THE WORKS
OF WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES.
COLLATED VERBATIM WITH THE MOST AUTHENTIC COPIES,
AND REVISED:
WITH THE CORRECTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS
OF VARIOUS COMMENTATORS;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
AN ESSAY ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF HIS PLAYS,
AN ESSAY RELATIVE TO SHAKSPEARE AND JONSON,
A DISSERTATION ON THE THREE PARTS OF KING HENRY VI.
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE,
AND NOTES,
BY EDMOND MALONE.

Της φυσεως γραμματευς μη, τον καλαμον αποβρεχων εις νουν.


... Quem tu, Dea, tempore in omni
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus...Lucret.

Vol. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS.
1816.
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
ENGLISH STAGE,
AND OF
THE ECONOMY AND USAGES OF OUR ANCIENT THEATRES.

THE drama before the time of Shakspere was so little cultivated, or so ill understood, that to many it may appear unnecessary to carry our theatrical researches higher than that period. Dryden has truly observed, that he "found not, but created first, the stage;" of which no one can doubt, who considers, that of all the plays issued from the press antecedent to the year 1592, when there is reason to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are scarcely known, except to antiquaries; nor is there one of them that will bear a second perusal. Yet these, contemptible and few as they are, we may suppose to have been the most popular productions of the time, and the bell that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakspere.

A minute investigation, therefore, of the origin and progress of the drama in England, will scarcely repay the labour of the inquiry. However, as the best introduction to an account of the internal economy and usages of the English theatres.

1 There are but thirty-eight plays, (exclusive of mysteries, moralities, interludes and translated pieces,) now extant, written antecedent to, or in, the year 1592. Their titles are as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Play</th>
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<tr>
<td>Acestus</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>Appius and Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ferrex and Porrex</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td>Gammer Gurton's Needle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Damon and Pythias</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>Prasos and Cassandrea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tancred and Gismund</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Arraignment of Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambyses, no date, but probably written before</td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>Sappho and Phao</td>
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theatres in the time of Shakspeare, (the principal object of this dissertation,) I shall take a cursory view of our most ancient dramatick exhibitions, though I fear I can add but little to the researches which have already been made on that subject.

Mr. Warton in his elegant and ingenious History of English Poetry has given so accurate an account of our earliest dramatick performances, that I shall make no apology for extracting from various parts of his valuable work, such particulars as suit my present purpose.

The earliest dramatick entertainments exhibited in England, as well as every other part of Europe, were of a religious kind. So early as in the beginning of the twelfth century, it

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Play Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hieronimo</td>
<td>1588</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spaniel Tragedy, or Hieronimo is mad again</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamburlaine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Titus Andronicus</td>
<td>1589</td>
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<tr>
<td>King Henry V. in or before</td>
<td>1589</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contention between the Housdfs of York and Lan-</td>
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<tr>
<td>caster, in or before</td>
<td>1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King John, in two parts</td>
<td>1591</td>
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<tr>
<td>Endymion</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomon and Perseda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midas</td>
<td>1592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galathea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arden of Feversham</td>
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Between the years 1592 and 1600, the following plays were printed or exhibited; the greater part of which, probably, were written before our author commenced play-wright.
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it was customary in England on holy festivals to represent, in or near the churches, either the lives and miracles of saints, or the most important stories of Scripture. From the subject of these spectacles, which, as has been observed, were either the miracles of saints, or the more mysterious parts of holy writ, such as the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ, these scriptural plays were denominated Miracles, or Mysteries. At what period of time they were first exhibited in this country, I am unable to ascertain. Undoubtedly, however, they are of very great antiquity; and Riccoboni, who has contended that the Italian theatre is the most ancient in Europe, has claimed for his country an honour to which it is not entitled. The era of the earliest representation in Italy 2, founded on holy writ, he has placed in the year 1264, when the fraternity del Gonfalone was established; but we had similar exhibitions in England above 150 years before that time. In the year 1110, as Dr. Percy and Mr. Warton have observed, the Miracle-play of Saint Catharine, written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, (afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's,) was acted, probably by his scholars, in the abbey of Dunstable; perhaps the first spectacle of this kind exhibited in England 3. William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who according to the best accounts composed his very curious work in 1174, about four years after the murder of his patron Archbishop Becket, and in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Henry the second, mentions, that “London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the representations of miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of martyrs.”

Mr. Warton has remarked, that “in the time of Chaucer Plays of Miracles appear to have been the common reftort of idle gossips in Lent.”

“Therefore

2 The French theatre cannot be traced higher than the year 1398, when the Mystery of the Passion was represented at St. Maur.


4 “Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctorum, representationes miraculorum quasi sanosi confessores operati sunt, feu representationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum.” Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis Lundonie. Fitz-Stephen’s very curious description of London is a portion of a larger work, entitled Vita sancti Thoma, Archiepiscopi et Martyris, i. e. Thomas a Becket. It is ascertained to have been written after the murder of Becket in the year.
"Therefore made I my visitations
"To vigilies and to proceffions;
"To preachinge eke, and to thifte pilgrimages,
"To playes of miracles, and mariages", &c.

"And in Pierce Plowman's Creed, a piece perhaps prior
to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these Miracles as not
less frequented than market-towns and fairs:

"We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
"At markets and Miracles we meddle us never."

The elegant writer, whose words I have just quoted, has
given the following ingenious account of the origin of this
rude species of dramatick entertainment:

"About the eighth century trade was principally carried
on by means of fairs, which falled several days. Charle-
magne etablifhcd many great marts of this sort in France,
as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman succeffors, in
England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in nu-
merous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw
the people together. They were therefore accompanied
by jugglers, minilrels, and buffoons; who were no lefs
interested

year 1170, of which Fitz-Stephen was an ocular witneff, and while
King Henry II. was yet living. A modern writer with great probabil-
ity supposes it to have been composed in 1174, the author in one passage
mentioning that the church of Saint Paul's was formerly metropolitical,
and that it was thought it would become fo again, "should the citizens
return into the ifland." In 1174 King Henry II. and his fons had car-
ried over with them a considerable number of citizens to France, and
many English had in that year also gone to Ireland. See Difcriftion pre-
fixed to Fitz-Stephen's Descripifion of London, newly translated, &c. 4to.
1772, p. 16.—Near the end of his Dcfcripition is a passage which afcer-
tains it to have been written before the year 1182: "Londonia et
modernis temporibus reges illustres magnificosque perperis; imperatricem
Matildam, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam" [Thomas
Becket]. Some have suppofted that instead of tertium we ought to read
secondum, but the text is undoubtedly right; and by tertium, Fitz-Stephen
must have meant Henry, the second fon of Henry the Second, who was
born in London in 1156-7, and being heir apparent, after the death of
his elder brother William, was crowned king of England in his father's
life-time, on the 15th of July, 1170. He was frequently styled rex
filius, rex juvenis, and sometimes he and his father were denominated
Reges Angliae. The young king, who occasionally exercised all the rights
and prerogatives of royalty, died in 1182. Had he not been living
when Fitz-Stephen wrote, he would probably have added nuper defunctum.
Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were born in London. See the Differ-
tation above-cited, p. 12.

5 The Wif of Bathes Prologue, v. 6137. Tyrwhitt's edit.
interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no publick spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestick life and private society were yet unknown, the fair time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be fet off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, musick and mimickry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrations, made the people less religious, by promoting idlenes and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of St. Catharine, acted by the monks of saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Musick was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called La fete de Foux, d l'Ane, and des Innocens, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity."

"Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople; where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the

6 "At Constantinople" (as Mr. Warthon has elsewhere observed,) it seems that the stage flourished much, under Julianian and Theodora, about the year 540: for in the Baffilian codes we have the oath of an adress, μη αναγκασθην της πορνιας. Tom. vii. p. 632. edit. Fabrot. Graco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the gospel." Warthon's Hist. of E. P. L. 244, n.
the stage at Constantinople, and introduced stories from the old and new Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the chorusses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called Ξείδος παραγωγας, or Chrifl's Passion, is still extant. In the prologue it is said to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary had been introduced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called Mysteries, or sacred comedies, and which were soon after received in France. This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw."

"In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis, it may be further observed, that The feast of fools and of the As, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek Church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, by the substitution of Christian spectacles partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness.—To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprizing, that the people who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, fullied with impurities, and expressed in the language of the lowest farce."

"On the whole, the Mysteries appear to have originated among the ecclesiasticks; and were most probably first acted with
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with any degree of form by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English Monasteries. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine performed at Dunstable Abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the superintendence of Geoffrey a Parisian ecclesiastic: and the exhibition of the Passion by the mendicant friars of Coventry and other places. Influences have been given of the like practice among the French. The only persons who could now read, were in the religious societies; and various circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the Monks to be the sole performers of these representations."

"As learning increased, and was more widely disseminated, from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition, the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastic plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies."

Candlemas Day, or The Slaughter of the Innocents, written by Ihan Parfre in 1512, Mary Magdalene, produced in the same year, and The Promises of God, written by John Bale, and printed in 1538, are curious specimens of this early species of drama. But the most ancient as well as most complete collection of this kind is, The Chelser Mysteries, which were written by Ralph Higden, a Monk of the Abbey of Chelser, about the year 1328, of which a particular account will be found

7 "In some regulations given by Cardinal Wolsey to the monasteries of the Canons regular of Saint Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be laufores aut mimici, players or mimicks. But the prohibition means that the monks should not go abroad to exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. See Annal. Burtonenses, p. 437."

In 1589, however, an injunction made in the MEXICAN COUNCIL was ratified at Rome, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries even on Corpus Christi day. See Hist. of E. P. II. 201.

8 Warton's History of English Poetry, II. pp. 366 et seq.


found below. I am tempted to transcribe a few lines from the third of these pageants, *The Deluge*, as a specimen of the ancient Mysteries.

The first scenic direction is—"Et primo in aliqua suprema loco, free in nubibus, si fieri poterat, loquitur Deus ad Noe, extra arcam exiliente cum tota familia jux." Then the Almighty, after expatiating on the sins of mankind, is made to say:

Man that I made I will destroye,
Beast, worme, and fowle to flye,
For one earth that doe me nye,
The folke that are herone.
It harms me fore hartefully
The malice that doth nowe multiplye,
That fore it greeves me inwardlie,
That ever I made man.
Therefore, Noe, my servaunt free,
That righteous man arte, as I fee,
A shipp soone thou shalt make thce
Of trees drye and lighte.

Litill

mongers. Descent into Hell, by the Cooks and Innkeepers. The Resurrection, by the Skinners. The Ascension, by the Taylors. The Elevation of S. Matthias, finding of the Holy Gobf, &c. by the Fishmongers. Articrifi, by the Clothiers. Day of Judgement, by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these combinations. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world; he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and not abomed, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves subligacula a folis quibus tegamus pudenda. Cover their nakednes with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent exit hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter; the former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation: Cain is banished," &c. Warton's Hist. of E. P. 1. 243.

Mr. Warton observes in a note in his second volume, p. 180, that "if it be true that these Mysteries were composed in the year 1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the Pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our Mysteries before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes."

Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, Lib. v. c. 2, that the Mysteries were in his time in English. "Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes,—recitare comedies, item in templis vites divorum ac martyria reprezentare, in quibus, ut cunclis par sit voluptas, quis recitans, vernaculum linguaam tantum aereum." The first three books of Polydore's work were published in 1491; in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more.
Litill chambers therein thou make,
And byndinge flytche also thou take,
Within and without ney thou flake
To anoynte yt through all thy mighte, &c.

After some dialogue between Noah, Sem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives, we find the following stage-direction: "Then Noe with all his family shall make a signe as though they wrought uppon the shippe with divers instruments, and after that God shall speake to Noe:

Noe, take thou thy meanye,
And in the shipp hie that ye be,
For non so righteous man to me
Is nowe on earth livinge.

Of clean beasts with the thou take
Seven and seven, or thou flake,
He and she, make to make,
By live in that thou bring, &c.

"Then Noe shall goe into the arke with all his familye, his wife excepte. The arke must be boarded round about, and uppon the bordes all the beailes and fowles hereafter rehearced must be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures."

Sem. Sier, here are lions, libardes, in,
Horses, mares, oxen and swyne,
Neates, calves, sheepe and kyne,
Here sitten thou maye se, &c.

After all the beailes and fowles have been described, Noah thus addresseth his wife:

Noe. Wife, come in, why standes thou there?
Thou art ever froward, that dare I swere,
Come in on Gods halfe; tyme it were,
For fear left that wee drowne.

Wife. Yea, sir, set up your faile,
And rowe forth with evil haile,
For withouten anie faile,
I wil not oute of this toune;
But I have my goffepes everich one,
One foothe further I will not gone:
They shal not drown by St. John,
And I may fave ther life.
They loved me full well by Chrif:
But thou will let them in thie chift,
Ellis rowe forth, Noe, when thou lide,
And get thee a newe wife.

B 5
At length Sem and his brethren put her on board by force, and on Noah's welcoming her, "Welcome, wife, into this boate," she gives him a box on the ear: adding, "Take thou that for thy note."

Many licentious pleasantries, as Mr. Warton has observed, were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. "This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy: and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Mystery of The Massacre of the Holy Innocents, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous Council of Constance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to go on the adventure of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their diffaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy.—It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the commick and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a sable conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of The Old and New Testament Adam and Eve are both exhibited

2 It is obvious that the transcriber of these ancient Mysteries, which appear to have been written in 1328, represents them as they were exhibited at Chester in 1600, and that he has not adhered to the original orthography.

ed on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness; this very pertinently introduces the next scene; in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute hereby to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity; and if this had not been the case the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain."

"I must not omit," adds Mr. Warton, "an anecdote entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the Mysteries at this period, [the latter part of the fifteenth century,] which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the seventh kept his residence at the castle of Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called Christi Descentus ad inferos, or Christ's descent into Hell. It was represented by the Pueri Eleemosynariorum, or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old Mysteries: nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion. The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the Ludus Paschalif, or Easter Play. It occurs in the

Coventry

4 This kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of King James the First, several persons appearing almost entirely naked in a Pastoral exhibited at Oxford before the king and queen, and the ladies who attended her. It is, if I recollect right, described by Winwood.

5 Warton’s Hist. of English Poetry, i. pp. 242, &c. fig.

6 Hist. of E. P. II. p. 206.

7 "Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of King James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dinner a Moralite was played by the said Master Inglyshe and his companions in the presence of the kyng and queene." On one of the preceding days, "after supper the kyng and queene beyng togather in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and his companions plight." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland, coll. iii. p. 300. Append. edit 1770."
Coventry Plays acted on Corpus Christi day, and in the Whitfun-plays at Chester, where it is called the Harrowing of

8 See an account of the Coventry Plays in Stevens's Monasticon, vol. 1. p. 238. "Sir W. Dugdale, speaking of the Gray-friars or Franciscans at Coventry, says, before the suppreffion of monaftries this city was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus Christi day; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the friars of this house, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators.—An ancient manuscript of the same is now to be seen in the Cottonian Library, sub. effig. Vesp. D. 8. Sir William cites this manuscript by the title of Ludus Coventria; but in the printed catalogue of that library, p. 113, it is named thus: A collection of plays in old English metre; h. e. Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historie Vetoris & N. Testamenti, introducuntur quae in season per fanum illic memorantur, quas sequuntur salutentorium praemunientur. Videntur aem eram populo, seco ad inrufcendum, seco ad placendum, a fratris mendicantibus representantur. It appears by the latter end of the prologue, that these plays or interludes were not only played at Coventry, but in other towns and places upon occasion. And possibly this may be the same play which Stow tells us was played in the reign of King Henry IV. which lasted for eight days. The book seems by the character and language to be at least 300 years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or gesticulations, (which were as so many several acts or scenes,) representing all the histories of both testaments, from the creation to the churning of St. Mathias to be an apostle. The stories of the New Testament are more largely expressed, viz. The Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation; but more especially all matters relating to the Passion very particularly, the Resurrection, Ascension, the choice of St. Mathias: after which is also represented the Assumption, and last Judgment. All these things were treated of in a very homely style, as we now think, infinitely below the dignity of the subject: But it seems the gulf of that age was not nice and delicate in these matters; the plain and incurious judgment of our ancestors, being prepared with favour, and taking every thing by the right and easiest handle: For example, in the scene relating to the Visitation:

\[ Maria. \text{But husband of, on thyng pray you most mekeley,} \\
\text{I have knowinge that our cousin Elizabeth with childere,} \\
\text{That it pleasse yow to go to her haftyly,} \\
\text{If ought we myght comfort her, it wer to me biys.} \]

\[ Joseph. \text{A Gods faike, is she with child, she?} \\
\text{Than will her husband Zachary be mery.} \\
\text{In Montana they dwelle, fer hence, so morye the,} \\
\text{In the city of Juda, I know it verily;} \\
\text{It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fity;} \\
\text{We ar like to be very or we come at the fame,} \\
\text{I wole with a good will, bleffyd wyff Mary;} \\
\text{Now go we forth then in Goddys name, &c.} \]

A little before the resurrection.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 13

OF HELL. The representation is, Christ entering hell triumphanty, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the old and new testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into paradise.—The composers of the Mysteries did not think the plain and probable events of the new testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprized. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the Mysteries just mentioned was borrowed from the Pseudo-Evangelium, or the fabulous Gospel, ascribed to Nicodemus: a book, which together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.”

"But whatsoever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who returned peaceably to the plays

Nunc dormient milites, & veniet anima Chriji de infern, cum Adam & Eva, Abraham, John Baptist, et aliis.

Anima Chriji.  Come forth, Adam, and Eve with the,
       And all my fryndes that herein be,
       In paradys come forth with me
       In blysse for to dwelle.
       The fende of hell that is yowr foo,
       He shall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo
       Fro wo to welth now shall ye go,
       With myrth ever mor to melle.

Adam. I thank the, Lord, of thy grete grace,
       That now is forgiven my gret trefpace,
       Now shall we dwelllyn in blyfsful place, &c.

The last scene or pageant, which represents the day of Judgment, begins thus:

Michael. Surgite, All men aryse,
       Venite ad Judicium;
       For now is set the High Juflice,
       And hath assignyd the day of dome;
       Kepe you redly to this grett aflifye,
       Beth gret and small, all and sum,
       And of your anfwer you now advife,
       What you shall fay when that yow com,” &c.

Historia Hieroniaca, 8vo. 1699, pp. 15, 17, 18, 19.
plays performed in the Whitson week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was seconced by the bishop of the dio-
cese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports*. It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of scripture to men who could not read the bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusements. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour."

I may add, that these representations were so far from being considered as indecent or profane, that even a supreme pontiff, Pope Pius the Second, about the year 1416, composed and caused to be acted before him on Corpus Christi day, a Mystery, in which was represented the Court of the King of Heaven 9.

These religious dramas were usually represented on holy festivals in or near churches. "In several of our old scriptural plays," says Mr. Warton, "we see some of the scenes directed to be represented cum cantu et organis, a common rubric in a missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir asfifted. There is a curious passage in Lambard's Topographical Dictionary 1, written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribe. "In the days of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set the four parts of a shew or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lively heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain small puppettes, representing the persons of Christ, the Watchman, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bore the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espisinge Christe to arinne, made a continual noyce like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two stlickes, and was therefore commonly called Jack Snacker of Wytney. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe,

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9 Histriomastix, 4to. 1633, p. 112.
1 P. 459, edict. 1730. 4to.
once faw in Powles church, at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghoft was fet forth by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be fene in the mydft of the rooffe of the great ile, and by a louge cenfer 2 which descending out of the fame place almost to the verie grounde, was swing- ed up and downe at such a lengthe, that it reached with thone swpe almost to the weft-gate of the churche, and with the other to the quyre flaire of the fame; breithinge out over the whole churche and companie a moft pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome- shews they used everie where to furnish fondrye parts of theire church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension 3 ," &c.

In a preceding paffage Mr. Warton has mentioned that the finging boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester performed a Mystery before king Henry the Seventh in 1487 ; adding, that this is the only instance he has met with of choir-boys performing in Mylleries; but it appears from the accepts of various monafteries that this was a very ancient practie, probably co-eval with the earlieft attempts at dramatique representations. In the year 1378, the scholars, or chorifters of St. Paul's cathedral, prefented a petition to king Richard the feccond, praying his Majefty to prohibit fome ignorant and unexperienced perffons from acting the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended confiderable fums for a publick presentation of that play at the enfuing Christmas. About twelve years afterwards, the Parish Clerks of London, as Stowe informs us, performed spiritual plays at Skinner's Well for three days fucceffively, in the preffence of the king, queen, and nobles of the realm. And in 1409, the tenth year of king Henry IV. they acted at Clerkenwell for eight days fucceffively a play, which " was matter from the creation of the world," and probably concluded with the day of judgment, in the preffence of moft of the nobility and gentry of England 4 .

2 This may ferve to explain a very extraordinary paffage in Stowe's Annuales, p. 690, edit. 1605: "And on the morrowe hee [King Edward the Fourth] went crowned in Paul's church in London, in the honor of God and S. Paule, and there an Angell came downe, and conffed him."


4 Probably either the Chester or Coventry Mysteries. "In the ignorant ages the Parish-clerks of London might juftly be considered as a literary fociety. It was an effential part of their profeflion not only
We are indebted to Mr. Warton for some curious circumstances relative to these Miracle plays, which "appear in a roll of the Churchwardens of Basingborne in Cambridgeshire, which is an account of the expences and receptions for acting the play of Saint George at Basingborne, on the feast of Saint Margaret, in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waiters, of Cambridge, for three days, vs. vid. To the players, in bread and ale, ijs. ijd. To the garnement-man for garnements and propyrs, that is, for dresses, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xxs. To John Hobard, brotherhoods preste, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for the play-book, ijs. viid. For the crofe, or field in which the play was exhibited, js. For propyrte-making, or furniture, js. ivd. For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, ivd. For painting three fanchoms and four tormentors, words which I do not understand, but perhaps fantoms, and devils. The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited "Four chicken for the gentilmen, ivd. It appears by the

to sing, but to read; an accomplishment almost wholly confined to the clergy; and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowship by king Henry the third about the year 1240, under the patronage of Saint Nicholas.—Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind: and their constant practice in shews, processions, and vocal musick, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than one week." Warton's Hist. of E. P. Vol. II. p. 396.

"The property-room," as Mr. Warton has observed, "is yet known at our theatres."

The following list of the properties used in a Mystery formed on the story of Tobit in the Old Testament, which was exhibited in the Broad-gate, Lincoln, in July 1563, (6 Eliz.) appeared in The Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1787:

"Lying at Mr. Norton's house in tenure of William Smart.

First Hell-mouth, with a common chap. Item, A prison, with a covering. II. Sarah's chamber."

"Remaining in St. Swithin's church.

the manuscript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary scaffold only was erected for these performances.\(^6\)

In the ancient religious plays the Devil was very frequently introduced. He was usually represented with horns, a very wide mouth, (by means of a mask) flaring eyes, a large nose, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. His constant attendant was the Vice, (the buffoon of the piece,) whose principal employment it was to belabour the Devil with his wooden dagger, and to make him roar, for the entertainment of the populace.\(^7\)

As the Mysteries or Miracle-plays "frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called Moralities. The Miracle-plays or Mysteries were totally destitute of invention and plan: they tamely represented stories, according to the letter of the scripture, or the respective legend. But the Moralities indicate dawning of the dramatick art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious.\(^8\)"

Dr. Percy in his account of the English Stage has given an Analysis of two ancient Moralities, entitled Every Man, and Lusty Juvenius, from which a perfect notion of this kind of drama may be obtained. Every Man was written in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and Lusty Juvenius in that of king Edward the Sixth. As Dr. Percy’s curious and valuable collection of ancient English Poetry is in the hands of every scholar, I shall content myself with merely referring to it. Many other Moralities are yet extant, of some of which I shall

\(^6\) Hist. of E. P. Vol. III. p. 326. ‘ Strype, under the year 1559, says, that after a grand feast at Guildhall, "the same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play." Ann. Ref. I. 197. edit. 1725.

\(^7\) 'It was a pretty part in the old church-plays," says Bishop Harfancet, "when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a Jackanapes into the Devil’s necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so Vice-haunted." Harfancet’s Declaration of Popish Impostures, &c. 410. 1603.

I shall give the titles below⁹. Of one, which is not now extant, we have a curious account in a book entitled "Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner," by R. W. [R. Willis.] Esqr. published in the year of his age 75, Anno Domini, 1639;" an extract from which will give the reader a more accurate notion of the old Moralties than a long dissertation on the subject.

"Upon a stage-play, which I saw when I was a child.

"In the city of Gloucester the manner is, (as I think it is in other like corporations,) that when players of enterludes come to town, they first attend the Mayor, to enforce him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himself 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 he thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play, my father tooke me with him, and made me stand between his legs, as he sate upon one of the benches, where we saw and heard very well. The play was called The Cradle of Security¹, wherein was perforated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of several kinds, among which three ladies were in special grace with him; and they keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons, and listening to good counsell and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies, joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleep, that he snorted againe; and in the mean time closely conveyed under the cloaths wherewith all he was covered, a vizard, like a swines snout, upon his face, with three wire chains fastened thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by thole

⁹ Magnificence, written by John Skelton; Impatient Poverty, 1560; The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene, 1567; The Trial of Treasure, 1567; The Nice Wanton, 1568; The Disobedient Child, no date; The Marriage of Wit and Science, 1570; The Interlude of Youth, no date; The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art, no date; The Interlude of Wealth and Health, no date; All for Money, 1578; The Conflict of Conscience, 1581; The three Ladies of London, 1584; The three Lords of London, 1590; Tom Tyler and his Wife, &c.

¹ The Cradle of Security is mentioned with several other Moralties, in a play which has not been printed, entitled Sir Thomas More, Mss. Harl. 1768.
those three ladies; who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face, that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage, two old men; the one in blew, with a ferjeant at armes his mace on his shoulder; the other in red, with a drawn sword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder; and so they two went along with a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle, when all the court was in the greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle; wherewith all the courtiers, with the three ladies, and the vizard, all vanished; and the delate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himself thus sent for to judgment, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did perfonate in the Morall, the wicked of the world; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousnes, and Luxury; the two old men, the end of the world, and the last judgment. This fight took such impression on me, that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted."

The writer of this book appears to have been born in the same year with our great poet (1564). Supposing him to have been seven or eight years old when he saw this interlude, the exhibition must have been in 1571 or 1572.

I am unable to ascerten when the first Morality appeared, but incline to think not sooner than the reign of king Edward the Fourth (1460). The publick pageants of the reign of king Henry the Sixth were uncommonly splendid; and being then first enlivened by the introduction of speaking allegorical personages properly and characteristically habited, they naturally led the way to those personifications by which Moralities were distinguished from the simpler religious dramas called Mysteries. We must not however suppose, that, after Moralities were introduced, Mysteries ceased to be exhibited. We have already seen that a Mystery was represented before king Henry the Seventh at Wincheller in 1487. Sixteen years afterwards, on the first Sunday after the marriage of his daughter with king James of Scotland, a Morality was performed.

2 Mount Tabor, &c. 8vo. 1639, pp. 110, et seq. With this curious extract I was favoured, several years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Bowle of Ldmilton near Salibury.

3 See Warton's Hist. of E. P. Vol. II. p. 199.
formed. In the early part of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, they were perhaps performed indiscriminately; but Mysteries were probably seldom represented after the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. which was made, as the preamble informs us, with a view that the kingdom should be purged and cleansed of all religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and fongs, which are equally perilous and noyſome to the commonwealth. At this time both Moralties and Mysteries were made the vehicle of religious controversy; Bale's Comedy of the three Laws of Nature, printed in 1538, (which in fact is a Mystery,) being a disguised satire against popery; as the Morality of Lustful Juventus was written expressly with the

4 Sir James Ware in his Antiques, folio, 1664, after having given an account of the Statute, 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. by which Henry was declared king of Ireland, and Ireland made a kingdom, informs us, that the new law was proclaimed in St. Patrick's church, in the presence of the Lord Deputy St. Leger, and a great number of peers, who attended in their parliament robes. "It is needless," he adds, "to mention the scuts, comedy, and sports, which followed." "Epulas, comedy, et certamina ludicra, quæ sequabantur, quid attinet dicere?" The mention of comedies might lead us to suppose that our father kingdom had gone before us in the cultivation of the drama; but I find from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that what are here called comedies, were nothing more than pageants. "In the parliament of 1541," (says the author of the memoir,) "wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were present the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the lord Barry, McGilla Phædrig, chieftan of Offory, the son of O'Bryan, M'Carty More, with many Irish lords; and on Corpus Christi day they rode about the streets in their parliament-robes, and the Nine Worthies was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horseback."

Two of Bale's Mysteries, God's Promises, and St. John Baptist, we have lately told, were acted by young men at the market-cros in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552. See Walker's Essay on the Irish Stage, 1710, and Collect. de Rebus Hiber. Vol. I. p. 388: but there is a flight error in the date. Bale has himself informed us, that he was consecrated Bishop of Offory, February 2, 1552-3, (not on the 25th of March, as the writer of Bale's Life in Biographia Britannica affirms,) and that he soon afterwards went to his palace in Kilkenny. These Mysteries were exhibited there on the 20th of August, 1553, the day on which Queen Mary was proclaimed, as appears from his own account: "On the xx day of August was the lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed Queen of England, &c.—The young men in the forenoon played a tragedie of Gods Promises in the old lawe, at the market-croffe, with organ-plaines and fongs, very aptly. In the afternoon agayne they played a comedie of Sanct Johan Baptist, preachinges, of Chriftes baptising, and of his temptation in the wilderness; to the small contention of the prelates and other papistes there." The Vocacyon of Johan Bale, &c. 16mo. no dat. sign. C 8.
the same view in the reign of king Edward the Sixth. In that of his successor queen Mary, Mysteries were again revived, as appendages to the papistical worship. "In the year 1556," says Mr. Warton, "a goodly page-play of the Passion of Christ was presented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the Lord Mayor, the Privy-council, and many great estates of the realm. Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a page-play at the Grey-friars, of the Passion of Christ, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion. On Saint Olave's day in the same year, the holiday of

The only theatre in Dublin in the reign of queen Elizabeth was a booth (if it may be called a theatre) erected in Hoggin Green, now College Green, where Mysteries and Morallies were occasionally performed. It is strange, that so late as in the year 1600, at a time when many of Shakespeare's plays had been exhibited in England, and lord Montjoy, the intimate friend of his patrons, lord Essex and lord Southampton, was Deputy of Ireland, the old play of Gorboduck, written in the infancy of the stage, (for this piece had been originally presented in 1562, under the name of Perrex and Perrex,) should have been performed at the Castle of Dublin: but such is the fact, if we may believe Chezwood the prompter, who mentions that old Mr. Ashbury had seen a bill dated the 7th of September 1601, (queen Elizabeth's birth-day,) "for wax tapers for the play of Gorboduck done at the Castle, one and twenty shillings and two groats." Whether any plays were represented in Dublin in the reign of James the First, I am unable to ascertain. Barnaby Riche, who has given a curious account of Dublin in the year 1610, makes no mention of any theatrical exhibition. In 1635, when lord Strafford was lord Lieutenant, a theatre, probably under his patronage, was built in Werburgh-street; which, under the conduct of the well known John Ogilby, Master of the Revels in Ireland, continued open until October 1641, when it was shut up by order of the Lords Justices. At this theatre Shirley's Royal Master was originally represented in 1639, and Burnell's Lanthorn in 1641. In 1662 Ogilby was restored to his office, and a new theatre was erected in Orange-street, (since called Smock-Alley) part of which fell down in the year 1671. Agrippa, King of Alba, a tragedy translated from the French of Quinault, was acted there before the duke of Ormond, in 1673; and it continued open, I believe, till the death of king Charles the Second. The disturbances which followed in Ireland put an end for a time to all theatrical entertainments.

"This mode of attack" (as Mr. Warton has observed) "was seldom returned by the opposite party: the catholick worship founded on sensible representations afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature." Hist. of E. P. Vol. II. p. 378, n. The interlude, however, called Every Man, which was written in defence of the church of Rome, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, is an exception. It appears also from a proclamation promulgated early in the reign of his son, of which mention will be made hereafter, that the favourers of popery about that time had levelled several dramatick invectives against Archibishop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the reformers.
of the church in Silver-street which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a stage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint, which continued four hours, and concluded with many religious songs." No Mysteries, I believe, were represented during the reign of Elizabeth, except such as were occasionally performed by those who were favourers of the popish religion, and those already mentioned, known by the name of the Chester Mysteries, which had been originally composed in 1528, were revived in the time of king Henry the Eighth, (1533,) and again performed at Chester in the year 1560. The last Mystery, I believe, ever represented in England, was that of Christ's Passion, in the reign of king James the First, which Prynne tells us was "performed at Elie-House in Holborne, when Gun- domar lay there, on Good-friday at night, at which there were thousands present."

In France the representation of Mysteries was forbid in the year 1548, when the fraternity associated under the name of *The Adors of our Saviour's Passion*, who had received letters patent from king Charles the Sixth in 1402, and had for near 150 years exhibited religious plays, built their new theatre on the site of the duke of Burgundy's house; and were authorized by an Arret of parliament to act, on condition that "they should meddle with none but profane subjects, such as are lawful and honest, and not represent any sacred Mysteries." Representations founded on holy writ continued to be exhibited in Italy till the year 1660, and the Mystery of Christ's Passion was represented at Vienna so lately as the early part of the present century.

Having thus occasionally mentioned foreign theatres, I take this opportunity to observe, that the stages of France so lately as in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign were entirely unfurnished with scenery or any kind of decoration, and that the performers at that time remained on the stage the whole time of the exhibition; in which mode perhaps our Mysteries in

6 Hist. of E. P. Vol. III. p. 326.
7 That Mysteries were occasionally represented in the early part of queen Elizabeth's reign appears from the assertions of the controversial writers. "They play" (says one of them) and counterfeit the whole Passion so trimly, with all the seven sorowes of our lady, as though it had been nothing else but a simple and plain enterlude, to make boyes laugh at, and a little to recreate sorrowful harts." *Bible of the Romish Church*, 1580, p. 207. See also *supra*, p. 19. n. 5.
8 *Histriomastix*, quarto, 1633, p. 117. n.
9 Riccoboni's *Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 124.
in England were represented. For this information we are indebted to the elder Scaliger, in whose Poeticks is the following curious passage. "Nunc in Gallia ita agunt fabulas, ut omnia in conspicuo sint; universus apparatus dispositus sublimibus sedibus. Perforce ipsae nunquam disseunt: qui silent pro absentiibus habentur. At enimvero perridiculum, ibi spectatorem videre te audire, et te videre teipsum non audire quæ alius córam te de te loquatur; quasi ibi non sit, ubi es: cum tamen maxima poetæ vis fit, suppendere animos, atque eos facere femer expectantes. At hic tibi novum sit nihil; ut prius fatietas subperat, quam obrepae fames. Itaque récte objectit Æschylo Euripides apud Aristophanem in Ratis, quod No- bem et Achillem in scenam introduxisset capite co-operto; neque nunquam ullum verbum qui sint loquuti." That is, "At prefent in France [about the year 1556] plays are re- presented in such a manner, that nothing is withdrawn from the view of the spectator. The whole apparatus of the theatre consists of some high seats ranged in proper order. The persons of the scene never depart during the representation: he who ceaæs to speak, is considered as if he were no longer on the stage. But in truth it is extremely ridiculous, that the spectador should see the actor liftening, and yet he himself should not hear what one of his fellow-actors saies concerning him, though in his own presence and within his hearing: as if he were abfent, while he is prefent. It is the great object of the dramatick poet to keep the mind in a constant state of fuspence and expectation. But in our theatres, there can be no novelty, no surprife: infomuch that the spectador is more likely to be fatiated with what he has already feen, than to have any appetite for what is to come. Upon this ground it was, that Euripides objected to Æschylus, in The Frogs of Aristophanes, for having introduced Niobe and Achilles as mutes.


Riccoboni gives us the fame account in his History of the French Theatre. "In the representations of the Mysteries, the theatre represented paradise, hell, heaven, and earth, all at once; and though the action varied, there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part, he did not go off the stage, but retired to a corner of it, and fared there in full view of all the spectators." Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe, octavo, 1743, p. 118. We shall presently fee that at a much later period, and long after the Mysteries had ceaæd to be exhibited, "though the action changed, there was no change of decoration," either in France or England.
mutes upon the scene, with a covering which entirely concealed their heads from the spectators.”

Another practice, equally extraordinary, is mentioned by Bulenger in his treatise on the Grecian and Roman theatres. In his time, so late as in the year 1600, all the actors employed in a dramatick piece came on the stage in a troop, before the play began, and presented themselves to the spectators, in order, says he, to raise the expectation of the audience. “Putem tamen (quod hoc cibique fit) omnes actores antequam singuli agerent, confestim et in prosценium protrudisse, ut sui expectationem commoverent.” I know not whether this was ever practised in England. Instead of raising, it should seem more likely to repress, expectation. I suppose, however, this writer conceived the audience would be animated by the number of the characters, and that this display would operate on the gaping spectators like some of our modern enormous play-bills; in which the length of the show sometimes constitutes the principal merit of the entertainment.

Mr. Warton observes that Moralities were become so fashionable a spectacle about the close of the reign of Henry the Seventh, that “John Raftall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had been hitherto confined either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published *A new Interlude and a mery, of the nature of the iiiij Elements, declaring many proper points of philosophy natural, and dyvers strange landys, &c.* In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of dyvers strange landys, and of the new-found landys, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger, who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, STUDIOUS DESIRE, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance.”

As it is uncertain at what period of time the ancient Mysteries ceased to be represented as an ordinary spectacle for the amusement of the people, and Moralities were substituted in their room, it is equally difficult to ascertain the precise time when

3 Hist of E. P. Vol. II. p. 364. “Dr. Percy supposes this play to have been written about the year 1510, from the following lines:

“Within this xx yere

Weftwarde he found new landes

That we never harde tell of before this.”

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.” Ibid.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 25

when the latter gave way to a more legitimate theatrical exhibition. We know that Moralities were exhibited occasionally during the whole of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and even in that of her successor, long after regular dramas had been presented on the scene; but I suspect that about the year 1570 (the 13th year of queen Elizabeth) this species of drama began to lose much of its attraction, and gave way to something that had more the appearance of comedy and tragedy. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was written by Mr. Sill, (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells,) in the 23d year of his age, and acted at Chrift's College, Cambridge, in 1566, is pointed out by the ingenious writer of the tract entitled *Historia Histrionica*, as the first piece "that looks like a regular comedy," that is, the first play that was neither Mystery nor Morality, and in which some humour and discrimination of character may be found. In 1561-2 Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton, joined in writing the tragedy of *Ferreus and Porrex*, which was exhibited on the 18th of January in that year by the Students of the Inner Temple, before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. Neither of these pieces appears to have been acted on a publick theatre, nor was there at that time any building in London constructed solely for the purpose of representing plays. Of the latter piece, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, is perhaps "the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale written in verse, and divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy," a correct analysis may be found in the History of English Poetry, and the play itself within these few years has been accurately reprinted.

It has been justly remarked by the same judicious writer, that the early practice of performing plays in schools and universities greatly contributed to the improvement of our drama.

"While the people were amused with Skelton's *Trial of Simony*, Bale's *God's Promises*, and Chrift's *Descent into Hell*, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama."

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C

4 The licence granted in 1603 to Shakespeare and his fellow-comedians, authorizes them to play comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, moralcs, pastoralcs, &c. See also *The Gods Homebook*, 1609: "— if in the middle of his play, (see it pastoral or comedic, moral or tragedie,) you see with a shrewd and discontented face," &c.

5 *Hist.* of E. P. II. p. 388.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

In confirmation of what he has suggested, it may be observed, that the principal dramatick writers, before Shakspere appeared, were scholars. Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Nashe, Lily, and Kyd, had all a regular university education. From whatever cause it may have arisen, the dramatick poetry about this period certainly assumed a better, though still an exceptional, form. The example which had been furnished by Sackville was quickly followed, and a great number of tragedies and historical plays was produced between the years 1570 and 1590; some of which are still extant, though by far the greater part is lost. This, I apprehend, was the great era of those bloody and bombastick pieces, which afforded subsequent writers perpetual topics of ridicule: and during the same period were exhibited many Histories, or historical dramas, formed on our English Chronicles, and representing a series of events simply in the order of time in which they happened. Some have supposed that Shakspere was the first dramatick poet that introduced this species of drama; but this is an undoubted error. I have elsewhere observed that every one of the subjects on which he constructed his historical plays, appears to have been dramatized, and brought upon the scene, before his time. The historical drama is by an elegant

7 Goffon in his Plays Contaited in five actions, printed about the year 1580, says, “In plays either those things are fained that never were, as Cupid and Psiche, plaid at Paulus; [he means, in Paul’s school]—or if a true historie be taken in hand, it is made like our shavelings, longest at the rising and falling of the sunne.” From the same writer we learn, that many preceding dramatick poets had travelled over the ground in which the subjects of several of Shakspere’s other plays may be found. “I may boldly say it, (says Goffon) because I have scene it, that the Palace of Pleasure, the Golden Affe, the Ethiopian Historie, Amadis of France, the Round table, bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have beene thoroughly ranstuck to furnish the playe-houses in London.” Signat. D 5. b.

Lodge, his antagonist in this controversy, in his Play of plays and pastimes, a work which I have never seen, urges, as Prynne informs us, in defence of plays, that “they dilucidate and well explain many darke obscure histories, imprinting them in men’s minds in such indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated.” Historiamistix, p. 940. See also Heywood’s Apology for Actors, 1612: “Plays have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories; instructed such as cannot read, in the discovery of our English Chronicles: and what man have you now of that weak capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded, even from William the Conqueror, nay from the landing of Brute, until this day, being possesed of their true use?”—In Florio’s dialogues, in Italian and English, printed in 1591, we have the following dialogue:

“G. After
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elegant modern writer supposed to have owed its rise to the publication of The Mirror for Magistrates, in which many of the most distinguished characters in English history are introduced, giving a poetical narrative of their own misfortunes. Of this book three editions, with various alterations and improvements, were printed between 1563 and 1587.

At length (about the year 1591) the great luminary of the drammatic world blazed out, and our poet produced those plays which have now for two hundred years been the boast and admiration of his countrymen.

Our earliest dramas, as we have seen, were represented in churches, or near them by ecclesiastics: but at a very early period, I believe, we had regular and established players, who obtained a livelihood by their art. So early as in the year 1378, as has been already noticed, the singing-boys of St. Paul's represented to the king, that they had been at considerable expense in preparing a stage representation at Christmas. These, however, cannot properly be called comedians, nor am I able to point out the time when the profession of a player became common and established. It has been supposed that the license granted by queen Elizabeth to James Burbage and others, in 1574, was the first regular license ever granted to comedians in England; but this is a mistake, for Heywood informs us that similar licenses had been granted by her father king Henry the Eighth, king Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary. Stowe records, that "when king Edward the Fourth would shew himself in state to the view of the people, he repaired to his palace at St. John's, where he was accustomed to see the City Actors." In two books in the Remembrancer's-office in the Exchequer, containing an account of the daily expences of king Henry the Seventh, are the following articles; from which it appears that at that time

"C. After dinner we will goe see a play.
H. The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.
T. Yet they do nothing else but plaie every daye.
H. Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.
G. How would you name them then?
H. Representations of histories, without any decorum."

8 Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p. 166.
9 Apology for Actors, 4to. 1612, Signat. E r. b. "Since then," adds Heywood, "that house by the princes free gift hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court plays have been in late dayes yearly rehearsed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publice view of the prince and the nobility." This house must have been chosen on account of its neighbourhood to Whitehall, where the royal theatre then was. The regular office of the Revels at that time was on St. Peter's hill, near the Blackfriars' playhouse.
time players, both French and English, made a part of the appendages of the court, and were supported by regal establishment.

"Item, to Hampton of Worcester for making of balades, 20s. Item, to my ladie the kings moders poete, 66s. 8d. Item, to a Welsh Rymer, in reward, 13s. 4d. Item, to my Lord Privie-Seals foile, in rew. 10s. Item, to Pachye the foile, for a rew. 6s. 8d. Item, to the foolifh duke of Lancaster, 3s. Item, to Dix the foles master, for a months wages, 10s. Item, to the King of Frances foile, in rew. 4l. Item, to the Frenfhe players, in rew. 20s. Item, to the tumbler upon the ropes, 20s. Item, for heling of a feke maid, 6s. 8d. [Probably the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.] Item, to my lord princes organ-player, for a quarters wages at Michell, 10s. Item, to the players of London, in reward, 10s. Item, to MasterBarnard, the blind poete, 100s. Item, to a man and woman for straw-berries, 8s. 4d. Item, to a woman for a red rofe, 2s." The foregoing extracts are from a book of which almost every page is signed by the king's own hand, in the 15th year of his reign. The following are taken from a book which contains an account of expences in the 9th year of his reign.

"Item, to Cart for writing of a boke, 6s. 8d. Item, payd for two playes in the hall, 26s. 8d. Item, to the kings players for a reward, 100s. Item, to the king to play at cardes, 100s. Item, loft to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 8d. Item, to Harry Pyning, the king's godson, in reward, 20s. Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d *.

Some of these articles I have preserved as curious, though they do not relate to the subject immediately before us. This account ascertains, that there was then not only a regular troop of players in London, but also a royal company. The intimate knowledge of the French language and manners which Henry must have acquired during his long sojourn in foreign courts, (from 1471 to 1485,) accounts for the article relative to the company of French players.

In a Manuscript in the Cottonian library in the Museum, a narrative is given of the shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas in the fifth year of the king's reign, 1490. "This Cristmas I saw no digyfynys, but right few playes; but ther was an abbot of mil-rule, that made muche sport, and did right well his office.—On Candell Mafs day, the king, the qwen, my ladye the kings moder, with the substanse of

* For these extracts I am indebted to Francis Grofe, esq. to whom every admirer of the venerable remains of English antiquity has the highest obligations.
al the lorde's temporell present at the parlement, &c. wenten a procension from the chapel into the hall, and soo into Welfmynfter Hall:—The kyng was that day in a riche gowne of purple, porled withe gold, furred wythe the fabuls.—At nyght the king, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs moder, came into the Whit hall, and ther had a play.  

A proclamation which was iffued out in the year 1547 by king Edward the Sixth, to prohibit for about two months the exhibition of "any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter set forth in the form of a play, in the English tongue," describes plays as a familiar entertainment, both in London, and in the country, and the profession of an actor as common and establisshed. "Forasmuch as a great number of those that be common players of interludes and plays, as well within the city of London as elsewhere within the realme, doe for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tend- ing to sedition," &c. By common players of interludes here mentioned, I apprehend, were meant the players of the city, as contradistinguifhed from the king's own servants. In a Manuscript which I saw some years ago, and which is now in the Library of the Marquis of Lansdown, are sundry charges for the players belonging to king Edward the Sixth; but I have not preferred the articles. And in the house of queen Mary, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, is an entry which shews that she also had a theatrical establishment: "Eight players of interludes, each, 66s. 8d. —26L 13s. 4d."

It has already been mentioned that originally plays were performed in churches. Though Bonner bishop of London iffued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocefe in 1542, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or inter-

9 Itinerant companies of actors are probably coeval with the first rise of the English stage. King Henry the Seventh's bounty to some thrifting players has been mentioned in the preceding page. In 1556, the fourth year of queen Mary, a remontrance was iffued from the privy-council to the lord President of the North, flating, "that certain lewd [wicked or dissolute] persons, naming themselves to be the servants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their sleeves, have wandered about these north parts, and representing certain plays and interludes, reflecting on the queen and her confort, and the formalities of the mafs." Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. Append. III. p. 175.

1 Fuller's Church Hist. B. VII. p. 390.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Iudes, to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches, chapels," &c. the practice seems to have been continued occasionally during the reign of queen Elizabeth; for the author of The Third Blast of retreat from plays and players complains, in 1580, that "the players are permitted to publish their mametrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England;" &c. and this abuse is taken notice of in one of the Canons of King James the First, given soon after his accession in the year 1603. Early however in Queen Elizabeth's reign the established players of London began to act in temporary theatres constructed in the yards of inns; and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or two regular playhouses were erected. Both the theatre in Blackfriars and that in Whitefriars were certainly built before 1580; for we learn from a puritanical pamphlet published in the last century, that soon after that year, "many goodly citizens and well disposed gentlemen of London, considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for young gentlemen, and others, and perceiving that many inconveniences and great damage would ensue upon the long suffering of the same,—acquainted some pious magistrates therewith,—who thereupon made humble suite to Queene Elizabeth and her privy-councell, and obtained leave from her majesty to thrust the players out of the city, and to pull down all playhouses and dicing-houses within their liberties; which accordingly was effected, and the playhouses in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White friers, were quite pulled down and suppressed by the care of these religious senators." The theatre in Blackfriars, not being within the liberties of the city of London,

2 "In process of time it [playing] became an occupation, and many there were that followed it for a livelihood, and, what was worse, it became the occasion of much sin and evil; great multitudes of people, especially youth, in queen Elizabeth's reign, resorting to these plays: and being commonly acted on Sundays and Festivals, the churches were forfaken, and the playhouses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places, as well as open stages and galleries." Strype's Additions to Stowe's Survey, folio 1720. Vol. I. p. 247.

3 "In players either those things are gained that never were, as Cupid and Psyche, played at Paul's, [the school-room of St. Paul's,] and a great many comedies more at the Blackfriars, and in every playhouse in London, which for brevity fake I over-skippe; or," &c. Plays confuted, in five Actions, by Stephen Gosson, no date, but printed about the year 1580.

4 Richard Reulidge's Monster lately found out and discovered, or thecurring of Tipplers, 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. What he calls the theatres in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, and Ludgate-hill, were the temporary scaffolds erected at the Cross Keys Inn in Gracechurch-street, the Bull in Bishopsgate-street, and the Bull-Savage on Ludgate-hill. "That nigh Paul's," was St. Paul's school-room, behind the Convocation-house.
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London, escaped the fury of these fanaticks. Elizabeth, however, though she yielded in this instance to the frenzy of the time, was during the whole course of her reign a favourer of the stage, and a frequent attendant upon plays. So early as in the year 1569, as we learn from another puritanical writer, the children of her chapel, (who are described as "her majesty's unpledged minions,"') " flaunted it in their silkes and fattens," and acted plays on profane subjects in the chapel-royal. In 1574 she granted a licence to James Burbage, probably the father of the celebrated tragedian, and four others, servants to the earl of Leicester, to exhibit all kinds of stage-plays, during pleasure, in any part of England, "as well for the recreation of her loving subjects, as for her own solace and pleasure when she should think good to see them;" and in the year 1583, soon after a furious attack had been made.

"Even in her majesties chapel do these pretty upstart youths prophane the Lord's-day by the laievious whirling of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparel, in feigning bawdie fables, gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. The Children of the Chapel stript and swipt, 1569, fol. xiii. b. These children acted frequently in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the theatre in Whitefriars.

For the notice of this ancient theatrical licence we are indebted to Mr. Steevens. It is found among the unpublish'd collections of Rymer, which were purchased by parliament, and are deposited in the British Museum. Aftough's Catalogue of Sloanian and other manuscripts, No. 4625.

"Pro Jacobo Burbage et aliis, de licentia speciali." Elizabeth by the grace of God, quene of England, &c. To all justices, mayors, sheriffs, bdylyffes, head constables, under constables, and all other our officers and ministers, greetinge.

Know ye, that we of our especial grace, certen knowledge, and mere motion, have licensed and auctorised, and by these presents do lycense and auctorise our loving subiectes James Burbage, John Perkin, John Lanham, William Johnfon, and Robert Wilton, servaunts to our truttie and well beloved cofen and counteyllour the Earle of Leycestere, to use, exercye and occupie the arte and facultye of playenge commedies, tragedies, enterludes, stage-playes, and suche other like as they have alredie used and studied, or hereafter shall use and studie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subiectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, as also to use and occupie all suche instrumentes as they have alredie practifed or hereafter shall practife, for and duringe our pleasure; and the saide commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and stage-playes, together with their musicke, to shew, publique, exercize and occupie to their best commoditie, during all the term aforefaide, as well within the liberties and freedomes of anye our cities, townes, bouroughs, &c. whatsoever, as without the fame, thorough-out our realme of England. Wyllinge and commandinge yowe and every of you, as ye tender our pleasure, to permit and suffer them herein withoute anye lettes, hynderaunce, or molestation, duringe the term aforefaide,
made on the stage by the puritans, twelve of the principal comedians of that time, at the earnest request of Sir Francis Walsingham, were selected from the companies then subsisting under the licence and protection of various noblemen; and were sworn her majesty's servants. Eight of them had an annual aforesaid, any act, statute, or proclamation or commandment here- tofore made or hereafter to be made notwithstanding ; provided that the faide commodities, tragedies, enterludes and stage-players be by the Master of our Revells for the tyme beyng before fine and allowed; and that the same be not published or shewn in the tyme of common prayer or in the tyme of great and common plague in our faide citey of London. In wytynes whereof, &c.

Wytnes our felle at Westmynister the 10th daye of Maye. [1574.] Per breve de privato sigillo.

Mr. Steevens supposed that Mr. Dodfley was inaccurate in saying in the preface to his Collection of Old Plays, p. 22, that "the first company of players we have any account of in history are the children of Paul's in 1578," four years subsequent to the above licence. But the figures 1578 in that page are merely an error of the press for 1573, as may be seen by turning to a former page of Mr. Dodfley's preface, to which, in page 22, he himself refers.

7 The servants of the earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Effex; those of the Lord Chamberlain; the servants of the Lord Admiral (Nottingham); those of Lord Strange, Lord Suffex, Lord Worcefel, &c.—By the statute 39 Eliz. c. 4. noblemen were authorized to license players to act both in town and country; the statute declaring "that all common players of interludes wandering abroad, other than players of enterludes belonging to anie baron of this realme, or anie other honourable personage of greater degree, to be authorized to play under the hand and sale of arms of such baron or personage, shall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds." This statute has been frequently mis-flated, by Prynne and others, as if it declared all players (except noblemen's servants) to be rogues and vagabonds; whereas it was only made against fledling players.

Long after the playhouses called the Theatre and the Curtain had been built, and during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the companies belonging to different noblemen, acted occasionally at the Cross-Keys in Gracechurch-street, and other inns, and also in the houses of noblemen at weddings and other festivals.

8 "Comedians and stage-players of former time were very poor and ignorant in respect of thefe of this time; but being now [in 1583] grown very skilful and exquisite actors for all matters, they were entertained into the service of divers great lords; out of which companies there were twelve of the best chosen, and, at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham, they were sworn the queenes servants, and were allowed wages and liveries as grooms of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583, the queene had no players. Among these twelve players were two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilson, for a quicke, delicate, refined, extemporal witt, and Richard Tarleton for a wondrous plentiful pleasant extemporal witt, he was the wonder of his tyme.—He lieth buried in Shoreditch church." "He was so beloved," adds the writer in a note 6, "that
annual flpend of 3l. 6s. 8d. each. At that time there were eight companies of comedians, each of which performed twice or thrice a week.

King James the First appears to have patronized the stage with as much warmth as his predecessor. In 1599, while he was yet in Scotland, he solicited queen Elizabeth (if we may believe a modern historian) to send a company of English comedians to Edinburgh; and very soon after his accession to the throne, granted the following licence to the company at the Globe, which is found in Rymer's *Federar.*

"Pro Laurentio Fletcher & Willielmo Shakespeare & aliis."

A. D. 1603. *Pat.*

1. Jac. P. 2, m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c. to all justices, majors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, and

* C 5 other

"that men use his picture for their signes." Stowe's Chron. published by Howes, sub. ann. 1583, edit. 1615.

The above paragraph was not written by Stowe, not being found in the last edition of his Chronicle published in his life-time, 4to. 1605: and is an interpolation by his Continuator, Edmund Howes.

Richard Tarleton, as appears by the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was buried there, September the third, 1588.

The following extract from Strype shows in how low a state the stage was at this time:

"Upon the ruin of Paris Garden, [the fall of a scaffold there in January 1583-4] suit was made to the Lords [of the Council] to banish plays wholly in the places near London: and letters were obtained of the Lords to banish them on the Sabbath days.

Upon these orders against the players, the Queen's players petitioned the Lords of the Council, That whereas the time of their service drew very near, so that of necessity they must needs have exercise to enable them the better for the same, and also for their better keep and relief in their poor living, the season of the year being past to play at any of the houses without the city: Their humble petition was, that the Lords would vouchsafe to read a few articles annexed to their supplication, and in consideration [that] the matter contained the very flay and state of their living, to grant unto them confirmation of the same, or of as many as should be to their honours good liking; and withal, their favourable letters to the Lord Mayor, to permit them to exercise within the city; and that their letters might contain some orders to the justices of Middlesex in their bailiwick." Strype's *Additions to Stowe's Survey,* Vol. I. p. 248.

9 Household-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1584 in the Museum, Ms. Sloan, 3194. The Continuator of Stowe says, she had no players before, (see n. 8,) but I suspect that he is mistaken, for Q. Mary, and K. Edward the Sixth, both had players on their establishments. See p. 35.

14 for reckoning with the leaf the game that is reaped of eight ordinarie places in the citie, (which I know) by playing but once a weeke, (whereas many times they play twice, and sometimes thrice,) it amounteth to two thousand pounds by the year. *A Sermon preach-"
other our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Know you that we, of our special grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have licensed and authorized, and by these presentes doe licence and authorize theis our servaunts, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbage, Augultine Philippes, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like other as their have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thincke good to see them, during our pleasure: and the saide comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise, publiquely to their beft commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their nowe usuall house called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie teune-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, univerfitie, toun, or boroughhe whatsoever, within our saide realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onlie to permit and suffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or molestations, during our pleasure, but also to be aiding or assistinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies as hathe bene given to men of their place and qualitie; and also what further favour you shall shew to theis our servaunts for our sake, we shall take kindlie at your handes. In witnes whereof, &c.

Witness our selue at Westminister, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

Per Breve de privato sigillo."
HAVING now, as concisely as I could, traced the history of the English Stage, from its first rude state to the period of its maturity and greatest splendour, I shall endeavour to exhibit as accurate a delineation of the internal form and economy of our ancient theatres, as the distance at which we stand, and the obscurity of the subject, will permit.

The most ancient English playhouses of which I have found any account, are, the playhouse in Blackfriars, that in Whitefriars, the Theatre, of which I am unable to ascertain the situation, and The Curtain in Shoreditch.

1 There was a theatre in Whitefriars, before the year 1580. See p. 36. A Woman's a Weathercock was performed at the private playhouse in Whitefriars in 1612. This theatre was, I imagine, either in Salisbury-court or the narrow street leading into it. From an extract taken by Sir Henry Herbert from the office-book of Sir George Buc, his predecessor in the office of Master of the Revels, it appears that the theatre in Whitefriars was either rebuilt in 1613, or intended to be re-built. The entry is: "July 13, 1613, for a licence to erect a new playhouse in the White-friers, &c. £ 20." I doubt however whether this scheme was then carried into execution, because a new playhouse was erected in Salisbury-court in 1629. That theatre probably was not on the site of the old theatre in Whitefriars, for Prynne speaks of it as then newly built, not re-built; and in the same place he mentions the re-building of the Fortune and Red Bull theatres.—Had the old theatre in Whitefriars been pulled down and re-built, he would have used the same language with respect to them all. The Rump, a comedy by Tatham, was acted in 1668, in the theatre in Salisbury-court (that built in 1629). About the year 1670 a new theatre was erected there, (but whether on the site of that last mentioned I cannot ascertain,) known by the name of the Theatre in Dorset Gardens, to which the Duke of York's Company under the conduct of Sir William D'Avenant's widow removed from Lincoln's Inn fields in 1671. The former play-house in Salisbury-court could hardly have fallen into decay in so short a period as forty years; but I suppose was found too small for the new scenery introduced after the Restoration. The Prologue to Wycherley's Gentleman Dancing-Master, printed in 1673, is addressed "To the city, newly after the removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's-Inn fields to their new theatre near Salisbury-court."

Maitland in his History of London, p. 963, after mentioning Dorset Stairs, adds, "near to which place stood the theatre or play-house, a neat building, having a curious front next the Thames, with an open place for the reception of coaches."

2 It was probably situated in some remote and privileged place, being, I suppose, hinted at in the following passage of a sermon by John Stockwood.
The Theatre, from its name, was probably the first building erected in or near the metropolis purposely for scenic exhibitions.

In the time of Shakspeare there were seven principal theatres; three private houses, namely, that in Blackfriars, that in Whitefriars, and The Cockpit or Phænis, in Drury-Lane; and four that were called publick theatres; viz. The Globe on the Bankside, The Curtain in Shoreditch, The Red Stockwood, quoted below, and preached in 1578: “Have we not houses of purpoze built with great charges for the maintenance of them, [the players] and that without the liberties, as who shall say, there, let them say what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing-place erected in the fields, than to term it, as they pleas[e] to have is called, a Theatre.”

This theatre had been originally a Cockpit. It was built or rebuilt not very long before the year 1617, in which year we learn from Camden’s Annals of King James the first, it was pulled down by the mob: “1617. Martii 4. Theatrum ludionum super erectum in Drury-Lane a furenta multitudine diritur, et apparatus dilaceratur.” I suppose it was sometimes called The Phænis from that fabulous bird being its sign. It was situated opposite the Castle-tavern in Drury-Lane, and was standing some time after the Restoration. The players who performed at this theatre in the time of King James the first, were called the Queen’s Servants, till the death of Queen Anne in 1619. After her death they were, I think, for some time denominated the Lady Elizabeth’s servants; and after the marriage of King Charles the first, they regained their former title of the Queen’s players.

5 See Skialethias, an old collection of Epigrams, and Satires, 1619.

1598:

“——— if my dispose

"Peruade me to a play, I’ll to the Rose,

"Or Curtain—."

The Curtain is mentioned in Heath’s Epigrams, 1610, as being then open; and The Hector of Germany was performed at it by a company of young men in 1615. The original figu hung out at this playhou[se] (as Mr. Steevens has observed) was the painting of a curtain triped. The performers at this theatre were called The Prince’s Servants, till the accession of King Charles the first to the crown. Soon after that period it seems to have been used only by prize-fighters.
Red Bull at the upper end of St. John's-street, and The Fortune in White-cross-street. The last two were chiefly frequented

6 The Fortune theatre, according to Maitland, was the oldest theatre in London. It was built or re-built in 1599 by Edward Alleyn, the player, (who was also proprietor of the Bear-Garden from 1594 to 1610,) and cost 530l. as appears from the following memorandum in his handwriting:

"What The Fortune cost me, Nov. 1599.
First for the lease to Brew 240.
Then for building the play-house, 520.
For other privat buildings of myn owne, 120.

So that it hath cost me for the lease, £880."

It was a round brick building, and its dimensions may be conjectured from the following advertisement in The Mercurius Politicus, Tuesday Feb. 14, to Tuesday Feb. 21, 1661, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Mr. Steevens: "The Fortune playhouse situate between Whitecross-street and Golding-lane, in the parish of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be let to be built upon; where twenty-three tenements may be erected, with gardens; and a street may be cut through for the better accommodation of the buildings."

The Fortune is spoken of as a playhouse of considerable size, in the prologue to the Roaring Girl, a comedy which was acted there, and printed in 1611:

"A roaring girl, whose notes till now ne'er were,
"Shall fill with laughter our soft theatre."

See also the concluding lines of Shirley's prologue to The Doubtful Hair, quoted below.

Howes in his continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, p. 1004, edit. 1631, says, it was burnt down in or about the year, 1617: "About foure yeres after, [i.e. after the burning of the Globe,] a fayre throng new-built play-house near Golden-lane, called the Fortune, by negligence of a candle was cleanse burnt to the ground, but shortly after re-built far fairer." He is however, mistaken as to the time, for it was burnt down in December, 1621, as I learn from a letter in Dr. Birch's collection in the Musesm, from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 15, 1621, in which is the following paragraph: "On Sunday night here was a great fire at The Fortune in Golden-lane, the first play-house in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours, and all their apparell and play-books lost, whereby those poor companions are quite undone. There were two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were stayed." Ms. Birch, 4173. It does not appear whether this writer, by "the first play-house in this town," means the first in point of size or dignity, or the oldest. I doubt much its being the oldest, though that is the obvious meaning of the words, and though Mairland has asserted it: because I have not found it mentioned in any of the tracts relative to the stage, written in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Pynne says, that the Fortune on its re-building was enlarged. Epistle Dedicat. to Hisriomus, 4to. 1633.
frequented by citizens 7. There were, however, but fix companies of comedians; for the playhouse in Blackfriars, and the Globe, belonged to the same troop. Befide these seven theatres, there were for some time on the Bankside three other publick theatres; *The Swan, The Rose* 8, and *The Hope* 9: but *The Hope* being used chiefly as a bear-garden, and *The Swan* and *The Rose* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the established theatres that were open in 1598, were either without the city of London or its liberties 1.

It appears from the office-book 2 of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels to King James the First, and the two succeeding

Before this theatre there was either a picture or statue of Fortune. See *The English Traveller*, by Heywood, 1633.

* I'le rather stand here,
* Like a statue in the fore-front of your house
* For ever; like the picture of dame Fortune
* Before the Fortune play-houfe."

7 Wright's *Historia Historiônica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 5.
8 The Swan and the Rose are mentioned by Taylor the water-poet, but in 1613 they were shut up. See his Works, p. 171, edit. 1633. The latter had been built before 1598. See p. 36, n. 5. After the year 1620, as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, they were used occasionally for the exhibition of prize-fighters.
9 Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew-Fair* was performed at this theatre in 1614. He does not give a very favourable description of it:—"Though the fair be not kept in the same region that some here perhaps would have it, yet think that the author hath therein observed a special decorum, the place being as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit."
* Introduction to Bartholomew Fair.*

It appears from an old pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in quarto in 1632, that *The Hope* was occasionally used as a bear-garden, and that *The Swan* was then fallen into decay.

1 Sunt porro Londini, extra urben, theatra aliquot, in quibus histriônes Angli comediae et tragœdias singulis fere diebus, in magna hominum frequentia agent; quas variis etiam saltationibus, suavissima adhibita musica, magnum cum populis applause finiri solent." Hentzneri *Itinerarium*, 4to. 1598, p. 132.

2 For the use of this very curious and valuable Manuscript I am indebted to Francis Ingram of Ribbisford near Bewdley in Worcestershire Esq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the same old chest which contained the manuscript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the Life of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.

The first Master of the Revels in the reign of queen Elizabeth was Thomas Benger, whose patent passed the great seal Jan. 18, 1560–1.

It is printed in Rymer's *Federa*. His successor, Edmund Tilney, obtained a grant
a grant of this office (the reversion of which John Lily, the dramatick poet, had long in vain solicited,) on the 24th of July, 1579, (as appears from a book of patents in the Pells-office,) and continued in possession of it during the remainder of her reign, and till October 1610, about which time he died. This office for near fifty years appears to have been considered as so desirable a place, that it was constantly fought for during the life of the possessor, and granted in reversion. King James on the 23d of June, 1603, made a reversionary grant of it to Sir George Buc, (then George Buc, Esq.) to take place whenever it should become vacant by the death, renunciation, forfeiture, or surrender, of the then possessor Edmund Tilney; who, if I mistake not, was Sir George Buc's maternal uncle. Mr. Tilney, as I have already mentioned, did not die till the end of the year 1610, and should seem to have executed the duties of the office to the last; for his executor, as I learn from one of the Exits books in the Exchequer, received in the year 1611, 120l. 18s. 3d. due to Mr. Tilney on the last day of the preceding October, for one year's expenses of office. In the edition of Camden's Britannia, printed in folio in 1607, Sir George Buc is called Master of the Revels, I suppose from his having obtained the reversion of that place: for from what I have already stated he could not have been then in possession of it. April 3, 1612, Sir John Afstey, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reversionary grant of this office, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir George Buc, as Ben Jonson the poet obtained a similar grant, October 5, 1621, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir John Afstey and Sir George Buc.

Sir George Buc came into possession of the office about November, 1610, and held it till the end of the year 1621, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned it to king James, and Sir John Afstey succeeded him. How sir Henry Herbert got possession of this office originally, I am unable to ascertain; but I imagine Sir John Afstey for a valuable consideration appointed him his deputy, in August 1623, at which time, to use Sir Henry's own words, he "was received as Master of the Revels by his Majesty at Wilton;" and in the warrant-books of Philip earl of Pembroke, now in the Lord Chamberlain's office, containing warrants, orders, &c. between the years 1625 and 1642, he is constantly styled Master of the Revels. If Sir John Afstey had formerly resigned or surrendered his office, Ben Jonson, in consequence of the grant obtained in the year 1621, must have succeeded to it; but he never derived any emolument from that grant, for Sir John Afstey, as I find from the probate of his will, in the Prerogative oifice, (in which it is observable that he calls himself Master of the Revels, though both the duties and emoluments of the office were then exercised and enjoyed by another,) did not die till January 1639-40, above two years after the poet's death. To make his title still more secure, Sir Henry Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Esq. August 22, 1629, obtained a reversionary grant of this much fought-for office, to take place on the death, surrender, &c. of Sir John Afstey and Benjamin Jonson. Sir Henry held the office for fifty years, though during the usurpation he could not exercise the functions nor enjoy the emoluments of it.
comedians in London; the King's Servants, who performed at the Globe and in Blackfriars; the Prince's Servants, who performed then at the Curtain; the Palfgrave's, Servants 3, who had possession of the Fortune; the players of the Revels, who acted at the Red Bull 4; and the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are sometimes denominated, the Queen of

Sir George Buck wrote an express treatise, as he has himself told us, on the stage and on revels, which is unfortunately lost. Previous to the exhibition of every play, it was licensed by the Master of the Revels, who had an established fee on the occasion. If ever therefore the Office-books of Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buck shall be found, they will ascertain precisely the chronological order of all the plays written by Shakspeare; and either confirm or overturn a system in forming which I have taken some pains. Having however found many of my conjectures confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, I have no reason to augur ill concerning the event, should the registers of his predecessors ever be discovered.

The regular salary of this office was but ten pounds a year; but, by fees and other perquisites, the emoluments Sir George Buck in the first year he came into possession of it, amounted to near 100l. The office afterwards became much more valuable.

Having mentioned this gentleman, I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Anthony Wood has fallen, and which has been implicitly adopted in the new edition of Biographia Britannica, and many other books. The error I allude to, is, that this Sir George Buck, who was knighted at White-hall by king James the day before his coronation, July 23, 1603, was the author of the celebrated History of King Richard the Third; which was written above twenty years after his death by George Buck, Esq. who was, I suppose, his son. The preface time of the father's death, I have not been able to ascertain, there being no will of his in the prerogative-office; but I have reason to believe that it happened soon after the year 1622. He certainly died before August 1639.

The Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almost every piece exhibited at any of the theatres from August 1623 to the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, and many curious anecdotes relative to them, some of which I shall presently have occasion to quote. This valuable Manuscript having lain for a considerable time in a damp place, is unfortunately damaged, and in a very mouldering condition: however, no material part of it appears to have perished.

I cannot conclude this long note without acknowledging the obliging attention of W. E. Roberts, Esq. Deputy Clerk of the Pells, which facilitated every search I wished to make in his office, and enabled me to ascertain some of the facts above stated.

3 "1622. The Palfgrave's servants. Frank Grace, Charles Maffy, Richard Price, Richard Fowler, —— Kane, Curleys Grevill." Mr. Herbert. Three other names have perished. Of these one must have been that of Richard Gunnel, who was then the manager of the Fortune theatre; and another, that of William Cartwright, who was of the same company.

of Bohemia's players, who performed at the Cockpit in Drury-lane.  

When Prynne published his Hisbrionomix, (1633) there were six play-houses open; the theatre in Blackfriars; the Globe; the Fortune; the Red Bull; the Cockpit or Phoenix, and a theatre in Salisbury-count, Whitefriars.

All the plays of Shakspere appear to have been performed either at The Globe, or the theatre in Blackfriars. I shall therefore confine my inquiries principally to those two. They belonged, as I have already observed, to the same company of comedians, namely his majesty's servants, which title they obtained after a licence had been granted to them by king James in 1603; having before that time, I apprehend, been called the servants of the Lord Chamberlain. Like the other servants of the household, the performers enrolled in this company were sworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of baflard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every second year.

The theatre in Blackfriars was situated near the present Apothecaries-hall, in the neighbourhood of which there is yet


That part of the leaf which contained the lift of the king's servants, and the performers at the Curtain, is mouldered away.

6 It has been repeated again and again that Prynne enumerates seventeen play-houses in London in his time; but this is a mistake; he expressly says, that there were only six, (see his Epistle Dedicatory,) and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert confirms his assertion.

Mr. Dodsley and others have fallen into this mistake of supposing there were seventeen play-houses open at one time in London; into which they were led by the continuator of Stowe, who mentions that between 1570 and 1630 seventeen play-houses were built, in which number however he includes five inns turned into play-houses, and St. Paul's singing-school. He does not say that they were all open at the same time. - A late writer carries the matter still further, and afferts that it appears from Rymer's Ms. in the Museum, that there were twenty-three play-houses at one time open in London.

7 "These are to signify unto your lordship his majesties pleasure, that you cause to be delivered unto his majesties players whole names follow, viz. John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinfon, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanfon, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the several allowance of four yards of baflard fkarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for the capes, being the usual allowance granted unto them by his majesty every second yeare, and due at Easter laft past. For the doing whereof these shall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629." Ms. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.
yet Playhouse-yard, not far from which the theatre probably 

floated. It was, as has been mentioned, a private house; but 

what were the distinguishing marks of a private playhouse, it 

is not easy to ascertain. We know only that it was smaller than those which were called publick theatres; and that in 

the private theatres plays were usually represented by candle-

light.

In this theatre, which was a very ancient one, the Children of the Revels occasionally performed.

It

5 Wright, in his Hist. Hisprian, informs us, that the theatre in Black-

friars, the Cockpit, and that in Salisbury-Court, were exactly alike both in 

form and size. The smallness of the latter is ascertained by these lines in 
an epilogue to Tottenham-Court, a comedy by Nabbes, which was 
acted there:

““When others’ room with neglect disdain ye, 
““My little house with thanks shall entertain ye.”

6 ““All the city looked like a private play-house, when the windows 
are kept down, as if some nocturnal and dismal tragedy were presently 
to be acted.” Decker’s Seven Deadly Sinnes of London, 1606. See also 
Hiflroria Hisprianica.

7 Many pieces were performed by them in this theatre before 1580. 
Sometimes they performed entire pieces; at others, they represented such 
young characters as are found in many of our poet’s plays. Thus we 
find Nat. Field, John Underwood, and William Otler, among the 
children of the Revels who represented several of Ben Jonson’s comedies 
at the Blackfriars in the earlier part of king James’s reign, and also in 
the list of the actors of our author’s plays prefixed to the first folio, pub-
lished in 1623. They had then become men.

Lily’s Campaspe was acted at the theatre in Blackfriars in 1584, and 
The Case is altered, by Ben Jonson, was printed in 1609, as acted by the 
children of Blackfriars. Some of the children of the Revels also acted 
occasionally at the theatre in Whitefriars; for we find A Woman’s a 
Weathercock, performed by them at that theatre in 1612. Probably a 
certain number of these children were appropriated to each of these 
threatres, and instructed by the elder performers in their art; by which 
means this young troop became a promptuary of actors. In a manuscript 
in the Inner Temple, No. 575, Vol. VII. entitled, A book containing 
several particulars with relation to the king’s servants, petitions, war-
rants, bills, &c. and supposed to be a copy of some part of the Lord 
Chamberlain of the Household’s book in or about the year 1622, I find 
“A warrant to the signet-office (dated July 8th, 1622.) for a privy 
seal for his majesties licensing of Robert Lee, Richarcl Perkins, Ellis 
Woorth, Thomas Effe, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Rob-
bins, late comedians of Queene Anne deceaied, to bring up children in the 
quality and exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pa-
torals, stage-plays, and such like, as well for the solace and pleasure of 
his majestie, as for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see 
them; to be called by the name of The Children of the Revels; — and to 
be drawne in such a manner and forme as hath been used in other lycenets 
of that kind. “ These very persons, we have seen, were the company of the 
Revels in 1622, and were then become men.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 43

It is said in Camden's Annals of the reign of King James the first, that the theatre in Blackfriars fell down in the year 1623, and that above eighty persons were killed by the accident; but he was misinformed 8. The room which gave way was in a private house, and appropriated to the service of religion.

I am unable to ascertain at what time the Globe theatre was built. Hentzner has alluded to it as existing in 1598, though he does not expressly mention it 9. I believe it was not built long before the year 1596 1. It was situated on the Bankside, (the southern side of the river Thames,) nearly opposite to Friday-street, Cheapside. It was an hexagonal wooden building, partly open to the weather, and partly thatched 2. When Hentzner wrote, all the other theatres as well as this were composed of wood.

The

1 "1623. Ex occasu domus scenicae apud Black-friars Londini, 81 persone spectabiles necantur." Camdeni Annal. ab anno 1603 ad annum 1623. 4t. 1697. p. 82. That this writer was misinformed, appears from an old tract, printed in the same year in which the accident happened, entitled, A Word of Comfort, or a discourse concerning the late lamentable accident of the fall of a Room at a Catholick sermon in the Black-friers, London, rob. rely about four-score persons were oppressed. 4to. 1623.

See also veris prefixed to a play called, The Queen, published by Alexander Goughe, (probably the son of Robert Goughe, one of the actors in Shakspeare's company,) in 1653:

"—— we dare not say——

"—— that Blackfriars we heare, which in this age

"Fell, when it was a church, not robben a stage;"

"Or that the puritans that once dwelt there,

"Prayed and thriv'd, though the play-house were so near."

Camden had a paralytick stroke on the 18th of August 1623, and died on the 9th of November following. The above-mentioned accident happened on the 24th of October; which accounts for his inaccuracy. The room which fell, was an upper room in Humfdom-House, in which the French Ambassador then dwelt. See Stowe's Chron. p. 1035, edit. 1631.

9 "Non longe ab uno horum theatrorum, qua omnia ligna sunt, ad Thamefin navis est regia, qua duo egregia habet conclavia," &c. Itin. p. 132. By novis regis, he means the royal barge called the Gallyfoifl. See the South View of London, as it appeared in 1599.

1 See "The Suit of the Watermen against the Players," in the Works of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171.

2 In the long Antwerp View of London in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, is a representation of the Globe theatre, from which a drawing was made by the Rev. Mr. Henley, and transmitted to Mr. Steevens. From that drawing this cut was made.
The Globe was a publick theatre, and of considerable size, and there they always acted by day-light. On the roof of this and the other publick theatres a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed. These flags were probably displayed.

3 The Globe, we learn from Wright's Historia Histrionica, was nearly of the same size as the Fortune, which has been already described.

4 Historia Histrionica, 8vo. 1699. p. 7.

5 So, in The Curtain-Drawer of the World, 1612: "Each play-house advanceeth his flagge in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children."—Again, in A Mad World, my Masters, a comedy by Middelton, 1608: "the hair about the hat is as good as a flag upon the pole, at a common play-house, to waft company." See a South View of the City of London as it appeared in 1599, in which are representations of the Globe and Swan theatres.
played only during the hours of exhibition; and it should seem from one of the old comedies that they were taken down in Lent, in which time, during the early part of King James's reign plays were not allowed to be represented, though at a subsequent period this prohibition was dispensed with.

I formerly

theatres. From the words, "a common play-house," in the passage last quoted, we may be led to suppose that flags were not displayed on the roof of Blackfriars, and the other private play-houses.

This custom perhaps took its rise from a misconception of a line in Ovid:

"Tunc neque marmarico pendebant vela theatrum,"

which Heywood, in a tract published in 1612, thus translated:

"In those days from the marble house did waive
No fail, no fallen flag, or ensign brave."

"From the roof (says the same author, describing a Roman amphitheatre,) grew a hoover or turret, of exceeding altitude, from which an ensign of silk waved continually;—pendebant vela theatrum."—*The mistaken interpretation might, however, have arisen from the English custom.*

6 "'Tis Lent in your checks;—the flag is down." *A Mad World, my Master,* a comedy by Middleton, 1658.

Again, in Earle's *Characters,* 7th edit. 1638: "Shrove-tuefday hee [a player] feares as much as the bawdes, and Lent is more dangerous to him than the butchers."

7 "[Received] of the King's players for a lenten dispenfation, the other companys promising to doe as muche, 44s. March 23, 1616."

"Of John Hemminges, in the name of the four companys, for toleration in the holydayes, 44s. January 29, 1618."


These dispensations did not extend to the sermon-days, as they were then called; that is, Wednesday and Friday in each week.

After Sir Henry Herbert became possessor of the office of Master of the Revels, fees for permission to perform in Lent appear to have been constantly paid by each of the theatres. The managers however did not always perform plays during that season. Some of the theatres, particularly the Red-Bull and the Fortune, were then let to prize-fighters, tumblers, and rope-dancers, who sometimes added a Masque to the other exhibitions. These facts are ascertained by the following entries:

"1622, 21 Martii. For a prize at the Red-Bull, for the howfe; the fencers would give nothing. 10s." Mff. Aftley.

"From Mr. Gunnel, [Manager of the Fortune,] in the name of the dancers of the ropes for Lent, this 15 March, 1624. £1. 0. 0."

"From Mr. Gunnel, to allow of a *Masque* for the dancers of the ropes, this 19 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

"We see here, by the way, that *Microcofimus,* which was exhibited in 1637, was not (as Dr. Burney supposes in his ingenious *History of Masques,* Vol. III. p. 385,) the first Masque exhibited on the publick stage.

"From Mr. Blayerv, in the name of the Cockpit company, for this Lent, this 30th March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

"March 29, 1626. From Mr. Hemminges, for this Lent allowance, £2. 0. 0." Mff. Herbert.

Prynne takes notice of this relaxation in his *Histrio-mastix,* 4to. 1633: "There are none so addicted to stage-players, but when they go unto places where they cannot have them, or when as they are suppressed by publicke authority, (as in times of pestilence, and in Lent, till now of late,) can well subsist without them." p. 784.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

I formerly conjectured that *The Globe*, though hexagonal at the outside, was perhaps a rotunda within, and that it might have derived its name from its circular form. But, though the part appropriated to the audience was probably circular, I now believe that the house was denominated only from its sign; which was a figure of Hercules supporting the Globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus aeat histrionem*. This theatre was burnt down on the 29th of June, 1613; but

1 "After these" (says Heywood, speaking of the buildings at Rome, appropriated to scenick exhibitions,) "they composed others, but differing in form from the theatre or amphitheatre, and every fuch was called *circus*; the frame globe-like, and merely *round.*" *Apology for Actors*, 1612. See also our author's prologue to *K. Henry V*.

2 Stowe informs us, that "the allowed Stewhouses [antecedent to the year 1545] had signes on their frontes towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles; as a Boares head, *TheCrofsKeyes, The Gunne, The Castle, The Crane, The Cardinals Hat, the Bell, the Swanne,*" *&c. Survey of London*, 4to. 1603, p. 409. The houses which continued to carry on the same trade after the ancient and privileged edifices had been put down, probably were distinguished by the old signes; and the sign of the Globe, which theatre was in their neighbourhood, was perhaps, in imitation of them, painted on its wall.

3 The following account of this accident is given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613, *Relig. Wotton*, p. 425, edit. 1685: "Now to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Banks side. The Kings Players had a new play called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like; sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Masque at the Cardinal Wolseyes house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff, wherewith one of them was flapped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within lefs than an hour the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forfaken cloaks."

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlaine's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8, 1613, in which this accident is likewise mentioned, we learn that this theatre had only two doors. "The burning of the Globe
but it was rebuilt in the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally bestowed upon it 4.

The exhibitions at the Globe seem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower class of people 5; those at Blackfriars, for

or playhouse on the Bankside on St. Peter's day cannot escape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers, (that I know not upon what occasion were to be used in the play,) the taplin or stipple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burn'd it down to the ground in less than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoining; and it was a great marvaii and fair grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but two narrow doors to get out." Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 469. Not a single life was lost.

In 1613 was entered on the Stationers' books A doleful ballad of the general configuration of the famous theatre on the Bankside, called the Globe. I have never met with it.

4 See Taylor's Skulh, p. 31, Ep. 22.

"As gold is better that's in fier try'd,
"So is the Bank-side Globe, that late was burn'd;
"For where before it had a thatched hide,
"Now to a flately theater 'tis turn'd."

See also Stowe's Chronicle, p. 1003.

5 The Globe theatre, being contiguous to the Bear-Garden, when the sports of the latter were over, the same spectators probably returned to the former. The audiences at the Bull and the Fortune were, it may be presumed, of a class still inferior to that of the Globe. The latter, being the theatre of his majesty's servants, must necessarily have had a superior degree of reputation. At all of them, however, it appears, that noise and shew were what chiefly attracted an audience. Our author speaks in Hamlet of " beratling the common [i.e. the public] theatres. See also A Prologue spoken by a company of players who had succeeded from the Fortune, p. 64, note 7; from which we learn that the performers at that theatre, " to split the ears of the groundlings, used " to tear a paffion to tatters."

In some verses addressed by Thomas Carew to Mr. [afterwards Sir William] D'Avenant, "Upon his excellent Play, The Just Italian," 1630, I find a similar character of the Bull theatre:

"Now noife prevails; and he is tax'd for drowth
"Of wit, that with the cry spends not his mouth.—
"—thy strong fancies, raptures of the brain
"Drift'd in poetick flames, they entertain
"As a bold impious reach; for they'll still flight
"All that exceeds Red Bull and Cockpit flight.
"These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
"To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
"Of the untun'd kennel can a line repeat
"Of serious fene; but like lips meet like meat:
"Whilst the true brood of actors, that alone
"Keep natural untrain'd action in her thron;
"Behold their benches bare, though they rehearse
"The terfer Beaumont's or great Jonfon's verfe."

The true brood of actors were the performers at Blackfriars, where The Just Italian was acted.

See
for a more select and judicious audience. This appears from
the following prologue to Shirley's Doubtful Heir, which is
inserted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

"Prologue at the Globe, to his Comedy called the Doubtful
Heir, which should have been presented at the Blackfriars 6.

"Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,
"Our author did not calculate his play
"For this meridian. The Bankside, he knows,
"Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
"Of water than of wit; he did not mean
"For the elevation of your poles, this scene
"No shews,—no dance,—and what you most delight in,
"Grave understanders 7, here's no target-fighting
"Upon the flage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
"No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
"But language clean, and, what affects you not,
"Without impossibilities the plot;
"No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
"You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
"Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
"Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
"But you that can contract yourselves, and fit,
"As you were now in the Blackfriars pit,
"And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,
"Because we have no heart to break our lungs,
"Will pardon our wild stage, and not disgrace
"This play, meant for your persons, not the place.

The superior discernment of the Blackfriars audience may
be likewise collected from a passage in the preface prefixed
by Heminge and Condell to the first folio edition of our
author's

See also The Careles Shepherd's, represented at Salisbury-court; 4to.
1656:

"And I will haften to the money-box,
"And take my skilling out again;—
"I'll go to the Bull, or Fortune, and there see
"A play for two-pence, and a jig to boot."

6 In the printed play these words are omitted; the want of which
renders the prologue perfectly unintelligible. This comedy was per-
formed for the first time at the Globe, June 1, 1646.

7 The common people flood in the Globe theatre, in that part of the
house which we now call the pit; which being lower than the flage,
Shirley calls them understanders. In the private playhouses, it appears
from the subsequent lines, there were seats in the pit.

Ben Jonson has the same quibble: "— the understandings gentlemen
of the ground here."
Of the English Stage.

thor's works: "And though you be a magistrate of wit, and sit on the stage at Blackfriars, or the Cockpit, to arraign plays dailie, know these plays have had their tryal already, and flood out all appeals."

A writer already quoted informs us that one of these theatres was a winter, and the other a summer, house. As the Globe was partly exposed to the weather, and they acted there usually by day-light, it appeared to me probable (when this Essay was originally published) that this was the summer theatre; and I have lately found my conjecture confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. The king's company usually began to play at the Globe in the month of May. The exhibitions here seem to have been more frequent than at Blackfriars, till the year 1604 or 1605, when the Bankside appears to have become less fashionable, and less frequented than it formerly had been.

Many of our ancient dramatick pieces (as has been already observed) were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then first united themselves in companies, erected an occasional stage. The form of these temporary play-houses

8 Wright.
9 His account is confirmed by a passage in an old pamphlet, entitled Holland's Leaguer, 4to. 1632: "She was most taken with the report of three famous amphitheaters, who flood so neere situated, that her eye might take view of them from her lowest turrett. One was the Continent of the World, because half the yeere a world of beauties and brave spirits retorted unto it. The other was a building of excellent Hope; and though wild beasts and gladiators did most possesse it," &c.

1 King Lear, in the title-page of the original edition, printed in 1608, is said to have been performed by his majesty's servants, playing usually at the Globe on the Bankside.—See also the licence granted by king James in 1603: "—and the said comedies, tragedies, &c.—to shew—as well within their now usual house called the Globe,—" No mention is made of their theatre in Blackfriars; from which circumstance I suspect that antecedent to that time our poet's company played only at the Globe, and purchased the Blackfriars theatre afterwards. In the licence granted by king Charles the First to John Heminge and his associates in the year 1625, they are authorized to exhibit plays, &c. "as well within these two their most usual houses called the Globe in the county of Surrey, and their private houses situate within the precinct of the Blackfriars,—as also," &c. Had they possessed the Blackfriars theatre in 1603, it would probably have been mentioned in the former licence. In the following year they certainly had possession of it, for Marston's Malecontent was acted there in 1604.

2 See The Works of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171, edit. 1633.
3 Fleckno, in his Short Discourse of the English Stage, published in 1664, says, some remains of these ancient theatres were at that day to
houses seems to be preferred in our modern theatre. The galleries, in both, are ranged over each other on three sides of the building. The small rooms under the lowest of these galleries answer to our present boxes: and it is observable that these, even in theatres which were built in a subsequent period expressly for dramatick exhibitions, still retained their old name, and are frequently called rooms∗, by our ancient writers. The yard bears a sufficient resemblance to the pit, as at present in use. We may suppose the stage to have been raised in this area, on the fourth side, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admittance was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a playhouse not inconmodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of the Globe, and I suppose of the other publick theatres, in the time of Shakspere, there was an open yard or area†, where the common people stood to see the exhibition; from which circumstance they are called by our author groundlings, and by Ben Jonson “the understanding gentlemen of the ground.”

The galleries, or scaffolds, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house which in private theatres was named be seen in the inn-yards of the Grogs-keys in Gracechurch-street, and the Bull in Bishopsgate-street.

In the seventeen playhouses erected between the years 1570 and 1630, the continuator of Stowe’s Chronicle reckons “five inner or common galleries turned into play-houses.

∗ See a prologue to, If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it, quoted in p. 52, n. 1. These rooms appear to have been sometimes employed, in the infancy of the stage, for the purposes of gallantry. “These plays,” (says Strype in his additions to Stowe’s Survey) “being commonly acted on sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the play-houses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places as well as open stages and galleries. Here maids and good citizens’ children were inveigled and allowed to private unmeet contracts.” He is speaking of the year 1574.

† “In the play-houses in London, it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yard, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, when they flye the carion, thither they flye, and pref as near to the fairest as they can.” Plays Confuted in Five severall Actions, by Stephen Gosson, 1580. Again, in Decker’s Guls Hornbooke, 1609: “The stage, like time, will bring you to most perfect light, and lay you open; neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the scar-croives in the yard hoot at you, hiss at you, spit at you.” So, in the prologue to an old comedy called The Hog has his Pearl, 1614:

“—We may be pelted off for what we know,

“—With apples, eggs, or stones, from these below.”

See also the prologue to The Doubtful Heir, ante, p. 48:

“—and what you most delight in,

“Grave underslanders,———.”
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 51

named the pit 6, seem to have been at the same price; and probably in houses of reputation, such as the Globe, and that in Blackfriars, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was six-pence 7, while in some meaner playhouses it was only a penny 8, in two others two-pence 9. The price of admission

6 The pit, Dr. Percy supposes to have received its name from one of the playhouses having been formerly a cock-pit. This account of the term, however, seems to be somewhat questionable. The place where the seats are ranged at St. Mary's at Cambridge, is still called the pit; and no one can suspect that venerable fabric of having ever been a cock-pit, or that the phrase was borrowed from a play-house to be applied to a church. A pit is a place low in its relative situation, and such is the middle part of a theatre.

Shakspere himself uses cock-pit to express a small confined situation, without any particular reference:

"—— Can this cock-pit hold
" The vally fields of France,—or may we cram,
" Within this wooden O, the very caques
" That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

7 See an old collection of tales, entitled Wits, Ficts, and Faneties, 4to. 1595: "When the great man had read the actors letter, he presently, in answere to it, took a sheet of paper, and folding sixpence up in it, sealed it, subscribed it, and sent it to his brother; intimating thereby, that though his brother had vowed not in seven years to see him, yet he for his sixpence could come and see him upon the stage at his pleasure."

So, in the induction to The Magnicick Lady, by Ben Jonfon, which was first represent'd in October, 1632: "Not the faces or grounds of your people, that fit in the oblique caves and wedges of your house, your sinful sixpenny mechaniaks."

See below, Verfes addresed to Fletcher on his Faithful Shepherdes.

That there were sixpenny places at the Blackfriars playhouse, appears from the epilogue to Mayne's City Match, which was acted at that theatre in 1637, being licensed on the 17th of November, in that year:

"Not that he fears his name can suffer wrack
" From them, who sixpence pay, and sixpence crack;
" To such he wrote not, though some parts have been
" So like here, that they to themselves came in."

8 So, in Wit without Money, by Fletcher:—"break in at plays like prentices for three a great, and crack nuts with the scholars in penny rooms again."

Again, in Decker's Guli Hornebooke, 1609: "Your groundling and gallery commoner buys his sport by the penny."

Again, in Humours Ordinaries, where a Man may be very merrie and excelling well of'd for his Sixpence, no date:

"Will you stand spending your invention's treasure
"To teach stage-parrots Ipeak for penny pleasure?"

9 "Pay thy two-pence to a player, in this gallery you may sit by a harlot."

Bell-mans Night-walk by Decker, 1616.

Again, in the prologue to the Woman-bater, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: "—to the utter discomfiture of all two-penny gallery men."
admission into the best rooms or boxes' was, I believe, in our author's time, a shilling; though afterwards it appears to have been enclosed in the same manner as at present. See a letter from Mr. Garrard, dated January 25, 1635, Straff. Letters, Vol. I. p. 311: "A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at a new play in the Blackfriars, of which the duke had got the key; which if it had come to be debated betwixt them, as it was once intended, some heat or perhaps other inconvenience might have happened."

In the Globe and the other publick theatres, the boxes were of considerable size. See the prologue to If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it, by Decker, acted at the Red Bull;

"------------- Give me that man,
"Who, when the plague of an impothum'd brains,
"Breaking out, infects a theatre, and hotly reigns,
"Killing the hearers' hearts, that the noo£t rooms
"Stand empty, like so many dead men's tombs,
"Can call the banish'd auditor home," &c.

He seems to be here describing his antagonist B. Jonson, whose plays were generally performed to a thin audience. See Verses on our author, by Leonard Digges, Vol. I. p. 178.

2. "If he have but two-penny in his purse, he will give it for the best room in a playhouse." Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters, 1614.

So, in the prologue to our author's King Henry VIII:

"------------- Those that come to see
"Only a shew or two, and so agree
"The play may pass, if they be still and willing,
"I'll undertake may see away their felling
"In two short hours."

Again in a copy of verses prefixed to Mussinger's Bandman, 1624:

"Reader, If you have diff'rs'd a felling
"To see this worthy story,—"

Again in the Guls Hornebooke, 1609: "At a new play you take up the two-penny room next the stage, because the lords and you may seain to be hail fellow well met."

So late as in the year 1658, we find the following advertisement at the end of a piece called The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, by Sir William D'Avenant: "Notwithstanding the great expence necessary to scenes and other ornaments, in this entertainment, there is good provision made of places for a felling, and it shall certainly begin at three in the afternoon."

In the Scornful Lady, which was acted by the children of the Revels at Blackfriars, and printed in 1616, one-and-sixpenny places are mentioned.
have risen to two shillings, and half a crown. At the Blackfriars theatre the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe.

From several passages in our old plays we learn, that spectators were admitted on the stage, and that the critics and wits of the time usually sat there. Some were placed on the ground; others sat on stools, of which the price was either

3 See the prologue to The Queen of Arragon, a tragedy by Harington, acted at Blackfriars in May, 1640:
   "Ere we begin, that no man may repent
   "Two shillings and his time, the author fent
   "The prologue, with the errors of his play,
   "That who will may take his money, and a way." Again, in the epilogue to Mayne’s City Match, acted at Blackfriars, in November, 1637:
   "To them who call’d reproof, to make a face,
   "Who think they judge, when they frown i’ the wrong place,
   "Who, if they speak not ill o’ the poet, doubt
   "They loose by the play, nor have their two shilling out,
   "He says,” &c.

4 See Wit without Money, a comedy, acted at The Hope in Drury-lane before 1620:
   "And who extoll’d you into the half-crown boxes,
   "Where you might fit and mutter all the beauties."

In the play-house called the Hope on the Bankside, there were five different-priced seats, from sixpence to half a crown. See the induc- tion to Bartholomew Fair, by Ben Jonson, 1614.

5 So, in A Mid World by Maslers, by Middleton, 1608: "The actors have been found in a morning in less compass than their stage, though it were ne’er so full of gentlemen.” See also p. 55. n. 3.

6 "——to fair attire the stage
   "Helps much; for if our other audience see
   "You on the stage depart, before we end,
   "Our want go with you all, and we are fools.”

Prologue to All Fools, a comedy, acted at Blackfriars, 1605.

"By sitting on the stage, you have a sign’d patent to engross the whole commoditie of censure; may lawfully presume to be a girder, and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes.” Guls Hornebooke, 1609.

See also the preface to the first folio edition of our author’s works:
   "And though you be a magistratae of want, and sit on the stage at Black- friars, to arraigne plays daillie,—"

7 "Being on your feet, sneake not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance that are spoke either on the ruffles or on the stooles about you; and draw what troope you can from the stage after you.” Decker’s Guls Hornebooke, 1609. So also, in Fletcher’s Queen of Corinth:
   "I would not yet be pointed at as he is,
   "For the fine courtier, the woman’s man,
   "That tells my lady stories, dissolves riddles,
   "Uthes her to her coach, lies at her feet
   "At solemn mofine." From
either sixpence, or a shilling, according, I suppose, to the commodiousness of the situation. And they were attended by pages, who furnished them with pipes and tobacco, which was smoked here as well as in other parts of the house. Yet it should seem that persons were suffered to sit on the stage only in the private playhouses, (such as Black Friars, &c.)

From a passage in King Henry IV. P. 1, it may be presumed that this was no uncommon practice in private assemblies, also:

"She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down,
"And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
"And she will sing the song that pleaseth you."

This accounts for Hamlet's sitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the representation of the play before the king and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the same situation in which probably his patrons Essex and Southampton were often seen at the feet of some celebrated beauty. What some chose from economy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

"By sitting on the stage, you may with small cost purchase the deere acquaintance of the boyes, have a good foot for sixpence,—"Guls Hornebooks.

Again, ibidem: "Present not your selfe on the stage, (especially at a new play,) until the quaking prologue—is ready to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropt of [i.e. off] the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripes, or three-legged fools, in one hand, and a tison mounted between a fore-finger and a thumb, in the other."

"Ther are moste wonne and most in fashion
"Amongst the bever gallants, the stone-riders,
"The privie stage's audience, the twodeepeney-foole gentlemen."

The Roaring Girl, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611.

So in the Induction to Marilton's Malcontent, 1604: "By God's gift if you had, I would have given you but sixpence for your foot,

This therefore was the lowest rate; and the price of the most commodious fools on the stage was a shilling.

"When young Rogers goes to see a play,
"His pleasure is, you place him on the stage,
"The better to demonstrate his array,
"And how he sits attended by his page,
"That only serves to fill th' o'er pipes with smoke,
"For which he pawned hath his riding-coat."

Springes for Woodcooks, by Henry Parrot, 1613.

Again, Skolotbeia, a collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598:

"See you him yonder who sits o'er the stage,
"With the tobacco-pipe now at his mouth?"

This however, was accounted "a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance;" as appears from a satirical epigram by Sir John Davies, 1598:

"Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not sight?
"He that dares take tobacco on the stage;
"Dares man a whoore at noon-day through the street;
"Dares dance in Pauls;" &c.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 55

where the audience was more select, and of a higher class; and that in the Globe and the other publick theatres, no such licence was permitted. 2

The stage was strewed with rushes 3, which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera, was in the time of Shakspere the usual covering of floors in England 4. On some occasions it was entirely matted over 5; but this was probably very rare. The curtain which hangs in the front of the present stage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was used by Inigo Jones in the masques at court,) was yet an apparatus to which the simple mechanism of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod 6. In some playhouses they were woollen, in others, made of silk 7. Towards the rear

2 See the induction to Marston’s Malcontent 1604, which was acted by his majesty’s servants at Blackfriars:

“Tyreon. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit here.

Sly. Why, we may sit upon the stage at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a country gentleman, dost? Dost thou think I fear hissing? Let them that have flate suits, sit in the galleries, his at me—”

See also The Roaring Girl, by Middleton: “—the private stage’s audience,—”. Ante, p. 54, n. 9.

3 “On the very rushes where the comedy is to dance, yea, and under the stage of Camillus himself, must our feathered quills lie, like a piece of ordnance, be planted vitually, become impotent, and cast down the mews and hisses of the opposed rufa.” Decker’s Oxonoxonoxo.

4 See also Ben Jonson’s Every Man out of his Humour, 1600:

“Fore G,—, sweet lady, believe it, I do honour the meanest rufh in this chamber for your love.”

5 See p. 46, n. 3.

6 The epilogue to Tancred and Gismond, a tragedy, 1592, concludes thus.

“Now draw the curtains, for our scene is done.”

Again in Lady Alimony, 1659: “Be your stage-curtains artificially drawn, and so covertly throwed, that the squint-eyed groundling may not peep in.”

See also a stage-direction in The First Day’s Entertainment at Rutland House, by Declaration and Majick, after the manner of the Ancients, by Sir William D’Avenant, 1658:

“The song ended, the curtains are drawn open again, and the epilogue enters.”

7 See A prologue upon removing of the late Fortune Players to the Bull, by J. Tatham; Fancies Theatre, 1640:

“Here gentlemen our anchor’s fixt; and we,

Dildaining Fortune’s mutability,

Expect your kind acceptance; then we’ll sing,

(Protected by your smiles, our ever-Spring,)”

As
rear of the stage there appears to have been a balcony, or upper stage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of it curtains likewise were hung, so as occasionally to conceal the persons in it from the view of the audience. At each side of this balcony was a box, very inconveniently situated, which sometimes was called the private box. In these boxes, which were at a lower price, some persons fate, either from economy or singularity.

As pleasant as if we had still possessed
Our lawful portion out of Fortune’s breast.
Only we would request you to forbear
Your wonted custom, banding tile and pear
Against our curtains, to allure us forth;—
I pray, take notice, these are of more worth;
Pure Naples fill, not worsted.—We have ne’er
An actor here has mouth enough to tear
Language by the ears. This forlorn hope shall be
By us refr’d from such gross injury:
And then let your judicious loves advance
Us to our merits, them to their ignorance.”

8 See Nabbes’s Covent Garden, a comedy, 1639:
“Enter Dorothy and Susan, in the balcony.”

So, in The Virgin Martyr, by Massinger and Decker, 1622:
“Thay whispering below, Enter, above, Sapsritius;—With him Artemia the princess, Theophilus, Spungius, and Hercius.” And these five personages speak from this elevated situation during the whole scene.

Again, in Marston’s Fortune, 1606:
“Whilest the act [i.e. the music between one act and another] is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received above by Dulcimel, Philocalia and a priest: Hercules stays beneath.”

See also the early quarto edition of our author’s Romeo and Juliet, where we meet—“Enter Romeo and Juliet, aloft.” So, in The Taming of a Shrew (not Shakespeare’s play): “Enter aloft the drunkard.”—Almost the whole of the dialogue in that play between the tinker and his attendants, appears to have been spoken in this balcony.

In Middleton’s Family of Love 1608, sig. B 2. b. it is called the upper stage.

9 This appears from a stage-direction in Massinger’s Emperor of the East, 1632: “The curtains drawn above: Theodotius and his eunuchs discovered.” Again in King Henry VIII.

“Let them alone, and draw the curtain close.”

Henry here speaks from the balcony.

“Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or private playhouse stand to receive the afternoons rent, let our gallant, having paid
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 57

How little the imaginations of the audience were assièsted by scenical deception, and how much necessity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be collected from Sir Philip Sidney, who, describing the state of the drama and the stage, in his time, (about the year 1583,) says, "Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monster with fire and smoke; and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart wil not receive it for a pitched field?"

The first notice that I have found of any thing like moveable scenes being used in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to king James at Oxford in August 1605, when three plays were performed in the hall of Christ Church, of which we have the following account by a contemporary writer. "The stage," (he tells us) "was built close to the upper end of the hall, as it seemed at the first sight: but it, presently advance himself to the throne of the stage. I mean not into the lords' rooms, which is new but the stages suburbs. No, those boxes, —by the iniquity of custom, conspiracy of waiting-women, and gentle- men-ushers, that there sweat together, and the covetous sharers,—are contemptibly thrust into the rear, and much new flattened is there damd, by being smother'd to death in darkness." Decker's Guls. Hornbooke 1609. So, in the prologue to an old comedy, of which I have left the title:

"The private box took up at a new play,
For me and my retinue; a fresh habit
Of a fashion never seen before, to draw
The gallants' eyes, that fix upon the stage."

See also Epigrams by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed at Middleburgh, about 1598:

"Refus, the courtier, at the theatre,
Leaving the bell and most conspicuous place,
Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
Or through a grate doth show his double face,
For that the clamorous fry of innes of court,
Fills up the private rooms of greater price;
And such a place where all may have ressort,
He in his singularity doth despife."

It is not very easy to ascertain the precise situation of these private boxes. A print prefixed to Kirkman's Drolls, 1673, induces me to think that they were at each side of the stage balcony.

Indeed it was but a false wall faire painted, and adorned with flately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reason whereof, with the help of other painted clothes, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy:" that is, in other words, there were three scenes employed in the exhibition of the piece. The scenery was contrived by Inigo Jones, who is described as a great traveller, and who undertook to "further his employers much, and furnish them with rare devices, but produced very little to that which was expected."

It is observable that the writer of this account was not acquainted even with the term scene, having used painted clothes instead of it: nor indeed is this surprising, it not being then found in this sense in any dictionary or vocabulary, English or foreign, that I have met with. Had the common stages been furnished with them, neither this writer, nor the makers of dictionaries, could have been ignorant of it. To effect even

2 Leland. Collect. Vol. II. pp. 631, 646. Edit. 1770. See also p. 639: "The same day, August 28, after supper, about nine of the clock they began to act the tragedy of Ajax Flagellifer, wherein the stage varied three times. They had all goodly antique apparell, but for all that, it was not acted so well by many degrees as I have seen it in Cambridge. The king was very weary before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike."

4 Florio, who appears to have diligently studied our customs, illustrating his explanations on many occasions by English proverbs, sayings, local descriptions, &c. in his Italian Dictionary, 1598, defines Scena, in these words: "A scene of a comedic, or tragedie. Also a stage in a theatre, or playhouse, whereon they play; a scaffold, a pavilion, or fore part of a theatre, where players make them reade, being trimmed with hangings, out of which they enter upon the stage. Ufed also for a comedic or a tragedie, Also a place where one doth shew and set forth himselfe to the world." In his second edition, published in 1611, instead of the words, "A scene of a comedic or tragedie" we find—"Any one scene or entrance of a comedic or tragedie," which more precisely affermns his meaning.

In Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary printed in 1611, the word scene is not found, and if it had existed either in France or England, (in the sense in which we are now considering it,) it would probably have been found. From the word falot, the definition of which I shall have occasion to quote hereafter, the writer seems to have been not acquainted with the English stage.

Bullokar, who was a physician, published an English Expositor in the year in which Shakespeare died. From his definition likewise it appears, that a moveable painted scene was then unknown in our theatres. He defines Scene, "A play, a comedy, a tragedie, or the division of a play into certain parts. In old time it signified a place covered with boughs, or the room where the players made them realie." Minshew's large
even what was done at Christ-Church, the University found it necessary to employ two of the king's carpenters, and to have the advice of the controller of his works. The Queen's Masque, which was exhibited in the preceding January, was not much more successful, though above £3,500 was expended upon it. "At night," says Sir Dudley Carleton, "we had the Queen's Maske in the Banqueting-house, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, (with other terrible fishes,) which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish, and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest fat the queen with my lady Bedford, on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby," &c. Such were most of the Masques in large English Dictionary, which he calls A Guide to the Tongues, was published in the following year, 1677, and there Scene is nothing more than "a theatre." Nay, even so late as in the year 1656, when Cockram's English Dictionary, or Interpreter of hard English words was published, Scene is only said to be "the division of a play into certain parts."

Had our English theatres in the time of Shakspere been furnished with moveable scenes, painted in perspective, can it be supposed that all these writers should have been ignorant of it?

It is observable that Coryate in his Crudities, 4to, 1611, when he is boasting of the superior splendour of the English theatres, compared with those of Venice, makes no mention of scenes. "I was at one of their playhouses, where I saw a comedia. The house is very beggarly and bafe in comparison of our stately playhouses in England: neither can their actors compare with us, for apparel, scenery, and musicke." Crudities, p. 247.

It is also worthy of remark that Mr. Chamberlaine, when he is speaking of the fate of the performers at the Fortune theatre, when it was burnt down in 1621, laments that "their apparel and play-books were lost, whereby those poor companions were quite undone;" but says not a word of scenes. See also Sir Henry Wotton's letter on the burning of the Globe in 1613, p. 46, n. 3.

5 Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, London, Jan. 1604, [i. e. 1604-5.] Winwood's Memorials, II. 43. This letter contains so curious a trait of our Britsh Solomon, that I cannot forbear transcribing another passage from it, though foreign to our present subject. "On Saint John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The Court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery.—At night there was a Mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. The presents of plate and other things given by the noblemen [to the bride and bridegroom] were valued at 2300l.; but that which made it a good marriage, was a gift of the king's of 500l. land, for the bride's joindre.
in the time of James the First: triumphal cars, castles, rocks, caves, pillars, temples, clouds, rivers, tritons, &c. composed
the principal part of their decoration. In the courtly masques
given by his successor during the first fifteen years of his reign,
and in some of the plays exhibited at court, the art of scenery
seems to have been somewhat improved. In 1636 a piece writ-
ten by Thomas Heywood, called Love's Mistresses or the Queen's
Masque, was represented at Denmark House before their
Majesties. "For the rare decorements" (says Heywood in
his preface) "which new apparelled it, when it came the
second time to the royal view, (her gracious majesty then enter-
taining his highness at Denmark House upon his birth-day,) I
cannot pretermit to give a due character to that admirable
artist Mr. Inigo Jones, master surveyor of the king's works,
&c. who to every act, may almost to every scene, by his excel-
 lent inventions gave such an extraordinary allure; upon every
occasion changing the stage, to the admiration of all the specta-
tors." Here, as on a former occasion, we may remark, the
term scene is not used: the stage was changed to the admiration
of all the spectators 6.

In August 1636, The Royal Slave, written by a very pop-
ular poet, William Cartwright, was acted at Oxford before
the king and queen, and afterwards at Hampton-Court. Wood informs us*, that the scenery was an exquisite and
uncommon piece of machinery, contrived by Inigo Jones.

The

Our poet has been censured for indelicacy of language, particularly in Hamlet's conversation with Ophelia, during the representation of the play before the Court of Denmark; but unjustly, for he undoubt-
edly represented the manners and conversation of his own day faithfully. What the decorum of those times was, even in the highest classes, may he conjectured from another passage in the same letter: "The night's work [the night of the queen's masque] was concluded with a banquet
in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went table and trellises, before one bit was touched."—Such was the court of
King James the First.

6 If in our author's time the publick stage been changed, or, in other words, had the Globe and Blackfriars playhouse been furnished with
scenes, would they have created so much admiration at a royal entertain-
ment in 1636, twenty years after his death?

The play was printed in 1639; and yet even at that late period, the term scene, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown to the author; for describing the various scenes employed in this court-exhibition, he denominates them thus: "The first Appearance, a temple of the sun.—Second Appearance, a city in the front, and a prison at the side," &c.

The three other Appearances in this play were, a wood, a palace, and a castle.

In every disquisition of this kind much trouble and many words might be saved, by defining the subject of dispute. Before therefore I proceed further in this inquiry, I think it proper to say, that by a scene, I mean, A painting in perspective on a cloth fastened to a wooden frame or roller; and that I do not mean by this term, "a coffin, or a tomb, or a gilt chair, or a fair chain of pearl, or a crucifix." and I am the rather induced to make this declaration, because a writer, who obliquely alluded to the position which I am now maintaining, soon after the first edition of this Essay was published, has mentioned exhibitions of this kind as a proof of the scenery of our old plays: and taking it for granted that the point is completely established by this decisive argument, triumphantly adds, "Let us for the future no more be told of the want of proper scenes and dresses in our ancient theatres?"

A passage

My present purpose," says this writer, "is not so much to describe this dramatick piece, [The Second Maiden's Tragedy, written in 1610, or 1611,] as to shew that it bears abundant testimony to the use of scenery, and the richness of the habits then worn. These particulars will be sufficiently exemplified by the following speeches, and stage-directions:

"Enter the Tyrant a gentleman, which opened brings him to the tomb, where the lady lies buried. The Toombe here discovered, richly set forthe."

Some lines are then quoted from the same piece, of which the following are those which alone are material to the present point:

"Tyrant.—Softlee, softlee;—
"The vaults e'en chide our steps with murmuring sounds.
"All thy still strength,
"Thow grey-eyde monument, shall not keep her from us.
"Strike, villains, thoe the echo raile us all
"Into ridiculous deafnes; pierce the jaws
"Of this could ponderous creature.—
"O, the moone rises: What reflection
"Is throwne around this sanctified building!
"E'en in a twinkling how the monuments glitter,
"As if Death's pallaces were all maffie slyver,
"And scorn'd the name of marble!"

"Is
A passage which has been produced from one of the old comedies, proves that the common theatres were furnished with some rude pieces of machinery, which were used when it was necessary to exhibit the decent of some god or saint; but it is manifest from what has been already stated, as well as from all the contemporary accounts, that the mechanism of our ancient theatres seldom went beyond a tomb, a painted chair, a sinking cauldron, or a trap-door, and that none of them had moveable scenes. When king Henry VIII. is to be discovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his study, the scenical direction in the first folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from playhouse copies,) is "The king draws the curtain, [i.e. draws it open] and fits reading penively", for, beside the principal curtains that hung in the front of the stage, they used others as substitutes for scenes, which were denominated traverse. If a bed-chamber

"Is it probable," (adds this writer) "that such directions and speeches should have been hazarded, unless at the same time they could be supported and countenanced by corresponding scenery?

"I shall add two more of the stage-directions from this tragedy.—

"On a sodayne in a kinde of noyse like a wynde, the dores clattering, the toombellone flies open, and a great light appears in the midift of the toombe; his lady, as went owt, standing in it before hym all in white, fluck with jewells, and a great crucifix on her breast." Again: "They bring the body in a chayre, drest up in black velvet, which sctts off the paillnes of the hands and face, and a faire chayne of pearle crofs the breath, and the crucifix above it," &c.

"Let us for the future, Mr Baldwin, be told with less confidence of the want of proper scenes and dresse in our ancient theatres." — Letter in The St. James's Chronicle, May, 1780.

To all this I have only to say, that it never has been asserted, at least by me, that in Shakespeare's time a tomb was not represented on the stage. The monument of the Capulets was perhaps represented in Romeo and Juliet, and a wooden structure might have been used for this purpose in that and other plays; of which when the door was once opened, and a quantity of lamps, falsé stones, and black cloth displayed, the poet might be as luxuriant as he pleased in describing the surrounding invisible marble monuments. This writer, it should seem, was thinking of the epigram on Butler the poet: we ask for scenes, and he gives us only a stone.

8 "Of whyche the lyke thyng is used to be shewed now ayses in stage-plays, when some god or some saint is made to appere forth of a cloude; and succoureth the parties which seemed to be towards some great danger, through the Soudan's crueltie." The author's marginal abridgement of his text is — "The lyke manner used nowe at our days in stage-plays." A tout, a comedy by T. Palgrave, chaplain to king Henry VIII. 1540.

9 See Webster's Dutchess of Malfy, acted at the Globe and Blackfriars, and printed in 1623: "Here is discovered behind a traverse the artificial figures.
is to be represented, no change of scene is mentioned; but
the property-man is simply ordered to thrust forth a bed, or,
the curtains being opened, a bed is exhibited. So, in the
old play on which Shakespeare formed his King Henry VI.
P. II. when Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited dying, the stage-
direction is — "Enter King and Salisbury, and then the cur-
taines be drawn, [i. e. drawn open,] and the Cardinal is dis-
covered in his bed, raving and staring as if he were mad." When
the fable requires the Roman capitol to be represented,
we find two officers enter, "to lay cushions, as it were in the
capitol." So, in King Richard II. Act IV. sc. i. Boling-
broke, &c. enter as to the parliament." Again, in Sir
John Oldcastle, 1600: "Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and
Gray, as in a chamber." When the Citizens of Angiers
were to appear on the walls of their town, and young Arthur
to leap from the battlements, I suppose our ancestors were
contented with seeing them in the Balcony already described,
or perhaps a few boards were tacked together, and painted
so as to resemble the rude discoloured walls of an old town,
behind which a platform might have been placed near the top,
on which the citizens stood: but surely this can scarcely be
called a scene. Though undoubtedly our poet's company were
furnished with some wooden fabric sufficiently resembling a
tomb, for which they must have had occasion in several plays,
yet

figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead."
In The Devil's Charter, a tragedy, 1607, the following stage-direction
is found: "Alexander draweth [that is, draws open] the curtain of his
flute, where he discovereth the devill sitting in his pontificals." Again
in Satironomia, by Decker, 1602: "Hearce sitting in his flute, behind
a curtain, a candle by him burning, books lying confusedly," &c.
In Marston's What you will, a com. 1607, the following stage-direction
still more decisively proves this point: "Enter a School-master,—
draws [i. e. draws open] the curtains behind, with Battus, News, Slip,
Nathaniel, and Holifernes Pippo, school-boys, sitting with books in
their hands." Again in Albion, by Sir William D'avenant, 1629:
"He draws the Arras, and discovers Albion, Rhodolinda, Valdauma,
dead in chaires." Again, in The Woman in the Moon, by Lily, 1597:
"They draw the curtains from before Natures shop, where stands an
image clad, and some unclad. They bring forth the cloathed image." Again,
in Romeo and Juliet, 1597, Juliet, after she has swallowed the
sleepy potion, is ordered to "throw her selfe on the bed, within the cur-
taines." As soon as Juliet has fallen on the bed, the curtains being still
open, the nurse enters, then old Capulet and his lady, then the musicians;
and all on the same spot. If they could have exhibited a bed-
chamber, and then could have sublimated any other room for it,
would they have suffered the musicians and the Nurse's servant to have
carried on a ludicrous dialogue in one where Juliet was supposed to be
lying dead?

1 See these stage-directions in the first folio.
yet some doubt may be entertained, whether in *Romeo and Juliet* any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the stage. Romeo perhaps only opened with his mattock one of the stage trap-doors, (which might have represented a tombstone,) by which he descended to a vault beneath the stage, where Juliet was deposited; and this notion is countenanced by a passage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded.

In all the old copies of the play last-mentioned we find the following stage-direction. *"They march about the stage, and serving-men come forth with their napkins."* A more decisive proof than this, that the stage was not furnished with scenery, cannot be produced. Romeo, Mercutio, &c. with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the persons who march about the stage. They are in the street, on their way to Capulet's house, where a masquerade is given; but Capulet's servants who come forth with their napkins, are supposed to be in a hall or saloon of their master's house: yet both the masquers without and the servants within appear on the same spot. In like manner in *King Henry VIII.* the very same spot is at once the outside and inside of the Council-Chamber.

It is not, however, necessary to insist either upon the term itself, in the sense of a painting in perspective on cloth or canvas, being unknown to our early writers, or upon the various stage-directions which are found in the plays of our poet and his contemporaries, and which afford the strongest presumptive evidence that the stage in his time was not furnished with scenery; because we have to the same point the concurrent testimony of Shakespeare himself, of Ben Jonson, of every writer of the last age who has had occasion to mention this subject, and even of the very person who first introduced scenes on the publick stage.

In

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2 "Why I descend into this bed of death,—." *Romeo and Juliet,* Act V. So, in *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet,* 1562:

"And then our Romeus, the vault-stone set up-right,

"Descended downe, and in his hand he bore the candle light."

Juliet, however, after her recovery, speaks and dies upon the stage. If therefore, the exhibition was such as has been now supposed, Romeo must have brought her up in his arms from the vault beneath the stage, after he had killed Paris, and then addressed her,—"O my love, my wife," &c.

3 See Vol. X.

4 "In your imagination hold

"This stage, the ship, upon whose deck

"The sea-toft Pericles appears to speak."
In the year 1629 Jonson's comedy entitled *The New Inn* was performed at the Blackfriars theatre, and deifiedly damned. Ben was so much incensed at the town for condemning his piece, that in 1631 he published it with the following title: "*The New Inn, or the light Heart*, a comedy; as it was never acted, but most negligently played, by some, the king's servants, and more squamishly beheld and cenfured by others, the king's subjects, 1629: And now at last set at liberty to the readers, his Majesty's servants and subjects, to be judged, 1631." In the Dedication to this piece, the author, after expressing his profound contempt for the spectators, who were at the first representation of this play, says, "What did they come for then, thou wilt ask me. I will as punctually answer: to see and to be seen. To make a general musick of themselves in their clothes of credit, and possesse the stage against the play: to dislike all, but marke nothing: and by their confidence of rising between the acts in oblique lines, make affidavit to the whole house of their not understanding one scene. Arm'd with this prejudice, as the stage furniture, or arras clothes, they were there; as spectators away; for the faces in the hangings and they beheld alike."

The exhibition of plays being forbidden some time before the death of Charles I. Sir William D'Avenant in 1656 invented a new species of entertainment, which was exhibited at Rutland House, at the upper end of Alderfgate-Street. The title of the piece, which was printed in the same year, is, *The Siege of Rhodes*, made a representation by the art of prospective in scenes; and the song sung in Recitative musick. "The original of this musick," says Dryden, "and of the scenes which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters (as I may probably

5 An Ordinance for the suppressing of all stage-plays and interludes, was enacted Feb. 13. 1647-8, and Oliver and his Saints seem to have been very diligent in enforcing it. From Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 332, we learn that Captain Bethan was appointed (13 Dec. 1648,) Provost Martial, "with power to seize upon all ballad-fingers, and to suppress stage-plays."

"20 Dec. 1649. Some stage-players in Saint John's-street [the Red Bull theatre was in this street] were apprehended by troopers, their clothes taken away, and themselves carried to prifon." [Ibidem, p. 419.]

"Jan. 1655. [1655-6.] Players taken in Newcastle, and whipt for rogues." [Ibid. 619.]

"Sept. 4, 1656. William D'Avenant printed his Opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times." [Ibidem, p. 639.]

6 Fleckno in the preface to his comedy entitled *Demoiselles a-la-Mode* 1667, observes, that "one Italian scene with four doors will do" for the representation.
bly imagine) from the examples of Corneille and some French poets." If, sixty years before, the exhibition of the plays of Shakspeare had been aided on the common stage by the advantage of moveable scenes, or if the term scene had been familiar to D'Avenant's audience, can we suppose that he would have found it necessary to use a periphrastic description, and to promise that his representation should be assisted by the art of perspective in scenes? "It has been often wished," says he in his Address to the Reader, "that our scenes (we having obliged ourselves to the variety of five changes, according to the ancient dramatic distinctions made for time,) had not been confined to about eleven feet in the height and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserved for the musick." From these words we learn that he had in that piece five scenes. In 1658 he exhibited at the old theatre called the Cockpit, in Drury-lane, "The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, express'd by vocal and instrumental musick, and by art of perspective in scenes." In Spring 1662, having obtained a patent from King Charles the Second, and built a new playhouse in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he opened his theatre with The First Part of the Siege of Rhodes, which since its first exhibition he had enlarged. He afterwards in the same year exhibited the Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes, and his comedy called The Wits; "these plays," says Downes, who

6 In "The Publick Intelligencer, communicating the chief occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England, Scotland and Wales, from Monday, December 20, to Monday, December, 27, 1658," I find the following notice taken of D'Avenant's exhibition by the new Protector, Richard:

"Whitehall, December 23.

"A course is ordered for taking into consideration the Opera, shewed at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and the persons to whom it stands referred, are to fend for the poet and actors, and to inform themselves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the same is exposed to publick view; and they are also to take the best information they can concerning the acting of stage-plays, and upon the whole to make report," &c.

The Saints were equally adverse to every other species of festivity as well as the Opera, and considered holydays, the common prayer-book, and a play-book, as equally pernicious; for in the same paper I find this notification:

"It was ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Council, that effectual letters be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, and to the Justices of peace for Westminster and the liberties thereof, Middlesex and Borough of Southwark, to use their endeavour for abolishing the use of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and other feasts called holydays; as also for preventing the use of the common prayer-book."
who himself acted in The Siege of Rhodes, "having new scenes, and decorations, being the first that ever were introduced in England." Scenes had certainly been used before in the masques at Court, and in a few private exhibitions, and by D'Avenant himself in his attempts at theatrical entertainments shortly before the death of Cromwell: Downes therefore, who is extremely inaccurate in his language in every part of his book, must have meant—the first ever exhibited in a regular drama, on a publick theatre.

I have said that I could produce the testimony of Sir William D'Avenant himself on this subject. His prologue to The Wits, which was exhibited in the spring of the year 1662, soon after the opening of his theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, if every other document had perished, would prove decisively that our author's plays had not the assistance of painted scenes. "There are some," says D'Avenant,

"—— who would the world persuade,
"That gold is better when the stamp is bad;
"And that an ugly ragged piece of eight
"Is ever true in metal and in weight;
"As if a guinny and louis had lets
"Intrinsic value for their handomeness.
"So divers, who outlive the former age,
"Allow * the coarseness of the plain old stage;
"And think rich veils and scenes are only fit
"Disguises for the want of art and wit."

And no less decisive is the different language of the licence for erecting a theatre, granted to him by King Charles I. in 1639, and the letters patent which he obtained from his son in 1662. In the former, after he is authorized "to entertain, govern, privilege, and keep such and so many players to exercise action, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, and the like, as he the said William D'Avenant shall think fit and approve for the said house, and such person to permit and continue at and during the pleasure of the said W. D. to act plays in such house so to be by him erected, and exercise music, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, or other the like, at the same or other hours, or times, or after plays are ended,"—the clause which empowers him to take certain prices from those who should resort to his theatre runs thus:

"And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said W. D. &c. to take and receive of such our subjects as shall resort

* i. e. approve.
Here we see that when the theatre was fitted up in the usual way of that time without the decoration of scenery, (for _scenes_ in the foregoing passages mean, not paintings, but short flagge-representations or prefentments,) the usual prices were authorized to be taken; but after the Restoration, when Sir W. D'Avenant furnished his new theatre with scenery, he took care that the letters patent—which he then obtained, should speak a different language, for there the corresponding clause is as follows:

"And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs, and assigns, to take and receive of such our subjects as shall resort to see or hear any such plays, _scenes, and entertainments_ whatsoever, such sum or sums of money, as either have accustomedly been given and taken in the like kind, or as shall be thought reasonable by him or them, in regard of the great expences of _scenes, musick, and such new decorations_ as have not been formerly used."

Here for the first time in these letters patent the word _scene_ is used in that sense in which Sir William had employed it in the printed title-pages of his musical entertainments exhibited a few years before. In the former letters patent granted in 1639, the word in that sense does not once occur.

To the testimony of D'Avenant himself may be added that of Dryden, both in the passage already quoted, and in his prologue to _The Rival Ladies_, performed at the King's Theatre in 1664:

"Good prologues were as scarce as now good plays.—
"You now have habits, dances, _scenes_, and rhymes;
"High language often, ay, and sense sometimes."

And still more express is that of the author of _The Generous Enemies_, exhibited at the King's Theatre in 1672:

"I cannot choose but laugh, when I look back and see
"The strange vicissitudes of poezie.
"Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
"And fat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit;"
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 69

"Course hangings then, instead of scenes, were worn,
"And Kidderminster did the stage adorn:
"But you, their wiser offspring, did advance
"To plot of jigg, and to dramatick dance?, &c.

These

7 This explains what Dryden means in his prologue to The Rival Ladies, quoted above, where, with scenes and the other novelties introduced after the Restoration, he mentions dance. A dance by a boy was not uncommon in Shakespeare's time; but such dances as were exhibited at the Duke's and King's theatre, which are here called dramatick dances, were unknown.

The following prologue to Tunbridge Wells, acted at the Duke's theatre, and printed in 1678, is more diffuse upon this subject, and confirms what has been stated in the text:

"The old English stage, confin'd to plot and scene,
"Did hold abroad but small intelligence;
"But since the invasion of the foreign scene,
"Jack-pudding farce, and thundering machine,
"Dainties to your grave ancestors unknown,
"Who never dislik'd wit because their own,
"There's not a player but is turn'd a scot,
"And every scribler sends his envoys out,
"To fetch from Paris, Venice, or from Rome,
"Fantaftick fopperies, to please at home.
"And that each act may rise to your desire,
"Devils and witches must each scene inspire;
"Wit rows in waves, and showers down in fire.
"With what strange ease a play may now be writ!
"When the best half's composed by painting it,
"And that in the air or dance lies all the wit.
"True scene or plot would fooleries appear
"Fausts, I suppos'd, you seldom meet with here,
"For 'tis no mode to profit by the ear.
"Your souls, we know, are feated in your eyes;
"An actress in a cloud's a strange surprize,
"And you ne'er pay'd treble prices to be wise."

The French theatre, as we learn from Scaliger, was not furnished with scenes, or even with the ornament of tapestry, in the year 1561. See Scaliger, Poetices, folio, 1561, lib. i. c. 21. Both it, however, and the Italian stage, appear to have had the decoration of scenery before the English. In 1638 was published at Ravena—Pratica di fabbricare Scene e macchine ne' teatri, di Nicola Sabbatini da Pefaro. With respect to the French stage, see D'Avenant's Prologue to the Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes, 1663:

"—many travellers here as judges come,
"From Paris, Florence, Venice, and from Rome;
"Who will describe, when any scene we draw,
"By each of ours all that they ever saw:
"Those praising for extensive breadth and height,
"And inward distance to deceive the sight."

It is said in the Life of Betterton, that "he was sent to Paris by King Charles the Second, to take a view of the French theatre, that
These are not the speculations of scholars concerning a custom of a former age, but the testimony of persons who were either spectators of what they describe, or daily conversed with those who had trod our ancient stage: for D'Avenant's first play, *The Cruel Brother*, was acted at the Blackfriars in January, 1626-7, and Mohun and Hart, who had themselves acted before the civil wars, were employed in that company, by whose immediate successors *The Generous Enemies* was exhibited; I mean the King's Servants. Major Mohun acted in the piece before which the lines last quoted were spoken.

I may add also, that Mr. Wright, the author of *Historia Hiftorionica*, whose father had been a spectator of several plays before the breaking out of the civil wars, expressly says, that the theatres had then no scenes.

But, says Mr. Steevens, (who differs with me in opinion on the subject before us, and whose sentiments I shall give below,) "how happened it, that Shakspere himself should have mentioned the act of shifting scenes, if in his time there were no scenes capable of being shifted? Thus in the Chorus to *King Henry V.*"

"Unto Southampton do we shift our scene."

"This phrase" (he adds) "was hardly more ancient than the custom it describes."

Who does not see, that Shakspere in the passage here quoted uses the word *scene* in the same sense in which it was used two thousand years before he was born; that is, for the place of action represented by the stage; and not for that moveable hanging or painted cloth, strained on a wooden frame, or rolled round a cylinder, which is now called a *scene*? If the smallest doubt could be entertained of his meaning,

he might better judge of what might contribute to the improvement of our own." He went to Paris probably in the year 1666, when both the London theatres were shut.

* "Shakspere, (who, as I have heard, was a much better poet than player,) Burbage, Hemmings, and others of the older sort, were dead before I knew the town; but in my time, before the wars, Lovin used to act Falstaff," &c.—"Though the town was then not much more than half so populous as now, yet then the prices were small, (there being no scenes,) and better order kept among the company that came." *Hifloria Hiftorionica*, 8x0. 1699. This Essay is in the form of a Dialogue between *Trueman*, an old Cavalier, and *Loweswit*, his friend.

The account of the old stage, which is given by the Cavalier, Wright probably derived from his father, who was born in 1611, and was himself a dramatick writer.

9 See Mr. Steevens's Shakspere, 1785, *K. John*, p. 56, n. 7.
meaning, the following lines in the same play would remove it:

"The king is set from London, and the scene
"Is now transported to Southampton."

This, and this only, was the shifting that was meant; a movement from one place to another in the progress of the drama; nor is there found a single passage in his plays in which the word scene is used in the sense required to support the argument of those who suppose that the common stages were furnished with moveable scenes in his time. He constantly uses the word either for a stage-exhibition in general, or the component part of a play, or the place of action represented by the stage:

"For all my life has been but as a scene,
"Acting that argument." K. Henry IV. P. II.
"At your industrious scenes and acts of death."

K. John.

"What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?"
K. Henry VI. P. III.

"Thus with imagin'd wing our swift scene flies,—"
K. Henry V.

To

And so do all the other dramatick writers of his time. So, in Heywood's Downfall of Robert earl of Huntington, 1601:

"— I only mean—
"Myself in person to present some scenes
"Of tragick matter, or perchance of mirth."

Again in the prologue to Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks, a comedy, 1611:

"But if conceit, with quick-turn'd scenes,—
"May win your favours.—"

Again, in the prologue to Late Lancashire Witches, 1634:

"— we are forc'd from our own nation
"To ground the scene that's now in agitation."

Again, in the prologue to Shirley's School of Compliments, 1629:

"— This play is
"The first fruits of a muse, that before this
"Never saluted audience, nor doth mean
"To swear himself a factor for the scene."

Again, in the prologue to Hannibal and Scipio, 1637:

"The places sometimes chang'd too for the scene,
"Which is translat'd as the musick plays," &c.

Here transferring a scene means just the same as shifting a scene in K. Henry V.

I forbear to add more instances, though almost every one of our old plays would furnish me with many.
"To give our scene such growing,—."  
"And so our scene must to the battle fly,—."  
"That he might play the woman in the scene."

Coriolanus.

"A queen in jest, only to fill the scene."  
K. Rich. III.

I shall add but one more instance from All's well that ends well:

"Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing,

"And now chang'd to the Beggar and the King."

from which lines it might, I conceive, be as reasonably inferred that scenes were changed in Shakspere's time, as from the passage relied on in K. Henry V. and perhaps by the same mode of reasoning it might be proved, from a line above quoted from the same play, that the technical modern term, wings, or side-scenes, was not unknown to our great poet.

The various circumstances which I have stated, and the accounts of the contemporary writers 2, furnish us, in my apprehension,

2 All the writers on the ancient English stage that I have met with, concur with those quoted in the text on this subject: "Now for the difference betwixt our theatres and those of former times," (says Flecknoe, who lived near enough the time to be accurately informed,) "they were but plain and simple, with no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old tapistry, and the stage crested with rushe, with their habits accordingly." _Short Discourse of the English Stage_, 1664. In a subsequent passage indeed he adds, "For scenes and machines, they are no new invention; our masques, and some of our plays, in former times, (though not so ordinary,) having had as good or rather better, than any we have now."—To reconcile this passage with the foregoing, the author must be supposed to speak here, not of the exhibitions at the publick theatres, but of masques and private plays, performed either at court or at noblemen's houses. He does not say, "some of our theatres,"—but, "our masques, and some of our plays having had," &c. We have already seen that _Love's Mispris'd or the Queen's Masque_ was exhibited with scenes at Denmark-houfe in 1636. In the reign of king Charles I. the performance of plays at court, and at private houses, seems to have been very common; and gentlemen went to great expense in these exhibitions. See a letter from Mr. Garrard to lord Strafford, dated, Feb. 7, 1637; _Strafford's Letters_, Vol. II. p. 150: "Two of the king's servants, privy-chamber men both, have writ each of them a play, Sir John Sutlin [Suckling] and Will. Barclay, which have been acted in court, and at the Black-sriers, with much applause. Sutlin's play cost three or four hundred pounds, setting out; eight or ten fuits of new cloaths he gave the players; an unheard-of prodigality." The play on which Sir John Suckling expended this large sum, was _Aglaura_.

To the authority of Flecknoe may be added that of Edward Phillips, who, in his _Theatrum Poetarum_, 1674, [article D'Avenant,] praises that poet
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hension, with decisive and incontrovertible proofs, that the stage of Shakespeare was not furnished with moveable painted scenes,

poet for "the great fluency of his wit and fancy, especially for what he wrote for the English stage, of which, having laid the foundation before by his musical dramas, when the usual plays were not suffer'd to be acted, he was the first reviewer and improver, by painted scenes." Wright also, who was well acquainted with the history of our ancient stage, and had certainly convers'd with many persons who had seen theatrical performances before the civil wars, expressly says, as I have observed above, that "scenes were first introduced by Sir William D'Avenant, on the publick stage, at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields." "Presently after the Restoration," this writer informs us, "the king's players acted publickly at the Red Bull for some time, and then removed to a new-built playhouse in Vere-street, by Clare-market. There they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the theatre-royal in Drury-lane, where they first made use of scenes, which had been a little before introduced upon the publick stage by Sir W. D'Avenant at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields, but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. Betterton, at the new theatre in Dorset Gardens, to the great expence and continual charge of the players." Historia Histrionica, 8vo. 1697, p. 10. Wright calls it the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Inn fields, though in fact in 1663 it was a new building, because when he wrote, it had become old, and a new theatre had been built in Lincoln's Inn fields in 1695. He is here speaking of player and players, and therefore makes no account of the musical entertainments exhibited by D'Avenant a few years before at Rutland House, and at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, in which a little attempt at scenery had been made. In those pieces, I believe, no stage-player performed.

I subjoin the sentiments of Mr. Steevens, who differs with me in opinion on this subject; observing only that in general the passages to which he alludes, prove only that our author's plays were not exhibited without the aid of machinery, which is not denied; and that not a single passage is quoted, which proves that a moveable painted scene was employed in any of his plays in his theatre. The lines quoted from The Staple of News, at the bottom of p. 88, must have been transcribed from some incorrect edition, for the original copy printed in 1621, reads—

scene, not scenes; a variation of some importance. The words—

"the various shifting of their scene," denote, in my apprehension, nothing more than frequent change of place in the progress of the drama; and even if that were not the case, and these words were used in the modern sense, they would not prove that scenes were employed on the stage in Shakespeare's time, for The Staple of News was not exhibited till March, 1625-6.

"It must be acknowledged," says Mr. Steevens, "that little more is advanced on this occasion, than is fairly supported by the testimony of contemporary writers.

"Were we, however, to reason on such a part of the subject as is now before us, some suspicions might arise, that where machinery was discovered, the less complicated adjunct of scenes was scarcely wanting. When the column is found standing, no one will suppose but that it was
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scenes, but merely decorated with curtains, and arras or tapestry hangings, which, when decayed, appear to have been

was once accompanied by its usual entablature. If this inference be natural, little impropriety can be complained of in one of the stage-directions above mentioned. Where the bed is introduced, the scene of a bed-chamber (a thing too common to deserve description) would of course be at hand. Neither should any great fires be laid on the words of Sir Philip Sidney. Are we not still obliged to receive the stage alternately as a garden, as an ocean, as a range of rocks, or as a cavern? With all our modern advantages, so much of resemblance is wanting in a theatre, that the apologies which Shakspere offers for scenical deficiency, are still in some degree needful; and be it always remembered that Sir Philip Sidney has not positively declared that no painted scenes were in use. Who that mentions the present stage, would think it necessary to dwell on the article of scenery, unless it were particularly striking and magnificent? Sir Philip has not spoken of stage-habits, and are we therefore to suppose that none were worn? Besides, between the time when Sir Philip wrote his Defence of Poets, and the period at which the plays of Shakspere were presented, the stage in all probability had received much additional embellishment. Let me repeat, that if in 1529 (the date of Aesopius) machinery * is known to have existed, in 1592 (when Shakspere commenced a play-wright) a greater number of ornaments might naturally be expected, as it is usual for one improvement to be soon followed by another. That the plays of Shakspere were exhibited with the aid of machinery, the following stage-directions, copied from the folio 1623, will abundantly prove. In The Tempest, Ariel is said to enter "like a harpy, claps his wings on the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes." In a subsequent scene of the same play, Juno "Descends;" and in Cymbeline, Jupiter "descends likewise, in thunder and lightning, sitting upon an eagle." In Macbeth, "the cauldron stirs, and the apparitions rise." It may be added that the dialogue of Shakspere has such perpetual reference to objects supposed visible to the audience, that the want of scenery could not have failed to render many of the descriptions uttered by his speakers absurd and laughable.—Macduff examines the outside of Inverness castle with such minutenes, that he distinguishes even the neds which the martins had built under the projecting parts of its roof.—Romeo, flauding in a garden, points to the tops of fruit-trees gilded by the moon.—The prologue-speaker to the second part of K. Henry IV, expressly shews the spectators "this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone," in which Northumberland was lodged. Jachimo takes the most exact inventory of every article in Imogen's bed-chamber, from the silk and silver of which her tapestry was wrought, down

* What happy deceptions could be produced by the aid of framework and painted canvas, we may learn from Holinshed, and yet more ancient historians. The pageants and tournaments at the beginning of Henry VIIth's reign very frequently required that the castles of imaginary beings should be exhibited. Of such contrivances some deferiptions remain. These extempore buildings afforded a natural introduction to scenery on the stage.
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been sometimes ornamented with pictures: and some passages
E 2

down to the Cupids that support her andirons. Had not the inside of
this apartment, with its proper furniture, been represented, how ridi-
culous must the action of Jachimo have appeared! He must have
stood looking out of the room for the particulars supposed to be vi-

dible within it. In one of the parts of K. Henry VI. a cannon is
discharged against a tower; and conversations are held in almost every
scene from different walls, turrets, and battlements. Nor is my be-

lief in ancient scenery entirely founded on conjecture. In the folio ed-
tions of Shakspere’s plays, 1623, the following traces of it are preserv-
ed. In King John; “Enter, before Angiers, Philip king of France,”
&c.—“Enter a citizen upon the walls.”—“Enter the herald of France
with trumpets to the gates.”—“Enter Arthur on the walls.” In K.
Hen. V. “Enter the king, &c. with scaling ladders at—Flourieu.”
—“Enter the king with all his train before the gates.” In K. Hen. VI.
“Enter to the protector at the Tower gates,” &c.—“Enter Salisbury
and Talbot on the walls.”—‘The French leap over the walls in their skirts.”
—“Enter Pucelle on the top of the tower, thrusting out a torch burning.”
—“Enter lord Scala on the tower walking. Then enter two or three ci-
tizens below.”—“Enter the king and queen and Somerset on the terrace.”
—“Enter three watchmen to guard the king’s tent.” In Coriolanu: “Mac-
cius follows them to the gates, and is shot in.” In Timon: “Enter Timon in
the woods.””—“Enter Timon from his cave.” In Julius Caesar: “Enter
Brutus in his orchard,” &c. &c.—In short, without characteristically discri-
minations of place, the historical dramas of Shakspere in particular,
would have been wrapped in tenfold confusion and obscurity; nor could
the spectator have felt the poet’s power, or accompanied his rapid trans-
fitions from one situation to another, without such guides as painted can-
vans only could supply. The audience would with difficulty have receiv-
ed the catastrophe of Romeo and Juliet as natural and affecting, unless
the deception was confirmed to them by the appearance of a tomb. The
managers who could raise ghosts, bid the cauldron sink into the earth,
and then exhibit a train of royal phantoms in Macbeth, could with less
difficulty supply the flat paintings of a cavern or a grove. The artists
who can put the dragons of Medea in motion, can more easily reprent the
clouds through which they are to pass. But for these, or such affili-
tances, the spectator, like Hamlet’s mother, must have bent his gaze on
mortifying vacancy; and with the guest invited by the Barmecide, in
the Arabian tale, must have furnished from his own imagination the
entertainment of which his eyes were solicited to partake.

It should likewise be remembered, that the intervention of civil war
would easily occasion many customs of our early theatres to be silently

forgotten

Apemantus must have pointed to the scenes as he spoke the following
lines:

“—— shame not these woods,
“By putting on the cunning of a carper.”

Again:

“—— will these moist trees
“That have outliv’d the eagle,” &c.

A piece of old tapestry must have been regarded as a poor substitut
for these towering shades.
in our old dramas incline me to think, that when tragedies were performed, the stage was hung with black.

In forgotten. The times when Wright and Downes produced their respective narratives, were by no means times of exactness or curiosity. What they heard, might have been heard imperfectly; it might have been unskilfully related; or their own memories might have deceived them:

"Ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura."

"One alliteration made by the latter of these writers, is chronologically disproved. We may remark likewise, that in private theatres, a part of the audience was admitted on the stage, but that this licence was refused in the publick play-houses. To what circumstance shall we impute this difference between the customs of the one and the other? Perhaps the private theatres had no scenes, the publick had; and a crowded stage would prevent them from being commodiously beheld, or conveniently shifted*. The fresh pictures mentioned by Ben Jonson in the induction to his Cynthia's Revels might be properly introduced to cover old tapestry; for to hang pictures over faded arras, was then and is still sufficiently common in antiquated mansions, such as those in which the scenes of dramatic writers are often laid. That Shakspeare himself was no stranger to the magic of theatrical ornaments, may he inferred from a passage in which he alludes to the scenery of pageants, the fashions able shows of his time:

"Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish,
"A vapour sometimes like a lion, a bear,
"A towred citadel, a pendent rock,
"A forced mountain, or blue promontory
"With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,
"And mock our eyes with air:—these thou hast seen,
"They are black Vesper's pageants."

"Antony and Cleopatra."

"To conclude the richest and most expensive scenes had been introduced to dress up those spurious children of the Muse called Masques; nor have we sufficient reason for believing that Tragedy, her legitimate offspring, continued to be exposed in rags, while appendages more suitable to her dignity were known to be within the reach of our ancient managers. Shakspeare, Burbage, and Condell, must have had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the mode in which both masques, tragedies, and comedies, were represented in the inns of court, the halls of noblemen, and in the palace itself."

* To shift a scene is at least a phrase employed by Shakspeare himself in K. Henry V.

"Unto Southampton do we shift our scene."

and by Ben Jonson, yet more appositely, in The Staple of News:

"Lie. Have you no news o' the stage?"

"Tho. O yes;"

"There is a legacy left to the king's players,
"Both for their various shifting of their scenes,
"And dextrous change of their persons to all shapes
"And all disguises," &c.

† After a pageant had passed through the streets, the characters that composed it were assembled in some hall or other spacious apartment, where they delivered their respective speeches, and were finally set out to view with the advantages of proper scenery and decoration.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE

In the early part, at least, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the simple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the scene was laid in the progress of the play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be visible to the audience.

Though the apparatus for theatrick exhibitions was thus scanty, and the machinery of the simplest kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old Morality, entitled, All for Money, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were very early in use.

4 "Sir Crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed old areas, in a publick theatre." Induction to Cynthia's Revels, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

5 In the induction to an old tragedy called A warning for fair Women, 1599, three personages are introduced, under the names of Tragedy, Comedy, and History. After some contest for superiority, Tragedy prevails; and History and Comedy retire with these words:

Hif. "Look, Comedy, I mark'd it not till now,
The stage is hung with black, and I perceive
The auditors prepar'd for tragedy.

Com. "Nay then, I see the shall be entertain'd.
These ornaments becom not thee and me;" Then Tragedy, kill them to-day with sorrow,
"We'll make them laugh with mournful jests to-morrow."

So in Marston's Inconstant Countess, 1613:

"The stage of heaven is hung with somene black,
A time beft fitting to act tragedie."

Again, in Daniel's Civil Wars, B. V. 1602:

"Let her be made the fable stage, whereon
Shall first be acted bloody tragedies."

Again in K. Henry VII. P. I.

"Hung be the heavens with black," &c.

Again, more appositely, in The Rape of Lucrece, 1594:

"Black stage for tragedies, and murthers fell."

6 "What child is there, that coming to a play and seeing Thebes written upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes?" Defence of Poets, by Sir Philip Sidney. Signat. G. 1595.

When D'Avenant introduced scenes on the publick stage, this ancient practice was still followed. See his Introduction to his Siege of Rhodes, 1656: "In the middle of the freeze was a compartement, wherein was written—Rhodes."

7 Here—- with some fine conveyance, Pleasure shall appear from beneath. All for Money, 1578.

So, in Marston's Antonio's Revenge, 1602:

"Enter Balurdo from under the stage."

In the fourth act of Macbeth, several apparitions arise from beneath the stage, and again descend.—The cauldron likewise sinks:

"Why sinks that cauldron, and what noise is this?"

In the Roaring Girl, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, there is a character called Trap-door.
We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*⁸, that the covering, or internal roof, of the stage, was anciently termed the heavens. It was probably painted of a sky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were suspended across the stage, to represent the heavens.

It appears from the stage-directions⁹ given in *The Spanish Tragedy*, that when a play was exhibited within a play, (if I may so express myself,) as is the case in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed sat in the balcony, or upper stage, already described; and a curtain or traverse being hung across the stage for the nonce, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on its being drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the balcony, and regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole of the performance.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it should seem that the stage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form similar to those now hung in churches; and from Beaumont's *Verfes* prefixed to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherds*, which was acted before the year 1611, we find that wax lights were used ¹.

These branches having been found incommodious, as they obstructed the sight of the spectators ², gave place at a subsequent

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⁸ *Apol. for Actors*, 1612. Signat. D.
⁹ *Spanish Tragedy*, 1610, A& IV. Signat. L.

"Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain.

"Enter the duke of Castile.

"Caf. How now Hieronimo, where's your fellows?

"That you take all this pains?

"Hiero. O, sir, it is for the author's credit

"To look that all things may go well.

"But good my lord, let me entreat your grace,

"To give the king the copy of the play.

"This is the argument of what we shew.

"Caf. I will, Hieronimo.

"Hiero. Let me entreat your grace, that when

"The train are past into the gallery,

"You would vouchsafe to throw me down the key.

"Caf. I will, Hieronimo.

Enter Balthazar, with a chair.

"Hiero. Well done, Balthazar; hang up the tilt:

"Our scene is Rhodes. What, is your beard on?"

Afterwards the tragedy of *Solyman and Perseda* is exhibited before the king of Spain, the duke of Castile, &c.

¹ "Some like, if the wax lights be new that day."

² Fleckno in 1664, complains of the bad lighting of the stage, even
quent period to small circular wooden frames, furnished with candles, eight of which were hung on the stage, four at either side: and these within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France in 1765, first introduced the present commodious method of illuminating the stage by lights not visible to the audience.

The body of the house was illuminated by cresfets, or large open lanterns of nearly the same size with those which are fixed in the poop of a ship.

If all the players whose names are enumerated in the first folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the same theatre, they composed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the same period, or always continued in the same house. Many of the companies, in the infancy of the stage, certainly were so thin, that the same person played two or three parts; and a battle on which the fate of an empire was supposed to depend, was decided by half a dozen combatants. It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to discharge small pieces of ordnance on or behind the stage.

Before

at that time: "Of this curious art [scenery] the Italians (this latter age) are the greatest masters; the French good professors; and we in England only scholars and learners yet, having proceeded no farther than to bare painting, and not arrived to the stupendous wonders of your great ingeniours; especially not knowing yet how to place our lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the scene." Short Discourse of the English stage.

3 See Cotgrave's French Dictionary, 1611. in v. Falot: "A cresfet light, (such as they use in playhouses,) made of ropes wreathed, pitched, and put into small and open cages of iron."


4 An actor, who wrote a pamphlet against Mr. Pope, soon after the publication of his edition of Shakspere, says, he could prove that they belonged to several different companies. It appears from the MS. Register of lord Stanhope, treasurer of the chamber to king James I. that Joseph Taylor, in 1613, was at the head of a distinct company from that of Heminge, called the lady Elizabeth's servants, who then acted at the Hope on the Bankside. He was probably however, before that period, of the king's company, of which afterwards he was a principal ornament. Some of the players too, whose names are prefixed to the first folio edition of our author, were dead in the year 1600, or soon after; and others there enumerated, might have appeared at a subsequent period, to supply their losts. See the Catalogue of Actors, post.

5 In the Induction to Maflou's Antonio and Mellida, 1602, Piero alla Alberto, what part he acts. He replies, "the necessity of the play forceth me to act two parts." See also the Dramatis Personae of many of our ancient plays, and below, p. 84, n. 2.

"And fo our scene must to the battle fly,
"Whence, O for pity! we shall much disgrace"
Before the exhibition began, three flourishses were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three foundings. Musicke was likewise played between the acts. The instruments chiefly used, were trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs. The band, which, I believe, did not confit of more than eight or ten performers, fat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage-veteran, who had his information from Boman, the contemporary of Betterton,) in

"With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
Right ill dispos'd, in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt." K. Henry V. Act IV.
7. "Much like to some of the players that come to the scaffold with drumme and trumpet, to proffer skirmishe, and when they have founded alarme, off go the pieces, to encounter a shadow, or conquer a papermonster." Schoole of Abuse, By Stephen Gofton, 1579.

So, in The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt, 1600: "Alarmes to the battale.—York flies; then the chambers be disembarged; then enter the king," &c.
8 "Come, let's bethink ourselves, what may be found
"To deceive time with, till the second found."

Notes from Black-friars, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

See also the Address to the readers, prefixed to Decker's Satyromastix, a comedy, 1602: "Instead of the trumpets founding thrice before the play begin," &c.

9 See the Prologue to Hannibal and Scipio, a tragedy, 1637:
"The places sometimes chang'd too for the scene,
"Which is translated, as the musicke plays
"Betwixt the acts."

The practice appears to have prevailed in the infancy of our stage. See the concluding lines of the second act of Gammer Gurton's Needle, 1575:

"In the town will I, my frendes to vyfit there
And hether strait again, to see the end of this gere:
"In the mean time, feloves, pipe upp your fiddles, I say take them,
"And let your frendes here fuch mirth as ye can make them."

It has been thought by some that our author's dramas were exhibited without any pauses, in an unbroken continuity of scenes. But this appears to be a mistake. In a copy of Romeo and Juliet, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the play-house, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin; and directions are given for musicke to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient style and hand—"Play musicke."

1 See the stage-directions in Marston's Sophonisba, acted at the Black-friars theatre, in 1606:
"The ladies draw the curtains about Sophonisba;—the cornets and organs playing loud full musicke for the act." Sigmat. B. 4.
"Organ mixt with recorders for this act." Sigmat. D. 2.
"Organs, viols, and voices, play for this act." Sigmat. E. 2.
"A base lute and a treble viol play for this act." Sigmat. F. 2.
in an upper balcony, over what is now called the flage-

box 2.

From Sir Henry Herbert’s Manuscript I learn, that the
muicians belonging to Shakspere’s company were obliged to
pay the Master of the Revels an annual fee for a licence to
play in the theatre 3.

Not very long after our poet’s death the Blackfriars’ band,
was more numerous*; and their reputation was so high as to
be noticed by Sir Bullbrode Whitelocke, in an account which
he has left of the splendid Masque given by the four Inns of
Court on the second of February, 1633-4, entitled The
Triumph of Peace, and intended, as he himself informs us,
“to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne’s
new learning, and to confute his Histriomastix against inter-
ludes.”

A very particular account of this masque is found in his
Memorials; but that which Dr. Burney has lately given in
his very curious and elegant History of Music* 4, from a man-
uscript in the possession of Dr. Moreton, of the British
Museurn, contains some minute particulars not noticed in the
former printed account, and among others an eulogy on our
poet’s band of muicians.

“ For the Muficke,” says Whitelocke, “which was par-
ticularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives, and to
Mr. Lawes, 100l. a piece for their rewards: for the four
French gentlemen, the queen’s fervants, I thought that a
handsome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known
to the queen, their misfrius, and well taken by her. I there-
fore

E 5

2 In the laft scene of Massinger’s City Madem, which was fift acted
at Blackfriars, May 25, 1632, Orpheus is introduced chanting those
tavifhing straines with which he moved

“ Charon and Cerberus, to give him way

“ To fetch from hell his loft Eurydice.”

The following flage-direction, which is found in the preceding scene,
supports what has been fuggested above, concerning the station of
the muicians in our ancient theatres: “ Muicians come down, [i. e. are to
come down], to make ready for the song at Arras.” This song was to
be fung behind the arras.

3 “ For a warrant to the Mufitions of the king’s company, this 9th
of April, 1627,—£3. 10. 0.” Mr. Herbert.

4 Vol. III. p. 376.

* In a warrant of protection now before me, signed by Sir Henry
Herbert, and dated from the Office of the Revels, Dec. 27, 1624, Nicholas
Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and seventeen others, are
mentioned as being “ all employed by the kings Majes fervants in
their quality of playinge as muitions, and other neceffary attendants.”
fore invited them one morning to a collation att St. Dunstan's tavern, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd by him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates, they found in each of them forty pieces of gould, of their master's coyne, for the first dish, and they had cause to be much pleased with this furprifall.

"The rest of the musicians had rewards unswearable to their parts and qualities; and the whole charge of the musique came to about one thousand pounds. The clothes of the horsemen reckoned one with another at £.100 a suit, att the least, amounted to £.10,000.—The charges of all the rest of the masque, which were borne by the societies, were accounted to be above twenty thousand pounds.

"I was so converfant with the musitians, and so willing to gain their favour, especially at this time, that I compos'd an aier my selfe, with the affilliance of Mr. Ives, and called it Whitelocke's Coranto; which being cried up, was first played publiquely by the Blackefryars Musick, who were then esteemed the best of common musitians in London. Whenever I came to that house, (as I did sometimes in those dayes, though not often,) to see a play, the musitians would prefently play Whitelocke's Coranto; and it was so often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoone. The queen hearing it, would not be persuaded that it was made by an Englishman, because she said it was fuller of life and spirit than the English aiers used to be; but she honoured the Coranto and the maker of it with her majestyes royall commendation. It grew to that request, that all the common musitians in this towne, and all over the kingdom, gott the composition of it, and played it publiquely in all places for above thirtie years after."

The stage in Shakspeare's time seems to have been sepa-
rated from the pit only by pales. Soon after the Restora-
tion, the band, I imagine, took the flation which they have kept ever since, in an orchestra placed between the stage and the pit.

5 "And now that I have vaulted up so hyc,
   "Above the stage-raysles of this earthen globe,
   "I must turn a cor," Black Beke, 4to. 1604.

See also D'Avenant's Playhouse to be let:
   "Monfieur, you may draw up your troop of forces
   "Within the pales."

6 See the first direction in The Tempest, altered by D'Avenant and Dryden, and acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in 1667:
The person who spoke the prologue, who entered immediately after the third sounding, usually wore a long black velvet cloak, which, I suppose, was considered as best suited to a supplicatory address. Of this custom, whatever may have been its origin, some traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I mistake not, within these few years, the constant stage-habiment of our modern prologue-speakers. The complete dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play exhibited in Hamlet, before the King and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakspeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at last, they have not been preferred. In All's Well that End's Well, A Midsummer-Night's Dream, As you like it, Troilus and Cressida, and The Tempest, the epilogue is spoken.

"The front of the stage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the larpexals and theorbs, which accompany the voices, are placed between the pit and the stage." If this had not been a novel regulation, the direction would have been unnecessary.

Coggrave in his Dictionary, 1611, following the idea of ancient Rome, defines oorèfære, "The senators' or noble men's places in a theatre, between the stage and the common seats. Also the stage itself." If musicians had set in this place, when he wrote, or the term oorèfære, in its presentsense, had been then known, there is reason to believe that he would have noticed it. See his interpretation of Falst, above, in p. 79, n. 3.

The word oorèfære is not found in Minshau's Dict. nor Bullokar's Expositor.

In 'Cockeram's Interpreter of hard words, 1655, it is defined a scaffold.

7 Prefent not your felce on the stage, (especially at a new play) till the quaking prologue hath by rubbing got color into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpets their cue, that he's upon the point to enter." Decker's Gul's Hornbook, 1609.

8 See the Induction to Cynthia's Revels, 1901:
1. Child. "Pray you, away; why children, what do you mean?"
2. Child. "Marry, that you should not speak the prologue.

So, in the prologue to The Coronation, by Shirley, 1640:
"Since 'tis become the title of our play,
"A woman once in a coronation may
"With pardon speak the prologue, give as free
"A welcome to the theatre, as he
"That with a little beard, a long black cloak,
"With a starch'd face and supple leg, hath spoke
"Before the plays this twelvmonth, let me then
"Prefent a welcome to these gentlemen."

Again, in the prologue to The Woman-Hater, by B. and Fleckner, 1607: "Gentlemen, inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verse is as stale as a black velvet cloak, and a bay garland."
spoken by one of the persons of the drama, and adapted to
the character of the speaker; a circumstance that I have not
observed in the epilogues of any other author of that age.
The epilogue was not always spoken by one of the performers
in the piece; for that subjoined to The Second Part of King
Henry IV. appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters frequently wore peri-
wigs, which in the age of Shakspeare were not in common
use. It appears from a passage in Puttenham's Arte of English
Poetie, 1589, that wizards were on some occasions used by the
actors of those days; and it may be inferred from a scene in
one of our author's comedies, that they were sometimes worn
in his time, by those who performed female characters. But
this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of
the audience likewise appeared in masks.

Both

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9 See Hamlet, Act III. sc. ii. "O, it offends me to the soul, to hear
a robustious periwigs-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters."
So, in Every Woman in Her Humour, 1609: "As none wear hoods
but monks and ladies, — and feathers but fore-horses, &c. none periwigs
but players and pictures."

1 In Hall's Virginiariurn, 1597, Lib. III. Sat. 5, the fashion of
wearing periwigs is ridiculed as a novel and fantafick custom:

"Late travelling along in London way,
"Mee met, as seem'd by his disguis'd array,
"A lustie courtier, whose curled head
"With abron locks was fairely furnished ;
"I him saluted in our lavish wife;
"He answers my untimely courtsey,
"His bonnet vail'd,—or ever he could think,
"The unruly windes blows off his periwinke.
"He lights and runs, and quickly hath him sped,
"To over-take his over-running head.—
"Is't not sweet pride, when men their crownes must shade
"With that which jerks the hams of every jade;
"Or floor-strow'd locks from off the barber's shears?
"But waxen crownes well gree with borrowed haires."

2 "— partly (says he) to supply the want of players, when there
were more parts than there were perfons."

3 In A Midsummer-Night's Dream, Flute objects to his playing a wo-
man's part, because he has "a beard a coming." But his friend Quince
tells him, "that's all one; you shall play it in a mask, and you may
speak as small as you will."

4 "In our assemblies at plays in London, (says Goffon, in his
Schoole of Abuse, 1579, Signat. C.) you shall see such heaving and shoving,
such ytching and should'ring to fitte by women, such care for their gar-
ments, that they be not trode on; such eyes to their lappes, that no
chippes light in them; such pillows to their backes, that they take no
lurte; such making in their ears, I know not what; such giving them
pippins to pay the time; such playing at foot-saunte without cardes;
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 85

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was sometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres. 5

The stage-dresses, it is reasonable to suppose, were much more costly in some playhouses than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's servants at The Globe and Blackfriars, was, we find, but scantily furnished; and our author's dramas derived very little aid from the splendor of exhibition. 6

It is well known, that in the time of Shakspeare, and for many

fuch licking, fuch toying, fuch smiling, fuch winking, fuch manning them home when the sports are ended, that it is a right comic to mark their behaviour."  

So also the prologue to Marston's Fawne, 1606:

"— nor doth he hope to win
" Your laud or hand with that most common sin
" Of vulgar pens, rank bawdry, that smells
" Even through your mask, ufe ad nauseam."

Again, in his Scourge of Villainie, 1599:

"—— Disguised Meh Malone,
" I'll teare thy mask, and bare thee to the eyne
" Of hissing boyes, if to the theatres
" I find thee once more come for lecherous."

Again, in B. Jonson's verses, addressed to Fletcher on his Faithful Shepherd's:

"The wife and many-headed bench that fits
" Upon the life and death of plays and wits,
" Compos'd of gamerer, captain, knight, knights man,
" Lady or pufil, that wears mask or fan
" Velvet or taftata cap, rank'd in the dark
" With the fhips foreman, or fome fuch brave sparke,
" (That may judge for his fixpence) had, before
" They faw it half, damn'd that whole play."

After the Restoration, masks, I believe, were chiefly worn in the theatre, by women of the town. Wright complains of the great number of masks in his time: "Of late the play-houses are so extremely pelfered with vizard-masks and their trade, (occasioning continual quarrels and abuses) that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneasy in the company, and flun the theatre as they would a houfe of scandal." Hist. Hist. 1699, p. 6.

Ladies of unblemished character, however, wore masks in the boxes, in the time of Congreve. In the epilogue to Durfey's comedy called The old mode and the new, (no date) the speaker points to the masks in the side boxes: but I am not sure whether what are now called the balconies were not meant.

"I affure you, sir, we are not so officiously befriended by him, [the author] as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the book-holder, swear for our properties, curfe the poor tireman, rayle the musicke out of tune, &c. Induction to Cynthia's Revels, 1601.

6 See the Induction to Ben Jonfon's Staple of News, acted by the king's servants, in 1625:

"O Curiosity,
many years afterwards, female characters were represented solely by boys or young men. Nahe in a pamphlet published in 1592, speaking in defence of the English stage, 

"... that the players of his time were " not as the players beyond sea, a sort of squiring bawdie comedians, that have whores and common curtizans to play women's parts."

What Nahe considered as an high eulogy on his country, Prynne has made one of his principal charges against the English stage; having employed several pages in his bulky volume, and quoted many hundred authorities, to prove that " those playes wherein any men act women's parts in women's apparel must needs be finful, yea, abominable unto christians.

"The grand basis of his argument is a text in scripture; Deuteronomy, ch. xxii, v. 5. "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment;" a precept, which Sir Richard Baker has justly remarked, is no part of the moral law, and ought not to be understood literally. "Where (says Sir Richard) finds he this precept? Even in the same place where he finds also that we must not wear cloaths of linsey-woolsey: and seeing we lawfully now wear cloaths of linsey-woolsey, why may it not be as lawful for men to put on women's garments?"

It may perhaps be supposed that Prynne, having thus vehemently inveighed against men's representing female characters on the stage, would not have been averse to the introduction of

"O Curiosity, you come to see who wears the new suit to-day; whose cloaths are best pen'd, whatever the part be; which actor has the best leg and foot; what king plays without cuffs, and his queen without gloves: who rides poft in focking, and dances in boots."

It is however, one of Prynne's arguments against the stage, in the invective which he published about eight years after the date of this piece, that "the ordinary theatrical interludes were usually acted in varie-clothy, effeminate, fantafick, and garowy apparel." Histriomastix. p. 216. But little credit is to be given to that voluminous scald, on a question of this kind. As the frequenters of the theatre were little better than incarnate devils, and the musick in churches the bleating of brute boffe, so a piece of coarse stuff trimmed with tinsel was probably in his opinion a most splendid and ungodly drefs.

7 Pierce Pennilifs his Supplication to the Devil, 4to. 1592.
8 Histriomastix, 4to. 1633, p. 179.
9 Theatrum Triumphans, 8vo. 1670, p. 16. Martin Luther's comment on this text is as follows: "Hic non prohibitur quin ad vitandum periculum, aut ludendum joco, vel ad fallendum hoftes, mulier posset gerere arma viri, et vir uti vetiti muliebri; sed ut fero et usitat habuit taliis non fiunt, ut decorata utrique sexui servetur dignitas." And the learned Jesuit, Lorin, concurs with him: "Dissimulatio vetiti potest interdum fine peccato fieri, vel ad representandum comice tragicce perfonam, vel ad effugiendum periculum, vel in cafu simili." Ibid. p. 19.
of women in the scene; but sinful as this zealot thought it in 
mens to assume the garments of the other sex, he considered it
as not less abominable in womens to tread the stage in their own
proper drees: for he informs us, that "some Frenchwomen,
or monsters rather, in Michaelmas term, 1629, attempted to
act a French play at the playhouse in Blackfriers," which he
represents as "an impudent, shameful, unwomanish, grace-
less, if not more than womanish attempt."

Soon after the period he speaks of, a regular French theatre
was established in London, where without doubt women acted 2. They had long before appeared on the Italian as well

1 Hisriomenifl, p. 414. He there calls it only an attempt, but in a
former page (215) he says, "they have now their female players in Italy
and other foreign parts, as they had such French women actors in a play
not long since perforated in Blackfriers playhouse, to which there was
great resort." In the margin he adds—"In Michaelmas term, 1629."
His account is confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, in which
I find the following notice of this exhibition:

"For the allowings of a French company to playe a farce at Black-
friers, this 4 of November, 1629,—£. 2. o. o."
The same company attempted an exhibition both at the Red Bull and
the Fortune theatres, as appears from the following entries:

"For allowings of the Frenche [company] att the Red Bull for a daye,
22 Novemb. 1629,—[£. 2. o. o.]
"For allowings of a Frenche companie att the Fortune to play one
afternoone, this 14 of Decemb. 1629,—£. 1. o. o.
"I should have had another piece, but in respect of their ill fortune,
I was content to bestow a piece back." Mr. Herbert.

Prynne, in conformity to the absurd notions which have been stated
in the text, inserted in his Index these words: "Women actors notorious
wovores;" by which he so highly offended the king and queen, that he
was tried in the Star-chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life,
frined £. 5000, expelled Lincoln's Inn, disbarred and disqualified to
practise the law, degraded of his degree in the university, to be set on
the pillory, his ears cut off, and his book burnt by the hands of the
common hangman, "which rigorous sentence," says Whitelocke, "was
as rigorously executed." I quote these words as given by Dr. Burney
from Whitelocke's Manuscript. It is remarkable that in his printed
Memorials the word rigorous is omitted; from which there is reason
to believe that the editor in 1682 took some liberties with the manu-
script from which that book was printed. The words there are,
"which sentence was as severely executed."

In p. 708 of Prynne's book is the following note, the insertion of
which probably incensed their majesties, who often performed in the
court-maques, not less than what has been already mentioned:

"It is infamous in this author's judgment [Dion Cassius] for emperors or
persons of quality to dance upon a stage, or act a play."

2 In the Office-book of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery,
I find a warrant for payment of £. 10. "to Josias Floridor for himselfe
and the rest of the French players, for a tragedy by them acted before
as the French stage. When Coryate was at Venice, [July 1608,] he tells us, he was at one of their playhouses, and saw a comedy acted. "The house (he adds) is very beggarly and bafe, in comparison of our stately playhouses in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparel, shewes, and musicke. Here I observed certaine things that I never saw before; for I saw women act, a thing that I never saw before, though I have heard that it hath been some times used in London; and they performed it with as good a grace, action

his Majestie in Dec. last." Dated Jan. 8. 1635-6. Their house had been licenfed, April 18, 1635. I find also "£. io. paid to John Navarro for himself and the rest of the company of Spanish players, for a play presented before his Majestie, Dec. 23, 1635."

We have already seen that Henrietta Maria had a precedent for introducing the comedians of her own country into England, King Henry the Seventh having likewise had a company of French players.

Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript furnishes us with the following notices on this subject:

"On Tuesday the 17 of February, 1634, [1634-5] a Frenche company of players, being aprov'd of by the queene at her house too nights before, and commended by her majesty to the kings, were admitted to the Cockpitt in Whitehall, and there presented the king and queene with a Frenche comedy called Mede, with good approbation: for which play the king gives them ten pounds.

"This day being Friday, and the 20 of the same mouth, the kings could mee his pleasure, and commanded mee to give order that this Frenche company should playe the too sermon daies in the weeke, during their time of playinge in Lent, and in the house of Drury-lane, where the queenes players usuallly playe.

"The king's pleasure I signified to Mr. Beefton, [the Manager of Drury-lane theatre] the same day, who obeyd readily.

"The housekeepers are to give them by promife the benefit of their interest for the two days of the first weeke.

"They had the benefit of playinge on the sermon daies and gott two hundred pounds at leaft; besides many rich clothes were given them.

"They had freely to themselves the whole weeke before the weeke before Easter, which I obtaynd of the king for them.

"The 4 April, on Easter monday, they playd the Trompeur puny, with better approbation than the other.

"On Wenesday night the 16 April, 1635, the French playd Alcinodor with good approbation.

In a marginal note Sir Henry Herbert adds, "The Frenche offered mee a preuent of £. 10; but I refused it, and did them many other curteys, gratis, to render the queene my misfirs an acceptable service."

It appears from a subsequent passage, that in the following month a theatre was erected expressly for this troop of comedians.

"A warrant granted to Joseph d'Aunay, Hurfries de Lau, and others, for to act playes at a new house in Drury-lane, during pleasaure, ye 5 may, 1635.

"The king was pleased to commande my Lord Chamberlain to di-
The practice of men's performing the parts of women in the scene is of the highest antiquity. On the Grecian stage no woman certainly ever acted. From Plutarch's Life of Phocion, we learn, that in his time (about three hundred and eighteen years before the Christian era) the performance of a tragedy at Athens was interrupted for some time by one of the actors, who was to personate a queen, refusing to come on the stage, because, because he had not a suitable mask and drefs, and a train of attendants richly habited; and Demosthenes in one of his orations, mentions Theodorus and Aristodemus as having often represented the Antigone ofSophocles. This fact is also ascertained by an anecdote preferred
rect his warrant to Monsieur Le Feubre, to give him a power to contract with the Frenchmen for to build a playhouse in his manage-houfe, which was done accordinglye by my advife and allowance.”

“Thes Frenchmen,” Sir Henry adds in the margin, “were commended unto me by the queene, and have paid through my handes, gratis.”

They did not however pass quite free, from a subsequent entry it appears, that “they gave Blagrave [Sir Henry's deputy] three pounds for his pains.”

In the following December the French pastoral of Florimene was acted at court by the young ladies who attended the queen from France.

“The pastoral of Florimene, (says Sir Henry) with the description of the scenes and interludes, as it was sent mee by Mr. Inigo Jones, I allowed for the press, this 14 of Decemb. 1635. The pastoral is in French, and 'tis the argument only, put into English, that I have allowed to be printed.

“Le pastoral de Florimene fut reprefente devant le roy et la royné, le prince Charles, et le prince Palatin, le 21 Decemb. jour de St. Thomas, par les filles Francoife de la royné, et firent tres bien, dans la grande fale de Whitchall, aux depens de la royné.” Mr. Herbert.

3 Coryate's Crudities, 4to. 1611, p. 247. I have found no ground for this writer's assertion, that female performers had appeared on the English stage before he wrote.


5 See also Lucian, de Salt. ii. 235, edit. Hemsterhusii. “Because,” (says that lively writer) “at first you preferred tragedy and comedy and vagrant fiders and finging to the harpe, before dancing, calling them truly exercifes, and therefore commendable, let us, I pray, compare them feverally with dancing. Where, if it please you, we will pafs the pipe and harpe as parts and instrumens of dancing, and consider tragedy as it is; firft, according to its propertyes and drefs. What a deformed and frightfull figure is it, to see a man raised to a prodigious length, stalking upon exalted buttocks, his face diguised with a grimme wizard, widely gaping, as if he meant to devour the spectators? I forbear to speake of his fluff brefts, and fore-bellyes, which make an adventitious and artificial corruplency, left his unnatural length should carry disproportion to his fiel derness :
served by Aulus Gellius. A very celebrated actor, whose name was Polus, was appointed to perform the part of Electra in Sophocles's play; who in the progress of the drama appears with an urn in her hands, containing, as she supposes, the ashes of Orestes. The actor having some time before been deprived by death of a beloved son, to indulge his grief, as it should seem, procured the urn which contained the ashes of his child, to be brought from his tomb; which affected him so much, that when he appeared with it on the scene, he embraced it with unfeigned sorrow, and burst into tears 6.

That on the Roman stage also female parts were represented by men in tragedy, is ascertained by one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he speaks of Antipho 6, who performed the part of Andromache; and by a passage in Horace, who informs us, that Fusius Phoecus being to perform the part of Ilione, the wife of Polynneflor, in a tragedy written either by Accius or Pacuvius, and being in the course of the play to be awakened out of sleep by the cries of the shade of Polydorus, got so drunk, that he fell into a real and profound sleep, from which no noise could rouse him 7.

Horace

fendernesse: as also his clamour from within, when he breaks open and unlooses himself; when he howls lambicks, and most ridiculously sings his own sufferings, and renders himself by his very tone odious. For as for the rest, they are inventions of ancient poets. Yet as long as he personates only some Andromache and Hecuba, his singing is tolerable. But for a Hercules to enter dolefully singing, and to forget himself, and neither to regard his lyons skinne, nor clubbe, must needs appear to any judging man a foecifime. And whereas you dislike that in dancing men should act women; this is a reprehension, which holds for tragedies and comedyes too, in which are more womens parts, then mens. 7 Dial. "Gue on dancing, translated by Jafer Mayne, folio, 1664.

6 Hifario in terra Graecia fuit fama celebri, qui gefitus et vocis clarituf
dine et venufate ceteris anteflabat. Nomen fuiffe aint Polum; unice
amatum filium morte amifit. Eum luclum quum fatis fivas eft eluxiffe,
rediit ad quafiurn artis. In eo tempore Athenis Eleftram Sophoclis
acturus, gelifare urnam quafi cum Oresti offibus debeat. Ita componit
fubile argumentum eft, ut veluti fratris reliquas ferens Eleftra compro-
et commiferaturque interitum ejus, qui per vim extinsus exilimatur.
Igitur Polus lugubri habitu Eleftra indutus offa atque urnam a fepeulcro
tulit filii, et quafi Oresti amplexus oppelevit omnia non fimumachri neque
imitamentis, fed luclu atque lamentis veris et spirantibus. Itaque quum

Olivet in a note on one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, (I. iv. c. 15.) mentions a familiar anecdote of a mime called Seia, for which he quotes the authority of Plutarch; but no such person is mentioned by that writer. Seia, according to Olivet, performed the part of Andromache. I suspect he meant to cite Petrarcb. Seia probably represented Andro-

mache in a tragick pantomime.

6 Epifol. ad Atticum, Lib. IV. c. 15.

7 " Non magis audivit quum Fusius e: furus olim,
Horace indeed mentions a female performer, called Arbufcula; but as we find from his own authority that men personated women on the Roman stage, she probably was only an embolariâ, who performed in the interludes and dances exhibited between the acts and at the end of the play. Servius calls her mima, but that may mean nothing more than one who acted in the mimes, or danced in the pantomime dances; and this seems the more probable from the manner in which she is mentioned by Cicero, from whom we learn that the part of Andromache was performed by a male actor on that very day when Arbufcula exhibited with the highest applause.

The same practice prevailed in the time of the emperors; for in the list of parts which Nero, with a preposterous ambition, acted in the publick theatre, we find that of Canace, who was represented in labour on the stage.

In the interludes exhibited between the acts undoubtedly women appeared. The elder Pliny informs us that a female named Lucceia acted in these interludes for an hundred years; and Galeria Copiola for above ninety years; having been first introduced on the scene in the fourteenth year of her age, in the year of Rome 672, when Cælius Marius the younger and Cneius Carbo were consuls, and having performed in the 104th year of her age, six years before the death of Augustus, in the consulate of C. Poppæus and Quintus Sulpicius, A. U. C. 762.

Eunuchs also sometimes represented women on the Roman stage, as they do at this day in Italy; for we find that Sporus, who made so conspicuous a figure in the time of Nero, being appointed in the year 70, [A. U. C. 823] to perforate a nymph, who, in an interlude exhibited before Vitellius, was to be carried off by a ravinther, rather than endure the indignity of wearing a female drees on the stage, put himself to death: a singular end for one, who about ten years before had

"Cum Ilionam edormit, Catenis mille ducentis,  
"Mater te appello, clamantibus." Sat. Lib. 11. Sat. 3.

Compare Cicero, Tusculan. I. 44.

8 "—satis eft equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax  
"Contemptis aliis explofa Arbufcula dixit." Lib. I. Sat. 10.

In Eclog. x.

* Sunt Mimi, ut ait Claudianus, qui lactis falibus facete risum movent; Pantomini vero, ut idem ait, "nutu manibusque loquaces." Vet. Schol.

1 Epifol. ad Atticum, l. iv. c. 15.
2 Sueton. in Nerone, c. 21.
had been publickly espoused to Nero, in the hymeneal veil, and had been carried through one of the streets of Rome by the side of that monster, in the imperial robes of the empresses, ornamented with a profusion of jewels.

Thus ancient was the usage, which, though not adopted in the neighbouring countries of France and Italy, prevailed in England from the infancy of the stage. The prejudice against women appearing on the scene continued so strong, that till near the time of the Restoration boys constantly performed female characters; and, strange as it may now appear, the old practice was not deserted without many apologies for the indecorum of the novel usage. In 1659 or 1660, in imitation of the foreign theatres, women were first introduced on the stage. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, the wife of Mr. Edward Coleman, represented Ianthê in the First Part of D'Avenant's Siege of Rhodes; but the little she had to say was spoken in recitative. The first woman that appeared in any regular drama on a public stage, performed the part of Desdemona; but who the lady was, I am unable to ascertained. The play of Othello is enumerated by Downes as one of the stock-plays of the king's company on their opening their theatre in Drury-lane in April 1663; and it appears from a paper found with Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, and indorsed by him, that it was one of the stock-plays of the same company from the time they began to play without a patent at the Red Bull in St. John-street. Mrs. Hughes performed the part of Desdemona in 1663, when the company removed to Drury-lane, and obtained the title of the king's servants; but whether she performed with them while they played at the Red Bull, or in Vere-street near Clare-market, has not been ascertained. Perhaps Mrs. Saunderfon made her first effay there, though she afterwards was enlisted in D'Avenant's company. The received tradition is, that she was the first English actress 3. The verses which were spoken

5 See the list of plays belonging to the Red Bull, in a subsequent page, ad ann. 1660.

3 Mrs. Saunderfon (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) played Juliet, Ophelia, and, I believe, Cordelia.

It should seem from the 32d line of the Epilogue spoken on the occasion, that the lady who performed Desdemona was an unmarried woman. Mrs. Hughes was married. The principal unmarried actresses in the King's company appears to have been Mrs. Marshall, who is said to have been afterwards seduced under a pretence of marriage by Aubrey de Vere earl of Oxford, and who might have been the original female performer of Desdemona. At that time every unmarried woman bore the title of Mistrefs.
spoken by way of introducing a female to the audience, were
written by Thomas Jordan, and being only found in a very
scarce miscellany *, I shall here transcribe them:

"A Prologue, to introduce the first woman that came to act on
the stage, in the tragedy called The Moor of Venice.

"I come, unknown to any of the rest,
"To tell you news; I saw the lady dreft:
"The woman plays to day: mistak[e] me not,
"No man in gown, or page in petticoat:
"A woman to my knowledge; yet I can't,
"If I should die, make affidavit on't.
"Do you not twitter, gentle[r]man? I know
"You will be cen[fur]ing: do it fairly though.
"'Tis possible a virtuous woman may
"Abhor all forts of looseness, and yet play;
"Play on the stage,—where all eyes are upon her:—
"Shall we count that a crime, France counts an honour?
"In other kingdoms husbands safely truft 'em;
"The difference lies only in the custom.
"And let it be our custom, I advife;
"I'm sure this custom's better then th' excife,
"And may procure us custom: hearts of flint
"Will melt in passion, when a woman's in't.

"But gentlemen, you that as judges sit
"In the flar-chamber of the house, the pit,
"Have modest thoughts of her; pray, do not run
"To give her visits when the play is done,
"With ' damn me, your moft humble servant, lady;'
"She knows thefe things as well as you, it may be:
"Not a bit there, dear gallants, she doth know
"Her own deferts,—and your temptations too.—
"But to the point:— In this reforming age
"We have intents to civilize the stage.
"Our women are defective, and fo liz'd,
"You'd think they were some of the guard disguis'd;

"For

It is said in a book of no authority, (Curl's History of the Stage,) and
has been repeated in various other compilations, that Mrs. Norris, the
mother of the celebrated comedian known by the name of 'fubile Dick,
was the first actress who appeared on the English stage; but this is high-
improbable. Mrs. Norris, who was in D'Avenant's company, cer-
ainly had appeared in 1662, but she was probably not young; for she
layed Goody Pells in Town Shifts, a comedy acted in 1671, and the
Nurse in Reformation, acted in 1675.

* A Royal Armour of Loyal Paffie, by Thomas Jordan, no date, but print-
ed, I believe, in 1662. Jordan was an actor as well as a poet.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

"For, to speak truth, men act, that are between
"Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen;
"With bone so large and nerve so incompliant,
"When you call Desdemona, enter Giant.—
"We shall purge every thing that is unclean,
"Lascivious, scurrilous, impious, or obscene;
"And when we've put all things in this fair way,
"Barebones himself may come to see a play 5."

The Epilogue which consists of but twelve lines, is in the
same strain of apology:

"And how do you like her? Come, what isn't ye drive at?
"She's the same thing in publick as in private;
"As far from being what you call a whore,
"As Desdemona, injur'd by the Moor:
"Then he that cenfures her in such a case,
"Hath a soul blacker than Othello's face.
"But, ladies, what think you? for if you tax
"Her freedom with dishonour to your lex,
"She means to act no more, and this shall be
"No other play but her own tragedy.
"She will submit to none but your commands,
"And take commiilion only from your hands."

From a paper in Sir Henry Herbert's handwriting I find
that Othello was performed by the Red-Bull company, (after-
wards his Majesties servants,) at their new theatre in Vere-
street, near Clare-market, on Saturday December 8, 1660,
for the first time that winter. On that day therefore it is
probable an actress first appeared on the English stage. This
theatre was opened on Thursday November 8, with the play
of K. Henry the Fourth. Most of Jordan's prologues and
epilogues appear to have been written for that company.

It is certain, however, that for some time after the Re-
fronation men also acted female parts 6; and Mr. Kynaston

5 See also the Prologue to The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes, acted
in April, 1662,) which was spoken by a woman:
"Hope little from our poet's wither'd wit,
"From infant players, scarce grown puppets yet;
"Hope from our women les, whose bashful fear
"Wonder'd to see me dare to enter here:
"Each took her leave, and with'd my danger past,
"And though I come back safe and undigrac'd,
"Yet when they spy the wits here, then I doubt
"No amazon can make them venture out;
"Though I advis'd them not to fear you much,
"For I presume not half of you are such."

6 In a prologue to a play represented before King Charles the Second
even after women had assumed their proper rank on the stage, was not only endured, but admired, if we may believe a contemporary writer; who assures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete stage beauty, performing his parts so well, (particularly Arthiopc and Aglaura) that it has since been disputable among the judicious, whether any woman that succeeded him, touched the audience so sensibly as he."

In D'Avemant's company, the first actress that appeared was probably Mrs. Saunders, who performed Ianthe in The Siege of Rhodes on the opening of his new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in April 1662. It does not appear from Downes's account, that while D'Avemant's company performed at the Cockpit in Drury-lane during the years 1659, 1660 and 1661, they had any female performer among them; or that Othello was acted by them at that period.

In the infancy of the English stage it was customary in every piece to introduce a Clown, "by his mimic gestures to breed in the less capable mirth and laughter." The privileges of the Clown were very extensive; for, between the acts, and sometimes between the scenes, he claimed a right to enter on the stage, and to excite merriment by any species of

very soon after his Restoration, of which I know not the title, are these lines, from which it appears that some young men acted the parts of women in that piece:

"we are sorry
"We should this night attend on so much glory
"With such weak worth; or your clear light engage
"To view the remnants of a ruin'd stage:
"For doubting we should never play again,
"We have play'd all our women into men;
"That are of such large size for flesh and bones,
"They'll rather be taken for amazons
"Than tender maids; but your mercy doth please
"Daily to pass by as great faults as these:
"If this be pardon'd, we shall henceforth bring
"Better oblations to my lord the king."

A Royal Arbour, &c. p. 12.

The author of Historia Hiftrionica says, that Major Mohun played Pellamonte in Shirley's Love's Cruelty, after the Restoration; and Cibber mentions, that Kynafton told him he had played the part of Euenus in the Maid's Tragedy, at the same period, with success. The apology made to King Charles the Second for a play not beginning in due time, ("that the queen was not favourd,") is well known. The queen is said (but on no good authority) to have been Kynafton.

7 Roffius Anglicanus, p. 19.
8 In the following year she married Mr. Betterton, and not in 1670, as is erroneously asserted in the Biographia Britannica. She acted by the name of Mrs. Betterton in The Slighted Maid, in 1663.
9 Heywood's Hisl. of Women, 1624.
of buffoonery that struck him. Like the Harlequin of the Italian Comedy, his wit was often extemporal, and he sometimes entered into a contest of raillery and sarcasm with some of the audience. He generally threw his thoughts into hobbling doggerel verses, which he made shorter or longer as he found convenient; but, however irregular his metre might be, or whatever the length of his verses, he always took care to tag them with words of corresponding found: like Dryden's Doeg,

"He fagotted his notions as they fell,
"And if they rhym'd and rattled, all was well."

Thomas Wilton and Richard Tarleton, both sworn servants to Queen Elizabeth, were the most popular performers of that time in this department of the drama, and are highly praised by the Continuator of Stowe's Annals, for "their wondrous, plentiful, pleasant, and extemporal wit." Tarleton, whose comic powers were so great, that according to Sir Richard Baker, "he delighted the spectators before he had spoken

In Brome's Antipodes, which was performed at the theatre in Salisbury-court, in 1638, a by-play, as he calls it, is represented in his comedy; a word for the application of which we are indebted to this writer, there being no other term in our language that I know of, which so properly expresses that species of interlude which we find in our poet's Hamlet and some other pieces. The actors in this by-play being called together by Lord Letoy, he gives them some instructions concerning their mode of acting, which prove that the clowns in Shakespeare's time frequently held a dialogue with the audience:

"Let. ——— Go be ready."
"But you sir, are incorrigible, and"
"Take licence to yourself to add unto"
"Your parts your own free fancy; and sometimes"
"To alter or diminish what the writer"
"With care and skill compos'd, and when you are"
"To speak to your co-actors in the scene,"
"You hold interlocution with the audience."
"Bib. That is a way, my lord, hath been allow'd"
"On elder flages, to move mirth and laughter."
"Let. Yes, in the days of Tarleton and Kempe,"
"Before the flage was pur'd from barbarism,"
"And brought to the perfection it now shines with."
"Then fools and jesters spent their wit, because"
"The poets were wise enough to have their own"
"For profitable uses."

See also Gabriel Harvey's Four Letters, 4to. 1592, p. 9; "Who in London luth' not heard of—his fond digustinge of a Master of Arms with ruffianly hairre, unseemely apparell, and more unseemely company; his vaineglorious and Thrafoonicall bravery; his piperly extemporizing and Tarletonizing?" &c.
spoken a word," is thus described in a very rare old pamphlet 3:"
"The next, by his fute of ruffet, his buttoned cap, his taber,
his flanding on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either
the body or resemblance of Tarlton, who living, for his
pleasant conceits was of all men liked, and, dying, for mirth
left not his like." In 1611 was published a book entitled his
Feasts, in which some specimens are given of the extempore
wit which our ancestors thought so excellent. As he was
performing some part " at the Bull in Bishops-gate-street,
where the Queenes players oftentimes played," while he was
"kneeling down to ask his fathers blessing," a fellow in the
gallery threw an apple at him, which hit him on the cheek.
He immediately took up the apple, and advancing to the
audience, addressed them in these lines:
"Gentlemen, this fellow, with his face of mapple 4,
"Instead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple;
"But as for an apple he hath call a crab,
"So instead of an honest woman God hath sent him a drab.
"The people," says the relater, "laughed heartily; for the
fellow had a quean to his wife."
Another of these stories, which I shall give in the author's
own words, establishes what I have already mentioned, that
it was customary for the clown to talk to the audience or the
actors ad libitum.
"At the Bull at Bishops-gate, was a play of Henry the IV.
[the performance which preceded Shakespeare's,] wherein
Vol. II. the

3 Kind-Hartes Dreame, by Henry Chettle, 4to, no date, but published
in Dec. 1592.
4 This appears to have been formerly a common sarcasm. There is
a tradition yet preferred in Stratford, of Shakespeare's comparing the
unbundled face of a drunken blacksmith to a maple. The blacksmith accosted
him, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with
"Now, Mr. Shakspeare, tell me, if you can,
"The difference between a youth and a young man."
to which our poet immediately replied,
"Thou son of fire, with thy face like a maple,
"The same difference as between a scalded and a coddled
apple."
This anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratfor
dby a person then above eighty years of age, whose father might
have been contemporary with Shakespeare. It is observable that a similar
imagery may be traced in the Comedy of Errors:
"Though now this grained face of mine be hid," &c.
The bark of the maple is uncommonly rough, and the grain of one
of the sorts of this tree (according to Evelyn) is "undulated and crimped
into variety of curls."
the judge was to take a box on the eare; and because he was abient that should take the blow, Tarlton himselfe, ever forward to please, tooke upon him to play the same judge, besides his own part of the clowne; and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarlton a sound box indeed, which made the people laugh the more, because it was he: but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarlton in his clownes cloaths comes out, and asks the actors, *What news? O, faith one, had'lt thou been here, thou should'lt have seen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the eare. What, man, said Tarlton, strike a judge! It is true, i'faith, said the other. No other like, said Tarlton, and it could not be but terrible to the judge, when the report so terrifies me, that methinks the blowe remains still on my cheeke, that it burns again. The people laughed at this mightily, and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvell, for he had many of these. But I would see our clownes in these days doe the like. No, I warrant ye; and yet they thinke well of themselves too."

The last words shew that this practice was not discontinued in the time of Shakspere, and we here fee that he had abundant reason for his precept in *Hamlet*: "Let those that play your clownes, speak no more than is set down for them; for there be of them, that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too; though in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be consider'd."

This practice was undoubtedly coeval with the English stage; for we are told that Sir Thomas More, while he lived as a page with Archbifhop Moreton, (about the year 1490,) as the Christmas plays were going on in the palace, would sometimes suddenly step upon the stage, "without studing for the matter," and exhibit a part of his own, which gave the audience much more entertainment than the whole performance besides 5.

But the peculiar province of the Clown was to entertain the audience after the play was finished, at which time themes were sometimes given to him by some of the spectators, to descant upon 6; but more commonly the audience were entertained

5 Roper's *Life and Death of More*, 8vo. 1716, p. 3.

6 "I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's use was, the play being done, every one so pleased to throw up his themes amongst all the rest one was read to this effect, word by word:

"Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes,

"Then I pr'ythee tell how thou canst by thy flat nose," &c.

To this challenge Tarlton immediately replyed in four lines of loose verse. Tarlton's *Jealous*, 4to. 1611.
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tained by a jig. A jig was a ludicrous metrical composition, often in rhime, which was sung by the Clown, who likewise, I believe, occasionally danced, and was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe? In these jigs more perfons than one were some-

7 " Out upon them, [the players,] they spoile our trade,—they open our crosse-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our snares, our subtleties; for no sooner have we a tricke of deceipt, but they make it common, finging gigs, and making jeats of us, that every boy can point out our houses as they passe by."

Kind Harte's Dreame, Signat. E 3. b

See also Pierce Penniffe, &c. 1592:

"—— like the quent comedians of our time,

" That when the play is done, do fall to rhime," &c.

So, in A Strange Horfe-race, by Thomas Decker, 1613:

" Now as after the cleare stream hath glided away in his owne cur-
rent, the bottom is muddy and troubled; and as I have often seen after the finifhing of some wortby tragedy or catastrophe in the open theatres, that the scene, after the epilogue, hath been more black, about a nafty bawdy jigge, then the moft horrid scene in the play was; the flinkards speaking all things, yet no man understanding any thing; a mutiny be-
ing amongst them, yet none in danger; no tumult, and yet no quietnes; no mifchiefe begotten, and yet mifchiefe borne; the swiftnes of fuch a torrent, the more it over-whelms, breeding the more pleasure; so after these worthies and conquerors has left the field, another race was ready to begin, at which, though the perfons in it were nothing equal to the former, yet the thoutes and noyfe at thes was as great, if not greater."

The following lines in Hall's Satires, 1597, seem also to allude to the fame custom:

" One higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought,

" On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,

" Or some upreared high-aspiring swaine,

" As it might be, the Turkifh Tamburlaine.

" Then weneath he his base drink-drownd spright

" Rapt to the three-fold loft of heaven right,

" When he conceives upon his fained stage

" The ftalking steps of his great perfection;

" Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,

" That his poor hearers' hayre quite upright sets.

" Such foome as fome brave-minded hungrie youth

" Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,

" He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred ftage,

" With high-fct steps, and princely carriage:—

" There if he can with termes Italianate,

" Big founding sentences, and words of ftate,

" Faire patch me up his pure iambick verse,

" He ravishes the gazing scaffolders,—

" Now leafh fuch frightful showes of fortunes fall,

" And bloody tyrants' rage, should chance appall

" The dead-struck audience, midft the silent root

" Comes leaping in a felfe-misformed laut,

" And laughs, and grins, and frames his mimick face,

" And jufles ftraight into the princes place:
introduced. The original of the entertainment which this buffoon afforded our ancestors between the acts and after the play, may be traced to the satirical interludes of Greece, and the Atellans and Mimes of the Roman stage. The Exodiarii

"Then doth the theatre echo all aloud
"With glad some noise of that applauding crowd.
"A goodly babble-pub, when vile rufflings
"Are match'd with monarchs and with mighty kings!" &c.

The entertainments here alluded to were probably "the fond and frivolous jestures," described in the preface to Marlowe's Tamburlaine, 1590, which the printer says, he omitted; "as farre unmeet for the matter, though they have been of some vaine conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed upon the stage in their graced deformities."

It should seem from D'Avenant's prologue to The Wits, when acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1662, that this species of entertainment was not even then entirely diffused:

"So country jigs and farces, mixt among Heroick scenes, make plays continue long."

Blount in his Glossographia, 1681, 5th edit. defines a farce, "A fond and diffolute play or comedy. Alfo the jig at the end of an interlude, wherein some pretty knavery is acted."

Kempe's Jigg of the Kitchen-slaue-woman, and Philips his Jigg of the Slappers, were entered on the Stationers' books in 1595; but I know not whether they were printed. There is, I believe, no jig now extant in print.

1 "Carmine qui tragicco vilem certavit ob hircum,
"Mex etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper
"Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
"Illecris erat et gratâ novitate morandus
"Speculator, funestulque facris, et potus et exlex."

HOR. de Arte Poetica.

2 "Urbicis exudio rifum movet Atellana
"Geffibus Autonoae:—"

Juv. Sat. VI. 71.

"Exodiarii in fine ludorum apud veteres intrabat, quod ridiculus foret; ut quicquid lacrymarum atque trifiliae coegitent ex tragicis affectibus, hujsus spectaculi riferus detergeret."

Vet. Sibel. "As an old commentator on Juvenal affirms, the Exodiarii, which were singers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light songs and mimical jestures, that they might not go away oppressed with melancholy from these sacred pieces of the theatre." Dryden's Dedication to his Translation of Juvenal. See also Liv. lib. vii. c. 2. Others contend that the Exodia did not solely signify the songs, &c, at the conclusion of the play, but those also which were sung in the middle of the piece; and that they were so called, because they were introduced Ecce tua, that is, incidentally, and unconnected with the principal entertainment. Of this kind undoubtedly were the speedia or episodes, introduced between the acts, as the tioria were the songs sung at the opening of the play.

The Atellan interludes were so called from Atella, a town in Italy, from which they were introduced to Rome; and in process of time they were acted sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the end, of more serious
OOF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 101

Exodiarii and Emboliarie of the Mimes are undoubtedly the remote progenitors of the Vice and Clown of our ancient dramas.

No serious pieces. These, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters, gave way about the time of Julius Caesar's death to the Mimes, which consisted of a groffer and more licentious pleasantry than the Atellan interludes. "Nunc venio," says Cicero, "ad locaciones tuas, cum tu secundum Oenomaum Acci, non ut olim solebat, Atellanum, sed ut nunc fit, minutum introductiffi." Epift. ad Fam. IX. 16. The Atellan interludes, however, were not wholly difused after the introduction of the Mimes; as is ascertained by a passage in Suetonius's Life of Nero, c. 39.

"Mirus et vel praecipue notabile inter hac fuit, nihil eam patientius quam maledicéta et convitia hominum tulit; neque in ullos leniorem quam qui fe dicitis ante aut carminibus lacerifcent, extitiffi.—Tranfeuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret sua bona male difponeret. Et Datus Atellanaurum hisfrio, in cantico quodam, sibi nevolpet, sibi malpet, ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum fcielicit Claudii Agrippinæque fignificans; et in novissima clauflula, Orcus nobis duct pecus, fenatunm gefu notaret. Hiftironem et philofophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiane fubmovit, vel contemptu omnis immortalis, vel ne fendo dolorem irritaret ingenia." See afo Galb. c. 13.

I do not find that the ancient French theatre had any exhibition exactly corresponding with this, for their SOTTIE rather resembled the Atellan farces, in their original state, when they were performed as a distinct exhibition, unmixed with any other interlude. An extract given by Mr. Warton from an old Art of Poetry published in 1548, furnishes us with this account of it: "The French farce contains nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would serve only to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true fubjeét of the French farce or SOTTIE is every fort of foolery, which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The subjeét of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French stage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our MORALITIES hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy, but our farces are really what the Romans called Mimes or PRIAPSES, the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kind of licentiousness, as our farces do at present. In the mean time their pleasantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables." Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Vol. III. p. 35c. Scaliger expressly mentions the two species of drama above described, as the popular entertainments of France in his time. "Sunto igitur duo genera, quæ etiam vicatim et oppidatim per univerfam Galliam mirificis artificibus circumfuntur; MORALE, et RIDICULUM." Poétices lib. 1. c. x. p. 17, edit. 1561.

1 The exact conformity between our Clowns and the EXODARIi and EMBOLIARIA of the Roman stage is ascertained, not only by what I have stated in the text, but by our author's contemporary Philemon Holland, by whom that passage in Pliny which is referred to in a former page,—"Luceia mima centum annis in scena pronuntiavit. Galeria Copiola, emboliaris, reducla eft in fecnam,—annum centesimum quartum agens,"
No writer that I have met with, intimates that in the time of Shakespeare it was customary to exhibit more than a single dramatick piece on one day 2. Had any shorter pieces, of the same kind with our modern farces, (beside the jigs already mentioned,) been presented after the principal performance, some of them probably would have been printed; but there are none extant of an earlier date than the time of the Restoration 3. The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas succeffively in the same afternoon, we may be assured, was not eftablished before that period. But though our ancient audiences were not gratified by the representation of more than one drama in the same day, the entertainment in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was diversified, and the population diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, flight of hand, and morrice-dancing 4; and in the time of Shakespeare, by the extemporaneous buffoonery of the Clown, whenever he chose to solicit the attention of the audience; by finging and dancing between the acts, and either a song or the metrical jig already described at the end of the piece 5; a mixture not

— is thus translated: "Luccel, a common Vice in a play, followed the stage, and acted thereupon 100 yeeres. Such another Vice, that played the foole, and made sport betweene wibiles in interludes, named Galeria Copiola, was brought to act on the stage,—when she was in the 104th yeere of her age."

2 The Yorkshire Tragedy, or All's One, indeed, appears to have been one of four pieces that were represented on the same day; and Fletcher has also a piece called Four Plays in One; but probably these were either exhibited on some particular occasion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new species of amusement; for we do not find any other instances of the same kind.

3 In 1663, as I learn from Sir Henry Herbert's Ms. Sir William D'Avenant produced The Playhouse to be let. The fift act of this heterogeneous piece is a mock tragedy, founded on the actions of Cæfar, Anthony, and Cleopatra. This, Langbaine says, used to be acted at the theatre in Dorset Garden, (which was not opened till November 1671,) after the tragedy, of Pompey, written by Mrs. Catharine Phillips: and was, I believe, the first farce that appeared on the English stage. In 1677, The Cheats of Scapin was performed, as a second piece, after Titus and Berenice, a play of three acts, in order to furnish out an exhibition of the usual length: and about the same time farces were produced by Duffet, Tate, and others.

4 "For the eye, besides the beautie of the houses and the stages, he [the devil] sendeth in garish apparel, mascues, vaulting, tumbling, dancinge of giges, galiardes, morifes, lobby-borfe, saweing of juggling caftles,—nothing forgot, that might serue to set out the matter with pompe, or ravish the beholders with variety of pleafure." Plays Confuted in five actions. By Stephen Gofton. Signat. E.

3 See Beaumont's Verfes to Fletcher on his Faithful Shepherdes:

"Nor
more heterogeneous than that with which we are now daily presented, a tragedy and a farce. In the dances, I believe, not only men, but boys in women's dresses, were introduced: a practice which prevailed on the Grecian stage, and in France till late in the last century.

The amusements of our ancillors, before the commence-ment of the play, were of various kinds. While some part of the audience entertained themselves with reading, or playing,

"Nor want there those, who, as the boy does dance
"Between the acts, will confurne the whole play."

So also, in Sir John Davies's Epigrams, no date, but printed in 1598:

"For as we see at all the play-house doores,
"When ended is the play, the dance, and song,
"A thousand townfmen," &c.

Hentzner observes, that the dances when he was in London in 1598, were accompanied with exquisite musick. See the passage quoted from his Itinerary, in p. 38, n. 1.

That in the stage-dances boys in the drabs of women sometimes joined, appears to me probable from Prynne's invective against the theatre:

"Stage-playes," says he, "by our own modern experience are commonly attended with mixt effeminate amorous dancing." Hiftromafix, p. 259. From the same author we learn that fongs were frequently fungen between the acts. "By oue owne moderne experience there is nothing more frequent in all our stage-playes then amorous pastoral or obfene lascivious love-fongs, most melodiously chanted out upon the stage betweene each feveral action; both to supply that chafme or vacant interim which the tyring-house takes up in changing the actors' robes to fit them for some other part in the ensuing scene,—as likewife to pleafe the itching cares, if not to inflame the outrageous lufts, of lewdre fpeculators." Ibidem, p. 262.

In another place the author quotes the following passage from Eufebius. "What feethe he who runnes to play-houfes? Diabolical fongs, dancing wenches, or, that I may speake more truly, girls toffed up and downe with the furious of the devil," ["A good decription (adds Prynne) of our dancing females."] "For what doth this dancereffe? She moft impudently uncovers her head, which Paul hath commanded to be always covered; the turns about her necke the wrong way; the throweth about her haire hither and thither. Even these things verily are done by her whom the Devill hath poisafed." Ibidem, p. 334.

It does not appear whether the puritanical writer of this treatife alludes in the obfervation inferted in crochets to boys dancing on the stage in women's cloaths, or to female dancers in private houfes. The subject immediately before him shoul take rather lead to the former interpretation. Women certainly did not dance on the stage in his time.

6 See p. 89, n. 5.

7 "Dans le ballet de Triomphe de l'Amour en 1681, on vit pour la premiere fois de danfeufes sur le theatre de l'Opera: auparavant cetoient deux, quatre, fix, ou huit danfeurs qu'on habilloit en femmes." Oeuvres de M. De Saint-Fois, tom. iii. p. 416.

8 So, in Fitz-Jeoffery's Satires, 1617:

"Ye
playing at cards, others were employed in less refined occupations; in drinking ale, or smoking tobacco: with these and nuts and apples they were furnished by male attendants, of whose clamour a satirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains. In 1633 when Prynne published his Histrio-

maslix, women smoked tobacco in the playhouses, as well as men.

It was a common practice to carry table-books to the theatre, and either from curiosity, or enmity to the author, or

"Ye worthy worthies! none else, might I chuse,
"Do I desire my poetie peryfe,
"For to save charges ere the play begin,
"Or when the lord of liberty comes in."

Again, in a satire at the conclusion of The Masque, or young Whelps of the old Dogge.—Epigrams and Satires, printed by Thomas Creede:

[The author is speaking of those who will probably purchase his book.]

"Laft comes my scoffing friend, of scowring wit,
"Who thinks his judgment 'bove all arts doth fit.
"He buys the booke, and hastes him to the play;
"Where when he comes and reads, "here's stuff," doth say:
"Because the lookers on may hold him wife,
"He laughs at what he likes, and then will rise,
"And takes tobacco; then about will looke,
"And more dislike the play than of the booke;
"At length is vext he should with charge be drawne
"For such flight fights to lay a fute to pawne."

9 Before the play begins, fall to cardes." Gils Hornbooke, 1609.

1 See The Woman Hater, a comedy, by B. and Fletcher, 1607:

"There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that cafe that he stands peeping between the curtains, so fearfully, that a bottle of ale cannot be opened, but he thinks some body hiffes."

2 "Now, sir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in;—I have my three forts of tobacco in my pocket; my light by me;—and thus I begin." Induction to Cynthia's Revels, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

So, in Bartholomew Fair, 1614: "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres."

Again, in Decker's Gils Hornbooke: "By fitting on the stage, you may with small cost purchase the deare acquaintance of the boyes; have a good ftool for fixpence;—get your match lighted," &c.

3 "——Pr'ythee, what's the play?
"——I'll feet, and fit it out whate'er.—
"Had Fate fore-read me in a crowd to die;
"To he made adder-deaf with pippin-cry."

Notes from Black-fryers, by H. Fitz-Jeoffery, 1617.

4 In a note on a passage in Goffin's Schooles of Abuse, 1579, "Instead of pomegranates they give them pippins," &c. quoted by Prynne, he informs us, "Now they offer them [the female part of the audience] the tobacco-pipe, which was then unknowne." Histrio-maslix, p. 363.

5 See the induction to Marston's Malecontent, a comedy, 1604: "I am
or some other motive, to write down passages of the play that was represented; and there is reason to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of one or two of Shakspere's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down by the ear or in short-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemen's houses and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed, prayed for the health and prosperity of their patrons; and in the publick theatres, for the king and queen. This prayer sometimes made part of the epilogue. Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has observed, the addition of Vivant rex et regina, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon; and the exhibition was sometimes finished in

F 5

am one that hath seen this play often, and can give them [Heminge, Burbage, &c.] intelligence for their action; I have most of the jests here in my table-book."

So, in the prologue to Hannibal and Scipio, 1637:
"—Nor shall he in plugh,
"That, from the poet's labours, in the pit
"Informs himself, for the exercise of his wit
"At taverns, gather notes."—

Again, in the prologue to The Woman-Hater, a comedy, 1607:
"If there be any lurking among you in corners, with table-books, who have some hopes to find fit matter to feed his malice on, let them clap them up, and flink away or stay and be converted."

Again in Every man in his Humour, 1601:
"But to such, wherever they sit concealed, let them know, the author defies them, and their writing-tables."

See A Mad World, my Masters, a comedy, by Middleton, 1608:
"Some sherry for my lord's players there, sirrah; why this will be a true feast;—a right Mitre supper;—a play and all."

The night before the insurrection of the gallant and unfortunate earl of Essex, the play of King Henry IV. (not Shakspere's piece) was acted at his house.

See the notes on the epilogue to The Second Part of K. Henry IV. Vol. VIII.

EPIGRAMS by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed about 1598.

Others, however, were actuated by a stronger curiosity, and, in order to secure good places, went to the theatre, without their dinner. See the prologue to The Unfortunate Lovers, by Sir William D'Avenant, first performed at Blackfriars in April, 1638:
"—You are grown excessive proud,
"Since ten times more of wit than was allow'd
two hours. Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock. About thirty years afterwards, (in 1696,) theatrical entertainments began an hour later.

We have seen that in the infancy of our stage Mysteries were usually acted in churches; and the practice of exhibiting religious dramas in buildings appropriated to the service of religion on the Lord's-day certainly continued after the Reformation.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth plays were exhibited in the publick theatres on Sundays, as well as on other days of the week. Mr. Kynafton the actor, in his female drest, after the play, in their coaches to Hyde Park.

"Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
"You think in two short hours to swallow here.
"For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
"Ere they had din'd, to take up the best room;
"There fat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
"And graciously did vail their high-crown'd hats
"To every half-dress'd player, as he still
"Through hangings peep'd, to see the galleries fill.
"Good easy-judging fools, with what delight
"They would expect a jig or target-fight!
"A furious tale of Troy, which they never thought
"Was weakly writ, if it were strongly fought;
"Laugh'd at a clinch, the shadow of a jest,
"And cry'd—a puffing good one, I protest."

From the foregoing lines it appears that, anciently, places were not taken in the best rooms or boxes, before the representation. Soon after the Restoration, this practice was established. See a prologue to a revived play, in Covent Garden Drollery, 1672:

"Hence 'tis, that at new plays you come so soon,
"Like bridegrooms hot to go to bed ere noon;
"Or if you are detain'd some little space,
"The flinking footman's sent to keep your place.
"But if a play's revi'ed, you stay and dine,
"And drink till three, and then come dropping in."

Though Sir John Davies, in the passage above quoted, mentions one o'clock as the hour at which plays commenced, the time of beginning the entertainment about eleven years afterwards (1609) seems to have been later; for Decker in his Guls Horne-books makes his gallant go to the ordinaries at two o'clock, and from thence to the play.

When Ben Jonson's Magnetick Lady was acted, (in 1632,) plays appeared to have been over at five o'clock. They probably at that time did not begin till between two and three o'clock.

1 See p. 105, n. 9. See also the prologue to King Henry VIII. and that to Romeo and Juliet.
2 See The Demoiselles a la Mode, by Fleckno, 1667:
1. Actor. "Hark you, hark you, whither away so fast?
2. Actor. "Why, to the theatre, 'tis past three o'clock, and the play is ready to begin." See also note 9, above.

After the Restoration, (we are told by old Mr. Cibber) it was a frequent practice of the ladies of quality, to carry Mr. Kynafton the actor, in his female drest, after the play, in their coaches to Hyde Park.

3 See the Epilogue to The She Gallants, printed in that year.
the week 4. The licence granted by that queen to James Burbage in 1574, which has been already printed in a former page 5, shews that they were then represented on that day, out of the hours of prayer.

We are told indeed by John Field in his Declaration of God's Judgment at Paris Garden, that in the year 1580 “the magistrates of the city of London obtained from Queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish playes and enterludes should be banished upon Sabbath days.” This prohibition, however, probably lasted but a short time; for her majesty, when she visited Oxford in 1592, did not scruple to be present at a theatrical exhibition on Sunday night, the 24th of September in that year 6. During the reign of James the First, though dramatick entertainments were performed at court on Sundays 7, I believe, no plays were publicly represented on that

4 “These, [the players] because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays, at least, every week.” Schoole of Abuses, 1579.

5 “In former times, (says Strype in his Additions to Stowe's Survey of London,) ingenious trademen and gentlemen's servants would sometimes gather a company of themselves, and learn enterludes, to expose vice, or to represent the noble actions of our ancestors. These they played at feftivals, in private houses, at weddings, or other entertainments. But in process of time it became an occupation, and these plays being commonly acted on Sundays and other festivals, the churches were forfaken, and the playhouses thronged.”

See also A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24. of August, 1578, By John Stockwood.—"Will not a sylvie playe with the blait of a trumpette sooner call thyther [to the country] a thousand, than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the Sermon a hundred? Nay, even here in the citie, without it be at this place, and some other certaine ordinarie audience, where shall you find a reaonable company? Whereas if you reforte to the Theatre, the Curtaine, and other places of plays in the citie, you shall on the Lord’s day have these places, with many other that I can reckon, so full as possible they can throng.”

See also Stubbes's Anatomy of Abuses, 1583, in pref.; and The Mirror of Magistrates for Cities, 1584, p. 24.

6 "This is ascertained by the following account of "Revels and Plays performed and acted at Christmass in the court at Whitehall, 1622; for the preservation of which we are indebted to Sir John Al- ley, then Master of the Revels:

4 Upon St. Steevens daye at night The Spanish Curate was acted by the kings players.

4 Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted The Beggar's Beef by the kings players.

4 Upon Childermas daye no playe.

4 Upon the Sunday following The Pilgrim was acted by the kings players.
that day; and by the statute 3 Car. 1. c. i. their exhibition on the Sabbath day was absolutely prohibited: yet, notwithstanding this act of parliament, both plays and masques were performed at court on Sundays, during the first sixteen years of the reign of that king, and certainly in private houses, if not on the publick stage.

"Upon New-years day at night The Alchemist was acted by the kings players.

"Upon Twelveth night, the Masque being put off, the play called A Voice and a good one was acted by the princes servants.

"Upon Sunday, being the 19th of January, the Princes Masque appointed for Twelveth day, was performed. The speeches and songs composed by Mr. Ben. Jonfon, and the scene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three times changed during the tyme of the masque: where in the first that was discovered was a perspective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting House; the second was the Masquers in a cloud; and the third a fawry. The French embassador was present.

"The Antemasques of tumblers and jugglers.

"The Prince did leade the measures with the French embassadors wife.

"The measures, braules, corrantos, and galliards, being ended, the Masques with the ladys did daunce 2 contry daunces, namely The Soldiers Marche, and Hiff Hamukin, where the French Embassadors wife and Mademoyfala St. Luke did [daunce].

"At Candlemas Malvolio was acted at court, by the kings servants.

"At Shrovetide, the king being at Newmarket, and the prince out of England, there was neyther masque nor play, nor any other kind of Revels held at court." Mr. Herbert.

8 In the Refutation of the Apologie for Actors, by J. G. quarto, 1615, it is asked, If plays do so much good, why are they not sufferedit on the Sabbath, a day fele& whereon to do good? From hence it appears that plays were not permitted to be publickly acted on Sundays in the time of James I.

Yet Beard in his Theatre of God’s Judgment, p. 212, edit. 1631, tells us, that in the year 1607, at a towne in Bedfordshire called Ridley, the floore of a chamber wherein many were gathered together to see a stage-play on the Sabbath day, fell downe.” But this was a private exhibition.

—From a passage also in Prynne’s Histriomastix, p. 243, it appears that plays had been sometimes represented on Sundays in the time of James the First, though the practice was then not common. “Dancing therefore on the Lord’s day is an unlawful pastime punishable by the statute of Caroli, c. i. which intended to suppress dancing on the lords day, as well as beare-bayting, bull-bayting, enterludes and common plays, which were not so rife, so common, as dancing, when this law was first enacted.”

It is uncertain whether this writer here alludes to publick or private exhibitions.

9 May, in his History of the Parliament of England, 1646, taking a review of the conduct of King Charles and his ministers from 1628 to 1640, mentions that plays were usually represented at court on Sundays during that period.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 109

It has been a question, whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horseback to the playhouse; a circumstance that would scarcely deserve consideration, if it were not in some sort connected with our author's history, a plausible story having been built on this foundation, relative to his first introduction to the stage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at present, seem to have been various; some going in coaches, others

There were during this period similar exhibitions on Sundays elsewhere as well as at court, notwithstanding the statute made in the beginning of this reign: but whether they were permitted then in the publick theatres, I am unable to ascertain. Prynne in his Histriomastix, p. 645, has the following passage: "Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, see marques or plays on Lords-day nights, (as too many do,) because the Lords day is then ended," &c. and in p. 717, he infinuates that the statute 3 Car. 1. c. 4. (which prohibited the exhibition of any interlude or page-play on the Lord's-day,) was not very strictly enforced: "If it were as diligently executed as it was piously enacted, it would suppresse many great abuses, that are yet continuing among us, to Gods dishonour and good christian's grief in too many places of our kingdom; which our justices, our inferior magistrates, might soon reforme, would they but set themselves seriously about it, as some here and there have done."

See also Withers's Britaine Remembrancer, Canto VI. p. 197, b. edit. 1628:

"And seldom have they leisure for a play
"Or marque, except upon God's holiday."

In John Spencer's Discourses of diverse petition, &c. 4to. 1641, (as I learn from Oldys's Manuscript notes on Langbaine,) it is said, that "John Wilton, a cunning musician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a Sunday night after that John bishop of Lincoln had consecrated the earl of Cleveland's sumptuous chapel, the said John Spencer (newly made the bishop's commissary general) did present the said bishop at Huntingdon for suffering the said comedy to be acted in his house on a Sunday, though it was nine-o'clock at night; also Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hadley and his lady, Master Wilton, and others, actors of the same: and because they did not appear, he sentenced the bishop to build a school at Eaton, and endow it with 20l. a year for a master; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five coats to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the censure, (says he) stands yet unre pealed."

2 "A pipe there, sirrah; no sophistcitate;
"Villaine, the bell,—what' ER you prize it at.
"Tell yonder lady with the yellow fan,
"I shall be proud to uher her anon;
"My coach stands ready."

Notes from Black-friers, 1617.

The author is describing the behaviour of a gallant at the Blackfriers theatre.
and let to that's fores, with your poft, to hobby-horses, cook'd, no of French the London bying Watermen's][ in Southwark "water Players, Thames." See at how many coaches came to carry away the broken meat, besides hobby-horses, and foot-cloth nags."

"By this time," (fays Decker, defcribing an ordinary,) "the parings of fruit and cheese are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie flinking in the fire, the guests are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French laquey and Irish footboy thrugging at the doores, with their masters' hobby-horses, to ride to the new play; that's the rendezvous, thither they are gallopt in post; let us take a pair of oares and row lustily after them."

"Guls Hornebooke, 4to. 1609.

4 In the year 1613, the Company of Watermen petitioned his majesty, "that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouse in London or in Middlefex, within four miles of the city on that side of the Thames." From Taylor's True Conf of the Watermen's Suit concerning Players, and the reasons that their playing on London side, is their [i. e. the Watermen's] extreme hindrance, we learn, that the theatres on the Bankside in Southwark were once so numerous, and the custom of going thither by water so general, that many thousand watermen were supported by it.—As the book is not common, and the paffage contains some anecdotes relative to the stage at that time, I shall tranfcribe it:

"Afterwards," [i. e. as I conjecture, about the year 1596.] says Taylor, who was employed as an advocate in behalf of the watermen, "the players began to play on the Bankside, and to leave playing in London and Middlefex, for the most part. Then there went fuch great concoure of people by water, that the small number of watermen remaining at home [the majority being employed in the Spanifh war] were not able to carry them, by reafon of the court, the tearms, the players, and other employments. So that we were inforced and encouraged, hoping that this golden flirring world would have lafted ever, to take and entertain men and boys, which boys are grown men, and keepers of houses; fo that the number of watermen, and thofe that live and are maintained by them, and by the only labour of the care and the feull, betwixt the bridge of Windsor and Gravesend, cannot be fewer than forty thoufand; the caufe of the greater halfe of which multitude hath bene the players playing on the Bankside; for I have known three companies, besides the bear-baiting, at once there; to wit, the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan.

"And now it hath pleased God in this peacefull time, [from 1604 to 1613,] that there is no employment at the sea, as it hath bene accustom'd, fo that all thofe great numbers of men remaines at home; and the players have all (except the kings men) left their usual refidency on the Bankside, and doe play in Middlefex, far remote from the Thames; fo that every day in the weeke they do draw unto them three or four thoufand people, that were used to fpend their monies by water.

"His majesties players did exhibit a petition against us, in which they faid, that our fuit was unreafonable, and that we might as juftly remove the
playhouse the company probably were conveyed by water; to that in Blackfriars, the gentry went either in coaches, or on horseback; and the common people on foot.

Plays

the Exchange, the walkes in Pauls, or Moorsfields, to the Bankside, for our profits, as to confine them."

The affair appears never to have been decided. "Some (says Taylor) have reported that I took bribes of the players, to let the suit fall, and to that purpose I had a supper of them, at the Cardinal's hot, on the Bankside." Works of Taylor the water-poet, p. 171, edit. 1633.

5 See an epilogue to a vacation-play at the Globe, by Sir William D'Avenant; Works, p. 245:

"For your own fakes, poor fouls, you had not beft
Believe my fury was fo much fuppref
'I' the heat of the laft scorne, as now you may
Boldly and fafeiy too cry down our play;
For if you dare but murmur one falfc note,
Here in the house, or going to take bott;
By heaven I'll mow you off with my long fword,
Teoman and fquire, knight, lady, and her lord."

So in the Gus Hornebooke, 1609: "If you can either for love or money, provide you felfe a lodging by the water-fide:—it adds a kind of ftate to you to be carried from thence to the flaters of your playhoufe."

6 See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 175: "Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near Paul's and the Blackfryars, to command all that reftor to the playhoufe there, to fend away their coaches, and to difperse abroad in Paul's Church-yard, Carter Lane, the Conduit in Fleet Street, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company; but they must trot a-foot to find their coaches:—"twas kept very ftrictly for two or three weeks, but now, I think, it is disorderd again."—It should, however, be remembered that this was written above forty years after Shakfpeare's firft acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of queen Elizabeth were poftfaffed but by very few. They were not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe's Annals, p. 867.

In A pleasant Dialogue between Coach and Sedan, 4to. 1636, it is said, that, "the firft coach that was seen in England was that prefented to Queen Elizabeth by the earl of Arundel, in which she went from Somerfet-Houfe to St. Paul's Croffe, to hear a fermon on the victory obtained againft the Spaniards in 1588."

"I wonder in my heart," (fays the writer, who was born in 1578,) "why our nobilitie cannot in faire weather walke the streets as they were wont; as I have feene the earles of Shrewsbury, Darbie, Suffex, Cumberlond, Effex, &c.—besides thofe inimitable prefidents of courage and valour, Sir Francis Drake, Sir P. Sydney, Sir Martin Forbifher, &c. with a number of others,—when a coach was almoft as rare as an elephant."

Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no hackney coaches. Thafe, as appears from another letter in the fame collection, were estaifh'd a few months afterwards. "I cannot (fays Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongst us.
Plays in the time of King James the First, (and probably afterwards,) appear to have been performed every day at each theatre during the winter season, except in the time of Lent, when they were not permitted on the sermon days, as they were called, that is, on Wednesday and Friday; nor on the other days of the week, except by special licence; which however

us, though never so trivial. Here is one captain Baily; he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, some hackney coaches, put his men in livery, and appointed them to stand at the May-pole in the Strand, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other hackney men seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journeys at the same rate. So that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, that they and others are to be had everywhere, as water-men are to be had by the water-side. Every body is much pleased with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Stratford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards hackney chairs were introduced: "Here is also another project for carrying people up and down in close chairs, for the sole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a penfessor, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." Ibid. p. 336.

This species of conveyance had been used long before in Italy, from whence probably this traveller introduced it. See Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598, in v. Carrivola: "A kind of chaire covered, ufed in Italie for to carry men up and downe by porters, uufcene of any bodie." In his second edition, 1611, he defines it, "A kind of covered chaire ufed in Italy, wherein men and women are carried by porters upon their shoulders." 7 See p. 110, n. 3. In an epigram by Sir John Davies, persons of an inferior rank are ridiculed for presuming to imitate noblemen and gentlemen in riding to the theatre:

"Faustus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wife, nor old,
To every place about the town doth ride;
He rides into the fields, plays to behold;
He rides to take boat at the water-side."

Epigrams, printed at Middleburg, about 1598.

8 See Taylor’s Sui&t of the Watermen, &c. Works, p. 171. "But my love is such to them, [the players,] that whereas they do play but once a day, I could be content they should play twice or thrice a day." "The players have all (except the King’s men,) left their usual resi- dency on the Bankside, and doe play in Middlesex far remote from the Thames, so that every day in the week they do draw unto them three or four thousand people." Ibidem.

In 1598, Hentzner says, plays were performed in the theatres which were then open, almost every day. "Sunt porro Londini extra urbem theatra aliquot, in quibus histriones Angli comœdas et tragedias singulæ fere diebus in magna hominum frequentia agunt." Itin 4to. 1598.
however was obtained by a fee paid to the Master of the Revells. In the summer season the stage exhibitions were continued, but during the long vacation they were less frequently repeated. However, it appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, that the king's company usually brought out two or three new plays at the Globe every summer.

Though, from the want of newspapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not so speedily circulated in former times as at present, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any disadvantage in this respect; for the players printed and exposed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit, which, however, did not contain a list of the characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were represented.

The

9 In D'Avenant's Works we find "an Epilogue to a vacation play at the Globe." See also the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Andromache, a tragedy acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1675: "This play happening to be in my hands in the long vacation, a time when the playhouses are willing to catch at any reed to save themselves from sinking, to do the house a kindness, and to serve the gentleman who it seemed was desirous to see it on the stage, I willingly performed it.—The play deferred a better liking than it found; and had it been acted in the good well meaning times, when the Cid, Herælius, and other French players met such applause, this would have passed very well; but since our audiences have tasted so plentifully the firm English wit, these thin regalios will not down."

1 "They use to set up their bills upon posts some certaine days before, to admonish the people to make return to their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furnished, and the people prepared to fill their purses with their treasures." Treatise against Idlenefs, waine Plays and Interludes, bl. let. (no date).

The antiquity of this custom likewise appears from a story recorded by Taylor the water-poet, under the head of Wit and Mirth. 30. "Maitier Field, the player, riding up Fleet-street a great pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him, what play was played that day. He being angry to be stayed on so frivolous a demand, answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every post. I cry you mercy, said the gentleman, I took you for a postle, you rode so fast."

Taylor's Works, p. 183.

Ames, in his History of Printing, p. 342, says, that James Roberts [who published some of our author's dramas] printed bills for the players.

It appears from the following entry on the Stationers' books that even the right of printing play-bills was at one time made a subject of monopoly: "Oct. 1587. [John Charlewoode.] Lycenced to him by the whole content of the affiliants, the only symprinting of all manner of billets for players. Provided that if any trouble arise hereby, then Charlewoode to bear the charges."

2 This practice did not commence till the beginning of the present century.
The long and whimsical titles which are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, were undoubtedly either written by booksellers, or transcribed from the play-bills of the time. They were equally calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a crowd about some vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raise the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed absurd to suppose, that the modest Shakspere, who has more than once apologized for his untoreid lines, should in his manuscripts have entitled any of his dramas most excellent and pleasant performances.

It century. I have seen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expressed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be represented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, similar to those now daily published, first appeared in the original edition of the Spectators in 1711. In these early theatrical advertisements our author is always styled the immortal Shakspere. Hence Pope:

"Shakspere, whom you and every play-house bill
Style the divine, the matchlef, what you will,—"

Since the first edition of this essay I have found strong reason to believe that the former was the case. Nafe in the second edition of his Supplication to the Devil, 4to. 1592, complains that the printer had prefixed a pompous title to the first impression of his pamphlet, (published in the same year,) which he was much ashamed of, and rejected for one more simple. "Cut off," says he to his printer, "that long-tayld title, and let mee not in the fore-front of my booke make a tedious mountebanks oration to the reader." The printer's title, with which Nafe was displeased, is as follows: Pierce Penniliffe bis Supplication to the Divell, describing the oover-spreading of Vice and suppresion of Virtue. Pleasante interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofoes. Written by Thomas Nafe, Gent. 1592." There is a striking resemblance between this and the titles prefixed to some of the copies of our author's plays, which are given at length in the next note. In the title-page of our author's Merry Wives of Windsor, 4to. 1662, (see the next note,) Sir Hugh is called the Welch night; a mistake into which Shakspere could not have fallen.

Instead of the spurious title above given, Nafe in his second edition, printed apparently under his own inspection, (by Abel Jeffes, for John Bubbie,) calls his book only—Pierce Penniliffe bis Supplication to the Divell.

The titles of the following plays may serve to justify what is here advanced:

"The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme crueltie of Shyllocke the Jewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a jut pound of his flesh, and obtayning of Portia by the choyce of three cakets. As it hath been diverse times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakspere. 1600."

"Mr. William Shak-speare his True Chronicle Historie of the Life and Death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the unfortu..."
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It is uncertain at what time the usage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece, commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, intimates that dramatick poets had anciently their benefit on the first day that a new play was represented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to some of the ephemeral productions of modern times. I have found no authority which proves this to have been the case in the time of Shakespeare; but at the beginning of the present century it appears to have been customary in Lent for the players of the theatre in Drury-lane to divide the profits of the first representation of a new play among them.

From D'Avenant, indeed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the second day. As it was a general practice, in the tunate life of Edgar, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his fallen assumed humor of Tom of bedlam: As it was played before the Kings Majestie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens Night in Christmases Hollidayes. By his Majesties Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side. 1608.

"A most Pleasant and Excellent Concocted Comedie of Syr John Falstaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing Humors of Sir Hugh, the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wife cousin, Mr. Slender. With the Swaggering Vaine of ancient Pitoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakspare. As it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants; both before her Majestie and elsewhere. 1602."

"The History of Henrie the Fourth; With the Battel at Shrewsbury, betwixt the King and Lord Henric Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir John Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakespere. 1598."

"The Tragedie of King Richard The Third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: The pitiful Murther of his innocent Nephews: his tiranous usurpation: with the whole course of his detested Life and most deserved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. By William Shakespere. 1597."

"The late and much-admired Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes, of the said Prince: As also, the no les strange and worthy accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Majesties servants at the Globe on the Bank-side. By William Shakespere. 1609."

5 Gildon's Comparison between the Stages, 1702, p. 9.
6 See The Play-House to be Let:
the time of Shakspeare, to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what arose from the sale of it. Sometimes, however, he found it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did so, I suppose he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which seems to have been the usual mode during a great part of the last century, was an established custom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, speaks of the poet's third day.

The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it seems, he was sometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted.

"Player.—There is an old tradition, "That in the times of mighty Tamberlane, "Of conjuring Faufius and the Beauclamps b.id, "You poets us'd to have the second day; "This shall be ours, sir, and to-morrow yours. "Poet. I'll take my venture; 'tis agreed,"

Yet the following passages intimate, that the poet at a subsequent period had some interest in the second day's exhibition:

"Whether their fold scenes be diflik'd or hit, "Are cares for them who eat by the stage and wit; "He's one whose unbought mufe did never fear "An empty second day, or a thin share." Prologue to If this be not a good play, the Devil's in't, 1612.

So in the prologue to The Sophy, by Sir John Denham, acted at Blackfriars in 1642:

"———- Gentlemen, if you dislike the play, "Pray make no words on't till the second day "Or third be past; for we would have you know it, "The losi will fall on us, not on the poet, "For he writes not for money." — In other cases, then, it may be presumed, the losi either of the second or third day, did affect the author.

Since the above was written, I have learned from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, that between the year 1625 and 1641, benefits were on the second day of representation.

8 "But which amongst you is there to be found, "Will take his third day's pawn, for fifty pound?"

Epilogue to Caius Marius, 1680.
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Southerne was the first dramatic writer who obtained the emoluments arising from two representations 9; and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted*. but this appears to have been a particular favour to that gentleman; for several years afterwards dramatic poets had only the benefit of the third and sixth performance.

The profit of three representations did not become the established right of authors till after the year 1720*.

To the honour of Mr. Addison, it should be remembered, that he first discontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of distributing tickets, and soliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights 3.

When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company, and remained for several years unpublished; but, when that

9 "I must make my boast, though with the most acknowledging respect, of the favours of the fair sex—in so visibly promoting my interest on those days chiefly, (the third and the sixth,) when I had the tender-relations to the welfare of my play."

Southerne's 'Dedication of Sir Antony Love,' a comedy, 1691.

Hence Pope:

"May Tom, whom heaven sent down to raise
‘The price of prologues and of plays,” &c.

It should seem, however, to have been some time before this custom was uniformly established; for the author of The Treacherous Brothers, acted in 1696, had only one benefit:

"See't but three days, and fill the house, the List,
"He shall not trouble you again in haste.” Epilogue.

1 On the representation of The Constant Couple, which was performed fifty-three times in the year 1700. Farquhar, on account of the extraordinary success of that play, is said by one of his biographers, to have been allowed by the managers, the profits of four representations.

2 "Let this play live; then we stand bravely fix'd!
"But let none come his third day, nor the sixth.

Epilogue to 'The Island Princess,' 1701.

"But should this fail, at least our author prays,
"A truce may be concluded for six days."

Epilogue to The Perplex'd Lovers, 1712.

In the preface to The Humours of the Army, printed in the following year, the author says, "It would be impertinent to go about to justify the play, because a prodigious full third night and a very good sixth are prevailing arguments in its behalf."

* Cibber in his 'Dedication to Ximena or the Heroick Daughter,' printed in 1719, talks of bad plays lingering through six nights. At that time therefore poets certainly had but two benefits.

3 Southerne, by this practice, is said to have gained seven hundred pounds by one play.

4 "Whereas William Biflon, gent. governor of the kings and queen's young company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, has represented
that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced from an apprehension that an imper-
fect

represented unto his majesty, that the severall plays hereafter mentioned, viz. Wit without Money: The Night-Walkers: The Knight of the Burning Pefle: Fathers own Sonne: Cupids Revenge: The Bondman: The Renegado: A new Way to pay Debts: The great Duke of Florence: The Maid of Honour: The Traytor: The Example: The Young Admiral: The Opportunity: A witty fayre One: Love's Cruelty: The Wedding: The Maid's Revenge: The Lady of Pleasure: The Schools of Complement: The grateful Servant: The Coronation: Hide Parke: Philip Chabat, Admiral of France: A Mad Couple well met: All's lost by Love: The Changeling: A fayre Quarrel: The Spanish Gipsy: The World: The Sunnes Darling: Love's Sacrifice: 'Tis pity fay'st's a Whore: George a Greene: Loves Mistrefs: The Cuning Lovers: The Rape of Lucrece: A Trick to cheat the Drooll: A Poole and her Maydenhead faone parted: King John and Matilda: A City Night-cap: The Bloody Banquet: Cupids Revenge: The conceited Duke: and Appius and Virginia, doe all and every of them properly and of right belong to the faid house, and consequently that they are all in his propriety. And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London shall not presume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the faid William Biefton and his company, his majesty hath signified his royal pleasure unto mee, thereby requiring mee to declare foe much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any ways to intermeddle with or act any of the above-mentioned plays. Whereof I require all masters and governours of playhouses, and all others whom it may concerne, to take notice, and to forbear to impeach the faid William Biefton in the premis, as they tender his majesties displeasure, and will answer the contempt. Given, &c. Aug. 10. 1639." Mf. in the Lord Chamberlain's office, entituled in the margin, Cockpitt plays appropriated.

5 Sometimes, however, an author, after having fold his piece to the theatre, either published it, or suffered it to be printed; but this appears to have been considered as dishonest. See the pref. to Heywood's Rape of Lucrece, 1638: "I had rather subscribe in that to their severe cenfurc, than, by seeking to avoid the imputation of weaknes, to incur a great sup-
picion of honefly; for though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the press," &c.

How careful the proprietors were to guard against the publication of the plays which they had purchased, appears from the following admoni-
tion, directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain.

"After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was here-
tofofe presented to my dear brother and predecessor, by his majesties servants, the players, that some of the company of printers and stationers had procured, published, and printed, divers of their books of comedies and tragedyes, chronicall histories and the like, which they had (for the special service of his majesty and for their own use) bought and provided at very dear and high-rates. By means whereof not only they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, the injury and disgrace of the authors. And thereupon the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers were advised by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the fray of any further impression of any of the plays or interludes of his majesties servants without their consents; which being a caution given with such respect, and
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defit copy might be issued from the press without their consent. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakspere, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. The play when printed was

and grounded on such weighty reasons, both for his majesties service and the particular interest of the players, and doe agreeable to common justice and that indifferent measure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been presumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the business, notwithstanding which, I am informed that some copies of plays belonging to the king and queenes servants, the players, and purchased by them at dear rates, having beene lately stolen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed, and that some of them are at the press, and ready to be printed; which, if it should be suffered, would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudic; and to the disenabling them to do their majesties service: for prevention and redresse whereof, it is desired that order be given and entered by the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers, that if any plays be already entered, or shall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes servants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong; and that none be suffered to be printed until the affent of their majesties said servants be made appear to the Master and Wardens of the company of printers and stationers, by some certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joseph Taylor, for the kings servants, and of Christopher Beefton for the king and queenes young company, or of such other persons as shall from time to time have the direction of those companies; which is a course that can be hurtfull unto none but such as are about unjustly to peravayle themselves of others' goods, without respect of order or good government; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your special care. And if you shall have need of any further authority or power either from his majestye or the councill-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourselves or the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto, which shall be requisite. And foe I bid you very heartily farewell, and rest.

Your very loving friend,

June 10, 1637.

"To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers."

"One only thing affects me; to think, that scenes invented merely to be spoken, should be inforcively published to be read; and that the least hurt I can receive, is, to do myselfe the wrong. But since others otherwise would do me more, the least inconvenience is to be accepted: I have therefore myselfe set forth this comedie." Marston's pref. to the Malecontent, 1604.

"See The Defence of Coneycatching, 1592: "Master R. G. [Robert Greene] would not make you blueth—if you fold Orlando Furioso to the queenes players for twenty-nobles, and when they were in the country, fold the same play to Lord Admirals men, for as much more? Was not this plain coneycatching, M. G."

Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, says, that Shakspere received but five pounds for his Hamlet; whether from the players who first acted it, or the printer or bookeller who first published it, is not distinguished. I do not believe he had any good authority for this assertion.
was sold for sixpence; and the usual present from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings.

In the latter end of the last century, it should seem an author did not usually receive more from his bookseller for a dramatick performance than 20l. or 25l. for Dryden, in a letter to his son, written about the year 1698, mentions, that the whole emoluments which he expected from a new play that he was about to produce, would not exceed one hundred pounds. Otway and Lee got but that sum by Venice Preserved, The Orphan, Theodosius, and Alexander the Great; as Gildon, their contemporary, informs us. The profits of the third night were probably seventy pounds; the dedication produced either five or ten guineas, according to the munificence of the patron; and the rest arose from the sale of the copy.

Southerne, however, in consequence of the extraordinary success of his Fatal Marriage in 1694, sold the copy of that piece for thirty six pounds, as appears from a letter which has been kindly communicated to me by my friend, the Right Hon. Mr. Windham, and which, as it contains some new fagte anecdotes, I shall print entire. This letter has been lately found by Mr. Windham among his father's papers, at Felbrigg in Norfolk; but, the signature being wanting, by whom it was written has not been ascertained:

"Dear Sir,

I received but 10 days since the favour of your obliging letter, dated January the last, for which I return you a thousand thanks. I with my scribbling could be diverting to you, I should offer trouble with my letters; but there is hardly any thing now to make it acceptable to you, but an account of our winter diversions, and chiefly of the new pieces which have been the entertainment of the town.

The first that was acted was Mr. Congreve's, called The Double Dealer. It has fared with that play, as it generally does with beauties officiously cried up; the mighty expectation which was raised of it made it fink, even beneath its own merit. The character of the Double Dealer is artfully writ, but the action being but fingle, and confined within the rules of true comedy, it could not please the generality of our audience, who relish nothing but variety, and think any thing dull and heavy which does not border upon farce.—The critics were severe upon this play, which gave the author occasion to lafh'em in his Epifde Dedicator; in so defying or heftoring a style, that it was counted rude even by his bett friends; so that 'tis generally thought he has done his business, and loft himfelf: a thing he owes to Mr. Dryden's treacherous friendship, who, being jealous of the applause he had gott by his Old Batchelor, deluded him into a foolish imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces.

The 2d play is Mr. Dryden's, called Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail. It is a tragi-comedy, but in my opinion one of the worst he ever writ, if not the very worst; the comical part defends beneath the style and fhow of a Bartholomew-fair droll. It was damn'd by the universal cry of the town, nemine contradicente, but the conceited poet. He says in his prologue, that this is the last the town must expect from him: he had done himself a kindnefs, had he taken his leave before.

The 3d is Mr. Southern's, called The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adeltery. It is not only the best that author ever writ, but is generally
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On the first day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admission generally admired for one of the greatest ornaments of the stage, and the most entertaining play has appeared upon it these 7 years. The plot is taken out of Mrs. Behn's novel, called The Unhappy Vow-Breaker. I never saw Mrs. Barry act with so much passion as the does in it; I could not forbear being moved even to tears to see her act. Never was poet better rewarded or incouraged by the town; for besides an extraordinary full house, which brought him about 140l. 50 noblemen, among whom my lord Winchelsea was one, gave him guineas apiece, and the printer 36l. for his copy.

"This kind usage will encourage despounding minor poets, and vex huffing Dryden and Congreve to madness.

"We had another new play yesterday, called The Ambitious Slave, or a generous Revenge. Elkanah Settle is the author of it, and the success is answerable to his reputation. I never saw a piece so wretched, nor worse contrived. He pretends 'tis a Peruvian story, but not one body in the whole audience could make any thing of it; 'tis a meer babel, and will sink for ever. The poor poet, seeing the house would not act it for him, and give him the benefit of the third day, made a present of it to the women in the house, who acted it, but without profit or encouragement.

In 1707 the common price of the copy-right of a play was fifty pounds; though in that year Lintot the book-seller gave Edmund Smith sixty guineas for his Phaedra and Hippolitus.

In 1715, Sir Richard Steele sold Mr. Addison's comedy, called The Drummer, to J. Tonson for fifty pounds: and in 1721, Dr. Young received the same price for his tragedy of The Revenge. Two years before, however, (1719) Southerne, who seems to have understood author-craft better than any of his contemporaries, sold his Spartan Dame for the extraordinary sum of 100l.; and in 1726 Lintot paid the celebrated plagiary, James Moore Smyth, one hundred guineas for a comedy, entitled The Rival Modes. From that time, this appears to have been the customary price for several years; but of late, (though rarely) one hundred and fifty pounds have been given for a new play. The finest gagick poet of the present age, Mr. Jephson, received that price for two of his admirable tragedies.

9 See the preface to the quarto edition of Troilus and Cressida, 1609: "Had I time, I would comment upon it, though it needs not, for so much as will make you think your university well bestowed, but for so much worth as even poor I know to be stuff in it," &c.

See also the preface to Randolph's Jealous Lovers, a comedy, 1632: "Courteous reader, I beg thy pardon, if I put thee to the expense of a halfpence, and the loss of half an hour."

9 "I did determine not to have dedicated my play to any body, because forty shillings I care not for; and above few or none will beftow on these matters." Dedication to A Woman's a Weathercock, a comedy, by N. Field. 1612.

See also the Author's Epistle popular, prefixed to Cynthia's Revenge, 1613: "Thus do our pie-bald naturalists depend upon poor wages, gape after the drunken harvest of forty shillings, and shame the worthy benefactors of Helicon."

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G
admission appear to have been raised 1, sometimes to double, sometime to treble, prices 2; and this seems to have been occasionally practised on the benefit-nights of authors, and on the representation of expensive plays, to the year 1726 in the present century 3.

Dramatick poets in ancient times, as at present, were admitted gratis into the theatre 4.

It

Soon after the Revolution, five, and sometimes ten, guineas seems to have been the customary present on these occasions. In the time of George the First, it appears from one of Swift's Letters that twenty guineas were usuall presented to an author for this piece of flattery.

This may be collected from the following verses by J. Mayne, to the memory of Ben Jonson:

"He that writes well, writes quick, since the rule's true,
"Nothing is flowly done, that's always new;
"So when thy Fox had ten times acted been,
"Each day was first, but that 'twas clearer still."

See the last line of the Prologue to Tunbridge Wells, 1672, quoted in p. 69, n. 7.

1 Downes, speaking of the Squire of Albion, acted in 1668, says, "the poet received for his third day in the house in Drury Lane at single prices, £10, which was the greatest receipt they ever had at single prices." Hence it appears that the prices were sometimes raised; and after the Restoration the additional prices were, I believe, demanded during what is called in the language of the theatre the first run of a new piece. At least this was the case in the present century. See the Epilogue to He- calus, a tragedy, 1726:

"What, a new play, without new scens and cloaths!
"Without a friendly party from the Rofe!
"And what against a run still prepoſſeſles,
"I was on the bills put up at common prices."

See also the Epilogue to Love at first sight:

"Wax tapers, gawdy cloaths, raised prices too,
"Yet even the play thus garniſh'd would not do."

In 1702 the prices of admission were in a fluctuating state. "The people," says Gildon, "never were in a better humour for plays, nor were the houses ever so crowded, though the rates have run very high, sometimes to a scandalous excess; never did printed plays rise to such a price,—never were so many poets preferred as in the last ten years." Comparison between the two stages, 1702. The price of a printed play about that time rose to eighteen-pence.

4 See verses by J. Stephens, "to his worthy friend," H. Fitz-Jeffrey, on his Notes from Black-fryers, 1617:

"Thou grant'st with the playhouse, and profit'st with it.
"To verse not yielding coyne, let players know,
"They cannot recompence your labour, though
"They grace you with a chayre upon the stage,
"And take no money of you, for your page."

So in The Playboufe to be let, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

"Poet. Do you set up for yourselves, and profess wit,
"Without
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It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book that the king's company between the years 1662 and 1641 produced either at Blackfriars or the Globe at least four new plays every year. Every play, before it was represented on the stage, was licensed by the Master of the Revels, for which he received in the time of Queen Elizabeth but a noble, though at a subsequent period the stated fee on this occasion rose to two pounds.

Neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the First, nor Charles the First, I believe, ever went to the publick theatre; but they frequently ordered plays to be performed at court, which were represented in the royal theatre called the Cock-pit, in Whitehall: and the actors of the king's company were sometimes commanded to attend his majesty in his summer's progress, to perform before him in the country. 5

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"Without help of your authors? Take heed, sir,
"You'll get few customers.
"Hofskeeper. Yes, we shall have the poets.
"Poet. 'Tis because they pay nothing for their entrance."

5 " 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 Blackfryers, London, are commanded to attend his majesty, and be nigh about the court this summer progress, in readiness, when they shall be called upon to act before his majesty: for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto, his majesty is graciously pleased that they shall, as well before his majesties setting forth on his maine progress, as in all that time, and after, till they shall have occasion to return homewards, have all freedom and liberty to reappeare unto all towns corporate, mercate townes, and others, where they shall think fit, and there in their common halls, moothalls, school-houses or other convenient roones, act plays, comedies, and interludes, without any lett, hindrance, or molestation whatsoever (behaving themselves civilly). And herein it is his majesties pleasure, and he does expect, that in all places where they come, they be treated and entertained with such due respect and courtesie as may become his majesties loyal and loving subjects towards his servants. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale at arms. Dated at Whitehall, the 17th of May, 1636. To all Mayors, &c.

P. and M."
Queen Henrietta Maria, however, went sometimes to the publick theatre at Blackfriars. I find from the Council books that in the time of Elizabeth ten pounds was the payment for a play performed before her; that is, twenty nobles, or six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, as the regular and stated fee; and three pounds, six shillings, and eightpence, by way of bounty or reward. The fame sum, as I learn from the manuscript notes of lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber to king James the First, continued to be paid during his reign: and this was the stated payment during the reign of his successor also. Plays at court were usually performed at night, by which means they did not interfere with the regular exhibition at the publick theatres, which was early in the afternoon; and thus the royal bounty was for so much a clear profit to the company: but when a play was commanded to be performed at any of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood of London, by which the actors were prevented from deriving any profit from a publick exhibition on the same day, the fee, as appears from a manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's office, was, in the year 1630, and probably in Shakspere's time also, twenty pounds; and this

I suggested that Michael Hart, our poet's youngest nephew, was probably the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian; but without doubt his father was William, (the elder brother of Michael,) who, we find, settled in London, and was an actor. It is highly probable that he left Stratford before his uncle Shakspere's death, at which time he was sixteen years old; and in consequence of that connexion found an easy introduction to the stage. He probably married in the year 1623, and his son Charles was, I suppose, born in 1626. Before the accession of Charles the First, the christlian name of Charles was so uncommon, that it scarcely ever occurs in our early parish-registers. Charles Hart was a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Dallifon in Prince Rupert's regiment, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, at which time, according to my supposition, he was but seventeen years old; but such early exertions were not at that time uncommon. William Hart, who has given occasion to the present note, died in 1639, and was buried at his native town of Stratford on the 28th of March in that year.

6 "The 13 May, 1634, the Queene was at Blackfryers, to see Messengers playe."—The playe which her majesty honoured with her presence was "The Tragedy of Clocander," which had been produced on the 7th of the same month, and is now lost, with many other pieces of the same writer.

7 "Whereas by virtue of his majesties letters patent bearing date the 16th of June, 1625, made and granted in confirmation of diverse warrants and privy seales unto you formerly directed in the time of our late soveraigne king James, you are authorized (amongst other things) to make payment for playes acted before his majesty and the queene. Whose are to pray and require you, out of his majesties treasure in your charge,
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this circumstance I formerly stated, as strongly indicating that the sum last mentioned was a very considerable produce on any one representation at the Blackfriars or Globe play-house. The office-book which I have so often quoted, has fully confirmed my conjecture.

The custom of paying a final censure on plays at their first exhibition 8, is as ancient as the time of our author; for no less than three plays 9 of his rival, Ben Jonson, appear to have been
to charge, to pay or cause to be payed unto John Lowing, in the behalf of himselfe and the rest of the company of his majesties players, the sum of two hundred and sixty pounds, that is to say, twenty pounds apiece for foure players acted at Hampton Court, in respect and consideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there; and the like somme of twenty pounds for one other play which was acted in the day time at Whitehall, by means whereof the players lost the benefit of their house for that day; and ten pounds apiece for sixteen other players acted before his majey at Whitehall: amounting in all unto the sum of two hundred and sixty pounds for one and twenty plays his majesties servants acted before his majesty and the queene at several times, between the 30th of Sept. and the 11th of Feb. last past. As it may appeare by the annexed schedule.

"And theis, &c. March 17, 1630-I."

Mf. in the Lord Chamberlains office.

8 The custom of expressing disapprobation of a play, and interrupting the drama, by the noise of catcalls, or at least by imitating the tones of a cat, is probably as ancient as Shakespeare's time; for Decker in his Gull Hornes-book, countis the gallant, if he wishes to disgrace the poet, "to scree at the children's action, to whistle at the songs, and mew at the passionate speeches." See also the induction to The Isle of Gulls, a comedy, 1606: "Either see it all or none; for 'tis grown into a custom at plays, if any one, (especially of any fashionable fort,) about what serious business ever, the rest, thinking it in dislike of the play, (though he never thinks it,) cry—"mew,—by Jefus, vile,"—and leave the poor heartles children to speake their epilogue to the empty seats." 9 Sejanus, Catiline, and The New Inn. Of the two former Jonson's Glof is thus made to speak in an epilogue to Every Man in his Humour, written by Lord Buckhurd, about the middle of the last century:

"Hold, and give way, for I myself will speake:
Can you encourage to much insolence,
And add new faults still to the great offence
Your ancestors so rashly did commit,
Against the mighty powers of art and wit,
When they condemn'd those noble works of mine,
Sejanus, and my best-lov'd Catiline?"

The title-page of The New Inn, is a sufficient proof of its condemnation. Another piece of this writer does not seem to have met with a very favourable reception; for Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden (Jonson's friend) informs us, that "when the play of The Silent Woman was first acted, there were found verses, after, on the stage, against him, [the author,] concluding, that that play was well named The Silent Woman, be-
been deservedly damned; and Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess, and The Knight of the Burning Pistle, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the same fate.

It is not easy to ascertain what were the emoluments of a successful actor in the time of Shakespeare. They had not then annual benefits, as at present. The clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting the nightly expenses for lights, men occasionally hired for the evening, &c. which in Shakespeare's house was but forty-five shillings, were divided into shares, of which part belonged to the proprietors, who were called housekeepers, and the remainder was divided among the actors, according to their rank and merit. I suspect that the whole clear receipt was divided into forty shares, of which perhaps the housekeepers or proprietors had fifteen, the actors twenty-two, and three were devoted to the purchase of new plays, dresses, &c. From Ben Jonson's Poetaster, it should seem that one of the performers had seven shares and a half, but of what integral sum is not mentioned. The person

cause there was never one man to say plaudite to it." Drummond's Works, fol. p. 226.

1 The term, as well as the practice, is ancient. See the epilogue to The Unfortunate Lovers, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1643: “———Our poet——

“——will never wish to see us thrive,

“If by an humble epilogue we thrive

“To court from you that privilege to-day,

“Which you so long have had, to damn a play.”

2 See in p. 85 (n. 4.) Verses addressed to Fletcher on his Faithful Shepherdess.

3 See the epistle prefixed to the first edition of The Knight of the Burning Pistle, in 1615.

4 Cibber says in his Apology, p. 96, “Mrs. Barry was the first person whose merit was distinguished by the indulgence of having an annual benefit-play, which was granted to her alone, if I mistake not, first in king James's time; and which became not common to others, till the division of this company, after the death of king William's queen Mary.”

But in this as in many other facts he is inaccurate; for it appears from an agreement entered into by Dr. D'Avenant, Charles Hart, Thomas Betterton, and others, dated October 14, 1681, that the actors had then benefits. By this agreement five shillings, apiece, were to be paid to Hart and Kynaston the players, “for every day there shall be any tragedies or comedies or other representations acted at the Duke's theatre in Salisbury Court, or wherever the company shall act, during the respective lives of the said Charles Hart and Edward Kynaston, excepting the plays the young men or young women play for their own profit only." Gil- don's Life of Betterton, p. 8.

5 "Fare thee well, my honest penny-biter: commend me to seven shares and a half, and remember to-morrow.—if you lack a servitor you
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person alluded to, (if any person was alluded to, which is not certain,) must, I think, have been a proprietor, as well as a principal actor. Our poet in his Hamlet speaks of a whole share, as no contemptible emolument; and from the same play we learn that some of the performers had only half a share. Others probably had still less.

It appears from a deed executed by Thomas Killigrew and others, that in the year 1666, the whole profit arising from acting plays, masques, &c. at the king's theatre, was divided into twelve shares and three quarters, of which Mr. Killigrew, the

you shall play in my name, rascals; [alluding to the custom of actors calling themselves the servants of certain noblemen,) but you shall buy your own cloth, and I'll have two shares for my countenance." Poetaster, 1602.

"Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers, (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me,) with two Provencal roses on my razed shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

"Hor. Half a share.

"Ham. A whole share, I" Hamlet, Act III. Sc. ii.

In a poem entitled I would and I would not, by B. N. 1614, the writer makes a player utter a wish to possess five shares in every play; but I do not believe that any performer derived so great an emolument from the stage, unless he were also a proprietor. The speaker seems to wish for excellence that was never yet attained, (to be able to act every part that was ever written,) that he might gain an emolument superior to any then acquired by the most popular and successful actor:

"I would I were a player, and could act
   "As many parts as came upon a stage,
   "And in my braine could make a full compact
   "Of all that passeth betwixt youth and age;
   "That I might have five shares in every play,
   "And let them laugh that bear the bell away."

The actors were treated with less respect than at present, being sometimes interrupted during their performance, on account of supposed personalities; for the same author adds—

"And yet I would not: for then do I fear,
   "If I should gall some goose-cap with my speech,
   "That he would fret, and fume, and chafe, and swear,
   "As if some flea had bit him by the breech;
   "And in some passion or strange agonie
   "Disturb both mee and all the companie."

On some occasions application was made by individuals to the Master of the Revels, to restrain this licentiousness of the stage; as appears from the following note:

"Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to the second part of The City Shuffler, which gave mee occasion to stay the play, till the company [of Salisbury Court] had given him satisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hande he did certifie mee that he was satisfied." Mr. Herbert.

In an indenture tripartite, dated December 31, 1666, (which I have
the manager, had two shares and three quarters; and if we may trust to the statement in another very curious paper, infered below, (which however was probably exaggerated,) each share produced, at the lowest calculation, about 250l. per ann. net; and the total clear profits consequently were about 3187l. 10s. od.

These shares were then distributed among the proprietors of the theatre, who at that time were not actors, the performers, and the dramatick poets, who were retained in the service of the theatre, and received a part of the annual produce as a compensation for the pieces which they produced. In

have seen) between Thomas Killigrew and Henry Killigrew, his son and heir of the first part, Thomas Porter, Esq. of the second part, and Sir John Sayer and Dame Catherine Sayer, his wife, of the third part, it is recited, (inter alia,) that the profits arising by acting of plays, masques, &c. then performed by the company of actors called the king and queen's players, were by agreement amongst themselves and Thomas Killigrew, divided into twelve shares and three quarters, and that Thomas Killigrew was to have two full shares and three quarters. And by agreement between Henry and Thomas, Henry was to have four pounds per week, out of the two shares of Thomas, except such weeks when the players did not act.

In 1682, when the two companies united, the profits of acting, we are told by Colley Cibber, were divided into twenty shares, ten of which went to the proprietors or patentees, and the other moiety to the actors, in different divisions proportioned to their merit.

8 Wright says in his Historia Hispionica that he had been assured by an old actor, that "for several years next after the RestoratIon every whole sharer in Mr. Hart's company, [that is, the King's servants,] got 1000l. per ann." But his informer was undoubtedly mistaken, as is proved by the petition or memorial printed below, (see n. 9,) and by Sir Henry Herbert's statement of Thomas Killigrew's profits. If every whole sharer had got 1000l. per ann. then the annual receipts must have been near 13,000l. In 1743, after Mr. Garrick had appeared, the theatre of Drury-lane did not receive more than 15,000l. per ann.

9 Gildon in his Locus of Poetry, 8vo. 1721, observes, that "after the RestoratIon, when the two houses struggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were secured to either house by a fort of retaining fee, which feldom or never amounted to more than forty shillings a week, nor was that of any long continuance." He appears to have under-rated their profits; but the fact to which he alludes is incontrovertibly proved by the following paper, which remained long in the hands of the Killigrew family, and is now in the possession of Mr. Reed of Staple-Inn, by whom it was obligingly communicated to me some years ago. The superscription is lost, but it was probably addressed to the Lord Chamberlain, or the King, about the year 1678:

"Whereas upon Mr. Dryden's binding himself to write three plays a yeere, hee the said Mr. Dryden was admitted and continued as a sharer in the king's playhouse for diverse yeares, and received for his share and a quarter..."
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In a paper delivered by Sir Henry Herbert to Lord Clarendon and the Lord Chamberlain, July 11, 1662, which will be found in a subsequent page, he states the emolument which Mr. Thomas Killigrew then derived (from his two shares and three quarters,) at £19 6s. per week; according to which statement each share in the king's company produced but two hundred and ten pounds ten shillings a year. In Sir William D'Avenant's company, from the time their new theatre was opened in Portugal-row near Lincoln's Inn G 5

fields, quarter three or four hundred pounds, communibus annis; but though he received the moneys, we received not the plays, not one in a year.

After which, the house being burnt, the company in building contracted great debts, so that shares fell much short of what they were formerly. Thereupon Mr. Dryden complaining to the company of his want of profit, the company was so kind to him that they not only did not prelie him for the plays which he so engaged to write for them, and for which he was paid beforehand, but they did also at his earnest request give him a third day for his last new play called All for Love; and at the receipt of the money of the said third day, he acknowledged it as a gift, and a particular kindness of the company. Yet notwithstanding this kind proceeding, Mr. Dryden has now, jointly with Mr. Lee, (who was in pension with us to the last day of our playing, and shall continue,) written a play called Oedipus, and given it to the Duke's company, contrary to his said agreement, his promise, and all gratitude, to the great prejudice and almost undoing of the company, they being the only poets remaining to us. Mr. Crowne, being under the like agreement with the duke's house, writ a play called The Destruction of Jerusalehm, and being forced by their refuall of it, to bring it to us, the said company compelled us, after the studying of it, and a vast expence in scenes and cloathes, to buy off their clayme, by paying all the pension he had received from them, amounting to one hundred and twelve pounds paid by the king's company, besides twelve forty pounds he the said Mr. Crowne paid out of his own pocket.

"These things considered, if, notwithstanding Mr. Dryden's said agreement, promise, and moneys freely given him for his said last new play, and the many titles we have to his writings, this play be judged away from us, we must submit.


It has been thought very extraordinary that Dryden should enter into a contract to produce three new plays every year; and undoubtedly that any poet should formally stipulate that his genius should be thus productive, is extraordinary. But the exertion itself was in the last age not uncommon. In ten years, from the death of Beaumont in 1615 to the year 1625, I have good reason to believe that Fletcher produced near thirty plays. Maffinger between 1623 and 1638 brought out nearly the same number; and Shirley in fifteen years furnished various theatres with forty plays. Thomas Heywood was still more prolific.
fields, (April 1662,) the total receipt (after deducting the nightly charges of "men hirelings and other customary expenses," ) was divided into fifteen shares, of which it was agreed by articles previously entered into, that ten should belong to D'Avenant; viz. two "towards the house-rent, buildings, scaffolding, and making of frames for scenes; one for a provision of habits, properties, and scenes, for a supplement of the said theatre; and seven to maintain all the women that are to perform or represent women's parts, in tragedies, comedies, &c. and in consideration of erecting and establishing his actors to be a company, and his pains and expences for that purpose for many years." The other five shares were divided in various proportions among the rest of the troop.

In the paper above referred to it is stated by Sir Henry Herbert, that D'Avenant "drew from these ten shares two hundred pounds a week;" and if that statement was correct, each share in his playhouse then produced annually six hundred pounds, supposing the acting season to have then lasted for thirty weeks.

Such were the emoluments of the theatre soon after the Restoration; which I have stated here, from authentick documents, because they may assist us in our conjectures concerning the profits derived from stage-exhibitions at a more remote and darker period.

From the prices of admission into our ancient theatres in the time of Shakespeare, which have been already noticed, I formerly conjectured that about twenty pounds was a considerable receipt at the Blackfriars and Globe theatre, on any one day; and my conjecture is now confirmed by indubitable evidence. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following curious notices on this subject, under the year 1628.

"The kinges company with a generall consent and alacritye have given mee the benefitt of too dayes in the yeare, the one in summer, thother in winter, to bee taken out of the second daye of a revived playe, att my owne choyse. The housekeepers have likewyse given their shares, their dayly charge only deducted, which comes to some 2l. 5s. this 25 May, 1628.

"The benefitt of the first day, being a very unseasonable one in respect of the weather, comes but unto £4. 15s. 0." This

These articles will be found in a subsequent page.
This agreement subsisted for five years and a half, during which time Sir Henry Herbert had ten benefits, the most profitable of which produced seventeen pounds, and ten shillings, net, on the 22d of Nov. 1628, when Fletcher's Cuslome of the Country was performed at Blackfriars; and the least emolument which he received was on the representation of a play which is not named, at the Globe, in the summer of the year 1632, which produced only the sum of one pound, and five shillings, after deducting from the total receipt in each instance the nightly charge above mentioned. I shall give below the receipt taken by him on each of the ten performances; from which it appears that his clear profit at an average, on each of his nights, was £8. 19 4. 2 and the total nightly receipt was at an average—£11. 4. 4.

1628, May 25, [the play not named,—£4. 15. 0.
"The benefit of the winters day, being the second day of an old play called The Cuslome of the Countrie, came to £3. 17. 10. 0. this 22 of Nov. 1628. From the Kinges company at the Blackfriers.

1629. "The benefit of the summers day from the Kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of The Prophetis, comes to, this 22 of July, 1629.—£6. 7. 0.
"The benefit of the winters day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrave, upon the play of The Moors of Venice, comes, this 22 of Nov. 1629 unto—£9. 16. 0.

1630. [No play this summer, on account of the plague.]
"Received of Mr. Taylor and Lowins, in the name of their company, for the benefit of my winter day, upon the second day of Ben Jonson's play of Every man in his bosome, this 18 of February, 1630, [1630-31]—£3. 4. 0.

1631. "Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefit of their summer day, upon ye second day of Richard ye Seconde, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—£5. 6. 6.
"Received of Mr. Blagrave, in the name of the kings company for the benefit of my winter day, taken upon The Alchemist, this 1 of Decemb. 1631,—£3. 13. 0. 0.

1632. "Received for the summer day of the kings company ye 6 Novemb. 1632,—£1. 3. 0.
"Received for the winter day upon The Wild geese close, ye fame,day,—£15. 0. 0.

1633. "R. of ye kings company, for my summers day, by Blagrave, the 6 of June 1633, ye somme of £4. 10. 0.

1 likewise find the following entry in this book:
Received of Mr. Benfifclde, in the name of the kings company, for a gratuity for ther liberty gaind unto them of playinge, upon the occasion of the plague, this 10 of June, 1631,—£3. 10. 0."—"This (Sir Henry Herbert adds) was taken upon Pericles at the Globe."
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

On the 30th of October, 1635, the managers of the king's company agreed to pay him the fixed sum of ten pounds every Christmas, and the same sum at Midsummer, in lieu of his two benefits, which sums they regularly paid him from that time till the breaking out of the civil wars.

From the receipts on these benefits I am led to believe that the prices were lower at the Globe theatre, and that therefore, though it was much larger than the winter theatre at Blackfriars, it did not produce a greater sum of money on any representation. If we suppose twenty pounds, clear of the nightly charges already mentioned, to have been a very considerable receipt at either of these houses, and that this sum was in our poet's time divided into forty shares, of which fifteen were appropriated to the housekeepers or proprietors, three to the purchase of copies of new plays, stage-habits, &c. and twenty-two to the actors, then the performer who had two shares on the representation of each play, received, when the theatre was thus successful, twenty shillings. But supposing the average nightly receipt (after deducting the nightly expenses) to be about nine pounds, which we have seen to be the case, then his nightly dividend would be but nine

In a copy of a play called A Game at Chess, 1624, which was formerly in possession of Thomas Pearson, Esq. is the following memorandum in an old hand: "After nine days, wherein I have heard some of the actors say they took fifteen hundred pounds, the Spanish faction, being prevalent, got it suppressed, and the author Mr. Thomas Middleton committed to prison." According to this statement, they received above 1661. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts show, that there is not even a semblance of truth in this story. In the year 1685, when the London theatres were much enlarged, and the prices of admission greatly increased, Shadwell received by his third day on the representation of The Squire of Alsatia, only 130l. which Downes the prompter says was the greatest receipt he had ever taken at Drury-Lane play-house at single prices. Rofcius Anglicaunm, p. 41.

The use of Arabick figures has often occasioned very gross errors to pass current in the world. I suppose the utmost receipt from the performance of Middleton's play for nine days, [if it was performed so often,) could not amount to more than one hundred and fifty pounds. To the sum of 150l. which perhaps this old actor had seen as the profit made by this play, his fancy or his negligence added a cipher, and thus made fifteen hundred pounds.

The play of Holland's Leaguer was acted six days successively at Salisbury Court, in December 1631, and yet Sir Henry Herbert received on account of the fix representations but one pound nineteen shillings, in virtue of the ninth share which he possessed as one of the proprietors of that house. Supposing there were twenty-one shares divided among the actors, the piece, though performed with such extraordinary success, did not produce more than six pounds ten shillings each night, exclusive of the occasional nightly charges already mentioned.
nine shillings, and his weekly profit, if they played five times a week, two pound five shillings. The acting season, I believe, at that time lasted forty weeks. In each of the companies then subsisting there were about twenty persons, six of whom probably were principal, and the others subordinate; so that we may suppose two shares to have been the reward of a principal actor; six of the second class perhaps enjoyed a whole share each; and each of the remaining eight half a share. On all these data, I think it may be safely concluded that the performers of the first class did not derive from their profession more than ninety pounds a year at the utmost. Shakspeare, Heminge, Condell, Burbadge, Lowin, and Taylor, had without doubt other shares as proprietors or leaseholders; but what the different proportions were which each of them professed in that right, it is now impossible to ascertain. According to the supposition already stated, that fifteen shares out of forty were appropriated to the proprietors, then was there on this account a sum of six hundred and seventy-five pounds annually to be divided among them. Our poet, as author, actor, and proprietor, probably received from the theatre about two hundred pounds a year.—Having after a very long search lately discovered the will of Mr. Heminge, I hoped to have derived from it some information on this subject; but I was disappointed. He indeed more than once mentions his several parts or shares held by lease in the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses; but uses no expression by which the value of each of those shares can be ascertained. His books of account, which he appears to have regularly kept, and which, he says, will shew that his shares yielded him "a good yearly profit," will probably, if they shall ever be found, throw much light on our early stage history.

Thus beauty and meagre were the apparatus and accommodations of our ancient theatres, on which those dramas were first exhibited, that have since engaged the attention of so many

3 "The verye hyerlings of some of our players," [i.e. men occasionally hired by the night] says Stephen Gosson in the year 1579, "which stand at reversion of vi s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemens noyes in futes of filike." School ef Abuse, p. 22.

Hart, the celebrated tragedian, after the Restoration had but three pounds a week as an actor, that is, about ninety pounds a year; for the acting season did not, I believe, at that time, exceed thirty weeks; but he had besides, as a proprietor, six shillings and three pence every day on which there was any performance at the king's theatre, which produced about £. 56. 5. o. more. Betterton even at the beginning of the present century had not more than five pounds a week.

4 See his Will in a subsequent page.
many learned men, and delighted so many thousand spectators. Yet even then, we are told by a writer of that age, "dramatick poesy was so lively expressed and represented on the publick stages and theatres of this city, as Rome in the auge of her pomp and glory, never saw it better performed; in respect of the action and art, not of the cost and sumptuousness."

Of the actors on whom this high encomium is pronounced, the original performers in our author's plays were undoubtedly the most eminent. The following is the only information that I have obtained concerning them.

Names

Sir George Buc. This writer, as I have already observed, wrote an express treatise concerning the English stage, which was never printed and, I fear, is now irrecoverably lost. As he was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, I hoped to have found the Manuscript in the Cottonian library, but was disappointed. "Of this art," [the dramatick] says Sir George, "have written largely Petrus Victorius, &c. as it were in vaine for me to say any thing of the art, besides that I have written thereof a particular treatise." The third University of England, printed originally in 1613, and re-printed at the end of Howes' edition of Stowe's Annals, folio, 1631, p. 1082. It is singular that a similar work on the Roman stage, written by Suetonius, (De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum,) has also perished. Some little account of their sceneery, and of the separation of the mimes and pantomimes from comedies, in which they were originally introduced, are the only particulars of this treatise that have been preserved; for which we are indebted to Servius, and Dio-Medes the grammarian. The latter fragment is curious, as it exhibits an early proof of that competition and jealousy, which, from the first rise of the stage to the present time, has disturbed the peace of theatres.

"Latine vero comœdia chorum non habet, sed duobus tantum membris constat, diversio, et canico. Primis autem temporibus, ut affert Tranquillus, omnia quæ in scena versentur, in comœdia agebantur. Nam Pantomimus et Pithanes et Choraules in comœdia canebant. Sed quia non poterunt omnia simul apud omnes artifices pariter excellere, hi qui erant inter actores comœiarum pro facultate et arte potiores, principatum sibi artificii vindicabant. Sic factum est, ut nolentibus eedere Mimis in arte fui ceteris, separatio feceret reliquorum. Nam dum potiores inferioribus qui in omnibus ergaeterio erant, servire dedignabant, seipsum a comœdia separaverunt: ac sic factum est, ut, exemplo femel sumpro, unusquisque artis fuerit rem exequi cæperit, neque in coœdmia venire."

Grammaticæ lingue Authorum Antiqui, Putfchi, p. 489.

Hanov. 1605.

I have said in a former page (40) that I believed Sir George Buc died soon after the year 1622, and I have since found my conjecture confirmed. He died, as I learn from one of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, on the 20th of September, 1623.
Having now once more occasion to mention our poet, I shall take this opportunity to correct an error into which I suspect I have fallen, in a note on the Account of his Life; and to add such notices as I have obtained relative either to him or his friends, since that Account was printed off; to which the present article is intended as a supplement.

The words in our poet's will, "Provided that if such husband as the shall at the end of the said three years be married unto," &c. seemed to me to afford a presumptive proof that Shakspere, when he made his will, did not know of the marriage of his daughter Judith, (the person there spoken of,) which had been celebrated about a month before; a circumstance, however, which, even when I flattered it, appeared to me very extraordinary, and highly improbable. On further consideration I am convinced that I was mistaken, and that the words above-cited were intended to comprehend her then husband, and any other to whom within three years she might be married. The word discharge in the bequest to Judith, which had escaped my notice,—"One hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion,"—shews that he must have been apprized of this marriage, and that he had previously covenanted to give her that sum.

In the transcript of the instrument by which a coat of arms was granted in 1599 to John Shakspere, our poet's father, the original has been followed with a scrupulous fidelity; but on perusing the rough draughts of the former grant of arms in 1596, I am satisfied that there is an error in the latter grant, in which the following unintelligible paragraph is found:

"Wherefore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakspere, now of Stratford-upon-Avon great-grandfather in the county of Warwick, gent. whose parent and antecedent for his faithfulness and approved service to the late most prudent

* Vol. I. p 152.
prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advanced with lands and tenements, given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit, &c.

On reviewing this instrument, it appeared not very easy to ascertain who the person here alluded to was, if only one was meant; nor is it at all probable that the great grandfather of John Shaksppeare should have been his late or immediate predecessor; to say nothing of the word parent, which, unless it means relation in general, is as unintelligible as the rest. On examining the two rough draughts of the grant of arms to John Shaksppeare in 1596, I found that in one of these, (apparently the more perfect of the two,) the corresponding words run thus: "— whose parents and late antecessors were for their valour and faithful services to the late most prudent prince king Henry VII." &c. In the other thus: "— whose parents [and] late antecessors for their faithful and valiant service," &c. The word their is in this paper obliterated, and his written over it; and over antecessors the word grandfather is written. The draughtsman however forgot to draw a line through the word for which grandfather was to be substituted. He evidently was in doubt which of the two expressions he should retain; but we may presume he meant to reject the words "— whose parents and late antecessors," and to substitute instead of them, "— whose grandfather for his," &c.

In the grant of 1599, we have seen, the words originally stood, "— whose parent and antecessor was," and the words great grandfather and late are interlinearations. The writer forgot to erase the original words, but undoubtedly he did not mean that both those and the substituted words should be retained, but that the paragraph should stand thus: "— whose great grandfather for his faithful and approved service," &c.

and, instead of "— great grandfather," the earlier instrument induces me to think that he ought to have written, "— whose late grandfather."

A minute examination of these instruments led me to inquire what grounds the heralds had for their assertion that our poet's ancestor had been rewarded by a grant of lands from king Henry the Seventh. But it should seem that they were satisfied with very slight evidence of this fact; for after a very careful examination in the chapel of the Rolls, from

7 I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging the politeness of Mr. Kipling of the Rolls-office, who permitted every examination which I desired, to be made in the venerable repository under his care; and, with
the beginning to the end of that reign, it appears, that no such grant was made. If any such had been made by that king, out of the forfeited estates of the adherents of king Richard the Third, or otherwise, it must have passed the great seal, and would have been on record. As therefore it is not found on the rolls, we may be assured that no such grant was made. However, from the words of the early instruments in the heralds-office, which have been already quoted, "— for his faithful and valiant service," &c. it is highly probable, that our poet's great grandfather distinguished himself in Bosworth field on the side of king Henry, and that he was rewarded for his military services by the bounty of that parsimonious prince, though not with a grant of lands.

Mr. Rowe in his account of our poet's father has said that he had ten children. From the Register of the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon it appears, that ten children of John Shakspere were baptized there between the year 1558, when the register commenced, and the year 1591. If therefore they were all the children of our poet's father, Mr. Rowe's account is inaccurate; for our poet had a sister named Margaret, born before the commencement of the Register. It is, however, extremely improbable, that in so numerous a family not one of the sons should have been baptized by the christian name of old Mr. Shakspere. I now therefore believe (though I was formerly of a different opinion) that our poet's eldest brother bore his father's christian name, John; and that, like their eldest sister, Margaret, he was born before the register commenced. If this was the case, then without doubt the three children who were born between March 1588 and September 1591, Urfula, Humphrey, and Philip, were the issue of this younger John, by his second wife, whose christian name was Mary; and the real number of the children of our poet's father was nine. This Mary Shakspere died in 1608, and is described as a widow. If therefore she was the wife of John Shakspere the younger, then must he have died before that year.

About twenty years ago, one Mosely, a master-bricklayer, who usually worked with his men, being employed by Mr. Thomas Hart, the fifth descendant in a direct line from our poet's sister, Joan Hart, to new-tile the old house at Stratford in which Mr. Hart lives, and in which our poet was born,

with a liberality seldom found in publick offices, would not accept of the accustomed fee, for any search which tended to throw a light on the history of our great dramatick poet.
born, found a very extraordinary manuscript between the rafter and the tiling of the house. It is a small paper-book consisting of five leaves stitched together. It had originally consisted of six leaves, but unluckily the first was wanting when the book was found. I have taken some pains to ascertain the authenticity of this manuscript, and after a very careful inquiry am perfectly satisfied that it is genuine.

The writer, John Shakspere, calls it his Will; but it is rather a declaration of his faith and pious resolutions. Whether it contains the religious sentiments of our poet's father or elder brother, I am unable to determine. The handwriting is undoubtedly not so ancient as that usually written about the year 1600; but I have now before me a manuscript written by Alley, the player at various times between 1599 and 1614, and another by Forde, the dramatick poet, in 1606, in nearly the same handwriting as that of the manuscript in question. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, at my request endeavoured to find out Mr. Mosely, to examine more particularly concerning this manuscript; but he died about two years ago. His daughter, however, who is now living, and Mr. Hart, who is also living and now sixty years old, perfectly well remember the finding of this paper. Mosley some time after he had found it, gave it to Mr. Peyton, an alderman of Stratford, who obligingly transmitted it to me through the hands of Mr. Davenport. It is proper to observe that the finder of this relique bore the character of a very honest, sober, industrious man, and that he neither asked nor received any price for it; and I may also add that its contents are such as no one could have thought of inventing with a view to literary imposition.

If the injunction contained in the latter part of it (that it should be buried with the writer) was observed, then must the paper which has thus fortuitously been recovered, have been a copy, made from the original, previous to the burial of John Shakspere.

This extraordinary will consisted originally of fourteen articles, but the first leaf being unluckily wanting, I am unable to ascertain either its date or the particular occasion on which it was written; both of which probably the first article would have furnished us with. If it was written by our poet's father, John Shakspere, then it was probably drawn up about the year 1600; if by his brother, it perhaps was dated some time between that year and 1608, when the younger John should seem to have been dead.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

III.

"* * * * at least spiritually, in will adoring and most humbly beseeching my favour, that he will be pleased to assist me in so dangerous a voyage, to defend me from the shares and deceits of my infernal enemies, and to conduct me to the secure haven of his eternal bliss.

IV.

Item, I John Shakspere doe protest that I will also passe out of this life, armed with the last sacrament of extreme unction: the which if through any let or hindrance I should not then be able to have, I doe now also for that time demand and crave the same; beseeching his divine majesty that he will he pleased to anoint me with the same both internal and external with the sacred ictory of his infinite mercy, and to pardon me all my sins committed by seeing, speaking, feeling, smelling, hearing, touching, or by any other way whatsoever.

V.

Item, I John Shakspere doe by this present protest that I will never through any temptation whatsoever despair of the divine goodness, for the multitude and greatness of my sins; for which although I confess that I have deserved hell, yet will I steadfastly hope in god's infinite mercy, knowing that he hath heretofore pardoned many as great sinners as myself, whereof I have good warrant sealed with his sacred mouth, in holy writ, whereby he pronounceth that he is not come to call the just, but sinners.

VI.

Item, I John Shakspere doe protest that I do not know that I have ever done any good works meritorious of life everlasting: and if I have done any, I do acknowledge that I have done it with a great deal of negligence and imperfection; neither should I have been able to have done the least without the assistance of his divine grace. Wherefore let the devill remain confounded; for I doe in no wise presume to merit heaven by such good works alone, but through the merits and bloud of my lord and saviour, jesus, shed upon the crofe for me most miserable sinner.

VII.

"Item, I John Shakspere doe protest by this present writing, that I will patiently endure and suffer all kind of infirmity, sickness, yea and the paine of death it self: wherein if it should happen, which god forbid, that through violence of paine and agony, or by subtlety of the devill, I should fall into any impatience or temptation of blasphemy, or murmuration against god, or the catholike faith, or give any
higene of bad example, I do henceforth, and for that present, repent me, and am most heartily sorry for the same: and I do renounce all the evil whatsoever, which I might have then done or said; beseeching his divine clemency that he will not forfake me in that grievous and paignefull agony.

VIII.

"Item, I John Shakspeare, by virtue of this present testament, I do pardon all the injuries and offences that any one hath ever done unto me, either in my reputation, life, goods, or any other way whatsoever; beseeching sweet Jesus to pardon them for the same: and I do desire, that they will doe the like by me, whome I have offended or injured in any fort howsoever.

IX.

"Item, I John Shakspeare do heere protest that I do render infinite thanks to his divine majesty for all the benefits that I have received as well secret as manifest, & in particular, for the benefit of my Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Conservation, and Vocation to the holy knowledge of him and his true Catholike faith: but above all, for his so great expectation of me to penance, when he might most justly have taken me out of this life, when I leaft thought of it, yea even then, when I was plunged in the dutry puddle of my finnes. Blessed be therefore and praised, for ever and ever, his infinite patience and charity.

X.

"Item, I John Shakspeare do protest, that I am willing, yea, I doe infinitely desire and humbly crave, that of this my last will and testament the glorious and ever Virgin mary, mother of god, refuge and advocate of sinners, (whom I honour specially above all other faints) may be the chiefe Executeffe, together with these other faints, my patrons, (faint Winefride) all whome I invoke and beseech to be present at the hour of my death, that she and they may comfort me with their desired presence, and crave of sweet Jesus that he will receive my soule into peace.

XI.

"Item, In virtue of this present writing, I John Shakspeare do likewise most willingly and with all humility constitute and ordaine my good Angel, for Defender and Protecr, tour of my soule in the dreadfull day of Judgement, when the finall sentance, of eternall life or death shall be discourse and given; beseeching him, that, as my soule was appointed to his custody and protection when I lived, even so he will vouchsafe to defend the same at that houre, and conduct it to eternall blis.

XII.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 141

XII.

"Item, I John Shaksppear do in like manner pray and beseech all my dear friends, parents, and kinsfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that since it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithstanding leaf by reason of my sines I be to pass and stay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchsafe to afflict and succour me with their holy prayers and satisfactory workes, especially with the holy sacrifice of the mass, as being the most effectual means to deliver souls from their torments and paines; from the which, if I shall by gods gracious goodness and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promise that I will not be ungrateful full unto them, for so great a benefit.

XIII.

Item, I John Shaksppear doe by this my last will and testament bequeath my soul, as soon as it shall be delivered and loofened from the prison of this my body, to be entombed in the sweet and amorous coffin of the side of Jesus Christ; and that in this life-giving sepulcher it may rest and live, perpetually inclosed in that eternal habitation of repose, there to blest for ever and ever that direfull iron of the lance, which, like a charge in a cenfore, formes so sweet and pleasant a monument within the sacred breast of my lord and favour.

XIV.

"Item, laftly I John Shaksppear doe protest, that I will willingly accept of death in what manner soever it may befall me, conforming my will unto the will of god; accepting of the same in satisfaction for my sines, and giving thanks unto his divine majesty for the life he hath bestowed upon me. And if it please him to prolong or shorten the same, blessed be he also a thousand thousand times; into whose most holy hands I commend my soul and body, my life and death: and I beseech him above all things, that he never permit any change to be made by me John Shaksppear of this my aforesaid will and testament. Amen.

"I John Shaksppear have made this present writing of protestation, confession, and charter, in presence of the blessed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celestial Court, as witnesses hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now presentely and for ever, with the force and vertue of testament, codicill, and donation in cause of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of soul and body, and signed with mine own hand; carrying also the same about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will
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will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.

"Pater nofiter, Ave maria, Credo.
"Iefu, fon of David, have mercy on me.

"Amen."

Since my remarks on the epitaph faid to have been made by Shakfpeare on John o'Comb, were printed, it occurred to me, that the manuScript papers of Mr. Aubrey, preferved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, might throw some light on that subject. Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625, or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments were considerabie; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturalift, and, what is more material to our present object, a great lover of and indefatigable searcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary pursuits, is ascertained by the works which he has published, the correspondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuscript, and which are now repofited in the Ashmolean Museum. Among these collections is a curious account of our English poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his Athenæ Oxonienses, this manuscript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his handwriting in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been observed by Mr. Warton) literary transcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quarreled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the second volume of his Faflæ, p. 262, he caHs his friend, and on whom in his History of the University of Oxford he beftows the highest encomium*; and, after their quarrel, with his usual warmth, and in his loose diction, he represented Aubrey as "a pretender to antiquities, roving, magogic-headed, and little better than crafed." To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary history has very high obligations; and in all matters of fact he may

may be safely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his representation, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, a man highly esteemed by all his contemporaries, was "a most vile person," and the celebrated John Locke, "a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow." The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could "at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had a ready knack at sophistical evasion." How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be trusted, is also evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witicisms, he has grossly reviled. Whatever Wood in a peevish humour may have thought or said of Mr. Aubrey, by whose labours he highly profited, or however fantastical Aubrey may have been on the subject of chemistry and ghosts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his testimony is worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely superflitious, or seemed to be so, yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his account of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted." I do not wish to maintain that all his accounts of our English writers are on these grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it seems to me much more reasonable to question such parts of them as seem objectionable, than to reject them altogether, because he may sometimes have been mistaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the last age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes,

8 Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16. 1689-90. Ms. Aubrey. No. 15, in Ms. Ashmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his History of the University of Oxford, he describes Dr. Wallis as a man—
"eruditio parit r et humanitatis praemians."

9 "Wood's account of South (says Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abusive stories: the occasion of which was this. Wood, on a visit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous suppression of urine; upon which South in his witty manner, told him, that, if he could not make water he must make earth.' Wood was so provoked at this unfeaborable and unexpected jest, that he went home in a passion, and wrote South's Life." Life of Ralph Bathurst, p. 184. Compare Wood's Athen. Oxon, ii. 1041.

1 Specimen of a critical history of the Celtick religion, &c. p. 122.
The anecdotes concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athena Oxoniensae*, which have been printed in a former page 4, were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, transcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. What has been there suggested, (that D'Avenant was Shakespeare's son) is confirmed by a subsequent passage in the Ms. which has been imperfectly obliterated, and which Wood did not print, though in one of his own unpublished manuscripts now in the Bodleian library he has himself told the same story. The line which is imperfectly obliterated in a different ink, and therefore probably by another hand than that of Aubrey, tells us, (as Mr. Warton who has been able to trace the words through the obliteration, informs me,) that D'Avenant was Shakespeare's son by the hoffefs of the Crown inn. The remainder of the context confirms this; for it says, that "D'Avenant was proud of being thought so, and had often (in his cups) owned the report to be true, to Butler the poet." — From Dr. Bathurst, Sir Bennet Hofkyns, Lacy the player, and others, Aubrey got some anecdotes of Ben Jonfon, which, as this part of the manuscript has not been published, I shall give below 5; and from Dryden and Mr. William Beefton, (son of Christopher Beefton, Shakespeare's fellow-comedian, who was a long time manager of the Cockpit playhouse in Drury-lane,) some particulars concerning Spenfer. I mention these circumstances only to shew that Aubrey was a curious and diligent inquirer, at a time when such inquiries were likely to be attended with success.

Dr. Farmer

2 "With incredible satisfaction I have perused your Natural History of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your industry in undertaking so profitable a work, and your judgment in the several observations you have made." Letter from John Evelyn, Esq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey*.

3 Hobbes, whose life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Ashmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurst in 1620, Bishop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hofkyns (the son of John Hofkyns, Ben Jonfon's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Jof. Howe in 1611.


5 The article relative to this poet immediately precedes that of Shakspere, and is as follows:
"Mr. Benjamin Johnson, Poet Laureat.

"I remember when I was a scholar at Trin. Coll. Oxon. 1646, I heard Mr. Ralph Bathurst [now Dean of Wells] say, that Ben. Johnson was a Warwickshire man. 'Tis agreed, that his father was a minifter; and by his Epistle DD of Every Man—to Mr. W. Camden, that he was a Weftminster scholar, and that Mr. W. Camden was his school-master. His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and 'tis g'really sayd that he wrought some time with his father-in-lawe, & particularly on the garden wall of Lincoln's inne next to Chancery lane; & that a knight, a bencher, walking thro', and hearing him repeat some Grecce verses out of Homer, discoursing with him & finding him to have a Witt extraordinary, gave him some exhibition to maintain him at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was—from then he went into the Low countries, and spent some time, not very long, in the armie; not to the disparage of [it], as you may find in his Epigrames. Then he came into England, & acted & wrote at the Green Curttaine, but both ill; a kind of Nurffery or obscure play-houfe somewhere in the suburbs (I think towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell). Then he under-tooke again to write a play, & did out it admirably well, viz. Every Man—which was his first good one. Sergeant Jo. Hofkins of Hereforshire was his Father. I remember his fonne (Sir Bennet Hofkins, Baronet, who was something poetical in his youth) told me, that when he defired to be adopted his fonne, No, fayd he, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother: I am your father's fonne; 'twas he that polifhed me: I doe acknowledge it. He was [or rather had been] of a clear and faire tkin. His habit was very plain. I have heard Mr. Lacy the player fay, that he was wont to wear a coate like a coachman's coate, with flits under the arm-pitts. He would many times exceede in drinke: Canarie was his beloved liquor: then he would tumble home to bed; & when he had thoroughly perDarked, then to study. I have seen his Study-inge chair, which was of strawe, fuch as old women used, & as Aulus Gellius is drawn in. When I was in Oxon: Bifhop Skinner [Bp. of Oxford] who lay at our coll: was wont to fay, that he underflood an author as well as any man in England. He mentions in his Epigrames, a fonne that he had, and his epitaph. Long fince in King James time, I have heard my uncle Davers [Danvers] fay, who knew him, that he lived without temple barre at a come-maker's shop about the Eleph. Castle. In his later time he lived in Weftminster, in the house under which you paffe, as you goe out of the church-yard into the olde palace: where he dyed. He lies buried in the north aisle, the path of square stones, the reft is lozenge, opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square of blew marble, 14 inches Square, O RARE BEN: IONSON: which was done at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted, who walking there, when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

It is observably that none of the biographers of the laft age, but Aubrey, appear to have known that Jonfon went to the Low Countries, Vol. II.
quoted has been printed in a former page: but as the manuscript memoir is more copious, and the account given by Aubrey of our poet’s verses on John o’Combe, (which has never been published) is materially different from that transmitted by Mr. Rowe, I shall give an exact transcript of the whole article relative to Shakspeare from the original.


Mr. William Shakespeare.

William Shakespeare’s 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 killed

in his younger years; a fact which is confirmed by the conversation that passed between old Ben and Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, which was not published till eleven years after Mr. Aubrey’s death. A long account of Serjeant John Hoskyns, and Skinner, bishop of Oxford, may be found in Wood’s Athen. Oxon. I. 1614—II. 1156.

Not knowing that this poet had a son who arrived at man’s estate, I had no doubt that the reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, which I found in the chapel of the Rolls, was made to old Ben; [see Vol. I. p. 333.] but I am now convinced that I was mistaken, and that this grant was made either to his son, Benjamin Jonson the younger, who was also a poet, though he has not been noticed by any of our biographical writers, or to some other person of the same name. A paper which has lately fallen into my hands, pointed out my mistake. It appears that Sir Henry Herbert soon after the Restoration brought an action on the case against Mr. Betterton, for the injury Sir Henry suffered by the performance of plays without the accustomed fees being paid to the Master of the Revels. On the trial it was necessary for him to establish his title to that office; and as the grant made to him was not to take effect till after either the death, renunciation, forfeiture, or surrender of Benjamin Jonson and Sir John Athiey, it became necessary to shew that those two persons were dead; and accordingly it was proved on the trial that the said Benjamin Jonson died, Nov. 20, 1635. The poet-laureat died, August 16, 1637. The younger Jonson was a dramatick author, having in conjunction with Brome, produced a play called A Fault in Friendship, which was acted at the Curtain by the Prince’s company in October, 1623; and in 1672 a collection of his poems was published. To this volume are prefixed versets addressed “to all the ancient family of the Luaces,” in which the writer describes himself as “a little stream from that clear spring;” a circumstance which adds support to Dr. Bathurst’s account of his father’s birth-place. It should seem that he was not on good terms with his father. “He was not very happy in his children,” (says Fuller in his account of Ben Jonson,) “and me not happy in those which died first, though none lived to survive him.”

6 Vol. I. p. 138. Dr. Farmer supposed that Aubrey’s anecdotes of Shakespeare came originally from Mr. Beecham, but this is a mistake. Mr. Beecham is quoted by Aubrey only for some particulars relative to Spenser.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 147

killed a calf, he would do it in a high style, and make a speech. This William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I guess about 16, and was an actor at one of the playhouses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Johnson was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor. He began early to make essays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his plays took well. He was a handsome well shaped man; very good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth wit. The humour of the confable in a Midsummer-night Dream he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midsummer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that confable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Jof. Howe is of the parifh, and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather humours of men, wherever they came. One time as he was at the tavern at Stratford, Mr. Combes, an old ufficer, was to be buried; he makes then this extem-
emporary epitaph upon him:

" Ten in the hundred the Devill allowes,
" But Combes will have twelve, he fwarees and he vowes : 
" If any one afke who lies in this tomb,
" Hoh ! quoth the Devill, 'tis my John o'Combe.

" He was wont to go to his native country once a yeare, I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a fifter. He understood latin pretty well; for he had been in his younger yeares a school-maIter in the country.

Let us now proceed to examine the several parts of this account.

The first affertion, that our poet's father was a butcher, has been thought unworthy of credit, because "not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may seem, to the in-
strument in the heralds-office," which may be found in a for-
mer page. But for my own part, I think, this affertion, (which it should be observed is positively affirmed on the in-
formation of his neighbours, procured probably at an early
period,) and the received account of his having been a wool
flapler, by no means inconsistient. Dr. Farmer has illuftrated
a paffage in Hamlet from information derived from a perfon
who was at once a wool-man and butcher; and, I believe, few occupations can be named, which are more naturally con-
nected with each other. Mr. Rowe first mentioned the tra-
dition that our poet's father was a dealer in wool, and his ac-
count is corroborated by a circumstance which I have just now
learned. In one of the windows of a building in Stratford

H 2
which belonged to the Shakspeare family, are the arms of the merchants of the flate;—Nebule, on a chief gules, a lion paffant, or; and the fame arms, I am told, may be observed in the church at Stratford, in the fret-work over the arch which covers the tomb of John de Clopton, who was a merchant of the flate, and father of Sir Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, by whom the bridge over the Avon was built. But it should feem from the records of Stratford that John Shakspeare, about the year 1579, at which time our poet was fifteen years old, was by no means in affluent circum-
stances; and why may we not suppose that at that period he endeavoured to support his numerous family by adding the trade of a butcher to that of his principal buifines; though at a subsequent period he was enabled, perhaps by his son’s bounty, to discontinue the lefs respectable of these occupations? I do not however, think it at all probable, that a person who had been once bailiff of Stratford should have fuffered any of his children to have been employed in the fervile office of killing calves.

Mr. Aubrey proceeds to tell us, that William Shakspeare came to London and began his theatrical career, according to his conjecture, when he was about eighteen years old;—but as his merit as an actor is the principal object of our present difquifition, I shall postpone my observations on this paragraph, till the remaining part of these anecdotes has been considered.

We are next told, that “he began early to make effays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes took well.”

On these points, I imagine, there cannot be much variety of opinion. Mr. Aubrey was undoubtedly mistaken in his conjecture, (for he gives it only as conjecture,) that our poet came to London at eighteen; for as he had three children born at Stratford in 1583 and 1584, it is very improbable that he should have left his native town before the latter year. I think it most probable that he did not come to London before the year 1586, when he was twenty-two years old. When he produced his first play, has not been ascertained; but if Spenser alludes to him in his Tears of the Mufes, Shakspeare must have exhibited some piece in or before 1590, at which time he was twenty six years old; and though many have written for the publick before they had attained that time of life, any theatrical performance produced at that age would I think, sufficiently justify Mr. Aubrey in saying that he began early to make effays in dramatick poetry. In a word,
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

The word, we have no proof that he did not woo the dramatick Muse, even to early as in the year 1587 or 1588; in the first of which years he was but twenty three; and therefore till such proof shall be produced, Mr. Aubrey's assertion, founded apparently on the information of those who lived very near the time, is entitled to some weight.

"He was a handsome well-shaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth witt."

I suppose none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer, who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's person; and there being no contradictory testimony on the subject, he may here be safely relied on. All his contemporaries who have spoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentlenefs of his manners, and the readiness of his wit. "As he was a happy imitator of nature, (say his fellow comedians,) so was he a most gentle expreffer of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers." "My gentle Shakespeare," is the compellation used to him by Ben Jonson. "He was indeed (says his old antagonist) honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stoped. Suffixminus erat, as Augustus said of Harterius." So also in his verses on our poet:

"Look how the father's face
Lives in his issue, even to the race
Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
In his well-torned and true-filled lines."

In like manner he is represented by Spenser (if in the Tears of the Muses he is alluded to, which, it must be acknowledged, is extremely probable,) under the endearing description of "our pleasant Willy," and "that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen flow copious streams of honey and nectar." In a subsequent page I shall have occasion to quote another of his contemporaries, who is equally lavish in praising the uprightness of his conduct and the gentleness and civility of his demeanor. And conformable to all these ancient testimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's "pleasurablc wit and good-nature engaged him in the ac-
quaintance and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whose manners were thus engaging, whose wit was thus ready, and whose mind was stored with such a plenitude of ideas and such a copious assemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is represented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

"The humour of the constable in A Midsummer-night Dreame, he happened to take at Crendon in Buck, (I think it was Midsomer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that constable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Jof. Howe is of the parish, and knew him."

It must be acknowledged that there is here a slight mistake, there being no such character as a constable in A Midsummer-Night's Dream. The person in contemplation undoubtedly was Dogberry in Much ado about nothing. But this mistake of a name does not, in my apprehension, detract in the smallest degree from the credit of the fact itself; namely, that our poet in his admirable character of a foolish constable had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon, (for it is written both ways,) a town in Buckinghamshire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakspere's contemporary, has fallen into a similar error; for in his eulogy on our poet, he has supposed the character of Malvolio, which is found in Twelfth Night, to be in Much ado about nothing.

As some account of the person from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the same college with him at Oxford, may tend to establish its credit, I shall transcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his Life of Sir Thomas Pope, such notices of Mr. Jofias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

"He was born at Crendon in Bucks, [about the year 1611] and elected a scholar of Trinity College June 12, 1632; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is called a great cavalier and loyalist, and a most ingenious man. He appears to have been a general and accomplished scholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the university.—In 1644, he preached before king Charles the First, at Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. The sermon was printed, and in red letters, by his majesty's special command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowship by the presbyterians; and restored

8 See Vol. I. p. 179.
in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly respected, after his restitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he constantly resided, August 28, 1701." Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Josias Howe, (as I learn from Wood) was minister of Crendon, and contemporary with Shakspeare; and from him his son perhaps derived some information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the constable of Crendon, however, does not stand on this ground, for we find that Mr. Josias Howe personally knew him, and that he was living in 1642:

I now proceed to the remaining part of these anecdotes:

"Ben Jonson and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the tavern at Stratford, Mr. Combes', an old usurer, was to be buried; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

"Ten in the hundred the devil allows,
"But Combes will have twelve, he swears and he vowes:
"If any one ask, who lies in this tomb,
"Hoh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John o'Combe.'"

In a former page I have proved, if I mistake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe's will, and other circumstances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe's account of our poet's having so incensed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his presence, at a tavern in Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey's account of this matter, which I had not then seen, fully confirms what I suggested on the subject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe's death. Nor is this sprightly effusion inconsistent

1 This custom of adding an s to many names, both in speaking and writing, was very common in the last age. Shakspeare's fellow comedian, John Hemings, was always called Mr. Hemings by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon constantly writes Bishop Earle, instead of Bishop Earle.

"S (says Camden in his Remaines, 4to 1605,) also is joyned to most [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Crofts, Hilles, Combes," &c.

2 Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Register of the parish confirms the observation made above; for, though written by a clergyman, it stands thus: "July 12, 1614. Mr. John Combes, Gener."

3 This appears to have been in our poet's time a common form in writing epitaphs. In one which he wrote on Sir Thomas Stanley, which has been given in Vol. I. Part I. p. 130, we again meet with it:

"Afb, who lies here," &c.
Again, in Ben Jonson's Epitaph on his son:

"Reft in loft peace, and af'd, say, here dath lie
"Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry."
consistent with Shakspere’s having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have respected for some qualities, though he indulged himself in a sudden and playful censure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

Mr. Steevens has justly observed, that the verses exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph, but a malvolent prediction; and every reader will, I am sure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakspere should have poisoned the hour of confidence and friendship by producing one of the severest censures on one of his company, and so wantonly and publickly express his doubts concerning the salvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate statement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

These extemporary verses having, I suppose, not been set down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately transmitted to London, appear in an entirely different shape in Braithwaite’s Remains, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already shewn that no such tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite’s story is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe’s. That such various representations should be made of verses of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with similar variations in the accounts of a transaction which passed but a few months before he had occasion to examine minutely and accurately into the real state of the fact?

In further support of Mr. Aubrey’s exhibition of these verses, it may be observed, that in his copy the first couplet is original; in Mr. Rowe’s exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, Ho (not Oh ho, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakspere’s age the appropriate exclamation of Robin Goodfellow, alias Pucke, alias Hobgoblin.

Mr. Aubrey informs us lastly, that Shakspere “was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a sister. He understood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a school-master in the country.”

Many traditional anecdotes, though not perfectly accurate, contain an adumbration of the truth. It is observable that

Mr. Aubrey speaks here with some degree of doubt;—“I think I have been told;” and his memory, or that of his informer, led him into an error with respect to the person to whom our poet bequeathed this legacy, who, we find from his will, was his daughter, not his sister: but though Aubrey was mistaken as to the person, his information with respect to the amount of the legacy was perfectly correct; for 300l. was the precise sum which Shakspere left to his second daughter, Judith.

In like manner, I am strongly inclined to think that the last assertion contains, though not the truth, yet something like it: I mean, that Shakspere had been employed for some time in his younger years as a teacher in the country; though Dr. Farmer has incontestably proved, that he could not have been a teacher of Latin, I have already suggested my opinion, that before his coming to London he had acquired some share of legal knowledge in the office of a petty country conveyancer, or in that of the steward of some manorial court. It is not necessary here to repeat the reasons on which that opinion is founded. If he began to apply to this study at the age of eighteen, two years afterwards he might have been sufficiently conversant with conveyances to have taught others the forms of such legal affurances as are usually prepared by country attorneys; and perhaps spent two or three years in this employment before he removed from Stratford to London. Some uncertain rumour of this kind might have continued to the middle of the last century; and by the time it reached Mr. Aubrey, our poet’s original occupation was changed from a scrivener’s to that of a school-master.

I now proceed to the more immediate object of our present inquiry; our poet’s merit as an actor.

“Being inclined naturally (says Mr. Aubrey) to poetry and acting, he came to London, I guess, about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonson never was a good actor, but an excellent instructor.”

The first observation that I shall make on this account is, that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonson was a bad actor, is incontestably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and therefore, though there were no other evidence, it might be plausibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey’s information concerning our poet’s powers on the stage was not less accurate. But in this instance I am not under the necessity of resting on such an inference; for I am able to produce the testimony of a contemporary in support of Shakspere’s histrionic merit. In the preface to a pamphlet

H 5

entitled
entitled *Kinde-Hartes-Dreame*, published in December 1592 which I have already had occasion to quote for another pur-
pole, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himself a drama-
tick writer, and well acquainted with the principal poets and
players of the time, thus speaks of Shakspere:

"The other, whom at that time I did not so much spare,
as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate
of living writers, and might have used my own discretion,
(epecially in such a case, the author [Robert Green] being
dead,) I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault;
because my selfe have seen his demeanor no less civil than he
EXCELLENT in the qualitie be proffesse: besides, divers of wor-
ship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues
his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves
his art."

To thofe who are not converfant with the language of our
old writers, it may be proper to observe, that the words,
"the qualitie be proffesse," particularly denote his profeffion as
an actor. The latter part of the paragraph indeed, in which
he is praised as a good man and an elegant writer, shews this:
however, the following passage in Stephen Goffon's *Schoole of
Abufe*, 1579, in which the very same words occur, will put
this matter beyond a doubt. "Over-lashing in apparell
(fays Goffon) is so common a fault, that the verye hyerlings
of some of our plaiers, which stand at the reversion of vi. s.
by the weewe, jet under gentlemen's nofes in futes of filke,
exercizing themselves in prating on the flage, and common
feoffing when they come abrode; where they looke afcance
at every man of whom the fonday before they begged an
almes. I speake not this, as though every one that proffeth
the qualitie, fo abused himselfe; for it is well known, that fome
of them are fober, discreet, properly learned, honefte house-
holders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours
at home, though the pride of their shadowes (I meane thofe
hanghe-eyes whom they fuccour with flipend) cause them to
bee somewhat talked of abrode."

Thus early was Shakpere celebrated as an actor, and thus
unfounded was the information which Mr. Rowe obtained on
this subject. Wright, a more diligent inquirer, and who had
better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had
said about ten years before, that he had "heard our author
was

5 That by the words *The other* was meant Shakpere, has been
6 In the margin this cautious puritan adds — "Some players modest,
if I be not deceived."
was a better poet than an actor;" but this description, though probably true, may still leave him a considerable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the present were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would constitute a performer whose merit should entitle him to "bench by the side" of Shakspere as a poet.

A passage indeed in Lodge’s *Incarnate Devils of the age*, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet’s performance of the Ghost in *Hamlet*. But this in my apprehension is a mistake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the passage in question was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghost in some miserable play which was produced before Shakspere commenced either actor or writer. That such a play once existed, I have already shewn to be highly probable; and the tradition transmitted by Betterton, that our poet’s performance of the Ghost in his own *Hamlet* was his chef d’oeuvre, adds support to my opinion.

That Shakspere had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the instructions which are given to the player in *Hamlet*, and by other passages in his works; which, in addition to what I have already stated, incline me to think that the traditional account transmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the stage, has been too hastily credited. In the celebrated scene between Hamlet and his mother, he thus addresses him:

‘—Alas, how is’t with you?
That you do bend your eye on vacancy,
And with the incorporeal air do bold discourse?
Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep;
And, as the sleeping soldiers in the alarm,
Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
Starts up, and stands on end.—Whereon do you look?

Ham. On him! on him! look you, how pale he glares!

His form and cause conjoin’d, preaching to stones,
Would make them capable. Do not look upon me,
Left with this piteous action, you convert
My stern effects: then what I have to do
Will want true colour; tears perchance for blood.”

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed these lines to Hamlet, unless he was confident that in his own part
part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghost which he has so forcibly described? or that the preceding lines spoken by the Queen, and the description of a tragedian in *King Richard III.* could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor?

"Rich. Come, cousin, canst thou quake and change thy colour?
"Murder thy breath in middle of a word?
"And then again begin, and stop again,
"As if thou wa'rest distraught, and mad with terror?
"Buck. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
"Speak, and look big, and pry on every side,
"Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
"Intending deep suspicion: ghastly looks
"Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
"And both are ready in their offices,
"At any time, to grace my stratagems."

I do not however, believe, that our poet played parts of the first rate, though he probably distinguished himself by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his humour* were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have represented *Old Knowell*; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the *Adam* in his own *As you like it*. Perhaps he excelled in representing old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary, about the year 1611, might lead us to suppose that he also acted *Duncan in Macbeth*, and the parts of *King Henry the Fourth*, and *King Henry the Sixth*:

"To our English Terence, Mr. William Shakspere.

"Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
"Hadst thou not play'd some kingly parts in sport,
"Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
"And been a king among the meaner sort.
"Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
"Thou haft no railing, but a raigning wit;
"And honestly thou soweft, which they do reap,
"So to increafe their flock which they do keepe."

*The Scourge of Folly*, by John Davies, of Hereford, no date.
the most celebrated tragedian of our author's time, was the
son of James Burbadge, who was also an actor, and perhaps
a countryman of Shakspeare. He lived in Holywell-street
in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, from which cir-
cumstance I conjecture that he had originally played at the
Curtain theatre, which was in that neighbourhood; for he
does not appear to have been born in that parish; at least I
searched the register from its commencement in 1568, in vain,
for his birth. It is strange, however, that he should have
continued to live from the year 1600 to his death, in a place
which was near three miles distant from the Blackfriars play-
house, and still further from the Globe, in which theatres he
acted during the whole of that time. He appears to have
married about the year 1600; and if at that time we suppose
him thirty years old, his birth must be placed in 1570. By
his wife, whose christian name was Winefrid, he had four
daughters: Juliet, or Julia, (for the name is written both
ways in the register,) who was baptized Jan. 2, 1602-3, and
died in 1608; Frances, baptized Sep. 16, 1604; Winefrid,
baptized Octob. 5, 1613, and buried in October, 1616; and
a second Juliet, (or Julia,) who was baptized Dec. 26,
1614. This child and Frances appear to have survived their
father. His fondness for the name of Juliet, perhaps arose
from his having been the original Romeo in our author's
play.

Camden has placed the death of Burbadge on the 9th of
March, 1619. On what day he died, is now of little con-
sequence; but to ascertain the degree of credit due to histori-
ans is of some importance; and it may be worth while to re-
mark how very seldom minute accuracy is to be expected
ever from contemporary writers. The fact is, that Burbadge
died some days later, probably on the 13th of that month;
for his will was made on the 12th, and he was buried in the
church of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 16th of March,
1618-19. His last will, extracted from the registry of the
Prerogative court, is as follows.

"Memorandum, That on Frydaye the twelfth of March,
Anno Domini, one thousand fix hundred and eighteen,
Richard

* In writing this performer's name I have followed the spelling used
by his brother, who was a witness to his will; but the name ought ra-
ther to be written Burbidge, (as it often formerly was,) being manifestly
an abbreviation or corruption of Borough-bridge.

" 1619, Martii 9. Richardus Burbage, alter Roscius, obiit."  
Regni regis Jacobi I, Annalium Apparatus, 4to. 1692.
Richard Burbage of the parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent. being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament, nuncupative, in manner and form following; viz, He the said Richard did nominate and appoint his well beloved wife Winifride Burbage to be his sole executrix of all his goods & chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed:

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the testator.
+ The mark of Elizabeth, his wife.
Nicholas Tooley.
Anne Lancaster.
Richard Robinson.
+ The mark of Elizabeth Graves.
Henry Jackfonne.


Richard Burbage is introduced in person in an old play called The Returne from Parnaffus; (written in or about 1602,) and instructs a Cambridge scholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. That he represented this character, is ascertained by Bishop Corbet, who in his Iter Boreale, speaking of his host at Leicester, tells us,

"—when he would have said, King Richard died,
"And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cry'd."

He probably also performed the parts of King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, Timon, Brutus, Coriolanus, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.

He was one of the principal sharers or proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and was of such eminence, that in a letter preserved in the British Museum, written in the year 1613, (Ms. Harl. 7002,) the actors at the Globe are called Burbadge's Company.

The following character of this celebrated player is given by Fleckno in his Short Discourse of the English Stage, 1664.

"He

* In Jonson's Masque of Christmas, 1616, Burbadge and Heminge are both mentioned as managers: "I could ha' had money enough for him, an I would ha' been tempted, and ha' set him out by the week to the king's players: Master Burbadge hath been about and about with me, and so has old Mr. Heminge too; they ha' need of him."
"He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his parts, and putting off himself with his cloaths, as he never (not so much as in the tyring house) assumed himself again, untill the play was done. He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action; his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor still; never failing in his part, when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still to the height."

It should not, however, be concealed, that Fleckno had previously printed this character as the portrait of An excellent actor, in general, and there is reason to believe that this writer never saw Burbadge: for Fleckno did not die till about the year 1682 or 1683, and consequently, supposing him then seventy-five years old, he must have been a boy when this celebrated player died. The testimony of Sir Richard Baker is of more value, who pronounces him to have been "such an actor, as no age must ever look to see the like." Sir Richard Baker was born in 1568, and died in 1644-5; and appears, from various passages in his works, to have paid much attention to the theatre, in defence of which he wrote a treatise.

In Philpot's additions to Camden's Remains, we find an epitaph on this tragedian, more concise than even that on Ben Jonson; being only, "Exit Burbidge."

The following old epitaph on Burbadge, which is found in a Ms. in the Museum, (Ms. Sloan: 1786,) is only worthy of preservation, as it shews how high the reputation of this actor was in his own age.

"Epitaph on Mr. Richard Burbadge, the player."

"This life's a play, seen'd out by natures arte,
Where every man hath his allotted parte."

"This
This man hath now (as many more can tell)
Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
The play now ended, think his grave to be
The detiring howse of his sad tragedie;
Where to give his fame this, be not afraid,
Here lies the best tragedian ever plaid."

JOHN HEMINE

is said by Roberts the player to have been a tragedian, and in conjunction with Condell, to have followed the business of printing; but it does not appear that he had any authority for these assertions. In some tract of which I forgot to preserve the title, he is said to have been the original performer of Falstaff.

I searched the register of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, (in which parish this actor lived,) for the time of his birth, in vain. Ben Jonson in the year 1616, as we have just seen, calls him old Mr. Heminge: if at that time he was sixty years of age, then his birth must be placed in 1556. I suspeet that both he and Burbadge were Shakfpeare's countrymen, and that Heminge was born at Shottery, a village in Warwickshire at a very small distance from Stratford-upon-Avon; where Shakfpeare found his wife. I find two families of this name settled in that town early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth, the daughter of John Heming of Shottery, was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon, March 12, 1567. This John might have been the father of the actor, though I have found no entry relative to his baptism: for he was probably born before the year 1558, when the Register commenced. In the village of Shottery also lived Richard Hemyng, who had a son christened by the name of John, March 7, 1570. Of the Burbadge family the only notice I have found, is, an entry in the register of the parish of Stratford, October 12, 1565, on which day Philip Green was married in that town to Ursula Burbadge, who might have been sister to James Burbridge, the father of the actor, whose marriage I suppose to have taken place about that time. If this conjecture be well founded, our poet, we see, had an easy introduction to the theatre.

John Heminge appears to have married, in or before the year, 1589, his eldest daughter, Alice, having been baptized October 6, 1590. Beside this child, he had four sons; John, born in 1598, who died an infant; a second John, baptized August 7, 1599; William, baptized October 3, 1602, and George, baptized February 11, 1603-4; and eight daughters:  

* Answer to Pope, 1729.
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ters; Judith, Thomasine, Joan, Rebecca, Beatrice, Eliza-
beth, Mary, (who died in 1611,) and Margaret. Of his
daughters four only appear to have been married; Alice to
John Atkins in January 1612-13; Rebecca to Captain Wil-
liam Smith; Margaret to Mr. Thomas Sheppard, and an-
other to a person of the name of Moresfield. The eldest son,
John, probably died in his father's life-time, as by his last
will he constituted his son William his executor.

William, whose birth Wood has erroneously placed in
1605, was a student of Christ-church, Oxford, where he took
the degree of a Master of Arts in 1628. Soon after his fa-
ther's death he commenced a dramatic poet, having produced
in March 1632-3 a comedy entitled The Courfinge of a Hare,
or the Madeapp', which was performed at the Fortune theatre,
but is now lost. He was likewise author of two other plays
which are extant; The Fatal Contraft, published in 1653, and
The Jews Tragedy, 1662.

From an entry in the Council-books at Whitehall, I find
that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of
the Globe playhouse, before the death of Queen Elizabeth.
He is joined with Shakfpeare, Burbadge, &c. in the licence
granted by King James immediately after his accession to the
throne in 1603; and all the payments made by the Treasurer
of the Chamber in 1613, on account of plays performed at
court, are "to John Heminge and the rest of his fellows."
So also in several subsequent years, in that and the following
reign. In 1623, in conjunction with Condell, he published
the first complete edition of our author's plays; soon after
which it has been supposed that he withdrew from the thea-
tre; but this is a mistake. He certainly then ceased to act*,
but he continued chief director of the king's company of co-
medians to the time of his death. He died at his house in
Aldermanbury, where he had long lived, on the 10th of
October 1630, in, as I conjecture, the 74th or 75th year of
his age, and was buried on the 12th, as appears by the Re-
gister of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, in which he is styled,
"John Heminge, player."

I suspect

1 Mr. Herbert.

* That he and Condell had ceased to act in the year 1623, is ascer-
tained by a passage in their Address "to the great varietie of readers,"
prefixed to our poet's plays. "Reade him therefore, and againe, and
againe; and if then you do not like him, surely you are in some mani-
feft danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his
friends, whom if you need, can be your guides." i. e. their fellow-
comedians, who still continued on the stage, and, by representing our
author's plays, could elucidate them, and thus serve as guides to the
publick.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

I suspect he died of the plague, which had raged so violently that year, that the playhouses were shut up in April, and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of those who died in London of that distemper, was diminished to twenty-nine. His son William, into whose hands his papers must have fallen, survived him little more than twenty years, having died some time before the year 1653: and where those books of account of which his father speaks, now are, cannot be ascertained. One cannot but entertain a wish that at some future period they may be discovered, as they undoubtedly would throw some light on our ancient stage-history. The day before his death, John Heminge made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court. In this instrument he styles himself a grocer, but how he obtained his freedom of the grocers' company, does not appear.

In the name of God, Amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the 6th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and uncertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following.

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ my favour and redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner, in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury in London, as near unto my loving wife Rebecca Heminge, who lieth there interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her there, if the same conveniently may be: wherein I do desire my executor herein after named carefully to see my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, My will is, that all such debts, as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons, (being truly and properly mine own debts,) shall be well and

2 Mr. Herbert.
and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leafes, goods, chattles, plate and household stuffe whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the monies thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same may be converted into monies and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leafes, goods, and chattels, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts which I have by leave in the several play-houses of the Globe and Black-frizers, for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor herein after named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety or one half of the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety or one half of the said yearly benefit of my said parts in the said play-houses shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient monies to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said play-houses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said play-houses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me herein after given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the truth and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best
Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my said son Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions which were her mother's.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield my clothe-of-silver striped cushions which were her mother's.

Item. I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's, and my daughter Sheppard's children as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings apiece.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law John Atkins, and his now wife, if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings in remembrance of me.

Item. I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesties servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings apiece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item. I give and bequeath unto John Rice, Clerk, of St. Saviour's in Southwark, (if he shall be living at the time of my decease,) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love unto him.

Item. I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of Saint Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item. My will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all the several legacies and sums of money by me herein before bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several play-houses call'd the Globe and Blackfriers, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be; and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor herein after named especially to take care that my debts, first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of
my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned with as much speed as the same conveniently may be, according as I have herein before in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said play-houses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the fame have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funeral, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my estate, and then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like; and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge to be the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends Mr. Burbage * and Mr. Rice to be overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first written.

* Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the actor.

AUGUSTINE PHILIPS.

This performer is likewise named in the licence granted by king James in 1603. It appears from Heywood's Apology for Actors, printed in 1612, that he was then dead. In an extraordinary exhibition, entitled The Seven Deadly Sins, written
ten by Tarleton, of which the Mif. plot or scheme is in my possession, he represented Sardanapalus. I have not been able to learn what parts he performed in our author's plays; but believe that he was in the same class as Kempe, and Armine; for he appears, like the former of these players, to have published a ludicrous metrical piece, which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1595. Philips's production was entitled The Jigg of the Slippers.

WILLIAM KEMPE
was the successor of Tarleton. "Here I must needs remember Tarleton, (says Heywood in his Apology for Actors,) in his time gracious with the queen his sovereign, and in the people's general applause; whom succeeded Will. Kempe, as well in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience." From the quarto editions of some of our author's plays, we learn that he was the original performer of Dogberry in Much Abo about Nothing, and of Peter in Romeo and Juliet. From an old comedy called The Returne from Parnaffus, we may collect, that he was the original Justice Shallow; and the contemporary writers inform us that he usually acted the part of a Clown; in which character, like Tarleton, he was celebrated for his extemporal wit.* Launcelot in the Merchant of Venice, Touchstone in As you like it, Launce in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, and the Grave-digger in Hamlet, were probably also performed by this comedian. He was an author as well as an actor.  

So

4 See p. 96, n. 1.
5 See The Returne from Parnaffus, a comedy, 1606: "Indeed, M. Kempe, you are very famous, but that is as well for works in print as your part in cue." Kempe's New Jigg of the Kitchen-stuff Woman was entered on the books of the Stationers' company in 1593; and in the same year was licensed to Thomas Goffin, "Kempes New Jigg betwixt a fouldier and a mifer and Sym the clown."

Sept. 7. 1593, was entered on the Stationers' Books, by R. Jones, "A comedic entitled A knack bow to know a knave, newly set forth, as it hath been sundry times played by Ned Allen and his company, with Kempe applauded merryment of the Men of Gotham."

In the Bodleian Library, among the books given to it by Robert Burton, is the following tract, bound up with a few others of the same size, in a quarto volume marked L, 62d. art.

"Kemps nine daics wonder performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, painses and kind entertainment of William Kemp between London and that city, in his late morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note; to reprooue the flanneers spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written "by himselfe, to satisfie his friends." (Lond. E. A. for Nicholas Ling 1600. b. I.—With a wooden cut of Kempe as a morrise-dancer, preceded by a fellow with a pipe and drum, whom he (in the book) calls Thomas Slye his taberer.) It is dedicated to "The true ennobled lady, and his "moist bountifull mistirs, mistirs Anne Fiton, mayde of honour to the "moist sacred mayde royall queene Elizabeth."
So early as in the year 1589 Kempe's comic talents appear to have been highly estimated, for an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written, I think, by Thomas Nashe, and published about that time, is dedicated "to that most comical and conceited Cavaleur *Monfieur du Kempe, Jeftmonger, and vice-gerent generall* to the Ghost of Dické Tarleton."

From a passage in one of Decker's traces it may be presumed that this comedian was dead in the year 1609.

In Braithwaite's *Remains*, 1618, he is thus commemorated:

> "Upon Kempe and his Morice, with his Epitaph.

"Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy to see
"Thy safe return moriscoed lustily.
"But out alas! how soone's thy morice done,
"When pipe and tabor, all thy friends be gone;
"And leave thee now to dance the second part
"With feeble nature, not with nimble art!
"Then all thy triumphs fraught with strains of mirth,
"Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth:
"Shall be? they are; thou haft danc'd thee out of breath;
"And now must make thy parting dance with death."

**THOMAS POPE.**

This actor likewise performed the part of a Clown. He died before the year 1600.

**GEORGE BRYAN.**

I have not been able to gather any intelligence concerning this performer, except that in the exhibition of *The Seven Deadly Sins* he represented the Earl of Warwick. He was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588.

**HENRY CUNDALL**

is said by Roberts the player to have been a comedian, but he does not mention any other authority for this assertion but stage-tradition. In Websler's *Dutchess of Malfy* he originally acted

6 "Tush, tush, Tarleton, Kempe, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fools that now come drawling behind them, never played the clownes part more naturally than the arranteft of you all."

7 "—what meanes Singer then,
"And Pope, the clowne, to speak so borish, when
"They countrefuite the clownes upon the stage?"

*Humours Ordinarie, where a man may be vere merie and exceeding well used for his sixpence.* (No date.)

8 Heywood's *Apology for Actors.*
acted the part of the Cardinal; and as, when that play was printed in 1623, another performer had succeeded him in that part, he had certainly before that time retired from the stage. He still, however, continued to have an interest in the theatre, being mentioned with the other players to whom a licence was granted by King Charles the First in 1625. He had probably a considerable portion of the \textit{sbares} or property of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. This actor as well as Heminge lived in Aldermanbury, in which parish he served the office of \textit{Sideman} in the year 1606. I have not been able to ascertain his age; but he appears to have married about the year 1598, and had eight children, the eldest of whom was born in Feb. 1598-99, and died an infant. Three only of his children appear to have survived him; Henry, born in 1600; Elizabeth in 1606; and William, baptized May 26, 1611. Before his death he resided for some time at Fulham, but he died in London, and was buried in his parish church in Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1627. On the 13th of that month he made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the regality of the Prerogative Court.

"In the name of God, Amen, I Henry Cundall of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following; that is to say, first I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins; and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise and bequeath the same as followeth.

\textit{Imprimis}, I give, devise and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in Hellmett-court in the Strand, and else-
where, in the county of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of such issue unto my son William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue unto my daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in the parish of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet-street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall and to her assigns, until my said son William Cundall his term of apprenticehood shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticehood shall be so fully expired, I give, devise and bequeath the same messuages and premises situate in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my said son William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts and personal estate, whatsoever and wherefoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth; viz.

Imprimis, Whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessor of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof, made and by me exhibited in due form of law into the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also in discharge of my said executorship I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood deceased as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little cabinet.

Item, I do make, name, ordain and appoint my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix
of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgment, that she will truely and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son in-law Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderson, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and affiting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said several overseers the sum of five pounds apiece to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my said son William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriers, London, and at the Bankside in the county of Surry, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents and profits may be raised for a flock for my said son William*, if he shall so long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my well dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son Henry Cundall for his maintainance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year, that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel; or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury in London shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity or yearly sum of twenty

* He was probably bound apprentice to Peter Saunderson, grocer.
twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at the feast-days above mentioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to Master Doctor Clewett, and Master Edmond Powell of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my said well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well beloved daughter Elizabeth Finch, all my house-hold stuff, bedding, linen, brass and pewter, whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury in London; to be equally divided between them part and part alike. And for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin Frances Gurney, alias Hulfe, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds, and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances, the like sum of five pounds.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant Elizabeth Wheaton a mourning gown and forty shillings in money, and that place or priviledge which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long continue in the premises; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease. And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquaintance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my now executrix a sufficient re-
leafe and dischaffe for and concerning the payment of the same.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath, all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leafe, money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wherefoever, (after my debts shall be paid and my funeral charges and all other charges about the execution of this my will first paid and discharged) unto my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts and bequest as I have by this my will given, devised or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease. Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void, all former wills, testaments, codicils, executors, legacies, and bequests, whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given or appointed; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other. In witness whereof I the said Henry Cundall, the testator, to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us whose names are here under written:

Robert Yonge.
Hum. Dyfon, Notary Publique.
And of me Ro. Dickens, servant unto the said Notary.

Probatum fuit testamentum supra scriptum apud Lond. coram magistro Richardo Zouche, legum doctor, Surrogato, 24° die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, reliæ dstr defuncti et executr. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

WILLIAM SLY

was joined with Shakspeare, &c. in the licence granted in 1603.—He is introduced, personally, in the induction to Marston's Malecontent, 1604, and from his there using an affected
Engraved by H. Brocas from an original Picture in the Ashmole Museum, Oxford.
feated phrase of Osrick's in Hamlet, we may collect that he performed that part. He died before the year 1612.

**RICHARD COWLEY**

appears to have been an actor of a low class, having performed the part of Verges in Much ado about Nothing. He lived in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and had two sons baptized there; Cuthbert, born in 1597, and Richard born in 1599. I know not when this actor died.

**JOHN LOWIN**

was a principal performer in these plays. If the date on his picture in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is accurate, he was born in 1576. Wright mentions in his Historia Histronica that "before the wars he used to act the part of Falstaff with mighty applause;" but without doubt he means during the reign of King Charles the First, from 1625 to 1641. When our poet's King Henry IV. was first exhibited, Lowin was but twenty-one years old; it is therefore probable that Heminge, or some other actor, originally represented the fat knight, and that several years afterwards the part was resigned to Lowin.

He is said by Roberts the player to have also performed king Henry the Eighth and Hamlet; but with respect to the latter his account is certainly erroneous; for it appears from more ancient writers, that Joseph Taylor was the original performer of that character.

Lowin is introduced, in person, in the induction to Marston's Malecontent, printed in 1604; and he and Taylor are mentioned in a copy of verses, written in the year 1632, soon after the appearance of Jonson's Magnetick Lady, as the two most celebrated actors of that time:

"Let Lowin ceafe, and Taylor scorn to touch
"The loathed stage, for thou haft made it such."

Befide the parts already mentioned, this actor represented the following characters: Morose, in The Silent Woman; — Volpone, in The Fox; — Mammon, in The Alchymist; — Melliantus, in The Maid's Tragedy; — Aubrey, in The Bloody Brother; — Bofola, in The Dutchefs of Malby; — Jacomo, in The Deferving Favourite; — Eubulus, in Maffinger's Picture; — Domitian, in The Roman Actor; — and Belleur, in The Wild Goose Chase.

Though

9 Heywood's Apology for Actors.

1 This date, which the engraver of the annexed portrait has inadvertently omitted, is — "1640, Ærat. 64."

2 Hiftor. Histron. and Robius Anglicanus.
Though Heminge and Condell continued to have an interest in the theatre to the time of their death, yet about the year 1623, I believe, they ceased to act; and that the management had in the next year devolved on Lowin and Taylor, is ascertained by the following note made by Sir Henry Herbert in his office-book, under the year 1633.

"On Friday the 19th of October 3, 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress The Tamer Tamel, to the Kings players, for that afternoon, and it was obeyed; upon complaints of foul and offensive matters conteyne.

"They acted The Scornfull Lady instead of it. I have entered the warrant here.

"These are to will and require you to forbear the acting of your play called The Tamer tamd or the Taminge of the Tamer, this afternoon, or any more till you have leave from mee; and this at your peril. On Friday morning the 18 Octob. 1633.

"To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowins, or any of the Kings players at the Blackfrysers.

"On Saturday morninge followinge the booke was brought mee, and at my Lord of Hollands request I returned it to the players ye mondy morninge after, purgd of oaths, phanefs, and ribaldrye, being ye 21 of Octob. 1633.

"Because the stoppinge of the acting of this play for that afternoon, it being an oould play, hath rayfed some discourse in the players, thoug no disobedience, I have thought fitt to insert here ther submissjon upon a former disobedience, and to declare that it concerns the Master of the Revels to bee carefull of their oould revived playes, as of their new, since they may conteyne offensive matter, which ought not to bee allowed in any time.

"The Master ought to have copies of their new playes left with him, that he may be able to shew what he hath allowed or disallowed.

"All oould playes ought to bee brought to the Master of the Revels, and have his allowance to them, for which he should have his fee, since they may be full of offensive things against church and state; ye rather that in former time the poetts tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.

"The players ought not to study their parts till I have allowed of the booke.
To Sir Henry Herbert, K. Master of his Majesties Revels.

"After our humble service + remembred unto your good worship, Whereas not long since we acted a play called The Spanish Viceroy, not being licensed under your worship's hands, nor allowed of: wee doe confess and herby acknowledge that wee have offended, and that it is in your power to punish this offense, and are very sorry for it; and doe likewise promife herby that wee will not act any play without your hand or sublittures hereafter, nor doe any things that may prejudice the authority of your office: So hoping that this humble submission of ours may bee accepted, wee have therunto set our hands. This twentieth of Decemb. 1624.

Elyard Swanston. John Rice.
George Burght.

"Mr. Knight,

"In many things you have fared mee labour; yet when your judgment or penn sayld you, I have made boulde to use mine. Purge ther parts, as I have the booke. And I hope every hearer and player will thinke that I have done God good service, and the quality no wronge; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, prophanefs, and publique ribaldry, wch for the future I doe absolutely forbid to bee presented unto mee in any playbooke, as you will answer it at your peril. 21 Octob. 1633.

"This was subscribed to their play of The Tamer Tamul, and directed to Knight, their book-keeper.

"The 24 of Octob. 1633, Lowins and Swanston were forry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in presence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde."

After the suppression of the theatres, Lowin became very poor. In 1652, in conjunction with Joseph Taylor, he published Fletcher's comedy called The Wild Goose Chafe, for bread; and in his latter years, he kept an inn (The Three Pidgeons) at Brentford, in which town, Wright says, he died very old. But that writer was mistaken with respect to the place of his death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish.

4 In the margin here Sir Henry Herbert has added this note. "'Tis entered here for a remembrance against their disorders.

5 His tr. Hist. tr. p. 10.
parish of St. Martin in the Fields, March 18, 1658-9. On
the 8th of the following October administration of the goods
of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the
actor's widow. In the Register of persons buried in the
parish of Brentford, which I carefully examined, no person
of this name is mentioned between the years 1650, and 1660.

SAMUEL CROSS.
This actor was probably dead before the year 1600; for Hey-
wood, who had himself written for the stage before that time,
says he had never seen him.

ALEXANDER COOKE.
From The Platt of the Seven Deadly Sins, it appears, that
this actor was on the stage before 1538, and was the stage-
heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's Sejanus,
and in The Fox; and we may presume, performed all the
principal female characters in our author's plays.

SAMUEL GILBURN.
ROBERT ARMIN
performed in The Alchemiſt in 1610, and was alive in 1611,
some verses having been addressed to him in that year by John
Davies of Hereford; from which he appears to have occa-
 tionally performed the part of the Fool or Clown.

He was author of a comedy called The Two Maids of
More-clacke, [Mortlake it ought to be.] 1609. I have also
a book, called A Neſt of Ninnies ſimply of themselves, without
compound, by Robert Armin, published in 1608. And at
Stationers' Hall was entered in the same year "a book called
Phantafim the Italian Taylor and his Boy, made by Mr. Armin,
servant to his majesty."

Mr. Oldys, in his Mf. notes on Langbaine, says, that
" Armin was an apprentice at first to a goldsmith in Lom-
bard-street." He adds, that "the means of his becoming a
player is recorded in Tarleton's jests printed in 1611, where
it appears, this 'prentice going often to a tavern in Grace-
church-street, to dun the keeper thereof, who was a debtor to
his master Tarleton, who of the master of that tavern was now

* "To honest, gameſome, Robert Armine,
" Who tickles the ſpleene like a harmleſſ vermin."
" Armine, what ſhall I ſay of thee, but this,
" Thou art a fool and knave;—both?—ſe, I mifs,
" And wrong thee much; ſith thou indeed art neither,
" Although in feeu thou playſt both together."
only a lodger in it, saw some verses written by Armin on the
window, upon his master's said debtor, whose name was
Charles Tarleton, and liked them so well, that he wrote others
under them, prophecying, that as he was, so Armin should be;
therefore, calls him his adopted son, to wear the Clown's suit
after him. And so it fell out, for the boy was so pleased with
what Tarleton had written of him, so respected his person,
so frequented his plays, and so learned his humour and
manners, that from his private practice he came to publick
playing his parts; that he was in great repute for the same
at the Globe on the Bank-side, &c. all the former part of king James's
reign.

WILLIAM OSTLER

had been one of the children of the Chapel; having acted in
Johnson's Postgate, together with Nat. Field and John Underwood, in 1601, and is said to have performed women's
parts. In 1610 both he and Underwood acted as men in
Ben Jonson's Alchemist. In Davies's Scourge of Folly, there
are some verses addressed to him with this title: "To the
Rofcius of these times, William O'tler." He acted Antonio
in Webster's Dutchess of Malfy, in 1623. I know not when he
died.

NATHANIEL FIELD.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Both these actors had been children of the chapel, and
probably at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres performed
female parts. Field, when he became too manly to represent
the characters of women, played the part of Buffy d'Ambois in Chapmen's play of that name. From the preface prefixed to one edition of it, it appears that he was dead in 1641.

There is a good portrait of this performer in Dulwich college, in a very singular dress.

Fleckno in his little tract on the English Stage, speaks of
him as an actor of great eminence. A person of this name
was the author of two comedies, called A Woman's a Weathercock, and Amends for Ladies, and alluded Massinger in writing The Fatal Dowry, but he scarcely could have been the player; for the first of the comedies abovementioned was printed in 1612, at which time this actor must have been yet a youth, having performed as one of the Children of the Revels, in
Jonson's Silent Woman, in 1609.

The

7 See Cynthia's Revels, 1601, in which they both acted.
The only intelligence I have obtained of John Underwood, beside what I have already mentioned, is, that he performed the part of Delio in The Dutchess of Malby, and that he died either in the latter end of the year 1624 or the beginning of the following year, having first made his will, of which the following is a copy:

In the name of God, Amen. I John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less in London, gent. being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament, in manner and form following: viz. First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my wordly goods and estate which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeath, and dispose as followeth; that is to say, to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere; and also all the right, title, or interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess and enjoy in any manner or kind at this present or hereafter, within the Blackfryars, London, or in the company of his Majesty's servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe on the Bankside; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtain, situate in or near Holloway in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place; to my said five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their several ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change or alter by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have or ought to hold, have, possess and enjoy in the said playhouses called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Bancke-side, and Curtain aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, accrue and arise to my said executors, as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided.
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ded amongst them. Provided also that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attain to the age of one and twenty years, my said executors shall pay or cause to be paid unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisbursed or undisposed for the uses aforesaid in their or either of their hands, and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforesaid: yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children every or any of them at their said full age or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors to give unto my child so attaining the age as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforesaid age; and if any of them shall die or depart this life before they accomplish the said age or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share or portion to them, him or her surviving, at the ages aforesaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforesaid. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors of this my last will and testament; and do intreat my loving friends Mr. John Heminge, and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament: and I give to my said executors and overseers for their pains (which I intreat them to accept) the sum of eleven shillings apiece to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty-four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October. Anno Domini one thousand six hundred twenty-four or thereabouts, viz. his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors,) these particulars following in manner and form following: first, to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it. To his son John Underwood a seal ring.
ring of gold with an A and a B in it. To Burbage Underwood a seal ring with a blue stone in it. To Isabella one hoop ring of gold. To his said son John one hoop ring of gold. To his said daughter Elizabeth one wedding ring. To his said son Burbage one hoop ring, black and gold. To his said son Thomas one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot. To his said daughter Isabella one blue sapphire and one joint ring of gold. To John Underwood one half dozen of silver spoons and one gilt spoon. To Elizabeth one silver spoon and three gilt spoons. To Burbage Underwood, his son aforesaid, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl and one rough bowl. To Thomas Underwood his son, one silver porringer, one silver taffet, and one gilt spoon. To Isabella his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup. Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witnesses, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory,

Probatum fuit testamentum supra scriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram judice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unus executor. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat. reservata potestate fimilis commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint cum petitur.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

acted Forobosco in The Dutchess of Malfy. From the Plat of the Seven Deadly Sins, it appears, that he sometimes represented female characters. He performed in The Alchemiſt in 1610.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

This performer’s name occurs for the first time in B. Jonson’s Alchemiſt, 1610. No other ancient piece (that I have seen) contains any memorial of this actor.

JOSEPH TAYLOR

appears from some verses already cited, to have been a celebrated actor. According to Downes the prompter, he was instructed by Shakspeare to play Hamlet; and Wright in his Historia Histriónica, says. “He performed that part incomparably well.” From the remembrance of his performance of Hamlet, Sir William D’Avenant is said to have conveyed his instructions to Mr. Betterton. Taylor likewise played Iago. He also performed True-wit in The Silent Woman, Face in
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

The Alchymist, and Mofca in Volpone; but not originally. He represented Ferdinand in The Dutchess of Malfy, after the death of Burbadge. He acted Mathias in The Picture, by Maffinger; Paris in The Roman Actor; the Duke in Carrell's Deserving Favourite; Rollo in The Bloody Brother; and Mirebell in The Wild Goose Chase. There are verses by this performer prefixed to Maffinger's Roman Actor, 1629.

In the year 1614, Taylor appears to have been at the head of a distinct company of comedians, who were distinguished by the name of The Lady Elizabeth's Servants. However, he afterwards returned to his old friends; and after the death of Burbadge, Heminge and Condell, he in conjunction with John Lowin and Eliard Swanston had the principal management of the king's company. In Sept. 1639 he was appointed Yeoman of the Revels in ordinary to his Majesty, in the room of Mr. William Hunt. There were certain perquisites annexed to this office, and a salary of sixpence a day. When he was in attendance on the king he had 31. 6s. 8d. per month.

I find from Fleckno's Characters, that Taylor died either in the year 1653 or in the following year: and according to Wright he was buried at Richmond. The Register of that parish antecedent to the Restoration, being lost, I am unable to ascertain that fact. He was probably near seventy years of age at the time of his death.

He is said by some to have painted the only original picture of Shakspere now extant, in the possession of the duke of Chandos. By others, with more probability, Richard Burbadge is reported to have been the painter: for among the pictures in Dulwich college is one, which, in the catalogue made in the time of Charles the Second by Cartwright the player, is said to have been painted by Burbadge.

ROBERT BENFIELD appears to have been a second-rate actor. He performed Antonio in The Dutchess of Malfy, after the death of Othler. He

8 Hist. Hist. iion.
9 Taylor's name does not occur in the list of actors printed by Jonfon at the end of Volpone.
* Mr. Virtue.
1 "He is one, who now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table; and, since Taylor's death, none can play Mofca so well as he." Character of one who imitates the good companion another way. In the edition of Fleckno's Characters, printed in 1665, he says, this character was written in 1654. Taylor was alive in 1652, having published The Wild Goose Chase in that year.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

He also acted the part of the King in The Deserving Favourite; Ladilas in The Picture; Junius Rusticus in The Roman Actor; and De-gard in The Wild Goose Chace.

He was alive in 1647, being one of the players who signed the dedication to the folio edition of Fletcher's plays, published in that year.

ROBERT GOGHE.

This actor at an early period performed female characters, and was, I suppose, the father of Alexander Goghe, who in this particular followed Robert's steps. In The Seven Deadly Sins, Robert Goghe played Aspatia; but in the year 1611 he had arrived at an age which entitled him to represent male characters; for in The Second Maidens Tragedie, which was produced in that year, he performed the part of the usurping tyrant.

RICHARD ROBINSON

is said by Wright to have been a comedian. He acted in Jonson's Catiline in 1611; and, it should seem from a passage in The Devil is an Ass, [Act II, sc. viii.] 1616, that at that time he usually represented female characters. In The Second Maidens Tragedie, he represented the Lady of Govianus. I have not learned what parts in our author's plays were performed by this actor. In The Deserving Favourite, 1629, he played Orfinio; and in The Wild Goose Chafe La-Cadre. In Maffinger's Roman Actor, he performed Elopus; and in The Dutchess of Malfy, after the retirement of Condell, he played the Cardinal. Hart, the celebrated actor, was originally his boy or apprentice. Robinson was alive in 1647, his name being signed, with several others, to the dedication prefixed to the first folio edition of Fletcher's plays. In the civil wars he served in the king's army, and was killed in an engagement, by Harrifon, who was afterwards hanged at Charing-Crofs. Harrifon refused him quarter, after he had laid down his arms, and shot him in the head, saying at the same time, 'Curfed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently."

JOHN SHANCKE

was, according to Wright, a comedian. He was but in a low class, having performed the part of the Curate in Fletcher's Scornful Lady, and that of Hillario (a servant) in The Wild Goose Chafe. He was a dramatick author as well as an actor, having

2 Mr. in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdown. See p. 6. n. 7.
having produced a comedy entitled Shanke's Ordinary, which was acted at Blackfriars in the year 1623-4.  

JOHN RICE.

The only information I have met with concerning this player, is, that he represented the Marquis of Pescara, an inconsiderable part in Webster's Dutchess of Malfy. He was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge.

The foregoing lift is said in the first folio to contain the names of the principal actors in these plays.

Beside these, we know that John Wilson played an insignificant part in Much ado about nothing.

Gabriel was likewise an inferior actor in these plays, as appears from the Third Part of King Henry VI. p. 150, edit. 1623, where we find—"Enter Gabriel." In the corresponding place in the old play entitled The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c. we have—"Enter a Messenger." Sinkler or Sinlo, and Humphrey, were likewise players in the same theatre, and of the same class. William Barksted, John Duke, and Christopher Beefton, also belonged to this company. The latter from the year 1624 to 1638. when he died, was manager of the Cockpit theatre in Drury-lane.

In a book of the last age of no great authority, we are told that "the infamous Hugh Peters, after he had been expelled from the University of Cambridge, went to London, and enrolled himself as a player in Shakspeare's company, in which he usually performed the part of the Clown." Hugh Peter (for that was his name, not Peters, as he was vulgarly called by his contemporaries,) was born at Fowey or Foye in Cornwall in 1599, and was entered of Trinity College in Cambridge, in the year 1623. In 1617 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master of Arts in 1622. On the 23d of December 1621, as I find from the Register of the Bishop of London, he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Mountaine then bishop of that see; and on June 8, 1623, he was ordained a priest. During his residence at Trinity college, he

4 "For the kings company. Shanke Ordinarie, written by Shankes himselfe, this 16 March, 1623,—£. 1. o. c." Mr. Herbert.

5 In The Third Part of King Henry VI. p. 158, first folio, the following stage-direction is found: "Enter Sinklo and Humphrey. In the old play in quarto, entitled The true tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke. "Enter two keepers."

6 He was one of the children of the Revels. See the Dramatis Persona of Ben Jonson's Sincr Woman.

7 Dramat's Personae of Every man in his humour.
he behaved so improperly, that he was once publicly whipped for his insolence and contumacy; but I do not find that he was expelled. It is, however, not improbable that he was rusticated for a time, for some misconduct; and perhaps in that interval, instead of retiring to his parent's house in Cornwall, his rebellious spirit carried him to London, and induced him to tread the stage. If this was the case, it probably happened about the time of our author's death, when Hugh Peter was about eighteen years old.

Langbaine was undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that Edward Alleyn was "an ornament to Blackfriars." Wright, who was much better acquainted with the ancient stage, says, "he never heard that Alleyn acted there:" and the lift in the first folio edition of our author's plays proves decisively that he was not of his company; for so celebrated a performer could not have been overlooked, when that lift was forming. So early as in 1593, we find "Ned Alleyn's company mentioned." Alleyn was sole proprietor and manager of the Fortune theatre, in which he performed from 1599 (and perhaps before) till 1616, when, I believe, he quitted the stage. He was servant to the Lord Admiral (Nottingham): all the old plays therefore which are said to have been performed by the Lord Admiral's Servants, were represented at the Fortune by Alleyn's company.

The

† P. 166, n. 5.
‡ In a former edition I had said, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that "Edward Alleyn, the player, mentions in his Diary, that he once had to slender an audience in his theatre called the Fortune, that the whole receipt of the house amounted to no more than three pounds and some odd shillings." But I have since seen Alleyn's Diary, (which was then mislaid,) and find Mr. Oldys was mistaken. The memorandum on which the intelligence conveyed by the Librarian of Dulwich College to that Antiquary, was founded, is as follows: "Oct. 3. 1617. I went to the Red Bull, and rd. for The Younger Brother but £. 3. 6. 4."

It appears from one of Lord Bacon's Letters that Alleyn had in 1618 left the stage. "Allen that was the player," he calls him. The money therefore which he mentions to have received for the play of The Younger Brother must have been the produce of the second day's representation, in consequence of his having sold the property of that piece to the sharers in the Red Bull theatre, or being in some other way entitled to a benefit from it. Alleyn's own play-houfe, the Fortune, was then open, but I imagine, he had held of this property in it to a kinman, one Thomas Allen, an actor likewise. In his Diary he frequently mentions his going from Dulwich to London after dinner, and supping with him and some of the Fortune's men." From this Ms. I expected to have learned several particulars relative to our ancient stage; but unfortunately the Diary does not commence till the year 1617, (at which time he had retired to his College at Dulwich,) and contains no theatrical intelligence whatever, except the article already quoted.
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The history of the stage as far as it relates to Shakspeare, naturally divides itself into three periods: the period which preceded his appearance as an actor or dramatick writer; that during which he flourished; and the time which has elapsed since his death. Having now gone through the two former of these periods, I shall take a transient view of the stage from the death of our great poet to the year 1741, still with a view to Shakspeare, and his works.

Soon after his death, four of the principal companies then subsisting, made a union, and were afterwards called the United Companies; but I know not precisely in what this union consisted. I suspect it arose from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each house occasionally to affix their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of plays. We have already seen that John Heminge in 1618 pay’d Sir George Buck, “in the name of the four compaines, for a lenten dispensation in the holydays, 44s.” and Sir Henry Herbert observes that the play called Come see a wonder, “written by John Daye for a company of strangiers,” and represented Sept. 18, 1623, was “acted at the Red Bull, and, licensed without his hand to it, because they [i. e. this company of strangiers] were none of the four compaines.” The old comedy entitled Amends for Ladies, as appears from its title-page, was acted at Blackfriars before the year 1618, “both by the Prince’s servants and Lady Elizabeth’s,” though the theatre at Blackfriars then belonged to the king’s servants.

After the death of Shakspeare, the plays of Fletcher appear for several years to have been more admired, or at least to have been more frequently acted, than those of our poet. During the latter part of the reign of James the First, Fletcher’s pieces had the advantage of novelty to recommend them. I believe, between the time of Beaumont’s death in 1615 and his own in 1625, this poet produced at least twenty-five plays. Sir Afton Cokain has informed us, in his poems, that of the thirty-five pieces improperly ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio edition of 1647, much the greater part were written after Beaumont’s death: and his account is partly confirmed.

9 “____ For what a soul
And inexcusable fault it is, (that whole
Volume of plays being almost every one
After the death of Beaumont writ,) that none
Would certify them so much?”

Verses addressed by Sir Afton Cokain to Mr. Charles Cotton.
firmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, from which it appears that Fletcher produced eleven new plays in the last four years of his life. If we were possessed of the Regifter kept by Sir George Buck, we should have, I make no doubt, find near twenty dramas written by the same author in the interval between 1615 and 1622. As, to ascertain the share which each of these writers had in the works which have erroneously gone under their joint names, has long been a desideratum in dramatick history, I shall here set down as perfect a list as I have been able to form of the pieces produced by Fletcher in his latter years.

The Honest Man's Fortune, though it appeared first in the folio 1647, was one of the few pieces in that collection, which was the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. It was first performed at the Globe theatre in the year 1613, two years before the death of Beaumont.

The Loyal Subject was the sole production of Fletcher, and was first represented in the year 1618.

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the course of the year, were generally presented at court at Christmas. As therefore The Island Princess, The Pilgrim, and The Wild Goose Chase are found among the court exhibitions of the year 1621, we need not hesitate to ascribe these pieces also to the same poet. The Wild Goose Chase, though absurdly printed under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, is expressly ascribed to the latter by Lowin and Taylor, the actors who published it in 1652. The Beggar's Bush, being also acted at court in 1622, was probably written by Fletcher. The Tamer tamed is expressly call'd his by Sir Henry Herbert, as is the Mad Lover by Sir Afton Cokain: and it appears from the manuscript so often quoted that The Night-Walker and Love's Pilgrimage, having been left imperfect by Fletcher, were corrected and finished by Shirley.

I have now given an account of nine of the pieces in which Beaumont appears to have had no share; and subjoin a list of eleven other plays written by Fletcher, (with the assistance of

See also his verses addressed to Mr. Humphry Mofley and Mr. Humphry Robinion:

"In the large book of playes you late did print
"In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why int
"Did you not justice? give to each his due?
"For Beaumont of those many writ in few;
"And Malflinger in other few; the main
"Being false iuues of sweet Fletcher's brain."

* A Manuscript copy of this play is now before me, marked 1613.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

of Rowley in one only,) precisely in the order in which they were licensed by the Master of the Revels.

1622. May 14, he produced a new play called The Prophet's.

June 22, The Sea Voyage. This piece was acted at the Globe.

October 24, The Spanish Curate. Acted at Blackfriars.


October 17, The Devil of Dowgate, or Usury put to use. Acted by the king's servants. This piece is lost.

December 6, The Wandering Lovers; acted at Blackfriars. This piece is also lost.

1624. May 27, A Wife for a Month. Acted by the King's Servants.

October 19, Rule a Wife and have a Wife.


February 3, The Noble Gentleman. Acted at the same theatre.

In a former page an account has been given of the court-exhibitions in 1622. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following "Note of such playes as were acted at court in 1623, and 1624," which confirms what I have suggested, that the plays of Shakespeare were then not so much admired as those of the poets of the day.

"Upon Michelmas night att Hampton court, The Mayd of the Mill by the K. Company.

"Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the prince being there only, The Mayd of the Mill againe, with reformations.

"Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, The Gypsy, by the Cockpitt company.

"Upon St. Stevens daye, the king and prince being there, The Mayd of the Mill by the K. company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon St. Johns night, the prince only being there, The Bondman by the queene [of Bohemia's] company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sunday, The Buck is a thief, the king and prince being there. By the king's company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon New-years night, by the K. company, The Wandering Lovers, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

"Upon
"Upon the Sunday after, beinge the 4 of January 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, The Changelinge; the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

"Upon Twelfe night, the maske being putt off, More dissemblers besides Women *, by the kings company, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

"To the Duches of Richmond, in the kings absence, was given The Winters Tale, by the K. company, the 18 Jan. 1623. Att Whitehall.

"Upon All-hollows night, 1624, the king beinge at Roifton, no play. My Lord Chamberlin had Rule a Wife and have a wife for the ladys, by the king's company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon St. John's night, The Fox, by the king's company. Att Whitehall.

From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were shut up, his Manuscript does not furnish us with a regular account of the plays exhibited at court every year. Such, however, as he has given, I shall now subjoin, together with a few anecdotes which he has preserved, relative to some of the works of our poet and the dramatick writers who immediately succeed ed him.

"For the king's players. An olde playe called Winters Tale, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by

"The worst play that ere I saw," says the writer, in a marginal note.
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by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was mislinge; and therefore I returned itt without a fee, this 19 of Augift, 1623.

"For the king's company. The Histoyre of Henry the First", written by Dampor[t [Davenport]; this 10 April, 1624,—L. 1. o. c.

"For the king's company. An olde play called The Honest Mans Fortune, the originall being loft, was re-allowed by mee at Mr. Taylor's intrety, and on condition to give mee a booke [The Arcadia], this 8 Februa. 1624."

The manuscript copy of the Honest Man's Fortune is now before me, and is dated 1613. It was therefore probably the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. This piece was acted at the Globe, and the copy which had been licenfed by Sir George Buc, was without doubt destroyed by the fire which confumed that theatre in the year 1613. The allowed copy of The Winter's Tale was probably destroyed at the same time.

"17 July, 1626. [Received] from Mr. Hemmings for a courtesie done him about their Blackfriers houfe, L. 3. o. c.

[Received] from Mr. Hemming, in their company's name, to forbid the playing of Shakespeare's plays, to the Red Bull Company, this 11 of April, 1627, L. 5. o. o.

"This day, being the 11 of Janu. 1630, I did refuse to allow of a play of Mefflinger's 2, because itt did contain dangerous

1 This play in a late entry on the Stationers' books was ascribed by a fraudulent book-seller to Shakspeare.
2 Mefflinger's Duke of Millaine and Virgin Martyr were printed in 1623. It appears from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert that his other plays were produced in the following order:

The Bandman, Dec. 3, 1623. Acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.
The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice, April 17, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit.
The Parliament of Love, Nov. 3, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit. Of this play the last four acts are yet extant in manuscript.
The Spaniʃh Viceroy, acted in 1624. This play is lost.
The Roman Actor, October 11, 1626. Acted by the king's company.
The Judge, June 6, 1627. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.
The Great Duke was licenced for the Queen's Servants, July 5, 1627. This was, I apprehend, The Great Duke of Florents, which was actted by that company.
The Honour of Women was licenced May 6, 1628. I suspect that this was the original name of The Maid of Honour, which was printed in 1631, though not entered for the stage in Sir Henry Herbert's book.
The Picture, June 8, 1629. Acted by the king's company.
gerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian king of Portugal, by Phillip the [Second,] and ther being a peace sworn twixte the kings of England and Spayne. I had my fee notwithstanding, which belongs to me for the reading it over, and ought to be brought always with the booke.

"Received of Knight 3, for allowing Ben Johnson’s play

Minerva’s Sacrifice, Nov. 3, 1629. Acted by the king’s company. This play is lost.

The Emperor of the East, March 17, 1630-31. Acted by the king’s company.

Believe as you lift, May 7, 1631. Acted by the king’s company. This play is lost.

The Unfortunate Piety, June 13, 1631. Acted by the king’s company. This play is lost.

The Fatal Destiny does not appear to have been licensed for the stage under that title, but was printed in 1632. It was acted by the king’s company.

The City Madam, May 25, 1632. Acted by the king’s company.

A new way to pay old debts does not appear to have been licensed for the stage, but was printed in Nov. 1632.

The Guardian was licensed, Octob. 31, 1633. Acted by the king’s company.

The Tragedy of Cleander, May 7, 1634. Acted by the king’s company. This play is lost.

A Very Woman, June 6, 1634. Acted by the king’s company.

The Oracle, Jan. 10, 1634-5. Acted by the king’s company. This play is lost.

The Baffful Lover, May 9, 1636. Acted by the king’s company.

The King and the Subject, June 3, 1638. Acted by the same company. This title, Sir Henry Herbert lays, was changed. I suspect it was new named The Tyrant. The play is lost.

Alexius or the Cheffe Lover, Sept. 25, 1639. Acted by the king’s company.

The Fair Anchoros of Paulilippo, Jan. 26, 1639-40. Acted by the king’s company.

Several other pieces by this author were formeely in possession of John Warburton, Esq. Somerset Herald, but I know not when they were written. Their titles are, Antonio and Vallia, The Woman’s Plot, Philenzo and Hippolita, Taffe and Welcome.

3 The book-keeper of Blackfriars’ playhouse. The date of this piece of Ben Jonson has hitherto been unascertained. Immediately after this entry is another, which accounts for the defect of severall leaves in the edition of Lord Brooke’s Poems, 1633: “Received from Henry Seyle for allowing a booke of verfes of my lord Brooks, entitled Religion, Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor, this 17 of October 1632, in mony, £. 1. 0. 0: in books to the value of £. 1. 4. 0.”—In all the published copies twenty leaves on the subject of Religion, are wanting, having been cancelled, probably by the order of Archbishop Laud.

The subsequent entry ascertains the date of Cowley’s earliest production:

“More of Seyle, for allowing of two other small pieces of verfes for the prefs, done by a boy of this town called Cowley, at the same time, £. 0. 10. 0.”
play called *Humours reconcil'd, or the Magnetick Lady*, to bee acted, this 12th of Octob. 1632, £. 2. o. o.

"18 Nov. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley, and acted by the Queens players, ther were divers perforated so naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Bifton [Christopher Beetlon] promisit many things which I found faulte withall should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deserves to be punifht; and the first that offends in this kind, of poets or players, shall be sure of publique punishment.

"R. for allowinge of *The Tale of the Tubb*, Vitru Hoop's parte wholly strucke out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lord chamberlin; exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the kings workes, as a personall injury unto him. May 7, 1633, —£. 2. o. o."

In this piece, of which the precise date was hitherto unknown, *Vitru Hoop*, i. e. Vitruvius Hoop, undoubtedly was intended to represent Inigo Jones.

"The comedy called *The Tonge Admirall*, being free from oaths, prophanes, or obsceneces, hath given mee much delight and

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4 Such of the plays of Shirley as were registred by Sir Henry Herbert, were licensed in the following order:

*Love Tricks, with Complements*, Feb. 10, 1624-5.

*Mayds Revenge*, Feb. 9, 1625-6.

*The Brothers*, Nov. 4, 1626.

*The Witty Fair one*, October 3, 1628.

*The Faithful Servant*, Nov. 3, 1629.

*The Traytor*, May 4, 1631.

*The Duke*, May 17, 1631.


*Hyde Park*, April 20, 1632.

*The Ball*, Nov. 16, 1632.

*The Beauties*, Jan. 21, 1632-3.

*The Young Admiral*, July 3, 1633.

*The Gamester*, Nov. 11, 1633.

*The Example*, June 24, 1634.

*The Opportunity*, Nov. 29, 1634.

*The Coronation*, Feb. 6, 1634-5.

*Chabot, Admiral of France*, April 29, 1635.

*The Lady of Pleasure*, Octob. 15, 1635.


*The Royal Mijler*, April 23, 1638.

*The Gentleman of Venise*, 30 Octob. 1639.

*Refnia*, 1 June, 1640.

*The Impofor*, Nov. 10, 1640.

*The Politique Father*, May 26, 1641.

*The Cardinal*, Nov. 25, 1641.

*The Sifters*, April 26, 1642.
and satisfaction in the reading, and may serve for a patterne to other poetts, not only for the bettering of maners and language, but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received some brushings of late.

"When Mr. Sherley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him to pursue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry, and when other poetts heare and fee his good success, I am confident they will imitate the original for their own credit, and make such copies in this harmless way, as shall speak them masters in their art, at the first sight, to all judicious spectators. It may be acted this 3 July, 1633.

"I have entered this allowance, for direction to my succesor, and for example to all poetts, that shall write after the date hereof.

"Received of Biflon, for an oulde play called Hymns Holli-day, newly revived at their house, being a play given unto him for my use, this 15 Aug. 1633, £. 3. o. o. Received of him for some altertions in it £. 1. o. o.

"Meeting with him at the oulde exchange, he gave my wife a payre of gloves, that cost him at least twenty shillings.

"Upon a second petition of the players to the High Comission court, wherein they did mee right in my care to purge their plays of all offense, my lords Grace of Canterbury bestowed many words upon mee, and discharged mee of any blame, and layd the whole fault of their play called The Magetick Lady, upon the players. This happened the 24 of Octob. 1633, at Lambeth. In their first petition they would have excused themselves on mee and the poet.""On Saterday the 17th of Novemb. 5, being the Queens birth day, Richard the Thirde was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were present, it being the first play the queene fawe since her M. delivery of the Duke of York. 1633.

"On tsunday the 19th of November, being the king's birth-day, The Tong Admirall was acted at St. James by the queen's players, and likt by the K. and Queen.

"The Kings players sent mee an oulde booke of Fletchers called The Loyal Subjet, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Novemb. 1618, which according to their desire and agreement I did peruse, and with some reformations allowed of, the 23 of Nov. 1633, for which they sent mee according to their promise £. 1. o. o. 6.

"On

5 This is a mistake. It should be the 16th of November. She was born Nov. 16, 1609.

6 In the margin the writeradds—"The First oulde play sent mee to be perused by the K. players."
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"On tuflay night at St. James, the 26 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, The Taminge of the Shrew. Liket.

"On thursday night at St. James, the 28 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, The Tamer Tadm, made by Fletcher. Very well liket.

"On tuflay night at Whitehall the 10 of Decemb. 1633, was acted before the King, and Queen, The Loyal Subject, made by Fletcher, and very well liket by the king.

"On Monday night the 16 of December, 1633, at Whitehall was acted before the King and Queen, Hymens Holliday or Cupids Fegarys, an ould play of Rowleys. Liket.

"On Wensday night the first of January, 1633, Cymbeline was acted at Court by the Kings players. Well liket by the king.

"On Monday night the sixth of January and the Twelfe Night, was presented at Denmark-house, before the King and Queene, Fletchers pastorall called The Faithfull Shepheardye, in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor the yeare before of her owne pastorall.

"The scenes were fitted to the pastorall, and made, by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the great chamber, 1633.

"This morning being the 9th of January, 1633, the kinge was pleased to call mee into his withdrawinge chamber to the windowe, wher he went over all that I had croste in Davenants play-booke, and allowing of faith and flight for afferations only, and no oaths, markt them to flande, and some other few things, but in the greater part allowed of my reformations. This was done upon a complaint of Mr. Endymion Porters in December.

"The kinge is pleas'd to take faith, death, flight, for afferations, and no oaths?, to which I doe humbly submit as my matters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submision.

"The 10 of January, 1633, I returned unto Mr. Davenants play-booke of The Witts, corrected by the kinge.

"The kinge would not take the booke at Mr. Porters hands; but commanded him to bring it unto mee, which he did, and likewise commanded Davenport to come to mee for it, as I believe; otherwise he would not have byn so civil.

"The Guardian, a play of Mr. Mensengers, was acted at court on Sunday the 12 January, 1633, by the Kings players, and well liket.

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7 In a small truct of the last age, of which I have forgot the title, we are told, that Charles the Second, being reprimanded by one of his bishops for frequently introducing profane oaths in his discourse, defended himself for using of Kings words before them, as the Duke.
The Tale of the Tub was acted on tuesday night at Court, the 14 Janua. 1633, by the Queens players, and not likte.

The Winters Tale was acted on thursday night at Court, the 16 Janua. 1633, by the K. players, and likte.

The Wits was acted on tuesday night the 28 January, 1633, at Court, before the Kinge and Queene. Well likte. It had a various fate on the stage, and at court, though the kinge commended the language, but dislikte the plott and characters.

The Night-Walkers was acted on thursday night the 30 Janua. 1633, at Court, before the King and Queen. Likte as a merry play. Made by Fletcher.

The Inns of court gentlemen presented their masque at court, before the kinge and queene, the 2 February, 1633, and performed it very well. Their shew through the streets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph.—Mr. Surveyor Jones invented and made the scene; Mr. Sherley the poett made the profe and verfe.

On thursday night the 6 of Febru. 1633, The Gamester was acted at Court, made by Sherley, out of a plot of the king's, given him by mee; and well likte. The king sayd it was the best play he had seen for seven years.

On Shrovetusday night, the 18 of February, 1633, the Kinge danfte his Masque, accompanied with 11 lords, and attended with 10 pages. It was the noblest masque of my time to this day, the best poetyre, best scenes, and the best habits. The kinge and queene were very well pleas'd with my service, and the Q. was pleas'd to tell mee before the king, Pard les habits, elle n'avoit jamais rien vu de si brave.

Buffy d'Amboyse was playd by the king's players on Easter-monday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

The Pastorall was playd by the king's players on Easter-tusday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febru. 1634, to the Marshalsey, for lending a church-robe with the name of Jesus upon it to the players in Salisbury Court, to present a Flamen, a priest of the heathens. Upon his petition of submission, and acknowledgment of his faulte, I releas'd him, the 17 Febr. 1634.

The Second part of Arviragus and Philicia played at Court the 16 Febru. 1635, with great approbation of K. and Queene.

In a former page the following entry is found:

"For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called The Night Walkers, the 11 May, 1633, L. 2. o. o. For the queen's players."
"The Silent Woman play'd at Court of St. James on thursday 7th 18 Febr. 1635.

"On Wednesday the 23 of Febru. 1635, the Prince d'Amours gave a masque to the Prince Elector and his brother, in the Middle Temple, when the Queen was pleas'd to grace the entertainment by putting on majesty, to put on a citizens habbit and to sett upon the scaffold on the right hand amongst her subjects.

"The queen was attended in the like habbits by the Marques Hamilton, the Countes of Denbighe, the Countes of Holland, and the Lady Elizabeth Feildinge. Mrs. Basse, the law-woman *, leade in this royal citizen and her company.

"The Earle of Holland, the Lord Goringe, Mr. Percy, and Mr. Jeremy, were the men that attended.

"The Prince Elector sat in the midit, his brother Robert on the right hand of him, and the Prince d'Amours on the left.

"The Masque was very well performed in the dances, scenes, cloathing, and musique, and the Queen was pleas'd to tell mee at her going away, that she liked it very well.

"Henry Laufe made the musique.

"William Laufe made the musique.

"Mr. Conseilles made the scenes.

"Loves Aftergame, played at St. James by the Salisbury Court players, the 24 of Feb. 1635.

"The Dukes Mistres played at St. James the 22 of Feb. 1635. Made by Sherley.

"The same day at Whitehall I acquainted king Charles, my master, with the danger of Mr. Hunt's sickness, and moved his Majesty, in case he dyed, that he would bee pleas'd to give mee leave to commend a sitt man to succeede him in his place of Yeoman of the Revells.

"The kinge tould mee, that till then he knew not that Will Hunt held a place in the Revells. To my request he was pleas'd to give mee this answer. Well, says the kinge I will not dispose of it, or, it shall not be disposed of, till I heare you. Ipsius verbis. Which I enter here as full of grace, and for my better remembrance, since my master's custom affordes not so many words, nor so significant.

"The 28 Feb. The Knight of the Burning Peisle playd by the Q. men at St. James.

* i. e. the woman who had the care of the hall belonging to the Middle Temple.

9 The Proxy, or Loves Aftergame, was produced at the theatre at Salisbury Court, November 24, 1634.
The first and second part of Arviragus and Philicia were acted at the Cockpitt, [Whitehall] before the Kinge and Queene, the Prince, and Prince Elector, the 18 and 19 April, 1636, being monday and tuesday in Easter weeke.

At the increafe of the plague to 4 within the citie and 54 in all.—This day the 12 May, 1636, I received a warant from my lord Chamberlin for the suppressinge of playes and shews, and at the same time delivered my severall warants to George Wilfon for the four companys of players, to be served upon them.

At Hampton Court, 1636.

The first part of Arviragus, Monday Afternoon, 26 Decemb.

The second part of Arviragus, tuesday 27 Decemb.

Love and Honour, on New-years night, fonday.

The Elder Brother, on thurffday the 5 Janua.

The Kinge and no Kinge, on tuesday ye 10 Janua.

The Royal Slave, on thurffday the 12 of Janu.—Oxford play, written by Cartwright. The king gave him forty pounds.

Rollo, the 24 Janu.

Julius Cesar, at St. James, the 31 Janu. 1636.

Cupides Revenge, at St James, by Beefton's boyes, the 7 Febru.

A wife for a monthe, by the K. players, at St. James, the 9 Febru.

Wit without money, by the B. boyes, at St. James, the 14 Feb.

The Governor, by the K. players, at St. James, the 17 Febru. 1636.

Philafler, by the K. players, at St. James, Shrovtusday, the 21 Febru. 1636.

On thursday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decrease the king gave the players their liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636. [1636-7.]

The plague encreafing, the players laye still untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play.

Mr. Beefton was commandd to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the same day.

I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salisbury Court, and joynd them with the best of that company.

Received of Mr. Lowens for my paines about Messinger's play called The King and the Subject, 2 June, 1638, L. 1. o. o.
"The name of *The King and the Subject* is altered, and I allowd the play to bee acted, the reformations most strictly observed, and not otherwise, the 5th of June, 1638.

"At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and told me that hee would warant it.

"Mony's? Wee'le rayfe supplies, what ways we please, "And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which "We'le mulct you as wee shall think fitt. The Caesar's "In Rome were wise, acknowledging no lawes "But what their swords did ratifie, the wives "And daughters of the senators bowinge to "Their wils, as deities," &c.

"This is a pece taken out of Phillip Meffingers play, called *The King and the Subject*, and enterd here for ever to bee remembred by my son and those that call their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my matter, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, set his marke upon the place with his own hande, and in thes words:

"This is too infolent, and to bee changed."

"Note, that the poet makes it the speech of a king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and spoken to his subjects.

"On thursday the 9 of Aprill, 1640, my Lord Chamberlen bestow'd a play on the Kinge and Queene, called *Champaigne, Queen of Aragon*, made by my cousin Abington. It was performed by my lords servants out of his owne family, and his charge in the clothes and scene, which were very rich and curious. In the hall at Whitehall.

"The king and queene commended the generall entertainement, as very well acted, and well sett out. "It was acted the second tyme in the same place before the king and queene.

"At Easter 1640, the Princes company went to the Fortune, and the Fortune company to the Red Bull.

"On Monday the 4 May, 1640, William Beefston was taken by a messenger, and committed to the Marshalsey, by my Lord Chamberlens warant, for playinge a play without license. The same day the company at the Cockpit was commanded by my Lord Chamberlens warant to forbear playinge, for playinge when they were forbidden by mee, and for other disobedience, and laye still Monday, tuesday, and wensday. On thursday at my Lord Chamberlens entreaty I gave them their liberty, and upon their petition of submiffion subscribed by the players, I restored them to their liberty on thursday.

"The
"The play I cals for, and, forbidding the playing of it, keep the booke, because it had relation to the passages of the K. s journey into the North, and was complaied of by his M. &c to mee, with commande to punishe the offenders.

"On Twelue Night, 1641, the prince had a play called The Scornful Lady, at the Cockpitt, but the kinge and queene were not there; and it was the only play act d at courte in the whole Christmas.

"[1642, June] Received of Mr. Kirke for a new play which I burnt for the ribaldry and ofence that was in it, £. 2. o. o.

"Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called The trife Rebellion, the 8 June, 1642, £. 2. o. o.

"Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642."

Sir William D'Avenant, we have already seen, about sixteen months after the death of Ben Jonson, obtained from his majesty (Dec. 19, 1638) a grant of an annuity of one hundred pounds per ann. which he enjoyed as poet laureat till his death. In the following year (March 26, 1639) a patent passed the great seal authorizing him to erect a playhouse, which was then intended to have been built behind The Three Kings Ordinary in Fleet-Street: but this scheme was not carried into execution. I find from a Manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, that after the death of Christopher Beelton, Sir W. D'Avenant was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, (June 27, 1639) "Governor of the King and Queens company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, during the leafe which Mrs. Elizabeth Beelton, alias Hutcheson, hath or doth hold in the said house:" and I suppose he appointed her son Mr. William Beelton his deputy, for from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, he appears for a short time to have had the management of that theatre.

In the latter end of the year 1659, some months before the Restoration of K. Charles II. the theatres, which had been suppressed during the usurpation, began to revive, and several plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's-street, in that and the following year, before the return of the king. In June 1660, three companies seem to have been formed; that already mentioned; one under Mr. William Beelton in Salisbury Court, and one at the Cockpit in Drury Lane under Mr. Rhodes, who had been wardrobe-keeper at the theatre in Blackfriars before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. Sir Henry Herbert, who still retained his office of

of Master of the Revels, endeavoured to obtain from these companies the same emoluments which he had formerly derived from the exhibition of plays; but after a long struggle, and after having brought several actions at law against Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Mohun, and others, he was obliged to relinquish his claims, and his office ceased to be attended with either authority or profit. It received its death's wound from a grant from King Charles II. under the privy signet, August 21, 1660, authorizing Mr. Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of his Majesty's bedchamber, and Sir William D'Avenant, to erect two new playhouses and two new companies, of which they were to have the regulation; and prohibiting any other theatrical representation in London, Westminster, or the suburbs, but those exhibited by the said two companies.

Among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert several are preferred relative to his disputed claim, some of which I shall here insert in their order, as containing some curious and hitherto unknown particulars relative to the stage at this time, and also as illustrative of its history at a precedent period.

I.

"For Mr. William Beefton.

"Whereas the allowance of plays, the ordering of players and play-makers, and the permission for erecting of play-houses, hath, time out of mind, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, belonged to the Master of his Majesty's office of the Revels: And whereas Mr. William Beefton hath desired authority and licence from mee to continue the house called Salisbury Court playhouse in a play-house, which was formerly built and erected into a playhouse by the permission and licence of the Master of the Revels.

"These are therefore by virtue of a grant under the great seal of England, and of the constant practice thereof, to continue and constitute the said house called Salisbury Court playhouse into a playhouse, and to authorize and licence the said Mr. Beefton to let, let, or use it for a playhouse, wherein comedies, tragedies, tragico-medies, pastorals and interludes, may be acted. Provided that noe persons be admitted to act in the said playhouse but such as shall be allowed by the Master of his Majesty's office of the Revels. Given under my hand at the office of the Revels, this . . . . ."

[This}
II.

"To the kings most excellent Majesty,

" The humble Petition of John Rogers,

" Most humbly sheweth,

" That your petitioner at the beginning of the late calamities lost thereby his whole estate, and during the warr susteyned much detriment and imprisonment, and lost his limbs or the use thereof; who served his Excellency the now Lord General, both in England and Scotland, and performed good and faithfull service; in consideration whereof and by being soe much decreapitt as not to act any more in the wars, his Excellency was favourably pleased, for your petitioners future subsilliance without being further burthensome to this kingdom, or to your Majesty for a pension, to grant him a tolleration to erect a playhouse or to have a share out of them already tollerated, your petitioner thereby undertaking to suppres all riots, tumults, or moleftations that may thereby arise. And for that the said graunt remains imperfect unless corroborated by your majesty.

" He therefore humbly implores your most sacred Majesty, in tender compassion, out of your kingly clemency to confirm unto him a share out of the profits of the said playhouses, or such allowance by them to be given as formerly they used to allow to persons for to keep the peace of the same, that he may with his wife and family be thereby preserved and relieved in his maimed aged years, and he shall daily pray."

At the Court at Whitehall, the 7th of Auguft, 1660.

" His Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this petition to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of his Majesties Revells, to take such order therein, as shall be agreeable to equity, without further troubling his majesty.

" (A true Copye.) J. HOLLIS."

" August 20, 1660. From the office of the Revells.

" In obedience to his M.ties command I have taken the matter of the Petitioners request into consideration, and doe thereupon
thereupon conceive it very reasonable that the petitioner should have the same allowance weekly from you and every of you, for himselfe and his men *, for guarding your playhouses from all moleflations and injuries, which you formerly did or doe allow or pay to other persons for the same or such like services; and that it be duly and truely paid him without denial. And the rather for that the King's most excellent Maj.tie upon the Lord General Monks recommendation, and the consideration of the Petitioners losses and sufferings, thought fit to commiserate the Petitioner John Rogers his said condition, and to refer unto me the relief of the said petitioner. Given at his Maj.ties office of the Revels, under my hand and the seale of the said office, the twentieth day of August, in the twelve yeare of his Maj.ties raigne.

"To the Actors at the Playhouses called the Red Bull, Cockpit, and theatre in Salisbury Court, and to every of them, in and about the citiies of London and Westminster."

III.

"To the kings most excellent Majestie.

"The humble petition of Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, Master of your Majesties office of the Revels.

"Sheweth,

"That whereas your Petitioner by vertue of severall Grants under the great seale of England hath executed the said office, as Master of the Revels, for about 40 yeares, in the times of King James, and of King Charles, both of blessed memory, with exception only to the time of the late horrid rebellion.

"And whereas the ordering of playes and playmakers and the permission for erecting of playhouses are peculiar branches of the said office, and in the constant practice thereof by your petitioners predeceffors in the said office and himselfe, with exception only as before excepted, and authorized by grante under the said greate seale of England; and that no person or persons have erected any playhouses, or rayfed any company of players, without licence from your petitioners said predeceffors or from your petitioner, but Sir William D'Avenant, Knight, who obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner owned not their authority.

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* It appears from another paper that his men were soldiers.
And whereas your Majesty hath lately signified your pleasure by warrant to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Bar. your Majesties Attorney General, for the drawing of a grant for your Majesties signature to pass the great seal, whereby to enable and empower Mr. Thomas Killegrew and the said Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new playhouses in London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, and to make choice of two companies of players to bee under their sole regulation, and that noe other players shall be authorized, to play in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, but such as the said Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant shall allow of.

And whereas your petitioner hath been represented to your Majesty as a person confenting unto the said powers expressed in the said warrant. Your petitioner utterly denies the least consent or fore-knowledge thereof, but looks upon it as an unjust surprize, and destructive to the power granted under the said great seal to your petitioner, and to the constant practice of the said office, and exercised in the office ever since players were admitted by authority to act, and cannot legally be done as your petitioner is advised; and it may be of very ill consequence, as your petitioner is advised, by a new grant to take away and cut of a branch of your ancient powers, granted to the said office under the great seal.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that your Majesty would be justly as graciously pleased to revoke the said warrant from your Majesty's said Attorney General, or to refer the premises to the consideration of your Majesty's said Attorney General, to certify your Majesty of the truth of them, and his judgement on the whole matters in question betwixt the said Mr. Killigrew, Sir William D'Avenant, and your petitioner, in relation to the legality and consequence of their demands and your petitioners rights.

And your petitioner shall ever pray.

At the Court at Whitehall, 4 August, 1660.

His Majesty is pleased to refer this petition to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Baronet, his Majesty's Attorney General; who having called before him all persons concerned, and examined the petitioners rights, is to certify what he finds to be the true state of the matters in difference, together with his opinion thereupon. And then his Majesty will declare his further pleasure.

EDW. NICHOLAS.
"May it please your most excellent Ma'y.

Although I have heard the parties concerned in this petition severally and apart, yet in respect Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, having notice of a time appointed to hear all parties together, did not come, I have forborne to proceed further; having also received an intimation, by letter from Sir William D'Avenant, that I was freed from further hearing this matter.

14 Sept. 1666. J. PALMER.

IV.

"From Mr. Mosely concerning the playes, &c.

August 30, 1660."

"Sir,

I have beene very much solicited by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note, under my hand to certify unto your worshi, what agreement I had made with Mr. Rhodes of the Cockpitt playhouse. Truly, Sir, I am so far from any agreement with him, that I never so much as treated with him; nor with any from him; neither did I ever consent directly or indirectly, that hee or any others should act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and consent had and procured. And the same also I doe certify concerning the Whitefryers playhouse,* and players.

Sir, this is all I have to trouble you withall at present, and therefore I shall take the boldness to remaine,

Your Worshi's most humble Servant,

Humphrey Mosely.

August 30. 60."

On the 21st of August, 1660, the following grant, against which Sir Henry Herbert had petitioned to be heard, passed the privy signet.

"Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come greeting. Whereas wee are given to understand that certain persons in and about our city of London, or the suburbs thereof, doe frequently assemble for the performing and acting of playes and enterludes for rewards, to which divers of our subjefts doe for their entertainment resort; which said playes, as we

* This is the indorsement, written by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.
* i.e. the playhouse in Salisbury Court.
* The date, inserted by Sir Henry Herbert.
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are informed, doe containe much matter of prophanation and
scurrility, for that such kind of entertainments, which if well
managed, might serve as morall instructsions in humane life,
as the same are now ufed, doe for the most part tende to the
debauchinge of the manners of such as are present at them,
and are very scandalous and offensive to all pious and well dis-
posed persons. We, takeing the premisses into our princely
consideration, yet not holding it necessary totally to suppress
the use of theaters, because we are assured, that, if the evill
and scandal in the plays that now are or haue bin acted were
taken away, the same might serve as innocent and harmlesse
diuerstiment for many of our subjects; and having experience
of the art and skill of our truly and well beloved Thomas
Killegrew, efq. one of the Groome's of our Bed-chamber,
and of Sir William Dauenant, knight, for the purposes here-
after mentioned, doe hereby giue and grante unto the saide
Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant full power and
authority to erect two companies of players, consisting re-
spectively of such persons as they shall chuse and appoint, and
to purchase, buildde and erect, or hire at their charge, as they
shall thinke fitt, two houses or theatres, with all convenient
roomes and other necessaries thereunto appertaining, for the
representation of tragoydies, comedyes, playes, operas; and all
other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places: and
likewise to settle and establish such payments to be paid by those
that shall refer to see the said representations performed, as
either haue bin accustomey giuen and taken in the like kind, or
as shall be reasonable in regard of the great expences of SCENES,
musick, and such new decorations as haue not bin formerly ufed;
with further power to make such allowances out of that which
they shall so receive, to the actors, and other persons employed
in the said representations in both houses respectively, as they
shall think fitt: the said companies to be under the govern-
ment and authority of them the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir
William Dauenant. And in regard of the extraordinary licen-
tioufness that hath been lately ufed in things of this nature, our
pleasure is, that there shall be noe more places of represen-
tations, nor companies of actors of playes or operas by recitative,
musick, or representations by dancing and scenes, or any other
entertainments on the stage, in our citie of London and
Westminster, or in the liberties of them, then the two to be
now erected by vertue of this authority. Nevertheless wee doe
hereby by our authority royal strictly enjoiyne the saide
Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, that they doe not at any
time hereafter cause to be acted or represented any play, enter-
lude, or opera, containing any matter of prophanation, scurrility
or obscenity: And wee doe further hereby authorize and com-
mand
mand them the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant to peruse all playes that have been formerly written, and to expunge all prophaneffe and securrility from the fame, before they be representted or acted. And this our grante and authority made to the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, shall be effectuall and remaine in full force and vertue, notwithstanding any former order or direction by us given, for the suppreffing of playhouses and playes, or any other entertainments of the stage. Given, &c. August 21, 1660."

VI,

The following paper is indorsed by Sir Henry Herbert:

"Warrant sent to Rhodes, and brought backe by him the 10 of Octob. 60, with this answer—That the Kinge did authorize him."

"Whereas by vertue of a grant under the great seale of England, playes, players and playmakers, and the permisson for erecting of playhouses, have been allowed, ordered and permitted by the Masters of his Majesty's office of the Revells, my predecessors successively, time out of minde, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, and by mee for almost forty yeares, with exception only to the late times:

"These are therefore in his Majesty's name to require you to attend mee concerning your playhouse called the Cockpitt playhouse in Drury Lane, and to bring with you such authority as you have for erecting of the said house into a playhouse, at your perill. Given at his Majesty's office of the Revells the 8th day of Octob. 1660.

HENRY HERBERT."

"To Mr. John Rhodes at the Cockpitt playhouse in Drury Lane."

VII.

Copy of the Warrant sent to the actors at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane by Tom Browne, the 13 Octob. 60.

"Whereas severall complaints have been made against you to the Kings most excellent Majesty by Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant, concerning the unusall and unreasonable rates taken at your playhouse-doores, of the respective persons of quality that desire to refresh or improve themselves by the light of your morral entretainments which were constituted for profit and delight. And the said complaints made use of by the said Mr. Killegrew and Sir William Davenant
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as part of their suggestions for their pretended power, and for your late restraint.

"And whereas complaints have been made thereof formerly to mee, wherewith you were acquainted, as innovations and exactions not allowed by mee; and that the like complaints are now made, that you doe practice the said exactions in taking of excessive and unaccustomed rates upon the restitution of you to your liberty.

"These are therefore in his Ma.ties name to require you and every of you to take from the persons of qualitie and others as daily frequent your play-house, such usuall and accustomed rates only as were formerly taken at the Blackfryers by the late company of actors there, and noe more nor otherwise, for every new or old play that shall be allowed you by the Master of the Revells to be acted in the saide playhouse or any other playhouse. And you are hereby further required to bring or sende to me all such old plaiies as you doe intend to act at your said playhouse, that they may be reform'd of prophanes and ribaldry, at your perill. Given at the office of the Revells, HENRY HERBERT."
to performe, since Mr. Killegrew, having your Majesties former grants, suppressing us, until we had by covenant obliged ourselves to act with women, a new theatre, and habits according to our scenes. And according to your Majesties approbation, from all the companies we made election of one company; and, for fare, Sir Henry Herbert hath been from protecting us, that he hath been a continual disturbance unto us, who were [unpaid] by your Majesties commandes, under Mr. Killegrew as Master of your Majesties Comedians; and wee have annexed unto our petition the date of the warrant by which we were suppressing, and for a protection against that warrant he forced from us, for much a weeke. And if your majestie be graciously pleased to cast your eye upon the date of the warrant hereto annexed, your majestie shall find, the date to our contract succeeded; wherein he hath broke the covenants, and not your petitioners, having abused your majesty in giving an ill character of your petitioners, only to force a sum from thence poor endeavours; who never did nor shall refuse him all the receipts and just profits that belong to his place; hee having now obtained leave to arrest us, only to give trouble and vexation to your petitioners, hoping by that meanes to force a summe of money illegally from us.

"The premises considered, your petitioners humbly beseech your majestie to be graciously pleased to signify your royal pleasure to the Lord Chamberlaine, that your petitioners may not bee molested in their calling. And your petitioners in duty bound shall pray, &c."

William Wintershall.
Charles Hart."

Mr. Thomas Betterton, having been a great admirer of Shakespeare, and having taken the trouble in the beginning of this century, when he was above seventy years of age, of travelling to Stratford-upon-Avon to collect materials for Mr. Rowe's life of our author, is entitled to particular notice from an editor of his works. Very inaccurate accounts of this actor have been given in the *Biographia Britannica* and several other books. It is observable that biographical writers often give the world long dissertations concerning facts and dates, when the fact contested might at once be ascertained by visiting a neighbouring parish-church: and this has been particularly


particularly the case of Mr. Betterton. He was the son of Matthew Betterton (under-cook to King Charles the First) and was baptized, as I learn from the register of St. Margaret's parish, August 11, 1635. He could not have appeared on the stage in 1656, as has been asserted, no theatre being then allowed. His first appearance was at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in Mr. Rhodes's company, who played there by a license in the year 1659, when Betterton was twenty-four years of age. He married Mrs. Mary Saunders, an actress, who had been bred by Sir William D'Avenant, some time in the year 1663, as appears by the Dramatis Personæ of The Sighted Maid, printed in that year. From a paper now before me which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled a Breviar of matters to be proved on the trial of an action brought by him against Mr. Betterton in 1662, I find that he continued to act at the Cockpit till November 1660, when he and several other performers entered into articles with Sir William D'Avenant; in consequence of which they began in that month to play at the theatre in Salisbury Court, from whence after some time, I believe, they returned to the Cockpit, and afterwards removed to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. These Articles were as follows.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT tripartite, indented, made, and agreed upon this fifth day of November in the twelfth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord king Charles the Second, Annoque Domini 1660, between Sir Wm. Davenant of London, Kt. of the first part, and Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Mofley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilloston, of the second part; and Henry Harris of the city of London, painter, of the third part, as followeth.

Imprimis,

5 This celebrated actor continued on the stage fifty years, and died intestate in April 1710. No person appears to have administered to him. Such was his extreme modesty, that not long before his death "he confessed that he was yet learning to be an actor." His wife survived him two years. By her last will, which was made, March 10, 1711-12, and proved in the following month, she bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Head, her sister, and to two other persons, 20l. a-piece, "to be paid out of the arrears of the pension which her Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant her;" to Mrs. Anne Betterton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Dent, Mr. Doggett, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, twenty shillings each for rings, and to her residiary legatee Mrs. Frances Williamson, the wife of William, "her dearly beloved husband's picture."

Mrs. Mary Head must have been Mr. Betterton's sister; for Mrs. Betterton's own name was Mary.
Imprimis, the said Sir William Davenant doth for himself
his executors, administrators and assigns, covenant, promise
grant, and agree, to and with the said Thomas Batterton,
Thomas Shephey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas
Lovell, John Mofeley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner,
and Thomas Lillefton, that he the said Sir William Davenant
by vertue of the authority to him derived for that purpose
does hereby constitute, ordeine and erect them the said Tho-
mas Batterton, Thomas Shephey, Robert Noakes, James
Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Mofeley, Cave Underhill, Robert
Turner, and Thomas Lillefton, and their associates,
to bee a company, publiquely to act all manner of tragedies,
comedies, and plays whatsoever, in any theatre or play-
house erected in London or Westminter or the suburbs there-
of, and to take the usual rates for the same, to the uses here-
after express, until the said Sir William Davenant shall pro-
vide a newe theatre with scenes.

Item, It is agreed by and between all the said parties to
these presents, that the said company (until the said thea-
tre bee provided by the said Sir William Davenant) be
authorized by him to act tragedies, comedies, and plays
in the playhouse called Salisbury Court playhouse, or any
other house, upon the conditions only hereafter following,
vizt.

That the generall receipte of money of the said play-houfe,
shall (after the house-rent, hirelings *, and all other accu-
tomary and necessary expences in that kind be defrayed) bee
divided into fouretteene proportions or shares, whereof
the said Sir William Davenant shall have foure full proportions or
shares to his own ufe, and the rest to the use of the saide com-
paine.

That dureinge the time of playing in the said playhouse,
(until the aforefaid theatre bee provided by the said Sir Wm.
Davenant,) the said Sir Wm. Davenant shall depute the said
Thomas Batterton, James Noakes, and Thomas Shephey, or
any one of them particularly, for him and on his behalfe, to
receive his proportion of those shares and to surveye the ac-
compte conduceinge thereunto, and to pay the said propor-
tions every night to him the said Sir Wm. Davenant or his
affignes, which they doe hereby covenant to pay accordingly.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Shephey, and
the rest of the said company shall admit such a confort of
musicians into the said playhouse for their necessary use, as the
said

* i. e. men hired occasionally by the night: in modern language, supernumeraries.
sied Sir William shall nominate and provide, during their playing in the said playhouse, not exceeding the rate of 30s. the day, to bee defrayed out of the generall expences of the house before the said fourteene shares bee devided.

"That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Shephey, and the rest of the said companie doe authorized to play in the playhouse in Salisbury Court or elsewhere, as aforesaid, shall at one weeks warninge given by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires or assignes, dissolve and conclude their playing at the house and place aforesaid, or at any other house where they shall play, and shall remove and joyn with the said Henry Harris, and with other men and women provided or to bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, to performe such tragedies, comedies, playes, and representations in that theatre to be provided by him the said Sir William as aforesaid.

Item, It is agreed by and betwene all the said parties to these presents in manner and form followinge, vizt. That when the said companie, together with the said Henry Harris, are joyned with the men and women to be provided by the said Sir William Davenant to act and performe in the said theatre to bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, that the generall receipte of the said theatre (the generall expence first beinge deducted) shall bee devided into fifteene shares or proportions, whereof two shares or proportions shall bee paid to the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, adminiftrators, or assignes, towards the house-rent, buildinges, scaffoldinges, and makinge of frames for scenes, and one other share or proportion shall likewise bee paid to the said Sir William, his executors, adminiftrators and assignes, for provision of habbits, properties, and scenes, for a supplement of the said theatre.

That the other twelve shares (after all expences of men hirelings and other customary expences deducted) shall bee devided into seven and five shares or proportions, whereof the said Sir Wm. D'Avenant, his executors, adminiftrators, or assignes, shall have seven shares or proportions, to maintain all the women that are to performe or represent womens parts in the aforesaid tragedies, comedies, playes, or representations; and in consideration of erectinge and establishinge them to bee a companie, and his the said Sir Wms. pains and expences to that purpose for many yerees. And the other five of the said shares or proportions is to bee devided amongst the rest of the persons [parties] to thises presents, whereof the said Henry Harris is to have an equal share with the greatest proportion in the said five shares or proportions.

That the generall receipte of the said theatre (from and after such time as the said Companie have performed their playinge
playciuge in Salisbury Court, or in any other playhouse, ac-
ccording to and noe longer than the tyme allowed by him the
said William as aforefaid) shall bee by ballatice, or tickets,
seale for all doores and boxes.

That Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or
assignes, shall at the generall chardge of the whole receipte,
provide three persons to receive money for the said tickets, in
a roome adyung to the said theatre; and that the actors in
the said theatre, woe parties to these presents, who are con-
cerned in the said five shares or proportions, shall dayly or
weekly appoint two or three of themselves, or the men hire-
lings deputed by them, to fit with the aforefaid three persons
appointed by the said Sir William, that they may survey or
give an accompt of the money received for the said tickets:
That the said feaven shares shall bee paid nightly by the said
three persons by the said Sir Wm. deputed, or by anie of
them, to him the said Sir Wm. his executors, administrators,
or assignes.

That the said Sir: William Davenant shall appoint half the
number of the door-keepers necessary for the receipt of the
said tickets for doores and boxes, the wardrobe-keeper, bar-
ber, and all other necessary persons as hee the said Sir Wm.
shall think fitt, and their fallary to bee defrayed at the pub-
lique chardge.

That when any sharer amongst the actors of the aforefaid
shares, and parties to these presents, shall dye, that then the
said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or
assignes, shall have the denomination and appointm ut of the
successor and successors. And likewise that the wages of the
men hirelings shall be appointed and establifhed by the said
Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes.

That the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, admini-
trators, or assignes, shall not bee obliged out of the shares or
proportions allowed to him for the supplycinge of cloathes,
habitts, and scenes, to provide cynthia hatts, feathers, gloves,
ribbons, fworde-belts, bands, flockings, or shoes, for any of
the men actors aforefaid, unless it be a propertie.

That a private boxe bee provided and establifhed for the use
of Thomas Killigrew, Esq. one of the groomes of his
Ma. the bedchamber, sufficient to containe fixe persons, into
which the said Mr. Killigrew, and such as he shall appoint,
shall have liberty to enter without any fallary or pay for their
entrance into such a place of the said theatre as the said Sir
Wm. Davenant, his heires, executors, administrators, or
assignes, shall appoint.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Shephey, Ro-
bert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley,
Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, do hereby for themselves covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir W. D. his executors, administrators, and assignees, by these presents, that they and every of them shall become bound to the said Sir Wm. Davenant, in a bond of 500l. conditioned for the performance of these presents. And that every successor to any part of the said five shares or proportions shall enter into the like bonds before hee or they shall bee admitted to flare anie part or proportion of the said shares or proportions.

And the said Henry Harris doth hereby for himself his executors, administrators, and assignees, covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, and assignees, by these presents, that hee the said Henry Harris shall within one weeke after the notice given by Sir Wm. Davenant for the concludinge of the playinge at Salibury Court or any other house else abovefaid, become bound to the said Sir Wm. Davenant in a bond of 500l. conditioned for the performance of these [presents]. And that every successor to any of the said five shares shall enter into the like bond, before hee or they shall bee admitted to have any part or proportion in the said five shares.

Item, It is mutually agreed by and betweene all the parties to these presents, that the said Sir William Davenant alone shall bee Maller and Superior, and shall from time to time have the sole government of the saide Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Mofelely, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner and Thomas Lilleston, and alfo of the said Henry Harris, and their associates, in relation to the playes [play-houfe] by these presents agreed to bee erected.

On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under these articles at the theatre in Salisbury Court, at which house or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April 1662. In October 1660, Sir Henry Herbert had brought an action on the cafe against Mr. Mohun and several others of Killigrew's company, which was tried in December 1661, for representing plays without being licenfed by him, and obtained a verdict against them, as appears from a paper which I shall insert in its proper place. Encouraged by his success in that suit, soon after D'Avenant's company opened their new theatre in Portugal Row, he brought a similar action (May 6, 1662,) against Mr. Bet-
terton, of which I know not the event*. In the declaration, now before me, it is stated that D’Avenant’s company, between the 15th of November 1660, and the 6th of May 1662, produced ten new plays and 100 revived plays; but the latter number being the usual style of declarations at law, may have been inferred without a strict regard to the fact.

Sir Henry Herbert likewise brought two actions on the same ground against Sir William Davenant, in one of which he failed, and in the other was successful. To put an end to the contest, Sir William in June 1662, besought the king to interfere.

"To the Kings most Sacred Majesty,

"The humble petition of Sir William Davenant, Knight,

"Sheweth,

"That your petitioner has been molested by Sir Henry Herbert with several prosecutions at law.

"That those prosecutions have not proceeded by your petitioners default of not paying the said Henry Herbert his pretended fees, (he never having sent for any to your petitioner,) but because your petitioner hath publickly presented plays; notwithstanding he is authoriz’d thereunto by patent from your Majesties most royall Father, and by several warrants under your Majesties royal hand and signet.

"That your petitioner (to prevent being out-law’d) has bin infor’d to answer him in two tryals at law, in one of which, at Westminster, your petitioner hath had a verdict against him, where it was declar’d that he hath no jurisdiction over any plaiers, nor any right to demand fees of them. In the other, (by a London jury) the Master of Revels was allow’d the correction of plaiers, and fees for soe doing; but not to give plaiers any licence or authoritie to play, it being prov’d that no plaiers were ever authoriz’d in London or Westminster, to play

* From a paper which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled "A Breviat" of matters to be proved on this trial, it appears that he waspossessed of the Office-books of his predeceffors, Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc; for, among other points of which proof was intended to be produced, he states, that "Several plays were allowed by Mr. Tilney in 1598, which is 62 years since:

- Sir William Longfoord
- The Fair Maid of London
- Richard Cordelon
- King and no King allowed to be acted in 1611, and the same to be printed. Hogg Allowed by Sir George Buck."
play by the commission of y^ Master of Revels, but by authoritie immediately from the crowne. Neither was the proportion of fees then determin'd, or made certaine; because severall witnesses affirm'd that variety of payments had bin made; sometimes of a noble, sometimes of twenty, and afterwards of forty shillings, for correcting a new play; and that it was the outome to pay nothing for supervising reviv'd plays.

"That without any authoritie given him by that last verdict, he sent the day after the tryall a prohibition under his hand and seal (directed to the playiers in Little Lincolnes Inn fields) to forbid them to act playes any more.

"Therefore your petitioner humbly prays that your Majestie will graciously please (two verdicts having pais'd at common law contradicting each other) to refer the case to the examination of such honourable persons as may satisfy your Majestie of the just authoritie of the Master of Revells, that so his fees (if any be due to him) may be made certain, to prevent extortion; and time prescribed how long he shall keep playes in his hands, in pretence of correcting them; and whether he can demand fees for reviv'd playes; and lastly, how long playes may be lay'd abyde, ere he shall judge them to be reviv'd.

"And your petitioner (as in duty bound) shall ever pray," &c.

"At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th of June, 1662.

"His Majestie, being graciously inclin'd to have a just and friendly agreement made betweene the petitioner and the said Sir Henry Harbert, is pleas'd to refer this petition to the right honorable the Lord high Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chamberlaine, who are to call before th' m, as well the petitioner, as the said Sir Henry Harbert, and upon hearing and examining their differences, are to make a faire and amicable accommodation between them, if it may be, or otherwise to certify his Majestie the true state of this buisness, together with their Lord.'s opinions.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

"Wee appoint Wednesday morning next before ten of the clock to heare this buisness, of which Sir Henry Harbert and the other parties concern'd are to have notice,
notice, my Lord Chamberlaine having agreed to that hour.

"July 7, 1662. CLARENDONE."

On the reference to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert presented the following statement of his claims.


In obedience to your lordships commandes signified unto me on the ninth of this instant July, do make a remembrance of the fees, profits, and incidents, belonging to ye office of the Revels. They are as followeth:

"For a new play, to bee brought with the booke £0 2s. 0d.

"For an old play, to be brought with the booke £0 1s. 0d.

"For Chrismasfe fee £0 3s. 0d.

"For Lent fee £0 3s. 0d.

"The profits of a summers day, play at the Black fryers, valued at £5 0s. 0d.

"The profits of a winters day, at Blackfryers £5 0s. 0d.

"Besides feueral occasionall gratuiites from the late K.' company at B. fryers.

"For a share from each company of four companyes of players (besides the late Kings Company) valued at a 10cl. a yeare, one yeare with another, besides the usuall fees, by the yeare £40 0s. 0d.

"That the Kings Company of players couenanted the 11th of August, 60, to pay Sir Henry Herbert per week, from that tyme, aboue the usuall fees £0 4s. 0d.

"That Mr. William Beeston couenanted to pay weekly to Sir Henry Herbert the the summe of £0 4s. 0d.

"That Mr. Rhodes promised the like per weeke £0 4s. 0d.

"That it is extraordinary that the Master of the Revels should have ventured to state fifty pounds as the produce of each of the benefits given him by the King's company. We have seen (p. 131.) that at an average they did not produce nine pounds each, and after a trial of some years he compounded with that company for the certain sum of ten pounds for his winter's day, and the like sum for his summer benefit."
“That the 12l. per weck from the three forenamed compa-
ynes hath been totally deteyned from Sir Henry Herbert
since the said 11th Aug. 60, by illegal and unjust means;
and all usuall fees, and obedience due to the office of the
Revells.

“That Mr. Thomas Killegrew drawes 19l. 6s. per week
from the Kinges Company, as credibly informed.

“That Sir William Dauenant draws 16libres of 15 libres,
which is valued at 200l. per week, cleer profitt, one week
with another, as credibly informed.

“Allowance for charges of suites at law, for that Sir Henry
Herbert is unjustly putt out of possession and profittes, and
could not obtaine an appearance gratis.

“Allowance for damages susteyned in creditt and profittes
for aboue two yeares since his Majties happy Restauration.

“Allowance for their New Theatre to bee used as a play-
house.

“Allowance for new and old playes acted by Sir William
Dauenantes pretended company of players at Salisbery
Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall-Rowe, from
the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their first conjunction
with Sir William Dauenant.

“Allowance for the fees at Christmasse and at Lent from the
said tyme.

“A boxe for the Master of the Reuells and his company,
gratis ;—as accustomed.

“A submiffion to the authority of the Revells for the future,
and that noe playes, new or old, bee acted, till they are
allowed by the Master of the Reuells.

“That rehearfall of playes to be acted at court, be made,
as hath been accustomed, before the Master of the Reuells,
or allowance for them.

“Wherefore it is humbly pray’d, that delay being the said
Dauenants best plea, when he hath exercis’d by illegall actinges
for almost two yeares, he may noe longer keep Sir Henry
Herbert out of possession of his rightes; but that your Lord-
shippes would speedily affer the rights due to the Master of
the Revells, and asceraine his fees and damages, and order
obedience and payment accordingly. And in case of disobe-
dience by the said Dauenant and his pretended company of
players,
players, that Sir Henry Herbert may be at liberty to pursu
his course at law, in confidence that he shall have the benefitt
of his Ma. justice, as of your lordshippes favour and pro
mises in satisfaction, or liberty to proceed at law. And it
may bee of ill consequence that Sir Henry Herbert, dating
for 45 yeares meniall service to the Royall Family, and havin
purchased Sir John Ashleys interest in the said office, and ob-
tained of the late Kings bounty a grante under the great fea
el of England for two liues, should have noe other compensa-
tion for his many yeares faithfull services, and constant ade-
herence to his Ma. interest, accompanied with his great suffer-
inges and losse, then to bee outed of his just possession,
rights and profittes, by Sir William Dauenant, a person
who exercised the office of Master of the Reuells to Oliver
the Tyrant, and wrote the First and Second Parte of Peru,
acted at the Cockpit, in Oliveres tyme, and slyly in his fauour;
wherein hee fett of the justice of Oliveres actinges, by com-
parison with the Spaniards, and endeavoured thereby to make
Oliveres crueltys appeare mercyes, in respect of the Spanish
mercyes; but the mercyes of the wicked are cruell.

"That the said Dauenant published a poem in vindication
and justification of Oliveres actiones and gouvemment, and an
Epithalamin in priase of Oliveres daughter M. Rich; — as
credibly informed *.

"The matters of difference betweene Mr. Thomas Killegrew and Sir Henry Herbert are upon accomodation.

"My Lordes,

"Your Lordshippes very humble Servant,

"July 11th 62.

Cary-house.

HENRY HERBERT."

Another paper now before me will explain what is meant
by Sir Henry Herbert's concluding words.

"ARTICLES of agreement, indented, made and agreed
upon, this fourthe day of June, in the 14 yeares of the reigne
of our souveraigne lord King Charles the Second, and in
the yeare of our Lord, 1662, betweene Sir Henry Herbert
of Ribbsford in the county of Worcester, knight, of the one
part, and Thomas Killegrew of Couent Garden, Esq. on
the other parte, as followeth : \n
"Imprimis, It is agreed, that a firme amity be concluded
for life betweene the said Sir Henry Herbert and the said
Thomas Killegrew.

Vol. II.

L

* This poem Sir William D'Avenant Supprais'd, for it does not appear
in his works.
"Item, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe covenant, promise, grant, and agree, to paye or cause to be pay'd unto Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, all monies due to the said Sir Henry Herbert from the Kinge and Queens company of players, called Mychael Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the rest of that company, for the new plaies at fortie shillings a play, and for the old renuied plaies at twentie shillings a play; they the said players have act'd since the eleuente of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

"Item, The said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. doth for himselfe covenant, promise, grante, and agree, to paye or cause to be pay'd unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, such monies as are due to him for damages and losses obteyned at law ag. Mychaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, upon an action of the cafe brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert in the courte of Comon Pleas ag. ye said Mychaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, wherupon a verdict hath been obteyned as aforesaid ag. them. And likewise doe promise and agree that the costes and charges of suite upon another action of the cafe brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert ag. the said Mychaell Mohun & ye rest of ye players aboue named, shall be also payd to the said Sir Henry Herbert or to his assignes, on or before the said fourthe day of August next.

"Item, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe covenant, promise, grante, and agree, to aysinge and affilinge unto the said Sir Henry Herbert in the due execution of the Office of the Renells, and neither directly nor indirectly to ayde or affylte Sir William Dauenent, Knight, or any of his pretended company of players, or any other company of players to be rays'd by him, or any other company of players whatsoever, in the due execution of the said office.
office as aforesaid, soe as ye yeare and soe to bee required of ye yeare said Killegrew extend not to ye yeare silencing or oppression of ye yeare said King and Queenes company.

"And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe covenant, promise, grante, and agree, not to molest ye yeare said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or his heirs, in any suite at lawe or otherwise, to the prejudice of the grante made unto him by his Ma.tie, or to disturb the receiuinge of ye yeare profits arysting by contract from the Kinge and Queens company of players to him, but to ayde and assiste the said Thomas Killegrew, in the due execution of the legall powers granted unto him by his Ma.tie for the orderinge of the faid company of players, and in the levyinge and receiuinge of ye yeare monies due to him the faid Thomas Killegrew, or which shall be due to him from ye yeare faide company of players by any contract made or to be made between them or amongst the same; and neither directly nor indirectly to hinder the payment of ye yeare faid monies to be made weekly or otherwise by ye yeare faid company of players to ye yeare faid Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or to his afgaine, but to be ayding and assistinge to the said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. and his afgaine therein, if there be cause for it, and that the faid Thomas Killegrew desire it of ye yeare faid Sir Henry Herbert.

"And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe covenanent, promise, grante, and agree, upon the performance of the matters which are herein contayned, and to be performed by the said Thomas Killegrew, accordinge to the daies of payment, and other things limted and expressd in these articles, to deliever into the hands of ye yeare faid Thomas Killegrew the deede of covenants, sealed and delievered by the faid Mychaell Mohun and ye yeare others herein named, bearing date the 11 Auguft, 1660; to be cancelled by the faid Thomas Killegrew, or kept, as he shall thinke fitt, or to make what further advantage of the same in my name or right as he shall be aduised *.

The actors who had performed at the Red Bull, acted under the direction of Mr. Killigrew during the years 1660, 1661, 1662, and part of the year 1663, in Gibbon's tennis-court in Vere-street, near Clare-market; during which time a new theatre was built for them in Drury Lane, to which they removed in April 1663. The following list of their flock-plays, in which it is observabole there are but three

L. 2

* On the back of this paper Sir Henry Herbert has written—"Copy of the Articles sealed and delivered the 5th of June, 62, between Sir H. H. and Thomas Killegrew. Bonds of 300l. for the performance of covenants."
Shakspeare, was found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, and was probably furnished by them soon after the
Restoration.

\[\text{"Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors.}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Humorous Lieutenant.</th>
<th>Elder Brother.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beggars Buske.</td>
<td>The Silent Woman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamer Tamed.</td>
<td>The Weddinge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Traylor.</td>
<td>Henry the Fourth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loves Cruelty.</td>
<td>Merry Wives of Windfor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wit without money.</td>
<td>Kinge and no Kinge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maydes Tragedy.</td>
<td>Othello.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philusler.</td>
<td>Dumboys.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rollo Duke of Normandy.</td>
<td>The Unfortunate Lovers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claricilla.</td>
<td>The Widow.</td>
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Downes the prompter has given a list of what he calls the principal old flock plays acted by the king's servants, (which
title the performers under Mr. Killigrew acquired,) between
the time of the Restoration and the junction of the two com-
panies in 1682; from which it appears that the only plays of
Shakspeare performed by them in that period, were K. Henry
IV. P. I. The Merry Wives of Windfor, Othello, and Julius
Caesar. Mr. Hart represented Othello, Brutus, and Hotspur;
Major Mohun Tago, and Cassius; and Mr. Cartwright, Fallaft.
Such was the lamentable taste of those times that the plays
of Fletcher, Johnfon and Shirley were much oftner
exhibited than those of our author. Of this the following
list furnishes a melancholy proof. It appears to have been
made by Sir Henry Herbert in order to enable him to afcer-
tain the fees due to him, whenever he should establish his
claims, which however he never accomplished. Between the
play entitled Argalus and Parthenia, and The Loyal Subjeft, he
has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumstances,
I imagine that the plays which I have printed in Italicks
were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards be-
came the king's servants.

1660. Monday the 5 Nov.    Wit without money.
    Tuesday the 6 Nov.      The Traylor.
    Wednesday the 7 Nov.    The Beggars Buske.
                          [First play acted at the new
    Thursday the 8 Nov.     Henry the Fourth.  theatre.]
    Friday the 9 Nov.      The Merry Wives of Windfor.
    Saturday the 10 Nov.   The Splent Woman.
    Tuesday the 13 Nov.    Love lies a bleedinge.
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Play Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thursday the 15 Nov.</td>
<td>Loves Cruelty.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday the 16 Nov.</td>
<td>The Widow.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saterday the 17 Nov.</td>
<td>The Novays Tragedy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday the 19 Nov.</td>
<td>The Unfortunate Lovers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tusday the 20 Nov.</td>
<td>The Beggars Buše.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wenfday the 21 Nov.</td>
<td>The Scrïnsfull Lady.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday the 22 Nov.</td>
<td>The Traytor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday the 23 Nov.</td>
<td>The Elder Brother.</td>
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<td>Saterday the 24 Nov.</td>
<td>The Chances.</td>
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<td>Monday the 26 Nov.</td>
<td>The Opportunity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday the 29 Nov.</td>
<td>The Humorous Lieutenant.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saterday the 1 Dec.</td>
<td>Clarecilla.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday the 3 Dec.</td>
<td>A Kinge and no Kinge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday the 6 Dec.</td>
<td>Rollo, Duke of Normandy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saterday the 8 Dec.</td>
<td>The Moore of Venife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday the 9 Jan.</td>
<td>The Weddinge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saterday the 19 Jan.</td>
<td>The Loït Lady.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday the 31 Jan.</td>
<td>Argalus and Parthenia.</td>
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<td>Feb.</td>
<td>Loyal Subject.</td>
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<td>1661. March</td>
<td>Mad Lover.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>The Wild-goofe Chafe.</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>All's Loïte by Luïste.</td>
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<td>December 10</td>
<td>The Mayd in the Mill.</td>
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<td>December 11</td>
<td>A Wife for a Monthe.</td>
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<td>December 13</td>
<td>The Bondman.</td>
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<td>December 16</td>
<td>A Dancing Matter.</td>
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<td>December 17</td>
<td>Vittoria Corombona.</td>
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<td>December 20</td>
<td>The Country Captaine.</td>
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<td>December 23</td>
<td>The Alchymïst.</td>
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<td>December 28</td>
<td>Bartholmew Faire.</td>
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<td>December 30</td>
<td>The Spanïsh Curate.</td>
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<td>Januar. 6</td>
<td>The Tamer Tamed.</td>
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<td>Januar. 10</td>
<td>Aglaura.</td>
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<td>Januar. 11</td>
<td>Buffy D'ambois.</td>
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<td>Januar. 21</td>
<td>Mery Devil of Edmonton.</td>
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<td>Januar. 28</td>
<td>The Virgin Martyr.</td>
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<td>Febuer. 15</td>
<td>Philafter.</td>
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<td>Febuer. 25</td>
<td>Jovial Crew.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Febuer. 27</td>
<td>Rule a wife and have a wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1</td>
<td>Kinge and no Kinge.</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 3</td>
<td>The Mayds Tragedy.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aglaura; the tragical way.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Humorous Lieutenant.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Selindra—a new play.</td>
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</tbody>
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March 4
**Historical Account**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 11</td>
<td>The Frenche Dancinge Ma-</td>
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<td>March 15</td>
<td>The Little Theef.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1662. April 4</td>
<td>Northernne Laffe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 19</td>
<td>Fathers own son.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>The Surprisal—a new play.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 5</td>
<td>Kt. of the Burning pestle.</td>
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<td>May 12</td>
<td>Brenoralt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 17</td>
<td>Love in a maze.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1661. Octob. 26</td>
<td>Loves Miftrefs.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Discontented Collonell.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Love at first sight.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1662. June 1</td>
<td>Cornelia, a new play. — Sir W. Bartleys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 6</td>
<td>Renegado.</td>
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<td>July 6</td>
<td>The Brothers.</td>
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<td>July 23</td>
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From another lift, which undoubtedly was made by Sir Henry Herbert for the purpose I have mentioned, I learn that *Macbeth* was revived in 1663 or 1664; I suppose as altered by D’Avenant.

"Nov. 3, 1663. *Flora’s Figaries*  £. 2.

"A pastoral called *The Exposure*  2.

"8 more.  1.9.

"A new play  1.

"Henry the 5th  2.

"Revived play. *Taming the Shrew*  1.

"The General  2.

"Parsons Wedinge  2.


"House to be let  2.

"More for plays, whereof Elvira the last 9.

"For playes  £. 41."

Sir William D’Avenant’s Company, after having played for some time at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and at Salisbury Court, removed in March or April 1662, to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln’s Inn Fields. Mr. Betterton, his principal actor, we are told by Downes, was admired in the part of Pericles, which he frequently performed before the opening of the new theatre; and while this company continued
nued to act in Portugal Row, they represented the following plays of Shakspeare, and it should seem those only: Macbeth and The Tempest; altered by D'avenant; King Lear, Hamlet, King Henry the Eighth, Romeo and Juliet, and Twelfth Night. In Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark was represented by Mr. Betterton; the Ghost by Mr. Richards; Horatio by Mr. Harris; the Queen by Mrs. Davenport; and Ophelia by Mrs. Saunders. In Romeo and Juliet, Romeo was represented by Mr. Harris, Mercutio by Mr. Betterton, and Juliet by Mrs. Saunders. Mr. Betterton in Twelfth Night performed Sir Toby Belch, and in Henry the Eighth, the King. He was without doubt also the performer of King Lear. Mrs. Saunders represented Catharine in King Henry the Eighth, and it may be presumed, Cordelia, and Miranda. She also performed Lady Macbeth, and Mr. Betterton Macbeth.

The theatre which had been erected in Portugal Row, being found too small, Sir William D'Avenant laid the foundation of a new playhouse in Dorset Garden, near Dorset Stairs, which however he did not live to see completed; for he died in May 1668, and it was not opened till 1671. There being strong reason to believe that he was our poet's patron, I have been induced by that circumstance to inquire with some degree of minuteness into his history. I have mentioned in a preceding page that the account given of him by Aubrey, in his Alces Oxonienses, was taken from Mr. Aubrey's Manuscript. Since that sheet was printed, Mr. Warton has obligingly furnished me with an exact transcript of the article relative to D'Avenant, which, as it contains some particulars not noticed by Wood, I shall here subjoin:


Sir William Davenant, Knight, Poet-Laureat, was borne about the end of February in street in the city of Oxford, at the Crown 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 wit, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had 3 sons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas; (Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon. then prefered to the vicarage of Wellington by Bp. Davenant, whose chaplain he was; Nicholas was.

* Mr. Warton informs me, that "it appears by Aubrey's letters that this life of Davenant was sent to Wood, and drawn up at his request."

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OF THE ENGLISH STAGE. 225
was an attorney: and 2 handsome daughters; one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C. beneficed in the vale of White Hors; another to Dr. Sherburne, minister of Pembroke [—bridge] in Heref. and canon of that church. Mr. W Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did comonly in his journey lie at this house in Oxon, where he was exceedingly respect'd. Now Sir William would sometimes, when he was plesant over a glasse of wine with his intimate friends (e. g. Sam Butler, author of Hadibras etc. etc.) say, that it seem'd to him, that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare wrote, and was contented enough to bee thought his son: he would tell them the story as above. He went to schoole at Oxon. to Mr. Silvestor; Charles Wheare, F. [flius] Degorii W., was his schoolfellow: but I feare, he was drawne from schoole, before he was ripe enough. He was preferred to the first Ducketts of Richmond, to wayte on her as a page. I remem-
ber, he told me, he sent him to a famous apothecary for some unicorne's horne, which he was resolved to try with a spyder, which he empaled in it, but without the expected successe: the spyder would goe over and through and thorough, unconcerned. He was next a servant (as I remember, a page also) to Sir Fulke Grevill Ld. Brookes, with whom he lived to his death; which was, that a servant of his that had long wayted on him, and his lor—[lordship] had often told him, that he would doe something for him, but did not, but still put him off with delay; as he was truffing up his lord's pointes, coming from floule, [for then their breeches were fastened to the doublets with pointes; then came in hooke
and cies, which not to have fastened was in my boyhood a great crime,] flabbed him. This was at the same time that the duke of Buckingham was flabbed by Felton; and the great noife and report of the duke's Sir W. told me, quite drown'd this of his lord's, that was scarce taken notice of. This Sir Fulke G. was a good wit, and had been a good poet in his youth: he wrote a poeme in folio, which he printed not till he was old, and then, as Sir W. said, with too much judgement and reining spoile it, which was at first a delicate thing. He
[Dav.] writt a play, or plays, and verses, which he did with so much sweetnesse and grace, that by it he got the love and friend-
ship of his two Mæcenaces, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Henry Jermy, [since E. of St. Albans] to whom he has dedi-
cated his poem called Madegafcar. Sir John Suckling was his great and intimate friend. After the death of Ben Johnson, he was made in his place Poet Laureat. He Gott a terrible c—p of a black handsome wench, that lay in Axe-Yard, Weftm: whom he thought on, when he speaks of Dalgæ, [in Gondi-
bert]
OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

[Omitted content]

For Will had in his face the flaws
And markes received in country's cause.
They flew on him like lyons paffant,
And tore his nose, as much as was on't;
And call'd him superflitious groome,
And Popish dog, and cur of Rome.

'twas surely the first time,
That Will's religion was a crime.

In the Civill Warses in England, he was in the army of
William Marquee of Newcastle, [since Duke] where he was
general of the ordinance. I have heard his brother Robert
fay, for that service there was owing to him by King Charles
the First 10000l. During that warre 'twas his hap to have
two Aldermen of Yorke his prisoners, who were something
stubborne, and would not give the ranfome ordered by the
council of warre. Sir William used them civilly, and treat-
ed them in his tent, and fate them at the upper end of his
table à la mode de France. And having done so a good while
his charge, told them (privately and friendly) that he was
not able to keepe so chargeable guests, and bade them take
an opportunity to escape; which they did; but having been
gon a little way, they considered with themselves, that in
gratitude they ought to goe back, and give Sir William
their thanks, which they did; but it was like to have been
to their great danger of being taken by the soldiers; but
they happened to gett safe to Yorke.

The king's party being overcome, Sir W. Davenant,
(who had the honour of knighthood from the D. of Newcas-
tle by commission) went into France, and resided in Paris,
where the prince of Wales then was. He then began to
write his romance in verse, called Gondibert; and had not
writt above the first booke, but being very fond of it printed it,
before a quarter finisht, with an epistle of his to Mr. Tho.
Hobbes, and Mr. Hobbes' excellent epistle to him printed
before it. The courtiers, with the Prince of Wales, could
never be at quiet about this piece, which was the occasion of
a very witty but satirical little booke of verses in 8vo, about
4 sheets, writt by G. D. of Bucks, Sir John Denham,
etc. etc.

L. 5

Thas.
"That thou forfak'd thy sleepe, thy diet,
"And what is more than that, our quiet.'"

This last word, Mr. Hobbes told me, was the occasion of their writing.

Here lay'd an ingeniose designe to carry a considerable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) from hence to Virginia; and by Mary the Q's. mother's means he got, favour from the K. of France to goe into the prifons, and pick and chufe: so when the poor damned wretches understood, what the designe was, they cryed uno ore, tout tisseran, we are all weavers. Well, 36, as I remember, he got, if not more, and shipped them; and as he was in his voyage towards Virginia, he and his tisseran were all taken by the ships then belonging to the parliament of England. The slaves, I suppose, they sold, but Sir William was brought prisoner into England. Whether he was first a prisoner at Carefbroke Caflle in the Isle of Wight, or at the Towr of London, I have forgot; he was prisoner at both: his Gondibert was finifhed at Carefbroke Caflle. He expected no mercy from the parliament, and had no hopes of escaping with his life. It pleased God, that the two aldermen of Yorke aforesaid, hearing that he was taken and brought to London to be tryed for his life, which they understood was in extreme danger, they were touched with so much generofity and goodnes, as upon their own accounts and mere motion to try what they could to save Sir William's life, who had been so civill to them, and a means of saving theirs; to come to London; and acquainting the parliament with it, upon their petition, etc. Sir William's life was saved. 'Twas Harry Martyn, that saved Sir William's life in the house: when they were talking of sacrificing one, then said Hen. that "in sacrifices they always offered pure and without blemifh; now ye talk of making a sacrifice of an old rotten rascal." Vid. H. Martyn's life, where by this rare jest, then forgot, the L. 'Falkland saved H. Martyn's life.

Being freed from imprisonment, because plays (fcll. trage. and comedies) were in these presbyterian times scandalous, he contrives to set up an opera, fylvio recitativo; wherein Sergeant Maynard and several citizens were engagers: it began in Rutland.

These lines are inaccurately quoted by memory from Certain Verses written by several of the author's friends, to be re-printed with the second edition of Gondibert, 1653.

Mr. Warton observes to me, that "Aubrey does not say here that Milton (with the two aldermen) was instrumental in saving D'Avenant's life. Dr. Johnson is puzzled on what authority to fix this anecdote. Life of Milton, p. 181, 8vo. edit. I believe that anecdote was first retailed in print by Wood, Ath. Onew. II. 412."
Rutland House in Charter-house-yard: next, sicelict anno—at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, where were acted very well, *lybo recitative, Sir Francis Drake, and the Siege of Rhodes, 1st and 2nd part. It did affect the cie and eare extremely. This first brought scenes in fashion in England: before, at plays was only an hanging *

Anno Domini 1660, was the happy restauration of his Majesty Charles IInd; then was Sir William made — — — — and the Tennis-Court in Little Lincoln’s Inn Fields was turned into a playhouse for the Duke of York’s players, where Sir William had lodgings, and where he dyed, April 166—. I was at his funeral: he had a coffin of walnut tree: Sir John Denham said, that it was the finest coffin that he ever saw. His body was carried in a hearse from the playhouse to Westminster Abbey, where at the great west dore he was received by the ring [ing] men and choristers, who fang the service of the church (I am the Resurrection, etc. etc.) to his grave, which is near to the monument of Dr. Isaac Barrow, which is in the South Croffe aile, *on which in a paving stone of marble is writ, in imitation of that on Ben. Johnson, O rare Sir William Davenant.

His first lady was Dr. ———’s daughter, phystian, by whom he had a very beautiful and ingeniouse son, that dyed above twenty years since. His second lady was daughter of ———, by whom he had several children. I saw some very young ones at the funerall. His eldest is Sir Charles Davenant, the Doctor, who inherits his father’s beauty and phancy. He practices at Doctor’s Commons. He wriett a play called CIRCE, which has taken very well. Sir William hath wriett about 25 plays, the Romance called Gondibert, and a little poem called Madagascar.

His private opinion was, that religion at last [e.g. a hundred years hence] would come to settlement; and that in a kind of ingeniouse Quakerisme̊.

* Here we have another and a decisive confirmation of what has been stated in a former page on the subject of scenes. See p. 62, et. seq.

* The following plays, written by Sir William D’Avenant, were licenced by the Master of the Revels in the following order:

The Cruel Brother, Jan. 12, 1626-7.
The Colonel, July 32, 1629.
The Just Italian, Octob. 2, 1629.
The Wits, Jan. 19, 1633-4.
Love and Honour, Nov. 20, 1634.
News from Plymouth, Aug. 1, 1635.
Platonick Lovers, Nov. 16, 1635.
Britannia Triumphans, licensed for press, Jan. 8, 1637.

On
On the 9th of Novemb. 1671, D'Avenant's company removed to their new theatre in Dorset Gardens, which was opened,

Unfortunate Lovers, April 16, 1638.
Fair Favourite, Nov. 17, 1638.
The Spanish Lovers, Nov. 30, 1639.

This piece is probable the play which in his works is called The Dis-tresses.

Love and Honour was originally called The Courage of Love. It was afterwards named by Sir Henry Herbert, at D'Avenant's request, The Nonpareilles, or the Matchless Maids.

In 1668 was published Sir William D'Avenant's Voyage to the other world, with his adventures in the poet's Elysium, written by Richard Flecknoe, which I subjoin to the memoirs of that poet. Consisting of only a single sheet, the greater part of the impression has probably perished, for I have never met with a second copy of this piece:

"Sir William D'Avenant being dead, not a poet would afford him so much as an elegist; whether because he sought to make a monopoly of the art, or strove to become rich in spight of Minerva: it being with poets as with mushrooms, which grow onely on barren ground, inrich the soly once, and then degenerate: onely one, more humane than the rest, accompany'd him to his grave with this elogium.

Now Davenant's dead, the stage will mourn,
And all to barbarism turn;
Since he it was, this later age,
Who chiefly civiliz'd the stage.

Great was his wit, his fancy great,
As e'er was any poet's yet;
And more advantage none e'er made.
O' th' wit and fancy which he had.
Not onely Dedalus' arts he knew,
But even Prometheus's too;
And living machins made of men,
As well as dead ones, for the scene.
And if the stage or theatre be
A little world, 'twas chiefly he,
That, Atlas-like, supported it,
By force of industry and wit.
All this, and more, he did beside,
Which having perfected, he dy'd;
If he may properly be said
To die, whose fame will ne'er be dead.

"Another went further yet, and using the privilege of your antient poets, who with almoft as much certainty as your divines, can tell all that passes in the other world, did thus relate his voyage thither, and all his adventures in the poets elyzium.

"As every one at the infant of their deaths, have passports given them for some place or other, he had his for the poets elyzium; which not without much difficulty he obtained from the officers of Parthenius: for when he alleg'd, he was an herouick poet, they asked him why he did not continue
was opened, not with one of Shakspeare's plays, but with Dryden's comedy called Sir Martin Marall. Between

continue it? when he said he was a dramatick too, they ask’d him, why he left it off, and only studied to get money; like him who sold his horse to buy him provender: and finally, when he added, he was a poet laureat, they laugh’d, and said, bayes was never more cheap than now; and that since Petrarch's time, none had ever been legitimately crown’d.

" Nor had he less difficulty with Charon, who hearing he was rich, thought to make booty of him, and ask’d an extraordinary price for his passage over; but coming to payment, he found he was so poor, as he was ready to turn him back again, he having hardly so much as his nauum, or the price of every ordinary passenger.

" Being arriv’d, they were all much amaz’d to see him there, they having never heard of his being dead, neither by their weekly gazets, nor cryers of verses and pamphlets up and down; (as common a trade: there, almost as it is here;) nor was he less amaz’d than they, to find never a poet there, antient nor modern, whom in some fort or other he had not disoblige’d by his discommendations; as Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Spencer, and especially Ben Johnson; contrary to Plinics rule, never to discommend any of the same profession with our selves: for either they are better or worse than you (says he); if better, if they be not worthy commendations, you much less; if worse, if they be worthy commendations, you much more: so every ways advantage‐ous, 'tis for us to commend others.' Nay, even Shakespear, whom he thought to have found his greatest friend, was as much offended with him as any of the rest, for so spoiling and mangling of his plays. But he who most vex and torment was, his old antagonist Jack Donne, who mock’d him with a hundred passages out of Gondibert; and after a world of other railing and spightful language (at which the doctor was excellent) so exasperated the knight, at last, as they fell together by the ears: when but imagine

What tearing noyes had been there,
Had they but noyes for to tear."

" Mean time the comick poets made a ring about them, as boys do when they hiss dogs together by the ears; till at last they were separated by Pluto's officers, as diligent to keep the peace and part the fray, as your Italian Shirri, or Spanish Alguazilo; and so they drag’d them both away, the doctor to the stocks, for raisimg tumults and disturbances in hell, and the knight to the tribunal, where Minos, Aeacus and Rhadamantius were to sit in judgement on him, with Momus the common accuser of the court.

" Here being arriv’d, and silence commanded, they ask’d him his quality and profession: to whom he answer’d, he was a Poet-laureate, who for poetry in general had not his fellow alive, and had left none to equal him now he was dead; and for eloquence, How

* John Donne, the eldest son of Donne the poet, was a Civilian. He is said to have met with a misfortune similar to that of D'Avenant.

9 The building, scenes, &c. of that theatre cost 5000l. according to a statement given in a petition presented to Queen Anne about the year 1709, by Charles D'Avenant, Charles Kellew, Christopher Rich, and others.
Between the year 1671 and 1682, when the King's and the Duke of York's servants united, (about which time Charles

How never any hyperbolies
Were higher, or farther stretched than bis;
Nor ever comparifons again
Made things compar'd more clear and plain.

Then for his plays or dramatick poetry.

How that of The Unfortunate Lovers
The depth of tragedy discovers;
In's Love and Honour you might see
The height of tragicomedy;
And for his Wits, the comick fire
In none yet ever flam'd up higher:
But coming to his Siege of Rhodes,
It outshone all the rest by odds;
And somewhat's in't, that does out-do
Both the antients and the moderns too.

"To which Momus answered: that though they were never so good, it became not him to commend them as he did; that there were faults enough to be found in them; and that he had mar'd more good plays, than ever he had made; that all his wit lay in hyperbolies and comparifons, which, when accedency, were commendable enough, but when principal, deserved no great commendations; that his muse was none of the nine, but only a mungrel, or by-blow of Parnaffus, and her beauty rather sophificative than natural; that he offer'd at learning and philo-

As for his life and manners, they would not examine those, since 'twas suppos'd they were licentious enough; only he would say,

He was a good companion for
The rich, but ill one for the poor;
On whom he look'd so, you'd believe
He walk'd with a face negative;
When he must be a lord at least,
For whom he'd smile or break a jest.

"And though this, and much more, was exaggerated against him by
Momus, yet the judges were so favourable to him, because he had left
the mufes for Pluto, as they condemned him only to live in Pluto's
court, to make him and Proserpina merry with his facetious jests and
stories; with whom in short time he became so gracious, by complying
with their humours, and now and then dressing a dish or two of meat for
them", as they join'd him in patent with Momus, and made him su-
perintendent of all their sports and recreations: so as, onely changing
place and persons, he is now in as good condition as he was before; and
lives the same life there, as he did here.

"POSTSCRIPT.

* This seems to allude to a fact then well known. D'Avenant was probably admitted to the private suppers of Charles the Second.
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Charles Hart¹, the principal support of the former company, died,) King Lear, Timon of Athens, Macbeth, and The Tempest,

"POSTSCRIPT.

"To the Actors of the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

"I promised you a sight of what I had written of Sir William D'Avenant, and now behold it here: by it you will perceive how much they abused you, who told you it was such an abusive thing. If you like it not, take heed hereafter how you disoblige him, who can not only write for you, but against you too.

RICH. FLECKNOE."

¹ From the preface to Settle's Fatal Love, 1680, it should seem that he had then retired from the stage, perhaps in the preceding year; for in the prologue to the Ambitious Statorne, 1679, are these lines, evidently alluding to him and Mr. Mohun:

"The time's neglect and maladies have thrown
The two great pillars of our playhous.e down."

Charles Hart, who, I believe, was our poet's great nephew, is said to have been Nell Gwyn's first lover, and was the most celebrated tragedian of his time.

"What Mr. Hart delivers, (says Rymer) every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet's can approach their ears; and to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre and brilliant, which dazzles the sight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived." "Were I a poet, says another contemporary writer, say a Fletcher, a Shakespeare, I would quit my own title to immortality, so that one actor might never die. This I may modestly say of him, (nor is it my particular opinion, but the sense of all mankind,) that the best tragedies on the English stage have received their lustre from Mr. Hart's performance; that he has left such an impression behind him, that no less than the interval of an age can make them appear again with half their majesty from any second hand."

In a pamphlet entitled The Life of the late famous comedian, J. Hayns, 8vo. 1701, a characteristic trait of our poet's kinship is preserved:

"About this time [1673] there happened a small pick between Mr. Hart and Jo, upon the account of his late negotiation in France;*, and there spending the company so much money to so little purpose, or, as I may more properly say, to no purpose at all.

"There happened to be one night a play acted called Calilone's Consipracy, wherein there was wanting a great number of senators. Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the house, would oblige Jo to drefs for one of these senators, although his salary, being 50s. per week, freed him from any such obligation.

"But Mr. Hart, as I said before, being sole governour of the playhouse, and at a small variance with Jo, commands it, and the other must obey.

"Jo,

* Soon after the theatre in Drury Lane was burnt down, Jan. 1671-2, Hayns had been sent to Paris by Mr. Hart and Mr. Killigrew, to examine the machinery employed in the French Opera.
were the only plays of our author that were exhibited at the theatre in Dorset Gardens, and the three latter were not represented in their original state, but as altered by D'Avenant and Shadwell. Between 1682 and 1695, when Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, obtained a licence to open a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Othello*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, were the only plays of Shakspeare which Downes the prompter mentions, as having been performed by the united companies: *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* was transformed into an opera, and *The Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited as altered by Lacy. Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, however, the two parts of *King Henry IV. Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *King Henry VIII. Julius Cesar*, and *Hamlet*, were without doubt sometimes represented in the same period: and Tate and Durfey furnished the scene with miserable alterations of

"Jo, being vexed at the slight Mr. Hart had put upon him, found out this method of being revenged on him. He gets a Saramouch drefs, a large full ruff, makes himself whiskers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long Merry Andrew's cap, a short pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged stool in his hand; and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the stage, lets himself down behind him, and begins to smoke his pipe, laugh, and point at him. Which comical figure put all the house in an uproar, some laughing, some clapping, and some hollaing. Now Mr. Hart, as those who knew him can aver, was a man of that exactness and grandeur on the stage, that let what would happen, he'd never discompose himself, or mind any thing but what he then represented; and had a scene fallen behind him, he would not at that time look back, to have seen what was the matter; which Jo knowing, remained still smocking; the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting, and wondering at this unusual occasion of their mirth; sometimes thinking it some disturbance in the house, again that it might be something amiss in his drees: at last turning himself toward the scenes, he discovered Jo in the aforesaid posture; whereupon he immediately goes off the stage, swearing he would never set foot on it again, unless Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no sooner spoke, but put in practice."

"The tragedy of *Macbeth*, altered by Sir William D'Avenant, being dress'd in all its finery, as new cloaths, new scenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the singing and dancing in it, (the first composed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joseph Priest,) it being all excellently performed, *being in the nature of an opera*, it recompened double the expense: it proves still a lasting play." *Ref. Anglicaus*, p. 33. 8vo. 1708.

"In 1673, *The Tempest or the Incantated Island*, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having 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, sweetmeats, 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." *Ibidem*, p. 34.
of Coriolanus, K. Richard II. King Lear, and Cymbeline*. Otway's Caius Marius, which was produced in 1680, usurped the place of our poet's Romeo and Juliet for near seventy years, and Lord Lansdown's Jew of Venice kept possession of the stage from the time of its first exhibition in 1701, to the year 1741. Dryden's All for Love, from 1678 to 1759, was performed instead of our author's Antony and Cleopatra; and D'Avenant's alteration of Macbeth in like manner was preferred to our author's tragedy, from its first exhibition in 1663, for near eighty years.

In the year 1700 Cibber produced his alteration of K. Richard III. I do not find that this play, which was so popular in Shakespeare's time, was performed from the time of the Restoration to the end of the last century. The play with Cibber's alterations was once performed at Drury Lane in 1703, and lay dormant from that time to the 28th of Jan. 1710, when it was revived at the Opera House in the Haymarket; since which time it has been represented, I believe, more frequently than any of our author's dramas, except Hamlet.

On April 23, 1704, The Merry Wives of Windsor, by command of the Queen, was performed at St. James's, by the actors of both houses, and afterwards publickly represented at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, May 18, in the same year, by Mr. Betterton's company; but although the whole force of his company was exerted in the representation, the piece had so little success, that it was not repeated till Nov. 3, 1720, when it was again revived at the same theatre, and afterwards frequently performed.

From 1709, when Mr. Rowe published his edition of Shakespeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet's Hamlet, Julius Caesar, K. Henry VIII. Othello, K. Richard III. King Lear, and the two parts of King Henry IV. were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, such was the wretched taste of the audiences of those days, that in many instances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals. Durfey's Injured Princes, which had not been acted from 1697, was again revived at Drury Lane, October 5, 1717, and afterwards often represented. Even Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, in which all the faults of the original

* King Richard II. and King Lear were produced by Tate in 1681, before the union of the two companies; and Coriolanus, under the title of The ingratitude of a Commonwealth, in 1682. In the same year appeared Durfey's alteration of Cymbeline, under the title of The Injured Prince.
nal are greatly aggravated, took its turn on the scene, and after an interrim of fifteen years was revived at Drury Lane in August 1717, and afterwards frequently performed both at that theatre and the theatre in Lincoln’s Inn Fields, where it was exhibited for the first time, Dec. 21. 1720. Coriolanus, which had not been acted for twenty years, was revived at the theatre in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, Dec. 13, 1718; and in Dec. 1719, King Richard II. was revived at the same theatre: but probably neither of these plays was then represented as originally written by Shakspere’s. Measure for Measure, which had not been acted, I imagine, from the time of the suppression of the theatres in 1642, was revived at the same theatre, Dec. 8, 1720, for the purpose of producing Mr. Quin in the character of the Duke, which he frequently performed with success in that and the following years. Much ado about nothing, which had not been acted for thirty years, was revived at Lincoln’s Inn-Fields, Feb. 9, 1721; but after two representations, on that and the following evening, was laid aside. In Dec. 1723, King Henry V. was announced for representation, “on Shakspere’s foundation,” and performed at Drury Lane six times in that month; after which we hear of it no more: and on Feb. 26, 1737, King John was revived at Covent Garden. Neither of these plays, I believe, had been exhibited from the time of the downfall of the stage. At the same theatre our poet’s second part of King Henry IV., which had for fifty years been driven from the scene by the play which Mr. Betterton substituted in its place, resumed its station, being produced at Covent Garden, Feb. 16, 1738; and on the 23d of the same month Shakspere’s K. Henry V. was performed there as originally written, after an interval, if the theatrical advertisement be correct, of forty years. In the following March the same company once exhibited the First Part of King Henry VI. for the first time, as they asserted, for fifty years”. As you like it was announced for representation at Drury Lane, December 20, 1749, as not having been acted for forty years, and represented twenty-six times in that season. At Goodman’s

3 In the theatrical advertisement, Feb. 6, 1738, King Richard II. (which was then produced at Covent Garden,) was laid not to have been acted for forty years.

4 On the revival of this play in 1720, it was announced as not having been acted for twenty years: but the piece which had been performed in the year 1700, was not Shakspere’s, but Gildon’s.

5 King Henry VI. altered from Shakspere by Theophilus Cibber, was performed by a summer company at Drury Lane, July 5, 1723; but it met with no success, being represented only once.
Goodman's Fields, Jan. 15, 1741. *The Winter's Tale* was announced, as not having been acted for one hundred years; but was not equally successful, being only performed nine times. At Drury Lane, Feb. 14, 1741, *The Merchant of Venice*, which, I believe, had not been acted for one hundred years, was once more restored to the scene by Mr. Macklin, who on that night first represented Shylock; a part of which for near fifty years he has performed with unrivalled success. In the following month the company at Goodman's Fields endeavoured to make a stand against him by producing *All's well that ends well*, which, they asserted, "had not been acted since Shakspeare's time." But the great theatrical event of this year was the appearance of Mr. Garrick at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, Oct. 19, 1741; whose good taste led him to study the plays of Shakspere with more affiduity than any of his predecessors. Since that time, in consequence of Mr. Garrick's admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent representation of his plays in nearly their original state, and above all, the various researches which have been made for the purpose of explaining and illustrating his works, our poet's reputation has been yearly increasing, and is now fixed upon a basis, which neither the lapse of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to shake. Here therefore I conclude this imperfect account of the origin and progress of the English Stage.

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**EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.**

**Vol. II.**

**Historical Account of the English Stage.**

Just as this work was issuing from the press, some curious Manuscripts relative to the stage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly transmitted to me from thence. One of these is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Phillip Henlowe, who appears to have been proprietor of the Rose Theatre near the Bankside in Southwark.

The celebrated player, Edward Alleyn, who has erroneously been supposed by Mr. Oldys, the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, to have had three wives, was married, as appears from an entry in this book, to Joan Woodward, on the 22d of October, 1592, at which time he was about
about twenty-six years old. This lady, who died in 1623, was the daughter of Agnes, the widow of —— Woodward, whom Mr. Philip Henflowe, after the death of Woodward, married: so that Mr. Henflowe was not, as has been supposed, Alleyn’s father-in-law, but only step-father to his wife.

This Ms. contains a great number of curious notices relative to the dramatick poets of the time, and their productions, from the year 1597 to 1603, during which time Mr. Henflowe kept an exact account of all the money which he disbursed for the various companies of which he had the management, for copies of plays and the apparel which he bought for their representation. I find here notices of a great number of plays now lost, with the authors’ names, and several entries that tend to throw a light on various particulars which have been discarded in the preceding History of the English Stage, as well as the Essay on the order of time in which Shakspeare's plays were written. A still more curious part of this Ms. is a register of all the plays performed by the servants of Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral, and by other companies, between the 19th of February 1591-2, and November 5, 1597. This register strongly confirms the conjectures that have been hazarded relative to the first part of King Henry VI., and the play which I have supposed to have been written on the subject of Hamlet. In a bundle of loose papers has also been found an exact Inventory of the Wardrobe, play-books, properties, &c. belonging to the Lord Admiral’s servants.

Though it is not now in my power to arrange these very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick should be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford; and therefore shall extract from them all such notices as appear to me worthy of preservation.

In the register of plays the same piece is frequently repeated: but of these repetitions I have taken no notice, having transcribed only the account of the first representation of each piece, with the sum which Mr. Henflowe gained by it.1

1 It is clear from subsequent entries made by Mr. Henflowe that the sums in the margin opposite to each play, were not the total receipts of the house, but what he received as a proprietor from either half or the whole of the galleries, which appear to have been appropriated to him to reimburse him for expences incurred for dresses, copies, &c. for the theatre. The profit derived from the rooms or boxes, &c. was divided among such of the players as possessed shares. In a subsequent page I find...
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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By the subsequent representations, sometimes a larger, and sometimes a less, sum, was gained. The figures within crotchets shew how often each piece was represented within the time of each account.

"In the name of God, Amen, 1591, beginning the 19 of february my g. lord Stranges men, as followeth, 1591:

R. at fryer bacon, the 19 of february
(faterday) [4]
--- mulomurco, the 20 of febr. [11]
--- orlando, the 21 of february [1]
--- spans (Spanish) comedye, don oracio, (Don Horatio) the 23 of february, [3]
--- Syr John mandeville, the 24 of february, [5]
--- harry of cornwell, (Henry of Cornwall) the 25 of february 1591, [3]
--- the jesso of malltyle, (Malta) the 26 of february 1591, [10]
--- clorys and orgafa the 28 of february 1591, [1]
--- poope fone, the 4 of marche 1591, [1]
--- matchavell, the 2 of marche 1591 [3]

R. at

find—"Here I begynne to receve the whole gallereys from this day, beinge 29 of July, 1598." At the bottom of the account, which ends Oct. 13, 1599, is this note: "Received with the company of my lord of Nottinghams men, to this place, being the 13 of October 1599, and yt doth apere that I have received of the deate which they owe unto me, iij hundred fiftie and eyght pounds."

Again: "Here I begane to receive the gallerie agayne, which they received, beginnynge at Mihellmas wecke, being the 6 of Octorber, 1599. as followeth."

Again: "My lord of Pembrakes men beganne to playe at the Rofe, the 28 of Octorber, 1600, as followeth:

s. d.
--- R. at liske unto liske 11. 6.
--- R. at Raderick — v. —"

Five shillings could notpossiblly have been the total receipt of the house, and therefore must have been that which the proprietor received on his separate account.

2 Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, by Robert Greene.
3 In a subsequent entry called Mulamuller. The play meant was probably The Battle of Alcazar. See the first speech:
4 Orlando Furioso, by Robert Greene, printed in 1599.
R. at henery the vi
1591, [13] — —
— bendo and Richardo, the 4 of marche
1591, [3] — —
— iii playes in one?, the 6 of marche
1591, [4] — —
— the looking-glafe*, the 8 of marche
1591, [4] — —
— zenobia, (Zenobia) the 9 of marche
1591, [1] — —
— Jeronimo, the 14 of marche 1591,
1591, [14] — —
— constantine, the 21 of marche 1591,
1591, [1] — —
— Jerusalem?, the 22 of marche 1591,
1591, [2] — —
— brandyme/, the 6 of aprill 1591,
1591, [2] — —
— the comedy of Jeronimo, the 10 of
Aprill 1591, [4] — —
— Titus and Vespasian, (Titus Vespas-
ian) the 11 of Aprill 1591, [7] — —
— the second pte of tamberlane, (Tam-
berlane) the 28 of aprill 1592,
1592, [5] — —
— the tanner of Denmarke, the 28 of
maye 1592, [1] — —
— a knacee to know a knave*, 10 day

5 In the Differtation on the three parts of K. Henry VI. I conjectured that
the piece which we now call The first part of K. Henry VI. was, when
first performed, called The play of K. Henry VI. We find here that such
was the fact. This play, which I am confident was not originally the
production of Shakspeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular,
being reperfom'd in this season between March 3 and June 19, [1592]
no less than thirteen times. Hence Nafhe in a pamphlet published in
this year speaks of ten thousand spectators that had seen it. See Differt-

6 Afterwards written Byndo.

7 This could not have been the piece called All's one, or four playes in
one, of which the Yorkshire Tragedy made a part, because the fact on
which that piece is founded happened in 1605.

8 The Looking glafer for London and England, by Robert Greene and
Thomas Lodge, printed in 1598.

9 Probably The Destruction of Jerusalem, by Dr. Thomas Legge. See

* Printed in 1594.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

"In the name of God Amen, 1592, beginning the 29 of December.

R. at the gelyons comedy (Julian of Brentford) the 5 of Jenewary 1592, [1] - - 0. xxxxiii. - 0.
--- the comedy of cosmos, the 12 of Jenewary 1592, [2] - 0. xxxx. iii. 0.
--- the tragedy of the guys', 30 of Jenewary', [3] - 0. iii. iii. 0.

"In the name of God, Amen, beginning the 27 of December 1593, the earle of Sussex his men.

R. at God spede the plough, [2] - 0. iii. i. 0.
--- heaven of Burdocks, (Huon of Bourdeaux) the 28 of December 1593, [3] - 0. iii. x. 0.
--- george a green, the 29 of December 1593, [4] - 0. iii. x. 0.
--- buckingham, the 30 of December 1593, [4] - 0. li. 0.
--- Richard the Conqueror *, the 31 of December 1593, [2] - 0. xxxviii. 0.
--- william the conkerer, the 4 of Jenewary 1593, [1] - 0. xxii. 0.
--- frier francis, the 7 of Jenewary 1593, [3] - 0. iii. 0.
--- the pinner of wakefield *, the 8 of Jenewary 1593, [1] - 0. xxviii. 0.
--- abrame & lotte, the 9 of Jenewary 1593, [3] - 0. lii. 0.
--- the faire mayd of ytales (Italy) the 12 of Jenewary 1593, [2] - 0. ix. 0.
--- King lude, (Lud) the 18 of Jenewary 1593, [1] - 0. xxii. 0.
--- titus and andronicus *, the 23 of Jenewary, [3] - 0. iii. viii. 0.

1 Probably The Massacre of Paris, by Christopher Marlowe.
2 In consequence of the great plague in the year 1593, all theatrical entertainments were forbid.
3 This play is printed.
4 This piece should seem to have been written by the tinker in The Taming of the Shrew, who talks of Richard Conqueror.
5 This play was printed in 1599.
6 The manager of this theatre, who appears to have been extremely illiterate, has made the same mistake in the play of Titus and Venetian.

There
In the name of God, Amen, beginninge at easier, the queenes men and my lord of Sufflex together.


In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the 14 of maye 1594, by my lord admirll men.

R. at Cutlacke, the 16 of maye 1594, ₣[1] — — — o. xxxii. o. 

In the name of God, Amen, beginning at newington 1, my lord admirell men and my lord chamberlen men, as followeth, 1594.


There can be no doubt that this was the original piece, before our poet touched it. At the second representation Mr. Henlowe's share was forty shillings; at the third, the same sum.

7 This old play was entered on the Stationers' books in the following year, and published in 1605; but the bookseller, that it might be mistaken for Shakspeare's, took care not to mention by whose servants it had been perforated.

8 Five other old plays were represented, whose titles have been already given.

9 Two other old plays, whose titles have been already given, on the 14th and 15th of May.

1 Hoves in his Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, 1631, mentions among the seventeen theatres, which had been built within sixty years, "one in former time at Newington Buts."

2 Hefer and Abashierus.

3 In the Essay on the Order of Shakspeare's plays I have stated my opinion, that there was a play on the subject of Hamlet, prior to our author's; and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be supposed that our poet's play should have been performed but once in the time of this account, and that Mr. Henlowe should have drawn from such a piece but the sum of eight shillings, when his share in several other plays came to three and sometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's plays was played at Newington Buts; if one had been performed, we should certainly have found more. The old Hamlet had been on the stage before 1589; and to the performance of
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS

R. the 11 of June 1594, at the taming of
a frorewe 4, [1] o. ix. o.

— 12 of June 1594, at the Jew of
malta, [18] — — iii. o. o.

— 18 of June, 1594, at the rangers

— 19 of June, at the guies 5, [10] o. liii. o.

— 26 of June 1594, at galtase 6, [9] iii. o. o.

— 9 of July 1594, at phillipo and

— 19 of July 1594, at the 2 pie of

— 30 of July 1594, at the marchant of
camdev 8, [1] — — iii. viii. o.

— 12 of August 1594, at taffoes

— 15 of August 1594, at mahomet 1, [8] — — iii. v. o.

— 25 of August 1594, at the venesyan

— 28 of August 1594, at tamberlen,
[23] — — iii. xi. o.

— 17 of september 1594, at palamon

— 24 of september 1594, at Venesyon
& the love of and [an] Inglysbe

Vol. II. R. the

of the ghost in this piece in the summer of 1594, without doubt it is,
that Dr. Lodge alludes, in his Wits Miserie, &c. 4to. 1596, when he
speaks of “a foul lubber, who looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost,
who cried so miserably at the theatre, Hamlet, revenge.”

4 The play which preceded Shakspeare’s. It was printed in 1607.
There is a slight variation between the titles; our poet’s piece being call’d
The Taming of the Shrew.

5 The Guife. It is afterwards called The Massacre, i. e. The Massacre
of Paris, by Christopher Marlowe.

6 Q. Jutius Caeser.

7 This is probably the play which a knavish bookseller above sixty
years afterwards entered on the Stationers’ books as the production of
Philip Massinger. See p. 190, n. 2.

8 Q. — of Candia.

9 Taffo’s Melancholy. “I rather spited than pitied him, (says old
Montagne) when I saw him at Ferrara, in so pitious a plight, that he
survived himselfe, mis-acknowledging both himselfe and his labours,
which, unwitting to him and even to his face, have been publish’d both
uncorrected and maimed.” Florio’s translation, 1603.

1 Probably Peele’s play, entitled Mahomet and Hiren, the Fair Greek.

2 Palamon and Arcite. On this old play The Two noble Kinshg was
probably founded.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

R. the 30 of september 1594, at doctor [24]

4 of october 1594, at the love of
a gypsum lady, [12]

18 of october 1594, at the frenshe

22 of october 1594, at a knacke to
know a nunse 2, [19]

8 of november 1594, at cefer &
pompie 3, [8]

16 of november 1594, at deoclesfan,
[2]

30 of november 1594, at warlam
chefer, [7]

2 of december 1594, at the wife
men of chefer, [20]

14 of december 1594, at the maue 4,
[4]

19 of december 1594, at the 2 pte

26 of december 1594, at the sege of
london, [12]

11 of february 1594, at the frenshe.
comeley, [6]

14 of february 1594, at long mege
of westmefer, [18]

21 of february 1594, at the mache 5,
[1]

5 of marche 1594, at selo & olem-
po 6, [7]

7 of maye 1595, at the first pte of
Herculous 7, [10]

23 of maye 1595, at the 2 p. of
Hercolaus, [8]

3 of June 1595, at the vii days of
the weke, [19]

1 Dr. Faustus, by Christopher Marlowe.
2 A knack to know an honest man. This play was printed in 1596.
3 Stephen Gosson mentions a play entitled The History of Cesar and
Pompey, which was acted before 1586.
4 The maue was a game at cards. The play is afterwards called The
fou (suit) at maue.
5 This also was a game at cards.
6 Selo is afterwards written Selyo, and the play is in a subsequent
entry called Olempo and Hangenge.
7 Hercules, written by Martin Slaughter.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

R. the 18 of June 1595, at the 2 pie of l. s. d.  
before, (Caesar) [2] o. lv. o.  
— 20 of June 1595, at antony & val-  
lea 3 o. xx. o.  
— 29 of August 1595, at longe-shancke 4,  
[14] o. xxxx. o.  
— 5 of September 1595, at cracke mee  
this notte, [16] iii. o. o.  
— 17 of September 1595, at the  
— 2 of October 1595, at the desgyes,  
— 15 of October 1595, at the won-  
der of a woman, [10] o. liii. o.  
— 29 of October 1595, at barnardo  
& flamata, [7].  
— 14 of November 1595, at a toye to  
please my ladys, [7].  
— 28 of November 1595, at barry the  
v, [3], [13]  
— 29 of November 1595, at the welshe-  
man, [7]  
— 3 of January 1595, at chinoni of  
— 10 of January 1595, at pythagerus  
[13]  
— 3 of February 1595, at the 1 p. of  
Fortuneatus 5, [7]  
— 12 of February 1595, at the blind  
beger of Alexandria 6, [13]  
— 29 of April 1596, at Julian the  
apolitana, [3]  
— 19 of May 1596, at the tragedie of  
Iphocass, [7]  
M.2  
R. the  

8 Probably on the subject of Shakspeare's play.  
9 This piece was entered in the Stationers' books by Humphrey Mosely, June 29, 1660, as the production of Philip Massinger.  
1 Probably Peele's play, entitled The famous Chronicle of King Edward  
I. surnamed Edward Long-shankes, printed in 1593.  
2 Afterwards called A toy to please chaste ladies.  
3 I suppose, the play entitled The famous victories of King Henry V.  
containing the honourable battle of Agincourt, 1598; in which may be found  
the rude outlines of our poet's two parts of K. Henry IV. and K. Henry  
V.  
4 Pythagoras, written by Martin Slaughter.  
5 By Thomas Dekker. This play is printed.  
6 By George Chapman. Printed in 1598.  
7 Phocas, by Martin Slaughter.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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<td>1 of July 1596, at paradox, [1]</td>
<td>o.</td>
<td>xxxv.</td>
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<td>18 of July 1596, at the lincker of totnes,</td>
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"In the name of God, Amen, beginning one [on] Simone ana. Jeuds day, my lord admeralles men, as followeth; 1596. [Here twenty plays are set down as having been performed between October 27, and November 15, 1596: but their titles have all been already given.]

"In the name of God, Amen, begininge the 25 of novembr 1596, as followeth, the lord admerall players:

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<td>R. the 4 of defember 1596, at Valteger, l.</td>
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<td>30 of defember 1596, at what will be flall be, [12]</td>
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1. This play was printed in black letter in 1605.
2. The sums received by Mr. Henflowe from this place are ranged in five columns, in such a manner as to furnish no precise information.
3. Perhaps Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour*. It will appear hereafter that he had money dealings with Mr. Henflowe, the manager of this theatre, and that he wrote for him. The play might have been afterwards purchased from this company by the Lord Chamberlain’s Servants, by whom it was acted in 1598.
4. This could not have been the play already mentioned, because in that Henry does not die; nor could it have been Shakespeare’s play.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

R. the 3 of June 1597, at fredrycke and basellers, [4]

— 22 of June 1597, at Henges, [1]

— 30 of June 1597, at life and death of Martin Sivarte, [3]

— 14 of July 1597, at the wiche [witch] of [Illyngton '], [2]

"In the name of God, Amen, the 11 of October beganne my lord admeralls and my lord of pembrokes men to playe at my bowse, 1597:

October 11. at Jeronymo,

12. at the comedy of umers,

16. at doctor fjolles,

19. at hardacnute,

31. at frier spendelton,

November 2. at Bourbon."

The following curious paper furnishes us with more accurate knowledge of the properties, &c. of a theatre in Shakspeare’s time, than the researches of the most industrious antiquary could have attained.

"The booke of the Inventory of the goods of my Lord Admerralles men, tacken the 10 of Marche in the yeare 1598.

Gone and loft.

Item, j orenge taney fatten dublet, layd thycke with gowld lace.

Item, j blew tafetie fewt.

Item, j payr of carnatyon fatten Venefyons, layd with gold lace.

Item, j longe-shranckes fewte.

Item, j Sponnes dublet pyncket.

Item, j Spanerds gyrcken.

Item, j Harey the fyftes dublet.

Item, j Harey the fyftes vellet gowne.

Item, j fryers gowne.

Item, j lyttell dublet for boye.

"The Enventary of the Clowne’s Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with dievers other sewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 of March.

Item, j fenetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 fenetores capes.

Item, j fewtte for Nepton; Fierdrackes fewtes for Dobe.

3 Afterwards written—B.soll.ir.

4 This piece was performed a second time on the 28th of July, when this account was closed.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Item, iiiij genefareyes gownes, and iiiij torchberers fewtes.

Item, iiiij payer of red ftrafers, [flroffers] and iiij fares gowne of buckrome.

Item, iiiij Herwodes cottes, and iiiij fogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.

Item, vj grene cottes for Roben Hoode, and iiiij knaves fewtes.

Item, iij payer of grene hoffe, and Anderfones fewte. j whitt shepen clocke.

Item, iij roffet cottes, and j blacke frese cotte, and iiij prestes cottes.

Item, iiij whitt sheperdes cottes, and ij Danes fewtes, and j payer of Danes hoffe.

Item, The Mores lymes 5, and Hercolles lymes, and Will. Sommers fewte.

Item, ij Orlates fewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.

Item, Cathemer fewte, j payer of cloth whitte flockens, iiiij Turckes hedes.

Item, iiiij freyers gownes and iiiij hodies to them, and j fooles coate, cape, and babell, and branhowlttes bodeys, [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

Item, iiij black faye gownes, and iiij cotton gownes, and j rede faye gowne.

Item, j mawe gowne of caffeco for the quene 6, j carnowll cardinal's hatte.

Item, j red fewt of cloth for pyge [Pfyche,] layed with whitt lace.

Item, v payer of hoffe for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.

Item, iiij payer of canvas hoffe for afanc, ij payer of black fstrocers.

Item, j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whitcomes dublett poke.

Item, Eves bodeyes, [bodice] j pedante truffer, and iiij donnes hattes.

Item, j payer of yelow cotton fleves, j goftes fewt, and j goftes bodéyes.

---

5 I suspeet that these were the limbs of Aaron the Moor in Titus Andronicus, who in the original play was probably tortured on the stage. This ancient exhibition was so much approved of by Ravenscroft, that he introduced it in his play. — In The Battle of Alcazar there is also a Moor, whose dead body is brought on the stage, but not in a dislocated state.

6 In the play called Maxo.
Item, xvij copes and hattes, Verones sonnes hoffe.
Item, iiij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a base viall, a bandore, a fytteren, janshente, [ancient] j whitt hatte.
Item, j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobihorse.
Item, v fhertes, and j serpelowes, [furplice] iiiij ferdlingalles.
Item, vj head-tiers, j fane, [fan] iiiij rebatos, ij gyrtcruufes.
Item, j longe forde.

The Enventary of all the apparell for my Lord Admeralles men, taken the 10 of marche 1598.—Left above in the tierhoufe in the cheaji.

Item, My Lord Caffes [Caiphas'] gereken, & his hoosfe.
Item, j payer of hoffe for the Dowlen [Dauphin,]
Item, j murey lether gyreken, & j white lether gereken.
Item, j black lether gearken, & Nabelathe fewte.
Item, j payer of hoffe, & a gereken for Valteger.
Item, ij leather anteckes cottes with bafles, for Fayeton [Phaeeton].
Item, j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.

The Enventary taken of all the properties for my Lord Admeralles men, the 10 of Marche 1598.

Item, j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j .Helle mought [Hellmouth].
Item, j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido, j beditcade.
Item, viij lances, j payer of flayers for Fayeton.
Item, ij stepells, and j chyme of belles, and j beacon.
Item, j heccor for the playe of Fayeton, the limes dead.
Item, j globe, & j golden scepeter ; iiij clobes [clubs].
Item, ij marchepanes, & the littie of Rome.
Item, j gowlden flece ; ij racketes ; j baye tree.
Item, j wooden hatchett ; j letter hatchete.
Item, j wooden canepic ; owld Mahemetes head.
Item, j lyone skin ; j beares skyne ; and Facetones lymes, & Fayeton charete ; & Argosse [Argus's] heade.
Item, Nepun [Neptune's] forceke and garland.
Item, j crofers stafe ; Kentes woden leage [leg].
Item, Ieroffes [Iris's] head, & raynbowe ; j littell alter.
Item, viij viferdes ; Tamberlyne brydell ; j wooden matook.
Item, Cupedes bowe, & quiver ; the clothe of the Sone & Mone 7

Item,

7 Here we have the only attempt which this Inventory furnishes of any thing like scenery, and it was undoubtedly the ne plus ultra of those days. To exhibit a sun or moon, the art of perspective was not necessary.
Item, j bores heade & Serberoffe (Cerberus) iiij heads.
Item, j Cadefeus; ij mose (moss) banckes, & j snake.
Item, ij fanes of feathers; Belendon table; j tree of
gowlden apelles; Tantelouffe tre; jx cyorn (iron)
targates.
Item, j copper targate, & xvij foyles.
Item, iiij wooden targates; j greve armer.
Item, j syue (sign) for Mother Readcap; j buckler.
Item, Mercures wings; Taffo piëter; j helmet with a
dragon; j helde, with iiij lyones; j elme bowle.
Item, j chayne of dragons; j gylte fpear.
Item, ij coffenes; j bulles head; and j vylter.
Item, iiij tymbrells; j dragon in softes [Fauftus.]
Item, j lyone; ij lyon heads; j great horfe with his leages
[legs]; j lack-bute.
Item, j whell & frame in the Sege of London.
Item, j paire of rowghte gloves.
Item, j poopes miter.
Item, iiij Imperial crownes; j playne crown.
Item, j goltes crown; j crown with a fone.
Item, j frame for the heading in Black Jone.
Item, j black dogge.
Item, j cauderm for the Jewe 8.

"The Enventorey of all the aparell of the Lord Admeralles
men, taken the 13th of March 1598, as followeth:

Item, j payer of whitte fatten Venefons cut with coper lace.
Item, j ah coller fatten doublett, lacyd with gold lace.
Item, j peche coller fatten doublett.
Item, j owld whitte fatten doublette.
Item, j bleu taffitie fweete.
Item, j Mores cotte.
Item, Pyges (Pfyches) damaske gowne.
Item, j black fatten cotte.
Item, j harcoller taffitie fweete of pygges.
Item, j white taffitie fweete of pygges.
Item, Vartemar fweete.
Item, j great pechcoller dublet, with sylver lace.
Item, j white fatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j owld white fatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j payer of fatten Venefyan fatten ymbradered.
Item, j payer of French hoffe, cloth of gowld.
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoffe with sylver paines.
Item, j payer of cloth of silver hoffe with fatten and sylver
panes.

The Jewe of Malia.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Item, Tamberlynes cotte, with coper lace.
Item, j read clock with white coper lace.
Item, j read clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j shorte clocke of taney fatten with sleves.
Item, j shorte clocke of black fatten with sleves.
Item, Labeayes clocke, with gowld buttenes.
Item, j payer of read cloth hose of Venefyans, with sylver lace of coper.
Item, Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
Item, Junoes cotte.
Item, j hode for the wech (witch.)
Item, j read flamel clocke with witte coper lace.
Item, j read flamel clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j cloth clocke of ruffle with coper lace, called Guydoes clocke.
Item, j shorte clocke of black velvet, with flesves faced with fhagg.
Item, j shorte clocke of black vellet, faced with white fore
(fur)
Item, j manes gown, faced with witte fore.
Item, Dobes cottes of cloth of sylver.
Item, j payer of pechecoler Venefyones uncut, with read coper lace.
Item, j read scarllet clocke with sylver buttones.
Item, j longe black velvet clock, layd with brod lace black.
Item, j black fatten fewtte.
Item, j blacke velvet clocke, layed with twyf lace blacke.
Item, Perowes fewt, which W^{m} Sley were.
Item, j payer of pechcoler hose with sylver corlled panes.
Item, j payer of black cloth of sylver hose, drawne owt with tufed tafitie.
Item, Tamberlanes breches, of crymson vellvet.
Item, j payer of sylk hose with panes of sylver corlled lace.
Item, j Faeytome fewte.
Item, Roben Hoodes fewtte.
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hose with gowld corlle panes.
Item, j payer of rowne hose buffe with gowld lace.
Item, j payer of mows (moufe) coller Venefyans with R. brode gowld lace.
Item, j flame collerde dublet pynked.
Item, j blacke fatten dublet, layd thyck with blacke and gowld lace.
Item, j carnacyon doubled cutt, layd with gowld lace.

M 5
Item, j white fatten dublet, faced with read tafetie.
Item, j grene gyrcken with sylver lace.
Item, j black gyrcken with sylver lace.
Item, j read gyrcken with sylver lace.
Item, j read Spanes (Spanish) dublett flyched.
Item, j peche coller fatten caffe.
Item, Tafoes robe.
Item, j murey robe with sfeves.
Item, j blewe robe with sfeves.
Item, j oren taney (orange tawny) robe with sfeves.
Item, j pech collerd half robe.
Item, j lane (long) robe with spangells.
Item, j white & orange taney skarf spangled,
Item, Dides (Dido’s) robe.
Item, iij payer of bafves.
Item, j white tafetie sherte with gowld frenge.
Item, the fryers trufe in Roben Hoode.
Item, j littell gacket for Pygge (Plyche).
Item, j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
Item, j orenge taney vellet gowe (gown) with sylver lace,
   for women.
Item, j black velvet gowne ymbradered with gowld lace.
Item, j yelowe fatten gowne ymbradered with ylck & gowld
   lace, for women.
Item, j greve armer.
Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne.
Item, j payer of crymson fatten Venysiones, layd with
   gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafetie sewte, layd with sylver lace.
Item, j Longeshanks feute.
Item, j orange coller fatten dublett, layd with gowld lace
Item, Harye the v. fatten dublett, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j Spanes caffe dublet of crymson pyncked.
Item, j Spanes gearcken layd with sylver lace.
Item, j wattfhode (watchet) tafetie dublet for a boye.
Item, iij payer of bafves, j whitte, j blewe, of safnett.
Item, j freyers gowne of graye.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS. 253

A Note of all such bookeas as belong to the Stocke, and such as I have bought since the 3d of March, 1598.

Black Jonne. Woman will have her will.
The Umers. Welchman price.
Borbonne. 1 pt of Hercules.
Sturgflaterey. 2 pt of Hercules.
Brunhowle. Pethagores.
Cobluer quen hive. Focaffe.
Frier Pendelton. Elexsander and Lodwicke.
Alls Perce. Blacke Battman.
Read Cappe. 2 p. black Battman.
Roben Hode, 1. 2 pt of Goodwine.
Roben Hode, 2. Mad mans morris.
Phaeyton. Perce of Winchester.
Treangell cockowlls. Vayvode.
Goodwine.

A Note of all suche goodes as I have bought for the Compaynye of my Lord Admirals men, since the 3 of Apryll, 1598, as followeth:

Bowght a damaske cafock garded with velvett 0 18 0
Bowght a payer of paneled round hose of cloth\[whipped with fylke, dranwe out with tasfite,\] 0 8 0
Bowght j payer of long black wollen stockens, 4 15 0
Bowght j black fatten dublett
Bowght j payer of round houffe pane of velle-
vett
Bowght a robe for to goo invifebell 3 10 0
Bowght a gown for Nembia
Bowght a dublett of whitt fatten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hose of cloth of sylver, the panes layd with gowld lace 7 0 0
Bowght of my sonne v fewtes 20 0 0
Bowght of my sonne iiiij fewtes 17 0 0

In the folio manuscript already mentioned I have found notices of the following plays, and their several authors:


Jan.

4 "The best for comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Dr. Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowleye, once a rare scholler of learned Pembroke

*Phaeton,* by Thomas Dekker.

*The World runs upon Wheels,* by G. Chapman.

Feb. 1597-8.

*The first part of Robin Hood,* by Anthony Mundy.

*The second part of the downfall of earl Huntington,* surnamed Robin Hood, by Anthony Mundy, and Henry Chettle.

*A woman will have her will,* by William Haughton.

*The Miller,* by Robert Lee.

"*A booke wherein is a part of a Welchman,!*" by Michael Drayton and Henry Chettle.


*The famous wars of Henry the First and the Prince of Wales,* by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.

Earl Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maiéter Edwardes, one of her Majesties chappell, eloquent and witty John Lily, Lodge, Caffeyne, Greene, Shakfpeare, Thomas Nashe, Anthony Mundye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." *Wits Treasury, being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth,* by Francis Meres, 1598, p. 283. The latter writer, Henry Chettle, is the person whose testimony with respect to our poet's merit as an actor has been already produced. Chettle, it appears, wrote singly, or in conjunction with others, not less than thirty plays, of which one only (*Huffiman's Tragedy*) is now extant.

5 In the following month I find this entry:

"Lent unto the company, the 4 of February 1598, to discharge Mr. Dicker owt of the counter in the powitrey, the some of fortie shillinges, I fay dd [delivered] to Thomas Downton, xxxxs."

6 In a subsequent page is the following entry: "Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 18 of Novemb. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chettle, upon the mending of the first part of Robert Hood, the sum of x's." And afterwards—"For mending of Robin Hood for the corte."

This piece and its second part have hitherto, on the authority of Kirkman, been falsely ascribed to Thomas Heywood.

7 Printed in 1616, under the title of *Englishmen for my money,* or a woman will have her will

8 The only notice of this poet that I have met with, except what is contained in these sheets, is the following: "Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 10 of March 1599, [1600] to lend Mr. Haughton out of the clynke, the some of x's.

9 Perhaps *The Valiant Welchman,* printed in 1615.

1 There was a play on this subject written by R. Davenport, and acted by the king's company in 1624; as appears by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. Perhaps it was also the old play new-modelled. It was afterwards (1660) entered on the Stationers' books by a knavish bookfeller, and ascribed to Shakspeare.

Subjoined to the account of this play is the following article: "Lent at that time unto the company, for to spend at the reading of that booke at the sonee [Sun] in new Fifth Street, vs."
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Earl Goodwin and his three sons, by Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, and Robert Wilfon.

The second Part of Goodwin, &c. by Michael Drayton.

Pierce of Exton, by the same four authors.

April 1598.


The first part of Black Batman of the North, by Henry Chettle.

The second part of Black Batman, by Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilfon.

May 1598.

The first part of Hercules,

The second part of Hercules,

Phocas,

Pythagoras,

Alexander and Lodowick,

Love Prevented, by Henry Porter.

The funeral of Richard Cordclion, by Robert Wilfon, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton.

June 1598.

The Will of a Woman, by George Chapman.

The Mad Man’s Morris, by Robert Wilfon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Hannibal and Hermes, by Robert Wilfon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

July 1598.

Valentine and Orfon, by Richard Hathwaye, and Anthony Mundy.

Pierce of Winchester, by Thos. Dekker, Robert Wilfon, and Michael Drayton.

The Play of a Woman, by Henry Chettle.

The Conquest of Brute, with the first finding of the Bath, by John Daye, Henry Chettle, and John Singer.

Aug.

2 “Lent unto Thomas Dowton the 11 of April 1598, to bye tafftice to macke a rochet for the bishoppe in earle Goodwine, xxiiijs.”

3 I suppose a play on the subject of K. Richard II.

4 “Lent unto the company, the 16 of Maye 1598, to bye v boockes of Martin Slather, called 2 ptes of Herculus, & focus, and pethagores, and alyxander and lodieck, which last booke he hath not yet delyvered, the some of viii.” He afterward received 20 s. more on delivering the play last named.—He was a player, and one of the Lord Admirals Servants.

These plays, we have already seen, had been acted some years before. It appears from various entries in this book, that the price of an old play, when transferred from one theatre to another, was two pounds.

1 I find in a subsequent page, “Lent unto Sam. Rowley, the 12 of Desember, 1598, to bye divers thinges for to macke cottes for gyants in Brute, the some of xxx.”
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Aug. 1598. Hot anger foom cold, by Henry Porter, Henry Chettle; and Benjamin Jonfon.


Chance Medly, by Robert Wilfon, Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Deckker.

Cailines Conspiracy, by Robert Wilfon, and Henry Chettle.

Vayvoode, by Thomas Downton.

Worfe afeared than hurt, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.

Sept. 1598. The First Civil Wars in France, by the fame authors.

The Second Part of the Civil Wars in France, by the fame.

The Third Part of the Civil Wars of France, by the fame.

The Fountain of new Fashions, by George Chapman.

Mutmutius Donwallow, by William Rankins.

Connan, Prince of Cornwall, by Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Nov. 1598. ’Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver, by Henry Chettle.

Dec. 1598. War without blows and Love without fuit, by Thomas Heywood. In a subfequent entry “—— Love without strife.”

The Second Part of the Two Angry Women of Abington, by Henry Porter.


Frier 2

Thomas Heywood had written for the stage in 1596, for in another page I find—“Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto them [the Lord Admiral’s Servants] for Hawodes booke, xxx s.” From another entry in the same page it appears that Fletcher wrote for the stage to early as in the year 1596. “Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto Martyn [Martin Slaughter] to fetch Fletcher, vis.” Again, ibidem: “Gave the company to give Fletcher, and the have promised me payment,—xxx s.”—Heywood was in the year 1598 an hireling, by which name all the players who were not sharers, were denominated. They received a certain sum by the week. In Mr. Henflowe’s book the following article occurs:

“Memorandum, that this 25 of Marche, 1598, Thomas Hawoode came and hiered him falle with me as a covenanted servante for ij yeares, by the receveng of ij fyngell pence, according to the statute of Winchefter, and to beginne at the daye above written, and not to playe any wher publike abowt lundon, not whille these ij yeares he expired, but in my howfe. Yf he do, then he doth forfett unto me by the receveng of this ii d. fortie poundes. And witnes to this, Anthony Monday, William Borne,
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS

Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford, by Thos. Downton, and Samuel Redly.

Æneas' Revenge, with the tragedy of Polyphemus, by Henry Chettle.

The Two Merry Women of Abington 3, by Henry Porter.

The Four Kings.

March 1598-9.

The Spencers, by Henry Porter.

Orestes' Furies, by Thomas Dekker.

June 1599.

Agamemnon, by Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker.

Bear a brain, by Thomas Dekker.

Aug. 1599.

The Poor Man's Paradise, by Wm. Haughton.

The Stepmother's Tragedy, by Henry Chettle.


Nov. 1599.

The Tragedy of John Cox of Colmiston, by Wm. Haughton and John Day.

The Borne, Gabriel Spencer, Thomas Downton, Robert Shave, Richard Jones, Richard Alleyn."

William Borne, alias Bird, a dramatick poet, whose name frequently occurs in this manuscript, was likewise an hireling, as is ascertained by a memorandum, worth transcribing on another account:

"Memorandum, that the 10 of August, 1597, Wm. Borne came and offered him sealfe to come and play with my lord admiralles men at my house called by the name of the Rose, setewate one [on] the bank, after this order followings. He hath received of me ijd. upon and [an] assumfett to forsett unto me a hundred markes, of lafull money of Ingland, yf he do not performe thes thinges following; that is, presentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come & to playe with my lorde admiralles men at my howse afterfayd, & not in any other howffe publick about london, for the space of ij yeares beinge imediately after this refraynt is receiled by the lordes of the counsell, which refraynt is by the meanes of playinge the Yeve of Dogs [I.e of Dogs]. Yf he do not, then he forsetts this asumpfet afore, or elts not. Witness to this E. Alleyn & Robtine.""

The slipend of an hireling is ascertained by the following memorandum:

"Memorandum, that the 27 of Jewley 1597, I hearyed Thomas Hearne with ij pence for to servfe me ij yeares in the qualetic of playenge, for free shillinges a week for one yeare, and vi. viii. d. for the other yere, which he hath covenanted himsealfe to servfe me, & not to depart from my company till thes ij yeares is ended. Witness to this, John Synger, James Donfton, Thomas Towne.

3 The note relative to this play is worth preferving. "Lent unto Hariey Porter, at the request of the company, in earnest of his booke called ij merey wemen of abington, the som of forty scellengs, and for the refayte of that money he gave me his faithfull promise that I shold have alle his booke which he wrrtte ether him selfe or with any other, which som was dd. [delivered] the 28th of february 1598."
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

The second part of Henry Richmond, by Robert Wilfon.*
The Tragedy of Thomas Merry, by William Haughton, and John Day.

Dec. 1599.
Patient Grissell, by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.
The Arcadian Virgin, by Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.

Jan. 1599-1600.
The Italian Tragedy, by John Day.
Jugurtha, by William Boyle.
Truth's Supplication to Candlelight, by Tho. Dekker.
The Spanish Morris, by Thomas Dekker, Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
Damon and Pythias, by Henry Chettle.

March. 1599-1600.
The Seven Wise Misters, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day.

April 1600.
Ferrex and Porrex, by Wm. Haughton.
The English Fugitives, by the same.
The Golden As and Cupid and Psyche, by Thomas Dekker, John Daye, and Henry Chettle.
The Wooing of Death, by Henry Chettle.
Alice Pierce.
Strange news out of Poland, by William Haughton, and —— Pett.

June 1600.
The second part of the fair Conflance of Rome, by the same.

December 1600.
Robin Hood's Penn'orths, by Wm. Haughton.
Hannibal and Scipio, by Richard Hathwaye, and William Rankins.

Feb.

* For this piece the poet received eight pounds. The common price was six pounds.

5 Here and above, (see Damon and Pythias) we have additional instances of old plays being re-written. There was a dramatick piece by Lord Buckhurd and Thomas Norton, with the title of Ferrex and Porrex, printed in 1570. Damon and Pythias, by Richard Edwards, was printed in 1582.
EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Feb. 1600-1. The Second Part of Thomas Stroude, by William Haughton, and John Day. 7


All is not gold that glisters, by Samuel Rowley, and Henry Chettle.

April 1601. The Conquest of the West Indies, by Wentworth Smith, William Haughton, and John Day.

Sebastian king of Portugal, by Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

The Conquest of the West Indies, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

The Third Part of Thomas Stroude, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

The Conqueror of the Indies, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Third Part of Thomas Stroude, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

The honourable life of the humorous earl of Gloster, with his conquest of Portugal, by Anthony Wadefon.


The proud woman of Antwerp, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Second Part of Thomas Dough, by John Day, and William Haughton.

Sept. 1601. The Orphan's tragedy, by Henry Chettle.


The Six Clothiers of the west, by Richard Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith, and Wm. Haughton.

The Six Clothiers of the West, by Richard Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith, and Wm. Haughton.

The

6 This play appears to have been sometimes called Thomas Stroude, and sometimes The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green. See the title-page of that play.

7 "Paid unto John Daye, at the apoyntment of the company, the 2 of maye 1601, after the playing of the 2 parte of Stroude, the same of x. s."

8 "Layd out at the apoyntment of my sone and the company, unto haray chettle, for the alterynge of the booke of carnowlle Wolleff, the 28 of June 1601, the sone of xx s." I suspect, this play was not written originally by Chettle.

9 So called in one place; in another The First Part of Cardinal Wolsey. It was not produced till some months after the play written or altered by Chettel. Thirty-eight pounds were expended in the dresses, &c. for Chettel's play; of which sum twenty-five shillings were paid for velvet and mackynge of the docters gowne. The two parts of Cardinal Wolsey were performed by the earls of Worcester's servants.
The Second Part of the Six Clothiers, by the fame.  
Nov. 1601.  
Too good to be true, by Henry Chettle, Rich.  
Hathwaye, and Wentworth Smith.  
Judas, by William Haughton, Samuel Rowley 1,  
and William Borne.  
The Spanish Fig.  
Apr. 1602.  
Malcolm king of Scots, by Charles Maffey.  
May 1602.  
Love parts frie dsbship, by Henry Chettle, and  
Wentworth Smith.  
The Second Part of Cardinal Wolsey 2, by Henry  
Chettle.  
The Bristol Tragedy, by John Day 3.  
Tobias, by Henry Chettle.  
Jeffha, by Henry Chettle.  
Two Harpies, by Dekker, Drayton, Middleton,  
Webster, and Mundy.  
July 1602.  
A Danish Tragedy, by Henry Chettle.  
The Widow's Charm 2, by Anthony Mundy.  
A Medicine for a Curfd Wife, by T. Dekker.  
Sept. 1602.  
William Cartwright, by William Haughton.  
Felmelanco, by Henry Chettle, and —— Robinson.  
Jefhua, by Samuel Rowley.  
Oct. 1602.  
Randall earl of Chester, by T. Middleton 5.  
Nov. 1602.  
As merry as may be, [acted at court] by J. Daye,  
Wentworth Smith, and R. Hathwaye.  
Alleke Galles, by Thomas Heywood, and Went-  
worth Smith.  
Marshal Ofrick, by Thomas Heywood, and  
Wentworth Smith.  

1 This author was likewise a player, and in the same situation with  
Heywood, as appears from the following entry:  
"Memorandum, that the 16 of November, 1598, I hired Charles  
Maffey and Samuel Rowley, for a year and as much as to fastide,  
[Shrovetide] bezenynge at the day above written, after the statute of  
Wincheister, with ij styngell penye; and forther they have covenanted  
with me to playe in my howse and in no other howse (dewringle the  
tyme) publick but in mine: ye they do without my consent to forfitt  
to me xxxx lb. a pece. Witness Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe,  
Edw. Jubye."  
2 "Lent unto Thomas Dowton, the 18th of May, [1602] to buy  
maskynge anycke fewts for the 2 parte of Carnoville Wollsey, the some  
of iiij lb. vs.— 27 of may, to bye Wm. Somers cotte, and other thinges,  
the some of iiij lb.  
3 Probably The Fair Maid of Bristol, printed in 1605.  
4 Perhaps the play afterwards called The Puritan Widow.  
5 Probably his play called The Mayor of Queenborough.
The Three Brothers, a tragedy, by Wentworth Smith.

Lady Jane, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Wentworth Smith, and John Webster.

The Second part of Lady Jane, by Thomas Heywood, John Webster, Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

Christmas comes but once a year, by T. Dekker.

The overthrow of Rebels.

The Black Dog of Newgate, by Richard Hathwaye, John Day, Wentworth Smith, and another poet.

The second part of the same, by the same.

The Blind eats many a fly, by T. Heywood.


Dec. The Set at Tennis, by Anthony Mundy.

The London Florentine, by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

The second part of the London Florentine, by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

The Tragedy of Hoffman*, by Henry Chettle.

Singer's Voluntary, by John Singer.

The four sons of Amon, by Robert Shawe.


1602-3. The Siege of Dunkirk, by Charles Maffy.

The patient man and base whore, by Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton.

The Italian Tragedy, by Wentworth Smith, and John Day.

Pontius Pilate.

Jane Shore, by Henry Chettle and John Day.

Baxter's Tragedy.

The following notices, which I have reserved for this place, relate more immediately to our author. I have mentioned in a former page, that I had not the smallest doubt that the name of Shakspere, which is printed at length in the title pages of Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, and The London Prodigall, 1605, was affixed to those pieces by a knavish bookseller without any foundation;

* This play was printed in 1631.
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foundation; and am now furnished with indubitable evidence on this subject; for under the year 1599 the following entry occurs in Mr. Henlowl's folio Manucript:

"The 16th of October, 99. Received by me Thos. Downton of Philip Henlowl, to pay Mr. Monday, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Wilson, and Hathway, for The first part of the Lyfe of Sir John Ouldcaflell, and in earnest of the Second Pte, for the use of the company, ten pound, I say received to lb."

Received [Nov. 1599] of Mr. Hinchelo for Mr. Munday and the reste of the poets, at the playinge of Sir John Ouldcaflell the firfte tyme, xs. as a gift.""

Received [Dec. 1599] of Mr. Henlowl, for the use of the company, to pay Mr. Drayton for the second parte of Sir John Ouldcaflell. foure pound, I say received per me Tho. Downton, iiiij li.""

We have here an indisputable proof of a fact which has been doubted, and can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careless about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made answerable for compositions which were not his own, without using any means to undeceive the publick.

The bookfeller for whom the first part of Sir John Ouldcaflell was printed, "as it hath bene lately acted by the Right Honorable the earl of Nottingham Lord High Admirall of England his servants," was Thomas Pavier, who however had the modesty to put only the initial letters of his christian and surname (T.P.) in the spurious title-page which he prefixed to it. In 1602, he entered the old copy of Titus Andronicus on the Stationers books, with an intention (no doubt) to affix the name of Shakfpeare to it, finding that our poet had made some additions to that piece.

To this person we are likewise indebted for the mistake which has so long prevailed, relative to the two old plays entitled The First Part of the Contention between the two famous houses of York and Lancastor, and The true tragedie of Richard Duke of York, which were printed anonymously in 1600, as acted by the earl of Pembroke's Servants, and have erroneously been ascribed to our poet, in consequence of Pavier's reprinting them in the year 1619, and then for the first time fraudulently affixing Shakfpeare's name to them. To those plays, as to Ouldcaflle, he put only the initial letters of his

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4 That this second Part of Sir John Ouldcaflle was performed on the stage, as well as the former, is ascertained by the following entry:

"Dil. [delivered] unto the litle taylor, at the apoyntment of Robert Shawe, the 12 of marche, 1599, [1600] to macke thinges for the 2 ste of ouldcaflle, some of xxx s."

5 See the Dissertation on the Three Parts of K. Henry VI. in Vol. IX.
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his christian and surname. For him likewise The Yorkshire Tragedy, was printed in the year 1668, and our poet's name affixed to it.

The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, published in 1602, and ascribed to W. S. and The Puritan Widow, which was published in 1607, with the same initial letters, were probably written by Wentworth Smith, a dramatic writer whose name has so often occurred in the preceding pages, with perhaps the aid of Anthony Mundy, or some other of the same fraternity. Locrine, which was printed in 1595, as newly set forth, overseen, and corrected by W. S. was probably revised by the same person.

It is extremely probable from the register of dramatick pieces in a former page, that Cardinal Wolsey had been exhibited on the stage before our poet produced him in K. Henry VIII. To the list of plays written by Shakspeare upon subjects which had already been brought upon the scene, must also be added Troilus and Cressida, as appears from the following entries:

"April 7, 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Decker, & harcy cheattel, in earnest of ther booke called Troyeles and Crefeda, the sone of iii lb."

"Lent unto harcy cheattel, & Mr. Dickers, in pte of payment of their booke called Troyelles & Cresseda, the 16 of April, 1599, xx s."

I suspect the authors changed the name of this piece before it was produced, for in a subsequent page are the following entries:

"Lent unto Mr. Decker and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earnest of a booke called Troyles and Crefada, the sone of xx s." In this entry a line is drawn through the words Troyelles and Crefeda, and "the tragedie of Agamemnon" written over them.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, the 30 of maye 1599, in fulle payment of the booke called the tragedie of Agamemnon, the sone of iii li. v s. — to Mr. Decker, and harcy Chettell."

"Paid unto the Master of the Revells man for lycenfying of a booke called The Tragedie of Agamemnon the 3 of June, 1599, vii s."

We have seen in the list of plays performed in 1593-4 by the servants of the earl of Suffex, the old play of Titus Andronicus, in which on its revival by the king's servants, our author was induced, for the advantage of his own theatre, to make some alterations, and to add a few lines. The old play of
of K. Henry VI. which was played with such success in 1591, he without doubt touched in the same manner, in consequence of which it appeared in his works under the title of the First Part of King Henry VI. How common this practice was, is proved by the following entries made by Mr. Hemstowe.

"Lent unto the companye, the 17 of August, 1602, to pay unto Thomas Deckers, for new adycionas to Owildecafell, the some of xxx s."

"Lent unto John Thane, the 7 of september, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his adycionas in Owildecafell, the some of x s."

"Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 14 of desember, 1600, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his paynes in Fayeton, [Phaeton] some of x s. For the corte."

"Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 22 of desember, 1601, to geve unto Thomas Decker, for altering of Fayton, [Phaeton] for the corte, xxx s."

"Pd. unto Thomas Deckers, at the apoyntment of the company, the 16 of january 1601, towards the altering of Tasso, the some of xx s.

"Lent unto my sonne E. Alleyn, the 7 of november, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for mending of the playe of Tasso, the some of xxx s.

"Lent unto Mr. Birde, the 4 of December, 1602, to paye unto Thomas Deckers, in p of payment for Tasso, the some of xx s.

These two old plays of Phaeton and Tasso's Melancholy, we have seen in a former page, had been exhibited some years before.

"Lent unto the company, the 22 of november, 1602, to paye unto William Birde, and Samuel Rowley, for ther adycions in Doctor Faustes, the some of iii lb."

"Pd. unto Thomas Hewode, the 20 of september, [1602] for the new adycions of Cutting Dick, the some of xx s."

The following curious notices occur, relative to our poet's old antagonist, Ben Jonson; the last two of which furnish a proof of what I have just observed with respect to Titus Andronicus, and the First Part of King Henry VI.; and the last article ascertains that he had the audacity to write a play, after our author, on the subject of K. Richard III.

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnson, player, the 22 of July, 1597, in redy mony, the some of fower poundes, to be payd y again whensoever ether I or my sonne [Edw. Alleyn] shall demand y. I say iiij lb.

"Witness E. Alleyn, & John Synger."

"Lent
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"Lent unto Bengemen Johnstone, the 3 of desember, 1597, upon a booke which he was to writte for us before crylmas next after the date hereof, which he showed the plotte unto the company: I faye, lent in redy mony unto hime the sone of xx s.

"Lent Bengemyn Johnfon, the 5 of Jenvary, 1597, [1597-8] in redy mony, the sone of v s.

"Lent unto the company, the 18 of aguft, 1598, to bye a booke called Hoate anger fone could, of Mr. Porter, Mr. Cheattell, & Bengemen Johnfon, in full payment, the sone of vi lb.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, & Jewbey, the 23 of octob. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chapmam, one [on] his playe booke, & ij actes of a tragedie of Bengemen's plott, the sone of iij lb.

"Lent unto Wm. Borne, alias Birde, the 10 of aguft, 1599, to lend unto Bengemyn Johnfon and Thomas Dekker, in earnet of ther booke which they are a writing, called Pagge of Plim", the sone of xxxx s.

"Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of septemter, 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnfon, Harey Cheattell, and other jentellmen, in earnet of a playe called Robart the second kinge of Scottes tragedie, the sone of xxxx s.

"Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 23d of septemter, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnfon, in earnet of a booke called the scottes tragedie, the sone of xx s.

"Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25 of septemter, 1601, to lend unto Bengemen Johnfon, upon his writing of his adycians in Jeronimo", of xxxx s."

"Lent unto Bengemy Johnfone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn, and Wm. Birde, the 22 of June, 1602, in earnet

7 These three words are so bllotted, that they can only be guessted at. I find in the next page—1\(a\) Lent unto Mr. Birde, Thomas Downton, and William Jube, the 2 of September 1599, to paye in full payment for a booke called the lamentable tragedie of Pagge of Plymowe, the sone of vi lb.; which should seem to be the fame play; but six pounds was the full price of a play, and the authors are different.—Bird, Downton, and Jube, were all actors.

8 The Span{h} Tragedy, written by Thomas Kyd, is meant, which was frequently called Jeronimo, though the former part of this play expressly bore that name. See the title-page to the edition of the Span{h} Tragedy in 1610, where these new additions are particularly mentioned. Jonfon himself alludes to them in his Cymbia's Revels, 1602: "Another Su{r}d{h} wears down all that are about him, that the old Hieronimo, as it was at f{r}st acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play in Europe."—Mr. Hawkins, when he republished this piece in 1773, printed most of Jonfon's additions to it, at the bottom of the page, as "stolent in by the players."
I insert the following letter, which has been lately found at Dulwich College, as a literary curiosity. It shews how very highly Alleyn the player was esteemed. What the wager alluded to was, it is now impossible to ascertain. It probably was, that Alleyn would equal his predecessors Knell and Bently, in some part which they had performed, and in which his contemporary, George Peel, had likewise been admired.

"Your answer the other night so well pleased the gentlemen, as I was satisfied therewith, though to the hazard of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to prejudice Peele's credit, neither wold it, though it pleased you so to excuse it. But being now grown farther in question, the partie affected to Bently scornynge to win the wager by your deniall, hath now given you libertie to make choyce of any one play that either Bently or Knell plaide; and leaft this advantage agree not with your mind, he is contented both the plaic and the tyme shalbe referred to the gentlemen here present. I see not how you canne any waie hurt your credit by this action: for if you excell them, you will then be famous; if equall them, you win both the wager and credit; if short of them, wee mufl and will faie, Ned Allen still.

Your friend to his power,

W. P.

"Deny mee not, sweet Ned; the wager's downe,
"And twice as muche commande of me or myne;
"And if you wynne, I sware the half is thine,
"And for an overplus an English crowne:
"Appoint the tyme, and flint it as you pleas,
"Your labor's gaine, and that will prove it eafe."

The two following letters, which were found among Mr. Henflowe's papers, ascertain the low state of the dramatick poets in his time. From the former of them it shoulde seem, that in a few years after the accession of James the First, the price of a play had considerably risen. Neither of them are dated, but I imagine they were written some time between the years 1612 and 1615. Mr. Henflowe died about the 8th of January, 1615-16.

"Mr. Hinchlow,
"I have ever since I saw you kept my bed, being so lame that I cannot stand. I pray, Sir, goe forward with that rea-

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Honorable bargain for The Bellman. We will have but twelve pounds, and the overplus of the second day; whereof I have had ten shillings, and desire but twenty shillings more, till you have three sheets of my papers. Good Sir, consider how for your sake I have put myself out of the assured way to get money, and from twenty pounds a play am come to twelve. Thearfor in my extremity for sake me not, as you shall ever comand me. My wife can acquaint you how infinit great my occasion is, and this shall be sufficient for the receipt, till I come to set my hand to the booke.

Yours at comand,

ROBERT DABORNE."

At the bottom of this letter Mr. Henflowe has written the following memorandum:

"Lent Mr. Daborne upon this note, the 23 of aguft, in earnest of a play called The Bellman of London, xxs."

"To our moft loving friend,
Mr. Phillip Hinchlow,
Esquire, These.

"Mr. Hinchlow,

"You understand our unfortunate extrémitie, and I doe not thinke you so void of christiantie but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you, rather then endanger so many innocent lives. You know there is xl. more at least to be receaved of you for the play. We desire you to lend us vl. of that; which shall be allowed to you; without which wee cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be dispatch’d. It will lofe you xxl. ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, Sir, consider our cafes with humanity, and now give us cause to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Davifon to deliver this note, as well to witnesse your love as our promises, and alwayes acknowledgement to be ever

Your moft thankfull and loving freinds.

NAT. FIELD.

"The money shall be abated out of the money remains for the play of Mr Fletcher and ours.

ROB. DABORNE."
"I have ever found you a true loving freind to mee, and in foe small a suite, it beeing homeoff, I hope you will not faile us.

PHILIP MASSINGER."

Indorsed:
"Received by mee Robert Davison of Mr. Hinchlow, for the ufe of Mr. Dabocerne, Mr. Feeld, Mr. Meffinger, the fome of vl.

ROBERT DAVISON."

The dimensions and plan of the Globe Playhouse, as well as the time when it was built, are ascertained by the following paper. I had conjectured that it was not built before 1596; and we here a confirmation of that conjecture.

"This Indenture made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faie, &c. Between Phillip Henlowe and Edward Allen of the parifhe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentlemen, on thone parte, and Peter Streecte, citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte, WitnefTeth; that whereas the faid Phillip Henlowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the faid Peter Streecte for the erectinge, buildinge, and fettting up of a new House and Stage for a play-howe, in and upon a certeine plott or piece of grounde appoynted oute for that purpofe. scituate and beinge near Goldinge lane in the parifh of Saint Giles without Cripplegate of London; to be by him the faid Peter Streecte or some other sufficient workmen of his prouiding and appoyntment, and att his proper coftes and chardges, (for the confideration hereafter in these presents exprefTed) made, builded, and fett upp, in manner and form following: that is to faie, the frame of the faid howfe to be fett fquare, and to conteine fowerfoore foote of lawful affize everye waie fquare, without, and fiftie five foote of like affize fquare, everye waie within, with a good, fuer, and ftronge foundation of pyles, brick, lyn, and fand, both without and within, to be wrought one foote of affize at the leffe above the ground; and the faide frame to conteine three stories in heighth, the first or lower ftorie to conteine twelve foote of lawful affize in heighth, the second ftorie eleaven foote of lawful affize in heighth, and the third or upper ftorie to conteine nine foote of lawfull affize in heighth. All which stories shall conteine twelve foote and a half of lawful affize in breadth throughoute, besides a juttey forwards in eyther of the
the faid two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful affize; with lower convenient divisions for gentlemens rooms⁹, and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoo-pennie rooms¹; with neceffarie feates to be placed and fett as well in those rooms as throughout all the rest of the galleries of the faid howfe; and with suche like feateares, conveyances, and divisions without and within, as are made and contrived in and to the late-erec~ed playhowfe on the Bancke in the faid parish of Saint Saviours, called the GLOBE; with a fladge and tyreinge-howfe, to be made, erected and sett upp within the faid frame; with a shadowe or cover over the faid fladge; which fladge shall be placed and fett, as alfoe the ftearcases of the faid frame, in Such sorte as is prefigured in a plotte thereof drawn; and which fladge shall conteine in length fortie and three foote of lawfull affize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde² of the faid howfe; the fame fladge to be paled in belowe with good stronge and sufficyent new oken boardes; and likewise the lower storie of the faid frame withinfed, and the fame lower storie to be alfoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pyles: And the faid fladge to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the fladge of the faid Playhouse called the GLOBE; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the faid tireyngehowfe. And the faid frame, fladge, and ftearcases, to be covered with tyle, and to have a sufficien, gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the faid fladge, to fall backwards. And alfoe all the faid frame and the ftearcases thereof to be sufficyently enclosed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens rooms and two-pennie rooms to be fecked with lathe, lyme, and haire; and all the flowers of the faid galleries, stories, and fladge to be boarded with good and sufficien newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, where neede shall be. And the faid howfe, and other things before mentioned to be made and done, to be in all other contrivions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and thinges, effected, finished and done, according to the manner and fation of the faid howfe called the GLOBE; favinge only that all the principall and maine poftes of the faid frame, and fladge forward, shall be square and wrought palafter-wise, with carved proportions called Satiers, to be placed and fett on the topp of every of the fame poftes: and saveinge alfoe that the faid Peter Streete shall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the faid frame, howfe, or fladge,

⁹ What we now call Boxes.
¹ Perhaps the rooms over the boxes; what we now call Balcions.
² The open area in the centre.
fladge, or any part thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor felling any more or other rooms than the gentlemen rooms, twoo-penncie rooms, and fladge; before mentioned, Nowe thereupon the faide Peter Streete doth covenante, promise and graunte for himself, his executors, and administrators, to and with the faid Phillip Henflowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, and the executors, and administrators of them, by these presents, in manner and forme followinge, that is to say; That he the faide Peter Streete, his executors, or assigns, shall and will attis or their owne proper costes and chargeges, well, workman-like, and substantiallly make, erect, fett upp, and fullie fainifie in and by all thinges accordinge to the true meaninge of theire presents, with good fironge and substanceall new tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the faid frame and other works whatsoever in and uppon the faide plotte or parcel of ground, (beinge not by anie authoritie restrayned, and having ingres, egres, and reges to doe the same,) before the five and twentieth daye of Julie, next coming after the date hereof. And shall alfoe att his or their like costes and chargeges provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joyfts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, hairie, fande, nailes, lead, iron, glafs, workmanshipipp and other thinges whatsoever which shall be needful, convenyent and necessarie for the faide frame and works and everie parte thereof: and shall alfoe make all the faide frame in every poynte for scantlings lardger and bigger in affize then the scantlings of the timber of the faide newe-erected howe called The Globe. And alfoe that he the faide Peter Streete shall furthwith, as well by him selfe as by suche other and fe manie workmen as shall be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the faide buildings and workes, and shall in reasonable manner procede therein withoute anie wilfull detracti- on, untill the same shall be fully effected and finished. In Consideration of all which buildings and of all stuff and workmanshipipp thereto belonginge, the said Phillip Henflowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves, their and either of their executors and administrators, doe joynthie and severallie covenante and graunet to and with the faide Peter Streete, his executors and administrators, by their presents, that the said Phillip Henflowe, and Edward Allen, or one of them, or the executors, administrators, or assigns of them or one of them, shall and will well and truelie paie or cause to be paide unto the faide Peter Streete, his executors or assigns, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the faide frame, the full some of Fower hundred and fortie pounds, of lawfull mo-
ney of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is 
to faie, at suche tyme and when as the tymber woork of the 
faide frame shall be rayfed and fett up by the faide 
Peter Streete, his executors or affignes, or within se-
ven daies then next followinge, twooe hundred and twen-
tie poundes; and att suche time and when as the faid frame-
work shalbe fullie effecte and finifhed as is aforesaid, or 
within seaven daies then next followinge, thother twooe 
hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. 
Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the said parties, 
that whatsoever some or somes of money the said Phillip Hen-
lowe, or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors 
or affignes of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver un-
to the faide Peter Streete, his executors or affignes, or anie 
other by his appoyntment or consent, for or concerninge the 
faide woork or anie parte thereof, or anie fluff thereto be-
longinge, before the raifcing and fettung upp of the faide 
frame, shalbe reputed, accepted, taken and accoumpted in 
parte of the firt payment aforesaid of the faid fome of fower 
hundred and fortie poundes; and all fuch fome and somes of 
money as they or anie of them shalbe aforesaid lend or 
deliver betwene the razeing of the faide frame and finifhing 
thereof, and of all the rest of the faid works, shalbe re-
puted, accepted, taken and accoumpted in parte of the laft 
payment aforesaid of the fame fome of fower hundred and 
fortie poundes; anie thingel above said to the contrary no-
withstandinge. In witnefs whereof the parties aforesaid to 
theis present indentures interchangeabley have fett theire 
handes and feales. Yeoven the daie and yeare firft above 
written."