

SHAKESPEARE SURVEY

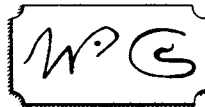
AN ANNUAL SURVEY OF
SHAKESPEARIAN STUDY & PRODUCTION

3

EDITED BY
ALLARDYCE NICOLL

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STUDIES IN THE LIFE AND ENVIRONMENT OF SHAKESPEARE SINCE 1900

BY

CHARLES J. SISSON

It would be instructive to relate the history of Shakespearian biography to that of biography in general, from its beginnings in Ben Jonson's *Conversations* or the prefatory verses of the First Folio, on to the first formal *Life* prefaced by Rowe to his edition of 1709, and so to the foundations of modern documented study in Malone's *Life and History of the Stage* in their latest form in the *Variorum* of 1821. Certain main trends of development are plainly observable.

The collection of oral evidence or of tradition is superseded by the collection of facts resting upon documents, and the man Shakespeare is recorded in the setting of the London theatre-world with which in his life he was mostly concerned. From the history of the stage it was a short step to the study of the Elizabethan world in which Shakespeare lived, in London or in Stratford-upon-Avon, to complete the setting for the picture of his life. These two trends have been illuminated in some of the principal monuments of the study of Shakespeare's life and environment, as in Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outline of the Life of Shakespeare* (final edition of 1887) or Sir Edmund Chambers's *William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), and in *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age* (1916). The renewed interest in the study of original documents was shown early in the present century by their collection in D. H. Lambert's *Cartæ Shakespeareanæ* (1904) and again in C. F. Tucker Brooke's *Shakespeare of Stratford* (1926).

But Shakespeare's own writings are also documents which cannot fail to furnish material for biographical interpretation, criticism merging into biography. It was Malone again who first attempted a chronology of the plays of Shakespeare, to fix what are, from one point of view at least, the most significant dates of his life. A third trend of development is the exploitation of this material as a reflection of the spiritual and intellectual life of the poet. German scholars fastened upon this aspect of the subject early in the nineteenth century, and created the philosopher-poet at the opposite pole from Pope's journeyman of the theatre. From this emerged also the picture of a soul in its famous Four Periods, which we owe mainly to Dowden's *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of his Mind and Art* (1875), and which prevails invulnerable to criticism as orthodox faith, supported on the Continent by such books as Brandes's *William Shakespeare* (1898).

Our material may therefore be grouped with some convenience under three headings, in the order of their importance within our present field of study, Documentary Study, Study of Environment, and Creative Biography, though there will inevitably be some overlapping and doubtful classification.

DOCUMENTARY STUDY

Betterton's famous pilgrimage to Stratford to gather material for Rowe's *Life* set an example for later biographers. Much is recorded by Malone, and a great deal of new information, supported by publication of the original documents, is presented in the various collections of Halliwell-Phillipps.

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The foundation of the Shakespeare Birthplace Committee at Stratford in 1847, leading to the Birthplace Trust of 1866, established by Act of Parliament in 1891, has had important developments for scholarship. A library and repository of local archives grew, from 1863 onwards, of increasing volume and importance for Shakespearian study. Much is owed to its librarians. F. C. Wellstood's *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, &c. in Shakespeare's Birthplace* appeared in 1925. Original records have been made available by the labours of R. Savage in *The Parish Registers of Stratford-on-Avon* (1897-1905) and *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon* (1921-30). The consequent exploration of Stratford archives, spreading out into Warwickshire, has been a feature of the present century. Sir Sidney Lee's *Stratford-on-Avon* (1907: originally issued in 1885) set the starting point for later research. Mrs C. C. Stopes and E. I. Fripp published a number of books, miscellanies of information, from 1901 to 1930. To Fripp's *Shakespeare Studies* (1930) we owe an account of John Brownsword, schoolmaster at Stratford in Shakespeare's boyhood. E. A. B. Barnard's *New Links with Shakespeare* (1930) brought fresh documentary material, and E. Vine Hall's two series of *Testamentary Papers* (1933) collected contemporary Stratford wills. Much of the manuscript material now accumulated in the Birthplace Library, however, still remains unexplored.

A variety of explanations has been offered of a period of Shakespeare's life during which no records are available, all resting upon the theory that Shakespeare left Stratford about 1587 for London, though his presence there is not on record until Greene's attack in 1592. It is argued that he was a schoolmaster in a Catholic family, or in an ordinary school, or was in a lawyer's office, or was picked up by a travelling company. A. C. Acheson's *Lost Years of Shakespeare* (1920) makes him a member of Pembroke's Company in 1591, an intimate of Southampton and an enemy of John Florio. Such theories—and there is no end to them—have as a rule little more foundation than the old stories of Shakespeare's excellence as a butcher's boy, or as a horse-holder in London. A more serious case is made out by O. L. Baker, in *Shakespeare's Warwickshire and the Unknown Years* (1938), for the belief that Shakespeare was a player in a travelling company, perhaps for a time in the household of a Lancashire gentleman, Alexander Hoghton, on the evidence of a will. What is beginning to emerge is the reasonable belief that his career as actor and dramatist began at an earlier date than was previously accepted, and scholars are now beginning to date his first plays as early as in 1588. Recent biographical and critical work is apt to look with suspicion upon the simple story which presents Shakespeare leaving Stratford for London in the eighties and retiring from London to Stratford in the second decade of the next century, in favour of the more natural and probable picture of the man dividing his time between the two centres of his interests throughout his life. The Stratford records are consistent with such a view.

A second hunting-ground for facts, the records in the great London repositories, had already yielded fruit in the eighteenth century, when Joseph Greene in 1747 discovered Shakespeare's will, which is preserved in Somerset House, the Principal Probate Registry. This Registry, with the Public Record Office, the Guildhall, and the Parish Registers of London churches, received increasing attention as the nineteenth century progressed. Much information was gained on stage-history, and consequently on Shakespeare's relations with his fellow-actors, and on the conditions of his literary work. Most of this would come more precisely under a survey of studies in the stage. But a remarkable discovery of direct biographical significance was made at

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the Public Record Office by C. W. Wallace of Nebraska in 1910, who was able to devote some years to intensive exploration of legal records. Among uncalendared bundles of Court of Requests papers he found a suit in which Shakespeare appeared as a witness in a matrimonial case in 1612, and was described as a gentleman of Stratford-upon-Avon (see Plates II and III). The evidence further relates that in 1604 he lodged with the family concerned, London French folk, in Silver Street, Cripplegate. What is perhaps more important is his signature appended to the record of his own evidence, the only certain piece of his writing apart from other already known signatures, and the only signature written freely and naturally, without impediment from illness or from the cramped space of labels on conveyancing documents.

The significance of this discovery became apparent when a great palaeographer, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, made the signature a capital factor in his study *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, published in 1916. The application of this study to a manuscript play preserved at the British Museum, together with historical, bibliographical and literary analyses, resulted in a notable book, *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of 'Sir Thomas More'* (1923), in which Thompson, A. W. Pollard, W. W. Greg, J. D. Wilson, and R. W. Chambers collaborated, adducing evidence that the Three Pages of Addition D in the manuscript were Shakespeare's holograph. The book led to much discussion, but the theory has on the whole received increasing assent, despite such criticism as it has received from Germany, as by L. L. Schücking, and from America, as by S. A. Tannenbaum. Both books contain valuable collotype facsimiles of the signatures and of the pages of the *More* manuscript. The whole of the manuscript was reproduced in a volume of J. S. Farmer's *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, unsatisfactorily owing to its condition. There has been much support for the further attribution to Shakespeare of Addition III in the same play, as by R. C. Bald in 1931 and in 1949 (see *Shakespeare Survey*, II).

C. W. Wallace also discovered Chancery proceedings of 1615 which showed Shakespeare concerned in the title-deeds of the Blackfriars Gatehouse in London, which was his property, in the last year of his life. These documents were additional to others bearing upon the property, known to Malone. The harvest may appear slight for so much labour, but the search is tempting, and Wallace had a notable successor in J. L. Hotson, a researcher of great diligence and high competence in record science as in scholarship. He undertook an examination of the records, among others, of the Court of Common Pleas and of Queen's Bench, with results which were published in two books, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (1931), and *I, William Shakespeare* (1938). From the former we learn of petitions for surety of the peace in 1596 in which Shakespeare was concerned, from which Hotson argues that the poet was then living in Southwark, that William Gardiner, a well-known Surrey Justice of the Peace of ill-repute, may be identified as Shakespeare's butt in Justice Shallow, and that Shakespeare's company may then have been associated with Francis Langley at the Swan Theatre in Paris Garden. His conclusions, however, have met with resistance, as from T. W. Baldwin and J. E. Hannigan. In Hotson's later book, we learn much of interest concerning Thomas Russell, an overseer of Shakespeare's will, and other contemporaries. Hotson had already been able to identify the Walter Johnson who attested the Blackfriars Deed signed by Shakespeare as the Host of the Mermaid Inn (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1933). It is regrettable that much of the work of Wallace and Hotson was published in a form not easily accessible to scholars, in popular magazines.¹

The war made further research of this nature impracticable, but it will doubtless attract other

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workers in more settled times. It may be doubted whether much information is likely to be gained with direct bearing upon Shakespeare, but it is probable enough that more general exploration, not focused upon the poet in person, will yet throw a fuller light upon his life both at Stratford and in London. The still unexplored jungle is extensive enough. An interesting discovery was made known in the Fourth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission upon the Rutland Manuscripts, in 1905. Payments of 43 shillings were made to Shakespeare and to Burbage for the provision of an *impresa* for a Tournament at Belvoir Castle in 1613, by the Earl of Rutland, a patron of the theatre. The payment is recorded in his steward's account-book there. The *impresa* itself has not survived.

There have been various attempts to add to the number of authentic signatures of Shakespeare by the discovery of books bearing his name in writing. There is little support for the signature in the Bodleian copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1502), but that in the British Museum copy of Florio's *Montaigne* (1603) is accepted by E. K. Chambers, though not by E. M. Thompson. A serious claim is made for a signature 'W. Shaksper' in a copy of William Lambard's *Archaionomia* (1568) purchased for the Folger Library in 1938. J. Q. Adams, in an article in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxvii (1943), maintained the authenticity of the signature. The signature is obscured by the ornament on the title-page over which it is written, and is best examined as an offset on the verso through a looking-glass. The excellent photograph here reproduced (see Plate I B) is thus made from the offset. A number of marked variations from any known signature or from normal Secretary hand causes doubts, after examination of the original, fortified by expert opinion of the reproduction, not least in respect of the *h* and of the style in general. It might perhaps even suggest a *memoriter* imitation of the Mortgage signature. The claim is, however, supported by the recency of the revelation of the signature in the process of ironing, as also by the reference to Shakespeare (written in later) as resident in Westminster.

The claim was made in the same journal in 1940 by Alan Keen on behalf of a copy of the 1550 issue of Hall's *Chronicle* that its numerous marginalia were annotations by Shakespeare, and that we see him here at work upon three of his English history plays. (The claim is modified in letters to the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1947.) Among other doubts, it has been pointed out that one of the plays, *Henry V*, certainly rests upon the 1587 Holinshed, and not on Hall. Clara Longworth-Chambrun claimed in 1938, in her book *Shakespeare Rediscovered*, that a copy of the 1587 Holinshed in private hands bore marks and writing by Shakespeare, and was his own copy. It has not, however, been submitted to expert opinion.

An elaborate work on *The Shakespeare Documents* by B. R. Lewis in 1941, unsatisfactory as it was in many respects, had the merit of placing at the disposal of scholars a collection of facsimiles of the more important documents in chronological order, to set alongside the meticulous transcripts to be found in E. K. Chambers's *William Shakespeare*. One of the most valuable services made to scholarship in the present century is, indeed, the ample provision of dependable collotype facsimiles of biographical and literary documents.

The twentieth century has been unable to add to our knowledge in respect of the iconography of Shakespeare. The Stratford bust by Jansen continues to receive assaults, of course, though no evidence has been adduced against the essential authenticity, even if not done from life. Mrs Stopes was able to give further details concerning the repair of the monument in the eighteenth century. The engraving by Droeshout in the First Folio has a similar claim, but no more, to

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authenticity. No other representations have any such claim, though attempts have been made from time to time to establish them, as recently for a portrait in private hands, formerly known to Halliwell-Phillipps. M. H. Spielmann's monograph, *Shakespeare's Portraiture* (1924), is the fullest treatment of the question, and is on the whole unchallenged, except by uninformed opinion.

STUDY OF ENVIRONMENT

The study of the setting for Shakespeare's life and work offers a limitless field beyond the scope of definition. It would be difficult to exclude almost any aspect of Elizabethan and Jacobean scholarship from its share in the illumination of his life or his writings. This became evident in a notable book published in the centenary year of 1916, *Shakespeare's England*, in which the thread of illustrations from Shakespeare ran through an Elizabethan encyclopaedia of knowledge. The vast amount of recent work on the history of the London and provincial stages, again, or upon the drama in general, all has indirect bearing upon Shakespeare. Of this, a separate survey must take account. But there are certain regions of knowledge which have been explored of late with a more especial reference to Shakespeare, to very significant purpose.

E. A. Plimpton made a good start in 1933 with his book *The Education of Shakespeare* on the educational horizon of Shakespeare's outlook. This was vastly developed by two voluminous and important works of T. W. Baldwin. *William Shakspeare's Petty School* (1943) deals amply with the process and substance of his elementary schooling, literary and religious, in great detail, and concludes further that Shakespeare's own religion was orthodox Protestantism, a conclusion arrived at in a different approach by Cumberland Clark (*Shakespeare and the Supernatural*, 1933). The opposite view has been stated again from time to time, as by I. J. Semper in the *Catholic World* (February 1943), who suggests that between 1585 and 1592 Shakespeare was a domestic teacher in some Catholic family, to set against A. Gray's theory of his ushership in the family of Sir Henry Goodere (1926). The general trend of evidence adduced in recent years leads to the belief that John Shakespeare was a Catholic recusant. This particular debate is always clouded by the terms Protestant and Catholic, which should perhaps be replaced for this period by conformist and recusant as a truer basis for argument. T. W. Baldwin's further contribution in this field, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (2 vols., 1944), dealt at large with the grammar school, with the later stages of educational development, and the influences of classical training in grammar and rhetoric in the Elizabethan world, and suggests reasons for considering the theory that Aubrey put forward, of Shakespeare's early period of schoolmastering. But the chief conclusion is to set the level and significance of Shakespeare's grammar-school literary education higher than would before have been agreed.

The question of Shakespeare's own reading, so closely connected with these matters, has received much attention ever since Richard Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767). The early years of the century showed the main lines of interest in two books, H. R. D. Anders's *Shakespeare's Books* and J. C. Collins's essay "Shakespeare as a Classical Scholar" in *Studies in Shakespeare*, the latter pressing against Farmer's view the internal evidence for Shakespeare's first-hand knowledge of his Latin and even Greek authorities. The general trend of subsequent study has indicated the reasonable belief that Shakespeare was no classical scholar in the narrow

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sense, but was far from being dependent upon translations at any rate for his Latin poets. Attempts to prove first-hand knowledge of Plato or of Attic tragedy have not brought conviction. But there has been no serious scholarly support for the view that another author must be sought for Shakespeare's poems and plays, arguing from the premise that they require a writer of higher social status or of university education, though the output of books maintaining this view, in favour of Bacon or Derby or other claimants, continues apace. The mythology, thought, and literature of the classical world was part of the air Shakespeare breathed, with all intelligent Elizabethans. So too of the great French and Italian writers. And the evidence is adequate that he gave close study, not only to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, but also to North's *Plutarch*, to Florio's *Montaigne*, to Holinshed, and to a considerable group of other books which can be listed. The list of his books has been enlarged occasionally, as, for example, by Thomas P. Harrison Jr., who adduces evidence to show that he used the 1572 *Secret of Secrets* (J. Q. Adams *Memorial Studies*, 1948), and by Hardin Craig, who demonstrates that he used Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (*Studies in Philology*, 1931). Sir Israel Gollancz's *The Shakespeare Classics* (1907-13) reproduced some part of his library of books, in continuation of earlier work giving extracts from Holinshed or Plutarch, and many studies have been published illustrating Shakespeare's manifest reading of, *inter alia*, Montaigne or Elyot. A. Quiller-Couch's *Shakespeare's Workmanship* illustrated the process of his reading and craftsmanship. What emerges beyond reasonable doubt is the picture of a hard-reading man of letters engaged upon poetry and the drama, exploring literature for subjects and material to his taste or suitable for the demands of his company.

A man does not, however, nourish his mind on books alone. It has been a notable feature of twentieth-century literary studies in general that literature has been increasingly interpreted in terms of its intellectual and historical background, and that a number of books have sought to construct the main constituent elements in the atmosphere breathed by men of letters, and by their readers or their audiences, in each century, as also of the forces of change and disruption in systems of thought to which Shakespeare for one could not fail to be submitted, being 'for all time', no doubt, but being certainly 'of his age' none the less.

The two volumes of *Shakespeare's England* (1916) gave an encyclopaedic account of the life and thought of the age, with an ample supply of illustrations from contemporary sources, each chapter from the pen of an authority upon his subject. It was planned by Sir Walter Raleigh, and brought to completion by Sir Sidney Lee and C. T. Onions, and is an indispensable book of reference for students of Shakespeare, as well as an absorbing book in its own right as a picture of Elizabethan life. A delightful book by D. H. Madden, *The Diary of Master William Silence* (1897 and 1907), re-created the intimate life of the countryside and its sports, with some direct bearings upon Shakespeare's own memories reflected in his plays. F. P. Wilson's *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (1927) illuminates an aspect of life of importance to Shakespeare and to his theatre for very practical reasons. The general features of Elizabethan life were illustrated in lively works by J. D. Wilson and M. St Clare Byrne. And a valiant enterprise of G. B. Harrison produced a series of *Elizabethan Journals* (1928-33), which covered each year from 1591 to 1603, in a form resembling a personal diary of daily matters of importance, derived from a far-reaching study of contemporary printed books, memoirs, and State Papers. The journal records also the publication of books and the performances of plays, matters of significance to all sharing in the

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intellectual life of London, not least to Shakespeare the poet and dramatist. J. E. Neale's *Queen Elizabeth* has provided the necessary historical background, hitherto lacking, in an authoritative modern study of the reign, and of the institutions of importance to her subjects.

One of the principal desiderata in this connexion is a full and clear account, resting upon first-hand knowledge of procedure and proceedings, with illustrations and examples, of the principal Courts of Law in Elizabethan England. The account given in *Shakespeare's England* is in many respects misleading and erroneous, not least with regard to Star Chamber. The separate treatments of each Court in the publications of the Selden Society do not meet the need. Such knowledge was, in fact, part and parcel of Shakespeare's mind and experience.

The general outlook of the Elizabethan intellectual world, on the other hand, has received much attention of late. The main trend of scholarship has been away from the simpler view which represents Shakespeare as the man of the Renaissance in the sense that a dividing line exists between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, and in the direction of a view that presents continuity in a stream of thought merging the medieval world in the modern world. W. W. Lawrence, in his remarkable *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (1931), could take it as an accepted view that medieval England was implicit in Elizabethan England, and in Shakespeare's mind, and could rail safely at the notion of a Chinese Wall dividing the one from the other. The foundations of the Elizabethan world of thought were studied in the light of this fundamental truth by a number of philosophic scholars to great effect. B. Willey's *The Seventeenth Century Background* (1934) perhaps led the way. Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass* (1936) covers a vast field of thought in the Elizabethan mind in its compressed and pregnant mastery of the subject. T. Spencer followed with *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (1942). E. M. W. Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943), with its successor applying its main conceptions, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944), set out luminously the cosmic philosophy which was part of Shakespeare's being, and which affects the interpretation of his writings. The medieval bases of this world-picture appear plainly, in a geocentric world, in which the Chain of Being governs macrocosmos and microcosmos in a hierarchy of law and order.

Other writers emphasize the importance of this theme, and illustrate the significance of the chief disintegrators of medieval thought in the transition to the modern world, Copernicus in the heavens hitherto dominated by Ptolemy, Machiavelli in state-craft and political thought, and Montaigne in ethical thought, with wide implications. Alfred Harbage's *As They Liked It* (1947) is important for the study of Shakespeare's moral thought, and D. C. Allen's *Star-Crossed Renaissance* (1941) deals thoroughly with astrology.

A factor of special importance in the background of Shakespeare's literary and dramatic work has been much considered of late, the audience for which Shakespeare catered in the theatres performing his plays. The subject opened up by A. C. Bradley's essay in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1909), and by C. J. Sisson's *Le Gout Public et le Théâtre Elisabéthain* (1922), was developed by A. Harbage in his *Shakespeare's Audience* (1941), and by H. S. Bennett in his British Academy Lecture of 1944. We have moved far away from the traditional view of an audience of groundlings resisting the art and poetry of a great dramatist. "The Elizabethans were trained listeners", wrote Bennett, and adduced sermons as examples of their listening. The universal study of rhetoric, and delight in it, is reflected in the poetry and drama of the time, as in Shakespeare's own education and evident tastes, and in colloquial English of the time.

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The sum and substance of this work, and of a great deal more on various aspects of these matters, is that Shakespeare now appears both to biographer and to critic as moving in a world of thought as of fact both infinitely more fully realized and understood than before, as living and having his being in an English landscape set in a country that has been intensively explored and set on record. There is little excuse left for the exercise of entirely free imagination that ignores the immense accumulation of facts and knowledge within which imagination must properly be bounded.

CREATIVE BIOGRAPHY

There is obviously a certain awkwardness in subsuming under the same section of this survey a biography by Sir Sidney Lee and one by, say, Frank Harris. But it is clear that no formal biography can confine itself to a statement of facts and to logical deductions from facts. All biography worth the name is bound to be interpretative, and in a measure creative in that sense. The difference lies in the scholarly conscience of the biographer, whether interpretation shall be limited by certainty of knowledge, or whether our Shakespeare shall be created anew by the pallid glow of intuition after the image of the biographer. We have had a great deal of both during the present century, both in England and abroad.

Among what we might call orthodox biographies, Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, which first appeared in 1898, was revised and enlarged in 1925. Of this *Life* it might be said that it eschewed most completely any intrusion by the biographer upon the facts recorded. But the very self-denial of the biographer had its defects. To dismiss the *Sonnets*, for example, as a series of *pastiches*, with no relation to the thoughts and feelings of their writer, could not fail to evoke protest and resistance. On the Continent, on the other hand, the *Lives* of Brandes, translated into English in 1898, and of Brandl (1922), gave full play to the imagination of their authors, who assumed that Shakespeare's writings offered clues in all directions to his readers concerned above all with his spiritual biography. *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1923) by J. Q. Adams, a distinguished American scholar, sought to preserve the equilibrium of facts and interpretation (though to describe Stratford as a hamlet is apt to lead into errors of importance). But even E. K. Chambers, in his *William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), the title of which proclaims the deliberate objectivity of his approach, cannot escape from the inevitable attempt to explain certain facts, for example, the state of the text of *Timon of Athens*, as symptoms of a state of mind, or as evidence of experiences, forming part of a biography. It is well-nigh impossible to deny some scope at least to that intellectual curiosity which can only be satisfied by imagination. Frank guessing on these lines is perhaps on the whole better than a series of such suggestions, in which the biographer protects himself by a guarded 'it is not impossible' or 'some have thought', as those which are a feature of Sidney Lee's *Life*.

Two more recent books, both notable, point the moral in their titles that it is vain to attempt to separate historical fact from the writings of a poet, which are also facts in their own right, in the records of a great life. P. Alexander's *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (1938) and Hazelton Spencer's *Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (1939) represent perhaps in their order of words the comparative bias of the biographers in their syntheses of these capital factors, the latter being more subject to the influence of Dowden's powerful suggestion. The extreme of resistance to the theory of Shakespeare's life as itself a drama reflected directly in his plays was expressed in