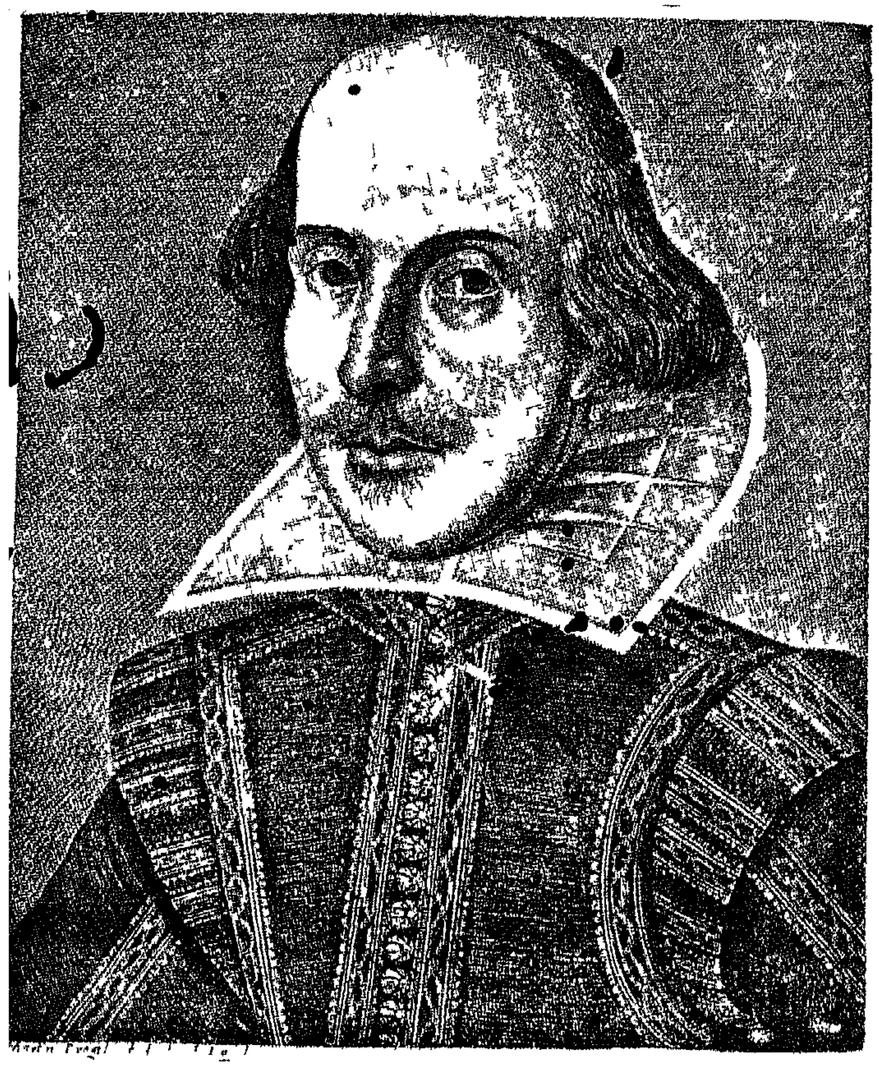
THE STRATFORD BUST



THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

LOOK HERE UPON THIS PICTURE AND ON THIS
THE COUNTERFEIT PRESENTMENT OF TWO BRETHREN

IS THERE A SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM?

WITH A REPLY TO MR. J. M. ROBERTSON AND MR. ANDREW LANG

BY G. G. GREENWOOD, M.P.

LONDON JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD
NEW YORK JOHN LANE COMPANY MCMXVI

Book of Kells

Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, *Edinburgh*

NOTICE TO THE READER

IN this work I have again followed the convenient practice of writing "Shakespeare" where I am speaking of the author of the *Plays and Poems*, and "Shakspere" where I refer to William Shakspere of Stratford (*whether he was or was not the author in question*), except in quotations, where I, of course, follow the originals.

N.B.—This distinction is made for convenience only, and involves no assumption whatever as to the authorship.

I have also, and I trust without offence, in order to avoid circumlocution, occasionally employed the compendious term "Stratfordians" to indicate those who hold the generally received opinion that William Shakspere of Stratford was the author of the *Plays and Poems*, being, of course, the vast majority of readers—those who are not readers I do not take into consideration.

Similarly I have used "Stratfordian" as an epithet denoting such belief, as in the expression "Stratfordian faith."

My references to Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* are to the Illustrated Library edition, 1899.

My references to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines* are to the sixth edition, 1886.

PREFACE

THE following sonnet, from the pen of my friend and colleague, Mr. G. H. Radford, M.P., appeared in *The Academy* of April 4th, 1914:—

"THE 'VINDICATORS' OF SHAKESPEARE"[1]

TO GEORGE GREENWOOD, M.P.

When, Greenwood, you assert that those who write
On Shakespeare's Life invariably place
A heavy structure on a narrow base,
And finding that the facts are few and slight
Indulge conjecture in unmeasured flight—
You state the simple truth, and prove your case.
Indeed, biographers must now efface
The fabulous and bring the truth to light.

But though you are unable to believe
The author of the plays and poems made
The hasty marriage and the philistine will,
And stalked the sawdust stage, I cannot cleave
In twain Ben Jonson's gentle friend who played
In his own comedy of Bobadill.

In the "octave" of this excellent sonnet Mr. Radford does but reiterate, in poetical form, what was written by that distinguished scholar and critic, Mr. Thomas Seccombe, in a review of my book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, to wit that the biographers must now rewrite their "lives"

[1] With reference to my book bearing that title (John Lane).

of "Shakespeare";[1] and if I could think that as the result, or partly as the result, of anything that I have written concerning the immortal bard these "biographers must now efface the fabulous and bring the truth to light," I should feel that, whether or not I am right in my main thesis, I have not written all in vain. But such a consummation, though devoutly to be wished, is, I fear, too good a thing to be hoped for.

With my main thesis, it will be seen, Mr. Radford does not agree. He "cannot cleave in twain Ben Jonson's gentle friend, who played in his own comedy of Bobadill."

> "An apple cleft in two is not more twin
> Than these two creatures."

He does not, I apprehend, look upon the fact that Shakspere of Stratford played a part, as we are told, in *Every Man in His Humour* as in any way evidentiary of the authorship of the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare, but he finds it impossible to conceive that Shakspere (or, if you like, Shakespeare) the actor was not also the author of the immortal works. He cannot picture him *without* the hyphen: Shake-speare, actor-author; Shake-speare, player-poet. He can imagine him only in that dual capacity, and I have no doubt that if he were to "take a division" upon the question he would emerge from the literary lobby with a large majority at his heels. Nevertheless, there are some—and they are, really, not all amenable to the provisions of the Mental Deficiency Act—who are convinced that if the true facts could only

[1] With special reference to the ten critical years of Shakespeare's life, from *twenty-one to thirty-one*, Mr. Seccombe writes: "*The biographers* (as Mr. Greenwood emphasises) tell us that he was busy thus and thus. And their results neither tally among themselves, nor do they explain the 'problem' by *making the Works of Shakespeare correspond adequately, or, indeed, in* any way satisfactorily, with his Life. Let them to it again! And let the biographers begin by confuting Mr. Greenwood. I cannot" (*Daily News, September 9th, 1908*).

be known, it would be found that it was not the player who wrote *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, and *The Tempest*, and *Twelfth Night*, and other such-like "trifles," as Messrs. Heminge and Condell (or whoever was the author of the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the Folio of 1623) style the deathless dramas.[1]

'Now some years ago I endeavoured to set forth, as best I could, the facts, arguments, and considerations which had led me to that heretical way of thinking.[2] I confined myself, as I do now, entirely to the negative case, and said no word in support of any positive hypothesis, "Baconian" or otherwise. My book, if I may judge both by the demand for it, and by certain kindly notices in the Press, has met with a far better reception than I had dared to hope for. Of course, I have not escaped hard knocks, nor was I so foolish as to anticipate such immunity. On the contrary, I was prepared for all the slings and arrows of outraged orthodoxy. But now, after the lapse of some six years, yet another thunderbolt has fallen. As a writer in *The Times* (*Literary Supplement*, April 3rd, 1913) has put it, "Mr. J. M. Robertson, a serious student of literature as well as of politics, with a ready pen, a considerable ratiocinative faculty, and no hampering sense of humour, has descended into the arena and . . . has pro-

[1] Mr. John Hutchinson, late Librarian of the Middle Temple, writes: "It was having to take Shakespeare as a school manual for the study of English which really engendered my first doubts as to his individuality. 'How is it,' I remember saying to myself, 'that a man like this'—that is, like what I had been taught to believe him, and who had had less opportunities than myself of acquiring knowledge—'should know so much more than I—that he should become my teacher, and not only mine but the teacher of all the *scholars* in the world—the man whose definition or use of a word [illegible] all the Dictionaries) was regarded as final, just as Cicero (e.g.) amongst the Latins?' And this set me thinking, and I have been thinking ever since, till I am persuaded that the Stratford man, at any rate, is *not* 'Shakespeare,' whoever else may be." I give this merely as a sample of the way in which this matter strikes some cultivated minds.

[2] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, John Lane, 1908.

duced a volume which for thoroughness, and we must add prolixity, recalls the performances of our Puritan divines."

The idea of that uncompromising Rationalist, Mr. J. M. Robertson, emulating the performances of the Puritan divines is distinctly quaint. But it is against "The Baconian Heresy" that Mr. Robertson's book is nominally directed, wherefore, as the setter-forth of a merely negative argument, I might have fondly hoped to be left in peace, and sitting "on safety's rock,"

E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.

But if I had laid such flattering unction to my soul Mr. Robertson's ponderous tome would have rudely dispelled the delusion. He has aimed quite as many blows at my devoted head as at the cranium of the "crankiest" and most fanatical Baconian of them all, and it is in order to reply to this attack, and also to the courteous and, therefore, perhaps more effective criticism of the late Mr. Andrew Lang, as well as to consider once more, I trust in a reasonable and temperate spirit, the question which I have chosen as the title of this work, that I have ventured, greatly daring, to add yet another volume to the mountainous literature that has accumulated around the immortal name of "Shakespeare."

Well, with Mr. Robertson's controversial methods I deal at the outset of this work,[1] and here I will only say a word more with regard to his *magnum opus* so far as it concerns myself. "It is in regard to the knowledge of law and the classical scholarship which the plays are

[1] I claim to have proved that Mr. Robertson has, in certain instances, been guilty of grave misrepresentation of my arguments (due, as I conceive, to haste induced by pressure of other business), but I need not say that I have made no charge of intentional misrepresentation. Of that, it goes without saying, Mr. Robertson is incapable. He has been so good as to speak of me as his "friend." I heartily reciprocate, and trust such amicable relations may continue—*outside these lists*!

supposed to exhibit that Mr. Robertson makes the most effective use of his method of exhaustive induction." So writes the *Times* reviewer. I wonder how much time he had expended before so writing upon Mr. Robertson's "exhaustive" analogies! What Mr. Robertson attempts to do is to "snow under" the reader by innumerable quotations from writers contemporary with Shakespeare, designed to show (1) that several of such writers, who had no special legal training, made use of legal terms and expressions quite as accurately and effectively as Shakespeare, and (2) that Shakespeare's classical allusions can also be paralleled in the works of such contemporary writers for whom no classical scholarship can be claimed.

"He goes through the alleged quotations from the classics" (I again quote from the reviewer) "and endeavours to show that they are either hackneyed phrases used by other poets and playwrights, or else passages easily accessible in Florio's *Montaigne*, and other books known to have been in Shakespeare's hand," etc. etc. Again I say, I wonder how many readers will have the patience to consider carefully and *seriatim* Mr. Robertson's multitudinous supposed analogies under each of the above heads, and how many of such patient readers will be competent to pronounce an opinion thereon! For myself, I venture to think that the careful and competent reader will find that a large number of Mr. Robertson's citations are, in fact, irrelevant, as showing no real analogy with the Shakespearean quotations whereunto they are compared; and that sometimes they are examples, not of "exhaustive induction," but of positive error, as where Mr. Robertson parallels Shakespeare's use of the words "fine and recovery" by two passages from Dekker and Lorkin in each of which the word "fine" is used with no reference to the transfer of land, but in its ordinary signification of the premium on the grant of a lease, thereby affording us an excellent illustration of the truth

of Lord Campbell's observation that "there is nothing so dangerous as for one not of the craft to tamper with our freemasonry."[1] In other cases this same careful and competent reader will find that Mr. Robertson's analogies, even when they may appear to hold good, are fallaciously applied; as when, for example, after quoting two or three legal expressions from Dekker, let us say, he proceeds to ask, "Was Dekker, then, a lawyer?" Such reasoning has, indeed, cogency as against those, if such there be, who would build up a theory of Shakespeare's legal knowledge upon two or three citations such as Mr. Robertson produces from Dekker; but the contention that Shakespeare had a special knowledge of law, whether it be right or whether it be wrong, is founded upon far wider considerations than this. "Let the galled jade wince, *our* withers are unwrung." But I have dealt with these matters at considerable length further on.[2]

And now a word upon the general question. One cannot but recognise how greatly the position of him who ventures to express heretical views concerning the Shakespearean authorship is prejudiced by the wild utterances of some extreme Baconians — Baconians *enragés*, as I may call them. When, for instance, the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence proclaimed *ex cathedrâ* that indisputable proof that "Bacon is Shakespeare" is revealed by an anagram to be found in "honorificabilitud-initatibus," the merely unorthodox, the mere doubter of the Stratfordian faith, winced to think that the derision provoked by such pronouncement would inevitably react upon his own sceptical, or agnostic, utterances. For what was this anagram which was to settle the question

[1] See chap. II, p. 37.

[2] See chaps. II and III. It will be seen, and I must ask the reader to note the fact, that I have not claimed classical "scholarship" for Shakespeare, nor have I made any attempt to defend the late Dr. Theobald's work, *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays*, against Mr. Robertson's vigorous onslaught.

authoritatively in favour of Bacon for all time? It is, we are told, "a correct Latin hexameter, which reads as follows:—

HI LUDI F. BACONIS NATI TUITI ORBI
(These plays F. Bacon's offspring are preserved for the world.)

Poor Francis Bacon! Such an hexameter is enough to make him turn in his grave. Moreover—and this alone would be sufficient to dispose of the "anagram," which, however, is absurd upon the face of it—Bacon himself never Latinised his name as *Baco*, with genitive *Baconis*, but always as *Baconus*, with genitive *Baconi*,[1] although the form Baco was not unfrequently adopted by editors of his works after his death, as, for instance, on the title-page of the *De Augmentis* published at Leyden in 1645.[2]

But Sir E. Durning-Lawrence's anagram was not altogether original, for in 1897 the late Dr. Isaac Hull Platt of Wallingford, Pennsylvania, had sent a note to *The Conservator* in which he set forth the following anagram discovered by him in the long word from *Love's Labour's Lost*, viz.: *Hi ludi, tuiti sibi, Fr. Bacono nati*, which he said "may be translated: 'These plays, originating with Francis Bacon, are protected for themselves,' or 'entrusted to themselves,'" and this discovery he republished in a little book, of which he kindly sent me a copy, called *Bacon Cryptograms in Shake-Speare* (Boston, 1905). Dr. Hull Platt, therefore, avoided the fatal *Baconis*, but I fear this is the only superiority which his quaint anagram can claim over that of Sir E. Durning-Lawrence.[3]

[1] I pointed this out to Mr. Robertson soon after the publication of Sir E. Durning-Lawrence's *Bacon is Shakespeare*, and he has reproduced the observation at p. 3 of *The Baconian Heresy*.

[2] *Fr. Baconis De Verulam, Angliae Cancellarii, De Augmentis Scientiarum, Lib. ix. Lugd. Batavorum*, 1645.

[3] At p. 153 of his book, Sir E. Durning-Lawrence presents us with a copy of the title-page of *Bacon's History of Henry VII.*, published in 1642 (plate xxxv.), which he tells us is a picture of "the Virgin holding the salt

It is, alas, under the shadow of such things as these that I am condemned to publish the present unorthodox work, in the unhappy knowledge that all "heretics" will be liable to be "tarred with the same brush." Well, I must bear it with such philosophy as I can summon to my aid.[1]

Equally to be deplored is the absurd and indiscriminate abuse which is now constantly showered upon the memory of Francis Bacon by certain Shakespeariolaters in high dudgeon at the claims made for that great man by modern "Baconians." It really seems as though the fact that these claims have been made has so provoked some of the orthodox of the Stratfordian faith that they would fain relieve their feelings by maliciously venting their spleen upon poor Lord St. Alban, with entire disregard of historical justice, as though he were himself to blame for a wicked conspiracy to appropriate to himself the glory of the Shakespearean authorship! I have remarked this ridiculous tendency over and over again of late. Let me give one example. I have before me an article headed "Shakespeare Himself Again"! by Richard C. Jackson, Chairman and Warden (*pro tem.*) of London's National

box," and from which he extracts much cryptic "Baconian" meaning. The picture obviously represents Fortune, turning her wheel with her right hand, and holding in her left a funereal urn (cf. Horace's "funeribus vertere triumphos") and what I take to be a bridle, not "without a bit," as Sir E. Durning-Lawrence tells us, but *with* a bit. The goddess is standing upon a stone globe, *saxum globosum, cui instat apud Pacuvium.* See Orelli on Horace, Car. I. xxxv. 18–20, and *Henry V.* Act III. Sc. vi. 29–31.

[1] I would here acknowledge the very fair and courteous criticism of my book by Mr. H. Chisholm, the editor of the last (eleventh) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, who in an article on "The Shakespeare-Bacon Theory" (Vol. 24, p. 786) writes: "What may be considered the more reasonable way of approaching the question is shown in Mr. G. Greenwood's *Shakespeare Problem Restated* (1908), in which the alleged difficulties of the Shakespearean authorship are competently presented without recourse to any such extravagancies." Of the short criticism which follows, I, certainly, have no right to complain, neither, I suppose, am I entitled to complain that it is included in a consideration of "The Shakespeare-Bacon Theory"!

Memorial to Shakespeare, as re-stated by the *Athenæum* of November 6th, 1909. From this article I extract the following gems: "The true character of Francis Bacon is black enough; why rise to intensify it?" "England's one scoundrel Lord Chancellor, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans" (*sic*)[1]—"this bundle of villainy"—and so forth and so forth. All this is lamentable in the extreme. Bacon's character was not faultless, but if he be considered with an unprejudiced mind, and in the light of the times in which he lived, I am convinced that a just and fair-minded historian will equally repudiate Pope's malevolent line and Macaulay's warped, and, as I think, uncritical estimate, and rather subscribe to the impartial judgment pronounced by that honest writer, Professor John Nichol.[2] In any case, it hardly becomes those "Shakespeareans" who are constantly appealing to Ben Jonson's testimony in support of the Stratfordian tradition to set aside as of

[1] This instructor of the masses not only calls Bacon "Viscount St. Albans," but animadverts on the fact that he is "commonly spoken of *by the vulgar* in the twentieth century as 'Lord Bacon,'" although "in a general way, he was *never* spoken of as Lord Bacon!" He is doubly misinformed. Francis Bacon was not "Viscount St. Albans," but "Viscount St. Alban," and he was constantly spoken of by his contemporaries as "Lord Bacon," albeit there was "no such creation in our Peerage," his chambers in Gray's Inn being known as "Lord Bacon's Lodgings." But when, commenting on a statement of Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, this critic writes, "Sir Edwin tells you and I," we are forced to conclude that his grammar is no better than his history. Also Bacon's title, to style him "Lord St. Albans" may no doubt be considered a venial offence, but it is certainly erroneous. Mr. Spedding, for example, tells us that "on the morning of the 7th of January (1620–1) Norroy king-at-arms had been sent for to consult about the arrangements for his (Bacon's) investiture with the title of Viscount St. Alban" (*Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. VII, p. 166), and in a letter to James I, Bacon writes thanking the King for "first making me Baron Verulam, and now Viscount St. Alban" (*Ibid.*, p. 168). Bacon, after this title was conferred upon him, habitually signed himself "Fr. St. Alban."

[2] See *Francis Bacon: His Life and Philosophy*, by John Nichol, Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow, 1901.

It should, by the way, be added to my comments concerning John Davies's much-quoted epigram to "Mr. Will Shakespeare" (see p. 353 and Appendix A) that this cryptic writer's authority may equally be claimed in

no account Ben's deliberate estimate of Bacon—as splendid a eulogium as was ever pronounced by man on his fellow-man, and committed to writing after Bacon's death by one who wrote from the intimate knowledge of many years. I say this, not because I hold any brief for Bacon, but merely in the interest of historical justice. It is deplorable that truth should be so perverted because some "Shakespeareans" are out of temper. These thoughtless and ill-balanced disparagers of one of England's greatest sons—who "build their evils on the graves of great men"—would do well to remember the fine lines of Tennyson, who, though he would not hear a word against the orthodox Shakespearean faith, yet wrote of those "two godlike faces"—

> "Plato the wise, and large-brow'd Verulam
> The first of those who know.

As less serious, but perhaps quite as foolish, example of this not very edifying irritation which prevails amongst some of the self-constituted priests of the Stratfordian shrine, is to be found in the appellation, "Defamers of Shakespeare," employed to designate those who, while they yield to none in their profound appreciation of the immortal works, have conceived doubts as to whether player "Will," as Mr. Andrew Lang has styled him, was in fact the author of the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare. The epithet has been most absurdly applied to my humble self, amongst others, though how I can be said to

support of the proposition that Bacon was a poet, and a good one. I refer to his sonnet to Bacon (*circ.* 1610) and particularly the lines—

> "And to thy health in *Helicon* to drink
> As to her *Bellamour* the *Muse* is wont:
> For thou dost her embosom; and dost use
> Her company for sport twixt grave affairs.
> . . . . . .
> My Muse thus notes thy worth in ev'ry lane!
> *With ink wch thus she sugars; so to shine.*"

have defamed the deathless bard, for whom I have expressed unbounded admiration, I find it difficult to imagine. No, as I have already written, "the real defamers of 'Shakespeare' are the men who wrote, and the men who have repeated with approval, those preposterous lines which tell us that the poet who is not of an age but for all time,

> For gain not glory, winged his roving flight
> And grew immortal in his own despite.

And it was the same man, we may remember (and he has been followed by all the *servum pecus* of literature), who, like a wasp stinging among flowers, left on record of another immortal of that golden age the malignantly perverted judgment that he was

> The wisest, brightest, *meanest* of mankind.[1]

Have I, then, "defamed" Shakspere the Stratford player? I have dealt with that foolish and spiteful charge later on. I will not waste more words upon such a childish accusation.

And now, if any reviewer should do me the honour to notice this work, let me humbly beg him to avoid such a description as the following, which experience has taught me I may expect to find in some few (very few, I am glad to think) highly "orthodox" journals:—

"This is another Baconian book. The author thinks that Shakespeare was not written by Shakespeare, but by another gentleman of the same name! [That time-honoured joke is never musty.] He believes that there were two Shakespeares, the actor and the poet, distinct, but two Dromios as like as two peas. He bases his argument upon the difference between the actor's name 'Shakspere' and the poet's name 'Shakespeare'; in fact, that is the very keystone of his arch. He maintains that

[1] See *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, p. 32.

no one not well born and well educated could write works of genius," and so forth and so forth.

All these things have been actually said in serious and, presumably, sober print concerning *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, and they are all ludicrously untrue. Those who may do me the honour to read this work will find that it is *not* a "Baconian book"; that so far from thinking that "Shakespeare" was written by "another gentleman of the same name," my suggestion is that the man who signed the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* in the name "Shakespeare" was himself the bearer of an entirely different name, whatever that name may have been; that I have, therefore, lent no colour to the ridiculous idea that there were "two Dromios," Shakespeare the author, and Shakespeare the actor; that I do, indeed, attach some importance to the fact that there is much difference both in spelling and sound between the name "Shaksper" (or "Shakspere") and "Shakespeare" (or "Shake-speare"), but to describe any argument which I have based upon this difference as "the keystone of the arch" is to use the language of wild and preposterous exaggeration.[1]

One word more to bring these prefatory remarks to a conclusion. It will perhaps be said that this work, whether or not there be any reasonable grounds to doubt the generally received tradition concerning the Shakespearean authorship, is but a waste of time. It may be so. I am not concerned to deny it. I will only say that there is a luring fascination about the question, and that during long hours, when I have been unfortunately incapacitated for work except such as could be done in the quiet of home, I have found it a solace and a relief.

[1] I have pointed out (e.g.) that "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare" makes an excellent *nom de plume*, which cannot be said of "Shaksper" or "Shakspere" (see chap. IX). As to the last proposition of my hypothetical reviewer I have dealt with it fully in chapter VI on "Professor Dryasdust and 'Genius'."

Moreover, when we find among the "orthodox" a distinguished writer like Mr. Robertson lecturing us with the same air of *ex cathedrâ* infallibility as was assumed by the late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence among the "heretics," it is perhaps well that the spirit of opposition should be aroused. I am very sensible that the reply to him and others which I have attempted in the following pages is not as adequate as it might be made by abler hands. *The subject is one of immense magnitude and* "magnificent distances," and though I have written at considerable length I have perforce left much unsaid, many vistas of argument unexplored. But I venture to hope that I have at least brought forward some considerations which may emphasise in this controversy the wisdom of that often repeated but too frequently neglected maxim, *audi alteram partem.* Had I been some thirty years younger I might have added, *magna est veritas et praevalebit.* Alas, age and experience have rudely shaken my faith in that optimistic adage. But since "the truth will sometimes leak out, even in an affidavit," let us hope that in this matter also, as in all others, it may ultimately prevail.

Meantime I am much struck by the fact that all the recent much-paraded "new Shakespeare discoveries," whether they be records at Belvoir concerning Burbage and "Mr. Shakespeare," and their not extravagantly paid work "about my Lorde's impreso"; or those unearthed by Dr. Wallace with reference to "Will's" dealings with the "tire-maker" at his lodgings in "Muggle Street," and the paltry case of "Bellott *v.* Mountjoy"; or, again, with reference to Shakspere's shares, with the other "deserving men," in the Globe theatre, have brought to light nothing whatever to support the hypothesis that the player was the immortal poet and dramatist, but, when considered in the light of reason and common sense, appear rather to leave the very contrary impression upon the impartial mind.

I submit, therefore, that there is scope for further

research, further investigation, and further consideration before this question can be dismissed from the minds of thinking men as the mere craze of perverted fanatics, and I venture to hope that the present work will prove a useful contribution to the discussion, even though the reader may not find himself able to adopt the sceptical conclusion at which I have arrived.[1]

[1] As everybody knows, such is the dearth of evidence and trustworthy information concerning "Shakespeare" that unscrupulous persons have frequently, from time to time, endeavoured to supplement it by forged documents, faked portraits, stories of their own invention, and other dishonest means. One is often confronted by some statement concerning "Will" of Stratford, perhaps published in a widely read newspaper, which is at once accepted as true by the uncritical, and the refutation of which requires no little trouble and investigation. As a sample of such a statement—not a very pernicious one, but a mere invention of some perverted imagination—I will present the reader with the following, which appeared in the *Evening Standard* of March 15th, 1913, and is therefore quite a "modern instance":—

"A tombstone in the old Masonic Graveyard at Fredericksburg, Virginia, records that Edward Heldon, one of Shakespeare's pall-bearers, is buried there. The inscription on the stone is as follows: 'Here lies the body of Edward Heldon, Practitioner in Physics and Chirurgery. Born in Bedfordshire, England, in the year of our Lord 1542. Was contemporary with and one of the pall-bearers of William Shakespeare of the Avon. After a brief illness his spirit ascended in the year of our Lord 1618, aged 76.' This gravestone was discovered lying flat on the ground, under a tangle of weeds and creepers, with the upper corner clipped off and the old English letters dim but traceable."

A cutting from the paper containing this remarkable paragraph was forwarded to me by a friend, who apparently considered it a matter of some interest and importance. I pointed out to him that the story was *prima facie* very improbable. Edward Heldon (whose "spirit ascended . . . . aged 76") is represented as being one of Shakespeare's pall-bearers at the age of 74. He then either returns to Virginia or goes there for the first time, and dies there at the age of 76. Perhaps he just came over to Stratford for the funeral! What his connection was with "William Shakespeare of the Avon" (!) we do not know. But in order to settle the matter if possible I sent the cutting to my friend, Mr. Thomas Harned, of Philadelphia, Pa., who was so kind as to make inquiries at Fredericksburg, in reply to which he received the following letter from the Clerk of the City Council of that place:—

"SIR,—Yours of the 2nd inst. to hand, and in reply will say that I have looked through the Masonic Cemetery here, as well as all the old cemeteries

of the City, and I can find no trace of any such stone as you describe in the extract sent. *The Masonic Cemetery here does not date back further than* 1752 *at the latest* [an obvious slip for *earliest*] *as the Lodge here was not organized until* 1752, and if such an inscription as you describe was on a stone the remains would necessarily have been reinterred. It is my opinion, after investigation, that such a statement must have been manufactured and not taken from facts, as I made a careful examination of all the stones in the Masonic Cemetery, accompanied by one of the best-informed Masons in the State, and could find nothing to corroborate the statement."

(Signed) "A. G. Billingsley, Clerk, City Council."

I have thought it worth while to give this instance of a "manufactured" piece of evidence, "not taken from facts," just to show how necessary it is for the Shakespearean student to be constantly on his guard against the "many inventions" of certain unscrupulous members of the "orthodox" faith.

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IS THERE A SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM?

IS THERE A SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM?

CHAPTER I

MR. ROBERTSON'S CONTROVERSIAL METHODS

WHEN, in the summer of 1908, I published my book *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, through the good offices of Mr. John Lane, my apprehension, indeed I may say my expectation, was that, except for some hostile and contumelious reviews, it would be treated, as I said in my Preface, "with frigid and contemptuous silence." I have, however, been agreeably surprised. Some of the reviewers were so good as to consider my work, heretical though it was, in quite a sympathetic spirit. But, better still, as showing that the book was not to be treated as a *quantité négligeable*, Canon (now Dean) Beeching did me the honour to read a paper, highly antagonistic of course to my views, before the Royal Society of Literature, which he subsequently embodied in a book bearing the title *William Shakespeare, Player, Play-maker and Poet*, published in, I think, November, 1908. This was followed by two long articles in *The Nineteenth Century*, of March and April, 1909, from the pen of Sir Edward Sullivan, under the genial heading of "The Defamers of Shakespeare." To

Canon Beeching I replied in a little book, also published at "The Bodley Head,"[1] and to Sir Edward Sullivan, first in *The Nineteenth Century* for June, 1909, and later in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*.[2] In the Preface to the latter work I wrote, with reference to my first rather ponderous tome. "The leviathans of literature have, as I anticipated, not condescended to take much notice of it. . . . The Dreadnoughts have remained at their moorings, while the submarines have been despatched to the attack." This state of things, however, was not destined to continue, for in 1912 a "Super-Dreadnought," the late Mr. Andrew Lang to wit, came into action with *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown* (alas that the work should have been published posthumously), and now, in 1913, Mr. J. M. Robertson, whom I feel unable to characterise respectfully in terms of naval architecture, has launched into this sea of troubles a volume of some six hundred pages, which, as I understand, he believes to have settled the question of Shakespearean authorship for all time to come.[3]

Both Mr. Lang's and Mr. Robertson's works are directed against the Baconian hypothesis, but in large measure also against my humble self. Now, for my part, I have never subscribed to the "Baconian Heresy." My book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, was simply an attempt to put together, in something like rational form and sequence, the arguments, or some of the arguments, which appeared to me to cast doubt upon the received belief that the Stratford player, whom Mr. Lang conveniently designates by the familiar name of "Will," was the author of the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare. I made no attempt, neither have I any thought of making

[1] *In re Shakespeare. Beeching v. Greenwood. Rejoinder on behalf of the Defendant.* (John Lane.)

[2] Originally published by Messrs. Sweeting & Co., now by John Lane.

[3] *The Baconian Heresy—a Confutation.* (Herbert Jenkins.)

any attempt to say who the author may have been, supposing "Will" was not really the author. "But you are bound," say some, "if you deny the authorship of 'Will,' to tell us who the author really was!" What nonsense! I put forward certain arguments against a received hypothesis. If my readers agree with me, well. If they feel shaken in their former faith, and put upon further inquiry, also well. If they disagree with me—if they gnash their teeth, and cry "Yah, defamer of Shakespeare!"—yet again "well, though not so well"! I regard the question as one of great literary interest. But whether it be solved, or whether it be left unsolved, the world will go on very much as before. The Works of Shakespeare will, thank heaven, be still with us, and, that being so, what matters it who wrote them? Just about as much as it matters whether one man, called Homer, wrote the *Iliad*, as Mr. Lang thought (not to mention the *Odyssey* as well), or whether those immortal books were the product of evolution, as Professor Gilbert Murray so forcibly and learnedly argues in his *Rise of the Greek Epic*. These, I repeat, are fascinating questions, of great literary interest, but certainly it does seem rather absurd to wrangle, and lose our tempers about them, and to hurl vituperative epithets at those who disagree with us. So, dear but explosive critic, whoever you may be, let us both remember that

> When you and I behind the veil are past,
> Oh, but the long, long while the World shall last,
> Which of our coming and departure heeds
> As the Sea's self should heed a pebble-cast!

And now let me make a frank admission. Since I published *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* some six years have passed away. Much critical water has flowed under the bridge since then, and I fully admit that were I to bring out a new edition of that much-assailed work I

should find much to alter, much to re-model, much to re-write. What was responsible for bringing it into existence? Mainly the perusal of so-called "Biographies" of Shakespeare, full of the "fanciful might-have-beens," stating bare possibilities, and sometimes extreme improbabilities, as actual biographical facts; works of imagination and not of history; fond things vainly invented. I have at least done something useful if I have helped to clear away some of these finely-spun delusive cobwebs, to prick some of these preposterous bubbles of uncritical and not too scrupulous imagination. "The biographers must re-write their Lives of Shakespeare," exclaimed a well-known critic in a review of my book which appeared in one of the London newspapers, soon after its publication; and I am not without hopes that his advice may bear good fruit. It is just possible that its effect may be seen in Professor Saintsbury's very restrained account of Shakespeare's Life which appears in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. V, chap. VIII, wherein he writes that "almost all the commonly received stuff of his [Shakespeare's] life story is shreds and patches of tradition, if not positive dream work."

Now one of the ideas which were operative in my mind when I wrote my book—which, by the way, had taken several years to put together—was to take the assertions of the "Shakespeareans"—or may I, without offence, make use of the very convenient and compendious term, "Stratfordians"?—as I found them, and carry them to what seemed to me their logical conclusions. I found, for example, that one of the acutest, most learned, and most distinguished of Shakespearean critics, Malone to wit, himself a lawyer of no mean authority, had written of Shakespeare: "His knowledge of legal terms is not merely such as might be acquired by the casual observation of even his all-comprehending mind; it has the

appearance of technical skill." I found that Steevens entertained a similar opinion. I found that such an eminent lawyer as Lord Campbell, who had been both Lord Chief Justice of England and Lord Chancellor, had written a letter to Mr. Payne Collier, subsequently published in book form, in which he bore testimony not only to the frequency but to the wonderful accuracy with which Shakespeare makes use of legal terms and expressions. I found that another lawyer, of unimpeachable "orthodoxy," namely Richard Grant White, a very distinguished Shakespearean, had written: "No dramatist of the time, not even Beaumont, who was the younger son of a judge of the Common Pleas, and who, after studying in the Inns of Court, abandoned law for the drama, used legal phrases with Shakespeare's' readiness and exactness! . . . legal phrases flow from his pen as part of his vocabulary and parcel of his thought." I found that Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke—not lawyers these, but critics whose names will ever be remembered in the history of Shakespearean bibliography—spoke of "the marvellous intimacy which he displays with legal terms, his frequent adoption of them in illustration, and his curiously technical knowledge of their form and force." I found that even Sir Sidney Lee had spoken of "Shakespeare's accurate use of legal terms, which deserves all the attention that has been paid it," making reference in a foot-note to Lord Campbell on *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements*. There was more authority to the same effect,[1] and as this appeared to be, on the whole, an accepted position among Stratfordians of light and leading, I certainly imagined I was fully justified in making

[1] *Amongst others Mr. W. L. Rushton, a well-known barrister in his day,* had written a book called *Shakespeare a Lawyer* (1858) before Lord Campbell published his letter to Mr. Payne Collier. It has been said that his lordship made free use of Mr. Rushton's work without making acknowledgment. It must be remembered that all the lawyers I have cited were entirely "orthodox."

argumentative use of it, relying more especially on Malone's high authority both as lawyer and critic.

> But John P.
> Robinson he
> Sez this kind o' thing's an exploded idee.

In other words, "M.P. Robertson he" now asserts that the whole of this is ridiculous nonsense; that beyond a knowledge of "the common vocabulary of lawyers," so easily picked up, there is really no law at all in Shakespeare's Plays and Poems, or, at any rate, no more than is to be found in the works of many contemporary dramatists who were not lawyers and had had no legal education. He waxes wroth with the unhappy Lord Campbell's "scandalous deliverances," and declares that the use which I have made of his "egregious treatise" calls for "somewhat serious reprehension"! He therefore proceeds to "reprehend" me in good set terms, and to his own entire satisfaction. Well, it amuses him and does not *much* hurt me! But if it can really be proved that Malone, and Steevens, and Lord Campbell, and Bushton, and Grant White, and Mr. Castle, K.C., and all the rest, were labouring under an entire delusion as to Shakespeare's supposed knowledge of law, the sooner that delusion can be dispelled the better will it be for all parties concerned. For myself I am conscious of only one desire in this connection, which is to ascertain the truth. But I will say another word or two later concerning this question, and on the proof offered by Mr. Robertson in support of his thesis.[1]

Then, again, there was the vexed question of the learning of Shakespeare. A very learned and distinguished Professor, who regarded unorthodox opinions concerning Shakespeare with positive loathing, had written three very striking articles in *The Fortnightly Review* for April, May,

[1] See chap. II.

and July, 1903, with the object of demonstrating that Shakespeare, in spite of all that had been advanced to the contrary, had really a very extensive knowledge of classical literature. These articles, which were subsequently republished in Mr. Churton Collins's *Studies in Shakespeare* (1904), had won, I found, a large measure of acceptance among orthodox Shakespeareans. Being convinced myself that the author of *Hamlet* and *Lear*, if not a "scholar" in the modern acceptation of that term, was, at any rate, not an unlearned but, on the contrary, a highly cultured man, I made argumentative use of those articles also. Mr. Robertson says I did so "without investigation," and that this amounts to "a confession of critical insolvency" on my part. I am unable to "own the soft impeachment." But I must postpone the further consideration of this matter to a later page.[1] Suffice it here to note that Mr. Robertson's two main contentions are (1) that Shakespeare really knew no more law than "the common vocabulary of lawyers" of his date, and (2) that Shakespeare had really no classical knowledge at all, but only "small Latin and less Greek" in the strictest interpretation of those familiar words. If these two points are established, Mr. Robertson appears to think that the unorthodox case is finally disposed of.

As to that we shall see further. But at this point it may be well to consider briefly Mr. Robertson's own position and controversial methods. He begins by deprecating the resentment of those to whom the term "heresy," as used by him, may apply, since "a heresy is but a mode of opinion"; and he is careful to tell us that "being himself open to indictment for serious heresy in more than one field of doctrine," he "is not likely to employ it as an aspersion." Mr. Robertson, therefore, does not take me to task for impugning the authority of a tradition which has been in existence for nearly three hundred years; indeed,

[1] See chap. III.

he could not well do so, seeing that he himself has taken arms against a tradition now nearly two thousand years old. For that length of time it has been generally held that Jesus of Nazareth was a historical personage, who really lived and breathed and had being in Judæa, and who really suffered death in the time of Pontius Pilate. Now Mr. Robertson denies the truth of this tradition. He has written strongly in opposition to "the historicity of Jesus." I am not finding fault with him for that. I am for the free and unrestricted discussion of all these questions. I only mention the fact to show, in the first place, that Mr. Robertson is trebly a heretic as compared with me, though I am quite aware that at the present time it is considered a far worse thing to be heretical in the matter of the Stratfordian than in the matter of the Christian gospel; and, secondly, because these heretical views of Mr. Robertson's have brought him into violent conflict with Dr. F. C. Conybeare, the author of *Myth, Magic and Morals*, and himself a rationalist; and in view of the position which Mr. Robertson has assumed in the Shakespearean controversy, and his claim to instruct us in matters of scholarship and classical knowledge, I think it is not irrelevant to glance for a moment at a passage which this critic, Mr. Robertson to wit, who is nothing if not strictly sane and truly "scientific," has committed to paper. "He hunts up," writes Dr. Conybeare (in *The Literary Guide* of December 1st, 1912), "in a dictionary of mythology, mother-goddesses with names distantly resembling Maria—forgetting or ignorant that Mariam is the Greek form—and triumphantly concludes that Mariam in Mark was a myth blended of them all. Here is the passage:

> It is not possible from the existing data to connect historically such a cult with its congeners; but the mere analogy of names and epithets goes far. The mother of Adonis, the slain 'Lord' of the

great Syrian cult, is Myrrha; and Myrrha in one of her myths is the weeping tree from which the babe Adonis is born. Again, Hermes, the Greek *Logos*, has for mother Maia, whose name has further connections with Mary. In one myth, Maia is the daughter of Atlas, thus doubling with Maira, who has the same father, and who, having 'died a virgin,' was seen by Odysseus in Hades. Mythologically, Maira is identified with the Dog Star, which is the star of Isis. Yet again, the name appears in the East as Maya, the Virgin-Mother of Buddha; and it is remarkable that, according to a Jewish legend, the name of the Egyptian princess who found the babe Moses was Merris. The plot is still further thickened by the fact that, as we learn from the monuments, one of the daughters of Ramses II was named Meri. And as Meri meant 'beloved,' and the name was at times given to men, besides being used in the phrase 'beloved of the gods,' the field of mythic speculation is wide.

"And we feel that it is indeed wide," adds Dr. Conybeare, "*when, on p. 301, the three Mariams mentioned by Mark* are equated with the three *Moirai* or Fates!"

Mr. Robertson has referred to many ignorant and silly pronouncements—cryptic utterances, supposed "parallels, and "mythic speculations"—made by some extreme Baconians, but I doubt if he can produce from the publications of that derided sect anything much worse than this. *Quantula sapientia!* as Mr. Andrew Lang would have said. I make no attempt to pronounce on the merits of the main issue as between Mr. Robertson and Dr. Conybeare. It is a very pretty quarrel as it stands. I only cite the above amazing passage as illustrating Mr. Robertson's credentials, as furnished by himself.[1]

[1] Dr. Conybeare concludes his article with the following words: "Mr. Robertson's explanations of the origins of Christianity are many times more *miraculous than anything in the Gospels, and require of us, in order to their* acceptance, far more credulity than would satisfy the present Pope!" Dr. Conybeare has now (1914) republished this criticism in his book, *The Historical Christ* (Watts & Co.), wherein he roundly accuses Mr. Robertson of "childish, all-embracing, and overwhelming credulity," as well as of lack of scholarship, and says that his "temper is that of the Bacon-Shakesperians,"

Here let me say that Mr. Robertson has been so very frank and outspoken in his expression of opinion concerning my views and arguments that he has relieved me of all necessity to mince my words when dealing with his book. If therefore my language should be found to be somewhat vigorous at times, he will, I am sure, recognise in it that sincerest form of flattery which consists in imitation. I will not, however, go as far as that highly distinguished and most "orthodox" Shakespearean scholar and critic, Professor Saintsbury, who has styled Mr Robertson one of the "craziest topsy-turvyfiers of actual fact," and charged him with having passed the bounds of all rational literary criticism! "But where has Professor Saintsbury said that?" Mr. Robertson will ask. I will tell him. In *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. V, at p. 178, Professor Saintsbury writes: "*Titus Andronicus*, as we have it, has been denied to Shakespeare, but this denial really passes the bounds of all rational literary criticism The play, we know, was acted and published in 1594; it is included with Shakespeare's by Meres in 1598; it is included in the folio by Shakespeare's intimates and dramatic associates in 1623. If we are to disregard a three-fold cord of evidence like this, the whole process of literary history becomes a mere absurdity—a game of All Fools with the prize for the craziest topsy-turvyfier, as Thackeray would say, of actual fact." Now Mr. Robertson holds very strongly that *Titus Andronicus* ought to be "denied to Shakespeare." He has, indeed, written a book in support of that contention So here is Mr Robertson—the rationalist, the sane, the scientific—actually held up to scorn by a

in which remark I find not a little entertainment. (See the work cited at p 70 *et seq.* and p. 182.) Dr. Conybeare's book will well repay perusal. I am by no means sure that he has not proved Mr. Robertson guilty (to use that writer's own characteristic expression at p. ix of his Preface) of having published "the most consummate paralogism in the literature of biography"!

learned and "orthodox" Professor as having passed the bounds of all rational literary criticism! The fact is, however, that the Militants of the orthodox Stratfordian faith are constantly engaged in internecine wars, being hopelessly at variance in their opinions, and are given to make use of language concerning one another almost as strong as they employ concerning the deluded Baconians, and sometimes concerning my humble self. Mr. Robertson may, indeed, retort, as against me, that I have myself expressed the belief that *Titus* is not Shakespearean, and must, therefore, be equally amenable with him to Professor Saintsbury's contumelious observations. That is true. But it must be small comfort to Mr. Robertson to find himself associated in this matter with one for whose reasoning powers he appears to entertain such lofty scorn. But Professor Saintsbury's remarks might, I think, give him pause with regard to his own excessive "cocksureness" of tone and language. My friend, Mr. Thomas Harned, of Philadelphia, one of Walt Whitman's literary executors, told me that Walt used frequently to say to him, "Be sure, Tom, be sure—but don't be too damned sure"! I would respectfully commend that excellent advice to Mr. J. M. Robertson.

At this point I think it will be instructive to give two samples of Mr. Robertson's controversial methods. At p. 15 of *The Baconian Heresy* I read as follows:—

"'The argument [i.e. my argument] is in parts so incoherent that I cannot be sure of its drift. 'Another extraordinary fact in this amazing life,' writes Mr. Greenwood (p. 199), 'is that *with the exception* of the Plays, and Venus and Adonis, and the Lucrece, and the Sonnets, and that puzzle-poem The Phœnix and the Turtle, *Shakespeare appears to have written nothing, unless we are to accept the above-mentioned doggerels*[1] [on

[1] The italics are Mr. Robertson's.

the tombstone] as his indeed? If 'Shakespeare' was but a *nom de plume* this need not excite surprise.'" . . . "'With the exception of . . .!'" cries Mr. Robertson. "Mr. Greenwood seems to mean that the man who wrote the Plays and Poems *must* (for some occult reason) have written many other things, and that these other things are presumably extant over another man's signature. Yet he makes no attempt whatever to identify the man. Of such reasoning I can make nothing."

The innuendo here is obvious, and Mr. Robertson accentuates it by italics. "See," he says in effect, "what an idiot this fellow is! He is amazed to find that Shakespeare wrote nothing *except*, forsooth, the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare! What more does he want, I wonder!" And, that there may be no doubt of what is intended, Mr. Robertson asks me in a note if I "deny the hall-mark of the sonnet to Florio, prefixed to the *First Fruits*," and if I am "quite sure about *The Lover's Complaint*." He then proceeds to speculate as to what my meaning can possibly be, but says he "can make nothing" of it. But if my readers will kindly turn to the passage quoted from my book they will see that Mr. Robertson has unaccountably suppressed the words that immediately follow upon those which he has selected for publication, words which make my meaning absolutely clear, and which show that my "reasoning," though, perhaps, not very original, is quite sane, and perfectly simple. After the words cited by Mr. Robertson, in order to exhibit me in a ridiculous light, the passage proceeds: "But if Shakspere was indeed Shakespeare it does seem unaccountable that he should have written no lines to friends or patrons, no elegies on famous men or women of his day, no lyrics other than those, or some of those, which appear in the dramas, no epigrams, no epitaphs, no epitha-

lamiums. Take Jonson's case, for example. Jonson wrote hundreds of poems which in that day were classed as 'epigrams.' . . . In these poems, and in his prologues and epilogues, he is continually giving us broad indications of his own personality; Shakespeare never gives us a glimpse of his. . . . His plays 'did take Eliza and our James,' yet the great Queen dies, and he sheds no melodious tear. . . . Prince Henry dies, 'than which,' says Grosart, 'no death since Sydney's had so moved the heart of the nation as none evoked such splendid sorrow from *England's foremost names—with one* prodigious exception.' And the one prodigious exception is Shakespeare"[1]

I feel at a loss to know how to characterise this. A fair-minded critic would surely have quoted the whole passage as it stands in my book. The reader would then have seen that I have only here expanded and emphasised the "remarkable fact," recognised by Mr. Robertson himself, that Shakespeare played the part of "William the Silent" on occasions when one would have confidently expected to have heard his voice. For in Mr. Robertson's *Montaigne and Shakespeare* I find this reflection (p. 219): "It is certainly a remarkable fact that Shakespeare abstained from joining in the poetic outcry over her (Elizabeth's) death, incurring reproof by his silence." It would then have been perfectly fair to have objected that, in the critic's opinion, this "remarkable fact" has not the relevancy which I suggested it might have upon the question of authorship. But what am I to say of the passage published in mutilated form, and Mr. Robertson's

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 200. In his recently published posthumous work, *Shakespeare Personally*, Professor Masson characterises this "reticence," "non-concern," and "non-participation" on the part of Shakespeare as "perfectly astonishing." "In this respect," says Masson, "he was almost [? quite] singular among his contemporaries" (p. 52 *et seq.*).

comments upon it so exhibited? I will leave the impartial reader to answer that question.[1]

I will give one more instance of the same method of procedure. In order to show that the use of legal terms and expressions was habitual with seventeenth-century writers and speakers (this, of course, upon the question of Shakespeare's alleged knowledge of law), the late Judge Willis published some extracts from a sermon preached by one Thomas Adams at St. Paul's Cross in 1612, in which he introduced some not very striking legal terms, which will be found quoted at pp. 392–3 of my book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*. Upon this instance of a divine making use of legal expressions I then proceed to make certain comments. But let us first see how Mr. Robertson puts the case. Having cited certain utterances of Bishop Hooper, he proceeds (p. 170): "After this we can understand how a later divine, Thomas Adams, could deliver in a sermon the 'legal' passages cited from him by Mr. Judge Willis [*sic*], and candidly quoted by Mr. Greenwood, *who can offer no better semblance of a rebuttal*

[1] Before leaving this matter I feel I ought to answer the question put to me by Mr. Robertson: "Does Mr. Greenwood deny the hall-mark of the sonnet to Florio, prefixed to the *First Fruites*? And is he quite sure about *The Lover's Complaint*?" Well, as to the latter poem, which was first printed in 1609, at the end of the volume of Sonnets, I have no wish to dispute the Shakespearean authorship, which Sir Sidney Lee says is "possible." As Mr. Gollancz writes: "Francis Meres may *possibly* have included it in his suggestive '*et cetera*,' when he enumerated the poems of 'mellifluous and honey tongued Shakespeare.'" The sonnet to Florio, prefixed to his *Second Fruites* (not "*First Fruites*" as Mr. Robertson writes in error) is a matter of greater interest. Mr. Robertson suggests that it bears the "hall-mark" of Shakespeare, and I think he is probably right. Of that opinion were Professors Minto and Baynes amongst others. The sonnet purports to be from "Phaethon to his friend Florio," and if Mr. Robertson's suggestion be accepted, "Phaethon" is Shakespeare. But Florio describes this sonnet as written by "a gentleman, a friend of mine that loved better to be a Poet than to be counted so." This is remarkable. Can it be said of William Shakspere of Stratford that he was "a gentleman that loved better to be a Poet than to be counted so"? Hardly!

than the suggestion that Adams had 'probably looked into some law books, and *perhaps* been thrown into legal company.'[1] Now the passages cited are so technical that, had Lord Campbell found them in Shakespeare, he would have reckoned them 'the best stakes in his hedge,' as Hooker would say. If it be rational to explain Adams' law by the 'probably' and the 'perhaps' above cited, why, in the name of reason and consistency, should not the same suggestion hold in the case of Shakespeare?"

Now, if the reader will once again be so kind as to turn to my book, at p. 393, he will find that this is another distressing instance of quoting what is convenient, and leaving unquoted that which does not so well suit the critic's case. *It is not true that* I "*can offer no better* semblance of a rebuttal than the suggestion that Adams had probably looked into some law books, and perhaps been thrown into legal company." True it is that I suggest this as a reader's first comment on Adams's reproduction of some legal jargon which, though Mr. Robertson, following Judge Willis, calls it "technical," is, certainly, not a proof of anything more than a superficial acquaintance with the ordinary vocabulary of lawyers, but, so far am I from contenting myself with this explanation that I proceed to show why, in Adams's case, the use of such language can hardly be cited as typical of the ordinary practice of seventeenth-century preachers. "This legal terminology," I say, "used by the preacher certainly does not prove that he had had a regular legal training; they (the legal expressions) are, however, examples of that 'omnivorous learning and recondite reading' for which, as Dr. Grosart has told us, he was famous, and 'the spoils' whereof he constantly 'lays under contribution.'" But I do not stop there, for I point out that there was a special reason why Adams was "so fond of displaying his

[1] Mr. Robertson puts "probably" and "perhaps" into italics. The other italics are mine.

familiarity with certain legal terms," viz. because "he was 'observant chaplain' to Sir Henry Montague, Lord Chief Justice of England, and had dedicated to him a work on the 'Spiritual Prerogatives of the Church.' That Thomas Adams, a man of omnivorous learning and recondite reading, observant chaplain to the Lord Chief Justice, thrown much among lawyers, and constantly preaching to them, should have affected the use of legal terminology in his sermons is not very remarkable. The only thing which, as it seems to me, can be inferred from the analogy is that Shakespeare also was a man 'of omnivorous learning and recondite reading.'"

All this is omitted by Mr. Robertson, with the effect that he represents me as having no better "semblance of a rebuttal" to the case cited by the gentleman whom he quaintly styles "Mr. Judge Willis" than the "probably" and the "perhaps" of which he speaks so contemptuously. It is very easy to "score" off an opponent by such methods as these.

I will now present the reader with another very remarkable instance of the Robertsonian style and the Robertsonian conception of evidence.

In *The Times* of December 27th, 1905, Mr. Lee (as he then was) occupied two columns with an account of "a discovery about Shakespeare." "It is," he wrote, "in a household account of the expenses incurred at Belvoir by Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, for the year beginning August, 1612, and ending August, 1613, that there has lain concealed for nearly three centuries a notice of the great dramatist, which only to-day is made public property. The precise words read thus:—'1613, Item, 31 Martii, to Mr. Shakspeare in gold about my Lorde's impreso, xliiij s; to Richard Burbage for paynting and making yt, in gold xliiij s—iiij li viij s.' . . . It should be added that the clerk who entered the transaction in the Earl of Rutland's household-book was named Thomas Screvin, and that

the 'item' was set under the general heading of 'Paymentes for howshold stuff, plate, armour, hammers, anvyles, and reparacions.'"

Now, in the first place, what is an "impreso," or, more correctly, an "impresa"? I will give the meaning in the words of Puttenham (1533–1600), who, in his *Second Book of Proportion Poetical*, speaking of device or emblem, says: "The Greeks call it Emblema, the Italians Impresa, and we a Device, such as a man may put into letters of gold and send to his mistresses for a token, or cause to be embroidered in scutchions of arms or any bordure of a rich garment, to give by his novelty marvel to the beholder." So here we have an entry showing that, in the year 1613, after all the great Shakespearean works had been written, and after William Shakespeare had retired to end his days at his native Stratford, he, "the great dramatist," was engaged with Dick Burbage to work at the Earl of Rutland's new "device," and that each received a sum of 44s. in payment of their services. I pointed out, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 343, note), that there is "not much here to show that he ("Will" to wit) was recognised as the 'great dramatist,' and immortal poet," who ought then to have been at the zenith of his fame. And, on thinking it over, some "Shakespeareans" of light and leading seem to have been not a little troubled by this brand-new discovery among the Belvoir papers. The entry, wrote the learned Mrs. Stopes, "did not quite seem to fit into the known facts of the poet's career"! I should have thought myself that it fitted excellently well into "the known facts" of the life of William Shakspere of Stratford. But, before considering further what Mrs. Stopes has to say on the matter, let us see how Mr. Robertson treats this little incident. Referring in this connection to M. Demblon's theory that the real Shakespeare was Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, Mr. Robertson writes (p. 586, note):

"M. Demblon asserts that the payment, as noted in the family accounts, was to 'William Shakspeare.' It was not: there is no prenomen. M. Demblon is evidently unaware that it has been shown (by Mrs. Stopes, in the *Athenæum*, May 16, 1908) that 'Mr. Shakspeare' was probably one John Shakspeare, a fashionable bit-maker of the time, concerning whom there are many entries in the Wardrobe Accounts of Charles I, as prince and as king. Among other things, he made 'guilt bosses charged with the arms of England.' Such an artist was very likely to be employed to do the metal work of an impresa. Mr. John Shakspeare would seem to have been a cousin of the poet, which would explain the connection with Burbage. *Et voilà tout*—for the theory of M. Demblon."

Now I ask the reader—the sensible, impartial, reflective reader—to give a few moments' consideration to this passage. With M. Demblon's theory I am not concerned, nor have I read his book. It is upon the entry in the Belvoir accounts and Mr. Robertson's treatment thereof that I want to concentrate attention. It will have been seen that, although "no prenomen" is mentioned, yet Sir Sidney Lee has not the least doubt that "Mr. Shakspeare," who was Burbage's companion at Belvoir in 1613, is "the great dramatist." But that belief does not seem to fit at all nicely with ideas of what the immortal bard ought to have been doing at this time of his life, so near to the "quiet consummation" of his labours, when all his wondrous works had been given to the world. So the thought occurs to the ingenious Mrs. Stopes that, after all, it may be possible to suggest that this "Mr. Shakspeare" was not the immortal William, but "some other gentleman of the same name." Now this would be mighty convenient, if it could be effected; so she writes a letter to the *Athenæum*, pointing out that there was a "John Shackespeare," bit-maker, whose name frequently occurs in the account of Sir John Villiers, Master of the

Wardrobe to Prince Charles, in the year 1617. Now this John Shackespeare, in all these numerous entries, is never styled "Mr."; but what matters that? I will give Mrs. Stopes's argument, not in her actual words, but in its effect, and I assure the reader I do not misrepresent her. True, says Mrs. Stopes, John Shackespeare is never called "Mr.," but he *might have been*, because he *might have been* Master of the Lorimers' Company, though there is no evidence to that effect, and he *might have been* "the cousin who disappeared from Snitterfield"!

But I have not done with this matter yet. All the entries for monies paid to John Shakespeare cited by Mrs. Stopes, in the *Athenæum*, are for "bitts" or "snaffles." There were some "gilt bosses" provided for royal bits, John Shackespeare being the King's Bit-maker.[1] On this a most remarkable theory is advanced. Mr. Robertson cites the entry in question thus (p. 586, note 1): "To Mr. Shakspeare *in gold, about* my Lordes impreso, xliv *s.*; To Richard Burbage for painting and making it, xliv *s.*" Now the italics are Mr. Robertson's. He apparently thinks there is something important to be found in the words "in gold." But he does not quote the passage correctly. The words "in gold" occur also after the words "for painting and making it," so that Burbage also was paid in gold.[2] But Mr. Robertson appears to imagine that "Mr. Shakspeare" was paid not in coined gold, but in uncoined metal, because the "bit-maker," whom he wants to identify with "Mr. Shakspeare," was, he supposes, a worker in gold, and he is so possessed with this idea that he turns a blind eye to the fact that Burbage too was paid in gold, and actually omits those words, while

[1] "Among other things," says Mr. Robertson, "he made 'guilt bosses charged with the arms of England.'" He omits to say that these were for "sixe coach byttes"! Most of the "bits" charged for have these "bosses."

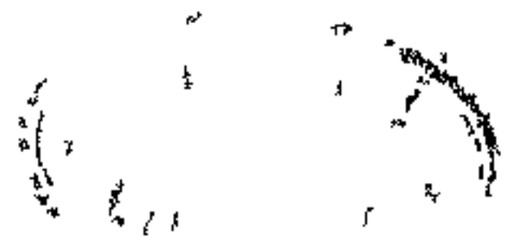
[2] Moreover, if Sir Sidney Lee has correctly copied the entry, of which he tells us he gives "the precise words," Mr. Robertson has unwarrantably introduced a comma between "in gold" and "about."

purporting to give us a correct copy of the entry! Yet the meaning is perfectly clear and simple to all but the wilfully blind. "Mr. Shakspeare" and Burbage receive 44s. each, or £4. 8s. in all, as the entry records,[1] and they receive it "in gold," i.e., as Sir Sidney Lee has told us, "payment was obviously made in gold pieces called 'angels,' each of which was worth about 11s."

As to John Shakespeare, or Shackespeare, bit-maker, his business was to make and repair "bits and snaffles," and there is nothing whatever to show that he was a worker in gold, albeit he had a hand in the preparation of "gilt bosses" for bits or harness. And if the services of a bit-maker had been required there was one near to hand, for in this very steward's account found at Belvoir there occurs, but a little removed from the entry under consideration, these words: "14 Decr. Paied to Fisher, bytmaker, for a paire of guilt styrrops xxiiij s. A guilte snaffle xii s. A silvered snaffle x s. A paire of silvered stirrops xx s." So that, really, one can see no reason why Fisher might not have been employed on the job just as well as, and much more conveniently than, John Shackespeare! But the whole suggestion is childish and absurd. No reasonable person can doubt that "Mr. Shakspeare," Burbage's companion and fellow-worker in and about "my Lorde's impreso," was William Shakspere of Stratford, who was styled "Mr." because some fourteen years previously he had, "with great difficulty," as Sir Sidney Lee writes, "obtained from the College of Arms a recognition of his claim to a coat of arms and to the title of 'gentleman.'" And so the prefix "Mr.," the accepted mark of gentility, stands in Thomas Screvin's account-book before his name alone.[2]

[1] The original figures are xliiij s in each case—total iiij li viij s.

[2] Readers of Dr. Wallace's articles, "New Light on Shakespeare," in *The Times* of April 30th and May 1st, 1914, will have noticed that "Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare gent" appear together also in a deed of 1601 as tenants of the Globe Playhouse. Can any reasonable man doubt for a moment that Mr. Shakespeare employed with Burbage in 1613, "about



And it is on this amazing foundation of uncritical nonsense that Mr. Robertson bases his assertion that "it has been *shown* by Mrs. Stopes that 'Mr. Shakspeare' was *probably* one John Shakspeare," who "would seem to have been a cousin of the poet"! And this is the writer who is to lead the feet of erring heretics into the way of reason, and logic, and evidence, Heaven save the mark! Mrs. Stopes, in order to save "Shakespeare" from a situation which she thinks inconsistent with the high ideals of the devoted orthodox, and without anything whatever in the shape of evidence or probability which a reasonable man would for a moment take into consideration, embarks upon a wild-goose chase after one John Shackespeare, bit-maker; and Mr. Robertson, thinking it will suit his books also, just follows her as one sheep follows another. And I think I heard something about "critical insolvency"!

I will now ask the reader's attention to one more instance of Mr. Robertson's remarkable economy of accuracy.

In my book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 354), I comment at some length upon the fact that both Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee inform us that Shakespeare began his career as a dramatist by writing plays for the old manager, Philip Henslowe, at the Rose Theatre. Upon this I made what appeared to me the very natural and wholly justifiable reflection that, if such was the fact, it seems not a little extraordinary that Henslowe in his *Diary* makes no mention of Shakespeare's name. I must cite the passage in question from my book because Mr. Robertson quotes five words from it which

my Lorde's impreso," was "William Shakespeare gent"? I observe by the way that Mr. E. K. Chambers entertains no such foolish doubt, for he writes, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "In 1613 he [Shakespeare] devised an *impresa* or emblem, to be painted by Richard Burbage, and worn in the tilt on Accession day by the Earl of Rutland."

I will mark by italics: "If Shakspere had really commenced his dramatic career (at a time when money was certainly an object to him) *by writing plays for Henslowe*, it would be all the more extraordinary—indeed incredible—that the old manager should have made no mention of him in his *Diary*."

Now let us take Mr. Robertson's criticism upon this: "All his" (i.e. my) "attacks upon 'the Stratfordian editors' and others in this connection are a mere fiasco. They and Sir Sidney Lee, *as it happens*, did *not* say, as Mr. Greenwood alleged, that Shakespeare began his dramatic career 'by writing plays for Henslowe': they said that Shakespeare's *work* 'doubtless began at the Rose Theatre, about 1592.'"[1]

Let us now test this in order that we may see how far removed Mr. Robertson is from the truth in this matter. He gives no reference to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's work, but I will supply the omission. This critic and biographer, after referring to the production of *Titus Andronicus* on January 23rd, 1594, says, as I quoted him in my book (p. 354): "Thus it appears that *Shakespeare, up to this period, had written all his dramas for Henslowe*, and that they were acted, under the sanction of that manager, by the various companies performing from 1592 to 1594 at the Rose Theatre and Newington Butts" (Edition 6, Vol. I, p. 97). With this quotation staring him in the face, Mr. Robertson has the effrontery to say that this editor, "as it happens," does *not* say that Shakespeare began his dramatic career by writing plays for Henslowe! Mr. Robertson is really *capable de tout*. What says Sir Sidney Lee? My references to this writer, as the readers of my book are informed by the "Notice" that follows

[1] Work cited, p. 572. The italics in this quotation are mine. Among "editors" I need hardly say I included the biographers. Halliwell-Phillipps, of course, edited the Plays of Shakespeare in some sixteen monumental volumes.

the title-page, are to the Illustrated Library Edition of 1899. Here we find, at p. 35, the following words: "The Rose Theatre was doubtless the *earliest* scene of Shakespeare's pronounced successes *alike as actor and dramatist.*"[1] I notice that the five last words do not appear in Mr. Robertson's quotation. Why not, I wonder! I also notice that he has put the word "pronounced" into italics. Are we to understand then, that, in Mr. Robertson's belief, Shakespeare had achieved some still earlier successes elsewhere, though such successes were not "pronounced," and that this is what Sir Sidney Lee intends to convey to us? Such a suggestion seems to me too absurd to merit consideration. And why, I should like to ask, does Mr. Robertson omit from the quotation the words, "*as dramatist*"? Obviously both Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee *do* say, "*as it happens*," just what I wrote, viz. that Shakespeare "commenced his dramatic career by writing plays for Henslowe." Halliwell-Phillipps says so *totidem verbis*, and although it is possible that Sir Sidney Lee's words do not import that Shakespeare wrote for Henslowe personally, they certainly mean that he wrote for Henslowe's theatre, and that this theatre, the Rose, was the earliest scene of the representation of his plays. And for these plays Henslowe received money, as he himself records. Thus for *Henry VI*, marked as a new play, he received on March 3rd, 1591–2, £3. 16s. 8d., and for "*titus and ondronicus*," also marked as "new," he received, on January 23rd, 1593–4, £3. 8s.[2] And even if it be contended that the words cited from Sir Sidney Lee are consistent with the hypothesis that Shakespeare may

[1] My italics. Mr. Robertson, instead of giving this quotation in full, merely has a foot-note as follows: "Sir Sidney Lee's words are: 'The earliest scene of Shakespeare's *pronounced* successes'" (p. 572). The italics here are Mr. Robertson's.

[2] My arguments as regards these entries are, of course, addressed to those who believe that these are Shakespearean plays.

have at an even earlier period (before 1592!) produced plays elsewhere which were not "*pronounced* successes" or, possibly, not "successes" at all, how does such contention (an absurd one on the face of it) affect the argument? The point is that, according to Sir Sidney Lee, Shakespeare at a very early period—a period which according to all the "orthodox" critics saw the commencement of his dramatic works—wrote plays for Henslowe, or, at any rate, for Henslowe's theatre. In this statement Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps agrees: "Up to this period" Shakespeare "*had written all his dramas for Henslowe.*" Yet Henslowe, who mentions every other playwright whom he ever employed, makes no mention of Shakespeare!

Now I say once more, assuming that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee are correct in their statements, "the silence of Philip Henslowe" is indeed and undeniably remarkable. Mr. Robertson speaks of my "*attacks* upon the Stratfordian editors," but I make no "attack" in this connection, unless it be an attack to suggest that "the silence of Philip Henslowe" proves that they are wrong and that Shakespeare, in truth and in fact, did *not* write plays for Philip Henslowe either at this period or at all. Mr. Robertson characterises this argument as "a mere fiasco." As it appears to me a perfectly sound, and, indeed, unanswerable one, I can only suppose that he had not taken the trouble to understand it. But as I had printed the quotations both from Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee, as above cited, in my book, it is really unpardonable that he should tell his readers that those writers do not say what I have shown that they *do* say.

But the hypothesis that Shakespeare began his dramatic career by writing plays or parts of plays for Henslowe, or, at any rate, for Henslowe's theatre, does not rest upon the authority of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and

Sir Sidney Lee alone. That distinguished Shakespearean scholar, Mr. F. S. Fleay, not only speaks of Edward Alleyn, the actor, as "the First Managing Director under whom Shakespeare performed,"[1] but he identifies "harey the vj," recorded by Henslowe (with whom Alleyn was in partnership as theatre-owner and whose stepdaughter he had married) as a "new" play on March 3rd, 1591–2, with the Shakespearean *Henry VI*, Part 1. It is true that Mr. Fleay does not regard this play as altogether Shakespearean. "*It is*," he says, "*evidently written by several hands.*" But his belief is that the Talbot scenes (Act IV, 2–7) were added by Shakespeare *in 1592*, and that Henslowe marked the play as "new" on account of these new scenes. Mr. Greg, as I understand him, adopts the same view ;[2] and Mr. E. K. Chambers writes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "It is probable that *1 Henry VI* is to be identified with the 'Harey the vj' recorded in Henslowe's *Diary* to have been acted as a new play by Lord Strange's men, probably at the Rose, on the 3rd of March 1592."

Thus, according to Mr. Fleay, Mr. Greg, and other high authorities, player Shakspere wrote "the Talbot 'scenes" in *1 Henry VI* in the year 1592, and the play, with these scenes added, was performed at Henslowe's theatre, the Rose, as a new play, in March of that year.

Mr. Fleay further writes (p. 107): "On 19th February (1592) Henslowe opened the Rose Theatre on Bankside *for performances by Lord Strange's men under the* management of the celebrated actor, Edward Allen." At p. 109 he writes: "*I have no doubt that this play* (*1 Henry VI*) was written by Marlowe with the aid of Peele, Lodge, and Greene, before 1590, and that the episode of Talbot's death, added in 1592, is from the hand of Shakespeare himself. In this last opinion it is especially pleasing to me to find myself supported by

[1] Fleay's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 364.
[2] See his edition of Henslowe's *Diary*, Part II, p. 152.

the critical judgment of Mr. Swinburne." At p. 259 he repeats this expression of opinion, and assigns Act IV, Scenes 2–7, to Shakespeare.[1]

Mr. Robertson writes as though my comments upon "The Silence of Philip Henslowe" were confined to myself, or shared only with Judge Stotsenburg. I would respectfully refer him to Mr. Payne Collier, the first editor of Henslowe's *Diary*, who, in his Introduction, makes the following reflections: "Recollecting that the names of nearly all the other play-poets of the time occur, we cannot but wonder that that of Shakespeare is not met with in any part of the manuscript." Again, if we turn to the "New Variorum" *Shakespeare*, edited by that most learned, sound, and judicious Shakespearean scholar, the late Dr. Furness, we find the following: "Where the names of nearly all the dramatic poets of the age are to be frequently found, we might certainly count on finding that of Shakespeare, but the shadow in which Shakespeare's early life was spent envelops him here too, and his name, as Collier says, is not met with in any part of the manuscript."[2]

[1] He also writes (p. 263) that the Temple Gardens scene (Act II, 4) is "probably due to the hand of Shakespeare at a later date, c. 1597–8." Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, it may be mentioned, became Earl of Derby in this year 1592, and when he died in 1594 his place as patron and licenser of the company was filled by Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon and Lord Chamberlain. Thus the company became successively known as "Lord Strange's," "Lord Derby's," "The Lord Chamberlain's," or sometimes "Lord Hunsdon's."

[2] See the "New Variorum" *Hamlet*, Appendix. It is very remarkable that the names of so many plays found recorded in Henslowe's *Diary* are identical with those of "Shakespearean" dramas. We find, for instance, *Henry V*, *Henry VI*, *Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet* (recorded on June 9th, 1594), etc. etc., as well as *The Tragedy of Cæsar*, *Cæsar's Fall*, *Cardinal Wolsey*, and others. Are we to believe that Shakespeare took plays by Dekker, Chettle, Drayton, Chapman and others, and wrote dramas on the same subjects, and with the same titles, in order to show how he could improve upon them? or was it *vice versa* in some cases, as (e.g.) in the case of *Cæsar's Fall*?

In all these circumstances, especially if we are to assume the truth of Mr. Fleay's hypothesis, it is, surely, not so very ridiculous as Mr. Robertson would have his readers believe (even if we give due weight to the matter upon which he lays so much stress, viz. that the *Diary* does not, as a fact, contain any entry of payment to any writer for play-writing before 1597) to think it strange that Henslowe, who makes a record of *1 Henry VI* as "new," and refers to it several times subsequently, and who makes mention in his *Diary* of almost every dramatist of his time, should say nothing at all of the brilliant young man who, as we are told, added the excellent Talbot scenes which made the old play new again. At any rate, Mr. Robertson must reserve some of the vials of his contempt for Mr. Payne Collier, Dr. Furness, and several other critics, besides my humble self.

Further, if Edward Alleyn, the actor, was really, as Mr. Fleay says, "*the first managing director under whom* Shakespeare (i.e. Shakspere) performed," and if, as the same authority also tells us, the Rose Theatre was opened, in February 1592, "for performances by Lord Strange's men under the management" of that "celebrated actor," is it absurd to wonder why it is that in all the papers and memoirs left by Alleyn, which contain the names of all the notable actors and playwrights of his time, there should be no mention of the name of the young actor who, as we are told, not only composed these Talbot scenes acted at the theatre owned by Henslowe and himself—"the earliest scene of Shakespeare's pronounced successes alike as actor and dramatist"—but who afterwards, according to the received hypothesis, became the greatest dramatist of that or any age?

Of course, if Shakspere the player was not really identical with the author of the "Shakespeare" plays our wonder that there should be no mention of him by either Henslowe or Alleyn at once disappears. Mr. Robertson

says he finds it hard to see why I "took to this line of argument at all," seeing that I have expressed my opinion that neither *1 Henry VI* nor *Titus Andronicus*, which were performed at Henslowe's theatre, the Rose, in 1592 and 1594 respectively, are Shakespearean plays. But my argument is perfectly legitimate as against those who believe and state that player Shakespeare was producing such dramatic writing as "the Talbot scenes" in the year 1592, and that he achieved his first success as a dramatist at Henslowe's theatre, and under Alleyn's management.[1]

To conclude this chapter I will refer to two matters of complaint which Mr. Robertson raises against me. He complains that I have misconceived and, therefore, misrepresented him in two specific instances. If I have done so I am sincerely sorry, for I well know (and Mr. Robertson will, I think, fully appreciate the force of this observation) that to misrepresent an author with whom one is, or may be, involved in controversy, is,

[1] Moreover, I may, of course, be mistaken in the opinion which I formerly expressed as to these two plays. It *may* be that "Shakespeare," whoever he was, did add some scenes to *1 Henry VI*, if not to *Titus*.

Here I must refer to Mr. Lang's book, *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown*. Mr. Lang, at p. 160, quotes me as having written as follows: "How strange, how more than strange, that Henslowe should make no mention in all this long diary, embracing all the time from 1591 to 1609, of the actor-author! . . . No matter, *Credo quia impossibile*." He then goes on to ask: "*Credo* what? and what is *impossibile*?"

My comment upon this in *The Times* (Literary Supplement) of January 9th, 1913, was as follows: "Here Mr. Lang, the fairest of critics, has quite unconsciously omitted the most material words of the passage which he cites. The quotation should read: 'The actor-author, who "doubtless" (according to Mr. Lee) secured his earliest "pronounced successes alike as actor and dramatist" in Henslowe's own theatre.' It was in view of this pronouncement, and a similar opinion expressed by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps that 'Shakespeare up to this period (viz. the production of *Titus Andronicus*) had written all his dramas for Henslowe, and that they were acted under the sanction of that manager,' that I characterised as passing 'strange' the fact that Henslowe makes no mention of the name of Shakspere."

however unintentional the misrepresentation may be, extremely damaging to him that makes it, when the error has been proved against him.

The first charge is concerned with a passage in which I comment upon Mr. Robertson's pronouncement as to the weight which, in his judgment, ought to be attached to Shakespeare's reference to *Venus and Adonis* as "*the first heir of my invention*." Mr. Robertson had written, with regard to these well-known words: "The fashion in which that explicit and authoritative testimony has been overridden by a whole series of critics, German and English, who profess to stand or fall by 'external' evidence is instructive. Mr. Collins declares it to be 'certain as we know from Greene and Chettle that he (Shakespeare) was writing plays before 1593.' This is quite unwarranted. Neither Greene nor Chettle ever named Shakespeare or any of his plays. We are fully entitled to infer from the 'Shake-scene' passage in Green's *Groatsworth of Wit* that he had had a hand *in* plays before 1593; but certainly not that he had written one. On the latter head his own declaration is surely final."[1] Again, at a later page of the work referred to, Mr. Robertson had written: "The plain force of Shakespeare's declaration is that before 1593, if he meddled in drama at all, he was merely a collaborator with other men, or a reviser of other men's plays."[2]

Now Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), mentions twelve plays of Shakespeare's, viz., *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Love's Labour's Won*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, and if in saying that *Venus and Adonis* was "the first heir of my invention," Shakespeare is to be taken

[1] *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* chap. II, p. 22.
[2] *Ibid.* chap. II. p. 24.

literally, it follows that he wrote no plays previously to the year 1593, and, in that case, all these plays mentioned by Meres must have been written between the years 1593 and 1598. With this in my mind, and, unfortunately, as I frankly admit, not having paid sufficient attention to the words, "If he meddled in drama at all, he was merely a collaborator with other men," and to a further passage in chap. III of the work cited, to be quoted presently, I wrote (*Shakespeare Problem*, p. 517): "Mr. J. M. Robertson, too, roundly asserts that we must take Shakespeare strictly at his word, and believes, since *Venus and Adonis* was the first heir of his invention, that all the plays were written subsequently to that date. If so, these eleven, twelve, or more dramas must have been composed by Shakespeare and brought upon the stage (if not also published) between 1593 and 1598. If Mr. Robertson can believe this, he has, indeed, great faith, which seems to be reserved for the Stratfordian Gospel only. *Credat Judaeus non ego!*"

Subsequently (I am not sure whether the passage above quoted was not already in type) I observed that I had not paid proper attention to Mr. Robertson's theory of Shakespeare having previously worked either over old drafts, or in collaboration with others. I had quoted from chap. II of Mr. Robertson's book, but in chap. III, at p. 29, occurs the following passage: "Shakespeare for the best of reasons would not regard as heirs of his invention plays in which he used other men's drafts or shared with others the task of composition. Such plays by general consent (Professor Collins dissenting) were the *Henry VI* group.[1] Why then should we refuse to believe that he had either collaborators or draughtsmen for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, the *Comedy of Errors*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Richard II*, even as he was refashioning other men's work in *Romeo and Juliet* and *King John* and some later plays? Nothing

[1] The *Henry VI* plays are not mentioned by Meres.

that is said by Greene and Chettle is incompatible with this rational solution, which alone accords to Shakespeare's own precise avowal a natural interpretation. On the face of the case, it does not appear that Shakespeare had done more than take a share in the chronicle plays as late as 1592, the date of Greene's allusion to him in the preface to *A Groatsworth of Wit*."

Perceiving, then, that I had not given due weight to this passage, I added the following foot-note to the words I have quoted from my own book: "With this alternative, however, viz. that 'Shakespeare for the best of reasons would not regard as heirs of his invention plays in which he used other men's drafts or shared with others the task of composition' (p. 29). It is suggested, therefore, that he had collaborators for *The Two Gentlemen*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Dream*, *Richard II*, and other plays." Herein I did not conceive that I was doing Mr. Robertson an injustice. I imagined that his theory was, on the strict interpretation of the words "the first heir of my invention," that either all the plays mentioned by Meres were written between 1593 and 1598, *or* that for some, if not all, of those plays, Shakespeare had "collaborators," or, as I ought to have added, "other men's drafts." Mr. Robertson, however, points out, with no little indignation, that the antidote of my note is not sufficient for the poison of the passage in the text. For what I "oddly" call "an alternative is the substantive thesis." I, therefore, can do nothing but humbly apologise to Mr. Robertson for having unintentionally, and not with the malice he attributes to me, represented as an "alternative" what is really Mr. Robertson's "substantive thesis."

Having done this, it may be well, before passing on, to consider the meaning of this "substantive thesis." As I now understand it (and I sincerely trust I am not again misrepresenting Mr. Robertson) it is this. We must give

strict effect to the words "the first heir of my invention." Therefore nothing wholly Shakespearean in the way of play or poem could have been written before 1593. But Shakespeare would not regard as heirs of his invention plays which he had written in collaboration with others, or for which he had "written up" "other men's drafts." Therefore, as we cannot suppose that he wrote all the plays mentioned by Meres between 1593 and 1598, it evidently follows that some of them are not wholly Shakespearean. And which are these? Well, let us say *The Two Gentlemen*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Dream*, and *Richard II*, to begin with. Why should not Shakespeare have written these in collaboration, or (here, I trust, I am justified in attributing to Mr. Robertson an "alternative") why should he not have written them up from "other men's drafts"? This leaves of Meres's list only *Love's Labour's Won*, *The Merchant*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *King John*, *Titus*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. What about these? Well, *Love's Labour's Won* cannot be identified with certainty,[1] so we need not, I suppose, concern ourselves much about it. *Titus*, says Mr. Robertson, is not Shakespearean, and must have been inserted in Meres's list in error. *King John* and *Romeo and Juliet* were both "refashioned" by Shakespeare. *Richard III* was, doubtless, written in collaboration also. So we have only *The Merchant* and *Henry IV* as truly Shakespearean plays written between 1593 and 1598. This simplifies matters wonderfully. "The loyal construction of 'the first heir of my invention,'" writes Mr. Robertson,[2] "brings everything into line. The only plays commonly dated before 1598 which we have good ground for pronouncing wholly Shakespearean in style are *The Merchant of Venice* and *Henry IV*." Mr. Robertson is, indeed, "willing to date the first draft of

[1] I believe myself it is to be identified with *All's Well that Ends Well*.
[2] Work cited, p. 200.

Twelfth Night as early as 1594," but thinks "the play was certainly revised or rewritten later," and, apparently, he is not "willing" to allow that it is "wholly Shakespearean in style."

Such is Mr. Robertson's "substantive thesis," which "brings everything into line," and which I am very glad to have the opportunity of setting before the reader, this time, I trust, with perfect fairness and accuracy, and which I gladly leave for his consideration. I shall have a word to say as to this theory later on.

The second offence charged against me is thus formulated by Mr. Robertson: "In his determination to deny the possibility of any use of translations by an Elizabethan dramatist, Mr. Greenwood, like Mr. Collins, falls into complete misapprehension and distortion of an opponent's statement. He thus represents me as having found a cheap 'solution' for the small element of classical knowledge in the *Lucrece*:

> 'Shakespeare, "having decided to write a *Lucrece* as contrast to the *Venus*," may have "had a translation made for him"! In this easy manner difficulties are jauntily disposed of *per saltum*.'
>
> Now, what I [viz. Mr. Robertson] actually wrote was: 'It is *no impossible, indeed*,' that Shakespeare may have had a translation made for him '. . . *but that hypothesis is unnecessary*.' The 'indeed,' one would suppose, must have led any reader, however hasty, to note the waiving of the possible plea. In the passage from which Mr. Greenwood quotes, I expressly proceed to indicate, that according to one testimony, there *was* a translation of the *Fasti*, published in 1570, and that there certainly were three 'ballads,' which might mean poems, or even plays, of any length. Of all this Mr. Greenwood's readers could have no notion from the kind of account he has given of my argument."[1]

[1] Work cited, p. 195.

Now, as I have no contention whatever to express here, and am of opinion that Mr. Robertson's complaint is quite uncalled for, I will just explain the matter, and make an end.

In the first place, I never exhibited a "determination to deny the possibility of any use of translations by an Elizabethan dramatist," and Mr. Robertson must, surely, know that to attribute such an absurd position to me is to suggest that which is untrue. What I have protested against, in this connection, is the practice, so dear to the "unlearned Shakespeare" school, of assuming, in all cases where Shakespeare is seen to have followed classical models, the existence and accessibility to him of some English translation, although there may be no evidence whatever that such a translation ever existed. Thus, Professor Collins having written that Farmer, in his celebrated essay on *The Learning of Shakespeare*, evades or defaces the really crucial tests on the question, because, for example, he makes no reference to the fact that the *Rape of Lucrece* is directly derived from the *Fasti* of Ovid, of which at that time there appears to have been no English version," Mr. Robertson replies:[1] "It is Professor Collins who has evaded the crucial tests. His 'appears' is an indirect admission, to begin with, that among the many manuscript translations then in currency there may very well have been one of the FASTI. *It is not impossible, indeed, that Shakespeare, having decided to write a 'Lucrece,' as contrast to the 'Venus,' should have had a translation made for him.* But that hypothesis is unnecessary."

Upon this I made the following comment: "The 'unlearned Shakespeare' school always call translations 'from the vasty deep' to suit the exigencies of the occasion. Thus, if Professor Collins comments that Farmer 'makes no reference to the fact that the *Rape of Lucrece*

[1] *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 314.

is directly derived from the *Fasti* of Ovid, of which at that time there appears to have been no English version,' Mr. Robertson takes the word 'appears' as 'an indirect admission . . . that among the *many manuscript translations* then in currency there may very well have been one of the *Fasti*.' But if not, he has another solution. Shakespeare, 'having decided to write a *Lucrece* as contrast to the *Venus*,' may have 'had a translation made for him'? In this easy manner difficulties are jauntily disposed of *per saltum*."[1]

This Mr. Robertson calls a "complete misapprehension and distortion of an opponent's statement." There is no misapprehension and no distortion, unless it be in Mr. Robertson's mind. Mr. Robertson had suggested as a quite possible hypothesis that Shakespeare might "have had a translation made for him." True it is that he says such hypothesis is "unnecessary." True it is he suggests, as I made clear in that portion of my comment which he has *not* quoted, "that among the many manuscript translations then in currency there may very well have been one of the *Fasti*." True it is he suggests that there were "three 'ballads' (by which may have been meant any kind of poem) on the legend of Lucrece," which Shakespeare might have made use of. But all this is altogether beside the point. I made no suggestion that Mr. Robertson contended it was *necessary* to assume that Shakespeare had "had a translation made for him." The point was that Mr. Robertson had suggested the possibility of such a "solution" if it had been necessary to assume it. It was an "alternative" upon which it was quite possible to fall back. If not, what is the meaning of the words, "It is not impossible, indeed, that Shakespeare, having decided to write a *Lucrece* as contrast to the *Venus*, should have had a translation made for him"? Of course the words may be intended to bear *no* meaning. They may have

[1] *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, p. 138.

been merely inserted as a joke. But if they have any meaning at all they must mean that if other solutions fail here is a possible solution. If it could be shown that there was *no* translation of the *Fasti* to which Shakespeare might have had access, then, quite possibly, he may have had a translation made for him. This was the point to which I directed the reader's attention, and upon which I commented, and still comment, "In this easy manner difficulties are jauntily disposed of *per saltum*."

I have now put before the reader my alleged misrepresentations of Mr. Robertson, and I will ask him to be so kind as to compare them with Mr. Robertson's misrepresentations of myself to which I have already called attention. I am quite content to take a general verdict on the comparison.

Let us now turn to matters of more importance.

CHAPTER II

SHAKESPEARE'S LEGAL KNOWLEDGE

I NOW turn again to the question of Shakespeare's supposed knowledge of the law; and I fear I must begin by alluding to a very sad personal incident. After quoting Lord Campbell's words, "There is nothing so dangerous as for one not of the craft to tamper with our freemasonry," I wrote (*Shakespeare Problem*, p. 371): "A layman is certain to betray himself by using some expression which a lawyer would never employ." As an instance I quoted Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Lee, who writes (*Life of Shakespeare*, Library Edition, p. 164): "On February 15, 1609, Shakespeare . . . obtained judgment from a jury against Addenbrooke for the payment of £6," etc. I pointed out that a lawyer would not have spoken of obtaining "judgment from a jury," since it is the function of a jury not to deliver judgment (which is the prerogative of the Court), but to find a verdict on the facts, and I added that this was "just one of those little things which at once enable a lawyer to know if the writer is a layman or 'one of the craft.'" In a foot-note I gave, as another example, a passage from Abbott's *Life of Bacon*, where the author, a Doctor of Divinity, speaks of Parliament's power to "rectify . . . an injury arising . . . from the overriding of statutes by common law"; on which I remarked that whereas statutes can, and frequently do, override the common law, the common law cannot override

a statute. I proceeded to give yet one more example from Mr. Robertson's *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* where we read (p. 59): "Let us formulate all the tests that the problem admits of, first putting a few necessary caveats." Whereupon I observed: "No lawyer would speak of '*putting* a caveat.' The legal term is to '*enter* a caveat.'" Now, this remark of mine was a strictly accurate one, but it led to very unfortunate consequences. Some time after the publication of my book, Mr. Robertson complained to me —or, if he demurs to the word "complained," I will say "objected"—that in the index to my book I had mentioned him as having betrayed "his ignorance of law." I at once explained, as the fact was, that not having time to compile the index for myself I had asked Mr. Lane to employ an indexer to do the work on my behalf, and that I had unfortunately not noticed this reference to Mr. Robertson. I recognised, of course, that it was a serious matter.

To charge Mr. Robertson—one who "has taken all knowledge for his province"—with ignorance of any subject under the sun!—Not for worlds would I have been guilty of such an offence. So, forthwith, on returning home, I corrected the offending passage of the index in my copy of *The Shakespeare Problem*, in view of the possibility of a second edition, by substituting the words, "that he is not a lawyer" for the words, "his ignorance of law." But, alas, the evil had been done and I must abide the consequences. Mr. Robertson brings it all up against me at p. 175 of his *opus magnum*, where he writes of my unfortunate self: "And the compiler of his index sternly clinches the matter by the entry, 'Robertson, Mr. J. M., betrays his ignorance on law,[1] 372 note'" ! Whereon he further remarks: "The most amusing item of all, perhaps, is that I happen to have spent four and a half years of my youthful life in a law office. But it was

[1] The indexer should really have said "*of* law"—or rather he should have said something quite different!

a Scotch office (to say nothing of the fact that I was immensely more interested in literature than in law); and in Scotch law they do not, to my recollection, speak of 'caveats,' which word is therefore for me simple English, and not 'jargon.'" I do not quite understand the reference to "jargon," but I note that "caveat" is for Mr. Robertson "simple English," though for most others it is simple Latin. I will not controvert Mr. Robertson's statement that this is "the most amusing item of all," though whether the humour be "English" or "Scotch" I do not quite know; but I fear Mr. Robertson must have "smiled a sort of sickly smile" at the joke of his having spent four and a half years of his youthful life in a Scotch law office with results rather literary than legal, and, though I deplore the unfortunate language made use of by my indexer, I must still assert that the instance I selected from Mr. Robertson's book on *Titus* is an extremely appropriate one, and that "no lawyer would speak of '*putting* a caveat.'" [1]

Turning from this "most amusing item of all," at which I trust the reader has laughed as much as was expected of him, I must now say a word on Mr. Robertson's criticism of my reference to Lord Campbell's book. Here Mr. Robertson plainly shows that, although later on in his great work he has alluded to my book *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*,[2] he has not done me the honour to read it, or, certainly, had not done so when he wrote his chapter III, on "The Argument from Legal Allusions in Shakespeare." He speaks of my extracts from Lord Campbell's work, "made through Lord Penzance," and

[1] Neither, I may remark in passing, would a lawyer have styled a County Court Judge "*Mr.* Judge" So-and-So, as Mr. Robertson (p. 170) speaks of "Mr. Judge Willis." We speak of a Judge of the High Court as "Mr. Justice," but a County Court Judge is "His Honour Judge" So-and-So. But possibly this also is "Scotch" usage!

[2] Work cited, p. 202, note 1. See also p. 195, where Mr. Robertson quotes from *The Vindicators*, but without reference, and *supra*, p. 33, where Mr. Robertson's quotation is from the same work, p. 139.

quotes, as part of an argument directed against me, and as though it would be new to me, a passage from Lord Campbell, the whole of which I had myself quoted in *The Vindicators* at pp. 89 and 90. I will now quote it again, since Mr. Robertson founds upon it an amazing assertion which I shall show to be absolutely unfounded :—

"Great as is the knowledge of law," writes his lordship, "which Shakespeare's writings display, and familiar as he appears to have been with all its forms and proceedings, the whole of this would easily be accounted for if for some years he had occupied a desk in the office of a country attorney in good business, attending sessions and assizes, keeping leets and law days, and, perhaps, being sent up to the Metropolis in term-time to conduct suits before the Lord Chancellor or the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, according to the ancient practice of country attorneys, who would not employ a London agent to divide their fees."

Hereupon Mr. Robertson exclaims (p. 36): "Here, at the very outset, we have a radical conflict between the champions of the lawyer theory. 'We quite agree with Mr. Castle,' *writes Mr. Greenwood* [my italics], 'that Shakespeare's legal knowledge is *not* what could have been picked up in an attorney's office, but could only have been learned by an actual attendance at the Courts, at a Pleader's in Chambers [*sic*], and on circuit, or by associating intimately with members of the Bench and Bar.' Mr. Greenwood is thus in conflict with his chief witness, upon whose testimony have apparently been built the opinions of nearly all the other witnesses whom he cites."

Now, incredible as it may seem, it is nevertheless the fact that the passage with which Mr. Robertson presents his readers as a quotation from my book ("'We quite agree with Mr. Castle,' writes Mr. Greenwood," etc.) was not written by me at all, but by Mr. Churton Collins. It will be found in my book, at p. 380, at the end of a rather

long quotation from that writer's *Studies in Shakespeare* (p. 240), and plainly marked as such. Such, therefore, was Mr. Robertson's haste in putting his 600 pages together that he has actually been guilty of the extraordinary negligence of ascribing to me, as though they were part of my argument, words cited by me from Mr. Churton Collins.[1] But even if the words quoted had been really my own, and not Mr. Collins's, where would have been the "radical conflict," or, for the matter of that, any conflict at all, between me and Lord Campbell (as quoted), whom Mr. Robertson is pleased to call my "chief witness"? According to Lord Campbell's hypothesis, Shakespeare had been for a considerable number of years ("some years") in a busy attorney's office; he had attended sessions and assizes; he had kept leets and law days; and "perhaps" (which Mr. Robertson marks with italics, but which I, certainly, pray in aid as part of the case) had been sent to London in term-time "to conduct suits before the Lord Chancellor or the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster." How, I would ask, does this differ from the postulates put forward by Mr. Castle, with which Mr. Collins (in the passage erroneously attributed to me) has expressed his agreement? It seems to me, on the contrary, that Lord Campbell's hypothesis goes even beyond Mr. Castle's requirements in providing Shakespeare with opportunities for acquiring knowledge of law. The supposed "conflict" appears to be a fond thing vainly invented by Mr. Robertson. All this is, indeed, passing strange.[2]

[1] Mr. Collins wrote, and I so quoted him, not "at a Pleader's in Chambers," but "at a Pleader's Chambers."

[2] On further consideration of this very remarkable passage in Mr. Robertson's book, it has occurred to me that, possibly, he has taken the words, "attending sessions and assizes," etc., as not referring to Shakespeare, but only to the attorney in whose office he is supposed to have been. I certainly understand, and have always understood, them to mean that Shakespeare himself did all the things indicated in his hypothetical capacity of lawyer's clerk. Needless to say I do not myself believe in the "lawyer's clerk" suggestion, an hypothesis invented to account for Shakespeare's legal knowledge.

Having now disposed of the imaginary conflict between me and my "chief witness" (so called), let us return to matters more germane to the issue. In the preceding chapter I quoted the opinions of a number of lawyers of undoubted "Stratfordian" orthodoxy, such as Malone, Lord Campbell, Grant White, and Rushton,[1] to the effect that the works of Shakespeare give evidence of such an amount of legal knowledge on the part of their author as can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition that he had received some special training in the law. To these I added the testimony of Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, and I will now cite once more the opinion of the late Professor Churton Collins. He was not a lawyer, and I do not agree with him in finding evidence of legal knowledge in *Titus Andronicus*, but he was a distinguished man of letters, a keen Shakespearean scholar, and he had a large knowledge of seventeenth-century literature; wherefore I think his remarks on this question may be worth some consideration. After referring to Shakespeare's knowledge of medicine, marine and military affairs, and other crafts and callings, he writes: "To these and all other subjects he recurs occasionally, and in season, but with reminiscences of the law his memory, as is abundantly clear, was simply saturated. 'In season and out of season, now in manifest, now in recondite, application, he presses it into the service of expression and illustration. At least a third of his myriad metaphors are derived from it. It would indeed be difficult to find a single act in any of his dramas, nay, in some of them a

[1] Of W. L. Rushton the *Law Magazine and Review* (May, 1869) declared, "His 'Shakespeare a Lawyer' and 'Shakespeare's Legal Maxims' unmistakably show that if Shakespeare was not at one time connected with the law, as has been attempted to be shown by some of his biographers, yet by some unaccountable means he acquired extensive familiarity with technical legal phraseology. Shakespeare's plays abound with instances of much more than ordinary knowledge of law terms for a civilian, and in order to use these in the way he did, his acquaintance with the written and unwritten law of his period . . . must have been remarkable."

single scene, the diction and imagery of which is not coloured by it. Much of his law may have been acquired from three books easily accessible to him, namely Tottell's *Precedents* (1572), Pulton's *Statutes* (1578), and Fraunce's *Lawier's Logike* (1588), works with which he certainly seems to have been familiar; but much of it could only have come from one who had an intimate acquaintance with legal proceedings." The writer concludes the paragraph with the words above quoted which Mr. Robertson has so strangely ascribed to me. Sir Sidney Lee, too, as already mentioned, had borne his testimony to "Shakespeare's accurate use of legal terms, which deserves all the attention that has been paid it," though he considered that this "may be attributable in part to his observation of the many legal processes in which his father was involved."[1]

Nor would it be difficult to quote competent legal opinion at the present day to the same effect as to the accuracy with which Shakespeare makes use of legal terms and expressions, but I will content myself with one illustration. At the present day we are all of us familiar with the title now borne by Lord Reading, "The Lord Chief Justice of England." But that title dates only from the year 1875, although Coke had tried to assume it, and was informed when he was dismissed, in the year of Shakespeare's death, that he had incurred the displeasure of the King by so doing. And upon this matter we read in the modern *Encyclopædia of the Laws of England*: "Shakespeare, *ever accurate in his legal terminology*, styles Gascoigne, C.J., 'Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench' in the *dramatis personæ* of 'King Henry IV,' Part 2."[2]

Now, in view of this imposing array of strictly

[1] *Life of Shakespeare*, Library Edition, p. 30. See also *Shakespeare as a Lawyer*, by Franklin Fiske Heard, p. 11, cited *infra*, p. 62, note.

[2] I take this from an article in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of October 22nd, 1913, and cite it not so much for the instance given, but, rather, as showing that in the opinion of those responsible for the well-known text-book referred to, Shakespeare was "ever accurate in his legal terminology."

orthodox authority, I certainly thought I was justified in making use, for the purposes of my argument concerning the authorship of Shakespeare, of this generally received opinion as to the legal knowledge displayed in his works; but it is quite legitimate criticism to say that I did not submit these opinions, and the alleged proofs upon which they are based, to searching analysis of my own. I did, indeed, take note of Sir Sidney Lee's assertion that "legal terminology abounded in *all* plays and poems of the period," which appeared to me an exaggerated statement, and upon which I remarked (p. 391) that if he "had said that many lay writers of the period, including poets and dramatists, were much more given to the use of 'legal terminology' than such writers are at the present day, his assertion would have been within the bounds of truth," for "we must admit that this use of legal jargon is frequently found in lay writers, poets and others, of the Elizabethan period—in sonnets, for example, where it seems to us intolerable. That is true, and by all means let due weight be given to the fact." I also took note of Sir Sidney Lee's reference, in illustration of his above-mentioned assertion, to Barnabe Barnes's *Sonnets* (1593) and to *Zepheria* (1594), to both of which instances I devoted a "Note to Chapter XIII." As to *Zepheria*, of which I quoted as a good example Canzon 37, I contended that these sonnets are so absurd that one can hardly believe they were intended for serious poetry. They seem rather by their truly ridiculous and ostentatious introduction of legal terms (such as "*supersedeas*" and "*Praemunire*," e.g.) to be intended for humorous verse in the nature of parodies, although we are told they were themselves parodied by Sir John Davies in one of his gulling sonnets. "But, however this may be," I wrote, "the example of *Zepheria* has no relevancy to our argument in Shakespeare's case, because the author is anonymous. I should think it highly probable that he was a lawyer, and

what we are in search of is instances of familiarity with legal learning and legal life, in the writings of a layman without legal training, such as may fairly be put forward as parallel to the Shakespearean instances. Perhaps it was partly because the author was a lawyer that another lawyer poet—Sir John Davies—eminent both at the Bar and on the Bench, held him up to ridicule in his *Gullinge Sonnets* of 1595." Mr. Robertson, who cites *Zepheria* as though it had some relevancy to the question of Shakespeare's alleged legal knowledge, passes over these remarks of mine *sub silentio*, leaving his readers to suppose that this alleged analogous case had not come under my purview at all; nor does he make mention of my observations with regard to Barnabe Barnes's Sonnets.[1] To these last I devote a considerable amount of consideration, giving quotations with the view of showing that the case of Barnabe Barnes is not really parallel with that of Shakespeare. I can only refer my readers to *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp. 408 and 409, to the conclusion arrived at on p. 410, and to the comparison I make, also at p. 410, between Barnes's Sonnets and Shakespeare's Sonnet xlvi.

Then Mr. Robertson thinks he has found a parallel in sonnet of Drayton's: "Drayton who was no lawyer, but was a poet, could not so far resist the legalist craze as to abstain from working out in one sonnet the fancy that his mistress may be tried for murdering his heart:

> The verdict on the view
> Do quit the dead, and me not accessory.
> Well, well! I fear it will be proved of you!
> The evidence so great a proof doth carry."

Upon these not very intelligible lines Mr. Robertson comments as follows: "Shakespeare had thus the example, in these matters, of a poet whom he could not but esteem, *and whom in one of his later sonnets he has so*

[1] Perhaps I should be right in thinking that Mr. Robertson had not time to read my "Note to Chapter XIII" of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*.

closely imitated that there can be no question of the influence. In this case the parallel is so striking that once more we are led to doubt the primary character of the experience suggested in Shakespeare's sonnet."[1] Mr. Robertson then sets forth the two sonnets for comparison, and I will do so too in order that the reader may have before him what, I think, is a very instructive example of Mr. Robertson's critical qualifications.

DRAYTON

An Evil Spirit (your Beauty) haunts me still,
Wherewith, alas, I have been long possest;
Which ceaseth not to attempt me to each ill,
Nor gives me once, but one poor minute's rest.
In me it speaks, whether I sleep or wake;
And when by means to drive it out I try,
With greater torments then it me doth take
And tortures me in most extremity.
Before my face, it lays down my despairs,
And hastes me on unto a sudden death:
Now tempting me to drown myself in tears;
And then in sighing to give up my breath.
Thus am I still provoked to every evil,
By this good-wicked Spirit, sweet Angel-Devil.

SHAKESPEARE

Two loves I have, of comfort and despair,
Which like two spirits do suggest me still;
The better angel is a man right fair,
The worser spirit a woman, colour'd ill.
To win me soon to hell, my female evil
Tempteth my better angel from my side,
And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,
Wooing his purity with her foul pride.
And whether that my angel be turned fiend
Suspect I may, yet not directly tell;
But being both from me, both to each friend,
I guess one angel in another's hell:
Yet this shall I ne'er know, but live in doubt,
Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

[1] Work cited, p. 92. Italics mine.

Now, Mr. Robertson finds in these two sonnets a "parallel so striking" that "there can be no question of the influence" exercised by the one upon the other, seeing that Shakespeare "has so closely imitated" Drayton. Yet if the reader will only do what, I fear, so few readers do, viz. pause to consider and reflect, he will at once see that the relation between these two sonnets is merely one of superficial resemblance, not of thought, but of words only. Drayton's sonnet is an example of the very common case of a lover who is, or professes to be, perpetually distracted and tormented by the ever-present thought and influence of his mistress's beauty, which, as he says, gives him not "but one poor minute's rest," whether by day or by night, and which he therefore styles an evil spirit,—a spirit which tempts him to suicide either by drowning himself in tears or in sighing to give up his breath. But he cannot think his mistress herself an evil spirit; *she* is an angel, though her beauty exercises such an evil influence upon him. She is good, but her beauty is wicked inasmuch as it has such a bad effect upon him. She is thus both good and bad—a "good-wicked Spirit," a "sweet Angel-Devil." Here is a thought for which we could find hundreds of parallels in the poets ancient and modern.

Now turn to Shakespeare's sonnet—one of the best known of all his sonnets. It is not, like Drayton's, addressed to his mistress only. It has in view two persons, a woman and a man. Both are his "loves": one a spirit of "comfort," the other a spirit of "despair." The man is the "better angel"; the woman—"a woman colour'd ill"—is his "worser spirit." He does not, indeed, style her a devil, but she tempts his "better angel" "from his side, and would corrupt his "saint to be a devil," and, the two being together and away from him, he guesses "one angel in another's hell," a phrase in which students have recognised

a reminiscence of one of Boccaccio's best-known stories.

It will be seen, therefore, that it would be difficult to find two sonnets more dissimilar than these two in which Mr. Robertson finds such a striking parallel that "there can be no question," in his judgment, that Shakespeare modelled his sonnet upon Drayton's, "and "closely imitated him"! It is true that the words "spirit," "angel," and "devil" occur in both, but the essential idea of Shakespeare's sonnet is, as I have shown, absolutely different from that of Drayton's. I am well content to be able to present the reader with this example of Mr. Robertson's critical acumen.

But even if these sonnets had been as alike as they are, in fact, dissimilar, what right has Mr. Robertson to say that Shakespeare here imitated Drayton? Drayton's sonnet first appeared in *England's Heroical Epistles*, published in 1599. This was the third edition of that work, the first having been issued in 1597, and the second in 1598, but the sonnet in question was not added till the year 1599.[1] And Shakespeare's sonnet (No. cxliv) was printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which was published in the same year. The dates of publication, therefore, seem to exclude Mr. Robertson's very questionable hypothesis, concerning which he characteristically says there can be "no question." But the reply is, of course, easy. Beyond doubt Drayton showed Shakespeare his sonnet *in manuscript* before the year 1599. Were they not bosom friends and boon companions? Did they not get drunk together at "a merry meeting," and did not Shakespeare die "of a fever there contracted"? Is not this the testimony of the Rev. John Ward, vicar of Stratford, somewhere about 1662?

[1] I observe that Mr. Robertson quotes from Drayton's Poems of 1619, and not from the edition of 1599, but there is little difference between the two versions.

In this way all carping objections are easily disposed of.[1]

But now let us consider further Mr. Robertson's contention, with regard to Shakespeare's supposed legal knowledge, which is that a very large number of writers, dramatists and others, contemporary with Shakespeare, although devoid of legal training, not only use legal terms with the same frequency as he does, but (and this is the important point) display quite as much knowledge of law as is to be found in the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare; in fact, that the use of legal phraseology was a mere trick or fashion of the day, like Euphuism, for example; that Shakespeare merely indulges in this vogue like any other writer of the time, and that his use of legal phraseology shows no more real knowledge of law, or familiarity with legal life, than the similar use of such phraseology which is to be found abundantly in other lay writers his contemporaries.

I believe I have correctly stated the proposition, and in support of it Mr. Robertson has, with admirable industry, collected a large number of instances which he presents to us as parallel cases to that of Shakespeare in this connection.

But now, before going further, let us say one word with regard to the method of proof. What is it to be? Mr. Robertson quotes, in order to visit it with condign condemnation, the following passage from my book (p. 395) with regard to parson Adams and the legal expressions to be found in his sermons:—

[1] Drayton's sonnet, No. 22, in the 1599 edition, was not published in *Idea, the Shepheard's Garland*, 1593, nor in *Idea's Mirror*, 1594. I observe that Mr. E. K. Chambers entertains the more reasonable supposition that Drayton borrowed from Shakespeare, and not *vice versa*: "He [Shakespeare] seems in turn to have served as a model for Drayton, whose sonnets to *Idea* were published in a series of volumes in 1594, 1599, 1602, 1605, and 1619" (article on Shakespeare in *Encyclopædia Britannica*). I do not, of course, mean to imply that Mr. Robertson suggests that Drayton showed Shakespeare his sonnet in manuscript. I only anticipate a possible, and typical, "Stratfordian" answer.

"It is not," I wrote, "a question of the mere use of legal phrases or maxims, such as 'acknowledging a fine,' 'a writ *ad melius inquirendum*,' '*non est inventus*,' '*noverint universi*,' '*seised*,' '*volenti non fit injuria*,' 'tenants at will,' 'tenants *in capite*,' 'bargain and sale,' and the like. The question is, whether Shakespeare, when we consider his works as a whole, does not exhibit such a sound and accurate knowledge of law, such a familiarity with legal life and customs, as could not possibly have been acquired (or 'picked up') by the Stratford player; whether it be not the fact, as Richard Grant White puts it, that 'legal phrases flow from his pen as part of his vocabulary, and parcel of his thought'? It is not to the purpose to compile mere lists of legal terms and expressions from the pages of other Elizabethan writers, and those who do so simply display an *ignoratio elenchi*, as the old philosophers would say."

Upon this Mr. Robertson waxes most virtuously indignant. He regrets that "there is something worse here than *ignoratio elenchi*," but, most mercifully, he "will not characterise it further than by the use of the phrase of the distinguished living statesman who pronounced certain political arguments to be samples of the 'black arts of surrebuttal and surrejoinder.'" "Mr. Greenwood," says Mr. Robertson, "has simply sought to change the issue while professing to argue it"; and he adds, authoritatively: "It *is* a question of 'the mere use of legal phrases or maxims'—or, still worse, of the inferences to be drawn from mere scoffing allusions to the practices of lawyers." The last part of this sentence, or its bearing on the controversy, I do not quite understand; but as to the "mere use of legal phrases or maxims," not even the *ipsissumus dixit* of Mr. J. M. Robertson can alter the obvious truth of my declaration. The legal knowledge of a writer, Shakespeare or anybody else, cannot be proved by the fact that he merely makes

"use of legal phrases and maxims." A man may string together a number of legal expressions, such as "fines and recoveries," "tenants *in capite*," "*noverint universi*," etc. etc., who is nevertheless altogether destitute of legal knowledge. If Shakespeare is found merely to do this, then, indeed, are they justified who talk so lightly about his "picking up" his law from his father's law-suits in the local Court at Stratford, or at London "ordinaries," or by other means which may be easily suggested. I adhere absolutely to the words which Mr. Robertson has quoted from my book, and I absolutely deny that I have "sought to change the issue while *professing* to argue it"; noting meanwhile that Mr. Robertson does not scruple to charge me with such dishonest procedure. No, no. The question is as I have very clearly stated it. It may be that the authorities whom I cited, and upon whom I relied, are altogether wrong in thinking that Shakespeare, when we consider his works as a whole, "exhibits such a sound and accurate knowledge of law, such a familiarity with legal life and customs, as could not possibly have been acquired (or 'picked up')" unless he had received something in the nature of a legal training; but if the works *do* show this then it is, most assuredly, nothing to the purpose to produce lists of legal phrases culled from contemporary writers, as though such lists were evidence of an equal knowledge of law on the part of those who make use of them. Anybody can put together legal terms in this way, and if Shakespeare merely does this then it is absurd to argue that he shows an accurate, or, indeed, any, knowledge of law, beyond the knowledge of the existence of those terms whereof he makes use. Readers are familiar with the passage in Dekker's *Gul's Horn-Booke*, to which Lord Campbell has made reference, where he mentions the London "Ordinary, to which your London Usurer, your stale Batchelor, and your thrifty Attorney do

resort"; where "if they chance to discourse, it is of nothing but of *Statutes*, *Bonds*, *Recognisances*, *Fines*, *Recoveries*, *Audits*, *Rents*, *Subsidies*, *Sureties*, *Inclosures*, *Liveries*, *Inditements*, *Outlawes*, *Feoffments*, *Judgments*, *Commissions*, *Bankerouts*, *Amorcements*, and of such horrible matter." But such talk, even though a "thrifty Attorney" be one of the party, does not reveal any special knowledge of law on the part of those who make use of the terms mentioned. These things, indeed, may be "picked up," but anyone who has served his apprenticeship to the law—who has read for some years "in Chambers," passed his examination, gone on "circuit" and attended Quarter Sessions, attained at last to practice in the High Court, after having held briefs in County Courts, and Police Courts, and wheresoever else employment might offer itself—will be well aware how ridiculous it is to talk of "picking up" a real knowledge of English law and procedure, and will appreciate the words of Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor, when he speaks of "the difficulty to be encountered by Shakespeare in picking up his knowledge of that which I myself have been so long labouring to understand."

I repeat, therefore, if Shakespeare merely used his legal expressions in the same manner as that in which the heroes of Dekker's "Ordinary" habitually strung them together, there is no question to be investigated, and it is sheer waste of time and trouble to summon a cloud of contemporary witnesses to prove that other writers of that day did the same thing; for, as I wrote in my book some six years back, it is admitted that "this use of legal jargon is frequently found in lay writers, poets and others, of the Elizabethan period." If, however, Shakespeare is found, not merely to have made use of these legal terms and expressions but, to have used them in such a way as to justify us in coming to the conclusion that he had real knowledge of the rules and technicalities

of the law, then, if the comparative method is to be employed to any purpose, it must show (on behalf of those who deny that Shakespeare had had a legal training) that other writers of the day, poets and dramatists included, who had had no legal training or exceptional opportunities of acquiring legal knowledge, also made use of such terms and expressions in a similar manner, evidentiary of a similar knowledge on their part also.

But, before considering the manner in which Mr. Robertson employs the comparative method, let us say one word more concerning Lord Campbell and his letter to Mr. Payne Collier. Mr. Robertson speaks of Lord Campbell in terms of unmeasured contempt. As for his "evidential passages . . . the mere presentment will probably suffice to dispose of them for most readers, so utterly void are they of justification for the thesis built upon them. Comment is often entirely needless; the one constant difficulty is to believe that the judge is serious." [1]

Now here I will make Mr. Robertson the present of a frank admission. I cited Lord Campbell's opinion as to Shakespeare's legal knowledge because, as the opinion of a Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor, I conceived that it was entitled to some weight, and because his book on *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements* is so constantly referred to with respect by Shakespeareans—Sir Sidney Lee, as I have shown, being no exception to the rule. I am quite free to own, however, that I should not care to rest the theory that Shakespeare had the amount of legal knowledge which Lord Campbell ascribes to him, simply on the "evidential passages" which he has presented to us.[2] At the same time I am not quite satisfied

[1] Work cited, p. 40.

[2] That Lord Campbell's book contains not a few mistakes in law has been shown by Mr. Rushton. See his *Shakespeare's Testamentary Language* (1869), Appendix A., and *Shakespeare's Legal Maxims* (1907).

that those passages deserve the very large measure of scorn and contumely which Mr. Robertson has heaped upon them. I do not propose to impose upon myself or my readers the weary task of going through them *seriatim*, but I will just turn to one or two examples.

The first is from *The Merry Wives* (II, 2), where Ford says his love was "Like a fair house built upon another man's ground; so that I have lost my edifice by mistaking the place where I erected it." Upon this Lord Campbell says that it "shows in Shakespeare a knowledge of the law of real property, not generally possessed." This, certainly, sounds somewhat ridiculous. Mr. Robertson, who puts the words "not generally possessed" into italics to emphasise their absurdity, says: "It might suffice to answer that such knowledge is to-day possessed by millions of laymen; and that in the litigious days of Elizabeth it must have been at least as common."

Can we "believe that the Judge is serious"? asks Mr. Robertson. Why, "millions of laymen know it." Yes, but what do they know? Why, that if A. builds a house on B.'s land the house becomes the property of B. Well, but let us suppose that A. builds upon B.'s land honestly believing that it is his own land, "mistaking the place where he erects it," and B., the real owner, allows the erection to be made, and gives no notice of his claim, can B. then, when A. has spent his money and the house is built, assert that he is the rightful owner of it, and will the law support him in such a claim on the ground that *aedificatum solo solo cedit*? If so, surely the law is very unjust! But *is* such the law? No doubt the "millions of laymen" can answer this question off-hand, and to Mr. Robertson, with his four and a half years in a Scotch law office, there is, of course, no difficulty at all. For myself, however, I own that (no doubt because my law is somewhat rusty) I was not a little doubtful what the

correct answer would be; so knowing that the legal maxim above cited is founded on Justinian's *Institutes*, I turned to that work (long unopened by me) as edited by T. C. Sandars, once a "Barrister-at-law," and "late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford," and I found the whole question learnedly discussed on Lib. II, Tit. 1, par. 30; and I am brought to the conclusion that, in such a case as I have supposed, if the owner brings a suit for the recovery of the land, Equity would compel him to make allowance and compensation, for the improvement of his property, so that although A. would still "lose his edifice" he would, nevertheless, receive compensation from the owner of the land. "Of course," says Justinian (as translated by Mr. Sandars), "if the person who builds is in the possession of the soil, and the owner of the soil claims the building, but refuses to pay the price of the materials and the wages of the workmen, the owner may be repelled by an exception of *dolus malus*, provided the builder was in possession *bonâ fide*." Such was the old Roman law upon which our law on this subject is founded. Justinian's statements and Mr. Sandars's learned comments thereon are well worth consulting by the reader who is interested in the matter. Meanwhile we may remark that the question is not one of quite such childlike simplicity, nor is the law on the subject quite so universally known and understood, as Mr. Robertson appears to imagine.[1]

[1] I am not quite sure that "millions of laymen" know that if I knowingly build my house on the land of another (to take a simple case) I have no claim to the materials or any part of their value. (Since this was written I have read an article on "Law and Lawyers in Shakespeare," in *Case and Comment*, an American magazine, described as "The Lawyer's Magazine," for August 1914, by the Hon. John H. Light, Attorney-General of Connecticut. Referring to the above quotation from *The Merry Wives* the writer says, "This principle of law is not apt to be known by laymen." Curious this, if it is known and understood by "millions of laymen," as Mr. Robertson assures us! But Mr. Light holds that "there are very few lawyers who really understand the true spirit and science of the law as well as Shakespeare." What a target for Mr. Robertson's withering scorn!)

Still it must be admitted that we should require many instances of this sort, and instances of a more striking kind, before we could safely build upon such utterances any decided theory as to Shakespeare's legal knowledge. Besides, does not Mr. Robertson supply us with a further answer? "Let the lawyer," says he, "be answered in legal form. In Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, published in 1597, Hodge says (V, 2): 'The law's on our side; he that sows on another man's ground forfeits his harvest.' Hodge is a foreman shoemaker. Was Dekker an attorney's clerk, or was Hodge talking in character and saying what any shoemaker might? Or was it a lawyer who penned in Heywood's *English Traveller* (IV, 1) the lines,

> Was not the money
> Due to the usurer, took upon good ground
> That proved well built upon? We are no fools
> That knew not what we did—?

Or is Chapman to be credited with a legal training because he cites the legal maxim *Aedificium cedit solo* in May Day (III, 3)?"[1]

Here, I must say, in passing, that I fail to see what the relevancy is of the passage cited from Heywood. Is it really suggested that this passage is a fair parallel to that cited from Shakespeare? If so, I can only say that I am quite unable to appreciate it. But let that pass. We are now brought to a consideration of the manner in which Mr. Robertson makes use of the comparative argument founded upon the employment of legal terms and expressions by other writers contemporary with Shakespeare. But, yet again, before entering upon this consideration, let us consider the second instance taken

[1] Work cited, p 40. I think most shoemakers would share the general knowledge that "he that sows on another man's ground forfeits his harvest"!

by Mr. Robertson from Lord Campbell. It runs thus:—

MRS. FORD. What think you? (May we, with the *warrant* of womanhood, and the *witness* of a good conscience, pursue him) with any farther revenge?

MRS. PAGE. The spirit of wantonness is, sure, scared out of him: (if the devil have him not in *fee simple, with fine and recovery*, he will never), I think, in the way of waste, attempt us again.[1]

Now it is true that Lord Campbell puts the words "warrant" and "witness" into italics, thus calling attention to them in connection with the legal terms which follow, but he makes no reference to them as supporting his case. What he does say is: "This Merry Wife of Windsor is supposed to know that the highest estate which the devil could hold in any of his victims was *a fee simple* strengthened by *fine and recovery*."

Now it is, of course, open to Mr. Robertson, or anybody else, to say that in his judgment such an instance as this has no weight as a contribution to the argument that Shakespeare had more than ordinary legal knowledge. But what does Mr. Robertson do? He actually has collected instance after instance of the use of the words "warrant" and "witness" in other contemporary writers. Among others he quotes a passage from Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, where the *verb* "warrants" occurs ("warrants your authority"), and concludes with this sapient dictum: "'Warrants,' in fact, swarm through the play. *Which clearly proves that Jonson must have been an attorney's clerk*! [my italics]. And between 'warrant' and 'witness' every other Elizabethan dramatist would be in the same list."

I should hesitate to say whether criticism of this kind

[1] I have put the words quoted by Mr. Robertson (p. 41) in brackets; he omits the rest, no doubt for the sake of brevity, but it would have been better to quote the passages in full.

is more distinguished by its shallowness or its disingenuousness. "'Warrants,' in fact, swarm." Why, of course they do. The word "witness" occurs in every other Elizabethan dramatist. Why, of course it does. Mr. Robertson has led his readers to think that Lord Campbell had founded his judgment and based his argument on these two words, and having so done he occupies himself in the futile task of collecting other instances of their occurrence in the pages of other writers of the day, where, of course, they are to be found "thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa." And as, probably, not one in a hundred of Mr. Robertson's readers will refer to Lord Campbell's book the effect will, no doubt, be all that Mr. Robertson desires.

In truth, whatever weight Lord Campbell ascribes to the passage in question, is derived, as he tells us, from the fact that Mrs. Page is supposed to know that "the highest estate" which man or devil could hold, according to the law at that time, was "a fee simple strengthened by fine and recovery." It may be that his lordship was altogether wrong in attaching any importance at all to the passage in question, but to wander away from it in order to pick up "warrants" and "witnesses" wheresoever they may be found (and, of course, they are to be found everywhere) is simply to darken counsel and to give anything but a fair measure of justice to Lord Campbell's unfortunate book.[1]

Having done this, Mr. Robertson sets out to find a parallel passage to the sentence, "if the devil have him not in *fee simple, with fine and recovery*," etc. And this is how he proceeds: "On Lord Campbell's principle,

[1] There is another legal term in the passage, viz. "waste," but Mr. Robertson has so clipped the quotation as to exclude it. "Waste" is any spoil or destruction in houses, gardens, trees, etc., to the prejudice of the heir expectant. It is here, of course, used with a double meaning.

then, what inference shall we draw from this piece of dialogue between wooer and lady in one of Greene's stories?—

'Yet Madame, (quoth he) when the debt is confest there remaineth some hope of recovery. . . . The debt being due, he shall by constraint of law and his own confession (maugre his face) be forced to make restitution. Truth, Ganydonius (quoth she), if he commence his action in a right case and the plea he puts in prove not imperfect. But yet take this by the way, it is hard for that plaintiff to recover his costs where the defendant, being judge, sets down the sentence.' *The Card of Fancy*, 1587, Works, ed. Grosart, IV., 108.[1]

"The 'debt' in question is one of unrequited love. Shall we then pronounce that Greene wrote as he did because 'his head was full of the recondite terms of the law'?"

Amazement seizes me as I read passages like this. Is this, I ask, the strong reasoner, the great logician, the doughty controversialist? And does he really think that there is any analogy between the passage cited from *The Merry Wives* and the quotation above set forth from *The Card of Fancy*? Shakespeare uses the legal expressions (and whether "recondite" or not, they are, certainly, highly technical expressions) "*fee simple with fine and recovery*." What does Mr. Robertson triumphantly produce as a parallel passage? A quotation from Greene in which, certainly, there is mention of an "action" and of a "plea," and in which, moreover, there is talk of "recovery," viz. *the recovery of a debt*, and *the recovery of costs*. And Mr. Robertson would really appear to think that this ordinary use of the word is equivalent to the very technical use of the word "recovery" as used in connection with a "fine"! It would be as much to the point to cite a passage in which a patient is stated to have made a good "recovery" from an illness. But of course the ordinary reader, glancing rapidly through

[1] Work cited, p. 41.

Mr. Robertson's countless parallels (so called), and knowing nothing of law, or legal terms, thinks that in the multitude of instances there is necessarily wisdom. What does *he* know of Wharton's *Law Lexicon*?

But this is not all in connection with this expression "fine and recovery," so well known to lawyers although both fines and recoveries are now obsolete. I am constrained to ask (though here, again, I speak with bated breath) whether Mr. Robertson, albeit he lectures us on legal terms, is not under a total misapprehension as to the meaning of the word "fine"? I am compelled to put the question in view of the following passage in Mr. Robertson's work (p. 46): "'Fine and recovery' occurs again in the *Comedy of Errors* (II, 2); and this time we are told that the puns extracted from the terms '*show the author to be very familiar with some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence.*' . . . 'Fine,' as it happens, is a common figure in the drama of Shakespeare's day. Bellafront in Dekker's *Honest Whore* (Part 2, IV, 1) speaks of

> an easy fine,
> For which, me thought, I leased away my soul.

From Mall, in Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abington* (III, 2), we have:

> Francis, my love's lease I do let to thee
> Date of my life and time: what say'st thou to me?
> The ent'ring, fine, or income thou must pay.

There is nothing more technical in the Comedy of Errors" (my italics).

"Wonderful!" exclaims the reviewer, who, naturally, has not served his apprenticeship to the law. "What learning! What wealth of illustration! Obviously both Dekker and Porter knew quite as much about these technical legal expressions as did Shakespeare." Yet if Mr. Robertson had submitted his proofs to any young

law student preparing for his "exam," it would have been pointed out to him that he had been guilty of a ridiculous blunder. "Fine," as used in the expression "fine and recovery," means a method (now obsolete) of transferring land by means of a fictitious law-suit. It has nothing to do with a money payment. But Mr. Robertson adduces as parallel passages to that cited from *The Comedy of Errors* lines from Dekker and Porter respectively, where the word "fine" is used in a totally different sense, viz. as meaning the premium on the grant of a lease! No better example could be found of Mr. Robertson's qualifications for instructing us on the subject of Shakespeare's knowledge of law.[1]

Then take the following further "parallel," which Mr. Robertson gives as though to clinch the case: "What, again, shall we say of the passage in Dekker's *Honest Whore* (Part 1, IV, 1) in which Hippolito points to the portrait of Infelice as

> The copy of that obligation
> Where my soul's bound in heavy penalties,

and Bellafront replies,

> She's dead, you told me: she'll let fall her suit.

Must Dekker too be a lawyer?" (p. 41).

What have we here? The words "obligation," "penalties," and "suit." And having put before the reader these extremely simple expressions, which might, of course, be paralleled in the works of almost any writer of the time, Mr. Robertson asks: "Must Dekker too be a lawyer?" And complacently adds: "The reader has already begun, perhaps, to realise that lawyership is out of the question!" *Di Magni*, that our time should be wanted by such solemn nonsense!

But a word more on this question, "Must Dekker too

[1] One reviewer, at any rate, had detected this absurd error. See article headed "Bacon and the Bard" in *The Literary Guide* for June 1st, 1913.

be a lawyer?" Here we come, at last, to the consideration of Mr. Robertson's peculiar method of treating the comparative argument to which I have above alluded. It is as follows. Mr. Robertson takes a passage cited by Lord Campbell, or somebody else, as contributing to the proof of the theory that Shakespeare had more than ordinary knowledge of law, and thereupon cites a passage from some other Elizabethan writer which he conceives to be a parallel to the Shakespearean passage. Frequently it is, as in the cases above examined, no parallel at all. But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that it is so; let us suppose, for example, that the passage produced from Dekker really contained legal expressions analogous to those used in the passage cited from Shakespeare. What does Mr. Robertson do then? He asks: "Must Dekker too be a lawyer?" But it requires but little consideration to see that this is a fallacious method of reasoning. If, indeed, we were to take one, two, or three passages from Shakespeare in which legal expressions are to be found, and to base upon these instances the hypothesis of his legal knowledge, then it might be open to a critic to take one, two, or three passages from some other writer of that day, in which similar expressions are found, and to ask: "Must he too be a lawyer?" But the real problem is, manifestly, a very different one. Here, if the comparative method is to be used to any purpose, it is incumbent upon him who makes use of it to show that at least some one or two writers of Shakespeare's time, who had had no legal training, habitually use legal expressions, I do not say necessarily with the same frequency as Shakespeare but, as accurately and appropriately as he uses them; or, in other words, that such writers are comparable with him not only in the *quantity* but also in the *quality* of their legal terms and allusions.[1] It is

[1] An American lawyer, Mr. Franklin Fiske Heard, writes: "There can be no doubt that legal expressions are more frequent, and are used with more

obvious, therefore, that to take an instance from Dekker here, and from Greene there, and then another from Ben Jonson, making comparison in each case with some one selected passage from Shakespeare, really gets us no nearer to a satisfactory answer. This consideration appears to me to vitiate the whole of Mr. Robertson's case. The proper mode of procedure would have been to examine carefully all the Shakespearean Plays and Poems with the view of forming an opinion as to how much legal knowledge Shakespeare may justly be credited withal. If thereupon it could be shown that one or two of his contemporaries, who had no peculiar opportunities of acquiring a special knowledge of law, nevertheless show as much familiarity with, and knowledge of, its terms and doctrines as is shown by Shakespeare, then, indeed, the comparative argument would be entitled to weight as against the theory that Shakespeare had himself received some special legal training. But this Mr. Robertson has not done. On the contrary, he treats us to passages like the following—to give yet another instance: "Out of a score of parallels to such phrases as 'fee simple' and 'fine and recovery' in other dramatists and writers, it may here suffice to note (1) in Lilly's *Mother Bombie* (I, 2),

> A good evidence to prove the fee simple of your
> daughter's folly;

(2) in the old dialogue or quasi-interlude, Roye's *Rede Me and be not Wrothe* (1528), one speaker's description of the friars as,

> Fre coppy holders of hell
> And fe farmers of purgatory.
> Whittingham's rep. p. 72;

and (3) Thomas Nashe's second prefatory epistle to his *Strange News of the Intercepting Certain Letters* (1592),

> precision in his [Shakespeare's] writings than in those of any other dramatic author of the period" (*Shakespeare as a Lawyer*, p. 11). This is, of course, the question at issue.

where Gabrial Harvey is told that he is 'here indited for an encroacher upon the fee simple of the Latin.'"[1]

Here again, Mr. Robertson triumphantly asks, "Are we to pronounce all three writers lawyers?" This strikes me as foolish. No man in his senses would think of making Shakespeare a lawyer on account of one instance of the use of the term "fee simple" (or several instances for the matter of that), nor would anybody out of Bedlam make Lilly, Roye, and Nashe lawyers on the strength of such instances as Mr. Robertson has cited. It is strange that he has not seen the futility of such a method of argument.

Let us take just one other instance. Lord Campbell cites from *The Merchant of Venice* the lines:

> Let us go in;
> And *charge us there upon inter'gatories*
> And *we will answer all things faithfully*.

Now the old practice of the Court of the King's Bench was that when a complaint was made against a person for a "contempt," he was sent into the Crown Office, and being there "*charged upon interrogatories*," he was made to swear to "*answer all things faithfully*." But Mr. Robertson omits the third line of the quotation, where these last-mentioned words occur, and by way of furnishing us with parallels gives (*more suo*) several instances of the use of the word "interrogatories" by writers contemporary with Shakespeare, apparently impervious to the fact that the passage cited by Lord Campbell derives whatever strength it has not from the mere occurrence of the word "interrogatory" but the accurate description of the legal practice contained in the words which his lordship has written in italics in the above quotation, a material portion of which Mr. Robertson has omitted. Now opinions may well differ with regard to the value of such a

[1] Work cited, p. 44.

passage as a strand in the evidentiary rope, but, merely to collect passages where the word "interrogatories" occur (even though in one of them we find the common expression "swear me on interrogatories") is entirely beside the mark.

And here I would like to say this further word with regard to Lord Campbell. Mr. Robertson objects to him that he wrote in ignorance of Elizabethan literature generally and was therefore unaware that other writers and dramatists of the time, destitute of special legal knowledge, commonly and habitually made use of legal expressions. This objection may apply to Lord Campbell, but it certainly does not apply to Malone, upon whose authority, as I have already stated, I mainly relied, so far as authority entered into the question; for Malone, as is well known, was widely and deeply read in seventeenth-century literature.

But then, says Mr. Robertson, "the legalist case" proceeds "on the implicit assumption that Shakespeare chronically [*sic*] vitiates his art by putting in the mouths of lay characters phraseology which only lawyers could understand" (p. 87), the inference being that in Mr. Robertson's opinion all Shakespeare's legal allusions are such as could have been easily understood by his audiences generally. Would Shakespeare, he asks, "be likely to put in the mouth of one of his 'merry wives' language which to his audience would seem utterly out of character and fit only for an attorney"? The first proposition, therefore, is that to the audience generally the legal allusions and expressions would have been quite intelligible. The second proposition is that if such allusions and expressions were not understood by the audience generally (i.e. though understood, of course, to be legal allusions, not understood in their true and technical meaning) they would have seemed to the audience "utterly out of character and fit only for an

attorney." But the second proposition by no means follows from the first. On the one hand, though the audience failed properly to understand the allusions, such allusions might nevertheless (in days when admittedly law terms were more popular in ordinary life and conversation than they are now) have seemed, if not quite natural, at any rate not a whit objectionable, and certainly not "utterly out of character," or "fit only for an attorney." On the other hand, even if we were to assume that the audience thoroughly understood these legal allusions, it does not follow that those among them who were inclined to be critical might not think them very doubtful art.

But who were Shakespeare's audiences, and of what sort of people were they composed? The question has always appeared to me a difficult one. Of course, when plays were acted, as Shakespeare's plays frequently were, at royal palaces, such as Greenwich, or stately mansions, such as Wilton, or at one of the Inns of Court—in the Middle Temple Hall, for instance—they would be seen by men of learning and culture who might well be able, for the most part, to understand the legal allusions. But at the public theatres, if indeed we have true descriptions of them in such books as Taine's *English Literature*, for example, the case would be very different. "The theatres," he writes, "were great and rude contrivances, awkward in their construction, barbarous in their appointments, open to the sky as to the pit, admittance to which was one penny. If it rained . . . the people in the pit, butchers, mercers, bakers, sailors, apprentices, received the streaming rain on their heads . . . while waiting for the piece, they amuse themselves after their fashion, drink beer, crack nuts, eat fruit, howl, and now and then resort to fists . . . when the beer took effect, there was a great upturned barrel in the pit, a peculiar receptacle for general use. The smell rises and then comes the cry, 'Burn the juniper'! They burn some in a plate on the stage and the

heavy smoke fills the air," etc. etc. etc. It is difficult to conceive of a play like *Hamlet* or *Lear* being acted in such a theatre before such an audience.[1] But, if Shakespeare's dramas were played at the public theatres, would anyone really contend that the "groundlings," and "stinkards," and the audience generally, must necessarily have been able to understand all the legal expressions used in those dramas—or, for the matter of that, in the plays of Ben Jonson, or other dramatists of the time? That is a proposition which appears to me to have very little reason or probablity to commend it. I believe, on the contrary, singular as it may appear, that a considerable part of the dramas of that day could not be generally "understanded of the people." Will it be contended that the audience generally were able to understand the Latin quotations with which some Elizabethan writers were so fond of embellishing their plays? Take a popular drama such as Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, for example. Act XI, Scene 5, concludes with fourteen Latin hexameters, and there are many others throughout the play. Am I to be told that the audience generally in those days, at the public theatres, understood and appreciated these Latin lines? Why, the majority of them, I apprehend, could neither read nor write? But many people, as we know, are highly pleased with things that they cannot altogether understand, and the "groundlings" and "stinkards" were, doubtless, highly impressed by the Latin, French, or Italian quotations introduced by the dramatists.

On the whole, then, this argument of Mr. Robertson's, that Shakespeare's legal allusions and expressions, so far from being evidentiary of any special legal knowledge, must have been quite plain and intelligible to the audience generally, appears to me altogether untenable.[2]

[1] See further on the Elizabethan Playhouse at p. 237.

[2] Lord Campbell quoting Hamlet's speech "on taking in his hand what he supposed might be the skull of a lawyer," says: "These terms of art are all

Let us take another sample of Mr. Robertson's style of criticism. Lord Campbell cites a passage from *The Winter's Tale* in which Hermione refers to an antiquated "piece of English law procedure," viz. "that whether guilty or innocent, the prisoner was liable to pay a fee on his liberation." This, says his lordship, "could hardly be known to any except lawyers, or those who had themselves actually been in prison on a criminal charge." Now that Lord Campbell herein shows very little wisdom I should be the first to admit. Mr. Robertson, naturally, holds up this supposed item of proof to scorn and ridicule. He then comments as follows: "If Lord Campbell *and Mr. Greenwood* had but handled this case as they would have done [*sic*] a legal one, and taken a little trouble to discover precedents, *they* or their readers used seemingly with a full knowledge of their import; and it would puzzle some practising barristers with whom I am acquainted to go over the whole *seriatim* and to define each of them satisfactorily." Whereupon Mr. Robertson comments (p. 79): "So that Shakespeare, once more, is inartistic enough to put in the mouth of a prince a string of law terms which a Victorian barrister would be hard put to it to define." The argument, therefore, may be put in the form of a syllogism:

If Shakespeare did this he was inartistic.
But Shakespeare could not be inartistic.
Therefore Shakespeare did not do it!

But, in the first place, I would remark that Mr. Robertson makes a false point by laying stress on his "*Victorian* barrister," because the terms used by Hamlet, such as "double vouchers" and "recoveries" (e.g.), had become practically obsolete before Victorian days, and therefore barristers of that day, or this, might well be unable to define them. And, secondly, Mr. Robertson finds no difficulty in admitting that Shakespeare may be "inartistic" when he hath a mind. With regard to *Measure for Measure*, for example, he sees that in altering the old plot of *Promos and Cassandra*, "by positing a precontract between Claudio and Julia the recast 'takes all the point out of the story,'" as Mr. Castle says, "so that in reality there is no motive left for the play," because, as he writes, "the case of Julia and Claudio is (thus) on all fours with the case of Mariana and Angelo, in which the Duke, after treating Claudio as liable for the same thing to capital punishment, plans the intercourse of the precontracted persons." This is "inartistic" enough in all conscience, so inartistic in fact that Mr. Robertson thinks a lawyer could not have been guilty of it. (Work cited, p. 134.)

might have been saved the construction and demolition of a legal house of cards." Hereby Mr. Robertson, inferentially, gives his readers to suppose that I had made special and approving reference to this particular passage in Lord Campbell's book, the truth being that I had merely quoted his opinion, among others, as to Shakespeare's alleged legal knowledge. Mr. Robertson cannot really think that by quoting his lordship's opinion in support of a general proposition I thereby endorse every particular argument by which he essays to make it good.

Again, Lord Campbell makes reference to the fact that Falstaff talks of "the wearing out of six fashions, which is four terms or two actions." This, again, may have very little value as evidence of Shakespeare's familiarity with "the mysteries of terms and actions," but it will be obvious to any reader who will pause to reflect that what value it has (if any) is really not impaired by merely citing, as does Mr. Robertson, passages in which the word "term," or "term-time," occur in other authors of that day. The inference raised by Falstaff's words is, as Lord Campbell puts it, "that in Shakespeare's time, *final judgment was obtained in an action of debt in the second term after the writ commencing it was sued out*; and as there are four terms in the legal year,—Michaelmas Term, Hilary Term, Easter Term, and Trinity Term,—this is a legal circumlocution for a twelvemonth." I repeat, this may have very little weight with reference to the "legal" argument, but to cite passages in proof of the proposition that "the 'terms' of the law-courts were then a normal way of dividing time," seems to me altogether beside the point.

I am not concerned to pursue Mr. Robertson's criticisms on Lord Campbell at any further length, and it would be waste of time to do so.[1]

[1] I will make Mr. Robertson the present of a criticism with regard to one of Lord Campbell's observations which has altogether escaped him. Edmund,

Mr. Grant White and others have laid some stress upon Shakespeare's use of the word "purchase" in its legal sense, viz. the acquisition of land by means other than by descent or inheritance. Mr. Robertson, however, tells us that there is no "legal" sense of the word: "There was no more a 'legal' sense of the *term* 'purchase' than there was or is of the term 'property' or 'obtain': the law simply discriminated on legal lines, between right and wrong *modes of 'purchase.'*"[1] In support of this proposition he covers some ten pages with instances of the use of the word in what he tells us was its "original meaning," viz. "acquisition of property by one's personal action as distinct from inheritance." The "so-called 'legal' meaning," therefore, "is the original meaning, and is the likely sense of the word in the whole feudal period"; for "the philological fact is that the sense of 'acquisition' or 'thing got,' is the fundamental meaning of the word 'purchase,' of which the starting-point is the idea of the chase (*Fr. pourchasser*), the product of hunting or foraging."

Now it seems to me that Mr. Robertson might well have spared himself all this labour and trouble,—that he has really been wasting his time in order to demonstrate to us, with great parade of learning, that which

in *Lear*, says: "If I find him *comforting* the King, I will stuff his suspicion more fully." Upon this, says Mr. Robertson (p. 77), "we are duly reminded [by Lord Campbell] that 'comforting' is the term used in 'the indictment against an accessory after the fact, *for treason.*'" Whereupon Mr. Robertson comments: "The Lord Chancellor would appear to have been unaware that the word is used in indictments after the fact [*sic*] for lesser crimes than treason!" I do not know what is meant by "indictments after the fact," but the really appropriate comment on Lord Campbell's remark is that he appears to have forgotten, very strangely, that *there are no accessories in treason*, all being principals in the eye of the law! Mr. Robertson would not perhaps have learned this during his four and a half years in a Scotch law office, but he must, surely, have read the trial of Alice Lyle in Macaulay's *History*, where he would find the law correctly stated (*History of England*, 1854, Vol. I, p. 634).

[1] Work cited, p. 99.

was perfectly well known even among the lawyers who supposed that there is a special "legal" sense in which the term "purchase" is sometimes used by Shakespeare, and many other writers also. I have before me a little book called *Shakespeare as a Lawyer*, by Franklin Fiske Heard (1883). Mr. Heard was, I believe, an American lawyer, and this is how he writes concerning the word "purchase": "The word *purchase*, in its common and confined acceptation, is now applied only to such acquisitions of land as are obtained by way of bargain and sale for money, or other valuable consideration. *But much oftener in our old writers simply to acquire, being properly to hunt; and then to take in hunting*; and then, as the commonest way of acquiring is by giving money in exchange, to buy." He then quotes Lord Bacon: "And therefore true consideration of estate can hardly find what to reject, in matter of territory, in any empire, except it be some glorious acquests obtained sometime in the bravery of wars, which cannot be kept without excessive charge and trouble; of which kind were the *purchases* of King Henry VIII, that of Tournay and that of Bologne." In these few words Mr. Heard had already told us, many years ago, practically all that Mr. Robertson has told us once more with such terrible prolixity. Mr. Robertson writes: "I will simply clear the matter up by citing many instances of the use of the quasi-legal use [*sic*] of the word in other writers and dramatists, noting that it is frequently applied in the sense of 'booty' or plunder." A lawyer may here remind Mr. Robertson that the law does not allow "a use upon a use," and that literature might well follow law in this respect! But I pass that little matter over as only one more of the very numerous proofs of the haste in which Mr. Robertson's *magnum opus* was put together. All that concerns me now is to show, as I have done, by the above quotation from Mr. Heard's

book, that the original meaning of the word "purchase," viz. to "acquire," was perfectly well known, and stood in no need of demonstration "by citing many instances."

But is it true, then, that there is no "legal" sense of the term "purchase," as Mr. Robertson tells us? I opine that it is not true. As we have seen, Mr. Robertson writes, "the so-called 'legal' meaning of 'acquisition of property *by one's personal action* as distinct from inheritance' is the original meaning." I do not know whence he takes his quotation giving a definition of the legal meaning. Whence has he taken the words "by one's personal action"? It seems to me clear that they should be omitted from the definition. For if someone were to *give* me real estate, I could hardly be said to have acquired it by my "personal action," yet in the eye of the law I should be a "purchaser." Let me quote Mr. Heard once more. "*In its legal acceptation*, 'to purchase' is to acquire real estate by means other than by descent or inheritance. If one *gives* land freely to another, he is, in the eye of the law, a purchaser. A man who has his father's estate settled upon him in tail, before he was born, is also a purchaser [not much "personal action" here!] And even if the ancestor devises his estate to his heir-at-law by will, *with* other limitations, *or* in any other shape, than the course of descents would direct, *such heir takes by purchase.* In *Antony and Cleopatra* the word is used in its legal sense. Lepidus, in palliating the faults of 'a man who is the abstract of all faults,' says,—

> His faults, in him, seem as the spots in heaven,
> More fiery by night's blackness; *hereditary*,
> Rather than *purchased.*"

Indeed, it is rather strange for one who has in days gone by spent more or less weary hours over "the Tables of Descent," in Stephen's Commentaries, or Williams's "Real Property," and remembers how often, on the failure of a

particular line of descent, one had to go back to "Benjamin Brown the Purchaser," and begin again, to be told that there is no special legal sense in the term "purchase," and that "the law simply discriminated, on legal lines, between right and wrong *modes of 'purchase.'*" But, as I have shown, this is not a true statement, for "purchaser" in its legal sense includes not only those who have acquired land by "personal action as distinct from inheritance," but also, as we have seen, those who have received land as a gift, or upon whom it has been settled before they were born, and even heirs-at-law, who would otherwise have inherited, if they take by a devise not in accordance with "the course of descents." Here then is a special legal meaning which would not be included in the ordinary "original meaning," and that Shakespeare uses the word in this special legal sense in the passage quoted from *Antony and Cleopatra* cannot, surely, be doubted, though whether or not such usage of the word here and in other places has much weight with regard to the question of Shakespeare's alleged legal knowledge I do not now stop to inquire.[1]

[1] Mr. Robertson quotes from my book a passage cited by me from Mr. Grant White: "Take the word 'purchase,' for instance, which in ordinary use means to acquire by giving value, but applies in law to all legal modes of obtaining property, except by inheritance or descent, and in this peculiar sense the word occurs five times in Shakespeare's thirty-four plays, and only in one single instance in the fifty-four plays of Beaumont and Fletcher." On this Mr. Robertson comments: "By the definition 'legal modes of obtaining property,' the critic merely obscures the fact that the term covered *all* modes of acquisition save inheritance. There was no more a 'legal' sense of the term 'purchase' than there was or is of the term 'property' or 'obtain'; the law simply discriminated on legal lines, between right and wrong *modes of 'purchase.'* To pick out cases in the plays in which 'purchase' means lawful acquisition is thus pure mystification." I think it is obvious, however, that by "legal modes of obtaining property" Mr. White did not mean "lawful modes," but the various modes recognised by law of acquiring real property, other than inheritance, as by gift, or such other means as those to which I have already referred. Mr. Robertson, by the way, commenting upon Heywood's frequent use of the word "purchase," says: "For Heywood in

I may here pause to consider some curious remarks made by Mr. Robertson concerning John Shakespeare, the father of William (neither father nor son called himself "Shakespeare," but let that pass). Referring to the "fashion of lawyerism" in the seventeenth century, Mr. Robertson writes (p. 145): "In respect of the state of society in which this was a normal experience it is hardly necessary to prove that Shakespeare had any special inducement in youth to take an interest in legal procedure. But, as it happened, he had. It is generally known, *and the legalists might have been expected to remember* [my italics] that Shakespeare's father was a man of many law-suits. But nowhere in connection with this question, I think, has note been taken of the extent and significance of that experience in the Shakespearian household. It has been left to a clerical writer,—partly bent on proving the quite arguable thesis that John Shakespeare was a Puritan recusant, partly on pressing the fantastic one that William Shakespeare was a profound Biblical student,—to bring out the full force of the evidence as to the father's manifold experience of law courts. The summary is that 'He was one of the most litigious of men. . . . From July, 2 Philip and Mary, to March, 37 Elizabeth, there are no less than 67 entries of cases in which his name appears on one side or the other; *and some of his actions are with his best friends*, as Adrian Quiney, Francis Herbage, Thomas Knight, and Roger Sadler; but in 1591 there is only one entry, wherein John Shakespeare sued as plaintiff in a debt recovery action and won with costs."[1]

fact, 'purchase' *normally* means acquisition otherwise than by inheritance or *buying*." But "buying" does not necessarily mean buying for money or even for goods. One may buy (or purchase) things with labour, service, tears, entreaties, etc. And Heywood, it hardly needs to be said, frequently uses the word "purchase" to mean "buying" in this sense.

[1] The reference is to *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*, by the Rev. T. Carter, 1897, p. 166.

Now what were all these law-suits in which John Shakespeare was engaged, either as plaintiff or defendant? Well, there was a Court of Record at Stratford-on-Avon which seems to have been mainly made use of as a Court for the collection of small debts. That, at any rate, was its chief function, and we find that, almost without exception, these suits in which John Shakespeare was from to time involved were actions *in placito debiti*, i.e. actions for debt.[1] And it is these miserable pettifogging actions, mostly involving very small sums of money, which are supposed to have given the young William Shakespeare his taste for and knowledge of the law of England as it was in his day.[2] Mr. Robertson says that such actions bring home to us "the normality of litigation in Stratford as in Elizabethan England in general." They certainly bring home to us what sort of folk these petty tradesmen of Stratford were, and throw light upon their "early-rising-sad-litigious-base-informing-plaguey-ways." Evidently a huckstering, disputatious, and not very-well conditioned bourgeoisie. Mr. Robertson also says these actions further show "the abundant share of the Shakespeares in legal experience." Well, yes,—of a kind! One can get the same experience to-day, only of a very much better sort, in the Whitechapel County Court.[3]

[1] As to the Stratford Court of Record, see Note A at the end of this chapter, and see further in Appendix C.

[2] One of the actions was in "case." John Shakespeare was sued by Nicholas Lane, who claimed that he, the defendant, had made himself surety for £10 part of a debt of £22, owed to the plaintiff by Henry Shakespeare, the defendant's brother. The plea represents John as "machinans callide et decepti[illegible] decipere et defraudare dictam sommam decem librarum." What a magnificent legal education such actions must have provided, and how they must have aroused the interest of the youthful poet!

[3] Mr. Devecmon (of whom more presently) speaking of the butchers, bakers, candlestick-makers, "glovers," etc., of Stratford-on-Avon, which he describes as a "little provincial town having at that time about 1800 inhabitants, with little or no commerce or intercourse with the outside world," writes as follows: "It may well be imagined that the greater

But there is yet something more, it seems, to be got from the "noteworthy record" of John Shakespeare's law-suits. There is a Court entry of November, 1585, to the effect that a distraint should be issued against John Shakespeare to satisfy the judgment in one of these small actions for debt, and this is followed, on January 19th, 1586, by another entry to the effect that John Shakespeare had no goods on which to distrain, so a writ of "capias" was directed to issue against the said John Shakespeare at the suit of John Browne, if John Browne should so require. Now it has been generally thought, and not unnaturally, that the fact that John Shakespeare was returned as having no goods upon which to distrain is a proof that he was in "reduced circumstances" at that time Not at all, says the Rev. Thomas Carter. "The poverty theorists," indeed, say the "capias" was issued against John "because he is a penniless man; having no property he could not be distrained upon." But, adds the reverend gentleman, "he had landed property, as the Exchequer Returns show" (p. 202). I fear the author of *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant* had forgotten the form of the precept or warrant issued to the Sergeants at Mace of which he gives us a copy at p. 31: "Preceptum est servientibus ad clavam quod distringatis, seu unus[1] vestrum distringat, Johannem Shakespere *per omnia bona et catalla sua.*" Only "goods and chattels" could be taken under the

part of the male population of Stratford was in constant attendance at the Sessions of the Court [listening to petty law-suits *in placito debiti*], that the arguments of the lawyers [i.e. the attorneys], the verdicts of the juries, and the judgments of the court, were in the long evenings rehashed over and over again by these worthies of Stratford in the midst of their potations of home-brewed ale, in the love of which they excelled no less than in the love of litigation, there being at the time about thirty alehouses in the town." Can one imagine a better training than this for the world's greatest poet in the days of his youth? It might be mentioned that there was a court of *pie poudre* at Stratford also!

[1] Not "unum," as printed in Mr. Carter's book.

distraint, and as the return was that he had no property upon which a distress could be levied, it seems natural to suppose that such was the case. Mr. Robertson, however, following the Rev. T. Carter, thinks the fact was otherwise, and that John Shakespeare was all the time a man of means, and "was simply baffling the suit against him," in some unexplained manner. The matter is obviously important, because the supposition had hitherto been that the generally accepted tradition, as handed down to us by Rowe and others, to the effect that William Shakespeare had to be taken from school at the age of thirteen on account of his father's embarrassed circumstances, was a true statement of the case. But, as Mr. Robertson observes, "among other things the theory that the boy William *had* to leave school at thirteen because of his father's pecuniary embarrassments is obviously put in doubt" by the Rev. Thomas Carter's hypothesis, and if William was not taken from school at thirteen he might have learned a good deal more there, which would, of course, be mighty convenient. And all this will follow if only we will adopt the theory that John Shakespeare was a Puritan recusant. In that case, "the whole episode of" his "finings, and the disqualification consequent on his non-attendance at the Council, was simply a matter of his recusancy," which Mr. Robertson thinks quite a reasonable proposition; though why John Shakespeare should be returned as having "no distrainable property" simply "because he was a recusant" passes my poor comprehension. But the truth is that Mr. Carter's theory is mere hypothesis and there does not seem to be a tittle of evidence to support it. On the contrary, as Sir Sidney Lee writes (p. 10 n.), "the circumstance that he [John Shakespeare] was the first bailiff to encourage actors to visit Stratford is conclusive proof that his religion was not that of the contemporary puritan, whose hostility to all forms of dramatic repre-

sentations was one of his most persistent characteristics. The Elizabethan puritans too . . . regarded coat-armour with abhorrence, yet John Shakespeare with his son made persistent application to the College of Arms for a grant of arms." It is plain that Mr. Robertson has taken under his patronage "a fond thing vainly invented." But the motive is obvious.[1]

I have already dealt with the case of parson Adams adduced by "Mr. Judge Willis," and shown how Mr. Robertson has, *more suo*, met my reply by suppressing the most material portion of it. I now come to the sad case of Mr. Robertson's guide, philosopher, and friend in legal matters, to wit one Mr. William C. Devecmon, A.M of the Maryland Bar, who in the year 1899 published a book called *In re Shakespeare's "Legal Acquirements."* Mr. Robertson in his work *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* had cited this writer to the effect that in Webster's play *The Devil's Law Case* there are "more legal expressions (some of them highly technical and all correctly used) than are to be found in any single one of Shakespeare's works." To this I replied (*The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 397) that, the subject of Webster's play being a "law case," the work was, naturally and inevitably, full of expressions borrowed from legal terminology, but that Mr. Devecmon's statement that this play contained "more legal expressions than are to be found in any one of Shakespeare's works," that some of these legal expressions are highly technical, and all of them correctly used, "is not only not true, but so preposterously contrary to the truth that one can hardly believe that Mr. Devecmon had read the drama

[1] Another reverend gentleman, viz. the Rev. Richard Davies, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, says of William Shakespeare that he "died a Papist." If so, he was apparently more interested in his father's law-suits than in his father's religion! But there seems no evidence at all either of the father's Puritanism or of the son's Papistry.

in question." I went on to say: "There is, incredible as it may sound, practically *no law at all* in Webster's play! There are, indeed, a few legal terms, such as 'livery and seisin,' 'a caveat,' 'tenements,' 'executors,' thrown in here and there, and there is an absurd travesty of a trial where each and everybody—judge, counsel, witness or spectator—seems to put in a word or two just as it pleases him." Then, after again quoting Mr. Devecmon's words, I wrote that his statement "is an astounding perversion of the fact, as any reader can see who chooses to peruse Webster's not very delicate drama"; and I added, "I cannot but think that Mr. Robertson had either not read the play, or had forgotten it when he quoted this amazing passage."

Upon this Mr. Robertson now writes (p. 157): "I am quite willing to stake the entire question upon this issue." Presuming that by "the entire question" he means the question whether or not Shakespeare's works (Plays and Poems) show, as a whole, and speaking generally, more knowledge of law than the works of other poets and dramatists, his contemporaries, for whom we are not justified in assuming any special legal training or opportunity for acquiring legal knowledge, I am quite content to accept this challenge. I repeat that *The Devil's Law Case* shows no knowledge of law whatever on the part of its author. On the contrary, one might be astonished that in a play the subject of which is a "law case" there should be such a dearth of anything that a lawyer can recognise as "law," were it not for the fact that the whole thing is, of course, in the nature of an extravaganza. A clever writer like Webster, if he had been seriously engaged in writing a legal drama, would no doubt have got up his law beforehand, and in that case we might, certainly, have been treated to many "legal expressions, some of them highly technical and all correctly used." As it is, considering the nature of

the play in question, it is not surprising that such expressions are conspicuous by their absence.

Here I must advert to what seems to me a very naive observation made by Mr. Robertson with reference to the works of playwrights contemporary with Shakespeare, viz. "Where Shakespeare merely uses legal phrases, as often as not metaphorically, the other dramatists introduce actual matters of litigation." My comment here is: "Exactly so." When "the other dramatists" introduce "actual matters of litigation," they, as a natural and inevitable consequence, introduce also legal terms and expressions, more or less correctly used. The contention with regard to Shakespeare is that he introduces such expressions (whether "metaphorically," or otherwise) where there is no necessity for them, and sometimes where they seem not a little out of place, or even "inartistic,"—*pace* Mr. Robertson. A man who puts on the stage "matters of actual litigation" *must* talk law as well as he can, and, doubtless, if a clever man, though no lawyer, he can get up his law well enough to avoid making many mistakes, or he may get a lawyer friend to help him. But the man who is himself a lawyer, or who has had some legal training, is frequently apt to bring in legal phrases and expressions, maxims and metaphors, on occasions when they would not suggest themselves to an ordinary layman, or where he might think them actually *mal à propos*.

With regard to *The Devil's Law Case*, Mr. Robertson says that I "might have taken the trouble to collate the legal references" in that play, which he thinks "would have been more to the purpose than any amount of simple asseveration, however emphatic." In the latter observation I quite agree, and am delighted to find that Mr. Robertson has himself culled from Webster's drama passages which he conceives are sufficient to make good Mr. Devecmon's proposition. Let us examine them:—

ACT I, SCENE 1

ROMELIO. He makes his colour
Of visiting us so often, to sell land.
CONTARINO. The evidence of the piece of land
I motion'd to you for the sale.
LEONORA. To settle your estate.

Here we actually have "colour," "sell," "land," "evidence," "sale"! These Mr. Robertson, apparently, considers to be "legal expressions, some of them highly technical, and all correctly used." I forbear to comment. It is obviously unnecessary.

Let us proceed:—

ACT I, SCENE 2

JOLENTA. Do you serve process on me?
ROM. Keep your possession, you have the door by the ring. That's livery and seisin in England.
ERCOLE. To settle her a jointure.
JOLENTA. To make you a deed of gift.
WINIFRED. Yes, but the devil would fain put in for's share In likeness of a separation.
CONTARINO. You have delivered him guiltless.

Here we have "livery and seisin," certainly terms taken from the law (for was not land conveyed by "livery of seisin"?), and "jointure." There's "law" for you! Perhaps "devil" is a law term also, for have we not all heard of "the Attorney-General's devil"!

Revenons à nos moutons.

ACT II, SCENE 1

JULIO. Any action that is but accessory.
CRISPIANO. One that compounds quarrels.
ERCOLE. Your warrant must be mighty.
CONTARINO. has a seal
From heaven to do it.

Mr. Robertson says he doubts whether Lord Campbell can be serious. But can Mr. Robertson himself be serious when he quotes such stuff in support of Mr. Devecmon's amazing proposition? The words attributed to Julio are, most decidedly, not suggestive of legal knowledge. As to "compound quarrels" (Webster's words here, by the way, are "one that persuades men to peace, and compounds quarrels among his neighbours, without going to law"), if anyone were to be guilty of the ineptitude of asserting that this is a legal expression, I would beg to refer him to my foot-note 2 at p. 405 of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, and I might, further, refer him to Mr. Devecmon himself at p. 35. To compound, of course, simply means to settle or determine, as in the great classical example, *tantas componere lites*.

But perhaps Mr. Robertson relies upon "warrant" and "seal." "Highly technical expressions" these, and quite "correctly used"! It really seems useless to continue the quotations. The reader can refer for himself to Mr. Robertson's work. In Act II, Scene 3, we have mention of the words "interrogatory" and "supersedeas." In Act II, Scene 4, "The law will strictly prosecute his life." In Act III, Scene 2, we read, "He has made a will . . . and *deputed* Jolenta his heir." Is *that* supposed to be indicative of a lawyer? Then occur these words:

ROMELIO. I must put in a strong caveat.

Here we have the very expression used by Mr. Robertson upon which I ventured the comment that he thereby makes known to us that he is not a lawyer, inasmuch as a lawyer would say "*enter* a caveat." I do not say, therefore, that Webster could not have been a lawyer (although, as we know, he was not), because a lawyer dramatist may well put into the mouth of non-legal characters expressions which students of the law would not employ. But to cite "put in a strong caveat" as a technical expression

correctly used is strange indeed. The other passages cited by Mr. Robertson are all of the same kind, though, if possible, weaker.

He then proceeds to quote a number of "legal allusions" from *Appius and Virginia*, another of Webster's plays. Here are some of them :—

First, the charge of her husband's funeral, next debts and legacies, and lastly the reversion.

The term-time is the mutton-manger in the whole calendar.
Do your lawyers eat any salads with their mutton?

Deny me justice absolutely, rather
Than feed me with delays.

Having compounded with his creditors
For the third moiety.

Your reverence to the judge, good brother.

May it please your reverend lordships.

Now the question,
(With favour of the bench) I will make plain
In two words only without circumstance
If that your claim be just, how happens it
That you have discontinued it the space
Of fourteen year?

And so forth, and so forth.

I am really at a loss to know how to characterise these extraordinary citations. Mr. Robertson seems to imagine that any passage which contains any expression known to the law or even remotely connected with it, however common and familiar to all, may be cited as a "legal allusion"! Unconsciously he has proved my proposition up to the hilt: "There is, practically, no law at all in Webster's play." There are, indeed, as I also wrote, some legal terms, thrown in as from a pepper-mill, but surprisingly little of these, seeing that the play is founded on a supposed "law case."

But perhaps Mr. Robertson will reply, "There is, at

any rate, no more law in any one of Shakespeare's plays than there is in this play of Webster's." If that assertion be true, then I admit "there is no law at all" in Shakespeare. But *is* it true? I am quite content to leave the answer to that question to any student of Shakespeare who has at least enough elementary knowledge of law to be competent to express an opinion.

Mr. Robertson accuses me of having "blamed Mr. Devecmon in error."[1] Let us see how he sets about to prove this.

I cited Devecmon as quoting Senator Davis to the effect that "Antony in speaking of the real estate left by Cæsar to the Roman people does not use the appropriate word 'devise.'"[2] Upon this I commented "that Shakespeare here was just transcribing, *more suo*, from North's Plutarch, '*He left* his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river Tiber,' and he did not, as a dramatist, think it necessary, nor was he so absurdly pedantic as to alter these words in order to make Antony use the technically correct legal expression." I then added the following words: "Ah! but then, says the critic, 'it was also unnecessary for Cæsar's will to have contained the expression *to your heirs for ever*, in order to give the people a perpetual estate in the realty.'" Upon this further objection, raised by Senator Davis, in the passage quoted by Devecmon, I wrote: "Really, really! This is just a little irritating. Shakespeare does not say that the will *did* contain those words; Antony is telling the people the effect of the will. To pray in aid these words, 'and to your heirs for ever,' used with excellent dramatic effect, as though they upheld the proposition that Shakespeare was no lawyer, is merely an argument fit only for the least intelligent of readers." How then have I "blamed Mr. Devecmon in error"?

[1] See his Index, p. 600.
[2] *Shakespeare Problem*, p. 403.

Why, says Mr. Robertson, "the critic" must mean Devecmon, "but the offence comes from Senator Davis, who affirms in general the profundity and accuracy of Shakespeare's legal knowledge, not Mr. Devecmon who denies it!"

But, with great respect, Mr. Robertson is entirely wrong. "The critic" refers to Senator Davis; but although "the offence comes" from him in the first instance, it is shared by Mr. Devecmon who here quotes Davis with approval in order to argue [very absurdly] that Shakespeare was, in this instance, guilty of "bad law."

"And only thirty pages earlier," writes Mr. Robertson with an air of triumph, "Mr. Greenwood had cited *this very Senator Davis* [original italics] as one giving weighty testimony to Shakespeare's command of a legal vocabulary in which 'no legal solecisms will be found.'" Mr. Robertson thus gives us proof that he is not above condescending to the fallacy that because one cites an author's opinion in support of a general proposition one is bound by all the arguments advanced by him. I quoted Senator Davis's opinion, with others, for what it is worth, on the legal knowledge of which it is alleged proof can be found in the works of Shakespeare. I certainly am not therefore bound to follow Senator Davis (or Devecmon who here follows him) in his very absurd criticism of Antony's celebrated speech.

But the fact is—and it is mainly for this reason that I again refer to the passage in Mr. Devecmon's work—that both Senator Davis, and Devecmon who cites him, are wrong in thinking that the word "devise" was the technically appropriate word to denote testamentary gifts of real estate in Shakespeare's day. The law and custom as to wills in those times was much laxer than it is now, and, as Mr. Rushton writes, "Although the word devise is now applied by Real Property lawyers to real property, and the word bequeath to personal property, yet such

distinction was not made in Shakespeare's time . . . in Shakespeare's time the use of the word devise in a Will in disposing of real property, or the omitting to use that word in disposing of the personal property, or even the use of the word bequeath in disposing of the personal property, or the omitting to use the word bequeath in disposing of the real property, would afford no evidence of technical skill, nor would the application of the word devise to personal property, or of the word bequeath to real property, afford evidence of a want of technical skill; because the few quotations I have made, from the old law writers, prove that before, during, and after Shakespeare's day, the words devise and bequeath were applied indifferently to both real and personal property."[1]

In the face of this it appears doubly ridiculous to find fault with Shakespeare for making Antony say to the assembled crowd, "He hath *left* you all his walks," because, forsooth, he has not used "the appropriate word 'devise'"!

As for Senator Davis, as I have already said, I quoted his opinion amongst others. What it is worth I do not pretend to say. I will make Mr. Robertson a present of "*this very Senator Davis*" if he likes, or

> Tradam protervis in mare creticum
> Portare ventis.

But as to Mr. Devecmon, I repeat all that I before said concerning that gentleman's law, and I am quite certain that any "open-minded lawyer," provided he be also a competent lawyer, will bear me out in every word of it.[2]

[1] *Shakespeare's Testamentary Language*, pp. 15, 23.

[2] Take as a sample his alleged case of legal inaccuracy in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, Scene 1, where the King says of Biron, Dumain, and Longaville that they

> "Have sworn for three years term to live with me
> My fellow-students, and to keep those *statutes*
> That are recorded in this schedule here."

And here Mr. Robertson brings us back again to one of the objections raised by Mr. Devecmon to Shakespeare's law,—a particularly ridiculous one as it seems to me. Queen Catherine, in *Henry VIII*, Act II, Scene 4, says to Wolsey:

> I do believe,
> Induced by potent circumstances, that
> You are my enemy, and make my challenge,
> You shall not be my judge, etc.

Whereupon says the learned Mr. Devecmon: "To 'challenge' is to object or except to those who are returned to act as *jurors*, either individually or collectively as a body. The judge was not subject to challenge." Now I maintain, with entire confidence, that anyone who can argue from this use by Shakespeare (if indeed Shakespeare, and not Fletcher, wrote this passage) of the

Here, says Mr. Devecmon, "the word 'statutes' is used to mean simply articles of agreement. It has no such meaning in law. A statute is an act of the legislature." He thinks Shakespeare might have got his idea "that any agreement might be called a statute" from "statute merchant" and "statutes staple." Was there ever such nonsense? Mr. Devecmon had apparently never heard of the common use of the word "statutes" in the sense of "ordinances," as in the very usual case of the "statutes" of a college or school! He had never read "I will keep Thy statutes" in Psalm cix! This is too much even for Mr. Robertson, who declines to follow his transatlantic legal authority in this, while subscribing unhesitatingly to all his other absurdities (*The Baconian Heresy*, p. 175 note). Again, because in *Henry V.* (I. i.) the archbishop says:

> "For all the temporal lands, which men devout
> By Testament have given to the church,
> Would they strip from us?"

Mr. Devecmon must needs object that "the use of the word 'Testament' is here incorrect. A testator bequeaths *personal* property by a 'testament,' he devises real estate by a 'will.'" Once more he is entirely wrong and only shows his ignorance of the law in Shakespearean times, when the terms "Testament" and "Will" were used indifferently. See Rushton's *Shakespeare's Testamentary Language*, citing (*inter alia*) Swinburn's *Brief Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills* (1590), and see *Termes de la Ley* and Coke on Littleton, cited in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, at p. 402. Mr Robertson is indeed leaning on a broken reed when he relies upon this American lawyer,

word "challenge" that the writer of the play could not have had a legal training, is what Mr. Bumble said the law is. "Challenge," as I wrote before, was constantly used in the sense of "objection," and "even though the poet might have had the legal significance in his mind, it certainly does not argue the absence of legal training on his part that Catherine should apply, by a very natural analogy, to one of the Cardinals who were to act as judges in the case, a term which, in strict legal usage, was properly applicable only to a juror." I further commented on the curious idea "that a dramatist cannot be a lawyer unless he makes his ladies and laymen speak in the language that a trained lawyer would employ." What is Mr. Robertson's triumphal criticism on this? He appears to be smarting under the sting of my indexer's unfortunate note, "Robertson, J. M., betrays his ignorance of law." It evidently rankles—

> Not Juno brooding o'er her slighted form,
> Pouted so much.

"But," says he, "let Mr. Greenwood's and the indexer's judgment stand; what then becomes of Mr. Greenwood's attempted rebuttal of Mr. Devecmon? He really cannot have it both ways. If he insists that no lawyer would say '*put* a caveat,' he has quashed his own objection to the argument that Shakespeare makes his characters talk law as no lawyer would. He does not deny that Shakespeare makes Queen Catherine 'challenge' a judge, as lawyers 'challenge' jurors. Then Shakespeare was no lawyer. It is idle for Mr. Greenwood to say that 'challenge' was used in a general sense. What about 'caveat'?"

Once more I am at a loss how to characterise this sample of Robertsonian argument. Shall I pay Mr. Robertson the compliment of imitating him, and talk of its "naked insanity"? Nay, I will use language more restrained, and only say that this seems to me, on the

whole, about the silliest piece of criticism that I have come upon in the whole of this wearisome "Shakespearean" controversy. Shakespeare, as I have explained, even though he had himself been Lord Chancellor, might well, as a dramatist, put the word "challenge" into the mouth of a Queen, and make her apply it to one of the two Cardinals who were to try her case.[1] To draw from that the inference that the author of the play could not have been possessed of legal knowledge is, I wrote, "an argument fit only for the least intelligent of readers." But, cries Mr. Robertson, if a lawyer might write "challenge" of a judge, why should not he also write "put a caveat"? You "really cannot have it both ways"! You have "quashed your own objection"! Dear, dear! What a terrible dilemma! Yet I think the answer is tolerably simple. A lawyer writing not as a dramatist but in his own personal capacity would not write "*put* a caveat," because his training has taught him that "*enter* a caveat" is the proper legal expression; but if he were, as a dramatist, to bring a layman on the scene, one without legal training,—shall we say a politician who had spent four and a half years in a Scotch law office, but had given preferential treatment to literature?—he might well make him use the words which Webster puts into the mouth of Romelio, viz. "put (or "put in") a caveat"! Webster, as it happens, was no lawyer, but these words so used do not of themselves prove that he had no legal knowledge.

And here let me commend to Mr. Robertson's consideration words which I have recently lighted upon in a little book entitled *Was Shakespeare a Lawyer?* by a

[1] "Shakespeare," writes Mr. Robertson, "makes Queen Catherine 'challenge' a judge." We may note, however, that she does not challenge a Judge of the Law Courts, but a Cardinal who was to try her case. It might, indeed, be urged that the Pope was to be the real Judge, and the two Cardinals jurors. But it is not necessary to stress that point.

barrister who contents himself with the initials "W. T." Shakespeare, writes this author (p. 4), shows that he was well acquainted with law, because "when he allows any of his characters to speak law, they not being professional lawyers, he makes them talk nonsense. In this he evinces a professional pride,—a sentiment which is common to men of all professions; hence non-professionals are allowed to lay down bad law and to misuse legal words. On the contrary, when his lawyers speak, their doctrine is always sound, and their technical terms are correct."

This criticism well illustrates the point I have endeavoured to make clear. A lawyer writing in his own personal capacity will use correct legal terms. A lawyer dramatist will make legal characters use correct legal terms; but, if he is a skilful and artistic dramatist, he certainly will not make his lay characters speak in the technical language of the trained lawyer.

But then, says Mr. Robertson (p. 161), "if the trial in Webster is an 'absurd travesty of a trial, where each and everybody—judge, counsel, witness, or spectator, seems to put in a word or two just as it pleases him' [as I wrote in *The Shakespeare Problem* with absolute accuracy], what, in the name of honest controversy, is the trial in *The Merchant of Venice*, which Lord Campbell alleged to be 'conducted according to the strict forms of legal procedure'?" Mr. Robertson, because I quoted Lord Campbell's opinion, amongst others, on the question of Shakespeare's legal knowledge, astutely seeks to tie me down, bound hand and foot, to every one of his lordship's pronouncements upon the subject. But as one *nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri* I am certainly not prepared to subscribe to all Lord Campbell's views and arguments. As to *The Merchant of Venice*, I have never founded upon that play an argument in support of Shakespeare's knowledge of law or legal procedure. The

story of this drama, and let us not forget that it is a *comedy*, is manifestly taken from the *Pecorone* of Ser Giovanni, Day IV, Novel 1, of which, by the way, there was certainly no translation available in Shakespeare's time.

The dramatist evidently followed the old Italian writer very closely, as may be seen by a comparison of the following passages. Shylock stipulates for

> an equal pound
> Of your fair flesh, to be cut off and taken
> In what part of your body pleaseth me.

Ser Giovanni's words are: "che'l Giudeo gli potesse levare una libra di carne d'addosso di qualumque luogo é volesse."

In the Italian story we have the Jew, the bond, the pound of flesh, the lady ("of Belmonte") doctor of laws, the episode of the ring, etc. etc., with all of which Shakespeare has made us familiar. I think the reader may be interested in the following passage which I take from Mr. W. G. Waters's translation: [1]—

"When the time set forth in the bond had expired the Jew caused Messer Ansaldo to be seized, and then he declared he meant to cut away from his debtor the pound of flesh. But Messer Ansaldo begged him to let him live a few days longer, so that in case Giannetto should return he might at least see his son once more. The Jew replied that he was willing to grant this favour, as far as the respite was concerned, but that he was determined to have his pound of flesh according to his agreement, though a hundred Giannettos should come; and Messer Ansaldo declared he was content. All the people of Venice were talking of this matter, everyone being grieved thereanent, and divers traders made a partnership together to pay the money, but the Jew would not take it, being minded rather to do this bloody deed, so that he might boast that he had slain the chief of the Christian Merchants. Now it happened that, after Messer Giannetto set forth eagerly for Venice, his wife followed immediately behind him clad in legal garb and taking two servants with her. When Messer Giannetto had come to Venice he went to the Jew's

[1] *The Pecorone of Ser Giovanni*, now first translated into English by W. G. Waters, illustrated by E. R. Hughes, R.W.S. (1897).

house, and having joyfully embraced Messer Ansaldo, he next turned to the Jew, and said he was ready to pay the money that was due and as much more as he cared to demand. But the Jew made answer that he wanted not the money, since it had not been paid in due time, but that he desired to cut his pound of flesh from Ansaldo. Over this matter there arose great debate, and everyone condemned the Jew; but, seeing that equitable law ruled in Venice and that the Jew's contract was fully set forth and in customary form no one could deny him his rights; all they could do was to entreat his mercy. On this account all the Venetian Merchants came there to entreat the Jew, but he grew harder than before, and then Messer Giannetto offered to give him twenty thousand, but he would not take them; then he advanced his offer to thirty, then forty, then fifty, and finally to a hundred thousand ducats. Then the Jew said, 'See how this thing stands. If you were to offer me more ducats than the whole City of Venice is worth, I would not take them, I would rather have what this bond says is my due.' And while this dispute was going on there arrived in Venice the lady of Belmonte, clad as a doctor of laws. She took lodging at an inn, the host of which inquired of one of her servants who this gentleman might be. The servant, who had been instructed by the lady as to what reply he should make to a question of this sort, replied that his master was a doctor of laws who was returning home after a course of study at Bologna. The host when he heard this did them great reverence, and while the doctor of laws sat at table he inquired of the host in what fashion the City of Venice was governed; whereupon the host replied, 'Messere, we make too much of justice here.' When the doctor inquired how this could be, the host went on to say, 'I will tell you how, Messere.'"

The host then tells the "doctor of laws" the whole story of Giannetto, Ansaldo, and the Jew, whereupon

"the doctor said, 'This is an easy question to settle.' Then cried the host, 'If you will only take the trouble to bring it to an end, without letting this good man die, you will win the love and gratitude of the most worthy young man that ever was born, and besides this the goodwill of every citizen of our state.' After hearing these words of the host the doctor let publish a notice through all the state of Venice, setting forth how all those with any question of law to settle should repair to him. The report having come to the ears of Messer Giannetto that there was come from Bologna a doctor of laws who was ready to settle the rights and wrongs of

every dispute, he went to the Jew and suggested that they should go before the doctor aforesaid, and the Jew agreed, saying at the same time that, come what might, he would demand the right to do all that his bond allowed him. When they came before the doctor of laws, and gave him due salutation, he recognised Messer Giannetto, who meantime knew not the doctor to be his wife, because her face was stained with a certain herb. Messer Giannetto and the Jew spake their several pleas and set the question fully in order before the doctor, who took up the bond and read it, and then said to the Jew, 'I desire that you now take those hundred thousand ducats, and let go free this good man, who will ever be bound to you by gratitude.' The Jew replied, 'I will do naught of this.' Whereupon the doctor persuaded him again thereto, saying it would be the better course for him, but the Jew would not consent. Then they agreed to go to the proper court for such affairs, and the doctor, speaking on behalf of Messer Ansaldo, said, 'Let the Merchant be brought here,' and they fetched him forthwith, and the doctor said, 'Now take your pound of flesh where you will, and do your work.' Then the Jew made Messer Ansaldo strip himself, and took in his hand a razor which he had brought for the purpose; whereupon Messer Giannetto turned to the doctor and said, 'Messere, this is not the thing I begged you to do.' But the doctor bade him take heart, for the Jew had not yet cut off his pound of flesh. As the Jew approached the doctor said, 'Take care what you do: for if you cut away more or less than a pound of flesh, you shall lose your own head; and I tell you, moreover, that if you let flow a single drop of blood, you shall die, for the reason that your bond says naught as to the shedding of blood. It simply gives you the right to take a pound of flesh, and says neither less nor more. Now, if you are a wise man, you will consider well which may be the best way to compass this task.' Then the doctor bade them summon the executioner, and fetch likewise the axe and the block;' and he said to the Jew, 'As soon as I see the first drop of blood flow, I will have your head stricken off.' Hereupon the Jew began to be afeared, and Messer Giannetto to take heart; and after much fresh argument the Jew said, 'Messer doctor, you have greater wit in these affairs than I have; so now give me those hundred thousand ducats, and I will be satisfied.' But the doctor replied that he might take his pound of flesh, as his bond said, for he should not be allowed a single piece of money now; he should have taken it when it was offered to him. Then the Jew came to ninety, and then to eighty thousand, but the doctor stood firmer than ever to his word. Messer Giannetto spake to the doctor,

saying, 'Give him what he asks, so that he lets Messer Ansaldo go free.' But the doctor replied that the settlement of the question had better be left to himself. The Jew now cried out that he would take fifty thousand; but the doctor answered, 'I would not give you the meanest coin you ever had in your pouch.' The Jew went on, 'Give me at least the ten thousand ducats that are my own, and cursed be heaven and earth!' Then said the doctor, 'Do you not understand that you will get nothing at all? If you are minded to take what is yours, take it; if not, I will protest, and cause your bond to be annulled.' At these words all those who were assembled rejoiced exceedingly, and began to put flouts and jests upon the Jew, saying, 'This fellow thought to play a trick, and see he is tricked himself.' Then the Jew, seeing that he could not have his will, took his bonds and cut them in pieces in his rage; whereupon Messer Ansaldo was at once set free and led with the greatest rejoicing to Messer Giannetto's house."

Then follows the episode of the ring which "the doctor" begs for and obtains from her husband, with consequences which every reader of Shakespeare knows.

This, then, is the story which Shakespeare has taken and alchemised in his own marvellous way, and I repeat, to found upon the play an argument in support of the theory of his knowledge of law and legal procedure does not appear to me to be a very wise proceeding, but it is wisdom itself compared with the criticism which Mr. Devecmon, whom Mr. Robertson follows with such blind and ingenuous confidence, passes upon it. For what says Mr. Devecmon? Commenting on the words of Shylock, "Go with me to a notary; seal me there your single bond," this lawyer, who has not merely passed four and a half years in a Scotch office but belongs to the Maryland Bar, writes as follows: "It is hardly conceivable that any lawyer, or anyone who had spent a considerable time in a lawyer's office, in Shakespeare's age could have been guilty of the egregious error of calling a bond with a collateral condition a 'single bond.' A single bond, *simplex obligatio*, is a bond without a collateral condition, but that described by Shylock is with collateral

condition. It is possible that a lawyer in this age would be guilty of ignorance on this point, but hardly in Elizabeth's age, and least of all a lawyer in an inland town like Stratford." This sounds very learned; but it is entire rubbish. A "single bond" here simply means a bond without sureties. *Et voilà tout*, as Mr. Robertson would say. Shylock, who only wanted his pound of flesh, had no need of sureties, for the merchant could always provide him with *that*.[1]

[1] Even if a "single bond" be taken as the same thing as the *simplex obligatio*, whereby the obligor binds himself, his heirs, executors, etc., to pay a certain sum of money to another at a day appointed, it by no means follows that Shakespeare's law is at fault, for although Shylock talks about "such sums as are expressed in the condition," yet technically, and in point of fact, there is no "condition," since Bassanio binds himself to repay the money lent "on such a day in such a place" without any condition, the provision as to the pound of flesh being really not a condition but a *penalty*. A bond with a collateral condition binds the obligor to pay a sum of money *unless* a certain condition be fulfilled. An ordinary recognizance is an example, the condition of which is that the obligor shall be of good behaviour, in which case the money does not become due. The force of a "condition" is that if the obligor does some particular act the obligation shall be void. In the case of Shylock's bond the obligor was to pay the money in any event under *penalty* of losing a pound of flesh if he did not. It was, therefore, a *simplex obligatio* or "single bond." Shakespeare has many allusions to bonds, as, for instance, the very unpoetical one in *Venus and Adonis*, where Venus says:

> "Say for non-payment that the debt should double,
> Is twenty hundred kisses such a trouble?"

where the allusion is to a common money-bond, wherein it was frequently provided that if the sum secured were not paid by a certain time "the debt should double." Compare also Sonnet cxxxiv:

> 'He learn'd but, *surety*-like, to write for me,
> Under that *bond* that him as fast doth bind.
> The *statute* of thy beauty thou wilt take,
> Thou usurer, that putt'st forth all to use. . . .
> Him have I lost; thou hast both him and me;
> He pays the whole, and yet I am not free,"

where "statute" is a bond in the nature of a "statute-merchant" or "statute-staple."

I have in my possession an amusing and interesting example of a bond with a simple condition, "without sureties." It runs as follows: "I

But, not content with this egregious piece of folly, Mr. Devecmon thus passes censure upon the whole drama, one of the most delightful of all the Shakespearean comedies: "In this play Shakespeare not only manifests his lack of knowledge of the technique of the legal profession; *he shows a profound ignorance of law and of the fundamental principles of justice*, unless we assume that the trial scene disregards all ideas of law, justice, and morality for mere dramatic effect, but it has been repeatedly shown by many writers that equal dramatic effect could have been attained without such sacrifice."

So then, in the opinion of this high legal authority, to whom Mr. Robertson so confidently appeals, the immortal bard, who is not of an age but for all time, shows a profound ignorance, not only of law, but "of the fundamental principles of justice," unless indeed he was so inartistic and so deficient in taste and skill as to throw overboard "all ideas of law, justice, and morality for a mere dramatic effect," which effect "could have been attained without such sacrifice." Such is the judgment of this egregious critic—and I presume the docile Mr. Robertson follows him here also—upon Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*! And these are the men who pose as champions (save the mark!) of the world's great

acknowledge to owe to our Sovereign Lord the Treasurer of the Middle Temple for the time being the sum of £10,000 to be paid to him or his successors in that office on demand, dated this 2nd July 1860.

"The condition of this Bond is that if the obligor shall dine in Hall after receiving the Great Seals of England not less than once in every term unless prevented by indisposition (of which the Treasurer for the time being shall be the sole judge) then this obligation shall be void, otherwise of full force and virtue. Given under my hand and seal this 2nd day of July 1860."

This Bond *pour rire*, which bears a seal impressed with the Middle Temple "Lamb," is duly signed by "Richard Bethell," afterwards Lord Westbury, and also by nine of the then Benchers of the Inn, of whom my father, the late John Greenwood, then Solicitor to the Treasury (in whose handwriting the document in question is) was one. (Since the above was in type, the document has passed into the possession of the Benchers of the Middle Temple.)

poet? Is not such criticism worthy of "The Ineptitude" himself?

I have shown how Shakespeare took Ser Giovanni's novel, transmuting baser metal into purest gold as he alone knew how, but following closely upon the lines laid down for him by the old Italian writer; and because the Jew who "thought to play a trick is tricked himself"; because he is not only denied his pound of flesh but done out of his ducats; because he is mocked and jeered at and made a butt of in the play, as in the novel; because the dramatist brings in Portia, "the lady of Belmonte," as a doctor of laws, and introduces a trial scene very much after the style of Ser Giovanni; therefore we are to be told by this transatlantic doctrinaire that Shakespeare could have had no knowledge "of the technique of the legal profession," and was profoundly ignorant not only of law but—I must really quote the words yet again—"the fundamental principles of justice"! Such is the critic upon whose opinions and judgment Mr. Robertson has built a great part of his case! Here, therefore, I will repeat what I wrote before concerning Shakespeare's wonderful Venetian play:[1] "It must not be forgotten that *The Merchant of Venice is a comedy*, although such actors as the late Sir Henry Irving used to send us away with the idea that we had been witnessing a tragedy. I conceive that audiences in Shakespeare's day, to whom 'Jew baiting' was far from distasteful, used to laugh at the misfortunes of Shylock, where we now experience not a little sympathy for the poor old Jew, in spite of his insistence on his 'pound of flesh.' At any rate, it seems to me simply ridiculous to contend that the dramatist was in 'profound ignorance' of the law, and 'of the fundamental principles of justice' also (alas for our immortal bard!), because, following an Italian romance, he has presented us in his comedy with a fantastic trial

[1] *Shakespeare Problem*, p. 404.

scene, in which he has not been either such a bad artist or, I may add, such a portentous pedant as to make his characters solemnly conform to the rules of British law and legal procedure."[1]

To come back from the particular to the general. I should be the first to admit that much nonsense has been written concerning Shakespeare's knowledge of law. But a proposition is not necessarily untrue because unsound arguments are advanced in its support; and I do not think the whole question will be, or can be, finally disposed of by such methods as those employed by Mr. Robertson. Let me give an instance on the other side. In the Literary Supplement to *The Fortnightly Review* of November, 1911, there is an article on "Shakespeare and the Law of Marriage."

The author is, evidently, a man of orthodox "Stratfordian" faith, and his judgment as to the correctness of Shakespeare's statement of the law, in a rather abstruse matter, is all the more valuable because he doubts whether "Will" could possibly have made such a correct

[1] Mr. Robertson, by the way, although he tells us nothing about the *Pecorone*, has something to say concerning Shakespeare's "moral outlook" in his play, where, according to Mr. Devecmon, the dramatist has disregarded "all ideas of law, justice, and morality." "As regards Shakespeare's moral outlook in the matter," writes Mr. Robertson (p. 61), "it may suffice to remind the reader of the existence of an older play, referred to by Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse* (1579), on the subject of the caskets and the Jewish usurer's bond; and to suggest that Shakespeare who has done so much to humanise the figure of the hated Jew in other respects, probably stopped short of the vengeance meted out in the older drama." Now Stephen Gosson, in the tract referred to, "containing a pleasant invective against poets, pipers, players, jesters, and such like caterpillars of the commonwealth," thus describes a play of his time: "The Jew shewn at the Bull, representing the greedyness of worldly choosers, and the bloody minds of usurers"; and seeing that all we know of this "older play" is contained in these few words it is hardly legitimate to state as a known fact that the play was "on the subject of the caskets and the Jewish usurer's bond," while as to "the vengeance meted out in the older drama," we really know nothing whatever about it. As to the "caskets" scene, there can be little doubt that Shakespeare took it from the English *Gesta Romanorum*.

statement "except by accident." The passage referred to is in *Measure for Measure* (Act V, Scene 1), where the Duke, after having caused Angelo to marry Mariana, condemns him

> to the very block
> Where Claudio stoop'd to death, and with like haste.

To Mariana's entreaties he affects to turn a deaf ear, but says:

> For his possessions,
> Although by confiscation they are ours,
> We do instate and widow you withal,
> To buy you a better husband.

Upon this passage the writer in *The Fortnighily* comments as follows: "The legal point is very interesting. If a tenant in chivalry committed a felony, this affected his holding, and an escheat to the lord *propter delictum tenentis* followed. But a felony was an offence against the State, and so the Crown claimed the escheat or forfeiture. But the Crown was compelled to surrender this right by Magna Charta, though it managed to retain it in the case of high treason, and to this day, in the case of an outlawry upon an indictment for treason, the traitor's land is forfeited to the Crown. But what about the rights of the widow, whether the escheat is to the lord or the Crown? Poor woman, what has she done? The widow had larger rights in her estate of dower than even the heir, for she was absolutely secured against any form of alienation by the owner. Yet Shakespeare makes the Duke declare that, in this case, she had no rights; and he was correct, for the law had been finally settled that way not so very long before Shakespeare's time. Up to the reign of Edward VI the widow was not protected against escheat for felony or treason; but in 1549 it was settled by statute that escheat in the case of felony did not affect the widow's dower, *though in the case*

of high or petit treason the dower was extinguished, thus confirming, in the case of treason, the old law, not only that no heir born before or after the felony could take the escheated property, but that every gift (including dower) made in the felon's lifetime was bad. So Mariana would not have been entitled to dower unless the Duke had relinquished his rights. But Shakespeare [i.e. Shakspere of Stratford] can hardly be taken to have known the law *on this point*, although he declares *it correctly*, and does so in spite of the fact that Angelo's offence was really *petit* treason, and not *high* treason, since the Duke was a feudal lord, and not a king. This distinction Shakespeare could hardly have known, and, if he had known, would have neglected.

"The line between felony and petty treason was always very narrow, and was abolished in 1838. Shakespeare may have heard the point discussed by some of his legal friends, for treason was the popular offence of his age. But it is carrying the worship of Shakespeare a little too far to suppose that he was familiar with this particular obscurity in the law of treason. On the other hand, *the play teems with legal references and correct statements of the law, and it is dangerous to dogmatise as to the extent of Shakespeare's legal knowledge,* especially as we know that he was on more than one occasion a litigant."

This is, I think, an instructive passage. The writer, apparently a lawyer, has come to the conclusion that Shakespeare has made a correct statement on a point of law which, as he writes, "was, one would think, too complicated and unusual in practice for a layman to have known." How could William Shakspere, the Stratford player, have known it? Perhaps he was right "by accident." We must not let our Shakespeare idolatry carry us so far as to make us suppose that he was familiar with this particular obscurity in the law of

treason. Yet "it is dangerous to dogmatise as to the extent of Shakespeare's legal knowledge." Perhaps he *did* know the law after all; for "the play teems with legal references and correct statements of law." Perhaps Shakespeare may have picked up this obscure point in the law of treason from one of his own law-suits![1]

How then is this question as to Shakespeare's legal knowledge to be decided? Not, I think, by Mr. Robertson's method of filling page after page with quotations from contemporary writers which, in the majority of instances, are submited to us as examples of "legal" expressions, because they contain such terms as "witness," "warrant," "judge," "jury," "compound," "lease," "will," "term-time," and the like, though sometimes, it is true, they go as far as "livery and seisin," "caveat," "supersedeas," "fine," "recovery," etc. etc.

I repeat here, and I repeat most emphatically, that "it is *not* a question of the mere use of legal phrases or maxims." We cannot obtain an integral number by the mere multiplication of ciphers. $o^n = o$ for all time. Mr. Robertson seeks, apparently, to "snow us under" with multitudinous citations, but the legal, or pseudo-legal, snowflakes melt as they fall. I freely admit, of course, that if the legal terms, expressions, references, and allusions to be found in Shakespeare are of no more weight or substance than the vast majority of Mr. Robertson's quotations, then *cadit quaestio*—there is question to be answered.

I submit, however, that such is not the case, and that the question is still very much alive. Who is to answer it? It cannot, in my judgment, be answered by a layman. For, although, of course, Mr. Robertson would never for a moment admit the truth of any such proposition, no one who has not served his apprenticeship to the law

[1] The writer, apparently, had forgotten John Shakespeare's suits in the Stratford "Court of Record," *in placito debiti*!

—and only those who have done so through long and arduous years can appreciate how difficult it is to master and understand—is competent to form an opinion as to the legal meaning which may be contained in any of such terms, expressions, references, and allusions, or as to the legal knowledge which may underlie it. At the same time we must admit the impossibility of finding a legal arbitrator to whom this question can be submitted with confidence, or whose decision would be generally accepted as settling the matter at issue. The most expert lawyer may go wrong, a Lord Chief Justice may be deficient in judgment, and a Lord Chancellor may speak ill-advisedly, and even foolishly, with his lips. Therefore, I fear, we must say that *adhuc sub iudice lis est*, and that it is likely so to remain indefinitely. Meantime the safest course will be to consider the "Shakespeare Problem" quite apart from this vexed question of Shakespeare's legal knowledge; and this I propose to do, as briefly as may be, in a later portion of this work. But do not let us forget that, whether it be true or whether it be false, the assertion of Shakespeare's peculiar knowledge of law was not the invention of any "Baconian" or "anti-Stratfordian" heretic, but originated with some of the most learned of "orthodox" Shakespeareans, including such an eminent critic and distinguished lawyer as Malone himself.[1]

[1] See Note B appended to this chapter, where I deal with Mr. Robertson's quaint propositions with regard to the "long trial scene" in *A Warning for Faire Women*, and the alleged legal technicalities in the so-called "indictment" in Jonson's *Poetaster*.

NOTE A TO CHAPTER II

THE STRATFORD COURT OF RECORD

Much exaggerated language has been used concerning the Court of Record at Stratford-on-Avon, as though it had been presided over by one of the judges of the land, and addressed by counsel learned in the law. And it was before this august tribunal that Shakespeare is said to have "picked up" a great part of his legal knowledge!

But what are the facts? By his Charter of 1553 Edward VI granted to the Bailiff and Burgesses of Stratford-on-Avon a Court of Record to be held before the Bailiff, to try personal actions of debt, trespass, etc., where the debts or damages claimed were less than £30. The Bailiff who presided over the Court was usually assisted by one or two of the Burgesses. It was not till the year 1664 that the title of Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses was granted to the Corporation by the Charter of Charles II, which also raised the jurisdiction of the Court from £30 to £40. After this date the Steward of the Court, who was elected by the Common Council, had the duty imposed upon him of presiding with the Mayor as Judge in the Court of Record. However, we are now concerned only with the Court as it existed under the Charter of Edward VI. It has been assumed by some writers that the Bailiff tried all the cases which came before him in the Court of Record with a jury. I think this must be a mistake, though there seems to be no doubt that some cases were so tried. Juries were at times summoned at Stratford, as at other places, "on view of frank-pledge," that old institution of Alfred under which the freemen within the liberty of a hundred, lordship, manor, or other local division, were all mutually pledges for the good behaviour of all the rest. "When the view [of frank-pledge] is in private hands," write Pollock and Maitland (Vol. I, p. 557), "we often find that the duty of presenting offenders is per-

formed by the chief pledges who thus form themselves into a jury." We have, for example, the famous presentment of April 29th, 1552: "Item juratores presentant super sacramentum suum quod Humfridius Reynoldes xijd. Adrianus Quiney xijd. et Johannes Shakyspere xijd. fecerunt sterquinarium in vico vocato Hendley Strete contra ordinacionem curie; ideo ipsi in misericordia, ut patet." "*Visus franci plegii*, Stratford Burgus, 29 April, 6 Edward VI." Here the jurors on view of frank-pledge fine John "Shakyspere" and two others for having a muck-heap before their houses in Henley Street. But Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, on the same page as that on which he quotes the above presentment (*Outlines*, 6th ed. Vol. II, p. 215), tells us of John Shakspere that, in 1556, "he was summoned on a Court of Record Jury on 21 March." But he goes on to quote as follows from the proceedings of the Court: "Thomas Sirhe de Arscotte, in comitatu Wizornienci, *queritur versus Johannem Shakyspere de Stretforde*, in comitatu Warwicensi, Glover, in placito quod reddat ei octo libras," etc. It is clear, therefore, that John Shakspere was not summoned on a jury to try the case, for he was himself defendant. If he was summoned on a jury at all at that date it was, doubtless, a jury on view of frank-pledge. Similarly, when we read, on p. 217, that, in 1558, "Johannes Shakespere was summoned on a Court of Record jury, 23 Februarv," it is clear that this is another case of a jury on view of frank-pledge, for reading on we find, "'Fraunces Harbadge, master bely (i.e. bailiff) that now ys, Adreane Quyny, Mr Hall, Mr Clopton, for the gutter alonge the Chappell in Chappell Lane, John Shakspeyr (iiijd) for not kepynge ther gutters cleane they stand amerced,' *view of frank-pledge*, April." And, again, on p. 219, we read that, in 1560, "Johannes Shakespere is in a list of jurors that were appointed at a view of frank-pledge held at Stratford-on-Avon on October the 5th, but it appears, from a cancel of his name, that he did not serve."[1]

[1] Higher up on the same page we read "He was summoned on a Court of Record jury on 6 September. 'Accio—Johannes Shakespere queritur versus Matheum Bromley . . . in placito debiti.'" He was, therefore, as it seems, plaintiff in this action, not a juryman.

These various presentments of the jurors on view of frank-pledge must be distinguished from the ordinary cases tried before the Bailiff, and the Burgesses his Assessors, in the Court of Record. Those cases were for the most part actions for small debts, a very large number of which were brought against John Shakspere. Thus we read, "Adrianus Quenye et Thomas Knyght queruntur versus Johannem Shakespere de placito debiti super demandam vj. li," which were "proceedings of the Court of Record 19 April, a summoning order against the defendant being duly granted." Again, "Adrianus Quenye et Thomas Knight petunt distringas versus Johannem Shakspeyr in placito debiti," "*ibid*, 6 May, and an order of distringas was given," and so on, and so on. John Shakspere was, it appears, continually being sued in the Court for small debts, and sometimes he is himself the plaintiff *in placito debiti*. But that these trumpery cases were tried before a jury seems in the highest degree improbable, and, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. I will leave the reader to judge how much law was to be "picked up" in the course of the pettifogging trials before the Bailiff in this Court of Record.[1]

John Shakspere, it is hardly necessary to add, was also involved in litigation concerning real property. I allude to his vexatious and abortive actions against John Lambert in his desperate attempt to recover the estate of Asbies, and I would refer the reader to a very instructive article on this subject —"Shakespeare and Asbies"—by Mr. Harold Hardy, published in *Baconiana* for July, 1914. The actions alone were sufficient to reduce John Shakspere, who was already in financial difficulties, to a very low state of impecuniosity.

[1] In the matter of the "view of frank-pledge" the Stratford Court resembled a Court Leet, which was "a court of record appointed to be held . . . within a particular hundred, lordship, or manor, before the steward of the leet, being the King's Court granted by charter to the lords of those hundreds or manors. Its original intent was to view the frank pledges, that is the freemen within the liberty who, according to the institution of Alfred, were all mutually pledges for the good behaviour of each other" (Wharton's *Law Lexicon*). It was the business of the Court Leet also to present by *jury* all crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court. On the question of trial by jury in the Borough Court see further in Appendix C.

NOTE B TO CHAPTER II

MR. ROBERTSON ON SUPPOSED LEGAL TECHNICALITIES IN JONSON'S *POETASTER* AND IN *A WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN*

The impossibility of accepting a layman's judgment on this question of Shakespeare's legal knowledge is well illustrated by the following passage from Mr. Robertson's work. After referring to Lord Campbell's comments on the indictment of Hermione (*Winter's Tale*, III, 2), he writes (p. 66), "With what wonder then must the lawyers read the indictment of Crispinus and Fannius in Jonson's *Poetaster* (V, 1) where the technicalities are to Shakespeare's as three to one!"

Now "the lawyers" have not read the indictment of Crispinus and Fannius with "wonder," because they have not read it at all! It is true that Virgil, in Jonson's play, says, "read the indictment," but what Tibullus does, in response, is to call upon the prisoners to plead, in the course of which he does not read the indictment but merely states the effect of it. Nor are there really any "technicalities" unless such words as "contrary to the peace of our liege lord, Augustus Cæsar, his crown and dignity, and against the form of a [*sic*] statute, in that case made and provided," are to be considered such. But even these familiar words, known to everyone who has ever attended Courts of criminal jurisdiction, in the case of indictable offences, are not used with any technical knowledge or art. When an indictment is framed on a statute it concludes with the words, "against the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity." But here we have "against the form of a statute," etc., and the other words cited, pitched at random into this mock indictment of which Tibullus, as officer of the Court, is supposed to be giving the gist, and which having accused the prisoners of going about to deprave the person and writings of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, then goes on to accuse them further

(apparently in the same "count") with conspiring and plotting against him. But the whole thing is, of course, merely a travesty of an "arraignment," and to imagine that it is indicative of any legal learning would be ridiculous indeed. At the same time, I must add that I attach no importance to the words cited by Lord Campbell from the "indictment" of Hermione in Shakespeare's play.

Let us now consider Mr. Robertson's remarks concerning that old play *A Warning for Faire Women*. He writes as follows (at p. 154): In "A WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN (1599) there is a long trial scene to which, for detail, formality, and general realism, there is no parallel in Shakespeare's plays. A murderer, concerning whose case there has already been much amateur detective investigation, is tried before 'the Lord Mayor, the Lord Justice, the four Lords, and one clerk, and a Sheriff,' who enter in due form."

Let us pause here for a moment. I do not know for what reason Mr. Robertson marks the above words—"the Lord Mayor," etc.—as a quotation. Scene 4 of Act IV of the play is at "Westminster, The Court of King's Bench," and at the outset we read "Enter a Sheriff, Clerk of the Court, and Officers." Subsequently we have "Enter Lord Mayor, Lord Justice, and four other Lords." When the Sheriff sits beside the Judge at an Assize Court, and the Clerk of the Court (or of Assize) occupies his usual position below, it really is not usual to say "the prisoner was tried before the Judge, one clerk, and a Sheriff!"

Mr. Robertson continues: "The Lord Justice calls—

> Bring forth the prisoner, and keep silent there
> Prepare the inditement that it may be read.

The Clerk duly does so, the document being given in full, in the strict form of the day. The criminal is told in full legal detail how 'with one sword, price six shillings,' he accomplished his crime; and on his pleading guilty the case proceeds exactly as such a case might, the judge pronouncing a homily before passing sentence. The abettors of the crime are then brought in and indicted 'jointly and severally,' with

the same technical precision, and searching questions are put to the guilty persons. The 'inditements' stand as documents of Elizabethan criminal procedure. Had such a scene been found in a Shakespearean play, it would have been claimed by the legalists as overwhelming evidence of Shakespeare's lawyership."

Let us examine this. *A Warning for Faire Women* was published anonymously in 1599. It has been edited, with an introduction and notes, by Mr. A. F. Hopkinson (1904), and although printed "for private circulation," copies of the work are to be obtained without much difficulty. The play, as Mr. Hopkinson writes, "belongs to that class of dramatic composition which Mr. Collier appropriately describes as 'domestic tragedy'; that is, an appalling crime was committed which made a great stir in the country, and, for some cause connected with it, excited the popular interest." Of the crime in question an account has been furnished by Stow. One George Browne "cruelly murdered two honest men near unto Shooters Hill in Kent, the one of them was a wealthy merchant of London named George Sanders, the other John Beane of Woolwich." For this murder Browne, who pleaded guilty, was executed at Smithfield and, subsequently, Mistress Sanders, the wife of the murdered man, and a certain Mistress Drury, were convicted "as accessaries" (says Stow) and also executed at Smithfield. Further "Trustie Roger, Mistress Drury's man, was arraigned . . . and being there condemned as accessary, was executed with his mistress at the time and place aforesaid."

Such was the notorious crime upon which this old play was founded, and, as already mentioned, the fourth scene of the fourth act is laid at the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, where George Browne, and subsequently, Anne Sanders and Anne Drury, are brought up for trial before the "Lord Justice," with whom are associated "four other Lords," apparently as assessors. George Browne is first arraigned by the Clerk of the Court, who, according to the practice, states the substance of the indictment against him, of course changing the third person to the second person, substituting "for that *thou*" etc., for "for that *he*" etc. But since Browne pleads guilty there is no trial. Then, after Browne is sentenced, Anne Sanders and Anne

Drury are also arraigned, the indictment charging them with being "accessories both before and after the fact," whereupon they plead "not guilty" and elect to be tried "by God and by the Country."

Now, says Mr. Robertson, "if such a scene had been found in a Shakespearean play, it would have been claimed by the legalists as overwhelming evidence of Shakespeare's lawyership." If so the "legalists" would have written themselves down asses with a vengeance! In the first place, whether it be true or not that Shakespeare's plays disclose the fact that their author had a peculiar knowledge of law, and legal customs, and legal life, as so many high authorities have contended, it is certainly not upon his supposed knowledge of *criminal* law that that contention is based; and secondly, the mere knowledge of the jargon of an indictment for murder, familiar to all who attended criminal Courts at the trial of such cases, and frequently published with the accounts of sensational trials for murder, would be but a frail peg whereon to hang the proposition that the author must have had special legal training. "Overwhelming evidence" indeed!

But, further, if the reader will peruse the scene in question for himself, he will find no evidence at all of a lawyer's hand therein. Anne Sanders and Anne Drury elect to be tried "by the country," i.e. they "put themselves upon the country" as we should say. What happens then? The "trusty Roger," Mrs. Drury's man, himself *particeps criminis*, an accessory both before and after the fact, is called as a witness, and upon some quite inconclusive statements of this criminal, entirely uncorroborated, for not a single other witness is called, the two prisoners are condemned. And how are they condemned? Where is the jury? And what is their verdict? There is no jury, and no verdict! Apparently there is no need for such trifles. The prisoners are condemned by the Lord Chief Justice himself, and "the country" has not a word to say in the matter! A curious sort of lawyer must the author have been if a lawyer he really was!

But who was the author? The play, says Mr. Robertson, "is conjecturally ascribed by Fleay to Lodge, whose training was in medicine." So Lodge, without any legal training, could

actually write all this wonderful law, viz., the substance, more or less correct, of two short indictments for murder! Edward Phillips, however, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, ascribed the play to Lyly. Mr. Hopkinson, in his introduction, gives good reason for rejecting the idea that either of these two playwrights was the author. His own opinion, founded on internal evidence, is that Thomas Kyd wrote the play.

"Kyd was born to the trade of 'noverint,' and perhaps spent a few years in the office of his father who was a scrivener; in *A Warning*, IV, 4, the indictments of Browne, Anne Sanders, and Drury, with their legal jargon, point to the probability of their having been drawn up by one accustomed to copying legal documents. All Kyd's plays, with the exception of his translation of Garnier's *Cornelia*, were issued anonymously, so was *A Warning*."

According to this hypothesis, then, the simple explanation of the so-called "indictments" is to be found in the fact that the author was "accustomed to copying legal documents." But whether Kyd was the author or somebody else is of very little moment, for the play really contains no evidence whatever that the author had any knowledge of law. And again I say let the reader examine it for himself, and he will see the entire futility of Mr. Robertson's supposed parallel.

But the truth is, as I have already said, that it is not by "long trial scenes" that Shakespeare gives us evidence of his legal knowledge. Rather it is by legal allusions that seem to turn up spontaneously, and as it were unconsciously, in unexpected and, it may be, in quite inappropriate places.

CHAPTER III

THE LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE

THERE are, or, if Mr. Robertson's book is to be accepted as the definite statement of the orthodox Shakespearean position at the present day, I must say there *were*, two schools of teaching with regard to the learning of Shakespeare. One school, which may be called the Traditional school, followed the old writers, such as Thomas Fuller (1662) who wrote of the immortal bard that "his learning was very little," and that he was, like Plautus, "never any scholar"; or the Rev. John Ward, of Stratford (1663) who says, "I have heard that Mr. Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all." And, of course, we have Jonson's celebrated line,

> And though thou had'st small Latin and less Greek,

which I have considered at some length in chap. XI.[1]

This is the school of the unlearned Shakespeare,[2] but there is, or was, another school comprising those who looked rather to Shakespeare's works than to tradition or biographers for the measure of Shakespeare's learning.

[1] *Infra*, p. 401 *et seq.*

[2] Mr. Robertson, in a foot-note, at p. 202 of his book, writes: "Mr. Greenwood noticing in his *Vindicators of Shakespeare* my demurrer to his assumption that the view opposed to his ascribed ignorance and *complete lack of culture* to the Poet, pleasantly observes that I 'admit' I do not entertain such an idea, but adds 'such an idea has been held and maintained by many.' What I want to know is, who were they?" I will tell him, but first let us see what I really wrote: "Mr. Robertson admits that he does not himself entertain the idea of an ignorant, uncultivated Shakespeare, yet such

This school, of which Dr. Maginn and Professor Spencer Baynes were typical representatives, contended that "the works themselves" contain evidence that the author was endowed with an amount of learning quite inconsistent with the "never no scholard" theory of the "unlearned Shakespeare" school.

The battle between these two schools raged long and dubiously, until at length, viz. in 1766, Dr. Farmer's famous Essay was supposed to have settled the question for all time in favour of the uncultured man, who wrote as it were by "plenary inspiration."[1] But in the year 1903 the late Professor Churton Collins entered the lists against Farmer and all comers, as the champion of the "learned" school, and once more our minds were sadly unsettled upon this most interesting question: Was the great poet, the great dramatist, the great human "guide, philosopher, and friend," who is "not of an age but for all time," really a well-educated, well-read, cultivated, and adequately learned man, or was he an uneducated, or very poorly educated, man, destitute of learning, and of what we should now call *culture*,[2] who wrote the marvellous works, not by design but by "inspiration," enabled thereunto by the magical and mysterious power of "genius"?

Well, we must indeed be grateful to Mr. Robertson for having (for do not the reviewers tell us so?) settled this vexed question even more definitely than Farmer. *Now* we know where we are. *Now* we know, from authoritative statement, what is the received doctrine of the orthodox Shakespearean faith. Mr. Robertson is a

a theory has been held and maintained by many." "Who were they?" now asks Mr. Robertson. I answer, Fuller and Ward among others, and I shall show that Farmer's Essay, with which Mr. Robertson has now announced his entire agreement, really leads us to this conclusion. See also Halliwell-Phillipps on Shakespeare's want of education

[1] So Halliwell-Phillipps: "Shakespeare wrote without effort, by inspiration not by design" (*Outlines*, 6th ed. Vol. I, p. 106).

[2] This word has, of late, been brought into disrepute, but I need scarcely say that by "culture" I do not mean "Kultur" *à la* Potsdam!

convinced disciple of Farmer. The "unlearned Shakespeare" school is triumphant.

In these circumstances it seems almost intolerable to reopen the question, or to attempt to do so. Nevertheless, I venture to think there are a few things which may profitably be said even on this well-worn topic.

Mr. Robertson writes, concerning my book and others (p. 178), "The 'legal' argument is backed up by the 'classical'—the argument from 'the classical scholarship' said to be revealed by the Plays"; and he speaks of "the inference that the Plays of Shakespeare exhibit wide classical scholarship because they contain classical allusions and classical commonplaces."

Now, for my part, I prefer not to use the word "scholarship" with reference to the learning of Shakespeare. I think it would be difficult to prove that the author of the Plays and Poems was a "scholar" in the modern sense of that term.[1] Professor Churton Collins, it is true, maintained that the poet "could almost certainly read Latin with as much facility as a cultivated Englishman of our own time reads French," that he must have been able to read Latin authors "*ad sensum* with facility and pleasure," and, further, that "with some at least of the principal Latin classics he was intimately acquainted; that through the Latin language he had access to the Greek classics, and that of the Greek classics in the Latin versions he had, in all probability, a remarkably extensive knowledge."

This is a very large claim. Those who desire to see how ably the late Professor Collins endeavoured to make it good may read his *Studies in Shakespeare* (1904). I, certainly, have no intention of attempting to prove its validity. What I do maintain, however, is that the works show that Shakespeare was not an unlearned man, but, on

[1] Certainly not "a deep classical scholar," as Mr. Robertson puts it (p. 549), knowing how much virtue there is in an adjective.

the contrary, a man of the highest culture, of wide reading, much learning, and a large familiarity with the classics, whether that familiarity was obtained by reading in the original, or by means of translations.

Mr. Robertson's seventh chapter is headed "The Alleged Classical Scholarship of the Plays." Now I do not, perhaps, pay a very humble reverence to "authority." Still, if I am to be lectured on "scholarship," I prefer that the lecture should be given by a scholar; just as if I am to be lectured on law I prefer to listen to a trained lawyer rather than to a layman. It might not, therefore, be considered out of place if I were to pause here in order to ask what are Mr. Robertson's qualifications to discourse to us on Shakespeare's "classical scholarship." I will not do so, however. I will cheerfully assume the existence of such qualifications. At the same time, I must own that when I found the word κῆποι repeated four times on five successive pages,[1] as Greek for "gardens," I could only suppose that Mr. Robertson was suffering from a temporary oblivion of his Greek. For an author is wont to look with particular attention at his Greek quotations as they appear in the proofs, especially when such quotations are very few and far between. Moreover, the Greek characters are particularly apt to catch the eye, and therefore it is a very remarkable instance of "proof-blindness" that Mr. Robertson, while lecturing us on scholarship, should have allowed κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος ("the *sea-monsters* of Adonis"!) to do duty on these four occasions for "the *gardens* of Adonis"! For although Mr. Robertson tells us that, like Shakespeare, he left school at the age of thirteen, we are unwilling to suppose that he is also like Shakespeare in having "small Latin and less Greek."[2]

[1] See work cited, pp. 184, 185, 186, 188.

[2] Such errors as "the verbs *dormior* [*sic*] and *morior*" (p. 120), "suum *quique*" (p. 171), and "Si tibi non *corda* fuerant connubia nostra" (p. 209), are, of course, only evidence of the haste with which Mr. Robertson's work was written. Why Mr. Robertson has thought it necessary to devote such an

I was, however, even more surprised when I read the following concerning the Shakespearean word "Academe": "Be it observed that the scansion of the word in *Love's Labour's Lost* is precisely what a good classical scholar would *not* do with it" (p. 278). What is the meaning of this? What "scansion" does Mr. Robertson think would be employed by "a good classical scholar"? Shakespeare has

> Our Court shall be a little Academe (*L.L.L.*, I, 1, 13),

and (of "women's eyes")—

> They are the ground, the books, the Academes,
> From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire"
> (IV, 3, 303).

What, pray, is wrong here? The Greek original for Academy (which, were it not for custom, "a good classical scholar" would, I suppose, scan as Académy!) is *ἀκαδημία*, or, more correctly, *ἀκαδήμεια*. If Shakespeare pleased to shorten this to "Academe," why should he not have done

amount of space and argument to "the gardens of Adonis" I cannot conceive. I have pointed out in a short note (*Shakespeare Problem*, p. 161) that not only do the words in question occur in a play which is, surely, not Shakespeare's (*Henry VI*, Part 1), but they are not applied in the proper classical sense. The "gardens of Adonis" were things which grew quickly, made a show for a short time, and then prematurely withered away; but the Dauphin uses the expression as *an encomium*, with reference to promises which bore fruit the day after they had blossomed. Bacon was no doubt thinking of these "gardens of Adonis" when he wrote, "the gardens of love, wherein he now playeth himself, are fresh to-day and fading to-morrow" (Essex's Device)—an argument, if one were required, against the Baconian authorship of *1 Henry VI*. In Bacon's *Promus* we find the following note: "Adonis gardens—thinges of great pleasure but soon fading" (Folio 100). Mr. Robertson, by the way, had apparently a better proof-reader for his *Shakespeare and Montaigne*, for there we find *Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι* correctly printed. The mention of Bacon reminds me of another error of Mr. Robertson's which I cannot look upon as venial in one who affects to write learnedly concerning that great man. He has spoken of him as "the Lord Chancellor, Viscount of St. Albans"! He really ought to have known that Bacon was never Viscount of St. Albans, nor Viscount St. Albans. His title was Viscount St. Alban.

so? Perhaps Mr. Robertson will kindly explain why this form is evidence of want of scholarship. Is it not rather evidence (I speak with bated breath) of some little want of scholarship on the part of the critic? I am inclined to think that, perhaps, the author of *Love's Labour's Lost* was as good a scholar as Mr. Robertson, and, possibly, even better.[1]

Neither am I at all impressed by Mr. Robertson's remarks on the word "antres," found in *Othello*, I, 3, 140. Here the comment runs as follows: "An old French word from *antrum*. So all the commentators. But it might have come through the Italian *antro*. It could not conceivably be a new word, thus introduced in a play; *even scholars would be at a loss to associate it, on the sudden, with antrum*." [2]

The lines in *Othello* are:

> Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
> It was my hint to speak.

Now I venture to say that anyone who was tolerably well read in Latin (not necessarily a "scholar") would, at once, associate the word "antres" with *antrum*.[3]

[1] Milton has, "See there the olive grove of Academe" (*Paradise Regained*, IV, 244). But this is not to the point, because "Academe" here stands for the hero Academus. But, as Mr. Hunter wrote (and his words are quoted with approval by Dr. Furness), Academe "is no affected word, nor is it thus written for the sake of metre. It was the usual form of *academy*. When Bolton had devised the scheme for the association of men eminent in literature and art he called it the *Academe Royal*." Had the word been open to objection, as suggested by Mr Robertson, a scholar like Mr. Lang would not have adopted it without a word of protest (see *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown*, pp. 124 and 130). Mr. Thomas Seccombe also, in his Introduction to the "Everyman" *Lavengro*, tells us that "Norwich had become at the commencement of the last century a little Academe." The "scansion" is the same as Shakespeare's!

[2] Work cited, p. 281. My italics.

[3] It is the same collocation as in *Childe Harold's "Good Night"*:

> "Welcome ye deserts, and ye caves."

Mr. Robertson proceeds to tell us that "its meaning is not absolutely certain," and that "it is just possible that the derivation is through Chaucer's *entrée*," for "In *Boece* (ii. pr. 2), he renders *in Jovis limine* by 'in the entree, *or in the celere* (v. r. *seler*) of Jupiter.' Elsewhere he translates both *adytum* and *aditum* by 'entree' (ii. pr. 1; i. pr. 6), *perhaps knowing that adytum primarily meant a cave, and confusing the two words.*"

I confess I am entirely ignorant as to "*the celere* of Jupiter." I presume it was where the nectar was kept. But when Mr. Robertson tells me that "*adytum* primarily meant a cave," I wonder not a little whence he derived his information. I had always supposed that "adytum" was the Greek ἄδυτον, meaning "not to be entered," and that it signified the innermost secret part of a temple, or the sanctuary. In ancient days this temple might have been a cave, but the proposition that "a cave" was the primary meaning of the word "adytum" seems to me a somewhat remarkable one.

This, however, by way of preface only. Let us come back to "the learning of Shakespeare." Mr. Robertson, as we have seen, reverts to Farmer's opinion, and cites his celebrated Essay as having settled the question in favour of the "unlearned Shakespeare" school. In one passage, indeed, he recognises that Farmer may have gone a little too far, unless he is to be taken "humorously." Here it will be well to quote Mr. Robertson's own words: "Farmer's particular reasoning is strictly sound so far as it goes: he completely disposes of every item of positive claim for Shakespeare's scholarship with which he deals; and he sets up a very strong presumption against similar claims that have not been preceded by an application of his tests. Only in a somewhat loose but inessential sentence of summary does he ever outgo his proofs. He does write that Shakespeare 'remembered perhaps enough of his schoolboy learning to put the *hig*, *hag*, *hog* into the

mouth of Sir Hugh Evans, and might pick up, in the writers of the time, or the course of his conversation, a familiar phrase or two of French and Italian, but his studies were most demonstratively confined to nature and his own language.'" Upon this Mr. Robertson proceeds to comment as follows: "The 'perhaps' here, and the limited admission which follows it, are certainly much overstrained if meant to be taken otherwise than humorously, but the closing proposition, turning as it does on the term 'studies,' is justified by the whole content of the Essay."[1]

The meaning of this is evident. Mr. Robertson perceives that if Farmer is to be taken seriously in this passage, Shakespeare must have been, in Farmer's opinion, a very ignorant fellow indeed. He may *perhaps* have remembered enough of what he learned at school to be able "to put the *hig*, *hag*, *hog* into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans," says Farmer. He *might* have picked up "in the writers of his time, or in the course of his conversation, a familiar phrase or two of French and Italian." In the words of Uncle Remus, "he *mote*, but den agen he *moten't*!" But this will never do. We must leave at any rate some rag of culture with the author of *Hamlet*. Evidently, therefore, Farmer's observations here go just a little too far. They are "much overstrained," unless indeed they are, as Mr. Robertson suggests, meant "*to be taken humorously*." But there is, in fact, nothing whatever to warrant this suggestion, and I cannot think it is altogether ingenuous in Mr. Robertson, who, as *The Times* reviewer says, himself writes with "no hampering sense of humour,"[2] to put such an interpretation on Farmer's words. They occur at the end of the Essay, where the writer is announcing the conclusion which he has come to. "I hope, my good Friend," he writes, "you have by this time acquitted our Poet of all piratical depredations on the Ancients, and are ready to

[1] *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 308.
[2] *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 3rd, 1913.

receive my *Conclusion.*"[1] Then follow the words quoted by Mr. Robertson. Surely there is nothing here to suggest that Dr. Farmer was not writing quite seriously.[2]

But in truth Dr. Farmer had indicated his "conclusion" in no uncertain voice in a passage which occurs shortly before the words cited from him by Mr. Robertson. This passage, in which there is no suggestion of "humour," is so important that I must quote it in full: "But, to come to a conclusion, I will give you an irrefragable argument that Shakespeare did *not* understand *two* very common words in the French and Latin languages. According to the Articles of agreement between the Conqueror Henry and the King of France, the latter was to stile the former (in the corrected French of the modern editions) 'Nostre *tres cher* filz Henry Roy d'Angleterre; and in Latin, *Praeclarissimus* Filius, etc.' 'What?' says Dr. Warburton, 'Is *tres cher* in French *praeclarissimus* in Latin! We should read *praecarissimus*.' This appears to be exceedingly true; but how came the blunder? It is a typographical one in Holingshed, which Shakespeare copied; but must indisputably have corrected, had he been acquainted with the languages. 'Our said Father, during his life, shall name, call, and write us in French in this manner: Nostre *tres chier* filz, Henry Roy d'Engleterre—and in Latin in this manner: *Praeclarissimus* filius noster.'"

Thus it is proved to demonstration (according to Farmer) that "Shakespeare did not understand two very common words in the French and Latin languages," viz. the words "*cher*" in French and the word "*praeclarissimus*" in Latin.[3]

[1] Original italics.

[2] Mr. Robertson speaks of me as citing from Mr. Churton Collins "without going to Farmer for himself" (p. 194)—a gratuitous assumption, and one which is quite untrue. The Essay, which I have read and studied, has been reprinted, and annotated in Nicol Smith's *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespeare*, a most useful book which I have long possessed.

[3] It need hardly be said that the proper translation of "*tres cher*" into Latin is "*carissimus*," though *praecarus* may be a legitimate form, like *praeclarus*,

Jonson at least allowed Shakespeare *some* Latin, but according to Farmer he had, practically, none at all.

Now, therefore, I repeat, we know where we are. This is the Stratfordian faith which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be sane! Take down once more, dear reader—take down from their shelves your *Hamlet*, your *Lear*, your *Othello*, your *Julius Cæsar*, your *Antony and Cleopatra*, your *Tempest*, your *As You Like It*, your *Midsummer Night's Dream*, your *Venus and Adonis*, and your *Sonnets*. Read them all once again—read, mark, learn and inwardly digest them. And then reflect upon this most edifying fact. The man who wrote these works had no useless learning. Latin! He did not know a word of it, except, "perhaps," *hig*, *hag*, *hog*. He did not know the meaning of such a simple word as *praeclarissimus*, for example, although Latin was *the* thing that was taught in the schools of his day. French! Why, he did not know the meaning of the words "*très cher*"! Like a true John Bull, he knew no language but his own!

"Then, pray, sir, how did he manage to write the immortal works?" "*Genius*, my good friend, *Genius*! If you could but understand the ways of Genius, as I understand them, you would find no difficulty. Genius acts by no normal laws; is trammelled by no normal rules. Genius works by Magic. Genius is the 'Open Sesame' to knowledge. Genius defies the laws of causation. Genius is independent of its environment. Genius is *sui generis*. Genius can both be and not be in the same sense at the same time. *Et voilà tout!*"[1]

How futile then was it of Sir Sidney Lee to write such words as the following!—"Dr. Farmer enunciated in his *Essay on Shakespeare's Learning* (1767) the theory that

[1] Mr. Robertson says (p. 191, note 2), *à propos* of *Coriolanus*: "All along Shakespeare's own creative genius vivifies and expands his material, achieving what *mere 'culture'* could never do." I never said that "*mere culture*" could do all this. I do say that genius *without culture* ("mere" is Mr. Robertson's addition) could *not*.

Shakespeare knew no language but his own, and owed whatever knowledge he displayed of the classics and of Italian and French literature to English translations. But several of the books in French and Italian whence Shakespeare derived the plots of his dramas—Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, Ser Giovanni's *Il Pecorone*, and Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, for example—were not accessible to him in English translations, and on more general grounds the theory of his ignorance is adequately confuted."[1]

So that, according to Sir Sidney Lee, this man, who did not even know the meaning of "two very common words in the French and Latin languages," could actually read the French of Belleforest, and the Italian of Cinthio and Ser Giovanni! But then Sir Sidney Lee had not read Mr. Robertson's book at the time he wrote as above. "Doubtless" he knows better now! We must wait for the next edition.

So, then, we now have our "unlearned Shakespeare" with a vengeance. We have stripped him not only of all legal knowledge, but of all knowledge of Latin and modern languages. To grant that Shakespeare was a learned man, whether in law or in languages, is obviously a dangerous thing to do. It plays into the hands of the "heretics"! For when and how could Shakspere of Stratford have acquired such learning? But such danger is, happily, far from us now. Mr. Robertson, *Farmer adjuvante*, has given it the *coup de grâce*. Wherefore let there be rejoicing in the Stratfordian tents. *Magna est Ignorantia et praevalebit.*

But now, returning to the mood of sober seriousness, let us take another example of reasoning from Farmer's celebrated Essay. "Not in a single case," writes Mr.

[1] The late Dr. Furness, than whom there could not be a higher authority on such a matter, says of Shakespeare that he must have been an "omnivorous reader" (Preface to *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. xiv).

Robertson, could Dr. Maginn "really upset an argument of Farmer's." Well, I have not studied Maginn's critique of Farmer, so I am not concerned to controvert this statement. But I will give an instance of a very foolish argument adduced by Farmer in order to support the proposition that Shakespeare had no knowledge of French. "Mr. Hawkins," writes Farmer, "in the appendix to Mr. Johnson's Edition, hath an ingenious observation to prove that Shakespeare, supposing the French to be his, had very little knowledge of the language. 'est-il impossible d'eschapper la force de ton *Bras*?' says a Frenchman. '*Brass, cur*?' replies Pistol. 'Almost anyone knows that the French word *Bras* is pronounced *Brau* [*sic*]; and what resemblance of sound does this bear to *Brass*?' Mr. Johnson makes a doubt whether the pronunciation of the French language may not be changed since Shakespeare's time; 'if not' says he, 'it may be suspected that some other man wrote the French scenes': but this does not appear to be the case, at least in this termination, from the rules of the Grammarians, or the practice of the Poets."

Such is the portentous pedant who has "settled for all time" the question of the learning of Shakespeare!

Why, even at the present time, in some parts of France we can hear the final letter pronounced in the word "*bras*," and in old times it is indubitable that this was done.[1]

Mr. Robertson may possibly say that he only appealed to Farmer's Essay as against the theory that Shakespeare had a knowledge of the classics. But, with the exception of the "*hig, hag, hog*" passage (which is either "over-

[1] It is certain that all final letters were once pronounced in the French language—otherwise they would not have been there. In the Basque country to this day you will hear (to take an example) the "c" sounded in the pronunciation of such a word as "broc"; and even a Parisian will pronounce the "s" in "meurs." We may be quite sure that it was pronounced in "bras de fer," for example.

strained" or "to be taken humorously"!), he has blessed that Essay altogether. He has referred to Farmer's arguments as unassailable and incontrovertible. His "particular reasoning is strictly sound so far as it goes." Well, I have shown how far it goes. It goes very far indeed, and it goes far enough to show that the immortal bard was an uneducated, ignorant man. The late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence has been held up to reproach —and justly so, in my opinion—for styling Shakspere of Stratford "a drunken, illiterate clown." Well, we will put aside the "drunken" and the "clown." Let us grant that "Shakespeare" was neither of these. But what of "illiterate"? Is not a man who knows no language but his own—who does not even know the meaning of the simplest Latin and French words—properly described by that epithet? Such is the position of "sanity" to which this champion of the "unlearned school" has brought us!

But, after all, this is in strict keeping with orthodox doctrine as expounded by Halliwell-Phillipps, for example, who tells us that from the age of thirteen, at any rate, to the age of eighteen, Shakspere was *happily* free from the devitalising influence of school teaching: "Although the information at present accessible does not enable us to determine the exact nature of Shakespeare's occupations from his fourteenth to his eighteenth year, that is to say, from 1577 to 1582, there can be no hesitation in concluding that *during that animated and receptive period of life, he was mercifully released from what, to a spirit like his, must have been the deleterious monotony of a school education.*" And the writer adds, "whether he passed those years as a butcher or a wool-dealer does not greatly matter."[1]

Yet some of us (fanatics and cranks we shall, "doubtless," be called) find it impossible to accept this view

[1] *Outlines*, 6th ed. Vol. I, p. 57.

When we read the immortal works it seems to be borne in upon us—poor sentimentalists that we are—that the author of these great things could not really have been so poorly equipped with learning and culture as the Farmers and the Robertsons would have us believe. We agree that their theory exactly adapts itself to all we know of Shakspere of Stratford, but we cannot harmonise it with the works of "Shakespeare." For myself, I must even be content to bear Mr. Robertson's reproach that I set out "with a primary ideal of a highly 'cultured' mind as being alone capable of writing 'Shakespeare.'"[1] That, indeed, is not only my "ideal"; it is my profound conviction.

But I must defer to a later chapter the discussion of the true "Shakespeare Problem," as I conceive it. Here I will confine myself to a consideration of the proposition that Shakespeare had really no knowledge at all of the classical authors.

Now we must frankly admit, at the outset, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to prove such a knowledge by the citation of parallel passages. Such instances may always be disposed of by the reply of "common knowledge," "proverbial expression," "mere coincidence," etc. etc. Or it may be affirmed that Shakespeare, "doubtless," borrowed the passage in question from a contemporary author, or that he got it from a translation; and if no translation of the particular work referred to is known to exist, then he might have seen (and, therefore, "doubtless," saw) such a translation in manuscript, or, as a last resource, quite possible although perhaps not "necessary," had a translation "made for him." Therefore it is, I think, useless to endeavour to prove Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin authors by the setting forth of parallel passages. Mr. Robertson is especially contemptuous of this method. Yet Mr.

[1] Work cited, p. 192.

Robertson when he wishes to prove Shakespeare's indebtedness to Montaigne makes use of this same method in a manner which, if employed by another in support of a theory whereof he disapproved, would evoke some of his most contumelious epithets. Mr. Robertson, who sees classical knowledge nowhere, sees Montaigne everywhere in the works of Shakespeare. I would, for example, invite the reader's attention to the strong resemblance which Mr. Robertson finds between Claudio's well-known speech in *Measure for Measure*, "Ay, but to die and go we know not where," etc., and a passage which he duly sets forth from Montaigne's *Apology of Raimonde Sebonde*,"[1] commencing thus: "The most universal and received fantasy, and which endureth to this day, hath been that whereof Pythagoras is made author . . . which is that souls at their departure from us did but pass and roll from one to another body, from a lion to a horse, from a horse to a king, incessantly wandering up and down from house to mansion. . . . Origen waked them eternally, to go and come from a good to a bad estate. The opinion that Varro reporteth is, that in the revolutions of four hundred and forty years they reconjoin themselves unto their first bodies," and so forth, and so forth.

Here I find that I have noted in my edition of the work in question, "The above concerns the theory of the transmigration of souls. No resemblance at all to Claudio's speech"! And, proceeding from p. 91 to 270, we find that a critic quoted by Mr. Robertson has said the same thing. Thus: "Mr. Robertson next gives a page of parallels from Montaigne, to Claudio's famous speech, 'Ay, but to die, and go we know not where,' etc. It is scarcely credible, but it is a fact, that all the passages cited treat of one form or another of metempsychosis—the one possibility to which Claudio makes no allusion."

[1] *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 91 and following.

Upon this Mr. Robertson waxes very indignant. "In the first place," he writes, "it is simply not true that all the passages cited from Montaigne treat of metempsychosis. They specify (1) a mere ascending of souls to heaven and a redescending; (2) Origen's theory of a perpetual transition from a good to a bad estate; (3) a 'reconjoining' of the good soul 'unto that star or planet unto which he is assigned'; (4) a 'staying in the deceased bodies wherewith to animate . . . worms . . . which are said to engender from the *corruption* of our members'; (5) a becoming 'immortal without any science or knowledge', (6) a passage or change of condemned men's souls into devils; (7) a locating of souls for punishment and purification in extreme cold. 'If the sixth item be held to come under the head of metempsychosis, then Claudio speaks of metempsychosis, for he reproduces that item in his speech. One is at a loss for comment on such a tissue of error."

"A tissue of error" is a favourite expression with Mr. Robertson whereby to characterise arguments which do not find favour in his sight. He has done me the honour to apply it to my whole book.[1] But, however much my work may be amenable to that wholesale and undiscriminating censure, in the case under consideration I do not hesitate to say that the error is wholly Mr. Robertson's. It appears to me quite ridiculous to seek for the origin of Claudio's speech in the passage quoted from Montaigne. Had it been a Baconian, seeking a parallel between Bacon and Shakespeare in such far-fetched and nebulous resemblances, how Mr. Robertson would have emptied the well-stocked vials of his contumely upon him! I invite the reader once more to make the comparison for himself. It is an instructive example as showing how Mr. Robertson can find "parallels" and resemblances, when he hath a mind, in

[1] *The Baconian Heresy*, p. 572.

pursuance of his *idée fixe*, the saturation of Shakespeare with Montaigne.[1]

This, however, is perhaps more interesting to students of psychology than to Shakespearean critics. I now return to the question of the parallels which have been alleged to exist between "Shakespeare" and certain Latin authors. I will commence with a very characteristic passage from Mr. Robertson's book. But, first, I must explain the situation. In a note to p. 92 of my book, *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, I commented upon the opinion expressed by a writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* of September 16th, 1904, to the effect that "the finale of the *Metamorphoses* [of Ovid] is certainly imitated or reproduced in Sonnet 55" of the Sonnets of Shakespeare, and I intimated that in my judgment that sonnet is based upon one of Horace's *Odes*, viz. Ode 30 of Book III. I invited the reader to compare Shakespeare's

> Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme,

with these two lines of Horace,

> *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*
> *Regalique situ pyramidum altius;*

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[1] I do not, of course, deny for a moment that "Shakespeare" had read Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. The well-known passage in *The Tempest* proves that he had done so, in part at any rate, and I conceive that he was well acquainted with the whole work, as he was with the author also. But some of Mr. Robertson's fancied parallels seem to me to be unsurpassed by any Baconian aberrations in the application of this method. With regard to the particular instance above considered I cannot find, by the way, any "locating of souls for punishment and purification in extreme cold," in the passage quoted from Montaigne (as alleged by Mr. Robertson). As for the "passage or change of condemned men's souls into devils," it is, I presume, supposed to be represented in Claudio's speech by "those that lawless and uncertain thoughts imagine howling." But these are not necessarily or presumably "devils." The supposed parallel is absurd.

and I further drew attention to the correspondence between Shakespeare's

> Your praise shall still find room
> Even in the eyes of all *posterity*

with Horace's

> *usque ego postera*
> *Crescam, laude recens.*

In the same note I made what was, perhaps, an audacious statement, viz. "It is quite clear that Shakespeare was familiar with the *Odes* of Horace", but I made no attempt to prove that statement, and most certainly I did not base it upon the above quotations from Horace as compared with Shakespeare's 55th Sonnet. Commenting upon this, in his *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (p. 332), Mr. Robertson exclaims: "Mr. Greenwood cannot mean to affirm that this very inexact parallel between two lines of Shakespeare and one of the most hackneyed quotations from Horace is a proof of 'familiarity.'" In reply to this, I explained very fully, in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare* (p. 132), that I had made no such absurd affirmation as Mr. Robertson attributed to me, and that I had quoted the lines of Horace (not two, as Mr. Robertson said, but four) solely with reference to the sonnet in question. With this explanation before his eyes, Mr. Robertson now writes as follows: "Mr. Greenwood, I see, takes me to task for representing him as claiming to prove Shakespeare's familiarity with Horace on the strength of two lines of a hackneyed quotation when in point of fact he had *in another passage* [original italics] extended the two lines to four. I cheerfully allow the correction, noting afresh the absurd exiguity of the case as thus stated."

This is really amazing, and Mr. Robertson is really incorrigible. I had made it perfectly plain, except for

those "who will not see," that I had made no claim at all to prove Shakespeare's "familiarity with Horace" on two lines, or four lines, or any number of lines. That Shakespeare was "familiar with the *Odes* of Horace" was an assertion which I did not attempt to prove. But I quoted, as I pointed out, not two lines but four lines (in strictness I ought to have said three and a half) of Horace in support of my contention that, in the particular instance under consideration, Shakespeare had taken his ideas from an Ode of Horace (whether from the original or from a translation), rather than from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. What Mr. Robertson means by the words "*in another passage*," which he so carefully marks by italics, I am at a loss to conceive. There is no question of "another passage." The four (or three and a half) lines of Horace, which I had quoted, in order to compare them with the sonnet, were in the note which Mr. Robertson had singled out for criticism, and the meaning of which he had so entirely distorted, in his *Shakespeare and Montaigne*. When, therefore, he talks of "the absurd exiguity of the case as thus stated by me," he is talking at random, and I can only reply by pointing to the absurd and wanton misrepresentation of *my* case as stated by *him*!

Here, before passing on, I think it is of interest to call attention to the fact which I have noticed since I wrote *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, that Frances Meres (1598) quotes from "the finale of the *Metamorphoses*," and also the lines cited by me from the *Odes* of Horace, in connection with Shakespeare and other writers. Here is the passage:—

"As *Ovid* saith of his worke:

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And as Horace saith of his: Exegi monumentum aere

perennius; Regalique situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; *non* Aquilo *impotens possit diruere*; aut innumerabilis annorum series et fuga temporum: so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spencer's, Daniel's, Drayton's, Shakespeare's, and Warner's Works."

Now I am certainly not going to attempt to prove "Shakespeare's familiarity with the *Odes* of Horace" by the doubtful method of citing "parallel passages," but I would, nevertheless, before passing on, call attention to one very remarkable parallel, where nobody, surely, can doubt that Shakespeare took his ideas from Horace, though it does not necessarily follow that he was familiar with the original—a suggestion which, of course, would not be for one moment tolerated by Mr. Robertson, and our orthodox Shakespeareans of to-day. I allude to the passage where Shylock thus lays his injunctions upon Jessica (*Merchant of Venice*, II, 5):

> Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum,
> And the vile squeaking of the wry-neck'd fife,
> Clamber not you up to the casements then,
> Nor thrust your head into the public streets,

Surely no one will dispute that this is taken from Horace's

> *Prima nocte domum claude; neque in vias*
> *Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae!*

Now let us take a passage where I have suggested, as others have suggested before me, that Shakespeare gives indication of the influence of Virgil. I refer to *The Tempest*, Act I, Scene 2, 420, where Ferdinand, on first sight of Miranda, exclaims:

> Most sure the Goddess
> On whom these airs attend!

It appears to me very reasonable to suggest that this is a reminiscence of the "*O dea certe*," of *Æneid*, I, 328.

But the parallel does not stop here. Ferdinand continues:

> My prime request,
> Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder!
> If you be maid or no?

This corresponds to Virgil's

> *O, quam te memorem, virgo! namque haud tibi vultus*
> *Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat.*

Miranda replies:

> No wonder, Sir,
> But certainly a maid,

with which may be compared Venus's reply:

> *Haud equidem tali me dignor honore;*
> *Virginibus Tyriis mos est*, etc.

Like Miranda, Venus makes answer that she is a maid (*virgo*). Mr. Robertson hereupon talks of the "amusingly violent conjunction of Miranda's 'certainly a maid' with Venus's 'virginibus Tyriis mos est,'" which he intimates he can hardly accept "without blenching." But this is a cheap jest. To the Roman, at any rate, there would be nothing incongruous in the passage. If the Goddess, in one of her numerous *avatars*, chose to assume the personality of a Tyrian maid a Tyrian maid she would be *pro hac vice*—"no wonder, but certainly a maid."[1]

But even if we grant all this, says Mr. Robertson—"supposing . . . we allow that Shakespeare may well have read that and more of Virgil at school, how much nearer are we, in the name of common sense, to proving

[1] Dr. Farmer says, sneeringly, of Whalley that "he thinks a passage in *The Tempest*

> 'High Queen of State
> Great Juno comes; I know her by her *gait*'

a remarkable instance of Shakespeare's knowledge of ancient Poetick story, and that the hint was furnished by the *divum incedo Regina* of Virgil." The hint was really furnished by *et vera incessu patuit dea* of Virgil (*Æn.* I, 405).

'wide familiarity' with the classics, the now modified form to which Mr. Greenwood reduces his former claim of 'remarkable classical attainments'?" And he adds, in a foot-note, that "the claim is simply ridiculous."

Really, the orthodox Shakespearean faith is so kaleidoscopic in its change, and its defenders so Protean in their arguments, that it is difficult to know how and where to cope with them. So Shakspeare, we are now told, "may well have read that and more of Virgil at school," and, of course, remembered it. But I thought Mr. Robertson was a disciple of Dr. Farmer, who has proved to demonstration that Shakespeare could not understand one of the simplest of Latin words! But, having granted, for the sake of argument, of course, that the passage cited may be a reminiscence of school reading, Mr. Robertson asks, "Where is the proof of 'wide familiarity with the classics'?" Whereunto I ask, in turn, who has advanced the absurd proposition that "wide familarity with the classics" is proved by one instance of a Virgilian parallel? That proposition, if it is to be established at all, must, of course, be based upon the study and consideration of Shakespeare's works—Plays and Poems—as a whole. The passage cited is but given as one instance suggesting the probability (to my mind at least) that the immortal bard was not so entirely ignorant of the Latin classics as Mr. Robertson, and the rest of the "unlearned Shakespeare" school, would have us believe. Meantime I merely note that according to Mr. Robertson the claim that Shakespeare was familiar with the Latin classics is "simply ridiculous," which, at any rate, proves what Mr. Robertson's opinion is, if it proves nothing else.

To clench the matter Mr. Robertson quotes four passages from Chapman's translation of Homer, where, of course, we find many allusions to gods and goddesses. But, says Mr. Robertson, "they serve to remind us that, apart from direct translations, Elizabethan *belles lettres*

were steeped in classical allusion of every kind, and that no poet could miss knowing such passages, whatever may have been his schooling." Here are the lines quoted:

> Without all question, 'twas a god, the gods are easily known.
>
> The ears and these self eyes approved
> It was a goddess.
>
> Straight he [Achilles] knew her [Athene] by her eyes, so terrible they were.
>
> Whose [Aphrodite's] virtue Helen felt and knew, by her so radiant eyes.

Well, these lines certainly prove that anybody contemporary with Chapman who read his translation of Homer would read about those gods and goddesses concerning whom Homer so copiously wrote. What further relevancy they may have to the passage under consideration I confess I cannot, for the life of me, imagine. If Mr. Robertson sets them before us as being in any way parallel to Shakespeare's "Most sure the goddess on whom these airs attend"—more especially the lines as to Athene's terrible eyes, and Aphrodite's radiant eyes—I can only say that either he or I must be deficient in literary sense.

But a friend has called my attention to another Virgilian reminiscence, as it seems to him and to me, in one of the most beautiful and best known passages of this same play of *The Tempest*. The parallel is a very interesting one, and hitherto, I believe, it has not been noticed.

> These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air.

Now compare with the last of these lines this line from Virgil:

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

The Virgilian line occurs twice in the *Æneid*, viz. in Book IV (line 278) and Book IX (line 656), and it is remarkable for the use of the word "aura" in the singular number, contrary to the poet's general usage. The resemblance between the Shakespearean and the Virgilian lines seems to me very striking. It needs not, of course, to be said, except for critics of the Robertsonian School, that I would not found upon this one instance the proposition that Shakespeare was familiar with the Latin classics. I would not even assert that he must have known the Virgilian line in the original. But I would ask those who have not committed themselves to the dogma that Shakespeare had no classical knowledge—who are not, like Mr. Robertson, vitally interested in proving that "his learning was very little"—whether it is, indeed, "simply ridiculous" to suppose that the writer of these magnificent lines, and of this wonderful play, was not altogether ignorant of the Latin classics?[1]

Here, as a contrast to what Mr. Robertson has written on the subject of Shakespeare's classical knowledge, it will be both interesting and edifying to set down some words from the pen of an enthusiastic supporter of the orthodox Stratfordian faith, to whom anything in the nature of "heresy" is an abomination, and little short of a crime. *The Nineteenth Century* for April, 1913, contains an article by Sir Edward Sullivan on "What Shakespeare saw in Nature."[2] Sir Edward, apparently, resents the criticism of those commentators who, although they

[1] Mr. Joseph Hunter thought that Shakespeare "when he wrote the long speech of Ariel at the disappearance of the banquet (*Tempest*, III, 3, 53), which is so unlike the ordinary speech of that airy and sylph-like creature," evidently had in his mind the prophetic speech of Celaeno in Virgil (*Æn.* III, 245), and, for myself, I do not doubt he is right. It will be remembered that Ariel here speaks as a "Harpy," and that Celaeno was chief of the Harpies. (Compare lines 255–8 with the passage in Shakespeare.) See Hunter's *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 176. Dr. Anders is of the same opinion (*Shakespeare's Books*, p. 31).

[2] See chap. XVII.

admire and appreciate the immortal bard quite as much as he does, nevertheless protest against the ascription to him of, *inter alia*, an accurate knowledge of natural history. Among other instances, Sir Edward alludes to Shakespeare's references to the weasel, which is spoken of by Jaques, in *As You Like It*, as an animal that "sucks eggs," and in other places is referred to as a night-wanderer. As to the latter description of this little animal, Sir Edward writes: "There is one remarkable instance where, without any question, Shakespeare was right in calling the weasel 'night-wandering,' and where, indeed, he shows a knowledge of classical antiquities of a curious kind. When Tarquin has forced an entry into the chamber of Lucrece we read, 'Night-wandering weasels shriek to see him there'—a line that seems to have baffled all the commentators so far as I am aware. But Shakespeare must have known the fact, well understood by classical scholars of to-day, that the Romans had no knowledge of what we call a cat, and were in the habit of keeping some animal of the weasel tribe tame in their houses, for the same purposes for which we use the cat."

In support of this proposition Sir Edward refers us to Mayor's *Juvenal*,[1] and to a learned article in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. II, VIII, pp. 261–3 (1859), and, certainly, it seems established that "some animal of the weasel tribe" *was* kept by the Romans in their houses for some purpose or another.[2] Further, there is no doubt that the weasel,

[1] The reference given is to "*Sat.* II, 360, note," but this is an error. It should be "Vol. II, p. 360." The note is on *Sat.* XV, 7.

[2] In one characteristic this animal appears to have been akin to the mongoose, viz. in its propensity to kill serpents. Abundant authority is to be found in Facciolati's Dictionary, where we read: "Mustela, γαλῆ, animal quadrupes parvum, sed oblongum, flavi coloris, muribus, columbis, gallinis infestum. Duo autem inquit Plin. I, 29, c. 4, sunt genera: *Alterum domesticum, quod in domibus nostris oberrat*, et catulos suos, ut auctor est Cicero, quotidie transfert, mutatque sedem, serpentes persequitur: alterum silvestre, distans magnitudine, Graeci *ἰκτίδα* vocant."

though not, perhaps, properly described as a nocturnal animal, is a night-wanderer. This gives us an adequate explanation of the line in *Lucrece* which has baffled all the commentators.

But if Shakespeare really had this knowledge of a curious and obscure fact of "classical antiquity," such knowledge is, surely, very cogent proof of that "wide familiarity with the classics" which I have ascribed to him. However, Sir Edward Sullivan wrote his article before the publication of Mr. Robertson's book, and he will now, "doubtless," sing a palinode and dutifully subscribe to the definite proof which that work has given to the world that Shakespeare was an unlearned man, more especially with reference to the Latin classical authors, and the classics generally!

A word now as to *The Comedy of Errors*. Concerning this play Dr. Johnson wrote (1765) that it "is confessedly taken from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus; *from the only play of Plautus which was then in English.* What can be more probable than that he who copied that would have copied more but that those which were not translated were inaccessible?"

The learned Doctor, however, was here in error. Nicholas Rowe, who wrote fifty-six years earlier, was more accurate: "There is one Play of his, indeed, *The Comedy of Errors*, in a great measure taken from the *Menaechmi* of *Plautus*. How that happened I cannot easily divine, since, as I hinted before, I do not take him to have been master of Latin enough to read it in the original, and I know of no translation of *Plautus* so old as his time."

Now, as Mr. Collins writes (*Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 20), "it is all but certain that the *Comedy of Errors* was written between 1589 and 1592, and it is quite certain it was written before the end of 1594." In the latter year, indeed, the play was acted at Gray's Inn, as related by the author of the *Gesta Graiorum*: "After such sport, a

Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the players; so that night began and continued to the end, in nothing but confusion and errors; Whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors."

But Warner's version of the *Menaechmi* did not appear till 1595. "True," say the critics of the "unlearned Shakespeare" school, "but does not a notice from the printer to the readers, prefixed to Warner's translation, state that this version of Plautus's Comedy had been 'Englished for the use and delight of his private friends, who in Plautus's own words are not able to understand them'? What more natural, then, than that Shakespeare should have seen the translation in manuscript? True there is not a jot of evidence to show that Shakespeare was among Warner's friends, or, indeed, had any acquaintance with him at all. But he 'might have been'"![1]

Unfortunately for this theory it is found that not a single name, word, or line of Shakespeare's Comedy is taken from Warner's translation! Moreover, in the Folio

[1] Mr. Robertson writes (p. 197 note): "I may point out to Mr. Greenwood, who is so contemptuous of any 'manuscript' suggestion, that the printer's advertisement to Warner's translation (entered in 1594) expressly states that it had been circulated some time in MS." Mr. Robertson, I presume, took this from the statement of some careless writer, but it is quite erroneous. He should have examined the work in question (1595) at the British Museum. The printer says nothing about the translation of the *Menaechmi* having been "circulated" in MS. What he does say is this: "The writer hereof (loving Readers) having diverse of this Poettes comedies Englished, for the use and delight of his private friends, who in Plautus's own words are not able to understand them, I have prevailed so far with him as to let this one go further abroad for a publike recreation and delight to all them that affect the diverse sorts of bookes compiled in this kind, whereof (in my judgment) in harmlesse mirth and quicknesse of fine conceit the most of them come far short of this." It does not necessarily follow from these words that the version of the *Menaechmi* was one of the "diverse of this Poettes comedies" which had been previously "Englished by Warner for the use and delight of his private friends"; but even if it was so there is not a scintilla of evidence that Shakespeare was one of these "private friends," and there is no warrant at all for Mr. Robertson's allegation that the printer "expressly states that it had been *circulated* some time in MS."

edition, Antipholus of Ephesus appears as "Sereptus," evidently taken from the "Menaechmus Surreptus" of Plautus, which *agnomen*, however, does not appear in Warner's translation. Then, again, the first scene of the third act of Shakespeare's play is directly imitated from another play of Plautus, viz. the *Amphitruo* (Act I, Scene 1, and Act IV, Scenes 1–6).

This seems to dispose of the theory that Shakespeare took his Comedy from Warner's translation, even if we assume that he saw it in manuscript.

But the "unlearned Shakespeare" school have another string to their bow. There was, it seems, an old play called *The Historie of Error* performed before Queen Elizabeth "by the children of Powles" in 1576. Shakespeare's play may have been founded upon this old play, and Mr. Robertson calls this a "natural surmise." I point out that we know nothing whatever about this old play. We do not know whether the plot bore the remotest resemblance to that of *The Comedy of Errors*, and there is not one tittle of evidence to connect the two plays together. But then, "after all," says Mr. Robertson, "we do know that there was such a play." If necessary, therefore, we can fall back upon this old play, and, by making all necessary assumptions, we can escape once more from the danger of admitting that Shakespeare might have been able to read Plautus in the original. Mr. Robertson, however, says that all this is "otiose," and "in the interests of rational Shakespeare-criticism," he says he "will simply indicate what seems the reasonable view of the genesis of the early play. . . . It is really not in the least necessary to find a given original for the Comedy. The essential point is that it is a composite work. Anyone who will carefully scan the first two scenes will note that in the first, which has 152 blank-verse lines, the double endings are only 2 per cent., while in the second, with 103 blank-verse lines, the double endings number 25—over 24 per cent."

And says Mr. Robertson: "I know no theory of verse evolution which would ascribe the two scenes to the same hand in the same period." Therefore the two scenes are by different authors. Which, then, if either, is by Shakespeare? Apparently the first scene. Here is the proof: "Whereas Shakespeare, like the preceding poets, can broadly be seen to have *increased* his proportion of double endings as he progressed in his art, the first scene of the Comedy, which has only three double endings, is much better and more pregnant in style than the shorter second scene which has twenty-five. No such diffuse verse as that is to be found in any *unquestioned*[1] work of his at the time at which he used any such large proportion of double endings. The verse of the second scene, with all its double endings is mostly end-stopped,—a sure mark of early work. Then the second scene is not Shakespeare's to begin with." Q.E.D.

Mr. Robertson styles this a "strictly inductive line of inference."

We find an increasing number of double endings in Shakespeare "as he progressed in his art," and as this play is early work, he could not have written a scene in which the double endings amount to 24 per cent. It is evident that he wrote the scene where the double endings are only 2 per cent. If we object that in *Richard III* (e.g.) the double endings are very numerous, we are met by the reply that Shakespeare's share in that play "has long been in dispute." The rule holds in all *unquestioned* work of Shakespeare's. In fact, the work must be questioned wherever the rule is found not to hold.

Then "the verse of the second scene . . . is mostly end-stopped." And this is "a sure mark of early work." But this is an early play. Why then should not this be "early work" of Shakespeare's? I do not know what the answer to that question is. There must, of course, be

[1] My italics.

some conclusive answer, because this is "strictly inductive" logic, and leads up to a very necessary conclusion which brings all things into line. "Two alternatives are open. The play may have been one of collaboration, or it may have been an adaptation by Shakespeare of a previous work. There is certainly no trace of versification in the style of 1576: the double endings in the second scene could hardly be dated earlier than 1591 for any author; and the theory of collaboration is therefore the more likely one. But on either theory *we are relieved of the problem of the classic 'source'*; for the collaborator may have known his Plautus without resort either to Warner or to the *Historie of Error*; and it is the collaborator (or previous writer) who begins the Plautine work of the play."

The ratiocination is admirable. The play shows no signs of "versification in the style of 1576," the date of the old play acted before Elizabeth, when Shakspere of Stratford was a little boy of twelve, doubtless roaming dreamily by the sweet banks of the Avon, lost in deep poetic musings. On the other hand, Mr. Robertson is able to tell us, from his knowledge of the literature of the period, that the double endings in the second scene cannot be dated (or "could hardly be dated") earlier than 1591, *for any author*. Therefore, in all probability, Shakespeare wrote this play in collaboration with some unknown author—Mr. Lang's "Bungay" perhaps! And this "collaborator" (unless, indeed, it were the "previous writer") wrote the second scene which "begins the Plautine work of the play." And this unknown collaborator (or previous writer) may very well have been able to read Plautus in the original, which Shakespeare certainly could not have done. So now we need not bother about Warner's translation, supposed to have been circulated in manuscript among his private friends, or the old play acted by "the children of Powles" in 1576. And not only are we relieved of this incubus, but by "this strictly inductive

line of inference we reach a view of Shakespeare's early work which clears up other mystifications." We can now insist on "a loyal acceptance" of the words "first heir of my invention." If any Shakespearean play can be shown to have made its appearance before 1593 then such play was either an old play written up by Shakespeare, or it was written in collaboration with somebody else; for such plays would not have been styled by Shakespeare "heirs" of his invention. And inasmuch as it is impossible to prove that any single play of Shakespeare's was not written in collaboration (if not written over an earlier play), the theory is a perfectly safe one, and cannot possibly be refuted. As to its reasonableness and probability I must leave the reader to form his own opinion To me it does not commend itself. To begin with, it appears to me that the conclusions are arrived at first, and that the arguments in support of them are then adapted to them The two postulates are: (1) Shakespeare had no knowledge of Latin, and (2) "the first heir of my invention" must be taken to mean that before 1593 no wholly Shakespearean work, poem, or play had been published. The collaboration, or "writing up," theory will fit in with both these conclusions, and, therefore, "inductive logic" tells us to adopt it. For myself, I do not profess to know exactly what Shakespeare had in his mind when he wrote of the "first heir of his invention," or how far he would consider it necessary to be absolutely and strictly accurate in such a matter; further, I doubt the validity of these "metrical tests" except within very wide limits indeed;[1] and I regard the theory that *The Comedy of Errors* is either an old play "written over," or a play written in collaboration, as merely an unproved

[1] As to metrical tests, Professor Masson writes: "There are objections to any trust being placed in these tests, and to some extent they conflict with each other, and with the external evidences" (*Shakespeare Personally*, p. 75).

hypothesis. But the theory is, doubtless, a mighty convenient one, and has just that appearance of being scientific which is so dear to the votaries of pseudo-science.

In marked contrast with all this is the opinion of that enthusiastically "orthodox" Shakespearean scholar, the late Professor Churton Collins, who tells us, "it is probable almost to certainty that Shakespeare must have read Plautus in the original," adding, "of his familiarity, indeed, with Plautus, there can be no question." As to the arguments in support of this proposition, I can only refer the reader to the Essay on "Shakespeare as a Classical Scholar" in the work cited. I may, however, give one of them as an example.

In *The Comedy of Errors* (III, 1) Antipholus of Ephesus says to Dromio of Ephesus, "Well; I'll break in; go borrow me a crow." To which Dromio replies, "A crow without a feather? . . . If a crow help us in, sirrah, we'll pluck a crow together." To which Antipholus rejoins, "Go get thee gone; fetch me an iron crow." Mr. Collins points out, as Steevens had done before him, that "the play on the word 'crow,' meaning a 'crow-bar,' as well as the bird, is exactly analogous to the play on 'upupa,' which means a 'hoopoe' or a 'mattock,' in the third scene of the fifth act of the *Captive*." I do not think considerations of this nature—and there are a great many others—deserve to be treated with quite that measure of Olympian contempt which Mr. Robertson metes out to them; but no doubt he would say, if he recognises that there is any substance in the argument at all, that this portion of the play was written by the "collaborator," who, of course, knew his Plautus "without resort either to Warner or to the Historie of Error." *Et voilà tout!*

Mr. Collins has written that Farmer is silent "on almost all of the classical parallels which are really worth

considering", upon which Mr. Robertson says: "That charge was *disingenuous* in the highest degree." The epithet is sadly misplaced. Whatever else Mr. Collins's statement (which Mr. Robertson calls a "charge") may have been, it was not "disingenuous." One cannot doubt that Mr. Collins so wrote because he was convinced that the statement was true, and true I submit it is. If Mr. Robertson can prove that it is not warranted by the facts let him do so.

"Mr. Greenwood," says Mr. Robertson, "*without going to Farmer for himself*, does not scruple to cite from Mr. Churton Collins — whose judgment he elsewhere derides—the charge" in question. This, of course, is "pretty Fanny's way," but it happens to be quite untrue. "Without going to Farmer for himself"! I very much doubt if Mr. Robertson has spent half the amount of time that I have in the study of Farmer's notorious Essay. As to the not very wise parenthesis with regard to my having dissented from Mr. Collins's judgment concerning Shakespeare's law in *Titus*, it is but a repetition of the fallacy previously noticed, that if one accepts a writer as an authority upon one thing one must so accept him upon all things—that if one agrees with him on one point one must agree with him on all points, and *vice versa*.[1]

Again, Mr. Collins writes, concerning the "classical parallels" adduced by Farmer, "of the very few which he is obliged to notice he disposes by assuming that Shakespeare had been raking in Ronsard, mediæval homilies, and the uncouth Scotch jargon of Douglas's Virgil. That a sensible man like Farmer should not see that, if Shakespeare recalls the *Æneid* and the *Fasti*, the balance of probability is much more in favour of his having

[1] Mr. Robertson calls Judge Willis as a witness in his favour in the matter of the "Baconian Mint," but "derides," or, at any rate, discredits his "judgment" in the matter of Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin.

gone to the Latin than of his having troubled himself to spell out mediæval homilies and archaic Scotch is indeed strange." But this, says Mr. Robertson, "is *mere misrepresentation* on Mr. Collins's part," because "Stanyhurst's Virgil is not mediæval homily or archaic Scotch; and Farmer's point was that the phrase could have *currency* in English." Mr. Robertson, we observe, has here substituted "Stanyhurst's Virgil" for "Douglas's Virgil," but he should have quoted the entire passage to which Mr. Collins was alluding. Gildon had written: "It is plain that he [Shakespeare] was acquainted with the Fables of antiquity very well: that some of the arrows of Cupid are pointed with lead, and others with gold, he found in Ovid; and what he speaks of Dido, in Virgil: nor do I know any translation of these poets so ancient as Shakespeare's time." Whereupon Farmer observes: "We are not answerable for Mr. Gildon's ignorance; he might have been told of Caxton and Douglas, of Surrey and Stanyhurst, of Phaer and Twyne, of Fleming and Golding, of Tuberville and Churchyard." Farmer adds, very truly, that "these fables were easily known without the help of either the originator or the translations," but Mr. Collins was, of course, alluding to the list of old authors above cited as possible sources of Shakespeare's information, just as an ode of Ronsard had been previously suggested by Farmer as the possible source of a passage in *Timon of Athens* (IV, 3, 439 *et seq.*), in which critics had seen strong reminiscences of Anacreon. On the whole, I venture to say a charge of "misrepresentation" has seldom been made with less justification than this which is so lightly brought by Mr. Robertson against the late Professor Collins.[1]

[1] I may mention that Stanyhurst translated the first four books only of the *Æneid* in English hexameters (1583). Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, translated "The XIII bukes of Eneados of the famose poete Virgill. Book XIII from the Latin of M. Vegius" (1553).

Then says Mr. Robertson: "Neither Mr. Collins nor Mr. Greenwood has made the slightest attempt to meet Farmer's point, that Taylor, the Water-poet, who avowed his failure to get through the Latin accidence, and his ignorance of all languages but his own, has a far greater number of classical allusions than occur in all the Shakespeare plays."

It is sad to have to waste valuable time in meeting such an argument, but it must, I suppose, be done if only for the edification of those members of the community whom "we suffer gladly." I may mention, in the first place, that Farmer does not ascribe to John Taylor "a far greater number of *classical allusions*," as Mr. Robertson writes, but "*more scraps of Latin, and allusions to antiquity*," than are to be found in Shakespeare. Farmer, when he wrote as above, was answering an argument of Mr. Whalley, who thought the words in *The Tempest*,

> High Queen of State,
> Great Juno comes. I know her by her gait,

were an indication of "Shakespeare's knowledge of ancient Poetick story, and that the hint was furnished by the *Divum incedo Regina* of Virgil." Hereupon Farmer says that "*by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument*" he will prove "honest John Taylor, the Water-poet," to be "a learned man." He then quotes a passage from Taylor where this "honest John" makes a gallant address his lady: "Most inestimable Magazine of Beauty—in whom the Port and Majesty of Juno, the Wisdom of Jove's braine-bred girle, and the Feature of Cytherea, have their domestical habitation."

Here I may say in passing that I do not think the passage cited from "the Water-poet" is really a parallel to that quoted from *The Tempest*, because, as I have already said, I conceive the words "I know her by her gait" are really founded—not on the *Divum incedo Regina*

of Mr. Whalley, but—on the Latin words *et vera incessu patuit dea*, and that they do show knowledge of Virgil to that extent, whether derived from the original or from a translation. But let that also pass. Dr. Farmer proceeds to comment on an observation made by Dr. Warburton to the effect that Shakespeare shows "his knowledge in the Antique" because "in the *Merchant of Venice* we have an oath 'By two-headed Janus.'" Here Farmer again cites the Water-poet, "who describes Fortune

Like Janus with a double-face."

He continues: "You perceive, my dear Sir, how vague and indeterminate *such arguments* must be: for in fact this *sweet Swan of Thames*, as Mr. Pope calls him, hath more scraps of Latin," etc., as quoted above.[1]

Now, as against "such arguments" as those quoted by Farmer from Whalley and Warburton (more especially in the latter case), we may, perhaps, admit some force in Farmer's appeal to the writings of John Taylor. If anyone attributes to Shakespeare a knowledge of the Latin classics, or of the Latin language, simply on the "scraps of Latin" that are to be found in his works, or to such "allusions to antiquity" as is afforded by the mention of the names of classical gods, goddesses, heroes,

[1] Charles Knight writes thus upon this piece of criticism: "Farmer upon this displays his unfairness and impertinence very strikingly: 'In the *Merchant of Venice* we have an oath, By two-headed Janus; and here says Dr. Warburton, Shakespeare shows his knowledge in the antique, and so again [says Farmer] does the Water-poet, who describes Fortune—'Like Janus with a double face.' Farmer had just told us that 'honest John Taylor, the Water-poet, declares that he never learned his Accidence, and that Latin and French were to him Heathen Greek.' Now, Warburton's remark does not apply to the simple use by Shakspere of the term 'two-headed Janus,' but to the propriety of its use in association with the image which was passing in Salario's mind, of one set of heads which would 'laugh like parrots,'—and others of 'vinegar aspect'—the open mouth'd and closed mouth'd—'strange fellows,'—as different as the Janus looking to the east, and the Janus looking to the west."

localities, *et hoc genus omne*, then he may well be answered, as Farmer answered "such arguments" as those he was considering, by being confronted with the case of Taylor, the Water-poet. If he will turn to the works of that "sweet Swan of Thames," he will find instances in plenty of such "allusions to antiquity" as these. Take, for example, Taylor's poem, *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage*. Here he will find *Lucifer, Aurora, Phoebus, Zephyrus, Auster, Neptune, Scylla, Charybdis, Aeolus, Apollo, Astraea, Jove, Saturn, Inachus, Thetis, Latona*. In other works he will find *Achilles, Ulysses, Pallas, Melpomene, Cerberus, Charon's boat, Cimmerian gloom, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Argus eyes, Nemesis, Dis, Polyphemus*, etc. Now, if there is nothing more than this in Shakespeare to indicate "a wide familiarity with the classics," then we must freely admit that the Immortal Bard and the Water-poet—the Swan of Avon and the Swan of Thames—are on the same plane so far as their knowledge of Latin and of "the classics" is concerned. And this evidently is the opinion of Mr. Robertson. Just as he showers upon our devoted heads passage after passage from writers contemporaneous with Shakespeare, who make use of legal terms although they show no real knowledge of law, so he would, apparently, invite us to compare such lists of names as that which I have compiled from Taylor's works, and such "scraps of Latin" as he may find there, with the classical allusions which are to be found in the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare!

Here, if I might be allowed to indulge in that sincerest form of flattery which consists in imitation, I would write as follows: "Mr. Robertson, without going to Taylor for himself, does not scruple to cite from Farmer—whose argument he distorts and perverts—the allegation that there is 'a far greater number of classical allusions' (which are Mr. Robertson's words and not Farmer's) in Taylor the Water-poet than in all the works of Shake-

speare. That allegation is ridiculous in the highest degree, except as applied with reference to certain arguments of a particular kind; and Mr. Robertson's reproduction of it without investigation is a confession of critical insolvency."[1]

But, possibly, I do Mr. Robertson wrong; possibly he *had* read Taylor's works, and possibly he had in mind that learned poet's allusion to Quintilian. Here it is, taken from "Three Weekes, Three Daies, and Three Houres Observation and Travel from London to Hanburgh," 1617: "Most worthy, Sir, as Quintilian in his apothegmes to the naked, learned, Gimnósophists of Aethiopea, very wittily says, *Potanto Michayo, Corbatio Monormosco Kayturemon Lescus Ollipufftingere* whingo"! Here we have a very fair sample of Taylor's learning. *Ex uno disce omnia.*

So far as classical learning goes, therefore, these two Swans are, it seems, to be yoked to the same car!

So much for honest John Taylor, the Water-poet. Let us now proceed. Farmer, writes Mr. Collins, "makes no reference to the fact that the *Rape of Lucrece* is derived directly from the *Fasti* of Ovid, of which at that time there appears to have been no English version. . . . The story as told by Shakespeare follows the story as told by Ovid in the second book of the *Fasti* (II, 721–852). It had also been told in English by four writers, who had likewise modelled their narratives on Ovid—by Chaucer in the *Legende of Goode Women*, by Lydgate in his *Falls of Princes*, by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis*, and, in prose, by Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure*; but a careful comparison of these narratives with Shakespeare's, which cannot be given in detail here, will conclusively show that Shakespeare has followed none of them. That Ovid and Ovid only is his original. The details given in

[1] I quote from *The Baconian Heresy*, p. 194, *Mutatis mutandis*! See Note on John Taylor at the end of this chapter.

Ovid, which neither Chaucer nor any of the other narrators reproduce, but which are reproduced by Shakespeare, place this beyond question. Thus Shakespeare alone represents the

> Nunc primum externâ pectora tacta manu (746);
>
> Her breasts . . .
> A pair of maiden worlds unconquered,
> Save of their lord, no bearing yoke they knew
> (407-9);

the fine touch

> Quid victor gaudes? haec te victoria perdet (811);
>
> A captive victor that hath lost in gain (730).

Nor has the 'ter conata loqui, ter destitit' (823) been noticed by Chaucer or the others, though it is reproduced by Shakespeare. . . . In Ovid and Shakespeare, though not in Chaucer, or in the others, Lucretia's father and husband throw themselves on her corpse. . . . One touch, indeed, not only proves the scrupulous care with which Shakespeare follows Ovid, but his scholarship too—for the Latin is obscure and difficult. 'Brutus adest, tandemque animo sua nomina fallit,' that is stultifies his name (*brutus*, stupid) by the courage he shows. This Shakespeare interprets, in the stanza beginning, 'Brutus, who plucked the knife,' etc. . . . In a word, a comparison of Chaucer's and Shakespeare's narratives will show that each represents an independent study of the Latin original, and that Shakespeare has followed Ovid with scrupulous care. When this poem was written there was no English translation of the *Fasti*, and Shakespeare must therefore have read it in the original."[1]

[1] In his *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* (p. 77) Mr. Robertson cites the word "triúmpher" as one of the words special to *Titus*, and not elsewhere found in Shakespeare, though found in Peele. He had not, it seems, noticed that in *Lucrece* (1388) we find "triúmphing." And in *L.L.L.*, IV, 3, we have the same word so accented: "So ridest thou triúmphing in my woe."

Then take the well-known passage in *The Tempest* (V, 1):

> Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves, etc.

Here Farmer tells us that Shakespeare merely followed Golding's version of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (VII, 197–206), without reference to the original. Mr. Collins, however, makes it certain, to my mind, that this cannot have been so, and that the poet, although he certainly had Golding's translation before him, nevertheless referred to Ovid in the Latin also, for he has translated certain words in the original which have been left untranslated by Golding. Take, for instance, the following lines of Ovid:

> Ventos abigoque vocoque,
> Vivaque saxa, suâ convulsaque roboia terrâ,
> Et silvas moveo; jubeoque tremiscere montes,
> Et mugiie solum, manesque exire sepulcris.

Shakespeare has:

> . . . I have bedimmed
> The noon-tide sun, *call'd forth* the mutinous winds.
> . . . To the dread rattling thunder
> Have I given fire, and *rifted Jove's stout oak*
> With his own bolt: . . .
> . . . graves at my command
> Have wak'd their sleepers, *op'd and let them forth.*

Now on reference to Golding's version it will be seen that Golding has not, as Shakespeare has, translated the words I have put in italics. "There is nothing in Golding corresponding to the original in 'suâ convulsaque robora terrâ,' which he omits entirely, but Shakespeare accurately recalls it in *rifted* Jove's stout *oak*; while the touch in 'op'd and *let them forth*' unfolds the meaning of 'exire,' which Golding does not; so again Shakespeare represents 'voco'—'call'd forth,' which Golding altogether misses." Mr. Robertson makes no atttempt to

deal with Professor Collins's arguments here, or, indeed, at all.

It was from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, again, that Shakespeare got the name "Titania," which in the original is always used as an epithet, and an epithet which Golding invariably translates by a periphrasis, the word itself nowhere occurring in his version.[1]

At pp. 94–96 of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* I have pointed out at length how Mr. E. A. Sonnenschein has proved, almost to demonstration, that Shakespeare drew upon Seneca's *De Clementia* for Portia's great speech in *The Merchant of Venice*. Here the parallel is so striking that it can hardly be disputed. As Mr. Sonnenschein puts it, "It is only the inimitable form of expression that is Shakespeare's." The ideas are Seneca's.

Again, the last two of Shakespeare's sonnets (cliii and cliv) are simply adaptations of a Greek epigram of Marianus, which is to be found in the *Palatine Anthology* (IX, 637), and which Shakespeare must have read either in the original Greek or in the Latin translation, as there was at that time, so far as is known, no English version.[2]

Of all these, and numerous other arguments to the same effect, Mr. Robertson has really nothing to say—except it be that similar classical allusions may be found in John Taylor, the Water-poet!

In *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 124), I wrote as follows: "Hallam, though, as he tells us, he shrank from reopening the *vexata quaestio* of the learning of

[1] Why is it that Shakespeare speaks of a "hound of Crete" and of hounds "bred out of the Spartan kind"? (*Midsummer Night's Dream*). Surely he must have had in mind the line of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (III, 208), "*Gnosius* Ichnobates, *Spartanâ gente* Melampus"! But, of course, it does not follow that he knew the line in the original. Forbid it, Farmer!

[2] As to these sonnets, and the allusion to the city of Bath therein, see *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp. 127–8.

Shakespeare, does not conceal his belief that the great poet had very much more Latin than was commonly supposed. Speaking of 'the phrases unintelligible and improper, except in the case of their primitive roots which occur so copiously in the plays,' he writes: 'In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* these are much less frequent than in his later dramas, but here we find several instances, thus: 'Things base and vile, holding no *quantity*'—for value, rivers 'that have overborne their *continents*,' the *continente ripâ* of Horace; '*compact* of imagination'; 'something of great *constancy*'—for *consistency*; 'sweet Pyramus *translated* there'; 'the laws of Athens, which by no means we may *extenuate*.' I have considerable doubt whether any of these expressions would be found in any of the contemporary prose of Elizabeth's reign; but could authority be produced for Latinisms so forced, it is still not very likely that one who did not understand their proper meaning would have introduced them into poetry.'"

On this I pointed out, *inter alia*, that it had been denied by Mr. Willis, in his *Baconian Mint*, that this use of the word *continent* indicates any classical learning, because the word was, as he showed by reference to North's *Plutarch* and other writers, used, in Shakespeare's time, for "that which contained," as opposed to the contents. Thus North writes: "The continent exceedeth the thing contained." While freely admitting this, however, I pointed out that it did not altogether dispose of the value of Shakespeare's allusion to rivers "that have overborne their continents" as suggestive of classical knowledge, because "the point is that Shakespeare uses '*continents of rivers*' in the sense 'banks of rivers,' which is exactly Horace's *continente ripâ*," although Horace is speaking of sea-banks and not river-banks. Mr. Robertson (p 254 note) says this is an "obvious error" on my part. It may be an "obvious error" to the scholars of

Mr. Robertson's "*Academe*," who take their pleasure in the 'Αδώνιδος κῆποι, but to others, I fancy, the error will appear to be Mr. Robertson's own. The "continents of rivers" means the containing *banks* of rivers; and *continens ripa* means the containing *bank*, so that the one expression is exactly the equivalent of the other. In each case it is the *bank* which is the *continent*.[1]

Mr. Robertson does not appear to dispute Hallam's proposition that "could authority be produced for Latinisms so forced, it is still not very likely that one who did not understand their proper meaning would have introduced them into poetry." It follows, therefore, that the poet at least understood the derivation of these Latinisms from "their primitive roots," and made use of them with an appreciation of their original meaning; just as he understood and appreciated the derivation of the word "capricious" from *caper*, a goat, when he made Touchstone say (*As You Like It*, III, 3): "I am here with thee, and thy Goats, as the most *capricious* Poet, honest Ovid was among the *Gothes*." Ovid in his banishment dwelt among a Thracian tribe, Goths or *Gotes*, the

[1] Mr. Robertson writes, *more suo*, that "Hallam's qualified *obiter dictum* has been adopted *without scrutiny*" by me, "as a support to the 'classical' theory." Hallam's observations are not an *obiter dictum*, but represent his considered judgment; and they were not adopted "without scrutiny" by me. When, by the way, Mr. Robertson says of the word "confer" (p. 256) that for writers of Shakespeare's time it "meant . . . as in Latin, 'compare,'" it seems that he had misread the Oxford Dictionary in this case. When (e.g.) Ben Jonson said that he wrote his verses prefixed to Sylvester's translation of D[illegible] "before he understood to confer," he did not mean to "compare" but to *converse* in French so as to understand it. In the same way he wrote:

> "How can I speak of thy great pains but err?
> Since they can only judge who can *confer*"

Hence we have the word "conference." "The 'cf.' of our foot-note references," referred to by Mr. Robertson, does not stand for the English word "confer," but for the imperative of the Latin verb *conferre*.

Getae, so we have here a double pun on "Gotes" and "*caper*."[1]

I still think, then, that there is much more force in Hallam's observation, with regard to the use by Shakespeare of these *Latinisms* (i.e. of words with meanings in close connection with their primitive Latin roots) than Mr. Robertson supposes; but, leaving Hallam to take care of himself, I will now invite attention to a passage which I do not think has been hitherto cited in support of what Mr. Robertson calls "the classical theory," but which has always seemed to me to afford evidence of that "wide familiarity" with the classics which I have attributed to Shakespeare. Mr. Robertson and the champions of the "unlearned Shakespeare" school, will, of course, treat it with the same contempt as that which they have showered upon all other arguments tendered in support of this view,—*mais quand même*.

The passage I allude to is in that marvellous play *Hamlet*, of which it may be said that the more it is studied the more does it unfold new wonders, and I refer to the Second Quarto Edition of 1604, of which the Cambridge editors said that although it might differ from the Folio version for the worse in twenty places, yet it differs for the better in forty-seven places. It is this Quarto, be it remembered, that contains "the one especial speech," as Swinburne called it, "in which the personal genius of Shakespeare soars up to the very highest of its height and strikes down to the very deepest of its depths"; the speech whence Shelley took his famous line, "We look before and after"; the speech that the editors of the Folio cut away, and which we never hear upon the stage, unless it be on some special

[1] Mr. Robertson thinks Shakespeare could not have made legal allusions in his plays which would have been unintelligible to his audience. But what of passages like this? Does he think the audience in a public theatre would be sufficiently well educated and intelligent to understand the pun in the word *capricious*?

occasion, as when Mr. F. R. Benson, during some "Shakespeare celebration," ventures to perform the entire *Hamlet* before an audience of votaries at the Stratfordian shrine. It is this Quarto which contains so many things that go far to justify Mr Swinburne's critical observations: "Scene by scene, line for line, stroke upon stroke, and touch after touch, he [Shakespeare] went over all the old laboured ground again; and not to ensure success in his own day, and fill his pockets with contemporary pence, but merely and wholly with a purpose to make it worthy of himself and his future students. . . . Not one single alteration in the whole play can possibly have been made with a view to stage effect or to present popularity and profit; or we must suppose that Shakespeare, however great as a man, was naturally even greater as a fool. . . . *Every change in the text of Hamlet has impaired its fitness for the stage, and increased its value for the closet in exact and perfect proportion.*"

Now in this Quarto we find, among other passages which are not in the Folio, the following words (Act III, Scene 4, 71,—Hamlet is speaking to the Queen, his mother):

Sense sure you have
Else could you not have motion.

The old commentators could make nothing of this. Warburton proposed to read "notion" instead of "motion," an absurd suggestion, which, nevertheless, several editors have thought worthy of being placed on record. Some forty years ago, being fresh from the reading of Aristotle's *De Anima*, it struck me that Shakespeare showed by the words in question that he was undoubtedly familiar with the Aristotelian psychology. I explained this at some length in the *Athenæum* of February 27th, 1875, and, eight-and-twenty years afterwards, in the *Cambridge Classical Review* of December, 1903. Here is the explanation as it appeared in the latter journal: "In the *De Anima*

(Book II, chaps. II and III) we are told that the faculties (*δυνάμεις*) of the soul (which is here co-extensive with the vital principle) are growth, sense (or sensibility), desire, motion, and reason. Plants have only the principle of growth; animals have sense as well, which is the distinguishing faculty of the animal soul. 'For even of things which do not move or change their place, provided that they have *sense* (*αἴσθησις*) we say that they are animals, not only that they live.' Then comes *motion*, so that *motion* (*κίνησις ἡ κατὰ τόπον*) implies *sense*, and an animal that has *motion* must necessarily have *sense* as well. I take the following from M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's translation: 'Quant à la serie regulière des facultés, voici comment elles se subordonnent entre elles: la nutrition d'abord, sans laquelle les autres ne sont pas: la sensibilité, dans laquelle le toucher peut s'isoler des autres sens, puisqu'il y a des animaux qui n'ont ni la vue, ni l'ouie, ni l'odorat; *la locomotion, qui suppose toujours la sensibilité*, mais dont la sensibilité peut bien se passer; enfin l'intelligence, qui suppose nécessairement toutes les facultés inférieures.'"

Now that we have here the true explanation of Shakespeare's words, "sense sure you have, else could you not have motion," cannot I think be disputed.[1] It does not, of course, follow that Shakespeare had read the *De Anima* in Greek, but it does seem to me highly improbable that a man who had not "a wide familiarity with the classics"—even though he might only be able to read Greek authors through the medium of translations—would have

[1] My old friend Dr. Jackson, O.M., F.B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, told me he had no doubt my explanation was correct. He, further, sends me his opinion that Shakespeare writes in "a highly Latinized English style." He thinks this would be accounted for by his education at the Grammar School, which he supposes was subsequently developed in London. I cannot myself adopt this as a satisfactory explanation of Shakespeare's "highly Latinized" style, but it is, at any rate, entirely at variance with Farmer's assertion, followed by Mr. Robertson (since he endorses Farmer's celebrated Essay), that Shakespeare was ignorant of the meaning of the simplest Latin words.

these ideas of the Aristotelian psychology in his mind, and actually introduce them into a play. That a man so destitute of learning as Farmer's Essay makes Shakespeare to have been would write thus surely goes far beyond the limits of rational hypothesis.

The reader will observe, too, that these remarkable words are not in the *acting* edition of the great tragedy; they are, it would seem, introduced for the *reader*, not for the spectator; or, as Swinburne puts it, for the closet and not for the stage. This, I presume, would be considered by Mr. Robertson as illustrating my tendency to "clutch desperately at every semblance of classical knowledge which the Plays and Poems present"—an error which he thinks arises from my setting out "with a primary ideal of a highly 'cultured' mind as being alone capable of writing 'Shakespeare.'"[1] Yet it certainly appears to me that here is no "desperate clutching," and that here is no mere "semblance of classical knowledge," but reasonable, and I would even say cogent, evidence that the author of *Hamlet* was not only possessed of "a highly cultured mind" (is that really disputed?) but also, as part of that culture, of a full share of "classical knowledge." But I must be content to leave the judgment upon that question to the intelligent and "cultured" reader.

The difficulty in dealing with Mr. Robertson's arguments concerning the learning, or ignorance, of Shakespeare is to know how much education, or knowledge, or culture, he is really willing graciously to allow him. In his *Montaigne and Shakespeare* (1909) he describes Shakespeare as "*not much cultured*, not profound, not deeply passionate; not particularly reflective though copious in utterance; a personality which of itself, *if under no pressure of pecuniary need*, would not be likely to give the world any serious sign of mental capacity whatever" (p. 147). Such, it seems, is Mr. Robertson's con-

[1] *The Baconian Heresy*, p. 192.

ception of the man before he had developed "into the Shakespeare of the great tragedies and tragic comedies." He repudiates the idea that Shakespeare can be represented as "presque inculte." "This," he says, "nobody but a Baconian ever did."[1] At the same time he denies him any vestige of "classic culture," and maintains that the Sonnets "distinctly avow the lack of it," in support of which proposition he quotes the lines of Sonnet lxxviii,

> But thou art all my art, and dost advance
> As high as learning my *rude ignorance*,

and he further prays in aid the words "my untutored lines" in the dedication to the *Lucrece*.[2] Yet in both the works referred to, as I have already shown, he proclaims his entire concurrence in Farmer's Essay, whose arguments, he says, have not been upset in a single case, whence it follows that Shakespeare was so ignorant that he knew not a word of French or Latin![3]

I will now pass, and it is a relief to do so, to the courteous and humorous, but, alas, posthumous criticism of Mr. Lang. Mr. Lang writes (p. 43): "We must say that while the author of the plays had some lore which

[1] *Baconian Heresy*, p. 589.

[2] *Shakespeare and Montaigne*, p. 341. Mr. Robertson twice quotes these lines of Sonnet lxxviii, viz. at pp. 151 and 341. I have seen them quoted by other writers also in support of the theory of Shakespeare's want of culture. Such an argument seems to me singularly unintelligent. Self-depreciation is a very common thing among men of genius and learning, and especially among poets, and, unless it be carried to such an extreme as to become mere affectation, such *προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον* is generally recognised as rather creditable than otherwise, and, of course, is never taken *au pied de la lettre*. Yet I have seen it said that Shakespeare himself proclaims his "rude ignorance"! As to the "untutored lines" of the dedication of the *Lucrece*, if the reader is familiar with dedications in Elizabethan times, and knows the grovelling style in which a young author would address himself to a great noble of the day, he will know, too, just how much importance is to be attached to such an expression.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 306. Mr. Robertson expressly states his agreement in the proposition that Shakespeare's studies had been "confined to nature and *his own language*" (p. 308).

scholars also possessed he did not use his knowledge like a scholar." Here I pause for a moment to repeat that I "fight shy" of applying the term "scholar" to Shakespeare, because the amount of learning and knowledge implied by the word differs according to the conception of those who make use of it. But let us see what arguments Mr. Lang adduces in support of the proposition that the immortal bard was "no scholard." "We do not see how a scholar could make, as the scansion of his blank verse proves that the author did make, the second syllable of the name of Posthumus, in *Cymbeline*, *long*. He must have read a famous line in Horace thus,

Eheu fugaces Posthoome, Posthoome!

which could scarce 'scape whipping, even at Stratford school. In the same way he makes the penultimate syllable of Andronicus short, equally impossible." Again even if he was not the author of *Titus Andronicus*, but only revised and improved it, "a scholar would have corrected, not accepted, false quantities."

I do not think that there is really much force in this argument, because I believe that in "the spacious days" even scholars were much inclined to "play fast and loose" with "quantities" in Latin names, if not when they wrote Latin verse, at any rate in their use of such names in English prose or verse composition. We must remember that there was always a struggle going on between quantity and accent. In my day one of the books which we were called upon to read for the Classical Tripos at Cambridge was Peile's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, and although that learned work may be "out of date" at the present time, it contains much useful information. I take the following from the edition of 1872 (p. 300): "In the prime of Latin literature the quantity ruled the accent in the main. But the inevitable tendency of the accent to win the day at last, was only

checked, in no way beaten back, by the Augustan rules. How supreme it had become by the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, is to be seen by a glance at the inscriptions of that time. We find, for example, these lines at the beginning of a pathetic epitaph of that date: it marked the grave of a little girl, called *Felicitas*:—

> Quod dulcis nati, quod cara pignora praestant,
> Continet hic tumulus, membra qui parva retentat.
> Dolorem sine fine dedit Felicitas isto,
> Claudituu infelix falso cognomine dicta.

The first three lines all contain 'false quantities': the last happens to be correct by the Virgilian standard; and at first sight we set down the whole epitaph as full of barbarous errors. But this is wrong: the epitaph is right enough in the main if judged by the principle on which it was written. The old hexameter-form is retained: but the beat of the first syllable in each foot, which is given by a long syllable in the old hexameter, can be given here by accent as well as quantity."

I quote this passage not with the idea of contending that the accent in "Posthumus" naturally fell on the penultimate, but in support of the contention that a writer in Elizabethan times, albeit a scholar, might if he introduced such a name into a play, consider himself as little bound by "the Augustan rules" as the writer of the above-quoted epitaph. Even if in writing Latin verse he might think it advisable to conform to "the Virgilian standard" he would, very possibly, opine that such standard could have no necessary application to English composition. The author of *The Merchant of Venice*, by the way, makes the penultimate of "Stephāno" long, while in *The Tempest* we have "Stephăno," in accordance with classical rule. What argument are we to found on this? That the two plays are by different authors? Or that Shakespeare when he wrote *The Tempest* had learned the

proper pronunciation of the name? Or that he conceived that he was at liberty to use either the form Stephāno, or the form Stephăno, according to his will and pleasure? I should myself strongly incline to the last hypothesis.

I imagine that the author of the inscription on the tablet below the Stratford bust must have been "a bit of a scholar," for the lines, especially the pentameter, are very good in their way, and one would imagine that the unknown "Gentlemen of London" who caused the inscription to be placed there must have been scholars "of sorts." But to write Sŏcratem with a short *o* was to perpetrate a "howling" false quantity according to "Augustan rules." But, after all, did not Shelley write:

εἰμί φιλάνθρωπος δημῶκράτικος τ' θεος τε?

And nobody, I presume, will deny that Shelley was a scholar.

So, on the whole, I do not think we need trouble ourselves much about the "false quantity" argument. Really, if it be pressed it becomes an argument against the generally received, though unproved, hypothesis, that Will Shakspere (assuming him to have been the author of *Cymbeline*) was for some years at the Stratford Grammar School. For, as Mr. Lang says, to quote Horace's line as he writes it, by way of illustration, could scarce have 'scaped whipping there, so that "Will" must have learned the right pronunciation of Posthumus, according to Augustan rules, supposing that he was a "scholar" at the Free Grammar School.

Then Mr. Lang brings out once more the well-worn passage in *Troilus and Cressida* where Hector is made to speak of Aristotle. "When Greeks and Trojans," writes Mr. Lang, "cite Plato and Aristotle, while Plato and Aristotle lived more than a thousand years after the latest conceivable date of the siege of Troy, I cannot possibly suppose that a scholar would have permitted to himself

the freak, any more than that in the *Winter's Tale* he should have borrowed from an earlier novel the absurdity of calling Delphi 'Delphos' (a non-existent word), of confusing 'Delphos' with Delos, and placing the Delphian Oracle in an island" (p. 44).

Let me first consider the mention of Aristotle in *Troilus and Cressida.* It has always filled me with astonishment that learned critics should find herein an argument in support of the proposition that Shakespeare must have been a man of no learning. Do they really suppose that the author of this passage in *Troilus and Cressida* (whoever he may have been) was not only "no scholar," but so astoundingly ignorant as to believe that Aristotle lived before the Homeric age? Such a supposition appears to me absolutely preposterous. It might just as well be argued that because Handel introduces the rumbling of the guns in the "Dead March" in *Saul* he really believed that artillery and gunpowder existed in the days of the kings of Israel. For myself, I very gravely doubt whether that extraordinary and anomalous play *Troilus and Cressida,* in which most critics see the work of two, if not more, hands, is "Shakespearean" at all, but I feel quite confident that whoever the author was of the passage alluded to he introduced the "Aristotelian" anachronism knowingly and deliberately, in the same spirit as that in which the author of *Lear* wrote when he made the Fool say, "This prophecy Merlin shall make —*for I live before his time*"![1]

[1] Mr. Robertson, in his *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (p. 337), not only repeats this foolish argument (as it seems to me) that Shakespeare could not have been a scholar because he makes Hector quote Aristotle, but goes on to ask whether, if he had been a scholar, he would "speak of the Lupercal as a hill." If Mr. Robertson had given some little consideration to the play of *Julius Cæsar* he would not have put such a silly question. Shakespeare nowhere speaks of the Lupercal as a hill. In *Julius Cæsar* (Act I, Sc. I, 72), Marullus says, "You know it is the feast of Lupercal," namely, as Mr. M. Macmillan annotates in the "Arden" edition of Shakespeare, "the Lupercalia, a festival celebrated at Rome on 15th February in honour of Lupercus, the

Then what are we to say about "Delphos" in the *Winter's Tale*—"Delphos" which Mr. Lang calls "a non-existent word," that "never was a place-name"? We can only say, as the truth is, that Mr. Lang here makes a mistake which we should never have expected to find in a scholar of his wide reading and great knowledge. For the truth is that "Delphos," so far from being "a non-existent word," was the form employed by writers generally in this country (scholars or not) up to the reign of Queen Anne. So much was this the case that Boyle, in his controversy with Bentley, actually styles Bentley pedantic because he uses the form "Delphi" instead of the usual "Delphos." Nay more, "Delphos" is used by Florio in his translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, by Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poetry*, by Lyly (if he indeed wrote *Midas*), and moreover by Milton (whose "scholarship" nobody will dispute) in his *Ode to the Nativity*!

So the argument that he who wrote "Delphos" must have been an ignorant, or, at any rate, an unlearned man is pretty well disposed of.

But then we have Delphos as an "island," and talk about "the sea-coast of Bohemia." Is not this a proof of gross ignorance on the part of the writer? How these earnest "Shakespeareans" do strive to make the great poet an ignorant man! But the answer seems very simple. In the first place, "the island of Delphos" and "the sea-coast of Bohemia" both occur in the novel *Pandosto*, or

god who defended sheep against wolves." He further observes: "Shakespeare probably Anglicises the name of the feast in this short form for metrical reasons." In Act III, Sc. 2, Mark Antony says, "You all did see that on the Lupercal / I thrice presented him a kingly crown." Here Mr. Macmillan annotates, as every sensible commentator would, "*on the Lupercal*—at the feast of the Lupercalia. See I, i, 72." Mr. Robertson seems to have taken the stupid idea that Shakespeare speaks of the Lupercal as a hill, without consideration, from some critic who had gone hopelessly astray. But such are the arguments by which it is sought to prove that Shakespeare could not have been a learned, and, in fact, was a very ignorant man. And this is Shakespearean "orthodoxy"!

Dorastus and Fawnia, upon which Shakespeare founded his play of the *Winter's Tale*. And who was the author of this novel? None other than Robert Greene. Was Greene then an ignorant man? Hardly, for he was educated at Cambridge, was a graduate of both Universities, and was, admittedly, a man of learning.[1]

But really it is absurd, as it seems to me, to found theories (I had almost written "charges") of ignorance on the part of the author of *A Winter's Tale* on these flights of fancy. What is *A Winter's Tale*? Its very title, like that of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, indicates that it is in the nature of a fairy tale, a romance of fancy and imagination. It is, as Halliwell wrote, "a mediæval romance, in which manners of several ages, localities inconsistent with the plot and with each other, and the wildest anachronisms are connected with circumstances that can only be referred to a remote antiquity." Shakespeare took Greene's story and dramatised it, with many additions and variations, and without the slightest attempt to render it historical. I can see here no indication of ignorance, but only of that exuberant fancy, untrammelled, in such works of imagination, by the rules of time and space, which made Theseus and Hippolyta, Oberon and Titania, Bottom and Snug, all contemporaneous at Athens.

Shakespeare adds to Greene's flights of fancy an anachronism of his own—"a known and wilful anachronism," as Theobald rightly calls it—by introducing a reference to Julio Romano (1492–1546), whom he makes "contemporary with the flourishing age of the oracle of the Pythian Apollo"; and, says Mr. Lang, "this, at least, would not be ignorance." Then why, we may

[1] It has been stated that, under King Ottocar I, the boundaries of Bohemia, or its dependencies, extended to the sea, but it is certainly not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare had any knowledge of this fact, if fact it was. Doubtless he was content to take Greene's story as he found it, and Greene probably took it from some unknown source.

ask, should the other anachronisms be a sign of ignorance!

But it has been objected further that Julio Romano was a painter, and Shakespeare speaks of him as a sculptor! Well, it would seem that this is a proof of knowledge rather than of ignorance, and somewhat remarkable knowledge too; for Dr. Elze long ago informed us that in the first edition of Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* two epitaphs are printed which were originally inscribed on the tomb of Julio Romano at Mantua, testifying to the fact that he was celebrated for three arts—painting, architecture, and sculpture:

> Videbat Jupiter corpora *sculpta* pictaque
> *Spirare*, aedes mortalium aequarier coelo,
> Julii virtute Romani.

It would really appear that the prophet who was summoned to curse Shakespeare—as an ignorant man—has blessed him altogether, and if the only arguments against the hypothesis that Shakespeare was a classical scholar, even in the modern sense, were such as those founded on the passages in *Troilus and Cressida* and *A Winter's Tale* I should think it reasonable to look upon that hypothesis as a perfectly tenable one.

Thus, then, stands the case. I read *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, and *Othello*; I read *Antony*, and *Cæsar*, and *Coriolanus*; I read *As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, and *Much Ado*; I read *Romeo*, and *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*; I read *The Merchant*, and *The Tempest*; I read the *Histories*, and especially *Henry IV*, I read *Venus*, and *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*; and the more I read those marvellous works the more deeply I am impressed with the certainty that the man who wrote them was a man of wide reading, much learning, and high culture. I am more and more convinced of the "highly cultured mind" as the necessary condition precedent of a "Shakespeare.

My reason revolts against the postulate of the unlearned, untravelled man, who knew no country and no language but his own.

But this, it seems, is but fanaticism, and nearly akin to heresy. Shakespeare, says Mr. Robertson, was a man of little culture, if any, and of no learning. The classics and modern languages were sealed books to him; he is not indeed properly described as a "rustic" (except, maybe, in his Stratford days), but he may be truly called a "*Farmer's boy*," so far as learning was concerned, if a mild joke may be allowed on such a serious subject! The simplest French and the simplest Latin words were unintelligible to him.[1] If he read, it was only in his own language that he could read. If he wrote great things, it was only "under pressure of pecuniary need"—"for gain, not glory." If he "grew immortal," it was "in his own despite." Such, briefly stated, is, as I understand it, the faith of the orthodox Shakespearean of to-day; such the definitive doctrine as finally settled *ex cathedrâ* by Mr. J. M. Robertson. The rest is but "bluff" and "paralogism." Well, it's a free country, and every man may decide for himself.

Dr. Anders, whose learned work on *Shakespeare's Books* (1904) is so well known, and so constantly cited, came to a very different opinion from that held by

[1] Mr. Robertson, who accepts Farmer's Essay, must accept this along with it; otherwise he must repudiate Farmer's authority *in toto*, for the argument here stands upon precisely the same footing as the other arguments of that famous essayist. As for Shakespeare's youth, according to the orthodox view, it really seems to be the standard example for all young men of the great advantage of keeping aloof from books, and the moral of it appears to be well described by that somewhat sarcastic comedian who wrote the following lines, the first of which is, of course, Shakespeare's own:

"In my young days I never did apply
Myself to the lore of books or sages;
I idled all my time away, and that's the reason why
I'm the poet and the teacher of all ages!"

Mr. Robertson and the "unlearned Shakespeare" school. It may be worth while to cite the following passages: "It is my purpose to show that Ovid, a favourite author with Shakespeare, was known to him both in the original and in the English translation, and to supply further evidence of his familiarity with the Roman poet" (p. 21, where, and in the following pages, the evidence will be found); "Shakespeare's mind was richly furnished with the antique MYTHOLOGY, to which we find innumerable allusions, introduced with perfect ease and naturalness, throughout his works" (p. 29); "*I think there ought to be no doubt that Shakespeare had recourse to the Latin writers direct*" (*ibid.*); "Taking a final review of the matter already dealt with in the present chapter, *we may now safely assert that Shakespeare's knowledge of the Latin language was considerable, and that he must have read some of the more important Latin authors*" (p. 39); "Lastly, Shakespeare has the ancient mythology and history at his fingers' ends, and throughout his plays and poems we find frequent allusions introduced with ease and naturalness" (p. 40). It needs not to be said that Dr. Anders is a writer of unexceptionable "orthodoxy." I am waiting with interest to see whether he will bring out a new edition of his book in order to recant these opinions as to Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin in view of Mr. Robertson's definite and definitive pronouncement. Surely he will no longer lend his high authority to the heretical view that the great poet was other than an ignorant man![1]

[1] The opinion of an eighteenth-century writer, John Upton, Prebendary of Rochester, author of *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (1746), seems very much to the point: "I have often wondered with what kind of reasoning anyone could be so far imposed on as to imagine that Shakespeare had no learning; when it must at the same time be acknowledged that, without learning, he cannot be read with any degree of understanding or taste."

NOTE A TO CHAPTER III

JOHN TAYLOR, THE WATER POET

Of course Mr. Robertson may have "gone to John Taylor for himself," just as I went to Farmer for myself. My parody of his criticism is but a *tu quoque*, but, I submit, a quite legitimate one. Mr. Robertson (p. 555) appeals to John Taylor's own testimony as to his wide reading in English translations, and refers to the 1630 edition of his works, section II, p. 57. This collected Folio of the works of the "Water Poet" is a very curious volume. On the title-page we are confronted with an impression of the identical block which was used in printing *Venus and Adonis*, and turning over the pages till we come to "Sir Gregory Nonsense, His Newes from no Place," we find an epistle dedicatory addressed "To the (Sir Reverence[1]) Rich worshipped Mr. Trim Tram Senceles, Great Image of Authority and *Hedgborough* of the famous City of *Goteham* and to the rest of that admired and unmatchable Senate, with their Corruptions and Families." It must be confessed that Taylor's humour is not a little difficult to appreciate at the present day, but it is interesting to note that the Dedication commences with the words "Most Honorificicabilitudinitatibus," while above it is the same head-piece as that which appears over the Epistle Dedicatory of the Shakespeare First Folio (1623) addressed to "the Incomparable Paire."[2]

Proceeding, we come, at p. 44, to "Taylor's Motto," in which poem, at p. 56, we have some lines headed "My serious cares and Considerations," the "Motto" being "*et habeo, et careo, et curo*, I have, I want, I care." The lines referred to by Mr. Robertson are as follows:

[1] This word, as I need scarcely say, bore at the time an interpretation suggestive of Cloacina. It is often so employed by Taylor.

[2] This head-piece is repeated a few pages farther on, over another dedicatory preface.

I *care* to get good books, and I take heed
And *care* what I do either write or read.
Though some through ignorance, and some through spite,
Have said that I can neither read nor write.
But though my lines no scholarship proclaime
Yet I at learning have a kind of ayme.
And I have gathered much good observations
From many humane and divine translations.
I was well entered (forty winters since)
As farre as *possum* in my *Accidence*,
And reading but from *possum* to *posset*,
There I was mir'd and could no further get.
Which when I think upon (with mind dejected)
I *care* to think how learning I neglected.
The poet *Quid* (or *Ovid* if you will)
Being in English, much hath helpt my skill:
And *Homer* too, and *Virgil* I have seene,
And reading them, I have much better'd beene.
Godfrey of Bulloyne, well by *Fairfax* done,
Du Bartas, that much love hath rightly wonne.
Old *Chaucer*, *Sidney*, *Spencer*, *Daniel*, *Nash*,
I dip'd my finger where they us'd to wash.
As I have read these poets I have noted
Much good, which in my memory is quoted.
Of Histories I have perusde some store
As no man of my function hath done more.
The *Golden Legend* I did overtosse,
And found the *gold* mixt with a deale of *drosse*.
I have read *Plutarch's Morals* and his *Lives*,
And like a Bee, suckt *Hony* from those Hives.
Josephus of the Jews, *Knowles* of the Turks,
Marcus Aurelius, and *Guenara's* works:
Lloyds Grimstone, *Montaigne*, and *Suetonius*,
Agrippa (whom some call Cornelius)
Grave *Seneca*, and *Cambden*, *Purchas*, *Speed*,
Old *Monumentall Fox* and *Hollinshead*.

It will be seen that the old "Water Poet" gives a long list of works read, in whole or in part, by him, and though he speaks in depreciatory terms of his own learning, it is impossible to look through his collected works without seeing that he was very far from being an uneducated man. He had, apparently read much, and unlike Shakspere (*testibus* Sir Sidney Lee and others) he had seen not a little of foreign countries. But as to his "scraps of Latin," and "allusions to antiquity" (as Farmer

calls them), can it be seriously maintained that the use he makes of such things is in any way, or in any degree, comparable to the classical allusions to be found in Shakespeare? I do not think we should entertain much respect for the critic who would so maintain. I may add that in the Preface to Taylor's *Pastorall* we find the following: "And this Advertisement more I give the Reader, that there are many things Imprinted under the name of two Letters I. T. for some of which I have been taxed to bee the Author: I assure the world that I had never anything imprinted of my writing, that I was either afraid or ashamed to set my name at large to it; and therefore if you see any Author's name I. T. I utterly disclaime it: for I am as I have bin, both I. and T. which with addition of Letters, is yours to bee commanded in any laudable endeavours, John Taylor." On the strength of this it has been suggested that we ought to consider any writings in the 1630 Folio signed "I. T." to be not of his authorship, but the words cannot, surely, be so construed. Moreover, the title-page tells us that the works are "63 in number, collected into one volum by the Author." Again, it has been said that in the Epistle Dedicatory addressed to *The World* the suggestion has been thrown out that the book may not have been written by Taylor, but, here again, if the words be carefully considered they will be found not to bear this meaning. Taylor merely suggests that if his readers were persuaded that the book was not of his writing, in view of his humble position as "a Sculler" and a "Water-poet," they might think more highly of it, and he gives certain examples in illustration of that suggestion. In conclusion I would only say that a consideration of his writing leads me to the conclusion that, like many another writer of humble origin, he is unduly self-depreciatory concerning his learning and education, and "doth protest too much, methinks,' in this regard. He does not appear, however, to have been much of a naturalist, since he writes in *The Beggar*:—

> His Musicke waytes on him in every bush,
> The Mavis, Bulfinch, Blackbird, and the Thrush,

apparently supposing that the Mavis and the Thrush were different birds!

NOTE B TO CHAPTER III

MR. ROBERTSON AND JUDGE WILLIS'S "BACONIAN MINT"

Mr. Robertson devotes many pages to Judge Willis's "confutation" of Dr. Theobald's chapter on "the classic diction of Shakespeare" in his *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*. That "confutation" is contained in the late Judge's work, *The Baconian Mint, its claims examined*, which now lies before me. Now so far as Dr. Theobald endeavoured to show that Bacon had introduced a large number of new words of classical origin into the English language, and into the First Folio, under the pseudonym of "Shakespeare," I think it must be acknowledged that Judge Willis has proved that such contention cannot be upheld, and as I hold no brief in support of such a claim I am quite content to let it go by default. I will venture, however, to say a few words with regard to some of Mr. Robertson's criticisms and pronouncements upon the case. "I will," he says, "present summarily the series of words in Shakespeare which Dr. Theobald puts forward as 'classically' framed and therefore Baconian, and which Judge Willis shows to have been in current use long before or about 1600."[1] Then follows the list, which I certainly do not propose to consider in detail. I will only comment in passing on some of the instances mentioned by Mr. Robertson. I have already drawn the reader's attention to his illuminating reflection on the word "Academe," viz. that "the scansion of the word in *Love's Labour's Lost* is precisely what a good classical scholar would *not* do with it," which remark is, I think, almost sufficient to dispose of Mr. Robertson as a critic of classical scholarship. Judge Willis, more prudently, says nothing as to the "scansion of the word," but quotes "Thy villa, nam'd an Academe, doth bost"; the reference being to "Sandys, 1610, p. 275, 4th

[1] In many instances, I may remark, Judge Willis by no means shows that the word in question was used "long before" 1600.

edition." This quotation, which might have saved Mr. Robertson from his unwise comment, is not repeated by him from Judge Willis's book, possibly because bearing date, as it does, 1610, it is not relevant so far as concerns Dr. Theobald's contention, though "Achademe," cited from *Book of Good Manners* (1487), is more to the point.[1]

I have also already adverted to the word "capricious" as used by Shakespeare. As to this, Judge Willis (p. 15), after quoting the words from *As You Like It*, writes: "Capricious has a double reference to the *Italian* word *cappriccioso*, humorous or fantastical, and to the Latin word *caper*, a goat." Mr. Robertson omits these words, which draw attention to the double pun in "goats" and "goths," "capricious" and *caper*, and contents himself with quotations to show that the word "capricious" was already in use, which nobody disputes. Then we have allusion made to the word "captious." Dr. Theobald had quoted,

> Yet in this *captious* and intenible sieve
> I still pour in the waters of my love,

and added, "Captious has the meaning of the Latin word *capio*, I take."

Now, as to this, Judge Willis says (p. 15): "I do not think the word is used by Shakespeare in any new meaning. The word 'captious' was in common use from 1447. In 1530 Palsgrave, 'capcious, crafty in words to take one in a trap.' I think Shakespeare used the word 'captious' in this sense."

Mr. Robertson, following Willis, quotes Palsgrave to this effect, and adds "By captious words to make me do it," from *Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, VI, 293.

But quite obviously these are not parallels at all to the Shakespearean use of the word. The use of the word "captious," as in the familiar expression "a captious critic" (e.g.), is well known, and it is much in this sense that it is used by Palsgrave, and in the *Three Ladies of London*. But this is not its meaning as used by Shakespeare. "A captious and intenible sieve" means a sieve capable of receiving but incapable of retaining,

[1] See Willis's *Baconian Mint*, p. 10; Robertson, work cited, p. 278.

and it is indisputable that the word is here used, as Dr. Theobald says, "in its classic meaning" with close reference to the Latin *capio*, from which it is derived. I doubt whether any pre-Shakespearean parallel to this use of the words "captious and intenible" can be produced.

With regard to the word "decimation," Dr. Theobald wrote: "Dr. Abbott points out that Shakespeare uses the word decimation in its technical sense for a tithed death.

> By decimation, and a tithed death
> . . . take thou the destined tenth (*Timon*, V, 4, 31)."

Whereupon Judge Willis comments: "Dr. Abbott might have pointed out that many before Shakespeare used the word decimation in the same sense." I see no "sense" in this criticism. There can be no point in it unless Theobald had suggested that Shakespeare makes use of the expression for the first time; but, of course, Theobald does no such thing. He only says that Shakespeare used the word "in its technical sense," the obvious implication being that it had been used in that sense before Shakespeare.

But it would serve no good purpose to go further into these details. Let it be granted that Judge Willis is generally successful in showing that the words cited from Shakespeare as new coinage of classical origin can be found in some pre-Shakespearean writer. What effect has such an admission upon the purely negative argument as to the "Stratfordian" authorship of the Plays and Poems?

I will here venture to quote a writer in *Baconiana* for July, 1913: "Judge Willis, on whom the controversialist mainly relies, had read extensively the writings of Divines, ecclesiastical records, and correspondence extant at the time. He draws his materials principally from these sources. He quotes from Rolls of Parliament 1436; Beggar's Petition against Popery 1538; State Papers of Henry VIII 1546; Commission of Edward VI to his Council 1552; The King's Authorization, Preface to Constitutional Canons Ecclesiastical, 1604; various translations of Calvin's works, viz., on 'Deuteronomy'; on 'The Harmony of the Evangelists'; 'Enchiridion,'

1533; Philpot's translation of Curio's Defence of Christ's Church, c. 1550; Sermons; Tyndale's translation of Erasmus; Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity'; John Rainhold's lecture on 'Obadiah,' 1584; Hutchinson's 'The Image of God,' and his other works; Hooper's 'Declaration of Christ and His Office'; Whitehorne's 'Arte of Warrs,' 1560; and numbers of similar works. All those, be it observed, are the works of classical scholars. To these out-of the-way books and manuscripts has Judge Willis to have resort to produce examples of words used in their classical sense as Shakespeare used them! . . . Not one contemporary author is quoted who was not a classical scholar! Judge Willis proves this and no more—that the author of the poems and plays was so familiar with the writings of classical scholars that he employed words which were used by them in their root meanings."

Of a truth, then, it would seem that "Will" of Stratford had read to a prodigious extent in the pages of these learned authors, from whom he is supposed to have borrowed the words cited in Dr. Theobald's list. Mr. Robertson, indeed, says: "Any Englishman of Shakespeare's day, whether he knew Latin or not, used those words in the so-called 'classic' sense, if he used them at all, simply because they had been introduced and adopted in the past by men who were habituated in Latin." But this is mere assertion, and assertion which has no basis of proof to rest upon. For, as the writer in *Baconiana* observes, "Judge Willis does not give one single instance of the use of one of these words by a writer who was not a classical scholar." To suppose that Shakspeare became familiar with such words from the common talk of his fellows is really to suppose an absurdity. "Will," therefore, must have found time, amongst his other numerous occupations, to be a close student of learned and "out-of-the-way" literature.

Judge Willis, by the way, while denying that Shakespeare's use of the word "extenuate" (*M.N.D.*, I, 1, 120) is an indication of his Latinity, adds, "although I have no doubt *he was well acquainted with the Latin Tongue.*"[1] Mr. Robertson does not cite his witness on this point!

[1] Work cited, p. 43.

NOTE C TO CHAPTER III

SHAKESPEARE AND "THE HYSTORIE OF HAMBLET"

An Illustration of Dr. Farmer's Methods of Criticism

Whalley, in his *Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare* (1748), contended that Shakespeare must have read "Saxo Grammaticus" in Latin, as he derived the plot of *Hamlet* from it, and no translation of the work into any modern language had been made. Whereupon Farmer wrote (1657): "But the truth is he did not take it from Saxo at all; a Novel called 'The Historie of Hamblet' was his original." And in 1767, after observing that the novel "proved to be a translation from the French of Belleforest," he wrote that his friend Capell tells him "that all the chief incidents of the Play, and all the capital characters, are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner; sentiments indeed there are none that Shakespeare could borrow; nor any expression but *one*, which is, where Hamlet kills Polonius behind the arras; in doing which he is made to cry out, as in the Play, '*a rat, a rat!*'" Upon which Farmer remarks, in his characteristic "cock-sure" manner: "So much for Saxo Grammaticus!"

Now this is, in truth, a very instructive example of Farmer's untrustworthiness as a critic. *The Hystorie of Hamblet* which was owned by his friend Capell, and which is now in the Capell Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, bears date 1608. It was printed "by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier." The argument is in ordinary type, the preface in italics, and the "hystorie" in black letter. It is the only copy known. It would really seem as if Farmer had not taken the trouble to examine the work referred to before making his characteristic pronouncement, which, he says, will "put the matter out of all question"!

Moreover, apart from the date borne by the unique copy in the Capell Collection, it has been demonstrated by Professor

Elze, and others, that *The Hystorie of Hamblet* must have been published subsequently to the play.

In the first place, as Dr. Nichol Smith informs us, in a note to Farmer's Essay, "No English 'translation from the French of Belleforest' appears to have been issued before 1608";[1] and, as the late Dr. Furness remarks, Professor Elze's argument "in favour of the existence of the drama before the translation" appears to be "convincing." To begin with, in Belleforest's novel—one of his *Histoires Tragiques*, which are mainly derived from the Italian of Bandello—we find that the counsellor who acts the spy during Amleth's interview with his mother, conceals himself under the quilt (*stramentum* according to Saxo; *loudier* or *lodier*, according to Belleforest), and Amleth on entering the chamber, jumps on this quilt (*sauta sur ce lodier*), whereas the English "novel" substitutes a curtain or tapestry for the quilt, and makes use of the same terms as those employed by Shakespeare, viz. "hangings" and "arras"; and it is still more remarkable that the English translator makes Amleth exclaim, in the words of Shakespeare, "A rat! a rat!" words which are nowhere to be found in Belleforest's version of the story. It is pretty clear, then, that the English translator followed Shakespeare's play here, for, as it is well put by a writer in *Baconiana* (October, 1913), "It is more probable that the translator adopted an incident and phraseology which had caught the popular fancy and become almost proverbial, than that two such striking passages were invented by a translator of a manifestly inferior stamp, and transferred from his work to Shakespeare's, 'specially when,' as Dr. Furness remarks, 'they are the only two points where the phraseology is common to both.'" Moreover, as Professor Elze points out, it is noticeable in the popular legends of both England and Germany that prose versions invariably follow the poetical version.[2] "It is readily conceivable that a poet should select from Belleforest the story of Hamlet's feigned insanity and revenge, and cast it into a dramatic or poetic mould; but it is not so conceivable that a mediocre translator

[1] So, too, Sir Sidney Lee (*Life*, p. 178).

[2] *Baconiana, ubi supr.*, and see *Histoires Tragiques*, par François Belle-Forest, Comingeois. A Rouen 1604. Tome Sixième, Histoire cviii.

should pick out this single story unless he was led to it by the popularity of the poetical version." The clumsy translation adheres to the original of Belleforest with slavish fidelity, except in the two places referred to, which betray the mark of a superior hand, and, as Professor Elze says, "point decisively to Shakespeare." It appears, therefore, that Shakespeare did *not* found his play on *The Hystorie of Hamblet*; indeed, when one comes to consider that work, and Belleforest's version from which it is taken, it really seems impossible to conceive that Shakespeare could have based his immortal play on such wretched stuff, "rude and barbarous," as Capell truly styles it.[1] In truth the play and the story differ *toto caelo* the one from the other. After all, therefore, it would appear that Whalley had some warrant for his contention that Shakespeare must have read "Saxo Grammaticus" in Latin. Farmer himself notes the contention that it was "almost impossible that any poet unacquainted with the Latin language (supposing his perceptive faculties to have been never so acute) could have caught the characteristical madness of Hamblet, described by Saxo Grammaticus, so happily is it delineated by Shakespeare," but, nevertheless, as we have seen, he will have nothing of Saxo, but finds the origin of Shakespeare's great play in the black-letter Quarto, which was undoubtedly published subsequently to the production of the play. So much for Farmer!

But, nevertheless, those of the school of the "unlearned Shakespeare" have another string to their bow. Shakespeare could not have founded *Hamlet* upon "Saxo Grammaticus." Certainly not. He could not read Latin. But there was an "old play" of *Hamlet* in existence. What it was we do not know, nor do we know who the author of it was. It is usually said to have been by Kyd, but that is a mere guess, unsupported by any evidence. But, anyhow, it was upon this supposed old play that Shakespeare, we are told, founded his immortal drama. *Et voilà tout!* as Mr. Robertson would say. In this simple way it is always possible for the school of assumption to avoid such

[1] Sir Sidney Lee, however, thinks that Shakespeare may have read Belleforest in the original—a very probable hypothesis. He may have read Bandello also.

a dangerous supposition as that Shakespeare was able to read a Latin work in the original.

I may here say a word with regard to the date of *Hamlet*. In *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 504) I made allusion to the argument that the play must have been produced by Shakespeare before the year 1598: "It appears that Gabriel Harvey in this year (1598) purchased a copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer, and in it he inscribed the following manuscript note: 'The younger sort take delight in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, have it in them to please the wiser sort.'"[1] But it was persistently said that Harvey's copy of Speght's "Chaucer" had been destroyed in a fire at Northumberland House, in the eighteenth century, so that this note could not be verified. Now, however, it has been announced by Mr. A. H. Bullen, in *The Times* of December 3rd, 1913, that this "precious volume," which once belonged to Bishop Percy, is in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Miss Meade, who allowed the notes to be transcribed by Mr. Moore Smith, and a collotype facsimile to be made, for publication with his volume,[2] of the page containing the well-known reference to *Hamlet*. Now Speght's "Chaucer" was published in 1598, and in that year was purchased by Harvey, whose signature, together with the date, in his own figures, is on the title-page, and on the last page also. Harvey's note mentions "translated Tasso," which convinced Malone that the note could not be dated earlier than 1600, the year of the publication of Fairfax's "Translation"; but, as Mr. Bullen says, he forgot that a rendering by Richard Carew of a part of Tasso had appeared in 1594, and, after further consideration of some of the items of the note, Mr. Bullen concludes as follows: "To say the least, the evidence seems to suggest very strongly that *Hamlet* in its first unrevised form was produced not earlier than the end of 1598 and not later than the beginning of 1601."

[1] This was part only of Harvey's MS. note, which is set out in full in Mr. A. H. Bullen's contribution to *The Times*, presently referred to.

[2] Harvey's *Marginalia*, edited by Professor G. C. Moore Smith, and published by the Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon.

This contribution to *The Times* produced a letter from Professor Boas, published in that paper a day or two subsequently, in which that learned writer, speaking of Harvey's note, says: "The note, I venture to think, does something to confirm my suggestion in the August number of the *Fortnightly Review*, based upon an examination of the payments to Elizabethan theatrical companies in the Oxford city accounts, that Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in its unrevised form, may have been acted at Oxford as early as 1593. For if Harvey knew *Hamlet*, in 1598–9, the play may well have been written and performed some years previously. His mention of it neutralizes its omission by Meres from his list of Shakespeare's plays in 'Palladis Tamia,' in 1598, unless we assume that it was written in the interval. And it is noticeable that the two poems mentioned with it, 'Venus and Adonis,' and 'Lucrece,' are both early works."

Upon this Mr. E. N. Adler writes a letter, dated December 11th, 1913, giving certain entries, which, as he contends, show "that *Hamlet* was notorious before 1592"!

Now, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, after stating these facts as to Harvey's note in Speght's "Chaucer," and the publication of five books of Tasso by R. Carew in 1594, I wrote (p. 505): "If this note of Gabriel Harvey's is to be received as proving that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was written before 1598, i.e. more than five years before the publication of the First Quarto (and it seems strong evidence to that effect), this is, undoubtedly, a fact which 'gives furiously to think'!" But now we have learned and orthodox critics who contend that *Hamlet* was written (at any rate "in its unrevised form") as early as 1593, or even 1592, and Mr. Bullen himself is of opinion that it may have been produced as early as 1598. Well, no doubt, this will be no trial to the orthodox. They possess powers of digestion equal to the assimilation of the strongest food. *O dura messorum ilia!* But there are some of weaker faith who find it absolutely impossible to believe that the young provincial who left Stratford in or about 1587, and who, after undergoing various vicissitudes, became a player in London, actually produced that masterpiece, the world's wonder play

of *Hamlet*, even "in its unrevised form," in 1592, or 1593, or even in 1598. Henslowe, by the way, records in his *Diary* on June 9th, 1594, that Hamlet was, as Payne Collier puts it, "performed by his company, while acting at Newington Butts, apparently in conjunction with the association to which Shakespeare belonged."[1] This is generally assumed to have been "the old Hamblet," but, in the light of what the above critics write, why may we not think that it was "Shakespeare's"? But if so, it was, I trow, not "Shakspere's"!

[1] See *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. I, edited by Payne Collier, Introduction to "The Historie of Hamblet." Professor Boas writes as follows on this matter (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1913): "On their tour of 1593 Lord Strange's men were accompanied by Edward Alleyn of the Lord Admiral's Company. After their return to London the two Companies performed together from June 3rd to 13th, 1594, at Newington Butts. When we find from Henslowe's Diary that one of the seven pieces which they performed together was *Hamlet*, acted, not as a new play, on June 9th, there is a strong presumption that it had been already staged at Oxford and elsewhere in the previous year. And till proof is forthcoming of a visit of Shakespeare's Company to Oxford between 1593 and 1601, it is a reasonable hypothesis that this *Hamlet*, which is mentioned again by Lodge in 1596, was the First Quarto version, and not (as is the accepted view) the pre-Shakespearian play." According to this quite "orthodox" hypothesis, therefore, player Shakspere had written *Hamlet*, in its first form at any rate, previously to 1593! "Shakespeare" may have done this, certainly, but if so, I venture to say, "the less *Shakspere* he"!

CHAPTER IV

THE REAL "SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM"

I SHALL always feel indebted to certain assistant Masters at Eton, in the long ago, who gave a prize for a paper on *Macbeth* and *As You Like It*. I did not get the prize, but I read and studied the plays, and learned to appreciate their delight. That reading, naturally, led to more; and then, as a Cambridge undergraduate, I turned, with eager interest, to read the life of the great poet as set forth by one of his numerous "biographers." I shall never forget the feeling of blank amazement and bitter disappointment with which I read it. Was *this* the man who had called into existence those marvellous works of fancy and imagination, those masterpieces of poesy, and wisdom, and philosophy? It is true that little was known about him; but how much better would it have been if that little had never been revealed! How much better if it had been left to us only to

look
Not on his picture but his book!

For, try to disguise the fact as you may, the plain truth is that in all that is known about Shakspere of Stratford, all that the most diligent search has been able to discover—and no man's life has been the subject of such constant and indefatigable investigation—there is (apart from "the works themselves") absolutely nothing to inspire, nothing to warm our hearts towards him. Nay more, there is not

one single generous act, not one single even creditable act, recorded to his credit. Had he been, like Homer, only "*nomen et umbra*," our imagination would have been free to supply the rest. As it is, though we know so little, we know, alas, so much too much.

Why is it that so many educated and thinking men and women have been led to doubt of the "Shakspearean" authorship? Is it that they are all "mentally deficient," all fools and fanatics? Only the blindest and most intolerant Shakespeariolater would so affirm. That there are cranks and fanatics among the Baconians I should be the last to deny. But among the sceptics—those who cannot escape the belief that there is something in the background that we do not know—that there really is a "Shakespeare Problem"—there are men and women, in large and increasing number, of undoubted sanity, and of excellent understanding. Why, then, have these doubts arisen? It is because, like Emerson, they cannot "marry" the facts of Shakspere's life "to his verse."[1]

But *is* there a "Shakespeare Problem"? Some there are, of course, who deny that there is any problem at all. It is clear as daylight, they say, that William Shakspere of Stratford wrote the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare; and there an end. There is no difficulty at all. All who feel any doubt upon the subject are ignorant fools or purblind fanatics. "*Et voilà tout!*"—as Mr. Robertson would say.

Thus Professor Saintsbury, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol. V, p. 167), writes of "the difficulty which has been raised as to a person of no, or little, education having written the plays." "The difficulty," he

[1] Mr. Edward H. Sothern, in *Munsey's Magazine* of January, 1912, complains that Emerson has been misquoted in this connection, and even claimed as a Baconian on the strength of a garbled quotation. I was not aware that such claim had ever been made. It is, of course, a ridiculous one, as will be seen by reference to the passage in question, which later on I will set forth *in extenso*. See p. 275 *et seq.*

says, "comes from a surprising mixture of ignorance and innocence. A lawyer of moderate intelligence, and no extraordinary education, will get up, on his brief, at a few days' notice, *more knowledge of an extremely technical kind than Shakespeare shows on any one point*, and will repeat the process in regard to almost any subject. A journalist of no greater intelligence and education will, at a few hours' or minutes' notice, deceive the very elect in the same way."

This argument may certainly have some force as against those who base their doubts concerning the authorship of the Plays and Poems upon the "knowledge of a technical kind" displayed by Shakespeare. They may be asked to accept the Professor's hypothesis that the great poet and dramatist "got up" his "technical knowledge" as "a lawyer of moderate intelligence" gets up his brief, "at a few days' notice," or as a journalist "of no greater intelligence," but, evidently, of greater mental rapidity, gets it up "at a few hours' or minutes' notice," so as to "deceive the very elect." Let that pass as the orthodox and professorial solution of any difficulty connected with all knowledge of a technical kind to be found in the works of Shakespeare. But that does not happen to be the point, in my view of the case at any rate.

It is not that knowledge which gives rise to the difficulty. It is the knowledge of life in all its aspects, knowledge of men, knowledge of human nature, knowledge of society, knowledge of the philosophy of life, and, above all, it is the manner in which he has embodied that knowledge in immortal poetry, which has raised doubts and difficulties in the minds of the sceptics.

The lawyer or the journalist can, indeed, "get up" a large amount of technical knowledge at short notice (provided, of course, he has the materials duly set before him in his brief, or otherwise), but he cannot "get up" all that is denoted by the term "culture"[1] if he does not

[1] See p. 112, n. 2.

happen to be possessed of it. Ask a vulgarian half-educated barrister to make himself a refined and highly cultured man at a few days' notice, or at any notice for the matter of that. You might as well ask him to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

But how far are such considerations applicable to the case of William Shakspere of Stratford? In order to answer that question, and to set forth what I conceive to be the real "Shakespeare Problem," I must (there is no help for it) restate as briefly as may be the facts of his life so far as they are known to us.

But why go to records? Why go to biographers? Shakespeare's "real life—his character and his intellect, which are both included in his genius—is to be found in his writings." So says Mr. G. W. Foote, in *The English Review* of March, 1913, and there are many who have said the same. Ought we not then to seek for Shakspere's life in "the works themselves"? Well, yes, my friend, if, with a Podsnappian wave of the arm, you are going to put aside all question of the authorship as unworthy of even a moment's consideration. In that case you may delight yourself by compiling a history of "The Life and Character of Shakespeare" from the First Folio, *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, the *Sonnets*, and *The Phœnix and the Turtle*. And one of the fascinations of this method is that by it you can evolve the portrait of a "Shakespeare" drawn and painted in accordance with any form that your imagination may choose to postulate or picture. The result may be a man such as Matthew Arnold conceived,

> Who to the stars uncrowns his majesty,
> Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
> Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling place,

or it may present you with such a creature as Mr. Frank Harris has brought to light, by a "scientific" analysis, namely a "neuropath," "inordinately vain and self-centred,"

who suffered from "erotic mania." Thus by confining your attention to "the works themselves" you will have a delightfully large range of choice for the working of your imagination. But if you are willing to condescend for one moment to examine the question of authorship (I only say "*if*"), you will probably admit that it is not altogether profitable to commence by assuming the very point at issue. Reasoning in a circle is a fascinating process, but it is not supposed to be very fertile of substantial results.

This being so, I must, I fear, trouble the reader to consider once more the facts of Shakspere's life, so far as those facts can be gathered from the scanty evidence that is left to us.

William Shakspere (I spell the name as he himself appears to have spelt it [1]) was baptized at Stratford-on-Avon on April 26th, 1564. The exact date of his birth is not known. It *may* have been April 22nd, or April 23rd. The place at which he was born is, also, a matter of conjecture. "We are not quite certain of the identity of" his "father," writes Professor Saintsbury,[2] but he may reasonably be assumed to have been one John Shakspere, born at Snitterfield, who in or about the year 1557 had married Mary Arden, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer of Wilmecote, near Stratford. Aubrey, who was born ten years after Shakspere's death, tells us that John Shakspere was a butcher. According to Sir Sidney Lee, he set up at Stratford "as a trader in all manner of agricultural produce; corn, wool, malt, meat, skins, and leather were among the commodities in which he dealt. Documents of a somewhat later date often describe him as a glover." [3] Perhaps we might appropriately describe him as a general

[1] I am not sure, however, that "Shaksper" is not the proper form. See *infra*, chap. IX.

[2] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. V, p. 165.

[3] *Illustrated Life*, p. 3.

dealer. Neither he nor his wife could read or write, but in this they were by no means exceptional, for, as Malone tells us, "about the time of our poet's birth the majority of the Corporation of Stratford appear to have been entitled to the eulogy bestowed by Jack Cade upon those who 'do not use to write their names, but have a mark of their own, like honest plain-dealing men'; for out of nineteen persons who signed a paper relative to one of their body who had been elected bailiff, ten of whom were aldermen, and the rest burgesses, seven only could write their names; and among the twelve marksmen is found John Shakespeare." Facsimiles of these nineteen signatures have often been published. They may be seen in Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 38. It may be noticed that in the second column the name "John" occurs five times, one being the baptismal name of John Shakspere. All these "Johns" are marksmen, and in each case the name "John" seems to have been written by the same hand, no doubt that of the "learned clerk" who wrote the document.

William Shakspere, therefore, was born of illiterate parents, and in illiterate surroundings; but it does not follow that he was himself without education. There was a Free Grammar School at Stratford, and tradition says that the boy was sent there. It is a reasonable hypothesis, and I am well content to follow tradition in this matter. Unfortunately there are no records of the school telling us when Shakspere went there, or when he left, or what he learnt there. Whether he was idle or industrious, whether or not he gave proof of great ability and intelligence, we do not know. Tradition is absolutely silent on these points. It is generally assumed that he entered the school at the early age of seven, and, of course, he *may* have done so. But, whatever may have been the age at which he commenced his schooling, tradition, which has been generally followed by the biographers—including

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee—tells us that he was taken away from school at the age of thirteen, in order to assist his father who had become involved in financial difficulties. Mr. Robertson, as we have already seen, seems inclined to follow the quite baseless but highly convenient theory, put forward by the Rev. T. Carter, "that John Shakspere never was in financial difficulties, the idea of his being in embarrassed circumstances having, somehow or other, arisen from the fact that he was a Puritan "recusant." On this hypothesis it is not necessary to suppose that John Shakspere removed his son William from school at the age of thirteen; whence it follows that William might have continued to prosecute his studies at the Grammar School for several more years and so have greatly improved his classical education. I have shown how Sir Sidney Lee has exposed the absurdity of this theory, and why Mr. Robertson should be enamoured of it I cannot imagine. For agreeing as he does with Farmer that Shakspere was ignorant of the meaning of the simplest Latin words, he cannot, surely, desire to prolong the schooling of his unlearned hero, in order that he may acquire *large* Latin, and, possibly, *some* Greek, only in order to forget both!

So far as I know, however, Mr. Robertson and his reverend mentor have a monopoly of the "Puritan recusant" theory. I have already cited Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Sir Sidney Lee. Let us now see what Professor Dowden says on the subject: "What cannot be doubted is that his [Shakspere's] father had passed from wealth to comparative poverty. In 1578 he effected a large mortgage on the estate of Asbies; when he tendered payment in the following year it was refused until other sums due had been repaid; the money designed for the redemption of Asbies had been obtained by the sale of his wife's reversionary interest in the Snitterfield property. His taxes were lightened, nor was he always able to pay

those which were still claimed . . . he fell into debt and was tormented with legal proceedings."[1]

We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that tradition is right in telling us that William Shakspere was removed from school at the age of thirteen, i.e. in the year 1577. We may allow him, then, five or six years of schooling at the Free Grammar School. And what would he have learnt there? The answer is, *Latin*. That was the subject, and one may almost say the only subject, that was really taught at the old Elizabethan grammar schools. Such knowledge of Latin, therefore, as a boy might have acquired at this school between the ages of seven, or eight, and thirteen, I think may fairly be claimed for William Shakspere. It is all guess-work, certainly, and there is no evidence to support it; but it seems a reasonable hypothesis.

I will not here enter upon the question of the amount of Latin which a boy might reasonably be supposed to have learnt at the Stratford Grammar School in five or six years, or what authors he may be supposed to have read, but I would remind those who are tempted to follow the highly exaggerated estimates (as I conceive them to be) of Mr. Spencer Baynes and Professor Collins, that according to Mr. Baynes's own authorities, Hoole and Brinsley, such authors as Horace, Juvenal, Persius, and Seneca were read in the highest class only of Elizabethan grammar schools, the boys of which were about fifteen years of age, or in their eighth school year, so that if Shakspere left school at thirteen, in all probability he would not have read these authors.[2] Nor, I venture to think, would he have become familiar with Plautus or Terence. Moreover, we are not justified in assuming that the curriculum at the Stratford Free School was of the same high class as

[1] *Introduction to Shakespeare*, p. 7. John Shakspere left no will—presumably because he had nothing to leave. *Vide supra*, p. 105.

[2] See Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 10, n. 4.

that of the best schools of the time, such, for instance, as Wolsey's celebrated foundation at Ipswich. The modern "orthodox" who adhere strictly to Jonson's "*small Latin*" must, surely, agree with me here.[1]

But what was Shakspere's occupation after having been prematurely removed from school? Aubrey, writing some time before 1680, says: "His father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade, but when he killed a calf he would do it in high style, and make a speech." This testimony, which is corroborated by one Dowdall, who visited Stratford in 1693, so far as the story that Shakspere was bound apprentice to a butcher is concerned, is accepted as probable by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, Messrs. Garnett and Gosse, and by most of the "biographers." The fact, if fact it be, that the youthful Shakspere when he killed a calf would make a speech, and "do it in high style," is certainly suggestive of the actor. This probably was the first indication given by "Will" of his histrionic talent.

The life of William Shakspere now becomes an entire blank for some five or six years. It is, indeed, a blank only very partially filled in by hypothesis, from his baptism till his thirteenth year, when he is supposed to have been removed from the Free School. But no

[1] Halliwell-Phillipps writes (Vol. I, p. 52): "The best authorities unite in telling us that the poet imbibed a certain amount of Latin at school, but that his acquaintance with that language was, throughout his life, of a very limited character. It is not probable that scholastic learning was ever congenial to his tastes, and it should be recollected that books in most parts of the country were then of very rare occurrence. Lilly's Grammar and a few classical works, chained to the desks of the Free School, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found in Stratford-on-Avon. Exclusive of Bibles, Church services, Psalters, and education manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town." Whether these statements as to the chained books at the school and the number of books at Stratford are accurate I leave to the antiquarians to determine. The "unlearned Shakespeare" school, of course, accepts them. The "learned Shakespeare" school disputes them!

even hypothesis has nothing to tell us. Let me once more quote Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps as to "Will's" life from his "fourteenth" (he might have said "thirteenth") to his eighteenth year: "Although the information at present accessible does not enable us to determine the exact nature of Shakespeare's occupations from his fourteenth to his eighteenth year, that is to say, from 1577 to 1582, there can be no hesitation in concluding that, during that animated and receptive period of life, he was mercifully released from what, to a spirit like his, must have been the deleterious monotony of a school education. Whether he passed those years as a butcher or a wool-dealer does not greatly matter." This passage is, really, so delightful that no account of "Will's" life could be complete without it. I presume it is only in the case of a "genius" that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps would have dispensed with "the deleterious monotony of a school education," but it is painful to think how many geniuses at the present day are forced to undergo that malignant influence, whereas had they been put to calf-killing or wool-stapling, they might in after life have ripened into great poets and dramatists! However, happily for literature and the human race, Will Shakspere was preserved from the paralysing effect of school education, or, indeed, of any education at all, for these five or six years, which thus became adequately equipped for the composition of *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*.

We now come to the fateful year 1582, when William Shakspere had attained the age of eighteen years. At that not very mature age—he was, to be accurate, a little more than eighteen and a half—"Will," as we know, joined himself in the bonds of matrimony with a lady who was his senior by eight years. Who was that lady? "Anne Hathaway, of course," will, I presume, be the reader's reply. For are not delighted pilgrims to the shrine taken to see "Anne Hathaway's cottage," just as

they are taken to see the very room in which "Shakespeare" was born? Yet in each case there is no certainty whatsoever. "We are not quite certain of the identity of Shakespeare's father; we are by no means certain of the identity of his wife." So writes Professor Saintsbury.[1] We are usually told that the lady was "Agnes," daughter of Richard Hathaway, a "husbandman" of Shottery, a hamlet in the parish of Old Stratford, and we are further told that in the sixteenth century, when nomenclature was in such a fluid, indeed such a nebulous state, Agnes and Anne were alternative spellings of the same Christian name. Mr. Joseph Hunter, however, was of opinion that "Will's" bride was the daughter not of Richard but of one John Hathaway.[2] And if we turn from the biographers to see what the records tell us we shall find that here again we are met by difficulty and uncertainty.

In the first place, we have to note that "no record of the solemnisation of Shakespeare's marriage survives. Although the parish of Stratford included Shottery, and thus both bride and bridegroom were parishioners, the Stratford parish register is silent on the subject."[3]

Further, no licence for the marriage of William Shakspere and Anne Hathaway has been discovered, but in the Registry of the diocese of Worcester there is to be found a "Bond against Impediments," executed on November 28th, 1582, by two bondsmen named Sandells and Richardson, described therein as "agricolae," and, apparently, belonging to the class of agricultural

[1] *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (1910), Vol. V, p. 165.

[2] *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 51. "Agnes," writes Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed.), "was legally a distinct name from Anne, but there can be no doubt that ordinary custom treated them as identical." "Agnes" is a very "distinct name from Anne" not only "legally" but in all other respects, and I am not so sure about the absence of all doubt as to the curious "ordinary custom" referred to.

[3] Lee's *Life*, p. 18.

labourers, both of Stratford, who bound themselves in the sum of £40 to "save harmless the right reverend Father in God, Lord John Bishop of Worcester" for licensing "William Shagspere" and "Anne Hathwey of Stratford" "to be married together with once asking of the bannes of matrimony between them."[1]

Of these bondsmen, who thus undertook that there were no impediments to the marriage, such as pre-contracts for example, Mr. Hunter writes (*New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 50): "Two more unseemly persons to attend at a poet's bridal can hardly be conceived . . . two husbandmen who were unable to write their names and whose marks are so singularly rude that they betray a more than common degree of rusticity." Whether these two worthies were the friends of the bride, or of the bridegroom, or of both, does not appear, but by the execution of this bond they enabled 'the poet" to be married in haste, with only once asking of the banns, and that was, perhaps, important, since he was making, as Mr. Lang says, "a marriage tainted with what Meg Dods calls 'ante-nup.'"[2]

But here we are confronted with another very remarkable record. In the Episcopal Register of Worcester there is a minute to the effect that on November 27th, one day, the very day before the execution of the marriage bond, a licence was issued for the marriage of William Whaxpere [*sic*] and Anna Whateley of Temple Grafton. What is the meaning of this? Is "William Shaxpere" here in this minute identical with "William Shagspere" of the bond? Is "Anna Whateley of Temple Grafton" identical with "Anne Hathwey of Stratford"?

Professor Saintsbury calls this "a coincidence extraordinary in any case, most extraordinary if we note the extreme closeness of the names *Hathwey* and *Whateley*,

[1] See Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines*, Vol. II, p. 55.
[2] *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown*, p. 8.

and remember that *Anne* Hathaway is not otherwise traceable, though *Agnes* Hathaway (the two names are in practice confused) is." Are we to conclude from this that in the learned Professor's opinion "Anna Whateley" is just a little error on the part of the scribe, who ought to have written "Anna" (or "Anne" or "Agnes") "Hathwey," and that similarly "Temple Grafton," which is not one of the hamlets of Stratford, is another trifling error on the part of the same scribe or clerk? Or are we to accept the hypothesis of those highly speculative critics who have suggested that the gallant gay Lothario "Will" had intended to marry Miss Anna Whateley of Temple Grafton, but that Anne (or Agnes) Hathwey's indignant relatives (her father having died in the summer of this same year 1582), on discovery of the plot, had sent two stalwart hinds to compel him to "make an honest woman" of Anne? Or shall we follow Professor Saintsbury's advice, who prudently writes with regard to the difficulties attending the question of Shakspere's marriage, "the only rational course of conduct is to decline to solve a problem for which we have no sufficient data, and which, very likely, is no problem at all"?

For myself, I am quite content to adopt the agnostic attitude recommended by the Professor, though it is difficult not to indulge in a little speculation.

But that Shakspere's marriage was, in fact, affected by what Mr. Lang—or rather "Meg Dods"—calls "ante-nup," seems an entirely reasonable assumption, and is now, I think, generally accepted by the "biographers." I should be the last to throw a stone at him on that account. I merely note, as a fact of this life, where known facts are so few and far between, that not quite six months after the marriage, viz. on May 26th, 1583, Shakspere's daughter Susanna was baptized.

Less than two years afterwards, viz. in 1585, the twins Hamnet and Judith were born to him; and both

were baptized on February 2nd of that year. Hamnet died when he was aged some eleven years, and was buried at Stratford on August 11th, 1596. Of Judith we shall have something to say later on.

"Anne Hathaway's greater burden of years," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "and the likelihood that the poet was forced into marrying her by her friends were not circumstances of happy augury. . . . To both these unpromising features was added, in the poet's case, the absence of a means of livelihood, and his course of life in the years that immediately followed implies that he bore his domestic ties with impatience. . . . All the evidence points to the conclusion, which the fact that he had no more children confirms, that in the later months of the year 1585 he left Stratford, and that, although he was never wholly estranged from his family, he saw little of wife or children for eleven years." Farther on, however, the same biographer tells us: "To London Shakespeare naturally drifted, doubtless trudging thither on foot during 1586, by way of Oxford and High Wycombe."[1]

Here I may profitably quote Professor Saintsbury once more: "No biography of Shakespeare *which deserves any confidence* [*sic*] has ever been constructed without a large infusion of the tell-tale words 'apparently,' 'probably,' 'there can be little doubt,' and no small infusion of the still more tell-tale 'perhaps,' 'it would be natural,' 'according to what was usual at the time,' and so forth." It will be observed that the Professor has omitted to mention the adverb "doubtless," perhaps out of delicacy![2]

Whether, then, it was his wife's age, or her temper, or

[1] *Life*, pp. 23 and 28.

[2] At p. 181 of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (note 1) I have collected some four-and-twenty instances of Sir Sidney Lee's use of this adverb, and this is by no means an exhaustive list. It is remarkable that Professor Saintsbury should say that only those biographies of Shakespeare which make use of these convenient adverbs are deserving of confidence!

her too opulent fecundity, or whether it was the *res angusta domi*, or all these together, which drove Shakspere from his native town it is impossible to say. Neither can the date of this Hegira be ascertained with any certainty. As we have seen, Sir Sidney Lee first puts it "in the later months of the year 1585," and then "during 1586." Mr. Fleay, however, tells us that the London theatres were shut during 1586, owing to an outbreak of plague, and he puts the date of Shakspere's exodus with more probability "in or about 1587." [1]

Another reason has been commonly assigned for "Will's" flight from Stratford, to wit the animosity of Sir Thomas Lucy who, "in the words of Nicholas Rowe (1709), redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire and shelter himself in London." Now I am not going to discuss all over again this old story of Shakspere's stealing deer from Sir Thomas Lucy. In *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 23 *et seq.*) I have given reasons why I think the story cannot be true. Briefly stated, they are these. Deer were animals *ferae naturae*, and as such were not the subject of larceny at the common law. It was criminal to take them in a royal forest, but of that there is no question here. Further, there were statutes which made it an offence to kill deer in a "Park impaled" (see 5 Eliz. c. 21). But then Sir Thomas Lucy had no "Park impaled" at Charlecote, and the suggestion that the deer-stealing may have taken place at Fulbroke is, as Sir Sidney Lee shows (p. 26), a "pure invention."

Here I desire to allude to a charge brought against me by Mr. Robertson that I am possessed by a "resolve to disparage the Stratford actor." Such a charge is grossly unfair and absolutely untrue. I have endeavoured to set forth such meagre facts as are known of his life

[1] Fleay's *Life of Shakespeare* (1886), pp. 91 and 94.

with strict impartiality,—to "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." If I had been possessed with a malicious and insensate desire to "disparage" (or to "defame," as Sir Edward Sullivan would say) William Shakspere of Stratford I should have unhesitatingly adopted the deer-stealing story. I should have dilated upon the (assumed) fact that he was, as his first biographer tells us, a poacher and a thief, I should have revelled in the tale told by Archdeacon Davies (*c.* 1688) that "Will" was "much given to all unluckinesse in stealing venison and rabbits," i.e. that he was a "cony-catcher" as well as a deer-stealer, and that Lucy had him—the (supposed) immortal poet that was to be—"oft whipt and sometimes imprisoned," and that this wretched outcast, in a spirit of mean "revenge," wrote the contemptible doggerels about "lousy Lucy." But I should not have stopped here. I should have dilated further on the ancient stories of Shakspere's drunken habits; of his having passed a night drunk under the famous crab-tree, long shown to visitors as "Shakespeare's tree"; and of his death being caused by a drinking bout. All these tales, for which I might have quoted good "orthodox" authority, would have suited me admirably if I had been so malignant and so idiotic as to wish to blacken the character of the Stratford player As a fact, however, I have rejected them all as mythology.[1] I am "aghast at my own moderation"!

[1] The particular instance which Mr. Robertson cites (p. 574) as evidence of my alleged "resolve to disparage the Stratford actor," viz. my interpretation of a statement of Heywood's with regard to the publication by Jaggard of two poems of his in an edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, under Shakespeare's name, shows to what absurd lengths this controversialist is prepared to push his "resolve to disparage" *me*! I absolutely adhere to my statement that "Shakspere made no protest," which fact is implied in the passage quoted from Heywood (see *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp 202 and 348), and it is not the least "disparagement" of Shakspere to say that he made no protest in the case mentioned. See *infra*, p. 460, where I deal fully with this matter.

The fact that stands out very clearly is that William Shakspere, somewhere about the year 1587, when he was three-and-twenty years of age, left his wife and children, —I do not say "deserted," though, perhaps, that would not be too strong a word,—and found his way to London. What happened to him there? Well, we are all familiar with the story that, in Sir Sidney Lee's words, "his original connection with the playhouse was as holder of the horses of visitors outside the doors," and, as Sir Sidney also says, "there is no inherent improbability in the tale," which seems to have been related by D'Avenant to Betterton. From this precarious employment outside the theatre he appears to have been promoted to a place within it, for, according to Rowe, "he was received into the company then in being at first in a very mean rank," to wit, according to William Castle, an old parish clerk at Stratford, as "servitor," which is interpreted by Malone as "prompter's attendant whose employment it is to give the performers notice to be ready to enter as often as the business of the play requires their appearance on the stage,"—a charming periphrasis for "call-boy."

These stories of Shakspere's humble occupations when he came to London, homeless and penniless, are not, be it observed, the invention of malignant "heretics," but repose upon good "orthodox" foundations. Mr. Robertson tells us that the preposterous idea that Shakespeare was a learned man, and that he had some special knowledge of law, originated in the imagination of injudicious Shakspeariolaters, who have thus supplied the heretics with arguments (quite baseless, of course) against the received theory of authorship. I do not know whether he also holds that these stories of Shakspere's mean occupations in London likewise originated with indiscreet admirers, who wished to magnify the greatness of his subsequent rise by contrasting it with such lowly beginnings; but, however that may be, it would seem that

"Will" performed the duties of "call-boy" quite to the satisfaction of his employers, and in due time, though we are ignorant of the precise date, was allowed to tread the boards as one of the actors.

Here it becomes material to consider the position of an actor in the seventeenth century Some writers really seem to imagine that the status of a "player" in the "spacious days" was very much that which is held to-day by such a man as Sir J. Forbes-Robertson, let us say.

Such a view is, of course, absurd. I myself am old enough to remember the day when "a gentleman," and still more "a lady," was supposed to lose caste by "going on the stage" Happily that stupid idea is a thing of the past; so much so, indeed, that not only is our peerage being constantly recruited from the stage, but our peers themselves are frequently possessed with a consuming ambition to appear before the footlights. Different indeed was the case of the actor in Elizabethan times. In those days the "Common Players" were by statue classed with "Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars," and liable to be "openly whipped," amongst other things, unless they had a licence to pursue their calling from "any Baron" of the Realm, "or any other honourable Personage of greater degree."[1]

"These players," says Asinius Lupus, in Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601), "are an idle generation, and do much harm in the State, corrupt young gentry very much, I know it." To which, and further observations to the same effect, Tucca replies: "Th'art in the right. . . . They are grown licentious—the rogues. Libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are i' the statute, the rascals; they are blazoned there; there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees; they need no other heralds, I wiss." The last words are a hit at those players who, like Shakspere,

[1] See 14 Eliz. c. 5 (1572) and 39 Eliz. c. 4 (1597), quoted in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp. 175-6.

were desirous of obtaining a grant of a coat-of-arms, and "the statute" is the statute of Elizabeth above referred to. Robert Greene, who knew them only too well, characterised the players as "apes" and "rude grooms." "It must be borne in mind," says Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, "that actors occupied an inferior position in society, and that even the vocation of a dramatic author was considered scarcely respectable." "At this day," writes Dr. Ingleby, "we can scarcely realize the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood."[1]

No doubt a man like Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, who rose to the very top of the tree, was held in good estimation. But Alleyn was the exception that proves the rule, and, taken as a class, the players were certainly looked upon as "lewd fellows of the baser sort." When we read the description of the public theatres in those days, and remember that women's parts had to be played by boys, we shall be helped to realise the low position of an actor in Elizabethan times. When, therefore, Mr. Robertson and others write as though the very fact of leading an actor's life in those times would tend to endow a man with exceptional polish and culture, it is pretty clear that they do greatly err.

Such, then, was the position of William Shakspere when he became a player, and a member of the Lord Chamberlain's company. What histrionic ability he displayed we do not know. "Though I have inquired," says Rowe, "I could never meet with any further account of him this way than that the top of his performance was the

[1] "In keeping with his quality of pariah," writes Mr. W. T. Lawrence, "the Elizabethan player entertained no very lofty opinion of his calling, made no particular effort to keep the temple of the Muses undesecrated" (*The Elizabethan Playhouse*, Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon (1912), p. 3). He further says: "Subject to certain reservations, the stage still remained, as it had been constituted by Act of Parliament, a banned vocation" (p. 1).

Ghost in *Hamlet*." If this be true, Shakspere does not appear to have been exactly a Roscius.

Let us now make a brief retrospect. At the age of twenty-three, or thereabouts, William Shakspere, leaving wife and children to shift for themselves as best they may, comes to London, a homeless and penniless adventurer. How are we to conceive of him at that time? We have seen that both his parents were illiterate. We have seen that this was nothing at all unusual in a provincial town and in the sixteenth century, for, as Dr. Johnson has told us, "to be able to read and write, outside of professed scholars, or men and women of high rank, was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity" Accordingly we have seen that of nineteen aldermen and burgesses of Stratford, about the time of Shakspere's birth, six only could write their names. We have seen that the two friends who became bondsmen for "Will," in order that he might be married with only one asking of banns, were not only unable to write their names, but that their "marks are so singularly rude that they betray a more than common degree of rusticity." We have seen, too, that books were few and far between at Stratford-on-Avon at the period in question. Shakspere, indeed, as we may reasonably assume, had had a few years' schooling at the Free Grammar School, but he had been removed prematurely, and had been put to calf-killing, or glove-selling, or some other not very intellectual employment. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's description of the "young man from Stratford" at this time has been quoted again and again, but it seems so reasonable that I will place it before the reader once more: "Removed prematurely from school, residing with illiterate relatives in a bookless neighbourhood, thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that when he first left Stratford he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the

circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunity for acquiring a refined style of composition."

This appears to me a very sensible estimate of what "Will's" condition must have been when he came to London. Exception has been taken to the phrase "a bookless neighbourhood," and, certainly, it is one of those general propositions which it is very dangerous to advance, inasmuch as, in the words of Mrs. Stopes, they are "liable to be proved untrue by a very limited opposite," as, for example, that a certain curate of Bishopton, who died in 1607, was possessed of a large number of books of sorts, and that certain great men had fine libraries. But Mr. Phillipps's meaning is plain enough, and the expression is true enough in the sense in which he intended it to be understood.[1] It is quite natural that the youthful Shakspere, in these circumstances, and under these conditions, should seek such employments as those of horse-holding, and "call-boy," and there is at any rate respectable tradition to the effect that he did so. But certain critics of the "orthodox" school, being, naturally, very anxious to provide Shakspere with the means of improving his mind, have invented the story that, on his arrival in the metropolis, "Will" at once repaired to the office of Richard Field, a native of Stratford, and that Field found him work in Vautrollier's printing-office, an hypothesis for which there is not a tittle of evidence, and which Sir Sidney Lee, very justly, characterises as fanciful.

One thing more we ought, I think, to bear in mind. Even at this day, when intercommunication between the various parts of England has become so easy, the peculiar dialects of various counties remain very distinctly marked. It is easy, for instance, to recognise a man of Devon (I am not, of course, speaking of those of the higher, and more highly educated, class) by his peculiar accent and

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 55 note.

pronunciation. The same may be said of the man of Northumberland, of Lancashire, of Hampshire, of Sussex (I allude especially to the yeomen and agricultural labourers), and of many other counties. In Shakspere's day these distinctive dialects, or "brogues," must have been even more strongly marked, and we may say with confidence that "Will," when he first came to London, must have spoken the Warwickshire *patois*. Some "anti-Willians," as Mr. Lang has styled them, have referred to him as "a yokel" at this period. I have never so called him, but I think we are quite justified in speaking of him, in these early days, as a "Stratford rustic," for in so doing we have the high authority of Messrs. Garnett and Gosse, who write of "that knowledge of good society" and "that easy and confident attitude towards mankind which appears in Shakespeare's plays *from the first*, and which (we must concede this much to the Baconians) are so unlike what might have been expected from *a Stratford rustic*, or a London actor."[1]

One fact stands out clearly, and that is that Shakspere's life for many years after he came to London is an absolute blank. He arrives in London, according to the most probable theory, in 1587, and except for the traditions as to horse-holding, and the employment as call-boy, nothing is heard of him till 1593, when, according to the received faith, he suddenly burst into light by publishing the poem of *Venus and Adonis*.[2]

And now to the darkness of night there succeeds a

[1] *History of English Literature* (1903), Vol. II, p. 199. My italics. These distinguished critics actually propound a theory, for which there is not a shred of evidence, that Shakspeare joined Leicester's force which sailed from Harwich in December 1585, to take part in the war against Spain in the Low Countries. They appear to think that by serving as an Elizabethan "Tommy Atkins" he would have been enabled to acquire all the culture necessary for one who was to write the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare! See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 110.

[2] I have not forgotten the allusion to *Shake-scene* in 1592, but I leave that to be dealt with later on.

blaze of limelight. It has taken but five short years to turn "Shakspere" into "Shakespeare"; to transform this "Stratford rustic" into the immortal, the world's great poet, who is not of an age but for all time—"if that hypothesis of theirs be sound"! And for the next few years there streams from this man a succession of masterpieces, all of which belong to the supreme rank of literature, and all, apparently, thrown off with ease, "as an eagle may moult a feather or a fool may break a jest," to borrow an expression from Mr. Swinburne.

First, then, let us consider that remarkable poem *Venus and Adonis*, which was published in the year 1593, and which the author calls "the first heir of my invention."

On its title-page appear these lines, from Ovid's *Amores*:

> Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
> Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.

So the poet who, according to Dr. Farmer (the "sweet reasonableness" of whose criticism is acclaimed by Mr. Robertson), did not even know the meaning of the simple Latin word *praeclarissimus* when he wrote *Henry V*, somewhere about the year 1599, leads off with a dashing couplet taken from a Latin poet. But is not this something like a false pretence of scholarship? For, whatever else Shakespeare may have been, we know (for has not Mr. Robertson said so?) that a "scholar" he cannot have been. These lines, then, must, I presume, have been supplied to him by some more learned friend. And what is the meaning of them? "Let the common herd admire common things, so long as to *me* Apollo's self hands goblets brimming with the waters of Castaly"; or, as Jonson translates:

> Kneel hinds to trash—me let bright Phœbus swell
> With cups full flowing from the Muses' well.

A somewhat arrogant and self-assertive motto for a first attempt in poesy! Of a truth the young player, at his first literary venture, was not troubled with any superfluous modesty! Sir Philip Sidney, it is true, inscribed a similar haughty motto, taken from classical sources, upon the title-page of his *Apology for Poetry* (published two years afterwards), viz.:

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.

But in the case of a man of Sidney's rank and position this sort of thing seems natural enough. We should, I think, hardly have expected it from a young unknown provincial actor, *nullis majoribus ortus!*

Turning over the page, we find a dedication, signed "William Shakespeare," to "the Right Honorable Henrie Wriothesley Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield." Now the young Earl of Southampton, then in his twentieth year, was, as we all know, one of the most brilliant figures of the time—a man of vast possessions, in the front rank of society, and reckoned the handsomest man at the Court of Queen Elizabeth

To this great nobleman, then, player Shakspere, one of the statutory "rogues and vagabonds" were it not for the Lord Chamberlain's licence, without permission, as the words of the dedication itself appear to show, has the audacity to dedicate the "first heir of his invention." To the Earl of Southampton, says Mr. Grant White, Shakspere dedicates his *Venus and Adonis*, "although he had not asked permission to do so, as the dedication shows, and in those days and long after, without some knowledge of his man, and some opportunity of judging how he would receive the compliment, a player would not have ventured to take such a liberty with the name of a nobleman" Dean Beeching, as orthodox an exponent of the Stratfordian faith as of theology, adverting to the curious theory that the earlier of the sonnets of Shakespeare were

addressed to Southampton, not as an adored friend, but merely as a patron, very sensibly remarks: "If it is remembered that Shakespeare's patron, Lord Southampton, was one of the greatest peers in England, at a time when all social degrees, even that between peer and gentleman, were very clearly marked; and that Shakespeare belonged to a profession which, by public opinion, was held to be degrading, it will hardly need saying that such addresses from a player, however fashionable, to a patron, however complaisant, were simply impossible." These considerations, obviously, apply, with almost equal force, to such an address as that contained in the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*, if it were indeed written by player Shakspere to the great Earl of Southampton, when we consider that which, according to Dr. Ingleby, "at this day we can scarcely realize," viz. "the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood."

But here I have to advert to the criticism which has been passed upon such observations as these by Mr. Lang and Mr Robertson. Mr. Lang suggests (p. 108) that there is no real force in the argument, because, whether the true author of the poem was the Stratford player or somebody else, the player was, at any rate, identified with the author by "all in the world of letters or theatre," so that "whatever happened, whatever the Earl knew, if it were discreditable to be dedicated to by an actor, Southampton was discredited." Mr. Robertson has taken up this argument from Mr. Lang and improved upon it in characteristic fashion "There is really not a grain of good ground for suggesting any difficulty in the matter [there never is any difficulty in anything for Mr Robertson], and the very reason assigned—the difference of status between poet and patron—destroys itself the moment it is understood If it be held unlikely that a literature-loving nobleman in Shakespeare's day should allow a mere actor to dedicate to him, as to a friendly

patron, two poems, how in the name of common sense are we to suppose that the nobleman would let all the world go on believing that the poems *were* so dedicated, if they really were not? The cavil is sheer absurdity."[1]

I greatly admire the ingenuity of this contention, which will, doubtless, appear most impressive to those who have not followed the argument. I had said, as others had said before me, that a young player, in Shakspere's position, *would not have dared* to dedicate a poem, his first essay in poetry, to the great Earl. Mr. Robertson quietly ignores that argument (as, indeed, Mr. Lang had done before him), and substitutes another of his own. If the Earl was "discredited" (Mr. Lang's word) by the dedication, why did he suffer it? Why, "in the name of common sense" (Mr. Robertson's characteristic question), "are we to suppose that the nobleman would let all the world go on believing that the poems were so dedicated?" Thus the argument is shifted from the consideration of what the player would have dared to do to the consideration of what the nobleman might have been expected to tolerate! Now I never suggested that Southampton would have been "discredited" by the dedication of the poem to him, even though it were assumed that "Shakespeare" who signed it was the Stratford player. What I suggested as incredible was that "Will," a young provincial actor, at that time quite unknown to fame (Mr. Robertson himself tells us that no truly Shakespearean play was published till after 1593), would have had the unparalleled audacity to dedicate his first poem to a great nobleman, more especially without his permission to do so; but I never suggested, nor do I see any force whatever in the suggestion, that if the real author were known to Southampton, if he were one of his friends, he would not have permitted him to make use of the dedication signed "Shakespeare," because people would, either certainly, or

[1] Work cited, p. 558.

in all probability, identify "Shakespeare" with Shakspere the Stratford player. I do not imagine the gay young Earl would have cared two straws what people thought in such a case. The one hypothesis appears to me quite reasonable; the other, again to use the words of Dean Beeching, with regard to the Sonnets, "simply impossible."

"The cavil is sheer absurdity," says Mr. Robertson. That, again, is altogether "pretty Fanny's way." There is no "cavil," and the *criticism* is quite sound. The "sheer absurdity" is one of those expressions so dear to controversialists of the Robertsonian type. "It is no use arguing with Johnson," said Goldsmith, "for if his pistol misses fire he knocks you down with the butt-end"! Many years before the publication of *The Baconian Heresy* I had pointed out how applicable this saying is to Mr. Robertson's controversial methods.

And now, having noticed the audacious Latin motto, and the still more audacious dedication of *Venus and Adonis* (I speak, of course, on the assumption that it is the player who, posing as a scholar, quotes the arrogant Latin lines, and dedicates the first heir of his invention to the Earl), let us proceed to examine the poem itself. Upon this I wrote, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 59): "Here is the young Warwickshire provincial writing, 'as his first essay in English composition, the most elegant verses the age produced, and which for polish and care surpass his very latest works.'"[1] I went on to write: "Polished, indeed, and scholarly, is this extraordinary poem, and, above all, it is impressed throughout with that which we should now call *Culture*. It is, in fact, imbued with the spirit of the highest culture of the age in which it was written." I fondly imagined that these propositions would be disputed by nobody who was competent to judge of poetry and literature. I did not, and I do not, assert that the poem affords proof of "scholarship" as

[1] Appleton Morgan, *The Shakespearian Myth*, p. 219.

we now understand the term, meaning thereby classical scholarship as apprehended by the Universities. But that it is a "scholarly" poem, I do, most confidently, assert, and that it is a most carefully "polished" poetical study few, I imagine, will deny. It may not, albeit "Shakespearean," be inspired by the highest poetic *afflatus*. As to that I am not concerned to argue; but that it fully merits the epithets I have bestowed upon it, and that the author must have been "imbued *with the spirit* of the highest culture of the age" in which he lived, seem to me self-evident propositions. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps speaks of it as an "epic" not only "highly finished," but "*completely devoid of patos*." The author, as Mr. Churton Collins tells us, "draws on Ovid, the material, profusely and superbly embroidered and expanded with original imagery and detail, being derived from the story as told in the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, with much which is borrowed from the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in the fourth book, and from the story of the Calydonian boar-hunt in the eighth book."

The *Metamorphoses*, as we know, had been translated by Golding, but Mr. Collins, as I have already shown, adduces cogent reasons to show that the poet made use of the original as well as the translation, if, indeed, he made use of the translation here at all. Dr. Appleton Morgan, again, has written, and I do not think the description is an exaggerated one: "The *Venus and Adonis* is the most carefully polished production that William Shakespeare's name was ever signed to, and, moreover, as polished, elegant, and sumptuous a piece of rhetoric as English letters have ever produced." "In this beautiful poem," writes Coleridge, "there is an endless activity of thought, in all the possible associations of thought with thought, thought with feeling, or with words; of feelings with feelings, and of words with words."[1] Some

[1] *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Dent & Co.), p. 40.

may consider that exaggerated praise, but, at any rate, it shows what a great poet, and a great critic, thought of Shakespeare's first publication. I wrote of the author that he was "a courtly, scholarly poet, saturated with Ovid," and I believe that description is amply borne out by a study of the poem. Then take the famous description of "the ideal horse." Here we are at once reminded of Virgil, but we find that the poet has really borrowed from the *Divine Weeks and Works* of Du Bartas, who imitated and expanded the Virgilian description. But, as I have shown, it seems probable that Shakespeare referred to Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's work, though, as that translation was not published till 1598, he must, apparently, have seen it in manuscript. Then, again, Sir Sidney Lee gives us to understand that the poet must have read the *Ode de la Chasse* in Estienne Jodelle's *Ouvres et Meslanges Poetiques*, where, he says, there are "curious resemblances" to the "minute description" of the hare-hunt in *Venus and Adonis*. And here it is interesting to take notice that Shakespeare was not only imbued with the spirit of "culture," but with that which was rare indeed in the sixteenth-century Englishman, viz. the spirit of "humanitarianism." He does not write of the hare-hunt in the spirit of the sportsman eager to "break up" the hare, and "blood the hounds." On the contrary, his sympathies are all with the poor hunted creature. The stanzas are so full of tender compassion, and give such an exquisite description of the miseries of the *bête chassée*, that I must set them forth *in extenso*;

> By this, poor Wat, far off upon a hill,
> Stands on his hinder legs, with listening ear,
> To hearken if his foes pursue him still.
> Anon their loud alarums he doth hear;
> And now his grief may be compared well
> To one sore sick that hears the passing-bell,

> Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch
> Turn and return, indenting with the way;
> Each envious briar his weary legs doth scratch;
> Each shadow makes him stop, each murmur stay.
> For misery is trodden on by many,
> And, being low, never relieved by any.

Here we are reminded of the "melancholy Jaques" of *As You Like It*, and his sympathy with the stricken deer,

> the poor sequestered stag,
> That from the hunter's aim had ta'en a hurt.

And, in this connection, we recall the glorious saying of Cordelia:

> Mine enemy's dog,
> Though he had bit me, should have stood that night
> Against my fire.

Nor can we forget the passage in *Cymbeline* (I, 6, 18; I, 5, 18 in the "Temple" edition), where the Queen tells Cornelius,

> I will try the forces
> Of these thy compounds on such creatures as
> We count not worth the hanging, but none human,
> To try the vigour of them, etc,

and is answered by that good physician:

> Your highness
> Shall from this practice but make hard your heart:
> Besides, the seeing these effects will be
> Both noisome and infectious.

I lay stress upon this humanitarian aspect of the great poet, because it shows how far Shakespeare was in advance of his times. It is true that, even in the days of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More had spoken strongly of the cruelty of hare-hunting, but that was an *Utopian* utterance, and if any man ever was before his time it was the author of *Utopia*.[1] It is also true that Montaigne

[1] If there had been any truth in the malicious charge that I desire to disparage the Stratford player, and to blacken his character, I should have dwelt

was a humanitarian, and, as we know from *The Tempest*, Shakespeare had read some part, at any rate, if not all, of Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. But ten years elapsed between the publication of *Venus and Adonis* and that of this translation, so Shakespeare could hardly have taken his humanitarian ideas from Montaigne.[1]

Then in this very remarkable poem we have a curious and, it must be confessed, a very unpoetical legal allusion. "The Queen of Love proposes to 'sell herself' to the young Adonis, the consideration is to be a 'thousand kisses,' the number to be doubled in default of immediate payment: the deed is to be executed without delay, and the purchaser is to 'set his sign manual on her wax-red lips.'"[2]

Then exclaims Venus:

> Say, for non-payment, that the debt should double,
> Is twenty hundred kisses such a trouble?

This is an allusion to the penalty for non-payment which, as every lawyer knows, was a feature of a "common money-bond"—rather out of place, it must be admitted, in such a collocation.

More might be said, but I have written enough to show the true character of the "first heir" of Shakespeare's "invention." What says Mr. Robertson hereupon?

upon the contrast between the mild humanitarian Shakespeare and Shakspere the deer-stealing poacher. But, as I have already said, I discard the poaching story as a myth.

[1] Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* was first published in 1603. Therefore all Shakespeare's reading in Montaigne must have been done after that date, unless he either read the original, or saw Florio's translation in manuscript. The first edition of Mr. Robertson's *Shakespeare and Montaigne* showed a facsimile of Shakespeare's supposed autograph in the British Museum copy of Florio's translation, but as the highest authorities have pronounced that signature an undoubted forgery, it has been wisely suppressed in the second edition. I should, of course, be the last to deny that "Shakespeare" may have read Montaigne in the original French.

[2] *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, by Judge Webb, p. 167.

He denies "that there is any noteworthy scholarly culture" in the poem (p. 556). When I first read this astounding pronouncement it almost seemed to me that Mr. Robertson had, under stress of controversial feeling, taken leave of intelligent literary criticism. But, on further consideration, I came to the conclusion that he probably attaches great importance to the word "scholarly." There is, surely, "noteworthy culture" in *Venus and Adonis*! No reasonable being can, I think, deny that. But is it "scholarly" culture? Well, perhaps, not, if that epithet is to be understood as implying that the author might have taken a high place in classical honours at Oxford or Cambridge. But putting an ordinary and reasonable interpretation upon the word, I should be disposed to say that any critic who would deny that there is "noteworthy scholarly culture" in *Venus and Adonis*, in my humble judgment, proclaims himself a *quantité négligeable* so far as the poetical and strictly literary criticism of Shakespeare is concerned. That is my very strong opinion, and every reader must be left to form his own. But first let him give conscientious study and consideration to the poem in question.

Mr. Robertson, however, thinks that all the culture necessary for the writing of *Venus and Adonis* might have been amply supplied to him by "his training as an actor."[1] Are we really to take such utterances as words of wisdom? Is this the recognised exponent of the orthodox Stratfordian faith in the twentieth century? I have already given some description of the status of a player in Elizabethan times. A very good idea of it, and of the estimation in which they were held by men of education, may be obtained by reference to the old play, *The Returne from Parnassus*. Here we have Kempe and Burbage brought on to the stage by the unknown University playwright. "Welcome M. Kempe

[1] Work cited, pp. 536, 537.

from dancing the Morrice over the Alpes," cries Studioso, alluding to the fact that Kempe, as he tells us in his *Nine Days Wonder*, had danced the Morrice from London to Norwich. "Clownes," says Dromo, in the earlier play of the trilogy, "have been thrust into playes by head and shoulders ever since Kempe could make a scurvey face." Burbage and Kempe display their culture by talking about "that writer *Metamorphosis*"! "For honours," says Kempe, "who of more report than Dick Burbage and Will Kempe? He is not counted a gentleman that knows not Dick Burbage and Will Kempe. There's not a country wench that can dance Sellengers Round but can talk of Dick Burbage and Will Kempe." As to the player's occupation, Philomusus styles it "the basest trade," and styles the players "mimick apes." "Must we," he asks,

> be practis'd to those leaden spouts
> That nought doe vent but what they do receive?

And he proceeds, in well-known lines, thus:

> England affordes those glorious vagabonds,
> That carried earst their fardels on their backes
> Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
> Sooping it in their glaring satten sutes,
> And Pages to attend their maisterships.
> With mouthing words that better wits have framed,
> They purchase lands, and now Esquires are namde.[1]

"Kempe," says Gifford, in the Memoir prefixed to his edition of Ben Jonson's works, "is brought forward as the type of ignorance in this old drama . . . he was probably brought on the stage in a fool's cap, to make mirth for the University wits, and is dismissed, together with his associate, in a most contemptuous manner, as a mere '*leaden spout*.'"

[1] This, which seems to be the original reading, is adopted by Mr. Macray. Shakspere, as we know, was named "Esquire." Was it for "mouthing words, which better wits had framed"?

If it be objected that Will Kempe, jigging buffoon though he was, did not merit quite such contemptuous treatment as that meted out to him in this old play, I reply, possibly not, but none the less the passage is of great value for the purpose for which I quote it, viz. to show the very low estimation in which the players were held by educated men of that day.

Such was the player of the time, and in such society we are now told by Mr. Robertson, Will Shakspere, the Stratford provincial, acquired all the culture necessary for the composition of *Venus and Adonis*. It is not, apparently, necessary, according to this latest of critics, to send him off with Leicester to the Low Countries, in accordance with the happy suggestion of Messrs. Garnett and Gosse, in order that he may there acquire, in the camp and on the field of battle, that refined education for which the foot-soldier of all ages, and, more particularly, the Elizabethan *fantassin*, has always been so pre-eminently distinguished!

But let us here consider the dates. The date of Shakspere's flight from Stratford was, in all probability, the year 1587. In that year we may assume he came to London. But he did not become an actor all at once. *Nemo repente fuit histrio*. We must really allow a year or two for horse-holding, and functioning as a call-boy. That brings us to the year 1589 or 1590. Let us suppose that at about that date he is taken into the Lord Chamberlain's company as a beginner. "The art of acting," I wrote in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, "is not exactly to be learned in a day." "Quite so," observes Mr. Robertson; "it is only the art of *play-making* that, in the opinion of Mr. Greenwood and the Baconians alike, requires no apprenticeship!" This is a curious observation. "How foolish," says Mr. Robertson, in effect, "to suppose that no apprenticeship is required for the art of play-making"!

Now the actor, as we know, does require, as a general rule, at any rate, a very considerable amount of training. He can be instructed in elocution, gesture, "deportment," and all the ways and manners—all the *technique*—of the stage. But what sort of "apprenticeship" does Mr. Robertson think necessary and sufficient to make a man a successful dramatist? He is probably aware that the ability to write a successful play is among the rarest of nature's gifts. The dramatist *nascitur, non fit.* Naturally, in order to write plays for educated audiences, the dramatist must be an educated man. He must have knowledge of the world, and some knowledge of the theatre. But the possession of all these things, even in a superlative degree, will not enable a man to become a successful dramatist unless he be exceptionally gifted in that direction—unless his genius lies that way. I do not think I do Mr. Robertson any injustice if I express the belief that with all his learning, his experience, and his controversial ability, no amount of "apprenticeship" would enable him to graduate as a "playwright." I know that it would be so in my own case, even if I had all Mr. Robertson's accomplishments. On the other hand, if a man's genius does lie that way, he may, if he be a man of the world, or at least *mediocriter doctus*, write successful plays though he knows very little about the ways of the theatre. Take Sheridan's case, for example. His father, it is true, had been an actor, and was for some years manager of the Dublin Theatre; but in the year 1762, when Richard Brinsley was but eleven years of age, his parents settled in England, and the future dramatist and statesman was sent to Harrow. In 1774, when he was about twenty-three, he produced *The Rivals*, and at that time we may say with confidence that he knew little or nothing about the theatre. For this excellent comedy he had, as Mr. Rudolf Dircks says, "drawn freely on his late experiences; his stolen interviews with Miss Linley, the duels, the numerous suitors, the

unreasonable jealousies, provided the incidents and characters." In the same year *The Duenna* was produced with brilliant success. In 1777, when the author was only twenty-six, appeared *The School for Scandal*, which Hazlitt has pronounced "the most finished and faultless comedy which we have," and which, according to Mr. Dircks, "remains the most brilliantly effective comedy in our tongue." Here, again, "the materials were gathered from his Bath experiences." In these comedies, we may remark in passing, the "exits and entrances" are admirably managed. Yet the young playwright knew nothing of the *technique* of the stage at that time. Later on, when he wrote *Pizarro*, it was very different. Let me again quote Mr. Dircks: "Nowadays, we hear that to be a good dramatist it is essential above all things to inhale 'the scent of the footlights.' *Pizarro* is nauseating with this. Since the day of *The Rivals* and *The Critic* Sheridan's long association with the theatre had thoroughly acclimatized him to the atmosphere which makes dramatists; and we see the result. The tragedy shows mastery of stage technique, the action is smart; there is ample room for scenic display; claptrap in plenty —everything, in fact, we might expect from one who had inhaled that fatal perfume." In other words, Sheridan could write immortal plays when he knew little or nothing of the theatre and "stage technique"—when he had served no "apprenticeship"!—and wrote a very bad one when he had long inhaled "the scent of the footlights."

This, I think, affords a tolerably complete answer, not only to Mr. Robertson's thoughtless remark concerning the supposed necessity of an "apprenticeship" for playwrights, but also to those who maintain that "Shakespeare" must have been an actor. There is no more reason why *Hamlet* and *Lear* must have been written by an actor, than why we should be compelled to affirm the

same concerning *The Rivals*, *The Critic*, and *The School for Scandal*.[1]

I have, however, been led into a digression by Mr. Robertson's quaint *obiter dictum*. We had assumed that "Will" of Stratford made his first appearance on the boards somewhere about the year 1589 or 1590. *Venus and Adonis* was published in 1593. How long it took to compose we do not know, but I suppose we may assume that it was written some little time before it was handed over to the printer—say in the year 1591, or 1592.[2] An "actor's training" of two or three years, therefore, had enabled the young man who has been, with much reason, described by Messrs. Garnett and Gosse, on his arrival in London, as "a Stratford rustic," and whom Dr. Farmer,

[1] As to Shakespeare's "exits and entrances," they were doubtless (if I may be allowed to use that adverb) arranged in early days by the players—or rather by the stage managers—during rehearsals. Since writing the above I have come across the following in an article on "Writing Plays," by Mr. Arnold Bennett, in *The English Review* for July, 1913: "An enormous amount of vague reverential nonsense is talked about the technique of the stage, the assumption being that in difficulty it far surpasses any other literary technique, and that until it is acquired a respectable play cannot be written. One hears that it can only be acquired behind the scenes. A famous actor-manager once kindly gave me the benefit of his experience, and what he said was that a dramatist who wished to learn his business must live behind the scenes—and study the works of Dion Boucicault! The truth is that no technique is so crude and so simple as the technique of the stage, and that the proper place to learn it is not behind the scenes but in the pit. . . . I tremble to think what the Mandarins and William Archer would say to the technique of *Hamlet*, could it by some miracle be brought forward as a new piece by a Mr. Shakspere. They would probably recommend Mr. Shakspere to consider the ways of Sardou, Henri Bernstein, and Sir Herbert Tree, and be wise. Most positively they would assert that *Hamlet* was not a play. And their pupils of the daily press would point out—what, surely, Mr. Shakspere ought to have perceived for himself—that the second, third, or fourth act might be cut wholesale without the slightest loss to the piece." I would merely add: "Yes, without the slightest loss to the piece, perhaps, but with infinite loss to the reader."

[2] If, as Mr. Lee, Mr. Robertson, and others think, Shakespeare drew some of his inspiration for this poem from Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, *Venus and Adonis* must have been written at any rate subsequently to the year 1589. See Lee's *Life*, p. 66.

with Mr. Robertson's full approval, tells us was not troubled with any learning at all, to write this wonderful poem! I must not say *Credat Judaeus*! That, apparently, is a very annoying quotation to Mr. Robertson, and I should be loath to hurt the feelings of such a sensitive critic. What shall I say, then? Perhaps he would prefer *Credat Christianus*! I should like to adapt myself to his susceptibilities in this matter.[1]

The following year, 1594, sees the publication of *The Rape of Lucrece*, also dedicated by "William Shakespeare" to the Earl of Southampton. In the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* the poet had vowed "to take advantage of all idle hours till I have honoured you with some graver labour." *Lucrece* must, therefore, have been written after the dedication containing these words, and before its entry on the books of the Stationers' Company, i.e. between April, 1593, and May, 1594.

I confess that this poem seems to me tedious and pedantic, and I find it hard—presumptuous though it be to say so—to discover much real poetic inspiration in it. As Coleridge writes: "We find in Shakespeare's management of the tale neither pathos nor any other dramatic quality. There is the same minute and faithful imagery as in the former poem, in the same vivid colours, inspirited

[1] In connection with *Venus and Adonis* it is, perhaps, worth while to note that by Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559 it was provided that every book should be licensed by Her Majesty, or by six of the Privy Council, or perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the Bishop being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where the book was to be printed, or by two of them, the Ordinary of the place being always one; and the names of the allowing Commissioners were to be added at the end of the work. It is somewhat surprising, in view of the nature of the poem, to find not only that the "young actor" had, apparently, no difficulty in obtaining a licence for *Venus and Adonis*, but that one of the guarantors of its fitness for publication is Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury! Some reckless Shaksperiolaters, by the way, think the poem was written by "Will" before he had left his happy home at Stratford! Heretics are, of course, "fanatics," but if one holds the orthodox faith the most fatuous suggestion may pass for sanity and wisdom.

by the same impetuous vigour of thought, and diverging and contracting with the same activity of the assimilative and of the modifying faculties, and with a yet larger display, and a wider range of knowledge and reflection; and, lastly, with the same perfect dominion, often domination, over the whole world of language. What, then, shall we say? Even this, that Shakespeare, *no mere child of nature, no automaton of genius*; no passive vehicle of inspiration possessed by the spirit, not possessing it; first studied patiently, meditated deeply, understood deeply, till knowledge became habitual and intuitive." An excellent criticism this, in my humble judgment, and one which is mightily provocative of reflection. Mr. Robertson, I presume, denies "that there is any noteworthy scholarly culture" in the case of this poem also. For such an opinion I can feel not a particle of respect. If ever there was a scholar's poem—but here again I protect myself as to the meaning of the word "scholar"—it is this studied and laborious poem of *Lucrece*. It is, says Mr. Churton Collins, "derived directly from the *Fasti* of Ovid, of which at that time there appears to have been no English version." I would especially refer the reader to the long digression as to the siege of Troy and the Homeric heroes, commencing at stanza 196, where the outraged Lucrece

> calls to mind where hangs a piece
> Of skilful painting, made for Priam's Troy,

the contemplation of which leads to a prolonged train of reflection concerning Ajax and Ulysses, Paris and Helen, Hector and Troilus, Priam and Hecuba, etc. etc. All this, if I may say so with bated breath, appears to me singularly out of place in the mouth of Tarquin's unhappy victim, but it indicates undoubtedly, as it seems to me, that the poet, as Coleridge said, was "no mere child of nature, no automaton of genius," but a scholarly,

cultured, and, to say the very least, well-educated man, who had "studied patiently" and "meditated deeply," and who, to speak plainly, laid himself open to the criticism of being over-laborious, and not a little pedantic.[1] I cannot "marry" the young Stratford player to verse of this Academic character.[2]

Here it may be well just to note that these two poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, were the only works ever published by "Shakespeare" himself, and, further, that the earliest known allusion to "Shakespeare" by name refers to the second of these two poems; for in the anonymous "Commendatory Verses" prefixed to *Willobie his Avisa* (1594) we read:

> Though *Collatine* have deerely bought
> To high renowne, a lasting life,
> And found, that most in vaine have fought,
> To have a *Faire*, and *Constant* wife,
> Yet *Tarquyne* pluckt his glistering grape
> And *Shake-speare* paints poore *Lucrece* rape.

Where we further note that the earliest allusion to the poet's name presents it in the hyphenated form

[1] Concerning *Lucrece* the late Rev. Walter Begley well says, "The compressed philosophic thought, the wonderfully polished verse, and the technique throughout displayed in this early poem, all point to a man of great reading in deep subjects, and also of abundant scholarly leisure" (*Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, Vol. I, p. 92).

[2] I would invite the reader's consideration of the passage concerning heraldry (lines 54–72) and "the notes written thereon by the orthodox and most cultured commentator that the poems of Shakespeare have ever had," as the late Rev. Walter Begley writes in *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio* (Vol. II, p. 227). Mr. Wyndham asserts that: "Whenever Shakespeare in an age of technical conceit indulges in one ostentatiously, it will always be found that his apparent obscurity arises from our not crediting him with a technical knowledge which he undoubtedly possessed, be it of heraldry, of law, or of philosophic disputation." Mr. Begley's comment is that the knowledge of heraldry displayed by the author of *Lucrece* and the immortal plays "could not possibly belong, in 1594, to the provincial who had not so very long left the kitchen middens of Stratford, his illiterate parents, and those hostages to fortune, his callow twins." But, perhaps, "Genius" supplied "Will" with a knowledge of these technicalities!

"Shake-speare," which we may say with certainty, Shakspere of Stratford never himself made use of. Was the reference to player Shakspere, or to the poet, whoever he was, that wrote under the name of "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare"?

We have seen, then, that "his training as an actor," albeit of very short duration, and among men of low breeding and, to say the least, very imperfect education, and whose profession was held in contempt, had already borne marvellous fruits in Shakspere's case! Heminge, Condell, the jig-dancer Kempe, and the rest, although, doubtless, "deserving men," were not, I apprehend, men of great intellectual attainments, or of high culture, nor, except for the fact that Burbage was a respectable painter, do they seem to have been in any way distinguished. In Shakspere's case the results of their society, together with the impersonation of the rôles assigned to him (such as the ghost in Hamlet) were truly extraordinary both in quantity and quality. One almost wonders that promising young men in the present day are not sent round the country with provincial companies in order that they may attain to that high level of education, culture, and refinement which is so necessary for the dramatist! The "transpontine tragedian" is, alas, no longer available for educational purposes, but the strolling player still remains.

Let us now move forward to the year 1598, and see what Shakspere's literary output had been up to that date. In that year was published Francis Meres's oft-cited work *Palladis Tamia*, or *Wit's Treasury*. Concerning Francis Meres very little is known, but he is described on his title-page as being "Master of Arts of both Universities,"[1] which description is followed by the

[1] As to the mystery of Meres, Puttenham, and Bodenham, the reader who is not afraid to open a "Baconian" book may consult the late Rev. Walter Begley's *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, Vol. I. Mr. Robertson writes (p. 307)

suggestive words: "Vivitur ingenio, coetera mortis erunt." Now Meres, as everybody knows, mentions twelve plays —six comedies and six tragedies—as having been written by "Shakespeare" previously to the publication of his work, viz. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the *Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Love's Labour's wonne*, *Midsummers night dreame*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Richard the 2.*, *Richard the 3.*, *Henry the 4.*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*. Meres further makes mention of Shakespeare's "sugred Sonnets among his private friends." Thus between the year 1593, when "the first heir of his invention" was published (viz. *Venus and Adonis*), Shakespeare had produced at least (for Meres's lists do not pretend to be exhaustive) the *Lucrece*, the *Sonnets* (or the greater part of them),[1] and these twelve plays. Of these latter *Love's Labour's Lost* was published, with the name of "W. Shakespere" on its title-page, in the very same year as Meres's book, and by the same publisher.[2]

Therefore, if we are to take the expression, "the first heir of my invention," in its literal sense, as Mr. Robertson "Puttenham who had been educated abroad." There is no evidence that any Puttenham who might, possibly, have written the *Arte of English Poetry*, was educated abroad. But who *was* the author who wrote under that name? It is not easy to say. As to Meres, he appears to have been at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1587, becoming M.A. in 1591. He was afterwards Rector of Wing in Rutland, and kept a school there from 1602 to his death in 1646–7. He was John Florio's brother-in-law. Bodenham is merely *nomen et umbra*. He is erroneously described as editor of *England's Helicon*.

[1] I would be almost content to rest the negative case on the *Sonnets* only. Is it possible to believe that the Stratford player wrote those extraordinary poems in his early days in London? I would add that no solution of the difficulties which they present, and over which critics have disputed so long, will ever be found so long as we vainly endeavour to read them into the life of the Stratford player. Such, at least, is my profound conviction.

[2] It must have been composed a considerable time previously. Mr. Fleay and Mr. Knight give 1589 as the date of composition. Mr. E. K. Chambers (in *Encyc. Brit.*) puts it as late as 1594; but that eminent Shakespearean Mr. Fleay writes: "The date of the original production cannot well be put later than 1589" (see *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 202).

insists that we ought to do, we have all these twelve plays, besides *Lucrece* and the *Sonnets*, written by Shakspere between 1593 and 1598, unless we adopt Mr. Robertson's convenient theory that any play ascribed to Shakespeare which appeared before 1593 must either have been an old play "written over" by him, or must have been written by him in collaboration with some other writer, and, therefore, not counted as an "heir" of his "invention," but only as an illegitimate child, as it were. In any case, we have a truly marvellous output; nor, as I have already said, does Meres's list purport to be exhaustive, and if we are to take the three parts of *Henry VI* as Shakespearean (and most critics so take Parts 2 and 3 at any rate) those plays also must be included in the list. Again, there is very strong reason to believe that *Hamlet* was written before 1598. Truly an extraordinary testimony to the supreme merit of an "actor's training," more especially when we remember how much of the young man's time must have been taken up in acting and rehearsing![1]

And we must remember, further, that, as Messrs. Garnett and Gosse bear testimony, these plays "*from the first*" are characterised by "that knowledge of good society" and "that easy and confident attitude towards mankind . . which are so unlike what might have been expected from a Stratford rustic or a London actor"!

"If," writes Mr. Lang, "I believed that half a dozen,

[1] As to *Hamlet*, see *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 504. I have already discussed the arguments for the early date of this play in Note C to chap. III, *ante*, p. 175. Evidently Professor Boas, who thinks that *Hamlet* was produced before 1593, does not adopt Mr. Robertson's theory with regard to the plays above named, for he writes that Meres "omits *King Henry VI*, where Shakespeare was *also working on older material*"—as in the case of *Hamlet* according to the usual hypothesis. Therefore the twelve plays named were *not* instances of Shakespeare "working on older material" according to this, and, I should think, most other critics, nor, I would add, of collaboration either, except, possibly, in one or two cases.

or eleven Shakespearean plays, as we have them, had been written or composed between 1587 and 1592, I should be obliged to say that, in my opinion, they were not composed in these five years, by Will." And, again: "It gives me 'pause,' if I am to believe that, between 1587 and 1592, Will wrote *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. There is a limit even to my gullibility, and if anyone wrote all these plays, as we now possess them, before 1593, I do not suppose that Will was the man."[1]

But then, says Mr. Lang, "the dates, in fact, are unknown. The miracle is apocryphal." Well, I admit that we cannot prove the propositions which Mr. Lang said would, if proved, shake his faith in "Will." But, surely, taking the facts as we know them, there is, even on the orthodox assumption, something very like a "miracle"! I do not start with the year 1587 as the *terminus a quo* of Shakspere's (alleged) composition. I think the probability is that he came to London in that year, but it would, obviously, be absurd to assume that he at once began composing plays and poems. The most orthodox "Stratfordian" will, surely, give him some three years before he "commences poet." Say that he began to write as early as 1590: then between that year and 1598—in less than eight years—he had written the *Venus*, the *Lucrece*, the *Sonnets*, and the twelve plays.[2] In truth it might be said of him that his literary "promises" were

> like Adonis gardens
> That one day bloomed and fruitful were the next!

Yet I cannot believe but that Coleridge speaks the truth — and a profound truth — when he says that

[1] Work cited, pp. 112 and 115.

[2] If some of these plays were written "in collaboration," why were they ascribed to Shakespeare's sole authorship? *Quien sabe?*

"Shakespeare" was no "automaton of genius," but one who had "studied patiently and meditated deeply."

Here we cannot but remember that the best dramatists of Shakespeare's time were University men. Marlowe, Greene, and Nash, for example, were Cambridge men; Lyly, Lodge, and Peele were at Oxford. Thomas Heywood was, we are told, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Jonson, indeed, does not appear to have been at either University as a student, but he held honorary degrees at both, and, moreover, had been Camden's special protégé at Westminster, and had got the best he could out of the best school of the time. But Shakespeare, according to the orthodox faith, sprang upon the world fully armed with learned, literary, and poetic equipment, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter. It is curious, however, to find that the writer of a work printed in 1595, the year after the publication of *Lucrece*, by John Legate, printer of the University of Cambridge, couples Shakespeare with Marlowe and Watson, both University men, and conceives of him as being himself a member of one of the Universities, and, as it would seem, of one of the Inns of Court also.[1]

Here I should like, if time and space permitted, to examine each of the twelve plays mentioned by Meres, but it would take far too long to do so. It may be well, however, to say a word concerning some of them, and more particularly concerning *The Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. Of the former of these two plays I have already spoken, and have but little to add. Mr. Churton Collins writes: "It is almost certain that it was written between 1589 and 1592, and it is quite certain that it was written before the end of 1594." We learn

[1] I refer to *Polimanteia*, dedicated to the Earl of ssex by "W. C.," which initials are generally supposed to stand for Wm. Clark (see *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 342). I have never come across any satisfactory explanation of this curious allusion.

from the *Gesta Graiorum* that it was acted at Gray's Inn, by the company in which Shakspere had enlisted, at the end of the year 1594. The reference to France, "armed and reverted making war against her heir," is clearly an allusion to the civil war in France between Henry of Navarre and the Leaguers, which commenced after the assassination of Henry III, in 1589, and was in effect concluded by Henry's renunciation of the Protestant faith in 1593. As already stated, the play is founded on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, of which at that time there was no English translation, while Act III, Scene 1, is taken from another play of Plautus, viz. the *Amphitruo*.

That this play was composed in these early days by the young man who had come to London "a Stratford rustic" in 1587, really seems to me incredible. That it was written by an unlearned man, or by a man who had no knowledge of Plautus in the original, seems also extremely difficult to believe. Mr. Robertson, as we have seen, solves the difficulty by assuming that in this case Shakspere collaborated with some other unknown author, or, possibly, wrote over an old play by such unknown author; "the essential point," he says (p. 197), "is that it is a composite work." Well, it is, of course, impossible to prove that Shakspere did not write this play with some unknown collaborator, but what a thousand pities it is that there is no evidence, except what Mr. Robertson finds in "style," to support this assumption, that there is not even a tradition to that effect; and that the name of the collaborator has been irretrievably lost! It would be interesting, indeed, to know who were the dramatists who were collaborating with the young Shakspere in 1592, or 1593. This particular "collaborator" evidently knew "his Plautus" and so made up for Shakspere's ignorance, but from some excess of modesty he refrained from putting his name on the title-page. Or was he, perchance, someone in high station who did not wish

his name to be known? Mr. Robertson has here opened up an interesting field for speculation and hypothesis!

And now let us turn to that extraordinary work *Love's Labour's Lost*. This play is unique among the Shakespearean dramas—unique in style, and unique in the fact that it bears upon it the name of "Shakespere."

Commentators have generally, and with reason, considered it one of the earliest of the poet's compositions. Fleay, and Charles Knight, and Dr. Furnivall concur in putting the date of the original production as early as the year 1589. "It was in 1589," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "in or about which year our most trustworthy critics are agreed that *Love's Labour's Lost* must have been written, that England was startled by the news of the assassination of Henry III by a fanatic monk."[1] But whether the play was composed in 1589, or 1590, or 1591, or even a year or two later, if any reader, after carefully studying this extraordinary work, thinks it probable that it was written at one of those dates by the young man who came from Stratford to London in 1587, I can only say that his conception of what is probable—I had almost said of what is possible—differs very widely indeed from mine. Everyone must judge for himself in such a matter.

But here let me make a frank admission. In *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* I had cited with approval Judge Webb's eloquent description of this play. Mr. Lang, however, has subjected the learned Judge's summing up to some very telling criticism, and I have to confess that I quoted it without having given it sufficient consideration.

[1] "A New Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost,'" *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1880, p. 448. How Mr. E. K. Chambers (in the *Encyc. Brit.*) comes to put the date of the composition of this play as late as 1594 I am unable to conceive. But those who think that no Shakespearean play can be earlier than 1593, the date of the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, not unnaturally endeavour to date all the plays (or, in Mr. Robertson's case, all such as are not supposed to have been written "in collaboration") after that date.

I recognise that some of the statements contained therein cannot be supported. I must, therefore, "withdraw and apologise" for allowing myself to be thus led astray.

But having done this, let me now consider what are the true facts concerning this very remarkable comedy.

Mr. Lang writes (p. 127): "*There are no French politics in the piece*" (original italics). Yet, as Mr. Hunter pointed out, "the story of this play is made to arise out of an event in the genuine history of the relations between the Kings of France and Navaire." In the *Chronicles* of Monstrelet we find the following passage: "Charles, King of Navarre, came to Paris to wait on the King. He negotiated so successfully with the King and Privy Council that he obtained a gift of the castle of Nemours, with some of its dependent castlewicks, which territory was made a duchy. He instantly did homage for it, and at the same time surrendered to the King the castle of Cherburg, the county of Evreux, and all other lordships he possessed within the Kingdom of France, renouncing all claims or profits in them to the King, and to his successors, on condition that with the Duchy of Nemours the King of France engaged to pay him two hundred thousand gold crowns of the coin of the King our Lord." Upon this Mr. Hunter observes: "The contract about the two hundred thousand crowns forms the link by which the story of this drama is connected with a real historical transaction. The poet, or the inventor of the story whom the poet follows, represents Ferdinand, who is become King of Navarre by the death of Charles, who is called his father, which is at variance with history, challenging the payment of one half of this sum, and insinuating even (but the passage is a little obscure) that no part of the two hundred thousand crowns had been paid. The claim is disputed on the part of France, and it is for the purpose of settling this disputed account that the Princess of France goes in embassy to the Court of Navarre, whence arise all the present

embarrassments of the principal portion of the whole plot."

Now it is to be noted that Charles, King of Navarre, to whom the King of France undertook to pay the two hundred thousand crowns, died in 1425, and as the action of the play is supposed to take place not long after, the time of the piece may be fixed to the year 1427, or very near that period. The play, therefore, had a foundation in history, and there was in reality a King of Navarre to whom a King of France was indebted for a large sum of money. The name of this King of Navarre was Charles; Shakespeare's King of Navarre is named Ferdinand, who is stated to be the son of Charles, the original claimant of the debt. Further, the leading event, the meeting of the King of Navarre with the Princess of France, was probably borrowed from the visit of Catherine de Medici, with her "escadron volant," to Henri IV of Navarre, at the end of 1586[1] Thus the play, although it has a historical basis, and (*pace* Mr. Lang) does contain "French politics," does not affect to follow the facts of history, but is a work of imagination.

And what as to the names of the lords attending the King of Navarre—Biron, Longaville, and Dumain? The first two bear the actual names of the most strenuous supporters of Henry of Navarre. "Of all the leaders on Navarre's side," writes Sir Sidney Lee, Biron "was best known to Englishmen," and "the relation in which he stood to the English people between 1589 and 1598 would fully account for the distinction conferred upon him" in the play.

[1] "The mediator," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "was a Princess of France—Catherine de Medici—who had virtually ruled France for nearly thirty years, and who now acted in behalf of her son, decrepit in mind and body, in much the same way as the Princess in *Love's Labour's Lost* represents her 'decrepit,' sick and bed-rid father.'" I feel sure that Mr. Lang could not have read this very interesting article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* by Sir Sidney Lee when he wrote "there are no French politics in the piece."

But what of Dumain? "This," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "is a common Anglicised version of that Duc de Mayne, or Mayenne, whose name was so frequently mentioned in popular accounts of French affairs in connection with Navarre's movements." But, says Mr. Lang (p. 129), inasmuch as this lord was an opponent of Henri IV, "the introduction of Mayenne as an adherent of the King of Navarre, shows either a most confused ignorance of foreign politics on the part of the author, or a freakish contempt for his public." With submission, however, the criticism (or, as Mr. Robertson would say, "the cavil") is quite baseless. If Shakespeare had introduced Dumain as a supporter of Henri IV in a historical play concerning that hero there might have been some point in Mr. Lang's remarks, but inasmuch as the dramatist is presenting to us imaginary events (though, as I have shown, based on some historical foundation), supposed to have taken place about the year 1427, more than 150 years before the date of Henry of Navarre, at the Court of the imaginary King Ferdinand, the criticism appears to me to suggest only that the critic had not paid sufficient attention to the real facts of the case.[1]

We may further note that, as Sir Sidney Lee points out, "Mothe, or La Mothe, was the name by which a French Ambassador was known in London for many years," whence Shakespeare seems to have taken the name of his "pretty ingenious" page, and that the "mention of the Duke Alençon must have been due to some reminiscence of the French nobleman of the same name who had so persistently and so publicly sued for the Queen's

[1] The same considerations apply to Sir Sidney Lee's remark (*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1888, p. 448) that "Shakespeare was not unnaturally led to number him [Dumain] also among his [Navarre's] supporters." Obviously no such inference can be made in the case of a work of imagination which does not deal with Henry of Navarre at all. Shakespeare merely took the well-known names of three lords specially connected with Henry IV, and introduced them as friends of his imaginary Ferdinand.

hand." Moreover, Sir Sidney Lee shows that the incident in the play, when Navarre and his attendants introduce themselves to the Princess and her ladies disguised as Russians, has, in all probability, a very interesting historical basis.

"Mr. Greenwood," writes Mr. Lang (p. 128), "does not attribute the wit (such as it is), the quips, the conceits, the affectations satirised in *Love's Labour's Lost*, to Will's knowledge of the artificial style then prevalent in all the literatures of Western Europe, and in England most pleasingly used in Lyly's comedies. No, 'the author must have been not only a man of high intellectual culture, but one who was intimately acquainted with the ways of the Court, and the fashionable society of his time, as also with contemporary foreign politics.'" Well, I adhere to my statement as quoted, which I believe to be true, and I see no contradiction between such statement and Mr. Lang's assumption of the poet's "knowledge of the artificial style" which he affirms was "then prevalent in all the literatures of Western Europe." But if his allusion to "Lyly's comedies" implies his endorsement of the statement so frequently made that Shakespeare in this play makes an attempt to imitate or ridicule "Euphuism," I can only refer the reader to the Preface to this comedy in the late Dr. Furness's "New Variorum" Edition, where he will find that that most learned editor has very effectually disposed of the idea that Shakespeare made any such attempt at all. In fact, Shakespeare's supposed satirical references to "Euphuism" appear to be "a fond thing vainly invented."[1]

Much more might be written concerning this eccentric and whimsical play, but I think I have said enough, after

[1] Dr. Furness further writes (Preface to *L. L. L.*, p. xv): "For the prevalent belief that the common language of Elizabeth's Court was *Euphuism*, I can trace no other authority than the advertisement by a bookseller twenty-nine years after that Court ceased to exist."

making all necessary allowance for the exaggerations, or, if you will, the misstatements, of Judge Webb concerning it, to show that, if indeed it was the work of "Will" of Stratford, and one of the very earliest of his productions, miracles had, certainly, not ceased in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

I must pass over with little more than a bare mention the other plays on Meres's list.

Both *Richard II* and *Richard III* were first published in the year 1597. As to the former, Mr. Gollancz, who gives very good reasons for the statement, tells us that the date of its composition "may be safely assigned to about the year 1593"—the year, be it remembered, which witnessed the publication of *Venus and Adonis.* As to the latter, the same editor writes, with regard to the date of composition: "Authorities are agreed in assigning *Richard III.* to 1594 or thereabouts." There are good reasons for putting the date of composition of *The Dream* at about 1592–3. *Romeo and Juliet*, in its first form, at any rate, appears to have been composed as early as the year 1591. *The Two Gentlemen*, which the critics unanimously place among the earliest of Shakespeare's productions, must, surely, have been written, as Mr. Gollancz says, about 1590–2. *Love's Labour's Won*, which may, I think, be almost certainly identified with *All's Well that Ends Well*, must be assigned to the same period, but *King Henry IV*, Part 1, and *The Merchant of Venice* are, apparently, later plays, and are usually assigned to the year 1596.

And now what are we to say about *King John* and *Titus Andronicus*? The play which is now known as Shakespeare's *King John* was first printed in the Folio of 1623. There was, however, a play called *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* which was published, in two parts, in the year 1591. In 1611 these two parts were put together and published in one volume. The title-page

of this edition (1611) bore the words "*written by W. Sh.*" In 1622 appeared a third edition, the title-page of which informs us that the work was written by "W. Shakespeare." And here we may pause to ask how it came about that, if player Shakspere wrote the grand play of *King John* as printed in the First Folio, he was content to allow a very inferior play to be published in his name—"W. Sh."—in 1611, without, apparently, making any protest? Then, secondly, we have to ask to which of these *King John* plays was it that Meres alluded? These are questions which I would commend to the reader's very serious consideration. Mr. Gollancz and other critics tell us that "the play [Shakespeare's] may safely be dated *circa* 1595." Of a truth player Shakspere must have been tossing off plays and poems from 1593 to 1595 "as an eagle moults feathers."

The mention by Meres of *Titus Andronicus* among Shakespearean plays is not a little remarkable if, as Mr. Robertson contends, in agreement with the great majority of critics, this play is not Shakespearean at all. If it is by Shakespeare, and if Shakespeare and Shakspere are one, the young man from Stratford must have written this repulsive tragedy at any rate before the year 1594, when a quarto edition of it was published. But if it is not Shakespearean how came Meres to make the mistake of including it in his list of Shakespeare's plays extant in 1598? I suspect that Meres was in error both as regards this play and the play of *King John*, though it would suit my argument much better were I to follow Professor Courthope in the opinion that both *Titus* and *The Troublesome Raigne*, as well as other old plays, were the work of Shakespeare. For the earlier we place the date of Shakespearean writings the more difficult, of course, does it become to conceive that William Shakspere of Stratford was the author of them.

Meres, it will be observed, makes no mention of

Henry VI. Now in Henslowe's *Diary* (F. 7) we have an entry of a receipt in respect of "harey the vj the 3 of marche 1591," the play being marked as a new play. Upon which Mr. W. Greg comments (*Diary*, Pt. II, p. 152): "Performed by Strange's men, as a new play, 3 Mar. 1591/2, and thence till 31 Jan. 1593, 16 performances. . . . Printed as 1 Henry VI in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays, after being erroneously entered as the third part, S.R.[1] 8 Nov" Mr. E. K. Chambers writes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "It is probable that *1 Henry VI* is to be identified with the 'Harey the vj' recorded in Henslowe's Diary to have been acted as a new play by Lord Strange's men, probably at the Rose, on the 3rd of March 1592," i.e. 1591–2. Those, therefore, who believe that *1 Henry VI* is a Shakespearean play, and who adhere to the "orthodox" faith, must assume that player Shakspere was writing plays as early as 1590 or 1591 But Mr. Greg writes: "It is possible, or probable, that there was an earlier version of this play which may have belonged to the Queen's men, and that it was only 'new' owing to the addition of the Talbot scenes by Shakespeare." Now this suggestion, viz. that "the Talbot scenes" (Act IV, 2–7, which are concerned only with Talbot's last fight near Bordeaux in 1452) were added by Shakespeare, was made by Mr. Fleay in 1876 (see Fleay's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 259). To me it does not seem very probable that Henslowe should have marked an old play as "new" just because of the addition of these scenes, but it is not, of course, impossible that he may have done so. If we adopt this hypothesis, and accept the "Stratfordian" authorship, then player Shakspere was engaged in dramatic composition previously to March 1591–2[2] Many critics also believe that the scene in the Temple Gardens (Act II, Sc. 4) was added by

[1] i.e. Stationers' Registers.

[2] I need hardly remind the reader that in England and Ireland the year was reckoned from the 25th March to the 24th March from 1155 to 1751.

Shakespeare, but at a much later date. Others, again, have been unable to find any trace at all of Shakespeare's hand in this play. The reader, if he chooses to do so, may spend many hours in considering the multitudinous arguments in support of all these three positions. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*

Lastly, in this connection, we have to note that Meres makes mention of the *Sonnets*—those extraordinary poems to the interpretation of which many commentators have devoted the best part of their lives with conspicuous want of success—as having been written before the year 1598.

Here, then, without travelling beyond the lines of orthodox hypothesis, and even after rejecting some quite orthodox assumptions which would materially assist the sceptical argument, we are confronted with a mass of marvellous and immortal literature all of which, according to the received faith, was written by the young man who came to London in 1587 a penniless, unknown, and (as we are, surely, warranted in saying) uneducated, or very poorly educated, wanderer from a small provincial town. And the greater part of it—poems and plays belonging to the supreme rank of literature—was thrown off in some four or five years; the whole of it in a brief period of some six or seven years—*anni mirabiles* indeed!

There is no "Shakespeare Problem," so we are assured. A young provincial, with such smattering of education as he may have procured during some four or five years at a Free Grammar School; late butcher's, or glover's, or grocer's apprentice (it really does not much matter which), speaking the dialect of his native county, comes, a penniless wanderer, straight from the society of the boors and petty tradesmen of obscure and illiterate Stratford; becomes successively (according to the best information we possess) horse-holder outside, and "servitor" inside, one of the London playhouses (and *such* playhouses![1]);

[1] See p. 66 and note at p. 237.

obtains a place in the company, is constantly playing to London audiences, or touring in the provinces; an actor-manager (as we are told) with shares in two theatres, and with a keen eye to business (taking *rem facias rem* as his motto), and with all this turning out each year, on an average, two plays, but in the earlier years a much greater number, all belonging to the supreme rank of literature—marvellous works, "not of an age, but for all time," replete if not with classical learning (as some high authorities insist), at any rate with profound knowledge of the world, and of mankind, and of the philosophy of life and human nature, and redolent of the highest culture (as no one, surely, but a fanatic *enragé* can deny), besides wondrous, courtly, polished, and scholarly poems, composed in quite early days, but marked in the same, or in even higher degree, by the same learning, and the same culture; yet remaining (for so the fact is, in spite of the indefatigable, continuous, and lifelong investigations of enthusiastic admirers) *nomen et umbra*, and nothing more, for posterity—except, indeed, for that little knowledge of his life-history which we could so well spare—here is no problem, no mystery; here is nothing to marvel at, except "for those to whom the ways of genius are a stumbling-block"!

Well, as to "genius" I shall have a word to say anon. But we have not yet exhausted all the elements of the Shakespeare Problem. To those that yet remain a new chapter must be devoted.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

THE ELIZABETHAN PLAYHOUSE

As to the character of the Elizabethan theatre the reader who is interested in the subject is, doubtless, familiar with the description given by Taine (*English Literature*, chap. II) already quoted at p. 66. I will here append a quotation from a more recent authority, viz. Mr. W. T. Lawrence, who, in his work on *The Elizabethan Playhouse* (Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1912), writes as follows: "No evidence exists to show that up to the period when James Burbage solved a difficult problem by building the Theater under protection of a royal patent, either players or playgoers were otherwise than content with the primitive histrionic conditions obtaining in the several inn-yards. For years it had been customary to give performances twice or three times a week on removable stages—possibly the 'boards and barrel-heads' referred to in *The Poetaster* as the later resource of 'strutters'—in the yards of well-known hostells like the Cross Keys in Gracechurch Street, the Bull in Bishopgate Street, and the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill. . . . Following on the heels of his visit to London in 1596, Ludwig, Prince of Anhalt, wrote a poem commemorative of his travels, in which he pointed out that the English capital boasted four theatres which were utilised, not only for dramatic purposes, but for the baiting of bulls and bears and for cockfights. . . . As a matter of fact little deviation took place at either house [viz. the Theater and the Curtain] from the stage conventionalities and playgoing habits of the inn-yard. So insensible was the transition that the space occupied by the groundlings (who remained standing at all save the private theatres for long after Shakespeare's day) inherited the old designation of 'yard.' That the later term 'pit' was a contrac-

tion of 'cock-pit' . . . is clearly indicated in Leonard Digges' lines on *Shakespeare's Poems* (1640).

> Let but Beatrice
> And Benedicke be seen, loe in a trice
> The cock-pit, galleries, boxes, are all full,
> To hear Malvoglio that crosse-garter'd gull.

As in the inn-yards, acting in the Shoreditch theatres took place in the afternoon by natural light. Beyond the covering in of the circumambient galleries, the two houses remained unroofed. Exposure to the elements having been thitherto the normal experience of the groundling, the perpetuation of his discomfort was accepted with equanimity. . . . For the benefit of those who, through coming early, arrived dinnerless, eatables and drinkables, including fruits, nuts, and bottled beer, were vended in the theatre. No preliminary music to wile away the time was vouchsafed these eager enthusiasts, but powdered tobacco and the latest thing in pamphlets were procurable for a consideration, and the tedium of waiting could be allayed by reading, smoking, and playing cards." "The stinkards in the yard," as Mr. Lawrence reminds us, had to "brave the elements" as best they could.

CHAPTER V

THE REAL "SHAKESPEARE PROBLEM" (*continued*)

IN the preceding chapter I pointed out how prodigious, both in quantity and quality, was, according to the received hypothesis, the literary output of the young player, William Shakspere, very shortly after he had arrived in London from Stratford in those unfavourable circumstances upon which we have sufficiently dwelt; and, following those high Shakespearean authorities Messrs Garnett and Gosse, we have taken due note of that "knowledge of good society" and "that easy and confident attitude towards mankind which appears in Shakespeare's plays *from the first*, and which . . . are so unlike what might have been expected from a Stratford rustic or a London actor."

We must now, before passing on to consider the meagre facts of Shakspere's later life that have been handed down to us, pause to consider once more a familiar passage of Elizabethan literature in which it is alleged that reference is made to him, and which is cited as proving that he was at an early date, viz. the year 1592, if not actually writing plays of his own, at any rate "writing up," or "writing over," old plays by other authors. I allude, of course, to Robert Greene's well-known utterance in his *Groatsworth of Wit*, a work probably published in 1592, having been entered at Stationers' Hall on the 20th of September in that year,

though the earliest known edition bears date 1596.[1] The passage in question has been quoted *ad nauseam*, but I must ask the reader's indulgence while I refer to it yet again. Greene, addressing three "play makers," as Chettle subsequently calls them, who are, I believe, to be identified with Marlowe, Peele, and Nash,[2] warns them against the players, of whom he speaks in terms of bitter hostility: "those puppets that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnished in our colours. . . . Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that, with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes Factotum*, is in his own conceit the onely *Shake-scene* in a country."

Now at first sight it seems obvious that "Shake-scene" is a parody on the name "Shake-speare," more especially as the phrase "Tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide" is evidently a parody of the line "O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide," which occurs in *3 Henry VI*, Act I, Scene 4. Still, as Professor Churton Collins recognised, "it is at least doubtful" whether this "supposed allusion" to Shakespeare has "any reference to him at all,"[3] and there are certain considerations which appear to lend colour to the doubt so expressed by that distinguished Shakespearean critic.

In the first place, the word "Shake" in combination with another monosyllable occurs frequently in the slang expressions of the time. Thus Will Kempe, the clown and jig-dancer, in his *Nine Days Wonder* (1600), wherein he describes how he danced the Morris from London to Norwich, addresses the ballad-mongers, who had lam-

[1] Robert Greene died on September 3rd, 1592.

[2] They have sometimes been identified with Marlowe, Peele, and Lodge. But see my *In re Shakespeare* (John Lane, 1909), p. 96.

[3] See *Ephemera Critica*, by the late Professor Churton Collins.

pooned him, as "My notable Shake-rags." And in the anonymous play, *Arden of Feversham* (1592), which some critics have, unaccountably to my way of thinking, ascribed to Shakespeare, one of the two murderers is called Shake-bag.[1] In the same way Shake-scene might well be applied to any ranting actor, "a stalking-stamping Player, that will raise a tempest with his tongue, and thunder with his heels."[2]

Secondly, although the line, "O Tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide," occurs in *3 Henry VI*, it had previously appeared in the old quarto play, *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt*, published anonymously in 1595, but, no doubt, written before 1592, and probably before 1590, being the second part of the *Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, which Malone, in a dissertation on the three parts of *King Henry VI* (pronounced by Porson to be "one of the most convincing pieces of criticism he had ever met with"), stoutly maintains not to be a Shakespearean play at all.[3]

These two considerations seem to detract somewhat from the force of the arguments of those who think that there is here an allusion to Shakspere. But assuming that such a reference is intended (as I am well content to do), what is its effect, and what does it amount to? I wrote in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 313): "The utmost that we should be entitled to say is that Greene here accuses Player Shakspere of putting forward, as his

[1] I do not think it very likely that "Shakespeare" would have adopted "Shakebag" as a murderer's name. But considerations of style appear to me fatal as against the theory of the Shakespearean authorship of this play.

[2] See *The Puritaine* (1607). Mr. W. A. Chapman, of Santa Monica, California, in his *William Shakspere and Robert Greene* (1912), contends that "Shake-scene" = "Dance-scene," and that the allusion is to Will Kempe the jig-dancer. (We may compare the term "Shakers.") But I hardly think his argument will carry conviction.

[3] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 151 *et seq.*

own, some work, or, perhaps, some parts of a work, for which he was really indebted to another. Anyhow, Greene refers to this 'Shake-scene' as being an impostor, an upstart crow beautified with the feathers which he has stolen from the dramatic writers ('our feathers'); a 'Poet Ape,' to borrow Jonson's expression; a 'Johannes Factotum,' who could do a little bit of everything; and withal self-conceited, and so far from being, as Shakspere is so often represented, an easy-going, genial, boon-companion, that he is fitly described as hiding a tiger's heart under a player's hide!"

Now Mr. Lang takes me to task for this: "How can mortal man squeeze from these words the charge that 'Player Shakspere' is 'putting forward, as his own, some work, or perhaps some parts of a work, for which he was really indebted to another'? *It is as an actor, with other actors*,[1] that the player is 'beautified with *our* feathers'—not with the feathers of some one *not* ourselves, Bacon, or Mr. Greenwood's Unknown. Mr. Greenwood even says that Shake-scene is referred to 'as beautified with the feathers *which he has stolen* from the dramatic writers' ('our feathers'). Greene says absolutely nothing about feathers '*which he has stolen*.' The 'feathers,' the words of the plays, were bought, not stolen, by the actors, 'anticks garnished in our colours.'"[2] And, again: "Like all players, who are all 'anticks garnished in our colours,' Shake-scene, *as player*, is 'beautified with our feathers.' It is Mr. Greenwood who adds 'beautified with the feathers which he has *stolen* from the dramatic writers.' Greene does not even remotely hint at plagiarism on the part of Shake-scene: and the feathers, the plays of Greene and his friends, were not stolen but bought."[3]

Thus Mr. Lang. But let the reader please note

[1] My italics.
[2] *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown*, pp. 143–4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

that Greene says nothing about "other actors" being "beautified with our feathers." It is one particular actor, "an upstart crow," who is thus beautified. It would be absurd indeed for a dramatist who had got his play accepted by a company of players to make it a grievance against them that they were doing just what he desired, and intended, them to do, viz. reciting the lines which he had written for them to recite! *That* cannot be the grievance which Greene (who, although on his death-bed, was not a lunatic) had against the players. Am I wrong, then, in suggesting that Greene charges the "upstart crow" with having stolen the feathers—"our feathers"—with which he was "beautified"? Let us remember whence the image of the crow decked out with the feathers of other birds comes from. It is, of course, from *Æsop's Fables.* The fable in question is sometimes told of the "crow," but more frequently, and, if I remember rightly, in Æsop's original, of the jackdaw. I have a small edition of *Æsop's Fables* done into English before me, published in Routledge's "New Universal Library." In it I find the fable of "The Vain Jackdaw," thus:

"Jupiter determined, it is said, to create a sovereign over the birds, and made proclamation that, on a certain day, they should all present themselves before him, when he would himself choose the most beautiful among them to be King. The Jackdaw, knowing his own ugliness, searched through the woods and fields, and *collected the feathers which had fallen from the wings of his companions*, and stuck them in all parts of his body, hoping thereby to make himself the most beautiful of all. When the appointed day arrived, and the birds had assembled before Jupiter, the Jackdaw also made his appearance in his many-feathered finery. On Jupiter proposing to make him King, on account of the beauty of his plumage, the birds indignantly protested, and each *plucking from him his own feathers*, the Jackdaw was again nothing but a Jackdaw."

Here, if there was not actual theft, there was certainly the taking of the feathers of others, and making free with them for self-adornment, an operation which roused the indignation of the birds whose feathers had been thus appropriated for the purpose of deception. In a word, here, certainly, was "plagiarism"; here was, implied by the metaphor, the "putting forward as his own" of "some work, or, perhaps, some parts of a work, *for which he was really indebted to another*"! And it is this fable which, without question, was the origin of Greene's expression. Moreover, that Greene's feathers were "stolen" from him was freely asserted by other writers. Thus in *Greene's Funeralls*, by "R. B. Gent." (1594), we read:

> Greene, is the pleasing object of an eie;
> Greene, pleasde the eies of all that lookt uppon him;
> Greene, is the ground of evrie Painter's die;
> Greene, gave the ground, to all that wrote upon him.
> Nay more, the men that so eclipst his fame
> *Purloynde his Plumes*, can they deny the same?

This, surely, is pretty strong testimony to show that Greene's complaint was that the "upstart crow" had "stolen" the feathers with which he was beautified from himself and other dramatists ("our feathers")![1]

But according to Mr. Lang the meaning of the passage is very simple indeed: "Do not trust the players, *for one of them writes blank verse, which he thinks as good as the best of yours*, and fancies himself the only Shake-scene in a country." Here Mr. Lang confines his attention solely to the words, "supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you," and the words following about the "absolute

[1] Mr. Robertson writes (p. 543) (assuming as certain that the allusion is to Shakespeare): "Shakespeare had in his youth been railed at by Greene, the dying playwright, for eking out his and others' handiwork, and a friend of Greene's had later asserted openly that men who had eclipsed Greene's fame in comedy had *stolen his plumes*, challenging them to deny it." "*Eking out*," here, appears to be a euphemism, like "*convey* the wise it call"!

Johannes Factotum." We may admit that these words appear to imply that "Shake-scene" (whether Shakespeare or some other) supposed himself able to compose inflated blank verse—to bumbast it out—as well as the best of the dramatists of the time, like those who, in the words of Nash, "mounted on the stage of arrogance, think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse."[1] But Mr. Lang's "simple" interpretation, as I confidently submit, omits to give due effect to the image of the "upstart crow, beautified with our feathers." And when he goes on to say (p. 145), "This proves that the actor from Stratford was accepted in Greene's world as *an author of plays in blank verse*," methinks he doth protest too much; for to be able to bombast out a blank verse is very far from meaning by necessary implication the authorship of whole plays, and, if it really means authorship at all, need signify no more than the addition of certain passages to the works of others, and, for the sake of argument, I am quite content to accept the theory that Shakspere of Stratford was at this time stuffing out old plays with blank verse of his own.[2] Only let us remember that all this is only plausible guess-work after all.[3]

Mr. Lang has commented in a similar manner upon my observations concerning Ben Jonson's sonnet "To Poet-Ape," but I must reserve my remarks as to this till we come to consider Ben's various allusions to Shakespeare.[4]

[1] Introduction to Greene's *Menaphon* (1509).

[2] To bombast appears to have meant originally to stuff out with cotton wool, as in "they bombast their doublet" (Bulwer, cited in the *New English Dictionary*).

[3] The term "Shake-scene," or "stage-shaker," we must remember, properly applies to an actor, not to an author.

[4] See p. 372. I will here venture to refer to some remarks made by one of the ablest and best-informed of the "Baconians," namely, the late Rev. Walter Begley. He points out that "Shake-speare" is written with a hyphen

Together with the allusion to "Shake-scene," in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, it is usual to consider Chettle's alleged reference to Shakspere's "facetious grace in writing," etc., in his Preface to the *Kind-Hart's Dreame*. I have, however, already so fully discussed this matter that I will not go over that well-trodden ground again. I claim to have shown that this supposed allusion to Shakspere cannot be a reference to him at all.[1] Of that opinion also were Mr. Fleay,[2] Mr. Howard Staunton, and Mr. Castle, K.C., and I am glad to see that Mr. E. K. Chambers, in his article on "Shakespeare" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), holds the same view. "It is most improbable," he writes, "that the apologetic reference in Chettle's *Kind-harts Dream* (Dec. 1592) refers to Shakespeare." In any case, the statement that Shakspere was intended had nothing to rest on but pure guess-work, and the practice adopted by so many critics and biographers of quietly slipping Shakespeare's name into the passage, as though he had been actually mentioned by Chettle, is utterly unjustifiable, as leading the reader to believe, contrary to the fact, that Chettle makes actual mention of Shakespeare and that there is no doubt at all in the matter.[3] In no other biography but "Shake-

in some of the earliest allusions, for example in the verses prefixed to *Willobie his Avisa* (1594). But, says Mr. Begley, "the Stratford man never had a 'Shake' in his name, nor yet his ancestors; and as to having a hyphen in the middle, all his people would have stared with amazement." Moreover, there is an "*absence of any reference to an actor* in the earliest allusions to Shake-speare or Shakespeare, who, too, is never called Shakspere at this date." Mr. Begley, therefore, believes that these allusions are to *the poet* who had published *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* in the name of "Shakespeare." Those who care to do so may refer to Bacon's *Nova Resuscitatio* (Gay & Bird, 1905), Vol. II, pp. 44, 67 *et seq.*

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp. 307–19; *In re Shakespeare*, chap. v; *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, p. 65 *et seq.*

[2] *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 111.

[3] It is done in this way: "I am so sorry," Chettle wrote, "as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because myselfe have seene his (i.e. Shakespeare's) demeanour no less civill than he (is) excellent in the quality

speare's" would such methods be considered consistent with common honesty.

So much, then, for the supposed allusion to Shakspere as writing, or *patching*, plays in the year 1592.[1] Let us now take up again the slender thread of his life in London and at Stratford until his death in the year 1616.

Whether or not "Will" revisited Stratford for the first ten years or so after his flight to London, there is no evidence to show. "Between the winter of 1585 and the autumn of 1596, an interval which synchronises with his first literary triumph, there is," says Sir Sidney Lee, "only one shadowy mention of his name in Stratford records." It is conjectured that he may have been there in 1587, because in April of that year died Edmund Lambert, the mortgagee of the estate at Asbies belonging to John and Mary Shakspere, and a few months later William Shakspere's name, "as owner of a contingent interest, was joined to that of his father and mother in a formal assent given to an abortive proposal to confer on Edmund's son and heir, John Lambert, an absolute title to the estate on condition of his cancelling the mortgage and paying £20. But the deed does not

he professes," etc. (Lee's *Life*, p. 53. But herein Sir Sidney Lee has only followed many earlier commentators). The parenthesis "(i.e. Shakespeare's)" is quietly and quite unwarrantably slipped into the quotation!

[1] That "Will" should have been writing, or "writing up," plays as early as the year 1592, if such were indeed the fact, seems not a little astonishing. But, says Mr. E. K. Chambers, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "much indeed might be done in eight years of crowded Elizabethan life." But how does he get his "eight years"? This "crowded Elizabethan life" could hardly have begun until "Will" arrived in London, and that, as Mr. Fleay has shown, was in all probability not before 1587. It is not generally supposed that he fled in 1585, the very year when his twins were born, and in 1586 the plague was raging, and the London theatres were closed, so we can hardly date the Hegira in that year. Thus we have only five years, instead of eight. Then, surely, "Will" did not all at once enter upon this strenuous crowded life! Must we not allow a little time for horse-holding, acting as "servitor" in the theatre, etc. etc.?

indicate that Shakespeare personally assisted at the transaction."[1] This is the "shadowy mention" referred to by Sir Sidney Lee, but, as I have already shown, it is probable that "Will" did not leave Stratford till this very year, 1587.

But how fared it with his wife and children after his departure for the metropolis? The twins Hamnet and Judith were, as we know, baptized on February 2nd, 1585. Poor Hamnet died in 1596, and was buried at Stratford on August 11th of that year. Was his father present at the funeral? He may have been, but there is no record to show it. And what of Judith? Here we are confronted with a fact that has always appeared to me astounding, if the received hypothesis be accepted, but which seems to be regarded as the most natural thing in the world by those of the orthodox faith. Judith Shakspere was allowed to grow up in such entire ignorance that she could neither read nor write. She could not even write her own name, but had to use a mark for signature, and a terribly illiterate scrawl it is. Now for a player's daughter this was natural enough. But for the bard who was not of an age but for all time; the bard who has provided an appropriate word of poetry or philosophy for every incident and contingency of human life; the bard whom to know is indeed a liberal education; the literary light of the world, the myriad-minded man who wrote that "there is no darkness but ignorance"—for *him* to permit his daughter to remain in that darkness—to take no care or thought whatever as to her education—that seems to me one of the most extraordinary facts (if fact it be) in the world's history. From the player we expect little or nothing in such matters. From the author of *Hamlet* is it too much to expect some little care for the intelligence of his children?

Mr. Lang, however, has an easy answer to this

[1] Lee's *Life*, p. 24; "H-P," Vol. I, pp. 59 and 78 (6th ed.).

question. He finds the solution of the difficulty in the method of analogy: "It appears that Shakespeare's daughter, Judith, could write no more than her grandfather. Nor, I repeat, could the Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of the great Earl Huntly, when she was married to the Earl of Bothwell in 1566. At all events, Lady Jane 'made her mark.'" [1]

I confess I did not know much about "the great Earl Huntly" when I read this passage. I imagined that he, too, must have written great works, such as *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello*, for instance. I flew, therefore, with "great expectations" to that invaluable work the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and there read the life of George Gordon, 4th Earl of Huntly (1514–1562), whose daughter Jean, or Jane, married James, 4th Earl of Bothwell, on February 22nd, 1566. I respectfully ask the intelligent reader, unless he is already familiar with that life, to go and do likewise. Having done so, I hope he will ask himself whether there is any analogy whatsoever between the case of "Shakespeare," the immortal lord of literature, and this turbulent, fighting Scottish lord. George Gordon, Earl Huntly, allowed his daughter to be a "marks-woman"; therefore it is quite natural and appropriate that "Shakespeare" also should allow *his* daughter to remain in ignorance! Such is the argument. But we really must have some corresponding elements in the two subjects of comparison when we attempt to reason by analogy. Here there is as much correspondence between the two as there is between a horse-chestnut and a chestnut horse.

But this is not the only analogy that has been found in this connection. Mr. Henry Davey, who writes the "Memoir" in the *Stratford Town Shakespeare*, casting about, like other Stratfordian apologists, for a parallel case to Judith's, has fixed upon Milton's daughter Anne.

[1] Work cited, p. 176. He had already made the same statement at p. 47.

Of Judith he writes (Vol. X, p. 293): "Probably like Milton's eldest daughter, she could not write." Now Milton's motherless daughters, living with their blind father, may not have received the best of educations, but at any rate they could all read, indeed, the two younger girls, as we are told, read to their father works in French, Latin, Italian, and Spanish.

It is said, and Mr. Robertson adopts the legend, apparently without giving it a moment's critical consideration, that he forced them to read in these languages "without understanding a word." The only authority for this is Edward Philips Now Philips tells us that Milton excused his eldest daughter, Anne, from reading, on account of her bodily infirmity, but that he made the other two read, and "exactly pronounce," works not only in the languages mentioned, but also in Hebrew, Syriac (as he thinks), and in Greek. I take leave to discredit this wondrous tale altogether. It is obvious that in order to read Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, the girls must have first mastered the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek characters. That Milton caused them to do this is incredible. Masson apparently recognised the mythical character of the legend, for he says "the story is credible only in the sense that it roughly describes the actual result," which Sir Leslie Stephen, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, interprets to mean that if such was the result it certainly was not Milton's "intention," for it is pointed out that he particularly disliked works to be read aloud to him when not understood by the reader. But to my mind the whole story bears upon its face the mark of exaggerated over-statement, to say the least. Milton at this time was blind, infirm, and poor In this pitiable state it was very natural that he should desire his daughters to remedy, so far as they could, that terrible privation, the loss of his eyesight. We read of them that they were by no means dutiful or sweet-tempered children,

but even took advantage of his blindness to rob him. But why should we be "side-tracked" into the details of this wretched story? The whole point (if point there be) is in the comparison between Judith Shakspere and Anne Milton.

Of Anne we are told that although (unlike Judith) she had learnt to read, yet she could not write. But Anne was a deformed cripple, and Professor Masson tells us that it was "her bodily infirmity" which prevented her from writing. Now, many a man—and woman too—unable to read or write, has learnt to scribble a signature (such was, apparently, the case with Shakspere's eldest daughter, Susanna Hall), but this poor girl, who, although she could read perfectly well, was prevented by her bodily infirmity from writing, is put before us as a parallel to the ignorant and entirely uneducated Judith! Is it, then, really suggested that Milton would not have caused his eldest daughter to be as well educated as her sisters, had it not been for her physical, and, perhaps, mental infirmities? The supposed analogy breaks down at every point

I had written much to this effect in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, and supposed that I had pretty well disposed of the fancied parallel between Judith Shakspere and Anne Milton. And there I might have left it, but Mr. Robertson has now taken up the cudgels—in Mr. Robertson's case it is generally the bludgeon!—and appears as the newest champion of the method of justifying Shakspere by defaming Milton. Mr. Robertson says I have "never faced the real issue, the probable difference between the culture-standards of *Stratford* in Shakespeare's day and those of *London* in Milton's." The suggestion, therefore, is that, making allowance for the difference in these "culture-standards," Milton treated his daughters in the matter of education quite as badly as Shakspere treated Judith. But first of all I should

like to ask "why on earth" the standard in Shakspere's case should have been the *Stratford* standard, and not the *London* standard? Judith was born in 1585, and in 1590, or thereabouts, when the girl was only five years old, Shakspere was, according to Mr. Robertson and those of his faith, writing plays, or "writing up" plays, or "writing over" plays, whichever they like. In 1592 he had got on so far that he was "the only Shake-scene in a country." He must, surely, have known the London "culture-standard" by that time! Could he not, while writing the great works which were to raise him to one of the highest pinnacles among the immortals, have spared one thought for the education of his little daughter whom he had left behind at Stratford? But this, it seems, was the common "Stratford standard," to leave the girls in the darkness of ignorance. Was "Shakespeare" then a common man? Are we not justified in expecting something more from the myriad-minded man than from such "deserving men" as Heminge and Condell? Are *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, and the early plays, such as *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Comedy of Errors*, indicative of the Stratford "culture-standard"? And if not, why should this Janus-faced demigod have one "culture-standard" for his works and another for his children?

But, secondly, in my judgment, it is really a contemptible kind of criticism which would suggest that Milton's treatment of his daughters in the matter of education is in any way comparable to Shakspere's treatment of *his* daughters, to whom, in point of fact, he gave no education at all. Observe, it is not a question whether or not Milton treated his daughters unkindly. That seems to me altogether irrelevant. The question is, Did he leave them uneducated as Shakspere left *his* daughters? Notoriously such was not the fact, and, to my mind, it only shows to what length the *animus* of an habitual

controversialist may be carried when Mr. Robertson is found trying to support this discredited comparison. Mr. Robertson objects to my characterising such methods as "pitiful." I think I might with justice have employed a much stronger epithet.

So much for poor Judith, who in February, 1616, but two months before her father's death, married an honest vintner of her native town, named Thomas Quincy, but, like her father, married in haste, so much so, indeed, that the pair were married without a licence, for which they were, a few weeks afterwards, fined and threatened with excommunication by the ecclesiastical court at Worcester.

And now what of Shakspere's wife, the Anne (or Agnes) Hathwey (or Hathaway), around whom so much poetic mythology has accumulated? She seems to have fared no better than his father, John Shakspere, who, as we know, got into sad financial difficulties, and was unceasingly harassed by creditors. "The only contemporary mention made of her," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "between her marriage in 1582, and her husband's death in 1616, is as the borrower at an unascertained date (evidently before 1595) of forty shillings from Thomas Whittington, who had formerly been her father's shepherd. The money was unpaid when Whittington died in 1601." That the last statement is correct is shown by the following extract from Whittington's will: "Unto the poore people of Stratford, xl. s. that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wyfe unto Mr Wyllyam Shaxspere, and is due debt unto me, being paid to mine executor by the sayd Wyllyam Shaxspere or his assignee according to the true meaning of this my will."[1]

It is sad indeed to think of Anne Shakspere being constrained to borrow 40s. from her father's ex-shepherd, and to read that the money was still unpaid in 1601. Yet Shakspere was in no want of money at the time

[1] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, Vol. II, p. 186.

when these forty shillings were borrowed, and still less in 1601, when Thomas Whittington died; for in the spring of 1597 he had purchased New Place, the largest house in Stratford, for the sum of £60, representing about £480 if we take the value of money at the present time. One would have imagined that he might have paid off his wife's debt to the old shepherd. We can only say that this is one of the remarkable things which strike us at every turn in this most unsatisfactory life.

Moreover, in 1596, the year previous to the purchase of New Place, we find the erst penniless John Shakspere, backed, as we must suppose, by his now well-to-do son, making application to the Heralds' College for a coat-of-arms. This application John Shakspere had made once before, viz. in 1568, while he was bailiff of Stratford, supporting it by numerous fictions concerning his family. The negotiations of 1568, however, proved abortive. The application was, therefore, now renewed by John and William Shakspere, or, rather, as it would seem, by William in John's name, and was accompanied by more fictitious allegations; and changes having taken place at the Heralds' College in 1597 (Essex becoming Earl Marshal, and Camden Clarenceux King-of-Arms), a novel procedure was adopted by the applicants, who now audaciously asserted that certain draft grants prepared by the heralds in the previous year had been *assigned* to John Shakspere while he was bailiff, and the Heralds, instead of being asked for a grant of arms, "were merely invited to give a 'recognition' or 'exemplification' of it," which was a thing much more easily secured than a grant, for "the heralds might, if they chose, tacitly accept, without examination, the applicant's statement that his family had borne arms long ago, and they thereby regarded themselves as relieved of the obligation of close inquiry into his present status."[1] There was, however, a

[1] Lee's *Life*, p. 151 and note.

limit beyond which these complaisant heralds refused to go. The Shaksperes, father and son, had coolly desired them to recognise the title of Mary Shakspere, John's wife, to bear the arms of the great Warwickshire family of Arden, then seated at Park Hall. "Ridiculous statements," says Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps (Vol. I, p. 162), "were made respecting the claims of the two families. Both were really descended from obscure country yeomen, but the heralds made out that the predecessors of John Shakespeare were rewarded by the Crown for distinguished services"; but as to the Arden arms they appear, as Sir Sidney Lee writes, to "betray conscientious scruples," and this audacious claim was abandoned. The Shaksperes, however, obtained their coat-of-arms in 1599, with the motto, so provocative of criticism, *non sans droict*, which as their right seems to have been altogether imaginary, was presumably assigned to them on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle.[1]

Whether Mr. William Shakspere, Gent., *Armiger*, etc., now settled permanently at Stratford seems not quite clear. The purchase of New Place was, owing to the sudden death of the vendor, not finally completed till 1602, but in February, 1597-8, we find Shakspere a householder, in Chapel Street Ward, in which New Place was situated, "and owner of ten quarters of corn." Only two inhabitants, we are informed, were credited

[1] We cannot doubt that Jonson had this motto in mind when he made Puntarvolo say in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (III, Sc. 1), "Let the word [i.e. motto] be 'not without mustard.' Your crest is very rare, sir." Sogliardo tells us that he had "toiled among the harrots" (i.e. the Heralds) to get this coat-of-arms, but "I thank God I can write myself a gentleman now." See the whole passage quoted in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 461. We have also an allusion in *The Poetaster* (Act I, Sc. 1) where Tucca, speaking of the players, exclaims: "They are grown licentious the rogues; libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are i' the statute, the rascals, they are blazoned there, there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees; they need no other heralds, I wiss." The statute here referred to is 39 Eliz. c. 4 (cf. also 14 Eliz. c 5).

with a larger holding. "In the same year (1598) he procured stone for the repair of the house, and before 1602 had planted a fruit orchard." In 1611, at any rate, he appears to have been permanently settled at New Place. As the poor student says, in *The Returne from Parnassus*, speaking of "those glorious vagabonds" the players who had enriched themselves, in lines already cited,

> With mouthing words that better wits had framed
> They purchase lands and now esquires are made.[1]

But these lines cannot, of course, apply to William Shakspere if he was really, according to the accepted belief, the author of the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare.

But before saying a word as to his life in the retirement of New Place, we must turn back to certain notices of player Shakspere in the years 1601 and 1604.

The first reference is to two well-known entries made in his diary by John Manningham, Barrister-at-law, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, a well-educated and cultured man, who, under date February 2nd, 1601, makes the following record: "At our feast we had a play called Twelve Night, or What You Will, much like The Comedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and near to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practice in it to make the steward believe his lady widow was in love with him, by counterfeiting a letter as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparel, etc., and then, when he came to practise, making him believe they took him to be mad."

Here we have an undoubted reference to the performance of "Shakespeare's" *Twelfth Night* in the Middle Temple Hall in February, 1601. The allusion

[1] Or "named." *Vide supra*, p. 213.

to *The Comedy of Errors* and Plautus's "*Menechmi*" is rather cryptic, but I gather therefrom that Manningham had seen *The Comedy of Errors* (perhaps when acted at Gray's Inn in 1594), which he knew was founded on the *Menechmi*, and conceived that there were points of comparison between the two plays. At any rate, he clearly took much interest in the play of *Twelfth Night*.

Now on March 13th of the following month (1601) he makes another entry as follows: "Upon a time when Burbidge played Richard Third there was a citizen gone so far in liking with him, that before she went from the play she appointed him to come that night unto her by the name of Richard the Third. Shakespeare overhearing their conclusion went before, was entertained, and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then message being brought that Richard the Third was at the door, Shakespeare caused return to be made that William the Conqueror was before Richard the Third. Shakespere's[1] name William." Here we have another undoubted reference to a play of "Shakespeare's," viz. *Richard III*, and also an undoubted reference to player Shakspere; and this, says Sir Sidney Lee, is "the sole anecdote of Shakespeare [Shakspere] which is positively known to have been recorded in his lifetime."

I have characterised this allusion as a striking example of the *negative pregnant*. Manningham had seen *Twelfth Night* and had been so much entertained by it that he makes a lengthy entry concerning the play in his diary. Yet when, but a month later, he records a story about player Shakspere, in connection with the Shakespearean play *Richard the Third*, instead of saying that William Shakespeare, who assumed the rôle of "William the

[1] Manningham appears to have varied the spelling of the player's name, a practice of dealing with proper names which was common enough at that period.

Conqueror," to the discomfiture of Burbage, was "the brilliant author of that Twelfth Night play which so much amused me at our feast last month," he finds himself constrained to add, "Shakespere's name William," showing that he has not the least idea that *he* was the author of the play. This certainly struck me as "giving furiously to think." But Mr. Lang has his answer cut and dried. I had written: "Nobody outside a very small circle, troubled his head as to who the dramatist or dramatists might be."[1] Thereupon says Mr. Lang: "To that 'very small circle' we have no reason to suppose that Manningham belonged, despite his remarkable opinion that *Twelfth Night* resembles the Menæchmi. Consequently it is not 'extremely remarkable' that Manningham wrote 'Shakespeare's name William,' to explain to posterity the joke about 'William the Conqueror,' instead of saying 'the brilliant author,' etc." But, with all deference, I dissent entirely from Mr. Lang's view that Manningham stood outside the small circle to which I referred.

Manningham was, I repeat, a barrister and a cultured and well-educated man of the world. He had witnessed the performance of *Twelfth Night* in the Middle Temple Hall, at their "feast," one of the "grand nights" of 1601, and had been so much struck by it that he thinks it worth while to record certain details of the play in his diary. I should say that this was the very man who *would* have been likely to take an interest in the authorship of the play. I certainly had no thought of including such a man as this in the ranks of the general public ("the great stupid") who in Shakespeare's day would see and applaud a play without ever troubling their head to ask who the dramatist might be. On the contrary, I regard John Manningham as typical of the small circle to which I alluded. Yet he sees *Twelfth Night* and,

[1] *In re Shakespeare*, p. 54.

presumably, he sees Shakspere act in it He tells a story of Burbage and Shakspere in *Richard III*, but he has evidently no idea that player Shakspere was the author either of the one play or of the other. He has no suspicion of the identity of Shakespeare the author and Shakspere the merry player

But I made reference here to the story of William Shakspere playing a trick on his fellow-actor Burbage, such as d'Artagnan played on "miladi's" lover, mainly because it throws light upon the sort of man that Shakspere was, or was traditionally held to be. But I must crave leave to repeat the words which I formerly wrote upon this matter: "I desire to guard against misunderstanding I do not mean, of course, to suggest that because Shakspere was a lover of 'wine and woman,' therefore he could not have been the author of the Plays and Poems. Such a suggestion would, indeed, be idiotic, for 'wine, woman, and song' are a notorious and a time-honoured association. Still less do I write in any censorious spirit. I have too much anxiety for the preservation of my own glass house to think of throwing hypocritical stones at either the living or the dead. But what I submit is that this traditional Shakspere, taking him as a whole, and considering his parentage, his environment, his character, and all the circumstances of his life, so far as the old witnesses reveal them to us, does not, in any way, or in any measure, fulfil the conditions necessary for the sublime poet, the profound philosopher, the universal teacher, the object of the world's adoration, the writer of the *Sonnets*, the author of *Adonis* and *Lucrece*, the creator of *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, and Prospero, the cultured courtier, . . [1] the—in short, the all in all that the greatest of critics have recognised in Shakespeare, as revealed to them not by tradition,

[1] I omit the words "the erudite lawyer" in order not to beg the question of Shakespeare's legal knowledge.

and not by biographers, but by the immortal works themselves."

And a further consideration suggests itself with reference to Shakspere's escapade as related by John Manningham. It is easy enough to conceive of Shakespeare as playing the part of a "gallant gay Lothario," even although we may reject the picture of him as an erotic and neurotic decadent presented to us by Mr. Frank Harris; but it is difficult to imagine him, in the pursuit of his amours, acting in the particular manner adopted by the player of Manningham's story. It seems incongruous to conceive the immortal poet playing this trick on a fellow-player in the assumed rôle of "William the Conqueror." I cannot help thinking that *his* cult of the Cnidian and Paphian Queen would have been rather more refined. Of course the story may be untrue, albeit the only one recorded in Shakspere's lifetime. But true or untrue it is very good "evidence of reputation."[1] It fits the player admirably. I can hardly think it appropriate to the Poet.

These entries in Manningham's diary bear date, as we have seen, in 1601. Let us now pass to the year 1604. In that year, according to Dr. Charles William Wallace, Professor in the University of Nebraska, Shakspere was lodging with one Mountjoy, a "tire maker," i.e. a maker of "head-dresses and wigs," who lived at a corner house at the meeting of Silver Street and Muggle, or Mugwell (now Monkwell) Street, and in the Cripplegate Ward. In fact—so, at least, Dr. Wallace tells us—Shakspere lodged at that house with the worthy "tire maker" for

[1] Needless to say, I do not use this expression in its strict legal sense. It may not be out of place to note here what different, and apparently antagonistic qualities are assigned to player Shakspere. At one time he is the pleasant, "gentle," easy-going, joke-loving, amatory boon-companion, a lover of pleasure and good company; at another he is the shrewd, cautious, litigious, money-lending, money-saving man of business. It seems difficult to reconcile these contradictory aspects of the same character.

some six years, from 1598 to 1604.[1] This the Professor deduces from the records of an action brought by one Stephen Bellott against the before-mentioned Mountjoy, in the year 1612, which Dr. Wallace has discovered at the Record Office, and so the fact may have been, though it does not seem to appear very clearly from the case cited. The story of this action is told by the learned Professor in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1910, and I have given an abbreviated account of it in *The National Review* for April of that year.[2] It seems that Mountjoy had taken this Bellott "as apprentice to learn the trade of tire-making," and Bellott boards with Mountjoy, as also does Shakspere. Mountjoy has an only daughter, Mary, and when Bellott had finished his term of apprenticeship it appears to have occurred to the worthy tire-maker and his wife that it would be a desirable thing to arrange a match between him and Mary. Bellott, however, seems to have been a timid and bashful wooer, so the Mountjoys conceive the happy idea of making Shakspere an intermediary to do a little honest marriage-brokage. "So," writes Dr. Wallace, in a tender and gushing passage, "the greatest poet of all the world, moved by the simple impulse of humanity that is the key to all he ever wrote, did the wished-for service among these simple-hearted, simple-passioned folk." To Stephen Bellott, then, goes William Shakspere, and tells him that Harkis (i.e. Mary) is willing, and that the bride will have a dower of £50, say £400 in money of to-day. In fact, he plays the part of honest broker so

[1] Shakspere, we must remember, bought New Place in 1597, and in February, 1598, is found to be a householder in Chapel Street Ward, Stratford. In that year he is recorded as having procured stone for New Place, and in 1602 he had planted an orchard there. But his *residence* at that time was apparently "Muggle Street." See Dr. Wallace's article "New Shakespeare Discoveries" in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* for March, 1910.

[2] This article is reprinted with some additions in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*.

well that the marriage was solemnised on November 19th, 1604. But, alas,

> The best laid schemes of mice and men
> Gang aft agley.

"It had been agreed," writes Dr. Wallace, "that dear Stephen and Mary were to live in the paternal home," in Muggle Street, "but before the end of the first year Bellott refused to remain longer." He clears out and removes, with his wife, to the parish of St. Sepulchre, where they have "a chamber in the house or inn" of one George Wilkins, described as a "victualler." Subsequently, after Mrs Mountjoy's death, Bellott brings an action against Mountjoy concerning Mary's dower, and hales his father-in-law before the Court of Requests,[1] hoping to compel the old man to fulfil his alleged promises. The hearing of the case was, we are told, set down for Easter term, 1612, and, on May 7th, "the Court issued a compulsory to William Shakespeare, gent, and others, ad testificandum inter Stephen Bellott querentem et Christoferum Mountjoy deft." Interrogatories also were issued to the witnesses, which are set forth at length in Dr. Wallace's article and which show the trifling nature of the matter at issue To these interrogatories the several deponents make answer. And first Johane Johnsone, who was a "servant to the defendant at that time," declares, amongst other things, that "as she remembereth the defendant did send and perswade one Mr Shakespeare that laye in the house to perswade the plaintiff to the same Marriadge," and thereunto she sub-

[1] Courts of Request were Courts for the collection of small debts, and were in existence down to a comparatively recent date Sergeant Ballantyne tells us that in his early days "there were no County Courts, but here and there in the Metropolis were dotted small debts Courts, not remarkable for dignity or use; they were called Courts of Request" *Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life* (1882), Vol. I, p. 31. These "Courts of Request" were superseded by the County Courts.

scribes "her mark." This is apparently the only evidence that "Mr Shakespeare" lodged with Mountjoy, for he, himself, in his answer, does not mention the fact. Then one Danyell Nycholas says that "Mr William Shakespeare tould him this deponent that the defendant sent him the said Mr Shakespeare to the plaintiff about suche A marriadge to be hadd between them [Stephen and Mary], And Shakespeare tould this deponent that the defendant tould him that yf the plaintiff would Marrye the said Marye his daughter he would geue him the plaintiff A some of money with her for A porcion in Marriadge with her,"—a fearful example of hearsay evidence![1] Then comes the man himself, *ipsissumus*, viz. "William Shakespeare of Stratford upon Aven in the Countye of Warwicke, gentleman, of the Age of xlviii yeres or thereabouts," who deposes, *inter alia*, that "the said defendantes wyeffe did sollicitt and entreat this deponent to move and perswade the said Complainant to effect the said Marriadge and accordingly the deponent did move and perswade the Complainant thereunto." This answer is, according to Dr. Wallace, signed by the abbreviated signature, "Willm Shaks."

Moreover, we have an answer from one William Eaton, concerning whom Dr. Wallace says, "Even young William Eaton, an apprentice now to Bellott, had the privilege of knowing Shakespeare and has heard him and Bellott talk over the question of dower, probably in the shop." And "young William Eaton," the apprentice, says, "he hath herd *one Mr Shakespeare* saye that he was sent by the defendant to the plaintiff to move the plaintiff to have a marriadge between them, the plaintiff and the defendante's daughter, Mary Mountioye"

It is to be noticed that all these witnesses speak of

[1] This is to be found in Danyell Nicholas's second deposition. In his first he speaks of hearing "one Mr Shakespeare" say so and so. See *Harper's Monthly Magazine* for March, 1910, pp. 498, 501.

"one William Shakespeare," or "one, Mr Shakespeare," and never describe him, or allude to him, as a poet or dramatist, although in the year 1612, when this case was tried, "Shakespeare" was at the zenith of his fame, so far as he had contemporary fame at all. It is really most disappointing that this should always be the case.

Here, then, we find William Shakspere of Stratford, in the years 1598 to 1604, according to Professor Wallace, lodging with a wig-maker in Muggle Street, and being "sent" by him (viz tire-maker Mountjoy) and his wife to act as intermediary between Mary Mountjoy and the *ci-devant* apprentice Bellott, in order to bring about a marriage between the two if possible. Now this is exactly what we should have expected of player Shakspere. It is just the sort of environment in which we should have expected to find him, a bourgeois among bourgeois. It is just the sort of thing which we might have expected him to do. How does it suit "the greatest poet of all the world"? Remember that before the year 1604, when this bit of marriage brokage was done by William Shakspere, some of the very greatest of the plays had been written, including such works as the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Julius Cæsar*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Hamlet*, greatest of all. Can we imagine the immortal bard in these sordid surroundings and employed in such paltry services? Yet Dr. Wallace does not hesitate to write: "The evidence at hand makes it *certain* at least that here at the corner of Muggell and Silver Streets Shakespeare was living when he wrote some of his greatest plays, *Henry V*, *Much Ado*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Macbeth*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*. And it is most likely that he wrote his subsequent plays here"!

All this appears to me most supremely foolish; but

when Dr. Wallace goes on to say that Shakespeare "honours his host by raising him in the play (*Henry V*) to the dignity of a French Herald under his own name of Mountjoy," he provides us with a measure of the erudition and intelligence of some of the modern Stratfordian critics and commentators. Mountjoy, the French Herald, it seems needless to say, was taken by Shakespeare directly from Holinshed. Moreover, Mountjoy is not a personal name, but the official name of a French Herald (like Rouge Dragon, e.g., in this country), so that Professor Wallace's blunder is really quite outrageously absurd.

After this it is not surprising to find Professor Wallace informing us that the copy of Florio's *Montaigne's Essays* purchased by the British Museum in 1838, bears on the fly-leaf the name "William Shakespeare," whereas, in truth and in fact, the name on the fly-leaf is "Willm Shakspere"! Nor is it surprising that the Professor is unaware that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has pronounced that signature an undoubted forgery. After this I will not waste time by discussing the singularly futile contention that the abbreviated signature "Willm Shaks," in the Bellott *v.* Mountjoy suit, is "conclusive proof" of the genuineness of the still further abbreviated signature (so called) "Wm Sh^{e}" which is found in a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Bodleian Library, written nobody knows when or by whom.[1]

We have it, then, that Shakespeare purchased New Place in 1597, that in 1598 he was a householder in Chapel Street Ward, Stratford-on-Avon, and that in the same year, and thenceforward till 1604, he was lodging

[1] Nor will I here discuss Dr. Wallace's very characteristic method of proving, to his own satisfaction at any rate, that "George Wilkins, victualler," mentioned in the suit, must have been George Wilkins pamphleteer and hack writer, as to whose life little or nothing is known, but who is supposed by some to have written a portion of *Pericles*. All these things are fully dealt with in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, Part III.

with the wig-maker in Muggle Street (according to Dr. Wallace). But by 1611 at any rate the authorities seem to be agreed that he had finally retired to Stratford, and was permanently resident at New Place.

Now, therefore, we find Shakspere comfortably settled in his little native town of Stratford among the petty tradesmen, butchers, glovers, wool-staplers, mercers, drapers, haberdashers, vintners, innkeepers, *et hoc genus omne*, from whose society he had fled so many years before. He now occupies himself with building, planting orchards, etc., lending money, bringing law-suits, buying up tithes, attempting to enclose common lands, etc. One letter written to him in 1598 has been preserved. It is the only one. The writer is Richard Quiney, a fellow-townsman (whose son, Thomas, afterwards married Shakspere's daughter, Judith), begging for a loan of money. Whether the request was granted is not known. In the same year another townsman, Abraham Sturley, writing, as it seems, to a brother in London, mentions "our countriman, Mr Shaksper," as "willing to disburse some money upon some odd yard-land or other at Shottery or near about us: he thinketh it a very fit pattern to move him to deal in the matter of our tithes." And the same Sturley, writing in November, 1598, to Richard Quiney aforesaid, points out to him that since the town was wholly unable in consequence of the dearth of corn, to pay the tax, he hoped "that our countriman, Mr Wm. Shak. would procure us money, which I will like of as I shall hear when and where and how."

Rare old Ben Jonson remained poor to the end of his days, but Shakspere, the cautious, prudent, worldly-wise, saving Shakspere, actor and actor-manager, had acquired a fortune, and Sir Sidney Lee tells us that "Pope had just warrant for the surmise that he

> For gain not glory winged his roving flight
> And grew immortal in his own despite"!

Imagine it! This is not the verdict of one of the "defamers of Shakespeare," it is the deliberate pronouncement of orthodox worshippers at the Stratfordian shrine. And what do they tell us? This: that the sublime poet, who did "the stars and sunbeams know,"

> Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
> Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling place,

gave the world all his everlasting work "for gain," and that though he became "immortal" it was "in his own despite" that such consummation was arrived at. A preposterous theory, as it appears to me, but, at any rate, quite orthodox, sane, and respectable, and to be subscribed to by all who do not wish to be classed among fools and fanatics.

Shakspere too had inherited, so Sir Sidney Lee tells us, his father's love of litigation Litigious he certainly was, and, as certainly, he "stood rigorously by his rights in his business relations."[1] He seems to have found gain if not glory in money-lending, and was as rigorous as Shylock in strictly enforcing the conditions of the bond. "In March, 1600, he recovered in London a debt of £7 from one John Clayton. In July, 1604, in the local Court at Stratford, he sued one Philip Rogers to whom he had supplied since the preceding March malt to the value of £1. 19. 10d., and had on June 25th lent 2/ in cash Rogers paid back 6/ and Shakespeare sought the balance of the account, £1. 15. 10d. During 1608 and 1609, he was at law with another fellow-townsman John Addenbroke." Then, in February, 1609, he obtains judgment against Addenbroke for the payment of £6 and £1. 5. costs, "but Addenbroke left the town, and the triumph proved barren." One Thomas Horneby, however, had made himself surety for Addenbroke, and Shakspere "avenged himself," says Sir Sidney Lee, by proceeding against the unfortunate surety.[2]

[1] Lee's *Life*, p. 164.

[2] *Ibid.*

Such was the life of Shakspere, the retired gentleman, among the *petite bourgeoisie* of the place which Garrick, more than two hundred years later, described as "the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking town in all Britain." It is what the French would style *banale* in the extreme. What many people have found extraordinary, on the received hypothesis, is that these "astute business transactions," as Sir Sidney Lee calls them, "of these years (1597–1611) synchronise with the production of Shakespeare's noblest literary work—of his most sustained and serious efforts in comedy, tragedy, and romance." Sir Sidney, however, thinks this to be an inconsistency "more apparent than real." It does not strike him as at all out of the way that a man should be writing *Hamlet* (where, by the way, we find the sound advice "neither a lender nor a borrower be") and at the same time bringing actions for petty sums lent on loan at some unspecified interest. Why should it be? Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* not for "glory," either contemporaneous or with posterity, but merely for "gain." It was something that would pay, and there would be so much the more for building, money-lending, tithe-buying, etc. Such is the orthodox creed which except a man believe faithfully without doubt he shall be damned everlastingly as fool and fanatic.

The incident of the attempt to enclose the common-fields at Stratford affords such a characteristic example of Shakspere's shrewd habit of looking after his own interest that it ought not to be passed over in silence. It seems that one William Combe (son of that John Combe whose usurious propensities Shakspere is said to have satirised in doggerel verses), about the year 1614, attempted, in conjunction with a neighbouring owner, "to enclose the common fields which belonged to the corporation of Stratford about his estate at Welcombe. The corporation resolved to offer the scheme a stout resistance. Shakespeare had a twofold interest in the matter by virtue of

his owning the freehold of 106 acres at Welcombe and Old Stratford, and as the joint owner now with Thomas Greene, the town clerk, of the tithes of Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton. His interest in his freeholds could not have been prejudicially affected, but his interest in the tithes might be depreciated by the proposed enclosure. Shakespeare consequently joined with his fellow-owner Greene in obtaining from Combe's agent, Replingham, in October, 1614, a deed indemnifying both against any injury they might suffer from the enclosure. *But having thus secured himself against all possible loss, Shakespeare threw his influence into Combe's scale,*" and supported the scheme of enclosure. Verily a sharp man of business this! "Happily," however, as Sir Sidney Lee says, "Combe's efforts failed and the common lands remain unenclosed," in spite of the efforts of the wealthy owner of New Place.[1]

"It is certain," writes Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, "that the poet [i.e. Shakspere] was in favour of the enclosures, for, on December the 23rd, the Corporation addressed a letter of remonstrance to him, on the subject, and another on the same day to a Mr. Mainwaring. The latter, who had been practically bribed by some land arrangements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interests of Shakespeare, so there can be no doubt that the three parties were acting in unison."[2]

In the face of all this it certainly does seem extraordinary, even in Shaksperian biography, where we have been taught not to be surprised at anything, that a lady, whose integrity no one would impugn, should write as follows: "It was all wild forest land, an outlying bit of the Forest of Arden.[3] And when, in 1614, an attempt was

[1] Lee's *Life*, p. 218. Italics mine.

[2] *Outlines*, 6th ed. p. 228.

[3] Really it was not a common, but "common-fields," a very different thing.

made to enclose Welcombe, the Corporation of Stratford opposed the project on the ground of hardship to the poor, and we find Shakespeare resisting the encroachment with all the vigour of a modern preserver of open spaces. . . . The whole episode is a 'touch of nature' that brings one closer to the man; and only those who have groaned over the enclosure of some beloved bit of woodland by the nineteenth-century barbarians can fully appreciate the poet's righteous indignation against the Vandals of 1615."[1]

This, really, is almost enough to take one's breath away. Let the reader observe that it purports to be just plain narrative of undisputed facts; and do not our hearts go out to the beloved poet, the defender of the rights of the poor, the protector of the beauties of nature against the threatened usurpation of "the Vandals"! And yet all the evidence before us goes to show that Shakspere of Stratford (poet or not) was himself one of these very "Vandals of 1615."

What possible explanation is there, then, of such a gross perversion of history? Well, there is a very simple one, and it is also a very instructive one, though it can hardly be called edifying. The above-mentioned Thomas Greene, clerk to the Corporation of Stratford, and joint tithe-owner with Shakspere, was the latter's cousin, and resided for a time at New Place. He kept a diary in which he made sundry entries concerning the proposed enclosure of the common-fields, and the part played by Shakspere in that transaction. One of these entries, under date September 1615, is in these words: "Mr Shakespeare telling J. Greene that I was not able to bear the encloseing of Welcombe"; i.e. Thomas Greene makes a note to the effect that Shakspere told J. Greene (who must not be confused with Thomas) that he, Thomas

[1] From an article on "Shakespeare in Warwickshire," by Miss Rose G. Kingsley, published in *The Nineteenth Century* for May, 1910.

Greene to wit, was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe.[1] It seems, therefore, that Thomas Greene, the clerk of the Corporation, was, not unnaturally, at one with that body in opposing the enclosures, and felt so strongly on the matter that Shakspere mentioned to J. Greene that he, Thomas, was not able to bear it, which remark Thomas thinks well to record in his diary.

Now, how does this appear in Miss Kingsley's article? I will quote her words: "We find this further pathetic entry in Greene's diary on the 1st of September, 1615: 'Mr Shakespeare told Mr J. Greene that *he* was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe.'"[2] And thus we have that "touch of nature" which "brings one closer to the man." A "pathetic entry," indeed, and all obtained by the simple expedient of substituting "he" for "I"!

Let us, however, be quite fair. This is not the first time the suggestion has been made that Thomas Greene may have written "I" by mistake for "he." Dr. Ingleby was, I believe, the first to put forward the hypothesis that Greene, being a careless scribbler, intended to write "he." But this, so far as I am aware, is the first time that that emendation, tentatively suggested as a possible one, has been quietly adopted, and read into the document so as to give it a meaning the very opposite to that which it bears as it stands in the original, and without the slightest intimation that the reading is mere conjecture, and that all the "authorities" are on the other side! This really strikes one as almost the *ne plus ultra* of Stratfordian audacity.

Moreover, although one can, of course, quite understand the anxiety of the "orthodox" to disprove, if

[1] Thomas Greene, Shakspere's cousin, always speaks of "Mr. Shakespeare" or "my cousin Shakspeare." Unfortunately he never alludes to him as poet or dramatist. Nobody ever did.

[2] My italics. It will be noticed that the quotation is inaccurate in other respects also.

possible, that the object of their adoration (William Shakspere to wit) was one of the Vandals of his day, yet there appears to be no kind of warrant for this falsification of an ancient document. "The pronoun in this entry," writes Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps (Vol. II, p. 382), "is considered by Mr. Edward Scott, of the British Museum, a very able judge, to be really the letter J," which is but another form of the letter "I." Then, after alluding to Dr. Ingleby's conjectural emendation, he says: "If Shakespeare had not favoured the enclosure scheme, why should the majority of the Corporation have addressed one of their letters of remonstrance to him, as well as Mainwaring, or why should Greene have troubled the former with 'a note of the inconveniences' that would arise from the execution of the proposed design?" So, too, Sir Sidney Lee: "The entry, therefore, implies that Shakespeare told J. Greene that the writer of the diary, Thomas Greene, was not able to bear the enclosure. Those who represent Shakespeare as a champion of popular rights have to read the 'I' in 'I was not able' as 'he.' Were that the correct reading, Shakespeare would be rightly credited with telling J. Greene that he disliked the enclosure; but palæographers only recognize the reading 'I.'"[1]

That this entry in Thomas Greene's diary should now be given to the world in the amended (i.e. falsified) form, in order to enlist the sympathy of the reader with Shakspere of Stratford, as making a "pathetic" struggle during the last months of his life for the rights of the poor and the beauties of nature, is a deplorable illustration of the manner in which an unfortunate *idée fixe* may lead enthusiasts of quite honest intention to be guilty of perversions of history not distinguishable in their results from those of conscious dishonesty.

So much, then, for Shakspere's action, in 1615, with

[1] Lee's *Life*, p. 218 note.

regard to the proposed enclosure of the Stratford common-fields. I must here mention once more an incident which had taken place two years previously. In 1613, as we know, "Mr Shakespeare" and Richard Burbage had been employed at Belvoir Castle "about my Lorde's impreso," and had each received the sum of 44s. for their pains. I need not, however, dwell further on this curious record, since I have already discussed it at some length.[1] As I have shown, there can be no reasonable doubt, in spite of Mrs. Stopes's courageous but not very wise attempt to identify "Mr Shakespeare" here with one John Shakespeare bit-maker to Charles I (wherein she is followed with uncritical docility by Mr. Robertson), that "William Shakspere of Stratford, Gent," was Burbage's companion and fellow-worker Thus a single line in a steward's account of household expenses tells us that Shakspere, three years before his death, at a time when he had finally retired to Stratford, and when, according to the received hypothesis, he must have been at the zenith of his fame, if fame he had at all in his lifetime,—for all the immortal plays had been written previously to the date in question,—is paid forty-four shillings for this trivial fancy-work. No wonder the faithful Mrs. Stopes wishes to substitute the "bit-maker" for the "bard," and that Mr. Robertson shows such alacrity to follow suit!

The above are all the incidents of William Shakspere's life of which I need here make mention. It is unfortunately true that no single fact is recorded concerning him to suggest that he was other than a very common man; nothing whatever to suggest that he was a great and generous and high-souled man. And all we know further of this singularly unattractive life—the life that has been handed down to us by Rowe, and the old journalists; the *life* apart from the assumed authorship—

[1] *Ante*, p. 16 *et seq.*

is that it came to an end on April 23rd, 1616 (O.S.). According to the Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford (writing in 1661-3), "Shakespear, Drayton and Ben Johnson had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted." This meeting is said to have been held at New Place, but the Rev. John Ward was writing at least five-and-forty years after Shakspere's death, and there can be little doubt that the whole story is a myth. Shakspere's friends, as his will shows, were Stratford worthies, like Thomas Combe, Thomas Russell, and Hamnet Sadler, or his fellow-players, "John Hemynges, Richard Burbage and Henry Cundall." "There is no mention," says Halliwell-Phillipps (Vol. I, p. 233), "of Drayton, Ben Jonson, or any of his other [supposed] literary friends." Moreover, if Jonson had really been present, with Drayton, at the supposed Stratford meeting, we may be pretty sure that we should have found some mention of it in the notes of his conversation with Drummond in 1618. But this drinking-bout is, no doubt, imaginary.

There is, as everybody knows, another story concerning Shakspere's hard-drinking habits, viz. that one fine morning he walked over to the village of Bidford to drink a match with a local club, and, like Roger the Monk, "got excessively drunk," with the result that he was fain to pass the night under a certain crab-tree, about a mile from Bidford, on his way home. This crab-tree used to be shown to visitors as the place where the immortal bard had slept off his heavy potations, and a picture of it may be seen in Halliwell's colossal edition of Shakespeare's works. Those who wish to believe the story may do so. For myself, I attach little or no importance to such tales. Shakspere, for aught I know, may have had a liking for "jolly good ale and old," and other strong drinks, but there is no real evidence for the truth of the stories, and, as Sir Sidney Lee says, they

"may be dismissed as unproven." It would, however, be a mistake to omit all reference to such traditions, for, as I have already said, they afford very good "evidence of reputation" as to the habits and character of Shakspere. They tell us (and there is nothing else to tell us) what sort of man he was according to early belief.

Shakspere's will forms an important item in the real "Shakespeare Problem," but I will, nevertheless, reserve it for separate treatment,[1] and will conclude this already overgrown chapter by the promised quotation from Emerson, and some remarks and reflections thereon.

Mr. Edward Sothern writes in *Munsey's Magazine* for January, 1912:[2] "When the Baconians assert that Ralph Waldo Emerson was a believer with them, one's patience is given a wrench. The excuse for their belief is based on a misleading quotation from Emerson's magnificent tribute to the bard—'Shakespeare; or the Poet':

> 'He was a jovial actor and manager. I cannot marry this to his verse.'

"The original user of these two brief sentences was guilty of gross misrepresentation. Had he given the entire paragraph, or the general purport of the essay, the reader would have seen that Emerson was not a Baconian, and that he meant something far different from what they pretend."

Now if anybody ever cited the above "two brief sentences" (and the second of the two is inaccurately quoted) in order to suggest that Emerson was a "Baconian," he certainly was, as Mr. Sothern says, guilty of "gross misrepresentation." But let us examine "the entire paragraph," as it is suggested we ought to do, and see what Emerson's opinion really was, and with what

[1] *Infra*, chap. VII.

[2] In an article bearing the title *The Great Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy*.

doubts and difficulties he was troubled. The essay in question, in his *Representative Men*, is headed, as Mr. Sothern mentions, "Shakespeare, or *the Poet.*" I have emphasised the two last words of the title, because in this essay Emerson is dealing with Shakespeare the Poet, and not with Shakespeare the man. It is, as Mr. Sothern also says, a "magnificent tribute *to the bard.*" But when, at the conclusion, he turns for a moment to biographical considerations and asks, "And now how stands the account of man with this bard and benefactor, when in solitude, shutting our ears to the reverberations of his fame, we seek to strike the balance?" he sings a very different strain. "As long as the question is of talent and mental power, the world of men has not his equal to show But when the question is to life, and its materials, and its auxiliaries, how does he profit me? What does it signify? It is but a Twelfth Night, or Midsummer Night's Dream, or a Winter Evening's Tale. What signifies another picture more or less? The Egyptian verdict of the Shakespeare Societies comes to mind, that he was a jovial actor and manager I cannot marry this fact to his verse. Other admirable men have led lives in some sort of keeping with their thought, but this man in wide contrast. Had he been less, had he reached only the common measure of great authors, of Bacon, Milton, Tasso, Cervantes, we might leave the fact in the twilight of human fate; but that this man of men, he who gave to the science of mind a new and larger subject than had ever existed, and planted the standard of humanity some furlongs forward into chaos, that he should not be wise for himself,—it must even go into the world's history that the best poet led an obscure and profane life, using his genius for the public amusement."

Such, then, is the passage which Mr. Sothern fain would have us quote *in extenso*. And what meaning does it convey to us. That Emerson was a "Baconian"?

Certainly *not*, but that the critic and essayist, having considered the main facts that are known in the life of Shakspere, as above set forth, finds it impossible to marry such a life to the immortal verse. His life is "in wide contrast" to his thought. How can it profit him this *banale* life? How is it possible that this very common man, of whom not a single creditable act—still less a single generous or magnanimous act—has been handed down to us by tradition, or discovered by the indefatigable searchers of relics and records—how is it possible that *this* man can be "Shakespeare the Poet"?

Ralph Waldo Emerson obviously had a very clear conception of the real "Shakespeare Problem"

But what has Mr. Lang to say to such considerations as these? The following quotation will show the reader how lightly he would sweep them away: "Here,[1] first, are moral objections on the ground of character as revealed *in some legal documents concerning business*. Now, I am very ready to confess that William's dealings with his debtors, and with one creditor, are wholly unlike what I should expect from the author of the plays. Moreover, the conduct of Shelley in regard to his wife was, in my opinion, very mean and cruel, and the last thing that we could have expected from one who, in verse, was such a tender philanthropist, and in life was—women apart—the best-hearted of men. The conduct of Robert Burns, alas, too often disappoints the lover of his *Cottar's Saturday Night* and other moral pieces. He was an inconsistent walker."[2]

I can hardly imagine a more absolute misconception of the problem, as I conceive it, and endeavoured to state it, than is revealed by this passage. In the first place I raised no moral objections on the ground of character," if by those words Mr. Lang means that I contended that "William" could not be the true Shakespeare because

[1] In my book, to wit.

[2] Work cited, p. 169.

his conduct did not square with our conventional standards of morality. I should be the last to use an argument so futile and ridiculous. The question here is whether it is reasonable to suppose that a man who led such a life, from first to last, as was led by William Shakspere of Stratford (according to his biographers, and according to all the evidence that is accessible to us and keeping *dates* steadily in view), could have been the author of the immortal Plays and Poems. Viewing the matter thus broadly, after having carefully considered the details, we find, as Emerson found, that we cannot marry the man to his verse. His life is altogether out of harmony with his thought. Mr. Lang seeks analogies in the cases of Shelley and Burns. Never, surely, was a more disastrous instance of the danger of reasoning by analogy. To begin with, I dispute Mr. Lang's assertion that "the conduct of Shelley in regard to his wife [meaning Harriet, I presume] was very mean, and cruel," and I think if the reader will turn to that admirable little book, *Percy Bysshe Shelley, Poet and Pioneer*, by my friend Mr. Henry S. Salt, and especially to chapters IV and V, he will find that there are certainly two sides to that question, and that there is much to be said in justification of Shelley's conduct towards his first wife. But, after all, such considerations are *ex abundanti*. The question is—if the case of Shelley is to be put forward as possibly analogous with that of Shakspere—Is Shelley the man found to be "in harmony" with Shelley the poet? Is the life of Shelley in harmony with the works of Shelley? Now I cannot recall in the whole range of poetical biography a man whose works were so responsive to his life, or whose life was so well reflected in his works, as Percy Bysshe Shelley. He is the very instance I should have chosen. Will anybody out of a lunatic asylum suggest that we cannot marry Shelley's life to his verse, or that he led a life in wide contrast to his thought?

So stated—and so it *must* be stated if the argument is to be in the slightest degree relevant—the supposed analogy hopelessly and ridiculously breaks down.

Nor is the case of Burns in any way more relevant to the question at issue. If, indeed, I had put forward the preposterous argument that Shakspere of Stratford could not have been the author of noble poetry because he is said to have sinned against our conventional standards of sexual morality, then, indeed, the case of Robert Burns might have been adduced to show the absurdity of the contention. But, I need scarcely say, I have never said anything of the sort, and to raise such false issues appears to me to show a misunderstanding of the whole question which is really quite extraordinary. The question is, Is the life of Burns incongruous with the poetry of Burns? Now the case of Burns is the very case that I selected as an illustration of my contention that genius, however great, is necessarily circumscribed by certain more or less definite limits; that it is not independent of the law of causation, but is regulated by the conditions of its environment. It would be absurd to contend that the life of Burns is not in harmony with the poetry of Burns. On the contrary, Burns wrote just as we should have expected a man who lived the life that he led to write,—given, of course, his genius and poetic inspiration. And he wrote best when he wrote of those things which entered most closely into his life, whether it was of the sweet Scottish lassies, or the banks and braes of bonny Doon, or of the Brigs of Ayr, or of John Barleycorn, or of "Scotch drink." But I shall return to Robbie Burns when I come again to consider the question of genius.

The real question—the real problem—was, as I have shown, apparent to Emerson. It was apparent also to Hallam, and to Coleridge. "The two greatest names in poetry," wrote Hallam, "are to us little more than names. If we are not yet come to question his [Shakespeare's]

unity, as we do that of 'the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,' an improvement in critical acuteness doubtless reserved for a distant posterity, we as little feel the power of identifying the young man who came up from Stratford, was afterwards an indifferent player in a London theatre, and returned to his native place in middle life, with the author of *Macbeth* and *Lear*, as we can give a distinct historic personality to Homer. All that insatiable curiosity and unwearied diligence have hitherto detected about Shakspeare serves rather to disappoint and perplex us, than to furnish the slightest illustration of his character. It is not the register of his baptism, or the draft of his will, or the orthography of his name that we seek. No letter of his handwriting, no record of his conversation, no character of him drawn with any fulness by a contemporary, has been produced."

So wrote Hallam many years ago in his *History of Literature*, and the words are as true now as when they were first written, although the "insatiable curiosity" and "unwearied diligence" have been at work from that day to this. All that has been discovered does but serve "rather to disappoint and perplex us," than to furnish the slightest illustration of the character of Shakespeare, though it can hardly be said that it has failed to illustrate the character of Shakspere of Stratford.

"As proof positive of his unrivalled excellence," writes Coleridge, "I should like to try Shakespeare by this criterion Make out your amplest catalogue of all the human faculties, as reason or the moral law, the will, the feeling of the coincidence of the two . . . called the conscience, the understanding, or prudence, wit, fancy, imagination, judgment—and then of the objects on which these are to be employed, as the beauties, the terrors, and the seeming caprices of nature, the realities and the capabilities, that is, the actual and the ideal, of the human mind, conceived as an individual or as a social being, as

in innocence or in guilt, in a play-paradise, or in a war-field of temptation; and then compare with Shakespeare under each of these heads all or any of the writers in prose and verse that have ever lived! Who, that is competent to judge, doubts the result?—And ask your own hearts,—ask your own common sense,—to conceive the possibility of this man being—I say not, the drunken savage of that wretched sciolist, whom Frenchmen, to their shame, have honoured before their elder and better worthies,—but the anomalous, the wild, the irregular genius of our daily criticism! *What! Are we to have miracles in sport?—Or*, I speak reverently, *does God choose idiots by whom to convey divine truths to man?*"

Yes, of a truth, both Hallam and Coleridge—the latter especially—had perceived very clearly the true nature of the "Shakespeare Problem." It is not, as some appear to think, a question of to-day or yesterday, but one of long standing, and some of the wisest of men have fully recognised its reality and its difficulty.

I will conclude this chapter as I concluded a lecture delivered at the Camera Club on January, 1913, the subject being, "Is there a Shakespeare Problem?"—

"In conclusion I would only say this. Read some of the Shakespearean masterpieces once again. Read *Venus and Adonis*, and the *Sonnets*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*; read *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It*, and *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*; read *Othello* and *Macbeth*; read *Lear* and *Hamlet*. Then meditate on what has been handed down to us concerning the life of William Shakspere, the Stratford player, about whom we know so little, and yet so much, too much! Search all the wide world over for analogies—for men of such birth, such breeding, such environment, such ignoble life-history, who have yet put forth—I do not say such works as Shakespeare's, for that would, indeed, be asking too much, but—a series of noble, priceless, and immortal poems, or plays, and I say

no such analogies can be found. The theologians tell us —some of them at least—that our belief is in our own power. I do not so hold. It may, no doubt, be easier to believe what one wishes to believe; but there are some things which, with all the good will in the world, I have found it impossible to believe, and one of those things is the assertion that the Stratford player was the author of the works of Shakespeare. That, of course, is only a fact for my own consciousness Other minds may be differently formed; others may find no difficulty where I find an impossibility. But for me, and for those who feel as I do, and reason as I do,—and their number is not small and is, undoubtedly, on the increase,—it is this fact which constitutes the real 'Shakespeare Problem.'"

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSOR DRYASDUST AND "GENIUS"

I SOMETIMES think that those who taunt us with our supposed inability to understand the ways of "genius" are themselves somewhat deficient in imagination. I do not mean, of course, that kind of imagination which, in the dearth of evidence, evolves convenient facts from its own inner consciousness,—the sort of imagination which is responsible for by far the greater part of "The Life of Shakespeare" as commonly presented to us,—but, rather, that "scientific imagination," of which Professor Tyndall spoke,[1] and which enables a man to put himself in the place of another, even after the lapse of many generations, and to realise the conditions and possibilities of the environment in which that other lived and moved and had his being. I sometimes think that some of these doctrinaire exponents of the orthodox Stratfordian creed are unable to appreciate all that is required to make a "Shakespeare." Mr. J. M. Robertson, for example, always seems to me to proceed on the assumption that any literary problem may be solved by a process analogous to that by which a mathematician proceeds to solve an "Adfected Quadratic Equation." But with regard to the true authorship of the Plays and Poems of Shakespeare he does not admit that there is any problem

[1] "The Scientific Use of Imagination," Discourse delivered by Professor Tyndall before the British Association, September, 1870.

at all. The process here is a simple one. Take any young provincial, such as was William Shakspere, so born, so brought up, so educated—or, rather, so uneducated; bring him up to London at about the age of twenty-three; give him some experience as a player in a sixteenth-century company, and just as much—and just as little—learning as Dr. Farmer allows him; then add "genius" *quantum suff*:—and there you are!

Now I am very far from wishing to underestimate the virtue of that mysterious intellectual power which we call genius, but I respectfully invite those who so glibly make use of the word to remember that we do not mean by it, in this connection, the Genius of the *Arabian Nights*, who by a mere word can bring into being an Aladdin's palace, nor do we mean an "Open Sesame" to unlock, by magic force, the closed door of all doubts and difficulties. By "genius," in this connection, we mean human genius; and human genius, wonderful though it be, is, nevertheless, not independent of the law of causation; its possibilities do not transcend all natural laws, but are necessarily limited by the facts of education, knowledge, and environment.

Genius may give the power of acquiring knowledge with marvellous facility; but genius is not knowledge. Genius never taught a man to conjugate τύπτω who had never had a lesson in Greek or seen a Greek Grammar.

Genius never gave a man the knowledge of the legal doctrine of "Uses," or the old learning with regard to "Contingent Remainders." "Il y a des choses de métier que le génie ne revèle pas. Il faut les apprendre," as Balzac well says.[1] Many a "mute inglorious Milton" rests in many a country churchyard. And why? Because

> Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
> Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll.

[1] *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, p. 193.

The genius was there, but the knowledge was never acquired; and for want of that knowledge, although the Milton was there in *posse*, in *esse* he never could be Genius is a gift of nature, but nature alone never yet gave knowledge and culture. The diamond is a natural product, but, however fine its quality, it will not sparkle like the Koh-i-nûr unless it be subjected to the process of cutting at the hands of a skilled artificer.

"I can agree with Mr. Greenwood," writes Mr. Lang (p. 101), "when he says that 'genius is a potentiality, and whether it will ever become an actuality, and what it will produce, depends upon the moral qualities with which it is associated, and the opportunities that are open to it—in a word, on the circumstances of its environment.'"[1]

It is in the light of that proposition that we have to consider the question whether Shakspere of Stratford could, unless by a moral miracle, have produced the Works of Shakespeare.

Mr. Robertson, of course, trots out again all the old examples which are supposed to be analogous to the case of Shakespeare. But unless the two things compared are found to be really similar, reasoning by analogy is worse than useless; and it can, I think, be easily shown that none of these fancied analogies will "hold water" for a moment. In fact, although the history of the

[1] Quoted from *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 81, note 1. Mr. Lang adds: "Of course by 'moral qualities,' a character without spot or stain is not intended, otherwise I agree." But how *could* "moral qualities," in the above sentence, be intended to mean "a character without spot or stain"? Obviously my words are intended to mean any moral qualities, good or bad. Mr. Lang goes on to say that he thinks "that Shakespeare of Stratford had genius, and that what it produced was in accordance with the opportunities open to it, and with 'the circumstances of its environment.'" My proposition, of course, is that in view of all the circumstances of his environment, and the opportunities open to him, Shakspere of Stratford, although endowed with genius, could not, unless by a moral miracle, have produced "The Works of Shakespeare."

whole world has been ransacked for a case analogous to that of Shakspere (assuming the truth of the received hypothesis) no real analogy has ever been found The supposed parallels prove, upon examination, to be no analogies at all.

I have said that Mr Robertson trots out again all the old examples He has also produced a brand-new one—quite new to me, at any rate. Referring to my contention that genius alone cannot make a Shakespeare —that, along with genius, culture and education are required to constitute the immortal poet—he asks: "What kind of education does Mr Greenwood suppose is required to qualify a genius for writing plays and poems? What kind or degree of culture, for instance, does he ascribe to Sappho, to Terence, to Catullus, to Hans Sachs, to Bunyan, to Burns, to Keats, to Jane Austen, to Balzac?"[1]

"*Sappho*"! Here is a new example indeed. What, I should like to know, does Mr Robertson know about Sappho? What have we of her writings except some meagre though beautiful fragments? What do we know of the history of her life? It is simply childish to talk of the case of Sappho—*nomen et umbra*—as though in it we had an analogy to the case of Shakspere, the supposed player-poet. I wonder Mr. Robertson has not included Homer in his list!

As to Terence I shall have a word to say later on, but for the rest I will content myself with examining the cases of Bunyan, Burns, and Keats, for these are the examples most frequently cited as analogous to the case of Shakspere, according to the received hypothesis.

Let us take the case of Keats first. "Keats," writes Mr. Robertson, "will rank with any poet of his age in respect of (1) 'rhythmical creation of beauty,' and (2) sympathetic seizure of the spirit of classical antiquity. Yet Keats, certainly, had small Greek; his sonnet *On*

[1] Work cited, p. 551.

First Reading Chapman's Homer tells as much; and though he learned Latin enough to do in his teens (so, at least, we are told) a prose translation of the *Æneid*—with what accuracy or what crib help no one now can say—he 'was in childhood not attached to books His *penchant* was for fighting. He would fight any one—morning, noon, and night, his brother among the rest It was meat and drink to him.' So testifies an admiring schoolfellow.[1] It was only in his last few terms at school, in his fourteenth and fifteenth years, that he took earnestly to books and studies, and at fifteen he was bound apprentice to a surgeon. At nineteen he became a medical student at Guy's; and save for that he had no 'college' education. At twenty-one he produced *Endymion*, and at twenty-three the *Ode to a Nightingale.* His effective culture thus came substantially from the reading of English literature."[2]

First, as to the fact adverted to by Mr. Robertson that John Keats had "no 'college' education" He had previously written. "It is true that, on a general survey of literary history, what we term university culture counts for a great deal, the great majority of our great poets having had that or its equivalent. But the exceptions are sufficient to warn us to reject the notion that it is essential." All this leaves me untouched, since, although it is the fact that the majority of playwrights contemporary with Shakespeare were University men, I have never postulated a "college" or "University" education as necessary in order to make a Shakespeare.

All I postulate is a high degree of education and culture, of knowledge of human life, and of the world, and of the great ones, as well as of the little ones, of the world, wheresoever and howsoever obtained. But let us look more specially at the case of John Keats.

[1] Mr. Robertson cites Colvin's *Keats*, p. 8.
[2] Work cited, p. 551.

His parents are known to have been, as they were described by one who knew them, "people of no every-day character." At the age of eight he was put to a school of excellent repute kept by John Clarke at Enfield, where he secured the friendship of his master's son, Charles Cowden Clarke, not unknown to fame, who was usher in the school. "*In childhood*," says Mr. Robertson, he was "not attached to books." Mr. Robertson is welcome to that important fact. We know, however, that, after three or four years at school, the boy Keats could hardly be torn from his books; that he won all the literature prizes at the school, and that during play hours he devoured all he could lay hands on of literary criticism, and especially of classical mythology. He received good instruction in Latin, French, and general history, and the fact recorded by Mr. Robertson that he actually did a prose translation of the *Æneid* while still in his teens—whether with or without the aid of a "crib" —bears striking witness both to his industry and to his appreciation of the work. What fact of the kind has ever been put on record concerning Shakspere of Stratford? At twenty-three, says Mr. Robertson, Keats produced the *Ode to a Nightingale*. True; and the very first lines of that exquisite Ode show his acquaintance with the Epodes of Horace. Compare the following passage,

> My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
> My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,
> Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains,
> One moment past, and Lethe-wards had sunk,

with these lines of Horace, Epod. 14,

> Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
> Oblivionem sensibus,
> Pocula Letheos ut si ducentia somnos
> Arente fauce traxerim.

It is unquestionable that the English poet had these Latin lines in his mind when he wrote the *Ode to a Nightingale*, although, after the opening, he soars away far above Quintus Horatius Flaccus in this native lyric of surpassing and unsurpassed loveliness. Keats, too, studied English literature, and especially the Elizabethan dramatists and poets, under the excellent direction of John Cowden Clarke. He became intimate with many men of letters, he made the acquaintance of Shelley, he became the close friend of Leigh Hunt. The question, then, is, Is there anything incongruous and quasi-miraculous in the fact that Keats, a rare genius, but well furnished with this measure of culture and education, should have written the poetry which he has left us? Is there anything here that strikes us as something which seems to transcend the possibilities of his opportunities and his environment? Is the case, in fact, in any way comparable with that of Shakspere, supposing that he wrote the works of Shakespeare? It appears to me that, upon consideration of the facts, the fancied analogy does but serve to deepen the contrast, and intensify the difference between the two cases submitted for comparison.

Let us now take the case of John Bunyan, whom one of my critics speaks of as "the ill-taught tinker son of a tinker father." This description, of course, suggests a very low origin, and the reader at once imagines the Bunyans, father and son, roaming over the country with pans and kettles slung across their shoulders, the Autolyci of the tin-pot trade. Visions of *Lavengro* and "the flaming tinman" instantly arise before us. As a fact, however, neither the one nor the other belonged to the vagrant tribe. The Bunyans were steady handicraftsmen dwelling in their own freehold tenements. Both Thomas and his son John had a settled home at Elstow, where their forge and workshop were. Thomas in his will designates him-

self a "brasier." John followed the same calling, and was what at the present day we should call a "whitesmith."[1] As everybody knows, he was noted in his youth for being a profane swearer, but was "converted" after his marriage, gave up swearing and "blaspheming," and took to preaching, which led to his arrest and imprisonment for some twelve years in Bedford County Gaol. During the earlier part of this incarceration, however, he was allowed much liberty. He was permitted to preach, and even went "to see Christians in London." He saturated himself with constant and copious draughts from that well of pure and undefiled English, the Bible, and together with the Bible we know that Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was his constant companion. It is further known that he had ample opportunity for reading other books of a religious and controversial character. It is futile therefore to talk, as does the critic referred to, of "'the bookless neighbourhood'" of Bedford Gaol. But the point is that Bunyan wrote exactly what we should have expected him to write, given his peculiar genius, his temperament, his life-story, his reading, and his environment. If instead of *The Pilgrim's Progress* he had written *Euphues*, then indeed would there have been some analogy between his case and that of the young man who, as we are told, threw off *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, *currente calamo*, all within some five years of his arrival in London, a penniless wanderer from his provincial home, with that exiguously small amount of learning which Farmer (*plaudente* Robertson) contends that he was possessed of. The case of John Bunyan is the very case I should myself have selected to illustrate the very rational proposition that the output of genius is controlled by the circumstances of its environment, and is not, as some seem to think (contrary to all human experience), something in the nature of "a

[1] See Canon Venables, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

first cause," superior to and independent of all the influences by which it is surrounded.

Sir James Barrie is undoubtedly a "genius," but he could not have written *A Window in Thrums* had he never been North of the Tweed.

This proposition, or, I should rather say, this statement of verified fact, is equally well illustrated by the case of Robert Burns. And here let me pause in order to make manifest what the proposition is *not*. I have been accused of the wish to "try and prove that there never were really any geniuses who arose out of ignorance and poverty."[1] But, with submission, I have never tried to do anything so preposterously absurd. "The truth is," writes Sir Edward Sullivan, "for all that may be said to the contrary, that pre-eminence in the world of literature is not, and never will be, the monopoly of the educated or the high born." As to the "high born" I entirely agree with Sir Edward Sullivan, and if by "educated" he means "highly educated" (for it would be difficult to find the case of an entirely uneducated man who had won "pre-eminence in the world of literature") I agree in this also, and I do not know when, or by whom, anything has been "said to the contrary." To assert, for instance, that "no man who is not either well educated or high born can possibly become a great poet" would be to make an assertion directly contrary to the evidence of human experience.

That a man of humble birth and very imperfect education may rise to the highest ranks of literature is one of the notorious facts of history. The case of the "Ayrshire ploughman" is an excellent example. Here, if ever, we find an instructive illustration of what can be achieved in the realm of poetry by a man lowly born, and, although by no means left in ignorance, still with a very moderate

[1] Mr. G. K. Chesterton, in *The Illustrated London News*, March 13th, 1909.

educational equipment. From the days of boyhood the poetry of Burns, so graphic in description, so terrible in satire, so appreciative of Nature in all its beauty and all its wildness, so tender in the most exquisite of love-songs, has been to me a wonder and a delight. But wherein is it that Burns so much excelled? He gives us *The Holy Fair*, and *The Jolly Beggars*; he gives us *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, and *Tam o' Shanter*; he gives us *Auld Lang Syne*, and *Green grow the Rashes o'*, and all his immortal songs withal. The Ayrshire Ploughman sings of the scenes in which he has been bred, in which he has lived and breathed and had his being; of the burn and the heather; of the sweeping Nith, and the Brig of Ayr, and the banks and braes of bonny Doon. He sings of the Scotch peasantry, of their customs, as in "*Halloween*," and, above all, of the sweet Scotch lassies, whom he loved not wisely but too well. And all this in his own homely dialect. The very genius of lyrical poetry speaks from his mouth, but speaks in that Scottish language for the interpretation of which the English reader requires a glossary. "He is only insipid when he tries to adopt the conventional English of his time," says a writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. "When he essayed to write in metropolitan English," says Principal Shairp, "he was seldom more than a third-rate—a common, clever versifier."

And now, perhaps, the real point may dawn upon the minds of those critics who have hitherto so strangely missed it. The question is not whether a man of lowly birth and of imperfect education can, if naturally endowed with genius, write high-class poetry. The question is, What *kind* of poetry will he be able to write? If, for instance, Burns had written such a poem as *Venus and Adonis*, if he had written such poems as *Childe Harold*, or *Don Juan*, we might have had a real parallel between his case and the hypothetical case of Shakspere the player-

poet. Had Burns, say at the age of twenty-five, written highly polished and cultured English, abounding with classical allusions, showing intimate knowledge of Court life and fashionable society, and dealing in such a lifelike manner with foreign countries as to lead readers to suppose that he must have paid a visit to their shores, had he discussed the philosophy of human existence for all the ages and for every phase of life; had the Ayrshire Ploughman done all this and a great deal more, then, indeed, there might have been some analogy between his case and that of Shakespeare according to the received hypothesis

In the works of Burns we see reflected as in a mirror all the surrounding circumstances of the poet's life, and the poet's native land. But if one, having no knowledge of the life of Shakspere, first reads and appreciates and marvels at the "Works of Shakespeare," and then turns to that paralysing life, must not his first thought be (as it was in my own case), How can we bring these two things together? How can we make harmony out of this discord? How can we marry this man to this work? Is it *this* life that is reflected in the "Works"—or "do we look for another"?

But Professor Dryasdust, of course, sees no difficulty. He will ingeminate "genius, genius" to the end of time. What Shakspere's life was, what his bringing-up was, what his education was, are entirely immaterial. Give him "genius" and all the rest follows. Whereupon Professor Dryasdust proceeds to cite what he supposes to be analogous cases—*Sappho*, for instance!—in which there is to be found as much analogy to the unexampled case of Shakspere (supposing Shakspere = Shakespeare) as there is causal connection between Tenterden Steeple and the Goodwin Sands—indeed not so much, if there be any truth in the old legend.

Sir Edward Sullivan has produced a new supposed analogue to Shakspere the player-poet, in the case of

Plautus, and he expresses surprise that none of the "Baconians" has made any allusion to "so singular a parallel, and so curious an anticipation in its main features, of the so called mystery surrounding Shakespeare's career and works."

In order to make this "singular parallel" as complete as possible, Sir Edward makes sundry statements concerning Plautus for which I can find no evidence at all. As, for instance, that he was born "in an extremely low grade of life"; that he came to Rome "in a needy condition"; that, having, "like Shakespeare," found employment in a theatre, "he filled the humble office of a handy man for actors, or a stage carpenter"; that by the sale of three plays "he was enabled to quit his drudgery, *educate himself*, and start on a literary career." I have examined all these statements at length in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare* (p. 44 *et seq.*) and claim to have demonstrated that this fancied analogue is a "fond thing vainly invented."

The quotation that I have there given (p. 45 n.) from Aulus Gellius certainly does not show that Plautus ever was a "handy man for actors," and I think the words "pecuniâ omni, quam in operis artificum scenicorum pepereret," etc., are more suggestive of the scenic artist than the "stage carpenter." Neither have we any evidence that Plautus was born "in an extremely low grade of life," that he was "in a needy condition" when he came to Rome, although that is likely enough, or that he was uneducated, and had to "educate himself," as Sir Edward Sullivan assumes that Shakspere did at some unknown period of his life. As I wrote, in the work already referred to: "In Plautus we have a man of whom it is impossible to say that he had received no sufficient education in his youth, simply because we have no evidence to that effect. What resources he had when he came to Rome we do not know. We read, indeed, that he made money as a scenic artist or artificer, that he

embarked on mercantile speculations, failed, and returned to Rome, where he had to support life for a time in a humble manner. He is a man of genius, and he had acquired a mastery of idiomatic Latin. He turns dramatist, takes his plots from the new Attic comedy, but turns his own experience in mercantile adventure, and on the sea, to excellent account. He writes for the masses, and simply to amuse them and give them pleasure, without any serious purpose behind his scenes or in his characters. He shows no knowledge at all of the manners, tastes, or ideas of the aristocracy. He is familiar with the ways of *cocottes*, and women of easy virtue, but of Roman ladies he knows but little. He shows no feeling for nature. I can see no analogy here with the case of the 'Stratford rustic,' who became, *per saltum*, as we are told, the world's poet, teacher, and philosopher, . . . the supposed parallel breaks down at every point."

I have enlarged somewhat upon the case of Plautus, and quoted the above words, because I am here desirous of replying to a criticism of Mr. Lang's, which, as I think I can show, is founded on a misapprehension. Mr. Lang had seen, in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare* (p. 114), some comments upon the well-known epigram of John Davies of Hereford in which he describes "Mr Will Shake-speare" as "our English Terence," whereupon I say, amongst other things, "seeing that 'Shakespeare' was in 1611 at the height of his fame, it is rather curious that Davies should have likened him to the Latin comedian, as though he had never written such plays as *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello*. Moreover, if he was to be likened to a Latin comedian, surely Plautus is the writer with whom he should have been compared."

Here Mr. Lang fancied he had found an absurd inconsistency on my part. What? Davies should have likened Shakespeare to Plautus rather than to Terence! And this after Mr. Greenwood has shown us "that Plautus

would not do," and though "Plautus was the very man who cannot be used as a parallel to Shakespeare"![1]

Well, I should indeed be *bête comme une oie* if within the compass of the same small work I had first declared that the case of Plautus was no parallel at all to the (supposed) case of Shakespeare, and then proceeded to say exactly the reverse. But the truth is not so. Mr. Lang had overlooked the fact that Sir Edward Sullivan's comparison was a biographical one. He sought to show that the birth, the education (or want of education) of Plautus, and the general circumstances of his life, and of his literary success, formed a "singular parallel" to the circumstances of Shakspeare's life and (supposed) authorship, and a "curious anticipation, in its main features, of the so-called mystery surrounding Shakespeare's career and work." Both men, according to Sir Edward, had very similar difficulties to contend with, yet, in the case of both, their native genius enabled them to triumph over all obstacles. It was of this supposed biographical parallel that I wrote that, upon consideration, it was found to break down at every point.

In the case of Davies's epigram, however, there was no question of a biographical comparison. It was rather a question of style, and general characteristics of the comic drama, but it was not confined to these considerations. Why was it that I wrote that if Shakespeare "was to be likened to a Latin comedian, surely Plautus is the writer with whom he should have been compared"? Because, in the first place, one of Shakespeare's earliest plays, *The Comedy of Errors*, is directly founded on a play of Plautus, viz. the *Menaechmi*, and also borrows from another play of Plautus, viz. the *Amphitruo*.[2] Because, further, Meres, in 1598, had compared Shakespeare, as a writer of Comedies, with

[1] Introduction to work cited, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

[2] In *The Taming of the Shrew*, also, Shakespeare (or the author, at any rate) borrows the names of two of the characters, Tranio and Grumio, from the *Mostellaria* of Plautus.

Plautus, who, says Meres, was "accounted the best for Comedy among the Latines"[1] Moreover, Thomas Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, writes that in Shakespeare "three eminent poets may seem in some sort to be compounded," viz. Martial, Ovid, and "Plautus, who was an exact Comedian, yet never any scholar, as our Shake-speare (if alive) would confesse himself"; showing that it was usual in those times to make comparison between Shakespeare and Plautus. And Shakespeare's plays show such familiarity with the plays of Plautus that Mr. Churton Collins writes: "It is probable almost to certainty that Shakespeare must have read Plautus in the original." These are the reasons which led me to write that I should have expected Davies to compare Shakespeare to Plautus rather than to Terence, the *dimidiatus Menander*, while, at the same time, contending that Sir Edward Sullivan's attempted *biographical* parallel between Plautus and Shakspere, the supposed player-poet, is found upon examination to break down. The reader will see, therefore, that, in truth, I was guilty of no inconsistency at all in this matter.

So much then for "genius." By all means let us give due weight to its great potentialities, for it would be indeed foolish to underrate them. But let us not use the word as a magic wand or cabalistic sign, just to save us the trouble of thinking further. Let us remember that however great may be a man's natural genius, yet its bent and its output will be limited, directed, and regulated, in accordance with that man's life-history, and the circumstances in which he is placed. Let us remember, for example, that although a man without culture may be a poet, yet without culture he cannot write cultured poems. And remembering these things, let us turn from the consideration of Shakspere's life-story—all of it that is known

[1] He further says: "As *Ælius Stolo* said that the Muses would speak with Plautus' tongue if they would speak Latin, so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine filed phrase, if they would speak English."

to us—to the contemplation of the earliest poems and plays—to *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, and *The Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet* itself—according to Professor Boas and others—and then ask ourselves, are there no difficulties in the way of the received Stratfordian faith?[1]

Professor Dryasdust, I repeat, can, of course, see none. For him all things are clear. For him all literary problems are capable of being solved by the formularies of logic, just as mathematical problems can be solved by the symbols and formulæ of Algebra. But here, says Professor Dryasdust, is no problem at all. And it cannot be denied that many men and women whose intellectual qualities are neither "dry" nor "dusty" agree with him in seeing no difficulty in the received beliefs, or, at any rate, if they do recognise some measure of doubt and difficulty, in looking at those difficulties and doubts as very greatly exaggerated. But there are some, nevertheless,—and I think their number is on the increase,—for whom Shakspere of Stratford cannot be reconciled with Shakespeare of the Works. They cannot marry the facts of his life to his immortal verse "Other admirable men have lived lives in some sort of keeping with their thought, but this man in wide contrast." Well, well. So we must be content to leave it. *Quot homines tot sententiae.*

[1] Mr. Lang writes (p. 289). "'*Ne me dites jamais cette* [*sic*] *bête de mot, impossible,*' said Napoleon: it is indeed a stupid word where genius is concerned." I will not dwell upon the grammatical slip. Mr. Lang surely knew that the word "*bête*" is here adjectival, and that the word "*mot*" is masculine, and would have made the necessary correction if his life had been prolonged. Nor will I lay stress on the fact that it was, as we are told, Mirabeau, and not Napoleon, who first used the words in question (see Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Vol. II, p 140, ed. 1898, where the words are correctly quoted from Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p 311) All I am concerned to point out is that the words are merely rhetorical Many things, as we all know, are impossible, even for genius, as they certainly were both for Mirabeau and Napoleon.

CHAPTER VII

SHAKSPERE'S WILL

NO letter, no scrap of writing of any sort, from the pen of William Shakspere, has come down to us except three signatures to his will, (together with the words "by me"), two signatures to deeds, and the abbreviated signature "Willm Shaks" (if so it is to be read) which follows his answers to interrogatories in the case of Bellott *v.* Mountjoy already alluded to. I will assume that in all these we have specimens of the writing of Shakspere of Stratford, and, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to show, if we follow the guidance of the best and most trustworthy authorities, we must admit that he so spelled his surname. On this matter, however, and on the question of Shakspere's writing, I will say a few words later on. Let us now consider that curious and much criticised document, his will.

Shakspere died on Tuesday, April 23rd, Old Style (=May 3rd, New Style), 1616, and was buried on the following Thursday. Sir Sidney Lee says the first draft of his will "was drawn up before January 25, 1616," and "received many interlineations and erasures before it was signed in the ensuing March." The will as first written was headed "Vicesimo quinto die *Januarii* anno regni domini nostri Jacobi . . . decimo quarto . . . annoque Domini 1616," but "Januarii" was subsequently scratched out, and "*Mtii*" (i.e. "Martii") was substituted for

it.[1] After this heading come the formal words: "T. (i.e. Testamentum) Wm; Shackspeare." The will opens thus: "In the name of God, Amen! I Willim Shackspeare of Stratford upon Avon, in the countie of Warr. gent, in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed! doe make and Ordayne this my last will and testamt in mañ and forme followeing." We just note here that whoever drafted the will (probably Francis Collyns, the Warwick attorney, whose name stands as the first witness to the publishing thereof, or, possibly, his clerk) spells the testator's name "Shackspeare," so that those who contend, as e.g. Frau Thumm-Kintzel, that Shakspere wrote the will himself must suppose that in the body of his will he adopted yet another variant of his name, and wrote himself down "Shackspeare," although for his signatures he preferred a different form, which would be, indeed, remarkable, even allowing for the "fluidity" of spelling which then prevailed. The lawyer, by the way, or his clerk appears to have endorsed the document in two places, "Mr. Shackspere his Will."

But now, leaving questions of writing and spelling (I beg pardon, I should say "graphonomy" and "orthography") for later consideration, let us briefly consider the contents of this celebrated will so far as they are material to our argument. Shakspere leaves New Place, and two houses in Henley Street, together with all his other lands, tenements, etc., in the county of Warwick, and also his house in Blackfriars, to his daughter Susanna Hall

[1] Mr. J. Hain Friswell, in his notes to the excellent photographic reproduction of Shakespeare's will (Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1864), writes: "The first blunder on the very threshold of the Will is curious—the abbreviation Mtii, March, was originally written Januarii; as the year then began in March, the 25th of January in the fourteenth year of James I would be in the year 1615, and not in 1616, the year of the poet's decease." But this criticism appears to be unsound, for the fourteenth regnal year of James I commenced on March 25th, 1616, so that January 25th of that fourteenth year would be January 25th, 1617, according to our reckoning.

for life, and afterwards to her sons in tail mail, and in default of such issue to his niece Elizabeth Hall, and her heirs male, and in default of such issue to his daughter Judith and her heirs male, and "for defalt of such issue, to the right heirs of me the saied William Shackspeare [*sic*] for ever." The other gifts to his daughter Judith, and to his sister Joan Hart, need not now detain us. Of more interest is it to note the particularity with which he disposes of certain articles of personal property, and the gifts which he leaves to his fellow-players. Thus, to Joan Hart he leaves his "wearing apparrell," to his niece Elizabeth Hall, "all my plate except my brod silver and gilt bole"; to Thomas Combe "my sword." To his daughter Judith his "broad, silver gilt bole." To his Stratford friends, "Hamlett Sadler" and "William Raynolds," he leaves 26s. 8d. apiece to buy them rings. To his godson, William Walker, he leaves 20s. in gold; to "Anthonye Nashe gent" 26s. 8d., and to "Mr. John Nashe" the same. Then follow the bequests to his fellow-players: "And to my fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell xxvjs. viijd. a peece to buy them ringes."[1] And here we may note that another of his fellow-players, Augustine Phillips, had predeceased him, dying in 1605, and had left him a somewhat similar legacy, viz. "to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillinges peice in goold." Later on, as the last gift in the will, except the residuary bequest, and as an interlineation, as though it was an afterthought, comes the only, and much-discussed, bequest to his wife: "Item, I gyve unto my wiefe, my

[1] "Heminge's name," says Professor Masson (*Shakespeare Personally*, p. 48), "comes before Burbage's in the will, as if Shakespeare held the elderly cashier and account-keeper of the Blackfriars and Globe, who used to personate his Falstaff, in somewhat nearer regard than even the splendid actor of his tragic parts." But what a thousand pities it is that no document has come down to us in which "Will" alludes to his fellow-players as the actors of his own dramas, nor in which they allude to him as a dramatist, or as anything except a fellow-player and a "deserving man"!

second best bed with its furniture." He then makes his son-in-law John Hall, and his daughter Susanna Hall, his residuary legatees, leaving them "all the rest of my goodes, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuff whatsoever" (apparently forgetting that he had already disposed of all his plate), and making them his executors.

Now this is exactly the sort of will which we should have expected from player Shakspere. The gifts of his wearing apparel, his plate, his silver-gilt bowl, his sword, the small bequests to fellow-townsmen to buy them rings, the similar gifts to his three fellow-players, the second-best bed to his wife (of which more anon); all these are characteristic of the retired actor. Are they such as we should expect from the author of the immortal Works? The reader will have noticed, amid all this particularity of bequest, one most remarkable omission. No mention whatever is made of books. Now "Shakespeare," as Dr. Furness has remarked, and as his works amply testify, must have been "an omnivorous reader." That he possessed a large number of books nobody can doubt; nor can it be doubted that he regarded them as a most precious possession. He may not have owned all the hundreds of works which, according to Dr. Anders, he must have read, but it is absurd to suppose that he was entirely destitute of a library. Shakespeare without books!

Picture it, think of it,
"Orthodox" man!
Believe it, make sense of it,
Then, if you can!

Shakespeare, then, must surely have possessed such books as Holinshed, Hall's *Chronicle*, Florio's *Montaigne* Lodge's *Rosalynde*, Belleforest, Ser Giovanni, Bandello, Cinthio, and some translations, such as North's *Plutarch* and Golding's *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Of *some* of these books, and of many others, he must, surely, have been the

owner. Then, again, we may very reasonably suppose that he possessed copies of his own *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, and of some, at least, of the Quarto Editions of his own published plays. May we not add at least some copies of the works of contemporary poets and dramatists? It is quite possible also that he possessed a Bible!

Would he not have valued these things at least as much as his plate, his sword, his jewels, and his silver-gilt bowl? Would he not have thought them at least equally worthy of some particular mention in his will? Surely "Shakespeare" would have thought so! Yet "Shakspere" is absolutely silent about such things, herein comparing very unfavourably with his own son-in-law, John Hall. Hall was only a provincial doctor, a man who believed in the curative properties of "frog-spawn water, juice of goose-excrements, powdered human skulls, and swallows' nests," yet he, at least, had some appreciation of the value of books and manuscripts. He made a nuncupative will, and the following is an extract from it, as reduced to writing by his witnesses: "Item, concerning my *study of bookes*, I leave them, sayd he, to you, my sonn Nash, to dispose of them as you see good. As for my *manuscriptes* [Hall actually thought of manuscripts!] I would have given them to Mr. Boles, if hee had been here; but forasmuch as hee is not heere present, you may, son Nash, burne them, or doe with them what you please."

The will of the actor Alleyn, also, is in marked contrast with that of Shakspere. Alleyn had books, and had no doubt how to dispose of them. John Florio, too, made a special bequest of his books. But Shakspere, the great poet, thinker, teacher, and philosopher (as we are told), though so particular as to petty items of personal property, makes no provision whatever as to books or manuscripts! They, it seems, were not worth troubling about.

To Mr. Robertson and Mr. Lang, however, there is, of course, no difficulty here—nothing strange; nothing to marvel at. They find salvation in "analogy" once more. Shakespeare says nothing about books! Pooh! Neither did Hooker or Samuel Daniel say anything about books. But did they not possess books? Is there any doubt whatever about their authorship? Well, I answer, in the first place, neither Hooker nor Daniel made small specific bequests of bowls, and swords, and plate, and things of that sort. Had they done so, I think they would, of a certainty, have been as particular about books also. But let us examine these cases and see whether the analogy holds good. Hooker's estate, as we know, chiefly consisted of books, and we have evidence that he set the highest possible value on them. "In his last sickness," we are told by his biographer, "not many days before his death, his house was robbed, of which he having notice, his question was, 'Are my books and written papers safe?' And being answered that they were, his reply was, 'Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me.'" Compare this with the case of Shakspere of Stratford, as to whom there is no tittle of evidence that he ever had a book in his possession, seeing that not only does he make no mention of either books or "written papers," but no volumes that belonged to him have ever been found, nor is there any record of them—a loss which the forgers have vainly attempted to supply!

But, nevertheless, it will be said, Hooker, although we know that he was possessed of a large number of books, and set the greatest store by them, made no mention of them in his will. That, indeed, is true; but by that will, dated October 26th, 1600 (he died on November 2nd of that year), he made his wife, Joan,—"my well-beloved wife," as he calls her,—his sole executrix and residuary legatee, thus leaving her his library, as well as such other

property as he died possessed of. His mind, therefore, was at rest as to the fate of his cherished books. Can it seriously be contended that there is any analogy whatever between his case and Shakspere's in this respect?

But let us take the case of Samuel Daniel. He died in October, 1619, leaving no children. By his will, dated September 4th of that year, he appointed his brother sole executor, and his "loving friend, Mr. Simon Waterson" [*his publisher*, be it observed], and his brother-in-law, John Phillipps, "overseers" thereof. That he had made an arrangement with his brother and his publisher, as to his works and "written papers," can hardly be doubted; the result being that this brother, his sole executor, brought out his "whole works" in 1623.

If those of the orthodox Stratfordian faith imagine that this instance somehow turns aside the criticisms founded upon the absence of all mention of books in Shakspere's will, it seems to me that they must be very easily satisfied. In both cases cited the supposed analogy, upon examination, hopelessly breaks down.

I must here take notice of a curious mistake into which Mr. Lang has somehow fallen with regard to my observations upon Shakspere's will in this connection. He was under the impression that I had made myself responsible for the statement that the word "goods" in the residuary bequest would not include "books." "It is," he writes (p. 175), "with Mr. Elton's opinion, not with my ignorance, that Mr. Greenwood must argue in proof of the view that 'goods' are necessarily exclusive of books." I hold up my hands in amazement, and can only say that I have never been guilty of making the preposterous assertion that Mr. Lang, by some misconception, has attributed to me. On the contrary, I wrote: "Mr. and Mrs. Hall were, as we have seen, appointed by Shakspere his residuary legatees. To them, therefore, would have gone his books and his manuscripts,

if such he had."[1] Again, in my reply to Canon Beeching, I say: "If we may trust Mr. Anders, he (Shakespeare) must have read hundreds of books, and of these hundreds he must surely have owned some. What became of them all? They passed, it may be said, to the Halls as his residuary legatees."[2] Again, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, at p. 191, I quote, in a foot-note, the following passage from Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines*: "In a nuncupative will that was made by Mr. Hall a few hours before he died, he gave Thomas Nash, the husband of his only child, his 'study of books.' As the Halls were Shakespeare's [i.e. Shakspere's] residuary legatees, there can hardly be a doubt that any volumes that had been possessed by the latter at Stratford-on-Avon were included in this bequest." How, therefore, Mr. Lang came to imagine I had asserted that "books" would not be included in "goods and chattels," I am at a loss to conceive. He must be a lawyer of a very remarkable sort who would make such a grotesque statement.

But let us continue our quotation from Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. The passage above cited continues: "It may also perhaps be assumed that there was a study at New Place in the time of the great dramatist. At all events there was clearly a sitting-room in the house that could have been used for the purposes of one, but, from the absence of all reference to books in the will of 1616, it may be safely inferred that the poet himself was not the owner of many such luxuries"![3]

Such, then, is the orthodox and, presumably, reasonable opinion concerning "the great dramatist." Books! No, no; he was not "the owner of many such luxuries"! Not of "*many*," and why, pray, of "*any*," in view of "the absence of all reference" to such "luxuries" in the will?

[1] *Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 193.
[2] *In re Shakespeare*, p. 122.
[3] *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 251.

It was with this passage in my mind that I wrote as follows:—

"Is it possible that the immortal bard, the myriad-minded man, the wonder of all ages, the great teacher, the universal philosopher, he who tells us so truly that ignorance is the only darkness—is it possible that this man died without a book in his possession? Ben Jonson, as we know, had a grand library. He loved books, and he constantly gave them away to his friends. . . . But Shakespeare, if indeed Shakspere and Shakespeare are one, dies without a single volume in his possession!"[1]

It may, indeed, be said that the proposition is too strongly stated; that it is only an inference. That is true, but I submit that the inference is a reasonable one. At any rate, we may surely affirm that if Shakspere possessed any books whatever when he made his will he set less store by them than he set by his sword, his plate, and his silver-gilt bowl. Those articles he was careful and anxious to dispose of by particular bequest. The books were not even worthy of mention!

And who, beside his children and relatives, were the objects of his care? "Shakespeare" had lived among literary men, but of such in the will there is no mention. His legatees are some of his fellow-townsmen, and three of his fellow-players. Again, I say, just what we should have expected from Shakspere the actor. But from the Immortal——?

When, therefore, the orthodox critics ask, "What bearing upon the question of authorship has the omission of the mention of books in Shakspere's will?" I answer thus: I believe, and I think the belief is an entirely reasonable one, that "Shakespeare" was possessed of books. I believe that he must have set great value upon such books. I am convinced that they would have formed the subject of a specific bequest (or of specific

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 191.

bequests) far sooner than his plate, and his sword, and his bowl. That he died without such things as books, or that having such things he did not think it worth while to make mention of them in his will, is to me incredible. To me, therefore, for this and for other reasons, Shakspere's will cannot be "Shakespeare's" will.

Concerning the bequest of "my second-best bed" I will not waste much time. Mr. Robertson denies that this bequest, however construed, can have any bearing on the question of authorship. If it could be shown that player Shakspere, at the zenith of the "great dramatist's" fame, was in the habit of standing on his head in the mud for a penny, I am convinced the orthodox critics would still ask, "What bearing has that upon the question of authorship?" "I see nothing at all out of the way," they would say, "that a man should be writing *Hamlet* and at the same time standing on his head in the mud for a penny"![1] Now I will freely admit that this particular bequest *may* have no bearing at all upon the question. If, indeed, it could be shown, by this and other evidence, that Shakspere acted meanly, vindictively, unkindly, and ungenerously towards his wife I should certainly say, "If so, the less Shakespeare he." I cannot myself believe that the author of these great and immortal works was a mean, paltry, small-minded, vindictive, and ungenerous snob, and I therefore think that considerations of character, as evidenced by actions, may have a considerable bearing upon the

[1] "I do not," says Mr. Lang (p. 171), "like Mr. Greenwood, see anything 'at all out of the way' in the circumstance 'that a man should be writing *Hamlet* and at the same time bringing actions for petty sums lent on loan at some unspecified interest.'" "Neither a lender nor a borrower be," wrote Shakespeare, but "recks not his own rede," and becomes a money-lender. He writes *Hamlet* not for "glory" in his own time, but simply for "gain." It was something that would *pay*, and there would be so much the more for money-lending, tithe-buying, the enclosure of common fields, etc. Nothing out of the way in that!

question of authorship. But I admit that we have not sufficient evidence to prove that Shakspere was really afflicted with these bad qualities, and therefore I do not lay much stress upon this curious bequest added by interlineation to the draft of Shakspere's will. It certainly does not seem to me to smack of "Shakespeare," but others see no objection in it at all.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps says it is quite natural, and presents us with some analogous instances. Thus, amongst the legacies given by Bartholomew Hathaway to his son Edmund, in 1621, is "my second brass pott." There's an analogy for you! But, quite to settle all controversy, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps tells us, "there is another example that is conclusive in itself, without other testimony, of the position here advocated," viz. that there is nothing at all disparaging in Shakspere's bequest to his wife. "It is in the will, dated in April 1610, of one John Harris, a well-to-do notary of Lincoln, who, *while leaving his wife a freehold Estate and other property*, also bequeaths to her 'the standing bedstead in the little chamber, with the second-best feather bed I have, with a whole furniture therto belonging, and allso a trundle-bedstead with a feather bed, and the furniture therto belonging, and six payer of sheetes, three payer of the better sorte and three payer of the meaner sorte.'"[1] Mr. Phillipps thinks that this extremely interesting parallel "disposes of the only plausible reason that has ever been given for the notion that there was at one time some kind of estrangement between Shakespeare and his Anne." But unfortunately William Shakspere, while leaving his second-best bed to his wife, did not, like John Harris, leave her also "a freehold estate and other property." And that is just the difference between the two cases. Mrs. Harris at any rate was not slighted by the bequest of the "standing

[1] *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 238. My italics.

bedstead with the second-best feather bed," for she had besides a freehold estate, and other property galore. But poor Anne gets *only* the second-best bed with its furniture, and that, apparently, by an afterthought.

Here is yet another specimen of "reasoning by analogy"! It is not of much use when the two things compared are fundamentally different. As Sir Sidney Lee well says: "Several wills of the period have been discovered in which a bedstead or other article of household furniture formed part of a wife's inheritance, but none except Shakespeare's is forthcoming in which a bed forms the sole bequest. At the same time the precision with which Shakespeare's will accounts for and assigns to other legatees every known item of his property refutes the conjecture that he had set aside any portion of it under a previous settlement or jointure with a view to making independent provision for his wife."[1] And remember this also. Anne would have been, at Shakspere's death, entitled to her dower out of Shakspere's freehold house at Blackfriars had he not taken steps to "bar dower." That he had taken such action we know on the authority of Sir Sidney Lee, who quotes the late Mr. Charles Elton, Q.C., "I have looked to the authorities with my friend Mr. Herbert Mackay, and there is no doubt that Shakespeare barred the dower," and, having further quoted Mr. Mackay's opinion, he adds, "thus the bar was for practical purposes perpetual, and disposes of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's assertion that Shakespeare's wife was entitled to dower in one form or another from all his real estate," and sums up the matter in these words: "Such procedure is pretty conclusive proof that he had the intention of excluding her from the enjoyment of his possessions after his death."

Poor Anne Hathaway! No dower, and a second-best bed!

But some enthusiastic Stratfordian critics, less dis-

[1] *Life*, p. 221.

passionate, and, perhaps, less discreet, than Sir Sidney Lee, not only seek to defend the gift of the "second-best bed," but find in it actual evidence of the testator's kindness and consideration for his wife. Thus Mr. Henry Davey, in the *Stratford Town Shakspeare*, tells us that this "much-derided bequest . . . indicates that she was bed-ridden"! There is not, so far as I know, one jot or tittle of evidence to prove that such was the fact. But even if it had been so, was that any reason for cutting her off with the "second-best bed" only?[1] Mr. Robertson tells us that his "youthful surmise, on first reading the will, was that the second-best bed had been the marriage bed, and that Anne desired to have it secured to her, dwelling on her past as elderly women—and men—so often do." The supposition does no little credit to Mr. Robertson's poetical and sentimental imagination, but inasmuch as the youthful William and his Anne were, in all probability, first married by "Parson Greenfields," this charming hypothesis hardly seems to carry conviction. But he goes on to say: "The most probable solution seems to be that she was either physically or mentally in a condition which made it desirable that she should not be left a control of property." Poor creature! Physically or mentally defective — perhaps both—left, dowerless, with only a second-best bed, and no security that the bed and its owner should not be summarily evicted from New Place!

Really, those who invent these hypotheses of a physically or mentally defective Anne should consider whereunto they lead. If such had been really the case, then all I can say is that it was cruel in the last degree on the part of Shakspere that he should not have given her the right to live on at New Place, and left some directions to

[1] Anne Shakspeare lived more than seven years after her husband's death. That she was "bed-ridden" is an entirely gratuitous, but very characteristic, assumption.

secure that the poor thing should be duly taken care of. As the will stood the Halls could, had they been so disposed, have ordered the unfortunate widow to "take up her bed and walk"!

But, asks Mr. Robertson, "on any conceivable view of the case, what has the bequest to do with the question of authorship?" And he then proceeds to give examples of other celebrated writers who were "infelicitous in their married lives." But the question here is not whether Shakspere was infelicitous in his married life. The question is whether he behaved meanly, spitefully, heartlessly, ungenerously, or cruelly to his wife. But what has that to do with the question of authorship, even if it could be proved? Well, taken alone, little or nothing, I admit. I have heard a counsel say, in defence of a man charged with crime on evidence wholly circumstantial, that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; to which it was replied by the prosecuting counsel that the true metaphor was not that of a chain but of a rope. One horsehair is easily broken. Many horsehairs may be woven together to form a rope which will bear a heavy weight. Similarly, it is not on each item taken separately, but on the whole argument formed by all the items taken connectively, that the sceptical case with regard to the Shaksperian authorship must be judged. There are some (fanatics, perhaps, they may be) who would think it in the highest degree unlikely that the author of the immortal works would have acted as Shakspere seems to have acted on various occasions. But inasmuch as the case of the "second-best bed" is by no means conclusive, and is, just possibly, susceptible of a more or less satisfactory explanation, could we only know the true facts, I will now take leave of it, just noting that it is only "the defamers of Shakespeare"—so called—who venture, or are concerned, to postulate for the true Shakespeare such a mortal as they can conceivably "marry" to the immortal

works. To the "orthodox" it is, apparently, quite natural that the author of those works—those miracles of wit and wisdom, of music and morals, of poetry and philosophy—should have been a mean, paltry fellow, as ignorant as Farmer makes him out to have been, who wrote consciously for gain, and quite unconsciously for all time.[1]

But there is another point in Shakspere's will which demands our consideration. In the preface "to the great variety of Readers" prefixed to the Folio of 1623, and signed "John Heminge" and "Henrie Condell," those players say, or, rather, are made to say by the writer of the preface: "It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care and paine, to have collected and publish'd them." It is in view of this preface that Heminge and Condell are, constantly, spoken of as Shakspere's literary executors. But they acted—if, indeed, they did act—in that capacity not upon Shakspere's nomination, but as volunteers only. Yet Shakspere had not forgotten them in his will, for, as we have seen, he left them each the sum of 26s. 8d. "to buy them ringes." It did not, apparently, occur to him that he might, at the same time, have committed to them the care, at any rate, of those "writings" which at that time had never seen the light of publication—that he might

[1] Mr. Robertson says (p. 543): "Assuredly he wrote 'for gain, not glory' *in the first instance*; though genius irresistibly had the casting vote." What is the meaning of the words I have put in italics? Did not Shakespeare then *always* (according to the orthodox) write "for gain, not glory"? If not, when did he cease to do so? But perhaps Mr. Robertson only means that although Shakespeare did, as a fact, write for gain and not for glory (according to the extraordinary orthodox theory) nevertheless his genius was such that, ultimately, the glory was immeasurably greater than the gain; in which case "in the first instance" really means nothing.

have delegated to them "that right" of setting forth and overseeing such writings, which, according to the players, he possessed at the time of his death. But, alas, there is no mention of manuscripts in Shakspere's will. His son-in-law, John Hall, as we have seen, was careful upon his death-bed to leave directions as to *his* manuscripts, but to Shakspere their fate seems to have been a matter of no moment. *The Tempest* was of less importance than his sword, *Macbeth* than his silver gilt bowl! Yet of the thirty-six plays which appeared in the First Folio, only fifteen had been printed at the time of Shakspere's death. "No less than twenty dramas, of which the greater number rank among the literary masterpieces of the world . . . were rescued by the First Folio from oblivion," writes Sir Sidney Lee, and seeing that among these were, besides the two I have already mentioned, *Measure for Measure*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Twelfth Night*, *A Winter's Tale*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*, Sir Sidney may well say that the pieces published for the first time in 1623 were "of supreme literary interest"

"Rescued from oblivion"! Not by any care or forethought of their author—if Shakspere is entitled to that name—but by those, whoever they were (perhaps we should say, by him, whoever he was), to whom we are indebted for the great gift of the First Folio. We must remember, too, that many of the plays were, as we shall see later on, revised over and over again. Where and by whom was this done? By Shakespeare, according to the received faith Did Shakspere then preserve his manuscripts? Had he any of the priceless "writings" in his possession when he died? If so, and if they were worth the trouble of revision, would he have made no mention of them in his will? "I am not possessed of information," writes Mr. Lang (p. 216), "that he 'did not preserve his manuscript.' How can we know that?" But if he

preserved his manuscripts, what became of them? Not being mentioned in the will, they would have passed to the Halls under the residuary bequest; and the Halls, being by no means indifferent to monetary considerations, might have made money out of them. Or were they, perchance, included in Hall's manuscripts which he left to his son-in-law Nash, telling him he might "burne them, or doe with them what you please"? All we know is that, like Shakspere's books, they have never been heard of, nor has a single one of them ever been found.

In all the circumstances, therefore, I submit that the only reasonable conclusion is that Shakspere died without books or manuscripts in his possession. But suppose he *did*, say the orthodox, that raises no presumption that he did not write the *Plays* and *Poems*! Well, *quot homines tot sententiae*, and I can only leave it at that. As for the manuscripts, indeed, the orthodox contention is, of course, that the players were wrong when they said, in their preface, that Shakespeare had the "right" to have published his own works, had he cared to do so, in his lifetime, inasmuch as he had disposed of all his manuscripts, and all his rights in them, to the acting company to which he belonged, and had no further interest in them, either personal or proprietary. But if such was the case, who would know it better than Messrs. Heminge and Condell? How came they then to make such a misstatement in their Preface? But the further consideration of such questions must be reserved till we come to discuss the publication of the Folio of 1623.

The slab which covers, or is supposed to cover, Shakspere's grave bears the following inscription:—

GOOD FREND FOR IESUS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DUST ENCLOASED HEARE.
BLESE BE Ye MAN Yt SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE Yt MOVES MY BONES.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps tells us that these lines, "according to an early tradition, were selected by the poet himself for his epitaph." He adds that "there is another early but less probable statement that they were the poet's own composition." The same editor presents us with a copy of "the following manuscript note, written towards the end of the seventeenth century, which is preserved in a copy of the Third Folio: 'in the church of Stratford-uppon-Avon, uppon a stone in the chancell, these words were ordered to be cutt by Mr. Shackspeare, the town being the place of his birth and buriall.'" A further authority is one William Hall, an Oxford graduate, who, in a letter written in the year 1694 to his friend Edward Thwaites, "an eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar," preserved in the Bodleian Library, tells us that when he came to Stratford he "went to visit the ashes of the great Shakespeare which lye interr'd in that church," which certainly shows that Hall thought the grave was that of the great poet. He proceeds: "The verses which, in his lifetime, he ordered to be cut upon his tombstone, for his monument have others, are these which follow." He then sets them forth with sufficient, if not absolute, accuracy, and continues: "The little learning these verses contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this Church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them, and haveing to do with clarks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacitys, and disrobes himself of that art which none of his contemporaries wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect, for, lest they should not onely

draw this curse upon themselves, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seventeen feet deep, deep enough to secure him."

Now here we have a very early tradition, which Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps evidently considers a probable one, that Shakspere, if he did not write these lines himself as his epitaph, at any rate ordered them to be cut upon his tombstone. The tradition rests upon as good authority as most of the accepted facts of Shakspere's life, and Sir Sidney Lee so far accepts it as to write (p. 221): "As it was the grave was made seventeen feet deep,[1] and was never opened even to receive his wife, although she expressed a desire to be buried with her husband."

But, very naturally, Mr. Lang, and others of the orthodox faith, would fain cast aside this tradition altogether. That is one of the difficulties in reasoning with the orthodox. Not only do they differ among themselves even more than do the theologians, but, like the theologians, they cling to tradition when it suits them, and reject it when it is not palatable. I had written: "Are we, *really, to believe that the bard of the world's adoration,* the sublime teacher, the great-minded, tolerant, 'gentle' philosopher, died with a curse upon his lips—an imprecation against any man who might *move his bones*? A mean and vulgar curse indeed!"[2] What says Mr. Lang to this? "I confess to be passing weary of the Baconian hatred of Will, which pursues him beyond his death with sneers and fantastic suspicions about his monument and his grave, and asks if he 'died with a curse upon his lips,' etc. . . . Of course there is no evidence that he wrote the mean and vulgar curse: that he did is only the pious hope of the Baconians and Anti-Willians."[3]

I am surprised that Mr. Lang should have been

[1] I know of no evidence for this except William Hall's statement.
[2] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 199 note.
[3] Work cited, pp. 188–9.

betrayed into criticism so unfair. I speak not for the "Baconians," but to say that I am possessed with a stupid and insensate "hatred of Will," and that it is my "pious hope" that "he died with a mean and vulgar curse upon his lips" is to say that which is not true. I am conscious that I am entirely devoid of any such idiotic feeling of hatred for the *τετράπαλαι σποδίη*. Nay more, I do not feel within me the shade or shadow of dislike, or anything approaching dislike, for the memory of William Shakspere of Stratford. The "orthodox" may believe me or not, as they like, but I only state the plain truth when I say that, for my part, I should look upon such a feeling as simply ridiculous, and, possibly, the first indication of approaching insanity. I merely comment upon the facts, or the alleged facts, of Shakspere's life, which the biographers have handed down to us, with such criticism as they seem to merit. William Hall, at the end of the seventeenth century, gives us a circumstantial account of this tradition in connection with Shakspere's burial in a grave seventeen feet deep, and an old manuscript note, of about the same date, preserved in a copy of the Third Folio, is to the same effect. Ward clearly perceived that the doggerels are presumptive evidence that the author of them had "little learning," but he ingeniously gets out of the difficulty by assuming that the poet in this instance wrote down to the meanest capacities of clerks and sextons! Well, I say the curse is a mean and vulgar one indeed. I say that if Shakspere ordered it to be cut upon his tombstone he was not the man who wrote:

> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on; and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

He, I venture to think, would not have cared whether or not his bones were moved; *he*, I am quite certain, would not have imprecated this "mean and vulgar curse" upon the man who might move them. I repeat, if Shakspere did so, then I for one am absolutely convinced that "Shakspere" was not "Shakespeare."

But, of course, it is not certain that Shakspere wished these lines to be cut on his tombstone; it is not certain that they were not so cut by some entirely unauthorised person—though why anyone should desire, or be permitted, so to write on Shakspere's tombstone without his authority I am at a loss to conceive. All we know is that there the lines have been, apparently, ever since the stone was laid upon Shakspere's grave—if, indeed, it is Shakspere's grave upon which the stone rests, for this is quite as uncertain as the authorship of the lines. What *is* there certain about Shakspere's life? All we can say is that the tradition in this matter has been generally accepted, and, if the tradition be true, my criticism is entirely justified. "Hatred of Will!" cries Mr. Lang. "Pursuing him with sneers beyond his death!" Alas, my kind and courteous critic—for such, indeed, he was—has himself passed to "where beyond these voices there is peace." Would he were still with us, and that I were able to convince him, as I very easily could, that in this instance he has quite misjudged the mental attitude of at least one "Anti-Willian" (if by such name I am to be called) with regard to William Shakspere of Stratford.

CHAPTER VIII

"SHAKESPEARE'S" WRITING

THE mystery which, unfortunately, surrounds everything in "Shakespeare's" life-story, makes itself very apparent when we come to consider his handwriting. The "orthodox" teaching, to which William Shakspere of Stratford was the author of the works published under the name of "Shakespeare," tells us that there exist five signatures of Shakespeare (one greatly abbreviated), and that these, together with the words "by me," in his will, are the only specimens of his handwriting which have come down to us. One of these signatures is on the purchase deed of a house in Blackfriars, dated March 10th, 1613; another is on the mortgage deed of the same house, dated March 11th, 1613; three are signatures to the will, which is written on three separate sheets; and the abbreviated signature is attached to a deposition in answer to interrogatories administered in the action of Bellott *v.* Mountjoy, in the year 1612, the proceedings wherein have recently been discovered by Professor Wallace at the Record Office.[1]

Now all these signatures are in the "Old English" character, and I think few impartial observers would deny that they are terrible scrawls, whatever reasons may be suggested to account for that fact. Let us go back for

[1] See *ante*, p. 260 *et seq.*

a moment to consider how and where Shakspere learnt to write. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps says: "Although both his parents were absolutely illiterate, they had the sagacity to appreciate the importance of an education for their son, and the poet, *somehow or other*, was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free School."[1] So, too, Mr. A. F. Leach, in his *English Schools at the Reformation* (p. 105), tells us that "boys were not admitted [to the Grammar School] until they had learnt their accidence." They learnt to write in the Song School or Writing School. We hear nothing of Shakspere's being at either Song School or Writing School, so we must be content with Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's statement that he was taught to read and write "*somehow or other*"! Sir Sidney Lee, however, tells us nothing as to the ability to read and write being a condition precedent to entry at the Free Grammar School. He says: "As was customary in provincial schools, he [Shakspere] was taught to write the 'old English' character, which resembles that in vogue in Germany. He was never taught the Italian script, which at the time was rapidly winning its way in fashionable cultured society, and is now universal among Englishmen. Until his death Shakespeare's 'Old English' handwriting testified to his provincial education."[2] And again: "In all the signatures Shakespeare used the old 'English' mode of writing, which resembles that still in vogue in Germany. During the seventeenth century the old 'English' character was finally displaced in England by the 'Italian' character, which is now universal in England and in all English-speaking countries. In Shakespeare's day highly educated men, who were graduates of the Universities and had travelled abroad in youth, were capable of writing both the old 'English' and the 'Italian' character with equal facility. As a

[1] *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 37. My italics.

[2] *Life*, p. 12.

rule they employed the 'English' character in their ordinary correspondence, but signed their names in the 'Italian' hand. Shakespeare's use of the 'English' script exclusively was doubtless a result of his provincial education. He learnt only the 'English' character at school at Stratford-on-Avon, and he never troubled to exchange it for the more fashionable 'Italian' character in later life."[1]

Further, Sir Sidney Lee, judging by the specimens of Shakspere's handwriting which have come down to us, has, not unnaturally, characterised it as "illegible," for, with reference to the copyist of Shakspere's supposed manuscript, he says that he "was not always happy in deciphering the original, especially when the dramatist wrote so illegibly as Shakespeare"![2]

Nay more, erudite Shakespearean scholars have even spoken of Shakespeare's signatures as "illiterate." Thus in a pamphlet which was issued by the Librarian of the Boston (U.S.A.) Public Library in the year 1889, concerning an interesting edition of North's *Plutarch*, printed

[1] *Life*, p 231. It will be observed that, according to Sir Sidney Lee, those who could write the "English" and "Italian" hands with equal facility as a rule employed the "English" character in their correspondence but signed their names in the "Italian" hand. An absurd suggestion, as it seems to me, has been made by Messrs. Garnett and Gosse in their *English Literature: An Illustrated Record*, that Shakspere reversed the process, and that the fact that he signed his name in the "English" script "affords no proof that he could not write the Italian script if he thought fit"! I have dealt with this remarkable suggestion in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, at p. 14. It is sufficient to say here that no example has been found, in the seventeenth century, of a man who, although he could write the Italian script with facility, nevertheless preferred to sign his name in the Old English hand.

[2] Introduction to the Folio Facsimile, p. xviii. It certainly occasions us something in the nature of a shock when we compare the scrawls which are said to be Shakespeare's signatures with the beautiful writing (in "the sweet Roman hand") of (e.g.) Joshua Sylvester, Jonson, or Bacon. Dugdale also (1605–86) wrote a remarkably beautiful hand. Going back to earlier days, we find that Edmund Spenser (1552–99) wrote an eminently legible hand, if we may judge from the document facsimiled by Messrs. Garnett and Gosse in their *Illustrated English Literature* at p. 120.

by Richard Field (1603), wherein is found a signature which some have fondly maintained to be a genuine Shakespearean autograph, I read: "It may be observed that the field of comparison of the Library signature with the known originals is narrow, being limited to those written between 1613 and 1616, all of which show such a lack of facility in handwriting as would almost preclude the possibility of Shakespeare's having written the dramas attributed to him, so great is the apparent illiteracy of his signatures."

So wrote Dr. Mellen Chamberlain, the Librarian in question, and a recognised authority upon matters of this kind.

Yet the author of *Twelfth Night* must have known the value of that "Italian" script which was at that time "rapidly winning its way in fashionable cultured society"; for does he not make Malvolio say, with reference to Olivia's supposed letter, "I think we do know the sweet Roman hand"? Is it credible that *he* did not know it himself? I cannot think so. He certainly understood the advantage of good handwriting. For what says Hamlet?

> I sat me down;
> Devised a new commission; wrote it fair:
> I once did hold it, as our statists do,
> A baseness to write fair, and labour'd much
> How to forget that learning; but, sir, now
> It did me yeoman's service.

It is, indeed, hard to believe that the writer of those lines could not "write fair" himself, and had never got beyond the "Old English" script; and, with Dr. Mellen Chamberlain, one is fain to wonder if the plays could possibly have been written in such handwriting as Shakspere's. Was *this* the script of the "unblotted manuscripts"?

Now it has usually been assumed that the will was

prepared, in January 1616, by Francis Collins, the Warwick solicitor, and written by him or by one of his clerks, and that it was, as Halliwell-Phillipps says, "a corrected draft ready for an engrossment that was to have been signed by the testator on Thursday, the twenty-fifth of that month," but that, "for some unknown reason, but most probably owing to circumstances relating to Judith's matrimonial engagement, the appointment for that day was postponed, at Shakespeare's request, in anticipation of further instructions, and before Collins had ordered a fair copy to be made."[1] But a German lady, Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel by name, has propounded the theory that not only the signatures and the words "by me" were written by Shakspere, but that the whole of the will is in his handwriting;[2] and an English barrister, Mr. John Pym-Yeatman, had already raised the same contention in a pamphlet headed "Is William Shakspere's Will Holographic?" (1901).

Here is a wonderful discovery! Here is a fact which ought to have been patent to all trained observers, but which, nevertheless, escaped the vigilant and microscopic eyes of Steevens, and Malone, and Ingleby, and all critics, and "paleographers," and "graphonomists," for 160 years or so, only to be revealed in the twentieth century to an English barrister and a German lady! The body of the will and the signatures were written by the same hand; and that hand was Shakspere's! Shakspere was, then, sufficiently versed in law to be able to draw a will in correct legal terminology. Nay, Mr. Pym-Yeatman points to the fact, as he assumes it to be, that Shakspere drafted his own will, as a proof of his legal knowledge, and refers to the Latin commencement of the document as evidence

[1] *Outlines*, Vol. I, p. 232. The will as first drafted began, "vicesimo quinto die *Januarii*," but the last word has been deleted, and *Martii* substituted. See *ante*, pp. 299, 300.

[2] See her article in the Leipzig magazine *Der Menschen Renner* (January, 1909).

"that Shakspere retained to the last some knowledge of Latin," which, he says, "disposes of Dr. Farmer's ridiculous assertion that the Poet did not know Latin"! I do not, certainly, demur to the epithet applied to Dr. Farmer's assertion, but I should indeed be reluctant to look for justification of it in the Latin words with which the will is headed, giving the date and the regnal year, as the custom then was. I apprehend that "Will Shakspere" had nothing whatever to do with this commencement which is no more than common form.

Now we may just observe, in passing, that the will begins, "I, William Shackspeare," and that spelling of the name is again used towards the end thereof, so that, as already pointed out, if it were indeed written by Shakspere himself, he must have adopted for the body of the will a form of his name different from that which he used for his signatures, a form, moreover, which, so far as is known, he never employed on any other occasion. But not only does the theory that Shakspere himself drafted his own will appear to me in the highest degree improbable, but, in my judgment, though I profess not to be an "expert," the signatures and the body of the document are in different handwriting.[1]

But we are now confronted with yet another theory. The late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, who was, I believe, a "paleographer," if not a "graphonomist" also, assured us that Mr. Pym-Yeatman and Frau Thumm-Kintzel are quite right in telling us that the will and the *signatures were written by the same hand*, but he maintained—or rather, I should say, he stated *ex cathedra*, as was his wont—that neither the body of the will nor the signatures were written by Shakspere. The three signa-

[1] Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps writes: "An unusual number of witnesses were called in to secure the validity of the informally written document, its draftsman, according to the almost invariable custom at that time, being the first to sign." It does not necessarily follow, however, that the will is in the handwriting of Francis Collins, though he probably was the "draftsman."

tures were "written by the law clerk who wrote the body of the will. This is confirmed in the clearest manner by Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel in an article which appeared in the Leipzig magazine, *Der Menschen Renner*, in January, 1909. In this publication photo-reproductions of certain letters in the body of the will and in the so-called signatures are placed side by side, and the evidence is irresistible that they are by the same hand. *As a matter of fact*, the will, and the supposed signatures of the witnesses other than himself, are all written in 'law script' by Francis Collyns, the Warwickshire solicitor, who added his own name as a witness in a neat, modern-looking hand." [1]

It is delightful to know anything "as a matter of fact" in the life of Shakspere, but one cannot help remarking that, after calling Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel as a witness, whose "evidence is irresistible," Sir Edwin proceeds to throw her over without ceremony, for this lady says: "Francis Collins's handwriting is seen on the testament as one of the witnesses, and is so distinctly different from the testator's hand that an identity is altogether out of the question." So, too, Mr. Pym-Yeatman: "Nothing can be clearer than that Francis Collyns did not write the draft, for we have the clearest evidence of his handwriting in his own signature which he appends first to the Will. His hand is a small, crabbed, tailless, lawyer-like hand, quite unlike that of the Poet, or whoever wrote the draft, which is in a large, bold, free hand, remarkably so for that period, and just such a hand as we should expect the Poet to employ"!

[1] I take this from a letter to the *Fife Standard* of October 2nd, 1913 (italics mine). Sir Edwin draws attention to the fact that "the attestation clause is 'witness to the publication (not to the signing) hereof,'" but it must be remembered that at that date the law did not require a will to be signed. The publication was the important thing. The words are "witness to the publishing hereof." The will is endorsed in two places, presumably by Francis Collyns, "Mr. Shakspere his Will."

However, Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence apparently attributes no importance to the "evidence" of Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel (he does not mention Mr. Pym-Yeatman) except in so far as it supports his own theory that the body of the will and the three signatures were all written "in 'law-script,'" by the same hand, i.e. by the lawyer who prepared the document. And he says the same was the case with the documents of March 10th and March 11th, 1613, and the abbreviated signature in the Bellott-Mountjoy suit. "The six so-called signatures" were all "written in 'law-script' by skilled law clerks."[1]

Let us see how this affects the documents dated March 10th and March 11th, 1613, respectively. The first of these, it will be remembered, was the deed by which Henry Walker conveyed a house in Blackfriars to "William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon," and the second, dated a day later, was the mortgage deed by which Shakspere reconveyed the house to Walker, the vendor, by way of mortgage, to secure the balance of the purchase money. Now with regard to this transaction Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence writes: "When a part of the purchase money is left upon a mortgage, the mortgage is always signed a moment before the purchase deed, because the seller will not part with his property before he receives both the cash and the mortgage deed." With all respect, however, I venture to say that such is not the usual practice. As a rule, the vendor executes the purchase deed, and hands it to his solicitor as in the nature of an "escrow," not to

[1] Mr. Pym-Yeatman opines that "the Poet," i.e. Shakspere, wrote the will himself, and that he must have been "a skilled lawyer, for his phraseology and use of legal terms is accurate; he has only muddled them together," but he thinks he had "received a great shock," probably in connection with Judith's marriage, that he was "of unsound mind, memory, and understanding at the time," otherwise it would "follow that the person who gave the instructions and the draftsman were, if different persons, both of unsound mind," etc.! A remarkable theory, truly, which I think has not found many followers.

come into effect until that part of the purchase money to be paid in cash has been handed over, and with it the mortgage deed duly executed by the purchaser, whereupon the purchase deed is dated as of a date one day prior to that of the mortgage deed. However, this matter is not worth disputing about, for I take it that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence is, at any rate, correct in his main point, viz. that, in Shakspere's case, the two documents, though dated as of two consecutive days, must have been, in fact, signed at the same time.

Here, however, we are confronted with a remarkable fact. The two so-called "Shakespeare" signatures differ very much the one from the other. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence writes. "The writing put for Shakespeare's name differs as widely as possible in the two documents, one being in the handwriting of an old man, the other in the handwriting of a young man. It is not even remotely possible that both of the supposed signatures of William Shakespeare could have been written in the same place, at the same time, with the same pen, by the same hand." Now, not being a "paleographer," I have to confess that before my attention had been called to the fact by "experts," it had not struck me that the dissimilarity between these two signatures was so very great as Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence describes it to be; but Sir Edwin can call the most "orthodox" evidence in support of the fact, for Dean Beeching tells us not only that the signatures differ very widely, but that they are actually written "in two different *scripts*", but so far is he from concluding therefrom that the signatures were written by different hands that he even argues from this fact, with consummate ingenuity, that Shakespeare must have been a cultured person. "No illiterate person would write two hands, but playwrights did so habitually to distinguish the text from the stage directions—a fact that anyone may verify who will consult the manuscript plays in the

British Museum." Further, "the signatures are those of a man accustomed to much writing, for they avoid the least superfluity in the formation and connection of letters." And again: "I suggest the inference that the Stratford player who signed these documents was also the dramatist, because we know from manuscripts of plays still extant in the British Museum that dramatists employed two scripts, one for the text, and one for the stage directions." [1]

I trust the reader follows this delightful argument. Player Shakspere was a playwright, therefore he, doubtless, habitually employed two different styles of handwriting, one for the text of his plays, and the other for the stage directions. What more natural, therefore, that when signing two legal documents he should employ his "text" hand for one and his "stage-directions" hand for the other? He would, of course, use the "text" hand for the purchase deed, and the "stage-directions" hand for the mortgage, though, to be sure, it might have been *vice versa*! I am particularly taken by the argument that the signatures show "a man accustomed to much writing," because "they avoid the least superfluity in the formation and connection of letters." The reader will be able really to appreciate the force of this argument if he will examine the facsimile of the signature to the mortgage deed. Most certainly there is no "superfluity" here either in the "formation" or in the "connection" of the letters. On the contrary, there is an *economy* of such things which is almost startling in the cultured playwright who habitually wrote at least two different

[1] See *William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, and Poet*, by H. C. Beeching, D.Litt. (1908), p. 20, and "A Last Word to Mr Greenwood," *The Nineteenth Century*, August 1909, p 284. I have not seen the "manuscript plays in the British Museum," but I fancy it is highly probable that, in most cases, if not all, the "text" has been written by one person and the "stage directions" added by another. Anyone who has had any experience of theatrical performances, even as an amateur only, will be able to recall "modern instances" of this practice.

scripts! Let those interested look for themselves and judge.[1]

And now, having presented the reader with this specimen of decanal logic, for which I feel sure he will be grateful to me, I would return for a moment to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's very different theory.

"All the so-called signatures of Shakespeare," he says, "are written in law script by skilful law clerks; not one of them is badly written." This is, indeed, a remarkable statement. I must again refer the reader to the facsimiles, and ask him whether it can seriously be contended that they are all written, and *well written*, "by skilful law clerks." In the case of the first of the will signatures, the ink, as Sir Sidney Lee truly says, "has now faded almost beyond recognition," but what *is* still visible, so far from resembling a signature written by an expert law clerk in law script, conveys to us the idea of an almost paralytic scrawl. In fact, the will signatures are such wretched performances that the usually received "orthodox" theory is that the testator was too ill at the time to write with a steady hand. Thus Dean Beeching, referring to these signatures as having been written but a month before Shakspere's death, declares that they "are beyond criticism by any *humane* person."[2] The will, indeed, states that the testator is "in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed"; but it would not be fair, perhaps, to make any point of this, because the words were probably inserted by the solicitor who prepared the draft, and the will was not actually signed till some

[1] Professor Sir J. K. Laughton draws an entirely different inference from the difference of the signatures. "I have never," he writes, "had occasion to examine the reputed Shakespeare signatures; but if, as I am told, and as Canon Beeching seems to admit, the spelling varies, I should consider it as grounds for a suspicion that they are not all genuine; a suspicion which would be much strengthened if the signatures differ in other respects" (*The Times*, November 27th, 1908. See his letter quoted at length, *infra*, p. 347).

[2] Work cited, p. 20. My italics.

time afterwards. But if the reader wishes to see how Shakespeare's signature was really written in law script by an expert legal clerk, or scrivener, let him refer to the document relating to the litigation in respect of the Globe Theatre, in 1619, a fragment of which is reproduced on page 505 of *The Century Magazine* for August, 1910. There he will see in two places the signature "Willm. Shakespeare," beautifully written by a law scrivener in the legal handwriting of the time, and he will do well to compare this with Shakspere's tottering signatures concerning which Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence makes the amazing assertion that none of them is "badly written." Or, if he likes, he can see these two signatures excellently reproduced in a little "Monograph on the Shakespeare Signatures," by William M'Conway of Pittsburgh, U.S.A. (1912). Mr. M'Conway agrees with Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence in thinking that Shakspere had never learnt to write, but he is far from imagining that his "signatures" were written for him by law clerks. On the contrary, he sees in these two reproduced signatures in legal script, together with the reproduction of the name "Willm. Shakespeare," written by the scrivener in Shakspere's deposition in the Bellott-Mountjoy suit (1612), "the 'missing link,'" showing that Shakspere's signatures were really "laborious imitations by a man who could not read them when written."[1] According to this theory, then, Shakespeare's signatures are bad and "laborious" copies from well-written models in legal script. These two "Anti-Willians," therefore, differ greatly in this matter, although they both agree in the conclusion that Shakspere was unable to write. To that opinion I am entirely unable to subscribe, and the "Baconian" or

[1] The name "Willm. Shakespeare" as written by the scrivener in Shakspere's deposition in the Bellott-Mountjoy suit is also reproduced in Mr. M'Conway's Monograph; and see Professor Wallace's article in *Harper* for March, 1910, p. 493, and p. 500.

"Anti-Willian" who advances it seems to me to be busily engaged in the suicidal operation of sawing off the bough upon which he sits. For the "Anti-Willian" hypothesis is that Shakspere's name, in the altered form of "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare," was adopted as a pseudonym by the real author of the *Plays* and *Poems* (or some of them), whence it naturally followed that the authorship of these was subsequently attributed to the Stratford player. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, therefore, would have us believe that the real author (Bacon, according to him) deliberately selected as a pseudonym the name of an entirely uneducated and illiterate man, and that this Stratford "clown," as he calls him, who could neither read nor write, thus came to be looked upon as the author of the works of Shakespeare! That appears to me an altogether unreasonable proposition. For myself, I think it reasonable to believe that Shakspere of Stratford could write, and that he did write these five signatures which we have been considering.

A word as to the abbreviated "Shakespeare" signature in the case of Bellott *v.* Mountjoy, the discovery of which by Dr. Wallace was heralded by such loud beating of drums and blowing of trumpets. The case in question was in the "Court of Requests." Now the Courts of Request were Courts for the collection of small debts, and they remained in existence in England till the establishment of County Courts, as readers of the late Sergeant Ballantyne's *Reminiscences* will remember.[1] It seems that a set of five interrogatories was administered to Shakspere as a witness in the suit, and he had to make answer on oath. His deposition is signed "Willm Shaks" according to Professor Wallace, but "Wilm Shaxp^r^" according to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence. At any rate, it is a very much abbreviated signature, and it is a strange thing that such should be found attached to a

[1] *Ante*, p. 262, note.

deposition taken on oath before a Court of Justice. Sir E. Durning-Lawrence says that "anyone acquainted in any way with law procedure will know that if William Shakespeare could have written anything, he certainly would have been obliged to sign in full, and would not have been permitted to shorten his name to 'Shaxp^r,' even if it were conceivable that any man who was able to write would have desired to abbreviate his name." Sir Edwin, therefore, argues that the abbreviated name must have been "written by the law clerk who wrote the body of the interrogatories." But we really do not know what might have been done in the Court of Requests in the early days of the seventeenth century, nor what the procedure there was; and as to Shakspere's ability to write, I remain entirely unconvinced. I think the strong probability is that, having given his evidence in answer to the interrogatories in this petty Court, he was allowed to authenticate his answers, as reduced to writing, by this abbreviated signature; at any rate, that nobody raised any objection to his so doing, although it might not have been in accordance with the strict requirements of legal procedure. That the law clerks should have attached this hieroglyphic to the deposition seems to me in the highest degree improbable.[1]

I think, then, that some specimens of Shakspere's handwriting have come down to us in these six "signatures." It cannot, by any stretch of courtesy, be called "calligraphy." One has only to turn to the writing of Ben Jonson, and Joshua Sylvester, and Spenser, and

[1] In *The Times Literary Supplement* for April 21st, 1910, I read in an article on "Seekers after Shakespeare": "We pry into watermarks, and are greatly cheered by a new autograph signature, *illegible, it is true, to all except those few who are familiarly conversant with the apparently paralytic handwriting of the period.*"

I have written at some length on Dr. Wallace's "New Shakespeare Discoveries" in *The National Review* for April, 1910. The article is reprinted in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare* (Sweeting & Co., 1911).

Sidney, and Francis Bacon, and many others of that time whom one might name, to see a very complete contrast between their cultivated "Italian" style and Shakspere's "Gothic" scrawl—a comparison very much indeed to Shakspere's disadvantage, though it would be, of course, in the highest degree unreasonable to expect him, with his "provincial" bringing up, to write in the style which was "rapidly winning its way in fashionable cultured society."

CHAPTER IX

THE NAME "SHAKESPEARE"

IT is the recognised right of every critic of an "unorthodox" work on the "Shakespearean" authorship to make use of the time-honoured joke that "Shakespeare," according to the "unorthodox," "was not written by Shakespeare but by another gentleman of the same name." Professor Dryasdust is always extremely tickled by this little quip—and it would, indeed, be ungenerous to desire to deprive him of the one minute spark of humour which glimmers amid the gloom of his dreary columns, however mouldy the jest, and however "soiled by all ignoble use." As a fact, however, and as the critic well knows, the "Anti-Willian" contends that it was a man not of the same but of quite different name who published under the pen-name of "Shake-speare." Now, according to all the best authority, as I shall presently show, the Stratford player wrote his name "Shakspere" in the five signatures which have come down to us (I leave Dr. Wallace's abbreviated hieroglyphic out of the account), and never "Shakespeare", but it would, of course, be very unwise to attach too much importance to this difference. It is, however, a very convenient course, and one which I have always adopted, in order to avoid unnecessary circumlocution, to make use of the name "Shakespeare" when speaking of the author of the *Plays* and *Poems*, whoever

he may have been, and "Shakspere" when alluding to William Shakspere of Stratford, whether or not *he* was the author. Therefore in the "Notice to the Reader," prefixed to *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, I wrote as follows: "In this work I have followed the convenient practice of writing 'Shakespeare' where I am speaking of the author of the *Plays* and *Poems*, and 'Shakspere' where I refer to William Shakspere of Stratford, *whether he was or was not the author in question.*" Now I should have thought it sufficiently clear from this that I followed the practice referred to for the sake of convenience only, and that it involved no assumption whatever with regard to the question of authorship, yet certain critics, "Stratfordians" *enragés*, have, very characteristically, based upon it the absurd charge that I rest my whole case upon this distinction of nomenclature. Thus Canon (now Dean) Beeching asserted that it is "the very keystone of Mr. Greenwood's elaborate piece of architecture,"[1] and Sir Edward Sullivan wrote, in *The Nineteenth Century*, "Mr. Greenwood rests his case so strongly on the spelling of the name that he tells us in his 'Notice to the Reader' that all through his book he writes 'Shakespeare' when he is speaking of the author of the *Plays* and *Poems*, and 'Shakspere' when he refers to the Stratford Player,"[2]—thus carefully suppressing—as also did the Canon—those words of my "Notice to the Reader" which I have italicised above, and which, if quoted, would have at once shown that the allegation, so unblushingly made, was entirely without foundation.

But now, leaving these characteristic instances of ultra-Stratfordian criticism, it may be worth while briefly to consider the facts with regard to the spelling of the name of Shakespeare.

I assume that the five reputed signatures of William

[1] *William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, and Poet*, p. 4.
[2] *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1909, p. 432.

Shakspere—the three will signatures, and the two signatures of March, 1613—were really written by him, and in all these signatures, according to the best authority, the name appears as I have written it above—"Shakspere." Take the will signatures first. Malone, one of the ablest and acutest of Shakespearean critics, examined these with the greatest possible care, and he had the advantage of inspecting them when the ink was fresher by some 120 years than it is now. The conclusion to which he came was this: "In the signature of his (Shakspere's) name subscribed to his Will . . . certainly the letter 'a' is not to be found in the second syllable." Of the same opinion was a later critic of very high standing, to whom orthodox Shakespeareans appeal with great confidence when it suits them to do so. I allude to James Spedding, who wrote, concerning the name as it appears in *The Northumberland Manuscript*: "The name of Shakespeare is spelt in every case as it was always *printed* in those days, and not as he himself in any known case ever wrote it." It is not, indeed, the fact that the name was *always* printed "Shakespeare" in those days, for there are many instances to the contrary, but the passage quoted from the preface to *A Conference of Pleasure* leaves no doubt as to what Mr. Spedding's opinion was with regard to Shakspere's own usage. Dr. Furnivall, as is well known, invariably made use of the form "Shakspere." "This spelling of our great Poet's name," he writes, "is taken from the only unquestionably genuine signatures of his that we possess. . . . None of the signatures have an *e* after the *k*; four have no *a* after the first *e*; the fifth I read *eere* [which, says Dr. Ingleby, is a mistake]. The *e* and *a* had their French sounds, which explains the forms 'Shaxper,' etc. Though it has hitherto been too much to ask people to suppose that Shakspere knew how to spell his own name, I hope the demand may not prove too great for the imagination of the members of the New

Society." And what says Dr. Ingleby, from whose work *Shakespeare: The Man and the Book*, I have taken the above quotation? "Unquestionably some, probably all, of the five signatures of Shakespeare are Shakspere: and certainly none of them has the *e* after the *k*." And again: "We contend that the two last signatures to the Will are not Shakespeare but, like Malone's tracing of the first (now partly obliterated), Shakspere."

What said Sir Frederic Madden, whom Dr. Ingleby cites as "the most accomplished palæographic expert of his day"? "The first of these signatures (to the will), subscribed on the first sheet, at the right-hand corner of the paper, is decidedly William Shakspere, and no one has ventured to raise a doubt respecting the six last letters. The second signature is at the left-hand corner of the second sheet, and is also clearly Will'm Shakspere, although from the tail of the letter *h* of the line above intervening between the *e* and *r* Chalmers would fain raise an idle quibble as to the omission of a letter. The third signature has been the subject of greater controversy, and has usually been read, By Me William Shakspeare. Malone, however, was the first publicly to abjure this reading, and in his *Inquiry*, p. 117, owns the error to have been pointed out to him by an anonymous correspondent, who 'showed most clearly that the superfluous stroke in the letter *r* was only the tremor of his (Shakspere's) hand, and no *a*.'[1] *In this opinion, after the most scrupulous examination, I entirely concur*" (*Observations on an Autograph of Shakspere, and the Orthography of His Name*, 1837, pp. 11–14). And what is Dr. Ingleby's conclusion? "With Sir F. Madden we adopt the view that all five signatures are alike SHAKSPERE."

Sir Sidney Lee writes: "The ink of the first signature

[1] But Malone subsequently came to the conclusion that this was a "mark of contraction." See Boswell's *Malone*, Vol. II, p. 1, and *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, pp. 32, 33.

which Shakespeare appended to his will has now faded almost beyond recognition, but that it was 'Shakspere' may be inferred from the facsimile made by George Steevens in 1776."

As to the second and third signatures, he tells us that they "have been variously read as 'Shakspere,' 'Shakspeare,' and 'Shakespeare,'"—truly a generous latitude of choice! He thinks himself that the third signature is "Shakspeare," but I opine the safer course is to trust to George Steevens (1776) and to Malone's extremely careful examination, made more than a hundred years ago, when the ink was not faded as it is to-day, and supported as it is by Sir Frederic Madden and the other high authorities whom I have mentioned. Moreover, though I am quite aware of the great latitude which prevailed in Shakspere's days with regard to spelling, I think it may be doubted if a man signing his name three times on one occasion to the same document, and that document his *will*, would have indulged in a capricious variety of signatures.[1] Moreover, the signatures, both to the purchase deed and the mortgage deed of March, 1613, are generally admitted to be "Shakspere," and so appear in the copies which Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has set forth in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*.[2]

So far as we know, therefore, "Will" of Stratford wrote his name "Shakspere." There are, however, countless varieties of the name. Dr. Ingleby has furnished us with examples of some fifty variant forms. The will, for instance, commences, "I, Willim Shackspeare," and is endorsed in two places, presumably by the lawyer who prepared it, "Mr. Shackspere, his Will." Walter Roche,

[1] See further as to this Sir J. K. Laughton's letter cited *infra*, p. 347.

[2] Vol. II, pp. 34 and 36. Mr. Joseph Hunter in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare* (Vol. I, p. 9) tells us that "the earliest will of any person of the name which is now to be found at the Register office at Worcester is of the year 1539. The testator is Thomas Shakspere. This will was proved at Stratford-on-Avon."

ex-master of the Stratford Free Grammar School, who ought to have known how to spell the name, writes "Shaxbere." Sir Sidney Lee tells us that John Shakspere's name is entered sixty-six times in the Council books of Stratford-on-Avon, and is spelt in sixteen ways, the commonest form being "Shaxpeare."[1] In the documents of the Stratford Court of Record, this same name (John's) appears as "Shakspeyre," "Shakyspeyr," "Shakspeyr," "Shakesper," "Shakespere," "Shackspere," and otherwise.[2] Richard Quiney, William Shakspere's fellow-townsman, writes "Shackspere," as in the endorsement on the will. Abraham Sturley, Shakspere's "fellow-countriman," writes "Shaxper." Thomas Whitting, who was shepherd to Shakspere's father-in-law, and of whom his wife borrowed 40s., knew him as "Shaxpere." In the marriage bond, of November, 1582, he is "Shagspere." The form "Shakspere" appears in the entries of the baptism of William Shakspere's children. "Shaxpur" is another well-known variant.

The scribe who wrote the entries in the book of the Court Revels (if those entries are indeed authentic) knew the great poet (if Shakspere were he) as "Shaxberd"! In legal documents the name is generally written "Shakespeare." This, however, is by no means invariably the case. Thus in the conveyance of January, 1596–7, from John Shakspere to George Badger, we have "Shakespere" in the body of the deed; and William and John Combe convey land in 1602 to "William Shakespere" of Stratford.

The plays, as we know, except when published anonymously, were given to the world in the name of "Shakespeare," or "Shake-speare," except in the case of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the title-page of which bore the name "W. Shakespere." The dedications of *Venus and*

[1] *Life*, p. 232.
[2] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, Vol. II, p. 215 *et seq.*

Adonis and *Lucrece* were signed "William Shakespeare," while the name "William Shake-speare" was subscribed to that strange poem *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, and the name on the title-page of the *Sonnets* (1609) is in the same form. The form "Shakespeare" was, certainly, used as the player's name by some of his contemporaries. Thus the clerk in the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber, in 1594–5, wrote "William Shakespeare" as the actor's name, and at a later date, when, in the year of Shakspere's death, Ben Jonson published a folio edition of his own works, he writes "Will Shake-speare" as the name of one of the "tragedians" who performed in *Sejanus*, and "Shakespeare" as the name of one of the "comedians" who played in *Every Man in his Humour*. Thomas Greene, Shakspere's cousin, calls him "Mr. Shakspeare."

So much for the spelling of the player's name. A word now as to the pronunciation. Malone wrote: "With respect to the last syllable of his name, the people of Stratford appear to have generally written the name *Shakspere* or *Shackspere*. . . . In some of the writings of the borough I have found the name written at length *Shaksper*, which was probably the vulgar pronunciation."[1] On this matter an interesting letter appeared in *The Westminster Gazette* of March 17th, 1910, signed Ernest Law, from which I extract the following: "All students of old English pronunciation are agreed that the *a* in such a syllable as the first of Shakespeare's name had not, in Elizabethan and Stuart times, the sound which we generally give it to-day, but rather that of the *a* in French—a sound which has now almost entirely died out of the English language as spoken by educated people, at least in the South of England. The first syllable of the dramatist's name was, in fact, pronounced in his own day like the French word *chaque*; and the second syllable

[1] See Boswell's *Malone* (1821), Vol. II, p. 1, note.

like the second syllable of the French word *espère*, or like the English word *spare—and this is the pronunciation of the name that still obtains to this day among the peasantry of Warwickshire.*[1]

"The evolution of the original pure vowel sound of *a* in old English into the modern diphthongal one, and the analogous degradation of the pure *e*, have been conclusively traced by Ellis, Sweet, and Professor Daniel Jones.

"Shakespeare himself retained to the end of his life the original spelling of his name, *and, we may be sure, its original native pronunciation also.* The spelling now pretty well universal—in spite of Dr. Furnivall's gallant efforts in favour of the original one—*appears to have had its origin in literary London, owing to a desire to indicate the supposed etymology of the name*; and in so far had the countenance of the poet—in view, perhaps, of his application for a grant of arms to the Herald's College—that *he allowed it to be spelt in this way* in his *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece.* Moreover, it was the form almost invariably used in the Quartos, and the numerous contemporary commendations of the dramatist, as well as in the few official documents in which his name occurs. The conventional spelling was thus fixed very soon.

"Doubtless, however, the name was always pronounced during his lifetime and long after with the old uncorrupted values to the vowels—which the Mountjoys would have had no difficulty in articulating with the two French words, *chaque espère.*"

This is interesting, but I am by no means sure that Mr. George Hookham is not nearer the truth with reference to the pronunciation of the name when he writes as follows (*National Review*, January, 1909): "Our usual spelling of the name 'Shakespeare,' and that now commonly in use, though Shakspere himself, so far

[1] My italics. As to the "French sounds" of the *e* and *a* see Dr. Furnivall, quoted above, p. 337.

as we know, never spelt it that way, was apparently unknown to Stratford till late in Shakspere's life.' More than this, the pronunciation implied by the spelling was equally unknown. The first syllable was pronounced 'Shack,' and constantly written so.[1] Of this there seems to be no doubt whatever. It is also probable that the second syllable was pronounced 'spur.' The author of the plays first used the spelling Shakespeare, and, as it seems to me, intended, whoever he was, to indicate a different pronunciation. In order, again, as it seems to me, that there should be no mistake, no possible reversion to the Stratford pronunciation, he generally even took the precaution of having it printed with a hyphen, thus, Shake-speare; which can by no possibility be miscalled. *The instructed play-goer possibly drew the distinction, pronouncing the actor's and the author's name differently.*"

There may be some doubt, perhaps, whether "the author of the plays *first* used the spelling Shakespeare," but this does not invalidate Mr. Hookham's argument, which seems to me well worthy of consideration. Malone, as we have already seen, thought that "Shaksper" probably represented "the vulgar pronunciation" among the player's contemporaries, and thus appears to agree with the "Shackspur" of Mr. Hookham. Very different is the form "Shake-speare," which, with or without the hyphen, player Shakspere himself never employed, and very different must have been the pronunciation of the name thus spelt from that of "Shaksper," "Shaxpur," or "Shaxberd"! This (Shake-speare) is the form which, as old Thomas Fuller remarks, suggests *Martial* in its war-like sound, "Hasti-vibrans" or "Shake-speare," and, as I have written elsewhere: "It is, of course, further suggestive of Pallas Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom, for Pallas also was a spear-shaker; and all will remember Ben Jonson's

[1] The pronunciation of the first syllable was "*short*," says Mr. E. K. Chambers in the *Encyc. Brit.*

verses prefixed to the First Folio, in which he speaks of Shake-speare's 'well tornéd and true filéd lines':

> In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
> As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance."

Moreover, as Mr. Gollancz has told us: "The earliest allusion to Shakespeare by *name* occurs in connection with a reference to his *Lucrece* in the commencing verses of a laudatory address prefixed to 'Willobie his Avisa,' 1594." The lines are:

> Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistering grape
> And Shake-speare paints poor Lucrece rape.

So that Shakespeare is first introduced to us in his spear-shaking and hyphenated form. These lines, be it observed, are of the same date as the publication of *Lucrece*, which was in the year following that which saw "the first heir of my invention" (*Venus and Adonis*) given to the public, under the name of "Shakespeare."

"Shakespeare," then, and, more particularly, "Shake-speare," makes an excellent *nom de plume*;[1] whereas Shakspere, or Shaksper, or Shaxpur, does not. And that is the only point which I desire to make with reference to the difference, both as regards spelling and as regards pronunciation of "Shakespeare" on the one hand, and "Shakspere," and all its multitudinous variants, on the other.

I must here briefly allude to an article on "The Great Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy," which appeared in an American magazine—"*Munsey's*"—for January, 1912.

The writer is Mr. Edward H. Sothern, who is, I believe, a Shakespearean actor of some distinction in the United States. I regret the more, therefore, that I should

[1] In order to anticipate the "captious critic" I would say that the expression "*nom de plume*" has always seemed to me a very convenient one, and I think it quite immaterial whether the French ever made use of it or not. "Pseudonym" would seem to connote a false pretence, and *nom de guerre* is only applicable in a secondary sense to a literary "pen-name." Perhaps the latter, "pen-name," is as good as "*nom de plume*," though not so attractive!

have to refer to his article as a specimen of the uninformed and unintelligent criticism to which "unorthodox" writers on the Shakespearean authorship are so frequently subjected. I would call attention to the following passage: "Because Shakespeare sometimes spelled his name 'Shakespere,' and again as 'Shakespeare,' an English barrister, G. G. Greenwood, has contended that there were two men—Shakespeare the author, and Shakspere the player of Stratford. . . . This ignorant nonsense as to the spelling of the name, and the effort to make it appear that there were two Shakespeares, is quite on a par with the cipher absurdities." Mr. Sothern does not do me the honour to refer to my book, and it is quite clear that he had never read it, but had taken his idea of it at second-hand, perhaps from some reviewer who had, indeed, seen it, but who, after the manner of some of his clan, had not thought it necessary to peruse it.[1] If Mr. Sothern had taken the trouble to read *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* he would hardly have attributed to me an absurd "contention" which I have never raised. It is absolutely untrue that I have "contended that there were two men—Shakespeare the author, and Shakespere the player." My suggestion was entirely different, viz. that when the author of *Venus and Adonis*, for example, signed the dedication to the Earl of Southampton with the name "Shakespeare," he adopted as a pseudonym that form of the player's name which he, the player, never made use of, and which, certainly, lent itself to literary purposes far better than "Shakspere" (the player never "spelled his name 'Shakespere,'" by the way, so far as we know), or "Shagspur," or "Shaxper," or "Shaxberd"! But Mr. Sothern's statement is quite on a par with that of

[1] Possibly Mr. Sothern got his ideas of my book from Mark Twain, who lifted a chapter of it bodily into his book, *Is Shakespeare Dead?* without, however, mentioning my name or that of my publisher. "*Munsey's*," I may add, flatly declined my request to be allowed to reply to Mr. Sothern's article; but that is but the ordinary treatment of the Shakespearean heretic

the reviewer who told his readers that I postulated "two Shakespeares—two Dromios, as like as two pins; one the player and the other the author"!

But things of this sort are among the commonplaces of Shakespearean controversy, when critics of a certain species are assailing the "unorthodox."[1]

Let us listen once more to the words of this American critic. "Another argument tending to prove that Shakespeare was a 'barbarian' is the fact that he spelled his name in several ways. This is one assertion that is not denied. It is also true that Sir Walter Raleigh, admittedly one of the most cultured men of the time, spelled his name 'Rauley,' 'Rawleigh,' 'Raleghe,' and 'Ralegh.'" I do not know who has attempted to prove Shakespeare "a barbarian," nor am I concerned to inquire. But what about the variants of Sir Walter Raleigh's name? Mr. Sothern had, I imagine, been reading Dean Beeching's *William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, and Poet*, where we read (p. 4): "The spelling of surnames in the seventeenth century was even more inconsistent than that of ordinary words. Sir Walter Raleigh, for example, is known to have spelt his signature in five different ways —Rauley, Rawleghe, Rauleigh, Raleghe, Ralegh." But why do both the Dean and Mr. Sothern omit to tell us

[1] If any further proof were necessary that Mr. Sothern had not read my book, it would be sufficient to quote the following: "In reply to Mr. Greenwood's theory (i.e. my supposed theory of his own invention) it is only necessary to say that 'The Pilgrimage to and Return from Parnassus,' a play printed in 1606, introduced Kempe, the clown of Shakespeare's company, who is made to say that his fellow-actor, Shakespeare, 'puts down' all the university playwrights," etc. etc. Mr. Sothern is evidently unaware that I had dealt with the Parnassus plays, and especially with the passage referred to, at great length in my book. Note also that he speaks of "The Pilgrimage to and Return from Parnassus" as "a play," whence I conclude that he writes of the Parnassus plays also at second-hand. He goes on to misquote the words put by the University playwright into the mouth of the actor who played the part of Kempe, omitting a very material passage. See *infra*, p. 360 *et seq.*

that from the age of thirty till his death Sir Walter used no other signature than Ralegh? Upon this point the following instructive letter appeared in *The Times* of November 27th, 1908, from Professor Sir J. K. Laughton, headed, "The Seventeenth-Century Spelling of Proper Names": "According to the report in *The Times* of this morning of his interesting paper on 'The Shakespeare Problem,'[1] Canon Beeching made a statement which, I think, is inaccurate, and drew from it an inference which is certainly incorrect. The words reported are: 'The spelling of surnames in the seventeenth century was even more inconsistent than that of ordinary words. Sir Walter Raleigh spelt his name in five different ways.' But Ralegh—to use his own spelling—did nothing of the kind. From the death of his father in 1583, when he adopted his father's spelling of the name, to the time of his own death in 1618, he never varied. As a boy he seems to have written Rauleygh: but from the time he was twenty-one till 1583 he consistently signed Rauley. He would probably have considered it impudent to adopt his father's spelling. In this connexion I would ask leave to repeat what I wrote several years ago in the Introduction to my *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*: 'It is commonly supposed that the spelling of sixteenth and seventeenth century names is indeterminate; a mistake due partly to the carelessness of other people, but still more to what seems now the curious custom of brothers, or members of the same family, differencing their names by the spelling, in much the same way that they differenced their armorial bearings by marks of cadency. Humphrey Gylberte and John Gilberte, Thomas Cecill and (after his father's death) Robert Cecyll, Marmaduke Darell and his cousin William

[1] On November 25th, 1908, Canon Beeching read a paper on my book before the Royal Society of Literature, which he afterwards published in the work above cited. I replied in *In re Shakespeare Beeching* v. *Greenwood. Rejoinder on behalf of the Defendant* (John Lane).

Darrell, are some amongst many belonging to this period. The point is really one of some importance, for attention to the spelling of signatures is frequently the only way of avoiding great confusion; as, for instance, between George Cary of Cockington, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland, George Carey of the Isle of Wight, afterwards Lord Hunsdon, and George Carew, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, afterwards Earl of Totness. Each of these men, and indeed every man who could write, had an established signature, which he no more thought of varying than does one at the present time.'

"I have never had occasion to examine the reputed Shakespeare signatures, but if I am told, and as Canon Beeching seems to admit, the spelling varies, I should consider it as grounds for a suspicion that they are not all genuine; a suspicion which would be much strengthened if the signatures differ in other respects."

This letter, signed "J. K. Laughton," and dated "King's College, London, November 26th," is very interesting, and shows that those who think that educated men in the seventeenth century were accustomed to spell their surnames in many varying forms, according to the caprice of the moment, are imperfectly informed as to the facts. Perhaps it may be found that if any "ignorant nonsense" has been written in this matter, some of it has flowed from the uninstructed pen of Mr. Edward H. Sothern himself! But, however this may be, I venture to suggest that *if* the spelling of Shakspere's name was in such a remarkably fluid and indeterminate state that he himself wrote his name impartially, in many different ways, according to no rule or method, but as the whim seized him, the inference is not, indeed, that he was a "barbarian," but—that he belonged to a very different class from that in which Raleigh and those others mentioned by Sir J. K. Laughton were included, and was, in fact, if not an ignorant, at any rate a very imperfectly educated man, for

"that sort of thing" would certainly be very suggestive of the "Stratford rustic."

I trust I have at least made it clear that I do not rest my case "on the spelling of the name." We find that there was a Warwickshire provincial—a player from Stratford-on-Avon, who seems to have written his name Shakspere: that that name was pronounced "Shackspur," or "Shaxpur," or, possibly, though not probably I think, like the French words *chaque spère*, a pronunciation which, we are told, "still obtains to this day among the peasantry of Warwickshire." We find that there was another form of the name which "appears to have had its origin in literary London, owing to a desire to indicate the supposed etymology of the name"—the "*hasti-vibrans*" or "Shake-speare" form—a form which must have been pronounced very differently from the more homely form with which the peasantry of Warwickshire were familiar. Assuming, then, just for the sake of argument, that it occurred to some writer, not the Stratford player, to publish poems or plays, or both, under the player's name, he would very naturally choose as a "mask-name" the literary, "spear-shaking" form, rather than the "spur-jingling" form, more suggestive of an origin among "the peasantry of Warwickshire." And that many works not written by Shaksper, or Shakspere, of Stratford, *were* published under this name of "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare" is a mere matter of fact.[1]

[1] The name "Shakspere" or "Shaksper" had, it appears, by no means a good reputation in early days. Thus we read that in 1487 one Hugh Shakspere of Merton College, Oxford, changed his name to Sawndare, because his former name *vile reputatum est*. Dr. H. Bradley derives the name from the Anglo-Saxon personal name Seaxberht, which Mr. E. K. Chambers thinks is, probably, a correct derivation. Very different was the name "Shake-speare," and although in practice they might have become convertible, the two names were in fact distinct. When Shakspere induced the heralds to give him a coat-of-arms, naturally they assigned to him the "spear-shaking" name. "Shakspere" would hardly have commended itself to them for heraldic or pictorial purposes!

CHAPTER X

SOME ALLUSIONS TO SHAKESPEARE

IN dealing with contemporary allusions to Shakespeare I have said more than once that mere praise of a writer's works, making reference to the author by the name in which those works are published, is, in a case of disputed authorship, no proof of the author's identity.[1] This very obvious reflection, which seems to me little more than a truism, is treated with not a little contempt—though, I need not say, quite courteous contempt—by Mr. Lang, who, possibly, had not altogether grasped my meaning. Thus we read: "Makers of allusions to the plays must identify Shakespeare with the actor, explicitly, must tell us who Shakespeare was, though they need not, and usually do not, tell us who the other authors mentioned were, and though the world of letters and the Stage knew but one William Shakspere or Shakespeare who was far too familiar with them to require further identification." And again: "To myself this 'sad repeated air'—'critics who praise Shakespeare do not say who Shakespeare was'—would appear to be, not an argument, but a subterfuge: though Mr. Greenwood honestly believes it to be an argument,—otherwise he would not use it: much less would he repeat it with frequent iteration. The more a man was notorious, as was Will Shakspere the actor, the less

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, chap XI.

need for any critic to tell his public 'who Shakespeare was.'" [1]

Mr. Robertson, of course, follows suit: "It was really not customary to say 'who' a man was when you praised him by his name for his known works." [2]

I am somewhat surprised that critics of this calibre should have penned these observations. They do not seem to be addressed to the most intelligent section of their readers. The answer is so very obvious. Of course one does not expect a contemporary of Shakespeare, when praising his work, to add "By 'Shakespeare' I mean Shakspere the actor," or words to that effect. I made no such fatuous suggestion. It is only natural that those of his contemporaries who wrote in praise of "Shakespeare" should "leave it there," as Mr. Lang writes. But none the less it is strictly and obviously true that if there be a doubt as to the authorship—as to the identity behind the name—mere eulogy of the works of the ostensible author, whether "Shakespeare" or anybody else, cannot possibly dispose of that doubt. If it were otherwise, if all contemporary praise of "Shakespeare" is proof that Shakspere the player the *Poems* and *Plays*, then, of course, *cadit quaestio*—there is no longer any question to be argued. Solvuntur *usu* tabulae. But it is obvious that in fact it is not so. Mr. Lang says of the contemporary writers: "In the same way, when they speak of other contemporaries, they name them, and leave it there, without telling us 'who' (Frank) Beaumont, or (Kit) Marlowe, or (Robin) Greene, or (Jack) Fletcher, or any of the others 'were.'" Quite so, and it is very natural that they *should* "leave it there." But none the less if there were (or if there be) any doubt—any *prima facie* case made—as to whether Marlowe (let us say)

[1] Work cited, pp. 136, 156. The words "critics who praise Shakespeare do not say who Shakespeare was," though marked by Mr. Lang as a quotation, do not occur in my book.

[2] Work cited, p. 562.

was really the author of the works ascribed to him, mere contemporary praise of Marlowe's works really could not settle the question in his favour. If I were so gifted as to be able to write poetry after the manner of the Poet Laureate, so as to deceive the very elect among the critics, and were to publish (in his absence from this country, let us say) a book of "poems by Dr. Bridges," all the praise in the world of the Poet Laureate's new book would not amount to an iota of proof that Dr. Bridges was the author thereof! Or let me give another, and, perhaps, a better illustration. Suppose the true identity of "George Eliot" had not been revealed, then it is obvious that praise of the works of "George Eliot" would tell us nothing as to their authorship. But let us go a step further. Suppose there had been living, at the time of the publication of Miss Evans's works, a clever young actor, with some literary pretensions, of the name of George Eliot. Suppose, further, that a question were raised as to the authorship of these works. It is quite obvious that any amount of contemporaneous eulogy of the writer "George Eliot" would not afford a tittle of evidence in favour of the contention that the actor of that name was, in truth, the author, even although he might have been credited with the authorship during his lifetime.

Similarly, mere praise of the works of "Fiona M'Leod" or "Mark Rutherford" throw no light whatever upon the true authorship of those works.

But these, it will be said, are pseudonyms. True; and I had written that contemporary praise of "Shakespeare" is no proof that that name was not used as a "pseudonym." Mr. Lang says "that it is an entirely different question," and that I am here "starting quite another hare." I respectfully disagree. It is the same identical hare, and the only hare that I have started in this connection. I have never denied that most, if not all, of the contemporary writers who wrote in praise of the works of Shakespeare in

all probability supposed Shakspere the player to be the author of those works, though I conceive it is quite possible that some, and perhaps many, of them simply lauded the works without knowing, or troubling at all about, the author of them. In the latter case their eulogies would be no more relevant to the question of authorship than is Gullio's exclamation—"O sweet Mr. Shakespeare, I'le have his portrait in my study at the courte!"—in *The Return from Parnassus* (Act III, Sc. 1).

Moreover, if there be any question as to the authorship of the works of Shakespeare, it is, surely, only reasonable in the case of those contemporary writers who do, to all outward seeming, identify the author with the player, to consider, so far as records enable us to do so, what opportunities they had of knowing the true facts of the case, or, in other words, what weight must be justly accorded to their testimony; for, to utter yet another truism, the value of witnesses varies according to many circumstances, as their character, qualifications, knowledge, opportunities, etc. etc.

In further illustration of my meaning, if any such be required, I will now refer the reader to two allusions to Shakespeare, one of them contemporaneous, which do, to all outward seeming, identify the author with the player, and which, therefore, are entitled to rank as evidence in favour of the "Willians," which mere eulogy of Shakespeare's work is not, though in the case of the second of them a liberal discount must be made by reason of the fact that the writer lived and wrote many years after Shakspere's death.

The first is the well-known epigram, addressed "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare," by John Davies of Hereford, and published in the *Scourge of Folly* about 1611. This epigram speaks of "Good Will" as having "played some kingly parts in sport"; and as Davies, at the same time, calls him "our English Terence,"

it cannot be denied that he does, to all outward seeming, identify the author with the player. This is much more than mere praise of the works of Shakespeare, and must, certainly, be taken as evidence against the "Anti-Willians." I will not now discuss it further, though I shall have a word to say about it later on.[1]

The second allusion to which I refer is contained in Sir Richard Baker's chronicle concerning "The Raigne of Queen Elizabeth." Having made reference to the great statesmen writers and divines of that age, he writes: "After such men, it might be thought ridiculous to speake of Stage-players; but seeing excellency in the meanest things deserves remembring, and Roscius the Comedian is recorded in History with such commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with some of our nation." Then, having praised those "meanest things," Richard Burbage, Edward Allen, and Richard Tarlton, as unsurpassed in their respective lines, he adds: "For writers of Playes, and such as had been Players themselves, William Shakespeare and Benjamin Johnson [*sic*] have specially left their names recommended to posterity."

Now here is pretty clear proof that Sir Richard Baker believed William Shakspere, the "Player," to have been "a writer of Playes," and this allusion also is, it must be freely admitted, weighty evidence against the "Anti-Willians." At the same time, we have to remember that Sir Richard Baker's chronicle was not published till 1643, twenty-seven years after Shakspere's death. The question, therefore, arises, What weight is to be ascribed to Sir Richard Baker's belief, in or about the year 1643, that "Will" wrote the Works of "Shakespeare"? The "Anti-Willians," of course, contend that the belief of some of Shakspere's contemporaries (of whom Sir Richard Baker was *not* one), though all due weight must, of course, be given to it, cannot be taken as conclusive of the question of authorship, and that

[1] See Appendix A.

"the Shakespeare Problem" is still with us in spite of such belief, so far as it existed.

Let us consider another kind of allusion to the Works of Shakespeare. I will take the best known of them all, that of Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* of 1598. Some persons seem to think that the fact that Meres, of whom personally we know little or nothing, except that he was Professor of Rhetoric at Oxford, and, what is more important, John Florio's brother-in-law, speaks of certain poems and plays as "Shakespeare's," amounts to indisputable proof that player Shakspere must have been the author thereof.[1] The "Anti-Willians" stoutly deny this. They point out that if plays and poems were published in the name of "Shakespeare" they would, naturally, be generally accepted as written by the player; that many plays in which Shakespeare, admittedly, had no part were nevertheless ascribed to him, because published in his name, that contemporary belief that he was the author of such plays is certainly not conclusive proof that he wrote them Nay, the fact that *Titus Andronicus* was included in the Folio as Shakespeare's, and was ascribed to him by Meres himself, is so far from being considered a conclusive proof of the true authorship of that drama, that the great (I might, I think, say the "overwhelming") balance of "orthodox" opinion is to the effect that Shakespeare either had no hand in it at all, or only added, or "touched," a few lines here and there.

Contemporary belief, then, although due weight must certainly be given to it, is not conclusive of the case. If, for example, I could produce the evidence of twenty writers and critics contemporary with Sir Philip Francis, showing that they believed him to be the author of the

[1] As to Meres, Puttenham, and Bodenham, I have no hesitation in referring the reader to *Bacon's "Nova Resuscitatio,"* by the late Rev. W. Begley. His remarks will, I think, be found worth consideration even by non-Baconians.

letters of Junius (and such belief, as we know, widely prevailed), that would hardly establish the identity of Junius with Sir Philip Francis!

Let us consider a typical allusion appealed to by Mr. Lang (p. 147) as strong evidence—indeed, I think he looked upon it almost as actual *proof*—that "Will" was the author of *The Works of Shakespeare*. "Weaver (1599) alludes to him [Shakespeare] as author of *Venus, Lucrece, Romeo, Richard*, 'more whose names I know not.'" What are the facts here? John Weever (or Weaver), among his *Epigrammes in the oldest cut and newest fashion*, has one "*Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare*," in which he addresses Shakespeare as "honie-tong'd," and speaks in commendation of "*rose-checkt Adonis*," "*faire fire-hot Venus*," "*chaste Lucretia*," "*Romea-Richard*" [*sic*], and "more whose names I know not." Now before 1599, when this was printed, certain poems and plays had been published in the name of "William Shakespeare." It may be true, as Dr. Ingleby says, that "the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age," and in a certain sense (not quite Dr. Ingleby's) I believe it *is* true; but it would have been extraordinary indeed if *some* writers had not been found with sufficient appreciation to pay a tribute of praise to these contemporary plays and poems. Some such there were, and among them was John Weever. When he printed his epigrams, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* had been published with dedications signed "William Shakespeare," both *Richard II* and *Richard III* had been published with "William Shake-speare" on their title-pages, and *Romeo and Juliet* had been published, though with no name on the title-page, and had been frequently acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company. Well, John Weever praises these works in verses addressed to "William Shakespeare." Is it to be asserted that that very natural action on the part of John Weever is so conclusive as to preclude the raising of the question of the

Shakespearean authorship for all time? The argument seems to be as follows: John Weever in 1599 praises poems and plays published by "William Shake-speare." Therefore it is certain that William Skakspere of Stratford was the author of those plays and poems! But if this style of argument is sound, why trouble to refer to contemporary praise at all. The proof can be much simplified. It is thus: "Poems and Plays were published in the name of 'William Shake-speare.' Therefore it is certain that William Shakspere the Player was the author of them"!

Thomas Freeman is another witness of the same character appealed to by Mr. Lang. He too wrote an epigram "To Master W. Shakespeare," published in 1614, wherein he speaks of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and adds: "Besides in plays thy wit winds like Meander." Again, I say, if all contemporary mention, all contemporary praise, of "William Shakespeare" is to be taken as putting all doubts as to the Shakespearean authorship beyond the pale of reason and argument, then this is, of course, conclusive. But as contemporary mention and praise of "William Shakespeare" were certain to occur if plays and poems were published in that name which achieved some measure of success, this is, indeed, an easy method of dealing with all doubters and heretics. The only objection to it (and probably the "Willians" do not think it an objection) is that the doubters and heretics are not greatly impressed by this style of argument.

Let the reader observe, we do not expect John Weever or Thomas Freeman to add to their praises words intimating that by "William Shakespeare" they mean "Player Will." I have made no such imbecile suggestion. It has been put into my mouth (inadvertently, I should imagine) by Mr. Lang, and Mr. Robertson has given tongue in chorus on this false scent. The fact

is that we do not know what belief either Weever or Freeman had concerning the authorship of the works that they praised. Very probably, if they concerned themselves about the authorship at all, they ascribed it to "Will." Let it be granted that they did. How stands the case then? The worthy Weever and the worthy Freeman thought it was player Will who wrote that very remarkable poem of *Venus and Adonis*, and ventured to dedicate it to the Earl of Southampton. But, with great respect to the worthy Weever and the worthy Freeman, we think they were deceived, and we believe, for reasons which I have endeavoured to set forth, that, if the truth could be known, it would be found that player Will was *not* the author of that very remarkable poem.

I trust I have now at least made clear what I meant when I wrote that mere contemporary praise of works published in the name of Shakespeare is really no proof of the author's identity. We do not feel inclined actually to "throw up the sponge" because contemporary writers took notice of plays and poems which had been published in the name of "Shakespeare," and actually made mention of that very name. It would have been remarkable, indeed, if they had not done so.

Mr. Lang cites another allusion to which by all means let due weight be given: "Thomas Heywood, author of that remarkable domestic play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, was, from the old days of Henslowe, in the fifteen-nineties, a playwright and an actor; he survived into the reign of Charles I. Writing on the familiar names of the poets 'Jack Fletcher,' 'Frank Beaumont,' 'Kit Marlowe,' 'Tom Nash,' he says:

> Mellifluous Shakespeare whose enchanting quill
> Commanded mirth and passion, was but 'Will.'"

Whereupon Mr. Lang asks, "Does Heywood not identify

the actor with the author?" And adds, "No quibbles serve against the evidence."[1]

With that last proposition I entirely agree. Quibbles will not serve. Quibbles are generally fatal to the case of him who makes use of them. But I hope it will not be thought a quibble to point out that "William Shakespeare" was the name in which the *Plays* and *Poems* were published; and that the author, whoever he may have been, frequently puns upon the name of "Will," as in the "'Will' Sonnets," for example, in two of which, says Sir Sidney Lee (viz. cxxxv and cxxxvi), "he quibbles"—alas, even Shakespeare "quibbles"!—"over the fact of the identity of his own name Will with a lady's 'will.'"[2] Now I believe a certain very distinguished actor of the present time has more than once appealed to the fact that Shakespeare speaks of himself in the Sonnets as "Will," and puns on the name, as proof that "Will" of Stratford must be the true author. So far as I know, he alone among the "Willians" has advanced this unique method of proof. It does not seem to have much impressed the other protagonists of the cause. Possibly the reason of that is to be found in the reflection that if a man, whatever his real name may be, elects to publish works in the name of "William Shakespeare," he really must allude to himself by that name if he alludes to himself at all; and if it occurs to him to pun upon his "front-name," he can adopt for that purpose no other name than "William" or "Will." Puns upon "Bob," or "George," or "Frank," for example, would fall flat! They would leave the reader in a state of bewilderment. Similarly, if Heywood wrote in a jocular and familiar manner concerning "William Shakespeare," he really had no option but to allude to him as "Will" for short.

[1] Work cited, p. 148.

[2] Lee's *Life*, p. 99. See also an elaborate dissertation on "the Elizabethan meanings of 'Will,'" at p. 340 *et seq.*

He could not call him "Tom," or "Dick," or "Harry." There would have been no point in it.

Heywood—who, by the way, in 1607 ridiculed *Venus and Adonis* in his *Fayre Mayde of the Exchange*—wrote as above in his *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, published in 1635, and it may be just worth while to note that he does not write "Shakespeare" as quoted by Mr. Lang, but uses the literary form "Shake-speare." But, nevertheless, had he not Will Shakspere the player in mind? Very likely—nay probably, I should say. Is that to put an end to all doubt as to what "Shake-speare" may have really stood for? I hardly think so.

Here it is necessary to say another word upon the well-worn theme of the Parnassus Plays (1602).[1] The references to Shakespeare in these plays have been absurdly misinterpreted by Professor Dryasdust (I use the term as a "noun of multitude"), who, being, unfortunately, lacking in the sense of humour, is constantly given to construe *au pied de la lettre* things obviously "writ sarcastic." What is certain about these plays is that they were written by a University pen for a University audience; that the author ridicules both Shakespeare and the players—the professional players, *bien entendu*; that his praise of Shakespeare, and his dispraise of Jonson, and of "University pens" generally, are alike ironical, and must be construed "the other way round." From want of appreciation of these patent facts, Professor Dryasdust, in one of his many incarnations, has written concerning the words put by the author into the mouth of the player who took the part of Kemp in the drama that they demonstrate the "confessed supremacy" of Shakespeare, at that date, "not only over all University

[1] The first of these three plays, *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, appears to have been acted by the students of St. John's College, Cambridge, in December, 1597; the third play, viz. *The Return from Parnassus*, Part 2, or *The Scourge of Simony*, seems to have been acted in January, 1602.

dramatists, but also over all the London Professional playwrights, Ben Jonson himself included."[1] Whereas it is precisely the opposite inference that is to be drawn from the words—so far, at any rate, as the opinion of the Cambridge University writer and students is concerned. Yet he had Gifford's very sensible criticism staring him in the face: "I will just venture to inform these egregious critics, that the heroes of it (*The Return from Parnassus*, Part 2) are laughing both at Will Kempe and Shakespeare. *Of Shakespeare's plays they neither know nor say anything;* when they have to mention him in their own character, they speak merely of his *Lucrece* and his *Venus and Adonis*. . . . We shall now, I suppose, hear little more of Will Kempe, who was probably brought on the stage in a fool's cap, to make mirth for the University wits, and who is dismissed, together with his associate (Burbage), in a most contemptuous manner, as 'a mere leaden spout,'" etc. And, further, "Kempe is brought forward as the type of ignorance in this old drama."

Unfortunately, however, the "Willians," instead of taking a hint from Gifford, have, for the most part, continued blindly to quote Will Kempe as a serious witness to Shakespeare's "confessed supremacy"! It is true that the Kempe of the play speaks of "our fellow Shakespeare," upon which Mr. Lang comments (p. 146): "The point is that Kempe recognises Shakespeare both as actor and author." But "Kempe" does no such thing. The real truth is that the unknown University playwright has put into the mouth of the actor who was to represent player Kempe in his drama words which speak of Shakespeare both as an actor and an author.

Mr. Lang recognises this, to some extent, later on, where he writes: "Of course the Cambridge author only proves, if you will, that *he* thought that *Kempe* thought that his fellow-player was the author." But the passage

[1] So, alas, wrote the late Professor Arber.

does not even prove so much as this. What it does prove, however, and what the whole play proves, is the contempt in which players like Kempe and Burbage were held, in University circles at any rate. They are represented as so ignorant that they speak of "that writer *Ovid*, and that writer *Metamorphōsis*." They are termed "mimic apes" and

> . . . leaden spouts
> That nought do vent but what they do receive.

Theirs is "the basest trade," although

> With mouthing words that better wits have framed
> They purchase lands, and now Esquires are made.[1]

Will Kempe, the jigger extraordinary, is saluted thus: "Welcome, M. *Kempe*, from dancing the morrice over the Alpes," an allusion to that worthy's feat of dancing the morris from London to Norwich. As to Shakespeare, in the second of the three plays—*The Return from Parnassus*, Part I—we are shown what was the opinion of the University playwright concerning his poems by the fact that they are eulogised by "Gullio," the fool of the piece, "the arrant braggart, the empty pretender to knowledge, and the avowed libertine," as Mr. Macray aptly describes him in his edition of the plays. "O sweet Mr. Shakespeare!" exclaims this "gull," "I'le have his picture in my study at the courte." To be praised by this oaf is, of course, the reverse of recommendation. Gullio, in fact, shows only that *Venus and Adonis* was, in the opinion of the Cambridge dramatist, just the sort of poem to appeal to that class which this fatuous character was intended to represent. This may show great want of appreciation on the part of the playwright, but it further illustrates the bitter sarcasm with which he

[1] Shakspere, of course, "purchased lands" and arms as well, and so became "Mister" if not "Esquire." See *ante*, p. 213.

wrote the words so absurdly misinterpreted as a recognition of Shakespeare's "supremacy"—"Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down, aye and Ben Jonson too!" That the University dramatist should write in this sarcastic style is natural enough, more especially when we remember that nearly all the best dramatists of the time—men like Marlowe, Greene, Nash, Lyly, Lodge and Peele—were University men, and that Ben Jonson held an honorary degree at both Universities, whereas player Shakspere's education, except for what he is supposed to have "picked up" in the intervals of acting, managing, writing plays at a "record" rate, and touring in the provinces, was only that acquired in the course of those few years at the Stratford Free Grammar School which tradition allows the "Willians" to claim for him.

Still it would, of course, be folly to deny that the words which the scholar-playwright puts into the mouth of the actor who represented Will Kempe in his play are evidence, for what it is worth, of the existence in certain quarters of the belief, at that date, that player Shakspere was the writer of plays theretofore published in the name of Shakespeare. Of this, therefore, as of the other allusions referred to, it may be said that it raises a *prima facie* presumption of the identity of player and poet; but the contention of the "Willians," or some of them, that such presumption is what the lawyers term an irrebuttable one, cannot for a moment be admitted. The arguments and probabilities on both sides must be impartially considered.

Let us consider yet another Shakespeare allusion of a different character, and an undoubted allusion to "Will." The First Folio was dedicated to the "Incomparable Paire of Brethren," the Earl of Pembroke, then Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Montgomery; and in the Epistle Dedicatory it is said that their lordships had

"been pleas'd to think these trifles (i.e. the plays of Shakespeare) some-thing, heretofore," and had "prosequuted both them, and their Authour living with so much favour." Now twelve years after this was published, viz. in 1635, Cuthbert Burbage, and Winifred, the widow of Richard Burbage, and "William his sonne," presented a petition to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the survivor of the "Incomparable Pair" and Lord Chamberlain, praying that their rights and interests in the Globe Theatre, which they say they built at great expense, and the Blackfriars, which was their "inheritance" from their father, who had "purchased it at extreme rates, and made it into a playhouse with great charge and trouble"—those theatres where "Shakespeare's" dramas had been presented—should be recognised and respected. The petitioners are naturally anxious to say all they possibly can for themselves, and the company of players with whom they were associated, and they seek to enforce their claim by a reference to the past history of these theatres, and those connected with them, both as players and profit-sharers. One of those players and one of "the partners in the profits of that they call the House" (viz. the Globe) was William Shakspere. And how do they speak of him? Do they remind the Earl that one of their company had been that man of transcendent genius, Shakespeare, the great dramatist, the renowned poet, whom no less a man than Ben Jonson had eulogised but twelve years before, in that work containing his collected plays which was dedicated to the Earl himself and his brother, as the "Soul of the age, the applause, delight, the wonder of the stage"—that man whom, and whose works, the two Earls had "prosecuted with so much favour" during his lifetime? Surely they ought to have done this! Surely, as shrewd men of business, wishing to recommend their case to the Lord Chamberlain, they could not fail to recite these

well-known facts, if facts they were! Yet what do they actually say? "To ourselves we joined those *deserving men*, Shakspere, Hemings, Condall, Philips, and others, partners in the profits," etc.; and as to the Blackfriars, there they say they "placed *men players*, which were Hemings, Condall, Shakspeare, etc." The "Willians" make light of this, and affect to think it the most natural thing in the world. I do not think they have reason on their side. To me it seems incredible that the Burbages should have thus written about Shakespeare, calling him just a "man-player," and speaking of him in the same terms as of the other players, viz., as a "deserving man," and nothing more, if indeed both they and the Lord Chamberlain knew, and all the world knew, that he was the immortal poet who was "not of an age but for all time," whose collected works, dedicated to the two Earls, to their everlasting honour, had been for twelve years before the public, and whose poems, dedicated to another great Earl, were "familiar as household words" to every man of the time who had the slightest pretension to literary taste or knowledge. Here, indeed, we have an example of the "negative pregnant," and a much more remarkable one than that of Manningham's reference, to which I have already alluded. For why this extraordinary reticence—if Shakspere and Shakespeare are identical? To this question, so far, no reply has been given.

I must not conclude this chapter without making reference to some newly discovered allusions to Shakspere brought forward by Dr. C. W. Wallace in his articles under title "New Light on Shakespeare" in *The Times* of April 30th and May 1st, 1914. We are told that these "throw light upon the eminence of Shakespeare during his lifetime," and I understand they are supposed to be further evidence in support of the orthodox theory of authorship. Let us see.

It appears that, by a deed dated February 21st, 1599,

Nicholas Brend, Esquire, granted a lease of the Globe Theatre to "Cuthbert Burbage and Richard Burbage, as half-lessees, and William Shakespeare, John Hemynges, Augustine Phillipps, Thomas Pope, and William Kempe, as lessees of the other half." Now in the same year, viz. on May 16th, 1599, we are told that "an inquisition *post mortem*" was taken "on the estate of Thomas Brend," wherein "*inter alia* enumeration was made of all Brend's Southwark tenements, with the names of their respective occupants," and we are further told that "the estate of the deceased was further reported to be possessed" (I give the Latin as quoted by Dr. Wallace):

"Ac de et in una Domo de novo edificata cum gardino eidem pertinenti in parochia Sci Salvatoris praedicta in Comitatu Surria praedicta in occupacione Willielmi Shakespeare et aliorum."

Upon this Dr. Wallace enthusiastically comments: "Of peculiar interest is the mention of 'William Shakespeare and others,' which may fairly be taken as an incidental recognition of Shakespeare's eminence among official residents of the immediate neighbourhood. The Commissioners lived there, close to 'the glory of the bank,' as Jonson called the Globe, and knew the theatre and the genius that presided in it. They were men of standing, who, apparently, knew Shakespeare so well for his plays that his name obscured the names of his associates. It was to them, indeed, Shakespeare's theatre. Their source of information was not simply the deeds, none of which thus single out Shakespeare. *It is as if they said, 'We, the undersigned, personally know William Shakespeare, the dramatist, as the most eminent man among the company who have recently built the Globe Playhouse in our midst.'*"[1]

All this out of "in occupacione Willielmi Shakespeare et aliorum"! But William Shakespeare's name stood first in the lease of the Globe, of February 21st, 1599, in

[1] My italics.

the list of "half-lessees," the two Burbages being lessees of the other half.[1] It appears to me, therefore, to be indicative of a surprising fertility of imagination to read all the above-mentioned hermeneutical significance into the very innocent words, "in the occupation of William Shakespeare and others"! "It is as if they said, 'We . . . personally know William Shakespeare, *the dramatist*'"! But this is exactly what they do not say, and what nobody ever did say on such occasions. These worthy "Commissioners," whoever they were, who took "an inquisition *post mortem* on the estate of Thomas Brend," find the names, "William Shakespeare, John Hemynges, Augustine Phillipps, Thomas Pope, and William Kempe" in the lease of February 21st, 1599, as half-lessees of the Globe, and they very naturally designate the premises as "in the occupation of William Shakespeare and others." What more cogent testimony could we have to the eminence of Shakspere of Stratford as the great dramatist? cries the Professor from "the other side," who recently told us that Shakespeare created the French herald "Mountjoy" in honour of the "tire-maker" of Muggle Street with whom he had lodged—in blissful ignorance that Mountjoy is the official title of a French herald and was taken by Shakespeare from Holinshed![2]

All this strikes me as really a very sad example of the futilities of modern Shakespearean *biographical* criticism, where the most commonplace entries in old deeds and other records are feverishly grasped at as

[1] Dr. Wallace does not quote the actual words of the lease.

[2] It should be noted that when, seven years later, viz. on February 14th, 1606, the Sewer Commissioners make orders directed to Shakspere's Company to execute certain works, such orders are in the following form: "It is ordered that Burbidge and Heminges and others, the owners of the Playhouse called the Globe, . . . shall," etc. Apparently these Commissioners were not struck with Shakspere's "eminence." They did not personally know "the dramatist." Yet his fame, surely, was greater in 1606 than in 1599!

evidence of the "eminence" of "Will," as the great dramatist. But let us see what follows. We are told that on October 7th, 1601, "Nicholas Brend signed a deed of the Globe and other Southwark property to Sir Mathew Brown and John Collett to be held in trust in security for a debt of £2500 The description mentions only 'Richard Burbadge and William Shackspeare gent' as tenants of 'the playhouse,' the dramatist and the great actor of his plays thus both overshadowing the rest of the company, even the men who conducted the business affairs of the theatre." But, as I have already said, Richard Burbage, with Cuthbert Burbage, was "half-lessee" of the playhouse, and William Shakespeare's name stood first in the list of the "lessees of the other half"; so to mention these two as tenants of the premises (again Dr Wallace does not supply us with the exact words of the deed) was, surely, the most natural thing to do, and to find in such mention the significance that Dr. Wallace reads into it seems to me wholly absurd though eminently characteristic We are further told that on February 21st, 1622, the Globe and other properties were transferred to Mathew Brand, and that by "a custom that sometimes carried the names of dead and gone occupants a century later than their time," the indenture reciting the identification of the property from the old deeds of October 7th and 10th, 1601, "names 'Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare gent' as tenants of the playhouse, word for word as in the deed of October 10th, 1601." Again, on March 12th, 1624, this Mathew Brend executed a deed to increase the jointure of his wife "by assigning to her use for life the Globe theatre and its site." But on this occasion the premises are described as "now or late being in the possession or occupation of John Heminges, Cuthbert Burbage, Richard Burbage, William Shakespeare, or any of them." What has become of Shakespeare's pre-eminence now? But

Shakespeare was then dead, says Dr. Wallace. But so he was when the deed of February 21st, 1622, above referred to, was executed. And consider the date of this last-mentioned deed—March 12th, 1624! Why, but a few months before had been published that epoch-making volume, the First Folio edition of the *Works of Shakespeare*. Surely if at any time the name of Shakespeare should have had pride of place it was now! Yet his name actually appears last on the list.

And what is the moral? The moral is that this finding of "the eminence of Shakespeare," and testimony to the supposed fact that "Will" of Stratford was the "great dramatist," in these altogether ordinary and insignificant references to Shakespeare's name in the deeds brought to light by Dr. Wallace, is a fond thing vainly imagined. These allusions prove nothing whatever beyond the fact already well known that Shakspere was associated with the Burbages and others in the tenancy of the Globe playhouse. They throw no "new light" whatever either upon his supposed "eminence" or upon the question of the authorship of the *Works of Shakespeare*. "*As if* they said *the dramatist*," quotha! As if fiddlesticks! Shakspere is mentioned as usual, and in the ordinary way, among other "deserving men." And this, be it remembered, was, according to the orthodox, Shakespeare the great poet, the intimate friend of brilliant nobles like Southampton and Pembroke, the man who was, or had been, carrying on an intrigue with one of the great Queen's maids of honour—Mary Fitton, to wit! I would respectfully suggest that these much-paraded "new allusions" are, like so many others with which we are familiar, only further instances of "the negative pregnant." I would not, for a moment, be thought to undervalue Dr. Wallace's services rendered to Shakespearean research, and especially *topographical* research (as, for instance, with regard to the site of the

Globe Theatre), but I venture to say that his discoveries have thrown no "new light" whatever upon the personality of the "dramatist," while the new allusions to William Shakspere of Stratford which his industry has unearthed are received with the greatest complacency by the "unorthodox," since, when considered in the light of reason and common sense, they are found to be not only consistent with the heretical case, but may actually be "prayed in aid" of it.[1]

[1] This is especially true of the facts revealed in the case of Bellott *v.* Mountjoy, which I have discussed in *The National Review* for April, 1910, and in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, at p. 172. See *ante*, p. 260 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XI

THE JONSONIAN UTTERANCES AND THE FIRST FOLIO

UNDOUBTEDLY the strength of the orthodox Shakespearean faith lies in certain well-known utterances of Ben Jonson, and it is useless to pretend that these utterances do not raise very formidable difficulties in the way of those unorthodox critics whom it has pleased Mr. Lang to term "Anti-Willians." At the same time, I cannot assent to the view that the whole sceptical case can be disposed of, in light and airy manner, by the "sort of" syllogism which some recent Stratfordian champions have propounded for our edification. As thus:

If Shakspere of Stratford was not the true author of the works of Shakespeare, then Jonson was a liar.

Jonson could not have been a liar.

Therefore, etc. Q.E.D.

However, I will postpone the consideration of this method of ratiocination till a later page. Let us, in the first place, examine some of the earlier Jonsonian references to player Shakspere.

Jonson wrote a large number of short poems, which he called epigrams. These epigrams are very interesting for many reasons, and amongst others because they give the names of many distinguished persons, men and women of rank, well-known literary men, and others with whom Ben was on familiar terms. What a thousand

pities it is that Shakspere was never inspired to write just one or two of such poems, addressed, say, to Southampton, or Pembroke, or any others of the great personages of the day, the nobles and courtiers and men of genius who were, of course, intimate with the immortal Stratfordian, and eager for his society! But the master-mind, as we know, wrote for gain and not for glory, and still less for the sake of friendship, and there was but little hard cash to be got out of an epigram, so we must console ourselves with the thought that, notwithstanding this utter dearth of what we may call personal poetry, we know (for are we not told so by the high priests of the orthodox shrine?) more concerning the personal life of William Shakspere than concerning the life of Benjamin Jonson or any other contemporary poet![1]

But let us return to Jonson's epigrams A licence for the publication of the first book of these (apparently a further issue was contemplated) was obtained in 1612, and the collection was published in the Folio edition of Jonson's poems which appeared in 1616, the year of Shakspere's death. I find upwards of 130 of these epigrams in Walley's edition of Jonson's Works. Epigram No. 56, "On Poet-Ape," is well known, and, as Mr. Lang dissents from the interpretation which I had put upon it, it may be well to set it out at length.

Poor Poet-Ape, that would be thought our chief,
Whose works are e'en the frippery of wit,
From brokage is become so bold a thief,
As we, the robb'd, leave rage, and pity it.
At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
Buy the reversion of old plays, now grown
To a little wealth, and credit in the scene,
He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own,

[1] For the benefit of Professor Dryasdust, I had better, perhaps, explain that this is "wit sarcastic."

And told of this, he slights it. Tut, such crimes
  The sluggish, gaping auditor devours;
He marks not whose 'twas first, and aftertimes
  May judge it to be his, as well as ours.
Fool! as if half-eyes will not know a fleece
From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece.

That this is a reference to Shakspere, if not undoubted, as the late Sir Theodore Martin assumed it to be, is, at any rate, extremely probable, and it is now generally recognised as such by the "orthodox' critics, including Mr. Lang. Now I had written, with regard to the hypothesis that "Shakespeare" was, in reality, a mask-name, or *nom de plume*: "Some, indeed, would see through it, and roundly accuse the player of putting forth the works of others as his own. To such he would be a 'Poet-Ape,' or 'an upstart crow' (Shake-scene) 'beautified with the feathers of other writers.'"[1] Upon this Mr. Lang comments "But in this matter Mr. Greenwood *se trompe*. Neither Greene nor Jonson accused 'Shake-scene' or 'Poet-Ape' of 'putting forth the works of others as his own.' That is quite certain, as far as the scorns of Jonson and Greene have reached us."[2]

With the matter of Greene and "Shake-scene," and the "stolen plumes," I have already dealt.[3] Let us now examine more closely the words of the "Poet-Ape" epigram. It is "certain," says Mr. Lang, that there is here no charge against Shakspere (assuming Shakspere to be referred to) of "putting forth the works of others as his own." This appears to me an extraordinary assertion. Jonson begins by saying that the works of "Poet-Ape" are the "frippery of wit" Now "frippery" means old clothes, cast-off garments, or, it may be, a place where cast-off garments are sold, an old-clothes

[1] *In re Shakespeare*, p. 54.
[2] Work cited, p. 21, with further reference to pp 141–5.
[3] *Ante*, chap. v, p. 239 *et seq.*

shop. The word is derived from the old French *fripper*, to rub up and down, to wear to rags. Cotgrave gives, "*Friperie*, broker's shop, street of brokers, or of Fripiers", and "*Fripier*, a mender or trimmer up of old garments, and a seller of them so mended" The works of Poet-Ape, therefore, are well-worn second-hand things, old things taken from somebody else's back, the "old clo'" of the poetical rag-shop. He has acted as broker for others, and from "brokage" has become a "*bold thief*." Now "brokage," according to Dr. Johnson, is "the trade of dealing in old things," or it is the gain derived from acting as agent, or middleman; and the result is that Poet-Ape has become a "*thief*," and a bold one But is not a "thief" one who steals? Therefore Poet-Ape *stole*. And what did he steal? Obviously the works of others,—I do not mean, of course, the entire works, but portions here and there; he did not, perhaps, steal *en bloc*, but he had come to steal so boldly and openly that the writers from whose works he had stolen, Jonson included—"*we, the robb'd*"—who had at first seen these plagiarisms with "rage," had now come to "pity" the poor pilferer. For Poet-Ape "takes up all, makes each man's wit his own." He is *Pantalabus* of the *Poetaster*, obviously from *πάντα λαμβάνειν*, one who takes—or "takes up"—all things. And the result is that the "auditor" (apparently the spectator among "the audience," rather than the reader, is intended), "gaping" at the performance, takes the work as genuine, oblivious of the original source ("he marks not whose 'twas first"), and thus it may well come to pass that it may go down to posterity as the work of Poet-Ape—or so, at least, he imagines, but this is folly; the imposture is too transparent; for even "half-eyes" can see the difference between "a fleece" and "locks of wool," and can distinguish "shreds from the whole piece."

Now the meaning of all this is so very obvious that unless Mr. Lang was labouring under the idea that I had

interpreted the epigram as intending to convey that "Poet-Ape" (or Shakspere) had actually put forward the *entire* works of others as his own, I really cannot understand his criticism. The epigram is tolerably clear as to that. Poet-Ape takes "locks of wool" from a "fleece," and "shreds" from a "whole piece," and passes them off as his own.[1] Here, therefore, as in the case of Greene and "Shake-scene," I claim that I have entirely vindicated the justice and propriety of my criticism.

These passages show that, in the opinion of Jonson, and in the opinion of Greene (whether their opinion was right or wrong is not the question), Shakspere (if Shakspere be intended by "Poet-Ape" and "Shake-scene") was an egregious and audacious plagiarist. And what is a plagiarist but one who "puts forth the works of others as his own"?

It may be said that the "Poet-Ape" sonnet was written in Jonson's early days, and that his opinion with regard to the object of his satire subsequently underwent an entire change, as evidenced by his later utterances. But whatever may have been the date at which it was composed (it must have been after Shakspere had "grown to a little wealth and credit in the scene"), it was published, and apparently for the first time, in the Folio containing Jonson's collected works, which was given to the world in the very year of Shakspere's death. The "Epigrams" are dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, etc., the elder of the "Incomparable Pair" of the Shakespeare Folio, and Jonson writes: "I here offer to your Worship the ripest of my studies, my Epigrams," so that he appears to have been entirely unrepentant in the matter of "Poet-Ape"

[1] On further consideration, however, I am bound to say I am not quite clear as to the meaning of the two last lines of the epigram. They may mean that "Poet-Ape" presents an entire "fleece" (a "whole piece") to the audience as his own, whereas only "locks of wool," or "shreds," are really his. But the argument, as above, is not affected by such interpretation.

Those who list to read further concerning "Pantalabus" are referred to the dialogue between Tucca, the braggart captain, and Histrio, the player, in Jonson's *Poetaster* (Act III, Sc. 1), where Pantalabus is described as "a gent'man parcel poet . . . his father was a man of worship . . . he pens high lofty in a new stalking strain," etc.[1] It is possible that, besides the immediate Greek origin of the name, Ben may have had in mind Horace's Pantolabus (*Sat.* I, viii. 11), of whom the commentators say "Qui quia a multis pecuniam mutuam rogabat, Pantolabus est cognominatus"; but if "Poet-Ape," who "takes up all," stands for Shakspere, there can hardly be a doubt that Jonson's "Pantalabus" does so too.

In *Every Man out of his Humour*, also (Act III, Sc 1), Jonson, as it is now generally admitted, has a hit at Shakspere and his coat-of-arms. It occurs in the course of a conversation between Sogliardo, Sir Puntarvolo, and Carlo Buffone the Jester. Sogliardo is the younger brother of Sordido, a farmer, and described as "an essential clown, yet so enamoured of the name of gentleman that he will have it, though he buys it." Says this hero: "By this parchment, gentlemen, I have been so toiled among the harrots [i.e. heralds] yonder, you will not believe; they do speak i' the strangest language and give a man the hardest terms for his money, that ever you knew." "But," asks the Jester, "ha' you arms? ha' you arms?" Whereupon Sogliardo replies, "I' faith, I thank God, I can write myself a gentleman now; here's my patent, it cost me thirty pound, by this breath."

Then follows much talk concerning the arms—the "coat," the "crest," and the "tricking"—which are, of course, held up to ridicule. In conclusion, Puntarvolo says:

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 457 "Stalkers" were strolling players who, as Tucca explains, would "stalk upon boards and barrel-heads to an old cracked trumpet." A "parcel poet" is like a parcel-gilt goblet—he is a poet on the surface only, but inwardly base metal.

"Let the word [i.e. the motto] be, '*Not without mustard.*' Your crest is very raie, sir."

Now Shakspere obtained his coat-of-arms after much toil "among the harrots." On October 20th, 1596, a draft was prepared under the direction of William Dethick, Garter king-of-arms, granting the request made in the name of John Shakspere. "Garter stated," says Sir Sidney Lee (p. 149), "with characteristic vagueness, that he had been 'by credible report' informed that the applicant's 'parents and late antecessors weie for theire valiant and faithfull service advanced and regarded by the most prudent prince Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, by thence whiche tyme they have continewed at those partes [i.e. Warwickshire] in good reputacion and credit,' and that 'the said John (had) maryed Mary, daughter and heiress of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, gent.'" After which bit of bunkum we read that, "In consideration of these titles to honour, Garter declared that he assigned to Shakespeare this shield, viz. 'Gold, on a bend sable, a spear of the first the poynt steeled proper, and for his crest or cognizance a falcon, his wings displayed argent, standing on a wreath of his colours, supporting a speare gold steeled as aforesaid.'" And "in the margin of this draft-grant there is a pen sketch of the arms and crest (a tricking), and above them is written the words '*Non sans Droict.*'" So Jonson appears to have thought that as Shakspere's "word" was "Non sans Droict," Sogliardo's might appropriately be "Non sans Moutarde"!

John Shakspere, acting no doubt on behalf of his son, had had long negotiations with "the harrots" before he finally obtained his coveted coat-of-arms, entitling both him and his son to say with Sogliardo, "I thank God, I can write myself gentleman now, here's my patent." According to their own statement, which, however, as Sir Sidney Lee says, may have been "a formal fiction

designed to recommend their claim to the notice of the heralds," those negotiations commenced as early as 1568. In 1597 Jonson's old master, William Camden, became Clarenceux king-of-arms, and not long afterwards, on the representation (not over-scrupulous) that the draft-grants of 1596 had been definitely assigned to John Shakspere when he was bailiff of Stratford, the heralds seem to have granted him an exemplification of it. *Every Man out of his Humour* was entered on the Stationers' Register in April, 1600, and was published in 1601.

I will pass over with a mere reference the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* (dedicated "to the most learned and my honoured Friend, Master Camden, *Clarenceux*"), and the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), both of which contain passages which are, apparently, contemptuous allusions to Shakespeare; for, quite apart from these, there can be, I venture to say, very little doubt that Ben, at one period of his life at any rate, looked upon Shakspere as a "Poet-Ape," a "*Pantalabus*," a "parcel-poet," or, as Greene described him (if he be referred to in the passage in question), a *Johannes Factotum*, or "Jack of all trades," an "upstart crow," beautified with feathers appropriated by him from other writers.

Let us now see how Jonson spoke of Shakespeare only three years after Shakspere's death. In January, 1619, Jonson was staying with Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond, as everybody knows, made notes of his conversation, and, under the title, or heading, "His Acquaintance and Behavior with poets living with him," we have recorded remarks made by Ben concerning Daniel, Drayton, Beaumont, Sir John Roe, Marston, Markam, Day, Middleton, Chapman, Fletcher, and others. What do we find concerning Shakspere? "That Shakspeer wanted arte . . . Shakspeer, in a play, brought in a number of men

saying they had suffered shipwrack in Bohemia, where there is no sea neer by some 100 miles."[1]

Here, then, we have Jonson unbosoming himself in private conversation with his host and friend—a "chiel" who was "takin' notes"—and this, apparently, is all he has to say about the great bard who, only four years afterwards, he was to laud to the skies as the

> Soul of the age!
> The applause, delight, the wonder of our stage!

One would have expected to find whole pages of eulogy, in Drummond's notes, of the poet who "was not of an age but for all time"; instead of which we have only these two carping little bits of criticism: "That Shakspeer wanted (i.e. lacked) arte"—a curious remark to have proceeded from the mouth of him who wrote, in the Folio lines, that a poet must be "made, as well as born"; that Nature must be supplemented by art; and that in Shakespeare's case such art was not lacking, but, on the contrary, was conspicuous "in his well-turnéd and true-filéd lines."[2] And then that niggling bit of criticism concerning the coast of Bohemia in the *Winter's Tale* (taken straight from Greene's novel, as we have already seen),[3] which may be compared with the depreciatory allusion to *Julius Cæsar* in the passage in the *Discoveries* now to be considered.

[1] Mr. Robertson (p. 559) gives the old and discredited reading "wanted art and sometimes sense," the remark as to Shakespeare's wanting not having been, in the printed selections of 1711, very improperly connected with Jonson's subsequent observation in regard to *The Winter's Tale*. Mr. Robertson should have consulted the notes of Jonson's conversations with Drummond edited by David Laing for the Shakespeare Society.

[2] It is amusing, in view of this passage, to find Dryden writing:

> "Shakespear, who taught by none, did first impart
> To Fletcher wit, to lab'ring Jonson *Art*!"

But could Jonson really have had in his mind the author of *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets* when he wrote of "Shakespeare" that he "wanted art"? It seems almost impossible to think so.

[3] *Ante*, p. 163.

"Ah, just like old Ben," say the "orthodox" Shakespearean critics. And however much Jonson may contradict himself—though he call black to-day that which he called white yesterday—their refrain is always the same: "Just like old Ben!" He was always absolutely honest, say they; always sincere, but his thoughts and opinions had a way of varying from day to day, according to the mood in which he happened to find himself. Well, we will bear that in mind, then, when we come to compare his utterances concerning "Shakespeare" one with the other. But, before considering the testimony of the Folio of 1623, let us once more examine the celebrated passages in the work which bears title: *Timber, or Discoveries, made upon men and matter, as they have flowed out of his daily Readings; or had reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times.* Jonson, it may be remembered, died in August, 1637, having outlived Shakspere by twenty-one years, and among his papers was found this work, which was published in 1641. The passage in question must, apparently, have been written some time between 1630 and 1637.[1] It has been quoted *ad nauseam*, but, there is no help for it, I must once more set it forth *in extenso*:

"I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, 'Would he had blotted a thousand,' which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 478, and note 2 on the same page; also Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*, 2nd ed., 1879, p. 174.

sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. '*Sufflaminandus erat*,' as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too! Many times he fell into those things could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause'; and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned."

Now I think every impartial reader will admit that this is an extraordinary and a most unsatisfactory utterance. Here is Ben Jonson, late in life, and some fifteen years after Shakspere's death, setting down his private thoughts concerning "Shakespeare" for "posterity," and this is all he can find to say concerning the great poet and dramatist upon whom, some eight years before, he had written such a splendid panegyric. It is worth while to consider this passage, "*De Shakespeare nostrati*" in some detail. And first let us fairly recognise the difficulties which it sets up in the path of the unorthodox.

It cannot be denied that player Shakspere is here identified with author Shakespeare, and thus we have it on Jonson's testimony that "the players" regarded William Shakspere the actor as the author of the plays. It would be childish to contend that this is not a very hard nut for the "Anti-Willians" to crack, and it is not unnatural that this evidence, coupled with Jonson's lines prefixed to the First Folio, should be very generally accepted as conclusive of the whole matter; and so, indeed, they must be unless other considerations are found to raise even greater obstacles in the way of the acceptance of the received hypothesis. We cannot conceive of unlimited space, but still less (as Herbert Spencer says) can we conceive of limited space; and so—to compare small things with great,

the relative with the absolute—some heretics (and their number seems to be on the increase) find it more easy to believe that Jonson's cryptic and inconsistent utterances are, if only we could know the true facts, susceptible of an explanation consistent with the non-Stratfordian authorship, than to believe that player Shakspere of Stratford wrote the works of "Shakespeare." Certain genial critics, of course, apostrophise these sceptics as fools and fanatics, but, strangely enough, they do not appear to regard even this as absolutely conclusive of the question. Let us, however, consider the passage before us with more particularity.

"The players," says Jonson, alluding presumably to Heminge, Condell, and Co, "have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that in his writing (whatsoever he penn'd) he never blotted out a line." To this Jonson's answer was, "Would he had blotted a thousand"! Such, then, was Jonson's deliberate opinion concerning the "Swan of Avon," the "Soul of the Age," the "Star of Poets." He wrote, says Ben, some thousands of lines (to be strictly accurate, at least "a thousand") which he ought to have blotted out! And the players were so stupid, and so ignorant,[1] that they did not perceive this, but, on the contrary, actually praised "their friend" for that very thing which was, in truth, his greatest fault! "See," said these ignorant players to Jonson, "what a fine fellow our Shakespeare was! Whatsoever he penned he never blotted out a line!" They "often mentioned" this, we are told, and on every such occasion, it would seem, crabbed old Ben gave them the same "malevolent" answer, as they thought it. One really wonders they continued to "mention" this matter to Jonson after the first unpleasant experience! And when, we may ask, did these conversations take place? Presumably after Shakspere's death. But here we are brought face to face with the

[1] "I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance," says Jonson.

Preface "to the great variety of readers" prefixed to the Folio of 1623, and signed John Heminge and Henry Condell, in which occur the celebrated words concerning "the Author," viz. "His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easinesse that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers." Here, then, is a similar statement alleged to have been made by "the players," to the effect that Shakespeare never—or "hardly ever"—blotted out a line. "Scarce a blot in his papers"! But stay. Who wrote this preface? Why, Ben Jonson himself. This was long ago proved almost to demonstration, in my opinion, by Malone, and it is now generally accepted that it was so. "Like Mr Greenwood," says Mr. Lang, "I think that Ben was the penman."[1] As Malone well says, Heminge and Condell,

[1] Work cited, p. 207 note. Mr. James Boaden had no doubt about the matter. "Ben," he says, "it is now ascertained, wrote for the Players Editors the Dedication and Preface to his [Shakespeare's] Works" (*On the Portraits of Shakespeare*, 1824, p. 13). Mr. Furness, also, commenting upon a remark of Pope's, writes that he "could hardly have been so unfamiliar with the Folios as not to have known that Jonson was the author of both the 'Address to the Reader' and some commendatory lines in the First Folio" (*Julius Cæsar*, by Furness, Act III, Sc. 1, p. 137 n.) Mr. A. W. Pollard, it is true, thinks that in view of this (Jonson's) well-known comment on the alleged absence of blotted lines in Shakespeare's manuscript he can hardly have himself written the phrase which gave rise to it" (*Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909, p. 122). I venture very respectfully to disagree. Adopting the expression of some recent "orthodox" critics, and, I think, with great propriety in this connection, I should say it was "Just like Ben." I see no reason at all to doubt that he wrote this preface as well as the well-known passage in the *Discoveries*; indeed, I think the statement in the latter as to what the players are said to have often mentioned confirms the hypothesis that he was the author of the preface. Mr. Pollard says there is no shred of evidence that he "had aught to do with the Folio beyond writing his two sets of verses"; but Malone has provided us with abundance of internal evidence, and Mr. Pollard makes no attempt to answer Malone's masterly demonstration. He does not even mention it. Then, having dismissed Jonson, he proceeds to suggest the "stationer" Blount as the writer of this "proem," for whose participation in the editorial work it is indeed true to say that there is "no shred of evidence." Yet on the strength of this mere guess, unsupported by any evidence whatever, after Blount's name in Mr.

"being themselves wholly unused to composition, and having been furnished by Jonson, whose reputation was then at its height, with a copy of verses in praise of Shakespeare, and with others on the engraved portrait prefixed to his plays, would naturally apply to him for assistance in that part of the work in which they were, for the first time, to address the publick in their own names."[1]

In fact, there cannot, I think, be any reasonable doubt that these worthy players, "themselves wholly unused to composition," did no more than lend their names as signatories to Jonson's preface. There is really nothing derogatory to their character in supposing that they did so. It was quite a customary thing to do. Thus when the Folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Plays* was brought out in 1647, by the publisher Humphrey Moseley, there was a dedicatory epistle, similar to that of the Shakespeare Folio, prefixed to it, and addressed to the survivor of the "Incomparable Paire," viz. Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who was then Lord Chamberlain. This was signed by ten of the actors of the King's Company, but nobody, I imagine, supposes that they wrote it, or any one of them. "The actors who aided the scheme," writes Sir Sidney Lee, "played a very subordinate part in its execution. They did nothing beyond seconding Moseley's efforts in securing the 'copy,' and signing their names—to the number of ten—to the

Pollard's index we read the words, "probably wrote the Address signed Heminge and Condell"! I fear even Mr. Pollard, though perhaps quite unconscious of the fact, has not escaped the prevalent prejudices of the "orthodox." The suggestion that Jonson wrote this preface, made, and in my opinion proved, by Malone (who the reader need scarcely be reminded was absolutely free of any "Anti-Willian" taint), is helpful to some extent to the unorthodox. Therefore it must be summarily dismissed without even so much as a superficial examination. But Blount! What jot or tittle of evidence have we to support the hypothesis that he wrote this preface? What possible reason have we to connect him with it?

[1] *Malone's Shakespeare*, by Boswell, Vol. II, p. 663.

dedicatory epistle."[1] But here we are confronted with a very remarkable and, I think, very instructive coincidence; for Humphrey Moseley, in his introduction to this Beaumont and Fletcher folio, says, "Whatever I have seen of Mr. Fletcher's own hand is free from interlining, and his friends affirm that he never writ any one thing twice"! So that really, as the editor of the 1811 edition of these dramatists suggests, the statement as to unblotted manuscripts seems to have been "a sort of commonplace compliment"—common form, in fact. As to this statement, so far as it concerns Shakespeare, I shall have something to say later on. At present I would call the reader's attention to the fact, as I think we are justified in assuming it to be, that the preface "to the great variety of readers" prefixed to the Shakespeare Folio was written by Jonson himself. When, therefore, Mr. Robertson says (p. 272) that the players "must have known that whereof they spoke," my reply is that it is Jonson who speaks in this preface, and not the players. But of this more anon.

But not only are we justified in believing that Jonson wrote the preface "to the great variety of readers"; I am convinced that he wrote the dedication to the "Incomparable Pair" also; and it was natural enough that if he wrote the one he should write the other as well. Take, for example, this sentence: "Country hands reach forth milk, cream, fruits, or what they have; and many nations (we have heard) that had not gums and incense obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approach their God by what means they could; and the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious when they are dedicated to Temples." Is that the style of players such as they were in 1623—such as the *Return from Parnassus* reveals them to us? Why, it is taken direct from Pliny, *mola salsa litant qui non habent thura*; and partly also from a well-known Ode

[1] Introduction to the Facsimile edition of the Shakespeare Folio.

of Horace.[1] No, no, this does not smack of "those deserving men" Heminge and Condell, but of the same classical pen that composed the preface.

But let us now resume our examination of Jonson's note, "*De Shakespeare nostrati.*"

After this brief allusion to Shakespeare's "writing," and the statement of "the players" with regard to it, Jonson passes on to the consideration of Shakespeare's personal qualities, and this is what he says of them: "He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature: had an excellent *Phantasie*; brave notions, and gentle expressions: wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stop'd: *Sufflaminandus erat*: as *Augustus* said of *Haterius*."

Let us pause here for a moment. I had written: "Surely it is of the player, not the poet, that Jonson speaks when he says that his volubility was such that, like Aterius, he had to be (or ought to have been) shut up!"[2] Mr. Robertson speaks of this with unmeasured contempt. It is an "astonishing argument." . . . "I find myself at a loss to discuss it with gavity. Where will Mr Greenwood stop?"[3]

Well, if Mr. Robertson would relax for a moment his rather portentous "gravity," and treat us to a little light and graceful *badinage*, in that humorous vein which he is so careful to suppress, I feel sure neither I nor any of his readers would have any cause to complain. But with regard to the "argument" which he finds so "astonishing" that he is at a loss to treat it seriously, I will now proceed to demonstrate, as I think I can do to the satisfaction of

[1] Cf. Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosâ blandior hostiâ,
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio, et saliente micâ.

[2] *Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 481.

[3] Work cited, p. 562. Mr. Robertson couples with the above remark concerning the application of the phrase "*Sufflaminandus erat*," a suggestion which I made concerning the reference to "*Cæsar*," to be considered presently.

all my readers (with the exception, of course, of Mr. Robertson himself, who is always "of the same opinion still"), that not only is it a perfectly legitimate one, but that my interpretation of Jonson's observations in this connection is the only possible one.

But when I said that Jonson's allusion here was to "the player" rather than to "the poet," I did not, of course, mean that it was the player *upon the stage* who had to be checked in his too voluble utterances What I suggested, and what, indeed, I assert, is that Jonson is here referring to "Shakespeare" not as a writer, but in his personal capacity. "He was honest, and of an open and free nature" Obviously this is a comment upon "Shakespeare" the man, not Shakespeare the writer. And what of "*Sufflaminandus*"? Mr. Robertson appears to imagine the meaning to be that Shakespeare ought to have been pulled up in his *writing*! Well, that may be the meaning and use of the verb *sufflaminare* in Mr. Robertson's own little "*Academé*," somewhere among the "'Αδώνιδος κῆποι," but outside that charmed circle *sufflaminare* is used in the sense of to check (strictly "to put the drag on") in *speaking*. I invite Mr. Robertson to refer to any Latin dictionary of recognised authority, such as "Andrews" or "Lewis and Short." There he will find that the meaning of the word is given as "to stay, check, repress *in speaking*." Let him turn also to the passage in Seneca to which Jonson makes reference. Was it in *writing* that Aterius had to be stopped? Certainly not. "Tanta illi erat velocitas *orationis* ut vitium fieret. Itaque D. Augustus optime dixit, Aterius noster sufflaminandus est." Aterius had to be checked in his too voluble *speech*. Ménage, who had great reputation as a scholar, knew the meaning of *sufflaminare*; but, indeed, it requires no scholarship to have such elementary knowledge. I invite Mr. Robertson's consideration of the following passage:

"Pour moi, quand j'entends un grand *parleur*, je dis ce que Ciceron disoit d'un certain Aterius qu'on ne pouvait *faire taire*, quand il avait une fois commence *a parler: Aterius noster sufflaminandus est.* Il faut faire a cet homme ce qu'on fait aux roues de Carosses a la descente d'une montagne; il faut l'enrayer."[1]

I state, then, without fear of contradiction (except, of course, by Mr. Robertson), that *sufflaminare*[2] means (according to the accepted use) to repress in *speaking*, and that Jonson must have been alluding to Shakspere's volubility in conversation, whether at "the Mermaid" (if Shakspere was ever there) or elsewhere. Mr. Robertson confuses it with Jonson's remark that he wished "Shakespeare" had blotted a thousand lines. "And the very sentence," he writes, "ending with the allusion to Haterius tells that Shakespeare 'had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein *he flowed with that facility* that . . . etc.'" Does Mr. Robertson imagine, then, that a man cannot display "an excellent phantasy, brave and gentle expressions," in his *speech*? And does he really think Jonson tells us that "Shakespeare" actually had to be stopped (for observe, Jonson states it as a fact that this was done, *sufflaminandus erat*,

[1] I quote from the 1762 edition of *Menagiana*, Vol. II, p. 197. Ménage makes a slip in attributing Seneca's words to Cicero. He gives very correctly the primary meaning of *sufflaminare*, viz. "l'enrayer," to put the drag on. When I gave as an equivalent to Jonson's "*sufflaminandus erat*" the words "he had to be *shut up*" I used an English vernacular expression which is certainly not a strictly accurate translation, but which expresses the sense very well.

[2] Augustus said of Aterius "Sufflaminandus est," i.e. he ought to be checked. Jonson says of "Shakespeare" "Sufflaminandus erat," i.e. he had to be checked, or, as Jonson puts it, "it was necessary he should be stop'd." "Stopped" is not a strictly accurate translation of the Latin word, which means, as I have already said, to put the drag (or brake) on. Jonson, however, has thus left it on record that "Shakespeare's" volubility *in speaking* was such that he had to be stopped. I do not, of course, mean to affirm that the verb *sufflaminare could* not have been used by Latin writers of putting the drag on a man in his writing, but only that, as a fact, we do not find it so used, and in the particular instance quoted by Jonson it is certainly used with reference to *speaking*.

"it was necessary he should be stop'd") in the course of his *writing*? Who, I should like to know, bearded "Shakespeare" in his den, and insisted in checking him in his composition? How one would like to know when, and where, and by whom this was done! But, obviously, it never *was* done. Jonson wished it had been done by Shakespeare himself. "Would he had blotted a thousand"! But "Shakespeare" never blotted a single one! But having said this, Jonson, I repeat, passes away from this little episode of "the players," and Shakespeare's unblotted writing, to speak of Shakespeare *the man*. The words are plain and conclusive as to this. "I lov'd *the man*, and do honour his memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open, free nature." It is extraordinary that Mr. Robertson should have shut his eyes to these very obvious facts, even if he did not know the accepted use of the word "*sufflaminare*." He asks, "Has Mr. Greenwood found any Apella who can credit his theory here?" I do not grudge him his *tu quoque* to my "*credat Judæus*," but it might, perhaps, have been better for his own "credit" if he had not made use of it, inasmuch as I only ask here for a rational and critical examination of the passage, and the knowledge of the accepted meaning and use of a tolerably simple Latin word. It is not a matter of "theory," but of fact. But if he really wants to know what "Apella" I have found to credit my so-called "theory," I can very easily give him that information, and if he had read Mr. Lang's book with any care he would have been saved from the error into which he has fallen. For Mr. Lang, of course, knew well enough that "*sufflaminandus erat*" refers to speech and not to writing, and he very skilfully bases an "orthodox" argument upon the passage so rightly interpreted. "If Jonson here refers, as I suppose he does, to his (Shakespeare's) *conversation*, it had that

extraordinary affluence of thoughts, each mating itself with as remarkable originality of richly figured expressions, which is so characteristic of the style of Shakespeare's plays." This, indeed, appears to me to read considerably more into Jonson's observation than the words themselves warrant. In fact, Jonson says nothing of the kind. But the point is that Mr. Lang recognises that Ben is here speaking not of writing but of "conversation."[1]

Having disposed of this nebulous mountain, let us again resume our consideration of Jonson's words. "His wit was in his owne power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times hee fell into those things could not escape laughter: as when hee said in the person of *Cæsar*, one speaking to him: *Cæsar, thou dost me wrong*. Hee

[1] Work cited, p. 286. My italics. Mr. Lang thinks that Augustus's remark concerning Aterius may actually be applied, not as Jonson applied it, to Shakespeare's (or Shakspere's) "conversation," but to the plays of Shakespeare! After stating that the exuberance of the player's "conversation," as noted by Jonson, is also "characteristic of the style of Shakespeare's plays," he adds: "In this prodigality he was remote indeed from the style of the Greeks; 'panting time toils after him in vain,' and even the reader, much more the listener, might say, *Sufflaminandus est*: 'he needs to have the brake put on.'" Such was Mr. Lang's opinion of Shakespeare's plays. It is not mine, nor do I think it can be accepted as sound criticism of any true Shakespearean drama, however much it may apply to the un-Shakespearean work which is included with "*The Works of Shakespeare*." Since the above was written Mr. David Masson's posthumous work, *Shakespeare Personally* (1914), has been published, and at p. 35 I find the following: "'*Sufflaminandus erat*,' as Augustus said of Haterius. Evidently here the reference is, through and past the mere writings, to Shakespeare himself. 'Sufflaminandus erat: sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped,' wrote Ben Jonson, *recollecting Shakespeare's conversations*. In fact, the *drag* had to be put on. And so, in Ben Jonson's recollection, Shakespeare was a talker who, when he got into full motion, would dash himself and all opposition into pieces, unless you could put on the drag." Here is yet another "Apella" for Mr. Robertson, but no doubt he will find himself "at a loss to discuss" such remarks "with gravity." "Where will Mr. [Masson] stop, I wonder?" he will ask. But, in sober seriousness, Mr. Robertson's assertion that "sufflaminandus erat" is to be construed as having application to Shakespeare's *writing* speaks little for his qualifications to instruct us as to Shakespeare's scholarship.

replyed: *Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause:* and such like; which were ridiculous."

Now upon this I had suggested that it may not be a criticism of anything in the play of *Julius Cæsar*, but that the meaning may be that Shakspere the player misquoted the passage on the stage. This, again, Mr. Robertson finds extremely ridiculous. He really cannot discuss it with gravity. Where *will* Mr. Greenwood stop? Well, I will stop here for a moment, and ask the kind reader to stop with me for just so long as necessary to consider the passage. It is generally supposed, and Mr. Robertson evidently thinks it so certain, that it quite upsets his gravity to suppose otherwise, that the allusion is to some line which was, or which Jonson supposed to have been, in the play of *Julius Cæsar* before it was altered for publication in the Folio of 1623. Now this play made its first appearance in print in that Folio, and the passage in question there stands:

> Know Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
> Will he be satisfied.

If Jonson, therefore, was alluding to the play, we must assume (if his testimony is worth anything at all) that the line originally stood

> Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause,

which brought ridicule upon the dramatist, who therefore, I presume, altered the passage to the form in which it now stands.[1] Mr. Lang, indeed, adopting the usual

[1] Mr. Fleay writes of the play *Julius Cæsar*: "That alterations were made we have the positive testimony of Jonson, who in his *Discoveries* tells us that Shakespeare wrote, 'Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause.' That this original reading stood in the acting copies not long before the 1623 Folio was printed is clear from the fact that Jonson, in the Induction to his *Staple of News* (1625), alludes to it as a well-known line requiring no explanation. 'Cry you mercy,' says Prologue, 'you never did wrong but with just cause.'" This, however, is no proof that Jonson's allusion is to words originally in the play. Fleay, however, thinks the implication is that Shakespeare "did not make the alterations himself" (*Life*, p. 215).

hypothesis that the words must apply to the play, asks "Of whom is Ben writing?" and answers, "Of the author of *Julius Cæsar*, certainly, from which, his memory failing, *he misquotes a line.*"[1] But if Ben here misquotes a line of *Julius Cæsar*, owing to failing memory, it follows that the whole story is a myth. The basis of the story, if Jonson is alluding to the play, is that *Julius Cæsar* originally contained the words quoted by him, "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong," and Cæsar's answer as above. On Mr. Lang's hypothesis, therefore, we must assume that Ben not only misquoted a line—or, rather, several lines—but also invented the story,—in fact, first misquoted the lines and then based a fabulous story upon them,—which I cannot think a reasonable supposition[2]

But is it reasonable to suppose that Jonson does here make reference to the play? Did he really, in these notes of his mature deliberation, dismiss the great dramatist with this niggling, carping, "twopenny-halfpenny" criticism of some lines in *Julius Cæsar*? For, except this allusion, there is in this passage absolutely nothing at all concerning Shakespeare's dramatic work. I submit there is a more reasonable alternative.

Let us carefully consider the words. "Many times he fell into those things could not escape laughter." Does this seem to bear reference to the work of the dramatist—that he "fell" into "things" which excited the laughter of his audience? I submit that it does not. What is the example given? It is something "he said in the person of Cæsar" in answer to "one speaking to him." He *said* something *in personâ Cæsaris* Does not

[1] Work cited, p. 257. My italics.

[2] Gifford says Jonson "undoubtedly heard the expression he has quoted" at the theatre. He points out that Jonson "wrote and spoke at a time when he might easily have been put to shame if unfaithful." See Gifford's note on the line in the Induction to *The Staple of News*. Halliwell remarks that the alternative is to accuse Jonson of wilful misrepresentation for the sake of a jest against a deceased friend.

this suggest the actor? And "one speaking to him"—does not this suggest one speaking to him on the stage, rather than words put by him into the mouth of a character in one of his plays? And, in answer he "fell" into an error that made the audience laugh. Instead of the words as written, he said, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause," which was ridiculous. Jonson is speaking of Shakespeare in his personal character. He has just said that he was so voluble in talk that "it was necessary he should be stop'd." If he were alluding to the tragedy of Julius Cæsar, one would have expected him to have said that Shakespeare in the "play" of that name made Cæsar speak the words in question, just as in his conversation with Drummond he said, "Shakespear, in a play, brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwrack in Bohemia," etc. Mr. Robertson may find all this quite side-splitting, but that does not greatly move me. I still venture to think it a very reasonable explanation of the passage, and much more likely to be the true one than the usually received hypothesis.[1]

And now for the concluding words of this remarkable entry, which again strike a purely personal note. "But hee redeemed his vices with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praysed, than to be pardoned."

[1] Pope thought the lines quoted by Jonson might have been the blunder of an actor. I find, too, that I had been anticipated in my interpretation of Jonson's meaning both as to "*sufflaminandus*" and the reference to Cæsar by Dr. Appleton Morgan, who writes as follows concerning the passage in the *Discoveries*: "That is every word which a man who 'loved him' could say of William Shakespeare!—that he was a skilled and careful penman 'never blotting out a line'; that he *talked too fast*, sometimes, and had to be checked; that *in playing the part of Cæsar on the stage*, somebody interpolated the speech, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong,' and he made a bull in response" (*The Shakespearean Myth*, 1881, p. 137). It will be seen that Dr. Morgan writes as though there were no doubt as to the meaning of the passage. I fear Mr. Robertson will be unable to contain himself. There will be ἄσβεστος γέλως at the Board of Trade!

This, then, as Dr. Ingleby says, was Jonson's "closet opinion of his friend"—his deliberate "censure" of the great dramatist many years after his death—as a writer, so profuse that he ought to have blotted out a thousand lines; in speech so verbose that he frequently had to be pulled up; often falling into things that could not escape laughter; yet, after all, his vices were redeemed by his virtues, and there was "more in him to be praised than to be pardoned"! What a summing-up of that "Soul of the Age," whose writings Ben had declared, in his Folio verses, to be

> . . . such
> As neither Man nor Muse can praise too much!

There is, it is true, a tribute to the man's character, to his honesty, and to his "open and free nature," and a fine expression of Jonson's personal regard for him, and the honour in which he held his memory. But if Jonson wrote sincerely in this his "closet opinion" of 1630, or thereabouts, how could he have been sincere in those dedicatory verses which we are now to examine?

It must indeed be frankly owned that in this passage *De Shakespeare nostrati*, Jonson does, to all outward seeming, identify the player with the writer, and thus beset the case of the "unorthodox" with a truly formidable difficulty. But taking it as a whole, one asks oneself *could* Jonson have so written concerning Shakspere knowing him to have been the author of *Hamlet*; knowing him to have conceived, let us say, those magical lines:

> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself . . .

knowing him, in fact, to have been the author of that seventeenth-century miracle of poetry, philosophy, and drama which, with other things of very inferior value, is enshrined in the Folio of 1623? Critics are apt to

get angry if it be suggested that Jonson may possibly have set his name to a panegyric of "Shakespeare" knowing that that name covered far more than any work which it was within the power of the player to produce, but which had, nevertheless, been published in his name; yet it seems to me that to believe that Jonson dismissed the real Shakespeare, whose immortal work he had, some years before, lauded to the skies, with such carping and contemptible criticism as this of the *Discoveries*, is really to pass a more severe judgment upon him—and even upon his *honesty*—than to admit the possibility of his having been party to a literary deception which at that time might have been considered a venial offence, if, indeed, it was looked upon as an offence at all. Let us not forget that in the year 1623 nobody had any idea of what the name "Shakespeare" would mean to posterity.

Let us now go back some eight years and consider Jonson's "Folio" verses concerning this same "Shakespeare," written seven years after the latter's death. And first we must make reference once more to the ten lines "To the Reader," introducing him to the "Droeshout" engraving of "gentle Shakespeare" Now as for this engraving, I can never understand how any unprejudiced person, with a sense of humour, can look upon it without being tempted to irreverent laughter. Not only is it, as many have pointed out, and as is apparent even to the untrained eye, altogether out of drawing; not only is the head preternaturally large for the body; not only is it quaintly suggestive of an unduly deferred razor; but it looks at one with a peculiar expression of sheepish oafishness which is irresistibly comic. It might do excellently well as the signboard of "The Shakespeare Arms," but that this woodeny thing, with its hydrocephalous forehead, straight lank hair bunched over the ears, and idiotic stare, should do duty as the counterfeit presentment of the world's greatest poet, though pro-

vocative of human smiles, is really calculated to "make the angels weep."[1]

And of this ridiculous caricature Jonson writes:

> This Figure that thou see'st put
> It was for gentle Shakespeare cut,
> Wherein the Graver had a strife
> With Nature to out-doo the life.

Now Jonson was an enthusiast on the pictorial art. "Whosoever loves not picture," he writes, "is injurious to truth, and all the wisdom of poetry. Picture is the invention of heaven, the most ancient and most akin to Nature."[2] How, then, could he have thus written concerning the "Droeshout" signboard? It is suggested that he had never seen it. That does not say much for Jonson's sincerity or for the value of his testimony. But, as Mr. Spielmann says, this sort of expression had become "almost a *cliché*." We have the same thing, and the same collocation of the words "strife" and "life," in *Venus and Adonis*:

> Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
> In limning out a well-proportioned steed,
> His art with nature's workmanship at strife
> As if the dead the living should exceed, . .

Mr. Spielmann refers us also to Malherbe's lines below de Leu's engraving of Montaigne,[3] and we all remember

[1] It really looks as though Sir E. Durning-Lawrence was right in saying that the artist has (whether purposely or not) represented the jacket, or "jerkin," as made up of two left-hand sides put together, one of them "hind-side before." The face, too, if carefully examined, *does* look very like a mask! Mr. Pollard writes (p. 122): "If his [Jonson's] lines on Droeshout's portrait are compared with their subject, we may well be inclined to wonder whether he had seen that very doubtful masterpiece at the time that he wrote them." This hypothesis does not say much for the value of Jonson's testimony. Was this also "So like old Ben"? Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, III, 3, 265, "A plague of opinion. A man may wear it on both sides, like a leather jerkin." And see chap. XVI.

[2] Discoveries cix and cx, *Poesis et pictura* and *De Pictura*.

[3] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 467 note 2.

the words inscribed round Hillyard's miniature of Francis Bacon: *Si tabulâ daretur signâ animum mallem*—If only his mind could be painted, then, indeed, there would be a worthy portrait of him! But when one looks at the graven image of the Folio frontispiece, the idea of "the Graver" having had here a strife with nature to "out-doo the life" seems only worthy of *Comic Cuts* or *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday*. *Solvuntey risu tabulae*.[1] But let us hear Jonson further:

> O, could he but have drawn his wit
> As well in brass as he hath hit
> His face, the Print would then surpasse
> All that was ever writ in brasse.
> But since he cannot, Reader, looke
> Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

Sir Sidney Lee's comment on this is: "Jonson's testimony does no credit to his artistic discernment." But is it possible to believe that old Ben was not only so lacking in his perception of the grotesque, but also so deficient in the sense of humour as to write these lines with the Droeshout engraving before him, if, indeed, he wrote them seriously? Now, I was so audacious as to suggest (as others had suggested before me) that possibly Jonson was not writing here in sober seriousness; that, conceivably, he was, as I put it, writing "with his tongue in his cheek." This phrase has much incensed a super-sensitive critic, who calls it a very vulgar expression. Well, vulgar it may be, but, like many another vulgar term, it admirably expresses the idea which it is wished to convey. On this hypothesis the meaning is,

[1] Steevens, quoted with approval by Dr. Drake, says: "Shakespeare's countenance deformed by Droeshout resembles the sign of Sir Roger de Coverley which it had been changed into a Saracen's head, on which occasion *The Spectator* observes that the features of the gentle Knight were still apparent through the lineaments of the ferocious Mussulman" (Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*, Vol. II, p. 623).

if the graver only could have drawn "gentle Shakespeare's" wit in brass as well as he has hit the likeness of his face, why then the print would certainly surpass all that was ever writ—*in brass!* The absurdity here is that if the graver could have drawn the mind as well as the face he would have produced a mental as well as a physical caricature. Happily, however, that was beyond the graver's power.[1]

This interpretation may appear fantastic and improbable, but to me, as I look upon the paralysing Droeshout engraving, it really does not seem by any means extravagant. Nor does it exclude a further esoteric meaning, viz. that the reader, if he wants to find the real Shakespeare, must turn to the plays, and if the artist could but have drawn the wit of *the real Shakespeare*, then, indeed, the print would surpass all that was ever writ, whether in brass or anything else. At any rate, as that orthodox writer Mr. John Corbin well puts it, Jonson does advise the reader, "if he wants to find the real Shakespeare, to turn to the plays," and to look "not on his picture, but his book"; which is certainly very excellent advice.[2]

We now turn to the verses dedicated "To the Memory of my beloved The Author Mr. William Shakespeare: And what he hath left us." It is not necessary to quote them at length. They are, as everybody knows, a splendid panegyric on "Shakespeare," who is the "Soul of the Age, the applause, delight, the wonder of our Stage," "not of an age but for all time," the "Star of Poets," etc. But just one or two words of comment may be permitted.

[1] "Brass." Thus in *Love's Labour's Lost* (V, 2, 395) we have, "Can any face of brass hold longer out?" Cf. Fuller (1642), "His face is of brasse, which may be said either ever or never to blush."

[2] I quote from *A New Portrait of Shakespeare*, by John Corbin. See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, chap. VIII.

Jonson writes:

> . I will not lodge thee by
> Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye
> A little further, to make thee a roome:
> Thou art a moniment, without a tombe,
> And art alive still, while thy Booke doth live,
> And we have wits to read, and praise to give.

Now here we have what a reviewer has called "a little difference of opinion about Shakespeare's tomb" between Jonson and William Basse,[1] for Basse (whose title to fame seems to consist in this that he wrote some lines "on Mr. William Shakespeare" only six years after Shakspere's death, instead of waiting for seven years, as did Jonson and others) had in 1622 written as follows:

> Renowned Spenser, lye a thought more nye
> To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumont lye
> A little nearer Spenser, to make roome
> For Shakespeare in your threefold, fowerfold tombe.
> To lodge all fowre in one bed make a shift
> Until Doomesdaye, for hardly will a fift
> Betwixt this day and that by Fate be slayne,
> For whom your Curtaines may be drawne againe.
> If your precedency in death doth barre
> A fourth place in your sacred sepulcher,
> Under this carved marble of thine owne,
> Sleepe, rare Tragedian, Shakespeare, sleepe alone
> Thy unmolested peace; unshared cave
> Possesse as Lord, not Tenant, of thy Grave,
> That unto us and others it may be
> Honor hereafter to be layde by thee.

It seems, therefore, that this William Basse, writing some six years after Shakspere's death, had an idea that "Shakespeare" either was, or ought to have been, buried in Westminster Abbey. He seems to have had in his mind the Latin distich which Camden tells us (see *Reges*

[1] *The Speaker*, April 16th, 1904.

Reginae, 1600) was on the gravestone first placed on Spenser's tomb :

> Hic prope Chaucerum, Spenser, poeta poetam,
> Condeius, et versu quam tumulo propior.

i.e. Spenser was to be near Chaucer in his tomb, and was even nearer to him in his verse; and if Shakespeare had been buried in Westminster Abbey (and why was he not?) Basse's lines would have been appropriate. But, says Basse, as I understand his rather mixed allusions, if there is to be no fourth place in the sacred sepulchre where Spenser and Chaucer and Beaumont lie, why then the "rare Tragedian"[1] Shakespeare must sleep alone "under this carved marble." But the misfortune is that Shakspere does not sleep (unless our information be all wrong) under "carved marble," but under a stone which imprecates a curse upon anybody who may move his bones. So Jonson, apparently having these lines of Basse in his mind, says that he, at any rate, will not lodge Shakespeare by Chaucer or Spenser, or ask Beaumont to be so kind as to lie a little farther to make room for him; which, in the circumstances, seems very sensible on Jonson's part, seeing that Shakespeare was not buried in Westminster Abbey (or, at any rate, Shakspere was not), so that to talk of lodging him by Chaucer or Spenser, etc. etc., would have been just a little absurd. No, no, says Jonson, "thou art a monument, without a tomb," i.e. as I understand it, Jonson prefers to speak of Shakespeare as still alive. He is his own monument, being "alive still" while his "book doth live," just as Leonard Digges, who, by the way, bears

[1] Note that this word in Shakespeare's time was usually employed not in the signification of a writer of tragedy, but to mean an actor of tragedy, or an actor in general, and Shakespeare himself always uses the word in this signification. So at the end of Jonson's *Sejanus* we have a note that "the principal Tragedians" (i.e. actors) were Burbage and others, including Shakespeare. See *Schmidt's Shakespearean Lexicon*, and *The Imperial Dictionary*, sub voce.

testimony to the fact that there was a "Stratford Moniment" of some kind in existence at the time he wrote, says that "this Booke"—the Folio, to wit—keeps him alive, and "fresh to all ages."

A little farther on occur those memorable lines:

> And though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek,
> From thence to honour thee I would not seek
> For names, but call forth thundring Æschylus,
> Euripides, and Sophocles to us,
> Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead,
> To life again, to hear thy Buskin tread
> And shake a Stage: or, when thy Sockes were on,
> Leave thee alone, for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

"Small Latin and less Greek"! What controversy has raged round those five words! Is it true that the author of the *Plays* and *Poems* had "small Latin"? Quite untrue, said Mr. Churton Collins. On the contrary, he could "read Latin with as much facility as a cultivated Englishman of our own time reads French"; he could read Latin authors "*ad sensum*, with facility and pleasure." That may be too high an estimate, but I think most unprejudiced persons, themselves sufficiently furnished with classical knowledge to be competent to judge, would come to the conclusion, on a careful consideration of the *Works of Shakespeare*, that the author of them must have had a considerable knowledge of Latin and a wide familiarity with the classics. Mr. Robertson, with small consistency, at one time protests that he does not himself entertain the idea of an ignorant, uncultivated Shakespeare, and at another proclaims his entire concurrence in Farmer's estimate, according to which, as I have already shown, Shakespeare did not even know the meaning of a very simple Latin word, and an extremely common French word.

But what did Jonson mean by the lines:

> And though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek,
> From thence to honour thee I would not seek
> For names, etc.?"

In a note to p. 475 of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* I had noticed a suggestion made by Dr. Konrad Meier, to the effect that they might be construed to mean "even though it had been true that thou hadst but small Latin, etc., even so I should not be at a loss for names, but would still place thee side by side with the great poets of antiquity." Mr. Robertson takes me to task for this in his most didactic style. "It 'would' seem, then, that we must explain to Mr. Greenwood, as well as to Dr. Meier and the Baconians, that 'I would' is perfectly normal English for 'I will' in predication," etc. etc. Now I had not expressed my agreement with Dr. Meier's interpretation of the words, but I *think* anyone conversant with Tudor prose would hesitate to say that such a construction of them would be impossible in seventeenth-century prose, and *a fortiori*, in seventeenth-century verse. The rules of Professor Dryasdust were not then so strictly followed as they are at the present time. Mr. Robertson says: "Jonson's lines simply mean: 'Though you had small Latin and less Greek, I would not on that account seek merely to pit you against other unlearned men, but would back you against all the classic dramatists, from Æschylus to Seneca.'" I respectfully dissent. There is nothing about "other unlearned men." The passage (whether we adopt the more usual interpretation or Dr. Konrad Meier's) means, I submit, as I have said above, "from thence" (i.e. from the classics) I would not be at a loss (or "to seek"; cf. Porson's "The Germans in Greek are sadly to *seek*") for names, but would willingly call up the best of the Greek or Latin tragedians to hear your tragedies ("to hear thy Buskin tread"); and as for comedy ("when thy

Sockes were on") I would compare thee to "all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome sent forth" in that branch of the drama." And, since writing the above, I have been not a little amused to find that Dr. Konrad Meier had been anticipated by the learned Dr. Ingleby, who, on the words "*and though thou hadst*," etc., has the following note: "Here *hadst* is the subjunctive. The passage may be thus paraphrased: 'Even if thou hadst little scholarship, I would not seek to honour thee by calling thee, as others have done, Ovid, Plautus, Terence, etc., i.e. by the names of the classical poets, but would rather invite them to witness how far thou dost outshine them.' *Ben does not assert that Shakespeare had 'little Latine and less Greek'* [sic], *as several understand him*, though, doubtless, compared with Ben's finished scholarship, Shakespeare's was small" (*Centurie of Prayse*, 1879, p. 151). I must leave it to Mr. Robertson to lecture the shade of Dr. Ingleby as to how "while 'and if' could have meant 'and though,' 'and though' could not mean 'and if,'" according to the rules of the Robertsonian Grammar. "Mr. Greenwood," says Mr. Robertson, "really should have spared English readers Dr. Meier's theorem that the 'would' [in "From thence to honour thee I would not seek"] 'is conditional,'" etc. etc. And here we have the learned Dr. Ingleby telling us that "hadst" is conditional ("subjunctive"), in which case I apprehend the "would" must be so too, even although it may be "perfectly normal English for 'I will' in predication"! On the whole, I think Professor Dryasdust has not exactly "scored" here. Mr. W. E. Smithson also writes in the *Nineteenth Century* (Nov. 1913) that the line "and though thou hadst," etc., "is generally mistaken for a categorical statement that Shakespeare lacked Latin, whereas it should be understood as equivalent to 'supposing thou hadst small Latin,' etc. The word 'would' in the next sentence ('From thence to honour thee I would

not seek') shows this to be the reading." Here is another *ignoramus* for the learned Professor Dryasdust to lecture.

As to Jonson's reference to "insolent Greece and haughty Rome," in his *Timber, or Discoveries*, I will not waste many words. Without being a "Baconian," one may be permitted to think it, to say the least, extremely remarkable that he should have used exactly the same words about Bacon. He "hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared and preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome." He thus eulogises both Bacon and Shakespeare as the highest names in the literature of the time, in precisely the same terms. At one time Shakespeare, at another time Bacon, is the very "acme" of our language. But the "orthodox," I am aware, see nothing at all remarkable in this. "*So like old Ben! What?*"

I must, however, say one word with regard to Mr. Robertson's comments on my notice of the passage in question. "It has been frequently said," I wrote, "with reference to this passage, that Jonson compiled a catalogue of all the best writers of his day, and put Bacon at the head of it, while he omitted Shakespeare altogether."[1] I pointed out, however, that this reasoning would scarcely hold good, that although the passage is headed *Scriptorum Catalogus*, and although the editor of the Temple Classics edition of the *Discoveries* has inserted the side-note, "a bead-roll of English writers," yet Jonson seems rather to have been "thinking mainly of wits and orators of his own and the preceding generation, than compiling a list in which we should expect to find mention made of all the best writers, whether of prose or poetry of the time." I went on, however, to say that it does seem remarkable, nevertheless, that "no mention should be made of the great dramatist whom Jonson in 1623 characterised as the 'Soul of the Age.'"

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 485.

What is Mr. Robertson's characteristic criticism on this? "Yet Mr. Greenwood goes on to argue that 'still' it is 'remarkable' that Shakespeare is not named. If the paragraph were meant as a 'bead-roll,' it would be no less strange that Spenser and Marlowe are also unnamed: the only really remarkable thing is that Jonson or anyone else should ever have headed such a jotting as 'catalogus.' But Mr. Greenwood, with sorrow be it said, proceeds from this trifling cavil to endorse the truly 'Baconian' argument that there is a deep significance in Jonson's use of the phrase about 'insolent Greece and haughty Rome' in his eulogy of Bacon, after using it in his poem on Shakespeare." [1]

Now what the "cavil" is to which Mr. Robertson refers, I have no idea. "Cavil" is a favourite word with Mr. Robertson. Perhaps he does not give much thought to the precise meaning of it.[2] But I did say, and I repeat, that it does seem remarkable that Jonson should have made no mention of Shakespeare in this passage, for he writes: "within this view, and about this time, were all the wits born that could honour a language or help study." Now Shakespeare was, most certainly, one of the "wits," and the greatest of the "wits," born within that time, and none could "honour a language or help study" more than he. Yet Jonson makes no mention of him.

And here I will take leave to quote once more the learned and orthodox Dr. Ingleby, who also characterises as "remarkable" the omission by Jonson of Shakespeare's name in another part of his *Discoveries*. After noticing that Shakespeare is not mentioned by Thomas Lodge among the "divine wits" in his *Wits Miserie and the World's Madness*, or by Edward Guilpin in his *Skialethia* of 1598 (where he does mention Chaucer, Gower, Daniel, Markham, Drayton, and Sidney), he continues: "Ben

[1] Work cited, p. 565.
[2] e.g. it occurs three times on pp. 564 and 565.

Jonson, writing some forty years later, makes the *same remarkable omission* in one part of his *Discoveries* (*Praecipiendi Modi*); he remarks that 'as it is fit to read the best authors to youth first, so let them be of the openest and clearest'; and he distinguishes how Sidney, Donne, Gower, Chaucer, and Spenser should be read—but does not mention Shakespeare."[1] Now I suggest that Jonson's mature and deliberate opinions of Shakespeare, expressed in his *Discoveries*, or in his conversation with Drummond, or gathered from such "remarkable omissions" as the one to which I have above called attention, or that cited by Dr. Ingleby, are really more likely to represent his true views than that outburst of poetical eulogy which he wrote as a send-off to the First Folio, though we now recognise that, in Shakespeare's case, every word of it was most justly due. As to the identity of language in which he praises both Bacon and Shakespeare, in that remarkable expression concerning "insolent Greece and haughty Rome," I merely remarked, and I repeat, that it is "certainly not surprising that the Baconians should dwell on this extraordinary coincidence of expression." But, of course, it is "just like Ben," and there's an end of it!

But Mr. Robertson goes on to say (p. 566): "He (myself, to wit) finds it 'extraordinary' that Jonson, after Bacon's fall, wrote of the ruined great man's character in the highest terms, and yet has not 'left us any noble eulogy *of this sort*[2] consecrated to the memory of Shakespeare.' Is not the panegyric prefixed to the Folio a noble eulogy of *its* sort?"[2]

Now I wrote: "The extraordinary thing is that nowhere *in his prose works, or in his recorded conversations*, has Jonson left us any noble eulogy of this sort consecrated to the memory of Shakespeare."[3] Mr. Robertson has

[1] *A Centurie of Prayse*, Preface, p. xii.
[2] Mr. Robertson's italics.
[3] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 488.

deliberately suppressed the words I have marked by italics, and has himself italicised the words "of this sort" in his garbled quotation, so that it may appear that I had laid emphasis where none in fact had been laid. This is a violation of the canons of fair controversy, but I am sorry to say that, as I have already shown, it is by no means a solitary instance of Mr. Robertson's so offending. Yet he must know full well that, if he purports to quote from an author whom he is criticising, he should give the quotation in its entirety, and never omit, to suit his own purposes, words material to the sense and to the argument. The words, as I wrote them, embody a perfectly reasonable statement of opinion, to which I decidedly adhere.

With regard to the side-note, "a bead-roll of English writers," Mr. Robertson writes that "the critic cited by Mr. Greenwood," who so termed Jonson's *catalogus*, "has something to answer for." The critic in question is that well-known Shakespearean scholar Mr. Israel Gollancz. I will leave it to him, therefore, to answer Mr. Robertson in this matter.[1]

[1] Work cited, p. 565. At p. 567 Mr. Robertson puts to me what he calls a "simple and sufficient challenge," of which I suppose I must take notice, though it certainly seems to me more "simple" than "sufficient." He compares Jonson's lines on Bacon:

> "Whose even thread the fates spin round and full
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool,"

with these in *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, also by Jonson:

> "A prince that draws
> By example more than others do by laws . . .
> That was reserved *until the Parcae spun*
> *Their whitest wool, and then his thread begun.*"

Whereupon he asks triumphantly: "Does this passage suggest any misgivings to Mr. Greenwood? Does he find it 'most remarkable of all' that Jonson should have used the same figure in benison of Bacon and of King James? And does he see fit to suggest that Jonson had cause to think that King James wrote Bacon?"

My answer to this very "simple" challenge is that if Mr. Robertson thinks there is any analogy between the two cases compared, I must—"respectfully," of course, but most entirely—disagree with him. The classical phrase about

The next lines for our consideration run as follows:

> Nature herself was proud of his designs,
> And joy'd to wear the dressing of his lines.
> . . . . . .
> Yet must I not give Nature all: Thy *Art*,
> My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part.
> For though the Poet's matter Nature be,
> His Art doth give the fashion. And that he,
> Who casts to write a living line, must sweat,
> (*Such as thine are*) and strike the second heat
> Upon the Muses' Anvil; turn the same,
> (And himself with it) that he thinks to frame:
> Or for[1] the laurel he may gain a scorn,
> For a good Poet's made as well as born.
> *And such wert thou.* Look how the father's face
> Lives in his issue, even so the race
> Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
> *In his well-turnèd and true-filèd lines*,
> In each of which he seems to shake a Lance
> As brandisht at the eyes of Ignorance.[2]

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the Fates spinning the fate of a fortunate man out of "their whitest wool" had become proverbial. Mr. Robertson himself points out that Jonson writes of himself in *The Poetaster*:

> "The Fates have not spun him the coarsest thread."

He might have quoted Horace to show that when a man nears death the threads are not white but black.

> "Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra."

I cannot see the least analogy between such use of a proverbial expression and the employment of exactly similar and very remarkable words—words not found anywhere else, I believe, in all literature—for the eulogy both of Bacon and of Shakespeare. It seems to me that one of Mr. Robertson's besetting sins is the finding of false analogies. It is, of course, *possible* that Jonson may have forgotten, when he spoke of "insolent Greece and haughty Rome" in connection with Bacon, that he had used the same expression concerning Shakespeare. But he would, I have no doubt, have applied the same terms concerning the Fates and their wool both to Bacon and King James, quite deliberately, as a common *façon de parler*.

[1] "For," i.e. instead of. Some sceptics have suggested that the word should be read in this sense also in Jonson's lines:

> "This figure that thou here seest put
> It was *for* gentle Shakespeare cut!"

[2] The italics in the above quotation are, of course, mine.

How are we to reconcile all this with what Jonson said to Drummond, viz. "that Shakespeare wanted *art*"? Here we are told just the contrary. It is not true without qualification, says Jonson, that *Poeta nascitur non fit.* A poet has to be "*made*" as well as "born," and if he desires to write anything worthy of immortality he must "sweat," *as did Shakespeare*, and "strike the second heat (or beat) upon the Muses' anvil," turning his lines and himself with them; or, in other words, he must bear Horace's advice constantly in mind: "Saepe stilum vertas"; he must amend and polish, reconsider, recast, rewrite, and revise. And such a poet was Shakespeare ("And such wert thou"), whose "well-turnéd and true-filéd lines" are themselves the mirror of his "mind and manners." No, no, says Jonson, Shakespeare was no mere "natural wit" writing by plenary inspiration. Nature was his "matter," but it was his *Art* that gave "the fashion." And yet he tells Drummond that "Shakespeare wanted art"!

And how are we to reconcile this splendid eulogy with those carping criticisms recorded in the *Discoveries* some eight years afterwards? "*Ah, just like Ben! "What?*"

Well, then, if these amazing inconsistencies are "just like Ben," one thing is quite clear, viz. that Ben could be, if not dishonest, at any rate very insincere, and that his testimony is to that extent untrustworthy. It may be that Ben lauded Shakespeare to the skies in these Folio lines just because he had been called in to give a good send-off to this the first-published volume of Shakespeare's collected Works—for it would be altogether too modern to suggest that he might have had "shares in the Syndicate"! If so, then all this high praise, however much we may recognise that it is all deserved, must be subject to a very liberal discount, so far as Jonson's own real opinion is con-

cerned.[1] All we can say is that he is grossly inconsistent, and if he was sincere at one time of writing, he could not have been sincere at the other time. Mere "varying moods" will not explain such contradictions and discrepancies.

Nevertheless, it must needs be admitted by the "unorthodox" that by addressing Shakespeare as "Sweet Swan of Avon" Jonson does here again, undoubtedly, to all outward seeming, identify him with Shakspere of Stratford. Is, then, this poetical panegyric to be taken as conclusive? Let me put the question in the words of the author of *The Shakespearean Myth*: "What sort of historical PROOF does this poem afford? What sort of testimony is this as to a FACT? Is it the sort we accept in our own personal affairs: in our business—in our courts of justice—in matters in which we have anything at stake, or any living interest? . . . Between the affirmative theory of the Stratfordian authorship, then, and the demonstration of its utter impossibility and absurdity, there actually remains but the single barrier of the Jonsonian testimony contained in the copy of verses entitled 'To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author, Mr William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us,' written by Mr. Ben Jonson, and prefixed to the famous folio of 1623. If this testimony should ever be ruled out as incompetent, there would actually remain nothing except to lay the Shakespearean hoax away, as gently as might be, alongside its fellows in the populous limbo of exploded fallacies."[2]

This is strongly put, and the "orthodox" will certainly deny that Jonson's lines constitute "the single barrier" between "the affirmative theory of the Stratfordian

[1] The "Poet-Ape" epigram, we may remember, was published—or, probably, republished—by Jonson in the very year of Shakspere's death, among "the ripest of his studies." But "Poet-Ape" and "Pantalabus" had, by 1623, become the "Soul of the Age"!

[2] *The Shakespearean Myth* (1881), pp. 131–3. Dr. Morgan informs me that he is "of the same opinion still."

authorship and the demonstration of its utter impossibility." However, I quote Dr. Morgan's criticism to show how the matter presents itself to the vigorous mind of a well-read and competent Shakespearean scholar on the other side of the Atlantic, where "Shakespeare" is worshipped quite as enthusiastically as in this country.

I must now return to the question of the unblotted manuscripts. It might, perhaps, have been more appropriate to deal with these in the chapter on the First Folio, but the Preface "To the Great Variety of Readers" is so bound up with the Jonsonian utterances that it is impossible to postpone the consideration of them to a later page.

Now concerning the statement made by the players Heminge and Condell—or, rather, the statement put into their mouths—that they had "scarse received from him (Shakespeare) a blot in his papers," I had quoted some very sensible remarks of the late R. L. Stevenson. "In truth," I wrote, "it requires but very little thought to perceive that the idea that the players had Shakespeare's unblotted autograph manuscripts in their hands is futile. R. L. Stevenson recognised this. 'We hear of Shakespeare and his clean manuscripts; but in the face of the evidence of the style itself and of the various editions of *Hamlet*, this merely proves that Messrs. Heminge and Condell were unacquainted with the common enough phenomenon called a fair copy. He who would recast a tragedy already given to the world, must frequently and earnestly have revised details in the study.'"[1] And, on a later page, after citing the statement in question,—"What he thought, he uttered with that easinesse that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers,"—I had written: "But we now know that this statement is ridiculous; that if the players had any unblotted manu-

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 270, citing *Men and Books*, p. 149.

scripts in their hands (which is by no means probable), they were merely fair copies; that if they really thought that the author of the plays wrote them off *currente calamo*, and never blotted a line, never revised, never made any alterations, they knew nothing whatever concerning the real Shakespeare."[1]

This has, apparently, roused Mr. Robertson's ire. He calls it "cavilling." All criticism which does not please him is "cavilling" with Mr. Robertson. He says: "The assertion that 'we now know that this statement is ridiculous' is *utterly unwarranted*." And further: "We do know that Shakespeare revised plays after they had been for some time played: we do *not* know that he sweated over his anvils in first composition as Jonson did, and Jonson's claim, in the panegyric, that every writer of living lines must so sweat is an impeachment of Jonson's consistency, not of the players' veracity, or of their common sense. Elsewhere, he accepted their statement as true. The suggestion of Stevenson, confidently repeated by Mr. Greenwood, that the unblotted manuscripts, if such there were, must have been merely fair copies, is idle." And, adds Mr. Robertson, "unless Shakespeare deliberately tricked his partners—a hypothesis which Jonson did not advance, and *which Mr. Greenwood had better not raise*—they must have known that whereof they spoke."[2]

Hoity toity! Here be threats! And what, I wonder, would happen to me if I *did* raise that "hypothesis"! There is a story of a Speaker in the House of Commons, in bygone days, before there was any settled rule as to what should be done with a member who was "named" for disorderly conduct.

Some occupant of the Green Benches having been repeatedly called to order, the Speaker told him that if he again offended he would be compelled to "name" him.

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 480.

[2] Work cited, p. 564. My italics, with the exception of the word "*not*."

"And what, Mr. Speaker, would happen to me," asked the offender, "*if you did* name me?" "God only knows," replied Mr. Speaker. I presume I may say the same with regard to my own fate, supposing I should venture to "raise" the "hypothesis" in question, though, perhaps, for the name of the Deity I should substitute that of Mr J. M. Robertson—a substitution of which I am sure he would not complain.

However, it is not necessary to suggest that Shakespeare—or player Shakspere—"deliberately tricked his partners" I really do not know—nor does anybody know—what happened with regard to the Shakespearean manuscripts, or whether Messrs. Heminge and Condell had any manuscripts in their hands at all for the purposes of the First Folio; nor do I know—nor does anybody know—anything about these worthies personally, nor how far they ought to be accepted as unimpeachable witnesses of truth. Unfortunately, no spiritualistic medium has yet succeeded in "raising" them—still less "Shakespeare," or even "Shakspere"—for purposes of cross-examination. But when Mr. Robertson says "they must have known that whereof they spoke," I may remind him that Malone has proved, in the judgment of many competent critics, including Mr. Lang—not to mention Mr. James Boaden and many more—that the Preface to which they appended their signatures was, in truth, written for them by Ben Jonson—an opinion in which I entirely concur. But with regard to Mr. Robertson's pronouncement that "the suggestion of Stevenson" (it was not a "suggestion," by the way, it was an assertion) "that the unblotted manuscripts, if such there were, must have been merely fair copies, is *idle*," I will venture to say a word. This is a free country—more or less—and I am at liberty to express my opinion, for what it is worth, so long as I keep within the law of libel. Mr. Robertson expresses his with great freedom and much vigour of

language. Well, then, my own opinion is that if any man really believes that Shakespeare, whoever he was, wrote off his plays without ever making any corrections, or deletions, or interlineations,—in fact, without "blotting a line,"—that man's opinion, as a literary critic, or as a man of common sense, for the matter of that, is worthy of nothing better than the rubbish basket. Of all forms of literary composition the drama is the very form which most requires patient revision. How ridiculous—yes, Mr. Robertson, "*ridiculous*"!—it is to suppose that Shakespeare wrote such plays as *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, and *Othello*, for example (but, indeed, any of the plays may be taken as examples), *currente calamo*, without "blotting a line"! "Of all the vulgar errors," writes Mr. Swinburne, "the most wanton, the most wilful, and the most resolutely tenacious of life, is that belief bequeathed from the days of Pope, in which it was pardonable, to the days of Carlyle, in which it was not excusable, to the effect that Shakespeare threw off *Hamlet* as an eagle may moult a feather or a fool may break a jest. . . . Scene by scene, line for line, stroke upon stroke, and touch after touch, he went over all the old laboured ground again."

Yes, indeed; I do most "confidently" repeat and adopt Mr. Stevenson's assertion, based upon plain and obvious common sense, that "the unblotted manuscripts if such there were, must have been merely fair copies," and I think Mr. Robertson's pronouncement upon this matter is not only "idle," but worthy of a still more contemptuous epithet.

It will be observed that Mr. Swinburne, in the passage quoted, refers to Pope. He had in his mind, as the context shows, Pope's famous line, to the effect that Shakespeare,

> For gain, not glory, winged his roving flight,
> And grew immortal in his own despite—

an amazing opinion, as it appears to me, but which is, nevertheless, actually quoted with approval by Sir Sidney Lee, though dismissed by Mr. Swinburne with terms of immeasurable scorn. But with regard to the revision of his plays by Shakespeare, Pope writes sensibly enough. Speaking of the Players' Preface, he says: "By these men it was thought a praise to Shakespear that he scarce ever *blotted a line.* This they industriously propagated, as appears from what we are told by Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries*, and from the preface of Heminges and Condell to the First Folio edition But in reality (however it has prevailed) there never was a more groundless report, or to the contrary of which there are more undeniable evidences."[1]

Mr. Robertson, we may remark in passing, says: "We do know that Shakespeare revised plays after they had been for some time played." It follows, therefore, that when these plays were again handed in manuscript to the players (if ever they were so handed), previously to the performance of the plays so revised, either the manuscripts must have shown many a "blotted line," or the players must have received "fair copies"! If we adopt the first alternative, the statement of the players was untrue; if we adopt the second, the hypothesis of the fair copies is vindicated!

We may further remark, in passing, that Mr. Robertson declines to accept Jonson as a witness of truth in his Folio lines—so far, at any rate, as those lines bear testimony that Shakespeare was wont to "strike the second heat upon the Muses' anvil," *in order to fashion his "well-turnéd and true-filéd lines."* His reasoning seems to be: "The statement of the players as to the unblotted papers must be upheld at any cost. But if Shakespeare

[1] Pope's Preface to Shakespeare, 1725. He adds, also very sensibly, as it appears to me: "I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. *This too might be thought a praise by some.*"

really revised his work as Jonson says, either that statement must be untrue, or the players saw fair copies. Neither of these suppositions can be admitted. Therefore what Jonson wrote in his eulogy of Shakespeare must be, to that extent, false"! Jonson, in fact, is to be taken as an unimpeachable witness of truth when it suits the "orthodox" to so take him; but to be summarily dismissed as quite untrustworthy when his testimony does not square with—I do not say the "orthodox," but—the Robertsonian case. Mr. Robertson talks about Jonson's "consistency," but there is a great deal more than inconsistency involved. If all this elaborate praise of the pains which Shakespeare took to perfect his work is untrue, and untrue to Jonson's knowledge (as it must have been if it *be* untrue), then Jonson's testimony is untrustworthy, and must be received with suspicion throughout. For myself, I feel no doubt whatever that he spoke with entire truth as to Shakespeare's revision of his work, and that the story of the unblotted papers is either to be accounted for by "fair copies," or is altogether mythical.[1]

But let us here further examine the Preface "To the Great Variety of Readers." After the first paragraph, which is Jonsonian to the core, as anyone who has studied old Ben could, I think, see even without Malone's elaborate proof, the players are made to speak as follows: "It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; but since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected and publish'd them; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes

[1] Mr. Lang, as we shall see, so far from rejecting the "fair copies" hypothesis as "idle," admits it as quite probable.

of injurious impostors, that exposd them: even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together. And what he thought, he uttered, with that easinesse, that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers."[1]

Here we remark, in the first place, that the players speak of "the author" as having had the "right" in his lifetime "to have set forth and overseen his own writings." This is rather remarkable, because we are always told by orthodox authorities that Shakespeare had no such right, since his practice was to sell his plays to the Company, retaining no copyright in himself. Accordingly, some Shakespearean critics have noted this as an inaccurate statement of the two players. Secondly, the impression conveyed is that the players have published the plays from "papers" (i.e. manuscripts) "received" from Shakespeare himself, and that, whereas, before, readers were "abused with diverse stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the *frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors*," they have now those works, theretofore so fraudulently published with so many imperfections and deformities, "cured and perfect of their limbs; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers as he conceived them"; whereupon follows the statement as to the unblotted "papers."

Now as to the exact interpretation to be put upon these words, there is, as usual, a remarkable diversity of opinion among the "orthodox" commentors. That, in fact, is one of the great difficulties of "unorthodox" criticism. One does not know which of many incon-

[1] I have followed the Folio punctuation, which certainly seems rather erratic. But on the matter of the punctuation of seventeenth-century books see *Shakespearian Punctuation*, by Percy Simpson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911.

sistent arguments are to be regarded as articles of the true faith. But let us consider the views of some of the recognised "authorities."

First, then, here is the opinion of the Cambridge editors:[1] "The natural inference to be drawn from this statement is that all the separate editions of Shakespeare's plays were 'stolen,' 'surreptitious,' and 'imperfect,' and that all those published in the Folio were printed from the author's own manuscripts. But it can be proved to demonstration that several of the plays in the Folio were printed from earlier quarto editions, and that in other cases the quarto is more correctly printed, or from a better manuscript, than the Folio text, and therefore of higher authority. For example, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in *Richard II*, the reading of the Quarto is almost always preferable to that in the Folio; and in *Hamlet* we have computed that the Folio, when it differs from the Quartos, differs for the worse in forty-seven places, while it differs for the better in twenty at most. *As the 'setters forth' are thus convicted of a 'suggestio falsi' in one point, it is not improbable that they may have been guilty of the like in another.* Some of the plays may have been printed not from Shakespeare's own manuscripts but from transcripts made from them for the use of the theatre. And this hypothesis will account for strange errors found in some of the plays——errors too gross to be accounted for by the negligence of a printer, especially if the original manuscript was as unblotted as Heminge and Condell described it to have been. Thus, too, we may explain the great difference in the state of the text as found in different plays. It is probable that this deception arose not from deliberate

[1] The Cambridge editors were originally Messrs. W. G. Clark and John Glover; but when in 1863 Mr Glover left Cambridge, that distinguished scholar, Mr. Aldis Wright, became associated with Mr. Clark in the editorship.

design on the part of Heminge and Condell—whom, as having been Shakespeare's friends and fellows, we like to think of as honourable men—but partly, at least, from want of practice in composition, and from the wish rather to write a smart preface in praise of the book than to state facts clearly and simply. *Or the Preface may have been written by some literary men* in the employment of the publishers, *and merely signed by the two players.*"[1]

On this excellent statement I have only to remark that "want of practice in composition" would hardly account for the statement as a fact of what the writers must have known to be untrue; but, no doubt, the solution of the difficulty lies in the suggestion that the preface was written by a "literary man."

Next let us appeal to Sir Sidney Lee. Now from Sir Sidney Lee's Introduction to the Facsimile edition of the Folio I gather that in his opinion the publishers had no original "Shakespeare" manuscripts in their hands; for he tells us that "the First Folio text was derivable from three distinct sources: firstly, the finished playhouse transcripts, or 'prompt-copies'; secondly, the less complete transcripts in private hands; and thirdly, the Quartos." In the case of sixteen of the plays the publishers had previously printed Quarto editions at their command, and, as the Cambridge editors tell us, "It can be proved to demonstration that several of the plays in the Folio were printed from earlier Quarto editions." But since, in other cases, the Folio text so often differs from that of the Quartos (and by no means always for the better, as the same editors remind us), it seems that the publishers must have had manuscripts of some kind to work from. These, says Sir Sidney Lee, were, in the

[1] Preface to the *Cambridge Shakespeare* (1863), p. 24. Italics mine. If the remark concerning the "*suggestio falsi*" of the "setters forth" had been made by an "unorthodox" writer, how he would have been assailed and denounced! The Cambridge editors, happily, are above suspicion.

first place, the theatrical "prompt-copies." But these alone were not sufficient. "But even if it were the ultimate hope of the publishers of the First Folio to print all Shakespeare's plays, *in the inevitable absence of his autograph MSS.*, from the finished theatrical transcripts or official 'prompt-copies,' their purpose was again destined to defeat by accidents on which they had not reckoned. In 1623, the day was far distant when Shakespeare first delivered his dramatic MSS. to the playhouse manager. In some cases thirty years had elapsed,[1] in none less than twelve, and during the long intervals many misadventures had befallen the Company's archives." There was, for instance, says Sir Sidney, the fire in 1613 at the Globe, "where the Company and its archives had been housed for fourteen years." Therefore, according to this authority, the publishers had, in some cases, to fall back upon "the less complete and less authentic transcripts in private hands."

And this is Sir Sidney Lee's conception of the sort of manuscripts which the publishers of the Folio had to work upon: "No genuine respect was paid to a dramatic author's original drafts after they reached the playhouse. Scenes and passages were freely erased by the managers, who became the owners, and other alterations were made for stage purposes. Ultimately the dramatist's corrected autograph was copied by the playhouse scrivener; this transcript became the official 'prompt-copy,' and the original was set aside and destroyed, its uses being exhausted. The copyist was not always happy in deciphering his original, *especially when the dramatist wrote so illegibly as Shakespeare*; and since no better authority than the 'prompt-copy' survived for the author's words, the copyist's misreadings encouraged crude emendation on the actor's part. Whenever a piece was

[1] Note, therefore, that Sir Sidney Lee believes that Shakespeare had delivered dramatic MSS. to a playhouse manager at least as early as 1593.

revived a new revision was undertaken by the dramatist in concert with the manager, or by an independent author, and in course of time the official playhouse copy of a popular piece might come to bear a long series of interlineations. Thus stock pieces were preserved not in the author's autograph, but in the playhouse scrivener's interlineated transcript, which varied in authenticity according to the caligraphy of the author's original draft, the copyist's intelligence, and the extent of the recensions and successive occasions of the piece's revival."

Sir Sidney Lee further tells us that "only eighteen (or with *Pericles* nineteen) of Shakespeare's thirty-seven dramas remained in 1623 in the repertory of the theatre." In other cases, therefore, the "promoters" of the work had to search for, and obtain permission to make use of, transcripts which private persons had obtained by some means or other.

It will be seen that by this theory poor Heminge and Condell are thrown over altogether. The most rabid Baconian could not treat them with more contempt. They have put their signatures to a preface in which they *tell us that they have "collected"* Shakespeare's "writings," and these are "cur'd, and perfect in their limbs as he conceived them." They are the author's own manuscripts, for "we have scarse received from him a blot in his papers," which alleged fact is put forward as proof of the "easinesse" with which he wrote! And who would know the handwriting of their fellow-actor if not Heminge and Condell? Yet now we have the distinguished modern biographer and critic telling us that instead of clean, unblotted autograph MSS. the publishers had *before them, besides the Quartos already printed, only* "prompt-copies," and other "less complete and less authentic transcripts," collected from private persons! Moreover, in the case of the "prompt-copies" not only had the poet's original manuscripts been treated with but little respect, but the copyist had not unfrequently made

errors in deciphering his original, "especially when the dramatist wrote so illegibly as Shakespeare"![1]

Exeunt Heminge and Condell, and the "unblotted manuscript"! But now we have another erudite and scientific authority to deal with in Mr. A. W. Pollard, whose learned work, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), had not seen the light when, in June 1908, I published *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*. Let us make a few extracts. "Ben Jonson in his guilelessness deplored the absence of more blots; our own more sceptical generation doubts vehemently whether any single leaf in Shakespeare's autograph, blotted or unblotted, had been at the disposal of Messrs. Heminge and Condell, or of whoever else may have acted as editor, in preparing the Folio for the press. In any case it is certain that for several of the plays use was made of the extant printed quarto editions, sometimes considerably, sometimes only slightly, emended. Undoubted errors in the quartos are repeated in the Folio in a way which defies any explana-

[1] The theory that the promoters of the undertaking, in some cases at any rate, worked from theatrical copies, seems, at first sight, to be supported by the fact that in three plays, viz. *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Much Ado*, and *Henry VI*, Part I, we find the names of subordinate actors inserted instead of those of the dramatic characters which they represented. Nevertheless, it is by no means safe to make that assumption. Knight, for example, wrote. "There is a remarkable peculiarity in the text of the Folio which indicates that it (*Much Ado*) was printed from a playhouse copy, because in Act IV of that play the name of the actor Kempe is substituted for that of Dogberry, and the name of Cowley for that of Verges." From this Knight concluded that Heminge and Condell had permitted the names of Kempe and Cowley to remain as they found them in the prompter's book, "as an historical tribute to the memory of their fellows." Yet the truth is that the peculiarity alluded to by Knight is common both to the Folio and the Quarto of 1600—the Folio, in fact, was printed from the Quarto! Moreover, if prompt-copies were made use of, we should expect to find that both acts and scenes were indicated, but in few plays was this done. *Julius Cæsar*, for instance, is divided into acts, but not scenes; *Antony and Cleopatra* into neither. *Henry VI*, Part I, commences with *Actus primus, scæna prima*, but the other scenes are not marked, so that we have nothing but the context to show that we have left the Tower of London for Orleans!

tion save that a copy of the quarto (usually of the latest edition) was handed to the compositors of the Folio to work from. . . . *Messrs. Heminge and Condell breathe no word of any use having been made of the quartos. Their only concern was to suggest that the Folio edition was the book to buy, and so they launched the phrase as to the 'diverse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors,'* which has figured so prominently in every critical edition of Shakespeare that has since been issued."

"It may have been observed that Heminge and Condell merely allude to 'diverse copies.' They give no indication as to which, or how many, are included in their condemnation. Modern critics and editors have imitated them in this respect, interpreting the attack (*as with the sale of the First Folio in view it was doubtless intended to be interpreted*) as involving all the quarto editions in a general atmosphere of fraud and surreptitiousness."[1]

Mr. Pollard himself is of opinion that, although in view of the sale of the First Folio, the players, or the writer of the Preface, "intended" their remarks to be taken as a condemnation of all the quarto editions as "stolne and surreptitious" yet, if the words be closely examined, the statement made "was strictly and accurately true," because, "not all, but only some of the quartos ought to be treated as 'stolne and surreptitious,' and no use was made of these in printing the Folio, good texts being substituted for the bad ones." Thus, although the writer intended to deceive, and did deceive, the general body of his readers (including most modern critics, such as the Cambridge editors, e.g.), yet he must be acquitted of actual misstatement, because, on a strictly accurate interpretation of his words, they are found to be consistent with the truth. Only "divers copies" were "stolen and surreptitious"—not all; and these "divers copies," which

[1] Work cited, pp. 1, 2. My italics.

had been "maimed and deformed by the frauds of injurious impostors," the publishers now "offer'd . . cured, and perfect of their limbes." So that on a close and critical examination we may cry, "How absolute the knave is; he speaks by the card!" He (or the players, if we persist in ascribing the Preface to them) had only the *mens rea* after all! They steered clear of actual unveracity. Scientific and microscopic criticism proves them guiltless of it!

How then are we to construe the words that follow: "And all the rest, absolute in their numbers as he conceived them"? Apparently thus, viz. that "all the rest," exclusive of the stolen and surreptitious copies, are "absolute in their numbers," etc. Mr. Lang agrees with Mr. Pollard in this interpretation. As the result, he says, of "the widest and most minute research," Mr. Pollard "backs his opinion (and mine) that some of the Quartos are surreptitious and bad, while others are good 'and were honestly obtained.' The Preface never denies this, never says that all the Quartos contain maimed and disfigured texts. The Preface draws a distinction to this effect, 'even those' (even the stolen and deformed copies) 'are now cured and perfect in their limbs'—that is, have been carefully edited, while '*all the rest*' are 'absolute in their numbers as he conceived 'them.' This does not allege that all the rest are printed from Shakespeare's own holograph copies."

As to the statement with regard to the unblotted papers, Mr. Lang writes: "This may be meant to *suggest*, but does not *affirm*, that the actors have 'all the rest' of the plays in Shakespeare's handwriting. They may have, or may have had, some of his manuscripts, and believed that other manuscripts accessible to them, and used by them, contain his very words. Whether from cunning or design, or from the Elizabethan inability to tell a plain tale plainly, the authors or author of the Preface have everywhere left themselves loopholes and ways of evasion

and escape. It is not possible to pin them down to any plain statement of facts concerning the sources for the hitherto unpublished plays, the rest of the plays. These, at least, were from manuscript sources which the actors thought accurate, and some may have been '*fair copies*' in Shakespeare's own hand." [1]

It was certainly very clever of the writer (or writers) of this Preface to contrive to create the desired impression (though not by any means a strictly true one) on the mind of the reading public, "in view of the sale of the First Folio," while, at the same time, as Mr. Lang says, everywhere leaving himself (or "themselves") "loopholes and ways of evasion and escape"!

But let us return to Mr. Pollard's erudite work. On a later page we find him writing as follows: "'Wee have scarse received from him a blot on his papers,' Heminge and Condell remarked, *or were made to remark*, in the 'Address to the Great Variety of Readers,' to which their names were appended in the First Folio. It may be absurdly credulous to base upon this statement a belief that some 'papers' of Shakespeare's may have been in existence after the fire at the Globe, and have served, directly or indirectly, to complete the copy for the First Folio; but it is possible also to go to rather absurd lengths in substituting a very doubtful theory, based on the practice of a later generation, for the evidence of contemporaries. *We have no right whatever to assert that a single line of the Folio was set up from Shakespeare's autograph*, but neither have we any right to exclude altogether the possibility of use having been made of his drafts." [2]

Mr. Pollard, as the reader of his book will observe, differs very widely from Sir Sidney Lee as to the manner in which the material for the Folio was got together, and it is to Sir Sidney's account of this matter that he alludes when he speaks of "a very doubtful theory, based on the

[1] Work cited, pp. 211, 212. [2] Work cited, p. 120. Italics mine.

practice of a later generation." As to the merits of this little difference of opinion, however, I do not propose, and perhaps it would not be wise, to say anything. All that I am at this moment concerned to point out is that neither Mr. Pollard nor Mr. Lang, and certainly not Sir Sidney Lee or the Cambridge editors, give the slightest warrant for Mr. Robertson's pedagogic criticism of my remarks anent the supposed unblotted papers, and my adoption of Mr. Stevenson's observations concerning "fair copies." It appears to be merely an *ex cathedra* uncritical pronouncement, made without any adequate consideration. As I have shown, the statement that the author wrote with such easiness that he never blotted or revised was, apparently, a sort of *cliché*, and is applied by Moseley to Fletcher also, who is said to have "never writ any one thing twice" (which, no doubt, Mr. Robertson will believe also), and if there were no "blots" in any of the papers which came into the players' hands it is only reasonable to believe that such papers were "fair copies," by whomsoever made.

Now assuming, as I do, on the strength of Malone's proof, that Jonson wrote this Preface, it follows that Jonson was guilty of the *suggestio falsi* to which the Cambridge editors allude. For, even if we accept Mr. Pollard's interpretation of this "obscure" Preface, as Mr. Lang calls it,[1] Jonson is none the less guilty of deception, such as advertisers of goods for sale constantly make use of (and which, I imagine, were thought quite venial), because, as Mr. Pollard says, the words of the Preface were, "with the sale of the First Folio in view, . . . doubtless *intended* to be interpreted" as the Cambridge editors interpret them, and as, I think, everybody has interpreted them before Mr. Pollard examined them closely under his critical microscope.[2] I am far from

[1] Work cited, p. 208.

[2] Thus, for example, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps writes, in his Preface to the reduced facsimile Folio (1876), p. vi, concerning this passage in the Players'

wishing to controvert Mr. Pollard's opinion on this matter, which is also that of Mr. Lang. My argument is unaffected by it. But it is curious that it should only be propounded after all these long years of persistent and minute Shakespearean criticism.

Jonson then, as the writer of the preface, to which Heminge and Condell appended their signatures, must have had all the knowledge that the players had; must have known that many of the plays were printed, not from unblotted manuscripts, nor, indeed, from any manuscripts at all, but from quarto editions already in existence, about which, however, he discreetly says nothing; must have known, as I confidently submit, that the attractive statement about the unblotted manuscripts was *just an auctioneer's puff, and nothing more* And as the writer of the preface is "thus convicted of a 'suggestio falsi' in one point, it is not improbable that" he "may have been guilty of the like in another"!

Further, Jonson must surely have known, as the players must have known, that a very large part of the volume which was to be issued as "*Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies.* Published according to the True Originall Copies"[1]—a statement of somewhat doubtful veracity—was, in truth and in fact, not by "Shakespeare" at all. Will any "orthodox" critic deny that the Folio contains an abundance of non-Shakespearean work? I trow not. What said the late Dr. Garnett? "It may surprise some of my hearers to be told that so considerable a part of the work which

Preface: "*This evidently is meant to imply that the whole of the volume was carefully edited from the author's manuscripts*, whereas it is certain that in several instances Heminge and Condell used printed copies of the old Quarto editions, in which were certain manuscript alterations, some of the latter being valuable, but others the reverse." The suggestion as to the manuscript alterations in the old Quartos is interesting.

[1] See Title-page of the Folio, where the word "ORIGINALL" is put in very large type.

passes under Shakespeare's name is probably not from his hand."[1] For "probably" substitute "certainly," and I think few (if any) "orthodox" Shakespearean critics will raise any objection. What then of all this non-Shakespearean work? Was that published from Shakespeare's manuscript, whether blotted or unblotted? Was that part of the author's "own writings" which he had, in his lifetime, the "right" to publish? If the players published under the name of Shakespeare a "considerable" amount of work which was not Shakespeare's at all—which they did—and did so knowingly—as they must have done—and if Jonson wrote the preface in their name—as can hardly be doubted—and had their knowledge—as he must have had—then Jonson was, at any rate, aiding and abetting the "setters forth" of the First Folio (whosoever they may have been) in palming off upon the public a "considerable" amount of non-Shakespearean work as the work of Shakespeare "published according to the true Originall Copies." And even if Jonson did not write the preface (though I think it proved that he did) he must surely have known, when he wrote his splendid panegyric on "The Swan of Avon," that many hundreds of the lines which he so commended as "well-turnéd and true-filéd," and as reflecting "the race of Shakespeare's mind and manners," were not written by the "Star of Poets," but by some inferior dramatist, and were, in great part, not, in fact, "well-turnéd and true-filéd" at all![2]

And now what is the conclusion of the whole matter? *Quem ad finem?* I have admitted, fully and unreservedly,

[1] From a lecture by Dr. Garnett, printed as preface to *At Shakespeare's Shrine*, by Chas. F. Forshaw, LL.D.

[2] Jonson, as writer of this Preface, must have had the knowledge of the Players, or "actor-partners" as Mr. Robertson calls them, of whom he writes that they "have it standing to their account that, with the literary heedlessness of their age, they published what they must have known to be a mass of largely composite work without a hint to help posterity to discriminate" (p. 568).

that the Jonsonian utterances raise very great difficulties in the way of the "unorthodox" contention. Many will consider them insuperable difficulties. Others, and their number is not small, think they are counter-balanced by the greater difficulties (as they conceive them to be) presented by the received faith. I return, then, to the "sort of" syllogism made use of by certain "orthodox" critics, as mentioned at the commencement of this chapter.

If Shakspere of Stratford was not the true author of the works, then Jonson was a liar.

Jonson could not have been a liar.

Therefore, etc., Q.E.D.

Now, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 295) I defined "a lie" as an "unjustifiable falsehood," and I venture to think that no better definition can be arrived at. Dr. Johnson defined it as "a criminal falsehood," but by "criminal" he did not, of course, mean to imply such a falsehood as would expose the guilty person to a criminal prosecution. He meant a morally unjustifiable falsehood. As I wrote before, "though truth must certainly be the general rule of conduct, there are, as everybody knows, many falsehoods that are justifiable, some that it is actually a duty to tell" Does anybody deny this? Will any man tell me that if by making a false statement as to a matter of fact he could save a woman from outrage and murder he would, nevertheless, consider it his duty to speak the truth? If so, I can only reply that that man's ethics are more appropriate to Bedlam, or rather to Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, than to a civilised community. His fancied "morality" is to the last degree immoral.[1]

If then a "lie" is an "unjustifiable falsehood," as I have defined it, there can, of course, be no such thing

[1] Lecky has given us some examples of "justifiable falsehoods" in his *History of Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. I, p. 395. Unfortunately he omits to define the word "lie," which has led to the improper employment of that word

as a "justifiable lie." Just as if we define "cruelty" as "the unjustifiable infliction of pain" (as I do define it), it follows that cruelty can never be justifiable. The word "cruelty," in fact, carries its own condemnation with it, and denotes that which cannot be justified. All this seems tolerably simple, and it does appear to me more than surprising that such a reasoner as Mr. Lang should, in the face of all this, speak of "justifiable lies," with the implication that I had contended that such things might be. I had instanced the case of Sir Walter Scott, who, in his general Preface to the *Waverley* Novels, tells us how, when some indiscreet person would ask him whether he was the author of any one of those works, at a time when he still desired to retain his anonymity, he considered himself justified in making a flat denial of the fact. "I, therefore, considered myself entitled, like an accused person put upon trial, to refuse giving my own evidence to my own conviction, and *flatly to deny* all that could not be proved against me" What says Mr. Lang as to this? "Among *justifiable lies* I do not reckon that of Scott if ever he plumply denied that he wrote the *Waverley* novels."[1] One reads such a passage with a feeling of despair. There are no such things as "justifiable lies," and I had never suggested that such there were. I had said just the contrary. I should have to admit myself a muddle-headed oaf, incapable of elementary reasoning, if I made use of such an expression, which is, indeed, a contradiction in terms. Nor does it affect my argument one whit that Mr. Lang disagrees with the opinion of Sir Walter Scott in this matter. We are not arguing now whether or not Sir Walter was morally justified in "plumply" denying the authorship of the in one instance, but the passage, which I stumbled upon some time after writing the above, is worth consulting by those, if such there be, who doubt that falsehood is at times justifiable and even, it may be, laudable.

[1] Work cited, p. 266.

Waverley Novels, as he certainly did. The material thing is the fact that Sir Walter Scott, generally looked upon as a good man of high character, himself believed that he was, in the circumstances, justified in making this deliberate false statement. He may have been wrong, but such was his deliberate opinion. Similarly I have argued that Ben Jonson, as to whose ideas of strict veracity I really know nothing, may have thought himself quite justified in making himself party to many statements which were as untrue as Sir Walter's denial of the authorship of the *Waverley* Novels. I gather from my reading of Elizabethan times (I do not pretend that it is very extensive, but it may, perhaps, be adequate in this connection) that in "the spacious times" there was not the same high standard of veracity as obtains (or as, at any rate, is *professed*) in this "so-called twentieth century." I can quite imagine that even "honest Ben" might look upon a certain amount of deception of the public, in a literary matter, as quite venial, and would not trouble himself about it at all. I do not think many critics, of any recognised position, would speak of Sir Walter Scott as a "liar," and, to my mind, it does not appear right to fasten that reproach upon Jonson, even though we may believe it possible, and even probable, that he lent himself to deception in the matter in question. Messrs. Heminge and Condell—admitting for a moment, and for the sake of argument only, that they wrote the preface "To the Great Variety of Readers"—were certainly, as it appears to me, guilty of the "*suggestio falsi*" which the Cambridge Editors impute to them; but I think it would be unjust to stigmatise them as "liars" on that account.[1]

The whole question, then, is, Is it conceivable that Jonson might have written as he did concerning plays

[1] Mr. Robertson presents the alternative thus: "Either Jonson was a deliberate and unscrupulous liar," or he was not. That, of course, suits Mr.

published in the name of "Shakespeare," although it was known to him that William Shakspere of Stratford was not, in truth and in fact, the author of that portion of those works which we recognise as the offspring of the Master-Mind? If he did not know, as some contend, then, of course, the question of his veracity does not arise; but that hypothesis—viz. that he did not know—appears to me an extremely improbable one.[1]

Moreover, we may remark that the Jonsonian utterances apply to the *Plays* only. There are some, not few in number—and I think the number is on the increase—who find it impossible to believe that the player could have written *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*. Even "genius," they conceive, in such an environment, and with such a life-history, could not have performed this miracle. Nor can they imagine that the "Shake-speare" of *The Phoenix and the Turtle* was "Will" of Stratford. And about these poems Jonson has left no statements, whether true or false. And as it is mere matter of fact that many things were published in the name of "Shakespeare"—and that without let or hindrance, protest or prohibition—which are, admittedly, not by the "Shakespeare" of *Hamlet* (let us say), whom the "Willians" identify with the player, it is not, perhaps, wildly inconceivable that these poems also are not by "Will," albeit we may look upon them as by "Shakespeare."

But I must leave any further remarks concerning this heretical theory to a later chapter.

Robertson very nicely, but to use one of his own favourite expressions, "the cavil" is "sheer absurdity." He might as well say, "Either Scott was a deliberate and unscrupulous liar, or he was not." Will Mr. Robertson so term the author of the *Waverley* Novels because he "plumply" denied their authorship? That I think is "a hypothesis" which Mr. Robertson "had better *not* raise"!

[1] It will be noticed that the question as I have formulated it does not exclude the possibility of the player having *contributed* to "the works of Shakespeare."

NOTE TO CHAPTER XI ON "THE JONSONIAN UTTERANCES"

Mr. Robertson has not, I fear, done me the honour to read my rejoinder to Canon (now Dean) Beeching (*In re Shakespeare*. John Lane). Had he done so he would, I think, have written otherwise than he has done on p. 566 of his book, concerning my comments on Jonson's "Ode on Lord Bacon's Birthday." The difficulty in this poem is not as to what may be the meaning of the "mystery" which Bacon, according to Jonson, seems to be doing, or performing, but in the lines,

> 'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,
> For 'twere a narrow gladness kept thine own.

What was the "brave cause of joy," of which Jonson writes, "let it be known"? Some have answered, "the fact that it was Bacon's sixtieth birthday." But that is ridiculous. It is absurd to suppose that Jonson, having come, doubtless with many others, expressly to celebrate Bacon's sixtieth birthday, solemnly invoked the genius of the place to let that "be known" which was known to everybody present. Now in my rejoinder to Canon Beeching (*In re Shakespeare*, p. 85) I offer what seems to me a very reasonable explanation of the words, which, so far as I know, had not been suggested before. The lines conclude—

> Give me a deep-crown'd bowl that I may sing,
> In raising him, the wisdom of my King.

This was on January 22nd, 1621. On January 26th Bacon was created Viscount St. Alban. He probably knew of his coming promotion, and had, perhaps, confided it to Jonson, whereupon the latter cries, 'Let it be known . . . In raising him, the wisdom of my King'."

I had already written (*Ibid.*, p. 84): "I may say at once that I quoted these lines (of Jonson's) incidentally, and perhaps, unnecessarily, for I base no argument upon them"; and after mentioning the Baconian hypothesis with regard to the Ode in

question, I say: "I do not make the slightest suggestion that I share in this Baconian hypothesis; but I do say it has not been explained what Jonson meant by 'let it be known.'" And to conclude the matter, I wrote: "So much for this passage. I repeat that I attach little or no importance to it, and the true criticism upon it, would, I think, be that it might well have been omitted from my book." Mr. Robertson is silent as to all this, which appears to me to make his "cavil" quite unnecessary. But, doubtless, he had not read the passage in question. I should, of course, have no cause to complain of this had he not assailed me in good set terms throughout the 595 pages of his book, but as he has done so, I think, perhaps, he might well have glanced at the little book referred to. That he had read Canon Beeching's reply, to which it is a rejoinder, he tells us in a note at p. xii of his Preface. And, here, I must express my appreciation of him as a "concealed humourist." Having alluded to "Canon Beeching's little book" and "Mr. Lang's volume," he remarks: "All this consensus of argument among independent writers, will, I think, impress the open-minded reader, as it has done me." Now supposing that it were to fall to my lot to argue against Mr. Robertson's denial of "the historicity of Jesus," and that I were to quote against him some two or three theologians (though I certainly need not confine myself to the theologians), all showing "a consensus of argument" in opposition to his thesis (which possibly they might style "the most consummate paralogism" in all "literature"), and were then to ask the "open-minded reader" if he were not deeply impressed by such a "consensus," I think even Mr. Robertson would be inclined to "smile a sort of sickly smile." It is, of course, very easy to find a "consensus of argument" among the supporters of the received belief in the Shakespearean (i.e. Stratfordian) authorship. And why are these orthodox writers to be styled especially "*independent writers*"? Are not those who combat accepted beliefs (whether it be "the historicity of Jesus," or the authenticity of "Will") to be allowed to be "independent" also? But let us rejoice to find Mr. Robertson's pages lighted up, for once, however unconsciously, with a touch of light comedy. "For this relief much thanks"!

CHAPTER XII

MORE ABOUT THE FIRST FOLIO

With Note on Mr. Pollard's Theory of the Arrangement thereof

IN the preceding chapter, I have discussed at considerable length the statement concerning the unblotted manuscripts, which the writer of the Preface "To the Great Variety of Readers," prefixed to the First Folio, put into the mouth of the players, Heminge and Condell. I have also stated the grounds upon which I base my belief that the writer of that Preface was Ben Jonson. As to the Epistle dedicatory, addressed to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, with its learned classical allusions, I regard it as certain that that also, though, like the other, it is signed by the players, was not, in fact, written by them, and I think it only reasonable to conclude that the same "literary man" was the author of both prefaces.

Now with reference to the Preface "To the Great Variety of Readers," I called attention to the fact that the players state (or are made to state) that Shakespeare had during his lifetime the "right" to publish his plays, had he chosen to do so. It is to be noticed that the Epistle dedicatory contains a somewhat similar expression. It refers to "the Author" in terms which imply that, had he not been removed by death, he might, and would have

been, "executor to his own writings." But how could he have done this if the "orthodox" theory be correct? Sir Sidney Lee has told us that Shakespeare had made over all right in his manuscripts to "the acting company to which he attached himself." Probably then we have here merely another little inaccuracy, and a more venial one, on the part of the writer of the two Prefaces.

Mr. Lang, however, is sceptical. Apparently he does not accept Sir Sidney Lee's authority in this matter. "I do not know," he says, "that he (Will) did sell his plays to his company."[1] This opens up a wide field for speculation. If Shakespeare did not sell his plays to his company, he preserved his rights (*some* rights, at any rate) in them, and if he preserved his rights, he probably preserved his manuscripts also. Sir Sidney Lee, indeed, says no. The manuscripts passed into the hands of "the Company," and "it was contrary to custom for dramatists to preserve their manuscripts." But here, Mr. Lang dissents again. "Nor am I possessed of information that 'he did not preserve his manuscript.'" And what says Mr. Pollard? "Despite Mr. Lee's confident assertion," as above, "the idea that these trifles might one day 'come in useful' is one which might surely have occurred to the thrifty nature of Shakespeare himself, quite apart from any question of parental pride." He then quotes the statement of the players concerning the "papers" with "scarce a blot."

Oh dear! oh dear! How I do wish these high authorities could be found to agree in some one point of criticism! It would make it so much easier for a humble student like myself. But we must take things as we find them. The "Shakespeareans" are really worse than the "theologians" in their internal dissensions. However, we note here that according to Mr. Lang,

[1] Work cited, p. 216.

and according to Mr. Pollard, Shakespeare may have preserved his manuscripts after all. Well, then, in that case, it is clear that he must have had copies made for the players; and if he did so, I think it tolerably certain that he would have retained his drafts, and that the players would have "received" the "fair copies"! I do not think even Mr. Robertson's epithets, "idle," "absurd," etc., will convert that into an unreasonable proposition.

But yet another consideration arises If Shakespeare retained his manuscripts; if, thrifty man, he thought that they "might one day come in useful"; if, possibly, he had even some "parental pride in them," where were these manuscripts when Shakspere died? They were of value, and he was "thrifty", he may actually have had, even he, "Will" (though it is almost "heretical" to say so), some pride of authorship; he had been, almost certainly, engaged in revising some of them with a view to publication, he mentions these very players, Heminge and Condell, who signed these Prefaces, in his will; he leaves them small bequests—and he makes no mention of these precious manuscripts! But they go into the residuary bequest, it will be said. Granted; but if so, what became of them? The Halls had an eye for what had a monetary value. John Hall, the physician, knew the worth of manuscripts, and remembers them in his will. Susanna, his widow, bargains concerning the sale of some of her husband's manuscripts. But these priceless manuscripts, preserved by Shakspere, as the supposition now is, disappear for ever, "into the night—into the night," and are no more seen! Nay, in truth and in fact, according to all the evidence that we have, it would appear that the immortal poet (if "Will" were he) died without book or manuscript in his possession.[1]

[1] Mr. Pollard, as we have seen, after quoting "We have scarce received from him a blot in his papers," continues. "It may be absurdly credulous

However, as Sir Sidney Lee has told us, concerning the First Folio, "of the thirty-six plays which appeared in this volume only sixteen had been printed at earlier dates—fifteen in the author's lifetime, and one, *Othello*, posthumously. . . . No less than twenty dramas, of which the greater number rank among the literary masterpieces of the world—nine of the fourteen comedies that were here brought together for the first time, five of the ten histories, and six of the twelve tragedies—were rescued by the First Folio from oblivion." Here were published for the first time the following eighteen plays: *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen*, *Measure for Measure*, *Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Twelfth Night*, *Winter's Tale*, *3 Henry VI*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*, *King John*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. Had it not been for this priceless volume, these works of supreme literary interest and importance might have been lost to the world.[1]

And not only is it true that of the thirty-six plays published in the Folio only sixteen had been printed or published before, but—and this is still more remarkable—six of them, as it appears, had never been heard of before, to wit: *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Timon*, *Julius*

to base upon *this statement* a belief that some 'papers' of Shakespeare may have been in existence after the fire at the Globe, and have served, directly or indirectly, to complete the copy for the First Folio." But if such "papers" were manuscripts preserved by Shakespeare, as Mr. Pollard's context implies, they must have been (on the received hypothesis) at New Place when Shakspere died in 1616. It would be interesting to know what became of them between that date and 1623.

[1] *1* and *2 Henry VI* were also published for the first time in the Folio. A licence from the Stationers' Company for the publication of the first sixteen plays named was obtained by Edward Blount and Isaac Jaggard on November 8th, 1623. No licence was obtained for *King John*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, or *1* and *2 Henry VI*, apparently because there were old plays bearing similar titles.

Cæsar, *Coriolanus*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Henry VIII*.[1]

Now the players, in their Epistle dedicatory, say of the plays: "We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his orphans guardians." But for seven years after Shakspere's death, these poor orphans were left without "guardians." Where were the manuscripts of these plays *in 1616*? What became of them between that date and 1623? Sir Sidney Lee tells us, and it is the usual answer, that they were in the possession of "the Company," to whom all rights in them had been sold. "He and his colleagues wrote for the stage, and not for the study. . . . They intended their plays to be spoken and not to be read. It was contrary to the custom of the day for dramatists to print their plays for themselves, or to encourage the printing of them by others, or to preserve their manuscripts. Like all dramatists of his age, Shakespeare composed his plays for the acting company to which he attached himself; like them he was paid by the company for his writings, and in return made over to the company all property and right in his manuscripts." After which, it seems, he thought no more about them and cared nothing at all.

If poets and dramatists so acted in Shakespeare's time it would seem that they must have been very different from poets and dramatists of the present day, for *they* certainly are not without "the pride of authorship"; *they* certainly would not part with their manuscripts and think no more about them so long as they duly received the contract price for them! Moreover, Ben Jonson stands out as a conspicuous exception. He, as Mr. Lang says

[1] *Henry VIII* may *possibly* be the play which was being acted at the Globe Theatre when the fire took place in 1613; *All's Well that Ends Well* may, *perhaps*, be identified with *Love's Labour's Won*, mentioned by Meres in 1598; and there was, of course, an old play of *The Taming of a Shrew*.

(p. 139), "managed to retain the control of his dramas, *how, I do not know*"! Jonson, at any rate, was most particular as to the publication of his dramatic works. He carefully revised them for the press, and wrote prefaces for the published editions. Ben, however, is, of course, the exception that proves the rule. Shakespeare, writing "for the stage and not for the study"—"for gain, not glory"—made over once and for all his rights in *Hamlet* (for example) to the Globe Company; preserved no manuscript, and reserved no right, or thought, of publishing it. And so, also, with those marvellous masterworks which were only rescued by the Folio from oblivion, such as *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*—he had no interest in their publication, no anxieties for their preservation. "Good easy man"!

Mr. Pollard, as we have seen, does not see eye to eye with Sir Sidney Lee in all this.[1] He thinks "it is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Lee has not indicated the evidence on which all" his "positive and detailed statements are based," etc. etc. Well, it is "a very pretty quarrel as it stands," and I have no wish to interfere with it. For, as Hudibras tells us,

> Those who in quarrels interpose
> Must often wipe a bloody nose.

But I would like the reader to consider the following questions. Is it true that Shakespeare wrote "for the stage and not for the study"—that he "intended" his plays "to be spoken and not to be read"? And is it true that in the First Folio we have, as the preface informs us, all the plays, "absolute in their numbers as he conceived them"?

In this connection, let us examine the play of *Hamlet*, for example. The Folio edition of this play, according to

[1] See work cited, p. 117 *et seq.*

the Cambridge Editors, when it differs from the Quartos, "differs for the worse in forty-seven places," and "differs for the better" in only twenty places at most. In particular, the Folio edition, as we know, omits that great speech in Act IV, Sc. 4, from which Shelley took his celebrated line,

We look before and after,

in which, says Mr. Swinburne, the genius of Shakespeare "soars up to the very highest of its height and strikes down to the very deepest of its depth," and which, in his judgment—and I think most readers will agree with him—eclipses the famous "monologue on suicide and doubt." Now this speech, as he tells us, magnificent as it is, was written not for "the stage," but for "the study," not for the hearer but for the reader; the proof of which is that it is omitted in all acting editions, and was, I believe, never heard upon the stage until Mr. Benson took to performing "the Complete Hamlet," composed of the Quarto of 1604 and the Folio version put together, on rare occasions, in the course of Stratford-upon-Avon celebrations. But the excision of this speech, though it may be necessary for acting purposes, has greatly impaired the value of the play "for the study," for which reason the modern editors have always reinstated it. Similarly there are other passages found in the Quarto, but not in the Folio, which we could ill spare "for the study," but the omission of which really improves the play for the stage. We may take, for example, the passage in Act III, Scene 4, l. 71:

Sense sure you have,
Else could you not have motion,

which, as I have already shown, is undoubtedly based on Aristotelian psychology, whencesoever derived. These and other lines are properly enough omitted from a play which must necessarily be greatly "cut" for acting purposes, but the author must surely have desired them to be

included, together with Hamlet's magnificent second soliloquy, in his great drama, in that form in which it was to be transmitted to posterity.

Here some words of Humphrey Moseley's Preface to the first folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays may be profitably considered. "When these *Comedies* and *Tragedies*," says he, "were presented on the Stage, the *Actours* omitted some *Scenes* and Passages (with the *Author's* consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they *Acted*. But now you have both All that was *Acted*, and all that was not; *even the perfect full originalls without the least mutilation*,[1] so that were the *Authours* living (and sure they can never dye) they themselves would challenge neither more nor lesse then what is here published."

Now, of *Hamlet* it could not have been said with truth that "the perfect full original without the least mutilation" was published in the Folio; nor could it be said of many others of the plays. In fact, as Mr. Fleay says, if we have to choose between the Folio version of *Hamlet*, and the Quarto, we should say that "the 1604 Quarto is a very fair transcript of the author's complete copy, with a few omissions."[2]

"We feel," says Dr. Garnett, "that *Hamlet* expresses more of Shakespeare's inner mind than any other of his works, and is the most likely of any to have been subjected to close revision." And revised, as we know, it was. "Scene by scene, line for line, stroke upon stroke, and touch after touch, he went over all the old laboured ground again," writes Mr. Swinburne; and this, according to that distinguished critic, was "not to ensure success in his own day, and fill his pockets with contemporary pence, but merely and wholly with a purpose to make it worthy of himself and his future students."

[1] The italics here are mine. [2] *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 227.

Let us consider this question of the revision of plays by Shakespeare a little further. We will take as our first example the remarkable case of *King Richard III.* This play was first published anonymously in 1597. In the following year a second edition appeared, ascribed on the title-page to "William Shake-speare." Then followed a third edition in 1602, a fourth in 1605, a fifth in 1612, and a sixth in 1622. The changes made in these successive editions were not important; but when the Folio appeared in 1623 some very marked improvements had been effected in the text. Mr. Richard Grant White says that these additions and corrections are "undeniable evidence that the copy in question had been subjected to carefullest revision at the hands (it seems to me beyond a doubt) of Shakespeare himself, by which it gained much smoothness and correctness, and lost no strength. In minute beauties of rhythm, in choice of epithets, and in the avoidance of bald repetition, the play was greatly improved by this revision, and was evidently from the perfecting hand of the author in the maturity of his powers."[1]

To the same effect write the Cambridge Editors: "Passages which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive are amplified in the Folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The Folio, too, contains passages not in the Quartos, which, though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonise so well, in sense and tone, with the context, that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself."

Now we are told by those who have carefully collated the editions of 1622 and 1623 that in the latter version 193 new lines have been introduced, and that nearly 2000 lines have been retouched. The question then arises, When and where was all this revising done—when were

[1] I take this quotation from Mr Edwin Reed's *Francis Bacon our Shakespeare*, p. 117.

these new lines, and these retouched and improved lines, supplied "by the author himself"? The orthodox answer must be that all this work was done by Shakspere some time before the spring of 1616, and probably, I opine, before 1611, when we are told by Sir Sidney Lee and others he "permanently settled at New Place." But if, after selling his play to the Company, he did not preserve his manuscript, what had he to work upon? Are we to suppose that he was called in from time to time to revise his plays at the theatre? But this would only be required, as Sir Sidney Lee suggests, in case of the "revival" of a piece, to say nothing of the fact that such revision obviously would not include additions and improvements made, as in the case of *Hamlet*, not "for the stage" but "for the study." In the case of *Richard III* all this new work must, if Shakspere was the author of it, have been in existence in 1622, when Mathew Lawe of Saint Paul's Churchyard issued the sixth edition of the plays, and probably in 1612 also, when the same publisher issued the fifth edition, but, nevertheless, he had no access to it. The editors of the Folio, however, took the 1622 Quarto as the basis of their new edition, as plainly appears by the fact that there were twelve printer's errors peculiar to that Quarto which actually reappear in the Folio; but they must have had in their possession also a manuscript containing all this revised work. Was, then, this revised and corrected manuscript in Shakspere's possession when he died in 1616, but, like the other hypothetical MSS. retained by him, not considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned in his will? In that case it passed to the Halls under the residuary bequest, and they must have sold it to the Folio editors, though of any such transactions history is unfortunately silent. Or had he revised an old prompt-copy at the theatre, and had such revised manuscript been in the possession of the players for at least seven, and probably for some twelve or thirteen, years? Either

hypothesis seems to present a considerable amount of difficulty, but, at the present moment, I only lay stress upon the important fact that here again is conclusive evidence of the careful revision and rewriting of Shakespeare's plays, by whomsoever done.

The case of *Richard II* equally deserves consideration. This play also, like *Richard III*, was first published anonymously in 1597, and reissued in 1598 as "by William Shakespeare." The third edition, with the famous "deposition scene" added, was published by Mathew Lawe in 1608; and a fourth edition was issued by the same publisher in 1615. The next appearance of the play was in the Folio of 1623.

Now it is clear that the editors of the Folio based their version on the Fourth Quarto. As Dr. Furnivall writes: "There is no doubt on this point; the Quarto errors which have crept into the Folio text, and which prove its connection with the Quarto version, are clearly traceable to Quarto four as their immediate source." But, nevertheless, the Folio version, though based on this Quarto text, and repeating these errors which were peculiar to it, does not simply follow it, but contains many additions and improvements.

Now in this case, as in the case of *Richard III*, one asks why, if the editors of the Folio possessed a complete manuscript, revised and improved by Shakespeare, did they, nevertheless, base their new version for the Folio upon an old Quarto, actually allowing the old printer's errors to reappear in the collected edition of 1623? If, indeed, the new matter was written expressly for the new edition, this would not be an unnatural mode of procedure. But if they had in their hands a complete manuscript, revised and improved by Shakespeare, surely the natural thing would have been to make use of that as the printer's copy, as, indeed, in their Preface, they profess to have done!

The case of *Othello* is very remarkable. This great tragedy was not printed in any form during the lifetime of Shakspere, but six years after his death, viz. in 1622, it was published by Thomas Walkley. In 1623 a new version appeared in the Folio, not only with 160 new lines, but also with numerous and important emendations.

The second and third parts of *Henry VI* were published in 1594 and 1595 under the titles, respectively, of "The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster," etc., and "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of York, and the death of Good King Henrie the Sixt," etc. Second editions of both appeared in 1600; and in 1619, three years after Shakspere's death, a third edition was published of the two plays together—"The Whole Contention betweene the two famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke, etc. . . . Divided into two Parts and newly corrected and enlarged. Written by *William Shakespeare*, Gent." In the Folio of 1623 these same plays appear under new titles, and the second part now contained 1578 new lines and is otherwise much altered.

In the light of all this patient revision and rewriting, the absurdity of the manuscripts "without a blot" stands (*pace* Mr. Robertson) very clearly revealed. And now I will submit to the reader some propositions which I fear the orthodox will pronounce fanatical in the extreme. They are these. That "Shakespeare" did not write just "for gain" and not "for glory"; that he was not indifferent to the fate of his work; that he revised his plays again and again, not merely for the stage, but for the student also; that he wrote not only to be acted, but also to be read; that he actually had some pride of authorship; that he recognised to some extent, at any rate, the greatness of his works, and laboured to make them "worthy" of himself and of future students"—in a word, that he was not a stupendous exception to all the known rules of

human nature, but that, immortal genius as he was, he had also some conception that his works were worthy of immortality.

But if this view should be accepted, then does it become ever increasingly difficult to identify this Shakespeare with the player who retired to Stratford in 1611, abandoning dramatic composition, as Sir Sidney Lee tells us,[1] leaving some twenty plays, and among them some of his very finest, unpublished, and, apparently, taking no interest whatever in their fate. It is only fair, therefore, to set beside this fanatical, heretical view the sound and sane opinion, so consonant with human experience, of the orthodox Stratfordian faith. This, for example, is how a critic distinguished alike as a diplomatist and a Shakespearean conceives of the immortal bard: "He is romantic in his plays, a conservative bourgeois in his life. . . . When an attack was made or any literary wrong inflicted on him, he said and did nothing. To Greene's slanders and Jonson's sneers he answered not a word. His propensity to hold aloof was an 'all-round' one, and led him to keep apart even on occasions when more would have been expected from his 'open and free nature.' At a time when all authors exchanged complimentary poems to preface each other's works, when burly Jonson wrote many even in favour of men he liked little enough, not once did Shakespeare do the same. He never troubled anyone for such verses, nor ever wrote any. Most poets paid their tribute to Elizabeth, to Prince Henry, when they died; he wrote nothing. More or less silly, ridiculous, or insignificant works were published under his name —he never disclaimed them; garbled texts of his own dramas, of the masterpieces of his peerless genius, were issued—he never protested, nor gave the real text. *Such an attitude under such provocation is absolutely unique.*"

So writes Monsieur Jusserand in the *Stratford Town*

[1] *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 208.

Shakespeare, and he goes on to say that Shakespeare did not seem to have "the slightest regard" for his plays, and "as for his sonnets, in spite of all he says in them of their assured immortality, he attached no more importance to them than to his plays; he never printed any, and when a pirate printed them, he said nothing." And, like Brer Rabbit, it seems he "went on sayin' nuffin"!

This is "absolutely unique" indeed. But let me give a further illustration from another authority, both learned and orthodox—to wit, Mr. Justice Madden. "It must not be forgotten," writes this learned Judge, "that not one of the copies in the possession of Heminge and Condell, true original though it may have been, had been either written or revised by its author with a view to publication." After which staggering remark he proceeds: "That the author of *Othello* and *As You Like It* should not have deemed those works worthy of the editorial care bestowed on *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*; that he used them simply as a means of making money, and, when that purpose had been served, took no further heed of them; that, notwithstanding the publication and rapid sale of pirated and inaccurate copies, he was never moved, during the years of his retirement at Stratford, to take even the initial step of collecting and revising for publication the manuscripts of his plays; and that, so far as their author was concerned, they might be stolen, travestied, or perish altogether, are surely among the strangest facts in the history of literature."[1]

Upon which another learned, but, alas, heretical, Judge is moved to comment as follows: Yes, indeed, "among the strangest facts in the history of literature most surely, if the retired Player was in reality the author of *As You Like It* and *Othello*—facts so strange, indeed, as to suggest a doubt whether he could by any possibility have been

[1] See *The Diary of Master William Silence*. This alone is surely sufficient to constitute a "Shakespeare Problem"!

the author. Nevertheless, the facts stated by the [other] learned judge are accepted as authentic by all the biographers of Shakspere. In the opinion of all, he showed utter insensibility as to the literary value of the Shakespearean Plays, and utter indifference as to their preservation." [1]

Well, to speak in sad and sober seriousness, it seems to me that the orthodox creed, as stated by M. Jusserand, and Mr. Justice Madden, and others, is, to use a Robertsonian expression, no better than "sheer absurdity." It is opposed not only to the general facts of human experience, but, as I think we have seen in this chapter and elsewhere, to the known facts of this particular case. I will therefore ask the reader to consider whether, after all, it is not quite rational—quite in accordance with probability and common sense—to conceive of Shakespeare as I have pictured him, as Mr. Swinburne conceived of him, and as the known facts appear to prove that he must have been? If so, the "Willians" are altogether wrong in their estimate of him. If so, it may, just conceivably, be that "Will" did not do all this revising, all this writing and rewriting for posterity and "for the study," either at New Place, or at the theatre, or elsewhere.

On the other hand, it must be frankly admitted that the facts with regard to the publication of the First Folio do not seem to square with the theory that the preparation of this volume was undertaken by some literary man, whether Jonson or somebody else, at the desire of some "Great Unknown," who wished to see his plays given to the public in collected form. The carelessness with which the work of editing was done, the many errors,—numbers of them repeated from the old Quartos,—the inclusion of non-Shakespearean work; the manifest doubt felt as to

[1] From *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, by Judge Webb. As we have seen, however, some orthodox critics, such as Swinburne (e.g.) dissent from the prevailing opinion of "the biographers."

the inclusion of *Troilus and Cressida*, and its proper place if included, etc. etc.—all these things, it must be owned, make the acceptance of such a theory extremely difficult, if, indeed, they do not put it quite out of the question.[1]

NOTE ON MR. POLLARD'S THEORY OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIRST FOLIO

I may here be allowed, although it does not affect my argument, to mention a remarkable theory of Mr. Pollard's with regard to the arrangement of the First Folio. The editors, he says, greatly preferred plays theretofore unprinted to plays that had already been printed. "The key to the inner arrangement of the plays in the Folio of 1623, which Mr. Sidney Lee seems to consider merely haphazard, is that, so far as history and the accidents of the press allowed them, the editors placed unprinted plays in all the important positions, and *hid away* those already printed in the middle of them. Of the five comedies with which the volume opens, four had never been printed before, and one, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which is placed between the two pairs of absolute novelties, only in a piratical version so bad that no use was made of it in setting up

[1] Mr. Lang states (pp. 7 and 218) that I think "the Baconian hypothesis . . . an extremely reasonable one." This on the strength of a passage in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 293) quoted by him, in which I suggested that some author who had written under the *nom de plume* of "Shakespeare," being himself busy with other matters, might have entrusted the work of editorship to some "literary man," to some "good pen," who was at the time doing work for him. All I can say is that I did not intend this passage to be taken as the expression of my opinion that the "Baconian hypothesis" is an extremely reasonable one. I referred only to the hypothesis of *some* writer unknown who had reasons for concealing his identity—"a man of that transcendent genius, universal culture, world-wide philosophy, and unapproached dramatic powers, which Shakespeare's works prove to have been among the attributes of their creator." I made no attempt to identify the man in question, and did not mention "the Baconian hypothesis."

the Folio. At the opposite end of the section we find the four new and one nearly new comedies of the beginning neatly balanced by four new and one nearly new comedies at the end. *Hidden away* in the middle are four successive plays which had already been printed."

Then, with regard to the tragedies: "Taking the sections as they stand, we find that each begins with one and ends with two unprinted plays, while plays already printed are, as in the case of the comedies, *hidden away* in the middle. There is so much appearance of deliberation in all this that the discovery that unprinted plays are placed at the beginnings and ends of sections emphasizes at once the importance placed on unprinted plays as compared with printed ones, and on plays at the beginnings and ends of sections as compared with those *hidden away* in the middle." [1]

Thus we have the words "hidden (or "hid") away in the middle," as a description of the place of certain "printed plays," repeated four times in the space of thirty-two consecutive lines. But what I fail to see is why plays printed "in the middle," between other plays, are supposed to be "hidden away"! For instance, in the "Catalogue of the several Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume," prefixed to the plays in the First Folio, we find that the list of comedies begins with *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen*, *The Merry Wives*, and *Measure for Measure*, and ends with *The Taming of the Shrew*, *All's Well*, *Twelfth Night*, and *The Winter's Tale*. All these are new, except *The Merry Wives* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, which are said to be "nearly new." But why are the six plays printed between these eight to be looked upon as "hidden away"? Why, for example, are *Love's Labour's Lost*, and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, and *As You Like It* supposed to be "hidden away"? Number five on the list also, *The Comedy of Errors*, was itself a new (i.e. unprinted) play. Why are we to regard it as less "hidden away" than *Much Ado About Nothing*, which stands sixth on the list? [2]

[1] Work cited, pp. 123–4. My italics.

[2] An edition of *Much Ado* was published in 1600. According to Mr. Pollard's theory this play ought to be "hidden away."

In the histories, as Mr. Pollard, of course, admits, this supposed principle of arrangement cannot hold, for there the plays naturally stand in the chronological order of the kings whose names they bear.

And when we come to the tragedies, how does the theory work? Here, after putting on one side *Troilus and Cressida*, we are told to "note also that *Romeo and Juliet* interrupts what would otherwise be an unbroken succession of classical plays, and that *Antony and Cleopatra*, which should naturally have followed *Julius Cæsar*, in the same way interrupts what would otherwise be an unbroken succession of post-classical ones. Taking the sections as they stand, we find that each begins with one and ends with two unprinted plays, while plays already printed are, as in the case of the comedies, *hidden away* in the middle."

Apparently, therefore, Mr. Pollard divides the list of tragedies, which, like the comedies, surely ought to be considered as a "section" by itself, into two sections, viz. (1) five plays, beginning with *Coriolanus* (new) and ending with *Timon* and *Julius Cæsar* (both new), and (2) six plays, beginning with *Macbeth* (new) and ending with *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Cymbeline* (both new). But surely, to use a vulgar expression, "this won't wash"! It appears to me that the new plays *Julius Cæsar* and *Macbeth*, coming, as they do, "in the middle" of the list of tragedies, are just as much (and just as little) "hidden away" as the "printed" plays *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello*, which stand respectively third, fourth, and fifth from the bottom of the list. Now, having regard to the manner in which the tragedies are mixed up (note, especially, the places assigned to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra* respectively), does it seem reasonable to divide the list of tragedies into two separate "sections."

In a word, I cannot for the life of me see why the plays printed "in the middle" of the lists of comedies and tragedies respectively can be properly said to be more "hidden away" than are the histories, taken *en bloc*, because they are printed "in the middle" between the comedies and the tragedies! The supposed principle of arrangement would, doubtless, have been

made applicable to the list of histories also, seeing that it begins with *King John* and ends with *Henry VIII* (the former of which had never been printed in Shakespeare's version, and the latter never previously printed at all), were it not for the fact that *John* stands first and *Henry VIII* last in chronological order! The supposed principle, in fact, appears to me to be an imaginary one. Mr. Pollard's hypothesis as to the division of the plays into acts and scenes, so far as they were so divided, also seems to me, upon close consideration, to be equally unconvincing. However, as I have already said, these theories do not affect my argument, and I will not, therefore, delay longer over them.

CHAPTER XIII

MANY PENS AND ONE MASTER MIND

(With a Word on Shakespeare's Vocabulary)

WHEN a critic of reasonable mind, and not altogether permeated by prejudice, considers the large number of thinking men and women, many of them bearing distinguished names, who have found themselves unable to believe that William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon was the author of the *Plays* and *Poems* of Shakespeare, he will not, I think, estimate very highly the wisdom of those who summarily dismiss all the doubters and disbelievers *en bloc* as "fools and fanatics." He will, at any rate, I opine, recognise the existence of the reasonable "Anti-Willian." The reasonable "Anti-Willian," it must be clearly understood, does not "defame" or revile Shakspere of Stratford, as he has been so absurdly charged with doing. He does not disparage him in any way. He has not the smallest reason to do so. He is only "Anti-Willian" in this, that he does not believe in the traditional authorship.

Now there are some points in this controversy where both "Willians"—or, at any rate, the great majority of them—and "Anti-Willians" are agreed. It is, for instance, simple matter of fact that many plays and poems were published in the name of "Shakespeare" which "Shake-speare," whoever he may have been, did not write. It is,

further, admitted that neither Shakspere, nor anybody else claiming to be, or to act for, "Shakespeare," ever took any action whatever to suppress or restrain such publications, or, so far as is known, uttered any protest with regard to them. I believe I should not be wrong in saying that this is absolutely unique in the history of literature.

"Shakespeare," then, became a *nom de plume*, or pseudonym, in this sense, that it was found a mighty convenient name to publish in, a name likely "to sell" the works which bore it, and a name which might be used with impunity and without fear of molestation.

Again, it is generally admitted by the highest authorities among the orthodox "Willians" that a large part of the work published in the Folio of 1623 as "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, published according to the True Originall Copies," is not by "Shakespeare." The balance of authority is strongly against *Titus Andronicus*; it is very difficult indeed to find anything "Shakespearean" in the first part of *Henry VI*; it is very doubtful indeed if *The Taming of the Shrew* is by Shakespeare, and at any rate a large portion of it is generally admitted not to be his; there is much doubt about the second and third parts of *Henry VI*; the work of two hands has been seen in *Troilus and Cressida*, and it may surely be permitted to doubt whether that curious play is Shakespearean at all; a large part of *Henry VIII*, including some of the finest passages, is generally assigned to Fletcher. *Timon of Athens* is, certainly, not wholly Shakespearean; two hands have been found in *Macbeth*; and so on. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the work of many pens is to be found in the First Folio. A large part of "Shakespeare" was not written by "Shakespeare" but by other gentlemen, who at least *published* under "the same name"!

But whatever theory we may hold concerning the-

authorship, and however numerous the pens that contributed to the various works contained in the Folio of 1623, no one will deny that there must have been one Master Mind, whence flowed all that glorious literature which has made the name of "Shakespeare" supreme among the poets for all time.

Many writers, then, published work under the name of "Shakespeare," whether poems, or plays, or parts of plays; and among these, and pre-eminent among them, was one Master Mind. *Insignis ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes.* Now the hypothesis which I have ventured to put forward as at any rate possible, and not necessarily an indication of lunacy, is that this Master Mind was not Shakspere of Stratford, although his work was published under the player's name—not indeed in the form which the player himself made use of, but in the form which old Thomas Fuller spoke of as suggesting "Martial in warlike sound of his sur-name, *Hasti-vibrans*, or Shake-speare." At first the name was written in its unhyphenated form, "Shakespeare," signed to the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.[1] Now, as I have already shown, it is most probable that William Shakspere of Stratford came to London in the year 1587, at the age of twenty-three, as Mr. Fleay contends, and we "Anti-Willians," for reasons which I have endeavoured to explain, find it impossible to believe that this young provincial coming to London as a "Stratford rustic"—as he must have been—in three or four years from his advent was able to write poems of such a character as *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and (although this is, by comparison, a minor point) was in a position to dedicate them to such a great and brilliant nobleman as the Earl of Southampton. I am aware, of course, that those who

[1] But, as already mentioned, the earliest known allusion to Shakespeare by name occurs in the verses prefixed to *Willobie his Avisa*, 1594, where we find the hyphenated form: "And Shake-speare paints poor Lucrece rape."

find no difficulty whatever in entertaining this belief pride themselves on understanding the ways of "genius," which they think are altogether beyond our comprehension; but we, for our part, conceive that they themselves are, perhaps as the result of a not unnatural conservatism with regard to old teaching and tradition, unable to understand and appreciate the conditions of life and mind necessary for the conception and production of poems of this kind. We start, therefore, with the proposition that the "Shakespeare" of *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *Lucrece* (1594) was not William Shakspere of Stratford.

But assuming that the author of these poems, and of all the best work in the Folio of 1623, was, as surely he must have been, a representative of the highest culture of his day—a man of the world, familiar with the great men of the time, whether great in rank or great in intellect, and conversant with the ways of kings and courts, why, it has been asked, should he have been reluctant to put his name to a poem or a play? Those who ask such a question show that they have but little acquaintance with the ideas which obtained in the seventeenth century. For a man of high station in those days to publish a play was considered contemptible, and, indeed, little short of disgraceful. No one who aspired to high office in the State or at Court would have ventured to do such a thing. The following extract from a letter written by Ben Jonson to the Earl of Salisbury, in 1605, when he was in prison with George Chapman, as a consequence of his share in the composition of *Eastward Ho*, forcibly illustrates the low esteem in which play-writing was held in those days: "I am here, my most honoured lord, unexamined and unheard, committed to a vile prison, and with me a gentleman (whose name may, perhaps, have come to your lordship), one Mr. George Chapman, a learned and honest man. The cause (would I could name some worthier, though I wish we had

known none worthy our imprisonment) is (*the words irk me that our fortune hath necessitated us to so despised a course*) *a play*, my lord."

But the publication of a poem by a man of rank was but little better thought of. Sidney, as Mr. Pollard reminds us, would not allow any of his works to be published during his lifetime.[1]

Even at a much later time the learned Selden, who lived both under Charles I and the Commonwealth, is found writing as follows: "'Tis ridiculous for a Lord to print verses; 'tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them publick, is foolish. If a man in a private chamber twirls his Band-strings or plays with a Rush to please himself, 'tis well enough; but if he should go into *Fleet-street*, and sit upon a Stall, and twirl a Band-string, or play with a Rush, then all the Boys in the street would laugh at him."[2] In such low estimation was the publication of poetry held at that period. A man of rank might write it if he pleased, but it was altogether beneath his dignity to publish it. What wonder then that poets and dramatists of high position in society should have been anxious to mask their identity by pseudonyms?

Moreover, this idea that it was *infra dig.*, and even

[1] Jonson has a rather remarkable passage on this subject in the *Silent Woman* (Act II, Sc. 2). *Sir John Daw* says: "Why, every man that writes in verse is not a poet; you have of the wits that write verses, and yet are no poets: they are poets that live by it, the poor fellows that live by it." Whereupon *Dauphine* asks: "Why, would not you live by your verses, Sir John?" Upon which *Clerimont*: "No, 'twere pity he should. A Knight live by his verses! He did not make them to that end, I hope." Then says *Dauphine*: "And yet the noble Sidney lives by his, and the noble family not ashamed." "Ay, he profest himself," says *Clerimont*. I confess I cannot understand this remark about Sidney. The *Silent Woman* was not acted till 1609, long after Sir Philip Sidney's death at Zutphen in 1586. What did Jonson mean by making one of his characters say that Sidney lived by his poems, "and the noble family not ashamed"?

[2] *Table-Talk*, under title "Poetry."

contemptible, for a man of high position to publish plays or poems, would sufficiently account for the fact that "Shakespeare" never interfered, never even protested, when works in which he had no hand were published in his name—assuming, that is, that under that name was concealed the identity of a man of rank, or an aspirant for public office or advancement in the State. He would be bound by the maxim *Noblesse oblige*; i.e. he would be obliged to preserve silence. It is true that the English law of copyright was then in an unsatisfactory state, but no competent authority has ever told us that our Common Law was in such a barbarous condition that any writer might publish with impunity his own works in the name of another, without that other's permission, provided only he obtained a licence for publication from the Stationers' Company.[1] If, for instance, somebody had ventured to put upon the public a work of his own, bearing the name of "Ben Jonson," it is not to be doubted that Ben would have intervened with vigour and success, and put a stop to such an iniquitous proceeding. In Shakspere's case, however, if we are to accept the orthodox hypothesis, we have to assume that the poet was so absolutely careless of his reputation, and even, in this one matter only, of his own interest, that he allowed the public to be imposed upon by any unscrupulous author who thought it might be advantageous to adopt the name, or initials, of William Shakespeare. We are compelled, like M. Jusserand, to postulate an extraordinary "propensity to hold aloof" on his part. "More or less silly, ridiculous, or insignificant works were published under his name, he never disclaimed them; garbled texts of his own dramas, or the masterpieces of his peerless genius were issued, he never protested nor gave the real text. Such an

[1] I have dealt with the law of copyright in Elizabethan times at some length in chap. x of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*.

attitude under such provocation is absolutely unique!" To such incredible assumptions are we driven by the "orthodox" faith. One is reminded of the answer of the undergraduate: "Faith is the faculty by which we are enabled to believe that which we know is not true"!

There is, however, just one instance where "Shakespeare" is said, not indeed to have taken any action under provocation, such as is above alluded to, but to have been "much offended" by it; and as a great deal has been made of it by the "Willians" it may be well to examine it once more. In 1599 William Jaggard, "a well-known pirate publisher," as Sir Sidney Lee calls him,[1] published *The Passionate Pilgrim* with the name "W. Shakespeare" on the title-page as author. "The volume opened with two sonnets by Shakespeare which were not previously in print, and there followed three poems drawn from the already published *Love's Labour's Lost*, but the bulk of the volume was by Richard Barnfield and others."[2] "Shakespeare," however, seems to have raised no protest; at any rate "Shakspere" made no sign. Whether he was "offended" or not we are not told, but for thirteen years this book was read as the work of "Shakespeare." Then in 1612 the astute Jaggard issued another edition, still under the name of "Shakespeare" as sole author, in which he included two new poems by Thomas Heywood, viz. two love-epistles, one from Paris to Helen, and the other from Helen to Paris. These poems had been published by Heywood in his *Troia Britannica* (1609), and Heywood, unlike Shakespeare, was not inclined to "take it lying down." He, therefore, made an energetic protest, in deference to

[1] He was, it will be remembered, one of the Syndicate who were, nominally at any rate, responsible for the cost of the printing of the First Folio, the colophon whereto is: "Printed at the charges of W. Jaggard Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623."

[2] Lee's *Life*, p. 143. The two sonnets are those that appeared as Nos. 138 and 144 in the edition of 1609.

which the piratical publisher cancelled the first title-page, and substituted a second, omitting Shakespeare's name.[1]

This shows what could be effected by a little energy on the part of an injured author, but Shakspere, good easy man, was not to be roused from his lethargy—or shall we say his Olympian calm?—by anything of this kind. Nevertheless we are told that "Shakespeare" was "much offended." Heywood, however, on whose authority the statement is made, does not mention "Shakespeare" by name. This is what he wrote in the postscript to his *Apology for Actors* (1612), addressed to "my approved good Friend, Mr. Nicholas Okes," the printer. "Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work, by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a less volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steal from him, and he to do himself right, hath since published them in his own name; but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath published them, so the author, I know, was much offended with Mr. Jaggard that (altogether unknown to him) presumed to make so bold with his name."

This is a characteristic specimen of Tudor prose, and therefore not altogether easy of interpretation. "A manifest injury done me in that work." In what work? It seemingly ought to mean in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, but the work previously named in this postscript is Heywood's own work, his "booke of *Britaines Troy*," so that Dr. Ingleby is obviously right in telling us that this is the work in which, or in respect of which, Heywood was

[1] In the "Shakespeare Society" edition of Heywood's *Apology for Actors* we are told that "Malone had a copy of *The Passionate Pilgrim*" with two title-pages, in one of which a correction was made, presumably in consequence of Heywood's remonstrance.

injured. "Which may put the world in opinion I might steal them from him." From whom? From "the printer of *Britaines Troy*," says Dr. Ingleby,[1] though one might have thought that "Shakespeare," in whose name *The Passionate Pilgrim* was published, had been intended. "And he, to do himself right, hath since published them in his own name." Who is "he"? Mr. Lang writes: "That is, W. Shakespeare has since published under his own name such pieces of *The Passionate Pilgrim* as are his own."[2] But when, I should like to know, did "Shakespeare" do this? Shakespeare never published anything, so far as we know, except *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. It would be very interesting to see the work in which he "published under his own name" those pieces of *The Passionate Pilgrim* that were his own, but, unfortunately, Mr. Lang gives no reference to it.[3]

Then Mr. Lang asks, "Why was the author so slack when Jaggard, in 1599, published W. S's poems with others *not* by W. S.? "Slack" indeed! He was "slack" on each occasion. Neither in 1599 nor in 1612 did he take any action. But he—"the author"—was, we are told, "much offended in 1612," though there it apparently stopped. He had remained quite passive and quiescent from 1599 to 1612, but then, like the bus-driver of the immortal "Bab," of whom it is related that

> after seven years
> This Hebrew child got awful riled
> And busted into tears,

he really became very much annoyed!

[1] *Centurie of Prayse*, 1879, p. 99. [2] Work cited, p. 37.

[3] If Dr. Ingleby is right, as I presume he is, in explaining the word "him" (" . . . I might steale them from him") as the printer of *Britaines Troy*, it is evident that *he* is the man who "to do himself right hath since published them [viz. Heywood's two poetical "epistles"] in his own name," and this I take it is the true interpretation. Mr. Lang seems to have misunderstood the passage.

But whom does Heywood mean by "the author"? Did *Shakspere* profess to be "much offended," as, being the nominal author of the work, he might very naturally be? Or had Heywood someone else in mind when he spoke of "the author"? Mr. Lang thinks he must have meant "Will," because in *A Women Killed by Kindness* he says that "Mellifluous Shakespeare . . . was but 'Will'." But inasmuch as the *Plays* and *Poems* were published under the name of William Shakespeare, and as the abbreviation of "*William*" is "*Will*," I cannot, as I have already explained, see any cogency in this argument. Whoever is meant Heywood speaks of him in very deferential terms. But "the author," though "much offended," does not appear to have taken any action as Heywood did, whereby Jaggard was constrained to cancel the first title-page, and substitute a second, omitting Shakespeare's name. Had not Heywood thus interfered, we may conclude that, as in the case of the spurious plays, and of the *Sonnets*, no action would have been taken, and *The Passionate Pilgrim*, of 1612, would have continued to be issued with "W. Shakespeare" on the title-page, and would have so come down to us. Yet no reason can be suggested why the player, the "deserving man," if *he* were "the author," should not have interfered by protest or otherwise, both *in 1599 and 1612*. If, however, "Shakespeare" was some other personage in an altogether different walk of life—such as (e.g.) a courtier holding, or aspiring to, high office in the State—he might well have thought it expedient in this, as in other cases, to put up with the injury, and say nothing. There are times when silence is golden.

And this is the only instance where any evidence has come down to us that Shakespeare was even "offended" by the very frequent liberties that were taken with his name. "Offended," indeed, he well might be, but in no

case does he appear to have moved a finger in order to right the wrong.[1]

And here we must recall to mind that Shakspere, so far as we know, never, from first to last, did or said anything whatever to show that he claimed to be the author of the *Plays* or *Poems*, or any of them; yet what could be the cause of such apathy or excess of modesty, it is impossible to conceive if the glory of the authorship was really his. It is, indeed, one of the most extraordinary things in this extraordinary and (on the common hypothesis) inexplicable life.

Take the case of the two poems, for example, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Each bore the name of "Shakespeare" subscribed to the dedication addressed to the great Earl of Southampton, and we are asked to believe that this "Shakespeare" was the "man-player," the "deserving man," as Cuthbert Burbage styled Shakspere twelve years after the publication of the First Folio; yet we have not a tittle of evidence to show that Shakspere ever spoke of these poems as his, or did anything in the nature of an act of ownership with regard to them, or was even in possession of copies of them, or either of them, at the time of his death, or at any previous time. Ben Jonson was in the habit of presenting copies of his works to his friends. No single instance is recorded of Shakspere giving any book to anybody, or possessing such a thing, for the matter of that, nor do his fellow-players, when they make mention of him, ever speak of him as an author. But these reflections more properly belong to the general argument against the "Stratfordian" authorship, and for the purposes of the present chapter I am assuming that "Shakespeare" was a pseudonym, or "mask-name."

[1] "Why Shakespeare was so indifferent to the use of his name," says Mr. Lang, "or, when he was moved, acted so mildly [as a fact, he does not seem to have 'acted' at all], it is not for me or anyone to explain" (Work cited, p. 38). Mr. Lang is certainly right in not trying to explain what, on the orthodox hypothesis, is unexplainable.

Now Mr. Lang has written that, "William Shakespeare," or "Shakespere," was, in his view, "the ideally worst pseudonym which a poet who wished to be 'concealed' could possibly have had the fatuity to select. His plays and poems would be, as they were, universally attributed to the actor, who is represented as a person conspicuously incapable of writing them."[1]

Here Mr. Lang, since he makes special reference to the "concealed poet," which expression was applied by Bacon, in one of his letters, to himself, has, I presume, the "Baconians" more particularly in mind, and, certainly, if we are to take the view of Shakspere which some "Baconians" do, and regard him as a drunken clown who was not even able to write his own name, then we must admit that he was "conspicuously incapable of writing" the *Plays* and *Poems*. It will have been seen, however, that I do not take that view. I do not for a moment suppose that the "concealed poet," whoever he was, imagined that plays and poems published in the name of "Shakespeare" would not be "attributed to the actor," though I would qualify Mr. Lang's "universally" by saying that it is quite possible that some few men in the inner, and upper, circle of literature knew that that name stood for something more than the "man-player" and "deserving man." In *The Vindicators of Shakespeare*, I wrote, in a passage which I think Mr. Lang must have overlooked: "If plays and poems were published under the name of 'Shakespeare' by which name the man who wrote himself 'Shakspere' was, it seems, not infrequently known to his contemporaries, no doubt they would be generally accepted as written by the player That many plays in which Shakespeare had no part were, nevertheless, ascribed to him, because published in that name, is a simple matter of fact. But contemporary belief that he

[1] Work cited, p. 15. The form "Shakespeare" was only used once, viz. on the title-page of *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1598

was the author of such plays would, of course, be no proof that he wrote them. It would only show that the witnesses . . . had been deceived. Nay, the fact that *Titus Andronicus* was included in the Folio as Shakespeare's, and was ascribed to him by such an unprejudiced witness as Meres, in 1598, is so far from being considered a conclusive proof of the true authorship that the overwhelming balance of 'orthodox' opinion is to the effect that Shakespeare had no hand in it at all."[1] Now Shakspere, the player, though not, as I conceive, by any means well educated, had been for some years, probably, at a grammar school, where he had, at any rate, learnt some Latin; moreover he was a "Johannes Factotum," or "jack-of-all-trades," and conceived himself well able to "bombast out a line," and his name, if written "Shakespeare" or, still better, "Shake-speare," made a very good pen-name. I am quite unable to understand why this should be "the ideally worst pseudonym" which a poet who wished to conceal his identity from the general public could have selected. Mr. Smithson, writing as a "Baconian," but as one who repudiates cyphers and cryptograms, has expressed the opinion "that there must have been some sort of understanding between the poet and the actor (resembling, perhaps, that between Aristophanes and the actor Callistratus)," and he "conjectures that it may have covered proprietary rights or shares in the theatrical ventures."[2] I agree with Mr.

[1] Work cited, p. 64.

[2] *The Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1913, p. 965. What the arrangement was between Aristophanes—of Byzantium, I suppose—and Callistratus I confess I do not know. The following remarks of a very shrewd man of the world, an experienced journalist, and one who was well endowed with common sense, are, I think, interesting. "There is nothing particularly improbable," wrote the late Mr. Henry Labouchere, "in Shakespeare, as the manager of a theatre, having given his name to plays that he produced, and the author of which had grounds not to wish to be known as their writer. In any case, it is not more improbable than that the uneducated son of a man who could not write, and whose daughter could not write, came up to London from a small

Smithson, at any rate in thinking that there must, probably, have been some arrangement between Shakspere the actor and those—or some of those, if not all—who published in the name of "Shakespeare." I imagine that not only one but several writers found it convenient to publish under that name, and came to an understanding with Shakspere in the matter. Who cared? There were no "dramatic critics" at that time, and no newspapers to discuss the authorship, or reputed authorship, of each new play. Nobody except a select few cared "a twopenny button top" about such matters.[1]

Why was it that so many plays were published as by "Shakespeare" which are admittedly not "Shakespearean"? The usual answer is, because "Shakespeare's" works were so successful that any play or poem in his name would "sell." I do not think this answer is a sufficient or satisfactory one. Why were not plays, or poems, published in the name of Ben Jonson, or of other successful writers of the time, though not his work, or theirs? Such writing, especially those in the name of the author of *Every Man in His Humour*, would, assuredly, have been likely to command a sale. The consideration of this question suggests the true answer to my first interrogatory. Plays and poems might safely be published in "Shakespeare's" name because it was known that nobody would interfere. If they were so published by arrangement with Shakspere there would, of course, be no interference. If without any such arrangement, it might not be thought

country town, very shortly afterwards wrote a play like *Hamlet* and followed it up with plays which involved a knowledge of ancient and modern literature, of several foreign languages, and of the niceties of forensic procedure, and then went back to his country town to consort with the clowns who had been the friends of his youth." See Edwin Reed's *Noteworthy Opinions*, p. 17.

[1] "If," writes Dr. Appleton Morgan, "certain noblemen of the court proposed amusing themselves at joint anonymous authorship, they were certainly right in concluding that the name of a living man, in their own pay, was a safer disguise than a pseudonym which would challenge curiosity and speculation" (*The Shakespearean Myth*, p. 283).

worth while to interfere, or interference might lead to inconvenient disclosures. Heywood's action is instructive in this connection. To publish plays in the pseudonym of "Shakespeare" was one thing; to "lift" two poems of a well-known author, and to publish them in a book with other poems in the name of "Shakespeare," was quite another thing. Heywood, very naturally, was not only "offended," but took steps to prevent the continuance of such misrepresentation.

In 1595 was published the *Tragedy of Locrine*, "newly set forth, overseen, and corrected by W. S."; in 1600 *Sir John Oldcastle* appeared with "William Shakespeare" on the title-page; in 1602 *Thomas Lord Cromwell* was published, said to be written by "W. S."; in 1605 the *London Prodigall* was published with "Shakespeare's" name on the title-page; in 1607 *The Puritan or The Widow of Watling Street* was published purporting to be written by "W. S."; in 1698 *A Yorkshire Tragedy* appeared bearing the name of "Shakespeare." The first quarto of *Pericles* was published in 1609 with the words "by William Shakespeare" on the title-page. And still Shakspere was content to play the part of "William the Silent"! All these seven plays were included by the Editors of the Third Folio (1664) as Shakespeare's works, and were retained by the Editors of the Fourth Folio, printed in 1685. And they were justified in so doing, at least to this extent that William Shakspere had never denied the authorship of these works. They were regarded as "Shakesperean" plays. In fact, as Dr. Appleton Morgan writes, Shakspere never either claimed or denied the authorship of any of the plays; "he fathered them all 'and no questions asked.'"[1]

This writer, more than thirty years ago, expressed himself as follows in *The Shakespearean Myth*: "We believe that . . history and circumstantial evidence

[1] Work cited, p. 287.

oppose the possibility of William Shakespeare's authorship of the works called his, and that there is a reasonable doubt as to whether any ONE MAN did write, or could have written, either with or without a Bodleian or an Astor Library at his elbow, the whole complete canon of the Shakesperean works. But is there not a refuge from all these more or less conflicting theories in the simple canon that human experience is a safer guide than conjecture or miracle? In our own day the astute manager draws from bushels of manuscript plays, submitted to him by ambitious amateurs or plodding playwrights, the few morsels he deems worthy of his stage, and restringing them on a thread of his own, or another's, presents the result to his audience. Can we imagine a reason why the same process should have been improbable in the days of Elizabeth and James? And if among these amateurs and playwrights there happened to be the same proportion of lawyers, courtiers, politicians, soldiers, musicians, physicians, naturalists, botanists, and the rest . . that we would be likely to find among the corresponding class to-day, it would surely be a less violent explanation of 'the myriad-minded Shakespeare,' than to conjecture the 'Shakespeare' springing, without an interval for preparation, at once into the finished crown and acme of each and all of these. *In fact is it not William Shakespeare the* EDITOR, *and not the* AUTHOR, *to whom our veneration and gratitude is due?*"[1]

[1] In William Winter's biographical sketch of that famous dramatist, actor, and manager, the late Dion Boucicault, we are told that he clung steadily to the belief in a proprietary, or composite, or editorial authorship of the plays, and Dr. Appleton Morgan informs me that Boucicault avowed this belief to him personally. He believed, says Winter, that Shakespeare's works "were written by several hands, amicably collaborating with the bard." (*Other Days*, by William Winter, New York, 1908, p. 134. Whether Boucicault would himself have referred to Shakspere of Stratford as "the bard" my information leads me to doubt.) With this I would compare the following written by a "Baconian," viz. the late Rev. Walter Begley: "The attempt to exclude Shakspere *totally* from the immortal plays is most absurd,

Whatever may be thought of this, the fact remains that all these plays, now rejected as "spurious" (though *Pericles* is accepted as, at least in part, by Shakespeare), as well as all the doubtful, and more than doubtful, plays, or parts of plays, published in the First Folio, were accepted as "Shakespearean" in Shakspere's lifetime, and for many years after his death. If he did not act as "Editor," as Dr. Morgan conceives, at any rate his name, in its literary, and "spear-shaking" form, was habitually used by authors, apparently with his consent, and certainly without let or hindrance, as a name under which they could safely publish their plays. And, in this view of the case, the Editors of the Third and Fourth Folios perhaps did rightly to include the seven additional plays in those works. They were "Shakespeare" plays as much as *Titus Andronicus*, or *1 Henry VI*, or *The Taming of a Shrew*.

The question, of course, remains, Who, then, was the Master Mind? Who was the author of *Hamlet*, and *Lear*, and *Othello* and *Macbeth*? That is a question which I make no attempt to answer. "Concerning the gods," said an old Greek philosopher, "I cannot say whether they exist, or do not exist." There are many obstacles in the way, as the obscurity of the subject, and the shortness of human life." In the quest of the true Shakespearean authorship also these same obstacles confront us. The subject is full of difficulty, and life is too short—in my case at any rate—to pursue it further. It is, of course,

I exclude him *totally* from *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, as from the 'sugared sonnets,' which certainly would not have proved very tasty to *his* friends. . . . But to exclude Shakspeare from working at and patching up the various old plays he had scraped together is to go against all good evidence and against all the inferences from contemporary allusions, and is almost as great an error as the supposition that he wrote the last revision of *Hamlet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, or conceived the wondrous imagery and romance of *The Tempest* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" (*Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, Vol. II, p. 288).

easy for the "orthodox" to make fun of "the Great Unknown," but until further evidence is forthcoming, I must be content to rest upon the negative case. "Very unsatisfactory," of course. The same is said of the Agnostic attitude in theological matters. But, after all, in matters of belief, it is not what is satisfactory that we seek, but what is true.

It may here be appropriate to say a word on the Shakespearean vocabulary. Max Müller has frequently been quoted to the effect that Shakespeare used about 15,000 words in his plays. Now upon this statement Mr. Robertson treats us to the following note: "Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 6th ed., 1, 309, citing—of all authorities—Renan's *Histoire des langues sémitiques*! I cannot find the passage in my copy (2nd ed.) of Renan. Mr. G. C. Bompas (*Problem of the Shakespeare Plays*, 1902, p. iv) characteristically asserts that the 'estimate' is Max Müller's own."[1] According to Mr. Robertson, therefore, Max Müller did not himself form the estimate that Shakespeare used about 15,000 words in his plays, but merely took it from Renan's *Histoire des langues sémitiques*—"of all authorities"!—and Mr. Bompas makes the "characteristically" false assertion that the estimate is Max Muller's own. As a fact, however, as I shall proceed to show, Mr. Bompas is quite right, and the "characteristic" assertion is Mr. Robertson's. Max Müller writes: "We are told on good authority by a country clergyman that some of the labourers in his parish had not 300 words in their vocabulary . . . a well-educated person in England who has been at a public school, and at the university, who reads his Bible, his Shakespeare, *The Times*, and all the books of Mudie's Library, seldom uses more than about 3000 or 4000 words in actual conversation. Accurate thinkers and close reasoners, who avoid vague and general expressions, and wait till they

[1] Work cited, p. 517, note 3.

find the word that exactly fits their meaning, employ a larger stock, and eloquent speakers may rise to command of 10,000. The Hebrew Testament says all that it has to say with 5642 words; Milton's works are built up with 8000, and Shakespeare, who probably displayed a greater variety of expression than any writer in any language, produced all his plays with about 15,000 words."[1] Now here, it is true, we have the following curious note: "Renan, *Histoire*, p 133," and upon this Mr. Robertson would have us believe that Max Muller's estimate of the number of Shakespeare's words was not his own, but taken, without verification, from Renan. Then Mr. Robertson turns to Renan's *Histoire des langues sémitiques*, at p. 138, and tells us he cannot find the passage in his copy. Of course he cannot, and if he had not been in such a hurry to score a point—a false point as it turns out—he would have very soon seen why. It might surely have struck him *a priori* that Max Muller would not be likely to take his estimate of Shakespeare's vocabulary from Renan. The fact is that the note, "Renan, *Histoire*, p. 138," is, obviously, inserted in error on page 309 of the *Science of Language*. "*Histoire*"—what "Histoire"? It might be the *Histoire d'Israel*. But if the reader will turn back to p. 307 of Max Muller's work he will find there the reference to the same page (138) of the *Histoire des langues sémitiques*, *in its proper place*, viz. as a note to the words "Hebrew has been reduced to about 500 roots." Let him then turn to Renan's work referred to, at p. 138, and he will find that Renan is here dealing with the Hebrew language He will not find the authority for Max Muller's statement that this language has been reduced to about 500 roots on this particular page, but if he will read on to page 140 he will find "on evalue le nombre

[1] *Science of Language*, 1885, Vol. I, pp. 308–9. As to the labourer's vocabulary, given on the authority of a country clergyman, the reference is to *The Study of the English Language*, by A. D'Orsey, p. 15.

des racines hebraïques à cinq cents" He will see further that Max Muller's note, on p. 307, says Lcusden counted 5642 Hebrew and Chaldee words in the Old Testament, and this also he will find is taken from Renan's *Histoire des langues sémitiques* (1863) at p. 140. It is quite plain, therefore, that the second reference to the "*Histoire*, p. 138," has crept in *per incuriam*, and that Max Muller, as might be expected, makes no reference at all to Renan in support of his statement with regard to the Shakespearean vocabulary. Thus it turns out, on examination, that Mr. Robertson's sneer at Max Muller and his supposed "authority" and his suggestion that Mr. Bompas is "characteristically" untrustworthy, are based upon his own uncritical error, which a more careful examination of the works referred to would have enabled him to avoid. This is "characteristic" indeed!

Further, we have it on the authority of the late Mr. W. H. Edwards that "in the course of three lectures delivered at Oxford, and reprinted at Chicago, Professor Muller said. 'Few of us use more than 3000 or 4000 words; Shakespeare used about 15,000.'"[1]

Other estimates have put the Shakespearean vocabulary even higher. Thus Craik estimated it at 21,000 words, without counting inflectional forms, while he estimated the vocabulary of Milton at but 7000. Clark, who quotes these estimates in his *Elements of the English Language* (p. 134), says: "The vocabulary of Shakespeare becomes more than double that of any other writer in the English language. . . . English speech, as well as literature, owes more to him than to any other man."

But this, of course, does not suit Mr. Robertson's argument. How could Farmer's *ignoramus* (and I have shown that I am quite justified in using that term concerning Shakspere as portrayed by Farmer)—how could

[1] *Shaksper not Shakespeare*, by William H. Edwards (Cincinnati, The Robert Clarke Company, 1900), p. 195.

the half-educated man who had such very "small" Latin that he could not translate quite common words in that language, and who having "less Greek" had none at all—how could *he* possess this huge vocabulary?" Obviously the two theories are inconsistent. One of them must go by the board So the "vocabulary" is thrown to the wolves, and we find Mr. Robertson suggesting (p. 521) "that the playwright was really not a man of supremely large vocabulary *for his time*!" What is the meaning of "*for his time*," I wonder? Is it suggested that Elizabethan vocabularies were normally much larger than the vocabularies of the present day, and that though Shakespeare's vocabulary may be "supremely large" for the twentieth century, it was not so for the seventeenth century? If this be not the meaning, I really cannot see what the effect of the words I have italicised is intended to be. This, however, in passing only

It has been generally believed that Shakespeare's vocabulary is "supremely large" whether for his own time or ours, and until it is shown that Max Muller and Clark and Craik and others are wrong, I think we may continue to believe that the fact is so. My own belief is that the explanation of the phenomenon (assuming its reality) is to be found in the further fact that it is the vocabulary not of one man but of several.

Mr Edwards writes: "This extraordinary vocabulary seems entirely too great for one individual, and hence it has been argued that this alone is enough to show that several hands took part in the Shakespeare plays" For myself, however, I should not cite the vocabulary as evidence of the "several hands", but knowing as we do that the work of "several hands" is to be found in "the Shakespeare plays," I should regard that fact as an explanation, in great part if not altogether, of the abounding Shakespearean vocabulary

CHAPTER XIV

THE BOOK OF THE REVELS AT COURT

"IN the year 1842," writes Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps (Vol. II, p 161), "there appeared a collection of extracts from the old manuscript accounts of the Court Revels that were then preserved at the Audit Office, and included in the volume, in 'the Accompte of the Office of the Revelles of this whole yeres charge in anno 1604 untell the last of Octobar, 1605,' is a register mentioning by name some of the dramas that were acted before Royalty during that period The whole of this last-mentioned record, a copy of which is given on the next page, is unquestionably a modern forgery, and if this had been all the evidence on the subject, there could obviously have been no alternative but to dismiss it entirely from consideration. There are, however, substantial reasons for believing that, although the manuscript itself is spurious, the information which it yields is genuine."

The forgery was generally supposed to have been the work of Peter Cunningham, son of Allan Cunningham, who had been in unlawful possession of the documents in question (there is a play-list of 1611–2 as well as that of 1604–5), and had tried to sell them to the British Museum as his own Sir Sidney Lee writes: "Peter Cunningham professed to print the original document in his accounts of the revels at Court (Shakespeare

Society, 1842, p 203 *et seq*), but there is no doubt that he forged his so-called transcript and that the additions which he made to Malone's Memorandum were the outcome of his fancy."[1] Malone, it may be mentioned, had made a memorandum of plays performed at Court in 1604 and 1605, which, says Sir Sidney Lee, "was obviously derived" by him "from authentic documents that were in his day preserved at the Audit Office in Somerset House," but which, he tells us, cannot now be traced.[2]

Now this opinion, as to the spuriousness of the entries in question, has been accepted by all Shakespearean scholars, critics, experts, and palæographers for the last forty years down to the present day. Mr Ernest Law, however, some three years since published a work on *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries* (1911), in which he claims to prove that the scholars, critics, experts, and palæographers were all wrong, and that these two play-lists (viz. of 1604–5 and 1611–2) are genuine contemporary references to the performances of some of Shakespeare's plays at Court in his lifetime. At this we need feel no surprise in view of the extreme uncertainty of all orthodox Shakespearean opinion, and the extraordinarily kaleidoscopic nature of all Shakespearean criticism. Moreover, I am not concerned to dispute that Mr. Law makes out a good *prima facie* case in defence of the documents in question.

Now in these play-lists, which, if all the old critics

[1] *Illustrated Life*, p. 192 note

[2] Mr Ernest Law writes in his work on *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries* (p 61), to be referred to presently: "Mr. Lee has been almost the only recent writer on the topic who has, with both fairness and prudence, abstained from fastening the supposed forgeries on Cunningham, though, in common with everyone else, he could not but accept the universal condemnation passed on the play-lists by all those best qualified to judge." Mr Law appears to have overlooked the note above quoted where Sir Sidney Lee says there is "no doubt" that Cunningham was the forger.

were wrong and Mr. Ernest Law is right, were made by some scribe in the years referred to, there is a column headed, "The Poets which mayd the Plaies," and in this column, in the 1604–5 list, the name of "Shaxberd" occurs four times, viz opposite the plays *Mesur for Mesur*, *The Plaie of Errors*, and *The Marchant of Venis* (twice),[1] respectively. This, on the aforesaid assumption, seems to be *prima facie* evidence that the scribe in question looked upon player Shakspere as the poet who made these plays. "Nothing," writes Mr. Law (p. 57), "has contributed more to the immediate condemnation of Cunningham's play-lists than the quaint version of the name 'Shaxberd,' in which the knowing ones had at once detected the mock-antique of the tyro in seventeenth-century forgery." But as against this view he appeals to contemporary records "exhibiting almost exactly similar peculiarities in the spelling of the immortal name—'Shaxpere,' 'Shaxber,' 'Shaxbeer,'" which, he goes on to say, are "plain indications of the original universal pronunciation of the name, still preserved among the peasantry of Warwickshire round about Stratford, and best represented by the two French words, *chaque espère*—Shakespeare himself always having used a spelling which shows that he retained these original native sounds to the end."

So far so good. Mr. Law is, I believe, quite right in his remarks on the pronunciation of player Shakspere's name, though it is possible that "Shak-spur" more nearly represents the sound of the name as it was pronounced by himself and by his friends and relations among "the peasantry of Warwickshire round about Stratford"[2]

[1] It is rather curious that although the list makes mention of other Shakespearean plays, viz *The Moor of Venis*, *A Play of the Merry Wives of Winsor*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Henry the Fift*, the column headed "The Poets who mayd the Plaies" is left blank in all these instances.

[2] See *ante*, chap. IX.

We have this fact, then (always assuming the genuineness of the incriminated entries), that Shakspere of Stratford, in the year 1604, was known by a name which might very well be represented by "Shaxper, or Shaxber, or Shagspere."[1] The scribe of the Revels book, writing no doubt "by ear" (if it was really he who wrote), introduces yet another and, I think, unique form, and writes "Shaxberd." Yet this "Shaksper," or "Shaxberd," had, if the received hypothesis be true, eleven years previously, viz. in 1593, signed a courtier-like dedication to the great Earl of Southampton of his poem *Venus and Adonis* by the name "William Shakespeare," and had likewise so signed a similar dedication of his poem *Lucrece* in the following year, while six years previously to 1604 had appeared editions of *Richard the Second* and *Richard the Third* bearing the name "William Shake-speare" on their title-pages. Now this name certainly was not pronounced in a manner which could possibly lead a scribe to represent it by the word "Shaxberd," for this is the form which, as old Thomas Fuller remarks, suggests *Martial* in its war-like sound, "Hasti-vibrans," or "Shake-speare," and calls to mind those well-turnéd and true-filéd lines referred to by Jonson:

> In each of which he seems to *shake a lance*,
> As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance.

And this, the spear-shaking and hyphenated form, we find employed, as already mentioned, by the author of *Willobie his Avisa*, who wrote in 1594 (and this is, I believe, the earliest known allusion to Shakespeare

[1] Walter Roche, ex-Master of the Stratford Grammar School, wrote "Shaxbere"; Richard Quiney, Shakspere's fellow-townsman, wrote "Shackspeie"; Abraham Sturley, Shakspere's "fellow-countryman," wrote "Shaxper"; and in the marriage bond of November 1582 it is "Shagspere." John Shakespeare in the records of the Stratford Court is styled "Shakysper" or "Shakspeyre," and there are several other forms of this name, but I do not know that the form "Shaxberd" is to be found except in these play-lists.

by name): "And Shakespeare paints poor Lucrece rape."[1]

It appears, therefore, that the scribe wrote the name of the player as pronounced by himself and his fellows, and not the name of the author as it had appeared in the works cited, and many others before 1604 (as, for yet another instance, in the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, 1603, where we read "William Shake-speare"), from which it is difficult to draw any other conclusion than that the scribe in question either had never heard of these works, or somehow failed to recognise the identity of player "Shaxberd" with author "Shakespeare." It appears, further, that player Shaksper, or Shakspere (according to the received hypothesis), although he still called himself, and was called by his fellows, by the name "Shakspur," as known to "the peasantry round about Stratford," had at the outset—to wit, when he published "the first heir of his invention"—adopted the high-sounding form "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare" as a *nom de guerre*. As player he was "Shakspur" or "Shaxberd," as author he was "Shakespeare." Such, of course, is the "orthodox" doctrine, so far as the "orthodox" ever agree upon anything. The unorthodox believe that the man who signed himself "Shakespeare" while dedicating the highly polished and cultured poem of *Venus and Adonis* to one of the greatest and most brilliant of the nobles of his time must be looked for elsewhere than in the ranks of the King's Players, and that the young man who came from Stratford to London, probably in the year 1587, being then, according to Messrs. Garnett and Gosse, "a Stratford rustic," did not really, either by a miracle of genius or writing by divine inspira-

[1] The names of the nine players who received their "red cloth" in March 1604 are written in full in the account of the Master of the Great Wardrobe (see facsimile in Mr. Law's *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber*, p. 8), and, says Mrs. Stopes, "Shakespeare's name is spelt in the way it always is at Court, the way he had it printed in his poems" (*Athenæum*, March 12, 1910). Yet here is a Court scribe so ignorant that he writes it "Shaxberd"!

tion, produce that extraordinary and unique play *Love's Labour's Lost* only two or three years after his arrival.[1]

[1] "The date of the original production cannot well be put later than 1589," writes Mr. Fleay. Dr. Furnivall thinks it was composed in 1588–9. Charles Knight puts it at 1589. Mr. E. K. Chambers, it is true, puts it as late as 1594, or thereabouts; but there are strong reasons for supposing that the first version of the play made its appearance several years before that. Sir Sidney Lee considers it probably the poet's first dramatic production.

CHAPTER XV

SHAKSPERE AS A GROOM OF THE CHAMBER

IN Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines* (Vol. I, p. 195, 6th ed.) we read as follows concerning the state entry of King James I into the metropolis, which did not take place until nearly a year after the death of Elizabeth. "It was on the 15th of March, 1604, that James undertook his formal march from the Tower to Westminster, amidst emphatic demonstrations of welcome and passing every now and then under the most elaborate triumphal arches London had ever seen. In the royal train were the nine actors to whom the special licence had been granted the previous year, including of course Shakespeare and his three friends, Burbage, Hemmings, and Condell. 'Each of them was presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth, the usual dress allowance to players belonging to the household. The poet and his colleagues were termed King Servants, and took rank at Court amongst the Grooms of the Chamber."

It appears that Mr Halliwell-Phillipps gave no authority either for saying that the players marched in the royal procession on this occasion, or that they were appointed grooms of the chamber, neither does Sir Sidney Lee, who repeats both statements.[1] There has, however, recently been published a small work on *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber* (1910), in which the

[1] *Illustrated Life*, pp. 188 and 191 note 2.

author, Mr. Ernest Law, presents us with the desired authority on the second point, viz. the copy of an "Entry in the accounts of the 'Treasurer of the Chamber' of the payment made to His Majesty's Players for Waiting and Attending on the Constable of Castile in August 1604," which entry runs as follows: "To Augustine Phillipps and John Hemynges for th'allowance of themselves and tenne of their fellowes his Majesties' Groomes of the Chamber and Players, for waitinge and attendinge on his Majestys' service, by commandemente, upon the Spanish Embassador at Somersette House, for the space of XVIII days, viz. from the IXth day of Auguste 1604 untill the XXVIIth day of the same, as appeareth by a bill thereof signed by the Lord Chamberlayne—XXI li. XIIs."[1]

There appears to be no room for doubt, therefore, that "his Majesty's Players" were, at the time in question, grooms of the chamber, but that they marched in the royal procession from the Tower to Westminster is disputed by Mr. Law, and it appears to me that he makes out a strong case against that very generally accepted story. However, whether or not "those erst while rogues and vagabonds," as Mr. Law writes, really coruscated through the metropolis on that occasion, "in their suits of royal red," seems to me a matter of no great importance. Let us turn, then, to consider whether any greater importance is to be attached to the appointment of the players as grooms of the chamber.

There were both "ordinary" and "extraordinary" grooms of the chamber. Whether the players were "ordinary" grooms, or whether they were only so appointed for special occasions, does not seem quite clear, but I am inclined to think that at the date in question, 1604, His Majesty's players held the position of ordinary grooms, for I believe the reason of their appointment was

[1] Mrs. Stopes also has discoursed on this entry in *The Athenæum* of March 12th, 1910.

in reality this, that as grooms of the chamber they would enjoy freedom from arrest. It was, therefore, not so much as an honour for the players that they were so appointed, but in order that His Majesty might not be inconvenienced by finding that Will Shakspere, or Dick Burbage was under lock and key just when he was wanted to perform before the Court![1] But what sort of a position was it which was held by grooms of the chamber in the time of James I? The King's players, we read, were summoned in this capacity to take part in the festivities in honour of the King of Spain's Ambassador Extraordinary during his stay at Somerset House in the summer of 1604, by which date we may remember some of the greatest of the "Shakespearean" plays had appeared. For was not the Second Quarto of *Hamlet* published in that memorable year, which also saw the performance of the grand tragedy of *Othello*? Nevertheless, says Mr. Law, Shakspere "was not in the least perturbed at taking his place with Heminges, Condell, Phillipps, and the rest of them, when ranged as player grooms in the Presence Chamber of Somerset House." Perturbed! No, indeed; why should he have been? He does not even seem to have been "humiliated," like some high-minded Members of Parliament at the present day on receipt of their salaries, by being asked to accept £1. 10s. for eighteen days' employment, which sum, no doubt, he received as complacently as he accepted the 40s. from the Earl of Rutland for his work "about my Lorde's imbreso."[2] And, truly, the

[1] "They wore the Royal livery, and had all the privileges and perquisites of Grooms of the Chamber, safe from being arrested for debt or any minor offences, lest their withdrawal might hinder the King's service" (Mrs. Stopes in the *Athenæum*, March 12, 1910). She adds that when the King "was short of service, at times of pressing concourse, he made them [the players] 'ordinary' Grooms of the Chamber, instead of 'extraordinary' as they in general were."

[2] It appears from a document in the Record Office (with a duplicate among the Pipe Office papers) that to Augustine Phillipps and John Hemynges were

services required of the players on that occasion were not very heavy ones. They had, says Mr. Law, "to stand about and try to look pleasant." He compares the function of Shakespeare at Somerset House in 1604 to "that of the modern gentleman-usher at the Court of St. James's." It would be much more correct to compare it to that of the modern "beef-eater" at a levée, for it is clear that the players, as grooms of the chamber, on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary, were merely required to dress up in red cloth and make a show, together with a crowd of other court officials and hangers-on, and that their status and position was altogether different from that of the four or five honourable gentlemen whose names are to be found in Whitaker's *Almanack* as "Grooms of the Great Chamber" at the present time. Neither is there, so far as I am aware, any evidence that the players were "in the Presence Chamber" at all. Mr. Law, indeed, paints a delightful fancy picture worthy of any court artist. He shows us the Constable of Castile entering "the splendid Presence Chamber," the rich decoration of which made him exclaim with admiration. But "still more was he pleased to see ranged around a retinue of court officials, specially appointed to wait upon him during his stay in London. . . . Among them was a group of twelve gentlemen in red doublets and hose, with cloaks of the same, embroidered in gold with the King's cypher crowned; and among these was one, more notable than the rest, who may well have been, then or later, pointed out to the Ambassador, a certain interesting individual, known to the King and all

paid £21. 12s "for the allowance of themselves and tenn of theire ffellowes his Maties Groomes of the Chamber and Players for waytinge and attendinge on his Maties Service by commandemente uppon the Spanishe Embassador at Somersette howse." A writer in *The Times* (Literary Supplement) of November 10th, 1910, points out that "to make up the number of ten it is necessary to include Shakespeare, though neither he nor any of the other 'fellows' besides Phillipps and Hemynges is mentioned by name."

the Court, the intimate associate of several prominent nobles, one of His Majesty's Grooms of the Chamber, and the foremost poet and dramatist in England, no other, in fact, than William Shakespeare"!

How extremely provoking it is that there should be no record of all this, not a jot or tittle of evidence! It is ever thus. The canvas is handed down to us absolutely blank, and the biographers fill it in with all the rich and rosy colours of imagination. Here is Will Shakspere of Stratford paraded with the other players in red doublet and hose, "trying to look pleasant" (let us hope he had not the "Droeshout" look!), and quite contentedly taking his 36s. for eighteen days' employment—as why should he not?—and, alas, no word is said to distinguish him from "those deserving men" his fellow-players; nothing whatever to mark him as "the foremost poet and dramatist in England"! And this was in 1604, when, surely, he ought to have been at the zenith of his fame; when he was not only "known to the King and all the Court" (which as an actor no doubt he was), but was "the intimate associate" (for so Mr. Law tells us—and, of course, *he* knows) "of several prominent nobles"! Yes, this silence about him is really quite exasperating.

And here I have to take note of a singular error of Mr. Lang's in this connection. That distinguished scholar, before he published the work to which I have so often referred, did me the honour to criticise my book in the pages of *The Cornhill Magazine* for September, 1911. Here, with reference to what I had written with regard to the contemporary allusions to Shakespeare, Mr. Lang wrote: "Mr. Greenwood does not seem to understand that an important actor in the greatest dramatic company of the age, one of the King's servants, *a groom of the Royal Bedchamber*,[1] was a notable figure in the town," etc. Here, indeed, is a proof of distinction! Shakspere had been

[1] My italics.

selected, it would seem, for a post which brings him into intimate relations with the King himself! We imagine him as present at the *lever* and *coucher* of our British Solomon. A Player, too! One "i' the statute"! A rogue and vagabond, were it not for the King's or some nobleman's licence! But Mr. Lang has unfortunately made a little slip. A "groom of the chamber" was one thing; a "groom of the beds" was another. Can even the most orthodox "William" imagine "those deserving men," Burbage, Kempe, Hemings, Condell, and the rest, as "Grooms of the Royal Bedchamber"?[1] I trow not. And when we remember that old Philip Henslowe was himself a groom of the chamber we shall have it very forcibly brought home to us that men of very inferior position, men of "no class" at all, might hold that appointment in those days. Yet some of the "orthodox" very quaintly appear to look upon the fact of the players having been "grooms of the chamber" as somehow adding dignity and lustre to the name of the immortal poet!

[1] Philip, Earl of Montgomery, one of the "Incomparable Pair," was, it may be remembered, not indeed a "groom," but a "Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber," as recorded in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the First Folio.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRATFORD MONUMENT AND THE PORTRAITS OF SHAKESPEARE [1]

AS Mr. Spielmann truly writes in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "The mystery that surrounds much [? all] in the life and work of Shakespeare extends also to his portraiture." It extends, further, to his monument at Stratford-on-Avon. Who erected it, and when, and at whose cost? Nobody knows. All that we can say is that there was, at any rate, a monument of some sort at the date when the First Folio was published, for, in his lines to W. Shakespeare prefixed to that immortal work, Leonard Digges speaks of the poet's "Stratford Moniment." But the question has been asked, Is the monument, and especially the bust, as they are now to be seen at Stratford, identical with those that were originally placed there, or was the original altered, and if so, when? These questions have arisen in this manner. The famous antiquary Sir William Dugdale, in his *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire*, gives us a picture of the Stratford monument which is the earliest known present-

[1] Since this Chapter was in print information has come into my hands which seems tolerably conclusive in favour of the contention that the Stratford bust was originally very different from that which now does duty for "Shakespeare" in the church at Stratford-on-Avon. I would beg the reader to turn to Appendix B.

ment of that Mecca-stone of many adoring pilgrims. Dugdale, who was himself a Warwickshire man, and well acquainted with Stratford-on-Avon, appears to have prepared his work in the neighbourhood of that place about the year 1634, and it is well known that the majority of the drawings and engravings for the book in question were executed for him by Hollar, the celebrated Bohemian engraver and designer. According to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps and others, the engraving of the Stratford monument was executed by this artist. Mr. Spielmann, however, tells us that in his opinion this particular engraving is not by Hollar. "The prevailing opinion," he says (among experts, I presume), "is that it is by his assistant Haywood." But whoever may have been responsible for the drawing and engraving, this fact is indisputable, that it presents us with a bust of Shakespeare which is absolutely different from the effigy as it exists to-day. Dugdale's engraving shows the counterfeit presentment of a melancholy-looking man, with hollow cheeks and drooping moustache, who holds in front of his body a curious oblong cushion, upon which both of his hands are laid. Either, then, Dugdale's picture is wildly and inexcusably inaccurate, or the original "Stratford bust" was altogether dissimilar to that which is to-day the object of adoration of all the votaries at the shrine. In other words, the question is whether the Dugdale engraving gives us an accurate, or, at any rate, fairly accurate, picture of Shakespeare's bust as seen by Dugdale himself, and by his artist, somewhere about 1634, or whether it is such a hopeless travesty of the original as to convict both the renowned antiquarian and his engraver of an amount of negligence and indifference to truth which puts their testimony altogether out of court!

Now another famous antiquary, Dr. Whitaker, has told us that Dugdale's "scrupulous accuracy, united with stubborn integrity," has elevated his *Antiquities of*

Warwickshire "to the rank of legal evidence,"[1] and it was upon the faith of the engraving of the Stratford bust in this work that Mrs. Charlotte C. Stopes, the well-known and indefatigable investigator of Shakspearean records, and, I need scarcely add, an entirely orthodox "Stratfordian," published in *The Monthly Review* of 1904 an article setting forth what she conceived to be "The True Story of the Stratford Bust,"[2] in which she argues that the bust was materially altered in the year 1748, when the sculptor employed to repair and improve the monument probably "reconstructed the face altogether." Mr. Spielmann, on the other hand, treats Dugdale's testimony with the utmost contempt. He speaks of the picture of the Stratford bust as a "traitor-engraving," and says that even if it was drawn by Hollar, yet "Hollar was no more accurate than his contemporaries," and that "there was no demand for pictorial accuracy in the seventeenth century," and, therefore, I suppose, no supply. Mrs. Stopes, by way of comparison, examined Dugdale's engraving of Sir Thomas Lucy's monument in Stratford Church, and found that it represented the original with substantial accuracy. Mr. Spielmann, however, retorts that the pictures of the Clopton and Carew monuments in *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* "depart ludicrously from the originals in respect of many details and entire configuration."[3] As to "details," we need not, I think, give ourselves much concern. I had myself pointed out, for example, that the little sitting figures in Dugdale's engraving, holding spade and hour-glass, "are placed as no monumental sculptor would be likely to place them."[4] But this is not a question of details, nor is it a question

[1] Wood, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, writes: "What Dugdale hath done is prodigious. His memory ought to be venerated and had in everlasting remembrance."

[2] Since republished in pamphlet form (John Murray).

[3] Letter published in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, February 21st, 1912.

[4] *Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 247 note.

of mere carelessness on the part of Dugdale and his artist. The Shakespeare bust, as represented in the Dugdale engraving, is so absolutely different from that which we see at Stratford to-day that, unless the monument has been materially altered and reconstructed since his time, he must be held guilty of what is really no better than a fraud upon the public of his day, and upon all readers of his book who put trust and confidence in him. It is, however, possible, of course, that such is the case, and Mr. Andrew Lang agrees with Mr. Spielmann that it is so. He writes, with reference to Dugdale's print: "That hideous design was not executed by an artist who 'had his eye on the object,' if the object were a Jacobean monument; while the actual monument was fashioned in no period of art but the Jacobean . . . Dugdale's engraving is not a correct copy of any genuine Jacobean work of art." "The gloomy hypochondriac or lunatic, clasping a cushion to his abdomen," cannot, by any possibility, represent the original bust of "Shakespeare." Mr. Lang, further, presents us with a reproduction of the Carew monument as represented in Dugdale's book, and a photograph of that monument in Stratford Church, in order that we may see how great are the discrepancies between the engraving and the original.[1]

It may be, then, that Dugdale, the renowned antiquarian, though himself a Warwickshire man, and familiar with Stratford-on-Avon, and though publishing a book the value of which entirely depended upon its historical

[1] Work cited, p. 178 *et seq.* Mr. Lang tells us that Sir George Trevelyan wrote to him that he "had made a sketch of the Carew Renaissance monument in Stratford Church, and found the discrepancies between the original tomb and the representation in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* are far and away greater than in the monument to William Shakespeare." But, with respect, this is the language of exaggeration, so far as the principal figures are concerned at any rate; for, seeing that Dugdale's engraving of the Shakespeare bust is absolutely unlike that which now stands in Stratford

accuracy, was, nevertheless, so absolutely and wantonly negligent with regard to the illustrations of that book, which purported to present his readers with copies of the buildings, monuments, etc., described therein, that he was content to accept from his artist—who, whether Hollar or some other, was himself as scandalously negligent as his employer—an engraving which, if he had looked at it at all, he must at once have seen bore no resemblance whatever to the original. This, I repeat, is quite possible; just as it is quite possible—nay, in this case I would say most probable—that Jonson wrote his lines concerning the figure that "was for gentle Shakespeare cut" under a monstrous signboard which he knew perfectly well bore no resemblance whatever (unless it were the resemblance of a gross caricature) to the real "Shakespeare." Yes, this may be so; but the strange thing is that those who speak so contemptuously of "seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy" when the Dugdale print is concerned, are, nevertheless, such ardent defenders of the accuracy and trustworthiness of the Droeshout engraving![1]

This, however, by the way only. Let us now turn to the story of the "repairing and beautifying" of "Shakespeare's monument" in the year 1748 or 1749,

Church *in every particular*, it is simply impossible that any other "discrepancies," wheresoever found, can be "far and away greater" than these! The reader should go to Stratford-on-Avon and judge for himself. As to the Clopton monument it is well to remember that it has been "repaired and beautified" at least twice—once in 1630, as recorded by Dugdale, and again in 1714, as the present inscription records. Dugdale's engraving of it is correct in essentials. Many of these old monuments may have been greatly altered in the process of "repairing and beautifying" since Dugdale saw them.

[1] As I wrote in *The National Review* (June, 1912). "I am prepared to go even further, and to believe that Ben Jonson himself was capable of handing down to posterity statements as little consistent with strict veracity as Dugdale's engravings are now said to be. For I take it 'there was no demand' for *literary* any more than for 'pictorial accuracy' in those spacious times!"

as unfolded by the documents brought to light by Mrs. Stopes.

This lady found in the Wheler Collection, at Stratford-on-Avon, a manuscript of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Grammar School, written in September, 1746, in which he tells us that "as the curious original monument and bust" of the poet, "erected above the tomb that enshrines his dust [*sic*] in the Church of Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, is through length of years and other accidents become *much impaired and decayed*" (the italics are mine), an offer had been made by Mr. John Ward, the grandfather of the celebrated Mrs. Siddons, and his company, to act *Othello* in the Town Hall, on September 9th, 1746, the receipts of which were "to be solely appropriated to the repairing of the original monument aforesaid"; and there is a "copy of an old play-bill at the time of *repairing and beautifying* Shakespeare's monument, with the Rev. Joseph Greene's remarks on the performers" Ultimately it was agreed that the execution of the work should be committed to "Mr. John Hall, Limner"; and Mr. Lang, who styles Hall "a local 'limner' or painter," contended that all he had to do was to repaint the monument and bust, and possibly, if Halliwell-Phillipps's testimony is to be accepted (although that writer gives no authority for the statement), to restore "the forefinger, part of the thumb of Shakespeare's writing hand, and the pen," which were missing.[1] Similarly, Mr. Spielmann, in his reply to Mrs. Stopes (*Pall Mall Gazette*, December 6th, 1910), says: "If anything beyond surface restoration and painting of the bust were needed, the work would hardly have been committed, as it was, to John Hall, *Limner* . . . only the removal of discolouration on the monument, re-stopping and binding together of loose joints, and the

[1] See Mr. Lang's article on "The Mystery of Shakespeare's Monument" in *Morning Post* of July 5th, 1912, and work cited, p. 181 *et seq.*

decay of the pigment in the bust, would constitute the necessary repairs, and this labour would well represent the expenditure of £12. 10s."

As to the last point, viz. the expenditure of £12. 10s., I will only remark, first, that it seems by no means certain that this was the whole sum which John Hall received; for the contributors to the fund had previously agreed that "we will also use our endeavours that such further money shall be collected and given him as, with the former collections, may make up the whole sum of sixteen pounds"; and, secondly, that money was, of course, worth much more in those days than it is at the present time.[1]

But was John Hall's work really as limited as Mr. Lang and Mr. Spielmann have assumed? In the first place it is to be noted that although John Ward's company gave their performance in September, 1746, and the receipts were duly handed over to the churchwardens, the work was not executed till more than two years afterwards, and in November, 1748, we find Mr. Joseph Greene, the headmaster of the Grammar School, writing to John Ward to apologise for the delay, and to ask for his advice in the matter; to which letter Ward replies on December 3rd, 1748, saying that, as he intends paying a visit to Stratford "next summer," he hopes to have the pleasure of seeing the monument of the "immortal Bard" completely finished, and adding that he would "readily come into any proposal to make good the sum for the use intended, if what is already in the churchwardens' hands should prove deficient."[2]

Now what was the reason of all this delay? I think it is to be found in the disagreement which the documents show there was between the Rev. Joseph Greene, the

[1] See also John Ward's offer to make up any deficiency, quoted below.

[2] It would seem to follow from this letter that the "repairs" were not actually completed till 1749.]

master of the Grammar School, and the Rev. Mr. Kenwrick, the vicar of Stratford. Greene, so the documents appear to indicate, was for giving John Hall a pretty free hand in the work of "repairing and beautifying," while the good vicar was for restricting his operations. Thus we read of "a form proposed by Mr. Greene to the gentlemen at the Falcon, but rejected by Mr. Kenwrick (the vicar), who thought it did not sufficiently limit what was to be done by Mr. Hall, as [did] a form which he himself had drawn up" (November 30th, 1748). This prolonged controversy between the vicar and the schoolmaster was not, surely, as to the restoration of a damaged finger merely, and I think it may reasonably be concluded that when it was at last agreed "That Mr. John Hall, Limner, shall *repair and beautify, or have the direction of repairing and beautifying*, the original monument of Shakespeare the poet," Greene had carried his point, and that John Hall was, as I have already suggested, given a considerably wider "limit" than what the good vicar had considered to be desirable. It is to be noted that, according to a form drawn up for signature by the contributors, but which appears never to have been signed, the money subscribed was to be paid to Hall "provided he takes care, according to his ability, that the monument shall become as like as possible to what it was when first erected." It seems clear that this was the pledge for which Mr. Kenwrick contended, and if, as I gather from the documents quoted by Mrs. Stopes, it was only proposed for signature, and not in fact signed, that circumstance appears to constitute pregnant evidence in favour of those who believe that the alterations of the monument in 1749 were not confined to such matters as repainting, and the "restopping and binding together of loose joints," etc.[1]

[1] See Mrs. Stopes's article in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of November 18th, 1910. If it had been a mere question of recoloration there would have been

But is there any further evidence as to what was done at this time to the monument and the bust? Mr. Lang, as I have already mentioned, cites Halliwell-Phillipps to the effect that Hall was to restore the thumb and a forefinger "of Shakespeare's writing hand"; and if that is to be accepted as a fact, then it is pretty clear that the bust in 1749 was not as it is represented in the "Dugdale" engraving. But Halliwell-Phillipps gives no authority, and cites no document in support of this statement. He may have been misled by the fact that the finger and thumb of the bust were, as we are told, restored in 1790 by William Roberts of Oxford. This may, very possibly, have been the first restoration of these missing pieces, and not the second, as Halliwell-Phillipps conceives.[1] But what has this writer to tell us of the "Dugdale" engraving? "In his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1886)," says Mr. Lang, in a letter to *The Morning Post* (July 5th, 1912), "he does not, I think, even mention the print in Dugdale's book." This is true, but in the House of Commons' Library there is a copy of *The Works of William Shakespeare* by James O. Halliwell, 1853, a monumental, but, I think, little known work, in sixteen ponderous volumes; and there, in Vol. I, I have found some interesting observations both on the engraving and on the monument. As to the engraving, Halliwell gives it the go-by with very few words. He rejects it as inaccurate and untrustworthy. At the same time he informs us that it was by Hollar, being thus in disagreement with Mr. Spielmann so far as this particular is concerned. As to the monument, he writes: "A person who visited Stratford a few years after the restoration by no need to stipulate that "the monument shall become [*sic*] as like as possible to what it was when first erected." But, apparently, even that pledge was not given.

[1] In his book (p. 113) Mr. Lang says he lays no stress on Halliwell-Phillipps's story of "the repairing of the forefinger of the right hand, and the pen," seeing that no authority is cited.

Hall (1749), after observing that he could not discover a single person of the name of Shakespeare in Stratford, says, 'his monument, the sexton's wife told me, had been very much neglected and had a lamentable appearance, till about four or five years since, when Ward's Company of comedians repaired and beautified it from the produce of a benefit play exhibited for that purpose'" (Vol. I, p. 232). He doubts whether the original monument was really by Gerard Johnson as generally asserted, and inclines to the belief that it was by one of his sons. His reasons for this belief are given in the following passage: "This interesting memorial, as appears from a memorandum made by Dugdale (*Life, Diary*, etc., 4to, 1827, p. 99) in 1653, was the work either of a Dutch sculptor and 'tombe-maker,' one Gerard Johnson, a native of Amsterdam, who was settled in London, in St. Thomas Apostles', in the Ward of Vintry, or of one of his sons. My reason for suggesting the latter is that the elder Gerard having been an English resident twenty-six years in 1593, it is most probable he had at least relinquished the practice of his profession in 1616." To which I would add that, as we have no reason to suppose that the monument was executed until some (perhaps five or six) years after 1616, the argument against "the elder Gerard" having been the sculptor employed upon it might have been more strongly stated.[1]

But the most interesting passage concerning the

[1] Since this was written the indefatigable Mrs. Stopes has unearthed the record of a suit in the "Court of Requests," of date 15 James I, which makes it certain that "it was not the elder Garrett [or Gerard] Johnson who designed Shakespeare's tomb, but his son of the same name who survived him, followed his business, and signed his mother's deed," as stated in the extract quoted from the record. See *Notes and Queries*, June 6th, 1914. It appears that Gerard Johnson the elder had gone to "that bourn whence no traveller returns long before Shakspere took that journey." With regard to his son Mrs. Stopes suggests, "His inexperience might have caused the 'artistic faults of the work as shown by Dugdale."

monument upon which I have lighted in Halliwell's book has reference to the work which was executed when it was "repaired and beautified" in 1749. "The material of the bust itself, and of the cushion on which it rests, is a limestone of blue tint; the columns on either side are of black polished marble, and the capitals and bases belonging to them are composed of freestone. *The whole of the entablatures were formerly of white alabaster, but when the monument was repaired, in* 1749, *the architraves being decayed, new ones of marble were substituted*" (Vol. I, p. 229. My italics).

Now Halliwell is a high authority, constantly appealed to by those of the orthodox faith, and I presume he had before him documentary evidence for the above statement. If it be accepted, as I presume it will be, it proves conclusively that the work executed on the monument in 1749 was by no means confined to repainting and such petty repairs as Mr. Lang and Mr. Spielmann suppose to have been carried out by Hall, or under his superintendence. "Hall," says Mr. Spielmann (*Pall Mall Gazette*, December 6th, 1910), "was a painter pure and simple." If so, clearly he was not the man to remove the decayed architraves, and to substitute new entablatures of marble in lieu of the old ones of white alabaster! For this, obviously, a stone-mason and sculptor was required; and it seems that, after all, Mrs. Stopes was in all probability right when she postulated a "sculptor who collaborated with Hall." It is clear also (*pace* Mr. Spielmann) that very considerable "structural restorations," and not "restorations" only, but alterations, were effected. It is true Halliwell tells us that "no other material alteration, if we except that of the old colours, *seems* to have been made to the original," but the word "seems" in itself implies a doubt, and in the mouth of a writer such as Halliwell, who, naturally, wished to believe that no substantial alteration in the original monument had

been made, the sentence certainly leaves a tolerably wide loophole for conjecture.[1]

Here, with regard to Mr. Halliwell's doubt whether the bust was really executed by Gerard Johnson, it may be worth while to quote the following from the letter of a friend who very recently paid a visit to Stratford-on-Avon: "As Gerard Johnson *did* John Combe's tomb, it is certain he did *not* do Shakespeare's bust [i.e. the bust as it exists at present], for John Combe's is a fine piece of sculpture of a man who evidently lived; a face full of expression, and so distinctive of character as obviously was not *invented*, but portrayed from a real person. Shakespeare's is a mere conventional dummy." Mr. Spielmann, by the way, who pours contempt on poor old Dugdale upon every possible occasion, wrote, in *The Pall Mall Gazette* (December 6th, 1910): "When the chronicler avers that the bust, like the recumbent figure of John Combe, hard by Shakespeare's is of alabaster, whereas they are both of local sandstone, we may hesitate to accept unquestioned his authority on every other point." And in his article on the "Portraits of Shakespeare" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.) he repeats this statement, saying that Dugdale—"the accurate Dugdale" as he sarcastically calls him—tells us that Shakespeare's bust is of alabaster, whereas it is of soft stone. But where, I would ask, has Dugdale stated that Shakespeare's bust was of alabaster? Upon this Mr. Lang wrote to me, shortly before his death: "Mr. Spielmann seems to have found Dugdale saying that the bust, like John Combe's is alabaster. I find J. C's alabaster, but not that of W. S.!"[2] And upon

[1] In his *Outlines* Halliwell-Phillipps says that the alterations were "very considerable," and more than mere repair is, surely, implied by the instructions given to Hall to "beautify" the monument.

[2] i.e. He found Dugdale's statement that John Combe's statue was of alabaster, but could not find any similar statement with regard to Shakespeare's bust. Dugdale, in his notice of the monuments in the church at Stratford-on-Avon, says: "At the upper end of the Quire is a fair monument

investigation, it turns out that Dugdale nowhere makes the statement ascribed to him by the critic. It is, alas, Mr. Spielmann who has himself been guilty of the inaccuracy which he imputes to the famous antiquarian. I may be forgiven if I smile, "for 'tis sport to have the enginer hoist with his own petar"! But it is a pity that the error should be perpetuated in the pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[1]

It is possible that the mistake has arisen from the fact, recorded by Halliwell, that during the "restoration" of the monument in 1749 marble entablatures were substituted for the alabaster originals. In this connection it is noteworthy that, as appears by one of the documents cited by Mrs. Stopes (*Pall Mall Gazette*, November 18th, 1910), instructions were given to John Hall as to "what materials" he was to use "to repair the monument of Shakespeare"; which of itself is fairly conclusive evidence that structural reparations were contemplated.

It seems, therefore, that there is more evidence in support of the hypothesis that Shakespeare's bust was materially altered in 1748, or 1749, than either Mrs. Stopes, or Mr. Spielmann, or Mr. Lang were aware of, though whether the face was "reconstructed altogether," as the lady opines, must be a matter of conjecture only.

With regard to Dugdale, Mrs. Stopes writes: "He was an admirer of Shakespeare, and knew the bust he

having a statue thereon cut in alabaster, and in a gown, with the epitaph (in great Letters) Here lyeth interred the body of John Combe Esqr.," etc. etc. John Combe died in 1614.

[1] Since this was in print I have received a most courteous letter from Mr. Spielmann, who writes, *inter alia*, "I look to you to accompany any contradiction you may make [viz. to his statement above-mentioned] with the statement that Dugdale certainly did misapply the description of *alabaster* for *stone* to the John Combe sepulchral monument close by the Shakespeare." My thanks are due to Mr. Spielmann for this and other letters which he has kindly sent me in reply to my request for a reference to the supposed, but, as it turns out, non-existent passage in Dugdale.

engraved," i.e. which Hollar, or some other artist, engraved for him "There was every reason to believe that he would be more careful in regard to representing Shakespeare's tomb (instead of less careful) than he was with others. The second edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire* was revised, corrected, expanded, and the illustrations checked, and added to, by Dr. Thomas, who was also a Warwickshire man, residing very near Stratford-on-Avon, and it takes the representation of the original tomb from the same unaltered block which Dugdale used." This second edition was published in 1730, but more than twenty years before that date, viz. in 1709, Nicholas Rowe, the first biographer of Shakespeare, published his edition of Shakespeare's works, wherein we find a representation of the Stratford bust which agrees with Dugdale's engraving in showing a man with an all-round beard and moustache and with both his hands resting upon a cushion, in fact, as Mrs. Stopes puts it, "agrees with the early rendering in all points in which it differs from the modern one," although the face, in which "there is absolutely no expression," differs considerably from that of the Dugdale print. Rowe, of course, *may* have been content simply to copy from Dugdale, without taking the trouble to compare the engraving with the original bust. We might, indeed, have expected better things from one who came forward as a pioneer of Shakespearean biography, and who had been carefully collecting materials for the poet's Life, but perhaps "seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy" still prevailed in the early years of the eighteenth century.

But when we come to Pope's edition of Shakespeare, published in 1725, we find an engraving of the monument by Vertue, which presents us with an entirely different figure. The effigy no longer clasps a cushion to his body, but, for the first time, we have an engraving representing a man who holds a pen in his right hand and rests his

left on a sheet of paper, both hands resting on a flat cushion. This attitude agrees with that of the bust as we now behold it, but, lo and behold, there are ear-rings in the ears! The artist, in fact, has put the Chandos portrait head upon the body of his effigy! Now Mr. Spielmann finds in this engraving a conclusive proof that the monument at the date in question was in all respects the same as it is at the present time. "Vertue's engraving of the Stratford monument, published as early as 1723, shows the monument *exactly as it is to-day* (while impudently setting the Chandos head on the effigy's shoulders), thus proving that it was as it now is just a quarter of a century before the date of the falsely alleged substitution."

This reasoning seems somewhat remarkable. Vertue's engraving of 1723, we are told, "shows the monument exactly as it is to-day," with one trifling exception. And what is that? Why, instead of the plump, fatuous, sensuous head which is made to do duty for "Shakespeare" to-day at Stratford-on-Avon, the artist had substituted the very greatly superior head of the Chandos portrait (so-called) of the immortal poet. But that matters nothing. The position of the arms, and the hands, and the presence of a pen, "*prove* that the monument was as it is now." And with regard to Mrs. Stopes, Mr. Spielmann writes: "That scholarly lady was betrayed into thinking that the coincidence of the traitor-engraving of Dugdale (in whom she believed) and the repairs to the monument in 1748, implied that a substitution had been made in that year; but the existence of Vertue's engraving a quarter of a century before shattered that contention." And then, adopting Lord Randolph Churchill's historical saying, he adds, "She had '*forgotten Goschen*'!"

It is clear from this amazing statement that Mr. Spielmann had not, at the time when he so wrote, taken the trouble to read the "scholarly lady's article," for so

far is it from being the fact that she had "forgotten Goschen," i.e. the Vertue engraving of 1725, that she presents us with a reproduction of it, as of the other engravings referred to, and actually "prays it in aid" as supporting her contention.

The "scholarly lady," in fact, argues as follows. In 1744 Sir Thomas Hanmer brought out his edition of Shakespeare, wherein there is an engraving of the monument by Gravelot, who "copies from Vertue the monument and the figure, while he alters the face into what seems to be the original of *The Birthplace Portrait.*" Now when the monument was repaired and "beautified" in 1748, or 1749, those responsible for the alterations "probably worked with the new edition of Shakespeare before them as a guide, depending upon Gravelot and Hanmer of 1744. Alas for the result!"

What, then, of the Vertue engraving from which Gravelot copied—that engraving which Mr. Spielmann says Mrs. Stopes had "forgotten"? This is the lady's theory with regard to it. "Vertue did not go to Stratford but to Rowe for his copy. Finding it so very inartistic, he *improved* the monument, making the little angels light-bearers rather than bearers of spade and hourglass, and instead of the bust *he gives a composition from the Chandos portrait*, altering the arms and hands, and adding a cloak, pen, paper and desk *It retains, however*, the drooping moustache, and slashed sleeves." Mrs. Stopes, therefore, considers the Vertue engraving as "a purely imaginary version," as well she may, seeing that the artist has adorned the effigy with the "Chandos head" just a little altered! Her theory, therefore, is that Gravelot having copied from Vertue for Hanmer's edition of 1744, and the "restorers" of the monument working with this edition before them, it thus came to pass that they *altered* the original figure by placing the hands in the position shown by Gravelot and copied by him from

Vertue. According to this hypothesis, then, the position of the hands, and the presence of a pen in the right hand of the bust of to-day, owe their origin to Vertue's "purely imaginary version."

And this, forsooth, is the lady who had "forgotten Goschen"! I fear some of the "seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy" have descended to some of our art-critics of the present day!

I have endeavoured to set forth the arguments both for and against the substantial accuracy of the Dugdale engraving with impartiality. It is a question of great interest to Shakespearean students, and it is lamentable that the issue should be obscured by "Baconian" or "anti-Baconian" prejudices. Mr. Lang, in *The National Review* of August, 1912, and in a letter previously communicated by him to *The Morning Post* (July 5th, 1912), not only suggested that the "Baconians," for controversial purposes, are anxious to discredit the authenticity of the present Stratfordian monument, but that they even "think that the gloomy parishioner [of the Dugdale engraving] is Bacon, hugging the woolsack of which he had been deprived." Now I am not a "Baconian," but I am tolerably familiar with the writings of that heretical sect, and I have never seen the suggestion made that Dugdale's "melancholy man" was intended for Bacon. It was the orthodox Mrs. Stopes who, in jocular vein, remarked that the cushion upon which the Dugdale figure rests his hands, "suspiciously resembles *a woolsack*." I myself have written: "If I should be told that Dugdale's effigy represented an elderly farmer deploring an exceptionally bad harvest, 'I should not feel it to be strange'! Neither should I feel it at all strange if I were told that it was the presentment of a philosopher and Lord Chancellor, who had fallen from high estate and had recognised that all things are but vanity!"[1] "Yah, Baconian!" cried

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 248.

Professor Dryasdust at once. Well, I must not complain. I brought it upon my own head. I know by long experience that if one ventures to stray, though for but a few seconds, from the tarred road of solemnity and "deadly earnest"—if, to drop metaphor, one hazards a few remarks in a jocular spirit, vainly thinking to enliven the monotony of a serious argument, every dismal Professor Dryasdust will, of course, take them, *more suo*, *au pied de la lettre* and *au grand sérieux*. I repeat, therefore, that I cannot complain. But when it is intimated by such a writer as the late Mr. Lang that, in combating the trustworthiness of Dugdale, he is, at the same time, tilting against "Baconian" heresies, it becomes an article of faith with all true believers to range themselves on his side, and thus a question, which ought to be one of pure literary and antiquarian interest, seems likely to become a mere bone of contention between heated and acrimonious disputants. At the same time it is, of course, obvious that if it could be established that the graven image of "Shakespeare" as originally set up, differed essentially and fundamentally from the Stratford bust of to-day, "the mystery" which, as Mr. Spielmann truly says, "surrounds much," if not all, "in the life and work of Shakespeare" is *pro tanto* increased, and it is not difficult to see that the gain will lie upon the side of the "Anti-Willians." But, equally of course, it is quite possible that both Dugdale and Hollar (or whoever the engraver may have been) were as grossly negligent, and as entirely untrustworthy, as Mr. Spielmann tells us, and as Mr. Lang apparently believed. It is possible that that Blessed expression "seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy" may explain everything. Nevertheless I cannot think that the question has as yet been conclusively settled against the contention of "the scholarly Mrs. Stopes." Perhaps some more evidence may some day come to light. Vertue, as is well known, left a multitude of notes concerning

artists and their works, filling some thirty volumes, and among them it is quite probable that there may be some treating of Shakespeare and the Stratford monument. Further, there is at Welbeck Abbey, as Mr. Richard Goulding the librarian there has kindly informed me, a note made by Vertue in 1737 to the following effect: "Mr. Harbord, Statuary, lives there, at Stratford, and I commissioned him to make me a cast from the Bust of Shakespeare's head on his monument." If this cast is still in existence and could be traced it would, presumably, settle the question of Dugdale's accuracy so far as the engraving is concerned Incidentally, the note shows that in the eighteenth century liberties were taken with the bust of "the immortal bard," which would not now be tolerated. It would be interesting to know more of "Mr. Harbord, Statuary." Whether he lived to 1749, and whether he was the sculptor who collaborated with John Hall, this deponent sayeth not! It is, I suppose, possible.

It is unnecessary to say that there is much diversity of opinion among learned critics and "experts" in this matter, as in the matter of the so-called "portraits" of Shakespeare generally. I may, for instance, refer to an article by Professor Wislicenus which appeared in *The Westminster Gazette* of August 14th, 1912, headed "The Face of Shakespeare."

This learned professor contends that the true face of Shakespeare is to be found not in the Chandos portrait, as it now exists, but in a photograph of that portrait (alleged to have been taken by the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington) before it had been repainted, but after it had been "scrubbed" and cleaned. The following quotation is of interest in view of the controversy concerning the "Dugdale" engraving: "Credit is due to Mr Spielmann for having stated that the head of Shakespeare on the engraving of his monument in Rowe's edition of his works (1709) was taken from the Chandos

portrait; but I have to add that the same is true of the engraving in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*. The severe features, the drooping moustache, the beard given to the poet by the engraver, are not those of the bust in Stratford Church, but of the *original* Chandos portrait before its modern restoration. This is a weighty reason for recognising the original Chandos portrait as a genuine representation of the living man, for Dugdale's work appeared in 1656, only forty years after the poet's death. It is pleasant to be able to carry back the pedigree of the Chandos portrait till so near to Shakespeare's own time." I may add, in parenthesis, that, although Dugdale's work was not published till 1656, it is known to have been prepared some twenty years before that date. Professor Wislicenus further tells us that "the authenticity of the Chandos picture in its original state" is "proved by Dugdale's engraving of the Stratford bust"! So, then, according to this learned professor, the "Dugdale" engraving is not a mere wild and ridiculous inaccuracy, but was actually taken from the Chandos portrait, the true picture of the real Shakespeare, in its original state, and is vouched in proof of the authenticity of the portrait! All this is very interesting, and not a little amusing.

The reflection at once presents itself that if the Dugdale engraving really corresponds with the Chandos portrait, "in its original state," it may, possibly, have corresponded also with the Stratford bust *in its original state*. However, in the same journal of August 20th, 1912, Mr. Spielmann, in an article headed "Trifling with 'The Face of Shakespeare'," comes down upon the German professor in characteristically sledge-hammer style. He denies *in toto* the accuracy of the professor's alleged facts with regard to the South Kensington photograph of the Chandos portrait, and with regard to the allegation of the "scouring" and extensive repainting of that portrait, and cites Sir George Scharf, in 1864, who "denied that

any such repainting or even *important*[1] retouching had taken place." But, says Mr Spielmann, "it does not much matter, for the portrait departs so radically from the Droeshout print and the Stratford bust—*the two authoritative likenesses*—that to a healthily sceptical student its authenticity as a genuine life-portrait of Shakespeare is inadmissible"; and he expresses not unnatural surprise that the professor should seek to identify "the robust and bucolic Stratford bust" with "the Italian Jewish-looking Chandos portrait." This was followed by a letter (August 23rd, 1912) from Mr. Randall Davies, F.S.A., who expresses the belief that the Chandos portrait is "far more authentic as a likeness than the Stratford bust (which could only have been executed when Shakespeare was in his grave) or the grotesque print prefixed to the folio seven years after his death."

With these criticisms of the "Stratford bust" and the "grotesque print" I most cordially agree, but it is quite probable that the Chandos portrait also is as little "authentic" as those two ridiculous effigies. Now I do not propose to repeat here what I wrote in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (chap. VIII) on "The Portraits of 'Shakespeare'." On further consideration I see nothing to repent of in what is there written, but it is not necessary to go over all that old ground again. Let us see, however, what Mr. Spielmann, the "expert," has to say with regard to Shakespeare's "portraits." There are many of them, and all differ widely amongst themselves. One is almost tempted to say that Shakespeare must have been not only a "myriad-minded" but also a myriad-headed man. He really seems to have been as "many-headed" as Southey's demon. The fact is, as I wrote before, "that just as the utter dearth of information concerning Shakespeare tempted unprincipled men to deceive the public

[1] My italics. It appears, then, there *was* some "retouching" though not "important"!

by forgery of documents purporting to supply new facts—such as John Jordan's fabrications, Ireland's wholesale forgeries, and the numerous forgeries promulgated by John Payne Collier—so the absence of any authentic portrait of Shakespeare prompted needy and unprincipled artists to supply the public demand, and their own necessities at the same time, by fabricating likenesses of 'the immortal bard'—all of them, of course, of undoubtedly contemporaneous date!"[1]

Mr. John Corbin, in his little work on *A New Portrait of Shakespeare*, has told us how "for many decades the Director of the National Portrait Gallery was asked on an average of rather more than once a year to buy a presentment of the great dramatist, a counterfeit presentment, usually at an exorbitant price, and to this day, the Director informs me, the supply continues." This writer gives us a very interesting account of how these "portraits" were manufactured with especial reference to the methods of Messrs. Zincke and Holder, as to whom, and as to this matter generally, further details will be found in the pages of Abraham Wivell on *Shakespeare's Portraits* (1827) and James Boaden on the same subject (1824). There was thus no dearth of Shakespeare portraits, and they were so various as to suit the taste and ideas of every proposing purchaser. And what is the result? Mr. Spielmann, in the *Stratford Town Shakespeare* (Vol. X, p. 374), writes as follows: "I may say at once that a long and minute study of the portraits of Shakespeare in every medium and material has led me, otherwise hopeful as I was at the outset years ago, no distance at all towards the firm establishment of the reputation of any one of them as a true life-portrait." And in an article contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.) he writes: "Exhaustive study of the subject, extended over a series of years, has brought

[1] *Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 238.

the present writer to the conclusion—identical with that entertained by leading Shakespearean authorities—that two portraits only can be accepted without question as authentic likenesses." And what are these two portraits? "The bust" in Stratford Church and the Droeshout engraving! But the ordinary man in ordinary parlance, not being an "expert," makes a distinction between a statue and a "portrait," and does not apply that term to a bust. It comes to this, then, that Mr. Spielmann recognises one "portrait" of Shakespeare, and only one, and that is the portentous, idiotic, hydrocephalous Droeshout signboard! But he also accepts "the bust" as an authentic likeness—the "bucolic" bust of which Mrs. Stopes truly says that "everyone who approaches it is more disappointed in it as a revelation of the poet than even in the crude lines of Droeshout"! But it is not a little difficult to conceive that these two are counterfeit presentments of the same man—unless, indeed, we look at them through Stratfordian glasses, purchased for the occasion, in which case anything is possible, and we shall see what we want to see. But let any impartial man look at the two side by side. He will probably be reminded of the saying concerning Cæsar and Pompey, who were "very much like—both so like neither you couldn't tell t'other from which"! Let us see what Sir Sidney Lee has to say concerning these "heavenly twins." He puts it very mildly. "Each is an inartistic attempt at posthumous likeness. There is considerable discrepancy between the two; their main points of resemblance are the baldness on the top of the head, and the fulness of the hair about the ears." *The baldness* on the top of the head! Yes, indeed, one bald man resembles another, so far as baldness is concerned, and in the crude and ridiculous Droeshout print "the fulness of the hair about the ears (only a piece of one ear is shown, and that is deformed!), is so exaggerated as to add greatly to the

absurdity of this quaint caricature. Then, again, each has a very high forehead, and in each face there is a notable absence of expression. But, in other respects, the resemblance between the two seems to melt 'into thin air'"[1] Well may Sir Sidney Lee say of the sensuous fatuous bust that "the workmanship is at all points clumsy. The round face and eyes present a heavy unintellectual expression." As to the maker thereof, whether Gerard Johnson (or Janssen), or one of his sons, as Halliwell thought probable, or some other, Mr. Corbin truly writes that: "Unfortunately he seems scarcely to have deserved his very modest title of 'tombe-maker.' The face of the bust is even cruder in modelling, if possible, than that of the print is in draughtsmanship." But in one particular "the face of the bust," as this writer also points out, resembles nothing that ever was on sea or land. "In the normal face the hair begins at the base of the nose, often in the very nostrils, and this is notably the case in the Droeshout engraving. In the bust there is a wide and very ugly interval."[2] Now, that "in the normal face the hair begins at the base of the nose" is an indisputable fact. Let the reader examine any of his friends who wears a moustache, or look in the glass if he wears one himself. He will see that the hair begins immediately under the nose, and "the wide and ugly interval" is a feature for which we may seek natural humanity in vain. Mr. Spielmann thinks Shakespeare must have been "shaven" in this unnatural and quite unique manner. He thinks

[1] Mr. Elton, an unexceptional witness upon such a matter, says: "The bust is so unlike the Droeshout print in the First Folio . . . that the presentments might well belong to different persons" (*William Shakespeare, His Family and Friends*, p. 232). Further as to the print see *ante*, p. 395 *et seq.*

[2] This is well shown in the engraving of the mask said to have been taken from the Stratford bust, facing p 26 of Mr. Corbin's book. It is not revealed in Mr. Lee's frontispiece of the Stratford monument in his *Illustrated Life of Shakespeare*. It is, however, very clearly shown in the frontispiece engraving to Vol. I. of the Comedies in Knight's *Pictorial Shakespeare* (Virtue & Co.).

that this "*shaven* space between the nose and moustache, and between moustache and lip," is merely a "long-prevailing fashion carried to an extreme." He says that certain portraits of other persons show the same thing. I have not been able to see these other portraits, and I venture to doubt if there ever was such a "fashion," viz. to shave the upper lip "between the nose and the moustache" It certainly would be a most unnatural and most uncomfortable operation But, in any case, if Shakespeare had adopted this alleged "fashion" how is it that other supposed portraits of him do not exhibit it? Why is it not seen in the "Chandos," or the "Ely Palace," or the "Flower,"[1] or the "Janson," or the "Soest," or any of the other "portraits"? Are we to suppose that Shakespeare adopted it for this occasion only? Is not the supposed fashion, in fact, a "fond thing vainly invented"?[2]

These, then, are your gods, O Israel—the Stratford bust, and the Droeshout portrait! And these, says Mr. Spielmann, the "expert," are to be accepted "*without question*" Well, if accepted they are to be, it is certainly best to accept them so, for if once we begin to "question," then "to a healthily sceptical student," to adopt Mr. Spielmann's words, cited above with regard to the Chandos portrait, the authenticity of the bust "as a genuine life-portrait of Shakespeare is inadmissible" But if these two terrible effigies are really to be received as likenesses of our great immortal, then I can only think that Byron

[1] As to the "Flower" portrait it may be said, in passing, that it seems quite clear that it was painted from the Droeshout engraving (of which it is a much improved version) and that it was not, as some have supposed, the original upon which that engraving was founded.

[2] The bust, as is well known, shows what appears to be an abnormal upper lip with a thin moustache quaintly stretched across it. Mr. Spielmann says that the excessive length of the lip is appearance only, but Sir F. Chantrey, than whom we could not have a better authority, and who examined the bust carefully, spoke to the Rev. William Harness of "the extraordinary length of the upper lip."

must have had poor Shakespeare in his mind when, in answer to the question "What is the end of fame?" he replied that it is

> To have, when the original is dust,
> A name, *a wretched picture, and worse bust*!

Shakespeare has indeed "a name" that is not of an age, but for all time. He also has, alas, a truly "wretched picture," and, if that be possible, "a worse bust." In such depressing circumstances it is indeed best to take old Ben's advice and "look" "not on his picture but his book."

For, as we began so we must conclude, in the words of Mr. Spielmann, omitting but two monosyllables. "The mystery that surrounds the life and work of Shakespeare extends also to his portraiture." It does indeed, and it extends to his monument no less.[1]

[1] As already mentioned, it is unknown when or by whom the monument was erected. Upon it are inscribed some Latin lines (containing a "howling" false quantity which, I trow, would at the Grammar School have brought trouble to the perpetrator), comparing Shakespeare to Nestor in the matter of experienced judgment, to Socrates in the matter of philosophical genius, and to Virgil in the matter of poetic art. Truly not very happy comparisons! Then follow some English lines, which speak of Shakespeare as being "within this monument," which he certainly is not if he, the true Shakespeare, was buried under the stone which imprecates a curse on any that should move his bones.

[As to the "Dugdale" engraving see further Appendix B and Appendix C.]

CHAPTER XVII

SHAKESPEARE AND "NATURE"

SOCRATES used to point out that the word "Nature" was used in such multifarious senses that those who employed it in argument would inevitably be at cross-purposes, and their discourse futile, unless they began by defining it. When, therefore, Shakespeare is spoken of as "the poet of nature" it is as well to consider what exactly we mean by the word in this connection.

Now in *The Nineteenth Century* for April, 1913, there was published an article by Sir Edward Sullivan under the title "What Shakespeare saw in Nature." In it I find the following passage: "An article was published a good many years ago in *The Quarterly Review* which might well be passed by unnoticed but for its having recently been adopted, almost in its entirety, by the author of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, and followed to a very considerable extent by a distinguished literary professor[1] in his work on Shakespeare. Commencing with what seems to be a misreading of what Johnson says in his preface to his well-known edition of Shakespeare's works, the Reviewer proceeds to demonstrate by a series of distorted conclusions that Shakespeare had no real sympathy or knowledge of a personal sort in his treatment of the wild birds and wild animals which he has mentioned in

[1] The allusion is to Professor Sir Walter Raleigh.

his works, and that—to put the matter shortly—his acquaintance with such subjects was the result of *reading* and not of observation."[1]

Let us now see what the argument of this Reviewer really is,[2] and then proceed to consider Sir Edward's criticism of it.

And, first, has there been, either on the part of the Reviewer or of myself, any "misreading of what Johnson says" in his famous preface? Johnson wrote: "Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature." There the commentators usually stop, and the above words are quoted with acclamation, as though Johnson's opinion was that Shakespeare is the great "Naturalist" poet. But let us see how the passage continues, and there shall be no "misreading" of it: "The poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world; by the peculiarities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon small numbers; or by the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions: they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply and obser-

[1] If by the words "adopted almost in its entirety by the author of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*," Sir Edward Sullivan means that I subscribe to all that I have quoted from the Quarterly Reviewer, I must demur to the statement. I believe the Reviewer is on the whole quite right in the view he takes, as I shall endeavour to demonstrate, but I think he is wrong in some of his pronouncements. For instance, I think he is probably wrong concerning "the female dove when that her golden couplets are disclosed," for the Cambridge Editors long ago pointed to the words "the hatch and the disclose" in *Hamlet*, Act III, 1, 174, as showing that "disclosed" means hatched, and as the turtle dove lays two eggs, and the young are at first covered with yellow down, and "the female sits on them if the weather be cold, both night and day" (Morris), I think the turtle dove and not the wood pigeon is alluded to, more especially as the former will readily breed in confinement, and could be observed with great facility even by a dweller in the town.

[2] "Shakespeare's Birds and Beasts," *Quarterly Review*, April, 1894.

vation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species. It is from this wide extension of design that so much instruction is derived. It is this which fills the plays of Shakespeare with practical axioms and domestick wisdom. It was said of Euripides, that every verse was a precept, and it may be said of Shakespeare, that from his works may be collected a system of civil and economical prudence."

This is admirable; and it clearly shows us in what sense Shakespeare was, in Johnson's opinion, "the poet of nature." He was the poet of *human* nature; a proposition which nobody, I imagine, has ever disputed or will dispute. It is very much akin to what Dryden said, viz. that Shakespeare "needed not the spectacles of books to read Nature, for he looked inwards and found her there."

But Johnson does not stop here, for, further on, he says: "Nor was his attention confined to the actions of men; he was an exact surveyor of *the inanimate world*; his descriptions have always some peculiarities, gathered by contemplating things as they really exist." And now we have a complete statement of Johnson's meaning when he described Shakespeare as "the poet of nature." He is the poet of *human* nature and of *inanimate* nature. Where, I should like to know, is the "misreading" here? To make use once more of one of Mr. J. M. Robertson's favourite expressions, "the cavil is absurd." But, as the Quarterly Reviewer truly comments, "This phrase of Johnson's has been passed on by pen to pen, and in time 'nature' has become to be written 'Nature,' and his words to mean that Shakespeare was a born naturalist." Thus, to take an example, Charles Knight has expressed his opinion that "Shakspere was a naturalist in the very best sense of

the word. He watched the great phenomena of nature, the economy of the animal creation, and the peculiarities of inanimate existence; and he set these down with almost undeviating exactness, in the language of the highest poetry."[1] And those who will consult the works of this and other commentators will find that they speak of Shakespeare's marvellous accuracy of observation, in matters of natural history, with reference to passages that actually teem with errors, as, for instance, his well-known allusions to the supposed habits of bees and cuckoos. He is described as though he were a worthy precursor of White of Selborne; a close observer of the life-habits of all the birds of the air and the beasts of the field.[2]

Now, let it be clearly understood, this criticism is directed not against Shakespeare but against the Shakspeariolaters. The allegation is not that Shakespeare was not "in true sympathy with nature," animate as well as inanimate, or that the plays do not bear upon them "the hall-mark of the great-hearted lover of Nature."[3] We have only to recall such exquisite and familiar passages, as (e.g.)

> Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with Beauty,

or

> I know a bank where the wild thyme blows,
> Where oxlips, and the nodding violet grows,

to say nothing of some others of the lovely lyrics, to ap-

[1] *Pictorial Shakspere.* Illustrations of *1 Henry IV*, Act V.

[2] Charles Knight says: "Before White and Jenner and Montagu had described the remarkable proceedings of the cuckoo, Shakspere described them" and "from what he saw." I may refer the reader to Worcester's allusions to "that ungentle gull the cuckoo's bird," and its treatment of the sparrow, in *1 Henry IV*, Act V, Sc. 1, to show the absurdity of this. And see *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 427.

[3] I quote from an article on "Shakespeare's Nature," by Mr. G. A. B. Dewar in *The New Liberal Review*, Jan. 1904.

preciate how great was the delight that Shakespeare found in nature, other than human, and more especially in *flowers*. But to represent him as one who had observed and studied the lives and the habits of birds and beasts, whether on the banks of the Avon, or elsewhere, and whose description of their ways is marked by unfailing accuracy, is to make a claim for him which, surely, cannot be sustained. This is stated as mere matter of fact—which can, I maintain, be demonstrated from "the works themselves"—not, certainly, as a matter of reproach. It would be absurd indeed to find fault with the great poet because he was not a "Naturalist," an observer of animate Nature such as was Gilbert White. It is against the commentators whose indiscriminate admiration has so characterised him that the criticism of the Quarterly Reviewer is directed, and as against them it is, surely, just, and well deserved.

But now let us consider a passage from *The Quarterly Review* article which Sir Edward Sullivan particularly singles out for animadversion:—

"He (Shakespeare) has no butterflies in his sunshine, *no moths in his twilight, no crickets in his meadows, no bees in his flowers.* Living creatures do not slip naturally into his landscape. When he thought of being out in the field and garden and orchard, he did not think of the small life that goes to gladden the scene, and makes the country so blithe and beautiful for most of us."

Sir Edward Sullivan calls this a "strange example of unpardonable nonsense," and says it "can best be answered by Shakespeare himself." But before we consider the "answer" let us think for a moment what the passage means, and what was, obviously, in the Reviewer's mind.

It does not mean, of course, that Shakespeare never makes mention of "butterflies," or "moths," or "bees," or "small life" of that sort. It means that Shakespeare

does not introduce such living objects into his dramas as part of the animated life which we might expect to find in such a play as *As You Like It*, for example. They may, indeed, be mentioned incidentally, but they form no part of the living picture. Such is the allegation. And now how does Sir Edward Sullivan undertake to answer it from "Shakespeare himself"?

"Let us take it," he says, "step by step." And this is how he does it.

"*No butterflies in his sunshine.*" Why, says Sir Edward, "when Cominius is speaking of Coriolanus and the Volscians he says:

> they follow him
> Against us brats, with no less confidence
> Than boys pursuing summer butterflies."

Nay, more, "Valeria tells Volumnia how she had seen the young Coriolanus run 'after a gilded butterfly,' and 'mammock it.'" Again, Titania tells the fairies, who were to wait upon Bottom, to

> Pluck the wings from painted butterflies
> To fan the moonbeams from his sleeping eyes.

And there is yet more to be obtained from Clarke's *Concordance*, for Lear cries to Cordelia,

> We two alone will sing like birds in the cage;
> . . . And tell old tales and laugh
> At gilded butterflies,

and, finally, "*Troilus and Cressida* supplies us with

> For men, like butterflies,
> Show not their mealy wings but to the summer."

So these are Shakespeare's happy butterflies in the sunshine! Butterflies pursued by boys, introduced metaphorically. A butterfly torn to pieces by the brutal young Coriolanus Butterflies that have their wings torn

away in order to provide fans for Bottom the weaver. "Gilded butterflies" laughed at by the crazy Lear; and here again the word is used metaphorically, for these "gilded butterflies" stand for light and frivolous persons, courtiers who flutter around kings and courts. And yet again the word is used as a metaphor in *Troilus and Cressida*, just to provide a simile—"men, like butterflies"!

Does Sir Edward Sullivan really think that this is an answer to the Quarterly Reviewer? Can he not see that the writer was thinking not of mangled and mutilated and metaphorical butterflies, but of live butterflies fluttering over the flowers in the summer sunshine? Irrelevancy could, surely, go no further.

"*No moths in his twilight.*" "But the truth is," says Sir Edward Sullivan, "there *are* moths, only that Shakespeare's moths are—quite correctly—the little insects that lead a lazy life eating our clothes, and when they do come out in the twilight getting singed by the candle for their pains. Shakespeare's complete accuracy in this small matter is well illustrated by an observation of Bacon, who in his *Natural History* remarks: 'The moth breedeth upon cloth and other lanifices, especially if they be laid up dankish and wet. It delighteth to be about the flame of a candle' (Cent. VII, Spedding II, 558). So Shakespeare is shown to have known what a *moth* was in his own day better than the writer of the article in question"!

What are we to say to such an amazing pronouncement as this? The Quarterly Reviewer says that Shakespeare has "no moths in his twilight." True, says Sir Edward Sullivan, but "there *are* moths," the moths that eat our clothes, and he actually quotes Bacon to show that they breed upon cloth, and "delight" to be about the flame of a candle! See then the "complete accuracy" of Shakespeare! *He* knew "what a moth

was in his own day" (the moth of Shakespeare's day was, I presume, different from the moth of to-day!), and he knew much more about it than the writer of the article, who actually thought there were other moths that came out in the twilight! Sir Edward does not quote Shakespeare in this instance,—though probably he had in mind Portia's saying anent the Prince of Arragon in the Casket scene, "Thus hath the candle singed the moth." But, truly, it is not only the moth that "breedeth upon cloth," but many other moths also, that fly into the candle! Moreover, Sir Edward Sullivan appears to think it is "*the moths*" that eat our clothes, whereas, of course, it is the *larvæ* or grubs! I trust Shakespeare's *Natural History* was at least more accurate than this. But, really, this "answer" to the Reviewer's statement is so extraordinary—to put it mildly—that it seems to me almost cruel to have allowed it to appear in print.

"*No crickets in his meadows.*" "Here," says Sir Edward, "the Quarterly Reviewer speaks the exact truth," but "as a matter of fact, crickets were not to be found in the Stratford meadows in Elizabethan times, or in any other meadows of that day." This again is an extraordinary statement Were there no "hedge-crickets," or "field-crickets," or "mole-crickets" in England in the seventeenth century? When, and whence, then, were they introduced? Are we to suppose that Sir Edward is ignorant of the fact that there are three British species of crickets besides the house-cricket; or that he is presuming upon the ignorance of his readers?[1]

[1] I suspect the Reviewer included "grass-hoppers" among "crickets," but as that would not be "accurate" language I cannot give him the benefit of the assumption. How exquisitely a great poet of "Nature" can write about "the small life that goes to gladden the scene, and makes the country' so blithe and beautiful" is well illustrated by Keats's well-known sonnet to "The Grasshopper and the Cricket," and I may add that Leigh Hunt's sonnet on the same subject is almost, if not quite, as beautiful. But the "cricket" here is, of course, "the cricket on the hearth," which Shake-

"*No bees in his flowers.*" Here Sir Edward has rather a better answer to give, for he can refer the Reviewer to Ariel's delightful song, "Where the bee sucks, there suck I," and Bottom's request to Cobweb, "Good Mounsieur, get you your weapons in your hand, and kill me a red-hipped humble bee on the top of a thistle"; but whether these citations refute the statement that Shakespeare has "no bees in his flowers," when the writer's true meaning is considered, I must leave it to the reader to say. Certainly the famous passage in *Henry V* (I, 2) concerning the "honey-bees" and their ways, which is full of errors concerning the life of the bee (a fact of which it would be absurd to complain), will not be accepted by many as rebutting evidence. The Reviewer, I apprehend, was thinking of "modern instances," such as those beautiful lines of Shelley (e.g.):

> He would watch from dawn to gloom
> The lake-reflected sun illume
> The yellow bees in the ivy bloom,

where we have the true note of a great poet who loved to watch the bees and the birds, as well as the

> Autumn evening, and the morn
> When the golden mists are born.

I maintain, then, that the Reviewer's statement, properly considered, is a true one. But to find fault with the poet because he does not portray butterflies fluttering over sunlit blossoms, or moths gleaming in the twilight—because there are no crickets in his meadows, and because there is no living picture of "bees in his flowers," would, as it seems to me, be very unreasonable, speare has mentioned several times. He never alludes to the voice of the grasshopper "from hedge to hedge about the new-mown mead," or "among some grassy hills," nor mentions the creature at all except to tell us that the cover of Queen Mab's waggon is made "of the wings of grasshoppers."

and the Reviewer's contention, viz., as I understand it, that Shakespeare, profoundly though he had studied human nature, closely though he had observed, and deeply though he had contemplated the phenomena of the inanimate world, had really devoted no close or sympathetic observation to the wild birds, and the wild animals, or, for the matter of that, to the fishes or the insects, whether at Stratford or elsewhere—must, if it is to be sustained, rest upon a broader basis than this. Let us, therefore, consider another passage from the article in question, which Sir Edward Sullivan especially singles out for ridicule and utter condemnation. It relates to that most delightful play *As You Like It*.

"His [i.e. Shakespeare's] characters live in Arden Forest, and yet they never hear or see a single bird, or insect, or flower all the time they are there. As for animals, deer excepted (and these the poet was compelled to introduce, for food), there is only a lioness, and 'a green and gilded snake.' . . . The oak is the only forest tree in the play; there is not a flower in it. Even the words 'flower' and 'leaf' are never mentioned in the play nor the word 'bird' except in an interpolated song."

"A more preposterous sentence could hardly be penned," cries Sir Edward. Let us see, then, how he disposes of it. First, "even if literally true as to 'flower' and 'leaf,' it would be meaningless—the whole indications as to the season of the year throughout the play pointing to winter-time." I am not much concerned to dispute this. There are, of course, many allusions to winter in the play, as where the exiled Duke says,

> Here feel we but the penalty of Adam,
> The seasons' difference; as the icy fang
> And churlish chiding of the winter's wind, etc.,

though it does not follow from this that it is supposed to be winter at the time of the action of the play.

For example, Amiens's song in Act II, Sc. 1,

> Under the greenwood tree
> Who loves to lie with me
> And tune his merry note
> Unto the sweet bird's throat,

is not exactly suggestive of winter, though it does conclude:

> Here shall he see
> No enemy
> But winter and rough weather.

But his "green holly" song is wintry, certainly.

Nevertheless we find it difficult to conceive that the flight of Rosalind and Celia, and their roaming in the forest, was in the winter time, and when we read of Jacques

> as he lay along
> Under an oak whose antique root peeps out
> Upon the brook that brawls along this wood,

or of the fool

> Who laid him down and bask'd him in the sun,

we are not apt to think of the "winter wind" or a "bitter sky," that does "the waters warp", and it is, I presume, for these, among other reasons, that when the play is staged, we always see the forest green with leaves. "We hear the wind rustling in the fragrant leaves of the fairyland of Arden," says the Editor of the *Henry Irving Shakespeare*, who, giving rein to his poetic imagination, speaks of "leafy solitudes sweet with the song of birds"!

However, let that pass, for Sir Edward has much more to say. "As a matter of fact the whole extract is in the main untrue, for amongst the birds *actually mentioned*[1] are 'a Barbary cock-pigeon' and 'his hen,' 'a parrot,' 'the falcon,' 'a wild-goose,' 'the ravens,' 'the

[1] My italics.

sparrow,' 'pigeons' and 'their young,' 'chanticleer,' and 'Juno's swan.'"

See there now! This idiot of a Reviewer had told us that "we never hear or see a single bird," whereas all these birds are to be found disporting themselves in the forest of Arden! It is "a populous solitude of birds and bees"! But stay a moment. The Reviewer says nothing about *actually mentioned*; he is, of course, speaking of birds and beasts brought before us as denizens of the forest, and part of the country-life which is pictured before our mind's eye by the dramatist. Now, therefore, let us see how it is that "the characters" who "live in Arden Forest . . . hear or see" all these birds which Sir Edward Sullivan has catalogued in order to refute the "preposterous" Reviewer.

"I will be more jealous of thee," says Rosalind, "than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen, more clamorous than a parrot against rain"! Here at once, then, are three birds. But are they in the forest of Arden and part of its life? Are they heard or seen by the dwellers in the forest? Well, they are in Rosalind's mouth anyway! But, really, with every wish to be polite it is difficult to characterise such arguments in courteous terms. Let us, however, examine further the list of birds that populate the forest of Arden. "The falcon," "a wild goose," "the ravens," "the sparrow," "pigeons" and "their young." This sounds promising. All these, certainly, ought to be found among the boughs or the streams of Arden. Well, and what says Touchstone? "As the ox hath his bow, sir, the horse his curb, and the falcon her bells, so man hath his desires; and as pigeons bill, so wedlock would be nibbling."

Further, when Rosalind, speaking of Monsieur Le Beau, says, "With his mouth full of news," Celia answers, "which he will put on us as pigeons feed their young." So much for "the falcon" and "the pigeons and their

young"! What of the "wild-goose"? Can we not see him winging his way over the forest trees, a most appropriate part of the wintry scene? Well, not exactly; for this is how he is "actually mentioned." Listen to Jaques:

> Let me see wherein
> My tongue hath wronged him; if it do him right
> Then he hath wronged himself; if he be free,
> Why then my taxing like a wild-goose flies,
> Unclaimed of any man.

There's for the wild-goose in the forest of Arden! Ah, but what of the "ravens" and the "sparrow"? Just this—

> He that doth the ravens feed,
> Yea, providently caters for the sparrow,
> Be comfort to my age!

Do we not now hear the ravens croaking, and the sparrows chirping in the forest? Who says Shakespeare was not a true "naturalist" now?

But "chanticleer" and "Juno's swans"! Listen to Jacques once more:

> When I did hear
> The motley fool thus moral on the time,
> My lungs began to crow like chanticleer.

Ah, those little forest-homesteads where

> The cock with lively din
> Scatters the rear of darkness thin,

how wonderfully they are thus brought before us!

Then, too, Celia says, speaking of herself and Rosalind,

> And wheresoe'er we went, like Juno's swans,
> Still we went coupled and inseparable.

Thus much, then, for the birds that Shakespeare brings before us as part of the life of the forest!

Comment is, surely, needless. But how about the "animals"? Why, "of animals there are mentioned no less than twenty-two, as anyone may see who reads the play," and Sir Edward kindly supplies us with a list of them. "Animals to be found in the play are horse, hare, goats, sheep, lambs, rams, cows, ewes, hogs, horn-beasts, dog-apes, weasel, hyen, toad, ape, snail, monkey, dog, cony, rat, cat, as well as hart and hind, and other deer (*without* reference to food)."

This, again, sounds promising indeed. There are hyenas, and apes, and monkeys, and conies, and many other animals to be found in Arden, giving life and animation to the scene. Alas, then, for this purblind Reviewer, and alas, that I should have been so deceived by him!

But let us again examine a little further. How are these animals "found in the play"?

Take the "horse" first. Well, certainly, there are four mentions of horses.

> His horses are bred better (Act I, Sc. 1).
>
> As a puisny tilter that spurs his horse but on one side (Act III, Sc. 4).
>
> Both in tune, like two gipsies on a horse (Act V, Sc. 3).

And "the horse (hath) his curb," says Touchstone as already quoted.

Now, then, do we not see the wild horses bounding through the green glades of Arden?

But "the hare"—"the hare"! Now we shall see the wild hare, yes and the "cony" too, amid the bracken and brambles of the woodland scene. As thus—it is Rosalind that speaks:

> 'Od's my will!
> Her love is not the hare that I do hunt.

And when Orlando asks, "Are you a native of this

place?" Rosalind replies, "As the cony that you see dwell where she is kindled."[1]

As for "goats," well, certainly, Touchstone says, "I will fetch up your goats, Audrey," and "I am here with thee and thy goats, as the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths," thus introducing a double pun, and a rather learned one. Certainly, too, there is mention of "sheep" and "lambs" and "ewes,"[2] but I apprehend the Reviewer had in mind "beasts of the forest," and other wild animals.

Now then for "hogs." One thinks of "pannage," and the more or less wild hogs that one has seen in the New Forest, for example. What of the "hogs" in Arden? We hear nothing of them, but, in the first scene, in the orchard of Oliver's house, Orlando asks his elder brother, "Shall I keep your hogs, and eat husks with them?" So there are, actually, "hogs" in the play!

But "horn-beasts"! These are, certainly, in the forest, for the Fool says, "Here we have no temple but the wood, no assembly but horn-beasts," which gives him an opportunity to make some of the everlasting jokes about "horns." And as for "cows," which, I suppose, are included in "horn-beasts," the same jester says, concerning one Jane Smile, "I remember this kissing of her batler and the cow's dugs that her pretty chapt hands had milked."

But were there not "apes," "dog-apes," and "monkeys" in the forest? Aye, surely, we see them leaping from bough to bough, and chattering in true monkey fashion! And why not, seeing that there were lions in the forest? And here they are, in that same speech where Rosalind

[1] I.e. Littered.

[2] Thus we have "good pasture makes fat sheep" and "as clean as a sound sheep's heart," which are not much to the point. But Corin says, "My pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck," and speaks of "the surgery of our sheep." All this is quite irrelevant to the Reviewer's argument.

had alluded to the "Barbary cock-pigeon" and "his hen." She says she will be "more new-fangled than an ape, more giddy in my desires than a monkey." But do not let us forget the "dog-ape." Listen to Jacques: "That they call compliment is like the encounter of two dog-apes." So much, then, for monkeys and apes. But certainly they are "actually mentioned" in the play!

But the weasel? A weasel forms part of "the small life" of the forest. And we have him in the play. It is Jaques again. "I can suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs!"[1]

Well, then, the "hyen." The hyena would, surely, be fit companion for the lions in the forest. Hearken unto Rosalind: "I will laugh like a hyen, and that when thou art inclined to sleep." Solvuntur *risu* tabulae!

But dogs are in the forest at any rate. Listen to Celia and Rosalind:

"Why, cousin! why, Rosalind! Cupid have mercy! Not a word?"
"Not one to throw at a dog."

The rat, too. Ah, the little wretch, he will be found in the woods, and among the corn-patches. Here he is: "I was never so be-rhymed since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat, which I can hardly remember." So says the gentle Rosalind. So there, sir, you have the rat "in the play"!

I had almost forgotten the "cat," but she comes in, of course.

"Civet," says Touchstone, "is of a baser birth than tar, the very uncleanly flux of a cat." And there is the cat "in the play"!

And now for the toad. Need I cite the familiar lines?

Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.

[1] The idea that a weasel sucks eggs is, I believe, a vulgar error.

So the toad is, undoubtedly, "in the play."

Even the snail, too, is there, showing clearly the dramatist's thought of, and sympathy with, "the small life," even in its lower forms. For, says Rosalind, "I had as lief be wooed of a snail"!

But "hart and hind" are in the forest, and that too "without any reference to food." Hearken to the Fool once more:

> If a hart do lack a hind
> Let him seek out Rosalind.

What better answer to the Reviewer could we require? "As for animals," says he, "deer excepted . . . there is only a lioness, and 'a green and gilded snake.'" Sir Edward Sullivan says there are some twenty-two others—"in the play"! I have shown *how* these others are there, and am really at a loss to know how to characterise within the bounds of politeness this amazingly futile reply. The Reviewer, taking us with Shakespeare to the forest of Arden, asks what is the wild life to be found there? What are the birds and beasts brought before us as part of the action of the play, not, of course, brought on to the stage, but part and parcel of the picture as denizens of the forest? Naturally he is not thinking of cows, and sheep, and goats, but the wild animals, the *ferae naturae*. And he answers quite truly, that, except for the deer, there is only a lioness, and "a green and gilded snake." Whereupon Sir Edward Sullivan comes triumphantly down upon him with a catalogue of every beast and bird mentioned by any of the characters in the play, and mentioned in the way that I have illustrated by quotation. This really seems to me to sink to the very nadir of inept criticism.

But I have not quite done with Sir Edward Sullivan's astonishing reply. "The oak," says the Reviewer, "is the only forest tree in the play." What says Sir Edward here? "The oak is *not* the only forest tree in the play,

for we find the medlar, the hawthorn, the palm tree, the green holly, the rank of oziers, and olive trees as well."

This, again, seems very crushing. But Sir Edward overlooks the fact that the Reviewer spoke of a "*forest* tree." And what is a "forest tree"? If he will turn to the *New English Dictionary* he will find that it is "any tree of large growth fitted to be a constituent part of a forest." We may, indeed, if we choose so to do, include shrubs and smaller trees among "trees of the forest," but the meaning of the words "forest tree" is constantly, and rightly, confined to the larger trees, and I can have little doubt that by "forest tree" here the Reviewer intended a "timber" tree, such as oak, ash, and elm, or beech (in Buckinghamshire) and birch (in Yorkshire). He, very naturally, would not include a "medlar," or a "hawthorn," or a "holly," or an "osier," or an "olive tree" among "forest" trees.

But is there a "medlar" in the forest? Rosalind having found Orlando's verses "on a tree," the Fool says, "Truly the tree yields bad fruit." Whereupon says Rosalind, "I'll graff it with you, and then I shall graff it with a medlar: then it will be the earliest fruit i' the country: for you'll be rotten ere you be half ripe, and that's the right virtue of a medlar."

Thus there is a "medlar" in Arden, and it is a "forest tree" to boot! All this is so silly, as to be really sad.

But now what of the "palm tree"? We know that Shakespeare founded his play *As You Like It* on Lodge's *Rosalynde*, and we know that the banished Duke sought refuge in the Ardennes, which in the play appears as the forest of Arden. But that does not better the position as to the "palm tree." Had Shakespeare been the naturalist that some Shakespeariolaters will have it that he was, he would, surely, not have planted a "palm tree" in the forest of the Ardennes. Some, indeed, in order to save the situation, have referred to the fact that for the

purposes of Palm Sunday a species of willow bears the name of "palm," and have supposed that Shakespeare's "palm tree" was intended for a willow tree, but few critics, I think, have adopted this solution of the difficulty. But, however that may be, it is clear that the Reviewer is quite right in saying that "the oak is the only *forest* tree in the play."[1]

And, finally, with regard to the Reviewer's statement that the sojourners in Arden never see a flower all the time they are there, Sir Edward Sullivan denies its truth; for, says, he, "'flower,' 'blossom,' and 'rose' occur." Yes, truly, they do occur. And how? First let us take "flower." Who does not know that delightful song, "It was a lover and his lass"? And here we find the "pretty country folks" singing "how that a life was but a flower." So you see, gentle reader, that there *was* a "flower" in Arden, in spite of this "preposterous" Reviewer!

"Blossom" too. For does not Orlando say:

> But poor old man, thou prunest a rotten tree
> That cannot so much as a blossom yield?

So evidently there were "blossoms" in Arden—or would have been, if it had not been winter!

But "rose"! This is indeed delightful. There was a "rose" in Arden. Listen, reader, I pray thee. Celia having vowed eternal friendship with Rosalind, cries:

> "Therefore, my sweet Rose, my dear Rose, be merry!"

[1] Sir Edward Sullivan quotes Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, who has to some extent followed the Quarterly Reviewer concerning *As You Like It*, as saying, "The trees of the forest [in the play] are the oak, the hawthorn, the palm tree and the olive," thus using the word "tree of the forest" in a much wider significance than that of "forest tree" as defined by Murray's Dictionary. In my edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Shakespeare*, however, the passage runs differently. I read there (p. 126), "The oak is the only tree," which is obviously incorrect. Presumably Sir Edward Sullivan quotes from a later edition. Mine bears only the date of "Copyright by the Macmillan Company, 1907" (English Men of Letters Series).

And it cannot be denied that this "Rose" was in Arden, and a most charming flower, albeit it was winter-time!

Thus does the sagacious Sir Edward Sullivan vindicate the ways of demi-god to man, and make the desert of Arden blossom like the rose! But, oh, the folly of it all!

And now what is the conclusion of all this? We are considering Shakespeare as the poet of Nature, other than human nature and inanimate nature. We are asking what knowledge has he of, what thought has he for, what sympathy has he with, the life of wild nature, the life of field and meadow, of forest and woodland, of moor and mountain, of heath and hedgerow, of river, stream, and lake? And for the moment we are considering this question with particular reference to the play of *As You Like It.* We have seen what the Quarterly Reviewer of April, 1894, has to say on the subject, and we have seen how the absurd catalogues of birds and other animals "mentioned in the play," in which Sir Edward Sullivan so strangely imagines that he finds an answer, are so absolutely and ridiculously irrelevant to the question—except indeed as adding point to the Reviewer's criticism—that one can only marvel to see them solemnly set down and commended to intelligent human beings as a refutation of the statements quoted from the article under consideration. On close examination we find it is quite true that the sojourners in Arden Forest never "see a single bird or insect or flower there," that is to say the dramatist has not pictured them to the reader as seeing any bird in the forest, or, indeed, listening to the song of bird, except for the one allusion in Amiens's song; nor do they speak of flowers in the forest, nor is there any allusion to insect-life as part of the "small life" of the forest. It is true that "the oak is the only *forest* tree in the play." And as for the allegation that "as for animals, deer excepted . . . there is only a lioness, and 'a green and gilded snake,'" if by "animals" we under-

stand (as, of course, we must) *wild* animals, this statement also is true. The only wild animals, deer excepted, that are represented as having been seen in the forest are the lioness and the snake, and how well could we dispense with these!

I yield to none in my love of this delightful play, and, moreover, I know that—to quote Pope with a slight alteration—

> On Avon's bank, where flowers eternal blow,
> If I but ask if any weed can grow
> . . . . . .
> How will *the "Willians"* rise up in a rage,
> And swear all shame is lost in George's age!

Nevertheless I venture to pronounce the opinion that the introduction of the "green and gilded snake" and the "lioness with udders all drawn dry,"[1] into the forest of Arden—not to mention the "palm tree" also—strikes a discordant note. But, be that as it may, these unpleasant animals, and these alone, represent the wild life of the forest, with the exception of the deer, which are beasts of the chase as to which I shall have a word to say later on. Let me here give another quotation from the Reviewer in order that his meaning may be the better appreciated.

Shakespeare's works, he says, "while they abound with beauties of fancy and imagination, are most disappointing to lovers of Nature by (their errors apart) their extraordinary omissions. Stratford-on-Avon was, in his day, enmeshed in streams, yet he has not a single kingfisher. It is true he refers to that mythic old sea-bird of antiquity, the halcyon, hung up by its beak as a kind of indoor weather-cock. But that is not the kingfisher. Nor on all his streams or pools is there an otter, a water-rat, a fish rising, a dragon-fly, a moor-hen, or a heron.

[1] The lioness is from Lodge's *Rosalynde*, only there it is a lion!

His boyhood was passed among woods, and yet in all the woods in his Plays there is neither wood-pecker, nor wood-pigeon; we never hear or see a squirrel in the trees, nor a night-jar hawking in the bracken."

Now there is, *pace* Sir Edward Sullivan, much truth in all this, and it has been recognised by, amongst others, Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, who has incurred Sir Edward's animadversion for restating, in his own words, some of the statements of the Quarterly Reviewer.[1] It would, indeed, be absurd to expect to find in Shakespeare that "Nature worship" which was the product of a later age; which so deeply entered into the life of Wordsworth, and which with Shelley became a positive passion. Shakespeare, I repeat, was, above all, the poet of "human nature," and of "inanimate Nature"; but it appears to me quite true to write, as I wrote some ten years ago: "If we want the poetry of country life—the life of the woods and fields and streams—it is not to Shakespeare that we must go. And it was, doubtless, for this reason that Harrison Weir when he brought out his charming *Poetry of Nature* (meaning thereby animated Nature), did not include therein one example from Shakespeare, though he quotes a long passage from Ben Jonson."[2]

We must not expect to find in Shakespeare such lines, for example, as Keats's:

> Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn,
> Among the river sallows, borne aloft
> Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies.[3]

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[1] See *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1903, p. 784, and *Shakespeare*, by Sir Walter Raleigh, *ubi supra*.

[2] Viz. the lines beginning "Mild breathing zephyr, father of the Spring," and ending

> "The yellow bees the air with music fill,
> The finches carol, and the turtles bill."

[3] "Hedge-crickets sing," of course, he could not write; because, as Sir Edward Sullivan tells us—and we are deeply indebted to him for the information—there were no "hedge-crickets" in Shakespeare's time!

Or Collins's:

> Now air is hush'd, save where the weak-eyed bat,
> With short shrill shriek flits by on leathern wing.

He will not tell us how

> . . . in the juicy corn the hidden quail
> Cries "wet my foot," and hid, as thoughts unborn,
> The fairy-like and seldom-seen landrail
> Utters 'Craik! craik!" like voices under ground,
> Right glad to meet the evening dewy veil,
> And see the light fade into gloom around.[1]

But these last lines speak of birds, I shall be told, and, surely, as a poet of bird-nature Shakespeare stands unrivalled! Sir Edward Sullivan says that he "mentions" no less than seventy-six different birds in his *Plays* and *Poems*. Well, we have seen what "mentioning" sometimes means, but, continues Sir Edward, "not only does he mention them, but, so far at least as British birds are concerned, he has usually some original description, short or long, for each of them, plainly showing a knowledge of their habits, characteristics, and haunts, which can only have been acquired in nature's own book." Let us see how this is proved. "Taking a few examples at random, we have, 'The russet-pated chough'; 'The plain-song cuckoo grey'; 'strutting chanticleer'; 'The staring owl'; 'The owl, night's herald'; 'This guest of summer, the temple-haunting martlet'; 'The gentle lark'; 'The shrill-gorged lark'; and many other natural touches of this kind." *What* a demonstration of Shakespeare's "knowledge" of the "habits, characteristics, and haunts" of birds! I really think some of the "Willians," when perusing this amazing article, must have cried, "Save us from our friends!"

Let us take Sir Edward's instances in order.

[1] *Summer Moods*, by Clare.

"The russet-pated chough." The epithet is Shakespeare's, and that is enough for Sir Edward Sullivan. Being Shakespeare's it *must* be accurate, and therefore should be cited as a proof of his accurate knowledge, and observation. Well, if a chough *had* a russet head it would really show no wonderful powers of observation to call him russet-headed, but, as a fact, so far is it from being true that the description "russet-pated" is applicable to the chough that the late Professor Newton, one of our first authorities on birds, suggested that the true reading must be "russet-patted," because the bird has red legs and feet! The beak of the chough is a brilliant red, but "russet-pated" it certainly is not. I would refer the reader to Lord Lilford's magnificent pictures of *Birds of the British Islands* (1885–1897), Vol. II, p. 24. "The whole plumage" of the chough, says Morris, who also gives an excellent picture, "is black, glossed with blue."

"The plain-song cuckoo grey." Now everybody is familiar with the delightful but monotonous cry of the cuckoo. Does it, then, show remarkable knowledge or observation of its habits, etc. etc., on the part of Shakespeare, to describe it as "plain-song"? Why, the "plain-song" of the cuckoo had been referred to by poets long before Shakespeare; in fact "plain-song" had become recognised as an attribute of the bird. Skelton, for instance, has—

> But with a large and a long
> To kepe just playne song
> Our chanters shall be your cuckoue.[1]

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[1] In *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (p. 436), I wrote of the cuckoo: "His monotonous though delightful call is the leading note of the oldest of plain-songs,

'Summer is icumen in
Lhude sing cu-cu.'"

A musical correspondent writes to point out that this is inaccurate, because plain-song has no "leading note"; which shows that I am, unfortunately,

Lyly in his exquisite lyric, Trico's song in *Campaspe*, describes the nightingale's song as "prick-song":

> Jug, jug, jug, jug, terew! she cries,
> And still her woes at midnight rise,
> Brave prick-song!

This, I venture to say, shows much closer observation of the nightingale on the part of John Lyly, than the old epithet "plain-song" shows on Shakespeare's part with regard to the cuckoo. As a musical correspondent writes to me, "Lyly used this term for the nightingale because the upper parts of 'prick-song' were often of a florid type, a counterpoint against some plain-song melody sung by the tenor," whereas the cuckoo's song is of a *plain* or even type.[1]

The "strutting chanticleer." Here is, indeed, a proof

no musician. I did not, however, use the expression with reference to music, but to the poem; as we speak of the "leading-note" of a speech, for example. But my correspondent further says that "Summer is icumen in" is *not* plain-song, "but a canon in four parts with a double burden, and so is 'prick-song,' the term then used for harmonised and polyphonic music." Doubtless he is quite right, and I must own to having been misled. Nevertheless this old song, or "round," is not, strictly speaking, "prick-song," because it was not sung from notes. See Burney on "Plain Counterpoint . . . before there was any such thing as written harmony," quoted with reference to this song in *Chappell's Old English Popular Music*.

[1] In Chaucer's poem, "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," the Cuckoo says to the Nightingale—

> "It thinketh me I sing as well as thou,
> For my song is both true and *plain*,
> Although I cannot *cukkel* [i.e. quaver] so in vain."

Browning, by the way, seems to have listened to the cuckoo very attentively, with the ear of a musician, for he writes:

> "Here's the spring back or close,
> When the almond-blossom blows:
> We shall have the word
> *In a minor third*
> There is none but the cuckoo knows."

That "minor third" is, alas, quite beyond my criticism.

of knowledge and observation such as "can only have been acquired in nature's own book"! It required a Shakespeare to notice that our old friend Mr. Rooster has a habit of strutting! Nobody had observed this fact before, and had it not been for Shakespeare, Milton could never have told us how the cock

> To the stack, or the barn door,
> Stoutly struts his dames before!

The wonder is that Sir Edward did not include "robin-redbreast" in his catalogue. For does not Shakespeare write, "You have learned . . . to relish a love-song, like a robin-redbreast," and is it not a fact of natural history that the robin has a red breast?

After this I really do not think I need comment on "the staring owl," "the owl, night's herald," "the gentle lark," and "the shrill-gorged lark." To quote such commonplace remarks as showing special knowledge and observation on Shakespeare's part appears to me little better than childish.

But what of "this guest of summer, the temple-haunting martlet"? Well, here we have, certainly, a reference to one of the most charming passages in Shakespeare, but surely it cannot, with any reason, be adduced as proof that he was a poetical forerunner of Gilbert White! He had seen—as who has not?—that the house-marten, like the swallow, builds on houses, whether on "coigns of vantage" in the case of mansions or "temples," or under the eaves of smaller human habitations, and he knew that it was seen in summer time. What special fact of natural history have we to note here? Is it that

> Where they most breed and haunt, I have observ'd
> The air is delicate?

That is a charming idea, but I fear there is no warrant

whatever to be found for it in experience. "The martin," as Morris observes, "is an attendant on civilisation, and endeavours to establish itself about the habitations of man," but the pleasant idea that it chooses its nesting-place with reference to the delicacy of the air is, I trow, merely poetical embellishment.

In connection with this allusion to the "martlet" we are reminded of Shakespeare's reference to the swallow in those delightful lines already quoted:

> Daffodils,
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty.

Here we have, indeed, a proof of Shakespeare's love and keen observation of flowers (of which more anon), but it is a mere mention of the swallow. We look in vain for any reminiscence of a swallow skimming over the fields, or over the Thames, or over the much-appealed-to Avon; such a reminiscence, for example, as Tennyson's, when he speaks of

> Short swallow-flights of song, that dip
> Their wings in tears, and skim away.

Here we have the swallow itself, painted for us to the life, by one magic touch. So, too, Ben Jonson has some lines accurately describing one of the habits of the swallow, although it must be owned that the knowledge which they disclose was but matter of common observation:

> Ay me, that virtue . . .
> Should like a swallow, preying towards storms,
> Fly close to earth,

an allusion to the well-known fact that swallows, in pursuit of insects, fly low before rain and storms.[1]

[1] *Poetaster*, Act IV, Sc. 6. Messrs. Nicholson and Herford completely miss the point of this little piece of natural history. Their comment is: "Seemingly his way of saying that they (alone) prey flying"!—which would, indeed, be a ridiculous remark.

But with Shakespeare the swallow seems to be little more than an emblem of swiftness—as in such lines as "True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings," and others to the same effect.

But the nightingale! Has not Shakespeare "some original description" of this bird also, "plainly showing a knowledge of its habits, characteristics, and haunts, which can only have been acquired in nature's own book"? Think, for instance, of *Romeo and Juliet*. "Nightly she sings on yon pomegranate tree." Well, Shakespeare could hardly have observed a nightingale on a pomegranate tree. As to "*she* sings"—well, the nightingale is the mythical Philomela, and therefore feminine with the poets, and we could not expect Shakespeare, unless he really *had* been a "naturalist," to know that it is the male nightingale that sings while the hen-bird is sitting upon her eggs.[1] Shakespeare, no doubt, loved the nightingale's song, as who does not? He has written:

> Except I be with Silvia in the night
> There is no music in the nightingale.

But "the music of the nightingale" is common to many poets, so common as to be a conventional expression. What we are looking for is some personal note. "As with Shelley's skylark," writes our Reviewer, "(in which, though there is no direct natural history, there is a wonderful description of the actual song), a single stanza suffices to assure us that the poet really took a personal delight in the little bird that was singing overhead; so in Keats's 'Ode to the Nightingale' a single stanza is enough

[1] Coleridge laughs at the "youths and maidens most poetical" who

> "Must heave their sighs
> O'er Philomela's pity-pleading strains."

No, says he,

> "'Tis the merry Nightingale
> That crowds, and hurries, and precipitates
> With fast thick warble *his* delicious notes."

to convince us of the actual joy of the poet in listening to another little brown bird singing in its bower." Even "Ben Jonson's one line, 'Dear good angel of the Spring,' is enough to satisfy any lover of Nature." But this personal touch we do not find in Shakespeare, though his nightingale is for ever associated with those immortal lovers in a warm Italian night.

But the lark! Here, surely, we have Shakespeare the naturalist, the observer of birds! What says the Reviewer? "His treatment of the lark, the most important of his real birds, never fails to meet with special comment from his 'critics' when they are insisting upon his observations of Nature; but how is it they have never concerned themselves to learn how much of Shakespeare's description was his own and how much borrowed? We cannot find space to exhaust the subject, but may note here some of his most-quoted epithets, and distribute them among their sources. It is 'the morning lark' (so in Lyly), 'the mounting lark' (Wm. Browne), 'the merry lark' (Spenser), 'herald of the day' (Chaucer), 'shrill lark' (Spenser), 'summer's bird' (Spenser), 'the busy day waked by the lark' ('the busy lark, waker of the day,' Chester), 'Hark! Hark! the lark at Heaven's Gate sings, and Phœbus 'gins arise' ('At Heaven's Gate she claps her wings, The morn not waking till she sings,' Lyly). These alone are enough to warn the critic that he should go very cautiously when he approaches the text of Shakespeare with the intention of proving the 'original' observation of the poet."

Again: "His contemporaries call the lark 'crested,' 'speckled,' 'long-heeled,' 'low-nested.' Shakespeare does not borrow these phrases; he cares apparently nothing about the real bird in Nature; he never refers to its appearance, its mate, its nest, or its young, which so delight some poets before him. This is distinctly worth noting, and extraordinary."

When Shakespeare writes (*Winter's Tale*, IV, 2), "The

lark that tirra-lirra chants," we seem to have another echo of Du Bartas:

> La gentille allouette avec son *tire-lire*
> *Tirè-lire à lirè et tirè-lirant tire,*
> *Vers la voute du ciel*, puis son vol vers ce lieu
> Vire et desire dire adieu. Dieu, adieu Dieu.[1]

Mr. Dewar, in the article above alluded to, says, very truly, that it is absurd to "look to poets for the nice precision we must have in the man of science or the professional natural historian." No one "in his senses would demand it in supreme lyric such as Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* or *The Skylark*, though it does happen, by some chance, that the skylark's song and soar were in that latter poem described in a way that may delight the heart of the man who wants nothing but precision." Omit the words "by some chance" (for there was no "chance" about Shelley's accurate description), and I entirely agree. We do not expect, or require, precision in the poets. We do not expect it, though we find it, in Shelley's *Skylark*, or in Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*; nor do we expect it in Browning, though when we read:

> That's the wise thrush, he sings each song twice over,
> Lest you should think he never could recapture
> His first fine careless rapture,

we know that he must have listened attentively to, and been deeply penetrated with, the love of the thrush's vernal song, albeit he may, perhaps, have had a reminiscence of Burns's lines:

> while falling, recalling,
> The amorous thrush concludes his song.

Nay, we may recognise some measure of personal

[1] Du Bartas, *Première Semaine*, Liv. 5. The Quarterly Reviewer has omitted this reference to these very fanciful lines of Du Bartas.

observation even in Matthew Arnold, though he has so little of "nice precision" that he speaks of the nightingale as "tawny-throated"! But it is just this note of personal observation which seems to be wanting in Shakespeare where animated wild Nature is concerned, but which, nevertheless, is persistently claimed for him by some of his undiscriminating worshippers.[1]

And again I say, we do not expect to find in Shakespeare that intense Nature-worship which is characteristic of a later age, and which may be said to have culminated in Shelley and in Wordsworth. It is not *that* we are seeking for, but for some evidence that he was in any real sense a "naturalist," as that term, which Knight so confidently claims for him, is usually understood; and this evidence we have been unable to discover.[2]

[1] The most lovely allusions to birds and flowers are, of course, to be found in Shakespeare's lyrics. Everyone will remember, for instance, "the ouzel-cock so bright of hue, with orange-tawny bill." It is rather curious that "orange-tawny" was Sir Walter Raleigh's colour, and in his description of the birds seen by him on the Orinoco he speaks of some of them as "orange-tawny," viz. "Birds of all colours, some carnation, *orange-tawny*, purple, green, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed." Quoted by Sir Frederick Treves in *The Cradle of the Deep* (1912) at p. 76. "Orange-tawny," says Sir Frederick, "was Raleigh's own colour."

[2] It has been suggested that the beautiful line in *Venus and Adonis*,

"Like a dive-dapper, peering through a wave,"

shows personal observation on Shakespeare's part. He had, doubtless, watched a dabchick, or other diver, in one of the pools of his native Stratford. On this I may remark, first, that "wave" is suggestive rather of the sea than a river, pool, or inland lake. Had, then, Shakespeare watched a diver in the sea, and is this his one solitary example of a sea-bird? To this it may be answered that the up-and-down motions of the diver, or "dive-dapper," were used as a stock simile in Shakespeare's day, and as applied to illustrate the raising of Adonis's chin it does not seem very appropriate. But so common had this simile become that there was actually a verb to "dive-dop," used of anything that went up and down. Thus, too, Becon (1559), speaking slightingly of the Catholic Mass, says: "Then once again kneel ye down, and up again like dive-doppels." And here I must mention one other instance relied upon by Sir Edward Sullivan as showing Shakespeare's

When we come to one class of animals, however, the case is very different. I refer to the "beasts of the chase," namely the boar, the deer, and the hare. "Whether Shakespeare ever saw a boar-hunt is a matter for conjecture," says our Reviewer, "but he gives a superb description of the animal and its chase in *Venus and Adonis*. Anyone who chooses to do so could resolve this description into its original elements, and refer them respectively to Spenser, and Drayton, Du Bartas, Chester, and others who wrote of the mighty boar before Shakespeare, and all of whom in turn borrowed from Ovid, Pliny, and Virgil. But the complete picture is Shakespeare's own, and it is very noteworthy as an illustration of the poet's treatment of a real animal in which he felt an actual personal interest."

His frequent references to deer need only be mentioned. "Here he was perfectly at home and thoroughly familiar, from personal observation, with the haunts and habits of the animal he was describing. The result is a detailed and most beautifully accurate natural history of the deer, whether stag, hart, or hind, buck or doe."

It is frequently said that Shakespeare writes as an accurate observation. "Mark the accuracy with which he introduces the Grebe, vulgarly called the Loon, with its white cheeks that show so strongly against its dark head: 'The devil damn thee black, thou cream-faced loon!'" Now I take leave to say, with much confidence, that this supposed reference to the grebe is purely a flight of imagination. It is true that the Oxford Dictionary, after quoting the passage in question from *Macbeth*, under the first, and ordinary, sense of the word "loon," tells us that there was also a second sense, viz. "Any bird of the *genus colymbus*, especially the Great Northern Diver," or "the great-crested Grebe," or "the little grebe or dabchick." But to the first and the last of these "cream-faced" will certainly not apply, nor is the term really applicable to the great-crested Grebe, or even to the red-necked Grebe (though that has white cheeks), which is not mentioned in Murray's Dictionary. But all this is really *ex abundanti*. The suggested allusion to the bird is quite obviously a fond thing vainly invented. "Loon" in its ordinary sense, as a worthless fellow, and "loon" the bird, were quite distinct. Moreover, Shakespeare tells us nothing of sea-birds.

enthusiastic sportsman, but such does not seem to me to be the fact. That he was perfectly familiar with "sport" as then practised, in all its branches, can hardly be doubted, but he frequently writes more like a "humanitarian" than a sportsman. Who does not remember the Duke in the forest of Arden?

> And yet it irks me the poor dappled fools,
> Being native burghers of this desert city,
> Should in their own confines with forked heads
> Have their round haunches gored.

Or Jaques and the

> poor sequester'd stag,
> That from the hunter's aim had ta'en a hurt,

and whose misery was such as to touch the other lords also.

> The wretched animal heaved forth such groans
> That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat
> Almost to bursting, and the big round tears
> Coursed one another down his innocent nose
> In piteous chase.[1]

But especially does this humanitarian spirit manifest itself in the exquisite lines in *Venus and Adonis* concerning the hunted hare. Here we have a minute description of the chase of the hare, and Sir Sidney Lee[2] finds "curious resemblances to the *Ode de la Chasse* (on a

[1] Jaques, it seems, had actually arrived at the conception that animals have *rights*.

> "Indeed, my lord,
> The melancholy Jaques grieves at that,
> And, in that kind, swears *you do more usurp*
> Than doth your brother that hath banish'd you."

[2] Page 60 n.

stag hunt) by the French dramatist Estienne Jodelle in his *Œuvres et Meslanges Poetiques*, 1574." But what we are here concerned with is the tender sympathy expressed for the "poor wretch" whose "grief may be compared well to one sore sick that hears the passing bell."[1]

But Shakespeare, I imagine, had read Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, where the hunter is told "thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog, the weak of the stronger, the fearful of the fierce, the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful."

With hawks and hawking, too, Shakespeare is, of course, thoroughly familiar, though whether he would have agreed with Sidney when he said, "Next to hunting I like hawking worst," we cannot say. He is constantly employing the language of falconry in a metaphorical sense. But one remembers how it was said: "Why, you know, an a man have not skill in the hawking and hunting languages now-a-days, I'll not give a rush for him: they are more studied than the Latin or the Greek."[2]

But even in this matter of "hawking" the argument can easily be carried too far. Thus in an article in *The Westminster Gazette* for August 19th, 1911, under title "Notes from Old Sketch-Books," and subscribed by the well-known initials "F. C. G." we read: "It is certain that whoever wrote *The Taming of the Shrew* must not only have been familiar with the conventional phraseology of hawking, but must have had a keen and intimate knowledge of technique of the science of hawking in the mews as well as in the field. . . . Petrucio 'mans' the wild Kate by the means that a falconer uses with his 'haggard' falcon. After he has brought her home, and

[1] See *ante*, pp. 209–10, where the stanzas alluded to are set forth.
[2] *Every Man in his Humour*, I, i. 43.

has flung the supper on the floor, and Kate is hungry, Petrucio says:

> My falcon now is sharp and passing empty;
> And till she stoop she must not be full gorg'd,
> For then she never looks upon her lure.
> Another way I have to man my haggard,
> To make her come, and know her keeper's call,
> That is, to watch her, as we watch these kites,
> That bate, and beat, and will not be obedient."

Whereupon I would remark, first, that the "Shakespearean" authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew* is admittedly extremely doubtful, and if it be non-Shakespearean, the argument melts into thin air. And, secondly, that this play is founded on the old play of *The Taming of a Shrew* (1594), which no critic, so far as I am aware (with the exception of Professor Courthope), ascribes to Shakespeare; and here also we find allusions to hawking, though, perhaps, they may not be quite so evidentiary of technical knowledge as those in the later play. Thus Ferando, who is the Petrucio of the old play, says of the Shrew:

> Ile mew her up as men do mew their hawkes,
> And make her gentlie come unto the lure,
> Were she as stubborne or as full of strength
> As was the Thracian horse Alcides tamde
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Yet would I pull her downe and make her come
> As hungry hawkes do flie unto their lure.

The author of the old play, therefore, must, it would seem, also have been tolerably familiar with "the science of hawking in the mews as well as in the field"! But the fact is, as "F. C. G." truly says, that "the literature of the Elizabethan age is full of hawking allusions, the techni-

calities of the sport being widely used in the form of simile."[1]

But whence is it that Shakspere of Stratford is supposed to have derived his wonderful knowledge of sport? Hunting—more especially the chase of the deer—and hawking were the recreations of the great. Thus we find Bacon saying, with regard to "Forests, Parks, and Chases": "It is a sport proper to the nobility and men of better rank; and it is to keep a difference between the gentry and the common sort."[2]

Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, proposes to relegate hunting to the "bouchers" (i.e. butchers) among the Utopians. "Yet," he says, "this is nowe the exercise of most noble men." So the affected Amoretto, in *The Return from Parnassus*,[3] asks the scholar Academico: "Say, sweete Sir, do yee affect the most gentle-man-like game of hunting?" As to hawking, it was, as we know, the sport of "Lords and Ladies gay." We have no indication whatever that Shakspere had the opportunity of making himself familiar with these sports of the rich and noble. To account for the wonderful knowledge displayed in the *Plays* and *Poems*, he has been made lawyer, schoolmaster, gardener, printer, soldier, and a great many other things besides; but I am not aware that he has ever yet been turned into a gamekeeper. True it is that some of his admirers will have it that he was a poacher, and stole some of Lucy's "harts or does" (as Sir Sidney Lee so quaintly puts it); but really that is hardly sufficient to account for all this familiarity with

[1] Honest John Taylor, the Water Poet, in his work on "A Bawd" writes: "A Bawd is a Logician. . . . So she by going further about comes the neerer home, and by casting out the *Lure*, makes the *Tassell Gentle* come to her fist."

[2] "Notes for a speech in a case of deer stealing." See Abbott's *Life of Bacon*, p. 223. A more undemocratic sentiment could not be found even in Shakespeare!

[3] Part 2, Act II, Scene 5.

the ways and terms of falconry and the chase. Yet Shakespeare displays as much knowledge in these matters as must have been possessed by Bacon himself, of whom Francis Osborn says: "I have heard him entertain a Country Lord in the proper terms relating to hawks and dogs."[1]

Horses, too, notwithstanding the fact that he took the description of "the ideal horse" from Du Bartas, Shakespeare knew thoroughly and loved well. "He writes of them," says the Quarterly Reviewer, "as a Centaur might write, as participating in his own nature. He loved them, and the result is the noblest description ever written of the noblest of animals."

Dogs also he thoroughly understood—that is, dogs as used for hunting and bear-baiting. His hounds are well known to everybody, but even here he was wont to go to the classics for his descriptions. He speaks of

[1] Osborn, speaking of universal knowledge, or what he calls "an universall inspection," writes: "My memory neither doth, nor I believe possible ever can, direct me to an example more splendid in this kind than the Lord Bacon, Earle of St. Albanes [*sic*], who in all companies did appear a good *Proficient*, if not a *Master* in those Arts entertained for the subject of everyone's discourse. So as I dare maintaine, without the least affectation of Flattery or Hyperboly, that his most casuall talke deserved to be written. . . . So as I have heard him entertaine a Country Lord in the proper termes relating to Hawkes and Dogges, and at another time out-cant a London Chyrurgion. . . . The eares of the hearers receiving more gratification than trouble; and so no lesse sorry when he came to conclude than displeased with any did interrupt him" (*Advice to a Son*, 1658, Second Part, p. 70). "As a matter of fact," writes Judge Webb, "the works of Bacon are as full of allusions to sport as the plays of Shakespeare." But as the learned Judge further comments: "It would have been strange if the son of a Lord Keeper had never been taught to ride, stranger still if one who had resided for three years at the Court of France had never observed how French falconers flew at everything they saw, and how a French cavalier could grow into his seat." Bacon is particularly fond of metaphor from falconry (see *The Mystery of William Shakespeare*, Note B, p. 255). This, be it observed, is not "Baconian" argument but is given in illustration of the fact that hunting and hawking were the sports of the great, not of "Stratford rustics," and that familiarity with their terms and technique is certainly not evidence of the "Stratfordian" authorship.

hounds "bred out of the Spartan kind," and a "hound of Crete," evidently having in mind the line of Ovid (*Met.* III, 208): *Gnosius Ichnobates, Spartano gente Melampus.*

But for all his humanitarian pity for the hunted beasts of the chase, he does not seem to have understood the dog as the dear, loving, and faithful friend of man. "Dog" is a term of reproach, and cats are "creatures we count not worth the hanging." As for the fox, it had not yet been elevated into that position of dignity which man graciously assigns to the creatures whose sufferings in the chase are made to minister to his pleasures. True it is there was fox-hunting, "of a sort," at that time. Academico, for instance, in *The Return from Parnassus*, says: "There is an excellent skill in blowing for the terriers; it is a word that we hunters use when the Fox is earthed." But *Vulpicide* had not as yet become a recognised crime, nor was Renard held sacred to the sport of the rich. Deer-hunting and hawking were the aristocratic sports. "Fox," therefore, with Shakespeare, is a term symbolical of stealth, and cunning, and theft.

"His lion is the chivalrous lion of Pliny and romance, his tiger is Hyrcanian: and so on. In a word, his natural history is commonplace when it is correct, and 'Elizabethan' when it is wrong; but the manner of it is so beautiful, incomparably beautiful, that the matter borrows a beauty from it."[1]

Turning now from the animate to the inanimate world, we are at once struck by Shakespeare's love and knowledge of flowers. Here there can be no difference of opinion. Mr. Dewar, still fighting shadows, writes: "He had his share, an ample one we feel, as we read him, of 'the glowing life that sunshine gives, and the south wind calls to being. The endless grass, the endless leaves, the immense strength of the oak expanding, the unalloyed joy of finch and blackbird'; from each he received

[1] *Quarterly Review.*

something that became interwoven in his being. It is impossible that the man who had no share in these things could have written of that

> Bank where the wild thyme blows,
> Where oxlips, and the nodding violet grows.

As though anyone had ever asserted that Shakespeare had no "share in these things"!

As to his love of flowers, quotation could, of course, be piled upon quotation. The lyrics (whoever wrote them) are full of them. It is true that in *As You Like It*, where we should most have expected to find them, there is not one; but if we are content to imagine a leafless forest, save for the "green holly" swept by "the churlish chiding of the winter's wind," we may explain the deficiency by reference to "the season's difference." But let us turn to *The Winter's Tale*. It has been frequently said that the author of this play must have been familiar with country life. Well, I have no doubt that Shakespeare was familiar with the country, whether he gained his knowledge at Stratford, or at Twickenham, or at Gorhambury, or elsewhere. But he nowhere writes as the simple countryman. Perdita, for instance, is the most delightful of shepherdesses, but it is highly characteristic of Shakespeare that he makes a young girl, brought up from infancy in a rustic cottage, exclaim, "O Proserpina, For the flowers now that frighted thou let'st fall from Dis's waggon!" Her violets are "sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes, or Cytherea's breath." It is as though he could not keep clear of classical allusions even when least appropriate.

Comparison has frequently been made between Perdita's list of flowers and Bacon's in his *Essay on Gardens*. There is, for example, the extraordinarily close parallelism between "lilies of all kinds, the flower-de-luce being one," and Bacon's "flower-de-luces (or flower-de-

lices) and lilies of all natures."[1] But the two lists are well worth comparing generally. They are both arranged according to the seasons. If Perdita speaks of "streak'd gillyvors," Bacon speaks of the "stock gillyflower." If Perdita says, "For you there's rosemary and rue, these keep seeming and savour all the winter long," Bacon says, "For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all the winter, rosemary, lavender, sweet marjoram." In the *Essay* we have the cowslip substituted for "bold oxlips." Primroses, violets, daffodils, marigolds, marjoram, besides those already mentioned, are common to both lists. Bacon gives us another list very much the same, and including gillyflowers and flower-de-luce, in his *Natural History*, Cent. VI, 577.[2]

[1] Mr. Ellacomb (*Plant Lore of Shakespeare*, p. 99), after noticing that Shakespeare calls the flower-de-luce one of the lilies, and that another way of spelling it is fleur-de-lys, says that Bacon separates the two, as though the flower-de-luce was not a lily. I demur to this. If I speak of "spaniels and dogs of all natures," I do not treat "spaniels" as though they do not belong to the genus "dog." I merely name one species first, and make general mention of the others. This, as it seems to me, is what Bacon does, in full agreement with what Shakespeare says; but I pray it may not be thought that I am advancing a "Baconian" argument. I merely note a very curious coincidence.

[2] I allude to these parallelisms once more not as "Baconian" arguments, but because Sir Edward Sullivan has referred to the Essay "Of Gardens," which he says "from start to finish . . . is no better than a nurseryman's bald catalogue of seasonable plants." Yet this essay contains the following well known very beautiful passage: "And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air." Compare Shakespeare's:

> "That strain again! it had a dying fall;
> O, it came over me like the sweet South
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> Stealing and giving odour!"

Here the Folio reads "sound," and "South" is Pope's emendation, which editors generally accepted until it was perceived how much closer this reading made the Baconian parallel, when "sound" was taken back again, and we were asked if we had never heard the sound of the summer breeze as it passed through the flowers and grass! Yes, I have often heard that sound; never-

But now, it may be asked, what has all this to do with the question of authorship? Well, the "Anti-Willian" will, I conceive, shape his argument somewhat as follows. Romantic pictures have been painted of a young visionary Shakspere, who wandered by the "pronéd and twilléd" banks of Avon, and through the woods, and over the fields of Stratford, observing the beasts, and the birds, and the insects with the eye of the poet and the love of the naturalist. Such pictures are mere imagination. There is not a tittle of evidence, either external or internal, that they bear any resemblance to the real Shakspere either in youth or in manhood. A close examination of "the works themselves" presents us with no such Shakespeare, and what is known of the life of Shakspere is very far from giving warrant to such suggestions.

But was not Shakespeare an observer of Nature? Yes, indeed. In the first place, he was a profound student of human nature—such a student and interpreter as, perhaps, the world has not seen before or since. In the second place, he was deeply contemplative of inanimate Nature. He watched and profoundly meditated upon natural phenomena: the winds, the tides, the clouds, the waves beating "upon the pebbled shore," the thunder, the lightning, and the rain. It may be said that he well knew

> the boundless store
> Of charms that Nature to her votary yields;
> The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
> The pomp of grove, and garniture of fields;
> All that the genial ray of morning gilds,
> And all that echoes to the song of even,
> All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
> And all the dread magnificence of heaven.

---

theless, I have still to learn that a "sound" can steal or give odour! Therefore I much prefer the reading "South." Cf. Byron:

> "Breathing all gently o'er his cheek and mouth,
> As o'er a bed of roses the sweet South."
>
> *Don Juan*, II, clxviii

And thus, and in that sense, it is that Johnson was amply justified in calling him "the poet of nature."

Flowers and gardens particularly he loved. But flowers, it may be remembered, could in his day be well studied in London, for not only were there magnificent private gardens there (the City Companies, for example, had beautiful gardens in London), but there were fields within a short walk of the city, where wild flowers were to be found in infinite variety; and if one went as far as Twickenham, there one would have found a large and famous garden—though this is by no means to say that Shakespeare's study of flowers and gardening was confined to London and the suburbs.

But the allegation that Shakespeare was a "naturalist," that he was a close observer of *animated* Nature, and *wild* Nature in particular, cannot, surely, be supported. He really gives no indication of having lived a country life observant of the habits of birds and beasts and fishes and insects. But horses and hounds and the beasts of the chase—these he had observed, and these and all their ways he well knew. Yet even his "ideal horse" is conventional. The famous description in *Venus and Adonis* is, as our Reviewer points out, "borrowed word for word from Du Bartas," or rather, as I think, from Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, which Shakespeare appears to have had before him, whether in print or in manuscript.[1] The fact seems to be that Du Bartas derived his description of the horse from Virgil,[2] and Shakespeare took his from Du Bartas through Sylvester, just as he took his description of a beehive, and the ways of bees, from Lyly probably, who again took his from Virgil's *Georgics*.[3]

[1] See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 59 *et seq.*

[2] *Georgics*, iii. 73 *et seq.*

[3] Virgil's celebrated description is to be found in the fourth book of the *Georgics*. For the passage in Lyly's *Euphues* see Arber's Reprint, pp. 262–4.

With "sport," the amusement of the great, Shakespeare was perfectly familiar. Yet he does not seem to write of it as the sportsman, but rather as the thinker, with, sometimes, much sympathy for its victims; and even of sport he cannot write without borrowing from classical authors, and more especially from Ovid, with whose writings—many of them, at any rate—he was evidently saturated.

The "Anti-William" therefore maintains that a close examination of the "Works" (omitting such very doubtful plays as *1 Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*, and, possibly, *The Taming of the Shrew* also) reveals Shakespeare "the poet of Nature," but certainly not Shakespeare the "naturalist"—a Shakespeare who was in a position to make himself practically familiar with horses, and hounds, and deer, and hawks; with hunting, and with falconry; a Shakespeare who loved flowers and studied them; who loved the countryside also, but who had given no close study to its denizens, the wild birds and beasts, still less to the fishes, or the insects, and other "small-life" of woods and fields.

Socrates said: "I am a lover of knowledge, and the men who dwell in the city are my teachers, and not the trees or the country." Socrates, then, cries the hasty reader, could not find "sermons in stones" or "books in the running brooks"! But that may be a somewhat superficial criticism, for Socrates, if Plato has painted him aright, could fully appreciate the beauties of a rural scene. Just before giving utterance to the sentence above quoted, he has thus, in glowing language, described the spot to which Phædrus had conducted him: "Yes, indeed . . . a fair and shady resting-place, full of summer sounds and scents. There is the lofty and spreading plane-tree,

Mr. Golland thinks that "the *ultimate* source is probably Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. XI," of which, as he notes, Holland's translation did not appear till 1601 (see *Henry V*, Act I, Sc. 2, 187–204)

and the agnus castus high and clustering, in the fullest blossom and the greatest fragrance; and the stream which flows beneath the plane-tree is deliciously cold to the feet . . . moreover, there is a sweet breeze, and the grasshoppers chirrup; and the greatest charm of all is the grass like a pillow gently sloping to the head."[1] Perhaps, then, in their appreciation of "Nature," there was not so much difference as is generally imagined between the Greek philosopher and the English poet-philosopher, both of whom were above all—though the Greek, of course, more exclusively—philosophers of "human nature."

I have quoted from a Quarterly Reviewer. I do not subscribe to all he says, but I think in his main conclusions he is right, and justified by the evidence. Let me conclude by a quotation from an Edinburgh Reviewer:

"Shakespeare's vision of life is so wide, his moral insight so profound, his knowledge and sympathies so vitalised and universal, and his command of language so absolute, that every part in the wide circle of contemporary learning and experience may throw some light on his pages. In particular, his birthright of pregnant speech is so imperial that he seems to appropriate by a kind of royal prerogative the most expressive elements of diction, in every department of human attainment and activity. No section of life or thought is too humble for his regard, none too lofty for his sympathetic appreciation. The day-spring of his serene and glorious intellect illuminates and vivifies the whole."[2]

A loftier eulogium could not be conceived. Well, let us subscribe to it. But to whom are the words applicable? To "Shakespeare," whoever he was. But is it necessarily fanaticism if the "Anti-Willian" fails to find the satis-

[1] Plato's *Phædrus*, 230 (Jowett's translation).
[2] *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1872.

factory embodiment of this high panegyric in "that deserving man," Will Shakspere of Stratford?[1]

[1] Sir Edward Sullivan is very much annoyed with Sir Walter Raleigh because he has, to some extent and very rightly as I conceive, adopted the view of the Quarterly Reviewer. "Strange as it may seem, Professor Sir Walter Raleigh cannot away with such a view. 'The wild creatures of the fields and the woods,' he tells us, 'are outside the circle of Shakespeare's sympathetic observation.' 'The social life of the humbler creatures did not engage his attention.' To Dr. Brandes, who had praised Shakespeare for his astonishing store of natural knowledge, and had adduced for proof, amongst other examples, the poet's acquaintance with the fact 'that trout are caught with tickling; that the lapwing runs close to the ground; that the cuckoo lays its eggs in the nests of other birds; that the lark resembles the bunting'; he has no better answer than, 'Many a city-bred boy knows all this and more'—an observation curiously reminiscent of the Quarterly Reviewer whose guidance has led him into other quagmires." Then says Sir Edward: "I have seen trout caught with tickling, and can assure the Professor that the art is not to be learnt in town, nor even what it means." Now the first of these statements (viz. that the art of tickling a trout cannot be learnt in town) is ludicrously irrelevant, and the second ("nor even what it means") is ludicrously untrue. I must own my inferiority to Sir Edward in that I have never seen a "trout caught by tickling," but I have had the operation described to me, and have been familiar with the fact that it is done all my life; and what possible difference can it make whether the information was given me in town or in country? As for the other examples given by Dr. Brandes, if any readers can accept them as "proof" of Shakespeare's "astonishing store of natural knowledge," they must indeed be ready to base their opinions upon the very slightest basis of evidence. And it often happens that the strength of such opinions is in inverse proportion to the weight of the evidence upon which they are based.

APPENDIX A

JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD, HIS EPIGRAM

THE "Willians" naturally appeal to the well-known epigram of Davies of Hereford, addressed to "our English Terence, Mr. Wil Shake-speare," as one of the strongest passages which can be cited in support of the received doctrine of authorship. I am not so foolish as to shut my eyes to the fact that there are grave difficulties in the way of the negative case. On the other hand, as a very distinguished public man, eminent in law, literature, and politics, writes to me: "The difficulties in the way of *Shakspere* are indeed enormous." I think it is a pity that the champions of the orthodox faith refuse to recognise that patent fact, and that some of them, especially those who are not in the front rank of literature or criticism, think it becomes them to speak of the unbeliever as necessarily a fool or a fanatic, or both, although they are aware that men far more distinguished than themselves, and, haply, more competent to judge, have been quite unable to accept the orthodox belief in this matter.

As to Davies of Hereford, his epigram is a very curious one, and contains cryptic allusions which nobody has been able to explain. It was published in *The Scourge of Folly* (about 1611), which, the author informs us, was a work "consisting of *Satyricall* Epigrams, and others." At this date William Shakspere, aged forty-seven, was seeking retirement in the apparently congenial society of the small tradesmen of "illiterate" Stratford. Davies, addressing "Good *Will*," informs him that, as "some say," if he—"*Will*," to wit—had not played some kingly parts in sport, he had been "a companion for a *King*, and been a King

among the meaner sort." The first "king" is thrown into italics, which is rather curious. Old writers sometimes put all their important nouns into italics, but this is not the explanation here, because, in the first six lines of the epigram, "*Will*" and the first "*king*" (but not the second) are alone italicised. It has been suggested that Davies is alluding to somebody of the name of King. If so, we may compare Bacon's remarks in the *Advancement of Learning* (Bk. I) on the Roman name of "Rex," where he says that "mean families were invested" with that name. "For Rex was a surname with the Romans as well as *King* is with us."[1] Or the allusion may possibly—but not probably, I think—be to King James the First. Probably, being a scholar, Davies had Horace's line in his mind, "*at pueri ludentes Rex eris aiunt*," where we have both the "king" and the allusion to players, in this instance boys at play. But what is the meaning of "Hadst thou not played some kingly parts in sport"? Is it possible that Davies had in mind the story told by Manningham how "Will" played the part of "William the Conqueror" in sport, thus stealing a march on Burbage, who was playing Richard III? That is only a guess, but perhaps not an unreasonable one. In any case, even if "Mr. Will Shake-speare" had not, as Davies says he had, disqualified himself to be "a companion for a king," he would only have been "*a King among the meaner sort*," which does not seem to place him very high in Davies's estimation.

Montaigne writes of the players: "You shal now see them on the stage play a *king*, an Emperor, or a Duke, but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond objects and porterly hirelings which is their naturall and originall condition" (Florio's translation, Bk. I, chap. 42), and perhaps Davies had similar thoughts in his mind. In the last four lines, however, he praises "*Will*" for having "no rayling, but a raigning Wit," and concludes thus:

> *And* honesty thou sow'st, *which they do reape*,
> *So to increase their* Stocke, *which they do keepe* (sic).

What the real meaning of all this is I do not know, and the

[1] Apothegms, No. 221.

commentators shed no light on the matter. Of course, if this obscure epigram is to be taken literally (so far as it is intelligible), "at its face value," and if it bears no covert significance for the initiated, then, no doubt, it may be legitimately cited as *prima facie* evidence in support of the contention that Davies held the belief that William Shakspere was, as Terence was, a writer of comedies; though, seeing that "Shakespeare" was in 1611 at the height of his fame (so far as he had contemporary fame), it is curious that Davies should have likened him to the Latin comedian, as though he had not written such plays as *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello*.

Moreover, as I have already contended, if he was to be likened to a Latin comedian, we should have expected him to be compared to Plautus rather than to Terence.

Here the further question arises, What is the value of Davies's belief in this matter, even assuming it to have really been in favour of the orthodox contention? What knowledge of Shakspere had he, if any? And what opportunities had he of knowing the facts as to the authorship of the Plays? And on these matters we have, unfortunately, no evidence whatever to guide us.

So much for this cryptic epigram, which seems to have been one of Davies's "*Satyricall*" epigrams, written "in sport" rather than in sober seriousness. I must leave it to the reader to say how much value ought to be attached to it on the question of authorship. With regard to the likening of Shakespeare to Terence, however, a theory has been advanced which will probably appear fantastic to most readers, but which is, I think, sufficiently interesting to merit at least mention. Terence is the one Latin author whose name is alleged to have been used as a mask-name, or *nom de plume*, for the writings of great men who wished to keep the fact of their authorship concealed. It was under that name, as we are told, that Scipio and Lælius were wont to publish. Terence, we may remember, was a Carthaginian slave (185–159 B.C.) brought as a boy to Rome. He belonged to a senator, Terentius Lucanus, who educated him, freed him, and gave him his own name, as the custom was. It must further be remembered that this "Terentius Afer" died at the early age

of twenty-six. Now that the belief in question existed—viz. that certain great men wrote under the name of Terence—is proved by Terence himself, for in his prologue to the *Adelphi* he alludes to what "spiteful people say, that great personages help the author and continually compose along with him," the reference being, according to Donatus and others, to Scipio and Lælius, by one of whom the prologue itself was very possibly composed. Cicero, further, writes: "Secutusque sum . . . Terentium, cujus fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi" (*Ad. Att.* vii. 3), and Suetonius declares that this belief regarding the authorship of these plays strengthened with time. Moreover, we find the following in Quintilian: "In Comoedia maxime claudicamus, licet . . . Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur" (*Inst. Orat.* x. I, 99). Montaigne, the translation of whose Essays by Florio was well known to Davies, makes reference to this belief concerning Terence. The following is the passage referred to: "If the perfection of well-speaking, might bring any glorie suitable unto a great personage, Scipio and Lælius would never have resigned the honour of their comedies, and the elegancies and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latine tongue, unto an African servant; for, to prove this labour to be theirs, the exquisite eloquence and excellent invention thereof doth sufficiently declare it. And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and injurie to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and un-fitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principal object."

It has been suggested that Davies of Hereford, with this knowledge in his mind, was led to address Shakespeare, who for many years previous to the publication of this epigram had been better known as a writer of tragedies than of comedies, as "our English Terence." This suggestion will, I repeat, doubtless seem fantastic to many, and I cannot pretend to think it a very probable explanation, though, perhaps, a possible one. But it is interesting in that it brings home to us that great men wrote plays under a pseudonym even in the days of the Roman Republic.

APPENDIX B

THE ORIGINAL DRAWING OF THE STRATFORD BUST

AS I have already intimated in the foot-note to page 487, since Chapter XVI, on "The Stratford Monument and the Portraits of Shakespeare," was in print, information has come into my hands which throws new light on the Dugdale engraving, and which, as I venture to think, raises a very strong presumption in favour of the contention that the "Stratford Bust" as we see it to-day is very different from that which was originally set up as the personification of "Shakespeare."

For this valuable information I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. William F. S. Dugdale of Merevale Hall, Atherstone, the present representative of Sir William Dugdale, the celebrated antiquarian.

Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale, having become interested in the controversy concerning the Stratford Bust, made diligent search among the papers and manuscripts in his possession, and had the good fortune to discover a manuscript book of Sir William Dugdale's containing a number of his original notes and drawings, prepared for *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*. Here he lighted upon what few can doubt to be the original drawing made for the engraving of Shakespeare's Bust as it appears in the above-mentioned work. Further, it can hardly be doubted that this drawing was made by Sir William himself, being in his private manuscript book, and surrounded, as it is, by notes in his own handwriting. Moreover, although he did not profess to be an artist, Sir William Dugdale could, at any rate, sketch well

heraldically, as can be proved by many drawings in the possession of Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale. It must have been from this drawing that the artist, whether Hollar or some other, prepared the engraving, which is an exact copy of the sketch except that it corrects it where it is somewhat out of drawing. Over it is written, in Sir William's own handwriting, "In the north wall of the Quire is this monument for William Shakespeare the famous poet," and, in another place, the inscription is written out in full, together with the inscriptions on the tombs of John and Susanna Hall. Above these is written the date, namely, July 1634, showing that it was in this year that these notes were made.

Dugdale, therefore, as it seems, himself made a drawing of the Stratford Bust, as it existed in his day, for his forthcoming work on *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*. That drawing shows a bust entirely different from the one which now stands in the church at Stratford. Either, then, the bust has been materially altered since that date, or Dugdale deliberately (but for no reason that can be suggested) presented his readers with a false picture of it. No sneering hypothesis as to "seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy" can avail against this dilemma. Nor must we forget that many of those into whose hands Dugdale's book would come—Warwickshire men, especially, like himself—could not fail to remark the ridiculous and preposterous inaccuracy of the engraving, if the bust had really been at that time as it now is. Mr. Spielmann has said that Dugdale's accuracy may be judged of by the fact that he tells us Shakespeare's bust was of alabaster, whereas, in truth, it is of soft stone. It now turns out that Dugdale nowhere makes this alleged statement, and that the inaccuracy is Mr. Spielmann's. Is it not probable, and, in the light of Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale's discovery, almost certain, that Dugdale has been wrongly charged here also, and that he was accurate—substantially accurate, at any rate—in his presentment of the Stratford Bust?

In this connection it may be well to note that the old antiquarian has been charged with inaccuracy in his Latin also, because the inscription under the engraving of the bust in his book — purporting to be a copy of that on Shakespeare's monument—commences with the words "Judycio [*sic*] Pylium."

But the words, as written in his own handwriting in his manuscript book, are correctly given, namely, "Judicio Pylium," etc., showing that the inaccuracy was not his, but the engraver's.

In conclusion, I have only to record my thanks to Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale for kindly inviting me to inspect his ancestor's very interesting book above mentioned, an invitation of which I was not slow to avail myself. I understand he proposes to publish an account of his discovery, with a facsimile of the drawing, and it is to be hoped he may shortly carry out this intention.

APPENDIX C

MRS. STOPES ON SHAKESPEARE

SINCE the foregoing pages were in print yet another book on "Shakespeare" has been given to the world, viz. *Shakespeare's Environment*, by Mrs. C. C. Stopes (G. Bell & Sons, 1914).

The book commences with an Introductory Chapter on "The Fortunes of Shakespeare," which we learn was an "Impromptu speech at the dinner of the 'Shakespeare Commemoration League,' 23rd April, 1908" (see p. 10). We must, certainly, congratulate the lady on her spontaneous eloquence, but even an impromptu after-dinner speech is, of course, subject to criticism if subsequently published as a considered contribution to Shakespearean biography. The chapter might more properly be headed "Fortunate Shakespeare," a title adopted by the *Times* Reviewer in his notice of the work. Well, if player Shakespeare was indeed the Shakespeare of literature he was unquestionably one of the most fortunate of men in that he was the author of the immortal plays and poems. But Mrs. Stopes directs our attention to the facts of player Shakespeare's life so far as they are known, or supposed to be known, to us, and finds him "*fortunate*" (the word is italicised throughout) in all their details. Critics and biographers have spoken of "his disabilities, disadvantages," etc. Nay, says the lady, I will show that, on the contrary, he was "*fortunate*" in everything—in the place of his birth, in the period in which he arrived, in his parents, in his school, in his seeming misfortunes, "even" in his marriage, in his family, in his friends, in his "fellows," in his theatres, in making money, and in the decline of his life. This is magnificent,

There is nothing like audacity. "*De l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!*" But, although I must not add materially to this already overgrown work, I must perforce make a few comments on some of the points raised.

Shakespeare, we are told, was "*fortunate* in his parents," and in this connection we are once more referred to "the Plume MS. at Maldon," where, we are informed, there is "the only definite notice we have" of his father, John Shakespeare, viz., "that he was a merry-cheeked old man who said 'Will was a good honest fellow, but he darest [*sic*] have crakt a jesst with him at any time.'" Now, as so written, the sentence is inconsequential and, in fact, a *non sequitur*. It is absurd to represent John Shakespeare as saying: "Will was a good honest fellow, *but* I dared to crack a jest with him"! If Will's father found that his son was a good fellow, *raison de plus* that he should not be afraid to crack a jest with him. It seems obvious that the correct reading is *daren't*, as given by the late Dr. Furnivall in the *Westminster Gazette* of October 31st, 1904, though he subsequently wrote (November 2nd) to say "daren't" was a mistake, and that "darest" (or "durst") should be read. But "daren't" makes sense and justifies the use of the disjunctive conjunction "but," which "darest" (or "durst") does not. It would be a trivial thing, indeed, for a father to say that he dared to jest with his son! But we need not waste further time as to what word Plume (who was afterwards Archdeacon of Rochester and founder of the Plumean Professorship at Cambridge) actually used, for his note commences (though this part is not quoted by Mrs. Stopes) thus: "He [Shakespeare] was a glover's son. Sir John Mennes saw once his old father in his shop—a merry-cheekt old man," etc. So Sir John Mennes is responsible for this description of Will's father, in whom he was so "*fortunate*." But Sir John Mennes was born on March 1st, 1599, and John Shakespeare died in September, 1601, so the infant Mennes was presumably taken from his cradle in Kent, in his nurse's arms, for the purpose of interviewing John Shakespeare, and subsequently recorded the result in the words aforesaid! Such is "Shakespearean" biography. (See *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* at p. 224 *et seq.*)

Mrs. Stopes thinks that Shakespeare "was *fortunate* even in his marriage." It is not worth while to discuss that point, but under this heading I find the following: "There is good reason to believe that he took his family with him to London as soon as he found a home." The "reason" is not stated, and I venture to think there is no reason to believe any such thing.

As to the "second-best bed," the following, surely, can hardly be improved upon: "there is nothing derogatory in the legacy of the second-best bed; *it was evidently her own last request* [my italics]. She was sure of her daughter's love and care, but she wanted the bed she had been accustomed to, before the grandeur at New Place came to her." There is not a shade or scintilla of evidence that Anne (or Agnes) asked for the second-best bed or wanted it, but just as the biographers say "doubtless" when there is much doubt, so it is natural that they should say "evidently" when there is no evidence, but rather a presumption to the contrary. As to the widow's *third*, of which Mrs. Stopes says Anne was "sure," Sir Sidney Lee has told us, on the authority of the late Mr. Elton, than whom no lawyer was better qualified to give an opinion on such a point, that "Will" had taken good care to bar his widow's dower, so it would rather appear that she was, unfortunately, sure of *not* getting her "third"!

Then as to the friends in whom Shakespeare was so fortunate. We are told that "through all he had *one friend* at least, during his period of toil and preparation," and this was "his townsman, Richard Field (his senior by three years), who had been at Stratford Grammar School, and entered life on the solid lines of an apprentice to Thomas Vautrollier, the great French printer, and became his son-in-law and successor. *Doubtless* [my italics] Shakespeare went at first to reside with him; certainly he was much with him. His shop was the poet's university, where he read for his degree by the inclusions and exclusions of the book-shelves [whatever that may mean]. . . . Field's publications account for the most of his learning. There he was inspired by 'Plutarch's Lives Englished by North,' trained by Puttenham's Art of English Poesie,' in the canons of literature and a taste for blank verse. There he found books on music, philosophy,

science, travels, medicine, language, and literature, which we *know* he read."

All this is delightful for an impromptu after-dinner speech, but it is mere imagination and assumption. What are the facts as far as they are known? Richard Field, says Mrs. Stopes, "had been at Stratford Grammar School." Where is the evidence of that? If such there is, I should be glad to see it. He left Stratford for London in 1579, some eight years before Shakspere abandoned his home. "*Doubtless* Shakespeare went at first to reside with him"! Again there is not the slightest shade or scintilla of evidence to support this statement. It is really monstrous that a mere guess of this sort should be stated as an undoubted fact of Shakspere's life. Vautrollier's "shop was the poet's university"! This, again, is merely post-prandial eloquence. We do not know that Shakspere ever entered Vautrollier's shop, and, really, biographies ought to be based on ascertained facts, not on "fanciful might-have-beens."[1]

"There he found books on music, philosophy, science, etc. etc., which we *know* he read." Yes, we know, certainly, that "Shakespeare" must have read such books as these, but there is no evidence at all to show that player Shakspere did so, either at Vautrollier's shop or anywhere else. There is nothing to show that he ever had a book in his possession, and, as I have already pointed out, he appears to have died without books, and without a thought of them.

But "it was Richard Field who printed and published Shakespeare's two poems, the only works which we are sure he published and corrected himself." As to that, however, there is something more to be said. The Stationers' Register proves that Richard Field, on April 18th, 1593, acquired the copyright in *Venus and Adonis*, and that on June 25th, 1594, he assigned that copyright to John Harrison, Senior, and I apprehend I am absolutely correct in saying that, though Field printed the poem, at his printing office at Ludgate, the real publisher thereof was this John Harrison of the "White Greyhound" in St. Paul's

[1] Sir Sidney Lee rightly characterises as "fanciful" the theory "that Field found work in Vautrollier's printing office for Shakespeare on his arrival in London" (*Life*, p. 30).

Churchyard, where, as the title-page of the 1593 Quarto informs us, the work was "to be sold." As Mr. H. R. Tedder puts it, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Field "*printed* three editions of *Venus and Adonis* and the first of *Lucrece* for John Harrison," the publisher. The quarto of *Venus and Adonis* was, as the title-page tells us, "imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the White Greyhound [Harrison's shop] in Paule's Churchyard." The first edition of *Lucrece* was "printed by Richard Field, for John Harrison, and are to be sold at the signe of the White Greyhound," etc.

I think, too, it is fair to say that if Field and the author of *Venus and Adonis* had been close personal friends we should hardly have expected to find Field parting with his copyright in the poem; rather, we should have expected to find him in possession of the copyright of *Lucrece* also.

Moreover, not one of the Quarto plays came from Field's press. Actor-Manager Shakespeare did not, apparently, care to employ his friend on behalf of his company. In short, when the known facts are examined, all that transpires is that Field was a Stratford man, and that he printed the two poems which were published by Harrison. Singularly little evidence, surely, for the "Stratfordian" authorship, unless imaginary and poetic details be added in the fervour of an impromptu oration![1]

But now hearken unto this: "It is something to hear from his contemporary Webster the praise of Shakespeare's 'right happy and copious industry.' For he must have been hard at work, in his early days in the metropolis, to have been able to publish a poem by 1593, which put him at once among the highest group of contemporary poets over which Spenser reigned supreme." Nor is this statement as to "'Will's' hard work confined to the impromptu speech, for in chap. xxix on "The Stratford Poet," at p. 289, we find the following: "When young Shakespeare went to London, there is proof [*what* proof?] that he renewed his acquaintanceship with his Stratford friend, Richard Field, the apprentice, son-in-law and successor of Vautrollier, the great printer. . . . For some years, at least, it is evident that he took time to read Field's books. Webster;

[1] See my *Vindicators of Shakespeare*, p. 108 *et seq.*

his contemporary dramatist, calls him '*industrious* Shakespeare.'" And so impressed is the writer with the supposed importance of this saying of Webster's that she quotes it again at p. 141.

What are we to say of this? I can only say that it is a truly painful illustration of the manner in which a fair-minded lady of spotless integrity, who would not for the world knowingly misrepresent, is, like other writers in the sphere of so-called "Shakespearean" biography, and in that sphere only, led astray by the fervour of her imagination, and by her controversial instincts and sympathies, to distort (quite unconsciously, of course) the meaning of a very simple passage.

For what is it that Webster really says? The passage is to be found in the Dedication to *The White Divel* (1612),[1] and is as follows: "For mine owne part I have ever truly cherisht my good opinion of other mens worthy Labours, especially of that full and haightned stile of maister *Chapman*: The labor'd and understanding workes of Maister *Johnson*: The no less worthy composures of the both worthily excellent maister *Beamont* and maister *Fletcher*: And lastly (without wrong last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of M. *Shake-speare* [*sic*], M. *Decker*, and M. *Heywood*, wishing what I write may be read by their light: Protesting that, in the strength of mine owne judgement, I know them so worthy, that though I rest silent in my owne worke, yet to most of theirs I dare (without flattery) fix that of *Martiall*—non norunt Haec monumenta mori."

There is no ambiguity about this. The meaning is as clear as daylight. Webster is alluding to the *works* of the various authors whom he names—the "*monumenta*" which "*non norunt mori*"—and the merits which he recognises in them. In the case of Shake-speare, Decker and Heywood, whom he couples together and to whom he awards the same measure of praise, he commends their "right happy and *copious* industry," manifestly alluding to their literary output. It was, indeed, a "copious" output, and that word alone should have preserved Mrs. Stopes from the error into which she has so unaccountably

[1] Referred to by Mrs. Stopes (p. 141) as "Vittoria Corambona," from the second part of the long title.

fallen. It is as though I should talk of the "copious industry" of Scott, Dickens, and George Eliot. That this should be represented as a testimony by Webster to the hard work done by Shakespeare as a young man when he first came to London, and as evidence, forsooth, that "for some years . . . he took time to read Field's books," is really preposterous. Why *is* it that such perversions should so constantly occur when Shakespeare is the subject of discussion, and should be repeated by those who ought to, and surely must, know better, as though they were legitimate criticism?[1]

I will not follow Mrs. Stopes into the intricacies of her chapter on "Shakespeare's Aunts and the Snitterfield Property,"[2] and will only remark upon it that the lady shows herself therein an apt pupil of Sir Sidney Lee in the unstinted use of the convenient word "doubtless" to support doubtful and unsubstantiated propositions. Let this example suffice. "Though this Chancery case does not yield us much new matter, it makes real our somewhat hazy notions of the property settled on Shakespeare's aunts. But the whole series of documents, taken together, teach us a great many important points regarding the poet's family and surroundings. It lets us picture the house abutting on the High Street where John Shakespeare was *doubtless* born, the extent of the united properties, and the stretches of the common fields which the poet *doubtless* haunted in his youth to catch the conies, permitted to the freeholders. But above all it answers *conclusively* the question, so mockingly put by the Baconians [and by others also, I may add, many of them being of the "orthodox faith" as Lord Campbell, e.g.]: Where did the Stratford man learn his law? There are more legal documents concerning this Snitterfield property than were

[1] Webster, says Mrs. Stopes (p. 289), "calls him '*industrious* Shakespeare.'" Webster never uses those words and the quotation marks are quite unwarranted.

[2] Those who are not too prejudiced to look at a "Baconian" organ should refer to an article by Mr. Harold Hardy on "Shakespeare and Asbies" in *Baconiana* for July, 1914, and his reply to a letter from Mrs. Stopes in the same journal for October, 1914. Mr. Hardy contends that the lady's "inferences are unconvincing and misleading," and, *me judice*, makes good his contention.

drawn up for any other family of the time in Warwickshire, as anyone may test who wades through the 'Feet of Fines,' and *as few of his relatives could write, it is possible they could not read.* William Shakespeare may have had but little Latin, but he was *very likely* esteemed as the scholar of the family, and *doubtless* had all these deeds by heart through reading them to his anxious and careful relatives" (p. 36. Italics mine).

So here we have a *conclusive* answer to the question, where did Shakespeare learn his law? But Mr. J. M. Robertson, as we have seen, tells us that Shakespeare "didn't have no law," or, like Charlie's Aunt's children, "none to speak of"! However, Mrs. Stopes evidently is of a contrary opinion, and she thinks, nay asserts as a "*conclusive*" answer, that Shakespeare got it all from the multitudinous legal documents of this Chancery case—deeds which he *doubtless* had all by heart, especially as he was, "*very likely*," esteemed as the scholar of the family!

I commend the above quotation to the reader as a specimen of sound, sober, sane, and "orthodox" reasoning. No mere hypothesis here; no jumping to conclusions; no disregard of the teachings of human experience! Yet with reference to Shakespeare's legal knowledge, I would just venture to hint that though from the Chancery suit concerning the Snitterfield property Will Shakspere might, certainly, get some smatterings of the practice and jargon of one branch of real property law, and "pick up" many conveyancing terms, just as any litigant in our day can, if he tries to do so, gather a few crumbs of legal learning so far as applicable to his own case, this is really all that Will could have done, and I must leave it to the reader to say whether this hypothesis is adequate to account for Shakespeare's knowledge of law (by no means confined to Chancery and Conveyancing), and of lawyers and their ways and customs, if such knowledge he really possessed, a question which I have already discussed at too great length. As to the suggestion that "Will" was esteemed as the scholar of the family, it is really no more than a piece of very gratuitous assumption. Judging by his handwriting, if the facsimile signature of "Gilbart Shakespere" presented by Halliwell in his monumental edition of the *Works of Shakespeare* (Vol. I, p. 25),

is to be trusted, one would imagine that this Gilbert was a much better "scholar" than "Will," if, indeed, the latter could lay any claim to that title at all and in any sense whatever.[1]

Well, we are all grateful to Mrs. Stopes for her indefatigable industry in investigation, and her "copious" industry in publication, and there is one subject upon which I am glad to find myself in substantial agreement with her. I refer to her contention regarding the "True Story of the Stratford Bust" (see her chapter XIII, and postscript at p. 115, and Terminal Note XIII). Mrs. Stopes has, I find, through the courtesy of Mr. Dugdale of Merevale, shared with me the privilege of inspecting "the volume of Sir William Dugdale's Diary which contained his own special drawings for the tombs in Warwickshire Churches," with regard to which she writes (p. 123): "The greatest '*proof*' of Dugdale's inexactitude, so triumphantly brought forward by my opponents, is utterly extinguished by this volume. The drawing of the Carew Clopton Monument does not appear in The Diary, which means that *the Clopton family, and not Dugdale, was responsible for its drawing and its inaccuracies.* He only drew those which had not been sent on to him by the families whom he had invited to do so. He evidently thought Shakespeare's Monument, though not sent on, specially important, and did it carefully himself."[2]

And now a word more as to the old Stratford Court of Record, as it existed in Shakespearean times, under the Charter of 1553. As I have already said, it seems impossible to believe that all the petty cases—especially small debt cases—which came before it, were tried not only by the Bailiff, who presided, but also by a jury of twelve citizens solemnly impannelled for that purpose,

[1] Mrs. Stopes's chapter on "Shakespeare's Aunts," etc., appeared in *The Athenæum* of August 14th, 1909, and I have dealt with it in *The Vindicators of Shakespeare* (p. 91 *et seq.*). "Doubtless" Shakespeare had these female relatives in mind when he wrote of the

"Summer songs for me and my Aunts
While we lie tumbling in the hay"!

[2] She had previously remarked, very wisely, as I think, that she "had definitely refused to accept as witness against Dugdale's trustworthiness the

and I cannot help thinking that there has been no little confusion between juries summoned "on view of frank pledge" and juries summoned to try causes. It seems to me that even Halliwell-Phillipps himself was not always careful to note this distinction. Nevertheless, that some cases, at any rate, were tried by jury in the Borough Court in those old times is, we are told, proved by the records preserved at Stratford-on-Avon! Mrs. Stopes, for instance, in chapters VI and IX of her book, cites two cases which appear to have been so tried in that Court, making reference to the "Miscellaneous Documents, Stratford-on-Avon," Vol. VI, Nos. 168 and 176, and Vol. VII, Nos. 245 and 246. I have not been able to make a personal inspection of these documents, but I have copies more or less accurate (for the originals in some places are, I am told, very difficult to decipher), and they appear to relate to cases tried in the Borough Court, viz. Younge *v.* Perat, 20th July, 37 Elizabeth, and Reed *v.* Sadler, an undated case, but, seemingly, tried not later than 1597. The former case, however, appears to me, in view of the Latin document, Vol. VII, No. 244 (not referred to by Mrs. Stopes but of which a copy has been supplied to me), to have been an appeal from, or rehearing of, a case tried in the Borough Court, a jury having been summoned to decide the issues. Mrs. Stopes quotes the commencement of Vol. VI, No. 168, as follows: "Jurie between Robert Reed, plaintiff, and John Sadler, defendant, in a pley of trespas committed." My copyist, however, informs me that the last word is not "committed," but, as he reads it, "*casuñ*" or "*casum*." Whatever the actual word is in the original no doubt what is meant is trespass "*super casum*" (generally "*transgressio super casum*," Anglicé "trespass on the case"), a form of plea of which many examples are given

evidence of any other tomb which had also been 'repaired and beautified,'" as was Shakespeare's. "Now the Clopton tomb had been 'repaired and beautified,' and, therefore, without some stronger support, it has no convincing power at all." As to the Carew Monument, she had noticed, as others had, that, "for the reversing of the position of the recumbent figures from north to south we probably have to thank a printer's accidental reversal of the plate" (p. 116. This was written by Mrs. Stopes, as she tells us, before she had seen the volume above referred to, now in the possession of Mr. Dugdale of Merevale.

by Halliwell-Phillipps in his note on "John Shakespeare—Annals" (*Outlines*, Vol. II, p. 215).[1]

Then in Mrs. Stopes's transcript appear the words "List of Jury." I am informed that these words are not in the original, but there follows a list of 24 men, twelve of whom are marked by the word "Jur," and who, therefore, were, presumably, the jury by whom the case was to be tried. It is remarkable, however, that, endorsed on the back of a later entry at the foot of the page, is the following:—

Maria Shakspere, Jur.
Jone Reade.
Jane Baker, Jur.

Whereupon Mrs. Stopes asks: "Can it be taken that these women were also on the jury, or were they only sworn witnesses?" adding, "one of these they must have been." It is certainly a new idea that women were summoned to serve on juries in Elizabethan times, and one which, I think, unless undoubted evidence be available to support it, we may safely set aside. It also seems unlikely that the affix "Jur" should have been used indiscriminately for a juryman or a sworn witness. Possibly some clerk was indulging in a little joke when he so marked the names of these ladies! This Maria Shaxpere, by the way, was, according to Mrs. Stopes, "Will's" mother. This, therefore, seems to have been the *judicial* spelling of her name. *Mais que le diable allait-elle faire dans cette galère?* That is a point upon which we are not enlightened. She seems to have had nothing whatever to do with the case. As to the case of Margaret Younge *v.* Jone Peiat, after another list of 24 men, twelve of whom are marked by the word "Jur," we find a note, quoted by Mrs. Stopes (p. 61) to this effect: "Mr. Shaxpere, one book; Mr. Barber, a coverlett, two daggers, the three bokes: Ursula Fylld, the apparell and the bedding clothes at Whitsontyde was twellmonth. Backe debts due to the partie defendant."[2]

Who made this entry, and what its precise significance may

[1] That this is so clearly appears from Vol. VI, No 76, of the Stratford Miscellaneous Documents, referred to but not quoted by Mrs. Stopes.

[2] My copyist agrees in this, except that he writes "enny backe debts."

be, it is impossible to say. It certainly is not the finding of the jury who tried the case, for from document No. 245 in Vol. VII, which is not quoted by Mrs. Stopes, it appears that their issue was to inquire whether the articles in question, including two daggers, and three prayer books, as well as articles of female apparel and a coverlet, "dyd come to the hands and possession of Johane Parrett wydo (i.e. widow) or not"; whereupon they found for the plaintiff, Margaret Younge.

The "three books," therefore, mentioned in the above entry following the name of "Mr. Barber," appear to have been three prayer books. No other book is mentioned; therefore Mrs. Stopes may well say that "imagination is left to play vainly round the nature of the book."

Unfortunately, imagination does not stop here, for the lady proceeds to say: "it is clear from these rough notes that he [Mr. Shaxpere] had coveted one special book in Jone Perat's possession, that he had secured it, but that he had not yet paid for it." But, with respect, that is not clear at all, indeed very far from clear. As I have already said, only three books, and those "prayer books," are mentioned among the articles as to the possession or ownership of which the jury were directed to inquire. There is nothing whatever in the document cited to show that Mr. Shaxpere coveted any book in the possession of the defendant Johane Parrett (or Jone Perat), or that he had secured it as the result of the jury's finding, or that he owed money for it. This "Mr. Shaxpere," by the way, is not "Will," but his father, John, according to Mrs. Stopes, and we may notice that the judicial records still call him, as they call his wife, by the name whereby he was known to Roche, the master of the Grammar School and others.[1] The Court seems not to have taken cognisance of the *literary* form thereof. One would like to think that John Shaxpere came into the possession of at least "one book," and that that book ultimately passed to "Will," but I fear we are hardly justified in so assuming from "these rough notes."

So much for trial by jury in the old Borough Court. It would be interesting to know more about the practice and pro-

[1] But Roche wrote "Shaxbere."

cedure, and, in particular, in what cases the parties were entitled to demand a jury, for, surely, the summoning of some 24 or more citizens from whom to select the twelve jurymen cannot have been necessary for the trial of all the multitudinous petty cases that came before the Bailiff.[1]

I will make no attempt to follow Mrs. Stopes in her new theory with regard to "The Friends in Shakespeare's Sonnets" (chap. xv). Suffice it to say that "Mr. W. H." now becomes "Mr. William Harvey," and poor "Mrs. Jacquinetta Field" has displaced Mary Fitton in the rôle of the "dark lady." There is not, of course, a tittle of evidence for these assumptions. But it "might have been" the case, and "might," as usual, very shortly blossoms into "was"; as when Mrs. Stopes writes of her Jacquinetta that "she tuned her sweetest music to his tastes, and played remorselessly upon her poet's heart." All this is but another illustration of the impossibility of finding any rational solution of the problem of the Sonnets so long as the critics and biographers persist in trying to graft them on to the life of William Shakspere of Stratford, inventing imaginary incidents in that life in order to adapt them to the imaginary *dramatis personæ* of the poems.

[1] There seems room for further investigation here, but the investigator should have a competent knowledge both of law and Latin—especially legal Latin—should be somewhat of an antiquarian, and an expert in the deciphering of old documents.

ENVOY

An old writer has said, "However sure thou mayest be of thy hypothesis, take heed that among the arguments by which thou goest about to uphold it there be none which are faulty and unsound, lest, should these be made manifest, the truth may be doubted of, as though it were only based upon such frail supports." I would respectfully commend this sage advice to some militant champions of the received hypothesis concerning the Shakespearean authorship, assuming, for the sake of argument, that that hypothesis be true.

POSTSCRIPT

PROFESSOR WALLACE AGAIN

THIS book was practically complete before August 1914, and would have been published long ere this had it not been for the outbreak of the great war. But to ask the reading public to discuss the Shakespeare problem amid events of such tremendous and all-absorbing interest and importance as those which are now convulsing the whole world, seemed to be a somewhat futile proceeding, and publication was, accordingly, postponed. At my time of life, however, I find the words of Omar continually ringing in my ears:

> The Stars are setting, and the Caravan
> Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—oh, make haste.

Moreover, *The Times* considers the Shakespearean articles presently referred to sufficiently interesting to merit several columns of large type even amid the thunders of Armageddon, and the indefatigable Mrs. Stopes publishes yet another work on Shakespeare, in the serene confidence, I presume, of finding readers, though the guns boom never so loudly. I now venture to follow these examples, albeit with some reluctance, and much diffidence.

I have now before me, writing in May 1915, yet another article by "Professor Charles William Wallace, Ph.D., Professor of English Dramatic Literature in the University of Nebraska,"[1] headed "Other William Shakespeares. The Poet and the Brewers," which appeared in *The Times* of May 15th of this year, and upon this

[1] See *ante*, p. 260 *et seq.*

latest pronouncement of the learned Professor I propose to say a final word.

If the reader will kindly turn back to p. 267 of this work, he will find it stated, concerning William Shakspere of Stratford, that "In July, 1604, in the local Court of Stratford, he sued one Philip Rogers to whom he had supplied since the preceding March malt to the value of £1. 19s. 10d., and had on June 25th lent 2s. in cash. Rogers paid back 6s. and Shakespeare sought the balance of the account, £1. 15s. 10d." The quotation is from Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 164, to which the reader is duly referred in a foot-note.

This story of Will's dealings with Philip Rogers had been previously told by Halliwell-Phillipps. See *Outlines*, 6th Edition, Vol. I, p. 195, and Vol. II, p. 77, where "A Declaration filed by Shakespeare's orders, in the year 1604, to recover the value of malt sold by him to a person of the name of Rogers," is set forth at length, and it may be worth while to note in passing that the plaintiff's name as it appears in the Declaration is William "Shexpere," so that we have here yet another variant of Will's name, which the biographers, of course, here as always, write in its literary form, "Shakespeare" to wit.

Now Professor Wallace labours to prove that this Shexpere was not our "Will," as the biographers and critics have hitherto supposed, but one of the "other William Shakespeares," whose name appears to have been Legion in Stratford and the neighbourhood. "Was this maltster the poet?" he asks. Well "some support for the belief that he was may, at a casual glance, appear to be in an earlier record of February, 1598, when during a corn famine, the precaution was taken to make a census of *all the corn and malt then in the hands of all the* inhabitants. In that census of Stratford Shakespeare the poet was found to have on hand eighty bushels of corn." But, says the Professor, this must have been "mainly wheat," not "the malt of the census," which "could have been in the hands of only the licensed few," for the selling of malt had to be licensed, and we have no positive evidence that "Will" was licensed to sell

malt, though, of course, he might have been. So the document of 1598 is dismissed as of no importance in this connection.

But how does Professor Wallace prove that William Shexpere of Stratford who, in the year 1604, supplied malt to Philip Rogers, was not player Will "the poet"? I must let him set forth the proof in his own words:

"In 1603, Shakespeare's company at the Globe Theatre was made the King's Players, then and always thereafter the most important and the most honoured theatrical company of London. On March 15, 1604, having been given special liveries for the occasion, Shakespeare and his associates, with the rank of Grooms of the Chamber, are rightly or wrongly supposed to have marched in the gorgeous spectacular Coronation procession of King James, their admiring patron. Then a fortnight later, and for three months thereafter, we are asked to believe, Shakespeare, slipping out of this splendid and busy London activity, was in Stratford selling malt fortnightly to at least one customer. Then almost immediately after, from August 9 to 27, a period of 18 days, Shakespeare and his associates, as Grooms of the Chamber, were, by order of their patron the King, in attendance on the Spanish Ambassador at Somerset House.[1] Then shortly afterwards, in Michaelmas, shall we believe, the poet, having again slipped away from the splendour of the Court and the strenuous business of playwriting and theatre-managing, was in Stratford prosecuting Rogers for these picayunish debts for malt.

"Meanwhile, Shakespeare and his company were preparing a great repertory of plays for performance at Court, one of the best they had ever given. And all the time the company was all but absolutely dependent on Shakespeare for new plays. At the very time of his supposed three months' absence in the capacity of maltster at Stratford, Shakespeare must have been writing one of his plays, probably *Othello*, which was acted at Court shortly after, on the night of November 1, under the name of *The Moor of Venice*. Three days later, on Sunday night, November 4, they acted before the King and the Court *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Then came their great Shakespearian repertory of plays at Court during the Christmas season, on Dec. 26, *Measure for Measure*; Dec. 28, *The Comedy of Errors*; Jan. 6, *Love's Labour's Lost*; Jan. 7, *Henry V.*; Jan. 8, Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*. Next followed, on Candlemas

[1] As to all this, see *ante*, chap. xv.

Day, Feb. 2, Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*; for Feb. 3 a play was prepared but withdrawn; Feb. 10, Shrove Sunday, *The Merchant of Venice*; Feb. 11, *The Spanish Maz*; Feb. 12, again *The Merchant of Venice*, by special command of the King. It was, withal, a varied and exacting repertory, such as no modern manager would like to undertake short of six months' to a year's preparation.

"Yet, in the midst of all this stress of play-writing, daily acting at the Globe, and constant preparation for the festival season at Court, and with all this honour and splendour of the Court, Shakespeare the poet was also Shakespeare the petty maltster in Stratford? He could not have been in both places at once, to say nothing of the mingling of the petty business of a small brewer or maltster with the production of the noblest dramas of human life ever written.

"*The absurdity and impossibility of the assumption that Shakespeare the poet was Shakespeare the maltster need not be emphasised beyond the mere presentation of the facts. The poet is at least thereby relieved of the stigma on his name. The document in the Stratford Court of Record does not apply to him. The William Shakespeare who was engaged in the business of selling malt must be sought among the brewers who shared his name but who have no claims upon his fame.*" (My italics.)

Now this really shows a great advance in Shakespearean criticism. Hitherto the orthodox critics and biographers have seen nothing whatever incongruous in the supposed fact that the "player-poet" was engaged in money-lending, and malt-selling, and huckstering, *et hoc genus omne*, and at the same time composing "the noblest dramas of human life ever written." Mr Lang, for example, accurately expressed the generally received opinion among the orthodox when he wrote, "I do not, like Mr. Greenwood, see anything 'at all out of the way' in the circumstance 'that a man should be writing *Hamlet*, and at the same time bringing actions for petty sums lent on loan at some unspecified interest.'"[1]

Professor Wallace is of a different opinion. He cannot believe in "the mingling of the petty business of a small brewer or maltster with the production of the noblest dramas of human life ever written." He tells us that

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 171.

"the absurdity and impossibility of the assumption that Shakespeare the poet was Shakespeare the maltster need not be emphasised beyond the mere presentation of the facts."

It follows, therefore, that this William Shexpere could not possibly have been William Shakspere, the player, because William Shakspere the player was also William Shakespeare the poet, and the supposition that William Shakespeare the poet was a maltster is absurd on the face of it. Evidently, therefore, the maltster was *one of* the "other William Shakespeares," and thus "the poet is . . . relieved of the stigma on his name"!

Now I find myself very largely in agreement with Professor Wallace. I conceive he is right in opining that the maltstering, money-lending, huckstering "William Shakespeare" (so-called) was not, in truth and in fact, "the poet." But I see no reason at all for thinking that this maltstering, money-lending, huckstering "William Shakespeare" was not, in truth and in fact, Will Shakspere the Stratford player. We only differ, therefore, as to the identity of "the poet"!

In conclusion, I would call attention to the tendency of the modern critic, when anything is recorded of "William Shakespeare" which he finds to be out of harmony with the orthodox hypothesis, to say, "Oh, this obviously does not refer to William Shakespeare the poet, but to 'another gentleman of the same name'"! I have already called attention to an illuminating example of this in the case of the "Mr. Shakspeare," who, in 1613, was, together with Richard Burbage, paid 44s. for work "about My Lorde's impreso," where Mrs. Stopes, eagerly followed by Mr. J. M. Robertson, rushes off on a wild goose chase after a certain "John Shackespeare, bitmaker" (*ante*, p. 16 *et seq.*). And as there seem to have been a great many "William Shakespeares" (only they did not usually so spell their names) in and around Stratford, it is generally not at all difficult to father any action from "the stigma" of which we desire to relieve player Will, upon one of these other gentlemen of the same name. Biography becomes mighty easy under such conditions. Meantime we may note with some satisfaction

that, according to this latest and most orthodox pronouncement of Shakespearean criticism, the "petty maltster in Stratford" could not conceivably have been the author of the immortal Plays and Poems. Well, some of us have been saying the same thing for some time past.[1]

[1] I am not much concerned to argue the question whether William the Maltster was, or was not, our "Will," but we may note further that the other William Shakespeare referred to by Professor Wallace lived at Rowington, "two or three hours' walk to the north of Stratford," while the "brewer" of that name lived at Knowle, "an hour's walk north-west of Rowington." These William Shakespeares appear as defendants in the records of the "Court Leet of the Manor of Rowington," or the "Court Leet of the Manor of Knowle," whereas William the Maltster appears in the Borough Court of Stratford! (I would take this opportunity of explaining the concluding words of the foot-note at p. 393. When these words were printed Mr. J. M. Robertson was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.)

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