of a giant, who came to the haven *daunsing and singyng*, and shortly after seemed to cast dust over his head. The captayne sent one of his men to the shore, with the shyppe boate, who made the lyke signe of peace. The which thyng the giant seeyng, was out of feare, and came with the captayne's servaunt, to his presence, into a little ilande. When he sawe the captayne with certayne of his company about him, he was greatly amased, and made signes, *holdyng up his hande to heaven*, signifying thereby, *that our men came from thence.* This giant was so byg, that the head of one of our men of a meane stature came but to his waste. He was of good corporature, and well made in all partes of his bodie, with a large visage painted with divers colours, but, for the most parte, yelow. Uppon his cheekes were paynted two hartes, and red circles about his eyes. The heare of his head was coloured whyte, and his apparell was the skynne of a beast sowde togeather. This beast, as seemed unto us, had a large head, and great eares lyke unto a mule, with the body of a camell and tayle of a horse. The feete of the giant were foulded in the sayde skynne, after the maner of shooes. He had in his hande a bygge and shorte bowe, the stryng whereof was made of a sinewe of that beaste. He had also a bundell of long arrows made of reedes, feathered after the maner of ours, typte with sharpe stones, in the steade of iron heades. The captayne caused him to eate and drynke, and gave him many thinges and among other a great lookyng glasse, in the which, as soone as he sawe his owne lykenesse, was sodaynly afrayde, and started backe with suche violence, that hee overthrewe two that stoode nearest about him. When the captayne had thus gyven him certayne haukes belles, and other great belles, with also a lookyng glasse, a combe, and a payre of beades of glasse, he sent him to lande with foure of his owne men well armed. Shortly after, they sawe an other giant of somewhat greater stature with his bowe and arrowes in his hande. As hee drewe neare unto our men, he layde his hande on his head, and poynted up towarde heaven, and our men dyd the lyke. The

captayne sent his shyppe boate to bryng him to a litle ilande, beyng in the haven. This giant was very tractable and pleasaunte. He *soong* and *daunsed*, and in his daunsing lefte the print of his feete on the grounde. . . . . . After other xv. dayes were past, there came foure other giantes, without any weapons, but had hyd theyr bowes and arrowes in certaine bushes. The captaine retayned two of these, which were youngest and beste made. He tooke them by a deceite, in this maner, —that giving them knyves, sheares, looking glasses, belles, beades of crystall and suche other trifles, he so filled theyr handes, that they coulde holde no more; then caused two payre of shackels of iron to be put on theyr legges, makyng signes that he would also give them those chaynes, which they lyked very wel, bycause they were made of bright and shining metall. And wheras they could not carry them bycause theyr handes were full, the other giantes would have caryed them, but the captaine would not suffer them. When they felte the shackels faste about theyr legges, they began to doubt; but the captayne dyd put them in comfort, and bad them stande still. In fine, when they sawe howe they were deceived, they roared lyke bulles, and cryed uppon theyr *great devill, Setebos*, to helpe them. . . . . They say, that when any of them dye, there appeare x. or xii. devils, *leaping and daunsing* about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies paynted with divers colours, and that among other there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoysing. This great devyll they call *Setebos*, and call the lesse Cheleule. One of these giantes which they tooke, declared by signes that he had seene devylles with two hornes above their heades, with *long heare downe to theyr feete*, and that they caste foorth fyre at theyr throates, both *before* and *behynde*. The captayne named these people *Patagoni*. The most parte of them weare the *skynnes* of such beastes whereof I have spoken before; and have no houses of continuance, but make certayne cotages, which they cover with the sayd skynnes, and carry them from place to place. They lyve of raw fleshe, and a certayne sweete roote which they call Capar."—*Eden's History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, 1577, ff. 433, 434.

According to Barbot, in his *Description of the coasts of Nigritia or North Guinea*, p. 59, "the Patagons, a people of a gigantick stature, about the straights of Magellan, are reported to dread a great horned devil by them called Setebos, pretending that when any of their people die, they see that tall devil, attended by ten or twelve smaller, dancing merrily about the dead corpse."

[92] *The wild waves whist.*

That is, the wild waves being silent. The omission of the auxiliary is an idiom of common occurrence in writers of the Elizabethan period. Steevens thinks Milton had this line in his memory, when he wrote,—

> The winds with wonder whist,
> Smoothly the waters kiss'd.

Mr. Knight, leaving out the comma after *kiss'd*, explains the passage, "When you have courtesied to the wild waves, and kissed them into silence;" but this reading, though tasteful in the idea conveyed by it, is not likely to be correct, the ear requiring a pause after that word. The allusion is to the ancient custom of kissing at dances, which occasioned the indignant censure of Stubbes, who amusingly calls it, "clipping, culling, kissing and bussing, smouching and slabbering one of another."

[93] *Foot it featly.*

Featly, nicely, neatly, cleverly, finely. Baret, 1580, translates the term, *scite, concinne;* and Minsheu has, "*feat*, fine or neat." In the comedy of *The Tyde*

taryeth no Man, 1576, mention is made of "a tenement commodyous and feate." The comparative *feater* occurs in the second act of this play. Batman, in 1582, inserted, "*feat*, neat or clenly," in his list of "the most hardest olde English words."

And finallie, whatever thing is strange and delectable,
The same convayed shall you finde most *featly* in some fable.
Ovid, translated by Golding, 1593, sig. B. iii.

"Your little black ladyships have tript it most *featly*."—*The Atheist*, 1684. "Sprightly, proper, well built, *featly* face."—*The Anatomist*, 1697.

[94] *Cry, Cock-a-doodle-dow.*

This termination is retained from the original, on account of the rhyme.

[95] *Weeping again the king my father's wreck.*

Malone has a long note on this line, in which he gives it as his opinion that *again* is here used in the archaic sense of *against;* but Steevens is no doubt correct, in supposing that Ferdinand means only to describe the *repetition* of his more poignant sorrow.

[96] *Full fathom five thy father lies.*

The first folio reads *fadom*, the Anglo-Saxon and old English form of *fathom;* but as the word is also spelt *fathom* in another part of the same volume, it is unnecessary to retain the ancient form in the present instance. "And thei ben wel a four *fadme* gret or more."—*Maundevile's Travels.* The form *fadom* also occurs in Decker and Middleton.

Ye shall kytte betwene Myghelmas and Candylmas a fayr staffe of a *fadom* and an halfe longe.—*The Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle.*

The present song, and the still more beautiful one, "Where the bee sucks," were originally set to music by Robert Johnson, a well-known performer on the lute contemporary with Shakespeare. This fact is ascertained from Wilson's *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*, Oxford, 1660, the author of which has reset the music to these two songs. Dr. Rimbault claims to have discovered some fragments of the original instrumental music to the *Tempest;* but their genuineness, as really being contemporary with Shakespeare, should not be admitted, unless there is undoubted early evidence that they really do belong to the first production of the play. Shakespearian music is of very slight literary interest, if it is not incontestably proved to be coeval with the original production of the dramas themselves.

[97] *Ding-dong, bell.*

This burthen again occurs in a song in the *Merchant of Venice*, and in both cases is seriously applied, the jingle, which now suggest comical associations, being, in Shakespeare's time, considered of a solemn character. An elegy in the *Golden Garland of Princely Delight*, entitled, "Corydon's Doleful Knell," is adapted "to the tune of *Ding, dong*," the first verse of which, as printed by Percy, is as follows,—

My Phillida, adieu love!
For evermore farewel!
Ay me! I've lost my true love,
And thus I *ring her knell*,
Ding dong, ding dong, ding dong,
My Phillida is dead!
I'll stick a branch of willow
At my fair Phillis' head:

and the same editor makes "no doubt but the poet intended to conclude the above air in a manner the most solemn and expressive of melancholy:"—

In sable will I mourne;
Blacke shall be all my weede:
Ay me! I am forlorne,
Now Phillida is dead!
Ding dong, ding dong, &c.

[98] *That the earth owes.*

Owe, to own, to possess. Shakespeare uses the word several times in this sense, and again in the present scene. "Prethee tels who *owes* this building."—*Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, 1607, sig. A. ii. "To muse who should father my first child, were to doubt, when the cow is mine, who should *owe* the calfe."—*Euphues and his England.*

Ah, good young daughter, I may call thee so,
For thou art like a daughter I did *owe*.
Chron. Hist. of King Leir, 1605.

When Charles the fifth went with his armye into Affrique and arrived at Larghera, a noble citty of Sardinia, there happened an exceeding great wonder, for an oxe brought forth a calfe with two heades, and the woman that did *owe* the oxe, presented the calfe to the Emperor.—*Topsell's Four-Footed Beasts*, 1607, p. 90.

Randle Holme this book doth *owe*,
William Holme the same doth knowe;
R. Holme junier will testefie
That William Holme doth not lye.
MS. Verses on the fly-leaf of an old book.

[99] *The fringed curtains of thine eye advance.*

Sir Philip Sydney speaks of eye-lids as the curtains of the eyes, and there is a parallel to this beautiful line in *Pericles*,—

Her eye-lids, cases to those heavenly jewels
Which Pericles hath lost,
Begin to part their fringes of bright gold.

[100] *Most sure, the goddess.*

Supposed to be imitated from Virgil. *O Dea certe*, says Æneas, who is hesitating whether Venus is or is not a created being, *O quam te memorem, Virgo.* Farmer refers to the English translation by Stanyhurst, 1583,—

O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
Thy tongue, thy visage, no mortal frayltie resembleth.
—— No doubt, a godesse!

[101] *If you be maid or no.*

The definite reply given by Miranda to this question, clearly shows it is to be accepted in its ordinary meaning, and the repetition of the doubt,

—— O, *if a virgin,*
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The queen of Naples,

is merely expressive of a slight involuntary hesitation, natural to those whose happiness is at stake, even where an assurance of the fact has been previously

given. "O, if it be true that you are a virgin," &c. In another scene, Ferdinand expressly declares that his passion for Miranda commenced *the very instant* that he saw her. Lilly, in his *Gallathea*, 1632, has a passage which confirms the above reading,—"All the bloud in my body would bee in my face, if he should aske me, as the question among men is common, are you a maide?" Gifford thinks it not improbable that Massinger was thinking of Shakespeare's play, when he wrote,—

—— I have seen a maid, sir;
But if that I have judgment, no such wonder
As she was deliver'd to you.

The fourth folio reads *made*, and several critics, adopting this reading, consider the enquiry is merely whether Miranda is a mortal or a goddess. Dryden and Davenant take this view of the dialogue in their alteration of the play, Ferdinand's speech appearing thus in ed. 1676, p. 43,—"She's, sure, the mistris on whom these airs attend. Fair Excellence, if, as your form declares, you are divine, be pleas'd to instruct me how you will be worship'd; so bright a beauty cannot, sure, belong to humane kind:" to which Miranda answers,—"I am, like you, a mortal, if such you are." Clarinda, in Fletcher's *Sea Voyage*, under similar circumstances, tells Albert, who mistakes her for a goddess, that she is "made of that same brittle mould as you are;" and Farmer thinks Shakespeare may have remembered the reply of Belphœbe to Timias in the *Faerie Queene*, when he terms her, "angell or goddesse,"—

—— Ah! gentle squire,
Nor goddesse I, nor angell, but the mayd
And daughter of a woody nymphe.

Milton may possibly have imitated Shakespeare in the address of Comus to the lady,—

—— I'll speak to her,
And she shall be my queen.—Hail, foreign wonder!
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless the goddess, &c.

"For can any one reasonably imagine Shakespear in this conjuncture, on which the good or ill fortune of Prospero, the chief character of the play, depended, cou'd so far forget himself, as to let the whole plot stand still for the sake of so low a pun? The knowledge whether Miranda was mortal or not, might be proper enough to satisfy Ferdinand's curiosity, and if the latter, to obtain protection for him; but conduces nothing to the business in hand, the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda, and by that match, the restoration of Prospero to his dominions; but sure, the knowledge whether she was single, which the poet beautifully and justly phrases, 'Maid or no,' was very material to that purpose, and very natural, and extremely proper for Ferdinand to enquire into: he felt a growing passion, and was willing to be satisfied as soon as possible, whether he might indulge it or not, or whether that grand obstacle of her being already engag'd, stood in his way? This appears clearly to be the poet's design, who makes both the question and answer, naturally proceed from the subject, the growing love of the two persons, whose affections are hurried on towards each other by the impulse of preternatural powers, and not from the idle curiosity of the one, or the ignorant simplicity of the other."—*An Attempte to rescue that anciente English Poet and Play-wrighte, Maister Williaume Shakespere, from the maney Errours faulsely charged on him*, 8vo. Lond. 1749.

It may be just necessary to observe that the omission of the article, in the line

in the text, is consonant to the grammatical usages of the time. So, in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*,—

Come on, mother Chat, as thou art true maid.

[102] *A single thing.*

Single, weak, simple, silly. "Why, I tell you, all men believe it when they hear him speak, he utters such *single* matter in so infantly a voice."—*Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Dyce, v. 438.

[103] *The Duke of Milan, and his brave son.*

This mention of the son of the Duke of Milan, a character who is not elsewhere mentioned, is probably to be attributed to the probable circumstance of the story of the play having been adopted from an early romance.

[104] *Could control thee.*

Control, oppose, confute, contradict. "To controul, disprove, *redarguo, contradico*," Coles. "Whose persons, indeed, being far removed from our times, their works, which seldom with us pass *uncontrouled* either by contemporaries or immediate successors, are now become out of the distance of envies."—*Brown's Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. 1658, p. 21.

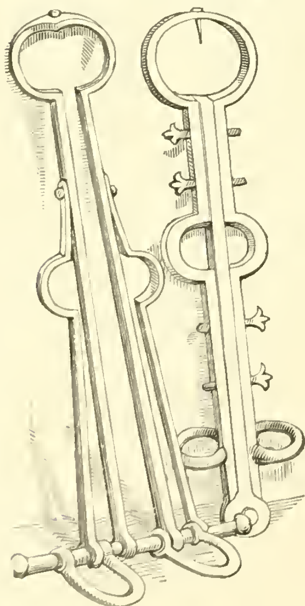
[105] *At the first sight they have chang'd eyes.*

"The incident of Miranda's surprise at the first sight of Ferdinand, and of her falling in love with him, might have been suggested by some lost translation of the 13th tale in the *Cento novelle antiche*, and which is in fact the subject of *father Philip's geese*, so admirably told by Boccaccio and Lafontaine. It seems to have been originally taken from the life of Saint Barlaam in the *Golden Legend*."—*Douce.*

[106] *I fear you have done yourself some wrong.*

Steevens explains this, "I fear that in asserting yourself to be King of Naples, you have uttered a falsehood which is below your character, and consequently injurious to your honour." So, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,—"this is not well, master Ford; this *wrongs* you."

[107] *I'll manacle thy neck and feet together.*



Manacles were, properly speaking, shackles used for binding the hands; but a more refined instrument, by which the feet, hands, and neck were fastened, or the feet and neck only, was also so termed. The accompanying specimens were selected by Mr. Fairholt, who has furnished me with the following memorandum:—"The figure on the left is taken from one preserved in the Tower of London; the other is a copy of one which was brought from Scotland in 1745 by the Duke of Cumberland: it was found in the possession of a Scottish laird, who was reported to have used it for punishing refractory tenants. The spike, in the opening for the head, was intended to hinder the slightest movement in the person who was confined in it." They were used for torture for extracting confessions, as well as for punishment. "I manakyll a suspecte person to make hym to confesse things."—*Palsgrave*, 1530.

[108] *He's gentle, and not fearful.*

Fearful, formidable. The verb *to fear* was frequently used in the sense, to cause to fear, to terrify. "*Absterreo*, to feare awaye, or drive awaye wyth feare."—*Eliotes Dictionarie*, 1559. "A mighty and a fearful head they are, 1 *Henry IV.* "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."—*Liturgy.* Smollett takes a different view of the poet's meaning:—"How have your commentators been puzzled by the following expression,—'He's gentle, and not fearful;' as if it was a paralogism to say that being *gentle*, he must of course be *courageous;* but the truth is, one of the original meanings, if not the sole meaning, of that word was, *noble, high minded:* and to this day a Scotch woman in the situation of the young lady in the *Tempest*, would express herself nearly in the same terms.—Don't provoke him: for being *gentle*, that is, *high spirited*, he won't tamely bear an insult. Spenser, in the very first stanza of his *Fairy Queen*, says:

A *gentle* knight was pricking on the plain,

which knight, far from being *tame* and *fearful*, was so stout that

Nothing did he dread, but ever was y-drad."

[109] *My foot my tutor.*

Foot is here merely a metaphorical expression for a person under the authority and guidance of another, a child the foot of a father, a servant or slave the foot of a master, &c." "I am now in very good case that he, which was my servant but the other day, will now be my master: this it is for a woman to make her foot her head."—*Historie of Jack of Newbury.* Compare the *Mirour for Magistrates*, 1587, f. 163,—

And thus was Yorke declared Protectour:
Protectour, sayd I? Nay, Proditor playne;
A rancke rebell the Prince's directour,
A vassall to leade his Lorde and soverayne.
What honest hart would not conceive disdayne
To see the foote surmount above the head?
A monster is, in spite of Nature, bred.

[110] *Come from thy ward.*

"Desist from any hope of awing me by that posture of defence."—*Johnson.* The term *ward*, a guard in fencing, scarcely requires explanation.

What, my old ruffian, *lie at your ward.*
Downfall of R. Earl of Huntington, 1601.

[111] *My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.*

In some MS. extracts from this play, written about the year 1640, the last two words are read *lock'd up.* All early variations of this kind are curious, and worthy of notice, but they are generally of no real authority. The present is one of the many instances which may be adduced of later writers altering the text of Shakespeare, to suit their own fancy.

My Spirits as in a dreame are all lockd up.

Ac, velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
Nocte quies, nequicquam avidos extendere cursus
Velle videmur, et in mediis conatibus ægri
Succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notæ
Sufficiunt vires, nec vox aut verba sequuntur.
Virgilii Æneis, xii. 908-12.

[112] *Might I but through my prison once a day.*

Allas! that ever knewe I Perotheus!
For elles had I dweld with Theseus
I-fetered in his prisoun for evere moo.
Than had I ben in blis, and nat in woo:
Oonly the sight of hir, whom that I serve,
Though that I hir grace may nat deserve,
Wold han sufficed right ynough for me.

Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, ed. Wright, 1229.

Act the Second.

SCENE I.—*Another part of the enchanted Island.*

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, *and others.*

Gon. Beseech you, sir, be merry: you have cause,—
So have we all,—of joy; for our escape
Is much beyond our loss. Our hint of woe[1]
Is common: every day, some sailor's wife,
The masters of some merchant,[2] and the merchant,
Have just our theme of woe: but for the miracle,
I mean our preservation, few in millions
Can speak like us: then wisely, good sir, weigh
Our sorrow with our comfort.

Alon. Prithee, peace.

Seb. He receives comfort like cold porridge.

Ant. The visitor will not give him o'er so.[3]

Seb. Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit; by and by it will strike.[4]

Gon. Sir,—

Seb. One:—Tell.

Gon. When every grief is entertain'd that's offer'd,
Comes to the entertainer—

Seb. A dollar.

Gon. Dolour comes to him, indeed;[5] you have spoken truer than you purposed.

Seb. You have taken it wiselier than I meant you should.

Gon. Therefore, my lord,—

Ant. Fie, what a spendthrift is he of his tongue!

Alon. I prithee, spare.

Gon. Well, I have done: But yet—

Seb. He will be talking.

Ant. Which of them,[6] he or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow?

Seb. The old cock.

Ant. The cockrel.

Seb. Done! the wager?

Ant. A laughter.

Seb. A match.

Adr. Though this island seem to be desert,—

Seb. Ha, ha, ha!—So, you 're paid.[7]

Adr. Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible,—

Seb. Yet,—

Adr. Yet,—

Ant. He could not miss it.

Adr. It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate temperance.[8]

Ant. Temperance was a delicate wench.[9]

Seb. Ay, and a subtle; as he most learnedly delivered.

Adr. The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.

Seb. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.

Ant. Or, as 't were, perfumed by a fen.

Gon. Here is everything advantageous to life.

Ant. True; save means to live.

Seb. Of that there 's none, or little.

Gon. How lush and lusty[10] the grass looks! how green!

Ant. The ground, indeed, is tawny.

Seb. With an eye of green in 't.[11]

Ant. He misses not much.

Seb. No; he doth but mistake the truth totally.

Gon. But the rarity of it is,—which is, indeed, almost beyond credit,—

Seb. As many vouched rarities are.

Gon. That our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their freshness and glosses; being rather new dyed, than stained with salt water.

Ant. If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say, he lies?

Seb. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report.

Gon. Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of the king's fair daughter Claribel to the king of Tunis.

Seb. 'T was a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

Adr. Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

Gon. Not since widow Dido's time.

Ant. Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in?[12] Widow Dido!

Seb. What if he had said 'widower Æneas' too? good lord, how you take it!

Adr. Widow Dido, said you? you make me study of that: She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

Gon. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

Adr. Carthage?

Gon. I assure you, Carthage.

Ant. His word is more than the miraculous harp.

Seb. He hath raised the wall and houses too.

Ant. What impossible matter will he make easy next?

Seb. I think he will carry this island home in his pocket, and give it his son for an apple.

Ant. And, sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands.

Gon. Ay?

Ant. Why, in good time.

Gon. Sir, we were talking that our garments seem now as fresh, as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now queen.

Ant. And the rarest that e'er came there.

Seb. Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.

Ant. O, widow Dido! ay, widow Dido!

Gon. Is not, sir, my doublet[13] as fresh as the first day I wore it? I mean, in a sort.

Ant. That sort was well fished for.

Gon. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage?

Alon. You cram these words into mine ears, against
The stomach of my sense.[14] Would I had never
Married my daughter there! for, coming thence,
My son is lost! and, in my rate, she too,
Who is so far from Italy remov'd,
I ne'er again shall see her. O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee?

Fran. Sir, he may live:

I saw him beat the surges under him,
And ride upon their backs; he trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoln that met him; his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
As stooping to relieve him; I not doubt,[15]
He came alive to land.

Alon. No, no, he 's gone.

Seb. Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss,
That would not bless our Europe with your daughter,
But rather lose her to an African;
Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye,
Who hath cause to wet the grief on 't.

Alon. Prithee, peace.

Seb. You were kneel'd to, and importun'd otherwise,
By all of us; and the fair soul herself
Weigh'd, between loathness and obedience, at
Which end o' the beam she'd bow.[16] We have lost your son,
I fear, for ever: Milan and Naples have
More widows in them of this business' making,
Than we bring men to comfort them:[17] the fault's
Your own.

Alon. So is the dearest of the loss.

Gon. My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in; you rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaster.

Seb. Very well.

Ant. And most chirurgeonly.

Gon. It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.

Seb. Foul weather?

Ant. Very foul.

Gon. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

Ant. He 'd sow it with nettle-seed.

Seb. Or docks, or mallows.

Gon. —and were the king on 't, What would I do?

Seb. Scape being drunk, for want of wine.

Gon. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic

Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known: riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none:[18]
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
No occupation; all men idle, all,—
And women too; but innocent and pure:
No sovereignty:—

Seb. Yet he would be king on 't.

Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

Gon. All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foison,[19] all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

Seb. No marrying 'mong his subjects?

Ant. None, man; all idle; whores and knaves.

Gon. I would with such perfection govern, sir,
To excel the golden age.

Seb. Save his majesty!

Ant. Long live Gonzalo!

Gon. And, do you mark me, sir?—

Alon. Prithee, no more: thou dost talk nothing to me.

Gon. I do well believe your highness; and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble lungs, that they always use to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

Gon. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you: so you may continue, and laugh at nothing still.

Ant. What a blow was there given!

Seb. An it had not fallen flat-long.[20]

Gon. You are gentlemen of brave mettle;[21] you would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL, *invisible:—solemn music.*

Seb. We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.[22]

Ant. Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

Gon. No, I warrant you, I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy?

Ant. Go, sleep, and hear us. [*All sleep but* ALON., SEB., *and* ANT.
Alon. What, all so soon asleep! I wish mine eyes
Would with themselves shut up my thoughts; I find
They are inclin'd to do so.
Seb. Please you, sir,
Do not omit the heavy offer of it:
It seldom visits sorrow; when it doth,
It is a comforter.
Ant. We two, my lord,
Will guard your person, while you take your rest,
And watch your safety.
Alon. Thank you: wondrous heavy.
[ALONSO *sleeps.* *Exit* ARIEL.
Seb. What a strange drowsiness possesses them!
Ant. It is the quality o' the climate.
Seb. Why
Doth it not then our eyelids sink? I find not
Myself dispos'd to sleep.
Ant. Nor I; my spirits are nimble.
They fell together all, as by consent;
They dropp'd, as by a thunder-stroke. What might
Worthy Sebastian—O, what might—No more:—
And yet, methinks, I see it in thy face,
What thou shouldst be: the occasion speaks thee; and
My strong imagination sees a crown
Dropping upon thy head.
Seb. What! art thou waking?
Ant. Do you not hear me speak?
Seb. I do; and, surely,
It is a sleepy language; and thou speak'st
Out of thy sleep: What is it thou didst say?
This is a strange repose, to be asleep
With eyes wide open; standing, speaking, moving,
And yet so fast asleep.
Ant. Noble Sebastian,
Thou let'st thy fortune sleep,—die rather; wink'st
Whiles thou art waking.
Seb. Thou dost snore distinctly;
There's meaning in thy snores.
Ant. I am more serious than my custom: you
Must be so too, if heed me; which to do,
Trebles thee o'er.[23]

Seb. Well, I am standing water.
Ant. I'll teach you how to flow.
Seb. Do so: to ebb
Hereditary sloth instructs me.
Ant. O,
If you but knew how you the purpose cherish,[24]
Whiles thus you mock it! how, in stripping it,
You more invest it! Ebbing men, indeed,
Most often do so near the bottom run,
By their own fear, or sloth.
Seb. Prithee say on:
The setting of thine eye, and cheek, proclaim
A matter from thee; and a birth, indeed,
Which throes thee much to yield.
Ant. Thus, sir:
Although this lord of weak remembrance,[25] this,—
Who shall be of as little memory,
When he is earth'd,—hath here almost persuaded,—
For he 's a spirit of persuasion, only[26]
Professes to persuade,—the king his son 's alive,—
'T is as impossible that he 's undrown'd,
As he, that sleeps here, swims.
Seb. I have no hope
That he 's undrown'd.
Ant. O, out of that no hope,
What great hope have you! no hope, that way, is
Another way so high a hope, that even
Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond,
But doubts discovery there.[27] Will you grant with me,
That Ferdinand is drown'd?
Seb. He 's gone.
Ant. Then, tell me,
Who's the next heir of Naples?
Seb. Claribel.
Ant. She that is queen of Tunis:[28] she that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life;[29] she that from Naples
Can have no note, unless the sun were post,—
The man i' the moon's too slow,—till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable; she that from whom
We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again,[30]
And, by that destiny,[31] to perform an act
Whereof what 's past is prologue; what to come,
In yours and my discharge.

Seb. What stuff is this?—How say you?
'T is true, my brother's daughter 's queen of Tunis,—
So is she heir of Naples; 'twixt which regions
There is some space.
Ant. A space whose every cubit
Seems to cry out, 'How shall that Claribel
Measure us back to Naples?'—Keep in Tunis,
And let Sebastian wake![32]—Say, this were death
That now hath seiz'd them; why, they were no worse
Than now they are: There be that can rule Naples
As well as he that sleeps; lords that can prate
As amply, and unnecessarily,
As this Gonzalo; I myself could make
A chough[33] of as deep chat. O, that you bore
The mind that I do! what a sleep were this
For your advancement! Do you understand me?
Seb. Methinks I do.
Ant. And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?
Seb. I remember,
You did supplant your brother Prospero.
Ant. True:
And, look, how well my garments sit upon me,
Much feater than before. My brother's servants
Were then my fellows: now they are my men.
Seb. But, for your conscience—
Ant. Ay, sir; where lies that? if it were a kybe,
'T would put me to my slipper: But I feel not
This deity in my bosom; twenty consciences,
That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they,[34]
And melt, ere they molest! Here lies your brother,
No better than the earth he lies upon,—
If he were that which now he 's like, that 's dead,
Whom I, with this obedient steel, three inches of it,
Can lay to bed for ever:[35] whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye might put
This ancient morsel,[36] this sir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our course. For all the rest,
They 'll take suggestion,[37] as a cat laps milk;
They 'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.
Seb. Thy case, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent; as thou got'st Milan,

I 'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword: one stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st;
And I the king shall love thee.

Ant. Draw together:
And when I rear my hand, do you the like,
To fall it on Gonzalo.

Seb. O, but one word. [*They converse apart.*

Music. Re-enter ARIEL, *invisible.*

Ari. My master through his art foresees the danger
That you, his friend, are in; and sends me forth,—
For else his projects die,[38]—to keep them living.

Sings in GONZALO'S *ear.*] While you here do snoring lie,
Open-ey'd Conspiracy
His time doth take:
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber, and beware:
Awake! awake!

Ant. Then let us both be sudden.

Gon. Now, good angels, preserve the king! [*They awake.*

Alon. Why, how now, ho! awake! Why are you drawn?[39]
Wherefore this ghastly looking?

Gon. What's the matter?

Seb. Whiles we stood here securing your repose,
Even now, we heard a hollow burst of bellowing
Like bulls, or rather lions; did it not wake you?
It struck mine ear most terribly.

Alon. I heard nothing.

Ant. O, 't was a din to fright a monster's ear;
To make an earthquake! sure, it was the roar
Of a whole herd of lions.

Alon. Heard you this, Gonzalo?

Gon. Upon mine honour, sir, I heard a humming,
And that a strange one too, which did awake me:
I shak'd you, sir, and cry'd; as mine eyes open'd,
I saw their weapons drawn:—there was a noise,
That 's verity:[40] 'T is best we stand upon our guard,
Or that we quit this place: let 's draw our weapons.

Alon. Lead off this ground; and let 's make further search
For my poor son.

Gon. Heavens keep him from these beasts!
For he is, sure, i' the island.

Alon. Lead away.

Ari. Prospero, my lord, shall know what I have done: [*Aside.*
So, king, go safely on to seek thy son. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Another part of the enchanted Island.*

Enter CALIBAN *with a burden of wood.—Thunder.*

Cal. All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a disease![41] His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin shows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a firebrand, in the dark
Out of my way, unless he bid them; but
For every trifle are they set upon me:
Sometime like apes, that mowe[42] and chatter at me,
And after, bite me; then like hedgehogs, which
Lie tumbling in my barefoot way, and mount
Their pricks[43] at my foot-fall; sometime am I
All wound with adders,[44] who, with cloven tongues,
Do hiss me into madness:—Lo! now! lo!

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me,
For bringing wood in slowly: I'll fall flat;
Perchance, he will not mind me.

Trin. Here's neither bush nor shrub, to bear off any weather at all, and another storm brewing; I hear it sing i' the wind: yond same black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bombard[45] that would shed his liquor. If it should thunder as it did before, I know not where to hide my head: yond same cloud cannot choose but fall by pailfuls.—What have we here?—a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not of the newest, Poor-John; a strange fish![46] Were I in England now,—as once I was,—and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man;[47] any strange beast there makes a man:[48] when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legg'd like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no

longer,—this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunder-bolt. [*Thunder.*] Alas! the storm is come again: my best way is to creep under his gaberdine;[49] there is no other shelter hereabout. Misery acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows. I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past.

Enter STEPHANO *singing; a bottle in his hand.*

Ste. I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I die ashore;—

This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man's funeral:
Well, here 's my comfort. [*Drinks and sings.*

The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Lov'd Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us car'd for Kate:
For she had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a sailor, 'Go hang:'
She lov'd not the savour of tar nor of pitch,
Yet a tailor might scratch her where-e'er she did itch:
Then to sea, boys, and let her go hang!

This is a scurvy tune too: But here's my comfort! [*Drinks.*

Cal. Do not torment me: O!

Ste. What 's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon us with salvages,[50] and men of Inde? Ha! I have not scap'd drowning, to be afeard now of your four legs; for it hath been said, As proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground: and it shall be said so again, while Stephano breathes at nostrils.

Cal. The spirit torments me: O!

Ste. This is some monster of the isle, with four legs,[51] who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that: If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he 's a present for any emperor[52] that ever trod on neat's leather.[53]

Cal. Do not torment me, prithee; I 'll bring my wood home faster.

Ste. He 's in his fit now, and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle: if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit: if I can recover him, and keep him tame, I will not take too much for him:[54] he shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly.

Cal. Thou dost me yet but little hurt;[55] thou wilt anon; I know it, by thy trembling: Now Prosper works upon thee.

Ste. Come on your ways; open your mouth: here is that which will give language to you, cat;[56] open your mouth: this will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly: you cannot tell who 's your friend: open your chaps again.

Trin. I should know that voice: it should be—but he is drowned; and these are devils: O! defend me!—

Ste. Four legs, and two voices; a most delicate monster! His forward voice[57] now is to speak well of his friend; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague. Come,—Amen![58] I will pour some in thy other mouth.

Trin. Stephano!—

Ste. Doth thy other mouth call me? Mercy! Mercy! This is a devil, and no monster: I will leave him; I have no long spoon.[59]

Trin. Stephano!—if thou beest Stephano, touch me, and speak to me; for I am Trinculo;—be not afeard,—thy good friend Trinculo.

Ste. If thou beest Trinculo, come forth; I 'll pull thee by the lesser legs: if any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo, indeed! How cam'st thou to be the siege of this moon-calf?[60] Can he vent Trinculos?

Trin. I took him to be killed with a thunder-stroke:—But art thou not drowned, Stephano? I hope, now, thou art not drowned. Is the storm overblown? I hid me under the dead moon-calf's gaberdine, for fear of the storm: And art thou living, Stephano? O Stephano, two Neapolitans scap'd!

Ste. Prithee, do not turn me about; my stomach is not constant.

Cal. These be fine things, an if they be not sprites.
That 's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor:
I will kneel to him!

Ste. How didst thou 'scape? How cam'st thou hither? swear, by this bottle, how thou cam'st hither. I escaped upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heaved o'erboard, by this bottle! which I made of the bark of a tree, with mine own hands, since I was cast a-shore.

Cal. I 'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true subject; for the liquor is not earthly.

Ste. Here; swear, then, how thou escap'dst.

Trin. Swam a-shore, man, like a duck; I can swim like a duck, I 'll be sworn.

Ste. Here, kiss the book: Though thou canst swim like a duck, thou art made like a goose.

Trin. O Stephano, hast any more of this?

Ste. The whole butt, man; my cellar is in a rock by the seaside, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf? how does thine ague?

Cal. Hast thou not dropped from heaven?[61]

Ste. Out o' the moon, I do assure thee: I was the man in the moon, when time was.

Cal. I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee;
My mistress showed me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush.

Ste. Come, swear to that; kiss the book: I will furnish it anon with new contents: swear.

Trin. By this good light, this is a very shallow monster!—I afeard of him?[62]—a very weak monster:—The man i' the moon!—a most poor credulous monster: Well drawn, monster, in good sooth.

Cal. I 'll show thee every fertile inch o' the island;
And I will kiss thy foot: I prithee be my god!

Trin. By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster! when his god 's asleep, he 'll rob his bottle.

Cal. I 'll kiss thy foot: I 'll swear myself thy subject.

Ste. Come on, then; down, and swear.

Trin. I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster: a most scurvy monster! I could find in my heart to beat him,—

Ste. Come, kiss.

Trin. —but that the poor monster 's in drink; an abominable monster!

Cal. I 'll show thee the best springs; I 'll pluck thee berries;
I 'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.
A plague upon the tyrant that I serve!
I 'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee,
Thou wondrous man!

Trin. A most ridiculous monster! to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.

Cal. I prithee let me bring thee where crabs grow,
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;[63]
Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmozet; I 'll bring thee
To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I 'll get thee
Young scamels[64] from the rock: Wilt thou go with me?

Ste. I prithee now, lead the way without any more talking.—Trinculo, the king and all our company else being drowned, we will inherit here. Here ; bear my bottle. Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

Cal. [*Sings drunkenly.*] Farewell, master : farewell, farewell!

Trin. A howling monster ; a drunken monster!

Cal. No more dams I 'll make for fish ;
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring ;
Nor scrape trencher ;[65] nor wash dish :
'Ban, 'Ban, Ca—Caliban[66]
Has a new master—Get a new man!

Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom, hey-day, freedom!

Ste. O brave monster, lead the way! [*Exeunt.*

Notes to the Second Act.

[1] *Our hint of woe.*

Hint, as Dr. Johnson observes, is that which recalls to the memory. See another instance at p. 344. It is, however, elsewhere used in the simple sense of *occasion.*

[2] *The masters of some merchant.*

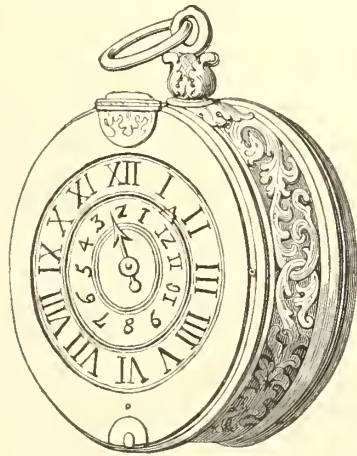
Merchant, a merchant-man, a ship of trade; an unusual sense of the word. It occurs in Dryden,—" convoy ships accompany their *merchants*, till they may prosecute the rest of their voyage without danger."

[3] *The visitor will not give him o'er so.*

"Why Dr. Warburton should change *visitor* to *'viser*, for *adviser*, I cannot discover. Gonzalo gives not only advice but comfort, and is therefore properly called *the visitor*, like others who visit the sick or distressed to give them consolation. In some of the Protestant churches there is a kind of officers termed consolators for the sick."—*Johnson.*

[4] *By and by it will strike.*

Watches that struck the hours were known at least as early as the commencement of the sixteenth century, being mentioned by Coccleus in the year 1511; and Captain Smyth mentions one in the shape of a skull, presented by Francis the Second of France to his youthful bride Queen Mary of Scotland, which had an apparatus to strike. The words of Coccleus, as cited by Mr. Octavius Morgan from Doppelmayer, are,—"inveniuntur in dies subtiliora, etenim Petrus Hele, juvenis adhuc admodum, opera fecit, quæ vel doctissimi admirantur mathematici, nam ex ferro parva fabricat horologia, plurimis digesta rotulis, quæ quocunque vertantur, absque ullo pondere, et monstrant et pulsant xl. horas: etiam si in sinu marsupiove contineantur." The annexed engraving of a striking watch was selected from a specimen in the collection of R. Bernal, esq., M.P., by Mr. Fairholt, who has favoured me with the following memorandum respecting it,—"the engraving is the full size of the original, which is thick and heavy; the glass over the face is very convex. The ornamental chasing at the side of the watch is perforated to allow the sound to escape freely when the watch strikes, which is done by a hammer hitting on the inner case



(made of sonorous metal), and secured to the outer one by a central screw. The striking portion of this watch is an alarum which acts to any hour at option, but the same machinery was adopted for watches which struck each hour regularly."

[5] *Dolour comes to him, indeed.*

A charriot and rich robes attend Lorrique;
And his reward be thirteene hundred *dollers*,
For he hath driven *dolour* from our heart.
The Tragedy of Hoffman, or a Revenge for a Father, 1631.

[6] *Which of them, he or Adrian.*

The old copies omit *them*, which was supplied by Pope, and appears to be essential to the sense.

[7] *So, you 're paid.*

The wager was a laughter, and is paid by the, *ha, ha, ha!* There is no necessity for any alteration, further than appropriating these two brief speeches to the proper character; for as Antonio wins the wager, the present line evidently does not belong to him. Sebastian laughs the moment he loses the jocular wager, by Adrian being the first to speak, and tells Antonio that he has thus paid the bet. Dr. Verplanck defends the original reading, but a minute examination of the context will show that my text is correct.

[8] *And delicate temperance.*

Temperance, for *temperature*, a very unusual and licentious use of the word. "Temperance of weather, *bonté du temps*."—*Howell's Lex. Tetr.* 1660.

[9] *Temperance was a delicate wench.*

Temperance, as one of the cardinal virtues, was variously represented. The annexed figure, holding a clock, typical of this "delicate wench," is the third on the basement of the tomb of F. de Lannoy in the church of Folleville, in the department of the Somme. Captain Smyth mentions an illumination of *Attrempance* in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, in which she is seen standing under a porch, and upon a windmill: she wears spurs, holds spectacles, and upon her head bears a portable clock. The association of this virtue with Time, seems to have intimated "that regularity which adds strength to steadiness of purpose, and moderation to passion." Sir T. Elyot styles her, "a sad and dyscrete matrone and reverent governesse, awaytynge dylygentlye, that in any wyse voluptie or concupiscence have no preemynence in the soule of man."

[10] *How lush and lusty the grass looks.*

Lush, juicy, succulent, applied to vegetables; and generally, sometimes metaphorically, it signifies *luxuriant*. Donne, in the *Juvenilia*, 1633, appears to use the term as a substantive, in the sense of, luxuriance or brilliancy. It had more usually the meaning of, loose, or flabby, as in Topsell's *Historie of Foure Footed Beastes*, 1607, p. 343,—"the flesh of his lippes and of all his bodye is *lush* and feeble." Henley cites the following from Golding's translation of Julius Solinus, 1587,—"shrubbes *lushe* and almost like a grystle;" and the same writer, in his translation of Ovid, renders *turget* by this word.

[11] *With an eye of green in't.*

Eye is here used metaphorically for a very small quantity of any thing, a shade of colour. So, in the same scene, there is an analogous phrase, "a wink beyond." Steevens gives the three following quotations,—"Red, with an eye of blue, makes a purple," *Boyle;* "some cole-black, all eye of purple being put out therein," *Fuller;* "cloth of silver tissued with an eye of green," *Sandys's Travels.*

They examined first their store, which, after two cakes a day to a man, would hold out but sixteene dayes; the corne of the Indians but newly sowed; not an *eye* of sturgeon as yet appeared in the river.—*A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, 1610.

[12] *How came that widow in.*

Widow Dido, as Lydgate has it, "with light of vertue al widowes to enlumine." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the miraculous harp is an allusion to the music of Amphion.

[13] *Is not my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it.*

An account of the doublet, and in what respects it differed from the jerkin, will be found in the notes to the *Two Gentlemen of Verona.* The annexed engraving is taken from a very rare early black-letter ballad in my possession, entitled, "A New Game at Cards, or the three nimble shuffling Cheaters, to a pleasant new tune, or what you please;" but the woodcut, as is often the case in old English ballads, does not appear to have much relation to the subject.

[14] *The stomach of my sense.*

That is, the resolution of my sense. You make me hear your words, in spite of all my resolution to the contrary.

[15] *I not doubt.*

The omission of the verb *to do* is of frequent occurrence. So, in *Hans Beer-Pot his Invisible Comedie of See me and See me not*, 1618,—

——let's along; weele to the towne,
Where *I not doubt* but I shall find your sonne
A drinking, not at 's booke.

[16] *Which end o' the beam she'd bow.*

"*Weigh'd* means deliberated. It is used in nearly the same sense in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in *Hamlet.* The old copy reads—*should* bow. *Should* was probably an abbreviation of *she would*, the mark of elision being inadvertently omitted [sh'ould]. Thus *he has* is frequently exhibited in the first folio—*h'as.* Mr. Pope corrected the passage thus: "at which end the beam should bow." But omission of any word in the old copy, without substituting another in its place, is seldom safe, except in those instances where the repeated word appears to have been caught by the compositor's eye glancing on the line above, or below, or where a word is printed twice in the same line."—*Malone.*

[17] *Than we bring men to comfort them.*

"We must understand, what the poet did not think it necessary to express, if we should be so lucky as to find some passage out of this island."—*Heath.*

[18] *Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.*

Bourn, boundary. *Tilth*, cultivated land. "*Villageois, rustre, laboureur de*

terre, an husbandman: a man of the country: a labourer of the field: one that liveth by the *tilth* and crop of the land."—*The Nomenclator*, 1585.

> Plow, sowe, and compasse, nothing boots at all,
> Unlesse the dew upon the *tilths* do fall:
> So labour silly Shepherds what we can
> All's vain, unlesse a blessing drop from Pan.
>
> *Randolph's Poems*, 12mo. Lond. 1643.

The following account of the Golden Age in a very rare tract, *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, 4to. Lond. 1602, bears in some words a resemblance so remarkable to the celebrated passage in Montaigne, that it well deserves quoting:

> No publike bond of law, no private oth
> Was needfull to the simple faith and troth:
> Each had a censure in his owne consent
> Without the feare of death or punishment:
> Nor did the busie client feare his cause,
> Nor in strong brasse did they engrave their lawes;
> Nor did the doubtfull parties faintly tremble,
> While the brib'd judge did dreadful looks dissemble:
> Then safe from harme the vaunting pine did stand,
> And had no triall of the shipwright's hand,
> But stood upon the hill where first it grew,
> Nor yet was forc'd another world to view:
> Nor unto greedie merchants yet were knowne
> The shores of any land beyond their owne:
> Ev'ry defencelesse citie then was sure,
> Nor could deepe ditches make it more secure:
> The harmelesse thoughts of that blest age did beare
> No warlike trumpet, cornet, sword, or speare;
> No furious souldier needed to defend
> The carelesse folke, which quiet lives did spend;
> Nor did ambitious captaines know the way
> To passe the cliffie shores of their owne sea:
> The earth yet free from any forc'd abuse
> Brought forth all things fit for each creatures use,
> Without the helpe of any humane care,
> Untoucht by harrow, and uncut by share;
> And mortall men upon those meates did feede,
> Which of themselves did from the earth proceede,
> The mountaine strawberie, and bitter sloe,
> And mulberies which on rough boughs doe grow,
> And homely akornes, which did whilom fall
> From the high trees, which Jove his owne doth call:
> The pleasant yeare was an eternall spring,
> Where Westerne winds continual flowres did bring:
> The fertile earth unmanur'd and until'd,
> The bounteous gift of plenteous corne did yeeld:
> Nor did the field renew'd each sev'rall yeare
> Make windy sounds with many a waightie eare:
> Brookes did with milke, and pleasant Nectar goe,
> And yellow hony from the trees did flow:
> Al good without constraint, heav'n, sea, men, ground,
> No gold, no ship, no law, no plough, no bound.

[19] *All foison, all abundance.*

Foison, i. e., plenty, abundance. "*Foison*, store, plentie, abundance, great fullnesse, enough," *Cotgrave.* Warner uses the adjective *foysonous* in *Albion's England*, ed. 1612, p. 324. Ray gives a cognate sense in his *Collection of English Words*, 1674, p. 66,—"the natural juice or moisture of the grass or other herbs; the heart and strength of it."

The pretious balm of wit and policy: the enthusiasticall breath of poetry, the *foyson* of our phantasies, the sweet sleep of our senses, the fountain of sage advice and good purveyance.—*Optick Glasse of Humors*, 1639.

[20] *An it had not fallen flat-long.*

"The boate to be made at that end that goeth forwards *flatlong*, that it may strike against nothing," *Bourne's Inventions or Devises*, 1578. The word (now obsolete) occurs, at a much earlier period, in the Cambridge MS. of *Bevis of Hampton*,—

> Hys stede he set up anon,
> And to hys chaumbur can he gone,
> And leyde hym *flatlyng* on the grounde,
> To hele hys woundys yn that stounde.

There are so many meanes of interpretation, that it is hard, be it *flat-ling*, side-ling, or edge-ling, but an ingenious and pregnant wit shall in all subjects meete with some ayre that will fit his turne.—*Montaigne, by Florio*, 1603, p. 340.

[21] *You are gentlemen of brave mettle.*

Mettle, frequently spelt *metal*, as in the first folio, though used in the metaphorical sense. "Il a le coeur tout abbatu, his mind is utterly dejected, courage abated, heart gone; hee is wholy crest-fallen; there is no further life, no *mettall*, no spirit, left in him."—*Cotgrave.*

[22] *And then go a bat-fowling.*

Next to the Tramel I thinke meete to proceed to batte-fowling, which is likewise a night-taking of al sorts of great and smal birdes which rest not on the earth, but on shrubbes, tal bushes, hathorne trees, and other trees, and may fitly and most conveniently be used in al woody, rough, and bushy countries, but not in the champaine. For the manner of bat-fowling, it may be used either with nettes, or without nettes. If you use it without nettes (which indeede is the most common of the two,) you shall then proceed in this manner. First, there shall be one to cary the cresset of fire, (as was shewed for the Lowbell) then a certaine number as two, three, or foure (according to the greatnesse of your company) and these shall have poles bound with dry round wispes of hay, straw, or such like stuffe, or else bound with pieces of linkes or hurdes dipt in pitch, rosen, grease, or any such like matter that will blaze. Then another company shal be armed with long poales, very rough and bushy at the upper ends, of which the willow, byrch, or long hazell are best, but indeed according as the country wil afford so you must be content to take. Thus being prepared and comming into the bushy, or rough ground where the haunts of birds are, you shall then first kindle some of your fires, as halfe, or a third part, according as your provision is, and then with your other bushy and rough poles, you shall beat the bushes, trees, and haunts of the birds, to inforce them to rise, which done, you shall see the birds which are raysed, to flie and play about the lights and flames of the fier, for it is their nature through their amazednesse and affright at the strangenes of the light, and the extreame darknesse round about it, not to depart from it, but, as it were, almost to scorch their wings in

the same; so that those which have the rough bushye poales, may (at their pleasures) beat them down with the same, and so take them. Thus you may spend as much of the night as is darke, for longer is not convenient; and doubtlesse you shall finde much pastime and take great store of birds, and in this you shall observe all the observations formerly treated of in the Lowbell; especially that of silence, until your lights be kindled, but then you may use your pleasure, for the noyse and the light when they are heard and seene afarre off, they make the birds sit the faster and surer. The byrds which are commonly taken by this labour or exercise, are, for the most part, the rookes, ringdoves, blackebirds, throstles, feldyfares, linnets, bulfinches, and all other byrdes whatsoever that pearch or sit upon small boughes or bushes. This exercise, as it may be used in these rough, woody, and bushie places, so it may also be used alongst quickset hedges or any other hedges or places where there is any shelter for byrdes to pearch in.—*Markham's Hunger's Prevention, or the whole Art of Fowling by Water and Land*, 1655.

Or, which is worse, this going a *bat-fowling* a nights, beeing noted by some wise yong man or other that knowes how to handle such cases, the bush is beaten for them at home.—*Decker's Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606.

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush, but another catcheth the birds, as we may see in *batfowling*.—*Harrison's Description of England*, p. 240.

"Batfouler, a taker of byrdes, *pipeur*."—*Palsgrave*, 1530.

[23] *Trebles thee o'er.*

"This passage is represented to me as an obscure one. The meaning of it seems to be—'You must put on more than your usual seriousness, if you are disposed to pay a proper attention to my proposal; which attention if you bestow, it will in the end make you *thrice what you are*.' Sebastian is already brother to the throne; but, being made a king by Antonio's contrivance, would be (according to our author's idea of greatness) *thrice* the man he was before. In this sense he would be *trebled* o'er. So, in *Pericles*, 1609: 'the master calls, and *trebles* the confusion.' Again, in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, 1634:—'*thirds* his own worth.'"—*Steevens.*

[24] *If you but knew how you the purpose cherish.*

A critic in the *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany*, vol. iv., p. 356, offers the following illustration of this passage. "Sebastian introduces the simile of water. It is taken up by Antonio, who says he will teach his stagnant water to flow. 'It has already learnt to ebb,' says Sebastian. To which Antonio replies, 'O if you but knew how much even that metaphor, which you use in jest, encourages to the design which I hint at; how in stripping the words of their common meaning, and using them figuratively, you adapt them to your own situation!'"

[25] *Although this lord of weak remembrance.*

"This lord," says Dr. Johnson, "who, being now in his dotage, has outlived his faculty of remembering; and who, once laid in the ground, shall be as little remembered himself, as he can now remember other things." Montaigne speaks of "a man of no remembring."—*Florio's translation*, 1603, p. 236.

[26] *Only professes to persuade.*

That is, whose sole employment is that of persuasion. There is an ellipsis of the relative. He undertakes to persuade, even when all circumstances are at variance with the fact he wishes to establish. Some may, however, prefer the following explanation given by M. Mason,—"The obscurity of this passage arises

from a misconception of the word *he's*, which is not an abbreviation of *he is*, but of *he has;* and partly from the omission of the pronoun *who* before the word *professes*, by a common poetical ellipsis. Supply that deficiency, and the sentence will run thus:—

Although this lord of weak remembrance
—— hath here almost persuaded
(For *he has* a spirit of persuasion, *who* only
Professes to persuade,) the king, his son's alive;—

And the meaning is clearly this.—This old lord, though a mere dotard, has almost persuaded the king that his son is alive; for he is so willing to believe it, that any man who undertakes to persuade him of it, has the powers of persuasion, and succeeds in the attempt."

[27] *But doubts discovery there.*

"Warburton's interpretation of this passage," observes Heath, "is ingenious; but I apprehend the propriety of construction points out to us another reading, which makes a great alteration in the sense;—'But discovery there *doubts*.' The meaning of which, I understand to be this: ambition, which cannot carry its utmost view beyond the prospect this 'no hope' opens to it, doubts even the discovery which it actually makes, or may make if it pleases: in saying which, I suppose, Anthonio alludes to the difficulty he found in making Sebastian comprehend, or at least to own he comprehended, the scope he had been so long aiming at." Dr. Johnson explains it thus,—"*a wink beyond*, that this is the utmost extent of the prospect of ambition, the point where the eye can pass no farther, and where objects lose their distinctness, so that what is there discovered is faint, obscure, and doubtful."

[28] *Claribel.—She that is queen of Tunis.*

"The name of Claribel introduced in this play," observes Malone, "though not one of the persons represented, is found in the old *History of George Lord Faulconbridge*, which was printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. She there appears as the concubine of Richard the First, and mother of the Lord Faulconbridge. But in the present instance, the name most probably was taken from *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, book ii., c. iv., where Claribell, the betrothed mistress of Phaon is introduced:

—— a lady fayre, *of great degree*,
The which was born of noble parentage.
And sat in *highest seat of dignitie*."

[29] *She that dwells ten leagues beyond man's life.*

An hyperbolical expression, used by Antonio in his great anxiety to convince Sebastian of the feasibility of his design. It implies that Claribel dwelt even at a distance beyond the reach of a life's journey. The following observations, abridged from Holt, seem worthy of insertion:—"We are told by Warburton that Pope says this means 'no advice by letter;' and he, not contradicting it, approves it. Shakespeare here takes in the whole view of their then respective situations: Ferdinand drown'd (as is imagined), Claribel married in Tunis, out of the reach of information unless sent expressly; there being great improbability, not to say impossibility, she should hear by report her father and brother were dead: Alonzo, going to be destroy'd in an uninhabited island; and Sebastian getting from that island (if ever he gets off), King of Naples; and both till and after his arrival there, preventing, by his authority, any embassy from being sent to Tunis; and

consequently Claribel, from knowing her right, till Sebastian had securely fix'd his power, unless she should learn it by rumour, which the poet supposes she could not do time enough to be of any use: and this is his meaning of *no note;* for Shakespeare was enough acquainted with geography to know that a courier might go from the remotest part of Italy, to the utmost known extent of Barbary, long before 'new-born chins grew rough and razorable,' if the distance was the only impediment. And here the poet has shewn his great skill in human nature: Anthonio, whose tendency to evil is described by himself in this scene, forgets, in his strong propensity to power and mischief, all the circumstances that make against him: the being in a desart place; nothing for his monarch (when he has made him) to rule over, or to be enrich'd by; nor any reasonable prospect of ever getting out of that situation: And beyond even this, he forgets that the rest of Alonzo's fleet (which he may believe have escaped the storm, as he sees none of them wreck'd), are on their passage homeward, with the melancholy tidings of the loss of their king and prince; the consequence of which must naturally be, the vacancy in the state would be filled up, and all settled, before Sebastian, in all human probability, could put in his claim."

[30] *Though some cast again.*

Cast, that is, cast up. "To night hees a good huswife, he reeles al that he wrought to day; and he were good now to play at dice, for he *castes* excellent well."—*Two Angrie Women of Abington*, ed. Dyce, p. 44. It is scarcely necessary to observe that Antonio was not aware that all the passengers in the ship were saved.

[31] *And by that destiny.*

The passage, *and by that destiny*, appears to be spoken elliptically, and the sense of the whole will be,—though some thrown on shore to perform a deed of which the past is only a prologue: the future depends on what you and I are to perform. The construction of the last line, *in your's and my discharge*, is somewhat peculiar, but seems preferable to *is your's*, as Theobald reads, because it leaves the question open to Sebastian's desires, whereas the latter would read as if he had quite determined on the course to be adopted. "By changing the preposition *in*," observes Holt, "to the verb neutral *is*, in the last line and half, they (the editors) totally alter the meaning; contradicting that known maxim, that *it is impossible for the same thing to be, and not to be at the same instant;* for if it is *past*, it *is* not now, and if it *is*, it is not *past*. All which contradictions are avoided, by letting the passage stand as it does in the old edition, which wants no alteration, unless, for the sake of doing something in the critics' way, they blot out (as they have) the word *that* in the first hemistich; and if they must go farther, make the noun *destiny*, in the third line, a verb, *and by that* destin'd *to perform*, &c."

[32] *Keep in Tunis, and let Sebastian wake.*

Dr. Johnson unnecessarily proposes to read, "*sleep* in Tunis." "By the change of pointing," observes Holt, "they (the editors) have also lost another beauty," ——"*keep in* Tunis, *and let* Sebastian *wake:*" as they read it, conveying no idea at all, as she cannot measure the cubits back *to* Naples, and keep in Tunis too: "But if it stands as above quoted from the old editions, it will appear a beautiful apostrophe to Claribel, advising her to remain safe and quiet where she is, and not attempt the danger and difficulty of the voyage, as she will have not only the winds and waves to encounter in her passage, but also the traitor's power, when she arrives. Anthonio then directly returns to his purpose, and calls upon Sebastian to be attentive."

[33] *A chough of as deep chat.*

This term, now restricted to one species, seems to have been formerly sometimes applied to any kind of jack-daw. According to Holme, the jack-daw "in some places is called a caddesse or *choff*."—*Acad. Arm.* i. 248; and Palsgrave appears to apply the word to a crow,—"choughe, a yong crowe, *corneille*." Cotgrave translates *chue*, "a chough, daw, cadesse." Compare also Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580, —"a chough, *cornicula;* a dawe, chough, or cadesse, *monedula;*" and Huloet's *Abcedarium*, 1552,—"caddowe or choughe byrde, some call them jackedawe, *cornix, monedula*."

Also they put a byrde in the one syde of this ymage as for kepe it, whiche fleeth by nyght, that men calleth a *chonghe*, whiche betokeneth that a knyght ought to be as well by nyght as by daye all redy for the defence comune, if nede be.—*The Boke of the Cyté of Ladies*, 1521.

[34] *Candied be they, and melt, ere they molest.*

"Let twenty consciences be first congealed and then dissolved, ere they molest me, or prevent me from executing my purposes."—*Malone.* Seymour thinks the meaning is,—"away with all such objections as conscience can oppose: let them be made of such perishable or dissoluble stuff as candy, and melt sooner than molest or hinder me."

[35] *Can lay to bed for ever.*

There are several instances of this metaphorical phrase in Anglo-Saxon and early English, whence the following may be selected:

Hæfdon dómlice,	They have powerfully
on ðam folc-stede,	on the field of battle
fynd oferwunnen,	overcome their foes,
eðel-weardas,	the rulers of the country
eald-hettende	the old oppressors
swyrdum aswefede.	put to sleep with swords.

Anglo-Saxon Poem of Judith, Thorpe's Anal. A. Sax., p. 151.

Therfore to me take good kepe;
My name is Sir Lanchler depe:
The that me teene I laie to slepe
On everyeiche a syde.—*Chester Plays*, i. 179.

[36] *This ancient morsel.*

Spoken in contempt. "How doth my dear *morsel*, thy mistress."—*Measure for Measure.*

[37] *They'll take suggestion.*

That is, says Dr. Johnson, receive any hint of villainy. The term was constantly used with this implication.

[38] *For else his projects die.*

This emendation, suggested by Malone, seems necessary to the construction of Ariel's speech. Singulars and plurals were so licentiously used by writers of Shakespeare's time, the above alteration, referring *them* to *projects*, is less violent than any other. On the supposition that Ariel was alluding specially to Gonzalo, *them* might be altered to *thee;* but, on the whole, the reading here adopted seems to be preferable.

[39] *Why are you drawn?*

That is, having your swords drawn. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*,—"what, art thou drawn among these heartless hinds?" (Johnson).

[40] *That's verity.*

The first folio reads *verily*, which is doubtlessly an accidental misprint. It has been thus corrected by nearly all the editors.

[41] *And make him by inch-meal a disease.*

"By ynche meale, *menuement*, or *par poulcées*."—*Palsgrave, Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francayse*, 1530.

[42] *That mowe and chatter at me.*

Pronounced *moe*, as appears from some lines in the fourth act. It is here spelt *moe* in the first folio, but it is better to adhere to an uniform orthography in this class of words. "I mowe with the mouthe, I mocke one, *je fays la moue;* he useth so moche to mocke and mowe, that he disfygureth his face."—*Palsgrave.* "Mowe or mocke."—*Huloet's Abcedarium*, 1552. "See how he mops, and how he *mowes*, and how he straines his lookes."—*Barnaby Rich*, 1606.

> I shall rather slee them everychoon,
> And make them to lye and *mowe* like an ape.
> *Candlemas Day*, ap. Hawkins, i. 16.

> *Ape* great thing gave, though he did *mowing* stand.
> *Sir P. Sidney's Arcadia*, p. 386.

[43] *And mount their pricks.*

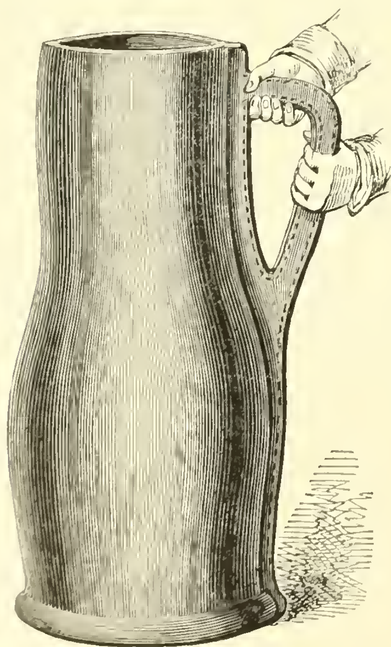
Pricks, that is, prickles. "*Púas de puérco-espin*, pricks or sharpe quils that growe on the porcupine."—*Percivale's Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, 1599.

[44] *All wound with adders.*

That is, observes Dr. Johnson, enwrapped by adders *wound* or twisted about me.

[45] *Looks like a foul bombard that would shed his liquor.*

A bombard was a very large leathern drinking vessel, used for the purpose of distributing liquor to a number of persons, or employed for filling smaller vessels at a meal. There was one which held eight gallons, preserved at Flixton Hall, co. Suffolk, till that residence was destroyed by fire a few years ago, previously to which the accompanying representation was taken by Mr. Fairholt. Heywood, in his *Philocothonista*, 1635, p. 45, gives the following curious notice of them:—"Other bottles wee have of leather, but they most used amongst the shepheards and harvest people of the countrey; small jacks wee have in many ale-houses of the Citie and suburbs, tipt with silver, besides the great black-jacks, and *bombards* at the Court, which when the Frenchmen first saw, they reported, at their returne into their countrey, that the Englishmen used to drinke out of their bootes." Something of this kind may have originated the old idea of the *boot-carouse*, mentioned by the early satirists.



Clow. Oh here's a morning, like a grey ey'd wench,
Able to intice a man to leape out of his bed,
If he love hunting; had he as many cornes on his toes
As there are cuckolds in the city.
1. *Hunt.* And that's enough in conscience to keepe men from going,
Were his boots as wide as the black-Jacks,
Or bombards tost by the Kings Guard.
Shirley's Martyred Souldier, 1638.

Heart! she looks like a black *bombard* with a pint-pot waiting upon it.—*Field's Woman is a Weather-Cocke*, 1612.

About three hundred and twenty yeares since, or thereabout, (I thinke in the raigne of King Richard the Second) there was a guift given to the Tower, or to the Lieutenants thereof, for the time then and for ever beeing, which guift was two blacke leather bottles, or *bombards* of wine, from every ship that brought wine into the river of Thames."—*The Workes of John Taylor, the Water Poet*, 1630.

Cox. You are discended from the tanckerd generation.

Bil. You are ascended up to what you are, from the blacke-jacke and *bumbard* distillation.—*Decker's Match Mee in London*, 4to. Lond. 1631.

The bombard-man, mentioned by Ben Jonson (ed. 1616, p. 991) in his masque of *Love Restored*, was, according to Gifford, one of the people who attended at the buttery-hatch, and carried the huge cans of beer to the different offices. The same dramatist mentions "a bombard of broken beer" in his *Masque of Augurs.* It will be remembered that Prince Henry calls Falstaff a "huge bombard of sack;" and Coles has, "a bumbard, tankard, *cantharus.*"

[46] *A strange fish.*

In addition to the notices in the Introduction, the following, collected by Steevens and Malone, may with propriety find a place here. "To exhibit fishes, either real or imaginary, was very common about the time of our author. So, in Jasper Maine's comedy of the *Citie Match*, ed. 1639, p. 23,—Enter 'Bright, &c. hanging out the picture of a *strange fish.*' It appears from the books at Stationers' Hall, that in 1604 was published, 'A strange reporte of a monstrous *fish*, that appeared in the form of a woman from her waist upward, seene in the sea.' So likewise, in Churchyarde's *Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita*, bl. l. 12mo, 1578: 'And marchyng backe, they found a *straunge fish* dead, that had been caste from the sea on the shore, who had a boane in his head like an unicorne, whiche they brought awaye and presented to our Prince, when thei came home.' So, in the office book of Sir Henry Herbert, MS., we find: 'A licence to James Seale to shew a *strange fish* for half a yeare, the 3d of September, 1632.'"

[47] *There would this monster make a man.*

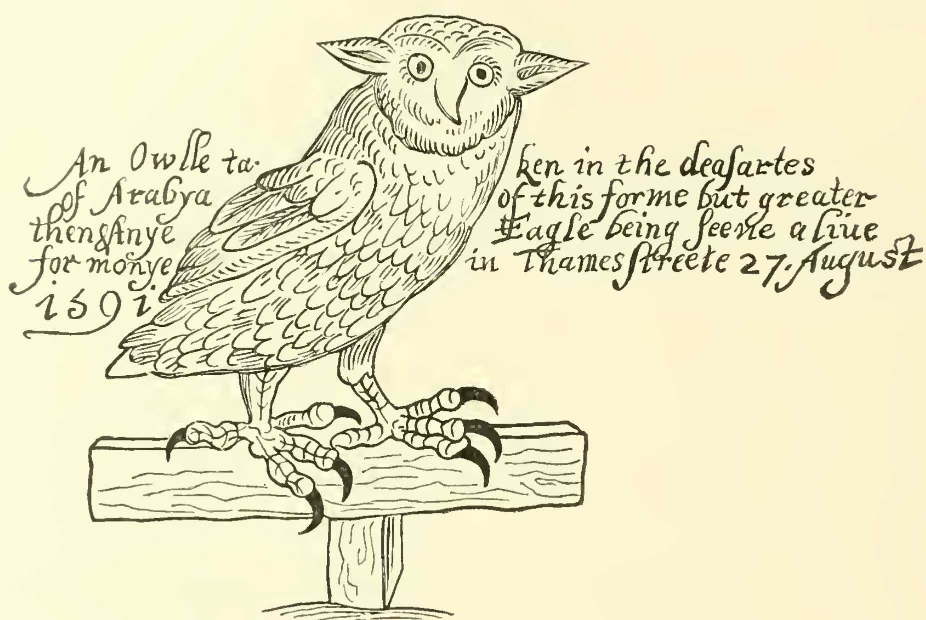
That is, make a man's fortune. The phrase occurs frequently in Shakespeare. So in the old ballad of Robin Hood and the Tinker,—

I have a warrant from the king
To take him where I can;
If you can tell me where he is,
I will make you a man.

[48] *Any strange beast there makes a man.*

The fondness of the public for exhibitions of natural curiosities is well ridiculed in this speech, and some of them have been mentioned in the introduction to this

play. Monsters, and all kinds of unusual animals and birds, formed sources of considerable profit, and yielded large returns to their keepers. The accompanying curious engraving of a gigantic owl, exhibited in London in the year 1591, is

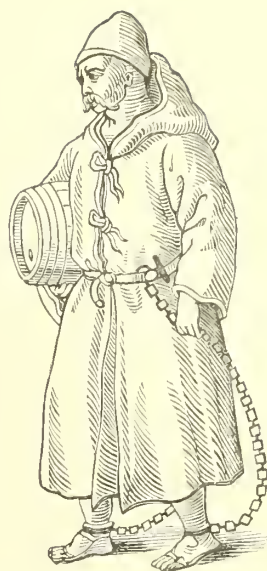


copied from an early pen-and-ink drawing preserved in the library of Canterbury Cathedral. The subject is one that admits of much extension, but the establishment of the fact that these kind of sights were extremely popular, is all that is necessary. They are frequently ridiculed by our early dramatists.

"Had he lived till now, I would h' showed him at Fleet-bridge for a monster. I should have begger'd the 'Beginning o' th' World,' the strange birds from America, and the poppets too. I would have blown a trumpet tarantara,—If any man or woman in town or city be affected with strange miracles, let them repair hither: here within this place is to be seen a strange monster; a man that hath both his ears, and but one tongue; that cannot carry two faces under one hood; that has but one couple of hands, and on each hand five honest fingers."—*A Pleasant Comedie entituled Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*, 1651.

[49] *My best way is to creep under his gaberdine.*

"Mantyll, a gaberdyne, *garerdine*," *Palsgrave;* "gaberdyne to ryde with," *ibid.* "A gabardine, a rough Irish mantle, or horsemans coat," *Minsheu*, ed. 1627, col. 321. "*Capóte*, a gabardine, a frocke, an Irish rugge, a shepherds cloake or cassocke," *Percivale's Dictionarie*, 1599. "*Gabano*, a fishermans or a shepheards cloake or gabbardine; *gabanare*, to cover with a course cloke or gabbardine; *gabbanello*, a gabbardine, or sheapheards coate or cloke; *garardin*, a frocke, a gabbardine, a shepheards garment."—*Florio's Worlde of Wordes*, 1598. "*Gaban*, a cloake of felt for rainie weather, a gabardine; *galleverdine*, a gabbardine, a long coat or cassock of course, and, for the most part, motley or partie-coloured stuffe."—*Cotgrave*. "*Gabardine*, from the Fr. *galleverdine*, a rough Irish mantle or horseman's coat; a long cassock; also a livery coat."—*Blount's Glossographia*, 1681, p. 278. Camden in his *Remaines*, ed. 1629, p. 197, terms a court-py "a short



gabbardine;" and the banditti in Suckling's *Goblins*, 1641, wear pistols under their gaberdines. Mr. Fairholt observes they were "peculiarly indicative of Jews, when that persecuted people were obliged to wear a distinctive dress, principally consisting in that and the tall cap." See the *Merchant of Venice*. It would appear, from the above quotations, that almost any kind of coarse loose cloak was formerly called a gaberdine; and it is rather curious that the term should still be used in some of the Southern counties, applied to a loose frock, worn by farm-labourers, which differs from the smock-frock in being open in front, with buttons at intervals all the way down for closing it at the wearer's pleasure. This latter is, in fact, very similar to the form of it as it appears in the accompanying engraving of a Venetian galley-slave, which was selected by Mr. Fairholt from Cesare Vecellio's *De gli Habiti Antichi et Moderni di diverse Parti del Mondo libri due*, 8vo. 1590, f. 172.

Mecænas, if I meete with the
Without my frisled top,
Not notted fyne, and fashion lyke,
Thy mannour is to stop,
And jeste at me: my cote is bare,
My gawberdyne amis,—
Thou jestes at me: I marvaile muche
What sport thou fyndes at this.
Horace, Englished by Tho. Drant, 1567.

The original Latin is, *si toga dissidet impar*, which is of no explanatory use. It is possible, however, the translator may have been referring, in his loose version, to the previous words, *pexæ tunicæ*.

And it came in his mind to joyne with him as companion in the empire his cousin-germane Julianus, not long since sent for and brought out of Achaia, and even yet in his students cloake or *gaberdine*.—*Ammianus Marcellinus, translated by P. Holland*, 1609.

Zounds, and greife come in there, and I see him once, Ile conjure his *gaberdine*.—*A Pleasant Commodie called Looke about You*, 1600.

[50] *With salvages and men of Inde.*

The first folio is here followed, *salvages*, as Reed observes, being the pronunciation of the time. Caliban is termed "a salvage and deformed slave" in the original list of the *dramatis personæ*.

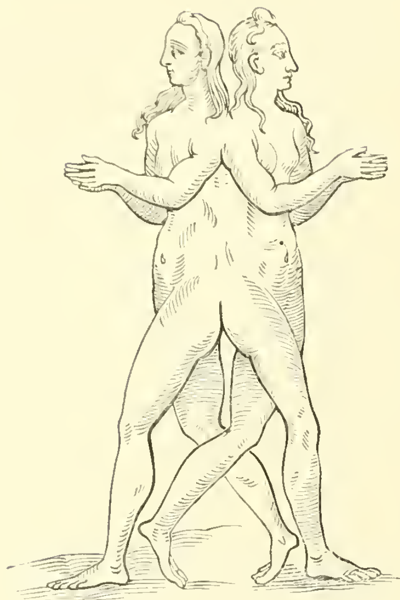
Whom all men did and *salvages* obey.
Sir Aston Cockaine's Small Poems, 1658.

A-pace thou scuddes to traffique with
The furdeste folke of Inde,
Throughe seas and rockes, throughe fyer and all,
Leste thou be caste behynde.
Horace, Englished by Tho. Drant, 1567.

[51] *This is some monster of the isle, with four legs.*

Monsters of several kinds with four legs were familiar to the public of

Shakespeare's day. It is scarcely necessary to observe there is no particular allusion in the present passage, but a brief notice of a popular history of one of them may be thought sufficiently illustrative to deserve a place. "In the Yere of Grace, 1475, these two maides that you see so knyt together by the raines, even from theyr shoulders to theyr haunches, were engendred in Italy, in the famous citie of Verona. And for that their parents were poore, they were caried through divers cities of Italy to get money of the people, being very desirous to see that newe spectacle and wonder of nature. Wherfore some write, that that monster whom you maye here see, was a shewe and prognostication, foretelling sundry marvellous mutations which happened after in those provinces: for in the same yeare that they were engendred, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, occupied and governed the countrey of Loraine. Ferdinande, the great king of Spayne, divided the realme wyth Alphonsus, king of Portingale. Mathias and Vladislaus kings, made peace with the Hungarians and Bohemians. Edwarde king of England, was procured by the Duke of Burgoine to come into Fraunce, where was a peace concluded betwixte him and king Lewys. And in the yeare of grace, 1453, an other monster like unto this was brought forth at Rome, wyth greate marvell to all the people, in the time of Pope Alexander the sixte, who, as Polidorus writeth, prognosticated the evils, hurts and miseries whiche shoulde happen and come to passe in the tyme of that bishoppe."



[52] *He's a present for any emperor.*

"I am sory, quoth he (Wolsey), that I have no token to send to the King: but if ye will, at my request, present the King with this poore foole, I trust he will accept him, for he is for a nobleman's pleasure, forsooth worth a thousand pounde."—*Stowe's Annales.*

[53] *That ever trod on neat's leather.*

A common proverbial expression, variously written. "Shee's gone, the best that ever trode on shooe."—*Hans Beer-Pot his Invisible Comedie*, 1618.

[54] *I will not take too much for him.*

A vulgar kind of ironical speaking, implying he will take as much as he can get.

[55] *Thou dost me yet but little hurt.*

Dr. Grey thinks Caliban invariably speaks in verse, and arranges this speech as follows,—

Thou dost me yet but little hurt; thou wilt
Anon: I know it by thy trembling:
Now Prospero works so on thee.

Notes on Shakespeare, ed. 1754, i. 19. Mr. Knight commits a slight oversight when he says Caliban *always* speaks metrically, for the above is most certainly intended to be prose. Caliban's allusion to trembling refers, as Steevens observes,

to the tremor which is always represented as the effect of being possessed by the devil. "Mark, how he trembles in his ecstasy."—*Comedy of Errors.*

[56] *That which will give language to you, cat.*

"Alluding," says Steevens, "to an old proverb, that good liquor will make a cat speak."

[57] *His forward voice now is to speak well.*

"The person of Fame was anciently described in this manner. So, in *Penelope's Web*, by Greene, 1601,—*Fame hath two faces, readie as well to back-bite as to flatter.*"—*Steevens.*

[58] *Come,—Amen!*

Compare Captain Smith's *Accidence, or the Path-way to Experience*, 4to. Lond. 1626, p. 30,—"Who saies *Amen*, one and all, for a dram of the bottle." Another very curious instance of this use of the term occurs in Sir T. Smith's *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia*,—"Thus passing some foure houres in banquetting, and refreshing ourselves too plentifully, all being taken away, we did arise. The Ambassador and the kings gentlemen beeing called by name to receyve, from his emperiall handes, a cup (or rather, as they call it, a Yendover) of excellent redde Meande, a favour among them never observed before, which cups, for they wer great and the Meand very strong, we often sipped at, but without hurting our memories, *we could not say Amen unto:* which the Emper, perceiving, comanded them to be taken away, saying: He was best pleased with what was most for our healthes."

[59] *This is a devil, ... I have no long spoon.*

Alluding to the old proverb, "he hath need of a long spoone that eateth with the devill."—MS. Harl. 2321, fol. 149. "He mun heve a lang-shafted speaun that sups kail with the devil."—*Meriton's Yorkshire Ale*, 1697.

Therfor bihoveth him a ful long spoon,
That schal ete with a feend; thus herd I say.
Chaucer's Cant. Tales, ed. Wright, ii. 153.

My nose is jointed, I may go shoe the gostling now if I will;
He that eats with the devil without a long spoon, his fare will be ill.
The Comœdie of two Italian Gentlemen, n. d.

[60] *To be the siege of this moon-calf.*

The term *siege* was used in the senses of *forica* (*latrina*, Elyot, 1559) and *fæces*, in this place in the latter. "In all repletions, where a man cannot or will not be let bloud or vomit, it is expedient to provoke *siege* by purgations."—*Castell of Health*, 1595. The word is of frequent occurrence in medical works, as in Burrough's *Method of Physick*, 1624, &c. It seems scarcely necessary to say why Caliban is ludicrously termed a moon-calf, in allusion to his deformed shape. See, however, Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 64; Cotgrave, in v. *Mole;* Drayton's *Moone-Calfe;* &c.

[61] *Hast thou not dropped from heaven?*

Shakespeare may possibly have had in his mind the circumstance of the Indians asking Columbus, by signs, whether he and his companions were not come down from heaven.

[62] *I afeard of him?*

"It is to be observed," says Warburton, "that Trinculo, the speaker, is not

charged with being afraid; but it was his consciousness that he was so, that drew this brag from him." Caliban discovers this,—"I'll not serve him, he is not valiant."

[63] *And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts.*

Malone, perhaps unnecessarily, thinks that the demoniacal character of Caliban is intended to be here alluded to, the devil having been usually represented with long unpared nails. The same writer imagines that some hints for this character were derived from the following passage in Pliny, as translated by P. Holland, 1601, i. 156,—"Tauron writeth that the Choromandæ are a savage and wild people: distinct voice and speech they have none, but in steed thereof, they keepe an horrible gnashing and hideous noise: rough they are and hairie all over their bodies; eies they have red like the houlets, and toothed they be like dogs." Caliban is usually represented on the stage with long shaggy hair.

[64] *Sometimes I'll get thee young scamels from the rock.*

Scamels, i. e., limpets. "The shell-fish called the limpet, whose shell is generally known by the name of the nipple shell, are called in some countries *scams;* they are found on the rocks, and are by many reckoned delicious food." —*Holt's Attempte, &c.*, 1749, p. 57. Croft, in his *Annotations*, 1810, asserts that limpets are sometimes called scamels in the north of England; and the word is said to be still in use in some parts of Ireland, although my kind friend, Lady Molyneux, of Castle Dillon, co. Armagh, could not obtain decisive evidence that such was the case, even after the most widely extended enquiries. That the word is genuine, I have not the slightest doubt; limpets being certainly called *scams* even at the present day. Waldron observes that a vessel called the *Scammel* is mentioned in the Pennsylvanian Journal for July 15th, 1782, a slight corroborative evidence of the authenticity of the term. It is curious to notice that, in recent times, a crew off Lampedusa are described as betaking themselves "to their usual animated sports of sauntering in quest of ingredients for a salad, picking limpets off the rocks, &c.;" and the original novel on which the play is founded, if ever discovered, will probably be found to justify the original text. *Sea-mells*, the most usual reading, does not suit the rhythm of the line; and the only real objection to *scamels* is found in the epithet *young*, which seems unmeaning as applied to limpets.

[65] *Nor scrape trencher, nor wash dish.*

The corrupt reading *trenchering* of the old edition, is rightly corrected by Dryden and Davenant. A proclamation issued by James I., in 1618, provides "that no chamber-keeper presume to keepe boyes, or *scrapers of trenchers*, other then such as shall be thought meet and convenient to be allowed." In Shakespeare's time, the wooden trenchers were daily scraped, and not washed. Lilly, *Life and Times*, ed. 1715, p. 9, mentions his having assisted in this drudgery.

Patient! no, you are his patient, and he is your phisitian, a ministers to ye (with a Morbus Gallicus take ye both). I pray forsooth let mee bee your butler, and *scrape your trenchers*, since I am alreadye faine to live of your leavinges.—*Cupid's Whirligig*, 1607.

All his owne proceedings, in eight yeares prentiship, he related to me, how long he bore the water tankard, *scrapt trenchers*, and made cleane shoes.—*The Life of a Satirical Puppy called Nim*, 8vo. Lond. 1657, p. 27.

[66] *Ban, Ban, Ca-Caliban.*

It may be thought curious to refer this line as possibly suggested by the

following song, which occurs amongst the *Certaine Sonets written by Sir Philip Sidney*,—

Al my sense thy sweetnes gained,
Thy faire haire my hart enchained,
My poore reason thy words moved,
So that thee like heaven I loved.
Fa la la leridan, dan dan dan deridan:
Dan dan dan deridan deridan dei:
While to my minde the out-side stood,
For messenger of inward good.

Now thy sweetnesse sowre is deemed,
Thy haire not worth a haire esteemed:
Reason hath thy words removed,
Finding that but words they proved.
Fa la la leridan, dan dan dan deridan,
Dan dan dan deridan deridan dei,
For no faire signe can credit winne,
If that the substance faile within.

No more in thy sweetnesse glorie,
For thy knitting haire be sorie:
Use thy words but to bewaile thee,
That no more thy beames availe thee.
Dan, dan,
Dan, dan,
Lay not thy colours more to view,
Without the picture be found true.

Wo to me, alas she weepeth!
Foole, in me what follie creepeth,
Was I to blaspheme enraged,
Where my soule I have engaged.
Dan, dan,
Dan, dan,
And wretched I must yeeld to this,
The fault I blame her chastnesse is.

Sweetnesse sweetly pardon folly,
Ty me haire your captive holly;
Words, O words of heavenlie knowledge,
Know my words their faults acknowledge.
Dan, dan,
Dan, dan.
And all my life I will confesse,
The lesse I love, I live the lesse.

As is observed by Capell and Steevens, when Caliban sings the last part of the verses in the text, he must be supposed to turn his head scornfully towards the cell of Prospero, whose service he had deserted.

Act the Third.

SCENE I.—*Before* Prospero's *Cell.*

Enter FERDINAND, *bearing a log.*

Fer. There be some sports are painful, and their labour
Delight in them sets off:[1] some kinds of baseness
Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters
Point to rich ends. This my mean task
Would be as heavy to me, as odious; but
The mistress which I serve quickens what 's dead,
And makes my labours pleasures: O, she is
Ten times more gentle than her father 's crabbed;
And he 's compos'd of harshness. I must remove
Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up,
Upon a sore injunction. My sweet mistress
Weeps, when she sees me work; and says, such baseness
Had never like executor. I forget:
But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labour,
Most busy-less[2] when I do it.

Enter MIRANDA, *and* PROSPERO *at a distance.*

Mira. Alas, now! pray you
Work not so hard; I would the lightning had
Burnt up those logs, that you are enjoin'd to pile!
Pray set it down, and rest you: when this burns,
'T will weep for having wearied you. My father
Is hard at study: pray, now, rest yourself;
He 's safe for these three hours.
Fer. O most dear mistress,

The sun will set, before I shall discharge
What I must strive to do.

Mira. If you 'll sit down,
I 'll bear your logs the while: Pray give me that;
I 'll carry it to the pile.

Fer. No, precious creature!
I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonour undergo,
While I sit lazy by.

Mira. It would become me
As well as it does you: and I should do it
With much more ease; for my good will is to it,
And yours it is against.

Pro. Poor worm![3] thou art infected;
This visitation shows it.

Mira. You look wearily.

Fer. No, noble mistress; 't is fresh morning with me,
When you are by at night. I do beseech you,—
Chiefly, that I might set it in my prayers,—
What is your name?

Mira. Miranda:—O my father,
I have broke your hest to say so!

Fer. Admir'd Miranda![4]
Indeed the top of admiration; worth
What 's dearest to the world! Full many a lady
I have ey'd with best regard; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear: for several virtues
Have I lik'd several women; never any
With so full soul, but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
And put it to the foil: But you, O you!
So perfect, and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best.[5]

Mira. I do not know
One of my sex; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glass, mine own; nor have I seen
More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
And my dear father: how features are abroad,
I am skill-less of; but, by my modesty,—
The jewel in my dower,—I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you;

Nor can imagination form a shape,
Besides yourself, to like of.[6] But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

Fer. I am, in my condition,
A prince, Miranda; I do think, a king,—
I would not so!—and would no more endure
This wooden slavery, than to suffer
The flesh-fly blow my mouth.[7]—Hear my soul speak:—
The very instant that I saw you, did
My heart fly to your service; there resides,
To make me slave to it; and, for your sake,
Am I this patient log-man.

Mira. Do you love me?

Fer. O heaven! O earth! bear witness to this sound,
And crown what I profess with kind event,
If I speak true; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me, to mischief! I,
Beyond all limit of what else i' the world,[8]
Do love, prize, honour you.

Mira. I am a fool,
To weep at what I am glad of.[9]

Pro. Fair encounter
Of two most rare affections! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between them!

Fer. Wherefore weep you?

Mira. At mine unworthiness, that dares not offer
What I desire to give; and much less take,
What I shall die to want. But this is trifling;
And all the more it seeks to hide itself,[10]
The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not, I'll die your maid:[11] to be your fellow
You may deny me; but I'll be your servant,
Whether you will or no.

Fer. My mistress, dearest,
And I thus humble ever.

Mira. My husband, then?

Fer. Ay, with a heart as willing
As bondage e'er of freedom: here's my hand.[12]

Mira. And mine, with my heart in 't: And now, farewell,
Till half an hour hence.

Fer. A thousand, thousand!

[*Exeunt* FERDINAND *and* MIRANDA.

Pro. So glad of this as they I cannot be,
Who are surpris'd with all;[13] but my rejoicing
At nothing can be more. I 'll to my book;
For yet, ere supper-time, must I perform
Much business appertaining. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.—*Another part of the Island.*

Enter STEPHANO *and* TRINCULO; CALIBAN *following with a bottle.*

Ste. Tell not me;—when the butt is out, we will drink water; not a drop before: therefore bear up, and board 'em:[14] Servant-monster, drink to me.

Trin. Servant-monster? the folly of this island! They say there 's but five upon this isle: we are three of them; if the other two be brained like us, the state totters.

Ste. Drink, servant-monster, when I bid thee; thy eyes are almost set in thy head.

Trin. Where should they be set else? he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail.[15]

Ste. My man-monster hath drowned his tongue in sack: for my part, the sea cannot drown me: I swam, ere I could recover the shore, five-and-thirty leagues, off and on,—by this light![16] Thou shalt be my lieutenant, monster, or my standard.[17]

Trin. Your lieutenant, if you list; he 's no standard.

Ste. We 'll not run, monsieur Monster.

Trin. Nor go, neither: but you 'll lie like dogs, and yet say nothing neither.

Ste. Moon-calf, speak once in thy life, if thou beest a good moon-calf.

Cal. How does thy honour? Let me lick thy shoe:
I 'll not serve him, he is not valiant.

Trin. Thou liest, most ignorant monster; I am in case to justle a constable! why, thou deboshed fish, thou,[18] was there ever man a coward, that hath drunk so much sack as I to-day? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish, and half a monster?

Cal. Lo, how he mocks me! wilt thou let him, my lord?

Trin. Lord, quoth he!—that a monster should be such a natural!

Cal. Lo, lo, again! bite him to death, I prithee.

Ste. Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head;[19] if you prove a mutineer, the next tree—The poor monster 's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity.

Cal. I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?

Ste. Marry will I: kneel and repeat it; I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, *invisible.*

Cal. As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant; a sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of the island.

Ari. Thou liest!

Cal. Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou;
I would my valiant master would destroy thee:
I do not lie.

Ste. Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in his tale, by this hand, I will supplant some of your teeth.

Trin. Why, I said nothing.

Ste. Mum then, and no more.—[*To* CALIBAN.] Proceed.

Cal. I say, by sorcery he got this isle;
From me he got it. If thy greatness will
Revenge it on him—for I know thou dar'st;
But this thing dare not.—

Ste. That 's most certain.

Cal. Thou shalt be lord of it, and I 'll serve thee.

Ste. How, now, shall this be compassed? Canst thou bring me to the party?

Cal. Yea, yea, my lord; I 'll yield him thee asleep,
Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head.[20]

Ari. Thou liest! thou canst not.

Cal. What a pied ninny 's this![21] Thou scurvy patch![22]—
I do beseech thy greatness, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him: when that 's gone,
He shall drink nought but brine; for I 'll not show him
Where the quick freshes are.

Ste. Trinculo, run into no further danger: interrupt the monster one word further, and, by this hand, I 'll turn my mercy out o' doors, and make a stockfish of thee.[23]

Trin. Why, what did I? I did nothing; I 'll go no further off.[24]
Ste. Didst thou not say he lied?
Ari. Thou liest!
Ste. Do I so? take thou that. [*Strikes him.*] As you like this, give me the lie another time.
Trin. I did not give thee the lie:—Out o' your wits, and hearing too?——A pox o' your bottle! This can sack and drinking do!—A murrain on your monster, and the devil take your fingers!
Cal. Ha, ha, ha!
Ste. Now, forward with your tale. Prithee stand further off.
Cal. Beat him enough: after a little time,
I 'll beat him too.
Ste. Stand further.—Come, proceed.
Cal. Why, as I told thee, 't is a custom with him
I' the afternoon to sleep: there thou may'st brain him,
Having first seiz'd his books; or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,[25]
Or cut his weasand with thy knife: Remember
First to possess his books;[26] for, without them,
He 's but a sot,[27] as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command: They all do hate him
As rootedly as I: Burn but his books;
He has brave utensils,—for so he calls them,—
Which, when he has a house, he 'll deck withal.
And that most deeply to consider, is
The beauty of his daughter; he himself
Calls her a nonpareil: I never saw a woman,
But only Sycorax my dam, and she;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax,
As great'st does least.
Ste. Is it so brave a lass?
Cal. Ay, lord; she will become thy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.
Ste. Monster, I will kill this man: his daughter and I will be king and queen,—save our graces!—and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys. Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo?
Trin. Excellent!
Ste. Give me thy hand; I am sorry I beat thee: but, while thou livest, keep a good tongue in thy head.
Cal. Within this half-hour will he be asleep;
Wilt thou destroy him then?
Ste. Ay, on mine honour!

Ari. This will I tell my master.

Cal. Thou mak'st me merry: I am full of pleasure;
Let us be jocund: Will you troll the catch[28]
You taught me but while-ere?[29]

Ste. At thy request, monster, I will do reason, any reason: come on, Trinculo, let us sing. [*Sings.*

Flout 'em, and skout 'em; and skout 'em, and flout 'em;
Thought is free.

Cal. That 's not the tune.

[Ariel *plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*

Ste. What is this same?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, played by the Picture of Nobody.[30]

Ste. If thou beest a man, show thyself in thy likeness: if thou beest a devil, take 't as thou list.

Trin. O, forgive me my sins!

Ste. He that dies, pays all debts; I defy thee.—Mercy upon us!

Cal. Art thou afeard?

Ste. No, monster, not I.

Cal. Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,[31]
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices,
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
The clouds, methought, would open, and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that when I wak'd,
I cry'd to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I shall have my music for nothing.

Cal. When Prospero is destroyed.

Ste. That shall be by and by: I remember the story.

Trin. The sound is going away: let 's follow it, and, after, do our work.

Ste. Lead, monster; we 'll follow.—I would I could see this taborer:[32] he lays it on.

Trin. Wilt come? I 'll follow, Stephano.[33] [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Another part of the Island.*

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, *and others.*

Gon. By 'r lakin, I can go no further, sir;
My old bones ache: here 's a maze trod, indeed,
Through forth-rights and meanders![34] by your patience,
I needs must rest me.
Alon. Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
Who am myself attach'd with weariness,
To the dulling of my spirits: sit down and rest.
Even here I will put off my hope, and keep it
No longer for my flatterer: he is drown'd,
Whom thus we stray to find, and the sea mocks
Our frustrate search on land. Well, let him go.
Ant. I am right glad that he 's so out of hope.
[*Aside to* SEBASTIAN.
Do not, for one repulse, forego the purpose
That you resolv'd to effect.
Seb. The next advantage
Will we take thoroughly.
Ant. Let it be to-night;
For, now they are oppress'd with travel, they
Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance,
As when they are fresh.
Seb. I say, to-night: no more.

Solemn and strange music; and PROSPERO *above, invisible. Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet; they dance about it with gentle actions of salutation; and, inviting the king and the rest to eat, they depart.*

Alon. What harmony is this? my good friends, hark!
Gon. Marvellous sweet music!
Alon. Give us kind keepers, heavens! What were these?
Seb. A living drollery:[35] Now I will believe
That there are unicorns;[36] that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phœnix' throne;[37] one phœnix
At this hour reigning there.
Ant. I 'll believe both;
And what does else want credit, come to me,

And I 'll be sworn 't is true: Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.
Gon. If in Naples
I should report this now, would they believe me?
If I should say I saw such islanders,[38]—
For, certes, these are people of the island,—
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,
Their manners are more gentle-kind, than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many,—nay, almost any.
Pro. Honest lord,
Thou hast said well; for some of you there present [*Aside.*
Are worse than devils.
Alon. I cannot too much muse
Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, expressing—
Although they want the use of tongue—a kind
Of excellent dumb discourse.
Pro. Praise in departing.[39] [*Aside.*
Fran. They vanish'd strangely.
Seb. No matter, since
They have left their viands behind; for we have stomachs.—
Will 't please you taste of what is here?
Alon. Not I.
Gon. Faith, sir, you need not fear: When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them[40]
Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men,
Whose heads stood in their breasts?[41] which now we find,
Each putter-out of one for five[42] will bring us
Good warrant of.
Alon. I will stand to, and feed, although my last:
No matter, since I feel the best is past:—
Brother, my lord the duke, stand to, and do as we.

Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL *like a harpy.*[43] *He claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes.*[44]

Ari. You are three men of sin, whom destiny,—
That hath to instrument this lower world,[45]
And what is in 't,—the never-surfeited sea
Hath caus'd to belch up you; and on this island,
Where man doth not inhabit, you 'mongst men

Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad;
[*Seeing them draw their swords.*
And even, with such-like valour, men hang and drown
Their proper selves. You fools! I and my fellows
Are ministers of fate; the elements,
Of whom your swords are temper'd, may as well
Wound the loud winds, or, with bemock'd-at stabs,
Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
One dowle[46] that 's in my plume; my fellow-ministers
Are like invulnerable. If you could hurt,
Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
And will not be uplifted. But, remember,—
For that 's my business to you,—that you three
From Milan did supplant good Prospero,—
Expos'd unto the sea, which hath requit it,
Him and his innocent child: for which foul deed
The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
Incens'd the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,
Against your peace. Thee, of thy son, Alonso,
They have bereft; and do pronounce, by me,
Ling'ring perdition—worse than any death
Can be at once—shall step by step attend
You, and your ways; whose wraths to guard you from—
Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
Upon your heads,—is nothing but heart's sorrow,[47]
And a clear life ensuing.[48]

He vanishes in thunder: then, to soft music, enter the Shapes again, and dance with mocks and mowes,[49] and carry out the table.

Pro. Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou [*Aside.*
Perform'd, my Ariel; a grace it had, devouring:
Of my instruction hast thou nothing bated,
In what thou hadst to say: so, with good life,[50]
And observation strange, my meaner ministers
Their several kinds have done:[51] my high charms work,
And these, mine enemies, are all knit up
In their distractions: they now are in my power;
And in these fits I leave them, while I visit
Young Ferdinand,—whom, they suppose, is drown'd,—
And his and mine lov'd darling. [*Exit* PROSPERO *from above.*

Gon. I' the name of something holy, sir, why stand you
In this strange stare?

Alon. O, it is monstrous! monstrous!
Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it;
The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd
The name of Prosper; it did bass my trespass.[52]
Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded; and
I 'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded,
And with him there lie mudded. [*Exit.*

Seb. But one fiend at a time;
I 'll fight their legions o'er.

Ant. I 'll be thy second.

[*Exeunt* SEBASTIAN *and* ANTONIO.

Gon. All three of them are desperate; their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,[53]
Now 'gins to bite the spirits. I do beseech you,
That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly,
And hinder them from what this ecstacy[54]
May now provoke them to.

Adr. Follow, I pray you. [*Exeunt.*

The foxe gave craft; the dog gave flattery;
Asse, patience; the mole, a working thought;
Eagle, high looke; wolfe, secret cruelty:
Monkie, sweet breath; the cow, her faire eyes brought;
The ermion, whitest skin, spotted with nought;
  The sheepe, mild-seeming face; climing, the beare;
  The stagge did give the harme-eschewing feare.

The hare, her sleights; the cat, his melancholy;
Ante, industry; and conny, skill to build;
Cranes, order; storkes, to be appearing holy;
Chamæleon, ease to change; ducke, ease to yeeld;
Crocodile, teares, which might be falsely spild:
  Ape great thing gave, though he did mowing stand,
  The instrument of instruments, the hand.

Each other beast likewise his present brings:
And (but they drad their Prince they ought should want)
They all consented were to give him wings;
And ay more awe towards him for to plant,
To their owne work this priviledge they grant,
  That from thenceforth to all eternity,
  No beast should freely speake, but only he.

Thus Man was made; thus Man their lord became:
Who at the first, wanting, or hiding pride,
He did to beasts best use his cunning frame;
With water drinke, hearbs meat, and naked hide.
And fellow-like let his dominion slide;
  Not in his sayings, saying I, but we:
  As if he meant his lordship common be.

The Third Booke of the Arcadia.

——though you borrow
From every country of the earth the best
Of those perfections which the climate yields,
To help to make her up.

Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, viii. 404.

Such Kala is: but ah my fancies raised be
In one, whose name to name were high presumption;
Since vertues all, to make her title, pleased be.
O happie Gods, which by inward assumption
Enjoy her soule, in bodies faire possession,
And keepe it joyn'd, fearing your seates consumption.
How oft with raine of teares skies make confession,
Their dwellers rapt with sight of her perfection,
From heav'nly throne to her heav'n use digression?
Of best things then what worlds shall yeeld confection
To liken her? decke yours wish your comparison:
She is her selfe of best things the collection.

Sir P. Sydney's Arcadia, 1st book.

[6] *Besides yourself, to like of.*

The preposition *of* is redundant. See p. 274. According to Forby, this idiom is still current in the Eastern counties,—"my master will not *like of* it."

[7] *Than to suffer the flesh-fly blow my mouth.*

The sign of the infinitive is here redundant. See p. 274. This ungraceful metaphor scarcely requires explanation.

[8] *Beyond all limit of what else i' the world.*

What else, that is, whatsoever else. Beyond the limit of whatsoever else there is in the world.—*Malone.*

[9] *I am a fool, to weep at what I am glad of.*

"This is one of those touches of nature that distinguish Shakespeare from all other writers. It was necessary in support of the character of Miranda, to make her appear unconscious that excess of sorrow and excess of joy find alike their relief from tears; and as this is the first time that consummate pleasure had made any near approaches to her heart, she calls such a seeming contradictory expression of it, folly."—*Steevens.*

[10] *And all the more it seeks to hide itself.*

"After the last, are some lines from Miranda whose sweetness may not be seen without op'ning: her *it*, and her *itself* which comes after, relate to nothing express'd, nor that should be express'd by her; but to what the character's delicacy does not admit of naming,—love."—*Capell.*

[11] *If not, I'll die your maid.*

Si tibi non cordi fuerant connubia nostra.
Attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes,
Quæ tibi jucundo famularer serva labore;
Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis,
Purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile.
Catul. 62. (*Malone.*)

Though in the wood, I undirstode, ye had a paramour,
All this may nought remeve my thought, but that I wil be your;
And she shal fynde me softe and kynde, and curteis every our,
Glad to fulfylle all that she wylle commaunde me to my power;
For had ye, loo, an hondred moo, yet wolde I be that one;
For in my mynde, of all mankynde, I love but you alone.
A Ballade of the Notte-browne Mayde.

[12] *Here's my hand.*

The allusion is perhaps to the practice of joining hands on concluding a marriage contract: or there may, indeed, have been merely intended the use of the ordinary phrase of giving one's hand and heart. Compare the *Winter's Tale*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Twelfth Night.*

[13] *Who are surpris'd with all.*

Steevens suggests we should read, "who are surpriz'd *withal.*" Capell supposes that the substantive *gladness*, referring to the verb in the previous line, is understood,—"upon whom all gladness is come, suddenly and by surprize."

[14] *Therefore bear up, and board 'em.*

A metaphor alluding to a chace at sea.—*Hawkins.*

[15] *If they were set in his tail.*

Stowe, describing a whale cast on the shore at Ramsgate in the year 1574, says, in a marginal note, "a monstrous fish, but not so monstrous as some reported, for his eyes, being great, were in his head, and not in his backe." Douce refers to an unnecessarily gross illustration. There is evidently no particular allusion in the text.

Notes to the Third Act.

[1] *And their labour delight in them sets off.*

And, for *and yet.* Malone refers to an example in *Coriolanus*,—"I am a Roman, *and* my services are, as you are, against them."

> But let us ever praise him, and extol
> His bounty, following our delightful task,
> To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,
> Which, were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.
>
> *Paradise Lost*, book iv.

[2] *Most busy-less, when I do it.*

The first folio reads, "Most busie lest, when I doe it;" and the second and later folios, "Most busie least, when I doe it," the reading adopted by Rowe, altered by Pope to, "Least busie when I do it." Theobald proposed the reading here adopted, observing,—"'tis true this (the old) reading is corrupt; but the corruption is so very little remov'd from the truth of the text, that I can't afford to think well of my own sagacity for having discover'd it." *Least* and *lest* were interchangeably printed in old English works, so that the reading of the second folio is scarcely to be considered an intentional emendation. Holt, in 1749, proposed to read, "*most busiest* when I do it," which seems to imply a sense exactly opposite to what is intended; and Heath, in 1765, thinks the reading of the second folio should be adhered to, with a comma after the word *busy*, and he thus explains the passage,—"I forget myself, and while the thoughts of my mistress employ my whole attention, the business enjoined me suffers by the delay; but upon recollection, this is really not the case; for I find such refreshment from those sweet thoughts, that I am most busy when I am employed in them, and my labour is more advanced by the alacrity with which they inspire me, than retarded by the delay which they occasion. I am in truth more effectually compleating the task set me by these intervals of interruption, than if I were incessantly at work about it, as I am thereby enabled to exert myself with double vigour whenever I resume it." Another reading, also suggested by Heath, is, "Most busy, when least I do it;" Mr. Collier's annotator writes, "Most busy—*blest*, when I do it," a very unhappy conjecture; Jackson, "Most busy *left*, when I do it;" Mr. Taylor, "my labour's *most business;*" and a recent anonymous critic boldly alters the line to, "My business, and rest me while I do it." The text being unquestionably corrupt, it is an editor's duty to select the best emendation that has been proposed; and Theobald's appears to me to be far preferable to any of the others. *Busy-less* is an unusual word, but it is so naturally (though perhaps not quite grammatically) formed, its rare occurrence is not, in itself, a sufficient reason for its rejection. Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, has another and more singular compound,—"too *busie-idle*, and over-bold." If Holt's interpretation were correct, the original words would possibly be, *most busil'est*, for *most busilyest.*

Dr. Dodd, who adopts Theobald's correction, gives a neat explanation of the passage in the text,—"Amidst all these labours, the thoughts of her drive away all appearance of labour, and make me seem to myself most busy-less, or least employ'd, when I am most so; something after the manner of the old famous, *nunquam minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus.*" The reference is, of course, to Cicero:—"Pub. Scipionem, . . . eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus sit, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, . . . *Nunquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus;* nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset. Magnifica vero vox, et magno viro, ac sapiente digna; quæ declarat, illum et in otio de negotiis cogitare, et in solitudine secum loqui solitum: ut neque cessaret unquam, et interdum colloquio alterius non egeret." Capell thus paraphrases the line in Shakespeare—"I talk, and quite forget my task: yet I will think of her too: for those sweet thoughts lighten my work; and when I am most employ'd in it, thinking of her I scarce feel that I'm employ'd in't at all; am least engag'd by my business, (most unengag'd by it) when engag'd by such thinking:—The sentiment, 'twill be allow'd, is most natural; but that the expressions convey it properly, no favourer of the poet will have the hardiness to assert in good earnest."

[3] *Poor worm! thou art infected.*

Worm was used as a term of commiseration, or slight contempt, here in the former sense. "Come, come, you froward and unable worms."—*Taming of the Shrew.* "Two loving wormes, Hephestion."—*Alexander and Campaspe*, sig. G. iii.

> Then blame not her she caught him in her beak,
> About to kill him ere the *worm* could speak.
> *Middleton's Works*, ed. Dyce, v. 556.

Malone quotes a passage in Tibullus, book iv. el. 13, parallel with a thought in Ferdinand's next speech,—

> Tu mihi curarum requies, *tu nocte* vel atra
> *Lumen.*

[4] *Admir'd Miranda.*

Beaumont and Fletcher (ed. Dyce, v. 199) seem to have been thinking of this passage in the *Knight of Malta*,—

> Admir'd Miranda, pardon what in thought
> I ever did transgress against your virtue.

[5] *Are created of every creature's best.*

That is, the best qualities of all others were concentrated in Miranda; the "several virtues" of all the other women he had seen, were here united in one creation. Dr. Johnson unnecessarily suggests there is here an allusion to the picture of Venus by Apelles. "Perhaps," observes Steevens, "he had only in his thoughts a fable related by Sir P. Sydney in his *Arcadia.* The beasts obtained permission from Jupiter to make themselves a King; and accordingly created one *of every creature's best:*"

> Full glad they were and tooke the naked sprite,
> Which straight the earth yclothed in his clay:
> The lion, hart; the ounce gave active might;
> The horse, good shape; the sparrow, lust to play;
> Nightingale, voice, entising songs to say.
> Elephant gave a perfect memory:
> And parot, ready tongue, that to apply.

discernment." To this able notice I have nothing of importance to add, beyond a few examples.

A patch? *patch* that I am, why that may be a patch of cloth.
Chapman's Blinde Begger of Alexandria, 1598.

D'ye see me wrong'd, and will ye thus restrain me?
Sir, let me go, for by these hilts I'le brain ye!
Shall a base *patch* with appearance wrong me?
I'le kill the villain, pray do not prolong me.
Witts Recreations, 12mo. Lond. 1654.

Doe I? why, thou dost not know me;
The whorson patch!
The Mariage of Witt and Wisdome, p. 33.

Hob and Lob, a, ye cuntry patches!
A, ye fooles! ye have made wrong matches.
King Cambises, ap. Hawkins, i. 295.

As I did ever, even like a patch.
Tom Tyler and his Wife, 4to. Lond. 1661.

[23] *And make a stock-fish of thee.*

That is, he will beat him as soundly as a stock-fish is before it is boiled.

Bo. Dog-fish are jailors, and stockfish the poore common people.—*Je.* Indeed, they live hardly.—*Bo.* But, sir, they are beaten too 't.—*The Valiant Scot*, 1637.

I am infinitely concern'd, doctor, that you have receiv'd so bad a recompence for the great service you have done me to-day. My servants beat you like a very stock-fish.—*The Husband his own Cuckold*, 1696.

[24] *I'll go no further off.*

The word *no* is taken from the second folio, and seems necessary to the sense. Stephano wishes to get rid of Trinculo's interruption, but the latter is bent on listening to Caliban, and as Stephano commands him to stand further off twice in a few lines, we may suppose some movement of the hand is here given to the same effect.

[25] *Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake.*

Ile *panch* the villaine with my rapiers poynt,
Or heaw him with my fawchion joynt by joynt.
The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine, 1611.

It is fitte time then, to lay the cloakes on him, and *panch* him up upon his fat and seame.—*The Passenger of Benvenuto*, 1612.

[26] *Remember, first to possess his books.*

The immense importance of the books to the necromancer, is so often alluded to, that the subject does not require much illustration. In the *Rare Triumphes of Love and Fortune*, 1589, in the library of Lord Ellesmere, Hermione, resolving to burn his father's magical books, says:—

And therefore I perceive he strangely useth it,
Inchaunting and transforming that his fancy doth not fit:
As I may see by these his vile blasphemous books
My soule abhorres, as often as mine eye upon them lookes.
What gaine can countervaile the danger that they bring?
For man to sell his soule to sinne, is't not a greevous thing?
To captivate his minde and all the giftes therein
To that which is of others all the most ungratious sinne. . . . .

Such is this art: such is the studie of this skill,
This supernaturall devise, this magicke, such it will.
In ransacking his cave, these bookes I lighted on,
And with his leave I'll be so bolde, whilste he abroad is gone,
To burne them all, for best that serveth for this stuffe,
I doubt not but at his returne to please him well enough;
And, gentlemen, I pray, and so desire I shall,
You would abhor this study, for it will confound you all.

Malone quotes the following lines from Tofte's translation of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, which appeared in 1598:—

The damsell searcheth forthwith in his breast,
And there the damned *booke* she straightway founde,
Which circles strange and shapes of fiendes exprest;
No sooner she some wordes therein did sound,
And opened had those damned leaves unblest,
But *sprites* of th' ayre, earth, sea, came out of hand,
Crying alowde, what is't you us *command?*

"It is a rule," observes Mr. Hunter, "laid down in the *Summa Angelica*, article *Sors*, that a necromancer is not to be considered purged, unless he has burned his books." To this, perhaps, is to be attributed the great rarity of those books of the magicians, which were used for their unlawful purposes. There are plenty of early miscellaneous collections on magic, and, indeed, more than enough of them are preserved in our public libraries; but I do not recollect to have seen one that is fairly entitled to the honor of being accepted for the real book, which was presumed to invest the necromancer with his power. The nearest approach to anything of the kind, is preserved in a very curious MS. in the possession of Lord Londesborough, which contains some pieces sufficiently declaratory of the writer's intentions being directed to the attaintment of unlawful power, and furnishes us with the following curious formula for the *consecratio libri*,—

O thou most mighty and most holy God, most sweet God, and our Lord, see and consider the labour of my mind, and lett thy will be done in me, and send the holy comforter downe from Heaven into earth for to establish and make perfect in me thy grace and vertue, to preserve and keep me, to instruct me in the perfect knowledge of thy Scriptures which I doe most entirely desyre for my defence, protection, and help, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, ✠ Amen.

O inestimable God, O God incomparable, God incorruptible, O most meeke and sweet God, O most excellent and sweet God, O immeasurable God of all mercy J. R. ✠ although unworthy and full of iniquity, and deceit, and malice, meekely doe come unto thy mercy, desyreing and prayinge thee most humbly that thou wouldst not behold my great and innumerable number of sinnes, but according to thy great mercy, have mercy on me: that thou wouldst vouchsafe gratiously to heare me N. thy unworthy servant for this booke with thy most holy names insinuated and written, that it may receive such vertue, that all spiritts by this prayer of consecration, and by this holy booke may be constrayned and compelled whether they will or noe to obey my will, and whensoever I shall take upon me or any with this booke to exorcise, therby may be restrayned to myne or their will, and by the vertue of these holy names, Joth ✠ Theos ✠ Agla ✠ Ozam ✠ Deus ✠ Eloy ✠ the which words the sea heard and returned back and gave way in sunder; the ayre was fixed and sett, the earth trembled, the fire was quenched, and all powers both cœlestiall

[16] *By this light.*

A very common phrase of asseveration. It occurs in most of the old dramatists, and several times in Shakespeare.

> Knowledge (saith he) is only true felicity;
> Straight waies a stranger askt me in simplicity,
> Is Sextus learn'd? No, quoth I, *by this light!*
> Then without light, how judgeth he so right?
> *Harington's Elegant and Wittie Epigrams*, 1633.

> A very good jest, *by this light*,
> Quoth Mr. James of the Isle of Wight.
> *Poem, temp. Jac. I.*, MS. Harl. 5191.

The phrase continued in use till a late period. It occurs in Congreve's *Old Batchelor*, 4to. 1693, p. 19.

[17] *My lieutenant, monster, or my standard.*

Standard seems here to be used for a standard-bearer or ensign. Trinculo, of course, plays on the word.

[18] *Why, thou deboshed fish, thou.*

Deboshed, that is, debauched. See observations on this word, and the reason of its being retained in the text from the old editions, in the notes to *All's Well that ends Well.*

[19] *Keep a good tongue in your head.*

Stephano repeats this expression in a subsequent part of the present scene.

> —— If he lye not by the heeles,
> Ile lie there for hun. Ile teach the hine
> To carry a tongue in his head to his subperiors.
> *Jonson's Tale of a Tub*, p. 70.

[20] *Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head.*

Steevens refers to the fourth chapter of Judges, v. 21; but see Chaucer, *Wife of Bathes Tale*, prol. This kind of murder had been introduced into the early English drama.

"*A strange accident happening at a play.*—Another of the like wonder happened at Amsterdam in Holland. A company of our English comedians (well knowne) travelling those countryes, as they were before the burgers and other the chiefe inhabitants, acting the last part of the Four Sons of Aymon, towards the last act of the history, where penitent Rinaldo, like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing as his last pennance to labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected; whose diligence the labourers envying, since by reason of his stature and strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a day then a dozen of the best (hee working for his conscience, they for their lucres), whereupon, by reason his industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired among themselves to kill him, waiting some opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the sorest labourers are the soundest sleepers, and industry is the best preparative to rest. Having spy'd their opportunity, they drave a naile into his temples, of which wound immediatly he dyed. As the actors handled this, the audience might on a sodaine understand an out-cry and loud shrike in a remote gallery; and pressing about the place, they might perceive a woman of great gravity strangely amazed, who with a distracted and troubled braine oft sighed out these words: 'Oh, my husband, my husband!' The play, without

further interruption, proceeded: the woman was to her owne house conducted, without any apparent suspition; every one conjecturing as their fancies led them. In this agony she some few dayes languished, and on a time, as certaine of her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being church-warden: to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening to him in the ripping up of a grave: See here (quoth he) what I have found; and shewes them a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quite through the braine-pan: but we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the earth, the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered a former murder; for 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she had trecherously slaine him.—*Heywood's Apology for Actors*, 1612.

[21] *What a pied ninny's this?*

"Dr. Johnson observes, that Caliban could have no knowledge of the striped coat usually worn by fools; and would therefore transfer this speech to Stephano. But though Caliban might not know this circumstance, Shakespeare did. Surely he who has given to all countries and all ages the manners of his own, might forget himself here, as well as in other places."—*Malone*. "Dr. Johnson would transfer this speech to Stephano, on the ground that Caliban could know nothing of the costume of fools. This objection is fairly removed by Mr. Malone; besides which it may be remarked that, at the end of the play, Caliban specifically calls Trinculo a *fool*. The modern managers will perhaps be inclined for the future to dress this character in the proper habit."—*Douce*.

[22] *Thou scurvy patch.*

The account of this expression, given by Douce, is so excellent, that it is better transcribed entire:—"It has been supposed that this term originated from the name of a fool belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, and that his parti-coloured dress was given to him in allusion to his name. The objection to this is, that the motley habit worn by fools is much older than the time of Wolsey. Again, it appears that *Patch* was an appellation given not to one fool only that belonged to Wolsey. There is an epigram by Heywood, entitled, *A saying of Patch my Lord Cardinal's foole;* but in the epigram itself he is twice called *Sexten*, which was his real name. In a manuscript life of Wolsey, by his gentleman usher Cavendish, there is a story of another fool belonging to the Cardinal, and presented by him to the King. A marginal note states that 'this foole was callid *Master Williames*, owtherwise called *Patch*.' In Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, mention is made of another fool called *Patch*, belonging to Elizabeth. But the name is even older than Wolsey's time; for in some household accounts of Henry the Seventh, there are payments to a fool who is named *Pechie*, and *Packye*. It seems therefore more probable on the whole that fools were nick-named *Patch* from their dress; unless there happen to be a nearer affinity to the Italian *pazzo*, a word that has all the appearance of a descent from *fatuus*. But although, in the above instance, as well as in a multitude of others, a *patch* denotes a fool or simpleton, and, by corruption a clown, it seems to have been occasionally used in the sense of *any low or mean person*. Thus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Puck calls Bottom and his companions *a crew of patches, rude mechanicals*, certainly not meaning to compare them to pampered and sleek buffoons. Whether in this sense the term have a simple reference to that class of people whose clothes might be pieced or *patched* with rags; or whether it is derived from the Saxon verb pæcan, to deceive by false appearances, as suggested by Horne Tooke, must be left to the reader's own

THE PICTURE OF NOBODY.

From the unique black-letter Ballad preserved in the Miller Library at Britwell House

Nobody · is · my · name · that · beyreth · every · bodyes · blame ·

and terrestriall did quake and were troubled, and by these holy names of God, On ✠ α and ω ✠ the begininge and ending ✠ El ✠ Ely ✠ Eloy ✠ Eloym ✠ Sother ✠ Samuel ✠ Sabaoth ✠ Adonay ✠ Egge ✠ Yaia ✠ Yeye ✠ that this booke may be consecrated, and all experiments, charmes, and characters therein written. Grant this, O Lord, which art worthy all honour and prayse world without end. Amen.

[27] *He's but a sot, as I am.*

Sot, in its original sense of, fool, blockhead, is obsolete; the word being now solely applied to a drunkard.

Of Tristem and of his lief Isot,
How he for hire bicom a *sot*.—*MS. Ashmole* 60.

Doe you not call to minde what I formerly said, that the more learned, are more fooles then others, and are many times not ignorant *sots*, but rather fooles most vitious and malicious?—*The Passenger of Benvenuto*, 1612.

[28] *Will you troll the catch.*

Troll, to sing volubly or jovially. "And troll ballads for master John Trundle yonder, the rest of my mortality."—*Ben Jonson*, ed. Gifford, i. 22.

A fellow that will troul it off with tongue:
Faith, you shall hear me troll it after my fashion.
The Cobler's Prophesie, 1594.

Oh the merry Christ-Church bells,
One, two, three, four, five, six;
They *troul* so wondrous deep,
So woundy sweet,
And they chime so merrily, merrily.
The Loyal Garland, or a choice Collection of Songs, 1686.

[29] *You taught me but while-ere.*

Who hight Alectrion, and *while-ere* had bin
The pander unto Mars and Venus' sin.—*Scot's Philomythie*, 1616.

[30] *Played by the Picture of Nobody.*

Reed thinks there is here an allusion to the print of Nobody (see the annexed woodcut) on the title-page of the comedy of *No-Body and Some-Body, with the true Chronicle Historie of Elydure;* but if any particular representation be alluded to, which would almost appear to be intended by the introduction of the word *picture*, the passage is more likely to refer to the very singular engraving on the old and popular ballad of the *Well-spoken Nobody*, which is copied in fac-simile, in the accompanying plate, from the unique copy preserved in the Miller collection at Britwell House. The title of the ballad is set forth as follows: after the heading, *The Well-spoken Nobody*,—

God, that is all good and Almyghtye,
Hath shewed his power upon me, Nobodye;
For whear my mouth with locke was sparred,
He hathe it burst, and my speche restored:
Wherfor I wyll syng prayse unto his name,
Bicause I may speke withoute anye blame;
And thoughe the Pope, with all his trayn,
Do me rebuke and against me sayen,
That as tofore I shuld nowe holde my peace,
Yet Gods honour to set furth I can not ceasse.

The ballad itself commences as follows:—

Many speke of Roben Hoode that never shott in his bowe,
So many have layed faultes to me, which I did never knowe;
But nowe beholde here I am,
Whom all the worlde doeth diffame;
Long have they also skorned me,
And locked my mouthe for speking free.
As many a Godly man they have so served,
Which unto them Gods truth hath shewed;
Of such they have burned and hanged some,
That unto their ydolatrye wold not come:
The ladye Truthe they have locked in cage,
Sayeng that of her Nobodye had knowledge.
For as muche nowe as they name Nobodye,
I thinke verilye they speke of me:
Wherfore to answere I nowe beginne,—
The locke of my mouthe is opened with ginne,
Wrought by no man, but by Gods grace,
Unto whom be prayse in every place.

In one of Ben Jonson's pieces, Nobody is introduced "attyred in a paire of breeches, which were made to come up to his neck, with his armes out at his pockets, and a cap drowning his face." The engraving at p. 449, is very characteristic of the ordinary representation of this fanciful personage, who frequently served for a sign; the comedy above mentioned being "printed for John Trundle, and are to be sold at his shop in Barbican, at the signe of No-body." Mr. Phelps is of opinion that it is not the physical realization that Trinculo is thinking of,—"with a jester's fondness for quibbling, he describes the invisible musician as the mocking likeness of a thing without existence: it is the exaggeration of the professed humorist;" and I should have agreed with him that this is the case, were it not for the use of the word *picture*, which seems irreconcileable with that interpretation.

"*Nobody* keepes such a rule in every bodies house, that from the mistresse to the basest maide, there is not a shrewde turne done without him: for if the husband finde his studie opened, and enquire who did it? he shall finde Nobody: if the good wife see her utensels disordered, and demand who displast them, the issue of every servants reply will bee, Nobody: if the servants discover the beds towsed, and the chambers durtied, it will be No-body; when every child is examined, nay if the children fall and breake their noses, or scratch one anothers faces, and either mother or nursse seeme angry and aske, who hurt them, they will quickly answere Nobody toucht them; and thus desire of excuse hath brought lying to a custome."—*Rich Cabinet furnished with Varietie of Excellent Discriptions*, 1616.

[31] *Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises.*

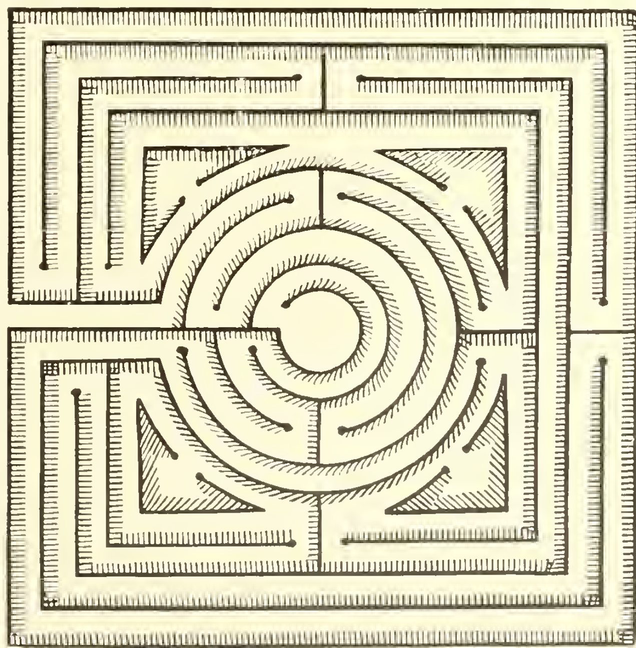
"In conducting Stephano and Trinculo to Prospero's cell, Caliban shows the superiority of natural capacity over greater knowledge and greater folly; and when Ariel frightens them with his music, Caliban, to encourage them, accounts for it in the eloquent poetry of the senses. This is not more beautiful than true. The poet here shows us the savage with the simplicity of the child, and makes the strange monster amiable. He had to paint the human animal rude, and without choice in his pleasures, but not without the sense of pleasure, or some germ of the affections. Master Barnardine, in *Measure for Measure*, the savage of civilized life, is an admirable philosophical counterpart of Caliban."—*Hazlitt.*

[32] *I would I could see this taborer.*

"Several of the incidents in this scene, viz., Ariel's mimickry of Trinculo, the tune played on the *tabor*, and Caliban's description of the twangling instruments, &c., might have been borrowed from Marco Paolo, the old Venetian voyager; who in lib. i. ch. 44, describing the desert of Lop in Asia, says—'Audiuntur ibi voces dæmonum, &c. voces fingentes eorum quos comitari se putant. Audiuntur interdum in aere concentus musicorum instrumentorum,' &c. This passage was rendered accessible to Shakspeare by an English translation entitled *the most noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus, one of the Nobilitie of the State of Venice*, 1579, by John Frampton: '—You shall heare in the ayre the sound of *tabers and other instruments*, to put the travellers in feare, &c. by evill spirites that make these soundes, and also do *call diverse of the travellers by their names*, &c.'"—*Steevens.*

[33] *Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano.*

"The first words are addressed to Caliban, who, vexed at the folly of his new companions idly running after the musick, while they ought only to have attended to the main point, the dispatching Prospero, seems, for some little time, to have staid behind."—*Heath.*



[34] *A maze trod through forth-rights and meanders.*

That is, through straight lines and circles, one of the most usual forms of the

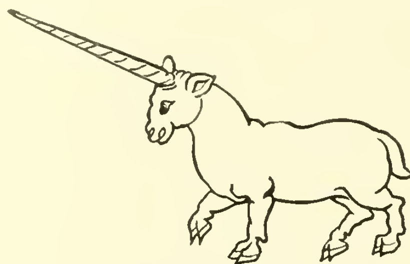
maze. The engraving of the plan of one, on the foregoing page, is selected from a collection in the *Maison Rustique, or the Countrey Farme*, 4to. Lond. 1606.

[35] *A living drollery.*

"Shows, called *drolleries*, were in Shakspeare's time performed by puppets only. From these our modern *drolls*, exhibited at fairs, took their name. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian* :—'I had rather make a *drollery* till thirty.'" —*Steevens.* "A living drollery, i. e. a drollery not represented by wooden machines, but by personages who are alive."—*Malone.*

[36] *Now I will believe that there are unicorns.*

The ancient opinions respecting this fabulous animal are thus mentioned by Pliny,—"the most fell and furious beast of all other is the Licorne or Monoceros: his bodie resembleth an horse, his head a stagge, his feet an elephant, his taile a bore; he loweth after an hideous manner; one blacke horn he hath in the mids of his forehead, bearing out two cubits in length: by report this wild beast cannot possibly be caught alive."—*Holland's translation*, 1601, i. 206. In Shakespeare's time, although the question of its existence began to be discussed, yet the belief, that there was such an animal, was very general. The following interesting observations on the unicorn, exhibiting the popular notions of the time regarding it, are abriged from a long article on the subject in one of the most popular contemporary works on natural history:—



UNICORN, MS. ADDIT. 11390.

"We are now come to the history of a beast, whereof divers people in every age of the worlde have made great question, because of the rare vertues thereof; therefore it behooveth us to use some dilligence in comparing togither the severall testimonies that are spoken of this beast, for the better satisfaction of such as are now alive, and clearing of the point for them that shall be borne heereafter, whether there bee a unicorne; for that is the maine question to be resolved. . . . The Arecan Indians (saith Pliny) do hunt a certaine wild beast which is very curst untamable, having one horne, which in the head resembleth a hart, in the feet an elephant, in the taile a bore, and in the residue of the body a horse: the horne he saith, is about two cubits long, and the voice like the lowing of an oxe, somewhat more shrill, and they deny that this beast is ever taken alive. Aelianus writeth herof in this manner, there are (saith he) certaine mountaines in the middest of India, unto the which the passage is very difficult, where are abundance of wild beasts, and among other unicornes, which the Indians call Cartazonons, who in their ripe age are as big as a horsse, and their mane and haires are yellow, excelling in the celerity of their feet and bodies; having feet cloven like an elephants, the taile of a boare, and one blacke horne growing out betwixt their eie-browes; not smooth, but rough all over with wrinckles, and the same groweth to a most sharp point; these thinges (saith Aelianus,) by comparing of whose wordes with Pliny, it is apparant they describe in these words but one and the same beast, and so also doth Phyles; wherby I gather, that it is no other beast then the wilde asse, or at the least the wilde asse commeth nearest to the unicorne of all others, for they agree in these thinges,—first, in that both of them have one horn in the middle of the forehead, secondly, in that both of them are bred in India, thirdly, in that they are both about the bignesse of a horsse, fourthly, in their celerity and solitary life,

fiftly and lastly in their exceeding strength and untamable natures; but herein they differ both in their feet and colours, for the feet of the wilde asses are whole and not cloven like the unicornes, and their colour white in their body, and purple on their head; and Aelianus saith, that the horne also differeth in colour from the unicornes, for the middle of it is onely blacke, the roote of it white, and the top of it purple, which Bellonius doth interpret, that the superficies or upper face of the horne is all purple, the inner parte white, and the inward part or middle blacke.

"There are many wilde asses which are taken in the fens, neare the river Hiphasis, in whose forehead there is one horne, wherewith they fight like buls, and the Indians of that horne make pots, affirming that whosoever drinketh in one of those pots shall never take disease that day, and if they bee wounded shall feele no paine, or safely passe through the fire without burning, nor yet be poysoned in their drinke, and therefore such cuppes are only in the possession of their Kings, neither is it lawfull for any man, except the King, to hunt that beast, and therefore they say that Appollonius looked upon one of those beastes, and considered his nature with singular admiration. . . . . Nicolaus Venetus, an earle saith, that in Masinum or Serica, that is, the mountaines betwixt India and Cathay, as Aeneas Sylvius writeth, there is a certain beast having a swines head, an oxes taile, the body of an elephant (whom it doth not onely equall in stature, but also it liveth in continuall variance with them) and one horne in the forehead: now this, if the reader shall thinke it different from the former, I doe make the third kinde of a unicorn, and I trust there is no wise-man that wil be offended at it: for as we have shewed already in many stories, that sundry beastes have not onely their divisions, but subdevisions, into subalternal kinds, as many dogges, many deere, many horsses, many mice, many panthers, and such like, why should there not also bee many unicorns. And if the reader be not pleased with this, let him either shew me better reason, which I know hee shall never be able to do, or else beside least the uttering of his dislike, bewray envy and ignorance.

"*The naturall properties of Unicornes.*—These beasts are very swift, and their legges have no articles. They keep for the most part in the desarts, and live solitary in the tops of the mountaines. There was nothing more horible then the voice or braying of it, for the voice is straind above measure. It fighteth both with the mouth and with the heeles, with the mouth biting like a lyon, and with the heeles kicking like a horse. It is a beast of an untamable nature, and therefore the Lord himselfe in *Job* saith, that he cannot bee tyed with any halter, nor yet accustomed to any cratch or stable. Hee feareth not iron or any yron instrument, as Isidorus writeth, and that which is most strange of all other, it fighteth with his owne kinde, yea even with the females unto death, except when it burneth in lust for procreation; but unto strannger-beasts, with whome he hath no affinity in nature, he is more sotiable and familiar, delighting in their company when they come willing unto him, never rising against them, but proud of their dependence and retinue, keepeth with them all quarters of league and truce, but with his female, when once his flesh is tickled with lust, he groweth tame, gregall and loving, and so continueth till she is filled and great with young, and then returneth to his former hostility. He is an enemy to the lyons, wherefore as soone as ever a lyon seeth a unicorne, he runneth to a tree for succor, that so when the unicorne maketh force at him, hee may not onely avoide his horne, but also destroy him; for the unicorne, in the swiftnesse of his course, runneth against the tree wherein his sharpe horne sticketh fast, then when the lyon seeth the unicorne fastned by the horne without all danger, he fauleth upon him and killeth him. These things are reported by the king of Aethiopia, in an Hæbrew Epistle unto the Bishop of

Rome. It is sayd that unicorns above all other creatures, doe reverence virgines and young maides, and that many times at the sight of them they growe tame, and come and sleepe beside them, for there is in their nature a certaine savor, wherewithall the unicornes are allured and delighted: for which occasion the Indian and Ethiopian hunters use this stratagem to take the beast. They take a goodly strong and beautifull young man, whom they dresse in the apparell of a woman, besetting him with divers odoriferous flowers and spices. The man so adorned, they set in the mountaines or woods where the unicorn haunteth, so as the wind may carrie the savor to the beast, and in the meane season the other hunters hide themselves: the unicorne, deceaved with the outward shape of a woman and sweete smells, commeth unto the young man without feare, and so suffereth his head to bee covered and wrapped within his large sleeves, never stirring but lying still and a-sleepe, as in his most acceptable repose. Then when the hunters, by the signe of the young man, perceave him fast and secure, they come uppon him, and by force cut off his horne, and send him away alive: but concerning this opinion wee have no elder authoritie then Tzetzes, who did not live above five hundred yeares agoe, and, therefore, I leave the reader to the freedome of his owne judgment, to beleeve or refuse this relation; neither was it fit that I should omit it, seeing that all writers, since the time of Tzetzes, doe most constantly beleeve it. It is sayd by Aelianus and Albertus, that except they bee taken before they bee two yeares old, they will never bee tamed; and that the Thrasians doe yeerely take some of their colts, and bring them to their King, which he keepeth for combat, and to fight with one another: for when they are old, they differ nothing at all from the most barbarous, bloodie, and ravenous beasts. Their flesh is not good for meate, but is bitter and unnourishable."—*Topsell's Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes, describing the true and lively figure of every Beast*, 1607.

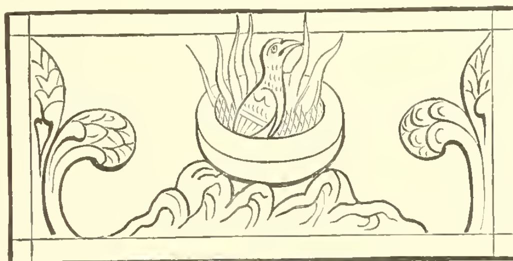
The old medieval legend, mentioned by Topsell, that this animal became tame in the presence of a pure virgin, is very often alluded to in early works. If a person, who was not pure, ventured on this undertaking, she was in great danger of being destroyed by the unicorn; the horn of which, as Mr. Wright observes, was a terrible weapon, so hard and so sharp that nothing could resist it. The accompanying engraving of this fabulous beast being taken by the hunters through the means of a virgin, is copied from an illumination in an early manuscript of the common Latin bestiary in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 4751. One of the earliest bestiaries, the Anglo-Norman poem of Philip de Thaun, written in the reign of Henry the First, gives the following account of the method in which the unicorn was taken (*Wright's Popular Treatises on Science*, 8vo. 1841, p. 81). It is scarcely necessary to say, that the same information is given in most of the early bestiaries, and in several other medieval works.

Monosceros est beste,	Monosceros is an animal
un corn ad en la teste,	which has one horn on its head;
Pur çeo ad si à nun,	Therefore it is so named.
de bue ad façun;	It has the form of a goat;
Par pucele est prise,	It is caught by means of a virgin:
or oez en quel guise.	Now hear in what manner.
Quant hom le volt cacer	When a man intends to hunt it,
e prendre e enginner,	And to take and ensnare it,
Si vent hom al forest	He goes to the forest
ù sis repairs est;	Where is its repair;
Là met une pucele	There he places a virgin,
hors de sein sa mamele,	With her breast uncovered,
E par odurement	And by its smell
monosceros la sent;	the monosceros perceives it;
Dunc vent à la pucele,	Then it comes to the virgin,
e si baiset sa mamele,	and kisses her breast,
En sun devant se dort,	Falls asleep on her lap,
issi vent à sa mort;	And so comes to its death;
Li hom survent atant,	The man arrives immediately,
ki l'ocit en dormant,	And kills it in its sleep,
U trestut vif le prent,	Or takes it alive,
si fait puis sun talent.	And does as he likes with it."

It was long believed that the horn of the unicorn possessed extraordinary virtues. A writer of the seventeenth century, in MS. Sloane 1941, says he observed "six unicornes hornes at Vienna in the Treasury of the Emperour, wherin I also sawe the sword of Charles the fift in a scabbard of unicornes horne; the longest horne is seven foote in length; also a scepter made of unicornes horne, richly sett with pretious stones."

[37] *There is one tree, the phœnix' throne.*

The ancient notions respecting the phœnix were so generally known in Shakespeare's time, there is scarcely a necessity for supposing, with Steevens and Malone, that he was indebted, for the knowledge of it, to any particular work. Sir T. Browne thought it necessary to devote an entire chapter to the subject, in the *Vulgar Errors;* so that it may be concluded there was, for some time, a lingering belief in the existence of such a creature. It will be sufficient to make one quotation, from the numerous early works in which it is described; and I have selected an account from a work, which is presumed by Douce to have been well known to Shakespeare:—"Phenix is a bird, and there is but one of that kinde in all the wide worlde, therfore ignorant men wonder therof; and among the Arabians, there this bird Phenix is bred. He is called singularis, alone, as Isid. saith. The philosopher speketh of this bird and saith, that Phenix is a bird without make, and liveth iii. hundred or v. hundred yeares: when the which yeares be passed, she feeleth hir owne default and feeblenesse, and maketh a nest of right sweete smelling stickes, that be full drye, and in summer, when the westerne winde bloweth, the stickes and the neast be set on fire with



THE PHŒNIX, MS. SLOANE 3544, MUS. BRIT.

burning heate of the sun, and burneth strongly, then this bird Phenix commeth wilfully into the burning neast, and is there burnt to ashes, among these burning stickes, and within three daies a litle worme is gendered of the ashes, and waxeth little and litle, and taketh feathers, and is shapen and turned to a bird. Ambrose saith the same, in Exameron, of the humor or ashes of Phœnix ariseth a new bird and waxeth, and in space of time he is clothed with fethers and wings, and restored into the kinde of a bird, and is the most fairest bird that is, most like to the pecocke in feathers, and loveth wildernes, and gathereth his meate of cleane grains and fruits. Alanus speaketh of this bird, and saith that when the highest bishoppe Onias had builded a temple in the citie of Heliopoly in Aegypt, to the likenes of the temple of Hierusalem, and the first daye of Easter, when he had gathered much sweete smelling woode, and set it on fire uppon the alter to offer sacrifice: to all mens sight, such a birde came sodeinly, and fell into the middle of the fire, and was burnt anone to ashes, in the fire of the sacrifice: and the ashes abode there, and was busily kept and saved by the commandement of the Priest, and within three daies of these ashes was bred a little worme that tooke the shape of a bird at the last, and flew into wildernesse."—*Batman uppon Bartholome his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1582.

[38] *If I should say I saw such islanders.*

Islands, first folio. Corrected by the editor of the second folio; but the most important only of these kind of corrections are mentioned in the notes, as they have of course, been adopted by all, or nearly all, the modern editors.

[39] *Praise in departing.*

"That is, do not praise your entertainment too soon, lest you should have reason to retract your commendation. It is a proverbial saying. So, in the *Two angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599:—'And so she doth; but *praise* your luck *at parting*.' Stephen Gosson, in his pamphlet entitled, *Playes confuted in five Actions*, acknowledges himself to have been the author of a morality called *Praise at Parting*."—*Steevens.*

A good beginning oft we see, but seldome standing at one stay,
For few do like the meane degree; then *praise at parting* some men say.
Paradise of Dainty Devises, 1596.

How like ye now this last overthwarting?
It is an old saying, *Praise at the parting.*
Tom Tyler and his Wife, 4to. Lond. 1661, p. 19.

[40] *Whose throats had hanging at them wallets of flesh.*

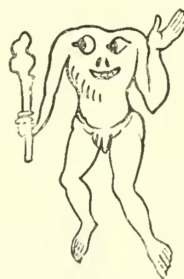
The strange appearance of the goitre was naturally looked upon with feelings of wonder, and has been considered sufficiently curious to deserve the distinction of a public exhibition even within recent times. It is frequently associated with cretinism, but is not necessarily so. The enlargement of the thyroid gland, observes Dr. Reeve, Phil. Trans., xcviii. 112, is the most striking feature in the unsightly aspect of a cretin, but it is not a constant attendant on him. The following account of the goitre is extracted from Bulwer's *Man Transform'd, or the Artificiall Changling*, 4to. Lond. 1653, p. 278,—"They that inhabit those Alpes which divide France from Italy, their throats are encreased to that bulke and largenesse, that both in men and women those gutturall bottles hang down even to their navels, and they can cast them over their shoulders; and this is not commonly seen in the Allobroges, Carinthians, Syrians, and nations living about the Alpes, but it is also familiar to

some places of Spaine. Fabricius saith, that such tumours are frequent among the Bergomensians, where the men and women all, for the most part, have such great pendent bags in the fore-part of their throats. Among the Rucantians, a people of Helvetia, now called Rhæti, the inhabitants, especially about the town Ciceres, are troubled with the same gutturall deformity. Neither doth this happen only in Europe, but also in Asia; for the men there have such great wallets of flesh after a wonderfull manner hanging at their throats." The above representation of a man "with a great crop beneath the chin," was selected by Mr. Fairholt from a MS. in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 11390, of the fifteenth century. There is an allusion to the goitre in Juvenal,—

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?

[41] *Whose heads stood in their breasts.*

The curious old belief that there existed a nation of such people, has already been alluded to in the Introduction to the play. "Some cuntries there are," says Montaigne, "where men are borne headlesse, with eyes and mouthes in their breasts," translation by Florio, 1603, p. 304. "The Blemmyi, by report, have no heads, but mouth and eies both in their breast," Holland's Pliny, 1601, i. 96. The accompanying wood-cut is copied from an early bestiary in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 11390. Heath, in his *Two Centuries of Epigrammes*, 1610, thus ridicules the accounts of these anthropophagi,—



They which have travel'd o're the earths round ball,
Tell us of men that have no heads at all;
Who so beleeve what ever they have writ,
Heads they may have, but sure they have no wit.

[42] *Each putter-out of one for five.*

An allusion to the old custom of persons, who were about to travel, placing sums of money in the hands of parties in their own country, to be repaid to them several fold, if they were fortunate enough to return in safety. The old copies incorrectly read, *five for one*, but that the emendation here adopted, which was first suggested by Dr. Thirlby, is correct, may be gathered from an epigram in Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, "against Sir Solus his laying out on no returne,"—

Sir Solus straight will travell, as they say,
And gives out *one for three*, when home comes hee;
But three to one he never will away,
Untill he hath not one to give for three.

This curious method of assurance, the rate of which depended on the difficulty and dangers of the journey, is continually alluded to by old writers. Owen, the epigrammatist, in one addressed, *Ad duos anonymos, Venetiis reduces*, mentions two persons who put out one for four on a journey merely as far as Venice,—

Expensas quadruplex ut compensatio vobis
Redderet, ad Venetos instituistis iter.
Unde lucro simul ac vestro rediistis, amici
Gaudebant damno vos rediisse suo.

and Shirley (*The Ball*, 1639) mentions the rate of five for one on a return from the same place. There is another allusion to the same rate of interest in *Every Man out of his Humour*,—"I doe intend, this yeere of Jubile, comming on, to

travaile: and (because I will not altogether goe upon expence) I am determined to put forth some five thousand pound, to be paid me, five for one, upon the returne of my selfe, my wife, and my dog, from the Turkes court in Constantinople. If all, or either of us miscarry in the journey, 'tis gone: if we be successefull, why, there will be five and twenty thousand pound, to entertaine time withall." See also the fourth act of the same play, and Epigram, No. 133, Ben Jonson's Works, ed. Gifford, viii. 242. It was likewise the custom to entrust sums of moneys to persons about to travel, to venture the same in trade and speculations, on condition of their repaying it with an exorbitant interest. The following copies of the legal instruments, used on both these occasions, may not be thought uninteresting:—

A Condition to pay money at his returne from, &c.—The condition of this obligation is such, that whereas the within named D. S. is now minded to travell personally to the citie or towne of I., in the province or country sometime called I., or to the place where the said citie or towne sometime was scituate and stood: if therefore the within bounden A. B., his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, or any of them, shall well and truely content, satisfie or pay, or cause to be contented, satisfied or paid, unto the above-said D. S., his executors, administrators or assignes, the summe, &c., of lawfull, &c., within, &c., next after and ensuing the day of the returne of the said D. S. into the realme of England from the said place, and have lawfully proved, shewed and declared or published unto the said A. B., his executors, &c., by certificate or testimoniall under the seale of the said citie or towne of I., or of the next citie, towne, or place having a common seale, unto the place where the said citie or towne of I. was scituate and stood, or under the seale of the state of the citie of Venice in I., or by other sufficient or true proves that the said D. S. hath bin personally at the said citie or towne of I., or at the place where the same towne or citie sometime was scituate and builded. That then, &c.—*West's First Part of Simboleography*, 4to. Lond. 1605.

A Condition to pay a summe of money, at ones returne from beyond Sea.—The condition, &c., that whereas the within named A. B., the day of the date within written, hath paid and delivered unto the within bound C. D. the summe of, &c., which said summe the said A. B. is contented that the said C. D. shall employ and adventure in a voyage, wherein the said C. D. is bound in the good ship called the, &c., unto the East Indies, upon condition that the said C. D., his executors, administrators or assignes, shall truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said A. B., his executors or assignes, the full summe of, &c., at the returne of the said C. D. and the said ship, or either of them, which shall first and next happen from the East Indies aforesaid, into the Realme of England, if therefore the said C. D., his executors, administrators or assignes, do or shall within one moneth next after the returne either of himselfe, or of the said ship, called the, &c., from the East Indies aforesaid into the Realme of England, well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said A. B., his executors or assignes, the said summe of, &c., of like lawfull money of England without fraud or delay, that then, &c., or else, &c.—*The Second Part of the Young Clerk's Guide, or a Second Collection of choyce English Presidents*, 12mo. Lond. 1652, pp. 108-9.

The following notices of the practice in Taylor's *Workes*, fol. 1630, is taken (with additions and corrections) from Nares:—

John Taylor, called the water-poet, appears to have taken several journies upon this plan; but when he returned, he was unable to recover his money, thought he sums were small, and the persons who owed them rich. Hence his indignant satire against them, entitled, "A Kicksey Winsey, or a Lerry Come-Twang, wherein John Taylor hath satyrically suted seven hundred and fifty of his bad debtors, that will not pay him for his returne of his journey from Scotland,"—

These toylesome passages I undertooke,
And gave out coyne, and many a hundred booke,
Which these base mungrels tooke, and promist me
To give me *five for one*, some *foure*, some *three*:
But now these hounds no other pay affords
Then shifting, scornefull lookes, and scurvy words.

The books which he gave out were books of his own production, instead of a deposit in money:

They tooke, in hope to give, and doe me good.
They tooke a booke worth twelve pence, and were bound
To give a crowne, an angell, or a pound,—
A noble, piece, or halfe piece, what they list;
They past their words, or freely set their fist.
Thus got I sixteene hundred hands and fifty,
Which summe I did suppose was somwhat thrifty.

He confesses that he took his journies only for this gain. He adds,

Foure thousand and five hundred bookes I gave
To many an honest man, and many a knave.

In a prose address, he alleges that the sums were "but small, and very easie for them (in generall) to pay;" yet would do him "a particular good to receive." Subjoined to this satire is a "Defence of Adventures upon Returnes," in plain prose, from which the following extracts may be worth giving:—

"Forasmuch as there are many, who either out of pride, malice, or ignorance, do speak harshly and hardly of mee and of divers others, who have attempted and gone dangerous voyages by sea with small wherries or boats, or any other adventure upon any voyage by land, either riding, going, or running, alleadging that wee doe tempt God by undertaking such perilous courses, which indeed I cannot deny to be true, yet not to extenuate or make my faults lesse then they are, I will here approve that all men in the world are *Adventurers upon Returne*, and that wee doe all generally tempt the patience and long suffering of God, as I will make it appeare as followeth.—Whosoever is an Idolater, a superstitious heretike, an odious and frequent swearer, or lyer, a griping usurer, or uncharitable extortioner, doth tempt God, adventure their soules, and, upon returne, lose Heaven.—Whosoever doth contrive, plot, or commit treason, doth adventure his soule to the divel, and his body to the hang-man.—Whosoever doth marry a young and beautifull mayd, doth adventure a great hazard for a blessing or a curse."

The author of the *Chronicles of London Bridge*, p. 424, mentions a curious project, somewhat analogous to this method of putting-out, which originated with a captain Bulmer in the year 1643. Bulmer issued in that year proposals "in the Office of Assurance, London, for the blowing up of a boat and a man over London Bridge," covenanting to perform this feat within the space of one month after he had intimated at the Assurance Office that he was about to put it into practice. This announcement, observes the author of the above work, was to be made "so soone as the undertakers wagering against him *six for one*," should have deposited in the Office such a sum as he should consider sufficient to "countervaile his charges of contriving the said boat and engine" (*ibid.*, p. 425), the latter alluding to the contrivances by which the undertaking was to be accomplished. The original broadside, containing the account of this project, is preserved in the British Museum.

The best connected account of the practice of putting-out, occurs in Fynes

Moryson's *Itinerary*, fol. Lond. 1617, and it is so curious, that it well deserves to be quoted at length:—

"From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine countries, not to get libertie (which I had in Cambridge in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well, as by the eies. And having once begun this course, I could not see any man without emulation, and a kind of vertuous envy, who had seene more cities, kingdomes, and provinces or more courts of princes, kings, and emperours, then myselfe. Therefore having now wandred through the greatest part of Europe, and seene the chiefe kingdomes thereof, I sighed to myselfe in silence, that the kingdome of Spaine was shut up from my sight, by the long warre betweene England and Spaine, except I would rashly cast myselfe into danger, which I had already unadvisedly done, when I viewed the citie and fort of Naples, and the citie of Milan. And howsoever now being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little use to me, yet I had an itching desire to see Jerusalem, the fountaine of Religion, and Constantinople, of old the seate of Christian emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish Ottoman. Being of this mind when I returned into England, it happened that my brother Henrie was then beginning that voyage, having to that purpose put out some foure hundred pounds to be repaied twelve hundred pounds upon his returne from those two cities, and to lose it if he died in the journey. My brother, being partner with other gentlemen in this fortune, thought this putting out of money to be an honest meanes of gaining at least the charges of his journey; and the rather, because it had not then been heard in England that any man had gone this long journey by land, nor any like it, excepting only Master John Wrath, whom I name for honour, and more specially hee thought this gaine most honest and just; if this journey were compared with other base adventures for gaine, which long before this time had been and were then in use. And I confesse, that this his resolution did not at the first sight dislike me. For I remembred, that this manner of gaine, had of old been in use among the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and the Sea Coasts of Germany (and so it is yet in use with them). I remembred that no meane Lords, and Lords sonnes, and Gentlemen in our Court had in like sort put out money upon a horse-race, or speedie course of a horse, under themselves, yea upon a journey on foote. I considered that those kindes of gaining onely required strength of body, whereas this and the like required also vigor of minde; yea, that they often weakened the body, but this and the like alwaies bettered the mind. I passe over infinite examples of the former customes, and will onely adde, that earles, lords, gentlemen, and all sorts of men, have used time out of mind to put out money, to bee repaied with advantage upon the birth of their next childe, which kinde of gaine can no way bee compared with the adventures of long journies.

"Being led with these reasons, I liked his counsell, and made myselfe his consort in that journy. And I had now given out upon like condition mony to some few friends, when perceiving the common opinion in this point to be much differing from mine, and thereupon better considering this matter, and observing (as a stranger that had beene long out of my countrey) that these kind of adventures were growne very frequent, whereof some were undecent some ridiculous; and that they were in great part undertaken by bankerouts, and men of base condition, I might easily judge that in short time they would become disgracefull, whereupon I changed my mind, for I remembred the Italian proverbe, the beauty of a harlot, the strength of the porter, and (to omit many like) musicke itselfe, and all vertues, become lesse prized in them, who set them out to sale. Also I remem-

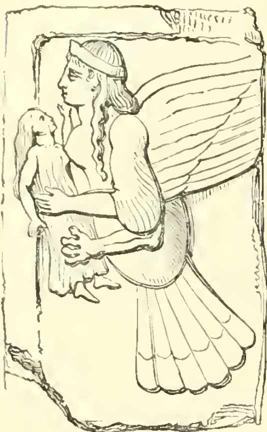
bred the pleasant fable, that Jupiter sent raine upon a village wherewith whosoever was wet, became a foole, which was the lot of all the inhabitants, excepting one man, who, by chance, for dispatching of businesse, kept within doores that day, and that when he came abroad in the evening, all the rest mocked him, as if they had beene wise, and he onely foolish. So as he was forced to pray unto Jupiter for another like shower, wherein he wetted himselfe also, chusing rather to have the love of his foolish neighbours, being a foole, then to be dispised of them, because he was onely wise. And no doubt in many things wee must follow the opinion of the common people, with which it is better (regarding onely men) to be foolish, then alone to be wise. I say that I did for the aforesaid causes change my mind; and because I could not make that undone which was done, at least I resolved to desist from that course. Onely I gave out one hundred pound to receive three hundred at my returne among my brethren, and some few kinsmen and dearest friends, of whom I would not shame to confesse that I received so much of gift. And lest by spending upon the stocke, my patrimony should be wasted, I moreover gave out to five friends, one hundred pound, with condition that they should have it if I died, or after three yeeres should repay it with one hundred and fifty pound gaine if I returned; which I hold a disadvantageous adventure to the giver of the money. Neither did I exact this money of any man by sute of law after my returne, which they willingly and presently paid me, onely some few excepted, who retaining the very money I gave them, deale not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them: and by the great expences of my journy, much increased by the ill accidents of my brothers death, and my owne sickenesse, the three hundred fifty pounds I was to receive of gain after my return; and the one hundred pounds which my brother and I carried in our purses would not satisfie the five hundred pound we had spent, (though my brother died within the compasse of the first yeere) but I was forced to pay the rest out of my owne patrimony.

"Gentle reader I will no longer trouble thee with these trifles, onely in the behalfe of them, who for a reasonable gaine, and upon long journies, and not upon ridiculous adventures, have put out their mony in this sort. To conclude (that I may not trouble you with like examples, which are infinite), I say that this manner of giving out mony upon these adventures, was first used in Court, and among the very noble men: and when any of them shewed thereby extraordinary strength, the most censorious approved it, but when any performed a long journy, with courage and discretion, no man was found who did not more or lesse commend it, according to the condition of the journey performed. Now in this age, if bankerouts, stage-players, and men of base condition have drawne this custome into contempt: I grant that courtiers and gentlemen have reason to forbeare it, yet know not why they should be blamed, who have thus put out their mony in another age, when this custome was approved. A man may justly say it is great injustice that our actions should be measured by opinion, and not by reason; but when a man leaves any custome that hath beene approved, lest hee should oppose himselfe to the common people, a monster of many heads, the most envious hath nothing whereat they may justly carpe. And if any measure may be imposed to detracters, surely they must spare them who undertake long voyages, ful of great dangers: who doe not put out their money in tavernes, or at feasts, to any man without distinction, but dispose of their money with their friends upon reasonable adventure of gaine (which in absence they cannot otherwise dispose to profit): Finally who being not rich by patrimony, take these journies onely for experience, and to be inabled to that expence, doe condition this reasonable gaine. I say the detracters must spare these, and distinguish them from others, who make cursorie journies without any desire to better their understanding thereby, and more from those who

in these courses rather make triall of their bodies strength, then of their mindes abilitie. And most of all from those who expose themselves to the scorne of men, by base and ridiculous adventures, or that little differ from selfe murtherers, in undertaking desperate actions for gaine."

This bearar, Mr. Morison, it should seeme, hath geven out certayne money to be payd att his retorne from Constantinople, and hath made assewrance uppon his lyffe for a yeare.—*Letter dated* 1600, MS. Lansd. 241.

Mary, sir, it is a traveller, not of those sort that endevor their travels but of purpose to growe into the hieway of experience, for the better service of their prince or country: but of those whipsters that, having spent the greatest part of their patrimony in prodigality, wil give out the rest of their stocke, to be paid two or three for one, upon their returne from Rome, from Venice, from Constantinople, or some other appoynted place.—*B. Rich's Faultes, Faults, and nothing else but Faultes*, 4to. 1606, f. 8.



I would I had put out something upon my returne.—*Field's Amends for Ladies*, 1639.

[43] *Enter Ariel like a harpy.*

This circumstance is derived from the third book of the *Æneis* of Virgil, but it is not necessary to suppose that it had only been read by Shakespeare in Phaer's translation. At all events, there is not sufficient to show that such was the case. The accompanying engraving of a harpy carrying away a lady, was selected by Mr. Fairholt from a bas-relief on an ancient tomb preserved in the British Museum.

Lyke foules with maidens face thei ben, their paunches wylde defilde
With garbage great, their hoked pawes thei sprede, and ever pale
With hungry lookes. . . .
. . . . . and fast to meate we fall:
But sodenly from downe the hylls with grisly fall to syght,
The harpies come, and beating wings with great noys out thei shright,
And at our meate they snatch, and with their clawes they al defyle,
And feareful cries also they cast, and sent of savour vyle.
Againe into a privie place where rocks and caves doth hide,
With trees and shadowes compast darke our tables we provide,
And altars up again we make, and fiers on them we tinde;
Againe from out a divers coast, from hooles and lurkings blind,
The preas with croked pawes are out, and sounding foule they flie,
Polluting with their filthy mouthes our meate, and than I crie,
That al men weapons take, and with that ugly nacion fight.
Thei did as I them bad forthwith, and in the grasse from sight
Their swords by them thei laid, and, couching close, their shelds thei hide.
Than whan third time from the clives with noise againe thei glide,
Mysenus from aloft with brasen trompet fets a sound.
My mates invade them than, and felt the fight but newly found;
And on the filthy birdes thei beat, that wild sea rocks do brede,
But fethers none do from them fal, nor wound for stroke doth blede,
Nor force of weapons hurt them can, their backs and wings no speare
Can perce, but fast away they flye full hie from sight, and there
The pray to us half maunched and begnawn ful foule they leave.

The Nyne Fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos, by T. Phaer, 1562.

[44] *With a quaint device, the banquet vanishes.*

This means nothing more, as Mr. Dyce observes, than that the mechanist of the theatre was to do his best to make it seem that the harpy had devoured the banquet.

[45] *That hath to instrument this lower world.*

That is, that makes use of this world, and everything in it, as its instruments to bring about its ends."—*Steevens.*

[46] *One dowle that 's in my plume.*

Dowle is a very fine short feather or hair, nearly if not quite synonymous with *down.* "Young dowl of the beard."—Sect. i. ad fin. Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, 1660. "Young dowl, *lanugo.*"—*Coles.* This word is sometimes written, in early English, instead of *dole.*

> Well, goe to! if upon a bed
> Of *dowle* thou shouldest lye;
> And if thy couche were costly clad
> With clothes of purple dye.
> *Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577.

> His hat, though blacke, lookes like a medley hat,
> For black's the ground which sparingly appeares;
> Then heer's a *dowle*, and there a dabb of fat.
> *Davies's Scourge of Folly*, p. 47.

Trichitis, or the hayrie stone by some Greek Authors, and Alumen Plumaceum, or downy Alom, by the Latinists; it is also called for the resemblance of it, *villus salamandræ*, salamanders wool: This hair or *dowl* is spun into thread, and weaved into cloth, and the cloth so made hath this strange property, that being cast into the fire it will not burn, but if it be foul or stained, comes forth more bright and clean out of the flames; it is therefore called also *Amiantus.* Ferdinand Imperatus had a piece of this cloth much like white silk. Of this hairy stone some made wick for candles that would not consume or burn out.—*Humane Industry, or a History of most Manual Arts*, 1661.

The same work mentions trees that "have a certain wool or dowl upon the outside of them, as the small cotton;" as also a certain shell-fish, "that bears a mossy *dowl*, or wool, whereof cloth was spun and made."

[47] *Is nothing, but heart's sorrow.*

Mr. Wheler's annotated third folio reads, "*there's* nothing;" which is evidently an unauthorised alteration.

[48] *And a clear life ensuing.*

"Clear, pure, blameless, innocent,"—*Johnson.* "The meaning, which is somewhat obscured by the expression, is,—a miserable fate, which nothing but contrition and amendment of life can avert."—*Malone.*

[49] *And dance with mocks and mowes.*

Mr. Collier, I think rightly, retains *mocks* from the old copies, modern editors generally reading *mops.* In the next act, they read "mops and mowes;" and were it certain that *mop* is merely another form of the word, it might in all cases be modernized; but, on the whole, it is safer to adhere to the original text, though it is of slight importance which reading be adopted in the present instance, as it occurs in a stage direction. Both Spenser and Browne sometimes write "mock and mowe."

Nor trunks, nor puncks, nor stocks, *nor mocks, nor moes,*
Nor being made an asse in rime and prose:
Nor hanging, drowning, carting, nor the blanket.
These honours all are his, the gods be thanked.
Taylor's Workes, 1630.

[50] *With good life.*

"To do any thing with *good life*, is still a provincial expression in the West of England, and signifies, to do it with the full bent and energy of mind:—*And observation strange*, with such minute attention to the orders given, as to excite admiration."—*Henley.* The examples quoted by Steevens scarcely appear to be strictly illustrative.

Done for the last, with such exceeding life,
As art therein with Nature seem'd at strife.
Drayton's Barons Warres, p. 137.

[51] *Their several kinds have done.*

That is, have discharged the several functions allotted to their different natures. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the Clown says—"You must think this, look you, that the worm will *do his kind.*"—*Steevens.*

[52] *It did bass my trespass.*

"That is, it served as the bass in a concert, to proclaim my trespass in the loudest and fullest tone."—*Heath.*

The singing bullets made his soule rejoice,
As musicke that the hearing most alures;
And if the canons *bas'd* it with their voice,
He seem'd as ravisht with an heav'nly noise.
Davies's Microcosmos, the Discovery of the little World, 1603.

[53] *Like poison given to work a great time after.*

Malone (ed. 1790, x. 549) refers to the following passage in *Leicester's Commonwealth*,—"I heard him once myselfe in publique act at Oxford, and that in presence of my lord of Leicester, maintain that poyson might be so tempered and given, as it should not appear presently, and yet should kill the party afterwards at what time should be appointed." A belief in the existence of these kind of poisons was very general, and they are frequently alluded to by early writers. The passage in the text does not appear to require a lengthened notice on the subject.

[54] *This ecstacy may now provoke them to.*

Shakespeare, observes Mr. Singer, "uses *ecstacy* for any temporary alienation of mind, a fit, or madness." The same critic makes the following reference to Minsheu:—"Extasie or trance: *G.* extase; *Lat.* extasis, abstractio mentis. Est proprie mentis emotio, et quasi ex statione sua deturbatio, seu furore, seu admiratione, seu timore, aliove casu decidat."—*Guide to the Tongues*, 1617.

Act the Fourth.

SCENE.—*Before the Cell of* Prospero.

Enter PROSPERO, FERDINAND, *and* MIRANDA.

Pro. If I have too austerely punish'd you,
Your compensation makes amends; for I
Have given you here a thread of mine own life,[1]
Or that for which I live; who once again
I tender to thy hand. All thy vexations
Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
Hast strangely stood the test.[2] Here, afore Heaven,
I ratify this my rich gift. O Ferdinand,
Do not smile at me, that I boast her off,
For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise,
And make it halt behind her.

Fer. I do believe it,
Against an oracle.

Pro. Then, as my gift,[3] and thine own acquisition
Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter: But
If thou dost break her virgin knot,[4] before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be minister'd,
No sweet aspersion[5] shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow: but barren hate,
Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
That you shall hate it both: therefore take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

Fer. As I hope
For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,

With such love as 't is now, the murkiest den,
The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion
Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
Mine honour into lust; to take away
The edge of that day's celebration,
When I shall think or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd,[6]
Or night kept chain'd below.

Pro. Fairly spoke:
Sit, then, and talk with her, she is thine own.—
What, Ariel; my industrious servant, Ariel!

Enter Ariel.

Ari. What would my potent master? here I am.

Pro. Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
Did worthily perform; and I must use you
In such another trick: go, bring the rabble,[7]
O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place:
Incite them to quick motion; for I must
Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art;[8] it is my promise,
And they expect it from me.

Ari. Presently?[9]

Pro. Ay, with a twink.

Ari. Before you can say, Come, and Go,
And breathe twice, and cry, So, so,—
Each one, tripping on his toe,[10]
Will be here with mop and mowe:
Do you love me, master? no?

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariel. Do not approach,
Till thou dost hear me call.

Ari. Well, I conceive. [*Exit.*

Pro. Look thou be true: do not give dalliance
Too much the rein: the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire i' the blood: be more abstemious,
Or else, good night your vow!

Fer. I warrant you, sir,
The white-cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.

Pro. Well.—
Now come, my Ariel: bring a corollary,[11]
Rather than want a spirit: appear, and pertly.—
No tongue; all eyes; be silent. [*Soft music.*

A MASQUE. *Enter* IRIS.

Iris. Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with stover,[12] them to keep;
Thy banks with peonied and twilled brims,[13]
Which spongy April at thy hest betrims,
To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy broom-groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,[14]
Being lass-lorn;[15] thy pole-clipp'd vineyard;[16]
And thy sea-marge, steril, and rocky-hard,
Where thou thyself dost air: The queen o' the sky,
Whose wat'ry arch, and messenger, am I,
Bids thee leave these, and with her sovereign grace,

JUNO *commences her descent.*

Here on this grass-plot, in this very place,
To come and sport: her peacocks fly amain:
Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

Enter CERES.[17]

Cer. Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter;
Who, with thy saffron wings,[18] upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers;
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres,[19] and my unshrubb'd down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth: Why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green?[20]
Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate,
And some donation freely to estate
On the bless'd lovers.
Cer. Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus, or her son, as thou dost know,
Do now attend the queen? since they did plot
The means, that dusky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company
I have forsworn.
Iris. Of her society
Be not afraid; I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son

Dove-drawn with her:[21] here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
Whose vows are, that no bed-rite shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted: but in vain!
Mars's hot minion is return'd again;
Her waspish-headed son has broke his arrows,
Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows,
And be a boy right out.

Cer. Highest queen of state,[22]
Great Juno comes: I know her by her gait.

JUNO *descends.*

Jun. How does my bounteous sister? Go with me,
To bless this twain, that they may prosperous be,
And honour'd in their issue.

SONG.

Jun. Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.

Cer. Earth's increase, foison plenty,[23]
Barns and garners never empty;
Vines, with clustr'ing bunches growing;
Plants, with goodly burden bowing;
Spring come to you, at the farthest,[24]
In the very end of harvest!
Scarcity and want shall shun you;
Ceres' blessing so is on you.

Fer. This is a most majestic vision, and
Harmonious charmingly: May I be bold
To think these spirits?

Pro. Spirits, which by mine art
I have from their confines call'd, to enact
My present fancies.

Fer. Let me live here ever;
So rare a wonder'd father, and a wise,[25]
Makes this place Paradise.[26]

[JUNO *and* CERES *whisper, and send* IRIS *on employment.*

Pro. Sweet, now, silence;
Juno and Ceres whisper seriously;
There's something else to do. Hush, and be mute,
Or else our spell is marr'd.[27]

Iris. You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the winding brooks,[28]
With your sedg'd crowns,[29] and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels,[30] and on this green land
Answer your summons :—Juno does command :
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love ; be not too late.

Enter the Nymphs.

You sun-burn'd sicklemen, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry;
Make holiday: your rye-straw hats put on,
And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

Enter the Reapers, properly habited; they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof, PROSPERO *starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish.*

Pro. [*Aside.*] I had forgot that foul conspiracy
Of the beast Caliban, and his confederates,
Against my life ; the minute of their plot
Is almost come.—[*To the Spirits.*] Well done ;—avoid ;— no more !

Fer. This is strange : your father 's in some passion
That works him strongly.

Mira. Never till this day,
Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd.

Pro. You do look, my son, in a moved sort,
As if you were dismay'd : be cheerful, sir :
Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air :
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers,[31] the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit,[32] shall dissolve ;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,[33]
Leave not a wreck behind.[34] We are such stuff
As dreams are made on,[35] and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.[36]—Sir, I am vex'd ;
Bear with my weakness ; my old brain is troubled.
Be not disturb'd with my infirmity:

If you be pleas'd, retire into my cell,
And there repose; a turn or two I 'll walk
To still my beating mind.
Fer., *Mira.* We wish you peace. [*Exeunt.*
Pro. Come with a thought:—I thank thee:[37]—Ariel, come.

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. Thy thoughts I cleave to: What 's thy pleasure?
Pro. Spirit,
We must prepare to meet with Caliban.[38]
Ari. Ay, my commander; when I presented Ceres,
I thought to have told thee of it; but I fear'd
Lest I might anger thee.
Pro. Say again, where didst thou leave these varlets?
Ari. I told you, sir, they were red-hot with drinking:
So full of valour, that they smote the air
For breathing in their faces; beat the ground
For kissing of their feet; yet always bending
Towards their project. Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears,
Advanc'd their eyelids,[39] lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music;[40] so I charm'd their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd through
Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss[41] and thorns,
Which enter'd their frail shins: at last I left them
I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.
Pro. This was well done, my bird;
Thy shape invisible retain thou still:
The trumpery in my house, go, bring it hither,
For stale to catch these thieves.[42]
Ari. I go, I go. [*Exit.*
Pro. A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
Nurture can never stick;[43] on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost!
And as, with age, his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers:[44] I will plague them all,

Re-enter ARIEL, *loaden with glistering apparel, &c.*

Even to roaring:—Come, hang them on this line.[45]

PROSPERO *and* ARIEL *remain invisible. Enter* CALIBAN, STEPHANO, *and* TRINCULO, *all wet.*

Cal. Pray you tread softly, that the blind mole may not
Hear a foot fall:[46] we now are near his cell.

Ste. Monster, your fairy, which, you say, is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the Jack with us.[47]

Trin. Monster, I do smell all horse-piss, at which my nose is in great indignation.

Ste. So is mine. Do you hear, monster? If I should take a displeasure against you; look you,—

Trin. Thou wert but a lost monster.

Cal. Good my lord, give me thy favour still:
Be patient, for the prize I 'll bring thee to
Shall hoodwink this mischance: therefore, speak softly;
All 's hush'd as midnight yet.

Trin. Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool,—

Ste. There is not only disgrace and dishonour in that, monster, but an infinite loss.

Trin. That 's more to me than my wetting: yet this is your harmless fairy, monster.

Ste. I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.

Cal. Prithee, my king, be quiet. Seest thou here,
This is the mouth o' the cell: no noise, and enter.
Do that good mischief, which may make this island
Thine own for ever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker.

Ste. Give me thy hand: I do begin to have bloody thoughts.

Trin. O king Stephano! O peer![48] O worthy Stephano! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee!

Cal. Let it alone, thou fool; it is but trash.

Trin. O, ho, monster; we know what belongs to a frippery:[49]— O, king Stephano!

Ste. Put off that gown, Trinculo; by this hand, I'll have that gown.

Trin. Thy grace shall have it.

Cal. The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean,
To doat thus on such luggage? Let 't alone,[50]
And do the murder first: if he awake,
From toe to crown he 'll fill our skins with pinches,—
Make us strange stuff.

Ste. Be you quiet, monster.—Mistress line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line: now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair, and prove a bald jerkin.

Trin. Do, do: We steal by line and level, an 't like your grace.

Ste. I thank thee for that jest: here 's a garment for 't: wit shall not go unrewarded, while I am king of this country. 'Steal by line and level' is an excellent pass of pate; there's another garment for 't.

Trin. Monster, come, put some lime[51] upon your fingers, and away with the rest.

Cal. I will have none on 't: we shall lose our time,
And all be turn'd to barnacles,[52] or to apes
With foreheads villainous low.

Ste. Monster, lay-to your fingers; help to bear this away where my hogshead of wine is, or I 'll turn you out of my kingdom: go to, carry this.

Trin. And this.

Ste. Ay, and this.

A noise of hunters heard.[53] *Enter divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds, hunting them about;* PROSPERO *and* ARIEL *setting them on.*

Pro. Hey, *Mountain*, hey!

Ari. *Silver!* there it goes, *Silver!*

Pro. *Fury, Fury!* there, *Tyrant*, there! hark, hark!

[*They are driven out.*

Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints
With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews
With aged cramps; and more pinch-spotted make them,
Than pard or cat o' mountain.

Ari. Hark, they roar.

Pro. Let them be hunted soundly: At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies:
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom: for a little,
Follow, and do me service. [*Exeunt.*

Notes to the Fourth Act.

[1] *A thread of mine own life.*

The old editions read *third*, which is a misprint for *thrid* or *thread.* The same misprint occurs in the 1617 edition of *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue*, sig. G. iv. The instances of *thrid*, for *thread*, are very numerous. "Thryd of lyfe," *Promos and Cassandra.* According to Hawkins, *third* for *thrid*, or thread, occurs in *Mucedorus*, ed. 1619. This particular edition I have not seen. The others read as follows,—thread, ed. 1610; threed, ed. 1613; thrid, ed. 1615; thred, undated ed. printed for F. Coles; threed, ed. 1634; thred, ed. 1668.

> Against all law of kinde to shred in twaine
> The golden threed that doth us both maintaine.
> *Tancred and Gismunda*, 1592.

> But Nature that hath *lock'd within thy breast*
> *Two lives*, the same inclineth me to spare
> Thy blood, and so to keep mine own unspilt.—*Ibid.*

Loe, heere a steppe backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle one more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feele the declination and age of my sight, I must be starke blinde. So artificially doe the Fates untwist our lives threede.—*Montaigne, translated by Florio*, ed. 1603, p. 658.

Steevens quotes the following passage from *The Comedye of Acolastus*, 4to. 1540,—"One of worldly shame's children, of his countenance, and threde of his body."

"A *third of mine own life* is a *fibre* or a *part* of my own life. Prospero considers himself as the *stock* or *parent-tree*, and his daughter as a *fibre* or *portion* of himself, and for whose benefit he himself lives. In this sense the word is used in Markham's *English Husbandman*, edit. 1635, p. 146: 'Cut off all the maine rootes, within half a foot of the tree, only the small *thriddes* or twist rootes you shall not cut at all.' Again, ibid.: 'Every branch and *thrid* of the root.' This is evidently the same word as *thread*, which is likewise spelt *thrid* by Lord Bacon."—*Tollett.*

[2] *Thou hast strangely stood the test.*

Strangely is used by way of commendation, *merveilleusement, to a wonder;* the same is the sense in the foregoing scene.—*Johnson.*

[3] *Then, as my gift.*

The first folio reads *guest.* Corrected by Rowe.

[4] *If thou dost break her virgin knot.*

That is, untie the girdle of virginity, the *zone* of the ancients, which was removed on the day of marriage. Compare *Pericles*, act iv. "Solebat etiam tum Pronuba sive Promnestria cunctabundæ puellæ zonam sive cingulum illud, quod ex ovis Lana textum diximus, duobus digitis solvere, atque Dianæ, ob id Cinxiæ cognominatæ, dicare, quanquam cingulum id a Sponso in ipso lecto solutum fuisse, Festus scribit. et Arnobius confirmat *lib.* 3. *adversus Gentes:* Nisi virginalia (inquit) vincula jam ferventes dissolverent atque imminentes Mariti. Citaturque a Nonio Marcello hic Varronis versus: *Novus maritus is solvebat cingulum.* quod et nos supra ex Erasmo comprobavimus."—*Pancirollus.*

[5] *No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall.*

Aspersion, in the primitive sense of *sprinkling*, is now obsolete. "It exhibits a mixture of new conceits and old; whereas the instauration gives the new unmix'd, otherwise than with some little *aspersion* of the old, for taste's sake."—*Bacon's Holy War.*

And as sayth Saynt Peter wasshed us from synne with his blode, it was knowen to every man what by the ysope and by the *aspercyon* of blode was sygnefyed."—*Bishop Fisher's Sermons*, 1508.

> The sermon done, embrac'd the man forthwith,
> Unto his boord most friendly him inviting.
> A friend of his, hoping some *sweet aspersion*
> Of grace would move him to some restitution:
> Wish'd him, in token of his full conversion,
> Release some debters, held in execution.
> *Harington's Most Elegant and Wittie Epigrams*, 1633.

[6] *Or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd.*

> —— who th' extended night
> With-held in long date; nor would let the light
> Her wing-hoov'd horse joine: Lampus, Phaeton,
> Those ever colts, that bring the morning on
> To worldly men.—*Homer's Odyssey*, by Chapman, p. 357.

[7] *Go, bring the rabble.*

Rabble, the crew of meaner spirits.—*Dr. Johnson.*

[8] *Some vanity of mine art.*

Vanity, delusion, illusion. A person, who was light-headed, was formerly said to have *the vanity in his head.* (A. N.)

> The emperour sayde on hygh,
> Sertes thys ys a fayry,
> Or ellys a vanyté.—*Emaré*, 105.

For *vanité* of the hede a gude medsyn. Take the juce of walworte, salt, hony, wex, ensence, and boyle them togyder over the fyre, and therwythe anoynt thine hede and thy templys.—*MS. Sloane* 7, f. 79.

For ache and *vanyté* in the hevede. Take verveyne or betany, or filles, or warmote, and make lye thereof, and wasshe the heved therwith three sithes a weke.—*MS. Medical Receipts*, xv. cent.

[9] *Presently.*

That is, at this present time, now. Obsolete in this sense. "I doo sende

you *presently* the copy of the treaty betwixt the Emperor Charles and King Henry."—*Letter dated* 1563.

[10] *Each one, tripping on his toe.*

Compare Milton's *L'Allegro*, 33, and Warton's note on the word *trip* in *Comus.*

[11] *Bring a corollary.*

Corollary, a surplus number. "*Corolaire*, a corollarie; a surplusage, overplus, addition to, vantage above measure."—*Cotgrave.* "*A corollarie*, the addition or advantage above measure, the overplus."—*Minsheu*, 1627.

[12] *And flat meads thatch'd with stover.*

The term *stover* seems to have been applied, in Shakespeare's time, to all kinds of fodder for cattle. "*Pabulum*, forrage, fodder, stover, foode for cattell."—*Nomenclator*, 1585. "Hinc Angli, pabulum quod pecori reponitur, etiam nunc *stover*."—*Spelmanni Glossarium*, p. 242. "*Stover*, fodder for cattel, as hay, straw, or the like."—*Ray's English Words*, ed. 1674, p. 76, there given as an Essex word. The term is still in use in some of the Eastern counties, but generally applied to grass. Tusser seems to use the word in the sense of, fodder of straw.

> Thresh barlie as yet but as need shall require,
> Fresh threshed for *stoover* thy cattell desire.
> *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, 1585.

> And others from their carres are busily about
> To draw out sedge and reed, for thatch and *stover* fit.
> *Drayton's Polyolbion*, Song 25, ed. 1622, p. 108.

After which high and serious businesses ended, he turned himselfe to the exercise of his wit: and a man would not beleeve with how great and ardent desire in seeking after the profound knowledge of principall matters, and in gathering together certaine forage and *stoover* (as it were) for to feed his mind, climbing up still unto higher points of learning, he by way of wise disputation ran through all parts of philosophie.—*Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman Historie, translated by P. Holland*, 1609.

> —— where th' over-flouds of Nile
> Fall int' a dale unmeatly midward deepe,
> Though nigh the banks to muddy fen it creepe.
> This *stover* breeds, which some for pasture take,
> And as the marsh to sea is fen to lake.
> *Lisle's Historie of Heliodorus*, 1638.

[13] *Thy banks with peonied and twilled brims.*

The banks here alluded to are the mounds of the flat meads, not those of a river, for Ceres had nought to do with the latter. It was suggested by Hanmer we should read *peonied* for *pioned* (the reading of the first folio), and by Heath that *twilled* should be *lilied.* The line then becomes in itself more poetical; but when it is considered in connexion with the context, few editors, who have respect for the preservation of Shakespeare's own text, would consent to adopt so violent an alteration as the latter. To twill, observes Croft, "is a term in weaving, to raise the warp above the woof, to produce a figure as in diaper work." Hence *twilled* might have a fine allegorical sense, similar to that by which a bank may be said to be garnished with an embroidery of flowers; though the word of Shakespeare is rather to be literally interpreted, interwoven. Mr. Collier says

pioned is used by Spenser in the sense of *dug*, but I cannot find any confirmation of this. The *peony* was frequently spelt *piony* by our old writers. I adopt, therefore, *peonied*, covered with the peony, a verb formed similarly to Warton's *lillied;* and *twilled*, interwoven with flowers; at the same time admitting that, after a careful perusal of all that I have met with on this difficult passage, I am neither satisfied with any of the explanations of the critics, nor perfectly with my own. The following brief notes will enable the reader to form his own judgment on the subject.

White and red jasmines, merry, melliphill,
Fair crown imperial, emperor of flowers;
Immortal amaranth, white aphrodill,
And cup-like *twill-pants* strew'd in Bacchus' bowers.
G. Chapman, Ovid's Banquet of Sence, 1598.

This quotation was made by Steevens. The earliest edition of the work I have seen is that of 1639, where the passage occurs at p. 6.

"Remove a letter from *twilled*, and it leaves us *tilled.* I am yet, however, in doubt whether we ought not to read *lilied* brims; for Pliny, b. xxvi. ch. x., mentions the *water-lily* as a preserver of chastity; and says, elsewhere, that the *Peony* medeter Faunorum in Quiete Ludibriis, &c. In a poem entitled *The Herring's Tayle*, 4to. 1598, 'the mayden *piony*' is introduced. In the *Arraignement of Paris*, 1584, are mentioned

The watry flow'rs and *lilies of the banks.*

"And Edward Fenton, in his *Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 4to. b. vi., 1569, asserts, that 'the *water-lily* mortifieth altogether the appetite of sensualitie, and defends from unchaste thoughts and dreames of venery.' In the 20th song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the Naiades are represented as making chaplets with all the tribe of aquatic flowers; and Mr. Tollet informs me, that Lyte's Herbal says, 'one kind of *peonie* is called by some, maiden or virgin *peonie.*' "—*Steevens.* The most plausible argument in favour of reading *lillied*, is afforded by a passage in the *Arcades*,—

Nymphs and shepherds, dance no more
By sandy Ladon's *lillied* banks.
Milton's Poems, ed. Warton, 1791, p. 109.

Thus far my *pioning* pollicies run even
And levell with my aymes.
The Turke, a worthie Tragedie, 1610.

The term seems to be here equivalent to *pioneering;* and the substantive occurs in a similar sense in the *Faerie Queene*, II. x. 63.

"A fether bolster, a wooll bolster, one coverlett, and two doble *twillies*," are mentioned in the particulars of an action in Shakespeare's time, recorded in the Borough MSS. of Stratford-on-Avon. "Unum tegmen vocatum *twyllye*," Plea, Stratford-on-Avon MSS. "Item, two coverlets, sixe blankets, two *twillies*, xxxiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*—*Inventory*, 1627.

Mr. Collier's MS. annotator conjectures *tilled*, which I think is unquestionably wrong. The same reading was suggested by Holt in 1749.

[14] *Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves.*

Nares observes that as the broom, or *genista*, is a low shrub, which gives no shade, it has been doubted what is the exact meaning of *broom-groves;* but there are two kinds of broom, as mentioned in Lyte's edition of Dodoens, 1578, p. 663, "the one high and tawle, the other lowe and small," the first of which is stated to

grow "commonly to the length of a long or tawle man," and Parkinson enumerates several other varieties. The *spartium scoparium*, which grows to a great height, is probably the species alluded to by Shakespeare. There is a notice in the ancient romance of Guy of Warwick, preserved in the Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh, of three hundred Sarazens being concealed "in a brom field." See the Abbotsford Club edition, p. 292. "I could finde with all my heart to sip up a sillybub with him in my father's *broome pasture*."—*Two Lancashire Lovers*, 1640, p. 222. Hanmer and Mr. Collier's MS. annotator read *brown* for *broom*, which appears to be unnecessary. The former also suggested to read *broom* for *brown* in the first act of this play. Hanmer's reading, *brown groves*, has been ably refuted by Heath. Monck Mason observes that in the old Scotch song of "My daddy is a canker'd earle," the songstress places her lover in a broom-grove.

[15] *Being lass-lorn.*

That is, forsaken by his lass or mistress. (A. S.) A similar compound is used by Milton,—

—Where the *love-lorn* nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well.—*Comus*, 234.

[16] *Thy pole-clipp'd vineyard.*

To *clip* to twine round or embrace. The poles are *clipped*, or embraced, by the vines.—*Steevens.*

[17] *Enter Ceres.*

There appears to have been a very early play on the subject of Ceres. "Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1528, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas, Arland Usher being then mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire bayliffs, wherein the Taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the Shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the Vintners acted Bacchus and his story: the Carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the Smiths; and *the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the Bakers.* Their stage was erected on Hoggin-green, (now called College-green,) and on it the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the blessed Trinity, and of All-hallows, caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered."—*Ware MSS.*, cited by J. C. Walker.

[18] *Who, with thy saffron wings, upon my flowers.*

Douce mentions this speech as an elegant expansion of the following lines in Phaer's *Virgil*,—

Dame Rainbow down therfore with safron wings of dropping showres,
Whose face a thousande sundry hewes agaynst the sunne devoures,
From heaven descending came.—

[19] *My bosky acres.*

Bosky, woody, bushy, from *buske*, a bush, old English derived from the Anglo-Norman. "On betyth the *buske*, another hathe brydde."—*MS. Douce* 52, xv. Cent. "Under a thorn busk."—*Langtoft's Chron.*, p. 9. "A boske of breres."—*Reliq. Antiq.*, ii. 83. "Every bosky bourn."—*Comus.*

With balefull *buskeys* ye hym bete,
And rente hys flesche fro the bon.—*MS. Cantab.* Ff. ii. 38, f. 47.

I will go seeke him in the *busky* groves.
Woman in the Moone, 1597.

Hale him from hence, and in this *busky* wood
Bury his corpse; but for his head, I vow'd
I will present our governor with the same.
Peele's Edward I., repr. p. 175.

[20] *Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green.*

The first folio reads *short-gras'd*, altered in the third and fourth folios to *short-grass'd.*

[21] *Dove-drawn with her.*

The compound *dove-drawn* is also used by Browne, in the second song of the first book of *Britannia's Pastorals.*

[22] *Highest queen of state, great Juno comes.*

Here Dr. Farmer observes,—"Mr. Whalley thinks this passage a remarkable instance of Shakespeare's knowledge of ancient poetick story; and that the hint was furnished by the *Divûm incedo Regina* of Virgil. Others would give up this passage for the *Vera incessu patuit Dea*, but I am not able to see any improvement in the matter; even supposing the poet had been speaking of Juno, and no previous translation were extant. You know, honest John Taylor, the water-poet, declares that *he never learned his Accidence;* and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek;* yet by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a learned man, in spite of every thing he may say to the contrary; for thus he makes a Gallant address his Lady:—'Most inestimable Magazine of Beauty—in whom *the Port and Majesty of Juno*, the Wisdom of *Jove's* braine-bred Girle, and the Feature of *Cytherea,* have their domestical habitation.'" Chapman, in his translation of the second Iliad, p. 20, calls Juno "the goddesse of estate."

[23] *Earth's increase, foison plenty.*

These lines, which form part of Juno's speech in the old copies, are correctly assigned by Theobald to Ceres. The editor of the second folio unnecessarily reads, "*and* foison plenty." *Earth's increase, i. e.*, the produce of the earth. Cf. Ps. 67. *Foison plenty*, plenty to the utmost abundance.

[24] *Spring come to you, at the farthest,*
In the very end of harvest!

That is, let Spring come to you as soon as the harvest is over, so that no Winter shall intervene. Mr. Collier's MS. annotator reads, "*Rain* come to you," which does not very well agree with the context.

[25] *So rare a wonder'd father and a wise.*

A wonder'd father, that is, as Steevens observes, a father able to perform or produce such wonders. The whole is a compliment to the powers of Prospero, so that I think the conjecture of *wife* for *wise*, first suggested by Rowe, and adopted by many editors, scarcely necessary. These words were, however, often misprinted. In *Timon of Athens*, in the passage, "what do you in this *wise* company," the word *wise* is printed *wife* in the second folio.

[26] *Makes this place Paradise.*

The anonymous MS. annotator of Mr. Wheler's third folio reads, "makes this place *a* paradise."

[27] *Be mute, or else our spell is marr'd.*

Silence was indispensably necessary during all magical operations. The witch

in *Macbeth* says of the armed head, "Hear his speech, *but say thou nought.*" Compare Marlowe's Works, ed. Dyce, ii. 129.

[28] *You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the winding brooks.*

First folio, *windring.* Some editors read, *wand'ring.* Lord Chedworth was in favour of the reading here adopted.

[29] *With your sedg'd crowns.*

The noble stream of Calydon made answere, who did weare
A *garland* made of reedes and flagges upon his *sedgy* heare.
Golding's translation of Ovid, 1587.

[30] *Leave your crisp channels.*

"*Crisp, i. e., curling, winding*, Lat. *crispus.* So, Henry IV., Hotspur, speaking of the river Severn: 'And hid his *crisped* head in the hollow bank.' *Crisp*, however, may allude to the little wave or *curl* (as it is commonly called) that the gentlest wind occasions on the surface of waters."—*Steevens.*

[31] *The cloud-capp'd towers . . . the solemn temples.*

High *towers*, faire *temples*, goodly theaters,
Strong walls, rich porches, princelie pallaces,
Large streetes, brave houses, sacred sepulchers,
Sure gates, sweete gardens, stately galleries,
Wrought with faire pillours, and fine imageries,
All these, (O pitie!) now are turn'd to dust,
And overgrowen with blacke oblivions rust.
Spenser's Ruines of Time, 1591.

[32] *All which it inherit.*

That is, all who possess it, or dwell upon it. The word is used in the same sense in other of Shakespeare's plays, and also in the *Britannia's Pastorals.* The phrase is scriptural. See Psalm 37, and the present volume, p. 410.

[33] *And, like this insubstantial pageant faded.*

"*Faded* means here—having vanished; from the Latin, *vado.* So, in *Hamlet:* 'It *faded* on the crowing of the cock.' To feel the justice of this comparison, and the propriety of the epithet, the nature of these exhibitions should be remembered. The ancient English *pageants* were shows exhibited on the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind. They were presented on occasional stages erected in the streets. Originally they appear to have been nothing more than dumb shows; but before the time of our author, they had been enlivened by the introduction of speaking personages, who were characteristically habited. The speeches were sometimes in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. On these allegorical spectacles very costly ornaments were bestowed."—*Malone.*

[34] *Leave not a wreck behind.*

The old editions read *rack*, but this is one of the many instances of apparently singular uses of words, which may fairly be ascribed to the very unsettled state of orthography, when the early editions were printed. So, in the *Choyce Drollery*, a rare collection of poems, dated 1656,—

And some are *rackt* on th' Indian coast,
Thither by gain invited;
Some are in smoke of battailes lost,
Whom drummes not lutes delighted.

And the Rev. J. Ward, vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in the seventeenth century, writes *wrackt*, for, tortured by the rack. *Wrack* is the most usual old orthography of *wreck*, so that it is clear the spelling of this word so much varied, that an editor may be left to his own judgment in selecting the particular use of it in the present instance. Malone's criticism on the passage in the text appears to be sound,—

"*Rack* is generally used for *a body of clouds*, or rather for *the course of clouds in motion*. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

That which is now a horse, even with a thought,
The *rack* dislimns."

"But no instance has yet been produced where it is used to signify *a single small fleeting cloud*, in which sense only it can be figuratively applied here. I incline to think that *rack* is a mis-spelling for *wrack*, *i. e. wreck*, which Fletcher likewise has used for a minute broken fragment. See his *Wife for a Month*, where we find the word mis-spelt as it is in the *Tempest:*

He will bulge so subtilly and suddenly,
You may snatch him up by parcels, like a *sea-rack*.

"It has been urged, that 'objects which have only a visionary and insubstantial existence, can, when the vision is faded, leave nothing *real*, and consequently no *wreck* behind them.' But the objection is founded on misapprehension. The words—'Leave not a rack (or wreck) behind,' relate not to 'the baseless fabrick of this vision,' but to the final destruction of the world, of which the towers, temples, and palaces, shall (*like* a vision, or a pageant) be dissolved, and leave no vestige behind."

Another instance of *wreck*, spelt *rack*, is mentioned by Mr. Dyce in his edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, vii. 137; and he observes that no passage can be adduced in which a *rack*, a single vapoury cloud, is mentioned; but, although I have not met with any instance of the term used with the indefinite article, there is a passage in one of Lydgate's poems (MS. Ashmole 39, f. 51), which would lead to the inference that it may have been so employed,—

As Phebus doeth at mydday in the southe,
Whan every *rak* and every cloudy sky
Is voide clene, so hir face uncouth
Shall shewe in open and fully be unwry.

Upton supposes the word *rack*, in the passage in Shakespeare, to signify a track or path, in which sense it is still used in the North; but, unless early authority for this use of the word could be adduced, it should not be accepted, though agreeing very well with the context. The choice is clearly between *wreck*, and *rack*, regarding the latter in the sense of, a vapoury moving cloud. Further observations on the last meaning of the word will be found in the notes to *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Treulé ȝif ȝe wil haloue this holeday,
The *rakkis* of heven I wil opyn.—*MS. Douce* 302, f. 16.

Now we may calculate by the welkins *racke*,
Æolus hath chaste the clouds that were so blacke.
Heywood's Marriage Triumphe, 1613.

Lookt like the angry cloudes in blackes,
Which threaten shewers of raine;
Yet ride upon the moving *rackes*,
As it would to the maine.—*Armin*, 1609.

With what greedy desire did many thousands (as it were) nayle their eye-sights dayly upon fanes, weather-cocks, the smoake of chimneyes, and the *racking* of the cloudes.—*Taylor's Workes*, 1630.

We shall have the winde by and by in pupp; I see by the *racke.—Eliot's Fruits for the French*, 1593.

[35] *We are such stuff as dreams are made on.*

Man is a torch borne in the winde; a dreame
But of a shadow, summ'd with all his substance.
Bussy d'Ambois, a Tragedie, 1641.

[36] *And our little life is rounded with a sleep.*

Mr. Knight has the following observations on this passage:—"We have been asked the meaning of this passage, it being supposed that *rounded* was used in the sense of terminated; and that one sleep was the end of life. This was not Shakspere's philosophy; nor would he have introduced an idea totally disconnected with the preceding description. *Rounded* is used in the sense of *encompassed.* The 'insubstantial pageant' had been presented; its actors had 'melted into thin air;' it was an unreality. In the same way, life itself is but a dream. It is *surrounded* with the sleep which is the parent of dreams. Here we have the shadowing out of the doctrine of Berkeley; and we have no doubt that Shakspere, to whom all philosophical speculation was familiar, may have entertained the theory that our senses are impressed by the Creator with the *images* of things, which form our material world,—a world of ideas,—of dream-like unrealities."

[37] *I thank thee.*

This, addressed to more than one person, is ungrammatical; but, as it was a common idiom in Shakespeare's time, I have not ventured to alter it.

[38] *We must prepare to meet with Caliban.*

"*To meet with* is to *counteract;* to play stratagem against stratagem.—'The parson knows the temper of every one in his house, and accordingly either *meets with* their vices, or advances their virtues,' *Herbert's Country Parson.*"—*Johnson.* So, in *Cinthia's Revenge, or Mænanders Extasie*, 1613:

—— You may *meete*
With her abusive malice, and exempt
Yourselfe from the suspicion of revenge,
And yet revenge will be conspicuous.

[39] *Advanc'd their eyelids, lifted up their noses.*

Dr. Johnson refers to Drayton's *Nymphidia*, but, as Douce has observed, this incident is much more like one in the very popular story of 'the Friar and the Boy.' The following quotation is from an inedited and very pure version of the latter poem, preserved in the Porkington manuscript, a valuable collection of the fifteenth century, which was lent to me through the friendly intervention of Colonel Molyneux Williams, K. H.

The boy hyt the byrd upon the hed,
Yn the hegge he fell down dede,
Hyt myght no forther fley:
The freyr into the hegge he went,
And lyȝtly he it up hent,
As it was for to done.
The boy cast down hys bowe,
And toke hys pype, and began to blowe
Full lyȝtly and fulle sone.
Whan the freyr the pype herde,
As a wood man than he ferd,
And began to stertyll abowt;
Among the boyschys small and grete,
Fast abowte he gan to lepe,
But he cowd not come owte.
The bramblys chrachyd hym in the face,
And in many another place,
That hys sydes began to blede,
And rent hys clothys by and by,
Hys kyrtyll and hys kapelary,
And alle hys other wede.

The engraving on the preceding page, of a person playing with the tabor and pipe, was selected by Mr. Fairholt from the Additional MS. 12,228, in the British Museum, an early copy of the romance of *Meliadus*. Compare p. 435.

[40] *As they smelt music.*

"*As* is here, as in many other places, used for *as if.* So in *Cymbeline:*

—— he spoke of her
As Dian had hot dreams, and she," &c.—*Malone.*

[41] *Sharp furzes, pricking goss.*

Shakespeare here seems to make a distinction between gorse and furze, but we learn from Gerard that, in his time, as at present, the former was only a provincial term for the other. "Furse or whyns, which some call also gorse."—*Norden's Surveiors Dialogue*, 1610. "The firse or gorse."—*Elyot*, 1559, in v. *Paliurus.*

"By the latter, Shakspeare means the low sort of *gorse* that only grows upon wet ground, and which is well described by the name of *whins* in Markham's *Farewell to Husbandry.* It has prickles like those of a rose-tree or a gooseberry." —*Tollett.*

And for fair corn-ground are our fields surcloy'd
With worthless gorse, that yearly fruitless dies.
Kyd's Cornelia, ap. Dodsley, ii. 249.

[42] *For stale to catch these thieves.*

Stale was a term in fowling for a decoy. "Stale for foules takynge."—*Palsgrave.* "The lyon never prayeth on the mouse, nor faulcons stoupe not to dead stales."—*Dorastus and Fawnia.* This word was frequently used metaphorically.

Her ivorie front, her pretie chin,
Were *stales* that drew me on to sin.
Greene's Never Too Late, 1600.

Th' are made as *stales* the harmeles foules to tempt;
So was his puncke, some wise men scarce exempt.
The Newe Metamorphosis, MS. temp. Jac. I.

Being assured that these are the golden Apples at which wee will stoope; the onely baites, the onely *stales*, through whose unsuspected disguisements, he may let fly his venomed arrowes at the beguiled soule.—*Reading's David's Soliloquie*, 1627.

He hath infinite pettie *stales*, to tempt men to sinne, whom he hath officed for Bidders to this Feast.—*Adams' Devills Banket Described*, 1614.

Steevens gives the following quotations:—"She might not strike at the *stale*, lest she were canvassed in the nets."—*Greene's Mamilia*, 1595: "Hence, tools of wrath, *stales* of temptation."—*Looking-Glass for London and England*, 1617.

[43] *Nurture can never stick.*

"*Nurture* is *education.* A little volume entitled *The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of Good Maners*, was published in the reign of King Edward VI. 4to. bl. l."—*Steevens.*

[44] *So his mind cankers.*

So the Earl of Essex said of Queen Elizabeth, that "she grew old and canker'd, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcase."

[45] *Come, hang them on this line.*

A hair-line to hang clothes on, as appears from the jesting which takes place afterwards about the jerkin losing the hair. Nash has a quibble somewhat similar in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596,—"Heare you, Dick, marke you here what jewell this learning is: how long wil it be, ere thou studie thyselfe to the like preferment. No reason I see why thou, being a barber, shouldst not bee as hair-brain'd as he, onely for writing a booke of beards, in which he had no further experience but by looking on his father, when he made hairs, haire lines I meane, and yet not such lines of life as a hangman hath in his hand, but haire lines to hang linnen on." Mr. Hunter suggests the line mentioned in the text is a line-tree, the old text reading line-grove in another passage; but Mr. Knight has successfully refuted this opinion, though it is to be observed that his first and second reasons against its reception are not of much weight. The first is merely derived from the mode of printing the word in the first folio, which is probably accidental. The second, that no example has been furnished of the word *line*, as applied to a tree, being used without the adjunct of *tree* or *grove*, may be removed by the following passage in an early morality,—

Lo, here Mankynd,
Lyter thanne lef is on lynde.

and by the following examples,—

As he rood undir a *lynde*,
Beside a roche, as I the telle.—
Gower, *MS. Soc. Antiq.* 134, f. 53.

Than were y gladd and ly3t as *lynde*,
Of *parce michi Domine.*—*MS. Cantab.* Ff. ii. 38, f. 21.

A hert he found ther he ley
Welle feyre under the *lynd.*—*MS. Ashmole* 61, f. 1.

It is worthy of remark that, in *Macbeth*, the word *lime* is misprinted *line* in

the second folio. The print of the London cry of "Buy a hair line," to which Mr. Knight refers, is a woodcut of the time of James I., representing a man carrying clothes'-lines in his hands, underneath which are the following verses. Mr. Fairholt, who has examined the original, does not consider the engraving sufficiently illustrative of the present subject to deserve a copy:—

Buy a hair-line, or line for Jack;
If you any hair, or hemp-cord lack,
Mistris, here's good as you need use;
Bid fair for handsel,—I'll not refuse.

[46] *The blind mole may not hear a foot fall.*

"These beasts are all blind and want eies, and therefore came the proverbe, blinder then a mole. . . . . These moles have no eares, and yet they heare in the earth more nimbly and perfectly then men can above the same, for at every step or small noise and almost breathing, they are terrified and run away, and therfore, Pliny saith, that they understand al speaches spoken of themselves, and they hear much better under the earth then being above and out of the earth; and for this cause, they dig about their lodging long passages, which bringeth noises and voices to them, being spoken never so low and softly, like as the voice of a man carried in a trunke, reed, or hollow thing."—*Topsell's Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes*, 1607.

[47] *Little better than played the Jack with us.*

"He has played *Jack with a lantern;* has led us about like an *ignis fatuus*, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire."—*Johnson.* Perhaps, however, as any sly crafty fellow was formerly so termed, there may not necessarily be this particular allusion.

Now Taffy had a great desire
To play the saucy Jack:
He peepeth down, and fell i' th' fire,
The saddle on his back!

The Welch Traveller, 12mo. n. d.

[48] *O king Stephano! O peer!*

An allusion to the old ballad quoted in *Othello.* See the notes to that play.

King Stephen wore a pair of cloth breeches of so noble a pair, and thought them passing costly.—*Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier.*

[49] *We know what belongs to a frippery.*

Frippery, a place where old clothes were sold. (Fr.) "He shews like a walking frippery."—*Massinger.* "As if I were a running frippery."—*Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Dyce, iv. 135.

Myselfe, indeed, passing yesterday by the *fripperie*, spide two of them hang out at a stall, with a gambrell thrust from shoulder to shoulder, like a sheepe that were new flead.—*Monsieur d'Olive*, 1606.

The pawne she had received thus by chance was extreamly welcome, and we fell presently to ripping it by candle-light, lest it should be knowne when we carried it to the *Frippery.*—*The Comical History of Francion*, 1655.

[50] *Let 't alone.*

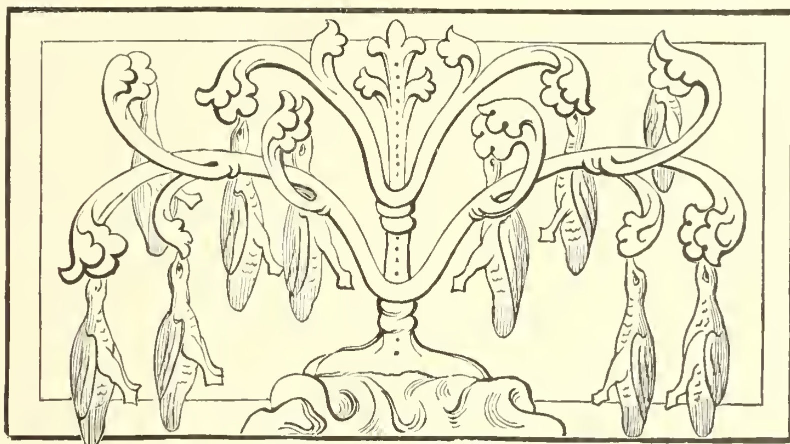
Theobald reads, *let's along*, but the old edition has *let's alone*, and our text, adopted by Hanmer and Collier, is a less violent alteration. The original reading can scarcely be right, though Steevens explains it,—"Let you and I only go to commit the murder, leaving Trinculo, who is so solicitous about the trash of dress, behind us;" but Stephano was equally enraptured with the gown.

[51] *Put some lime upon your fingers.*

Lime, that is, bird-lime. Steevens refers to Greene's *Disputation between a He and a She Conycatcher*, 1592,—"mine eyes are stauls, and my hands *lime* twigs."

[52] *And all be turn'd to barnacles.*

It was formerly thought that the barnacle shell-fish, which is found on timber exposed to the action of the sea, became, when broken off, a kind of goose. Sometimes, it is related that the barnacles grew on trees, and thence



THE BARNACLES, FROM THE HARLEIAN MSS., XIV. CENT.

dropping into the sea, became geese. Sir John Maundevile says that, in his country, "weren trees that beren a fruyt, that becomen briddes fleeynge; and tho that fellen into the water, lyven; and thei that fallen on the erthe, dyen anon: and thei ben right gode to mannes mete." Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, completed in the year 1187, gives a very interesting account of the barnacle. "There are," says Giraldus, "in this country (Ireland) a great number of birds called barnacles (Bernacre), and which nature produces in a manner that is contrary to the laws of nature. These birds are not unlike to ducks, but they are somewhat smaller in size. They make their first appearance as drops of gum upon the branches of firs that are immersed in running waters; and then they are next seen hanging like sea-weed from the wood, becoming encased in shells, which at last assume in their growth the outward form of birds, and so hang on by their beaks until they are completely covered with feathers within their shells, and when they arrive at maturity, they either drop into the waters, or take their flight at once into the air. Thus from the juice of this tree, combined with the water, are they generated, and receive their nutriment until they are formed and fledged. *I have many times with my own eyes seen several thousands of minute little bodies of these birds attached to pieces of wood immersed in the sea, encased in their shells, and already formed.* These, then, are birds that never lay eggs, and are never hatched from eggs; and the consequence is, that in some parts of Ireland, and at those seasons of fasting when meat is forbidden, bishops and other religious persons feed on these birds, because they are not fish, nor to be regarded as flesh meat," trans. by W. B. M'Cabe. This account is referred to in Stanihurst, Descr. Ireland, p. 19. The barnacle mentioned by Caliban was no doubt the tree-goose; and the true absurdity of our old writers, as Douce has observed, consisted in their believing that this bird was really produced from the

shell of the fish. The following account, by Gerard, 1597, will best exhibit the notions entertained respecting it in Shakespeare's time:—

"*Of the Goose tree, Barnakle tree, or the tree bearing Geese.*—Having travelled from the grasses growing in the bottome of the fenny waters, the woods, and mountaines, even unto Libanus it selfe; and also the sea, and bowels of the same: we are arrived to the end of our historie, thinking it not impertinent to the conclusion of the same, to end with one of the marvels of this land (we may say of the world.) The historie whereof to set foorth according to the woorthines and raritie thereof, woulde not onely require a large and peculiar volume, but also a deeper search into the bowels of nature, then my intended purpose wil suffer me to wade into, my insufficiencie also considered; leaving the historie thereof rough hewen, unto some excellent men, learned in the secrets of nature, to be both fined and refined, in the meane space take it as it falleth out, the naked and bare truth, though unpolished. There are founde in the north parts of Scotland, and the ilands adjacent, called Orchades, certaine trees, whereon doe growe certaine shell fishes, of a white colour tending to russet; wherein are conteined little living creatures: which shels, in time of maturitie, doe open; and out of them grow those little living things; which, falling into the water, doe become foules, whom we call barnakles, in the North of England brant geese, and in Lancashire tree geese: but the other that do fall upon the land, perish and come to nothing: thus much by the writings of others, and also from the mouths of people of those parts, which may very well accord with truth.

"But what our eies have seene, and hands have touched, we shall declare. There is a small ilande in Lancashire called the Pile of Foulders, wherein are found the broken peeces of old and brused ships, some whereof have beene cast thither by shipwracke, and also the trunks or bodies with the branches of old and rotten trees, cast up there likewise: wheron is found a certaine spume or froth, that in time breedeth unto certaine shels, in shape like those of the muskle, but sharper pointed, and of a whitish colour; wherein is conteined a thing in forme like a lace of silke finely woven, as it were togither, of a whitish colour; one ende whereof is fastned unto the inside of the shell, even as the fish of oisters and muskles are; the other ende is made fast unto the belly of a rude masse or lumpe, which in time commeth to the shape and forme of a bird: when it is perfectly formed, the shel gapeth open, and the first thing that appeereth is the foresaid lace or string; next come the legs of the birde hanging out; and as it groweth greater, it openeth the shell by degrees, till at length it is all come foorth, and hangeth onely by the bill; in short space after it commeth to full maturitie, and falleth into the sea, where it gathereth feathers, and groweth to a foule, bigger then a mallard, and lesser then a goose; having blacke legs and bill or beake, and feathers blacke and white, spotted in such maner as is our magge-pie, called in some places a pie-annet, which the people of Lancashire call by no other name then a tree goose; which place aforesaide, and all those parts adjoining, do so much abound therewith, that one of the best is bought for three pence: for the truth heerof, if any doubt, may it please them to repaire unto me, and I shall satisfie them by the testimonie of good witnesses.

"Moreover, it should seeme that there is another sort heerof; the historie of which is true, and of mine owne knowledge: for travelling upon the shores of our English coast betweene Dover and Rumney, I founde the trunke of an olde rotten tree, which (with some helpe that I procured by fishermens wives that were there attending their husbandes returne from the sea) we drewe out of the water upon dry lande: on this rotten tree I founde growing many thousandes of long crimson bladders, in shape like unto puddings newly filled before they be sodden, which

were verie cleere and shining, at the neather end whereof did grow a shell fish, fashioned somwhat like a small muskle, but much whiter, resembling a shell fish that groweth upon the rocks about Garnsey and Garsey, called a lympit: many of these shels I brought with me to London, which after I had opened, I founde in them living things without forme or shape; in others which were neerer come to ripenes, I found living things that were very naked, in shape like a birde; in others, the birds covered with soft downe, the shell halfe open, and the birde readie to fall out, which no doubt were the foules called barnakles. I dare not absolutely avouch every circumstance of the first part of this historie concerning the tree that beareth those buds aforesaide, but will leave it to a further consideration: howbeit that which I have seene with mine eies, and handled with mine handes, I dare confidently avouch, and boldly put downe for veritie. Nowe if any will object, that this tree which I sawe might be one of those before mentioned, which either by the waves of the sea, or some violent winde, had beene overturned, as many other trees are; or that any trees falling into those seas about the Orchades, will of themselves beare the like foules, by reason of those seas and waters, these being so probable conjectures, and likely to be true, I may not without prejudice gainsaie, or indevor to confute."

A vast number of other notices might be collected with very little difficulty, but they add little information to the accounts above given. The reader may, however, be referred to Hector Boece, Holinshed, Descr. Scotl., p. 17; Bullein's Bulwarke of Defence, 1579; Hall's Satires, iv. 2; Marston's Malcontent, 1604; Swan's Speculum Mundi, &c. 4to.; Lupton's Thousand Notable Things; Drayton's Polyolbion, Song 25, &c. There is also a curious account of the barnacle in Harrison's *Description of Britaine*, p. 38. It is worthy of remark there is a serious notice of the fiction relating to the barnacle in the *Philosophical Transactions*, as late as the year 1677-8, in a paper contributed by Sir R. Moray, No. 137, pp. 925-27; but the popular error had been previously refuted by Ray.

[53] *A noise of hunters heard.*

Grey refers to the following passage in De Loier, *Treatise of Specters or straunge Sights*, 4to. Lond. 1605,—"These dogges may well bee compared to Arthur's Chace, which many do beleeve to be in France, saying that it is a kenel of blacke dogges, followed by unknowne huntsmen, with an exceeding great sound of hornes, as if it were a very hunting of some wilde beast."

And seeke for grace: what a thrice double Asse
Was I to take this drunkard for a god?
And worship this dull foole?
Pro. Goe to, away.
Alo. Hence, and bestow your luggage where you (found it.
Seb. Or stole it rather.
Pro. Sir, I inuite your Highnesse, and your traine
To my poore Cell: where you shall take your rest
For this one night, which part of it, Ile waste
With such discourse, as I not doubt, shall make it
Goe quicke away: The story of my life,
And the particular accidents, gon by
Since I came to this Isle: And in the morne
I'le bring you to your ship, and so to *Naples*,
Where I haue hope to see the nuptiall
Of these our deere-belou'd, solemnized,
And thence retire me to my *Millaine*, where
Euery third thought shall be my graue.
Alo. I long
To heare the story of your life; which must
Take the eare strangely.
Pro. I'le deliuer all,
And promise you calme Seas, auspicious gales,
And saile, so expeditious, that shall catch
Your Royall fleete farre off: My *Ariel*; chicke
That is thy charge: Then to the Elements
Be free, and fare thou well: please you draw neere.
Exeunt omnes.

EPILOGVE,
spoken by *Prospero.*

Now my Charmes are all ore-throwne,
And what strength I haue's mine owne.
Which is most faint: now 'tis true
I must be heere confinde by you,
Or sent to Naples, *Let me not*
Since I haue my Dukedome got,
And pardon'd the deceiuer, dwell
In this bare Island, by your Spell,
But release me from my bands
with the helpe of your good hands:
Gentle breath of yours, my Sailes
Must fill, or else my proiect failes,
which was to please: Now I want
Spirits to enforce: Art to inchant,
And my ending is despaire,
Vnlesse I be relieu'd by praier
Which pierces so, that it assaults
Mercy it selfe, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your Indulgence set me free. Exit.

The Scene, an vn-inhabited Island

Names of the Actors.

Alonso, K. of Naples:
Sebastian his Brother.
Prospero, the right Duke of Millaine.
Anthonio his brother, the vsurping Duke of Millaine.
Ferdinand, Son to the King of Naples.
Gonzalo, an honest old Councellor.
Adrian, & Francisco, Lords.
Caliban, a saluage and deformed slaue.
Trinculo, a Iester.
Stephano, a drunken Butler.
Master of a Ship.
Boate-Swaine.
Marriners.
Miranda, daughter to Prospero.
Ariell, an ayrie spirit.
Iris, Ceres, Iuno, Nymphes, Reapers — *Spirits.*

FINIS.

THE

Act the Fifth.

SCENE.—*Before the Cell of* Prospero.

Enter Prospero *in his magic robes; and* Ariel.

Pro. Now does my project gather to a head:
My charms crack not; my spirits obey; and Time
Goes upright with his carriage.[1] How 's the day?
Ari. On the sixth hour; at which time, my lord,
You said our work should cease.
Pro. I did say so,
When first I rais'd the tempest. Say, my spirit,
How fares the king and his followers?
Ari. Confin'd together
In the same fashion as you gave in charge;
Just as you left them; all prisoners, sir,
In the lime-grove which weather-fends your cell;
They cannot budge till you release.[2] The king,
His brother, and yours, abide all three distracted;
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brim-full of sorrow and dismay; but chiefly
Him that you term'd, sir, 'The good old lord, Gonzalo;'
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds: your charm so strongly works them,
That, if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.
Pro. Dost thou think so, spirit?
Ari. Mine would, sir, were I human.
Pro. And mine shall!
Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling[3]
Of their afflictions? and shall not myself,
One of their kind, that relish all as sharply

Passion as they,[4] be kindlier mov'd than thou art?
Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
Yet, with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part. The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further. Go, release them, Ariel;
My charms I 'll break, their senses I 'll restore,
And they shall be themselves.

Ari. I 'll fetch them, sir. [*Exit.*

Pro. Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;[5]
And ye that, on the sands with printless foot,[6]
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him,
When he comes back; you demi-puppets, that
By moonshine do the green-sour ringlets make,[7]
Whereof the ewe not bites; and you, whose pastime
Is to make midnight mushrooms;[8] that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid—
Weak masters though ye be,[9]—I have bedimm'd
The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong-bas'd promontory
Have I made shake, and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar: graves, at my command,
Have wak'd their sleepers,—oped, and let them forth
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure: and, when I have requir'd
Some heavenly music,—which even now I do—
To work mine end upon their senses, that
This airy charm is for, I 'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I 'll drown my book. [*Solemn music.*

Re-enter ARIEL: *after him,* ALONSO, *with a frantic gesture, attended by* GONZALO; SEBASTIAN *and* ANTONIO *in like manner, attended by* ADRIAN *and* FRANCISCO: *they all enter the circle*[10] *which* PROSPERO *has made, and there stand charmed; which* PROSPERO *observing, speaks.*

A solemn air, and the best comforter

To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains,
Now useless, boil'd within thy skull! There stand,
For you are spell-stopp'd.
Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
Mine eyes, even sociable to the show of thine,[12]
Fall fellowly drops.—The charm dissolves apace;
And as the morning steals upon the night,
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes[13] that mantle
Their clearer reason.—O good Gonzalo,
My true preserver, and a loyal sir[14]
To him thou follow'st, I will pay thy graces
Home, both in word and deed.—Most cruelly
Didst thou, Alonso, use me and my daughter:
Thy brother was a furtherer in the act;—
Thou 'rt pinch'd for 't now, Sebastian, flesh and blood.
You brother mine, that entertain'd ambition,
Expell'd remorse and nature,[15] whom, with Sebastian,—
Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong,—
Would here have kill'd your king; I do forgive thee,
Unnatural though thou art!—Their understanding
Begins to swell, and the approaching tide
Will shortly fill the reasonable shore,
That now lies foul and muddy. Not one of them,
That yet looks on me, or would know me: Ariel,
Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell; [*Exit* ARIEL.
I will discase me, and myself present,
As I was sometime Milan:—quickly, spirit;
Thou shalt ere long be free.

ARIEL *re-enters, singing, and helps to attire* PROSPERO.

Ari. Where the bee sucks, there suck I;[16]
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry:
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer, merrily:
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.[17]

Pro. Why, that 's my dainty Ariel! I shall miss thee;
But yet thou shalt have freedom: so, so, so.—
To the king's ship, invisible as thou art:
There shalt thou find the mariners asleep

Under the hatches; the master, and the boatswain,
Being awake, enforce them to this place;
And presently, I prithee.

Ari. I drink the air before me,[18] and return
Or e'er your pulse twice beat. [*Exit* ARIEL.

Gon. All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement
Inhabit here: Some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country!

Pro. Behold, sir king,
The wronged duke of Milan, Prospero:
For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body;
And to thee, and thy company, I bid
A hearty welcome.

Alon. Whêr thou beest he, or no,[19]
Or some enchanted trifle[20] to abuse me,
As late I have been, I not know: thy pulse
Beats, as of flesh and blood; and, since I saw thee,
The affliction of my mind amends, with which,
I fear, a madness held me: this must crave—
An if this be at all[21]—a most strange story.
Thy dukedom I resign,[22] and do entreat
Thou pardon me my wrongs:—But how should Prospero
Be living, and be here?

Pro. First, noble friend,
Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot
Be measur'd, or confin'd.

Gon. Whether this be,
Or be not, I 'll not swear.

Pro. You do yet taste
Some subtilties o' the isle,[23] that will not let you
Believe things certain:—Welcome, my friends all:—
But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,
[*Aside to* SEBASTIAN *and* ANTONIO.
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors;[24]—at this time
I will tell no tales.

Seb. The devil speaks in him. [*Aside.*

Pro. No:—
For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest faults, all of them; and require

My dukedom of thee, which, perforce, I know
Thou must restore.

Alon. If thou beest Prospero,
Give us particulars of thy preservation:
How thou hast met us here, whom three hours since
Were wreck'd upon this shore; where I have lost,—
How sharp the point of this remembrance is!—
My dear son Ferdinand.

Pro. I am woe for 't, sir.[25]

Alon. Irreparable is the loss; and Patience
Says it is past her cure.

Pro. I rather think,
You have not sought her help; of whose soft grace,
For the like loss, I have her sovereign aid,
And rest myself content.

Alon. You the like loss?

Pro. As great to me, as late; and, supportable[26]
To make the dear loss, have I means much weaker
Than you may call to comfort you; for I
Have lost my daughter.

Alon. A daughter?
O heavens! that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there! that they were, I wish
Myself were mudded in that oozy bed
Where my son lies. When did you lose your daughter?

Pro. In this last tempest. I perceive these lords
At this encounter do so much admire,
That they devour their reason; and scarce think
Their eyes do offices of truth,—their words
Are natural breath:[27] but, howsoe'er you have
Been justled from your senses, know for certain
That I am Prospero, and that very duke
Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most strangely
Upon this shore, where you were wreck'd, was landed
To be the lord on 't. No more yet of this;
For 't is a chronicle of day by day,
Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
Befitting this first meeting. Welcome, sir;
This cell 's my court: here have I few attendants,
And subjects none abroad: pray you, look in.
My dukedom since you have given me again,
I will requite you with as good a thing;

At least, bring forth a wonder, to content ye,
As much as me my dukedom.

The entrance of the Cell opens, and discovers FERDINAND *and* MIRANDA *playing at chess.*

Mira. Sweet lord, you play me false.
Fer. No, my dearest love,
I would not for the world.
Mira. Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,[28]
And I would call it fair play.
Alon. If this prove
A vision of the island,[29] one dear son
Shall I twice lose.
Seb. A most high miracle!
Fer. Though the seas threaten, they are merciful:
I have curs'd them without cause.
[FERDINAND *kneels to* ALONSO.
Alon. Now all the blessings
Of a glad father compass thee about!
Arise, and say how thou cam'st here.
Mira. O! wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world,
That has such people in 't!
Pro. 'T is new to thee.
Alon. What is this maid, with whom thou wast at play?
Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours:
Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,
And brought us thus together?
Fer. Sir, she is mortal;
But, by immortal Providence, she 's mine;
I chose her, when I could not ask my father
For his advice; nor thought I had one. She
Is daughter to this famous duke of Milan,
Of whom so often I have heard renown,
But never saw before; of whom I have
Received a second life, and second father
This lady makes him to me.
Alon. I am hers:
But O, how oddly will it sound, that I
Must ask my child forgiveness!
Pro. There, sir, stop;

Let us not burden our remembrances with
A heaviness that 's gone.

Gon. I have inly wept,
Or should have spoke ere this. Look down, you gods,
And on this couple drop a blessed crown;
For it is you, that have chalk'd forth the way
Which brought us hither!

Alon. I say, Amen, Gonzalo.

Gon. Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue
Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice
Beyond a common joy, and set it down
With gold on lasting pillars! In one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis;
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife,
Where he himself was lost; Prospero, his dukedom,
In a poor isle; and all of us, ourselves,
When no man was his own.[30]

Alon. Give me your hands: [*To* FERD. *and* MIR.
Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart,
That doth not wish you joy!

Gon. Be 't so! Amen!

Re-enter ARIEL, *with the* Master *and* Boatswain *amazedly following.*

O look, sir, look, sir; here are more of us!
I prophesied, if a gallows were on land,
This fellow could not drown. Now, Blasphemy,
That swear'st grace o'erboard, not an oath on shore?
Hast thou no mouth by land? What is the news?

Boats. The best news is, that we have safely found
Our king and company: the next our ship,
Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split,
Is tight and yare,[31] and bravely rigg'd, as when
We first put out to sea.

Ari. Sir, all this service
Have I done since I went. } *Aside.*

Pro. My tricksy[32] spirit!

Alon. These are not natural events; they strengthen
From strange to stranger. Say, how came you hither?

Boats. If I did think, sir, I were well awake,
I 'd strive to tell you. We were dead of sleep,
And—how we know not—all clapp'd under hatches,

Where, but even now, with strange and several noises
Of roaring, shrieking, howling, gingling chains,
And more diversity of sounds,[33] all horrible,
We were awak'd; straightway, at liberty:
Where we, in all her trim,[34] freshly beheld
Our royal, good, and gallant ship; our master
Capering to eye her: on a trice, so please you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
And were brought moping hither.

Ari. Was 't well done? } *Aside.*
Pro. Bravely, my diligence! Thou shalt be free. }

Alon. This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod,
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of:[35] some oracle
Must rectify our knowledge.

Pro. Sir, my liege,
Do not infest your mind with beating on[36]
The strangeness of this business: at pick'd leisure,
Which shall be shortly, single I 'll resolve you,—
Which to you shall seem probable,[37]—of every
These happen'd accidents: till when, be cheerful,
And think of each thing well.—Come hither, spirit; [*Aside.*
Set Caliban and his companions free:
Untie the spell. [*Exit* ARIEL.] How fares my gracious sir?
There are yet missing of your company
Some few odd lads, that you remember not.

Re-enter ARIEL, *driving in* CALIBAN, STEPHANO, *and* TRINCULO, *in their stolen apparel.*

Ste. Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man take care for himself; for all is but fortune:—Coragio, bully-monster, coragio![38]

Trin. If these be true spies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight.

Cal. O Setebos! these be brave spirits, indeed!
How fine my master is! I am afraid
He will chastise me.

Seb. Ha, ha!
What things are these, my lord Antonio?
Will money buy them?

Ant. Very like; one of them
Is a plain fish,[39] and, no doubt, marketable.

Pro. Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say if they be true:[40] this mis-shapen knave,—
His mother was a witch, and one so strong[41]
That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command, without her power:[42]
These three have robb'd me: and this demi-devil,—
For he 's a bastard one,—had plotted with them
To take my life: two of these fellows you
Must know, and own; this thing of darkness I
Acknowledge mine.

Cal. I shall be pinch'd to death!

Alon. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler?

Seb. He is drunk now: where had he wine?

Alon. And Trinculo is reeling ripe: Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them?[43]—
How cam'st thou in this pickle?

Trin. I have been in such a pickle, since I saw you last, that, I fear me, will never out of my bones: I shall not fear fly-blowing.[44]

Seb. Why, how now, Stephano?

Ste. O, touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp.[45]

Pro. You 'd be king of the isle, sirrah?

Ste. I should have been a sore one then.[46]

Alon. This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on.

[*Pointing to* CALIBAN.

Pro. He is as disproportion'd in his manners,
As in his shape:—Go, sirrah, to my cell;
Take with you your companions; as you look
To have my pardon, trim it handsomely.

Cal. Ay, that I will; and I 'll be wise hereafter,
And seek for grace. What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool!

Pro. Go to; away!

Alon. Hence, and bestow your luggage[47] where you found it.

Seb. Or stole it, rather. [*Exeunt* CAL., STE., *and* TRIN.

Pro. Sir, I invite your highness, and your train,
To my poor cell: where you shall take your rest
For this one night; which (part of it) I 'll waste
With such discourse, as, I not doubt, shall make it
Go quick away,—the story of my life,
And the particular accidents gone by,

Since I came to this isle: And, in the morn,
I 'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear-belov'd solemnized;
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave.

Alon. I long
To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.

Pro. I 'll deliver all;
And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,
And sail so expeditious, that shall catch
Your royal fleet far off.—My Ariel,—chick,—
That is thy charge;—then to the elements
Be free, and fare thou well!—[*Aside.*] Please you, draw near.
[*Exeunt.*

EPILOGUE.

Spoken by Prospero.

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have 's mine own;
Which is most faint: now 't is true,
I must be here confin'd by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got,
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island, by your spell;
But release me from my bands,
With the help of your good hands.[48]
Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please. Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair,
Unless I be reliev'd by prayer;
Which pierces so, that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
Let your indulgence set me free.

Notes to the Fifth Act.

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[1] *And Time goes upright with his carriage.*

Carriage, burden, anything that is carried. The word occurs several times in the Scriptures in this sense.—See Acts, xxi. 15, &c. "Time brings forward all the expected events, without faultering under his burthen."—*Steevens.*

[2] *They cannot budge till you release.*

That is, till you release them. This is the reading of the third folio, the first and second editions having *your*, which, although sense can be made of it, is probably a misprint.

[3] *Hast thou, which art but air, a touch.*

A touch, that is, according to Steevens, a sensation. Something of passion or affection, the twelfth sense in Todd.

> I know not how their death gives such a tuch
> In those that reach not to a true discourse.
>
> *The Works of Samuel Daniel*, 1602.

[4] *That relish all as sharply passion as they.*

That is, that feel passion to the same extent that they do.

[5] *Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves.*

A few hints for this speech were derived from Medea's in Ovid, as translated by Golding:—

> Ye ayres and windes, ye *elves of hills*, of *brookes*, of woodes alone,
> Of *standing lakes*, and of the night, approche ye everych one.
> *Through help of whom* (the crooked bankes much wondering at the thing)
> I have compelled streames to run clear backward to their spring.
> By charms I make the calm sea rough, and make the rough seas playne,
> And cover all the skie with clouds, and *chase* them thence again.
> *By charmes I raise and lay the windes*, and burst the viper's jaw,
> And from the bowels of the earth both stones and trees do draw.
> Whole woodes and forrests I remove, *I make the mountains shake*,
> And even the earth itself to groan and fearfully to quake.
> *I call up dead men from their graves*, and thee, O lightsome moone,
> I darken oft, though beaten brass abate thy peril soone.
> Our sorcerie *dimmes* the morning faire, and *darks the sun at noone*,
> The flaming breath of fierie bulles ye quenched for my sake,
> And caused their unwieldy neckes the bended yoke to take.
> Among the earth-bred brothers you a *mortal warre did set*,
> And brought asleep the dragon fell, whose eyes were never shet.

Compare, also, Heywood's *Brazen Age*, 1613,—

> Goddesse of witchcraft, and dark ceremony,
> To whom the elves of hils, of brookes, of groves,
> Of standing lakes, and cavernes vaulted deepe
> Are ministers.

[6] *And ye that, on the sands with printless foot.*

> Whilst from off the waters fleet,
> Thus I set my printless feet.—*Comus.*
>
> Or, like a nymph, with long dishevel'd hair,
> Dance on the sands, and yet no footing seen.
> *Venus and Adonis.*

[7] *By moonshine do the green-sour ringlets make.*

The compound epithet, green-sour, is exactly in Shakespeare's manner, like another one, *white-cold*, in the fourth act, p. 466. Mr. Colliers' MS. annotator proposes to substitute *green-sward*, a reading also suggested by Douce; but there is surely no necessity for any alteration of the original text, the fairy-rings being of a dark green, and the grass so rank that sheep and cattle avoid it.

[8] *To make midnight mushrooms.*

Mushroom, *mouscheron* in Cotgrave, is spelt *mushrump* in the first folio, but the latter seems to be merely a vitiated form of the word, although retained by Mr. Dyce in the following passage,—"A night-grown mushrump."—*Marlowe's Edward II.*, Works, ii. 191. "These night-sprung mushrumps that sucked the earthes fatnesse."—*Speed's History of Great Britaine.* "Of that straine are a number of mushrumpes more, who pester the world with pamphlets."—*Nash's Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. The same form also occurs in a poem by Southwell, 1595; and another variation, *mushrubs*, in the *History of Don Quixote*, 1675.

You cannot, sir, you court spaniell, you unnecessary *mushrump*, that in one night art sprung out of the root of greatnesse.—*Day's Ile of Gulls*, 1633.

> Now get you home, and tel your lady mistris
> She has shot up a sweete *mushrump.*
> *Thierry and Theodoret.*

[9] *Weak masters though ye be.*

Weak if left to your own guidance, powerful when assisting the designs of one able to direct; or perhaps merely, though ye are but weak masters of preternatural arts.

[10] *They all enter the circle which Prospero has made.*

So, in Ayrer's comedy, quoted in the Introduction, "Rudolph makes a circle, and strikes with his wand on a hole, and the devil rises: the devil spits fire, and walks in the circle." The circles of the magician are noticed in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, and in various other works. The earliest representation of any of them, in English manuscripts, that has occurred to my notice, is that in the curious poem of the Pilgrim, copied in the annexed plate from the original MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Tiber. A. vii.; in which the necromancer is introduced speaking as follows:—

Firste with my swerd upon the ground,
I make a cercle large and round
With karectis and ffygures,
And knowe not the aventures,
Nor the dirkenesse hydde withinne.
Off the karectis whanne I gynne
To emprynte til they be sene,
I wote nevere what they mene,
Save I conyecte yt may so be,
That spiritis scholde obeye to me,
By my invocacyouns,
To answere to my questyouns:
Swyche sperytis as I kalle,
And ȝit I knowe noon off hem alle,
Save off entente as thow mayste se,
That they schulde graunte me
Som maner gyfftc or som gerdoun,
Concernynge myne oppynyoun,
By vertu off the cercle round,
And carectis graven in the ground.

In the drawing here copied, the devil is bringing into the magician's circle the objects that he desires. The figure on the left hand is intended for the pilgrim. The accompanying woodcut, representing a magician, with his open book, and a wand in his hand, standing within his charmed circle, and invoking a spirit, is taken from a much later production, a metrical *History of Doctor John Faustus*, 12mo. Lond. 1664; and the following form of calling a spirit within the circle from a MS. of the fifteenth century on vellum,—"Ad quatuor plagas mundi. Oh! Gabriell, Gabriell, oh! bone Gabriel, tu qui servis in primo exercitu coram angelo magno, precioso, et honorato, Orphaniel, oh! bone Gabriell, esto per virtutem tui nominis, potestatis sigilli, caracteris signi intelligentiæ et planetæ tui, ad inter (*sic*) meæ petitioni et perfice hoc opus meum ad effectum, et hoc cito."

The figures in the above engraving and plate may supply some hints for the costume of Prospero, and in addition to what has been previously said, it may be observed that the character Magus, in the play of the *Marriages of the Arts*, is represented as being attired "in a blacke sute with a triple crowne on his head, beset with crosses and other magicall characters: in blacke shooes, with a white wand in his hand." I have also a supplementary observation to make respecting the character of Prospero, that his prototype may be looked for, with some probability of the research being successful, in the early histories of Genoa, where, in the year 1477, according to Thomas's *Historye*

of Italye, 1561, "Prospero Adorno was established as the Duke of Millain's liuetenaunt there: but he continued scarcely one yeare, tyl by meane of new practises that he held with Ferdinando, kyng of Naples, he was had in suspicion to the Milanese; who, willynge to depose hym, raysed a newe commocion of the people, so that where he was before the dukes liuetenaunte, now he was made governoure [or duke] absolutely of the commonwealth." Prospero was, however, deposed, and after some other changes, "the citesins, remembring how they were best in quiet, whan they were subjectes to the Duke of Millaine, returned of newe to be under the Milanese dominyon: and than was *Antony* Adorno made governoure of the citee for the duke." A further confirmation that this Prospero was, in all probability, the deposed duke of the *Tempest*, will be found in the following extract from the account of the Adorni family, in *Della Origine et de Fatti delle Famiglie Illustri d'Italia di M. Francesco Sansovino libro primo*, 4to. Vin. 1582:—

"Et l'anno 1452, Nicolo et Giuliano fratelli furono ritenuti in Scio Isola per ordine del Duce Pietro Fregoso, il quale gli haveva per nemici. Il qual Duce era molestato da Raffaello et Barnabà, che erano su l'armata del Re Alfonso, mandata contra Genovesi per levare i Fregosi di stato. Et essendosi la città data al Re di Francia, gli Adorni hebbero anco essercito per terra: ma venuto a morte Alfonso et soccesso Ferrando, gli Adorni levarono l'assedio della città, et indi a poco morì Raffaello et Barnabà. Paolo, essendo la città sotto il Re di Francia, et in tumulto per mettersi in libertà, entro per ordine di Giovanni Governator Francese in porto con una galea, per opporsi alla fattione Fregosa. Ma essendosi Giovanni alla fine ridotto nel castelletto per la furia del popolo che s'era sollevato un'altra volta per liberarsi del tutto, Paolo Arcivescovo di Genova et Prospero entrarono nella città con una compagnia di villani, onde i Francesi furono scacciati, et ridotti nel castelletto, et gli Adorni co Fregosi si misero a combattere insieme, contendendo del Principato della città, et la mischia fu in piu luoghi, sforzandosi ogniuna delle parti di haver la fortezza. Ma la parte Adorna pattuì secretamente col Governatore che Prospero da una parte, et i Francesi dall' altra assalissero l'Arcivescovo, et scacciatolo della citta, si desse lo stato di nuovo al Governator Regio. Ma havendo il popolo prese di nuovo l'armi in mano, si trattò accordo fra gli Adorni et Fregosi, et l'Arcivescovo con Prospero ritornarono nella citta, et convocato il consiglio fu eletto col favor di Paolo in Duce il detto Prospero. Il quale vedendo che bisognava espugnar la fortezza, et far guerra con un potentissimo Re, domandò aiuto al Duca di Milano, et ottenne mille fanti sotto la cura di Tomaso Raitino, et quantità di danari. Et messo l'assedio alla fortezza, Paolo venne in contesa con Prospero, ma incontanente Paolo fu chiamato a Milano dal Duca. Et Prospero si mise con ogni diligenza alla difesa del suo stato: percioche havendo il Re di Francia intesa la ribellione, mandò il soccorso della fortezza per mare et per terra. La qual cosa messe gran confusione in Genova, non parendo al popolo di essere atto a poter resistere a tante forze. Ma il Duca rimandò a Genova Paolo et lo riconciliò con Prospero, i quali si convennero insieme, cioè, che Paolo co soldati Sforzeschi, et con la gioventù et col fiore del popolo stesse nelle prossime montagne che sono dal castello al monistero di S. Benigno et di quindi guardasse che'l nemico non offendesse la città, o non entrasse nel castelletto, et che Prospero con l'altra parte del popolo attendesse alla guardia et difesa della città, accioche non nascesse qualche tumulto, o che quelli del castello non uscissero fuori. Ma venuti i nemici alla villa di Cornigliano, andato Paolo et Prospero a incontrarli, non hebbero ardire di venire alle mani, et ritornarono nella città, seguiti da nemici che occuparono S. Benigno. Si venne poi alle mani, et i Francesi furono rotti et fracassati. Ottenuta la vittoria, nacque discordia fra gli Adorni. Percioche havendo Prospero fatto intendere a Fregosi, che non entrassero nella città, et chiamati a se i soldati

[illegible] CIRCLE FROM M.S. COTTON. TIBERIUS A VII., 14TH CENT

Sforzeschi, et gli altri suoi fautori, Pandolfo, fratello di Paolo, entrà nella città: et il medesimo fece Paolo, et si congiunse col fratello: et all'ultimo attaccata la mischia, Prospero si fuggì con alcuni pochi della citta, et in suo luogo fu fatto Duce, per consenso di Paolo, Spinetta Fregoso suo consobrino. Paolo l'anno 1462 scacciato, Lodovico Fregoso fu fatto Duce, ma durò un mese.

"Ma l'anno 1464, havendo il Duca di Milano posto ogni studio per impadronirsi di Genova, et fatte offerte col Duce Fregoso, tiro dalla sua Prospero Adorno, alquale donò la terra di Vuada: et ottenuto il dominio soccesse Gian Galeazzo, il qual venuto poi in disparer co Genovesi: fra molte ambasciarie che i Genovesi mandarono ogni anno, fu l'anno 1477 mandato Giovanni huomo di molto credito. Ma risolutosi il Duca al tutto di sottometter Genova con tutta la Liguria, et fatto 30 mila fanti perciò tenne modo, che i capi delle fattioni si dilungassero dal paese, et restando solamente Prospero, che era in Vuada sua terra, lo chiamò a se, et senza volerlo udire, et senza alcuna sua colpa, lo fece prigione nella fortezza di Cremona, ma con molto odio de Genovesi, i quali sentita la costui intentione stimarono che con la perdita di Prospero, si dovesse perdersi ogni giurisditione de Genovesi. Ma venuto a morte Galeazzo per la congiura del Lampognano, et suscitati in Genova nuovi moti per la ricuperatione della libertà, Carlo fratello di Prospero, dolendosi della calamità di Prospero prigione in Cremona, solo fra gli altri non liberato, quantunque fosse innocente, venne nella valle di Pozzevera per congiugnere all' armi la fattione sua: essendosi d'altra parte mossi anco i Flischi. Et havendo nella città il popolo, fatto fuggir nella fortezza il Governator Francese, vennero anco con Carlo, Giovanni et Agostino figlivoli di Raffaello Adorno. Percioche vedendo i Signori di Milano le cose di Genova in cattiva piega, deliberarono con ogni sforzo di sovenire alle cose loro, et sapendo che co Genovesi bisogna reprimerli con le loro medesime partialità, tratto di prigione Prospero, et lo fecero andare a Milano, et fattoli ogni sorte di cortesia con donarli, cavalli, et altri arnesi, lo proposero alle cose di Genova et lo costituirono Governator della città con promesse grandi. Ond'egli che era costantissimo nell' osservar le promesse, accettò l'impresa, et congregato 120 squadre di soldati vecchi et 4 bande di cavalli, venne a Buzalla, accompagnato da Roberto S. Severino General di tutto il campo, da fratelli del Duca Galeazzo, da Gian Iacomo Trivulcio, et da Pier Franco Visconti, con gran parte della nobiltà di Lombardia con bell' arme, cavalli, et compagnie, et entrato per la valle di Pozzevera erano tutti insieme giunti al mare, et Carlo era stato nel castelletto, al quale andarono a parlar molti plebei: et egli diede ordine alle cose ch'era venuto a fare. Et poi che conobbe che l'essercito s'era appressato alla città, si mise a ordine per lo giorno seguente. All'ultimo si venne al conflitto et ottenuta la vittoria gli furono aperte le porte. Prospero per tanto entrato nella città fece bandire che si perdonava ad ogniuno che havesse levate l'armi fino a quel giorno. Et il dì seguente adunato il Senato, furono lette le lettere de i Principi di Milano per le quali si dichiarava che Prospero fusse Governatore. Si fece poi a sua instantia nuova Balia, dalla qual fu donato 6 mila ducati a capitani che fecero quella impresa. Intendendo poi che era a sospetto al Governatore dello stato di Milano Lodovico Moro, et che cercava con inganno di levarlo dal governo, suscitò il popolo in arme per vendicarsi in libertà, et haveva costretto il presidio de Milanesi col nuovo Presidente mandato da Milano, a ritirarsi nelle fortezze della città, et cominciò a trattar celatamente col Re Ferdinando, consigli et disegni a distruttione dello stato di Milano. La qual cosa piacendo al Re, sendoli offerta occasion di perturbar le cose di Genova in danno del Duca di Milano, mandò a Prospero 2 galee con buona somma di danari. Lequal cose saputesi a Milano, mandarono i Milanesi il Vescovo di Como a Genova ar imoverlo dal governo. Ilqual Vescovo entrato di notte et travestito, chiamò il Senato in S.

Siro: et già la città et la plebe insieme con Prospero facevano qualche tumulto, et col Vescovo furono molti de primati della terra: et la più parte nobili, et si lessero le lettere del Duca della cassation di Prospero, in cui luoga entrava il Vescovo. Ma havendo costoro differito d' esequir la cassatione, et di prender' il palazzo allora et di farlo per forza, et essendosi la plebe levata in armi per mettersi in libertà, Prospero di Governatore Ducale, fu fatto Governator de Genovesi, et chiamato Roberto di S. Severino, lo fecero Capitano di tutta questa guerra, et hebbero aiuto dal Re di Napoli. Ma non molto dopo sollevatasi la città di nuovo et entrato Battista Fregoso per scacciar l' Adorno, Prospero tenendosi in Palazzo con parecchi compagnie di Soldati forastieri, et opposti a nemici Agostino et Giovanni, I quali combatterono co Fregosi nella strada dritta dalla porta de i Vacca fino al fossatello: et havendo gli Adorni vinto, et scacciati i Fregosi, ne furono condotti 13 di loro a Prospero, il quale gli fece incontanente impiccare, la qual cosa gli acquistò odio nell' universale. Ma indi a pochi dì Prospero abbandonato quasi da tutti, i Fregosi occuparono la città, et Prospero cedendo il palazzo, et andando verso la Porta di S. Thomaso, fu assalito, et messo in fuga a pena si potè salvare nello schifo di una delle galee regie, et fu costretto a saltar nell'acqua cosi vestito come era."

[11] *Boil'd within thy skull.*

"Seething brains."—*Mids. Night's Dream.* "Boiled brains."—*Winter's Tale.*

[12] *Mine eyes, even sociable to the show of thine.*

In the previous line, in Mr. Collier's annotated folio, *holy* is altered to *noble*, but surely without necessity, for the goodness of Gonzalo's character is admirably shown throughout the drama, and, in fact, is particularly distinguished, not merely in epithets, but by the cheerfulness with which it enables him to sustain himself under trying circumstances. *Holy* here, as in many other places, merely means, good, pure. The same annotator would also read *flow* for *show*, which also appears to be unnecessary. Compare the following passage in *Julius Cæsar*,—

> Passion, I see, is catching; for mine eyes,
> *Seeing those beads of sorrow stand in thine*,
> Began to water.

[13] *Begin to chase the ignorant fumes.*

Ignorant fumes, as Heath observes, "are no other than fumes of ignorance." Holt thus paraphrases these lines,—"begin to shake off that weight of horror, that stupifying terror they had labour'd under, which had covered their senses like a cloud, wrapt up their understandings as in a mantle, and made their brains, useless, boil within their sculls."

[14] *And a loyal sir.*

Sir is here used for man, or gentleman. So, shortly afterwards, Prospero calls Antonio, "most wicked sir." Compare also *Cymbeline*, act i.—"A lady to the worthiest *sir* . . . in the election of a *sir* so rare." Mr. Collier's MS. annotator reads *servant*, an unnecessary alteration.

[15] *Expell'd remorse and nature.*

"*Remorse* is by our author and the contemporary writers generally used for pity, or tenderness of heart. *Nature* is, *natural affection.*"—*Malone.*

[16] *Where the bee sucks, there suck I.*

Ariel's occupation is nearly gone. He now, in the joyous anticipation of being released from his duties to Prospero, for all spirits were represented as being

impatient of control, realizes his future existence, sipping the sweets of flowers by day, reposing in a cowslip's bell at night, a fitting abode for a fairy, and pictured as the midnight bower of Queen Mab in the *Nymphidia*. He will live in perfect summer, flying on the bat's back to warmer climes as soon as winter approached. Gilbert White mentions a species of bat "which retires or migrates very early in the summer;" and the migration of this animal was probably believed by Shakespeare; but, if not, the bat must be considered merely as the selected choice of Ariel for the means of his passage.

"Ariel was a spirit of great delicacy, bound by the charms of Prospero to a constant attendance on his occasions. So that he was confined to the island winter and summer. But the roughness of winter is represented by Shakspeare as disagreeable to fairies, and such like delicate spirits, who, on this account, constantly follow *summer*. Was not this then the most agreeable circumstance of Ariel's new-recovered liberty, that he could now avoid *winter*, and follow *summer* quite round the globe?"—*Warburton*. "When Shakspeare had determined to send Ariel in pursuit of summer, wherever it could be found, as most congenial to such an airy being, is it then surprising that he should have made the *bat*, rather than 'the wind, his post-horse;' an animal thus delighting in that season, and reduced by winter to a state of lifeless inactivity?"—*Malone*.

It has been already observed that the original music to this song was composed by R. Johnson. Dr. Wilson's setting to it was republished by Playford, in the second part of his *Musical Companion*, 1667, pp. 126-7; and in ed. 1672, pp. 174-5. I possess an old MS. collection of music, in which the name of Robert Johnson is given as the composer of this setting; but this is probably to be ascribed to the circumstance of his name being mentioned by Dr. Wilson, and the transcriber mistaking it for that of the real author. Dryden and Davenant read *bed* for *bell*, and *swallow's wings* for *bat's back*, but they have not otherwise altered the song. A MS. of the time of Charles II. contains three additional stanzas, which are only valuable as exhibiting how little the spirit of Shakespeare's poetry was then appreciated. The first of them will suffice for a specimen:—

I bath in rose dew, and ne're fayle
To breakfast in the milkinge payle.
With the Kinge I sitt and dine,
Tast his meate, and drinke his wine,
Court and kisse his concubine.
Merrily, merrily, voide of all care
Shall I live now, and as free as the ayre.

Duffet wrote a parody on Ariel's song, which will be found in his *Mock-Tempest*, 1675, p. 55; but I have not thought it generally advisable to devote much space to the Shakespearian literature of Charles II.'s period, for the language, metre, and spirit of this great author, were then so misunderstood, that many examples from the alterations and imitations of his text, current at that period, would tend to prejudice its integrity, without yielding particulars of sufficient literary curiosity to compensate for their want of taste. The great popularity of some of them may be gathered from notices in other plays. Thus, for example, as the following allusions to Dryden and Davenant's version of the *Tempest*, in plays written between the years 1672 and 1712, to which several others could readily be added:—

You dance worse than the angels in Harry the Eight, or the fat spirits in the *Tempest*, Igad.—*The Rehearsal*, 4to. 1672, p. 19.

> Like Trincalos and Stephanos, ye play
> The lewdest tricks each other to betray.
>
> *The Souldier's Fortune*, 4to. 1681, p. 72.

> Ere in his office he's confirm'd possessor,
> Like Trincaloes, you chuse him a successor.
>
> *Behn's City Heiress*, 1682.

Darew. Ay my Lord in the Play-house, I told ye she was a High Flyer too, that is, I have seen her upon a Machine in the *Tempest.*

L. Brain. In the *Tempest?* why then I suppose I may seek her fortune in the Inchanted Island; what a plague, you have trick'd me then, Fubbs, have ye?

The Marriage Hater Match'd, 1692.

Fain. Sir Wilfull is an odd mixture of bashfulness and obstinacy.——But when he's drunk, he's as loving as the Monster in the *Tempest;* and much after the same manner. To give the t'other his due; he has something of good nature, and does not always want wit.—*Congreve's Way of the World*, 1700.

> But Shakespear's self transgress'd; and shall each elf,
> Each pigmy genius, quote great Shakespear's self!
> What critick dares prescribe what's just and fit,
> Or mark out limits for such boundless wit;
> Shakespear could travel thro' earth, sea and air,
> And point out all the powers and wonders there.
> In barren desarts he makes Nature smile,
> And gives us feasts in his Enchanted Isle.
>
> *The Distrest Mother*, 1712.

[17] *Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.*

> The goblins, fairies, feends, and furies mad,
> Ranged in flowrie dales, and mountaines hore,
> *And under every trembling leafe they sit.*—*Tasso, by Fairfax.*

[18] *I drink the air before me.*

Shakespeare uses the same phrase in *Timon of Athens*, and in *Venus and Adonis;* and the expression "devour the way" in 2 *Henry IV.* Ben Jonson has the latter in his *Sejanus*, 1605,—

> But with that speed and heate of appetite,
> With which they greedily devoure the way
> To some great sports, or a new theatre.

And a similar analogical idiom occurs in the Latin poetry of Nemesian, *latumque fuga consumere campum.* The Scriptures may also be cited,—"He swalloweth the ground in fierceness and rage."—Job, xxxix. Several other like phrases might be collected.

[19] *Whêr thou beest he, or no.*

Whêr, a common contraction of *whether.* So, in Ben Jonson's *Epigrams*, No. 96,—

> Who shall doubt, Donne, whêr I a poet be,
> When I dare send my epigrams to thee?

[20] *Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me.*

Trifle here seems to be used for mockery or toy. Mr. Collier's MS. annotator has *devil*, a reading that is perfectly inconsistent with the style of Alonso's address

to Prospero, which, although he is in doubt as to the reality of the exiled duke, is intended to be of a subdued character.

[21] *An if this be at all.*

The MS. annotator of Mr. Wheler's third folio unnecessarily reads, "If this be true at all," probably not perceiving that *and if* stood for *an if.*

[22] *Thy dukedom I resign.*

"The duchy of Milan being through the treachery of Antonio made feudatory to the crown of Naples, Alonso promises to resign his claim of sovereignty for the future."—*Steevens.*

[23] *You do yet taste some subtilties o' the isle.*

Although I think *subtilties* is here to be accepted in one of its then ordinary senses, *deceptions,* and that there is not necessarily a metaphorical meaning; it would hardly be prudent to omit the note on this line by Steevens, who refers it to the ancient sotilté:—"This is a phrase adopted from ancient cookery and confectionary. When a dish was so contrived as to appear unlike what it really was, they called it a *subtilty.* Dragons, castles, trees, &c. made out of sugar, had the like denomination. Froissard complains much of this practice, which often led him into mistakes at dinner. Describing one of the feasts of his time, he says there was 'grant planté de mestz si etranges et si desguisez qu'on ne les pouvait deviser;' and L'Etoile, speaking of a similar entertainment in 1597, adds, 'Tous les poissons estoient fort dextrement desguisez en viande de chair, qui estoient monstres marins pour la plus part, qu'on avait fait venir exprès de tous les costez.'" The use of the word *taste,* metaphorically applied, is so very common, that it is not, in itself, any argument in favour of the theory of Steevens. So, "taste grief," *Richard II.,* &c.

[24] *And justify you traitors.*

That is, and prove you to be traitors.

> Oh thinke upon yourselfe, my lord, and make
> Your title good, and *justifie* that honour
> By ourselves acquir'd is richer then what blood
> And birth can throw upon us.
>
> *Shirley's Example,* 4to. Lond. 1637.

[25] *I am woe for 't, sir.*

To be woe, an old verb, to be sorry. "I am wo, I am heavy, *je suis triste:* I am wo that I cannat get my money."—*Palsgrave.*

> For lake of ornate speche, I wolde be wo
> That I presume to her to writin so.
>
> *The Courte of Love,* 34.

> But be ye sure I wolde be wo,
> If ye shulde chaunce to begyle me so.
>
> *The Four P's,* ap. Dodsley, i. 67.

[26] *As great to me, as late; and, supportable.*

"As great to me, as late," that is, observes Dr. Johnson, my loss is as great as yours, and has as lately happened to me. The third folio incorrectly reads *insupportable.* The vicious alterations made in this edition for the sake of metre, show how exceedingly unsafe late copies are as guides in any reading where the rhythm is affected by the alteration. Thus, in the present Act, the third folio reads, in four different places,—

O look, sir, look, here is more of us.
The best newes is, that we have safe found.
'Tis a strange thing as e're I look'd on.
Now, now, my charm's are all ore-thrown.

[27] *Their eyes do offices of truth, their words are natural breath.*

That is, they scarcely think that their eyes do not deceive them, or that the words which they speak are really those that would be naturally uttered by themselves. One critic, I think unnecessarily, reads, *these words.*

[28] *For a score of kingdoms you should wrangle.*

The verb *wrangle* seems to be here somewhat licentiously used in the sense of, to play or finesse unfairly. "Yes, for something less than the world, for you might play false for twenty kingdoms, and I would call it fair play."

[29] *If this prove a vision of the island.*

I have again found my son, but if this prove a mere vision, I shall lose him for the second time. This explanation seems scarcely necessary, but is given on account of a proposed emendation.

[30] *When no man was his own.*

That is, at a time when no one was in his senses. Steevens observes it is still said, in colloquial language, that a madman is not his own man, that is, is not master of himself.

[31] *Is tight and yare.*

Tight and yare was a sailor's phrase. For the meaning of *yare,* see note at p. 357.

Those butter-boxes (sayes Charon) owe me a peny upon the foote of that account: for I could distill out of them but onely three poore drops of silver for the voyage, and all my losse at sea. Whats next? Item, laid out for pitch to trim your boat about the middle of the last plague, because she might go *tight and yare,* and do her labour cleanly: xj. pence.—*A Knight's Conjuring, &c., by Decker.*

Gios. Your Lordship knew Leandra in her childhood,
You'l see her finely built, *so tite, so yare;*
She lacks but you at helm.
Fil. And I can steer;
I shall keep her from falling foul upon
Lugo Filomarini. Where the Devil
Did my son Lugo meet her?—*The Slighted Maid,* p. 2.

[32] *My tricksy spirit.*

"Trycke, galaunt, or trymme wenche."—*Huloet,* 1552. "*Nettelet,* prettie and neat; minion, briske, smug, trickesie, smirke."—*Cotgrave.* "*Miste,* neat, spruce, compt, quaint, picked, minion, trickesie, fine, gay."—*Ibid.* "*Nimfarsi,* to trim, to smug, to trixie, to decke or spruce himselfe up as a nimphe, or as one that would alwaies court his mistresse."—*Florio's Worlde of Wordes,* 1598. "*Pargoletta,* quaint, prettie, nimble, daintie, trixie, tender, small, little."—*Ibid.* "*Trincato,* fine, neate, smug, feat, trickesie, trim, craftie, wily, slie, subtile, spruse."—*Ibid.* The modern synonyme of this word would be *smart.*

For good cates then he did not sticke,
But toke thinges his health to restore,
So that shortely he waxed *tricke,*
In figure as he was before.

History of Titus and Gisippus, 1562.

We ever anone do invent and seeke out
To make them go tricksie, gallant, and cleane.
Interlude of the Disobedient Child, p. 16, repr.

Mary, sir, now is maister Jacob trimme indeede,
That is all *tricksie* and gallaunt, so God me speede.
Enterlude of Jacob and Esau, 1568.

Thou wandrest *trixsie*, trimsie, fine,
With crispt and curled heare.
Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes, 1577.

Queint wittes must have a priviledge to prank-up their dainty limmes, and to fawne upon their owne *tricksie* devises.—*Harvey's Pierces Supererogation*, 1593.

There was a *tricksie* girle, I wot, albeit clad in gray,
As peart as bird, as straite as boult, as fresh as flower in May.
Warner's Albions England, vi. 31.

[33] *And more diversity of sounds.*

The first folio reads *mo*, which should, properly speaking, be retained, as genuine Anglo-Saxon and early English, not a mere form of *more;* but as these words were indiscriminately used in the time of Shakespeare, and the former would, in many cases, be thought harsh by the modern reader, it is only preserved when the verse requires it, as in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and in the *Rape of Lucrece.*

[34] *In all her trim.*

The old editions read, *our trim*, but the expression seems more applicable to the ship than to the crew. "The ship is in her trim."—*Comedy of Errors.*

[35] *More than nature was ever conduct of.*

Conduct, that is conductor. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Ben Jonson*, ed. Gifford, ii. 74.

"Again, in *The Householder's Philosophie*, 4to. 1588, p. 1: 'I goe before, not to arrogat anie superioritie, but as your guide, because, perhaps you are not well acquainted with the waie. Fortune (quoth I) doth favour mee with too noble a *conduct.*'"—*Reed.* "*Conduct* is yet used in the same sense: the person at Cambridge who reads prayers in King's and in Trinity College Chapels, is still so styled."—*Henley.*

Be thou my conduct, and my genius.
Marston's Scourge of Villanie, 1599.

[36] *Do not infest your mind with beating on.*

The fourth folio reads *infect*, an unnecessary alteration. "*Beating* may mean *hammering*, working in the mind, dwelling long upon. So, in the preface to Stanyhurst's translation of *Virgil*, 1582: 'For my part, I purpose not to *beat* on everye childish tittle that concerneth prosodie.' Again, Miranda, in the second scene of this play, tells her father that the [reason why he raised the] storm is still *beating* in her mind."—*Steevens.* "A kindred expression occurs in *Hamlet:* '*Cudgel* thy brains no more about it.'"—*Malone.* "Thine eyes and thoughts beat on a crown."—*Henry VI.* "This will catch her attention, for this her mind beats upon."—*Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Dyce, xi. 414.

[37] *Which to you shall seem probable.*

This parenthetical sentence is to be understood after the word *accidents.* "I will explain to you the history of every one of these strange events, so that you shall be perfectly satisfied of their occurrence and probability."

[38] *Coragio, bully monster, coragio!*

The use of foreign exclamations of this kind was very common in old plays. The present one again occurs at the end of the second act of *All's Well that ends Well.*

[39] *One of them is a plain fish.*

That is, is plainly a fish. Monck Mason pointed out a similar idiom in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, ii. 1,—"that visible beast, the butler."

[40] *Then say if they be true.*

"That is, *honest. A true man* is, in the language of that time, opposed to a *thief.* The sense is, 'Mark what these men wear, and say if they are honest.'"—*Johnson.*

[41] *His mother was a witch, and one so strong.*

"This was the phraseology of the times. After the statute against witches, revenge or ignorance frequently induced people to charge those against whom they harboured resentment, or entertained prejudices, with the crime of witchcraft, which had just then been declared a capital offence. In our ancient reporters are several cases where persons charged in this manner sought redress in the courts of law. And it is remarkable in all of them, to the scandalous imputation of being witches, the term—a *strong* one, is constantly added. In Michaelmas term, 9 Car. I. the point was settled that no action could be supported on so general a charge, and that the epithet *strong* did not inforce the other words. In this instance, I believe, the opinion of the people at large was not in unison with the sages in Westminster-Hall. Several of these cases are collected together in I. Viner, 422."—*Reed.* "*That could control the moon.* From Medea's speech in *Ovid*, as translated by Golding, our author might have learned that this was one of the pretended powers of witchcraft:

—— and thee, O lightsome *moon*,
I darken oft, though beaten brass abate thy peril soon."—*Malone.*

[42] *And deal in her command, without her power.*

That is, independently, or without the aid, of her power. See the sixth meaning of *without* in Todd's Johnson. Mr. Collier's MS. annotator reads, "with all her power." Malone thus interprets the original reading,—"Shakspeare, I conceive, had here in his thoughts vicarious and delegated authorities. He who 'deals in the command,' or, in other words, executes the office of another, is termed his lieutenant or vicegerent; and is usually authorized and commissioned to act by his superior. Prospero therefore, I think, means to say, that Sycorax could control the moon, and act as her vicegerent, without being commissioned, authorized, or *empowered* by her so to do. Our author might have recollected that a letter executed in due form of law, authorizing B. to act for A., is popularly termed a *power* of attorney. If Sycorax was *strong* enough as by her art to cause the sea to ebb, 'when the next star of heaven meditated to make it flow;' she in this 'respect' might be said to control her." Capell paraphrases these lines as follows,—"without having the influence of the moon, she could make ebbs and flows, and perform other great things usually esteem'd within the province of that planet; and even *controul*, overrule the influence of it, producing changes in air and sea contrary to its natural operations." The explanation given by Mr. Harness is very neat, and to the purpose,—"exercises the command of the moon, without being empowered by her so to do; or, commands the ebbs and flows of the sea with an usurped authority."

[43] *Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them.*

Gilded, a jocular word for, intoxicated. "Is she not drunk too?—A little gilded o'er, sir: Old sack, old sack, boys."—*The Chances*, Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, vii. 286. "I believe," says Mr. Harness, "that *gilded* was merely used in the sense in which we now use *disguised*, when speaking of a drunken person, without any further allusion." Warburton fancied there was an allusion to the grand elixir of the alchemists.

[44] *I shall not fear fly-blowing.*

"This pickle alludes to their plunge into the stinking pool; and pickling preserves meat from fly-blowing."—*Steevens.*

[45] *I am not Stephano, but a cramp.*

"That is, I am all over a cramp. Prospero had ordered Ariel to 'shorten up their sinews with aged cramps.' *Touch me not* alludes to the soreness occasioned by them. In his next speech, Stephano confirms the meaning by a quibble on the word *sore.*"—*Steevens.*

[46] *I should have been a sore one then.*

A similar quibble occurs in 2 *Henry VI.*, act iv. One of the senses of *sore* is, sorry, vile, or worthless; and Stephano is here jesting on the two meanings of the word.

[47] *Bestow your luggage.*

Bestow, in the sense of, *to stow, to place*, is now obsolete.

> *Bestowe* the boote, bote-swayne, anon,
> That our pylgryms may pley thereon.
> *Early Sea ballad, MS. Trin. Coll. Cantab.*

[48] *With the help of your good hands.*

"By your applause, by clapping hands."—*Dr. Johnson.* So, in the Epilogue to *Cupid's Whirligig*, acted by the Children of the Revels,—

> Yet for the children ere I goe,
> Your censure I would willing know.
> For if you doe the action blame,
> They readie are with pardon drawne,
> And each of them heere hoping stands
> That you will signe it with your hands.

Noise, as Steevens observes, was supposed to dissolve a spell. See the note at p. 478.

In the preparation of the notes to this, and the other plays, I have, as before mentioned, used very sparingly what may be termed the Shakespearian literature of the Restoration period, by which I mean all books and tracts relating to the great dramatist, chiefly alterations of his works, which appeared after the restoration of Charles II., and before the close of the seventeenth century. It is very rarely that they afford any useful information respecting the literary history of the plays, while, nearly all the changes introduced into them being adaptations of the language of Shakespeare made to suit the taste of the period, they are to be referred to by editors with extreme caution. In the case of the play here printed, a specimen of the alteration by Dryden and Davenant, of sufficient length, has

been given in the notes to the First Act; but perhaps it may be thought that Dryden's preface, which is rather interesting, should also be admitted. As it is not very long, I have here added a copy of it. It is dated December 1st, 1669:

"The writing of prefaces to plays was probably invented by some very ambitious poet, who never thought he had done enough: perhaps by some ape of the French eloquence, which uses to make a business of a letter of gallantry an examen of a farce; and, in short, a great pomp and ostentation of words on every trifle. This is certainly the talent of that nation, and ought not to be invaded by any other. They do that out of gaiety, which would be an imposition upon us.

"We may satisfie ourselves with surmounting them in the scene, and safely leave them those trappings of writing, and flourishes of the pen, with which they adorn the borders of their plays, and which are indeed no more than good landskips to a very indifferent picture. I must proceed no further in this argument, lest I run myself beyond my excuse for writing this. Give me leave, therefore, to tell you, reader, that I do it not to set a value on any thing I have written in this play, but out of gratitude to the memory of Sir William Davenant, who did me the honour to joyn me with him in the alteration of it.

"It was originally Shakespear's: a poet for whom he had particularly a high veneration, and whom he first taught me to admire. The play itself had formerly been acted with success in the Black-Friers: and our excellent Fletcher had so great a value for it, that he thought fit to make use of the same design, not much varied, a second time. Those who have seen his Sea-Voyage, may easily discern that it was a copy of Shakespear's *Tempest:* the storm, the desart island, and the woman who had never seen a man, are all sufficient testimonies of it. But Fletcher was not the onely poet who made use of Shakespear's plot: Sir John Suckling, a profess'd admirer of our author, has follow'd his footsteps in his *Goblins;* his Reginella being an open imitation of Shakespear's Miranda; and his Spirits, though counterfeit, yet are copied from Ariel. But Sir William Davenant, as he was a man of quick and piercing imagination, soon found that somewhat might be added to the design of Shakespear, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling had ever thought: and therefore to put the last hand to it, he design'd the counter-part to Shakespear's plot, namely, that of a man who had never seen a woman; that by this means those two characters of innocence and love might the more illustrate and commend each other. This excellent contrivance he was pleas'd to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess, that from the very first moment it so pleas'd me, that I never writ any thing with more delight. I must likewise do him that justice to acknowledge, that my writing received daily his amendments, and that is the reason why it is not so faulty, as the rest which I have done, without the help or correction of so judicious a friend. The comical parts of the saylers were also of his invention, and for the most part his writing, as you will easily discover by the style. In the time I writ with him, I had the opportunity to observe somewhat more nearly of him than I had formerly done, when I had only a bare acquaintance with him: I found him then of so quick a fancy, that nothing was propos'd to him, on which he could not suddenly produce a thought extreamly pleasant and surprising: and those first thoughts of his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy. And as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other; and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man. His corrections were sober and judicious: and he corrected his own writings much more severely than those of another man, bestowing twice the time and labour in polishing, which he us'd in

invention. It had perhaps been easie enough for me to have arrogated more to myself than was due in the writing of this play, and to have pass'd by his name with silence in the publication of it, with the same ingratitude which others have us'd to him, whose writings he hath not only corrected, as he hath done this, but has had a greater inspection over them, and sometimes added whole scenes together, which may as easily be distinguish'd from the rest, as true gold from counterfeit by the weight. But besides the unworthiness of the action which deterred me from it (there being nothing so base as to rob the dead of his reputation) I am satisfi'd I could never have receiv'd so much honour, in being thought the author of any poem, how excellent soever, as I shall from the joyning my imperfections with the merit and name of Shakespear and Sir William Davenant."

The ballad of the Enchanted Island, mentioned in the Introduction, p. 312, would also have been inserted, had I not, in the first place, felt some doubts, derived from a consideration of its diction, respecting its antiquity; and, secondly, were it not for a rule I have laid down, not to print any manuscript in the present work, before I have had an opportunity of making a very close examination of the original.

The German play by Ayrer, an account of which has been given at pp. 308-10, has been reprinted by Tieck; but the similarities to be traced between this production, and the *Tempest*, are of so insignificant a character, that its insertion here is unnecessary.

END OF VOL. I.