

John and William Shakespeare
The Sources and Acquisition of their Wealth
in two volumes

Volume 1 of 2
Thesis

Submitted by
David Fallow to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Drama

July 2011

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(signature)
David Fallow

Abstract

This thesis explores the proposition that to comprehend William Shakespeare better in his social and creative contexts one has to understand both his and his family's money - where it came from and where it went.

The Shakespearian *mythos*¹ posits that John Shakespeare came penniless to Stratford where he did well in business before losing his wealth. Thereafter, his son William went to London, wrote plays which made him rich and then made a number of investments in Stratford. Among the various errors in this statement there is one that stands out - the "rich" part. It is not simply the fact that he made the investments - his house New Place, land, tithes etc. are well documented - it is when he made them that is of significance. The bulk of the Shakespeare family investments were made before William became part owner of the Globe or Blackfriars theatres.

This evaluation has focused on the tangible data from the period, chiefly legal and financial records.

Its conclusions challenge many pre-existing notions of how money flowed into the Early Modern Theatre and into William Shakespeare's pockets.

The fable is that young Will Shakespeare, like the pantomime Dick Whittington, left his poverty-stricken family, walked to London and won his fortune. In neither case was this true. The Early Modern theatre in London was brutally commercial and the aim was the acquisition of wealth more than the pursuit of art. For William Shakespeare, Pope put it neatly

Shakespeare (whom you and every playhouse bill
Style the divine! the matchless! what you will),
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own despite.²

This thesis provides the evidence to dismiss many of the fantasies that surround William and John Shakespeare's by replacing these with a clear financial picture of the sources and acquisition of their wealth.

¹ *mythos*, A body of interconnected myths or stories, esp. those belonging to a ... cultural tradition. OED.

² Alexander Pope, *Imitations of Horace* (London: T. Cooper, 1737). I. ii. i. 69

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to those who have supported, helped and inspired me in the preparation of this thesis.

Firstly, to two great teachers who encouraged me to investigate the life and work of William Shakespeare - the late Mr. Robert B. Christie, English Master at Hutchesons' School in Glasgow and Professor Peter Thomson of Exeter University.

Secondly, to Professors Mick Mangan and Chris McCullough, both of Exeter University: Professor Mangan for being my adviser on this academic journey and Professor McCullough for sharing his sheer sense of fun along the way. Thanks are also due to Professor Graham Ley of Exeter University who stepped into Dr. Haas's role as my co-advisor.

Thirdly, to Kate Janman who bravely assisted in the proof reading of the final draft. Mairi Macdonald of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust for her excellent advice. Mark Hubbard for his comments on the financial tables. Peter Borschberg of the National University of Singapore for his timely views on the *Madre de Dios*. Sarah LeFanu, Royal Literary Fund Fellow, for her assistance.

Lastly, to my wife and daughter who have always believed in me.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. Birgit Haas of Exeter University who, all too briefly, advised on this thesis.

Table of Contents

Notes, Abbreviations and Defined Terms	8
Introduction	10
The Structure of this Thesis	16
The Body of the Thesis	17
Chapter 1 - AN IMPERTINENT QUESTION	19
Placing this Thesis, Placing this Research	21
The Benefit and Challenge of a Multi-Disciplinary Approach	25
Chapter 2 – MONEY AND PERFORMANCE	29
The Limitations of Certain Approaches to Theatre Finance	29
The Nature and Function of Banks	32
The Cost of Money	33
Factors Affecting Theatrical Earnings	35
1. Theatre Closures	36
2. Alternative Sources of Revenue	40
Alternative Sources of Revenue - Summary	60
3. Certain Expenses of Playing	60
Expenses of Playing -The Rose Theatre	68
Expenses of Playing - Summary	71
Usury	72
Capitalists, Bankers or Usurers?	75
Tax	79
Background to Early Modern Taxation in England	79
Tax and Geese	81
Analyzing the Takings	88
William Shakespeare's Theatrical Earnings	94
Portfolio Analysis, Income and Expenditure	97
Income	98
Chapter 3 - JOHN SHAKESPEARE & STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.....	105
Building a Theory.....	106
This Chapter	108
The Corporation	110
The Very Civil Officer, 1556-79.....	117
John Shakespeare, Businessman	141
The Law concerning Interest, Tax and Trade Credit	147
Legal Records.....	149
The Seeming Fall from Financial Grace	153
Making their marks	171
Illiteracy	176
Stratford’s “Middling Sort”.....	179
John Shakespeare – A Summary.....	184
Chapter 4 – WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE IN LONDON.....	185
The Median Playwright.....	185
William Shakespeare and Tax.....	191
Learning Financial Manipulation	193
William, The Artful (Tax) Dodger.....	196
Chapter 5 – IN SEARCH OF THE PLAYWRIGHT	202

The Criminal Theatre of the South Bank	206
The Business of Organizing Crime	206
Godfathers of Bankside	208
Francis Langley and William Gardiner	209
The Writ	210
Langley b.1548 d.1602	211
Gardiner b.1531 d.1597	221
Philip Henslowe c.1555 - 1616 and Edward Alleyn 1566 - 1626	224
George Wilkins d.1618 and Henry Chettle d. 1603	242
All Honourable Men – The Example of Robert Cecil	248
William in London - A Summary	251
Chapter 6 – THE SHAKESPEARE FAMILY INVESTMENTS	253
Gentlemanly Atchievements	254
New Place	256
Sharer and Housekeeper	262
Land in Fee Simple	264
The Moiety of a Lease of the Tithes	266
Another 20 Acres	271
Buying The Farm	271
Blackfriars Gatehouse	272
Chapter 7 – THE SUMMATION OF THE EVIDENCE	291
The Research Findings	292
John Shakespeare & Stratford	292
William Shakespeare in London	295
The Early Modern Theatre in London	298
Conclusion: Nec Manifestum	299
A Chain of Events	301
Postscript - Further Research	304
Appendices, Glossary & Bibliography	310
I - The Abridged Introductions of Edgar I. Fripp	311
II - Further Reading	360
III - Extracts from Records Held at The Public Records Office	393
IV - Explanatory Notes to Financial Tables	396
V - Three Short Papers – Factors Affecting Commerce	399
Paper I - Law	399
Paper II - Money	409
Paper III - Wool and Cloth	414
VI - The Blackfriars Gatehouse - Indentures	423
VII - Tithes as an Investment	427
VIII - William Shakespeare’s Will - 1616	434
IX - Conveyance of Over a Hundred Acres of Land	437
X - Conveyance to Bartholomew Hathaway, 1610	439
XI – Two “Performances” and <i>The Isle of Dogs</i>	440
Glossary of Words, Terms and Additional Explanatory Notes	471
Bibliography	482

Tables

The index of tables has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

This page intentionally left blank.

NOTES, ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINED TERMS

“Stratford-upon-Avon” has frequently been abbreviated to “Stratford.”

The term “Early Modern”, though defined in *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms in Literature* as the somewhat nebulous “period of European history broadly equivalent to that of the 16th and 17th centuries” is used in this thesis to specifically refer to the period 1530-1642. “Early Modern Theatre” refers to all types of playing in England between these dates.

References throughout to “John”, “William” and “Will” without surname refer to John Shakespeare (c.1530-1601) and William Shakespeare (1564-1616).

Where American authors have been quoted I have chosen to leave the spelling as it appeared in the original source material. Historical spelling has, for the most part, been left in its original form unless it would have been tedious to a modern reader.

The term “in Modern English” indicates that the translation into Standard Modern English is my own and is presented to aid a rapid introduction to the text. For experienced scholars of the prevailing grammar and wordage of the Early Modern Period this will not be required. It has been included as an aid to understanding and not as a substitute for the examination of the original text. Any renderings into colloquial modern language by other than myself have the translator’s name attached.

King James VI of Scotland who became James I in 1603 is referred to throughout as King James I rather than James VI & I. I have not followed the convention that a monarch who was the first of that name does not require the use of “I” in describing them.

Abbreviations used in this thesis:

CSP	Calendar of State Papers
APC	Acts of the Privy Council
CPH	Papers of Robert Cecil at Hatfield
MD	Miscellaneous Documents, borough records at the Birthplace Library, 16 vols.
SBTRO	Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Roll/Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office
SPD	State Papers Domestic
PRO	Public Records Office, Kew
City	City of London

Weights used during the Early Modern Period:

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Tod	28 pounds
Stone	14 pounds

Cross Referencing and Notations

Referencing in this thesis is in the “Chicago” style as defined in Microsoft Word 8. This word processing programme takes data through pre-determined entry categories and then produces these in the text as footnotes formatted in line with programme. At a mouse click, in theory, the presentation style can be changed without the need to manually reformat each footnote or reference. However, during the process of preparing this thesis a number of minor bugs have become apparent and while the software will eventually be an undoubted time saver it is not (as yet) perfected.

In the footnotes one manual change I have made is where a work is repeatedly referenced. I have avoided using “*supra*” and have instead have included a short abbreviated title for the original work. These are typically one to three words in length. I have done this as some of the chapters are long and often the same writer has various works referenced. For ease of reading these shortened titles have been introduced. If a particular work has not been referenced in full for some time in the thesis I have (in a few cases) repeated the full reference.

Cross References are shown in footnotes by the letters *x ref.*³. Unless otherwise noted, these refer to page numbers in the thesis. Occasionally they reference footnote numbers – these are marked *x ref. footnote*. If you are reading this thesis as a Word *DOCX* file on a computer then clicking on the number after *x ref.* will immediately take you to the first page of the chapter or section which contains the cross referenced material.

The Economist Style Book has been used concerning questions of grammatical style, usage and presentation in connection with financial analysis and data in this thesis.⁴

Tables, Figures, Diagrams and Pictures are, for ease of reference, numbered sequentially throughout and are all labelled “Table”. Unless otherwise indicated, all numerical tables are my own using data drawn from the text or materials listed in the bibliography.

³ *x ref.* cross reference: *The Oxford Dictionary of Abbreviations*. Oxford University Press, 1998. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press.

⁴ John Grimond, *The Economist Pocket Style Book* (London: The Economist, 1986).

INTRODUCTION

Everyone lives by selling something, whatever be his right to it.
Robert Louis Stevenson, 1892⁵

Over thirty years ago I trained as a corporate banker. Banks lend money, and at the heart of the lending process is the Credit Analysis, a document summarizing a borrower's creditworthiness. At its core there is a numerical analysis that addresses the question "where does the cash come from to keep the company in business?" Two key terms describe the movement of money – "cash flow" and "liquidity". As blood flow is to the body so cash flow is to commerce.

In Renaissance Florence, what truly made Lorenzo "the Magnificent" was not traditional reasons such as prowess in battle. It was money. The Medici were bankers. All great artists of the period were businessmen, running commercial enterprises with employees, cash flow, clients etc. A very few, such as Michelangelo⁶ and William Shakespeare, were financially successful and acquired big houses, titles and luxury.

This thesis explores the proposition that to better understand William Shakespeare in his social and creative contexts, one has to understand both his and his family's money – where it came from and where it went. That the young John Shakespeare arrived penniless in Stratford and that his son William died rich, of gentlemanly status and respected is in no doubt. Equally, the London theatres thrived throughout the Early Modern Period despite a remarkably large number of compulsory closures. But what happened to make these financial results come about has not, as yet, been adequately examined.

The Shakespeare myth is that John initially did well in business then lost all his money. At this point, William went to London, wrote plays and later made a number of

⁵ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Across the Plains with other Memories and Essays*, U.S. edition (New York: Cosimo, 2005) p.171.

⁶ Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroto Simoni (1475 – 1564). "His desire for wealth, landed security, and social status place Michelangelo squarely in a contemporary milieu" Jonathan Dewald, ed., *Europe 1450 to 1789*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004).

investments in Stratford after he “got rich”.⁷ Among the various errors in this story there is one that stands out - the “getting rich” part. It is not simply the fact that William made the investments - his house New Place, land, tithes etc. - all of these are documented - it is *when* he made them that is significant. The bulk of the family investments were made before William became part owner (housekeeper) of the Globe and later the much more profitable Blackfriars theatres. Nor does the notion that he simply borrowed the money make sense, as the compounding effect of interest would have simply made matters worse.⁸

This thesis questions the current economic understanding of the Shakespeare family from 1530 to 1616, as well as investigating the financing of Bankside and its theatres from 1590 to 1610. William Ingram, writing in 1993, said of lawsuits that they were “those best kinds of documents for the theatre historian”⁹ and that has certainly proved the case here.

The conclusions challenge many notions of where the money came from in William Shakespeare’s life and add to the understanding of the commercial and legal experiences of both father and son that William reflected in his work.

Despite its overuse, the observation of Bernard of Chartres¹⁰ that “we are like dwarfs on the shoulders of giants” remains valid. If my own efforts to establish the Shakespeares’ sources of funds are successful, then much of the credit will lie with the scholarly giants who have each pursued individual aspects of the Shakespeares’ lives and works, together with those of the Early Modern Theatre in London. Many of these researchers worked for literally decades, often in obscurity, on some small aspect of Shakespeare’s life or the London of his day. I salute them and their efforts.

Quotations

One technique occasionally used by scholars is to take a quotation from a literary work and then try to use this as a tool to hypothesize whether this had some special

⁷ *x ref.153*

⁸ *x ref.94*

⁹ William Ingram, *The Business of Playing* (Ithaca: Cornell). p.47

¹⁰ Attributed to Bernard of Chartres see John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon* (of 1159), trans. Daniel Mc Garry (Peter Smith Pub. Inc.,1985). Later Isaac Newton paraphrased it when he modestly wrote in a letter to Robert Hooke that “...if I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of giants”.

significance to the author's own life. This thesis contains over sixty quotations from Shakespeare's plays but the goal in including these was not to justify the arguments advanced in the work but rather the reverse - the quotations fall almost naturally out of the facts or circumstances being presented at that point in the text. If the quotations support anything at all it is the contention that "Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare". Some of his most telling observations of the human condition reflect events that this thesis shows he was a part of, or which involve characters we verifiably know he interacted with. The proposals advanced in this thesis do not stand or fall based on material found in Shakespeare's plays. On the contrary, William's proven experiences in Stratford and London are the stuff from which the plays are made. Literary references in the thesis from other writers and scholars are used to summarize the spirit of the chapter or section that follows, and it often happens that these are paired with a quotation from Shakespeare's dramatic work because together, they are the most apposite observations encountered during the course of this research.

The Middle Course

One other technique in drawing attention to an author's work on Shakespeare has been the "exaggerated claim". Based on a personal preference an author will endow a reference or series of quotations from Shakespeare's plays with a significance that goes beyond rational observation. For example, *The Times* of London in 2000 carried a report that an Italian scholar had proposed that Shakespeare's "real" name was Michelangelo Florio Crollanza who had been born in Messina.¹¹ Additionally in 2005 Clair Asquith published a book¹² in which she proposed that Shakespeare: 1) was a secret practicing Roman Catholic, 2) trained at Oxford, 3) (perhaps) attended an English seminary abroad and 4) spent his career in embedding coded Catholic messages into his plays. Yet these two instances are mild compared to suggestions to be found in the more extreme recesses of the internet – for example, that Shakespeare was an extra-terrestrial.

¹¹ Martino Iuvara, a retired teacher claimed William Shakespeare was born Michelangelo Florio Crollanza who fled to England during the Inquisition. "Shakespeare" is a literal translation of "Crollanza." Reported by Richard Owen, "Shakespeare and Italy," *The Times*, 8 April 2000. See also in Desmond O'Connor, "Florio, John," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Here O'Connor refers to an "Italian Shakespeare" as the work of "the occasional dilettante researcher" before pointing out that if Shakespeare were "...Italian born, he should surely have known that Milan and Padua were not by the sea, as *The Tempest* and *The Taming of the Shrew* would have it".

¹² Clair Asquith, *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare*, New Edition (New York: Public Affairs, 2005). The core of her argument is not new being found in Hugh Ross Williamson, *The Day Shakespeare Died* (London: Michael Joseph, 1962).

This thesis is not built on these types of proposals. In essence, it is an analysis of already proven material but ordered into a commercially credible explanation of the finances of the Shakespeare family. Further, in analyzing their financial history, new explanations of “problems” which have long been the cause for scholarly debate are revealed. The proposition here is not that we do not have enough information to answer certain questions, but that by arranging and understanding the legal and commercial realities applying to both the Shakespeare family and the Early Modern Theatre, a new appreciation of the playwright’s professional life could emerge.

Fiscal Historicism?

The “New Historicists”¹³ were unhappy with the exclusion of social and political circumstances from literary analyses. One prominent member of their group, Stephen Orgel, commented

... The playwright in the Renaissance theater was an employee of the Company, who wrote to order and was paid for piecework. Shakespeare may seem to be an exception, in the sense that he was, almost uniquely, his own boss, an actor and shareholder in the company as well as its leading playwright but this probably only means that he was in on more parts of the collaboration than other playwrights were.¹⁴

The master of the New Historicists, Stephen Greenblatt, in advancing his theories and insights, defaults to the language of finance, when stating his view that the “work” of art is

... the product of negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practice of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange.¹⁵

Even when he considered the notion of “theatre” versus “book” in terms of Shakespeare’s artistic legacy, the terminology remained commercial

¹³ New Historicism is a school of literary theory that aims to understand literary works through their historical contexts. It developed in the 1980s, chiefly through the work of the American critic Stephen Greenblatt.

¹⁴ Stephen Orgel, “What is a Character?,” *Text* (Indiana University) 8 (1995): 101-108. p.101

¹⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *The Greenblatt Reader*, 1st Edition, ed. Michael Payne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).p.28 in “Towards a Poetics of Culture”

...During Shakespeare's lifetime, the King's Men showed no interest in and may have actually resisted the publication of a one-volume collection of their famous playwright's work; the circulation of such a book was not in the interests of their company. But other collective enterprises, including the educational system in which this study is implicated, have focused more on the text than on the playhouse....

...For if Shakespeare himself imagined Prospero's island as the great Globe Theater, succeeding generations found that island more compactly and portably figured in the bound volume. The passage from the stage to the book signals a larger shift from the joint-stock company, with its primary interest in protecting the common property, to the modern corporation, with its primary interest in the expansion and profitable exploitation of a network of relations. Unlike the Globe, which is tied to a particular place and time and community, unlike even the travelling theater company, with its constraints of personnel and stage properties and playing space, the book is supremely portable.¹⁶

While agreeing with Orgel and Greenblatt on using commercial language as a metaphor for artistic exchange I would add a third criterion to their “social” and “political” mantra, that is the truly “fiscal” - the analysis of how the theatre itself actually survived financially and how it fitted into the macroeconomic machinery of Early Modern London.

Jan Veenstra, writing in 1995 in an article that appears part critical, part supportive, of New Historicism, made the observation that

...Since Greenblatt explores this market [Early Modern Drama] basically through the examination of symbolic goods (texts that have to be interpreted) instead of material goods, the social energy he tries to articulate exists only in and as his interpretation and not as a verifiable historical "object."¹⁷

Veenstra also called on an earlier essay of Edward Pechter¹⁸ - a piece of work most definitely critical of Greenblatt. In a footnote, Veenstra noted

[Footnote] 58. Pechter draws attention to the fact that New Historicists, contrary to what they claim, are not very interested in the particulars of socioeconomic history. In his book on Shakespeare, for instance, Greenblatt does not make use of the available sources that can inform us about the actual staging of the plays. He does not go into the details of the ways in which theater companies acquired props, costumes, actors,

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 252 in “Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne”

¹⁷ Jan R. Veenstra, “The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and The Interpretation of Shakespeare,” *History and Theory* (Wesleyan University) 34, no. 3 (Oct. 1995): 174-198.

¹⁸ Edward Pechter, “The New Historicism and Its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama,” *PMLA* (MLA) 102 (May 1987): 292-303.

stories, and so on, though these particulars would certainly reveal interesting patterns of negotiation and exchange.¹⁹

This thesis can be seen as addressing Veenstra's concern – it is very much about the analysis of “the details of the ways in which theater companies acquired props, costumes, actors, stories” and it can certainly be said the intention is to “reveal interesting patterns of negotiation and exchange”, with the negotiations and exchanges being “real” i.e. showing how actual cash changed hands.

Admission charges alone, as we will see, could never explain how anyone, Shakespeare included, could have made a “theatrical fortune” - yet fortunes were made by those associated with the theatres of the time.

Greenblatt in *Hamlet in Purgatory* defined his quest in that book thus

...I believe that nothing comes of nothing, even in Shakespeare. I wanted to know where he got the matter he was working with and what he did with that matter...²⁰

I too believe in *ex nihilo nihil fit*²¹ or as William had Lear put it “...nothing can come of nothing”²². What I sought with this thesis can be summarized as

Nothing can come of nothing. I wanted to know how the Shakespeares got rich and how William's life, working practices and personal circumstances were shaped by the business of getting and keeping those riches.

¹⁹ Veenstra, *New Historicism* p.198

²⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001). p.4

²¹ Attrib. “Parmenides of Elea, active in the earlier part of the 5th c. BCE., [earned] a reputation as early Greek philosophy's most profound and challenging thinker” *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* Online Edition <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/parmenides/> First published Feb 8, 2008.

²² *King Lear* I, i

The Structure of this Thesis

So children temporal fathers do appease...
Cymbeline V, v²³

This thesis rests on the premise that by bringing together facts from normally disparate areas of study - law, social and economic history, financial analysis and the records of theatrical performance in Early Modern England - a better understanding of how John and William Shakespeare succeeded both in business and in the theatre will be achieved. The disadvantage of this approach is that the reader may not have knowledge of some of these specialities. If this is the case, to assist in a better understanding of the thesis and its arguments, a number of papers which summarize background information, are appended to this thesis.

Three of these - Law, Money and the Wool and Cloth industries²⁴ - were prepared as I could not find this type of condensed data required in other published work.

These are recommended to those not expert in

- the legal history of the Renaissance (specifically including the codification of English Common Law and the court system of the Early Modern Period),
- the origins and nature of banking in England and basic monetary theory,
- the wool business of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries including its importance in the overall English economy.

Throughout the thesis frequent reference is made to certain key Shakespeare family documents. For those readers not acquainted with the spelling and prose style of the age, I have added my own transliterations with explanatory footnotes where these assist understanding. These are not intended as a substitute for examination of the original documents as specified in the bibliography. However, they should assist in orienting the reader to the subjects under discussion.

*Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*²⁵ is a monumental work, the result of the sifting of the Borough's records

²³ The position of this quotation varies between various "complete" works.

²⁴ x ref.399

by Richard Savage, to which Edgar Fripp wrote explanatory introductions. As far as I can determine, there was no previous attempt to condense the long introductions to an easily comprehensible form. Accordingly I have undertaken this task in *The Abridged Introductions of Edgar I. Fripp to the Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620 as Originally Transcribed by Richard Savage*.²⁶ This is a digest of Fripp's introductions with particular reference to items concerning the Shakespeare family.

The Body of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into three parts: the first, Chapters 1 and 2, reviews the work of scholars who have written on both Shakespeares, before analyzing the potential earnings of the Shakespeares from the London theatre. It goes beyond previous analyses in terms of appraising theatrical earnings and presents a provisional personal financial statement of William for the years 1597 to 1616.

The second part, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 examine the economic realities of both Stratford and London, as these would have impinged on the father and son. In John's case - where there are many records of his life - it seeks to correct misinformation concerning both his civic and business careers. In William's, the personal data is comparatively modest, but by analyzing the commercial environment in which he succeeded, most importantly the business biographies of representative figures within the theatrical milieu, it has been possible to create a picture of his London activities. As a result of this it has been possible to address and discard many of the fables surrounding his stay in London. However, where direct examination of William's financial affairs has been possible - by examining the legal documents relating to his various investments or litigation in which he was involved - this has also contributed to the new, commercially realistic, picture of both the man and his career.

The third section, Chapters 6 and 7, scrutinize the Shakespeare family investments in detail before delivering the conclusion to all the foregoing research.

The following page is intentionally left blank

²⁵ Richard Savage, *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*, V vols. (Oxford: Oxford University for the Dugdale Society, 1921). A more detailed note concerning the publication of these volumes can be found at *x ref.311*

²⁶ *x ref.311*

Chapter 1 - AN IMPERTINENT QUESTION

...Ask an impertinent question and you're on your way to a pertinent answer...
Jacob Bronowski, 1973²⁷

...we mostly go about our business as if the contrary of what we profess to believe were the truth; somehow, from somewhere, a privilege, an authority descends upon our researches; and as long as we do things as they have generally been done – so long, that is, as the institution which guarantees our studies upholds the fictions that give them value – we shall continue to write historical narrative as if it were an altogether different matter from making fictions or, *a fortiori*, from telling lies...
Frank Kermode, 1979²⁸

The impertinent question asked in this thesis is “where did the Shakespeare family money come from?” The steady stream of investments made in houses, land, titles, tithes etc. evidenced the availability of cash from the mid-1590's onwards. However, no example of any systematic investigation into the sources of their wealth exists. Of John Shakespeare, the poet's father, there are only two recent articles²⁹ and though mentioned frequently in his son's biographies there is no modern examination of his life or financial circumstances.³⁰

Certain trends or indicators concerning the most successful Shakespeare family researchers can be observed.

It appears that those who attempt to form conclusions based on evidence from original (primary) sources generally enjoy better results than those who limit themselves to secondary (derivative) opinions. Edmond Malone³¹, James Halliwell-Phillipps and Edgar Fripp are in this “primary” category. All three derived much of their work from the examination of material in Stratford. A similar, though narrower, approach came

²⁷ Jacob Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man - Episode 4, The Hidden Structure*, Television, directed by Mick Anderson, BBC, 1973.

²⁸ Frank Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). Quoted in William Ingram, *The Business of Playing* (Ithaca: Cornell). p.1

²⁹ Robert Bearman, "John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Shakespeare Quarterly) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433. David Fallow, "Like father like son: Financial Practices in the Shakespeare family," ed. Peter Thomson, *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 28, no. 3 (2008): p.253-263.

³⁰ The earlier work T. Carter, *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*, New Edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1906) focuses on John Shakespeare's supposed religious beliefs.

³¹ There are two commonly used spellings of Malone's first name. To avoid confusion I have followed Peter Martin, “Malone, Edmond,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP). His father was “Edmund”.

from Samuel Schoenbaum in his two valuable examinations of the actual original documents themselves – his *William Shakespeare A Documentary Life*³² and *William Shakespeare - Records and Images*.

It is also noteworthy that Malone, Fripp and Schoenbaum established working relationships with individuals based in Stratford (James Davenport, Richard Savage and Robert Bearman) who had both close physical proximity to as well as an intimate knowledge of primary material. Following their example, I must acknowledge the assistance of Mairi Macdonald³³ of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust who, like Savage, Davenport and Bearman provided advice and suggestions of relevant documentary material used in the preparation of this thesis. Of particular value was her observation, after a lifetime career as a curator of Shakespeare related documentation, that the playwright was almost certainly involved in the commercial life of London outside of the theatre. At the time (2008) she expressed no idea about how this could possibly be demonstrated but remained firm in her conviction that this was the case. I hope she approves of my efforts in this regard.

The term “evidence”, with its legalistic basis, renders it unsurprising how many researchers are and were trained or practised as lawyers or had an interest in the law. Malone was a practising barrister - though his legal career was relatively short. Halliwell-Phillipps was admitted to the bar and writers such as J.M. Robertson studied the law in some depth. One observation is that the legally trained handle what constitutes evidence in a more systematic fashion than others, and though it may be unconscious on their part, they tend to present a more factual approach as if the material were actually being presented in court. The advantage of this lies in their greater focus on fact as the basis for their writing. With my own legal training I have consciously tried to follow this approach.

In the “further reading” section which surveys the literary sources used to support this thesis³⁴, careful reference has been made to the financial underpinnings for each group

³² Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare - Records and Images* (London: Scolar Press, 1981).

³³ A veteran of the Shakespeare Birthplace Library and author of - Mairi Macdonald, "A New Discovery about Shakespeare's Estate in Old Stratford," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 45, no. 1 (1994): 87-89. Ms. Macdonald worked under Robert Bearman's direction for many years. She retired in 2010.

³⁴ *x ref.* 311

of researchers. To assert that any researcher is oblivious to or has such high intellectual standards that they are immune from orientating their work towards their financial patrons - be they the buyers of books, educational institutions and foundations etc. - is, in my judgement, naïve. This is not to say that results are expressly fabricated, despite such *causes célèbres* as J. Payne Collier in the mid-nineteenth century and William Henry Ireland fifty years earlier.³⁵ However, it is only a brave, foolhardy or independently wealthy individual who is truly divorced from thinking of where his next meal is coming from. Financial considerations are one potential temptation - academic fashion, that is to say the desire to accede to what whatever social or political movement or public concern is prevalent at the time of writing, is quite another. One commentator in 2007 observed that if a researcher wished to obtain funding for an academic project on “red squirrels in Sussex” then linking it to the highly fashionable interest in “climate change” was advisable.³⁶ These influences matter because in evaluating each piece of work, the mindset and background of each researcher has to be recognized as shaping how the material under their review was presented.

Placing this Thesis, Placing this Research

Susan Cerasano in 2009 when describing “Theatrical Economics”³⁷ in Early Modern England considered that

...developments within socio-economic history have sharpened our perceptions of theater as a business that was fully integrated into the economic climate of the time...not least of all in the shift in scholarly inquiry, away from obvious theatrical sources – particularly play texts – and towards manuscript sources that reveal more about the lives of playhouse owners and suggest many new contours for investigation...³⁸

This thesis fits squarely into this notion of exploring the socio-economic “contours” based on manuscript and other sources. However, whereas other recent attempts (such as those of Andrew Gurr³⁹ and Melissa Aaron) have been pursued by scholars to whom financial and legal analysis represents, for the most part, new intellectual territory, this

³⁵ Schoenbaum, *Records and Images* (London: Scolar Press, 1981). p.117 – 154. Schoenbaum presents a remarkable summary and the documentary evidence concerning the antics of both these authors.

³⁶ Nigel Calder, *The Great Global Warming Swindle*, television documentary film, directed by Martin Durkin, 2007. This is quoted here merely for illustration and not as an endorsement of Calder’s work or the accuracy of his assertions.

³⁷ S.P. Cerasano, “Theatrical Entrepreneurs and Theatrical Economics,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: OUP, 2009). p.380

³⁸ *Ibid.* p.380.

³⁹ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

thesis has been formed with the accumulated knowledge of two decades of financial analysis and business experience, coupled to earlier formal training in both law and accounting.

Cerasano bravely forges ahead in her review with sub-chapters dedicated to “Trade, Commerce, Economics” and “Merchants, Merchandizing and Consumers.” These are highly relevant, but they represent areas where practical experience and specialist knowledge would have proved beneficial. Such observations as “...difficulties would seem to make it almost impossible to discuss the economics of the Early Modern Theatre [and by inference those who gained their fortunes through its operation] in any coherent manner...” could have been avoided with greater experience in these fields.

The methodology of this thesis was to build on both historical and on-going research and move towards achieving a credible and coherent picture based on facts drawn from, and supported by, primary material evidence - both explicit and circumstantial - which supports the case to be presented to the court of current scholarship.

The objective has been to prepare work free from as many of the political, faith or career biases that could have affected the thesis, to present conclusions based on sound financial footings. I hold that a multi-disciplinary approach to this problem, using specialist knowledge, has provided new solutions. If one were to attempt to encapsulate this initial point of departure, the term “fiscal historicism” might be applied or, put differently; it is an application of “Tanstafl.”⁴⁰

Tanstafl is an American term made up loosely from the initial letters of – “there ain’t no such thing as a free lunch” – meaning nothing is ever free, that everything is paid for in one way or another. This remains the doctrine behind this thesis, and scholarly detachment demanded that it was recognized as a potential bias that could lead away from a comprehensive consideration of writing on the subject. Accordingly, I have striven to maintain a “catholic”⁴¹ attitude in the range of materials that have been

⁴⁰ “Free” lunches were a gimmick in 19th. Century American bars and saloons. There the “free” tag misled the patrons – food was a loss leader with the real objective being to sell expensive drinks. Numerous writers of both fact and fiction including Robert Heinlein, Milton Friedman and Campbell McConnell have used it – in the last case, he describes it as being “at the core of economics.” William Safire, “On Language; Words Left Out in the Cold,” *New York Times* (14 2 1993) quotes Friedman. See: Robert A. Heinlein, *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* (New York: Doherty, 1966). Campbell R. McConnell and Bruce Stanley, *Economics: principles, problems and policies* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005) p.3.

⁴¹ i.e. meaning universal or all encompassing from the Greek καθολικός (katholikos).

reviewed and considered all of these in reaching my final conclusions. This thesis was intended to advance the understanding of how the Shakespeares made their money, while also providing an enhanced recognition of the fiscal limitations and economic realities of the Early Modern Theatre in England.

In the last few years, respected members of the academic community including Stephen Greenblatt, Jonathan Bate, James Shapiro, and René Weiss⁴², have written biographies of Shakespeare. Television journalists and professional writers such as Michael Wood, Charles Nicholl and Peter Ackroyd have also been conspicuous⁴³ in book production. While all of this has unquestionably given pleasure to many readers, its limitation is that there has been very little genuinely new material (i.e. factually based) or new approaches introduced into the study of the Shakespeare family or their close commercial environment.

However, there exist two other significant pools of documented information

- Financial - what the Shakespeare family invested in and,
- Legal - who and when the family sued or were sued by, together with the civic and tax records of both Stratford-upon-Avon and London.

Both are sources of data that have attracted sporadic attention.

As to the importance of money, E. K. Chambers writing in 1910⁴⁴ made, in my estimation, the wholly correct observation that

...The whole existence of plays in London depended on Elizabeth's economical desire to have companies for court entertainments without paying for their upkeep...

He then continued

...And in fact there can be little doubt that the expenses of the theatre were met out of the profits of the public performances...

⁴² René Weiss, *Shakespeare Revealed* (London: John Murray, 2007).

⁴³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005). James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006). Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, 2nd Edition (London: Picador, 2008). René Weiss, *Shakespeare Revealed* (London: John Murray, 2007). Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, BBC Edition (London: BBC, 2005). Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005). Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger - Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Penguin Allen Lane, 2007).

⁴⁴ E.K. Chambers, "The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603 by Charles William Wallace," *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 5, no. 2 (April 1910): 224-227.

Where Chambers' view is more open to debate, remains with his implicit suggestion that ticket sales, with a sliver of Royal patronage at Christmas, could have rendered the theatres fully financially attractive to entrepreneurs and players alike. To put it another way – could seat revenue and court performance alone have attracted and held the attention of those in search of “much moneys”?⁴⁵

The reviews of the cash streams generated by, and necessary for, the creation of the wealthy practitioners of the Early Modern Theatre such as Alleyn and Shakespeare have seen only modest investigation by those from the accounting, finance and legal professions. Indeed, even recent works such as Aaron's *Global Economics*⁴⁶ are, from a financial analysis standpoint, only an introduction to the problem. Their analytical style seems focused on “guesstimating” an average day's takings for a theatre, and multiplying this by a probable range of average playing days to arrive at a number that in a real world setting is almost meaningless, ignoring as it does such factors as the value of money over time⁴⁷ and the compounding effects of interest.

Collectively, all the literature previously listed, together with all the additional material in the bibliography, did not contain a credible answer to the simple question of “where did the Shakespeare family money come from?” Certainly it formed a platform for an analysis to begin - despite having the facts clouded by four hundred years of myth - and it would be churlish not to acknowledge that without the efforts of many of the authors listed in the attached bibliography the task would have been truly insurmountable.

George Steevens, an early promoter of the literary career of Edmond Malone, wrote

...All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare, is – that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, -- married and had children there, -- went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays, -- returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried, -- I must confess my readiness to combat every unfounded supposition respecting the particular occurrences of his life...⁴⁸

And here lies the reason why a full examination across all the history of research into the Shakespeare family is necessary. Such facts as exist have often been so obscured by

⁴⁵ *Merchant of Venice* I, iii

⁴⁶ Aaron, *Global Economics* See pages 54-55 and 66 as examples this.

⁴⁷ A concept explored later in this Chapter.

⁴⁸ Aaron, *Global Economics* p.174 and referenced by Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, 2nd Edition (London: Picador, 2008) p.3.

statements, fashionable and conjectural in their own respective period, that the actual ‘fact’ is partially or totally lost.

Progress can come about in two ways

- either by the rediscovery of verifiable facts through data contained in original records or,
- through a multi-disciplinary approach drawing the various factual lines of past and present research together – eliminating the speculative and focusing on the financially factual.

Both approaches have been used in the preparation of this thesis.

The Benefit and Challenge of a Multi-Disciplinary Approach

The potential benefit of using analysis techniques from two disciplines (in this case law and finance) outside the study of the Early Modern Theatre is that a different set of links can be observed. These links can aid the analysis of Shakespeare’s professional career and indeed provide new, credible answers to many long-standing questions.

Law

One piece of litigation that appears prominently in the thesis involves a legal technique used to harass an adversary by claiming that someone had threatened the complainant’s physical person. This put in motion a legal process that tied an adversary up in legal expense and inconvenience. William Shakespeare was named in just such a writ in 1596 along with theatrical impresario Francis Langley and others. The case was rediscovered in 1931⁴⁹ and has caused debate as to its possible importance, or indeed lack of any importance whatsoever. But if the legal structure of the period is carefully examined and the use of this type of litigation investigated, then by looking at other users of the technique, the commercial relationships between the parties can become clearer. In this case the technique had been previously employed by Langley against his own adversary only a month before. In other words, this was a retaliatory suit.

⁴⁹ Detailed in: Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931).

Equally interesting was the same technique's use by John Shakespeare on an entirely different occasion. Then it was against the Bailiff and three other prominent members of the Stratford community. John Shakespeare initiated his case at the London (Court of Exchequer) level, undoubtedly incurring heavy legal costs⁵⁰ at a time when many consider him to have been poverty-stricken.

By understanding how the law worked, who used it and when they employed it we can observe in the first case that Langley and Shakespeare were somehow linked at a significant business level – i.e. pursuing Shakespeare (named first in the suit) was a means of financially inconveniencing Langley.

Other questions flow from studying this technique - in the second situation, how did John Shakespeare pay for such an expensive piece of litigation? Does it not indicate that at the time of the litigation he was far from being a humble glover or a mere bankrupt?

These questions are answered in this thesis. The point I wish to make here is that by looking at the law in its commercial application, we learn the likely pattern of behaviour and the financial situation of the parties under examination.

Finance

An example of using modern financial techniques to aid research came in the analysis of why William Shakespeare bought the Blackfriars Gatehouse (the only London property he ever owned) in 1613. By 1613 he had effectively left London and was in retirement, so why buy a city house at this time in his life? Various theories have been advanced, but it has been through a detailed understanding of modern property markets and the financing of buildings, together with an investigation of the commercial environment surrounding the London theatres of the Early Modern Period that a new and satisfactory explanation of events has been uncovered.⁵¹

⁵⁰ For a summary of the convoluted process and the amount of legal drafting involved see <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/chancery-equity-from-1558.htm>. Given that lawyers and judges were amongst the wealthiest members of society at this time the process - even in a straightforward proceeding - cannot have been anything but expensive. *x ref.409*

⁵¹ *x ref.272*

The Challenge

One inherent danger in any cross-disciplinary approach is the temptation for a researcher to select only facts that support their “new” view of a historical situation or person. Moreover, this temptation can be exacerbated by consciously (or unconsciously) using technical jargon from one discipline to confuse scholars from another one. This is especially the case with the life and work of the Shakespeares, where wish-driven fantasies have been woven round the gaps in the historical records of both father and son.

I have aimed to avoid this by

1. Basing this thesis on fact – evidence found in primary documentation, or, where this is unavailable, from secondary sources with the highest academic reputation.
2. Ensuring that when technical terminology from a discipline outside theatrical research has been necessary, I have provided a definition of the term either in a footnote or in the glossary, as well as summarizing the underlying concept.
3. Using simple, non-technical language in considering legal and financial situations. In doing so I have aimed to emulate the literary style of *The Economist* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Both these publications excel in describing complex financial situations with a minimum amount of fuss. Their house styles ensure that key facts are explained to the non-technical reader before proceeding with the subject under consideration.
4. Tracing how certain theories in connection with the Shakespeares have evolved. In writing about Shakespeare, the law and finance, the various authors who are cited have been split into various stratified groups or believers in particular theories (see “Further Reading”).⁵² In doing so I am revealing the inner workings of how I have approached key questions. My hope is that including this will assist other scholars either seeking to replicate my conclusions (for replication is validation), or in taking the work into related fields.⁵³

⁵² *x ref.310*

⁵³ See “Further Research” *x ref.304*

5. Investigating disciplines outside even Law, Finance and Theatre Studies to find different techniques to analyze my research. Principal among these has been Physics, where researchers have extrapolated data to produce working hypotheses which are then used to analyze problems, irrespective of whether the wider context is fully mapped or not. I refer to these approaches at various times in the thesis. The physicist's approach might be summarized as, "if it works, use it"⁵⁴ rather than "we haven't found a document about this yet so let's repeat the prevailing view till one turns up". My goal was to connect well-established, documented facts and form these into credible solutions that answered long-standing questions about the Shakespeares and their financial success.

This is a thesis in search of knowledge through practical experience as well as the investigations of others. If the characters of John and William Shakespeare appear more or less attractive through its findings, then that is simply how the facts presented themselves to me.

When Leonardo da Vinci came to write his own treatise on painting he presented conclusions that, in part, ran contrary to certain long-held views. But he pressed on, recording that

...many will believe that they can reasonably reproach me, alleging that my proofs go against the authority of those men held in greatest reverence ... [but] to distinguish the true from the false... enable[s]... men to strive towards what is possible with more discrimination...guesswork remains destroyed in eternal silence...⁵⁵

It is up to you, the reader, to weigh the evidence.

⁵⁴ See *x ref.105*

⁵⁵ CA (Codex Urbinas) Folio no.119v also quoted in full in Leonardo da Vinci, *Leonardo on Painting*, ed. Martin Kemp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). p.11

Chapter 2 – MONEY AND PERFORMANCE

...Some players, Tarlton and Robert Wilson among the earliest, even went home and wrote playscripts...the moral is that the offstage player cannot be ignored in considering the economics of the onstage player...*homo economicus*...was not a minor or negligible role played...by him and his fellows...
William Ingram, 1992⁵⁶

This chapter grapples with two questions. The first is a general one - could anyone have made a fortune solely from participating in the legitimate business of the Early Modern Theatre, the second is specific - did William Shakespeare's participation in the theatre alone supply the wealth that he and his extended family enjoyed? To examine these, it proved necessary to compute just how much revenue was generated through performances by a successful company of players and, to quantify what other ancillary sources of legitimate (i.e. legal) income were available to them during the reigns of Elizabeth I and the early years of James I. Having examined the "gross" income of the industry, what follows is an analysis of Shakespeare's personal (theatrical) income and his family's expenditures.

"Patronage" or "touring" or other "intangibles" could be used as catch-alls to avoid an understanding of how the actual core "business" of playing was conducted and accordingly these are considered. But, as this chapter shows, there exists sufficient, albeit fragmented, factual evidence that these "intangibles" cannot explain the fortunes accumulated by a few of the theatre's most successful luminaries.

THE LIMITATIONS OF CERTAIN APPROACHES TO THEATRE FINANCE

Aged six, I was deeply envious of the little girl who lived next door. Santa Claus had brought her a play shop complete with a foldout counter and wooden goods to stock the cardboard shelves. But the centrepiece was the cash register. Made of shiny red plastic it had real keys and if you pushed the levers down a bell rang. A yellow drawer popped out full of plastic coins that instantly made you feel rich. Though exciting for the first hour or so, the fun palled as, once you exchanged all your coins for the wooden pieces,

⁵⁶ William Ingram, *The Business of Playing* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1992). p.42

your only option was to change places and perform the whole game in reverse. It was a closed system. The amount of cash and goods you could buy was predetermined.

While much excellent research has been conducted on estimating the returns and financial viability of the Early Modern Theatre in England, I would propose that a realistic picture has remained elusive as many scholars seem wedded to the ‘red cash register’ or a simplistic ‘closed’ approach to finance. In the child’s game, the amount of money in circulation was confined to the actual currency in hand – the yellow plastic coins – but in the real world there is a host of factors that affect the constantly fluctuating availability of cash.

In trying to quantify the financial viability of the Early Modern Theatre in London – and therefore the potential earnings of William Shakespeare, various authors have approached the challenge by:

- estimating the average number of days available for playing and,
- multiplying the seating capacity by the likely admission charges⁵⁷ before,
- deducting hypothetical expenses and concluding that,
- London players were, in financial terms, very successful.

Melissa Aaron, writing in 2005 and using this technique, asserted that

the evidence suggests that the Chamberlain’s Men were succeeding [such that]...within two and a half years, they made back the investment [construction costs] on the Globe.⁵⁸

This model assumes that the world and the people in it operate on the “red cash register” financial basis – i.e. without any reference to the time value of money

⁵⁷ In most cases selectively using the actual takings from the nearby Rose Theatre as a guide - per Henslowe’s diary.

⁵⁸ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005) p.54 – one weakness in her position is that she refers chiefly to secondary (or tertiary) source material to support her assertion here – e.g. see her footnote 85 on p.212. Overall her calculations are drawn, inter alia, on Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993). The use of the word “evidence” in this case is bold – given that so much of the “evidence” relies on the speculations (and extrapolations) of other authors. See also Palmer who reinforces this observation “she limits herself, by and large, to London records in print, primarily as decanted by E. K. Chambers, G. E. Bentley, and Andrew Gurr.” B. Palmer, “Review: Global Economics,” *Shakespeare Quarterly*, no. Spring (2007): 119-122.

(TVM).⁵⁹ It assumes that the total amount of cash in circulation is static and that such factors as interest, inflation, outstanding indebtedness of borrowers etc. are unquantifiable or simply do not exist.⁶⁰ Yet to achieve a more accurate assessment of the real financial success or otherwise of the business of the theatre these factors cannot be ignored. Before starting to tabulate figures, it is necessary to note three key issues that affected the fact of funding a theatre in the Early Modern Period

1. the nature of money,
2. the effect of money in an economy without banks,
3. the cost of money

The Physical and True Nature of Money⁶¹

While coins of the period, by virtue of their metallic composition, were credited with a tangible value, i.e. goods and services could be had in exchange for the metal they contained, they also had another property in common with modern paper money. Both rely on the assumption that the other party will accept these tokens as units of exchange. As soon as economic activity - the exchange of good and services - outstripped the physical availability of precious metals, then credit or notional value was described in legal documents. A modern banknote is a legal document, a promissory note that states (in the case of English notes) “I promise to pay the bearer on demand the sum of...”. What truly matters for the bulk of money, even in the Early Modern Period, is the common agreement that worth is attributed to it. It has a velocity of exchange as it passes from hand to hand and the availability of cash fluctuates widely from day-to-day. Real people do not come to a project or a purchase in a static state – they possess funds or they may be in someone’s debt – and as they spend money, by cash or through

⁵⁹ Time Value of Money (TVM): where money can be invested to produce a return then it is better to have money now rather than later – leading on from this the inverse is also true if one borrows money then interest is, over time, a reductive cost. See Glossary – though this may seem to be an obvious statement of fact, its financial implications are profound on the success of any long term project – especially projects involving long term financing such as property development. See <http://www.investopedia.com/articles/03/082703.asp> for a brief introduction to the concept.

⁶⁰ Like TVM, the Quantitative Theory of Money – a concept referred to by Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) has attracted considerable attention over the centuries since. Most notably restated by economist Milton Friedman (1987), see “quantity theory of money”, *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, v. 4, p.15. In essence it states that the volume of money (money supply) has a profound affect on the price of goods and services. See Glossary for further detail.

⁶¹ As a more detailed introduction to economic theory in general see Paul Samuelson and William Nordhaus, *Economics*, 19th Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009) a masterpiece of writing with the added advantage of being both informative and enjoyable for all of its 800 pages. For a narrower more technical discussion of the nature, theory and function of money see Louis Philippe Rochon, *Modern Theories of Money* (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2004).

promises to repay, it changes hands based on a variety of perceptions while inflation erodes its relative buying power.

In the Early Modern Period just what constituted the true nature of money was still hotly debated.⁶² In particular, people disagreed about whether money should demand economic rent, i.e. interest, from those who borrow it, hence requiring them to repay more than the simple principal upon maturity.⁶³ At one step removed, we have the root of Antonio's dilemma in *The Merchant of Venice*⁶⁴ - that if one lent credibility to help someone borrow, should this 'intangible' promise merit something in return to the lender (Shylock) beyond mere goodwill? Should an individual expect some form of financial gain for taking a risk on another's behalf? Additionally, was this charging of "interest" morally compatible with religious beliefs which sought an harmonious God-fearing society? But regardless of religious scruples, Early Modern business practices - especially a huge increase in trade - quickly spawned a full range of lending practices and methodologies, legal and illegal, to permit charging for perceived risk, i.e. the more "insufficient" the borrower, the higher the rate charged.⁶⁵

The Nature and Function of Banks

Twenty-first century perceptions are inevitably clouded by inventions such as banks where the owners (shareholders) have capped their fiscal exposure through legal devices (companies limited by shares) that deliver limited liability to their shareholders. Early Modern Theatre had no access to banks – the Bank of England was still a hundred years in the future at the time of the Globe's construction.⁶⁶ The concept and existence of "central" banks controlling liquidity at a national level did not emerge until more than

⁶² The modern definition is expressed as: Money A medium of exchange that functions as a unit of account, a store of value, and a means for deferred payment. Originally money enhanced economic development by enabling goods to be bought and sold without the need for barter. However, throughout history money has been beset by the problem of its debasement as a store of value as a result of inflation. Now that the supply of money is a monopoly of the state, most governments are committed in principle to stable prices. *Dictionary of Finance and Banking*. Ed Jonathan Law and John Smullen. Oxford University Press, 2008.

⁶³ See: Francis Bacon, "Of Usury," in *Essays* (London: Penguin Classics, 1985). This is a brilliant, perceptive and for its time, wholly remarkable piece of insight and economic thought.

⁶⁴ "Try what my credit can in Venice do..." *The Merchant of Venice* Act I, i.

⁶⁵ "then, let me see; the rate" — Shylock, *The Merchant of Venice* Act I, i., vocalizes the rate setting process, the balancing of risk vs. return. In this case (disingenuously) as he has already decided that he wants his "pound of flesh" but the process articulated in the play considers: a) the amount, b) the maturity (six months) and c) the likely creditworthiness or sufficiency of the obligor to repay – the key components of any lending decision.

⁶⁶ The Bank of England see Glossary. For an earlier proposal to establish a state run bank in 1576 see R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols. (1924). III p.370. and *S.P.D. Eliz. Vol. CX., No. 57.*

two hundred years after that. Certainly moneylenders existed, individuals who lent their own cash. By 1600 the term “goldsmith” had become synonymous with “moneylender” as the goldsmiths, with their stock of precious metals,⁶⁷ were early entrants to the money lending business. There were also middlemen functioning somewhat in the manner of banks, i.e. matching the “cash rich” lender with the “cash poor” borrower. However, the lack of regulation made this prime hunting territory for the unscrupulous.⁶⁸

The Cost of Money

Theatres cost money to build and even after construction they require working capital - cash for both moveable assets - costumes etc. as well as running costs such as wages. Focusing only on the costs of the building, and assuming that there was enough cash available to build it at no incremental cost (i.e. interest) can lead to erroneous conclusions about profitability and therefore the return on the investment.

Simply estimating gross income and then notionally applying this to a limited number of fixed costs only makes financial sense if the promoters of a venture were cash rich at the start. In the Early Modern period this means holding ample bags of coins on the first day of the project to finance both the construction and on-going working capital needs of the endeavour. In the case of the Theatre⁶⁹ and the Globe we know this was not the case. By the time of the Globe’s construction the prime movers behind the project, Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, were downright short of cash.⁷⁰ Their decision to take additional partners (housekeepers)⁷¹ proves this to be the case.

⁶⁷ OED Goldsmith: “down to the 18th c. these tradesmen acted as bankers”

⁶⁸ *x ref.209*

⁶⁹ “the first permanent playhouse in London, the Theatre...opened in 1576” *The Concise Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. Ed. Phyllis Hartnoll and Peter Found. Oxford University Press, 1996. Other venues were used prior to this date in the 1520s in Finsbury Fields, the almshouse at Rounceval in 1531, the Boar’s Head at Aldgate and the Red Lion built by James Burbage’s brother-in-law. Hartnoll and Found appear to have considered “The Theatre” as the first truly purpose built structure meeting their definition of a theatre as opposed to a mere playing space. See also P.24 W.R. Streitberger, “Adult Playing Companies to 1583,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

⁷⁰ Frank Kermode, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004). p.50 – Kermode also lists the other pressing macro financial considerations of the time.

⁷¹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.152-3. Schoenbaum neatly summarizes the failed and costly attempt by Burbage to convert part of the dissolved Blackfriars monastery having laid out £600 “for the frater [conservatory] and at the cost of several hundred pounds more refurbished the structure for theatrical use...”, hence their liquidity problems.

Nor can it be assumed that cash was always available. Nowadays Governments print money that they underwrite with their implicit ability to raise taxes in the future. Nobody was printing money in 1600, and coins needed precious metals to back their value. Liquidity ebbed and flowed without the control mechanisms a banking system would later provide. This situation was made all the more volatile as a significant slice of England's money came from piracy⁷² - an activity whose cash flows were impossible to predict. Inevitably, wide day-to-day fluctuations in the amount of cash available to be borrowed, at any price, occurred.

R.H. Tawney,⁷³ supported by documented examples across the period of Elizabeth's reign, wrote that⁷⁴

...the circumstances of borrower and lender varied so enormously from one place to another, that it is impossible to say what was the market rate of mortgages, or indeed whether there was a market rate at all

In 1635 Cuthbert Burbage testified that James Burbage

...The father of us, Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, was the first builder of playhouses and was himself in his younger years a player. The theatre he built with many hundred pounds taken up at interest. ...He built this house upon the leased ground, by which means the landlord and he had a great suit at law and by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sons; we then thought of moving from there and at like expense built the Globe with more sums of money taken up at interest...⁷⁵

But as Ingram observed,⁷⁶ [Cuthbert] Burbage's testimony was likely to be self-seeking as it was part of his efforts to prevent a broader shareholding of the King's Men when some members petitioned the Lord Chamberlain to permit them to become housekeepers. Cuthbert's "rhetoric of despair"⁷⁷ was his attempt to show that the Burbage family "suffer continually."⁷⁸ The Lord Chamberlain ruled against him. Ingram wrote that at this point, "...The ghost of the unscrupulous James

⁷² See later references to the *Madre de Dios* x ref.440 et seq. also R.W. Hoyle, "Place and Public Finance," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (RHS) 7 (1997): 197-215. p.204 – he calculated that from 1559 to 1603 "Extraordinary Income" to the crown totalled £3.77 million vs "Ordinary Income" of £9.6 million.

⁷³ R.H. Tawney and Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse Upon Usury by Thomas Wilson* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925). p.36

⁷⁴ see Glossary "Tawney's Examples".

⁷⁵ I have part modernized the spelling and grammar. The original document is PRO LC/5/133 and is also referenced in: Carson, *Henslowe's Diary* p.15, See also Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.104

⁷⁶ William Ingram, *The Business of Playing* (Ithaca: Cornell). p.43

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.43

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.43

Burbage...must have groaned in Senecan anguish at this posthumous rapine of his estate...”⁷⁹

C.C. Stopes, always theatrical in her choice of words, imagined James Burbage’s plight in 1580 when faced with an order⁸⁰ forcing a curtailment of playing

...poor Burbage, five months’ forced “unemployment” with his rent, the interest of his loans running on, his creditors clamouring, his company worrying him for advances, and his housekeeper asking him for daily bread...⁸¹

Hyperbole aside, it seems virtually certain that James Burbage built the Theatre on leased land and constructed it, at least in part, with borrowed money.⁸²

FACTORS AFFECTING THEATRICAL EARNINGS

It is appropriate here to examine three issues that influenced a playing company’s earnings⁸³

1. Theatre Closures - when were the theatres actually open for business?
2. Alternative Sources of Revenue - what were the alternative and complementary sources of cash available to a company of players?
3. The Expenses of Playing - their range, nature and magnitude.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p.43

⁸⁰ A plague order, i.e. a mandatory instruction governing behaviour during times of contagion.

⁸¹ C.C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd., 1913). p.33

⁸² Mary Edmond, “Burbage, James (c.1531-1597),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁸³ OED: balance-sheet, a tabular statement of assets and liabilities, showing the character and amount of the balance.

1. Theatre Closures

The successful history of the Chamberlain's/King's Men at the first Globe is also a history of small disasters smothered.
Peter Thomson, 1983⁸⁴

It is a great stroke of good fortune that in those formative years of the Elizabethan Drama, from 1582 to 1602 the theatres (except for the plague-years of 1592 and 1593) suffered little or no interruption from the plague. If the City had been as unhealthy in these years as it was from 1603 to 1610, the result might have been disastrous.
F.P. Wilson, 1929⁸⁵

Theatres in Early Modern London could be closed for a number of reasons, state occasions, such as coronations, or religious observance (Sundays, Lent etc.) were regular prohibitions. But the longest interruptions were from plague and other epidemics.⁸⁶

Church and City Corporation were no supporters of plays and playing in Early Modern London. One line of argument ran that if the plague arrived it was no time to permit playing and if no plague was present then the sins of players and plays would bring divine retribution and a fresh infection.

- One sermon at Paul's Cross in 1577 had preached “the cause of plagues is a sin, if you look to it well: and the cause of sin are plays: therefore the cause of plagues are plays.”⁸⁷
- On the third of May 1583 the Court of Aldermen wrote to Secretary Walsingham on the danger of “the assembly of people to plays, bearbaiting, sensors and profane spectacles at the Theatre and Curtain⁸⁸ ... great multitudes of the basest sort of people and many infected with the sores running on them.”⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.35

⁸⁵ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927). p.124

⁸⁶ Ibid. p.122 – other epidemic diseases included 1612 & 1622 for “two severe agues” and “an epidemic of smallpox was rife in December 1621”. Ague “A malarial fever, marked by successive fits or paroxysms, consisting of a cold, hot, and sweating stage. The name ague was apparently at first given to the burning or feverish stage” OED.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 52 from T. White, *Sermons* (1578).

⁸⁸ The Curtain theatre – “The Curtain must have followed very soon after the Theatre” E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II. p.402

⁸⁹ Ibid. p.51

- The City wrote to the Privy Council in 1584: "...to play in plague time is to increase the plague by infection: to play out of plague time is to draw the plague by offendings of God upon occasion of such plays..."⁹⁰
- Perhaps recognizing that some compromise was needed, "in 1584 or 1585 the Queen's players favoured the suggestion that theatres should only be closed when the deaths from the plague in London rose to fifty a week."⁹¹

While the impact of the plague on when the theatres were open has been debated, there has consistently been a failure to quantify how non-performance would have been financially crippling. Closure meant no London revenue, apart from Court performances,⁹² and so all the cash invested in a theatre and its fittings automatically became a drain on the housekeepers' (i.e. the owners') purses.

Wilson summarized the working of plague orders, those mandatory instructions governing behaviour, during times of contagion.⁹³ Theatres were ordered closed when the plague deaths reached thirty a week though this was later raised to forty. However there are examples of theatres being closed when deaths were below that number notably in May 1603 when the official death rate only reached nineteen before prompting action.⁹⁴ Indeed it becomes clear that the mortality rate at which playing would cease changed from time to time and that the authorities did not always adhere to any particular number. J. Leeds Barroll wrote that

...It is impossible therefore to tell from the bills of mortality⁹⁵ alone for how many weeks in the year the theatres were closed. The Privy Council... supported by the city rulers... sometimes refused to take the risk of permitting them to be open until some weeks after the mortality had fallen below that number...⁹⁶

Wilson's statement in the introductory quotation to this section, stated that "if the City had been as unhealthy [1582 -1602] as it was from 1603 to 1610, the result might have

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.51 reference to Malone Society collections I 173 circa 1584

⁹¹ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927). p.54

⁹² Ibid. p.111 and one ex gratia payment from James I "on eight February James gave Richard Burbidge £30 by way of his Majesty's free gift for the release and maintenance of him and his company seeing that they were prevented from playing publicly in or near London owing to the plague". The quotation by Wilson comes from P. Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1842). See also *x ref.57*

⁹³ Ibid. p.54

⁹⁴ Ibid. p.124

⁹⁵ Bills of Mortality "...were weekly official returns of the number of deaths that, from 1592 onwards, were published by the London Company of Parish Clerks for 109 districts in and around London. Although these statistics are inaccurate, they are of value in indicating broad epidemiological [trends]" *The Oxford Companion to Medicine*. Stephen Lock *et al.* Oxford University Press 2001.

⁹⁶ J. Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1991).

been disastrous” for the theatres was, in my judgement, quite correct. However, this slice of plague-free time hardly justified Aaron’s claim that the “Chamberlain’s men were succeeding” in this period, nor the potentially misleading “Within two and a half years, they made back the investment in the Globe”.⁹⁷ A more accurate assessment would have been that they were marginally viable, in financial terms, and that the extensive closures from March 1603 onwards must have all but pushed them financially under.^{98 99}

Part of the confusion arises from the debate about just how extensive theatre closures were in the first years of James I’s reign. Of all the commentators on plague theatre closings, three stand out. Wilson’s already referenced, *The Plague in Shakespeare’s London* (1927),¹⁰⁰ Gurr in *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* (1996)¹⁰¹ and Barroll’s, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare’s Theatre* (1991).¹⁰²

Of the three, Barroll was the most aggressive in estimating the extent of the closures, though, for reasons he does not share with us, Gurr stated: “for all Barroll’s doubts, I think Wilson’s book still offers a reliable trawl of earlier studies.” However, in the table Gurr provides immediately after this observation¹⁰³ there seems no discrepancy between the three sources when they are placed side by side - at least for 1603 to 1609 where there seems to be agreement which is not surprising as this was one of the unhealthiest periods, and consequentially one of the richest in statistical sources. Barroll used the following four sources to compute plague statistics.¹⁰⁴

Table 1 - Sources of Plague Records & Frontispiece of the London Remembrancer

	Source	Covering Period	Note
1	Annual Bills of Mortality	1/1603 to 12/1603	Summarized weekly by Parrish
2	Weekly Bills of Mortality	7/1603 to 6/1604 & 1606-1610	No complete collection of bills survives A few from 7/1604 to 12/1605 exist
3	Miscellaneous Documents	Throughout	Diaries and Letters of the period
4	London Remembrancer	Throughout	

⁹⁷ *x ref.29*

⁹⁸ There is also the matter of the return of the Boys Companies playing at the Blackfriars who were extremely popular at this time - competition that is referred to in *Hamlet* - see *x ref.272*

⁹⁹ James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993). Forse makes an even more optimistic analysis of profitability see p.27 *et seq.*

¹⁰⁰ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare’s London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927).

¹⁰¹ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). p.92-93

¹⁰² Barroll, *Politics*

¹⁰³ Gurr, *Playing Companies* p.91

¹⁰⁴ Barroll, *Politics* p.218 *et seq.* which sets out in detail the limitations on available data especially Bills of Mortality.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

John Bell, Clerk to the Company of Parish Clerks, wrote the *London Remembrancer*¹⁰⁵ in 1665. This document summarized weekly bills of mortality. Barroll and Gerald Eades Bentley¹⁰⁶ appear to have accepted its accuracy, as does Wilson with some minor reservations.¹⁰⁷

Barroll observed

Since John Bell renders the full set of figures I have used his... I conclude that Bell's plague death statistics are as accurate transcriptions of the relevant London records for the Shakespeare years as his own human errors and copying might allow.¹⁰⁸

As Table 2 (below) shows, in the eighty-four months from January 1603 to December 1609 according to Barroll the theatres were open for only eighteen full months and eleven partial ones¹⁰⁹. Both Gurr and Wilson comment on a more restricted timescale up to 1605. For more than two thirds of the period the theatres were closed and revenue from London public playing ceased, but any outstanding loans would have kept

¹⁰⁵ John Bell, *London Remembrancer or A true Accompt of every particular Weeks etc.* (London: Coates, 1665).

¹⁰⁶ Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford - Clarendon Press, 1940 - 1968). II, p.653

¹⁰⁷ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927). p.210

¹⁰⁸ Barroll, *Politics* p.220

¹⁰⁹ Partial months are given a given a half month's value in Table 2

accruing interest. Even if we take these figures as merely indicative, they show the magnitude of the financial problem faced by theatres owners and players alike.

Table 2 - Months When Theatres Were Open in London

	Barroll	Gurr	Wilson
1603	2.5	2.5	3
1604	4.5	4.5	
1605	7.5	7.5	
1606	5.0		
1607	0.5		
1608	3.5		
1609	0		

2. Alternative Sources of Revenue

Researchers seeking to explain how the theatres in London were financially viable during the first decade of the seventeenth century have commented on various additional sources of revenue. The following four have direct links into playing and the creation of plays:

- a) Touring
- b) Patronage
- c) Publishing
- d) Court performance

The question under consideration in this section is - could these, singly or collectively, have supplied the amounts of cash required to balance the theatrical books during periods of compulsory closure?

Alternative Sources of Revenue – a) Touring

The frequently suggested alternative to playing in London was to play in the provinces – to go on tour. Barbara Palmer¹¹⁰ in 2005 painted a picture that

...In [the] entertainment economy, London's role is central but not exclusive. Provincial touring clearly contributed to professional practices and to the maintenance of competitive professional standards. Great houses formed part of lucrative playing routes, which were travelled regularly on what look to have been predictable calendars. If the data and

¹¹⁰ Barbara D. Palmer, "Early Modern Mobility: Players, Payments and Patrons," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2005): 259-305.

analysis here are reliably representative, provincial audiences were sophisticated and proficient players were welcomed...¹¹¹

The provinces were therefore, according to Palmer, not cultural wastelands and there was significant cultural interaction and cultural mobility. She quoted Greenblatt

...The picture we have of people simply in their places, in cultures that weren't in contact, is simply wrong.¹¹²

Based on her REED¹¹³ work Palmer provided data showing the various payments made to touring companies in both towns and great houses. Even a cursory examination of these shows that while the amounts paid could have held off starvation for the players and their families, these set out a level of compensation that could never have led to fortunes ever being accumulated. Table 5 below¹¹⁴ shows typical levels of remuneration.

Moreover, with plague in London, if provincial touring companies were well established with seasonal touring routes and fixtures then, when London theatres closed and their premier companies went on tour, what did this do to the demand vs. supply balance on the touring circuit?

Barroll studied this question in detail with regard to Coventry

...In normal times Coventry accommodated the visits of some 6 to 9 provincial companies during the course of a year, but during this plague summer and fall of 1603 the number was augmented by visits from the three London companies -- Kings, as well as Nottingham's and Worcester's servants...¹¹⁵

He continued that dates of entry into registers might not always accurately reflect dates of performance

¹¹¹ Ibid. p.291

¹¹² Ibid p.292- The Greenblatt quote appears in Peter Monaghan, "Hot Type," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 18 October 2002, A18. This is an American publication in newspaper form, aimed at academics, the "Hot Type" column is a short newspaper article – one would have thought Palmer might have chosen a more direct first-hand quotation from Greenblatt given the onus being placed on this secondary one.

¹¹³ Records of Early English Drama (REED) - Centre for Research in Early English Drama - "REED is an international scholarly project that is establishing for the first time the broad context from which the great drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries grew". See <http://www.reed.utoronto.ca/index.html> – Palmer's contributions to REED include the compiling of the dramatic records of Derbyshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire as well as earlier work connected with Devon.

¹¹⁴ *x ref.44*

¹¹⁵ Barroll, *Politics* p.109

...in the Chamberlains and Wardens account book... all these companies cannot have played in Coventry between November 17 and November 27 so the entries must be retrospective and cumulative for the fiscal year...¹¹⁶

This touring alternative model also seems to be blind to the degree that those fleeing from a plague-infested London would be welcomed in the provinces. Wilson's book contains numerous woodcut illustrations from pamphlets of the period showing those escaping the plague being cold-shouldered in the provinces for fear of contagion.¹¹⁷ The master or mistress of a great house may well have been more than a little irritated with a steward that reported favourably on a company of players who had unexpectedly arrived from plague-ridden London.

Table 3 - A Cool Reception¹¹⁸

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Plague was by no means only a London phenomenon - Barroll wrote that

...Dramatic historians regularly assume that Jacobean acting companies in times of plague toured the provinces, but in many plague visitations, especially during this one of 1603, such travelling would have been more difficult than one might assume because the plague was not now confined to London.¹¹⁹

A Company fleeing London in search of lucrative playing venues could have seen their progress blocked by further plague outbreaks. For example, the tables were reversed in 1604 when the plague raged outside London, and the city, in contrast, became almost contagion-free for a time. As Wilson noted

...[London] citizens with bitter memories of the treatment they had received in 1603, took pleasure in discouraging the approach of the "country Hobbins"¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p.106 and footnote.

¹¹⁷ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927). p.159 & 160. The latter illustration labelled "the cool reception of a Londoner visiting the country".

¹¹⁸ From the Huntington Library Copy of *A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen, and a Poore Country-man and his wife, in the Country* (1636). The figure on the right is holding his nose, presumably as a plague preventer.

¹¹⁹ Barroll, *Politics* p.106

¹²⁰ Ibid. p.116 – "Hobbins - The name of a shepherd in Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar; hence, A countryman, rustic, boor". OED

However, Wilson also provided some record of the venues the principal touring companies were able to perform at during the summer of 1603¹²¹

Table 4 - Touring Companies in 1603

King's Men	Worcester's Men (Later the Queen's Men)	Admiral's Men (Later the Prince's Men)
Richmond	Leicester	Coventry
Bath	Coventry	Leicester
Coventry	Barnstaple	York
Shrewsbury		Bath
Mortlake		
Wilton House		

Barroll repeated his concerns concerning the accuracy of records. Here he focused on those of Bath

... such records are more deceptive than is apparent from the statements of Chambers and of Schoenbaum... the records of the city of Bath are a pertinent case in point... of the three provincial documents tracing the King's servants during 1603, this city offers the most specific information, but even this record is ambiguous...¹²²

However, by 21 October 1603, Edward Alleyn's wife, Joan, wrote to her husband that "all the companies be come home and well for ought we know."¹²³

Using 1600-1 as an example, Palmer references the following data¹²⁴

¹²¹ Ibid. p.111 – see footnote 1 - data attributed to J.T. Murray and also confirmed by Barroll.

¹²² Ibid. p.107 – uncharacteristically Barroll makes no specific reference to the exact passages of Chambers and Schoenbaum to which he refers.

¹²³ F.P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: OUP, 1927). p.111

¹²⁴ Palmer, *Mobility* Palmer's records cover several pages – this table is merely one of these and is presented as an example. The reader should examine the original article to confirm that the above figures are truly representative of her entire article. York to Londesborough is 21 miles.

Table 5 - Touring Dates 1600-1601

Date	Place	Patron	Payment In cash and/or meals ¹²⁵	Notes
18/01/1600	York	Lord Pembroke's Players	40s.	Common Hall next Monday afternoon
25/1/1600	Londesborough	Lord Pembroke's Players	5s.	
28-30/1/1600	Londesborough	Lord Wharton's Players /8	13s. 4d. s/d/s	3-4 Skipton neighbours "came to see the play"
3/2/1600	Hardwick	Lord Pembroke's Players	3s.4d.	
5/2/1600	Londesborough	Lord Pembroke's Players	20s.	
2/2/1600	York	Lord Sudder's Men	20s.	
1/8/1601	Doncaster	Unnamed players	21s.4d.	Date account rendered: includes wine and sugar
9/1600	Hardwick	Queen's Players	10s.	
11/10/1600	Hardwick	Lord Thomas Howard's players	2s.	
7&8/12/1600	Londesborough	Lord Evers Players /12	d/s/b	Pantry account
7&8/12/1600	Londesborough	Lord Clinton's Players /12	d/s/b	Pantry account
6/1/1601	Londesborough	Unnamed players /10	s/c/d	Pantry account
1&2/2/1601	Londesborough	Lord Wharton's Players /8	c/d/s	Pantry account
21/4/1601	Londesborough	Lord Shrewsbury: Deshley the player and his co.		by 1619 Dudley was Dishley's patron
27/7/1602	York	Queen's Players	£3	Common Hall
3/10/1602	York	Lord of Lincoln's Players	20s.	"which played not before my Lord maior"

*Figures in bold indicate the number of players in the Company – “Disley” is also spelt *Dishley* and *Deshley* depending on the source quoted see footnote.¹²⁶

Drawing from the REED records for Coventry in 1603 the Chamberlain's and Warden's Account Book recorded the following payments to players¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Key for meals provided: s = supper, d = dinner, b = breakfast, c = undefined.

¹²⁶ Barbara D. Palmer, “Playing in The Provinces,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 2009.

¹²⁷ R.W. Ingram, *REED - Coventry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). p.366 from the Chamberlains and Wardens Account Book II *x ref.* O. A 7(b) N.B. I have modernized the spelling and converted the amounts from Roman numerals.

Table 6 - Payments to Players in Coventry 1603

Company	Payment In Shillings
Lord Haywarde's Players	5s.
King's Players	40s.
Earl of Worcester's Players	20s.
Lord Dudleys Bearkeeper	5s.
Lord Mouteagle's Players	5s.
Queen's Players	10s.
Lord D'Arcy's Players	5s.
Lord Derby's Players	5s.
Earl of Sussex's Players	5s.
Earl of Huntingdon's Players	5s.
Lord Dudley's Players	5s.
Earl of Worcester's Players	5s.
Earl of Lincoln's Players	5s.
Lord Chandos's Players	5s.
Earl of Nottingham's Players	20s.

Drawing from the data in the above two tables, admittedly a very limited sample, the following are indicated

- The more provincial the company, and the less august their patron, the less pay – it can hardly be accidental that the Queen's players get £3 (the highest single fee) while the lesser companies get a few shillings or merely their meals.
- Even £2 to £3 a night split among the sharers,¹²⁸ hired men and boys (assuming a company of 10-12 players performed) is comparable to London (in terms of just the actors wages). However, the need to travel and shift playing locations suggests that across several weeks the probable returns could not match the regular London season in terms of income.

Susan Cerasano in 2009 wrote that

Travelling players had very satisfactory careers. They earned a good living, were generally welcomed by spectators and patrons, were assured of a certain regularity of employment, and benefitted [sic] from a kind of financial freedom...so despite the fact that the characteristics shaping the success of the dominant acting companies ...seem to be growing clearer with each successive generation of scholarship, it might well be the failed ventures – had we more knowledge of them – that would have much to

¹²⁸ “Sharer - A member of a company of players, who paid the expenses, and received the profits, and employed the ‘journeymen’ members of the company” OED

teach us about the commercial environment of the public theatres¹²⁹ in Shakespeare's time.¹³⁰

There are two points here. First is the notion that a touring player could attain a measure of financial success. Though initially this may seem to be a rather naïve proposal - intuitively one knows that the highest potential earnings lay for a lucky few in London - yet it does stand some examination when the lot of the average hired man in a London playing company is set against an established touring player. Chambers quoted Gosson in 1579 who had stated an average compensation of 6s. a week. Chambers continued, "some of Henslowe's agreements of 1579 provide for wages of 5s. 6s. and 8s.." ¹³¹

As Thomson noted "...a London artisan would earn 6 to 8 shillings for a seventy hour week (approximately £17 a year, if his health held)." ¹³² In London then, wages were broadly equivalent for both player and artisan. The question is then, based on the REED figures, was it probable that a provincial player's earnings could exceed an average of about 6s. per week. ¹³³

Shapiro writing in 1994¹³⁴ supported the work of Alan Somerset, calling his essay *How Chances It They Travel: Provincial Touring, Playing Places, and the King's Men*¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Throughout this thesis the terms "public" and "private" are used to describe theatres in Early Modern London. A full definition explaining these terms is supplied in the Glossary however, in essence, both the "First Blackfriars Playhouse" and "The Theatre" were established in 1576. The Blackfriars was the first to be called a "private" house, The Theatre was the first "public" one. The difference was not based upon anything the words "private" and "public" imply; both were "public" in the sense that any person could enter either after paying an admission fee. The term "private house" may have been to take advantage of a loophole in a 1574 Act of the Common Council, which, while seeking to restrict plays and acting, made an exception for "any plays... in the private house, dwelling or lodging of any nobleman, Citizen, or gentleman etc. . . - the foregoing an abbreviation of Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1964). p.130-132.

¹³⁰ S.P. Cerasano, "Theatrical Entrepreneurs and Theatrical Economics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: OUP, 2009). p.395

¹³¹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). I. p.371. See also Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience*, 2nd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). His figure is a little lower: he quotes an average for 1601 of five shillings three and a half pence using Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Vol. V. p.664 as his authority.

¹³² Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.29

¹³³ Mary Oates and William Baumol, "On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London," *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976). p.158 includes a quotation from Henslowe's notebook of a form of contract with a player: "I to give him for his said service every week of his playing in London ten shillings and in the country five shillings..." (my conversion into modern English) see also Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1961). p.268-269

¹³⁴ James Shapiro, "Recent Studies in Tudor and Stewart Drama," *Studies in English Literature* (Rice University) 36, no. 2 (1996). Shapiro shows in this article the same enthusiasm for the speculative that would later be demonstrated in his book *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006).

¹³⁵ Alan Somerset, "How Chances it they Travel: Provincial Touring, Playing Places and the King's Men," *Shakespeare Survey*, no. 47 (1994).

“one of the most important essays published this past year, [it] overturns a number of myths about provincial touring.” In this article, Somerset had argued that the view of theatrical touring as a “sorry affair” with players being “poorly treated and forced into the countryside by the outbreak of plague in the metropolis” was inaccurate if not downright misleading.

A decade before, Bentley¹³⁶ had asserted that there was

...no evidence that touring was ever very profitable... it was certainly uncomfortable in the mire and the rain... there is little evidence that the local authorities received the travellers with enthusiasm...

Somerset's position rested on the REED research and based on this he proposed that players were well received in the countryside.

As the REED data was assembled, Somerset, and later Palmer together with Cerasano, interpreted the records as suggesting that the more traditional view of writers such as Bentley was in error. However, when one takes a look at the actual figures paid to the performers, the physical distances between performances and the number of players involved then, the reality lies somewhere between these two camps. For 6s. a week per man in, for example, a ten man company, a company needed £150 p.a. gross – this is before other costs i.e. it is for wages alone.¹³⁷ From even the single table prepared by Palmer¹³⁸ a good payment might have been 30s. This calls for at least 100 performances a year - certainly well within the physical capacity of the players to stage.

But it is possible to identify in the 1603 to 1604 period even the King's Men being paid less than this – as low as twenty shillings for a performance.¹³⁹ However there remains the possibility of additional sources of compensation. In 2009 Peter Greenfield noted

...Since the players had other unrecorded sources of income in addition to amounts that appear in the civic and household accounts...the reward of [a] Lord might be supplemented by gifts from others who gathered there...

¹³⁶ Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Profession of Player in Shakespeare's Time 1590-1642* (Princeton: Princeton Press, 1984). p.49

¹³⁷ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005). p.54, using a different method of calculation for ten men and boys in London arrived at a figure of £144 p.a. as a total wage bill.

¹³⁸ *x ref.44*

¹³⁹ See <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/event.cfm?EventListID=1200> - part of REED.

He continued his analysis by investigating the nature of the “40s. the Queen’s men received at Coventry”. To his mind, this was a “mayor’s play”, i.e. 40s. would have represented the total compensation for that one play. However there may well have been – and there are some records suggesting this – subsequent performances that would or could have taken place where the audience were “presumably...charged at the door.”¹⁴⁰

Greenfield makes a reasonable point that there may well have been additional income, but this is conjectural. For the purposes of this thesis, I have used the generous thirty-shilling figure as an average, assuming there were other sources of cash.

But two questions remain -

How long did the players take travelling from venue to venue?

Were there enough great houses or towns to play?

Based on the above table¹⁴¹ anything 30 miles or more might need to be traversed to reach the next location. In some isolated houses there may well have been only a single performance as Barroll, somewhat at odds with Greenfield, pointed out in one particular case “Even if they lingered longer, they had earned only 30 shillings for the length of the stay.”¹⁴²

Reference has already been made to Alan Somerset’s workmanlike “How Chance it they travel: Provincial Touring, Playing Places and the King's Men.”¹⁴³ In this he quoted from Marston’s *Histrionastix*,¹⁴⁴ in particular from the song the mechanicals, the self-styled Sir Oliver Owlet’s Men, sing about the joys of touring

Besides that we travel, with pumps full of gravel,
Made all of such running leather
That once in a week new masters we seek

¹⁴⁰ Peter Greenfield, “Touring,” in *Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford, 2009). p.294. The 40s. payment he refers to was given in 1594 – the Queens Men in the above table are a different company.

¹⁴¹ *x ref.44*

¹⁴² J. Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1991). p.111

¹⁴³ Alan Somerset, "How Chance it they travel: Provincial Touring, Playing Places and the King's Men," *Shakespeare Survey*, no. 47 (1994). p.45

¹⁴⁴ The exact authorship of the play remains under debate – Chambers in, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). IV p.17 comments that Marston was merely reviewing an earlier play an opinion supported by George L. Geckle, *John Marston's Drama: Themes, Images, Sources*, Rutherford, NJ, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980; p.34. The full title is *Histrionastix, or The Player Whipped* which foreshadows the anti-professional player tone of the piece. With its huge cast and themes I agree with Chambers that performance at one of the Inns of Court was the likeliest original venue.

And never can hold together...

Where Somerset stood on his firmest ground (based on REED) was in his analysis of the number of times players were welcomed – in sharp contrast to Bentley’s work of 1984. Bentley implied the performers were successful only about ten per cent of the time, Somerset estimated that they were welcomed on over ninety five per cent of occasions. One still has to question if every unsuccessful visit was chronicled as carefully - or indeed noted at all - as the successful ones.

J. R. Mulryne in 2007¹⁴⁵ building on the work of Somerset, Sally-Beth MacLean and Scott McMillin¹⁴⁶ produced a detailed analysis of the visits of professional players to Stratford between 1568 and 1597. Though generally supporting the themes of these other authors, he did point out the relative rarity of the visits even in the 1590s - “... the Queen’s Men came three times to Stratford in 1587, 1593 and 1594, the only professional company to do so in the latter two years...” and as happened in other places – notably Chester. There the council voted to ban playing altogether

...a meeting of the council held on 17 December 1602, at which a decision was taken to permit no further playing in... ‘the Chamber of the Guild hall nor in any p[art]e of the howsse or Courte’...¹⁴⁷

Ignoring the prohibition was subject to a ten-shilling fine. However, a further ban was made in 1612 and a more punitive fine of £10 was introduced. Again quoting Mulryne

...we can detect, perhaps, an earnest discussion of the ‘impropriety’ of plays...the whopping twenty-fold increase in the fine reads like a self-righteous gesture meant to impress...¹⁴⁸

Somerset estimated the size of travelling companies at between 4 to 24 players and referenced Ingram’s calculation that a travelling company of six needed ten to fourteen shillings a day in takings “simply to survive.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Mulryne, “Professional Players in the Guildhall, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1568-1597,” ed. Peter Holland, *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge) 60 (2007). p.1

¹⁴⁶ Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen’s Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1998).

¹⁴⁷ Mulryne, *Professional* p.4

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

¹⁴⁹ Somerset, *How Chance* p.51 and William Ingram, “The Cost of Touring,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* (UOV), no. 6 (1993): 57-62. p.59

Mulryne closed his article with an interesting, if speculative, observation that touring offered a company “a temporary relief from the onerous and continuing task of rehearsal of new plays...we might think of such a tour as a working holiday.”

Earning a living (6s. a week) as a touring player at the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries in England appears just possible. However it certainly was not the halcyon experience that Palmer and Cerasano propose. Had it been as easy as they suggest, the great London companies would have surely followed the cash and left the city far more than they did. Somerset’s “working holiday” for some professional companies remains an interesting, if entirely unsubstantiated, suggestion.

Cerasano’s second point, and the much more powerful observation, was that an understanding of “failed ventures” is needed to gain a fuller overall picture – failures such as the Swan¹⁵⁰ and the antics surrounding the Boar’s Head, both of which are considered in this thesis.¹⁵¹

That touring existed was never in doubt. That players were better received on tour than had been previously thought has been proved through the REED research. Palmer, clearly a devotee of Country and Western music, as recently as 2009¹⁵² suggested that there may have been provincial impresarios. Men who were, to her mind, “upwardly mobile”

...skilled professionals who knew when to hold 'em and knew when to fold 'em, knew when to walk away, knew when to run...¹⁵³

She continued

...because, in the myopic context of “London companies,” no one suspected their existence, let alone the value of tracking them or how to evaluate what they were doing...

It is certainly an interesting conjecture, but her personal research ran contrary to this scenario. These show a business base too small to support the notion of a provincial Henslowe. Certainly there were a lot of counterfeit companies - multiple bands using or claiming to use one patron’s licence - hence more possible revenue than a single

¹⁵⁰ *x ref.211, x ref.218*

¹⁵¹ *x ref.211*

¹⁵² Barbara D. Palmer, “Playing in The Provinces,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 2009.

¹⁵³ From Don Schlitz’s song “The Gambler” which was the title track to Kenny Roger’s 1978 album “The Gambler” - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kn481KcjuMo>. Bobby Bare - singer of “Drop Kick Me Jesus Through The Goal posts Of Life” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SO5Y1OuQIxo> - described as “the world’s only Christian-football waltz” also recorded the song earlier that same year to no acclaim whatsoever. Palmer, unusually for a retired Professor of English, omitted a full reference.

company name suggests. Moreover, Palmer was quite right to conclude that the business of touring was more complex than had been thought when Chambers was writing *The Elizabethan Stage*.¹⁵⁴ But when one adds up the total possible venues, average playing days and customary fees, and deducts travelling times plus cost of wagon and other expenses (all beautifully detailed by Palmer) it is clear that there was no great fortune to be made from touring. Unfortunately for Palmer's main argument, the few great fortunes in the English theatre were made in London - just as they are today - and London companies on national tour were at best only accessing a complementary source of income for their troupe.

Alternative Sources of Revenue – b) Patronage

A prince ought also to show himself a patron of ability, and to honour the proficient in every art. ... Further, he ought to entertain the people with festivals and spectacles at convenient seasons of the year; ... and show himself an example of courtesy and liberality. ...
Niccolò Machiavelli, 1513¹⁵⁵

One explanation often used for the apparent wealth of certain players was patronage. Rowe did much to fan these flames with his reference to £1000 being given to Shakespeare by the Earl of Southampton.¹⁵⁶ Not many believe the actual amount, but writers such as Katherine Duncan-Jones¹⁵⁷ continue to theorize on whether some lesser figure, might have been the “real” payment. One cannot prove that in a moment of madness a silly young courtier would not throw a fortune away, and for some scholars this is an attractive notion. It conjures up images of aristocrats - literally knights in shining armour - being of sufficient good taste and learning to part with huge sums in exchange for a little flattery. Unfortunately, reality does not support the proposition.

In 1909 Phoebe Sheavyn was writing, with considerable candour, about the largesse available from patrons to performers and writers at the turn of the sixteenth into the seventeenth centuries

...this was a period of economic transition, with painful consequences for both patrons and protégés. Neither side realized the drift of circumstances: the reigns of Elizabeth and James mark a gradual

¹⁵⁴ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923).

¹⁵⁵ Nicolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. 1908 Marriott (1513). Chapter XXI

¹⁵⁶ See *x ref.360* for an analysis of Nicholas Rowe, *The Works of William Shakespear* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709).

¹⁵⁷ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare* (London: Arden Shakespeare - Thomas Learning, 2001). p.85 She suggests £100.

disintegration of the aristocratic system of private literary patronage...[though] efforts were often aimed at the conservation of a dying system...¹⁵⁸

Literary and artistic patronage certainly existed, but it found expression in lending credibility or protection far more frequently than hard cash. Sheavyn continued

...The old form of patronage as experienced by Chaucer...had been a substantial and satisfactory thing...the writer was given an organic place within the feudal community...¹⁵⁹

Later she noted

...those writers...fortunate to meet with lifelong patronage were rare indeed... Roger Ascham, Samuel Daniel, perhaps Ben Jonson as well – it is doubtful another could be found...¹⁶⁰

Largesse often came in non-financial forms such as non-literary jobs and positions that sometimes were transferrable and could be sold.¹⁶¹ Cash for everyone, from the monarch down, was in short supply. Great men died penniless but not through excessive patronage of the arts. The Earl of Leicester died £85,000 in debt.¹⁶²

Walsingham also left in penury begging in his will to be

...buried without any extraordinary ceremonies as usually appertain to a man serving in my place, in respect of the greatness of my debts and the mean state I shall leave my wife and heirs in...¹⁶³

For all her clarity of thinking, it is interesting to note that even Sheavyn still repeats Rowe's story of the £1000 without any comment¹⁶⁴ or analysis. Such is the power of established myth.

In 1964, H.S. Bennett in considering writers and books, sought to redress the balance back in favour of the existence of patronage. He insisted that there were "no grounds for the belief that patronage was on the decline" as Sheavyn half a century before "had asserted."¹⁶⁵ Yet, when one examines Bennett's evidence of his position, it largely appears to be based around the amount of grovelling on the authors' part (i.e. in

¹⁵⁸ Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, 2nd Edition, ed. J.W. Saunders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969). p.10

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p.12

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p.12 Note: All three receiving royal patronage of one sort or another.

¹⁶¹ *x ref.* 235

¹⁶² Lawrence Stone, "The Anatomy of the English Aristocracy," *The Economic History Review* (Blackwell) 18, no. 1/2 (1948): 1-53. p.12

¹⁶³ Robert Hutchinson, *Elizabeth's Spy Master* (London: Phoenix, 2006). p.237

¹⁶⁴ Sheavyn, *Literary Profession* p.12

¹⁶⁵ H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, Vol. 2, 3 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1965). p.31

prefaces, dedication etc.) with very little direct payment (hard cash) on the patrons' side. Certainly there were contingent benefits

Much was dedicated to them (the Patrons) without any other reason other than the general belief that they provided "a buckler¹⁶⁶ of defence" or "a shelter against the stormes and tempests which their malicious enemies raise against the truth"¹⁶⁷

He also noted that by the 1580's

...the professional man of letters...introduced a more strident note in the dedicatory epistles...few were optimistic enough to think they would be rewarded with any large sums or annual pensions. A few pounds, perhaps, were all they hoped for in cash [or recommendation] ...to some position in the service of the Crown, or of some influential lord or perhaps to give them a living or a tutorship.¹⁶⁸

Despite Bennett's protestations to the contrary, an analysis of his writing on patronage shows that he actually agreed with Sheavyn when it comes to how much cash a patron was ever likely to hand over. Fortunes were not built on occasional small gifts.

Sheavyn is very direct on this point

...the usual fee paid for the dedication of a drama was forty shillings and occasionally other works earned three pounds...¹⁶⁹

Sheavyn also gives an example of a higher fee

...The Earl of Northumberland gave George Peel £3 in June 1593 upon the presentation of a congratulatory poem.¹⁷⁰

That scholars should have speculated about the influence of patronage on playwrights in general and Shakespeare in particular is inevitable. One of the most interesting combinations of opinion on this point comes from Alfred Harbage who observed¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ OED - a shield, see Glossary

¹⁶⁷ H.S. Bennett, *English Books* II p.39

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p.45

¹⁶⁹ Sheavyn, *Literary Profession* p.25 - she uses as her authority for this "Nathaniel Field, A Woman in Weathercock (1612) dedication". The fee of forty shillings also appears in earlier reference sources in the sixth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1823 Vol. XVI "the usual present from a patron in return for a dedication was forty shillings".

¹⁷⁰ Ibid p.25 - "Hist. MSS, Comm., VI, App., 227"

¹⁷¹ Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968). p.97

Table 7 - Extract from Rowse's Personal Copy of Harbage's Book

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Harbage's summary of "the situation of his day" was essentially that seeking patronage as a playwright was wasted time. One interesting footnote to literary history was the evidence of how this point was taken up by A. L. Rowse¹⁷² who wrote in his own personal copy of Harbage's book (above) the above notation "not need to" indicating his endorsement of Harbage's and my own position.

Alternative Sources of Revenue – c) Publishing and Puffing

One might think that if traditional aristocratic patronage was in decline, then income from the burgeoning business of publishing could have been a substitute source of cash for hard-pressed writers and playwrights through book and pamphlet sales.

Sheavyn is again clear-cut in her assertions that

...it was practically impossible to dispose of a manuscript outside London...all printing by law was confined to London...the only exceptions were...Oxford and Cambridge...and one to a Dutch refugee [who] scarcely printed anything but Dutch, for his fellow refugees...¹⁷³

Theoretically a writer had a number of potential publishers but the "system of monopolies favoured by the Elizabethans"¹⁷⁴ had permeated the publishing business.

Describing the business practices of publishers of the time, Sheavyn quoted George Wither who, in 1624, described them as being

...like fleas but suck now and then a drop of the writers blood from him it was somewhat tolerable: but since they began to feed on him like the third plague of Aegypt [Egypt] without removing...¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² See: John Clarke, 'Rowse, (Alfred) Leslie (1903–1997)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. I had the good fortune to acquire Rowse's own copy - complete with his marginalia. Rowse, a prolific author might well have made this point in one of his own books, my expertise in his work is not sufficient to comment on this possibility.

¹⁷³ Ibid. p.64/5

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p.64

¹⁷⁵ George Wither, *Schollers Purgatory*, Vol. I, in *Miscellaneous Works* (Spenser Society, 1872). P.9-11. Also, George Wither, *Schollers Purgatory* (London: Imprinted for The Honest Stationers, 1624). EEBO

Sheavyn's choice of Wither as an authoritative source is interesting.¹⁷⁶ However, one occasion where he does stand out was in his early assertion that an author should have rights in his own work. In the 1620s the Stationers' Company's focus was on its members' enrichment, with scant regard for the authors.¹⁷⁷

Payments for literary and dramatic work were meagre at best, with more sensational and riskier works earning the highest remuneration for authors, coupled with the greatest chance of arrest if someone in power took offence - witness Wither's own incarcerations.¹⁷⁸ In short, a smart writer of the 1590's and early 1600's would, after discovering the economic realities of the Stationers' Company's monopolists, have stayed well away from publishing to generate cash unless in dire need.¹⁷⁹

Harbage, wrote of William Shakespeare that: ...“there seems no doubt that for whomever else he wrote...it certainly was not for the book trade.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ See Glossary – Wither.

¹⁷⁷ On a larger scale Lawrence Stone made the following observation about trade and monopolism, “In boom and slump alike, the motive force behind the Trading Companies was the desire to increase their profits by placing restrictions on their lesser competitors, and by making price-rigging agreements between themselves...” Lawrence Stone, "State Control in Sixteenth Century England," *The Economic History Review*, 1947: 103-120. p.117

¹⁷⁸ Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, 2nd Edition, ed. J.W. Saunders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969). See Chapter 3 especially p.64

¹⁷⁹ I have not included here an analysis of the Shakespeare Quartos or the various published editions of Shakespeare's poetry. While this is an interesting subject in its own right - especially the degree to which he did or did not benefit in each case - my own researches have led me to conclude that Harbage was entirely correct that Shakespeare was not writing for the book trade.

¹⁸⁰ Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience*, 2nd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). p.51

Puffing and Praising

Puffing, the extravagant praising of another's work for either cash or favour, was almost mandatory in literary works of the Early Modern Period. Puffing was often expressed in the form of a congratulatory poem. As Franklin Williams noted in 1966¹⁸¹ the years 1599 and 1609 were "outstanding" in the volume of "puffs", and across the decade Williams referenced 151 books that contained no less than 533 poems. He made the important observation that

...Habitual writers of commendatory verse were... mainly literary professionals... with the curious exception of Sidney and Shakespeare,¹⁸² all the chief poets including Spenser and Milton wrote puffs. Jonson led the way with 30 contributions... [also] George Wither... in Stuart times, it is clear from scattered evidence the task of soliciting puffs was frequently, if not customarily, assumed by the publisher or stationer...¹⁸³

On the matter of Shakespeare's puffing absence, Williams also noted that no work of Shakespeare's printed in his lifetime ever contained a "commendatory poem as its bush." However, as was demonstrated in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare did equate bushes with moonshine.¹⁸⁴

The conclusion is self-evident. Shakespeare did not publish or puff because financially he did not have to. The puffing Ben Jonson, despite his published works, output of plays, acting and Royal pension died almost penniless.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Franklin Williams, "Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing," *Studies in Bibliography*, 1966. p.2-6

¹⁸² For another "curious exception" for Shakespeare see in *x ref.272*

¹⁸³ Williams, *Commendatory Verses* p.6

¹⁸⁴ Act III, i and Act V, i. also OED – Moonshine: "Appearance without substance" – the OED places its first use in this meaning to 1468

¹⁸⁵ Estate at death £8 8s.10d – see Ian Donaldson, "Jonson, Benjamin (1572-1637)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson Collected Works*, ed. C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1952). See also <http://research.uchicago.edu/highlights/item.php?id=25> for excellent video/audio on new (Cambridge) multimedia edition of Jonson's works see <http://www.cambridge.org/uk/literature/features/cwbj/project/>. An example of just how modest his estate was can be seen in Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1560-1640*, 1st. Edition (Oxford: OUP, 1974). p.20 where James describes how John Copland, a poor farm labourer who died alone - a man who did not even call himself a "husbandman" having no property rights whatsoever - left £3 13s. 2d. in his will.

Alternative Sources of Revenue – d) Court Performance

...£10 which was standard for a court performance...

Andrew Gurr, 2004¹⁸⁶

Queen Elizabeth's ability to "balance the books" through rigorous cost control was surely one of the highlights of her reign. Evidence of her penny-wise mindset abounds. Having her courtiers pay for her entertainment as she graciously dumped her entire court on their private residences is one example. However there are others, such as increasing the number of fish-days¹⁸⁷ to boost fish consumption. In doing so, she ensured increased numbers of fishermen (needed to meet the rise in demand for fish) who were then available as trained sailors for her navy in time of crisis. Of course, there were many less complex economies, such as not keeping a company of players. As previously noted, Chambers remarked how the only reason the Early Modern Theatre existed at all was because of her thriftiness.¹⁸⁸ The Corporation of London and the Puritan faction would otherwise have jointly killed off the theatres had they not been protected by the modest fig-leaf of amusing a monarch, who only paid on the days they played.¹⁸⁹

As Gurr noted (above) £10 was the going rate for a performance at court and that figure changed very little during the 1590's and the early years of James I's reign – despite inflation. Gurr estimated that income from court performances remained a static £50 per annum for the Lord Chamberlain's (later the King's) Men between 1594 and 1608.¹⁹⁰ Chambers in 1906 had written of one earlier performance

...Feb. 11, 1578. Leicester's [Men] 'for making their repaire to the Courte with their whole company and furniture to presente a playe before her matie...in consideracon of their chardgies for that purpose although the plaie by her ma^{tie} comaundement was supplied by others.' They got

¹⁸⁶ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). p.96

¹⁸⁷ The OED definition: "A day on which fish is eaten, usually in obedience to an ecclesiastical ordinance; a fast-day" While this certainly describes the religious origin of the practice still observed by stricter followers of the Church of Rome. A more detailed reference might also add the words "or whenever the queen says so"... during the reign of Elizabeth I. See 1564 *Act 5 Eliz.* c. 5 "It shall not be lawfull..to eate any flesh vpon any dayes now vsually obserued as fish dayes, or vpon any Wednesday now newly limited to be obserued as fish day." [emphasis added]

¹⁸⁸ *x ref.21*

¹⁸⁹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). I. p.5-6

¹⁹⁰ Gurr, *Shakespeare Company* p.108

the ordinary “reward” of £6. 13s. 4d., but not the “more reward” of [an additional] £3. 6s. 8d.¹⁹¹

This seems to indicate that if a company showed up but was not “preferred” then they got an “ordinary reward” and the balance to bring it up to £10 if they were. This is far short of Flute’s fantasy of a pension of “sixpence a day during his life” for “sweet bully Bottom” playing Pyramus in a single performance.¹⁹²

Court Performances are recorded in two ways.

Firstly, it was listed in the Accounts of the Revels Office which was

...charged with the oversight of all dramatic festivities within the royal household, and incurred expenditure in connection with the choice, rehearsal, staging, dresses, and properties of the plays performed by the accredited “Servants” of the Queen herself or of the great nobles, at Christmas, Candlemas, or Shrovetide, in the palaces of Whitehall, Windsor, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, or Nonsuch.¹⁹³

Secondly, records of “Rewards” paid out of royal funds to the companies still survive. Remarkable to modern eyes, a warrant was required from no less than the Privy Council for each payment, and details of these warrants remain sprinkled between what Chambers described as

...minutes of its [Privy Council] proceedings between accounts of important investigations into heresy and treason...¹⁹⁴

Even the method for claiming their fees was convoluted and showed tight fiscal control. After a performance, a company had to submit and address a warrant to the Treasurer of the Chamber. After he honoured it, it would be debited against funds specially assigned to him for this and other specified expenses, and only then would payment be made. Such payments are documented both in the Privy Council Register and in the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

¹⁹¹ E. K. Chambers, "Court Performances before Queen Elizabeth," *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 2, no. 1 (1906): 1-13. p.6

¹⁹² *A Midsummer Night's Dream* IV. II

¹⁹³ Chambers, *Court Performances* p.1 For more detail see P. Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court In the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1842). This book lists the names of the companies, times of performances and in some cases the names of the plays.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

George Chalmers in his *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* of 1797¹⁹⁵ analyzed payments for plays during the reign of Elizabeth I and added a subsequent review in the third volume of the Boswell-Malone variorum *Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* of 1821.¹⁹⁶ John Roche Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council of England* listed the surviving data up to 1601.¹⁹⁷ Although the register itself is incomplete, enough survives to show that once established, the process of court performances changed remarkably little during the final decades of the reign.

While it is possible to examine these records in greater detail, for the purposes of this thesis, it is perhaps sufficient to endorse Aaron's observation that

...if Elizabeth only hired the company for at most six plays at £10 a play, or £60 a year, then Royal income was never more than 7.5 percent of the company income and probably much less.¹⁹⁸

Aaron in support of this assertion referenced Bernard Beckerman, who in 1962 had put the figure at 5% or less of the Company's income at the Globe.¹⁹⁹

As to later court performances after the first few years of James I's reign, once the King's profligate spending habits had become established, a gradual increase in Royal payments is evident. Gurr estimates court performances at £180 per annum²⁰⁰ from 1610 to 1615 though this still only reflects just over 7% of a greatly inflated total income.

In conclusion, court performing during the years of Shakespeare's professional career brought prestige and protection to a Company, but precious little hard cash.

¹⁹⁵ George Chalmers, *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (London: Thomas Egerton, 1797).

¹⁹⁶ Edmond Malone, *Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. James Boswell, 21 vols. (London: Rivington, et al, 1821).

¹⁹⁷ John Roche Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1905), though even Dasent's records are incomplete according to Chambers.

¹⁹⁸ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005). p.55

¹⁹⁹ Bernard Beckerman, *Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). p.22 [Aaron references this as appearing on page 23 though the actual figures appear on page 22] though Beckerman himself referenced Chambers as his authority. See, *Elizabethan Stage IV*, p.166 which notes a payment "17 Feb. (R.); C.xxxiii; D. xxx 89 (18 Feb.)" for £30 payable to "John Hemyng servant to the Lorde Chamberlaine" relating to 26 December, 6 January, 3 February.

²⁰⁰ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). p.109

Alternative Sources of Revenue - Summary

It is inconceivable that any of the activities listed above: touring, patronage, publishing or court performance singly, or even collectively, played anything but a minor role in the accumulation of the Shakespeare family wealth.

The preceding data shows that from a playing company's perspective, a marginal income could be wrung from touring. However patronage (in cash) has at times been greatly exaggerated, publishing was, at best, a modest contributor²⁰¹ and court performance a minor source of revenue.

Given the foregoing analysis, none of these activities ever made a fortune for any artist in the London of the 1590s and early 1600s.

3. Certain Expenses of Playing

I speak through my clothes²⁰²
Umberto Eco, 1973

...Rich garments, linens, stuffs and necessaries,
Which since have steaded much...
The Tempest, I, ii

F.J. Fisher commented on the rapid expansion of the capital in the Early Modern Period: "that the growth of London was widely considered to be a morbid growth is incontestable."²⁰³ He included this observation in an article whose very title indicates that he considered the city was "a centre of conspicuous consumption". Giovanni Botero had, in 1606, written about the rise and ensuing problems of the Renaissance cities. Botero pointed out that the "invariable characteristic of the gentleman come to town was his ostentatious display."²⁰⁴ Ben Jonson had been more direct about the cost of one obvious element of this showing off - "... 'twere good that you turned four or

²⁰¹ For both company and playwright.

²⁰² Quoted in Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979). p.100

²⁰³ F.J. Fisher, "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (RHS) 30 (1948): 37-50.

²⁰⁴ Giovanni Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities*, 1606. A copy of the original is available on EEBO. Fisher in his article refers to the translator as "R. Pearson" whereas the original text refers to "Robert Peterson." Botero also draws attention in Cap. 6 "Of Pleasure" to the "theatres..., rases for running horses, Fountaines, Images, Pictures, and such other excellent and wonderfull things, as delight and feede the eyes of the people with an admiration and wonder at them..."

five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel...” On May 1, 1602, William Shakespeare bought land in Old Stratford – approximately 120 acres for £320. Though hardly a scientific means of establishing the cost of an outfit of clothes, five acres would equate to about £16.

Clad in his new raiment the new-formed gentleman headed for the entertainments and, as Fisher put it, “above all, there was the theatre.”²⁰⁵ Even in the plays themselves the acknowledged importance of smart clothing was given its place. In *The Tempest* when Prospero begins to list to Miranda the items the old lord Gonzalo “out of his kindness” gave them when they were cast adrift, the very first item on list was “rich garments.”

The notion of the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign being a time of general prosperity, a truly “golden age”, is largely a Victorian fiction. Hubert Hall writing in 1875 when describing the city burgesses wrote

...it was enough for them to store up golden honey, the capital which was to feed the growing labour resources of the country...²⁰⁶

though even Hall acknowledged that not all the honey went on noble ventures, as he continued that it also was consumed by

...the lazy playmates of royalty, who swarmed about the court...

By 1949 Lawrence Stone took a less emotive and more analytical view of a time where any fiscal progress through industrialization, elementary mechanization or trade was being sopped up in luxuries for a few

...one of the chief objectives of official policy...had been the crying need to reduce imports of luxuries and particularly the only two items of real importance - wines and luxury cloths... but the Government was fighting against the irresistible demand of a recklessly wasteful society...and its efforts were a total failure...²⁰⁷

There was also a second dimension to this waste as was set out in a report of 1600²⁰⁸ which detailed the extent of smuggling, an activity which, according to Stone, “continued on a very large scale.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p.47

²⁰⁶ Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1887). p.45

²⁰⁷ Lawrence Stone, "Elizabethan Overseas Trade," *The Economic History Review* (EHS (Blackwell)) 2, no. 1 (1949): 30-58. p.49

²⁰⁸ BM. Harleian. MSS 1878/56

²⁰⁹ Stone, *Overseas* p.49

In 1558 imports of exotic weaves were estimated at a total value of £180,000 to £190,000 - “by the turn of the century, imports of luxury cloths had increased about six times and were by far the most important group of imports.”²¹⁰ Wines were not far behind with imports soaring from £50-70,000 to £110,000 over the last few years of the century. Meanwhile the overall economy during this period remained in steep decline with an “almost complete crop failure in 1596.”²¹¹

Cerasano in 2009 described the 1590’s as a time when the nation²¹²

...laboured under a dire combination of overwhelming debt, severe inflation, a major grain shortage and a shortage of coinage; and some of these factors remained largely unchanged in the early part of the new century...

Expenses of Playing - Sumptuary Justice

Sumptuary Laws²¹³ - attempts to control and moderate personal consumption through legislation - are almost as old as civilization itself, yet their effectiveness has always been at best transitory. In an attempt to relieve the economic stresses referred to above, a statute - 16 Elizabeth I - was issued at Greenwich on 15 June 1574. It included the following

...The excess of apparel and the superfluity of unnecessary foreign wares thereto belonging now of late years is grown by sufferance to such an extremity that the manifest decay of the whole realm generally is like to follow (by bringing into the realm such superfluities of silks, cloths of gold, silver, and other most vain devices of so great cost for the quantity thereof as of necessity the moneys and treasure of the realm is and must be yearly conveyed out of the same to answer the said excess) but also particularly the wasting and undoing of a great number of young gentlemen, otherwise serviceable, and others seeking by show of apparel to be esteemed as gentlemen, who, allured by the vain show of those things, do not only consume themselves, their goods, and lands which their parents left unto them, but also run into such debts and shifts as they cannot live out of danger of laws without attempting unlawful acts, whereby they are not any ways serviceable to their country as otherwise they might be...

The purpose of this section is not to attempt to analyze the scope and range of sumptuary legislation in detail, but to better understand the economic effect that this

²¹⁰ Stone, *Overseas* p.49

²¹¹ Ibid. p.49 See also *S.P.Dom. Eliz.* 273/99.

²¹² Cerasano, *Theatrical Entrepreneurs* p.386

²¹³ The term is Roman in origin - *sumptuariae leges*.

demand for ostentatious clothing created on the theatre of the day. The requirement for the newly made man-about-town to be seen at the theatre has already been referred to, but there were two other groups that “needed” to be seen and “needed” to look lavishly dressed - the powerful and the players.

Whether they were habitually, or even only occasionally used as the “Lords Rooms” - the Gallery above the stage of the Globe²¹⁴ - their purpose was surely twofold: firstly to give prestigious, distinct and secure seating to the powerful elite and secondly, to put that elite on display, reinforcing their status and establishing who constituted this group. In 1613 the building contract for the Hope Theatre called for

...two Boxes in the lowermost storie fitt and decent for gentlemen to sit in/and shall make the ptisions betwne the Rommes as they are at the said Plaie house called the Swan.²¹⁵

This position, facing the audience goes further than later, though similar, creation of the Royal box in proscenium arch theatres of the Victorian era, as there is no possibility of privacy for the occupants.²¹⁶ In contrast to later periods, when men were standardized into “white tie” and only the women were “decorated” in striking clothes and jewels, the Early Modern male courtier when on display had to outshine every other lesser person in the theatre. The greater the courtier the more lavish the required ensemble. Even the puritanical Malvolio of *Twelfth Night*, when he daydreamed, combined the fantasy of rich clothing, lackeys, and a slaked sexual desire

... Calling my officers about me, in my branched velvet gown; having come from a day-bed, where I have left Olivia sleeping...²¹⁷

And the theme continued as he demonstrated his authority, played with expensive toys and had his enemy grovelling at his feet

...Seven of my people, with an obedient start, make out for him: I frown the while; and perchance wind up watch, or play with my - some rich jewel. Toby approaches; courtesies there to me...²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Jon Greenfield, “Timber Framing the Two Bays and After,” in *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997). p.119

²¹⁵ Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience*, 2nd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). p.25

²¹⁶ With the Victorian “Royal Box” the physical positioning may be to the side or at the back of the auditorium stalls or even in a higher gallery however the space itself is prominent and “frames” the occupants for the ordinary theatregoers. The Royal Box of the London Coliseum is illustrative, see <http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/LondonColiseum.htm>.

²¹⁷ *Twelfth Night* II, v

²¹⁸ Ibid.

In the Globe, there would have been a real life play outside the stage performance with the fulfilment of various elements of Malvolio's fantasy visible in selected members of the audience, literally framing the fiction on stage.

One source for players' aristocratic costumes was the second hand market. In reality they were performing in hand-me-downs from the class who made up the most prestigious segment of their audience. This notion, when wrapped in a twenty-first century idea of the value of second hand clothing, leads, I would propose, to some erroneous assumptions about the costs of staging productions.

Modern day clothing, machine made and mass-produced is seen by many to be readily disposable. Only the makers of *haute couture*, state and academic ceremonial robes and a very few theatrical costumiers could today have an accurate sense of the cost of hand made, custom garments created in rare and exclusive fabrics. Even the idea of middle class children wearing the outgrown garments of older siblings, still prevalent in the mid twentieth century, is now largely considered *passé*.²¹⁹ Second-hand clothing in the Early Modern Period had a cash value even if the newness had rubbed off. An analogy of a second hand Rolls Royce might be more appropriate in cash value than a suit of clothes, and like many second-hand cars, these second-hand clothes would be refitted to freshen up the appearance. Henslowe's notebook records tailors' bills for remodelling garments, and loans for such items as expensive lace to refurbish a jerkin. These amounts are not trivial either in terms of their cash value against total earnings, nor compared against other categories of theatrical expense such as wages for the hired men.

Thomson considered that

...a close reading of Henslowe leaves no doubt of the importance of costume in the theatre... Entries vary from the quaintly informative to the frankly astonishing ... Of the latter kind is the listed cost of £9 for taffeta to make two women's gowns for the *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*²²⁰, and the preparedness of the actor Richard Jones to pay £3 for "a man's gown of Peachcolour in grain."²²¹

²¹⁹ See a BBC article on the issue from 2002 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/2500637.stm> - there is a niche market in so-called "vintage" or recycled clothing but for most the stigma of buying second-hand still remains.

²²⁰ A play by Henry Porter (1598).

²²¹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.31

Carson related how "...Henslowe made an advance of £12-10-00 to get two cloaks out of pawn..." about the annual wages of an average skilled worker.

Costumes, at the Company level, represented significant investments in themselves. For example, in the legal falling-out between Langley, builder of the Swan Theatre, and his would-be company of players, Langley asserted "...he was owed some £300 for costumes."²²² However one should be wary of Langley's truthfulness on any point. But the players concerned only challenged the amount in a circuitous manner. C. C. Stopes in her *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* of 1913 gives a detailed account of the legal tussle between the parties.²²³ In brief, the players argued that Langley had no claim on them because he had already been repaid from a garnishee on the portion of the players' gallery receipts. Wallace in 1910 had previously quoted the relevant section of the court documents

...Of the said defendant were at charges for the providing of apparel...for a portion of the gains for the several standings in the galleries²²⁴

The actors, almost as an afterthought, included the words, "they deny the defendant hath disbursed the full sum of £300."

What is noteworthy, beyond the method of repayment, is that the amount under discussion, correct or not, would have been about one third of the actual building costs of the Swan itself.

It is incontrovertible that Henslowe

- Lent money to the players, after the debacle of several members of his company leaving to join Francis Langley's company at the Swan.
- Made them sign performance contracts on their return, as Langley had done.
- Knew precisely what he was doing in continuing to lend to the players, even when repayment was late.

Carson asked

²²² Carson, *Henslowe's Diary* p.25

²²³ C.C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd., 1913). p.177 Note XI

²²⁴ Charles W. Wallace, "The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants," *Englishe Studien* 43 (1910): 340-95 also quoted in Carson *Henslowe's Diary* p.25

...why would Henslowe continue to lend money to an organization which seemed unwilling or unable to repay him?²²⁵

His explanation is in two parts: first the simple one that Henslowe was “satisfied to lend money to the players in order to keep them at his theatre”²²⁶ which appears reasonable. But he continued “where he earned a more than satisfactory income from rent.”²²⁷ Here it is interesting to review the rise of the Company’s indebtedness to Henslowe

Table 8 - Indebtedness of the Admiral’s Men to Henslowe

Date	Balance in £.s.d.	
	Per Carson	Per Henslowe’s Notebook
24/2/1599 ²²⁸	233-17-17	233-17-17
10/7/1600	271-13-00	271-13-00
??/2/1602	604-10-04	604-10-04
24/12/1602	774-00-00	226-16-18
05/05/1603	400-00-06	400-00-06
??/03/1604	24-00-00	24-00-00

The most striking aspect of these figures is their magnitude. According to the notebook, the Admiral’s Men were borrowing well over a hundred pounds a year, and total loans by the end of 1602 were almost enough to have paid for the building of a new theatre. Moreover, this debt accumulation occurred during a plague free period when (according to authors such as Forse²²⁹ and Aaron²³⁰) players in a London company should have been solvent.²³¹

...How the players can have reduced their financial obligations to Henslowe so rapidly, and in a period when playing was severely curtailed because of the plague, is a mystery which we cannot solve with information from the diary...²³²

²²⁵ Carson, *Companion* p.27

²²⁶ Ibid. p.27

²²⁷ Ibid. p.27

²²⁸ £233/17/17 is how it appears in f48 of Henslowe’s Notebook – there is either a poorly fashioned “1” in the pence column i.e. it is eleven pence, or it was merely a mistake.

²²⁹ James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993). p.59

²³⁰ Melissa Aaron, "The Globe and *Henry V* as Business Document," *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40, no. 2: 277-292. p.55

²³¹ *x ref.272* Though, as will be shown, there was competitive pressure at this time from the Children at the Blackfriars.

²³² Carson, *Companion* p.29. See *x ref.36* for dates when theatres were closed relating to plague.

Carson asks this obvious question and goes on to list some possibilities – the players either

- a) had the cash in reserve, and/or
- b) sold their costumes to raise cash, and/or
- c) gave Henslowe stock in their company.

There is a suggestion in *f.110* of the notebook: “All Recoynge consernynge the company in stocke generall descarged” which I interpret as – “all reckonings concerning the company in stock generally discharged” i.e. repayment was made or the sum written off.

Another alternative that has to be raised but can be quickly disregarded, was that Henslowe simply forgave the debt.

In examining the above schedule, it appears that the debt drops by a single repayment of £550 – see the line

Date	Balance in £.s.d.	
	Per Carson	Per Notebook
24/12/1602	774-00-00	226-16-18

Elsewhere in the Notebook a £50 advance to Robert Shaa is noted and if one assumes the fifty pound repayment refers to this then £500 would have been a “good round sum”²³³ in exchange for costumes, playbooks and/or company stock.

However the debt was reduced, it still leaves the all-important question of profitability from the Company’s perspective. Accumulating this kind of debt during plague free playing time suggests either profligacy on the part of the players, or the fact that the costs of production were high, or competition greatly increased, or they simply did not want to pay him. Perhaps the most likely scenario was a combination of some or all of these.

²³³ Three thousand ducats; 'tis a good round sum.
 Three months from twelve; then, let me see; the rate —
The Merchant of Venice I, iii
 Carson also speculates on this issue see *Companion* p.29

There is an ironic parallel between Bassanio borrowing from Shylock to fund “rare new liveries”²³⁴ and the Admiral’s men getting deep in debt to Henslowe for items such as copperlace²³⁵ and tailor’s bills. Henslowe, like some present day credit card company, offered interest-free transfer loans when the Admiral’s Men reconstituted after the Swan episode. But, just as the credit card provider increases its costs of borrowing over time, Henslowe got his pound of flesh only a few years later. By acquiring shares in the company (i.e. reducing the players’ future earnings), he was both economically and literally taking their “means of production”²³⁶ - the playbooks and costumes. As Carson noted of the later Lady Elizabeth’s Men in 1613-15, Henslowe agreed as part of his responsibilities in this new venture to supply the actors with costumes and properties “from Henslowe’s private stock.”²³⁷ It is conjectural, but one can only wonder how and when these had been acquired and if the Admiral’s Men had anything to do with them. Another conjecture might be that the records in the Notebook ended for a good reason – that Henslowe had achieved his original purpose of securing the players - body and costumes - for what he refers to in the Notebook as “my theatre.”

Expenses of Playing -The Rose Theatre

The business and character of Philip Henslowe are examined later in this thesis²³⁸ however, suffice to note here that he was an early entrepreneur whose interests included the business of playing, initially with his investment in building the Rose theatre.

When Henslowe initially considered building the Rose, his plan was to take a partner to, as Carson puts it, “share expenses in the building.”²³⁹ The would-be partner - John Cholmley - was to have the exclusive right to sell bread and drink to the Rose’s patrons. Carson concluded that the purpose of the partnership had been, from Henslowe’s standpoint, to hedge against fluctuations in the rate of investment return by selling an uncertain gain for a smaller but guaranteed income. Cholmley, according to Carson, was to pay an annuity of “£816 in quarterly instalments of £27 10s. over a period of 8 years

²³⁴ *The Merchant of Venice* II, ii

²³⁵ A technique for making lace using copper wire – see <http://web.me.com/lievejergger/copper/Sculptures.html> for a modern use of the technique.

²³⁶ OED - means of production: the aggregate resources (capital, land, workforce, etc.) of any country or society; (spec. in Marxist theory) the total productive capacity of these resources.

²³⁷ Carson, *Companion* p.31

²³⁸ *x ref.224*

²³⁹ Carson, *Companion* p.14.

and three months.”²⁴⁰ However, an examination of the document itself shows that the actual amount was capped at £816 and that instalments were to be £25 10s.²⁴¹ Additionally, Henslowe was to repair the bridges and wharves belonging to the property.

The partnership never materialized for unrecorded reasons. However a number of observations can be made

- Any realistic assessment of how theatres were financed has to recognize the cost of borrowing incurred.²⁴²
- Even if we do not call them “loans” but “investments”, any prudent investor, such as Henslowe in the case of the Rose, would be mindful of what the rate of return and payback period would be - Henslowe as an investor would want to see a return on his capital.
- Payment was to be by annuity, in fixed instalments – i.e. the interest component was included in the fixed payments. Accordingly, if the cost of borrowing increased (interest rates went up) then Henslowe would have received no additional amounts. This suggests that Henslowe, in contrast to the Burbages, was cash rich and could take the risk of fluctuating interest out of the equation. Julian Bowsher and S.P. Cerasano writing in 2010 are in no doubt that “Henslowe had enough ready money to finance the bulk of construction costs himself.”²⁴³ It is also possible that he had enough financial credibility to borrow from other lenders. It appears that some time value of money was being factored into the implicit loan to Cholmley, and in effect he would have been guarantor for half the project. If Henslowe had needed to borrow the money, then he would have been passing on either all or part of his interest costs. Of course, he could also be charging a premium rate - i.e. more than his costs - but this could still be a relative bargain for Cholmley if his own (marginal) cost of

²⁴⁰ Ibid. p.14 – Carson’s £27 10s. there appears to be some confusion here - £25 10s. only works with 32 payments and not the 33 he indicates.

²⁴¹ Chillington-Rutter, *Documents of The Rose Playhouse*, Revised Edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). p.38 “twentie five Poundes and Tenne shillings...until all the saide somme of Eighte hundreth and Sixteen Poundes be so truly contented and payde”

²⁴² The Act of 1545 permitted interest up to a limit of 10%, but was replaced by a new statute in 1552 that prohibited “...usury, a vice most odious and detestable” See *x ref.72*. In practice by rolling interest into principal or by only advancing part of the sum documented this 10% was often circumvented see:

²⁴³ The Deed of Partnership in the Rose Playhouse (January 10, 1587) Muniment 16 (mun-01-016-01r) (Julian Bowsher and S.P. Cerasano) see <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/rosecontract.html>

borrowing were so much higher than Henslowe's (and the implied interest rate therefore lay between the two).²⁴⁴

- If Henslowe had been able to persuade Cholmley on these proposed terms, he would have pulled off a coup. However, after the partnership fell through, he took the role of the project's banker - as is evidenced extensively in his "diary."²⁴⁵ He supplied not only the capital to construct and maintain the fabric of the facilities (the long term, project related, debt) but also the funds to support the theatre's working capital (short term liquidity) especially by lending on a short term basis, to the players, seemingly interest free. Some scholars have suggested that this demonstrates that there was an amiable side to his business character. Murray Bromberg was one defender of the notion that Henslowe was not a complete villain. But even he concluded that

...we cannot say Philip Henslowe was an innocent babe whom scholars have vilified...he seems to have been a hard-headed businessman, who was not above stooping to unscrupulous tactics²⁴⁶...

As the proposed partnership with Cholmley shows, Henslowe was indeed perfectly capable of rolling an interest component of a loan into a reduction in the amount advanced and thereby hiding the underlying component of interest. £816 would have paid for the entire construction unless Henslowe was either a) simply cheating Cholmley or b) recognizing the time value of money i.e. some heavy implicit interest costs.

Carson's analysis of Henslowe's "diary" leads the reader to the recognition of a mild mannered individual

...An examination of Henslowe's activities as theatrical landlord and banker shows that the popular conception of the man as a crass and illiterate promoter hardly fits the facts ... the diary and papers reveal glimpses of a man conscientious in his family responsibilities, and undemanding in his business dealings...²⁴⁷

But there are limitations to this analysis, for example

²⁴⁴ See Glossary: Marginal Cost

²⁴⁵ Walter Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Walter Greg, 2 vols. (London: Bullen, 1904).

²⁴⁶ Murray Bromberg, "The Reputation of Philip Henslowe," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 1, no. 3 (1950): 135-139. p.139

²⁴⁷ Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.30

Henslowe personally wrote the notebook. No sharp businessman in history has ever written of his business dealings without being mindful that this could constitute evidence of his activities. This is especially true in the case of a notebook that was from time to time being initialled or signed by other parties – as was the situation here.

The notion that Henslowe could have amassed a fortune by being “undemanding in his business dealings” in any age is, from a financial standpoint, naïve.

When Carson analyses the litigation concerning “Henslowe’s activity over the players derived from documents linked to the Lady Elizabeth’s men” he makes no reference to the fact that the technique of trying to bind players to specific theatres was actually introduced by the unscrupulous Francis Langley.²⁴⁸ The explanation of this inconsistency may lie in the dates of Carson’s work and that of Ingram - though Ingram is listed by Carson as a “supporter and encourager” of Carson’s efforts.

On balance, a rational analysis of the cash flows suggests that Henslowe, far from being a genial lender, positively wanted the players to be in his debt, binding them closely to his theatre and thus avoiding the possibility of key players being lured away by competitors.²⁴⁹ The notebook shows repeatedly that he took their costumes and plays as collateral and it is not an idle conjecture that he always expected them to default when times were hard (as in 1604) so as to, again in the words of Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* “exact the penalty.”²⁵⁰

Expenses of Playing - Summary

Both Henslowe and Langley, the former with considerable success, the latter less so, sought to control absolutely the resident companies of their respective theatres. Some of the effects of this, for example the “performance contract”, are still in evidence today.

An examination of the costs of costume and hence the cost of staging productions suggests that considering the building costs of a theatre as the only major expense in

²⁴⁸*x ref.209*

²⁴⁹*x ref.211*

²⁵⁰“But lend it rather to thine enemy, Who, if he break, thou mayst with better face Exact the penalty.”
The Merchant of Venice I, 3

staging performances in the Early Modern period in London can lead to an overly optimistic view of profitability.

USURY
251

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends; for when did friendship take
A breed for barren metal of his friend?
But lend it rather to thine enemy,
Who, if he break, thou mayst with better face
Exact the penalty.
The Merchant of Venice I, iii

Those who swallow down usury cannot arise except as one whom Shaitan [Satan] has prostrated by (his) touch does rise...trading is only like usury; and Allah has allowed trading and forbidden usury.
The Qur'an (Koran) 2.275

Table 9 - Satanic Figure

In the twenty-first century the necessity, nature and ground rules for what constitutes “money” are generally accepted. Concepts such as “interest” are hardly questioned in the Western world though in other cultures, most notably the Arab or Moslem sphere of influence, interest is still frowned upon (unless disguised as some other form of fee) for largely similar reasons to those in sixteenth century England i.e. religious doctrine. “Usury” as a term still continues to have negative connotations almost regardless of geography, with the suggestion of unscrupulous or immoral advantage still hanging over it.

Kate Aughterson introduced Thomas Wilson’s discourse upon usury with the following

...Usury was increasingly seen as an evil necessity during the 16th century, given the expanding mercantile economy... Here Wilson voices the theological objections.²⁵²

Aughterson’s selection of this section of Wilson’s essay gave the reader a good sense of what was to come

...And therefore as Lucifer for pride fell down from heaven, so usurers for covetousness will fall down from earth to the dark dungeon of hell.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Satanic image is from Stratford Chapel: “Image in the Chapel ‘Defaced’ by John Shakespeare as Chamberlain 1562-3” (from C.M. Gaylev, *Plays of our Forefathers* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1907). p. *frontispiece*.

²⁵² Thomas Wilson, “A Discourse Upon Usury (1572),” in *The English Renaissance*, ed. Kate Aughterson, 608 (London: Routledge, 1998). p.505

What follows can be described as a rant, steeped in terms such as fornication, evil, wicked etc. Merchants are reminded that they are merely God’s stewards and are warned not to make bargains that are merely disguised loans. If there is any reasoned argument, it surrounded the notion that if merchants were allowed to make money by charging interest, they would be discouraged from risking their capital in true trading activities or “adventures at sea...so the Queen shall lose her gain and right of inheritance and the state shall be undone”. Wilson also listed a number of beneficial practices that would come to an end if usury were permitted – the ploughman would not turn up the ground, the artificer would leave work, the clothier would cease making clothes, gentlemen will “no more profess arms but sell their land” and live off the interest and the nobleman would cease to defend the widow and fatherless and lose both dignity and estimation.

Table 10 - Usury “Ship of Fools”

Originally written by the humanist Sebastian Brant (1458-1521) in 1494 and published in Basel, the *Narrenschiff* was one of the most successful published works of its age. Also known as the *Stultifera Navis* or *Ship of Fools*, the work was first published in German. This allegorical story is of a ship full of directionless individuals who include the mad, frivolous or those oblivious to their own follies.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

A more rational analysis 50 years later came from Francis Bacon who commenced his 1625 work *Of Usury* with

...Many have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is a pity the devil should have God’s part, which is the tithes. That the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Ibid. p.505

²⁵⁴ Francis Bacon, “Of Usury,” in *Essays* (London: Penguin Classics, 1985). – essay XVI

He then enumerated the other anti-usury arguments of the time. He quoted scripture - “in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread²⁵⁵ - not in the sweat of another’s face”. He complained that usurers judaize, they behave like Jews. In summary, he agreed with Wilson that usury was un-Christian and could generally be lumped together with the devil and all his works. Furthermore, it was against nature for money to beget money.

In a few lines he had summarized the medieval consensus of what, for most in the early seventeenth century, remained a pernicious practice.

However, Bacon then demolished centuries of dogma with one shining line of common sense that

...Since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted...²⁵⁶

He listed the pros and cons as he understood them

Cons

- Money held in savings (as a reserve) was not working, therefore it reduced commerce and “makes fewer merchants” - very close to the “New Labour” notion that capital tied up in (say) property needs to be freed up to supply more capital-hungry projects.²⁵⁷
- Merchants cannot “drive trade so well” if they are paying heavy interest, or to use Bacon’s term “sit at great usury.”
- The State itself can “decay” with the “ebb or flow” of commerce.
- The “treasure of a realm” can end up concentrated in a few hands while spreading wealth causes a state to flourish.
- When money is “merchandizing or purchasing” it is not being spent on land. Therefore land prices can become depressed.
- Usury can dampen economic activity by reducing the degree to which cash can “stir” hence it can “dull and damp all industries” causing “public poverty”.

²⁵⁵ Genesis 3:19 (King James Version)

²⁵⁶ Bacon, *Usury*

²⁵⁷ See: <http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1997/1997-labour-manifesto.shtml> - this sets out one vision of capital release.

Pros

- “trade is driven by young [capital deficient] merchants” who have to borrow “at interest.” Reduce usury and trade will stagnate.
- Borrowing can support business through temporary downturns and prevent rapacious “cruel moneyed” men from aggressive foreclosures i.e. “forfeitures of mortgages and bonds”.
- “It is a vanity to conceive...[of] borrowing without profit...impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences ... if borrowing be cramped”.

Bacon noted that “to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle...all states have ever had it...”.

He proposed to reform usury by having a two-tier system. What we would now call consumer lending was to be capped at 5% and heavily regulated. Commercial borrowing would have been largely unregulated with interest rates governed by demand. The state would charge a minimal licensing fee to potential lenders who would have been restricted to operating in “principal cities and towns”.

He concluded “It is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.”

Capitalists, Bankers or Usurers?

Tawney was in no doubt about the state of capitalism in the Early Modern Period²⁵⁸

...By the latter part of the 16th century, agriculture, industry and foreign trade were largely dependent on credit...

As one example he noted of foreign exchange – the swapping of one currency for another

...the truth is that the practice of the 16th century was greatly in advance of its theory - to change one currency into another was permissible enough provided that “value was given for a value” ... it was an aggravation of the offence if its motive was to realize a gain which was

²⁵⁸ R.H. Tawney and Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse Upon Usury by Thomas Wilson* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925). See also Eric Kerridge, *Trade & Banking in Early Modern England* (Manchester: MUP, 1988). for detail on the rise of Bills of Exchange (of all sorts) and the use of “paper” obligations over coin. p.98.

forbidden by the law, both of the church and of the state - [this presented a] terrifying picture of the money changers ... unalloyed by any tincture of public spirit or private charity...

It was “realizing a gain” through the manipulation of money, today the business of bankers, that constituted the “sin” here, and the habitual practice of this sin made one a usurer.

Anne and Edwin DeWindt wrote in great detail concerning the history of Ramsay, a small Fenland town, which during Shakespeare’s lifetime, closely resembled Stratford in size and range of commercial activity.²⁵⁹ With the dissolution of the monasteries, Stratford was to achieve Borough status but Ramsay did not and by the seventeenth century had fallen back to being a mere village. On the subject of money lending the DeWindts made some valuable observations

...as early as the 1290’s the taxpayers of Ramsey had taxable incomes not only from land, selling, and labour, but also from the borrowing and lending of money, crops, tools, livestock, even boats...

...the surviving Ramsey court rolls cite just under 400 debt cases between 1280 and 1465, involving more than 500 individuals as debtors and creditors - usually the Ramsey court scribe did not record the amount of the disputed debt, but in 177 cases there were cited descriptions of either goods, wages, rent, or money amounts ...in the 108 cases where a specific sum of money was mentioned, the sums ranged from three pennies to £5, with most debts falling at the lower end...

...it is clear that the town's men and women were not afraid to lend money and to seek profit from so doing...

However, the question of being in the business of lending - of being a usurer or banker - went beyond the occasional loan, though it could be difficult to identify who the real moneylenders were.

As Tawney noted

The word “banker” was coming into use in England in the first half the 16th century ... the vast majority of lenders were... in the towns, merchants, shopkeepers, tailors, drapers, haberdashers, grocers and similar tradesmen; and, except when summarily damned with the opprobrious epithet of usurer or extortioner, they were described by the craft which was still the chief characteristic...

²⁵⁹ Anne DeWindt and Edwin DeWindt, *Ramsay - The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 2006). p.103. See Glossary.

Richard Porder in a sermon²⁶⁰ of 1570 railed against both “money men” and the “merchantmen, citizens, graziers, farmers, ploughmen, artificers and even the clergy” who made loans.

Legality aside, the records show examples of how “usurers by occupation” got rich. One indignant correspondent from Norfolk wrote to the government of “three miserable usurers” of whom two were worth £100,000 each and one £40,000. Even in the little moorland town of Leek, far from centres of trade and industry, lurked a moneylender who “could accumulate what was then the considerable fortune of £1000.”²⁶¹

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 11 - The Original 1570 Text of Porder’s Sermon

Not only were there moral arguments against money lending but, in the Government’s eyes,

...even in rural districts, we see growing up in Elizabethan England a new money power, which competes with the authority of the squire and the Justice and which in the absence of express intervention by the government, is sometimes strong enough to set the law at defiance...²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Richard Porder, “A Sermon of God's Fearful Threatenings for Idolatrye - 1570” (London: Henry Denham, 1570). Note: Tawney refers to this work p.87 but does not include the full title which is: A sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for idolatrye mixing of religion, retayning of idolatrous remnaunts, and other wickednesse: with a treatise against usurie. Preached in Paules Church the. xv. daye of Maye. 1570.

²⁶¹ Historical MSS, COM., app to fourth report, MSS, of Earl de la Warre - Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, Vol. II, III vols. (London: Nicol, 1791). p.386-7.

²⁶² R.H. Tawney and Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse Upon Usury by Thomas Wilson* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925). p.89

Perhaps even more worrying to the authorities was the notion that this new power was exercising “an extensive, if secret, influence in the countrysides.”²⁶³

One place in which the moneylender could be seen in action was in the courts of law.

...In the opening years of Elizabeth's reign, one moneylender had thirty [outstanding] suits arising from usurious dealings with his neighbours. [he also kept]...a gang of bullies who intimidated witnesses, forcibly kidnapped and imprisoned an opponent with whom he had a quarrel, threatened to drive the parson out of the village, and set at defiance a Royal commission appointed to investigate the disorders.²⁶⁴

Tawney related how local juries suffered intimidation through fear of physical violence and could not be relied upon to “give a verdict, order local justices to take proceedings, for both yeomen and gentry were apt to be their clients.”²⁶⁵

Two commissioners were appointed by the Crown in 1578 to investigate breaches of the 1571 Act (13 Eliz, c.8)²⁶⁶ legislation aimed at setting limits rather than a total ban. The commissioners

...were obliged to write to Burghley begging that [certain] offenders might be pardoned, “so that we may quietly travel without molestation within the counties specified in the commission”...²⁶⁷

One Webbe, a prominent Dorsetshire moneylender, was even able to bring pressure to bear in the Privy Council to ensure the legal case against him was not transferred to London. The Government agent involved reported to his masters

...no good or direct preceding can ever be hoped for, in as much Webbe and his mother, being greatly moneyed and dealing very much in the trade of usury, have many or most of the better sort indebted to them...²⁶⁸

In this last case it is interesting to note the reference to Webbe’s mother, a widow. The DeWindts drew attention to the fact that in the England of the late 16th century widows were

²⁶³ Ibid. p.89

²⁶⁴ See also S.P.D Elizabeth, volume 155, number 65

²⁶⁵ Tawney and Wilson, *Discourse* p.90

²⁶⁶ 13 Eliz, c.8. also “...The law of 1571. It was called Against Usury but usury was actually permitted provided that it did not exceed ten per cent. But the law included a word of defiance to the New Plutocracy, for: “all usury, being forbidden by the Law of God, is sin detestable.” Henry Swabey, *Usury and the Church of England*, Online - still in draft, ed. Peter Etherden (Buckfastleigh: CESC, 2008) p.41

²⁶⁷ Tawney and Wilson, *Discourse* p.160

²⁶⁸ MSS of Marquis of Salisbury, part four page 277 – see also Tawney and Wilson, *Discourse* p.90

...counted as full citizens they appear as sureties in some village courts and often took control of village tenements or urban businesses previously directed by their husbands... widows became moneylenders, and one historian has even suggested that this was a widow's primary economic function in early modern England...²⁶⁹

It would be dangerous to conclude that all moneylenders and, by the legal definitions of the time, all usurers, were criminal kingpins sitting on bags of cash directing their bully-boys and undermining the social fabric. But equally there were individuals who were doing all these things and like most quasi-criminal activity in many ages it was a business in which fortunes were made.

As noted above, that the tiny village of Leek could be rumoured to have a usurer who had accumulated a thousand pounds, suggests that the provincial money lending business was well established by the 1590s.

Kerridge quoted George Wither²⁷⁰

To make of griping usury their trade
Among the rich, no scruple now is made
In any place. For every country village
Hath now some usury, as well as tillage²⁷¹

TAX

...the king could have no want as long as his subjects had the means to pay taxation²⁷²
E.O. Smith, 1964

...it's good to be the king.²⁷³
Mel Brookes, 1981

Background to Early Modern Taxation in England

During the medieval period taxes were raised by the monarchy almost exclusively to fund wars or other emergency situations. They were, to put it simply, extraordinary events. J.D. Allsop noted in 1984 that with the rise of mercantilism, the sixteenth century

²⁶⁹ DeWindt and DeWindt, *Ramsay* p.251.

²⁷⁰ *x ref. footnote 176* and Glossary concerning George Wither.

²⁷¹ Eric Kerridge, *Trade & Banking in Early Modern England* (Manchester: MUP, 1988). p.38

²⁷² E.O. Smith, "The Elizabethan Doctrine of the Prince as Reflected in the Sermons of the Episcopacy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (U. of California Press) 28, no. 1 (1964): 1-17.

²⁷³ Mel Brookes, *The History of the World Part 1*, Film, directed by Mel Brookes, 20th. Century Fox, 1981.

...did not merely witness a repeat of earlier debates and activities of little or no ultimate consequence. Tudor tax innovations developed within the context of late medieval doctrine and as a part of the alteration of conventional finance under the pressure of political and economic circumstances.²⁷⁴

Later in the same article Allsop continued

...Indeed, the combination of old and new was a prominent feature of this transitional phase. In a sense the greatest significance of the mid-Tudor acts lay not in the inclusion of occasional regular expenses as part of the arguments for supply or in the failure to identify certain costs as clearly extraordinary; it was the transformation of the traditional appeal to military necessity into an un-restricted association of all government with taxable defence.²⁷⁵

Table 12 - Bishop Latimer's Death

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Bishop Hugh Latimer,²⁷⁶ burnt at the stake by Queen Mary I, had earlier preached on a subject's Christian duty as being

...to satisfy all and every royal necessity. Taxation... was essential for war, peacetime defence, and the general maintenance of the state.²⁷⁷

It is the inclusion of "general maintenance of the state" that is perhaps most significant here, the notion of on-going expenses being met through taxation.

Another early Protestant theologian, Thomas Becon (1512-1567) also commented that "tribute" to monarchs was justified

...either for the provision and maintenance of their prince-like estate, or else for the safeguard of the commonweal...²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ J.D. Alsop, "Innovation in Tudor Taxation," *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 99, no. 390 (Jan. 1984): 83-93. p.84

²⁷⁵ Ibid. p.87

²⁷⁶ c.1487 – 1555

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p.90, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844), p. 282-308.

²⁷⁸ Thomas Becon, *The Works of Thomas Becon*, ed. J. Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1843). I. p.220

Again, the use of the word “maintenance” appears, indicating a profound change in thinking.

Allsop, in another paper of 1982,²⁷⁹ examined how the pretence of taxation for military purposes continued to be used long after it had ceased to have any real relevance. However, grudgingly, and only after many ebbs and flows, it did become tacitly accepted that the only solution to a burgeoning state bureaucracy and increased peacetime spending was the creation of parliamentary taxation “for the undifferentiated needs of the state.”²⁸⁰

Tax and Geese

The art of taxation consists in so plucking the goose as to get the largest possible amount of feathers with the smallest amount of hissing.²⁸¹
Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683)

If the Early Modern legal system was in Francis Bacon’s term “a labyrinth”²⁸² then the period’s tax system could be said to have been an equivalently large maze. One recent reference work, in a mastery of understatement, noted that “much ingenuity has gone into the devising of taxation systems”.²⁸³ I have assembled the following table to show the main building blocks of Early Modern taxation in England as they impact this thesis.

Table 12 - Taxation in Early Modern England

State (National) Taxation		Taxation imposed at the Local Level			Church Taxes		
Royal Taxes		Parliamentary Taxes	Poor Rates	Taxes on Office Holders	Military Taxes (Exactions)	Tithes	Other Church
Customs Duties	Prerogative Taxes Forced Loans, Benevolences, Free & Loving Contributions	Lay Subsidy “Fifteenths” “Tenths”		Sheriffs Aldermen	“Musters”		Bawdy Court Fines Recusancy Fines

²⁷⁹ J.D. Alsop, "The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation," *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 97, no. 382 (January 1982): 1-30. p.27

²⁸⁰ Allsop, *Innovation* p.93

²⁸¹ Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-83) Chief Minister to Louis XIV *attrib.*

²⁸² “from vastness of volume and a labyrinth of uncertainties unto that course of the Civil Law which is now in use.” Francis Bacon, "To The King: of a digest to be made of the Lawes of England (1629)." in *Certain Miscellany Works* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1855).

²⁸³ David Hey, John, Hoyle, R. W. Halstead and Brian Short, *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*, ed. David Hay (Oxford: OUP, 2009).

Royal Taxes – Paid Direct to the Crown

Customs Duties The right to charge customs duties on imports and exports was granted by Parliament to each monarch for his or her life.

Prerogative Taxes are various categories of forced lending to the Crown. Under Henry VIII, forced loans appeared in the early 1520's, thereafter 1542 and 1544 saw additional loans later converted into “grants”. In 1545, a “benevolence” and a “free and loving contribution” (both highly euphemistic terms) were demanded. Both Mary I and Elizabeth I required forced loans (in 1557, 1563, 1569/70, 1585/9, 1590/1, and 1597). The Queens repaid most of these and the last forced loan demanded was in 1626 by the newly crowned Charles I.

Parliamentary Taxes – Levied by Parliament

The Lay Subsidy began as a tax for a specific purpose, for example

...to subsidize a foreign war, which was distinguished from taxes levied on the clergy. The lay subsidy rolls of 1290 - 1334 are a major medieval source. The tax was commonly known as the Tenth and Fifteenth because it was levied on one-tenth of movable property in a town and one-fifteenth of similar property in the countryside. The collectors arranged the returns by hundred or wapentake²⁸⁴ and then by vill²⁸⁵ or borough... amount of evasion [is] unknown. The lay subsidy was revived by Henry VIII. ...occasional assessments were made until 1623.²⁸⁶

The Lay Subsidy was levied on those with a minimum amount of goods or land (the penniless poor being exempt) and calculated against all their property, regardless of location and made payable at their normal place of residence. To maximize the return to the Crown it could be imposed against lands or goods according to whichever brought the highest tax charge.

The “fifteenths and tenths” referenced above were effectively a fixed yield tax, levied by quotas on communities, apportioned and assessed by those communities on their

²⁸⁴ A subdivision of certain English shires - OED

²⁸⁵ A territorial unit or division under the feudal system, consisting of a number of houses or buildings with their adjacent lands, more or less contiguous and having a common organization - OED

²⁸⁶ "lay subsidy" *The Oxford Dictionary of Local and Family History*. David Hey. Oxford University Press, 1997.

constituent members.²⁸⁷ Being a historical anachronism by the middle of the sixteenth century it no longer reflected the rapidly changing picture of where national wealth, and hence the capacity to be taxed, actually lay. London at the start of the sixteenth century, benefitting from this archaic system, was only paying 2% of the nation's tax bill. The Lay Subsidy reintroduced in 1510 was the first attempt at modernization. By its operation tax payers

... were to be assessed individually on oath before local officials under the supervision of nationally appointed commissioners who were authorized to examine and revise assessments. Each tax-payer was to be assessed on both the value of his annual income (lands and fees) and on the capital value of his moveable goods...²⁸⁸

But, as already referenced, tax was payable on the category which produced the highest tax charge.

Taxes Imposed at the Local Level

Poor Rates

Nowadays simply referred to as the "Rates" these originated with

... Various Acts in the 16th century provided for a poor rate for the relief of the sick and destitute, but in England "the rates" date back formally to the Poor Relief Act of 1601, which made the parish the administrative unit for rating.²⁸⁹

The taxes were levied on householders "the occupiers of land and buildings" and it was rare for anyone, ever, to avoid paying these. John Shakespeare was, as will be shown, such a rare example.²⁹⁰

Taxes on Office Holders

In Early Modern England status came with a corresponding cost. Officeholders were expected and required to contribute to the needs (usual or extraordinary) of their locale in proportion to their net worth. This thesis will detail the lengths some individuals were prepared to go to in order to avoid this form of taxation, but at this point it is sufficient

²⁸⁷ Ian W. Archer, "The Burden of Taxation on Sixteenth-Century London," *The Historical Journal* (CUP) 44, no. 3 (Sep. 2001): 599-627. p.605

²⁸⁸ Ibid. p.605

²⁸⁹ "rates" *A Dictionary of British History*. Ed. John Cannon. Oxford University Press, 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

²⁹⁰ x ref.153

to note that the costs of office could be enormous.²⁹¹ Being appointed Sheriff of the City of London is a perfect example and we will see the lengths one individual went to in avoiding the “honour”.²⁹² In 1990, R.M. Wunderli set out the history of tax dodging in London through the refusal of public office. His general conclusion was that in times of relative peace and prosperity offices broadly could be expected to bring the recipient reasonable income relative to the charges placed upon the “honour”. But in times of war, civil unrest or public health issues, then the costs were heightened and for many individuals office dodging became an attractive alternative.²⁹³ Declining a position usually resulted in fines payable on non-attendance, or court proceedings were initiated. Yet again, John Shakespeare was the rare case of an individual who absented himself - in his case from the Borough Council - and had these charges waived. Shakespeare’s son in law, John Hall, was less fortunate for as Joan Lane noted, “he was fined £10 rather than be knighted by Charles I in 1626.”²⁹⁴

Musters

A 1523 statute required commissioners to return nominal listings of all those taxed to the Exchequer. This followed a joint muster and fiscal assessment of the previous year. This was an initiative to calculate national wealth, military capability and to determine who actually controlled the military. One practical application of this was the allocation of the subsequent forced loans.

This exercise tied into the regular “Musters” when all able-bodied men aged 16 to 60, who were automatically liable for military service had to present themselves equipped with their own weapons and armour according to their income and social position.²⁹⁵ The lists of names created at these were known as muster rolls. In March 1570 Musters “of men, horses, armour and weapons” took place in Stratford. These mandatory assemblies were often used as a technique to signal public authority to the citizenry in times of potential political unrest. The costs of these exercises, plus the replacement of any war materials, were distributed according to perceived wealth. The higher position

²⁹¹ *x ref.209*

²⁹² *x ref.221*

²⁹³ R.M. Wunderli, “Evasion of the Office of Alderman in London, 1523-1672,” *The London Journal* (Maney Publishing) 15 (May 1990): 3-18.

²⁹⁴ Joan Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, 1st. Edition (Stratford: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 1996). p.XXV

²⁹⁵ A large number of the surviving Muster rolls are kept at the Public Record Office, mostly in the State Papers Domestic. See the Public Record Office Records Information leaflet no. 46, ‘Militia Muster Rolls, 1522–1640’

on the “list” of the “well-to-do” then the greater one’s potential liability. It was, in effect, a wealth tax to pay for the militia. John Shakespeare’s name appeared near the top of “Gentlemen and Freeholders” in Stratford drawn up at the time of the 1570 Musters i.e. he was identified as someone who would be required to contribute in relation to this position.

Church Taxes

Tithes

“In England [tithing] was legally enforced by King Athelstan's Ordinance c.930. Tithes were at one time subject to canonical division between the bishop, the clergy, the fabric of the church, and the relief of the poor, but eventually their disposal was left to the clergy who received them. At first the owner of the land could pay the tithe to what clergy he liked, but as the parochial system developed the tithes of each parish were allotted to its own ‘parson’.”²⁹⁶

Tithes appeared in the Old Testament - Leviticus 27:30-32

...and concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, euen of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shalbe holy unto the Lord.”²⁹⁷

The New Testament is lighter on the subject of giving. Matthew 23:23 put tithes after “weightier matters of the Law, judgement, mercy and faith”.²⁹⁸

Tithes did not disappear with the Reformation and the tithe-rights that belonged to certain religious institutions were confiscated by the Crown and given or sold to various owners known as lay impropiators. About a third of all tithes became owned by these lay people²⁹⁹ and significantly for the Shakespeares, a part of one block of the tithes around Stratford was purchased by William Shakespeare.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ "tithes" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. E. A. Livingstone. Oxford University Press, 2006.

²⁹⁷ King James Version (1611)

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ *The Oxford Dictionary of Local and Family History*. David Hey. Oxford University Press, 1997.

³⁰⁰ The largest single known cash investment made by the Shakespeare family “In 1605, Shakespeare paid £440 for a half-interest in the lease of certain tithes in the Stratford-upon-Avon area” see "tithes" Stanley Wells, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare* (Oxford: OUP, 1998). See also *x ref.266*.

Consistory (Bawdy Court) Court Fines

Though the local Church Courts levied fines for moral lapses, these were generally of a minor nature and tied to specific penances or the cash applied to poor relief. Various members of the Shakespeare family were censured and/or fined by the Stratford Court.

Recusancy Fines

If Bawdy Court Fines were trivial, then Recusancy fines were the exact opposite. What began as an attempt to coerce Catholics into the Government preferred version of Protestantism, soon became an instrument of state taxation – albeit in a religious guise. In 1603 when James I fleetingly relented on fining non-church-attending individuals, the related annual fines (taxes) fell alarmingly by £7000 to £1400. But with the advent of Whitgift as Bishop of Worcester in 1577 a new drive for money was aimed also at non-conforming Protestants in an effort to mine a new vein of tax income. Clearly his “religious” zeal was well received for in 1583 he became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Table 13 - Exchequer Receipts from Recusants³⁰¹

Year	Receipts In £
1586	1518
1587	5745
1592	6500
1600	8478
1603	1414
1607	6873
1608	9787
1614	7627
1615	6529

In 1938 Brian Magee computed total Exchequer receipts from recusants as shown above.³⁰² Though his work must be seen as potentially biased towards a Catholic viewpoint - the publisher is self-described as “printer to the Holy See” - the figures themselves do appear to be accurate. John Shakespeare was fined for recusancy and indeed appeared on a list of recusants.

³⁰¹ The figure for 1592 is an estimate, the actual figure is lost.

³⁰² Brian Magee, *The English Recusants* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1938). p.73

Tax in London

The effect in London of these changes in taxation is very apparent in the following table³⁰³

Table 14 - London's Taxes

Decade	Parliamentary Fifteenths	Parliamentary Subsidies	Military Exactions	Loans & Benevolences not Repaid	Total
1510-19	2,448	10,218	945		13,611
1520-9	16,907	280	30,000		47,187
1530-9	612	6,390	710		7,712
1540-9	3,672	105,643	7,206	53,000	169,521
1550-9	2,448	77,883	7,480	21,332	109,143
1560-9	2,448	33,417	7,815		43,680
1570-9	2,448	27,821	7,402		37,671
1580-9	4,284	38,607	44,285		87,176
1590-9	7,956	57,383	44,068	20,100	129,507
Total	43,223	357,642	149,911	94,432	645,208

These figures exclude sums “incapable” of being levied (i.e. theoretically due but practically impossible to collect) though sheriffs were still required to pursue these payments. There are indications that as little as 2% of these were actually recovered.³⁰⁴ By the 1590’s attempts to obtain the “incapable” had “to all intents and purposes been abandoned.”

Another issue was the exclusion of sums due from claimants in London producing certificates that they were already paying somewhere else, usually based on property owned elsewhere. As the century progressed, “certificates” unsurprisingly grew in popularity. Archer estimated that by 1559 the absence of certificates would have increased the city’s taxes by about 6% rising to 14% by 1596. County assessments were perennially lower than London ones with only the wealth immediately visible to the local assessors being taken into account. Archer was of the opinion that “the figures represent [only] what the crown was able to extract of London-based wealth.”

Depressing one’s assessment became common practice in London with the wealthiest benefitting most from reduced assessments. The lowest level of taxable net worth

³⁰³ Archer, *Burden* I have prepared this table from statistics that appear across p.603-605.

³⁰⁴ R. Schofield, *Parliamentary lay taxation, 1485-1547* (Unpublished). Quoted in Archer, *Burden*

started with individuals who owned £3 worth of goods. By the turn of the century according to Archer the Privy Council had reluctantly been forced to conclude

...assessments should not be according to men's "just and true" valuations but according to some mediocrity in their callings.³⁰⁵

Therefore, immediately before and after 1600 in London, anyone seeking to reduce their apparent tax liability would have a "calling" that appeared humble in the extreme and/or have multiple sources of income but declare only the lowest of these. He would seek not to be a property owner or even a householder (another taxation point). He would live as a lodger in the city but have a country property where a friendly tax assessment and certificate might be obtained if, *in extremis*, one were ever needed i.e. if the collectors ever caught up with him. Other features that would help to confuse the authorities would be moving between addresses and criss-crossing from city to suburbs. Final touches would be, in the case of a married man, not to have family members living with him, have no personal servants and only have a limited number of possessions i.e. to look as poor as possible.

In short, he would behave in a manner exactly like William Shakespeare, a man assessed at goods "to the [humble] value of £5", a man who consciously met all of the above tax avoidance criteria. A man who was just a "poor player."³⁰⁶

ANALYZING THE TAKINGS

Figures are plentiful, but they prove tantalisingly evasive. When we have receipts for individual sections of a theatre, we lack the receipts for the whole; or when we have the receipts for the whole, we lack the receipts for individual sections. When we know what a housekeeper's share was worth, or an actor's share, we are in doubt about the total number of shares, or deductions for expenses, or prices of admission. The surviving figures simply fail to cooperate. . . .
Alfred Harbage, 1941³⁰⁷

Harbage (above) was summarizing how incomplete the financial records are of the Early Modern Theatre in London. Yet, to intelligently comment on the earnings of William Shakespeare, it is necessary to quantify theatrical earnings in general before

³⁰⁵ Archer, *Burden* p.612

³⁰⁶ *Macbeth* V, v

³⁰⁷ Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience*, 2nd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). p.21

examining the potential personal earnings of the man who was playwright, actor, sharer, and housekeeper.

Just as figures are plentiful, so attempts to piece together a coherent picture of the net profitability of the theatres have been many, contradictory and often tainted with a phenomenon Gabriel Egan called “scholarly wish fulfilment.”³⁰⁸ Each of these efforts has understandably been made from the single point of view, and more importantly the academic or professional training, of the person analysing the puzzle. Writers, principally trained in literary analysis, have produced summaries that often include a blend of past stories rather than numerical evaluations. But economists seek to place the activity within the overall financial scene and therefore concentrate more on macro-economic issues rather than the day-to-day cash flows as the following table, prepared by two American economists, shows³⁰⁹

Table 15 - 1600 vs. 1960 An Economists Comparison

Comparison of Theatrical Costs 1600 vs. 1960³¹⁰	Estimated % of Total Budget C1600	% of Itemized Costs Broadway Theatre, 1960-1
Theatrical Rental	25	28
Playwright’s Fees	7.5	8
Artists & Managerial Costs	30-50	34

In 2005 Andrew Gurr took a significant step, and a courageous one, for an established literary scholar, by acknowledging that a detailed financial understanding of “Shakespeare’s” Company could only be had if modern accounting methods were used to summarise its financial standing. In his chapter “Will money buy ’em?”³¹¹ [sic] he produced, with assistance, a series of tables that represent truncated financial summaries for the various guises of the Chamberlain’s/King’s Men across their existence. However, one suspects that he hindered his own efforts by starting with “this offer of the facts and figures has to be based largely on guesswork.”³¹²

³⁰⁸ Gabriel Egan, “Reconstructions of the Globe: a Retrospective,” *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge), no. 52 (1999): 1-16. p.8 - though Egan is not referring to this particular problem, I would suggest his term is applicable to this situation.

³⁰⁹ Mary Oates and William Baumol, “On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London,” *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976).

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.159

³¹¹ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). p.85

³¹² *Ibid.* p.85

A tourist from Utrecht, Johannes de Witt, in 1596 describing the Swan theatre used the words: “*tres mille homines in sedilibus admittat.*”³¹³ i.e. “...it accommodates in its seats three thousand persons.”

A more systematic calculation of theatre capacity came from Harbage in 1941. He took the measurements of the Fortune Theatre - the only theatre of the period for which exact dimensions are documented³¹⁴ - and proceeded to calculate its audience capacity.³¹⁵ Harbage put the Fortune at 1,842 ft.² of standing space in the yard and 5,725 ft.² of useable seating space in the galleries. At 2.25ft.² per standee and 3.75ft.² per person seated this would permit 818 standing in the yard and 1,526 seated. Forty years later A. J. Cook revisited these calculations and noted

I follow here Harbage's allotment of 2.25 ft.² of space to each groundling. I question, however his figure of 7,156.65 ft.² of gallery space holding 1,526 people. Not only does his footage fail to conform to the dimensions of the Fortune ... But he assumes a wholly seated audience in the Galleries despite the wealth of evidence to people standing there too... His estimate of 2,344 person capacity for Fortune diverges considerably from the 3000 figure reported by contemporaries³¹⁶

The apparent discrepancy between the 5,725ft.² figure of Harbage and Cook's 7,156ft.² was explained by Harbage having deducted 20% for stairs, passageways etc..

In summary, while Cook thought Harbage's calculations understated the maximum capacity, there was agreement that the galleries were much more important financially than the yard. In Cook's words

Harbage still comes out with a preponderance of gallery places over pit places by a margin of two to one... this is a staggeringly favourable [sic] allotment of space to gallery places over yard places.³¹⁷

Having some sense of theatre capacity, the next logical question concerns the financial mix of the patrons. Another tourist, this time Thomas Platter of Basle, in 1599 wrote

...there are different galleries and places, however, where the seating is better and more comfortable and are therefore more expensive. For whoever cares to stand below only pays one English penny, but if he

³¹³ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II p.361 for the full Latin text – the original of this document is lost but a copy was made by Arend Buchell of Utrecht.

³¹⁴ The building contract is dated January 8, 1600. As Chambers notes – “...the Hope itself was modelled structurally on the Swan”. Chambers *Elizabethan Stage* p.414

³¹⁵ Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience* p.22-3

³¹⁶ Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). p.187 – in her footnote No. 52.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.187

wishes to sit he enters by another door and pays another penny, while if he desires to sit in the most comfortable seats which are cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays another English penny at another door...³¹⁸

This price scale only applied to the public theatres. As Harbage noted

...a greatly advanced and evidently more variable scale came in with the “private” theatres after 1599, and these in turn modified the price system elsewhere, certainly at the later Globe...³¹⁹

Cook made similar observations

...with the reopening of private houses [private theatres] after 1599, prices seem to have begun at sixpence and ranged upward. Prince Otto of Hesse - Cassel claimed that “it cost half a shilling to enter, but for other places at least half a crown ...a shilling was a common charge, but some paid up to eighteen pence, two shillings or even more...

[with]...the reappearance of the boys troupes [after 1599], charging higher prices... the public playhouses seem to have begun charging higher prices too. Though there were still plenty of references to the two penny places right up to the end of the period³²⁰

In calculating gross returns for the public theatres, the key question is what is the ratio of the cheapest “one penny” yard patrons to the more expensive, and exclusive, seating areas? The most complete financial records of daily theatre earnings come from Henslowe’s notebook, as it provides the daily receipts from the Rose from February 19, 1592 to November 5, 1597 – apart from closings due to Lent and other prohibitions on performance. In the notebook plays marked with “NE” represent new plays that attracted better audiences. Cook commented on the

...sheer number of new plays given each year... Henslowe averaged one a fortnight at the Rose...³²¹

Harbage noted that the maximum and minimum earnings recorded in the notebook were as follows

³¹⁸ Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England*, 1599.

³¹⁹ Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience* p.24

³²⁰ Cook, *Privileged Playgoers* p.183

³²¹ *Ibid.* p.193

Table 16 - Gallery Receipts

Gross Gallery Receipts	Low Record	High Record
Old Plays	72d.	1,728d.
New Plays	720d.	1,840d.

However, writing as he was in 1941, Harbage then unfortunately spent, as he put it, “many hours on the electric calculating machine” for at this point in his computations he lost all sight of a coherent business model of the theatres. He took the approach of taking small samples of the highest figures from Henslowe’s notebook and coupled these to a very literal interpretation of de Witt’s sketch and notes. He then grossed these up arithmetically and proceeded to drive the financial picture of the theatres to suit his computations. Harbage has not been alone in this approach – Forse did much the same and also arrived at hugely inflated earnings for both players and owners.³²²

Thomson in 1992, looked at takings on a more average or “typical” basis, as opposed to looking to extremes. He considered the audience and its paying power before piecing numbers together

...an Elizabethan artisan could have afforded the penny admission...the merchant would have certainly preferred to sit unless the type has changed, he would have believed that his enterprise and effort had earned him the reward of comfort, and paid his extra penny as of right³²³

Though not dismissing the notion of a three tier pricing system (as proposed by Harbage) he commented “a likelier area [for expensive seating] is the gallery over the stage.”³²⁴

Cook also commented on exclusive seating

...six penny rooms were noted by both Beaumont and Middleton... besides the standings in the pit band of the seats or standings in the Galleries, there were also "the priuate roomes of greater prise" (in particular the Lords room)³²⁵

³²² James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993). p.58 – Forse appears to base everything on a comment about one actor’s personal share on one night.

³²³ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.25

³²⁴ Ibid. p.26 - This in contradiction to Harbage’s notion of an orchestra-like area on the first tier.

³²⁵ Cook, *Privileged Playgoers* p.182/3 – the quotation comes from John Davies, Epigram Three, *Epigrams and Elegies* (London, circa 1590)

Based on a random sampling of each day's takings recorded by Henslowe in January 1596 Thomson observed that

...the typical income is over 20 but less than 30 shillings...³²⁶

He continued

...we need to distinguish between what is average and what is characteristic. There is a high probability that an audience of 600 or less was a more regular occurrence than an audience in excess of 1000. But the love of novelty together with an unembarrassed quest for entertainment boosted the numbers attending any performance that had a special promise.³²⁷

Thomson considered that Harbage's estimations of a growing level of theatrical attendance "give[s] a misleadingly comfortable view" when contrasted against Henslowe's figures from 1598 which he found to be "equivocal, if not downright depressing" and he concluded that "contrary to a growing level of attendance there was no increase in the theatrical public since 1595." Thomson's observations certainly make sense when compared to the general level of the economy and therefore disposable income for the bulk of the population. Using Henslowe's 20 to 30 shillings per day from the two penny gallery - Thomson took an average of 25 - and doubling this to reflect the total gallery takings produced a gallery audience of around 300. If the groundlings are only the same in number this gives a daily total of 50 shillings - "less than half the number that Harbage puts forward at the Rose in 1595."³²⁸

The weight of opinion seems to fall on the side of the yard being the much smaller component of income - Gurr alone seems to view revenues from each section being almost equal.

³²⁶ Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre* p.29

³²⁷ Ibid. p.30

³²⁸ Ibid. p.30

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S THEATRICAL EARNINGS³²⁹

Thomson estimated William Shakespeare's theatrical earnings between 1599 and 1608 at £55³³⁰ - without his income as a playwright - a figure close to my own calculations of just under £52 for a year with few or no interruptions or closures.

Table 17 - Hypothetical Financial Statement - Globe Theatre c.1600

1		Fallow	Gurr	Aaron
2	Year	2010	2005	2004
3				
4	Income			
5	Galleries Sharers	360.0	375.0	400.0
6	Galleries Housekeepers	360.0	375.0	400.0
7	Yard	360.0	770.0	400.0
8	Royal Performances	60.0	50.0	60.0
9	Touring	60.0	30.0	
10	Other Performances	30.0	80.0	
11	Other Income	30.0	50.0	15.0
12		1,260.0	1,730.0	1,275.0
14	Expenses			
15	Plays	250.0	250.0	120.0
16	Costumes	250.0	250.0	160.0
17	Wages	200.0	300.0	144.0
18	Poor Relief	10.0	10.0	
19	Sub Total Production Expenses	710.0	810.0	424.0
20				
21	Building Maintenance	50.0		100.0
22	Ground Rent	14.5		14.5
23	Interest			
24	Licenses	50.0	50.0	33.0
25	Sub Total Theatre Expenses	114.5	50.0	147.5
26				
28	TOTAL EXPENSES	824.5	860.0	571.5
29				
31	NET INCOME	435.5	870.0	703.5
32				
34	Housekeepers Earnings Net p.a.	275.5	375.0	267.5
35	Sharers Net Earnings p.a.	190.0	545.0	376.0
36				
37	Est. Earnings per sharer	21.1	60.6	41.8
38	Est. Earnings per housekeeper	30.7	40.6	31.6
39				
40	Assumptions			
41	Playing Days	200	220	240

³²⁹The above table is an attempt to present the data on a comparable basis. Neither Gurr nor Aaron presents their data in this form nor are they working to precisely the same time periods and parameters. Accordingly, numbers have been averaged and interpolated where required. For a detailed commentary on these figures see *x ref.396*. The numbers in the first column of the above table are used only for ease of reference in the financial notes. The column "Gurr" refers to data from A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). "Aaron" from Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

³³⁰ Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre* p.34

Thomson also noted that the later addition of the Blackfriars, which Shakespeare bought into in 1608, being more profitable than the Globe, would have probably raised his theatrical earnings to over £200.³³¹ The above three analyses of the Chamberlain's/ King's Men's earnings at the Globe in a typical year between 1599 to 1603 indicate a range of earnings for someone who was both sharer and housekeeper of between £52 to £100. With an annual writing rate of two plays per year at a fee of £6, plus the gallery receipts for the second night of performance, this could be expected to add a further £20. Using my own estimate of £52 (sharer plus housekeeper earnings) this would produce a healthy annual income of about £72.

This £72 figure is before any interest or forgone investment costs were paid on the capital used or borrowed to finance Shakespeare's becoming a Housekeeper at the Globe – initially £100 before rising to £118. Even at 10% interest,³³² this would present a reduction of £12 a year in earnings without any amortization of the principal. This brings Shakespeare's earnings back down to around £60 p.a. – a good wage when contrasted to the £12-17 a year of an artisan or the £10-30 of a schoolmaster – yet still far short of the £600 an established barrister might expect or £1000 for a junior judge. The Queen's annual revenue was less than £250,000.³³³

Nor were lower incomes restricted to the uneducated, as A. J. Cook noted

...Masters at the Merchant Taylors School received but £10 per year, and lesser courtiers or retainers of noblemen fared little better...³³⁴

As demonstrated in earlier sections, other substantial earnings from patronage or publishing were most unlikely.

Against this, Shakespeare had the costs of maintaining himself in London and his family in Stratford, plus the costs of costumes if, as a sharer and housekeeper, he was also performing on stage.³³⁵ After attaining gentlemanly rank in 1599, he would also have been required to dress according to his new social status.

³³¹ As referenced elsewhere in this thesis, there is evidence that the Blackfriars theatre though it may have opened in 1608, was not in positive cash flow till 1609 or 1610.

³³² The legal maximum and often much less than many people paid. See *x ref:72*

³³³ Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, p.28

³³⁴ Cook, *Privileged Playgoers* p.182

³³⁵ Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre* p.31 - Thomson, noted that senior members of the Company (the sharers) were generally expected to supply their own costumes.

A net £60 per annum would have supported a comfortable, but not extravagant, lifestyle but it would not, by any stretch of the imagination, have paid for the stream of investments he made between 1597 and 1613.

Table 18 - Major Shakespeare Investments 1597 - 1610

Year	£	Investment
1597	50	Sharer
1599	60	New Place
	40	Title
1602	60	Housekeeper
1605	320	Land
1605	440	Tithes
1610	300	Land
1613	140	Gatehouse
	60	Globe Rebuild
	1470	

Yet these only represent what might be called the more legally documented purchases – company shares, interests in contractual receivables (tithes) and freehold property.

There are records of other minor, assumed or implied purchases such as the improvements to New Place, additional costs (£30) of clearing the title of the house with Hercules Underhill, applications for Gentlemanly Status (at the very least £40), legal fees in connection with all the above purchases and both personal and familial litigation. Collectively these costs can be conservatively estimated at £200 and could easily have been very much more.

Portfolio Analysis, Income and Expenditure

The largest emoluments that could have been derived from his [William Shakespeare's] professional avocations [the theatre] would hardly have sufficed to accomplish such a result [the purchase of New Place in 1596], and the necessity of forwarding continual remittances to Stratford-on-Avon must not be overlooked.
Halliwell-Phillipps, 1889³³⁶

Shakespeare's investments listed above share the investment qualities of low risk and capital preservation. Titles, houses, agricultural land, are all relatively immutable; though they may vary in value with supply and demand there is nothing speculative about them.

Even the tithes are conservative if the transaction was properly documented, the portfolio granular³³⁷ and all the legal niceties duly observed. The greatest risk in receivable purchases (i.e. the tithes) lay in the quality of the underlying promises to pay that Shakespeare as a Stratford man, can be reasonably expected to have understood. Where the risk in this particular investment may have been greater than he initially thought was in the satisfaction of the annual senior payments in the investment structure - i.e. those paid before his own portion. There are records of discrepancies here, though they were not fatal to the investment's performance.

Overall, these are the investments of an individual who, having accumulated a "nest egg", sought a stable portfolio that would retain value over time, while producing a steady income. In short, it is a pension plan based on capital preservation. It is not speculative and it was as diversified as could have been achieved at that time. This was not the risk-taking portfolio of a person seeking to double his or her money: investments like that existed in plenty, with the merchant trading companies for example or in financing piracy.

³³⁶ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). p.147

³³⁷ i.e. the receivable pool was made up of many small obligations where the failure to perform by any one payee would, in the case of default, not have a material effect on the overall performance of the portfolio

Of course this may have been just one portfolio – there may have been other riskier investments, with this one being kept as an anchor against the failure of other ventures.

Income

This thesis turns on the proposition that it is not merely important to establish how much money William Shakespeare made and spent from his theatrical endeavours but *when* the money was made and spent. The following table sets out theatre related revenues from 1593 to 1616. The figures in bold have been highlighted as they represent pre-plague revenue with the “Net Closures Income” showing the disastrous effects on earnings caused by disease.

Table 19 - William Shakespeare's Income

	Actor	Playwriting	Sharer	House keeper	Tithe Income	Net Closures Income	Total Income
1593	25	20					45.0
1594		30	27				57.0
1595		20	27				47.0
1596		20	27				47.0
1597		20	27				47.0
1598		20	27				47.0
1599		30	27	25			82.0
1600		20	27	25			72.0
1601		10	27	25			62.0
1602		10	27	25			62.0
1603			27	25		10.8	10.8
1604		20	27	25		19.5	39.5
1605		20	27	25	25	32.5	77.5
1606		20	27	25	60	21.7	101.7
1607		20	27	25	60	2.2	82.2
1608		5	27	25	60	15.2	80.2
1609		10	100	100	60	0.0	70.0
1610		10	100	100	60		270.0
1611		10	100	100	60		270.0
1612		10	100	100	60		270.0
1613			100	100	60		260.0
1614			100	100	60		260.0
1615			100	100	60		260.0
1616			50	50	30		130.0
	25	325	893.0	750.0	655	101.8	2749.8

Note: Figures in bold italics represent gross income had the theatres been open for the full playing year – which they were not. Net Closures Income represents what would have been received after taking the closures into account.

It is clear from these figures that Shakespeare had created a position of comfortable financial success. But it was only with the opening of the Blackfriars, with its much higher seat prices and different customer base, that it could be said that the theatre could have made him rich. Indeed the ‘rich’ part was delayed by the plague of 1609, which shut the theatres for the entire year.

Against this income, we have his estimated spending.

Table 20 - William Shakespeare's Expenditures³³⁸

Line	Year	London Expense No Inflation	Stratford Expense No Inflation	Total Expense with 3% Inflation compounding	Stratford Investments	London Investments	Total Expenditure No Inflation	Total Expenditure With 3% Inflation
1	1593	15	20	35		50	85	85
2	1594	15	20	36			35	36
3	1595	15	20	37			35	37
4	1596	15	20	38			35	38
5	1597	15	40	57	60		115	117
6	1598	15	40	57			55	57
7	1599	25	40	67		100	165	167
8	1600	25	40	69			65	69
9	1601	25	40	71			65	71
10	1602	25	40	73	320		385	393
11	1603	25	40	75			65	75
12	1604	25	40	78			65	78
13	1605	25	40	80	440		505	520
14	1606	25	40	82			65	82
15	1607	25	40	85			65	85
16	1608	25	40	87			65	87
17	1609	25	40	90			65	90
18	1610	25	40	93	300		365	393
19	1611	25	40	95			65	95
20	1612	25	40	98			65	98
21	1613	25	40	101		140	205	241
22	1614	25	40	104			65	104
23	1615	25	40	107			65	107
24	1616	25	40	111			65	111
25		540	880	1826	1120	290	2830	3236

³³⁸ A full scale financial model (outside the scope of this thesis) where every variable is capable of alteration would be required to refine these figures. 3% inflation is an extremely modest assumption given the general state of the economy through this period, yet even this low figure has a material effect - such is the power of compounding. With static prices for entry at the Globe through the earlier part of the first decade of the seventeenth century, if one assumes Shakespeare did not have other non-theatrical related income, then his family would have suffered a severe contraction in living standards - which we know not to be the case. Notes regarding the assumptions used in this table are included in the appendices *x ref.396*

Though investments were made over time it is the concentration of these in the early part of the first decade of the century that is most significant.³³⁹ In 1889 Halliwell-Phillipps had commented that even buying New Place would have stretched belief that his theatrical earnings could have met the cost. Indeed they would “hardly have sufficed to accomplish such a result” – and this from the expert in New Place.³⁴⁰ If New Place alone presents such a financial anomaly, how then could he afford all the other purchases made in the first years of James I’s reign?

Table 21 - Shakespeare's Cash Shortfall

	Net Expenditure	in v out
1593	85.0	-40.0
1594	36.0	21.0
1595	37.0	10.0
1596	38.0	9.0
1597	117.0	-70.0
1598	57.0	-10.0
1599	167.0	-85.0
1600	69.0	3.0
1601	71.0	-9.0
1602	393.0	-331.0
1603	75.0	-64.2
1604	78.0	-38.5
1605	520.0	-442.5
1606	82.0	19.7
1607	85.0	-2.8
1608	87.0	-6.8
1609	90.0	-20.0
1610	393.0	-123.0
1611	95.0	175.0
1612	98.0	172.0
1613	241.0	-41.0
1614	104.0	156.0
1615	107.0	153.0
1616	111.0	19.0
		-546.1

³³⁹ Despite earlier comments concerning inflation and TVM I have kept this table deliberately straightforward - expenses would not have remained static for example – inflation alone would have altered these.

³⁴⁰ James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853). – written before he adopted the double barrelled “Halliwell-Phillipps”.

Three possibilities present themselves as possible solutions to this cash deficiency.

- A patron gave him the money.
- He borrowed the cash and repaid it in later years.
- There are other sources of income - familial or personal - that remain to be determined.

The Patron

The first of these - a gift from a third party - remains highly improbable, as has been discussed earlier under the general heading of patronage. The spread of the investments over the best part of two decades makes any single lump sum unlikely. If we accept the Rowe “£1000”, then the portfolio would probably have reflected the single gift and the investments would have clustered around one date.

Another alternative is that he used the excess cash to make loans either personally or through a third party, until a suitable long-term investment came along. However, there is no apparent benefit in this strategy unless there was an appetite for high risk and potential for high reward. But that “high risk” element runs contrary to the personality behind the extremely conservative structure of the final portfolio. Without new documentary evidence, the gift from a patron notion can never be entirely dismissed though there is no evidence that this ever existed (beyond gossip for Shakespeare or any other playwright).

Borrowing

Borrowing the cash is possible, but most unlikely. Throughout this period liquidity (the availability of cash) was intermittent at best, and the compounding effect of interest would have made it prohibitively expensive, especially as the final investments would have probably yielded a lower return than the high cost of borrowing. There is also evidence that Shakespeare was seen as a likely source of cash rather than the reverse. This comes in Richard Quiney’s draft letter to Shakespeare of 25 October 1598.³⁴¹ The date is key as it precedes his being even a housekeeper at the Globe - though he was by this date both a gentleman and owner of New Place. Quiney, on what was (at least in

³⁴¹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.180 & E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II p.102

part)³⁴² official town business was most unlikely to have even considered approaching Shakespeare for the not inconsiderable sum of £30 if he had doubted that Shakespeare could have lent him the money or arranged a loan. Chambers remained open minded on the significance and precise meaning of this letter though he did agree that there was “an expectation of money to come from Shakespeare.”³⁴³

It is both interesting and significant that the only surviving piece of correspondence addressed personally to Shakespeare, evidenced him as being cash rich, even before the Globe existed.³⁴⁴ The text in modern English

Loving Countryman, I am bold of you as of a friend, craving your help with £30 upon Mr Bushells & my security or Mr Myttons with me. Mr Rosswell is not come to London as yet and I have special cause. You shall [be]friend me much in helping me out of all the debts I owe in London, I thank God, and much quiet my mind, which would not be indebted. I am now towards the Court in hope of answer for the dispatch of my business. You shall neither lose credit nor money by me, the Lord willing, and now but persuade yourself so as I hope and you shall not need to fear but with all hearty thankfulness. I will hold my time and content your friend, and if we bargain further you shall be the paymaster yourself. My time bids me hasten to an end and so I commit this to your care and hope of your help. I fear I shall not be back this night from the Court. The Lord be with you and with us all Amen. from the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 October 1598.³⁴⁵

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 22 - The Quiney Letter

An earlier letter to Quiney from Abraham Sturley dated 24 January 1598 related

³⁴² Chambers, *William II* p.105 Chambers notes that Stratford was “decaying” from the “long dearth of corn” and the “disastrous fires of 1594 and 1595” “Richard was charged to negotiate with the Privy Council...Richard did in fact succeed in securing relief”

³⁴³ Ibid. p.106

³⁴⁴ Ibid. p.101

³⁴⁵ Chambers, *William II* p.102 – This is my own transliteration (apart from the names) see Chambers for text and good quality photograph of the original.

...our countryman, Mister Shakespeare is willing to disburse some money upon some ...yardland³⁴⁶...or other at Shottery or near about us...to deal in the matter of our tithes...we think it a fair mark for him to shoot at, and not impossible to hit...³⁴⁷

Shakespeare did indeed buy his yardlands and tithes in the future but the date - January 1598 - stands out. Evidently word was already out (and believed by some) in the Stratford business community that Shakespeare had cash on hand.³⁴⁸ Moreover, he was seeking assets in which to invest his or his family's money.

The Other Sources of Revenue

The aim of the first part of this thesis was to examine the commercial realities affecting the Early Modern Theatre in London and through this examination to determine the likelihood that the Shakespeare family wealth was derived from William's artistic career.

After weighing up the evidence, including a review of the interpretations of other scholars both past and current, together with the documentary evidence, the conclusion must be that there is a large slice of expenditure that cannot be explained using theatrical sources of income alone.

A few scholars, notably Halliwell-Phillipps and more recently Thomson³⁴⁹ and Brownlow,³⁵⁰ have pointed out some of the financial inconsistencies. I believe they noted these through intuition borne out of well-reasoned study and profound biographical knowledge of William's life and career. By taking a more commercial approach I aim to extend their work and provide explanations of where the cash actually came from.

³⁴⁶ Antique measurement of land: An area of land of varying extent according to the locality, but most frequently 30 acres: commonly taken as = a fourth of a hide. OED

³⁴⁷ The transliteration into modern colloquial English is my own – See Chambers, *William II* p.101 for original spelling.

³⁴⁸ Though Wells, among other scholars, has referred to two additional letters. The first from Quiney to Abraham Sturley with the news that Shakespeare would “procure us money” and in reply one from Sturley which included “Which I will like of as I shall hear and when, and where, and how”. Stanley Wells, *Is it True What they Say about Shakespeare?* (Ebrington: Long Barn Books, 2007). p.71

³⁴⁹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992).

³⁵⁰ F.W. Brownlow, “John Shakespeare's Recusancy: New Light on an Old Document,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1989): 186-191.

During the twelve years between the purchase of New Place and the family's acquisition of the Hathaway family farm, the investment expenditure far exceeded the income that could have been derived even from Shakespeare's multi-faceted career as player, playwright, company sharer and housekeeper. There are clear signs that even by the late 1590's he was cash-rich, or appeared so to his Stratford friends, and already looking for long-term investments. That the Blackfriars after 1608³⁵¹ could, and probably did, generate strong cash flow - closures permitting - does not explain earlier investments. To put it another way, it is not what was bought that is so significant, it is *when* it was bought that is of key importance. Cash flows like water, and just as water is key to all life, then cash is the life-giver of commerce. The Shakespeares were providers of cash at a time when the economy was in general turmoil. But the theatre alone, as the above figures demonstrate, could not have supplied their liquidity. The other traditional sources of revenue and cash: touring, patronage, court performances, publishing and borrowing - all have significant limitations, individually or collectively, in explaining the missing money.

The second part of this thesis focuses on finding the "other" money.

This involves

- an analysis of the business and civic career of John Shakespeare, and his apparent fall from financial grace,
- a new commercially based view of the business milieu in which William operated during his career in London together with an analysis of the character of people he associated with,
- a detailed commentary on the documented Shakespeare investments.³⁵²

³⁵¹ There are references suggesting that there might not have been cash flow till as late as 1610 – see A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004) p.108 which put the positive cash flow only starting in 1609 (due to plague closures) and having reviewed the finances for 1603-1608 he commences again with 1610 -1615.

³⁵² To achieve these three goals, an examination of the key factors affecting the economy of the time (law, wool and cloth, and money) was also required. See appendices. *x ref.399*.

Chapter 3 - JOHN SHAKESPEARE & STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

Like it or not, it describes the world...
Lawrence Krauss, 2009³⁵³

Thomas Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester,³⁵⁴ born thirty years after John Shakespeare's death, left a description of him more fitted to Santa Claus than a successful businessman. Plume was, by his own admission, repeating hearsay³⁵⁵ when he described John as a "merry-cheeked" old soul. But, like all stories in the Shakespeare mythos, this one continues to spawn speculation. Greenblatt, as recently as 2005, suggested that the "merry-cheeked" description might indicate the ruddy complexion of a drunk.³⁵⁶

By the late twentieth century a number of scholars were beginning to accept that John Shakespeare rose through the ranks of civic office and attained a degree of financial success – "buoyant and successful...impressively solid citizen...impressive entrepreneurial ambition..." is just one set of descriptions.³⁵⁷ However, the story still stands that during the early 1570's he fell on hard times and lost both his wealth and position. So this bankrupt, merry-cheeked, possibly drunken, glover saw his boy march off to London and win his fortune on the stage.

This chapter sets out the evidence for a very different assessment with, at its core, a re-evaluation of whether any reduction in the Shakespeare family's finances ever happened at all.

In a field as large as Shakespearean studies it is daring to say that this new model of John Shakespeare has never been proposed. However, if it has, no evidence of such a view has been uncovered. Indeed, the apparent absence of data on this family's rise to wealth and position positively encourages romantic fantasy about William's work.

³⁵³ Who's Afraid of the Big Black Hole, Television, BBC, 2009.

³⁵⁴ The Reverend Doctor Thomas Plume, B.A., D.D. (1630 – 20 November 1704)

³⁵⁵ There is a curious parallel here with Rowe's "£1000".

³⁵⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005) p.67

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.58-60

Furthermore, the absence of systematic analysis permits infinite voyages of the imagination, for example, perhaps Shakespeare did not write his plays at all.

The above quotation of Lawrence Krauss was addressed to those who feel challenged by an effective scientific theory that does not fit with their own homespun view of the cosmos. Krauss was stating that it is of prime importance that a theory actually works - even at the cost of offending comfortable common sense. So it is in understanding the finances of the Shakespeares. To paraphrase Krauss, in this and the subsequent chapters, “like it or not this describes the Shakespeares.”

Building a Theory

The physical sciences have, in the four centuries since Shakespeare’s death, developed the “scientific method”.³⁵⁸ Even concepts relying on (as yet) unexplained paradoxes can be used in theories to make discoveries – as long as they work. That the paradox may one day be resolved does not stop useful discoveries being made along the way.

By comparison, many researchers into the life of Shakespeare continue to wait for a document to be “discovered” which will explain his thoughts and motivations and thereby crystallize the understanding of the man, his character and his money. Without this new “discovery”, progress remains, for many, effectively barred.

In 1984, D. L. Thomas and N. E. Evans came to the conclusion that

...Unfortunately, further discoveries about John Shakespeare’s career are less likely to result from careful research than from serendipity.³⁵⁹

In spite of their opinion, this thesis proposes that adopting an approach more akin to the scientific method can determine the true nature and size of the Shakespeare family’s business activities. Using this analysis as a tool, aspects of both the Shakespeare family and the Early Modern Theatre that are presently not fully understood are examined. By never relying on a *deus ex machina* document the physical sciences have taken what

³⁵⁸ see "scientific method" A Dictionary of Psychology. Edited by Andrew M. Colman. Oxford University Press 2009. - a less than precise term for the more correctly named “hypothetico-deductive” approach to discovery, where tentative explanations for phenomena are subject to criticism by rational argument and refutation by empirical evidence.

³⁵⁹ D.L. Thomas and N.E. Evans, "John Shakespeare in the Exchequer," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1984): 315-318. p.318

was known and then, out of necessity and through ruthless testing, developed methodologies for making educated projections.

Speculating which aristocrat may or may not have been Shakespeare's patron, or repeating half remembered, and almost certainly apocryphal, folk tales about youthful indiscretions (poaching) is certainly one approach. However, an alternative more likely to produce results is surely to list what is known, form a theory with this as a foundation and then build on this to investigate the Shakespeares' lives.

In 1905, a Swiss patent clerk wrote a short paper entitled "On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies".³⁶⁰ He described an incongruity

...It is known that Maxwell's electrodynamics... when applied to moving bodies, leads to asymmetries, which do not appear to be inherent in the phenomena...

Later he added

...We will raise this conjecture ...the purport of which will hereafter be called the "Principle of Relativity"...

Factual items – not merely "asymmetries" – are known about the lives of John and William Shakespeare and yet much scholarly time has been spent in sporadic, if not in some cases downright romantic, sallies into what motivated and inspired William's work. Albert Einstein in the last of the nine footnotes in his paper noted

...It is more to the point to define force in such a way that the laws of momentum and energy assume the simplest form...

The goal in this thesis is that if Einstein's dictum were to be applied to William's work, then it could be presented as: it is important to define Shakespeare's work in such a way that we understand it in its commercial reality and to then articulate this in its simplest form.

The conjecture now raised is that a key to understanding Shakespeare's creative life lies locked in an analysis of "the money".

³⁶⁰ Albert Einstein, "On The Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies," in *The Principial of Relativity* (London: Methuen, 1923) - it is only twenty-three printed pages and nine footnotes.

This Chapter

This chapter examines the background and commercial milieu of John Shakespeare and together with the next two chapters, which examine William's London environment, collectively supports a postulate of their finances. The result presents credible explanations for "asymmetries" in the lives of the Shakespeares, both long established and emergent, such as

- why John Shakespeare comprehensively removed himself from public life in 1576,
- why William's years 1585 – 1592 were "lost",
- why none of the Shakespeare brothers ever held public office,³⁶¹
- what were the sources of the Shakespeare family wealth,
- what John Shakespeare's sons actually did all day.

Before starting a detailed examination of the factual experiences of John Shakespeare's life it is appropriate to examine how he is typically regarded in current authoritative writing. As an example, the 2009 edition of *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare* contains a chapter by Ernst Honigmann entitled "Shakespeare's Life".³⁶² I have compressed his description of John Shakespeare to twenty-one points by removing the intervening prose but have quoted Honigmann's own words

1. "He worked as a glover and whittawer (a curer and whitener of skins)..."
2. "...but he also became 'a considerable dealer in wool' (Nicholas Rowe, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 1709, confirmed by recently discovered records)"
3. "...he sold barley and timber, and he bought houses",
4. "...his probably complex business dealings"
5. "... he participated in civic affairs ...and rose from minor duties to hold office as chamberlain, member of the town council, alderman, and... high bailiff (we would say 'mayor')"
6. "...he signed official documents with his mark which may mean that he could not write, though this does not necessarily follow."
7. "...he must have had a good head for business since he was asked to take charge of civic accounts."

³⁶¹ Gilbert 1566 -1612, Richard 1574-1613, Edmund 1580-1607

³⁶² Ernst Honigmann, "Shakespeare's Life," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: CUP, 2009). The quotations appear between p.1-2

8. "...Is it not likely, though that Shakespeare's parents were both remarkable people..."
9. "...Having prospered for some twenty years, John ran into difficulties in the late 1570's."
10. "...He was let off paying his weekly 4d. for poor relief"
11. "...he failed to attend council meetings"
12. "...was deprived of his alderman's gown (1586)"
13. "...he mortgaged part of his wife's inheritance..."
14. "...It could be that he only pretended to be poor and withdrew from council business for religious reasons..."
15. "...i.e. he refused to give up the "Old Faith", Roman Catholicism..."
16. "...list of non-attenders: apparently he alleged that he stayed away because he feared that he might be arrested for debt."
17. "Nevertheless he continued to own houses in Stratford;"
18. "In 1580, summoned to appear in court at Westminster, he was fined £40 (equivalent to a schoolmaster's salary for two years) for non-appearance..."
19. "...The court, we are told, would not have imposed such a fine if John was believed unable to pay..."
20. "...Did his fortunes really decline, or did he withdraw from the council because, as a recusant, he did not wish to take part in punishing other Catholics?..."
21. "...The evidence is not clear..."³⁶³

These divide into two groups. The factual - points one to eight - portray a smart, skilled, successful businessman and public servant. Points nine to twenty present items that support only one (the author's) interpretation of events. The objective of the remainder of this chapter is to deliver a more balanced view of the evidence, placing documented fact over convention.

³⁶³ Honigmann, *Shakespeare's Life* p.1-3

THE CORPORATION

The story of the Shakespeares starts and ends in Stratford and John's arrival in the town around 1550, aged about 15, was timely.³⁶⁴ The last of the medieval governmental structures were about to be replaced with the town's incorporation as a Borough. This change would create a new, successful, self-made, class of citizen. The teenage glover's apprentice, John Shakespeare, would be one of them. But to begin the analysis of John it is first necessary to examine how the "new" Stratford actually worked as a commercial, legal and civic entity.

Following the Charter of Incorporation of 1553, The Corporation of Stratford-Upon Avon was organized as follows³⁶⁵

Table 23 - Borough Organization

Process	Title	Function
Executive and Legal Authority (2)	Bailiff Sub-Bailiff and Head Alderman	The leading borough magistrates during their term of office, both Justices of the Peace
Governing Body (28)	Aldermen (14) Burgesses (14)	Aldermen alone elected aldermen, the whole body elected Burgesses
Borough Finances (2)	Chamberlain (active) Chamberlain (passive)	Served two years in turn (though jointly responsible)
Quality Control (2) (food & beverage)	Tasters	Oversaw bread, meat, and beer sold in the borough
Law & Public Order (4)	Constables	Charged with maintenance of order and oversight of the watch
Quality Control (2) (leather)	Leather Sealers	Approved and stamped leather offered for sale in the borough
Legal Process & Ceremonial (2)	Serjeants-at-the-Mace	Waited in attendance, one on the Bailiff the other on the Sub-Bailiff or Head Alderman, for the execution of their warrants and other orders

³⁶⁴ The exact dates are not known see. David Fallow, "Like father like son: Financial Practices in the Shakespeare family," ed. Peter Thomson, *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 28, no. 3 (2008): 253-263.

³⁶⁵ Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare's Stratford* (London: OUP, 1928).

The pinnacle of executive power in the new Borough was the annually elected Bailiff, the equivalent of Mayor. A Sub-Bailiff (Deputy Mayor) who was also Head Alderman assisted the Bailiff. Both men also served as Justices of the Peace, judges, in the town's own permanent Court of Record. The town's governing body - the Corporation or (Town) Council - met in the Guildhall.³⁶⁶ It was made up of twenty-eight individuals divided between fourteen Aldermen - senior town councillors in today's parlance - and fourteen burgesses effectively junior town councillors. To become Bailiff an individual would customarily have worked his way up the chain of authority by taking roles of increasing responsibility. Other specialist roles included finance - two chamberlains, policing - four constables and a number of other job specific civic functions. The borough was an autonomous, self-controlling, hierarchical legal entity that was, for the most part, run by unpaid volunteers. John Shakespeare rose from humble apprentice (trainee craftsman) to Bailiff (mayor) having performed almost every key job in the Borough. However, civic duty (unpaid), had to be complemented by a successful career in business, the senior members of the council i.e. the burgesses and aldermen, were customarily the principal merchants and successful tradesmen of the town.

Officers were elected annually by their fellow Aldermen and Burgesses at Michaelmas.³⁶⁷ In some more technical roles, such as Leather Sealers, individuals might hold the same position for several years.

The Burgesses, Aldermen, Sub-Bailiff and Bailiff each wore their respective gowns of increasing cost denoting their civic status. Aldermen were entitled to be called and addressed with the title "Master".

As previously noted, neither John Shakespeare's birth date nor ancestry is certain – 1530 for birth is the most common estimate.³⁶⁸ Warwickshire had a large number of recorded Shakespeares with a multiplicity of spellings. The probability was that he was the son of Richard, a tenant farmer in Snitterfield, a village four miles northeast of

³⁶⁶ Now part of the King Edward VI School, Stratford-upon-Avon.

³⁶⁷ See Glossary

³⁶⁸ Dissenters to the 1530 date include Fripp who places him "about 1529" Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare Man & Artist*, 2nd Edition (London: OUP, 1964). I. p.33. and Wood "perhaps the late 1520's" Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, BBC Edition (London: BBC, 2005). p.22.

Stratford and brother of Henry though some sources suggest that he had two or more other brothers, Anthony³⁶⁹ and/or Thomas.

This chapter continues by looking into key aspects of John Shakespeare's life and challenges many conventional views of his business and family life.

Section Title	Years	Summary
Apprenticeship	1530-1556	Farm boy came to town and after seven year apprenticeship became a glover.
The Very Civil Officer	1556-1579	Held positions at every level of civic office, some with considerable distinction.
John Shakespeare Businessman	1556-1601	In business he quickly left glover behind and became a national level wool broker.
The Seeming Fall from Financial Grace	1576-1601	Completely withdrew from civic life as wool broking, always illegal, became the target of a new royal proclamation.
Stratford's "Middling Sort"	1556-1601	How the Shakespeares were so representative of the new merchant "middle" class in Stratford.

³⁶⁹ See Glossary – John Shakespeare's Brothers.

Apprenticeship³⁷⁰

Must I not serve a long apprenticeship
 To foreign passages, and in the end,
 Having my freedom, boast of nothing else
 But that I was a journeyman to grief?
Richard II I, iii

John moved to Stratford where he successfully “undertook an apprenticeship of at least seven years to become a glover and whittawer, or dresser of white leather”.³⁷¹

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 24 - Leatherworkers

Apprentices in Elizabethan England were vital to the growing pre-industrial towns and in an age when people might never make a journey of more than a few tens of miles, children would be taken considerable distances to their new master and mistress. In 1550 it has been estimated that ten per cent of London’s population were apprentices.³⁷² Foreshadowing the rise of the British public school and the shock some foreigners express over sending young children away to a regimented environment, Anne Yarbrough in her excellent study of Bristol apprentices, quoted one Italian visitor

...The want of attention in the English is strongly manifested towards their children, for after having kept them at home until they arrive at the age of 7 to 9 years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females to hard service in the houses of other people. Binding them generally for another 7 or 9 years. And these are called apprentices and during that time they perform all the most menial offices: and few are born who are exempted from this fate...³⁷³

He was perhaps a little off in the age children were customarily removed from home – 14 to 16 might be a better figure - but he was probably completely correct about the “menial offices”. By long established practice apprenticeship did not end before the age of 24, so working backwards, if John Shakespeare arrived in Stratford in 1550 at aged 15 to 16 or so it is probable he was born within a few years of 1534.

³⁷⁰ Areas of text in this section are drawn from my article: David Fallow, "Like father like son: Financial Practices in the Shakespeare family," ed. Peter Thomson, *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 28, no. 3 (2008): 253-263.

³⁷¹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.14

³⁷² Keith Wrightson, *Early Modern England: Politics, Religion, and Society Under the Tudors and Stuarts No.2*, 2009.

³⁷³ Ann Yarbrough, “Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth-Century Bristol,” *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 1 (1979): 67-81.

That “proto-capitalism” needed skilled workers is unquestioned, but the willingness to give up one’s children rose from a number of reasons - impartible inheritance being a major one.³⁷⁴ If John Shakespeare did indeed have elder brothers and therefore no prospect of an inheritance, his only chance for self-advancement beyond tenant farmer would have been apprenticeship.

Another reason was teenage hormones. It’s not hard to find sermons preaching to apprentices about the dangers of being ‘privy pickers’ (masturbators) or how they should resist being ‘naughty’ with the mistress – even if she was the one doing the importuning. As an apprentice, a young man would, it was felt, be more closely controlled. His natural parents might indulge him; a master seeking to get as much work as possible out of him would not spare the rod. William at eighteen was himself perhaps “trapped” by the unplanned pregnancy of the twenty-six year-old Anne Hathaway. Whether the “trap” was of his making is another question. As to the “dangers” of leaving adolescents in their own home, Yarborough noted that

...in the mid-16th century play “The Disobedient Child” there is a father’s lament for his errant son.

“If I might live a hundred years longer.
And should have sons and daughters many,
Yet for this boy’s sake I will not suffer
One of them all at home with me to tarry:
They should not be kept thus under my wing.
And have all that which they desire:
For why it is but their only undoing.
And, after the proverb, we put oil to the fire.”³⁷⁵

It is tempting to think of John Shakespeare’s life both as farm boy and then as apprentice glover in somewhat romantic terms - halcyon days in the outdoors followed by stitching fine leathers in a pleasant warm workroom. The reality was probably very different, with backbreaking dawn to dusk labour in all weathers, followed by beating cold stinking hides or scraping filth from pieces of leather.

This was an age when corporal punishments were many and varied - clearly apprenticeship was a toughening process for any young man and just as brutal and thorough as any later boarding school or army training. The individual that came successfully through the ordeal of apprenticeship would be both resilient and practical.

³⁷⁴ “Incapable of being parted or divided; not subject to partition or division into parts; indivisible. Now chiefly in legal use, of an estate” OED I.e. the eldest son inherited the bulk of the estate.

³⁷⁵ Yarborough, *Ibid.*

The notion that John Shakespeare was illiterate is discussed later.³⁷⁶ However it is appropriate to record here that part of the master's duty towards an apprentice was education. This could vary from attending a local school on a part time basis to being taught by the master or mistress.

Later in the century, a bestseller would be *The English Scholemaister*, “[a] book as written in art for artisans and tradesmen” who had “undertaken the charge of teaching others.”³⁷⁷ It does still beg the question of what happened in an illiterate household. John Brewer estimated that “male literacy in England slowly and steadily increased from ten percent in 1500 to forty-five percent in 1714 and to sixty percent in 1750”. Female literacy lagged behind with respectively one percent, twenty-five percent and forty percent in 1750.³⁷⁸

In 1598 literacy saved Ben Jonson from the gallows after his disastrous duel with Gabriel Spencer. Lawrence Stone also remarked on a defence of literacy, also called the “benefit of clergy”

... a petty thief [with] the capacity to read a sentence of the Bible made all the difference between death by slow strangulation at the end of a rope and life with a scarred thumb. “The said Paul reads, to be branded; the said William does not read, to be hanged”

Even more pertinent was Stone's observation that of the 204 men sentenced to death for a first offence by the Middlesex Justices in 1612-14, no fewer than ninety-five successfully pleaded benefit of clergy. Literacy was much more widespread than many have inferred and if no examples remain of John Shakespeare's signature it can be explained in numerous ways. The repeated use of symbols in lieu of signatures may be one explanation. Alternatively it may be a deliberate strategy of avoiding signed business records.

John's father, Richard Shakespeare, was not a penniless peasant though it would be rare for any tenant farmer to be described as wealthy. However, he would certainly have been able to arrange John's apprenticeship with a glover in nearby Stratford. Some

³⁷⁶ *x ref.176*

³⁷⁷ Edmund Coote, *The English Scholemaister* (1596).

³⁷⁸ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997).

apprentices received a measure of on-going financial support from their birth families (as do many university students today) but in John Shakespeare's case it's more likely that his leaving was the relief of a financial burden to the family or can be considered to be cost neutral.

Leather

The Tudor leather industry can be divided into two: the 'heavy' - preparing hides for shoe leather, harnesses, bellows etc. and the 'light' - working with leather for clothing, gloves etc. Both were fairly noisome, with heavy leather being tanned with lime and thereafter treated with bird droppings and other excreta - a two-year process.

As L.A. Clarkson noted

...In contrast with tanning, the manufacture of leather with oil or alum was a much simpler process. First the skins were prepared, usually by hanging them in wood smoke which loosened the hair or wool without damaging it. Oil dressing was done by placing the skins in troughs and soaking them with train³⁷⁹ oil. They were then beaten and soaked again, the operation being repeated several times. Finally the skins were piled up and left in the open air for several days. Alum - dressed - or tawed - leather was made by preparing a paste of alum, salt, flour, and egg yolks with water and applying it to the skins.³⁸⁰

John Shakespeare's work as an apprentice would have been hard, smelly, manual labour mostly out of doors. At the end of this, entry into the Master's Guild was far from automatic – Yarborough estimates only one in three apprentices ever rose to be 'freemen' of the town, to be craftsmen in their own right and establish a household. For those who failed – either to keep their master's goodwill or in some other way - they were left in a no man's land of being forever viewed by society as 'young' regardless of their age. John survived the training to become a full member of society both a guild freeman and a householder.

³⁷⁹ Train Oil - obtained from the blubber of a whale or other marine animal - OED

³⁸⁰ L. A. Clarkson, "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *EHR* (Wiley-Blackwell) 13, no. 2 (1960): 245-256. p.247

The Very Civil Officer, 1556-79

The civic roles played by John Shakespeare described a man who, in the earlier part of his life, appeared to have been a model citizen. From 1556 to 1579 he held numerous borough appointments and his few shortcomings while in office appear negligible.

Civic responsibility³⁸¹ in England during the Early Modern Period was decidedly double edged and far more complex than it is today, when it is a voluntary service to the community carried out in return for a heightened civic presence. Then, as well as granting a measure of seniority in the local community, it contained elements of wealth tax, career employment and opportunity for financial gain (both legitimate and illegitimate). Many of the more dangerous and administrative functions now dealt with by central government agencies or permanent local authority departments were left to members of the ‘local’ community who worked at these additional duties (typically on annual basis) in addition to their paid principal employment. A list of these tasks: food and beverage quality maintenance, financial management, local level justice, sanitary inspection, policing, fire-fighting, supervision of education, product quality control, licensing, equipping and training soldiers.

In 1864 George Linneus Banks described John Shakespeare as follows

During the poet's early days, his father, Master John Shakespeare, was a prosperous woolstapler,³⁸² but, the trade of the district decaying, his fortune declined, and his son William was in consequence withdrawn from school, to render assistance at home to his parent, who had now recourse to the business of a butcher.³⁸³

And these few lines, with some minor variations (a mention of him holding civic office in Stratford is often included) have become accepted as fact and are brought forward in any discussion of John Shakespeare. However, both factual and circumstantial evidence runs contrary to this inadequate and inaccurate summary – especially concerning his civic duties and the depth of his legal knowledge. This evidence also makes references to the many times William Shakespeare in his plays utilized the details and “colour” of the various public roles his father played in real life.

³⁸¹ A position in the administration of counties, cities, towns etc.

³⁸² Woolstapler: a merchant who buys wool from the producer, grades it, and sells it to the manufacturer.

OED

³⁸³ George Linneus Banks, *All About Shakespeare* (London: Henry Lea, 1864) p.7

Grades of Honour³⁸⁴

He [John Shakespeare] appears to have ran [sic] the gauntlet through the regular course of municipal life; in 1556 he was a juror in the court-leet; in 1557 an ale-taster; in 1558 burgess; in 1559 a constable; in 1561 borough chamberlain; in 1565 an alderman; and in 1568-1569 high bailiff or mayor³⁸⁵.
Arthur Hodgson, 1902

Arthur Hodgson, despite being Mayor of Stratford-upon-Avon on five occasions, only managed to present an incomplete list of John Shakespeare's various civic appointments. In 1902, the systematic work of Richard Savage describing the records of the Borough and the accompanying summaries of Edgar Fripp had not yet been published.³⁸⁶ Yet many of the old stories about John Shakespeare's life evidently lingered. Eighteenth, nineteenth and even some early twentieth century writers, scholars and actors were so keen to beatify the poet and sanctify the memory of both father and son that reality was often buried in legend before being exhumed, wrapped up and presented as fact. Examples of maudlin romanticism abound. David Garrick's eighteenth century doggerel about William stands as a fine example of misplaced sentiment - quoted by Halliwell in the nineteenth

And May no sacrilegious hand
Near Avon's banks be found
To dare to parcel out the land,
And limit Shakespeare's hallowed ground³⁸⁷

G. M. Woodward lampooned both Garrick and Samuel Ireland's idolatry of William in 1796³⁸⁸ with his *Familiar Verses from the Ghost of Willy Shakespeare to Sammy Ireland* that included the lines of Shakespeare's ghost talking of Ireland

He'd never give his deep researches up,
Until he found my spoon and christ'ning cup:
Some curious remanents of my mother's spinning:
My little shoes, and all the child-bed linen

³⁸⁴ C.C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Environment* (London: Bell & Sons, 1914). p.4 uses this term.

³⁸⁵ Arthur Hodgson, *Shakespearean Jottings*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1902) - introduction.

³⁸⁶ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* See also p.311 - David Fallow, *The Abridged Introductions of Edgar I. Fripp and Accounts etc.* (2009).

³⁸⁷ James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853). p.verso

³⁸⁸ G.M. Woodward, *Familiar Verses from the Ghost of Willy Shakespeare to Sammy Ireland* (1796). p.7 also quoted in Maurice J. O'Sullivan, "Shakespeare's Other Lives," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1987): 133-153. p.147. O'Sullivan's excellent and comprehensive article includes many other references of a similar and equally fallacious material. See Glossary for more detail concerning Ireland.

Fable to Fact

C.C. Stopes, writing in 1914, somewhat misleadingly noted of John Shakespeare that

...The only definitive notice we have of him is “that he was a merry-cheeked old man who said ‘Will was a good honest fellow; but he darest have crakt a jesst with him at any time’” ...John had risen through all the grades of honour in the town...³⁸⁹

A complete summary of John’s civic service is as follows

Table 25 - John Shakespeare’s Civic Service

Positions	Years	Contemporaneous Events
Juror	1556	
Ale Taster	1556-7	
Principal Burgess	1558	
Attorney	1558	Mary I died
Constable	1558	
Affeeror ³⁹⁰	1559	Elizabeth I acceded
Chamberlain	1561-5	Plague started 1564
Alderman	1565	
Bailiff, Head Alderman and Justice of the Peace	1568-9	The Northern Rebellion
High Alderman, Deputy Bailiff, Justice of the Peace	1570-1	Papal Bull excommunicated Elizabeth I
Withdrew from public life	1577	Whitgift became Bishop of Worcester

During his twenty years of service he held a full share of posts³⁹¹ and performed some of them at considerable personal risk arising principally through violence or disease.³⁹²

His duties as Constable and as Borough Chamberlain are examples of this. After his voluntary self-removal from public office (and public life) the Borough not only kept him listed as an Alderman for ten years but *de facto* exempted him from all taxation.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ Stopes, *Environment* p.4 - she states the source as being “Dr. Andrew Clark, from the Plume M.S. at Maldon.” Thomas Plume's Library at Market Hill, Maldon, Essex contains the collection of Plume (1630-1704), D.D., Archdeacon of Rochester who bequeathed his books to the town of Maldon. *x.ref.105*

³⁹⁰ “Affeeror was a civic officer (acting singly or in a group of three) who set the levels of court fines where there was no statutory penalty see also “Affeeror” later in this chapter: affeer “To fix or settle the amount of an amercement, to assess; to reduce to a fair or equitable amount.” OED

³⁹¹ *x.ref.179* For further detail concerning civic service.

³⁹² During times of plague the Chamberlain could be actively involved in directing the removal of bodies etc.

³⁹³ *x.ref.311* – where Fripp inter alia notes: “...in view also of the valuable services he had rendered and the generosity he had shown on more than one occasion to the Corporation, he was let off not only this levy of January 1578, but his fines for absence on Election days - as on 3 September 1578 when John Wheeler was called upon to pay 20s. and William Smith haberdasher 10s. - his poor-rate of 4d. weekly on 19 November, 2 and, it would appear, all penalties whatsoever. There is no evidence that he paid a single amercement [fine]...”

Exemption from taxation was, in itself, a remarkable occurrence in an age when in municipal accounting every penny was accounted for. These benefits even extended to what were mandatory taxes such as contributions to the Poor Law. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Fripp reached³⁹⁴ that his earlier work had built up such a store of good will that he merited extraordinary treatment.

As each of the posts was closely connected with the legal process - it is not an exaggeration to say that the holder be frequently, if not habitually, in court. The legal expertise that John acquired from the various duties apart from his own numerous law suits, would over many years have made him highly knowledgeable in the law.

In date order, the following amplifies the duties of each of the offices he held. These start in 1556, just after the successful completion of his apprenticeship and a year before his marriage to Mary Arden.

³⁹⁴ *x ref. footnote 391*

Juror - 1556

The jury, passing on the prisoner's life,
 May in the sworn twelve have a thief or two
 Guiltier than him they try.
Measure for Measure II, i

...Shakespeare was summoned to the Jury but made reasonable excuse...³⁹⁵
 Richard Savage, 1923

The meanings of the terms “jury” and “juror” have changed over time. For example, to a medieval jury “the question” could have taken different forms and not have been restricted to “guilty or not guilty”. It could have been a question of law they were being asked to adjudicate, but it could have been a mixture of fact and law e.g. “...Name all the land-owners of your district and say how much land each of them has... is Roger guilty of having murdered Ralph?... [which] of the two has the greatest right to Blackacre?”³⁹⁶ The jury system in the Middle Ages and even into the Early Modern Period was predicated on intensely local knowledge. Evidence, if it had any place, came far behind familiarity with the accused and understanding of their character.³⁹⁷ Typically, the accused did not speak in their own defence, but relied on the jurors knowing them personally. Hence it was necessary to have good, honest, men who judged knowing the accused’s character whereas a modern jurist’s independent judgment is based on the facts of a case as presented and on the evidence delivered in court.

In a community such as Stratford in 1556 the term “Juror” meant more than the once-in-a-lifetime experience of the present day. A Juror had been identified as “a good man and true”.³⁹⁸ It denoted social status in the community of an individual thought fit to sit in judgement of his neighbours - though as is noted in the above quotation from *Measure for Measure*, the odd thief could sneak in. However, having raised the notion

³⁹⁵ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* Vol I. p.58 – View of Frankpledge.

³⁹⁶ See: Frederick Pollock and Frederick Maitland, *The History of English Law: Before the time of Edward I*, 2nd. ed., Vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 2008) p.110

³⁹⁷ Kathy Laster, *Law as Culture*, 2nd, revised (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2001). See Section the “Origins of the Adversarial System” by Stephan Landsman, 1994, page 288. See Glossary Jury Systems.

³⁹⁸ *Much Ado about Nothing* III, iii – though here this is addressed to the watch and not a jury. Later found in Thomas Randolph, *The Muses Looking-Glass* (London, 1642). “I had rather zee him remitted to the Jayle, and have his twelve God-vathers, good men and true contemn him to the Gallowes, and there see him vairely persecuted.” p.72 Scene 4

of dishonest jurymen, William was quick to establish later in the same speech that the jury system could still work despite the occasional mistake.

The DeWindts in describing the town of Ramsay note that “jurors” were drawn from a group of about forty “pre-qualified” individuals who typically came from the “richer half of the local taxpayers...in some cases the choice of *jurati* was at least influenced by the local lord.”³⁹⁹

Ale Taster - 1556

Table 27 - Ale Wives

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

I thank your worship. For mine own part, I never come into any room in a tap-house, but I am drawn in.
Measure For Measure II, i

Ale-taster is an officer appointed and sworne in every Leet^[400] to looke that the due assise be kept of all the Bread, Ale, and Beere sold within the Jurisdiction of the Leet.
1641 *Termes de la Ley*⁴⁰¹

402

As Fripp noted,⁴⁰³ “In September (1556) he was elected a Taster”. John Shakespeare was on the first officer rung of the civic ladder. “Able persons and discreet” is the qualification specified in the Leet Book at Coventry. In Leicester around this same date they promised

³⁹⁹ Anne DeWindt and Edwin DeWindt, *Ramsay - The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 2006). p.94-95. As previously noted, Ramsay had roughly the same size of population as Startford at the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰⁰ Leet: “A special kind of court of record which the lords of certain manors were empowered by charter or prescription to hold annually or semi-annually” OED

⁴⁰¹ John Rastell, *Termes de la Ley* (London: Beale, 1641). The full title is ‘Les termes de la ley: or, certaine difficult and obscure words and termes of the common lawes and statutes of this realme now in use expounded and explained’ p.18 see also OED.

⁴⁰² This Illustration - In Coventry a special place in Hell was reserved for Ale-wives (brewing was associated with women) that diluted their stock – see Glossary “Coventry Doom” the wife in the foreground is indeed pissing into the bucket – the belief was that this (or spitting into the vat) aided the fermentation process.

⁴⁰³ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I p.XXXIV

“... We shall duly and truly search and assay, and that which is good we shall able, and that that is ill we shall not able, and we shall not let for favour or for hatred, kin or alliance, but we shall do even right and punish as our minds and consciences will serve.”⁴⁰⁴

The position was not merely a sinecure. In an age when potable water was at a premium it was safer to drink ale, beer or wine. Ale was traditionally brewed by women either at the larger household level or on a small scale for resale by ale-wives or innkeepers and victuallers. Under the late Tudors brewing began to be produced on a more industrial scale in cities but in small towns and villages very small scale brewing was still the norm. Jane Peyton, is quoted as saying “women created beer ... [it] was considered a food and fell into the remit of women’s work.”⁴⁰⁵ Any impurity could have had serious public health implications and the practice of selling short measures was rife. In Banbury, for example, the tasters swore to

... weekly and diligently search and foresee that both ale and drink be well and wholesomely made, well brewed and sufficiently barded⁴⁰⁶ as it ought to be, and also the said Tasters shall justly and truly from time to time present all those that shall at any time offend without favour, fraud, covine⁴⁰⁷ or malice, as well any other victuallers as brewers, strangers as townsmen, upon pain to forfeit for every offence 10s. in the d(iscretion) of the Tasters⁴⁰⁸

The DeWindts, writing of Ramsay, the small Fenland town of a similar size to Stratford, concluded that

... the most active presenter in the Leet, all across England, after the sworn 12 was the ale taster. By 1268, the date of the earliest surviving Ramsey Court roll, all tasters were making presentiments in court along with the 12 jurati.⁴⁰⁹ Their job was to ensure the quality of the ale sold in the town and supervise pricing policy... A seventeenth century book of oaths preserves an ale taster’s oath for us:

“You shall well and truly execute the office of ale-taster within this Leet, you shall see that all victuals, bread and beer put on sale within this Leet, be sweet and wholesome, and of full weight and measure, and you shall at all other things execute the said office over ale taster within this Leet, according to the best of your skill and knowledge: so help you God.”⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. p.XXXIV

⁴⁰⁵ Nick Britten, “Men Owe Women for Creating Beer,” *The Telegraph* (London, 30 March 2010).

⁴⁰⁶ Barm - To mix with yeast; to leaven, ferment. OED. See Glossary

⁴⁰⁷ Private agreement, compact, covenant; often with unfavourable connotation. OED.

⁴⁰⁸ Banbury Orders, 24 April, 1564 see *Savage, Minutes and Accounts* I p.XXXV.

⁴⁰⁹ jurors

⁴¹⁰ Anne DeWindt and Edwin DeWindt, *Ramsay - The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 2006). p.103. Coincidentally Ramsay’s place in history is also marked for being part of the Lordship of Henry Cromwell and his son Oliver.

Burgess - 1557

Your mind is tossing on the ocean;
There, where your argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood...
The Merchant of Venice I, i

About the first of October 1557 John Shakespeare was elected a “Principal Burgess.” “Burgess” at its simplest could simply mean an inhabitant of a borough but when used in a stricter legal sense it referred to an individual “possessing full municipal rights; a citizen, freeman of a borough or corporate town; a citizen”. The addition of “Principal” here equates to “leading”. When Shakespeare referred to “signiors and rich burghers”⁴¹¹ he is giving a continental gloss to his description (the play is after all, set in exotic and far-off Venice). However the more Germanic term “burgher” was also used in England at the time alongside the home grown “burgess” to denote one of the self-made middle class. Many contemporary and later references to this emergent group suggest portliness and wealth mixed with overtones of pomposity and a dash of *nouveau riche*. Louis B. Wright, in 1935, described them as being

...Proud of their self-made success, proud of their material accomplishments, proud of their greatest city, London, the Elizabethan middle class developed a self-respect and a self-esteem that at times reached the proportions of smug self-satisfaction. Suffering from no complex of inferiority because of his business, the tradesman believed himself deserving of social recognition...⁴¹²

A century later in 1651 “...every Burgess at age...hath power to trade, and bear office”.⁴¹³ Fifty years on from that, Alexander Pope described the eighteenth century pecking order: “...All persons of honour, lords spiritual and temporal, gentry, burgesses and commonalty...”.⁴¹⁴

But even in 1557 it was clear that a burgess was a cut above the ordinary.

Contemporaneous with John Shakespeare’s civil career, a term derived from the Old French term *burgeis* meaning townsman, and having its root in the Latin *burgus*, would

⁴¹¹ “Burghers” Chiefly used of continental towns, but also of English boroughs, in a sense less technical than “Burgess” OED.

⁴¹² Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Reissued, 1964 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1935). p.19

⁴¹³ Richard Baxter, *Plain Scripture Proof*, 1st Edition (London: Robert White, 1651). p.243

⁴¹⁴ 1716 - Pope Acct. E. Curll 4 - OED

come to describe this new class – the bourgeois had arrived. For the Shakespeares, “Principal Burgess” brought with it civic, legal and even national political status, though in the last case by the mid sixteenth century this was more notional than practical.

In theory it was from the locally resident “Burgesses” that Members of Parliament were selected. Knights from each shire had previously been the most prominent group in the Commons. Two were elected for each of the 37 counties under royal jurisdiction. In 1536 the twelve counties of Wales were incorporated into English rule by statute and they each returned one member to Parliament. Later, in 1543 and 1673, the two counties considered outside royal jurisdiction, the county palatines of Chester and Durham, were each permitted two members. As John Milton was to put it. (albeit somewhat naively) “The said Citizens...shall be enabled...to choose and return Burgesses into the same Parliament”.⁴¹⁵

However, as A. R. Myers and David Douglas more pragmatically observed

The growing prestige of the Commons was reflected in various ways. The Lancastrian period saw the first attempts over the Commons to claim parliamentary privileges, such as freedom from arrest for members and their servants, and freedom of speech. Generally speaking, these attempts were successful when no great persons were involved; ...this period also witnessed the first restrictions on the right to elect “Knights of the Shire” including the Forty Shilling Freeholder Act⁴¹⁶, and an act of 1445 that required the county representatives to be either knights or squires, gentleman born. And in spite of an act of 1413 requiring ... [the] elected to be bona fide residents of their constituencies, non-burgesses began to compete for borough seats. In the early days of parliament there had been a reluctance to undertake such an onerous and humble duty as that of member of Parliament... [now] the prestige and power of the Commons was so considerable that country gentry, lawyers and civil servants... [were] glad to be returned as member for the borough. This arrangement suited both sides, for the borough would gain an influential member, who would secure favours for it more readily, and often serve without wages. By 1450 half the borough representatives were non-resident...⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ John Milton, *The Works of John Milton in Verse and Prose*, Vol. 2, 9 vols. (Pickering, 1851).

⁴¹⁶ Limited the franchise to knights of the shire elected by persons “dwelling and resident in the same Counties, whereof every one of them shall have free Land or Tenement to the Value of Forty Shillings by the Year at least, above all Charges.” See Glossary for detail.

⁴¹⁷ A.R. Myers and David Douglas, *English Historical Documents 1327-1485*, Second (Routledge, 1995) p.361

The 1429 Statute disenfranchised those of “low estate” - only freemen who owned freehold land worth 40 shillings had the vote.⁴¹⁸

During the Wars of the Roses, the leading peers of the different factions tried to build up the number of their followers in the Commons and they took advantage of the opportunity to restrict the elections, both voters and candidates, to landowners like themselves. From this point, the knights of the shire largely came from and primarily expressed the interests of, the landed elite, known as the gentry, and were often brought into Parliament by the influence and efforts of the peers in the Lords. The larger group in the Commons⁴¹⁹ were the 222 burgesses.⁴²⁰

However, by being able to dictate where royal charters were granted, irrespective of population, location etc., the Monarch could dictate who could become burgesses and the total number of seats in the Commons. As Stratford received its charter in the dying days of Edward’s reign, then members from Stratford would probably have had political and religious sympathies in common with the strongly Protestant regime that elevated the town’s status.⁴²¹

It is also worth noting that schools were often created with the specific aim of “instructing the children of burgesses” and that examples of this can be found well into the nineteenth century.⁴²²

For John Shakespeare in this year of his marriage, elevation to burgess moved him on to the national political board. It also ensured the free education of his eldest son, William, born seven years later.

⁴¹⁸ The “40 shilling” franchise was only abolished by the “Great Reform Act” (1832).

⁴¹⁹ <http://www.parliament.uk/about/livingheritage/evolutionofparliament/birthofparliament>

⁴²⁰ 244, after 1536 when Wales was “united” to England.

⁴²¹ Interestingly this ability to ‘stack’ voting power still exists in the United States where the President by having the sole ability to nominate candidates for the Supreme court is, (more often than not) de facto setting the political complexion of the court after his term of office as appointments to the court are for an unspecified period.

⁴²² Grant, *Burgh. Schools Scotland* II ix.288 (1876).

Attorney - 1558

Therefore, good mother, - I must call you so -
 Be the attorney of my love to her
Richard III IV, iv

I will attend my husband...for it is my office,
 And will have no attorney but myself
Comedy of Errors V, i

The term “attorney” has, principally in the United States, become almost interchangeable with such others as “lawyer” and “solicitor”. However to John Shakespeare it would have meant an individual who represented another in the Court of Record without being formally qualified in the law.

Fripp described the role as being fit for

...Townsmen with recognized experience of the law, such as Adrian Quiney and John Shakespeare, [who] might act as attorneys... The same month⁴²³ John Shakespeare was named as attorney in the Court of Record for Richard Lane – “Goodman Lane” as he was called, a victualler and yeoman in Bridgetown (at the other end of Stratford Bridge) and tenant of the old Gild garden — but he declined to act.⁴²⁴

From the above it is also plain to see that the role was a discretionary one which the individual being asked to represent the accused had the right to decline. The military term “prisoner’s friend” for an officer who acted in a court martial on behalf of the accused is perhaps an analogous role.⁴²⁵

At this time John Shakespeare is a newly married man still in his twenties. Though “attorney” in this case falls far short of qualified lawyer it is significant that he is certainly performing like one and in a court setting and gaining further insight into the legal process.

⁴²³ August 1556

⁴²⁴ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts I*. p.XXXV

⁴²⁵ See OED - 1900 Westm. Gaz. 24 Nov. 10/1 Lieutenant ----- was assigned as advocate for the prisoner, or ‘prisoner's friend’, as the term stands in the military system of jurisprudence.

Constable - 1558

Escalus. ...How long have you been in this place of constable?

Elbow. Seven year and a half, sir.

Escalus. Alas, it hath been great pains to you. They do you wrong to put you so oft upon 't: are there not men in your ward sufficient to serve it?

Elbow. Faith, sir, few of any wit in such matters: as they are chosen, they are glad to choose me for them; I do it for some piece of money, and go through with all.

Measure for Measure II, i

From the days of the parish constable, control has always been local. While initially fairly successful, this system gradually fell into disrepute because wealthier or busier elected citizens tended to pay someone else to serve their year's term for them. Increasingly, these substitutes were drawn from the unemployable, corrupt, or just plain stupid.
F.Y. Bailey, 1999⁴²⁶

Schoenbaum in his *William Shakespeare A Documentary Life*, noted that “In the autumn of 1558 John was sworn one of the four constables: able bodied citizens defending the peace”.⁴²⁷ Like present day Italians who make jokes about stupid carabinieri,⁴²⁸ the Elizabethans poked fun at constables as being dullards. Ben Jonson in 1599 had a character remark “You might be a constable for your wit”.⁴²⁹ Shakespeare maintained the formula with constables such as: Dull (*Love's Labour's Lost*) and Dogberry (*Much Ado about Nothing*).

One additional Shakespearian Constable, one that Schoenbaum does not refer to is Elbow in *Measure for Measure*. Yet it is with Elbow that Shakespeare reveals most about his knowledge of how the office of constable should have worked. Escalus, in the above quotation, seeks to learn from Elbow how a dullard like him could be a Constable – an office that is burdensome in nature and is supposed to be shared out amongst able citizens on a rotational basis. Elbow tells him he “does it for some piece of money” i.e.

⁴²⁶ F.Y. Bailey and Joan Lock, *The Oxford Companion to Crime* (Oxford: OUP, 1999). See “Police History”.

⁴²⁷ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.29

⁴²⁸ See Glossary re “carabinieri”

⁴²⁹ Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor*. I.i <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/3695/pg3695.txt>. Jonson also took a dig at the nouveau titled Shakespeares In III. i. a new coat of arms has a crest features a " boar without a head, rampant - A boar without a head, that's very rare!" and the motto "Not without mustard." The Shakespeare family coat of arms was embellished *Non Sans Droit*, "not without right."

smarter men would rather shirk their civic duty and just pay an idiot. Escalus, fully cognizant of what has been going on, tells him to bring in the leading citizens from his ward presumably to give them a telling off for deliberately undermining the serious business of law and order.

The exact text of the oath that John Shakespeare would have taken as constable has not survived. However in a similar sized town to Stratford - Northampton – this was the oath side-by-side with its comic parody in *Much Ado About Nothing*

Table 26 - Constables Oath of Northampton

Liber Custumarum (Constables Oath) of Northampton ⁴³⁰	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> III, iii
Ye shall well and truly serve the King within the precinct... of this Town. In time of watch ye shall give due commandment and charge in the King's behalf to the watchmen such as shall be summoned by the Serjeant to appear before you; and that they keep and make due watch and true from the time of your charge-giving until the sun be upon the morrow; and that they keep their own quarter, and come into none other till they be required of any other watch or but any horn blow, any fray made or outcry, peril of fire or children and all such other; also that they behave them in goodly wise in keeping of their watch, stilly going without noise or loud speech ; also if any strange man or woman happen to come to this Town by night time, that then they honestly do examine such man or woman; and if they be not suspicious, bring them to an Inn, and if they be found suspicious or untrue then that they be brought to ward until the Mayor and Bailiffs have had examination of them.	<p>Dogberry. Are you good men and true ? . . . This is your charge : you shall comprehend all vagrom men ; you are to bid any man stand, in the Prince's name. . . . You shall also make no noise in the streets. . . . You are to call at all the ale-houses, and bid those that are drunk get them to bed. . . . If you meet a thief, you may suspect him ... to be no true man. . . .</p> <p>Watchman. If we know him to be a thief, shall we not lay hands on him ?</p> <p>Dogberry. Truly, by your office you may. . .</p> <p>Verges. If you hear a child crying in the night, you must call to the nurse and bid her still it.</p>

Schoenbaum also draws attention to the fact that in the real world “these guardians had to deprive angry men of their weapons and hale into court quarrelsome types who had started bloody street brawls”.⁴³¹ Examination of Savage’s *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620* yields more data about the probable character of John Shakespeare as well as the office of Constable.

In his introduction Fripp had noted “In the autumn of 1558, shortly before Queen Mary I's death, he [John Shakespeare] was appointed a constable.” Fripp described it as “depriving single men of their weapons and otherwise helping to preserve the peace.”

⁴³⁰ The borough of Northampton: Introduction, *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 3* (1930), p.1-26. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66252&strquery=Constables+Oath> Date accessed: 19 June 2009.

⁴³¹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.30

Significantly he goes on to make the observation that “He must have been a man of some courage and physique”.⁴³²

The full official oath setting out a Constable’s duty in disarming individuals reads

Table 27 - A Constable's Oath

From the Records ⁴³³	In Modern English
the Constabulles from tyme to tyme do dylygently for se & ouer sey yt no Sengleman from hensfurthe wear eny dagger nor other weapon w'in the burro but y' the constabull Season of the Same weapon or dagger as a forfet & for the same be answerable to the belyf & for lak of his offece so executynge the Cunstabull in whom Such neglygence shalbe found to forfeit for euery Suche defalt vjs viijd provyded always yt shal & may be lauffull for eny Sengleman rydyng or goyng furthe of the toune about hys lauffll busynes to have hys weypon about hym	the Constables from time to time to diligently enforce and oversee that no individual from henceforth shall wear a dagger nor other weapon within the borough but that the Constable shall seize the same weapon or dagger as a forfeit and for the same be answerable to the Bailiff and for lacking in the execution of his office the Constable in whom such negligence shall be found, shall forfeit for every such default 6s. 8d. provided always that it shall and may be lawful for any individual riding or going forth from the town about his lawful business to have his weapon about him.

This was no small task and the fine if levied⁴³⁴ was hardly trivial at six shillings and eight pence – the equivalent of a week’s wages for a skilled workman.⁴³⁵

A more contemporary analogy to all this might be in a formulaic Hollywood western film where the new Marshall tries to make his mark by disarming the “bad guys” when they ride into town bent on a wild night. In both ages, one fictional and one real, most males would have been armed at least part of the time. The year John Shakespeare became one of the four constables and the following year when only he continued on as a constable, i.e. the other constables were excused, was a time of political upheaval. Elizabeth I had replaced her sister Mary I on the throne and the country teetered on the brink of a religious civil war. During a time of unrest, enforcing the byelaws by

⁴³² Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* Vol. 1 XXXVI

⁴³³ Ibid. p.100

⁴³⁴ Fines in the Early Modern Period were often stated but in practice rarely fully enforced – however by listing relatively high limits it gave the judicial process greater flexibility. See: Robert Bearman, “John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Shakespeare Quarterly) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433.

⁴³⁵ John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London: Pelican, 1969) - see p.119 – in Oxford around 1550 masons earned 10d. to 16d. a day – carpenters 12d. to 16d.

disarming armed men (potentially intoxicated) in the Stratford streets would indeed have called for men of “courage and physique”.⁴³⁶

Another entry in the byelaws of 1557 concerned the four Constables. Every month, “upon pain to forfeit 6s. 8d.” John Shakespeare and his three fellow constables were required to call a meeting of “a convenient number” of the Borough Council, to keep a “privy watch” for the “good government of the Town”. Any “member who refused their summons without a sufficient cause was liable to the same fine of 6s. 8d.”⁴³⁷ As well as policing the town, the unpaid constables were on a monthly basis, to convene a meeting of a quorum of town councillors to review town security and their own performance.⁴³⁸

Fripp, after studying the records of prosecutions for violence,⁴³⁹ concluded that “John Shakespeare as constable found his office by no means a sinecure”. At the Court Leet of 14 April 1559 cases of assault were numerous... even the former bailiff, Master Rafe Cawdrey (an alderman), was fined for assaulting Alexander Webbe of Bearley, brother “ot [sic] Widow Arden of Wilmcote and brother-in-law of John Shakespeare”.⁴⁴⁰

Nor was John Shakespeare himself free from a history of fisticuffs. Thomas Siche of Armscote sued him in the Court of Record⁴⁴¹ for £8 concerning an assault. In 1556 the case lasted through four sittings and resulted in Shakespeare’s favour. He had pleaded successfully that he had “justly used” physical force on the plaintiff.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁶ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I [Fripp’s Introduction] XXXVI.

⁴³⁷ Ibid. p. XXXVII

⁴³⁸ Ibid. p. XXXVII

⁴³⁹ *x ref.* Table 28 - Sample of Stratford violent assaults for a sample of Stratford violent assaults

⁴⁴⁰ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I XXXVI.

⁴⁴¹ The Town’s own court was able to deal with matters involving sums up to £32.

⁴⁴² Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I XXXVI

Table 28 - Sample of Stratford violent assaults

From the Records	In modern English
m' mr trussell for makyng a fray & drawyng blud on roger brunt he standes a merced.	Mister Trussell is fined for attacking and drawing the blood of Roger Brunt.
m' thomas fetherston for makyng a fray on Thomas walford he standes a merced	Mister Thomas Fetherston is fined for attacking and drawing the blood of Thomas Walford.
m' thomas holyday alias drudge for makyng a fray & drwblud on luke hurst he standes a merced	Mister Thomas Holyday, alias Drudge, is fined for attacking and drawing the blood of Luke Hurst.
nota m' Humfrey Homys for makyng a fray & drw blud on []	Note: Mister Humphrey Homys for attacking and drawing the blood of [].
bene nota m' [blank] merryke made a fray vpon John Henshaw therefore he standes amerced	Note well: Mister [] Merrick attacked John Henshaw he is therefore fined.
nota m' Raff Cawdrey for makyng a fray vpon thither lanli\ bene grene of wotton he standes amerced	Note: Mister Ralph Cawdrey is fined for attacking [] of Wotton
nota m' mr Harbadge man thomas [blank] for makyng a fray vpon thother of mr Harbadge man ye Irysheman hestandes amerced	Note: Mister Hardage's man Thomas is fined [] for attacking another of Mister Hardage's men, the Irishman.
m' Richard a Court for gevenge the Constabulles obprobrious woordes & revylyng the Constabulles he standes a merced	Mister Richard a Court is fined for using scornful language and reviling the Constables.

Affeeror - 1559

The title is affeer'd⁴⁴³ Fare thee well, lord:
 I would not be the villain that thou think'st
 For the whole space that's in the tyrant's grasp,
 And the rich East to boot
Macbeth IV, iii

The minutes of this Court were witnessed by the Affeerors... the Affeerors attached their signature or mark... [John] Shakespeare's is a glover's compasses and denotes, no doubt, 'God encompasseth us'⁴⁴⁴
 Fripp, 1931

Tanistry,⁴⁴⁵ the practice of the eldest and most meritorious of his kinsmen succeeding a deceased king or lord prevailed in the Scotland of Macbeth - the actual historical figure

⁴⁴³ Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). p. 2603 has affferred as 'confirmed' which undoubtedly makes sense however, 'adjudged' might have been a more accurate choice of term.

⁴⁴⁴ See Glossary

and not Shakespeare's character. Primogeniture, succession of the firstborn son, became prevalent shortly after Macbeth's death.⁴⁴⁶ Scottish Kings of the time were "affeered" i.e. elected by a coterie of powerful figures in the extended kinship group. "The title is affeer'd" as Shakespeare puts it was the corrected way to describe how title would have passed to the "fittest", decided by the senior and most trusted members of society.

But the practice of making assessments by the trusted continued into the Stratford of Shakespeare's time where an Affeerror was a civic officer (singly or in a group) who acted as an assessor of court fines i.e. these men set the levels of court fines where there was no "expresse" statutory penalty. The fine, an "amercement", was described in the 1641 *Termes de la Ley*⁴⁴⁷ as being a "summe of money, which he is to pay...ought to be assessed & affeered by the good and lawful men of the neighbourhood...". Again this notion of a "good and lawful man" appears. It must be concluded that by being an Affeerror, John Shakespeare served in the role twice in 1559 and 1601, he was held in high regard by his peers. Affeerrors in *Macbeth* elect the king; Affeerrors in Stratford assess the punishments. Both are the trusted members of the community.

Chamberlain - 1561-5

...his two chamberlains
Will I with wine and wassail so convince
That memory, the warder of the brain,
Shall be a fume...
Macbeth IV, iii

One of the most trusted servants to a king or lord would have been his chamberlains – those individuals who waited on their master in his own "chamber". Over centuries, the title came to mean an individual who received "rents and revenues" on his master's behalf and *de facto* functioned as the high steward or factor i.e. the man who held the purse strings. In a modern corporate setting he or she would be the finance director.

⁴⁴⁵ 'A system of life-tenure among the ancient Irish and Gaels, whereby the succession to an estate or dignity was conferred by election upon the 'eldest and worthiest' among the surviving kinsmen of the deceased lord'. OED See also Diane MacLean, "Macbeth," Scotsman (Edinburgh, 10 2 2005).

⁴⁴⁶ With Macbeth's death, tanistry died in Scotland. Macbeth's successor, Lulach the Simple, his stepson by Lady Macbeth, survived only seven months after Macbeth's death when Malcolm Canmore slew him in battle, thereafter Malcolm Canmore and his descendants ruled through primogeniture.

⁴⁴⁷ 1641 *Termes de la Ley* 13: Affeerrors are such as be appointed in Court leets, &c. to mulct such as have committed any fault which is arbitrably punishable, & for which no "expresse" penalty is prescribed by Statute.

By 1561 there were two chamberlains to the Borough of Stratford, one senior in his second year of performing the role, the other learning the job in his first. This dual officer approach offered a measure of security as both would have had to collude to falsify accounts. The position was not purely a financial one - though they did receive, disburse and ultimately account for the town's finances - any activity funded by the borough came under their project management. For example, when buildings owned by the town were being repaired, altered or even constructed, then a Chamberlain actually supervised the work, making on the spot decisions as to what was appropriate and necessary for the task.

In John Wilkinson's "Court Leet" a work he himself referred to as a "treatise collected out of the statutes of this kingdom, and according to common experience of the lawes, concerning ...the keeping of a court leet..." a Chamberlain

...well and truly shall serve the maior, aldermen, and burgesses of this town... in the office of chamberlaine or generall receiver...⁴⁴⁸

In Leicester the oath of office ran

...We shall be faithful and true officers unto our master the bailiff, diligent of attendance, at all times lawful, obedient to his commandments and ready to do his precepts. We shall improve the livelihood belonging to the commonalty of this town to the most behoof of the same, and the tenements thereof we shall well and sufficiently repair during our office. And we shall well and truly charge and discharge ourself of all lands' rents belonging to this town and of all other money as shall come to our hands belonging unto the commonalty of this town, and there of a true account shall yield up unto the auditors assigned in the end of our year, and all other things lawful that belongeth or pertaineth to our offices well and truly to our powers we shall do. So keep us God, the Holy Evangel and the contents of this Book!⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ John Wilkinson, *Court Leet*, 2nd. edition from copy in Bodleian Library (Adam Islip, 1620).

⁴⁴⁹ The form at Leicester per Fripp in Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I p.L

In October 1562 John Shakespeare began his year as senior chamberlain, John Taylor taking the junior role. By the following spring he was supervising the felling of trees in the churchyard and their sawing into lumber for repairs to the Vicar's house and chapel. Also erected was the pinfold for animals straying onto common ground. Significantly, he would have been involved in the protestantization of the Chapel. Not under Episcopal jurisdiction, the Guild Chapel had been left intact but “It was not spared under the auspices of John Shakespeare”.⁴⁵⁰ i.e. whitewashing over the “catholic” murals (such as the Doom extract above) and removing decoration. A task that runs contrary to some suggestions that he and his family were holders to the old faith.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 31 - Coventry Doom

On 6 October, 1563 his term of office should have ended but he was “requested or allowed” to continue the work specifically including the “reformation” of the Chapel. At a Council meeting on 26 January the minutes show that the Corporation owed “unto John Shakespeare £1 5s 8d”. It would appear that he was using his own money to support the work.

By the summer of 1564 plague had broken out in Stratford. “Hic incepit pestis” wrote the Vicar, John Bretchgirdle, in his register of a burial on 11 July. Plague claimed over 10% of Stratford’s population before the end of the year. The Town Clerk, Richard Symons, lost three children. The Borough Council met at least once in the Guild Garden that John Shakespeare, as Chamberlain, had secured for their use. The minute of 30 August records: “money was paid towards the relief of the poor” i.e. the council members were using their own cash to relieve suffering. Wealthier members paid more, John Shakespeare was assessed at a shilling. The minutes show additional levies were

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. *x ref.431* – For “Coventry Doom” see Glossary. Whitewashing over the “catholic” murals (such as the Doom extract above) and removing decoration. An interesting task for a man some scholars consider to have been a closet catholic.

made at later meeting of the council:⁴⁵¹ “on 6 and 27 September, varying from 18d. to 4d. and 12d. to 4d., John Shakespeare paying on each occasion 6d. At a fourth levy, made on 20 October, he paid 8d.”

Records also show John Shakespeare repeatedly paid for clerical assistance from his own pocket. It was not until 21 March, 1565 that his accounts were finally presented.

At election time in September 1564, when the Plague was at its height, John Shakespeare again remained Chamberlain – the fourth year in the role and the third as Acting (Senior) Chamberlain. The week of the elections, from 27 September to 4 October, saw nineteen burials.

Alderman - 1565

...My own knee! when I was about thy years, Hal, I was
not an eagle's talon in the waist; I could have
crept into any alderman's thumb-ring: a plague of
sighing and grief!
Henry IV, I II, iv

...O, then, I see Queen Mab hath been with you.
She is the fairies' midwife, and she comes
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the fore-finger of an alderman...
Romeo and Juliet I, iv

Table 29 - A Modern “Memorial” Ring

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

After his efforts as chamberlain it was unsurprising that in 1565 John Shakespeare joined the elite of Stratford and became one of the fourteen aldermen. His aldermanic ring, new gown and title “Master Shakespeare” would collectively have evidenced his change in status.

Rings still signal social status⁴⁵². Many use wedding rings to demonstrate the bond between couples. Fraternity brothers in America wear them, as do the players in American Superbowls⁴⁵³ who are awarded them as team mementoes. American college graduates often sport class rings to show both college and seniority. Engraved seal

⁴⁵¹ Technically these meetings were called “halls” – the corporation council grew out of a town’s trade guild that met in the guildhall. After the creation of boroughs the meetings generally continued in the Guildhall - as was the case in Stratford.

⁴⁵² The 2008 “understated” ring for the Pittsburgh Steelers is shown above.- <http://sports.yahoo.com/nfl> [accessed 20/7/09]

⁴⁵³ The annual “Cup Final” of the American Football Season.

rings still appear on the little fingers of the English upper classes. William Shakespeare himself left careful bequests for friends to receive money for memorial rings.⁴⁵⁴

In all these cases there is a message being conveyed beyond the intrinsic value of the item – they symbolize that the individual has become one of the team; that the holder now belongs to a special class or group. The eviction of “unscrupulous” Ralph Bott from the office – had created the available seat.⁴⁵⁵ In time the Shakespeares would have Bott’s other seat, New Place, which further attested to their social climb.

Bailiff, Head Alderman and Justice of the Peace - 1568-9

Vices, I would say, sir. I know this man well: he
hath been since an ape-bearer; then a
process-server, a bailiff; then he compassed a
motion of the Prodigal Son, and married a tinker's
wife within a mile where my land and living lies;

The Winter’s Tale IV, iii

John Shakespeare was first nominated as bailiff in 1567, receiving three votes to Robert Perrott's sixteen. Both men excused themselves and Rafe Cawdrey took up the office. The following year Perrott again refused and Shakespeare’s year as bailiff commenced. Elected on the fourth of September he was formally “sworn in” the following month. Both ceremonies would have been “quaint and solemn ...the oath administered to John Shakespeare...[as follows]”⁴⁵⁶

Table 30 - Oath of Bailiff and Principal Alderman

[Council Book A, 352]

Modern English

Yow shalle swere that as a Justice of the peace & baylyffe of thys borowghe of St[ratford] & liberties therof for thys yere to Come, ye shalle to & the vttermost of your Cuninge wytt & power may[n]tene & defende the liberties of the same borowghe, and shalle do egall right as well to the pore as to the riche after your knowledge wytt & power & after the lawes & Customes of this Realme & statutes therof made, And yow shalle not be of Counsell withe any person in any quarrell or sute that shalle Come before yow, nor shall lett for any gyfte or other

You shall swear that as a Justice of the peace and bailiff of this borough of Stratford and liberties hereof for this year to Come, you shall and to the uttermost of your Cunning, wit and power maintain and defend the liberties of the same borough and shall do equal right as well to the poor as to the rich after your knowledge, wit and power and after the laws and the Customs of the Realm and statutes thereof made, And you shall not be of Counsel with any person in any quarrel or suit that shall come before you, nor shall let for

⁴⁵⁴ *x ref.434*

⁴⁵⁵ *x ref.256*

⁴⁵⁶ Taken from Fripp, see *x ref. footnote Error! Bookmark not defined.*

Cause but well & truly shall do your office in that behaffe, And yow shall not directe or cause to be directed any warrant by yow to be made to the parties to the accon,' but ye shalle directe them to the officers & ministers of the seyd borowghe or to some other indifferent person or persons to do execution therof so helpe yow god, &c

any gift or other Cause but well and truly shall do your office in that behalf, And you shall not direct or cause to be directed any warrant by you to be made to the parties of the action, but you shall direct them to the officers and ministers of the said borough or to some impartial person or persons to do execution thereof so help you God.

Deputy mayor and High Alderman was John Wheeler a close neighbour of the Shakespeares.

Shakespeare and Wheeler, as justices of the peace both presided as judges at the borough's own Court of Record.⁴⁵⁷ Legal assistance was provided by the Steward, Henry Higford, who, twenty-four years later was presented together with both of them for recusancy. A summary of Fripp's observations of the Court of Record (with selected extracts from the minutes and accounts) of the period ran

...Cases of debt, breach of the by-laws and the assize of meat and drink were usual. Warrants of distraint or arrest were executed by the two Serjeants. He presided also, on his "footstool"⁴⁵⁸ at the "halls" of the Council, of which unfortunately there are minutes of only six, again with the help of Master Higford. Here too, as in the Court of Record, he had assistance from old Symons, formerly, and perhaps yet, Town Clerk, whose shaky Gothic handwriting still occasionally appears in the records. He approved leases, took a survey of the Corporation deeds (1 June, 1569), "carried on negotiations with the lord of the manor (the Earl of Warwick), and made a journey to London with Adrian Quyny and Thomas Barber on borough business". Urgent instructions from the Privy Council and their commissioners for the preservation of the Peace demanded his attention. Early in March the High Sheriff of Warwickshire was required "to make inquisition of vagabonds and rogues and punish them." The same month, magistrates were appointed for the taking of musters "of men, horses, armour and weapons". On 20 June the Privy Council issued an order that strong watch was to be kept on the night of Sunday 10 July and next day in every town, village, and parish for vagrant persons. Search was to be continued monthly until 1 November, unlawful games were to be "avoided" (that is, got rid of) and archery was to be encouraged. Any "raising of the people" must not be attempted "as in some corners of the realm hath been lately". On 27 June Sir Robert Throgmorton, Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir William Wigston reported from Warwick the enlisting of 640 men - 40 light horsemen, 100 footmen with pikes, 200 with arquebuses, 200 with bows and arrows, and 100 with bills...

⁴⁵⁷ Shakespeare the maximum 13 times, Cowdrey only one less.

⁴⁵⁸ "The footstool that Master Bailiff standeth on" (Council Book A, p.101). see also *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. ii. 2, "O, a stool and a cushion for the Sexton".

In the Chamberlains' Account at Stratford there are the actual costs of the preparations
(27 Jan., 1570)

...For dressing of harness 11s. 5d., to Robert Locke 3s. 4d. for dressing
of harness another time 3s. 4d., to the soldiers at their first muster 4d. to
Robert joiner for a gunstock 2d. to Simon Biddle for dressing of two
pikes and a bow 2s. 4d.

On 25 July, Wigston and Lucy reported the choosing of practice-grounds for archery.
Certificates of men and arms were sent to London on 4 September. Of the billmen
recruited at Snitterfield was Anthony Shakespeare, brother of Thomas Shakespeare of
Snitterfield, and of John Shakespeare of Clifford Chambers (the three sons perhaps of
Anthony Shakespeare, who left Rowington in 1530).

As bailiff and head alderman, John Shakespeare and John Wheeler would have sat with
their wives on Sundays in the front pew on the north side of the nave of Stratford
Church in their scarlet and furred gowns. Other aldermen and their wives [ranked by
seniority] sat behind them.

High Alderman, Deputy Bailiff, Justice of the Peace - 1571-2

It is petter that friends is the sword, and end it:
and there is also another device in my prain, which
peradventure prings goot discretions with it
The Merry Wives of Windsor I, i

On 5 September, 1571, John Shakespeare was elected High Alderman and deputy to the new Bailiff, his old colleague, Adrian Quiney. “The first act of the new Bailiff and his High Alderman was to dispose of the Romanist vestments remaining at the Gild Chapel”.⁴⁵⁹ At a meeting of the council held on 10 October it was resolved “that Master Quiney should sell the copes and vestments here underwritten to the use of the Chamber and yield accompt of all such money as he shall receive for the same”.⁴⁶⁰

Table 31 - A Scene From Hell



Such “relics of the Amorites”⁴⁶¹ were no longer to be in possession of the Council, but were disposed of for cash. Ironically, they next welcomed the new schoolmaster Simon Hunt⁴⁶² who obtained his Protestant licence to teach in *Schola Grammaticali* at Stratford from the Bishop of Worcester on 29 October, 1571.^{463/464} Both Shakespeare and Quiney attended the Court of Record and the meetings where Henry Rogers of Sherborne attended as both Steward and Clerk. Eleven sets of Halls minutes survive, and at the Hall of 18 January, it was agreed “that

Master Adrian Quiney and Master John Shakespeare shall at Hilary term next deal in the affairs of the Borough [in London] according to their discretions”, and that “Master

⁴⁵⁹ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* [Fripp Introduction] p.XXIII

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. p.XXIII

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. p.XXIII - A member of any of a group of Semitic tribes... described in Biblical texts as inhabiting the land of Canaan before the arrival of the Israelites. OED – here it would be taken to mean the old or former religion i.e. Roman Catholicism.

⁴⁶² Who later fled to France, turned Catholic and ended up a Jesuit in Rome.

⁴⁶³ Fripp speculates, given the dates involved, that Hunt may have influenced the young William Shakespeare in his early days at school.

⁴⁶⁴ The illustration is a photograph of a portion of the fresco of the Last Judgement, attributed to an unknown Flemish artist in the French Cathedral in Albi (Cathédrale Sainte-Cécile d'Albi) – photograph taken by self in 2007. It is representative of the sort of decoration that would have been previously removed from the chapel in Stratford, the “Romanist vestments” were disposed of for the same reasons. It is significant that John Shakespeare was involved with this process on these two occasions.

Thomas Barber, one of the Chamberlains, shall deliver to Master Bailiff aforesaid at the said Hilary term⁴⁶⁵ at London £6”. Quiney received £1 on his departure from Stratford and £7 while in London. Both had returned by 7 February as they attended a large meeting of the Chamber on that date.

The three meetings in April were probably in anticipation of the assembling of Parliament on 8 May. That of 28 May, during the sitting of Parliament, passed a resolution that “Master Adrian Quiney shall deal in all causes now in variance between the Earl of Warwick and the Borough according to his discretion”. A further resolution assured him of repayment before Michaelmas of “all such money as he shall disburse concerning the Council's suits.”

This records John Shakespeare in London, representing the borough and dealing with senior aristocrats or at least their servants. Not quite the “merry-cheeked” old soul at the start of this chapter who might or might not have been a drunk.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE, BUSINESSMAN

Usurer and illegal wool dealer are not titles which have traditionally been associated with Shakespeare’s father.
Thomas & Evans 1984.⁴⁶⁶

A knight of Cales [Calais], and a gentleman of Wales,
And a laird of the north country
A yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent
Could buy them out - all three
Traditional nursery rhyme⁴⁶⁷

That John Shakespeare was a glover, wool trader and money lender is established beyond reasonable doubt. However, where a clear record is lacking, is in the nature and full scope of his business activities.

In 1984, D.L. Thomas and N.E. Evans⁴⁶⁸ produced *John Shakespeare in the Exchequer*, an article that detailed four cases in the Court of Exchequer where John Shakespeare

⁴⁶⁵ Hilary Term was from 23 January to 12 February.

⁴⁶⁶ D.L. Thomas and N.E. Evans, "John Shakespeare in the Exchequer," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1984): 315-318.

⁴⁶⁷ <http://history.wisc.edu/sommerville/367/367-03.htm>

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

was prosecuted as both usurer and wool dealer. In the quarter century since the article's publication, the notion of William's father as both an illegal trader and moneylender has become more widely accepted in both populist Shakespearean biography and in academic circles. Some examples of this

Table 32 - Contemporary Views of John Shakespeare

Writer	Extract
Michael Wood ⁴⁶⁹	So on the face of it an acceptable member of Elizabethan society. But... John Shakespeare was also a dealer. Not that he traded narcotics, but he did trade illegally in the hottest currency of the day, wool. The wool industry at this time was a state monopoly and the transference of material strictly controlled. John looks to have been quite successful in his illegal trade as a "brogger," using the money to buy property. (2005)
Stephen Greenblatt ⁴⁷⁰	John Shakespeare bought and sold wool...here he was violating the laws that restricted this business to authorized wool merchants...but the wool trade, called wool brogging was potentially lucrative...money lending for which he was twice taken to court in 1570... (2005)
Daniel Kornstein ⁴⁷¹	In 1572 in the court of Exchequer for illegal wool dealing...two years later he was twice accused of breaking the usury laws by lending money at 20% interest...(1994)

Thomas and Evans related how in the Hilary term 1570

...one of the barons of the exchequer⁴⁷² exhibited an information by Anthony Harrison [a professional informer, see below] ...in the information dated 21st of October 1569 Harrison claimed that John Shakespeare of "Stratford upon Haven", Glover, had between 26th of October 1568... given to a certain John Mussum of Wolton... in Warwickshire the sum of £100. The principle was to be repaid... to Shakespeare together with £20 interest... as the loan was a clear breach of a statute of 1552⁴⁷³, Harrison demanded that Shakespeare forfeit the capital and interest and that he be imprisoned and fined... there is no further record after the accusation...⁴⁷⁴

The cases were held in the Court of Exchequer⁴⁷⁵ and it appears John avoided any unpleasantness in the Harrison case, though the absence of any record of punishment is

⁴⁶⁹ Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, BBC Edition (London: BBC, 2005).

⁴⁷⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005). p.55 & 58

⁴⁷¹ Daniel Kornstein, *Kill All The Layers*, 2005 (new edition) (Bison Books, University of Nebraska, 2005).

⁴⁷² Court of Exchequer - "One of the three courts of common law into which the curia regis was divided (the others being the Court of Queen's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas) whose jurisdiction was merged into that of the High Court by the Judicature Acts 1873 – 75 . The judges of the Exchequer were known as Barons. See "Court of Exchequer" *A Dictionary of Law*. by Jonathan Law and Elizabeth A. Martin. Oxford University Press 2009

⁴⁷³ 5 & 6 Edw. 6, c.20

⁴⁷⁴ D.L. Thomas and N.E. Evans, "John Shakespeare in the Exchequer," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1984): p. 315

⁴⁷⁵ Now held in the Public Records Office

not, in itself, conclusive, given the incomplete nature of the records of the time. He definitely did not fare as well in case E 159-359 Hil, 237 which involved another professional informer – James Langrake of Whittlebury,⁴⁷⁶ Northamptonshire. Langrake was to bother Shakespeare twice more and these later cases appear to have been illegally settled by Shakespeare “compounding” with Langrake.

In the following table comparison can be made between the relative size of John Shakespeare’s transactions versus the other large market players

Table 33 - Examples of Large Wool Broking Transactions⁴⁷⁷

John Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon Glover Bailiff & High Alderman	Thomas Adkins of Northampton Glover Bailiff & Mayor	Richard Baynes of Newport, Shropshire and London Merchant of the Staple	George Rugle of Lavenham, Suffolk Clothier A “brogging clothier”
1572 - prosecuted - Claim that Shakespeare had illegally bought 100 tods (2800 pounds) of wool at 14s. per tod from Edward and Richard Grant	1586 - bought 220 stones (110 tods) from John Isham	1581 - sold 400 stones to a Somerset clothier	1593 - resold 1000 stones of wool - “a great occupier in the making of cloth”
1572 - prosecuted - Claim that Shakespeare and John Lockeley ⁴⁷⁸ (also of Stratford) had illegally bought 200 tods (5600 pounds) of wool at 14s. per tod from Walter Newsam ⁴⁷⁹	1586 bought 400 stones (200 tods) from John Freeman a Northamptonshire gentleman	1588 - bought 600 Stones from a Wolverhampton dealer named Thomas Huntbache acting for Sir Thomas Leveston	
	1586 bought 400 stones (200 tods) from Mr. Brickmylles a		

⁴⁷⁶ About fifty miles from Stratford (on modern roads) and fourteen miles from Northampton.

⁴⁷⁷ Data for this table is drawn from Peter Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 1st Edition (London: Macmillan, 1962). P.82 *et seq.*

⁴⁷⁸ Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive: Halford estate ER 3/2246 - 30 July 1630 - “Conveyance from Thomas Buller of Halford, gent., to Sir Hercules Underhill of Idlicote, knight, for £620, of the messuage in which he then dwelt in Halford, with a close thereto adjoining, closes called Well Close and Long Close, another close near the church, then in possession of William Mushen, four yard lands of arable meadow and pasture in the common fields of Halford then in the tenure of Thomas Buller, and three messuages in Halford with appurtenances then in the several tenures of John Burnam, William Pewe and Walter Duke. Witnesses: Ger. Hall, John Lockley and Thomas Royser” [emphasis added – the name “John Lockley” here may indicate be a related family member or mere coincidence – but the Hercules Underhill is almost certainly the one who Shakespeare was to later pay to secure the title of New Place x *ref.256*].

⁴⁷⁹ The likeliest candidate for the Walter Newsam of this transaction is the one buried in the now disused church of All Saints, Chadshunt. That Walter Newsam died in 1621 and it is very likely he was a man of property as his memorial is the largest in the church. Chadshunt is about 8 miles from Stratford.

Leicestershire grower

Examination of the relative sizes of transactions above shows that John Shakespeare, far from being merely a small “brogger” running a marginal activity, was, in fact, a large regional player, if not indeed national-level player. Bowden, though not mentioning Shakespeare, made the observation that

...The glovers of the central and east Midlands and those of Northampton in particular, were great wool dealers...⁴⁸⁰

It is interesting to compare these transactions. Thomas Adkins for example had, like John, been at the top of local politics. Both men dealt in large wool trades with the local “gentlemanly” landowners.⁴⁸¹

However, as noted in the attached paper, Wool and Cloth⁴⁸², there was some illegal element in the activities of almost all large players in the market. John and his fellow glovers, at least those who had moved a portion or all of their business activities into wool trading, would have considered themselves justified in broking wool. Tradition had established that in buying sheepskins for leather a certain amount of surplus wool was sold by glovers to local clothiers. The Merchants of the Staple were clearly directed to exports and their move into the domestic wool market presumably caused great resentment to the domestic market traders.

As to the physical characteristics of wool trading, medieval sheep yielded fleeces weighing about a pound and a half. Selective breeding and better understanding of both diet and animal husbandry increased this to about three and a half pounds by Shakespeare’s time.⁴⁸³ This is still a modest yield compared to modern farming practices as Table 34 (below) illustrates.

⁴⁸⁰ Bowden, *Wool Trade* p.82

⁴⁸¹ In John Shakespeare’s case this included the local Grant family. John Grant was involved in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 for which he was executed. One of the participants in the Essex Rebellion, he was the lord of the manor of Norbrook, located a few miles north of Stratford-upon-Avon. His parents were Thomas Grant of Norbrook and Alice Ruding - both the Grants and Rudinges were old, established families in the county. The main seat of the Grant family had been at Snitterfield, but in 1545 they came into possession of the nearby estate of Norbrook. See Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot - Terror and Faith in 1605*, Reprint (London: Arrow, 1999). Also <http://www.gunpowder-plot.org/grant.asp>.

⁴⁸² *x ref.414*

⁴⁸³ K.J. Allison, “Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Economic History Review* 2, no. 11 (1958): p.100.

For John Shakespeare and John Lockeley to have purchased 5600 lbs. of wool from one breeder in 1572 (see Table 33 above) meant that the flock would have been at least sixteen hundred sheep. Few farmers in England would have had a flock of this size. Moreover, fourteen shillings a tod (six pence per pound) indicates premium pricing for top quality wool. By comparison, a skilled sheep shearer would typically earn a shilling a day. A total transaction of £140 was very large in 1572 – nearly three times the purchase price of New Place a quarter of a century later.

Most counties could claim their own particular breed, raised to take maximum benefit from the types of feed, land and climatic conditions of a particular location.⁴⁸⁴

Table 34 - Wool Breeds and Fleece Weight

Breed	Originates	Centres on	Distance From Stratford	Fleece Weight In lbs.	Fleece Weight In lbs.
Ryeland	Herefordshire	Leominster	50 Miles	1550	4.5-6.5
Cotswold	Gloucestershire	Gloucester	42 Miles	3.5 ⁴⁸⁵	11-13
Lincoln	Lincolnshire	Lincoln	90 Miles		12-20

Who transported the fleeces and when they were collected varied widely based on the location of the farmer and the individual terms of the purchase. Bowden made the following observations.

...sometimes carriers were employed to fetch wool...[but] the ...middlemen themselves frequently came with the transport to fetch wool from the [farmer's] house⁴⁸⁶ ...Where an advance agreement was made for the supply of wool the middleman generally undertook delivery...one large Shropshire dealer, for instance, sold wool to a Shepton Mallet clothier at Shrewsbury, and later sent his servants to deliver the wool at Bristol⁴⁸⁷

It was common for the larger broggers to buy an entire grower's production for a year, store it for a time then break up the clipping into smaller lots. Well into the seventeenth century, packhorses were used for small lots or farmers in hilly districts and since medieval times, carts and small wagons pulled by a couple of horses had been used to move goods. However burgeoning demand and corresponding increased production began to outstrip the availability of both men and horses. For the larger

⁴⁸⁴ Interestingly Warwickshire was one that did not.

⁴⁸⁵ Source: Peter Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 1st Edition (London: Macmillan, 1962). p.27

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. p.91

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. p.92 and P.R.O. Req. 2/113/13

flocks an altogether better form of transport evolved – the stage wagon. Eric Kerridge noted

...Two-wheeled carts carrying about 20 cwt, which had been the usual vehicles, hardly sufficed for the increasing volume and weight of goods to be moved, and by about 1600 had generally been replaced by four-wheeled wagons drawn by up to ten or twelve horses and taking loads of 60 or 70 cwt. Wagons were first introduced into England about 1558 and their use spread to most parts before very long. In 1582, for example, Robert Lane was the first man to bring such a vehicle into public service at Ipswich, “for which the borough gave him a patent for ten years.” ...the use of wagons much facilitated the regular movement of heavy goods.⁴⁸⁸

Table 35 - Small Goods Wagon - Fifteenth Century

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

489

On a good day a laden stage wagon with a dozen horses might travel twelve miles. However, the use of wagons also quickly destroyed the road surface. Wheels of large wagons were rimmed in studded iron that quickly tore up the soft road surface. For obvious reasons they were banned in towns.⁴⁹⁰ Legislation would be enacted after the civil war to upgrade roads, but prior to this these huge wagons would churn the surface to a quagmire in wet times or pulverize it to dust in the summer months.⁴⁹¹

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 36 - Stage Wagon (Seventeenth to Early Eighteenth Century)

⁴⁸⁸ Eric Kerridge, *Trade & Banking in Early Modern England* (Manchester: MUP, 1988). p.8

⁴⁸⁹ Amb. 317.2° Folio 32 verso, Cuntz Wagenmann Beruf:Wagenman <http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de>

⁴⁹⁰ Kerridge, *Trade* p.8

⁴⁹¹ As Fripp noted, the Borough acted to limit access to Stratford roads. *x ref. footnote Error! Bookmark not defined.*

Large-scale brogging was not a one-man trade. The goods themselves were not standardized, nor were the terms of trade or the means of collection and delivery. Constant inspection against poor quality goods and close supervision to avoid theft were necessary. Brogging at a large regional level called for financial resources, trusted employees, equipment and storage or distribution facilities. To prosper in this business a successful dealer needed help and the logical source would have been the brogger's own family. The relationship between the emergent middle class in Stratford - the "middling sort" - and the Shakespeares is considered later in this thesis but the probability stands that the Shakespeare sons, like other sons of the middling sort, would have been integral to the success of the family business.⁴⁹²

The Law concerning Interest, Tax and Trade Credit

Tudor Parliaments, lacking the means to police their own tax levies, created a body of informers to bring "qui tam"⁴⁹³ cases to the courts in return for half the fine. Legislation had fallen far behind market reality and, as Thomas and Evans related, trade in the sixteenth century was heavily reliant on credit. Unfortunately, reflecting the attitudes of an earlier age which regarded the charging of interest as wrong, the law had failed to keep pace with economic necessity.⁴⁹⁴

As regards laws governing money lending, the Act of 1545⁴⁹⁵ permitted interest up to a limit of 10%, but it was replaced in 1552 by a new statute⁴⁹⁶ that prohibited "...usury, a vice most odious and detestable".⁴⁹⁷ John Shakespeare was convicted under the 1552 Act in 1570.⁴⁹⁸ A year later, the law was relaxed⁴⁹⁹ and those lending at interest rates of 10% or less were to forfeit only the interest: previously they had to surrender both principal and interest, as well as suffer a fine and imprisonment. The new "bounty

⁴⁹² *x ref. footnote 618*

⁴⁹³ The first words in an action on a penal statute are *qui tam*, short for *qui tam pro domina regina quam pro se ipso in hoc parte sequitur*, meaning "he who sues for the queen as well as for himself." The modern 'whistleblower' is a descendant of this concept, which has its roots in thirteenth-century English Law.

⁴⁹⁴ D.L. Thomas and N.E. Evans, "John Shakespeare in the Exchequer," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1984): p.315

⁴⁹⁵ 37 Hen. 8, c.9

⁴⁹⁶ 5 & 6 Edw. 6, c.20

⁴⁹⁷ 37 Hen. 8, c.9

⁴⁹⁸ Stanley Wells, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Michael Dobson (Oxford University Press, 2001). See entry John Shakespeare.

⁴⁹⁹ 13 Eliz. 1, c.8

hunters”, not least Langrake and Harrison, were what one might expect of self-appointed government spies. Thomas and Evans⁵⁰⁰ noted of the former

...James Langrake appears to have been a notorious character. In 1570 he was [accused] of the rape of one of his servants⁵⁰¹ ... On 2 December 1574 Langrake, together with 11 other informers, was committed to the Fleet prison for compounding with offenders.⁵⁰²

The first Langrake case was settled with Shakespeare agreeing to a “reasonable fine” of two pounds to reduce the costs of litigation - a pittance compared with the maximum provisions of the statute. But the amounts tied up in these transactions are perhaps the most interesting factor of all - they run to several hundred pounds worth of merchandise and cash and, as such, are evidence of the activities of a well-to-do merchant and not merely those of a small town glover.

Men such as Langrake and Harrison squeezed money from their victims either by dragging these unfortunates into court or by “compounding” with (extorting money from) them, itself an illegal activity.⁵⁰³ Through their actions in the early 1570’s, John Shakespeare was taken to court and fined. As one examines the cases against him, it is possible to see through the legal verbiage that both John and his judges were frustrated that he was found guilty of something which was common practice and considered to be a natural adjunct to the glover’s trade. The final adjudication of a two-pound fine was a derisory amount given the size of the transactions. But even a symbolic two pounds, plus whatever he had to pay Langrake out of court, would have had the effect of making John Shakespeare more guarded about the details of both his business and personal life and made him want a lower public profile and to take steps to protect his assets.

It is interesting to note that by 1574 the law was catching up with the informers “compounding” out of court, which was, after all, reducing Royal revenues

...On 2 December 1574, Langrake, together with eleven other informers was committed to Fleet prison ...the following February he was fined £40 and banned from bringing any further *informations* for a year...⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ Thomas and Evans, *John Shakespeare*.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid. Langrake tried to evade the charge by suing almost everyone in sight, and Thomas and Evans note how poorly he was thought of by his fellows.

⁵⁰² Ibid. p.316. For another example of Langrake’s activities see Glossary “Langrake”

⁵⁰³ Ibid. They note that cases of this type may have peaked in 1574 (afterwards the law began to catch up with the informers themselves) – they quote M.W. Beresford, “The Common Informer, The Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation,” *Economic History Review*, 1957: 221-238. Thomas and Evans also note that under the law “paying off” a “would-be” or “actual” informer (as John almost certainly did in the last two Langrake cases) was in itself also an offence.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. p.318

The mention of a year's penalty shows that the intent was not to stop informers, merely to scare those who were not in jail into ensuring that the state got its share.

Legal Records

The table below highlights John Shakespeare's principal financial and legal transactions. As these took place over five decades - from apprenticeship to death - the list is long and supported by documents of varying evidentiary quality. Given the age and the nature of the records themselves, the many different courts and the complexity of the legal process as it affected commerce, it can never be taken as being complete. However, it indicates the scope and geographical range of his commercial business.

Most of the legal suits referred to here were, in reality, legal posturing and commercial manoeuvrings. However, regardless of their underlying purpose, they are wholly consistent with the commercial activities of a successful businessman of the period.

Thomas Carter writing in 1906 stated that

...He [John Shakespeare] was one of the most litigious of men... from July 2 Phil. and Mary, to March, 37 Elizabeth, there are no less than 67 cases in which his name appears on one side or the other...⁵⁰⁵

Unfortunately Carter does not enumerate all "67" instances he refers to, confining himself to a few samples of "Writs of Dstraint"⁵⁰⁶ and comments that "...nearly every businessman in Stratford had been proceeded against in this way...". And "it carries no weight in deciding for or against a man's financial position."

Bearman produced a partial analysis of John Shakespeare's Court of Record appearances.⁵⁰⁷ In contrast to Carter, Bearman had a more cautious approach to his litigiousness

...it would certainly be unjustified to conclude from this summary that John was more litigious than his fellow townsmen, many of whose names appear just as frequently in the court records...

⁵⁰⁵ T. Carter, *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*, New Edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1906). p.166

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. see section B. p.200

⁵⁰⁷ Robert Bearman, "John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Shakespeare Quarterly) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433. p.end table – quotation p.414

Table 37 - John Shakespeare's Legal Cases per Bearman⁵⁰⁸

Year	Cases	Plaintiff	Defendant	Won	Lost	Uncertain	Office Held
1556	2	1	1	1		1	
1557	3	3		3			
1558	3		3	2		1	Constable
1559	4	3	1	1	2	1	Constable
1560	0						
1561	1		1		1		Chamberlain
1562	0						Chamberlain
1563	2	2			1	1	
1564	1	1		1			
1565	1	1		1			Alderman
1566	0						Alderman
1567	0						Alderman
1568	0						Alderman
1569	0						High Bailiff
1570	0						Alderman
Total	17	11	6	9	4	4	

Bearman interprets the reduction in the number of suits over time as suggesting a tapering off in business activity resulting from his more burdensome civic duties. There is some merit in this observation but he subsequently omitted any analysis of the next thirty-one years, during which John Shakespeare was hardly a stranger to the courts.

The following table shows representative transactions and actions in which he was involved.

Juror indicates John Shakespeare served as a juror in the Stratford Court of Record. **Summoned** means he was brought to the Court of Record accused of a misdemeanour. **Prosecuted** indicates that he was indicted by the Crown for felonious conduct breaking the law i.e. committing one or more criminal offences contrary to Statute and subject to fines and or imprisonment. **Suing** was where he initiated a civil (person-to-person) action against another party, **Sued** is the reverse of this. **Conveys** indicates a transfer of legal title, usually of land. **Petition** was where he as an individual appealed to the Crown to take action on his behalf. **Exempted** indicates where he was released from a taxation obligation by a competent legal authority i.e. the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon. **Fined** indicates where a court had imposed a legal charge on him and his

⁵⁰⁸ I have prepared this table based on Bearman's text.

property in response to either an illegal act or contempt of Court. However, fining, as is demonstrated below, could be a far step from actual collection at that time.

Table 38 - John Shakespeare's Business Dealings⁵⁰⁹

Year	Legal Events being Prosecuted (by the Crown), Sued or Suing making investments	Evidenced by +++ = excellent evidentiary material, ++=good, + = poor	Stratford Positions Contemporaneously held
1556	Juror.	Court of Record – 21/3,12/8 On 9/23 re one Rhodes J.S. was his essoiner – i.e. brought his excuse.	
1556	Suing.	June/July - J.S. won case vs. Thomas Siche. Later that year a suit re barley was recorded but appears to be settled out of court.	
1557	Juror.	Juror in review of Frankpledge 1 October	
1557	Suing.	Sues: Richard Wagstaff, William Richardson, John Asshell	
1558	Summoned.	Summoned to the Court of Record 2/23 for dirty gutters.	
1568	Prosecuted. JS is actively lending money at interest (i.e. the illegal practice of usury) in amounts of £100.	Court Rolls: E159/359 m. 215 PRO The Harrison Case re Loans to John Mussum+++	Bailiff, Head Alderman, Justice of the Peace
1570	Prosecuted. JS fined and enters a guilty plea after the attorney general asked that his case for usury be sent for jury trial – pays 40 shillings fine	Court Rolls: E159/359 PRO m. 237 The Langrake Case No.1 re loans to John Mussum+++	High Alderman, Deputy Bailiff, Justice of the Peace
1572	Prosecuted. Claim that JS illegally bought 100 tods (2800pounds) of wool at 14s. per tod from Edward and Richard Grant	Court Rolls: E159/363 Records, Hil, m.68d. PRO Langley Case No. 3 re illegal wool dealing with the Grants+++	Alderman
1572	Prosecuted. Claim that JS and John Lockeley (also of Stratford) had illegally bought 200 tods (5600 pounds) of wool at 14s. per tod from Walter Newsam	Court Rolls: E159/362 Records, Hil, m.68d. PRO Langley Case No. 2 re illegal wool dealing Walter Newsam+++	Alderman
1572	Suing. Glover in Banbury JS awarded £50	Court Records CP+++	Alderman

⁵⁰⁹ I have prepared this table using data from numerous sources including Bearman and Savage, *Minutes and Accounts*

1573	Sued. JS and Mussum both sued by Henry Higford of Solihull in the Court of Common Pleas for £30 each.	Court Records CP40/1313m. 399+++	Alderman
1575	Conveys. Buys two houses in Grimley near Worcester for £40	++	Alderman
1576/7	J.S. exits "Public" Life		
1578	Conveys. Mortgages house and 56 acres (part of Asbies Estate) for £40 to his wife's brother-in-law	+++	None
1578	Conveys. 86 acres in Wilmcote to "a Webb relative" - sold to Robert Webb for £4 in 1579	+++	
1578	Exempted. from Poor Relief Tax	SBTRO Council Book A, p.190 +++	
1580	Fined. £20 for not attending Court of Queen's Bench	+++	
1582	Petitions. Queen's Bench against four Stratfordians for "fear of death and mutilation of his limbs"	+++	
1586	Juror.	Sits twice as juror per Fripp – "evidence that he had not lost caste" ⁵¹⁰	
1587	Sued.	By Nicholas Lane in Court of Record for £10 – part of a debt of £22 owed by his brother	
1587	Conveys. Attempts reconveyance of Asbies		
1589	Suing.	Sues in Queen's Bench against John Lambert re Asbies ⁵¹¹	
1599	Suing. Sues John Walford (three time Mayor of Marlborough in Wiltshire) for failing to pay on demand £21 for 21 tods of wool	Court Records – Docket 1599 only++	Alderman

⁵¹⁰ Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies* (London: OUP, 1930). p.94

⁵¹¹ Halliwell-Phillipps noted of the Queen's Bench suit that: "it is ascertained from an interesting passage in his Bill of Complaint (see Estate Records, No.2), that he was still engaged in commercial speculations". J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). Vol. 2. p.243

The Seeming Fall from Financial Grace

John Shakespeare withdrew from public life after a council meeting in November 1576. Thereafter he ceased

- to attend any council meetings - the only exception to this in ensuing years was a single appearance to vote in a council election,
- to pay local taxes - even poor rates,
- his efforts to obtain “gentlemanly” status even though these were at an advanced stage - he would have already paid hefty fees to the College of Heralds to prepare his case for consideration,
- to attend church – he and his family became Recusants.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 39 - Poor Relief

The years after 1576 also brought a flurry of asset disposals and subsequent litigation.

Various theories have been advanced for this.

1. Business failure left the Shakespeare family penniless.
2. Bishop Whitgift’s “Commission” fiscally attack recusants of both Protestant and Catholic beliefs.
3. The Shakespeares were Catholics.
4. The fall into poverty never occurred.

These represent the four most popular reasons though some commentators have blended their assessment by favouring more than one of these. Taking each of these in turn:

1. Business failure left the Shakespeare family penniless.

There can be no doubt whatever that the words Johannes Shackspere nihil haet unde distringi potest [John Shakespeare had nothing able to be distrained] - are not to be taken literally, and that they merely belong to a formula that was in use when a writ of distringas failed in enforcing an appearance...
Halliwell-Phillipps, 1889⁵¹²

In the above quotation Halliwell-Phillipps drew attention to a court entry of 1586 that John Shakespeare had nothing to be “distrained” (capable of seizure to ensure court attendance) but noted that this was not in fact an actual sign of poverty. Many later scholars chose either not to pay attention to this caveat or indeed found it more convenient to take the statement at face value as meaning that the Shakespeares were in severe financial distress.

It had become customary over centuries of Shakespearian biography to say that John Shakespeare fell upon hard times, starting in the late 1570s. However, across the twentieth century the attitude of scholars became increasingly inflexible.⁵¹³ This issue moved from possibility (Chambers) through probability (Halliday) to a situation today where most writers feel secure in making emphatic statements merely amplifying the opinions of earlier scholars without any reference to source documents such as *The Minutes and Accounts*.⁵¹⁴ The following table shows a selection of researchers’

⁵¹² J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). II p 238. He further noted that “there is unfortunately no record of procedure that was adopted in this Court” [Stratford Court of Record]. The actual case in question involved “Johannes Browne” and proceedings on the case are shown for 19 January, 16 February and 2 March at which point the case was dropped or settled out of court – as mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, gamesmanship over debts i.e. ignoring the case till the last moment or ignoring it until it was clear the other party simply wouldn’t give up were a common business tactic. Halliwell-Phillipps makes this statement based on his extensive knowledge of the court records – as he notes in this case John Shakespeare was placed on Court of Record juries on 25 May and 20 July from which it can be inferred he was overall in good standing with the Borough.

⁵¹³ Carol Chillington Rutter referred to interpretations of Henslowe’s “diary”, passed on between scholars, as a “series of begats as sonorous as the Book of Genesis, generations of playhouse handed down one Philip Henslowe to the present day.” This was how she described the process similar to the “hardening” of the “one” John Shakespeare. Carol Chillington Rutter, *Documents of The Rose Playhouse*, Revised Edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). p.2

⁵¹⁴ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts*

opinions – in each case two quotations are cited to illustrate that the opinion in each case was not merely a single quote taken out of context – all quotations are taken from the works footnoted below

Table 40 - Hardening Attitudes to the “Poverty” of the Shakespeares⁵¹⁵

Year	Scholar	Quotation 1	Quotation 2
1930	E.K.Chambers ⁵¹⁶	Indications of a decline in his fortunes	He was still in a position to spend £50 on property in 1575...
1964	F.E.Halliday ⁵¹⁷	The twenty years 1576-96 appear to be years of adversity	His fortunes are restored 1596-1601, probably by the poet
1975	Samuel Schoenbaum ⁵¹⁸	The evidence suggests that John Shakespeare had fallen on hard times	Adversaries as well as adversities, oppressed him
1999	Anthony Holden ⁵¹⁹	Father’s affairs in ever more rapid decline (1579)	Fine £20
2002	Stanley Wells ⁵²⁰	His father’s fortunes were in decline.	Sold land, mortgaged a part of his wife’s inheritance...
2002	Katherine Duncan-Jones ⁵²¹	John Shakespeare’s financial difficulties during the late 1570’s are well documented... he lacked the funds even to hang on [sic] to all the property he possessed...	Grinding poverty of the Henley Street House... [of Anne Shakespeare] she fed her children herself... [wet nurse] a luxury far beyond the young couple’s means...
2005	Robert Bearman ⁵²²	there are indications that he had fallen on hard times.	...Fear of arrest for debt and the consequent social humiliation...
2005	Stephen Greenblatt ⁵²³	...around the time Will reached his thirteenth year, things began to turn sour for his buoyant, successful father	[J.S.] ...needed money...by November 1578...urgently...he sold and mortgaged property
2006	Kate Emery Pogue ⁵²⁴	In 1576 John Shakespeare’s speculations in wool dealing sent his fortunes into a long decline	Ceased going to church for fear of being dunned [sic] for unpaid debts

Edgar Fripp, the long time collaborator of Richard Savage,⁵²⁵ was an advocate for the simplest of all explanations for the financial fall of John Shakespeare - it simply never happened.

⁵¹⁵ I have prepared this table using the referenced works.

⁵¹⁶ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). p.14

⁵¹⁷ F. E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.441/2

⁵¹⁸ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.36

⁵¹⁹ Anthony Holden, *William Shakespeare - His Life and Work* (London: Little, Brown & Co, 1999). p.56/62

⁵²⁰ Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time* (London: Macmillan, 2002). p.21

⁵²¹ Kate Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare* (London: Arden Shakespeare - Thomas Learning, 2002). p.14

⁵²² Robert Bearman, “John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Shakespeare Quarterly) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433.

⁵²³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005). p.60/1

⁵²⁴ Kate Emery Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends* (London: Praeger, 2006). p.2

But there are dissenting voices to his view. For example Robert Bearman as recently as 2005, held to the “sudden poverty” line when considering if John Shakespeare deliberately hid his wealth. Bearman concluded that “[his] small-scale dealings do not have this air about them.”⁵²⁶

2. Bishop Whitgift’s “Commission” fiscally attacks recusants of both Protestant and Catholic beliefs.

In the summer of 1577 Bishop Whitgift made “visitation of his diocese in the hope of catching recusants”⁵²⁷ with the intent of extracting fines wherever practicable. Fripp quoted from a letter Whitgift sent to Lord Burghley.⁵²⁸

...two kinds of men delighted in molesting and troubling him, namely the contentious Protestant and the stubborn Papist ...both with backing from “great men”...⁵²⁹

Fripp reasoned that the move into recusancy and apparent poverty flowed from a change in Crown policy that left much of the protestant, if not indeed puritan, majority of Borough Council members vulnerable through the appointment of Bishop Whitgift.⁵³⁰ Suddenly, according to Fripp, John Shakespeare took elaborate steps to avoid being classified as a potential victim of the new bishop’s cash-hungry regime. As Bishop of Worcester (later Archbishop of Canterbury) Whitgift appeared determined to follow Elizabeth’s middle course for the Church of England and was a man who pursued both wealthy Catholics and Non-Conformist Protestants (the key word perhaps being “wealthy”) with fiery fiscal vigour. Tempting though it may be to attribute this move on the part of the Crown to philosophical or doctrinal grounds there was a strong economic motive, given Elizabeth I’s pressing need for cash.

J. B. Marsden, a source often quoted by Fripp, stated that in 1584, after six years’ experience in Warwickshire, Whitgift⁵³¹ again complained to Burghley

⁵²⁵ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* See also p.311 - David Fallow, *The Abridged Introductions of Edgar I. Fripp and Accounts etc.* (2009).

⁵²⁶ Robert Bearman, “John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Shakespeare Quarterly) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433. p.421

⁵²⁷ Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies* (London: OUP, 1930). p.90

⁵²⁸ William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.* p.90

⁵³⁰ 1530?-1604. Bishop of Worcester 24 March 1577. In August 1583 he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

...it is hard to get witnesses against the Puritans, because most of the parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them nor against them. If Archbishops and Bishops should be driven to use proofs by witnesses only, the execution of the law would be partial, and their costs in procuring and producing witnesses would be intolerable...

What is interesting in light of John's later behaviour (see below) is the reference to the costs of "procuring and producing witnesses" with its implication that this apparently moral crusade was indeed being run with an eye for the cash box. The consequence is that if an accused could make the prosecution sufficiently expensive, then the matter would, perhaps, be dropped. Of course Whitgift was also stating that the best way to get more cash would have been to abandon the processes of English Common Law. This was an easy enough proposal for a man who rationalized his own view of the "Grand Commission"⁵³² as being

...by no means to be compared with the [Spanish] Inquisition, inasmuch as the Inquisition punished with death, the commissioners only with deprivation...⁵³³

However, a note of caution must be sounded concerning Marsden's writing - notwithstanding Fripp's faith in him as a reliable source. Marsden's staunchly pro-Puritan stance⁵³⁴ remains highly reminiscent of, and just as biased as, the pro-Catholic writers of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In studying Marsden's work *in toto*, a rational balance has to be struck between the facts as he interprets them and the documentary evidence. In the case of deprivation,⁵³⁵ the letters, some fragments of which are quoted above, appear to support both Marsden and later Fripp's analysis. Fripp also can also be conspicuously partisan in his interpretation of events.⁵³⁶ Schoenbaum, though accounting him "a distinguished scholar in the great Stratfordian antiquarian tradition,"⁵³⁷ was rightly critical of Fripp's need to lay all explanation of John Shakespeare's behaviour at religion's door - especially Whitgift's. For Schoenbaum "Fripp could never proceed beyond a romantic and uncritical love for his

⁵³¹ John Buxton Marsden, *The History of the Puritans from The Reformation to the Opening of The Civil War in 1642*, 3rd Edition (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1853). p.165 - Fripp often quotes Marsden verbatim (or near) in his own work - with varying degrees of attribution.

⁵³² Established in April 1576 "...to order, correct, reform and punish any persons wilfully and obstinately absenting themselves from church and service..." Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, BBC Edition (London: BBC, 2005). p.70

⁵³³ Ibid. p.164

⁵³⁴ Marsden, *Puritans*. In the preface - in the book the term "Advertisement" is used - on the first page Marsden states "the stream of puritan history runs deep and clear" which indicates where Marsden's own sympathies lay.

⁵³⁵ In this case government seizure of possessions.

⁵³⁶ In addition to being scholars, both men were non-conformist clergymen.

⁵³⁷ Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, New edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). p.498

theme.”⁵³⁸ Though in many ways correct in this observation, Schoenbaum does not appear to admit the possibility that some of Fripp’s romantic leaps of faith might have been, on occasions, more unconscious pattern recognition than mere fancy.

Fripp described a sequence of related events that demanded an overall explanation ⁵³⁹

...[John Shakespeare] had avoided ‘gentlehood’ [i.e. he abandoned his costly application for a coat-of-arms with its attendant Gentlemanly status]⁵⁴⁰, but his name appeared near the top of the list of “Gentlemen and Freeholders” in Stratford drawn up at the time of the Musters.⁵⁴¹ He was a marked man... He was, beyond doubt, an obstinate recusant suddenly anxious to appear “of no account”, “a very beggar”, ready to plead “debt” and “fear of process”, unwilling to pay his levies and fines, and much befriended by neighbours. Sure of his tenements and goods within the borough, he parted his property outside, conveying it to friends from whom he expected relief, trusting in one case to a brother-in-law, proved, it appears, a knave.⁵⁴²

The above point concerning financial substance at the time of the 1570 musters - that John was “wealthy and near the top of the list” - means that he was indeed identified as an economic target. By 1580 he was fined £40 for failure to appear in court when bound over to do so: £20 was for his own non-appearance,⁵⁴³ with a further £20 for not bringing John Audley, a hatmaker of Nottingham, into court.

Early Modern legal practice in England relied heavily on co-guarantors, both in commercial and criminal actions, who would indemnify the Crown against the failure of an individual to either appear in court or to perform some specified action. Many scholars have focused on this £40 fine using it as evidence of poverty while still failing to explain how, if insolvent, he could have come up with such a cash sum.

⁵³⁸ As noted earlier, Schoenbaum could have his own sporadic moments of fancy. See “the river was the silver streaming silent highway” Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). See p.97 - for prose that would not be out of place in a romantic novel.

⁵³⁹ Ibid. p. 32 & 172

⁵⁴⁰ Gentlemanly status was double edged – on the positive side title, coats-of-arms, ability to wear certain types of clothing – in general prestige – on the negative, greater notoriety therefore vulnerability to taxation at local and national level where ability to pay (or perceived ability) dictated the level of imposts for a whole range of taxes involving both the State and the Borough.

⁵⁴¹ Musters ‘of men, horses, armour and weapons’ in March 1570 – often used as a technique to signal public authority in times of potential political unrest. The costs for these were distributed based upon apparent wealth, to appear at the top meant an individual would be liable for what was, in effect, a wealth tax to pay for raising troops.

⁵⁴² A reference to the mortgaging of the house and 56 acres (part of Asbies Estate) for £40 to his wife’s brother-in-law who per Fripp pulled an underhanded trick by keeping what was not rightfully his.

⁵⁴³ “ad inveniendum sufficientem securitatem pads domine Regine erga ipsam dominant Reginam et cunctum populum suum prout sub recognitione super se assumpsit”

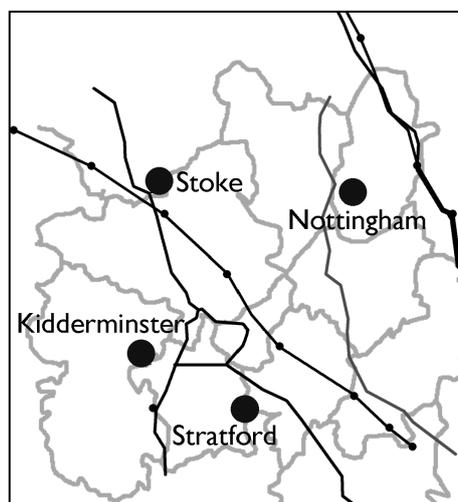
Fripp again delivered the alternative explanation - it was never paid. Though still unable to determine how the following arrangement was coordinated, Fripp did show how it proved possible to defeat the Elizabethan court system with its own bureaucracy.

...On the day John Shakespeare was fined, the latter John Audley was fined £70 - £10 for not bringing John Shakespeare into court; £40 for his own non-appearance *ad inveniendum sufficientem securitatem de se bene gerendo* [etc.]...- and £20 for his ...non-appearance *ad inveniendum sufficientem securitatem* [etc.]... Simultaneously, Thomas Cooley of Stoke in Staffordshire (described as a yeoman) was fined £30 - £10 for not bringing John Shakespeare into court, and £20 for not bringing John Audley into court. Lastly, Nicholas Walton (a yeoman of Kidderminster) and William Lonley of Emley in Worcestershire (husbandman) were each docked £10 apiece for not bringing John Audley into court...⁵⁴⁴

The purpose of all this cross guaranteeing was that the courts, based as they were on Church dioceses, had no central means of coordinating fines.⁵⁴⁵ Continuing on from the above quotation Fripp noted

...The distribution of the security is striking⁵⁴⁶ - Stratford, Nottingham, Stoke, Kidderminster and Emley Lovett (near Kidderminster) are widespread. John Shakespeare and his two sureties, Audley and Cooley, were in three dioceses under separate jurisdictions, and the procedure for the getting of the fines imposed would be so complex that we may well doubt whether they were [ever] paid...

Table 41 - Roads and Dioceses



Key⁵⁴⁷ **Gray lines** are diocesan boundaries.
Solid black lines are major modern roads and motorways.
Black lines with circles are Early Modern post roads.

⁵⁴⁴ See *x ref.311*, for his full explanation of events. Also *x ref. footnote Error! Bookmark not defined*.

⁵⁴⁵ See Glossary re Fines (Ecclesiastical)

⁵⁴⁶ Stratford-upon-Avon to Nottingham (68.2 Miles), Stoke (97 Miles), Kidderminster (31.8 Miles) Emley Lovett/Hartlebury 31.4 (Miles) – distances on modern (2009) roads.

⁵⁴⁷ The above diagram relies on data from a number of sources, modern maps, and Episcopal records. It is approximately to scale.

Fripp stopped his analysis at this point, proposing no further explanation.

But there exists one economic explanation of how all this was arranged across these quite considerable distances and between men who apparently do not share a close common trade. Indeed, the distribution may well have been more significant than Fripp observed as the locations of the individuals in question all fan out North from Stratford and all lie on, or are close to, both Early Modern and present day major arterial roads and motorways which follow the ancient routes.

The Early Modern “North” of England was much less closely regulated with regard to the wool and cloth trade and it was also where various techniques were used to increase the return through adulteration and blending of wool and yarns.⁵⁴⁸ That John Shakespeare was a significant trader in wool in the 1570s is demonstrated in the court cases previously cited. If he were willing to be in a dubious business (from a strictly legal standpoint) then he would hardly have hesitated to sell the wool in the less regulated North where the ability to maximize profit lay. The probability was that John’s business flowed north from Stratford and, as is seen in the evasion of fines, his business contacts (i.e. the cross guarantors) came through the illegal movements of fleeces and cloth. There is also the possibility that these linked businessmen had some mutuality of personal beliefs (religious or economic). One additional piece of evidence comes from Elizabeth Crittall who, writing of the cloth industry in Wiltshire, (where regulation was almost as fluid as in the North), noted that

...men... described indiscriminately as “weaver”, “clothman”, or “clothier” and from those weavers, sometimes called “yeomen”, sometimes “husbandmen”⁵⁴⁹ ...

were, despite the apparent difference in trade titles, all fundamentally in the same business i.e. wool and cloth. Given this, the differing business titles of John Shakespeare’s co-guarantors would have been no bar to their actual involvement in wool and manufacture of cloth. John Audley may easily have been no more a hatter at this date than John Shakespeare was, by this time, a glover.

⁵⁴⁸ And a sufficient financial incentive to offset the cost of transporting the wool north on horseback over Elizabethan roads.

⁵⁴⁹ Elizabeth Crittall, *A History of the County of Wiltshire - Cloth 1550-1640*, Vol. 4 (1959).

Fripp described “Alderman Shakespeare” faced with Whitgift’s Commission and the sudden apparent move into penury as being “curled up like a hedgehog at the approach of the dog”.⁵⁵⁰

3. The Shakespeares were Catholics

In 1952 Heinrich Mutschmann and Karl Wentersdorf, published in German a book that was later sold in English with the title *Shakespeare and Catholicism*.⁵⁵¹ The title rather prejudged the book’s message that “religion mattered supremely to the Shakespeares... a point upon which most scholars are agreed.” However, the conclusion was perhaps unsurprisingly, that the Shakespeare family were all Catholics, and fanatical ones at that. However, if one looked beyond this there was a good review of historical events and, interestingly, a heavy reliance upon the works of Edgar Fripp. With reference to Fripp however, no mention is made of his own Protestant solutions beyond an acknowledgement that “theoretically Puritans were also in danger.”⁵⁵²

On the matter of “John Shakespeare’s Recusancy” they too dismiss the notion of a sudden commercial downturn noting

There was no big fire at the time which might have destroyed his property... nor called on to fill [expensive] social functions... or had fallen into disfavour with his colleagues...⁵⁵³

There then follows an analysis of events assuming that the explanation for his “abrupt break with borough life must...be found in his religious convictions”.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. p.91

⁵⁵¹ H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf, *Shakespeare and Catholicism*, 2nd Edition (New York: AMS Press, 1969).

⁵⁵² Ibid. p.44

⁵⁵³ Ibid. p.44

Table 42 - Catholic Motivations

Issue	Explanation per Mutschmann & Wentersdorf
1 Application for coat of arms withdrawn	Catholic “counter reformation” provokes voluntary withdrawal from public life rather than take Oath of Supremacy
2 Withdrawal from Borough Council	“presupposes great courage and firm faith” [in Catholicism] – but no proofs for this are offered
3 Whitgift’s failure to bring many to book	“his officials and clergy many of whom were apparently sympathetic in secret towards the Catholics” – again, no evidence for this statement
4 Militia levy (musters) non-payment	“had come out as an opponent of the new religion”

Only four examples of what might be termed Catholic “wishful thinking” are listed above – it is possible to relate many more. Suffice it to say that every event in John Shakespeare’s life is traced back to the Catholic “struggle”, but matching these up against events without any documentary evidence hardly progresses analysis.⁵⁵⁴

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 43 - Come Rack!

⁵⁵⁴ Robert Hugh Benson, *Come Rack! Come Rope!*, Reprint (London: Burns & Oates Limited, 1966). Burns & Oates describes itself today as ‘Publishers to the Holy See’. The title for the above work, a romanticized tale of Midland catholics under Elizabeth I, was “taken from a letter of Blessed Edmund Campion...he had betrayed ‘no things of secret, nor would he, come rack, come rope.’” The story includes many of the figures referenced in this thesis. The good are Catholics – Campion, Mary Queen of Scots, Babington etc. The bad are all Protestants – Cecil, Topcliffe etc. The conclusion of the book’s own summary is that “first and foremost this is a story of Robin and Marjorie who give up their chance of happiness together to serve God with a devotion they both knew could have only one ending...the rack and the rope”.

William's Catholic Lost Years

...it is probable that Southwell [Jesuit priest] had read Shakespeare, it is practically certain that Shakespeare had read Southwell and imitated him...
Herbert Thurston, 1912⁵⁵⁵

...If you're going to be a Christian, you may as well be a Catholic...
Muriel Spark, 1989⁵⁵⁶

In 1985 Honigmann produced his book *Shakespeare: the "lost years"*⁵⁵⁷ which also supported the notion of a catholic Shakespeare family, albeit through an effort to prove that William had worked for and resided with a catholic family in Lancashire. In 1581 one "William Shakeshafte", a "player", had appeared in a will and was left a bequest.

Chambers had earlier fuelled the twentieth century debate over William's possible Catholicism when in 1943 he wrote of

...my Elizabethan Stage of 1923 (I. 280)... [in which] I quoted from a will executed on 3 August 1581 by Alexander Houghton, of Lea, Lancashire, in which, after making a legacy of his play clothes to his brother Thomas, or if he should not to keep players, then to Sir Thomas Heskethe, ...to be friendly to Foke Gyllome, William Shakshafte, then dwelling with the testator, and either to take them into his service or else to help them to a master. And I added the comment, 'Was then William Shakshafte a player in 1581?'

...I do not know why I did not refer again in my William Shakespeare (1930) to this William Shakeshafte, which, rather than Shakshafte, is the normal spelling of the will... I do not think that his father John ever appears as Shakeshafte, but it is at least conceivable that William might have adopted the variant as a player. It does not, of course, recur in his London career. I now return, however, to the William Shakeshafte of 1581...⁵⁵⁸

Chambers' article though only five pages long was enough to excite others to openly speculate, often at book length, on the "lost years" in Shakespeare's biographical record (1585-1592) being spent in service with this Lancastrian family.⁵⁵⁹ The notion was that if William were catholic then the wider Shakespeare family must have been like-

⁵⁵⁵ Herbert Thurston, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, NY: Robert Appleton Company, 1912). entry "Robert Southwell". Quite how Thurston came by this information was left unexplained.

⁵⁵⁶ Muriel Spark, *The Independent* (London, 2 8 1989).

⁵⁵⁷ E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the "lost years"* (Manchester: MUP, 1985).

⁵⁵⁸ E. K. Chambers, *Shakespearean Gleanings* (Oxford: OUP, 1944). p.52-56

⁵⁵⁹ Bearman in 2002 cited "See, Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock, *The Annotator: The Pursuit of an Elizabethan Reader of Halle's Chronicle Involving some Surmises About the Early Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Putman 1954), 34-35, 43-47, and 74-81; and Robert Stevenson, *Shakespeare's Religious Frontier* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), 67-83."

minded. Both proposals got short shrift from several eminent scholars. For example, Mark Eccles, in 1961, was unconvinced - "there is no real evidence to support the theory that William Shakeshafte was William Shakespeare".⁵⁶⁰

But the debate continued, prompting Douglas Hamer to produce a careful analysis of the question in 1971⁵⁶¹. Hamer focused on two aspects of the question. Firstly, that "Shakeshafte" was a relatively common name in that part of Lancashire; and secondly, would such a young man only recently arrived on the scene have been lumped together with old family retainers in a will? Shakespeare would, at this date, have been only a teenager. Schoenbaum was also sceptical at least in the early editions of his most significant works.⁵⁶²

In 1985 Honigmann refreshed the question by focusing on John Cottam, a schoolmaster in Stratford from 1579 to 1581. Cottam's brother was a catholic priest who resided ten miles from where Alexander Houghton, and therefore William Shakeshafte, lived. This was enough proof for Honigmann who concluded his book with the rallying cry⁵⁶³

...Let us brace ourselves, then, for howls of anguish about a catholic Shakespeare...

Yet again, an eminent scholar had breathed new life into the old debate. Schoenbaum in 1991 carefully reiterated Honigmann's arguments but considered

...Still, if Shakespeare was seventeen in Houghton's service he would have had to be back in Stratford to woo, impregnate, and marry Anne Hathaway before his nineteenth birthday, not - on the face of it - the most plausible of scenarios⁵⁶⁴

In 2002 Bearman⁵⁶⁵ authoritatively supported the anti-Shakeshafte view. He delivered a measured response

...Hamer's main objections to the identification of William Shakeshafte as William Shakespeare are thus as valid now as when they were made some thirty years ago. The name of Shakeshafte can be shown to be even more common than he demonstrated, with a particular concentration in the area where Houghton family influence was preeminent. His reservations concerning the compatibility of William Shakeshafte's age

⁵⁶⁰ Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961). p.74

⁵⁶¹ Douglas Hamer, "Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?," *Review of English Studies* (Oxford) 21 (1970): 41-48.

⁵⁶² Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975).

⁵⁶³ Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the "lost years"* (Manchester: MUP, 1985). p.126

⁵⁶⁴ Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, p.536 – footnote.

⁵⁶⁵ Robert Bearman, "Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte? - Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger) 53, no. 1 (2002): 83-94.

with that of William Shakespeare also remain unanswered. No doubt speculation that Shakeshafte might still be Shakespeare will continue, but we should at least be aware that, in our current state of knowledge, it is speculation carried on in the face of the more likely but distinctly less-exciting scenario that William Shakeshafte was a middle-aged man born and bred in Lancashire...

In 2003 Honigmann responded to Bearman's article with a number of counter arguments. While some are marginally valid, others were purely speculative. An example of the latter was his response to the question of why a seventeen year old would merit a bequest.

...Would it be so surprising if a strong-willed and wealthy man such as Hoghton was favourably impressed by young Shakespeare and chose to treat him generously? This possibility, and it is only a possibility, has to be placed in the context of John Aubrey's statement that Shakespeare "had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country"⁵⁶⁶

Honigmann had earlier⁵⁶⁷ noted Aubrey's description of John Shakespeare as a butcher. On that occasion he had considered that "we need not take it...too seriously". Evidently Honigmann was selective as to what was authoritative in Aubrey's writing.⁵⁶⁸ However, Honigmann did acknowledge Bearman's point concerning how common the "Shakeshafte" surname was in Lancashire.

In 2010, I conducted my own investigation into how obtaining data through a search of Parish records and testamentary dispositions could be used to present intellectually satisfying but completely erroneous conclusions.⁵⁶⁹ In part, these formed the introduction to an article in which I showed that William Shakespeare died on the 6 July 1579 in Stratford. There are the genuine parish records that prove it, right down to the cost of the church bell. The very day before William's inquest, John Shakespeare had taken his own life. The following is a quotation from the article

...And so the world lost a great playwright at the age of fifteen. Presumably his father John, overcome with grief...ended his distress with a noose. The evidence is clear...

Of course not...

⁵⁶⁶ E.A.J. Honigmann, "The Shakespeare/Shakeshafte Question, Continued," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (John's Hopkins) 54, no. 1 (2003): 83-86. p.85

⁵⁶⁷ E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the "lost years"* (Manchester: MUP, 1985). p.2

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid. p.155 Honigmann also references E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II 252. and I. 17. Concerning the possibility that "killing a calf" (was in fact a term for performing. Aubrey's quotation is taken from his John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (London: Penguin, 1972).

⁵⁶⁹ David Fallow, "Hamlet, Crouner's Courts and the exhumation of rotted corpses," *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 31, no. 1 (2011): 113-120.

The entries are genuine but the conclusions false. Yet this evidence is much clearer as to place, name, date, circumstance etc. than William Shakeshafte being the playwright or the real Shakespeares ever being Catholic.

Protestant Arguments

He had outwardly conformed to the Protestant rule, and there is certainly as little... that he was secretly attached to the old religion.⁵⁷⁰

J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, 1889

Halliwell-Phillipps, when one reads his commentary surrounding the above quotation was merely suggesting that there was little evidence either way concerning John Shakespeare's own religious views. This of course has not stopped speculation by either side of the argument.

Carter, a puritanical clergyman, took his first shot with the title of his 1897 book *Shakespeare Puritan and Recusant*.⁵⁷¹ For this author, the Stratford Corporation was strongly Protestant if not actually Puritan. In such company, he considered that John Shakespeare could hardly have been a secret Catholic.

Carter's key arguments were that Shakespeare had been

- active as the borough Chamberlain in the Protestantization of the Guild Chapel,
- disposing, as Deputy-Bailiff with Adrian Quiney as the Bailiff,⁵⁷² of the Romanist vestments,
- a "passive resister" under Whitgift's episcopate at Worcester, incurring fines and penalties,
- disposing of his property "under appearance at least of stress (whence the theory of his poverty)",
- presented in 1592 for recusancy as one of the Puritan, not Catholic, defaulters.

Carter's book remained partisan throughout and often fell short in the test of credible proof versus wishful thinking.

⁵⁷⁰ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (New York: AMS Press, 1966). I. p.37; see also II. p.428)

⁵⁷¹ T. Carter, *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*, New Edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1906). The Reverend Carter's accompanying work had been "Shakespeare and the Holy Scriptures"

⁵⁷² Fripp refers to this action as being their first official act in these positions.

Fripp, in the matter of Catholicism and the Shakespeares added that

- The first two martyrs under Mary - were Warwickshire men, and the third was [the Protestant Bishop] Hooper.
- Snitterfield, birthplace of John Shakespeare and his brother, Henry was “an early home of the Reformation”.
- Stratford was surrounded by burnings of Protestants at Coventry, Gloucester, Lichfield, Leicester, Northampton, Oxford.
- William Shakespeare’s deposition in the “Mountjoy” lawsuit indicates that he was resident with the Huguenot Mountjoy family in Silver Street in London circa 1602.
- On the accession of Elizabeth I, the Corporation got rid of their steward, Edgeworth, and their Catholic vicar, Father Dyos.
- In these days John Shakespeare was ‘malcontent’ and guilty of indiscretion that put him on the wrong side of the law.

If the pro-catholic commentators are willing to make claims based on almost any aspect of the Shakespeare family, insisting it is of significance, then it is possible to find an offsetting protestant opinion. One is forced to Halliwell-Phillipps’ conclusion that there is very little quality evidence on either side of the argument.

4. The fall into poverty never occurred.

In 2005 Peter Ackroyd in his biography of Shakespeare was a rare, non-religiously motivated, voice in questioning the financial fall. He wrote “ ...It is unlikely he [John Shakespeare] was in any financial trouble” and “[had fallen into] penury... but this may simply be a misunderstanding.”⁵⁷³

Schoenbaum also started a fuller investigation of the reasons behind the apparent poverty.⁵⁷⁴ He dismissed the question of “ideological waywardness” as the cause of John’s “pecuniary embarrassment”, with consequential “defying [of] authority and

⁵⁷³ Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005). p.63

⁵⁷⁴ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.38/9 are a very elegant dismissal of much of the poor scholarship around the financial distress issue and deserve close examination. However, just as he says “The records are silent about the causes of John Shakespeare’s difficulties” Schoenbaum himself slips into one of his own philosophical interludes and drifted into “poverty breeds other miseries...illegitimate births etc...” and the moment of fiscal clarity is lost.

partaking in forbidden ceremonies”. In Baconian fashion,⁵⁷⁵ he dismissed both Catholic and Protestant militants, those who claimed that one or other branch of religion motivated him, with his cool observation that “John Shakespeare was a tradesman, not an ideologue”. However, while he fully recognized the nature of the man, he hesitated to question if a commercial explanation lay behind John’s actions: “...the records are silent about the causes of John Shakespeare’s difficulties”.⁵⁷⁶

As shown above, both sides of the religious argument found a doctrinal explanation. In October 1576

...The new bishop of Worcester, John Whitgift, was also here [in Stratford] in October, making notes of any non-conformity. The Queen is particularly anxious to suppress the extreme Puritans at the moment and to get lists of those not attending church. He stayed at the Swan in Bridge Street, costing the Corporation a further 8s 8d. in wine...⁵⁷⁷

Tangible evidence also exists in the Privy Council’s attempts to drive unlicensed wool middlemen out of business. The timing of John’s “last” Council meeting in November 1576, following hard on Whitgift’s visit, can hardly be coincidental with the issuance of Proclamation 621/712 of 28 November.⁵⁷⁸ 621/712 suspended wool trading licences for a year and banned even the Merchants of the Staple from acting in the domestic trade. In the hierarchy of wool middlemen both Licensees and Merchants of the Staple were definitely of a higher status than unlicensed broggers such as John. Those unlicensed brokers with the most to lose were those whose business was large enough to have previously attracted both informers and prior prosecution – situations that applied to Shakespeare. It must have seemed, at that moment, that the Privy Council was intending to truly reform the wool broking industry.

Six months after Proclamation 621/712, letters to the Justices of the Peace in twenty counties were issued, this time squarely attacking the unlicensed market and demanding

⁵⁷⁵ Francis Bacon, “Of Usury,” in *Essays* (London: Penguin Classics, 1985) is shining example of how to dismiss irrelevancies, especially those of religious origins.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid. Schoenbaum does however acknowledge in a footnote on page 34 “I am chiefly indebted to Fripp for details of corporate life” – a sign perhaps of his own regard for the thoroughness of both Fripp’s, *Shakespeare Man & Artist*, 2nd Edition (London: OUP, 1964) and Savage’s underlying *Minutes and Accounts*.

⁵⁷⁷ Extract from <http://www.stratford-upon-avon.co.uk/soahstry.htm> – which I believe was written by Robert Bearman but there is no attribution – the event is recorded in other sources.

⁵⁷⁸ One unpublished writer who has also pointed out this timing issue is: Donato Colucci, *Solved: John Shakespeare's "Reversal of Fortune"*, www.donatopresents.com/shakespeare/Reversal.html (accessed July, 2011). However, the provenance of Colucci’s scholarship is unknown though he references some of the texts used in the preparation of this thesis.

£100 bonds from broggers “that they would not buy for resale”. This was not the end of the matter, for later in 1577, the Staplers pressed for two new proclamations. The first was to restrict the number of broggers, but the second - to ban glovers even from selling the wool left on fleeces bought for leather - would have removed any legitimacy to the Shakespeares’ business. In barely a year, glovers who were large scale unlicensed middlemen would have seen their businesses move to the edge of dissolution. Moreover, during this time it would have been impossible to tell if the attack would continue. No middleman, such as John Shakespeare, could have known that the reluctance of the Justices of the Peace to prosecute their local dealers (many of whom, like John, would be fellow Councillors or prominent local citizens) would render the Privy Council’s instructions impotent. Nor could anyone have known for certain that the Staplers would fail in their attempts to drive all glovers out of the wool business. Neither of their proposed proclamations was ever issued. Against all these circumstances, a lowering of public profile - if not indeed strenuous efforts to appear poor and cashless on the part of the Shakespeares is surely a credible thesis. Even after the passing of time had blunted the attack on wool dealers, the notion that re-regulation could occur would argue strongly against any return to public prominence. After all, with friends still on the council, the only effect of Shakespeare’s “disappearance” would be for him to have his tax burden effectively reduced to zero. In contemporary parlance, the Shakespeare family business had become part of the “black” or “underground” economy.⁵⁷⁹

This is not to say religion did not provide the Shakespeares with a convenient smokescreen. Recusancy and sham poverty when used together would have provided an even stronger curtain against informers.⁵⁸⁰

Bertrand Russell expressed the notion of the simplest solution being the best as

⁵⁷⁹ ...the economic sector of private business deals in which tax liability is not reported – OED.

⁵⁸⁰ Bearman, *John Shakespeare* p.424. Bearman discounted how events may have looked at the time to someone vulnerable to these initiatives. He noted (with the benefit of hindsight) that the actions had minimal long-term effect and then concluded that they were therefore of no consequence. He preferred to attribute the withdrawal to poor business decisions and seized on one case involving Henry Higford though, like many business related cases of the time, there is no record of the outcome. On this slim evidence he built a thesis that this somehow presaged financial disaster. However, he did note that “we do not have the names of those Warwickshire broggers compelled to give sureties to cease trading under the order of May 1577”, though, inexplicably, he continued “... it is very unlikely that John was one of them.”

...a form of Occam's Razor⁵⁸¹ [that is to say]...whenever possible, substitute constructions out of known entities for inferences to unknown entities...⁵⁸²

The most elegant solution to John Shakespeare's apparent fall from financial grace, the one that best fits the facts, is the one propounded by Fripp.

It never happened.

⁵⁸¹ See Glossary "Occam's Razor".

⁵⁸² Bertrand Russell, "Logical Atomism," in *The Philosophy of Logical Atomism*, ed. D. F. Pears, 157-181 (La Salle: Open Court, 1985).

MAKING THEIR MARKS

Jack Cade: Let me alone. Dost thou use to write thy name?
 Or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?
 Clerk of Chatham: Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up
 that I can write my name.
 All: He hath confessed: away with him! he's a villain and a traitor
*Henry VI II, IV, ii*⁵⁸³

The onely way that's left now, is to looke Into thy Papers, to reade or'e thy Booke.
 Digges, *An Elegy on Ben Jonson*⁵⁸⁴

There is a belief that John Shakespeare was illiterate and to many merely the mention of this is enough to suggest a lack of intellect as well as education. But there are some who take pains not to leave signatures or detailed financial records - sharp businessmen, tax dodgers and fraudsters. All of these groups aim to leave no traces for the authorities to follow - the very absence of evidence can, in itself, be significant.

Even a cursory comparison between William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson shows that Jonson intended to be memorialized through his work and Shakespeare did not or was, at the very least, indifferent to how history would view his literary achievements.

Mark Bland noted that

... there are more than three hundred and twenty surviving volumes from Jonson's library, a number of which contain marginalia that directly relate to Jonson's texts. There are nearly six hundred manuscript copies of Jonson's poems in scribal miscellanies as well as autograph witnesses to a number of them, and another two hundred manuscript texts from the masques and plays, many of which are songs.⁵⁸⁵

Absent signatures, William Shakespeare left nothing incontrovertibly in his own script.

⁵⁸³ The First Folio Printed by "Ifaac Iaggard, and Ed, Bount. 1623" refers to "The Clearke of Chartam". *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997) has "Chatham" the seaport on the Kent coast while Johnathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008). Has "Chartham" – a village just south of Canterbury.

⁵⁸⁴ Mark Bland, "Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Huntington Library) 67, no. 3 (2004). p.371

⁵⁸⁵ Bland, *Ben Jonson* p.393

We cannot, to paraphrase Digges⁵⁸⁶ “look into [his] papers” because both he and his father had nothing to gain by keeping any. F.E. Halliday provided an excellent summary of one possible source of Shakespeare’s hand in the manuscript for the play *Sir Thomas More*.⁵⁸⁷ There are no less than six different hands evident in the sixteen surviving pages⁵⁸⁸ plus a seventh in that of Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels (1597-1610).

Yet, despite all the study invested in this one ambiguous (though tangible) piece of writing, there has been a remarkable silence about why there is no remaining sample of either of the Shakespeares’ writing.

Schoenbaum⁵⁸⁹ documented that John Shakespeare avoided taxes for nearly twenty years. Furthermore he stated that John, despite managing the Stratford Town financial accounts for four years – one year entirely on his own – was supposedly illiterate and could not even sign his name.⁵⁹⁰ Scholars have come up with various notions as to how he did this while being supposedly illiterate – using counters or stones, dictating to scribes etc. But there remain the two simplest explanations of all – either he did sign, but just not in a manner that looks like a signature to contemporary eyes and/or he chose not to leave a paper trail by never suggesting he could write.

Fripp was in no doubt that Borough officers signed documents in different ways

...The minutes of this Court were witnessed by the Affeerors - including John Shakespeare. Symons wrote the names at the bottom of the page, on the right hand, and the Affeerors attached their signature or mark. Biddle and Wheeler signed; Lewes ap Williams, Tyler, and Shakespeare made their marks. Ap Williams's mark resembles a church-gable and possibly means Holy Church; Tyler's consists of two concentric circles quartered by a cross and may signify the Trinity; Shakespeare's is a glover's compasses and denotes, no doubt, ‘God encompasseth us’⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 371

⁵⁸⁷ F.E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.456

⁵⁸⁸ As an aside, this is evidence, if any were needed, of the collaborative norm in plays of around 1593, the “best guess” date of the writing.

⁵⁸⁹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.36, 161

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid. 31, 32

⁵⁹¹ *x ref.311*

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 44 - John Shakespeare, Affeeror

The above page is reproduced from the Court Leet Book of 1561⁵⁹²



John Shakespeare, his mark.

Chambers was of the same opinion

...In view of contemporary habits, it is no proof of inability to write that he [John Shakespeare] was accustomed to authenticate documents by a mark, which was sometimes a cross and sometimes a pair of glovers dividers.⁵⁹³

Charles Sisson produced an outstanding article titled *Marks as Signatures*, based on his presentation of 16 January 1928 to the Bibliographical Society.⁵⁹⁴ In this work he traced the use of marks to identify parties to a contract or piece of work, from antiquity through to the Early Modern Period

...No survey of the subject can fail to observe the conflict between the ancience and dignity of the mark and the newfangled qualifications for gentry or respectability by literacy which emerged at the end of the Middle Ages...

Sisson was keenly aware of the potential implications of the Jack Cade speech in *Henry VIII*, IV, ii. Shakespeare was expressing how the very use of a signature was a statement about the pretensions of the signer - an eerie foreshadowing of cultural revolutions in twentieth century Cambodia and China where the slightest signs of

⁵⁹² Court Leet Book of 1561 – 4 May, Birthplace Trust Records Office, Misc. Doc. VII, 56. – Schoenbaum appears to agree with Fripp on this point: “John Shakespeare here uses as his mark a pair of glovers compasses. The mark of Lewes ap Williams may be a church gable”. Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.30

⁵⁹³ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). I. p.13

⁵⁹⁴ C.J. Sisson, “Marks as Signatures,” *The Library* (Bibliographical Society) 9, no. 1 (June 1928): 1-37. This is an outstanding article, exhaustively detailed yet full of wit and precision.

intellectuality could mean death.⁵⁹⁵ John Shakespeare would never have signed with a full name. He and his fellow Aldermen, true to their guilds, would have “used their mark” to identify themselves as “honest plain-dealing men”.

In the table below - part of one attached to the Sisson article - are examples of symbols used chiefly by tradesmen but also by some gentlemen (No.15 is an example of a gentleman’s signum) - in the mid to late sixteenth century.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 45 - Early Modern Signums

Stanley Wells, writing in 2002, had this comment

...John Shakespeare also signed with a mark; it may seem hard to believe that one so able and successful in both public and business service was illiterate, but equally it is improbable that if he had indeed been able to write no document subscribed by him should have survived in the town’s ample archives⁵⁹⁶

It cannot be proved that John Shakespeare could write. Reading was at the time viewed as an independent skill, but the longer one examines his business dealings and common practice during his time in civic office, the more likely it appears that he could write.

⁵⁹⁵ During their respective “Cultural Revolutions” under Pol Pot and Chairman Mao.

⁵⁹⁶ Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time* (London: Macmillan, 2002). p.6

Table 46 - William Shakespeare's Signatures

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

William rarely used a signature - only six examples remain, all from after 1612. Even here his writing is barely legible, he used different spellings, and wrote only where legal documents necessitated a signature.⁵⁹⁷

Table 47 - W.S. Signatures

From 1612 deposition	William Shackper
1612 Blackfriars deed	William Shakspear
1612 Blackfriars mortgage	Wm Shakspea
His 1615 will, page 1	William Shackspere
Will, page 2	Willm. Shakspere
Will, page 3	William Shakspeare ⁵⁹⁸

Because these signatures are from a relatively short time period, the differences in spelling cannot be explained by the period's casual approach to the issue. It is not difficult to find contemporary scholars commenting on the flexibility of Early Modern spelling. From Emma Smith's 2007 introductory volume on Shakespeare where she observes that "standardized spelling is still a long way off in Shakespeare's time"⁵⁹⁹ to David Kathman's hyper-detailed analysis of spellings of the Shakespeare name⁶⁰⁰ there are numerous references to the flexibility of Elizabethan spellings. However this default assumption prevents consideration of a much simpler answer – varying spellings lessen the certainty of the writer's identity.

⁵⁹⁷ Charles Hamilton, *In Search of Shakespeare* (Harcourt Brace, 1985).

⁵⁹⁸ Often questioned as by a different hand the upward sweep of the "W" is very uncharacteristic as it is that single signature's legibility that makes it stand out.]

⁵⁹⁹ Emma Smith, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007). p.70

⁶⁰⁰ David Kathman, "The Spelling and Pronunciation of Shakespeare's Name," *Shakespeare Authorship - Dedicated to the Proposition that Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare*, see Shakespeareauthorship.com/name1.html (accessed March 1, 2009).

**Table 48 - Literary References
(1593-1616)⁶⁰¹**

Spelling	Total	Printed	Written
Shakespeare	120	108	12
Shake-speare	21	21	0
Shakspeare	10	5	5
Shaxberd	4	0	4
Shakespere	3	0	3
Shakespear	3	1	2
Shak-speare	2	2	0
Shakspear	2	0	2
Shakspere	1	0	1
Shaksper	1	0	1
Schaksp.	1	0	1
Shakespheare	1	1	0
Shakespe	1	0	1
Shakspe	1	0	1

Additionally, for a playwright to blot the ink in two out of six signatures may be explained by poor pens or quills and indifferent quality of ink, but there is also the possibility that these imperfections were not accidental.

Illiteracy

In 1977 David Cressy took on the daunting task of estimating levels of illiteracy in England for the two centuries after 1530. Using Norwich as his datum he not only produced bands for different strata of society but also looked at variations between the trades. His results, summarized in the following tables, are interesting though not conclusive. If Stratford had literacy levels akin to Norwich - and there seems to be no reason why this should not be the case - then there was about a one third to one half chance, based solely on his trade, that John Shakespeare was indeed literate.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

Table 49 - Illiteracy of social groups in Norwich 1580 – 1700⁶⁰²

Group	Number Sampled	% Illiterate
Clergy and Professionals	332	0
Gentry	450	2
Yeomen	944	35
<u>Tradesmen & Craftsmen</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>44</u>
Husbandmen	1198	79
Labourers	88	85
Women	1024	89

Table 50 - Illiteracy of Tradesmen in Norwich 1580 – 1700⁶⁰³

Occupation	Number Sampled	% Illiterate
Grocers	49	6
Haberdashers	11	9
Merchants	25	12
Bakers	33	27
Tanners	36	31
Wheelwrights	16	31
Innkeepers	25	36
Maltsters	22	36
Brewers	32	41
Weavers	225	42
<u>Glovers</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>44</u>
Tailors	139	44
Blacksmiths	49	45
Butchers	60	48
Shoemakers	79	58
Sailors	27	59
Carpenters	91	64
Millers	20	70
Gardeners	11	73
Masons	21	76
Bricklayers	24	88
Shepherds	10	90
Thatchers	33	97

Table 51 - Illiteracy In Norwich by Decade 1580 – 1620⁶⁰⁴

Decade	Yeomen		Husbandmen		Tradesmen	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1580	78	55	94	93	98	61
1590	112	38	121	87	161	55
1600	89	39	108	79	151	48
1610	84	38	91	77	126	44

⁶⁰² David Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730," *The Historical Journal* (CUP) 20, no. 1 (1977): 1-23. p.5

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.* p.5

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p.11 – part of Table 3

As previously noted, there is also the question of whether the two skills of writing and reading were necessarily fused together as they are in modern times. Certainly those with a formal education either through schools or private tutors were likely to have both, indeed there is perhaps a third element in the question of how elegant the script itself was – simply writing to convey information not being sufficient in itself.

The career of John Davies (1564/5-1618) is perhaps illustrative. P.J. Finkelpearl noted that “[Davies] was tutored by a London writing-master named Daniel Johnson.” Davies may himself be aptly described as a “writing master”. Finkelpearl continued

...His writing students included royalty ...and the highest nobility. If his incessant complaints are to be trusted, Davies was not richly rewarded for his teaching. The Earl of Northumberland’s book of household expenses would seem to confirm this, recording in 1607 a payment “To John Davis for teaching Lord Percy to write, for a year £20”⁶⁰⁵

This suggestion that poor handwriting could on its own prove an embarrassment perhaps reinforces the sixteenth century notion that the three skills – reading, writing and calligraphy were independent and the absence of evidence of the latter two does not preclude the ability to read - surely the first skill that was learned. Between the last two there is also a hint that to some it may have been “better” not to write at all rather than write badly.

⁶⁰⁵ P.J. Finkelpearl, “Davies, John (1564/5-1618),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

STRATFORD'S "MIDDLING SORT"

...what it shows above all is the utterness of the Shakespeares' absorption in the Stratford community. Too little account is taken of that. What we need is a full study of the Stratford bourgeoisie ("middling sort"), with due notice taken of the details of individual lives...⁶⁰⁶
Peter Thomson, 2009

...friendship is a disinterested commerce between equals ...⁶⁰⁷
Oliver Goldsmith, 1768

Before the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon came into existence, the town formed part of the Bishop of Worcester's estate. Levi Fox's researches led him to conclude that there was no evidence of friction between the tenants and their Ecclesiastical overlords who operated through their "manorial jurisdiction".⁶⁰⁸ However, this medievalism began to crumble as the Reformation inexorably began to replace Church with State in the day-to-day governance of the townspeople. First to go was the town's College and in 1547 it was followed by its Guild with all its "properties, revenues and plate".

The Guild, or to give it its full title The Guild of the Holy Cross, complemented the rule of the manor and had by the mid-sixteenth century already existed for three hundred years. It functioned as a religiously based mutual fraternity engaged in good works for the benefit of its brethren and the community at large. By 1403 its success permitted it to absorb two other similar "fraternities." The Guild's stated goal was the "salvation after death of the souls of its members" that stored up credits in heaven by performing good works on earth. But its functions extended well beyond the scope of a present day charitable trust. The term "fraternity" gives some clue as to how invasive and pervasive its functions were as it *de facto* replaced the manorial court, leet, in conflict resolution - members were foresworn not to go to law before laying their "grievances before the Master and Aldermen of the Guild."⁶⁰⁹ In its secular mode it provided both almshouses for the old and infirm as well as education through the provision of the school.

⁶⁰⁶ Peter Thomson made the above observation after reviewing the digest of Fripp's Introductions to Savage's *Minutes and Accounts x ref.311*.

⁶⁰⁷ *The Good-Natured Man* (1768) Act I

⁶⁰⁸ Levi Fox, *The Borough Town of Stratford-Upon-Avon* (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Town Council, 1953). p.16 & 81.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.88

The notion of fraternalism was to continue into the new borough, as secular authority based on common commercial goals replaced religious ideals as the unifying force behind the community. A successful self-made man such as John Shakespeare had life-long friends who were both neighbours and fellow aldermen. Even a cursory examination of the town's records shows how tight some of these interpersonal relationships became, with children being named after neighbours and friendships being transgenerational – as demonstrated in William's own will where "ring money"⁶¹⁰ was left to friends whose fathers had been friends of his own father.

But of key significance is how these friendships between the "brethren" could transcend religious schism. From a modern perspective, the divisions between Puritans, Church of England and Catholic may appear clear cut, but the reality was considerably more confused as orthodoxy could sweep into heresy and then reappear a few years later as dogma as Henry VIII's children moved in and out of power. It is hardly surprising then that mutual survival and indeed mutual prosperity often overcame religious nicety.

Mervyn James, in his excellent study of the Durham region covering the years 1560 to 1640, wrote of Newcastle's men of business that they "refused to allow their solidarity of social and political interest to be disrupted by religious differences."⁶¹¹ Kate Emery Pogue in 2006 extended a similar observation about William - "his friendships transcended religious beliefs."⁶¹²

Thomson has commented on the "utterness" of the absorption of the Shakespeares into the Stratford community and in examining their friends of the "middling sort" it is possible to see that they both conformed with and then deviated from the town's norms.

Taking Pogue's study⁶¹³ as a basis for identifying friends and neighbours in Stratford, I have prepared the following table listing twenty four individuals, spread across fifteen families, that have some established link to the Shakespeares – either as friends or providers of professional services to William and the extended family. Names in bold indicate some contact with Shakespeare's own will.

⁶¹⁰ Where a testator left a bequest of money to enable the recipient to buy a memorial ring.

⁶¹¹ Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1560-1640*, 1st. Edition (Oxford: OUP, 1974). p.158

⁶¹² Kate Emery Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends* (London: Praeger, 2006). p.32

⁶¹³ *Ibid* p.9-45

Table 52 - “Middling Sort” Contacts with Shakespeare Family

	Surname ⁶¹⁴	Individuals	Trade	Civic Career	Notes
1	Aspinall	Alexander (c.1546-1624)	Schoolmaster & Merchant in malt	Burgess, Alderman, Chamberlain, Deputy Town Clerk	Graduate of Brasenose, Oxford. Taught Richard and Edmond Shakespeare. In 1594 married Ann Shaw widow of Ralph Shaw.
2	Collins	Francis (? – 1617)	Lawyer		Drew up Shakespeare’s will and other key documents. Overseer of the will.
3	Combe	William (1551-1610) John (c.1561-1614) Thomas (c.? – 1609)	Lawyer		William was legal adviser to the Borough of Stratford from 1597 until his death in 1610. Anglican rather than Puritan ⁶¹⁵ in Whitgift’s confidence “served as an ecclesiastical commissioner from 1601 to 1608”. He sat in Parliament three times, was later Sheriff for Warwickshire and held office in The Middle Temple
4	Field	Henry, Richard (1561-1624)	Tanner Printer	Printer by 1587 one of only 22 master printers in London	Printed <i>Venus and Adonis</i> . In 1596 Field signed the petition against Burbage’s plan to use Blackfriars as a public Theatre. No mention in will.
5	Greene	Thomas (c.1578 - 1641)	Lawyer	Town Clerk	Shakespeare’s cousin? – lived in New Place 1609-11. Drew up papers preserving Shakespeare’s rights re tithes. Not mentioned in the will – falling out?
6	Hall	John (1575-1635)	Physician	Joined town council (reluctant) 1632, refused knighthood 1626	Son-in-law, B.A. & M.A. Cambridge
7	Nash	Anthony (?-1622) John (?-1623) Thomas (1593-1647)	Farmer Innkeeper Lawyer		John and Anthony were both left ring money. Anthony managed Shakespeare’s tithes. Thomas married Shakespeare’s granddaughter Elizabeth Hall. Anti-puritan sentiments. Thomas lived off family land & inherited inn. Nash House stood next to New Place. His grave lies next to Shakespeare’s.
8	Quiney	Richard, Adrian, Richard (c.1557-1602)	Mercer – Richard joins father Adrian’s	Principal Burgess 1580, Alderman 1588, Bailiff	Draft letter of 25/10/1598 seeking money. Son Thomas marries Judith Shakespeare

⁶¹⁴ Names in bold either are beneficiaries of, or were involved in some way, with Shakespeare’s will.

⁶¹⁵ Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961). p.102

			business	1602 (killed in town's service)	
9	Reynolds	William (1575-1633)	Landowner		Catholic family - largest household in Stratford. Left ring money in will.
10	Robinson	John (? – c.1616)			Witness to Shakespeare's will. Possibly the tenant of the Blackfriar's Gatehouse or a Stratford Labourer.
11	Russell	Thomas (1570-1634)	Lawyer		Educated Queen's Oxford. Overseer of Shakespeare's will in which he received a bequest of £5
12	Sadler	Roger Hamnet (c.1562-1624)	Baker – inherited from father	Sued frequently for debt	1598 son "William" Left ring money in Shakespeare's will.
13	Shaw	Julius (1571-1629)	Merchant in wool and building materials	Alderman Churchwarden Chamberlain High Bailiff	Witnessed the will, lived near New Place
14	Tyler	Richard (1566-1636)	Butcher (father) Own trade not known.	Served at the Armada, Town Council 1590 to 1594	Accused of fraud over fire money struck from will. Witnesses transfer of Gatehouse to Susannah Shakespeare Hall in 1618. ⁶¹⁶
15	Walker	Henry William	Mercer	Bailiff (both father and son)	William became godfather to son William on 16/10/08. Left Godson twenty shillings in gold in his will.

The fifteen families and twenty-four individuals listed above, spanning three generations, can be segmented as follows:

- Childhood friends of William 9
- Childhood friends, still friends at time of William's death 8
- University or legally educated/trained 7
- Lawyers and Doctors 6
- Tradesmen/Merchants 9
- Served on or were employed by the Council 8

Friendship is a very imprecise term, and the best evidence of William's actual feelings towards his friends comes from his will. But if one accepts Goldsmith's notion that "friendship is a disinterested commerce between equals" - implying that relationships rarely survive the success of one party without commensurate advancement on the part of the other - then it is interesting to note that the Shakespeares never completely

⁶¹⁶ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). II. p.36

abandoned the self-made merchant class. A change in William's attitude was perhaps inevitable however and as the above table shows, the new friends of Shakespeare's maturity are from a higher cut in local society. As Pogue noted "John Hall is typical: well educated, professional and highly successful."⁶¹⁷

Of the middling sort, the pattern was that the son often entered the father's business and continued the tradition of civic service. Here the Shakespeares do not fit the pattern. John's withdrawal from public life is followed by none of the Shakespeare children serving on the council in any capacity. Equally unusually, we have no credible data about what the Shakespeare men actually did in Stratford over the decades following 1576. However, the simplest suggestion must be that they at least kept to the first part of the pattern of the middling sort and worked in the family business. The complete lack of records must be either a simple misfortune i.e. they were lost or, the Shakespeares did not want anybody knowing about them or their family's business.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Pogue, *Shakespeare's Friends* p.34

⁶¹⁸ *x ref. footnote 492*

John Shakespeare – A Summary

At the start of this chapter, five issues were raised concerning the Shakespeare family's history. With the benefit of the foregoing research, it is possible to present the following explanations.

<p>Why John Shakespeare comprehensively removed himself from public life in 1576</p>	<p>The evolution of the wool trading market in the latter half of the sixteenth century in England dictated the nature of the Shakespeare family's business i.e. market forces outside the family's control required the business to evolve. The attempt in 1576 to end "brogging" (Proclamation 712) cannot be coincidental to all the Shakespeares (father and sons) disappearing from civic service, tax payments etc. The simplest explanation of John Shakespeare's financial fall is that it never happened.</p>
<p>Why William's years 1585 – 1592 were "lost"</p>	<p>The sons of Stratford's "middling sort" usually went into the family business. The notion that canny John Shakespeare would pay wages when he had four sons is, to say the least, improbable. Brogging was not a one man job – to think of it in terms of a modern day commodity trader who deals in standard weights and qualities who never sees, examines or transports the commodities he or she deals in, seriously understates what was involved. Though various complex theories have been presented as to explain the "lost years" the simplest explanation was that he worked in the family business and it is highly probable that it was the family business that first took him to London.</p>
<p>Why none of the Shakespeare brothers ever held public office.⁶¹⁹</p>	<p>Holding public office was, <i>inter alia</i>, a means of being taxed. By the time of the Shakespeare sons' maturity the pattern of apprenticeship, civic service etc. that John had had to follow to get his start in commercial life was simply not necessary for his sons.</p>
<p>What were the sources of the Shakespeare family wealth</p>	<p>As Rowe put it "John Shakespeare was a considerable dealer in wool"⁶²⁰. As the market changed from raw material export to cloth production, so did John's business.</p>
<p>What John Shakespeare's sons actually did all day</p>	<p>Brogging was about face-to-face negotiation, transportation of materials and delivery. Carriers to move goods certainly existed, but a brogging business engaging in the sizes of trades of John's called for additional trusted workers - his sons.</p>

⁶¹⁹ Gilbert 1566 -1612, Richard 1574-1613, Edmund 1580-1607

⁶²⁰ *x ref.360*

Chapter 4 – WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE IN LONDON

THE MEDIAN PLAYWRIGHT

That someone would refer to Shakespeare in 1592 as an “upstart”, a “bombast” and a “crow” has been taken by many writers as an indicator that he would have had a tough time establishing himself in London as a playwright. But when viewed dispassionately and factually, would Shakespeare really have been out of place in the playwrighting community because of his social and educational origins? Was there really a group of university-educated playwrights somehow blocking the less socially qualified? Before we can analyze how Shakespeare financially penetrated the London theatre it is prudent to understand what, if any, “barriers”⁶²¹ would have existed to his pursuing a career on the boards, and if these did exist, how they would have restricted his earning potential.

The first written reference to Shakespeare in London, the *Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a million of Repentance* - purportedly written by the well-educated Robert Greene,⁶²² criticized him for a supposed lack of originality, refinement and education. Chambers called it “a scoffing notice”.⁶²³ Greene supposedly wrote to his fellow “University Wits”, those “fellow Schollers about this Cittie” who “spend their wits in making plays” - Marlowe, Nashe and Peele,

... There is an *upstart* crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes Factotum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country...⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ Used here in the business sense of a “barrier to entry” which can be defined as “factor(s) that prevent competitors from entering a particular market. [these] reduce the level of competition in a market, *Dictionary of Business and Management*. Ed. Jonathan Law. Oxford University Press, 2009.

⁶²² Robert Greene, *Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a million of Repentance* (London: Wright, William, 1592). See *x ref.245* Section “Henry Chettle” re authorship. See also Charles Nicholl, “Shakespeare's Circle,” *Penguin Shakespeare*, Penguin, www.penguinclassics.co.uk/static/cs/uk/10/minisites/shakespeare/readmore/marlowe.html (accessed January 10, 2011).

⁶²³ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). I. p.22

⁶²⁴ Greene, *Groatsworth*.

Table 53 - Frontispiece Groatsworth of Wit

The “Shake-scene,” and the presumably deliberate misquotation of Shakespeare’s line “O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide”⁶²⁵ make the intended target very clear. Written in 1592 and entered into the Stationer’s Register only after Greene’s death, as Charles Nicholl noted

...it is the earliest certain allusion to Shakespeare as a writer, though clearly he had already achieved some success in the field: this is implied by Greene's pique, and is corroborated by the 1592 account books of Philip Henslowe, impresario of the Rose theatre, which record high takings for “harey the vi”, almost certainly *Henry VI Part 1*.⁶²⁶

The impression created by supposedly⁶²⁷ Greene’s words was of a man of limited education and/or social background at odds with the better educated.⁶²⁸ Greenblatt encouraged this interpretation thus: “it would be surprising if they [the university wits] did not look down upon him and surprising if he did not perceive it”.⁶²⁹ He had previously noted

⁶²⁵*Henry VI III I*, iv

⁶²⁶ Nicholl, *Shakespeare’s Circle*

⁶²⁷ “Supposedly” here refers to the question of whether Greene wrote the *Groatsworth* at all and that it was not merely a scandal sheet produced by Henry Chettle. The matter is considered later in this chapter. See *x ref.245*

⁶²⁸ I have resisted the temptation here to investigate the *Poetomachia* or “War of the theatres” that Harbage calls the “picturesque spite-combat between Jonson, Marston, Dekker and a variable number of other contenders.” Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968). p.90. Suffice to say that Greene’s words may have had little or no effect apart from amusement to Shakespeare in an age when raucous criticism was rather the norm than a rarity.

⁶²⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005). p.209.

...First and foremost, Shakespeare lacked the principal qualification of belonging to their charmed circle; he had not attended Oxford or Cambridge.

But facts are at variance with this view. I have assembled the table⁶³⁰ “Representative London Playwrights” below to illustrate a representative group of Early Modern playwrights. Even a cursory examination of the data shows that Shakespeare’s educational background and social circumstances were not at all out of place in this group. In fact, it is possible to describe him as the “median” figure.⁶³¹ If one examines family status *plus* education *plus* father’s profession as a social “mix” then the

- country (i.e. not London or even city) bred
- grammar school educated
- Bailiff/Glover/Wool Merchant fathered
- soon to be raised to “gentlemanly” ranked family,

made Shakespeare an “average” playwright of his time from a social standpoint.

In preparing the data, there was a difficulty in even determining which playwrights should be considered as Shakespeare’s “peers”. A researcher could, in the absence of a third party definition of who was or was not a major playwright, skew the selection of data towards a favoured conclusion. To avoid this, the table below was drawn from *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (“*Cambridge Bibliography*”) which provides this distinction. In general terms, it is the volume of commentary on a playwright’s work listed in the *Cambridge Bibliography* that appears to determine the difference, between “major” and “minor” status. Furthermore, it differentiates between groups by the reigning monarch – see column marked “M” below. While it is all too easy to take issue with some of its editor’s criteria for the categorizations this is outweighed by the independent nature of the data. To supplement these individual entries, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has been used to supply the personal data – again, an independent source.

⁶³⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* together with George Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, ed. George Watson, Vol. 1, 7 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1974) provided the data for the table.

⁶³¹ Median – the term is used here in the financial sense. “The statistical number which represents the half-way point between the highest and lowest of a series of numbers (cf. mean; mode).” See Peter Moles and Nicholas Terry, *The Handbook of International Financial Terms* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).

Table 54 - Representative London Playwrights⁶³²

Name	Family Name	M	POB	DOB	DOD	F. Occ.	Secondary Education	Tertiary
Michael	Drayton	E	Hartshill	1563	1631	Butcher/ Tanner	Not Known	
Robert	Greene	E	Saffron Walden	1558	1592	Tradesman ?	Norwich Grammar?	Cambridge
William	Haughton	E	Not Known	1575	1605	Fiddler	Not Known	Oxford?
Thomas	Kyd	E	Kent	1558	1594	Scrivener	Merchant Taylors'	
Thomas	Lodge	E	London	1558	1625	Grocer (bankrupt)	Merchant Taylors'	Avignon
John	Lyly	E	Canterbury	1554	1606	Notary	Kings, Canterbury	Oxford
Christopher	Marlowe	E	Salisbury?	1564	1593	Shoemaker	Kings, Canterbury	Cambridge
Thomas	Nashe	E	London	1567	1601	Clergyman	Thetford Gr. Father?	Cambridge
George	Peele	E	London	1556	1596	Clerk	Christ's Hospital	Oxford
William	Shakespeare	E	Stratford- upon-Avon	1564	1616	Glover	Kings, Stratford	
Francis	Beaumont	J	Grace-Dieu	1584	1616	Judge	Not Known	Oxford
George	Chapman	J	Hitchin	1559	1634	Yeoman, Copyholder	None	
Thomas	Dekker	J	Not Known	1572	1632	Not Known	Not Known	
John	Fletcher	J	Norwich	1597	1625	Bishop	Not Known	Cambridge
John	Ford	J	Newton Abbot	1586	1639	Landowner	Not Known	Oxford?
Thomas	Heywood	J	London	1573	1641	Clergyman	Not Known	Cambridge?
Ben	Jonson	J	London	1572	1637	Bricklayer	Westminster	
John	Marston	J	Wardlington	1576	1634	Lawyer	Not Known	Oxford
Philip	Massinger	J	London	1583	1640	Academic	Not Known	Oxford
Thomas	Middleton	J	London	1580	1623	Bricklayer	Not Known	Oxford?
William	Rowley	J	Stratford?	1585	1624	Not Known	Not Known	None
James	Shirley	J	London	1596	1666	Shopkeeper	Merchant Taylors	Cambridge?
Cyril	Tourneur	J	London	1575	1626	Barrister?	Not Known	?
John	Webster	J	London	1578	1638	Carriage Maker	Merchant Taylors?	Middle Temple

Key: **M**= Monarch, **POB**=place of Birth, **DOB**=Date of Birth, **DOD**=date of death, **F.Occ.**=father's occupation

It is not possible to determine all the educational and social backgrounds of even the playwrights listed here, but of this group of twenty four the following figures are noteworthy:

⁶³² James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993). p.8 – Forse, to his credit, experimented with similar data in tabular form. However, the data selection was biased, meagre, inconsistently presented, missed several key aspects and was often incorrect as to fact. In short, it illustrated both his strengths (willingness to take a fresh approach) and his weakness (poor execution). *x ref.378*

- **Ten** come from London – hence fourteen, including Shakespeare, are from outside London.
- **Fourteen** can be linked to a university – but not all of these graduated. A University education was clearly not a *sine qua non* for a successful playwright. This table broadly confirms the sort of percentage mix of university educated vs. non-university that Harbage in 1968 had calculated, based on both his examination of plays of the period and the incidence of playwrights with “pretensions of learning”.

...no more than two fifths of the popular repertory as a whole was composed by men with pretensions of learning, even if we include Heywood among university writers...⁶³³
- **Ten** have backgrounds in the non-manual trades and it would be one less if we classify “scrivener” as a manual rather than intellectual pursuit. A father or family in “trade” is the customary background, not the exception. It is true that a start in trade for many of the fathers became something else in career terms - John Shakespeare is a case in point - however, Shakespeare’s family origins would have been no barrier to his establishing himself as a playwright.

Louis B. Wright in 1935 took over seven hundred pages to conclude that with the emergent mercantile class the “cunning of the peasant [quickly] gave way to the shrewdness of the businessman.”⁶³⁴ But it is necessary to look beyond Wright’s conclusions as he frequently takes facts at face value when it suited his argument.⁶³⁵ For example, seeking to show the humble origins of many playwrights, he lists among others George Peele’s father James as a “salter”, whereas a more complete summary of his career includes

...Clerk of Christ's Hospital ... the author of two works on double-entry bookkeeping, *The Maner and Fourme How to Kepe a Perfecte Reconyng* (1553) and *The Pathe Waye to Perfectnes* (1569). A respected citizen and salter of London, James was also responsible for city pageants, and he was the clerk of Christ's Hospital, the second in its history, from 1562 until his death.⁶³⁶

⁶³³ Harbage, *Rival Traditions* p.101 - earlier in the same page: “Heywood speaks of residence at Cambridge; but if he had received a degree he would probably have let us know about it...”

⁶³⁴ Louis Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Reprint (London: Methuen, 1964). p.17

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.* p.17

⁶³⁶ Reid Barbour, ‘Peele, George (bap. 1556, d. 1596)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

In brief, Wright's thesis was that a title could always be had if one had enough money. Birth and other medieval means of social advancement such as prowess on the battlefield had been joined, if not actually eclipsed, by hard cash.

In 1993 James Forse started his investigation into art and business in the Early Modern Theatre⁶³⁷ by also quoting Harbage. Forse clearly had little time for Harbage's more romantic notions of what motivations were at work. To illustrate, he quoted Harbage

...we diminish the breadth of their involvement [theatre entrepreneurs, actors and playwrights] if we suggest that they were in it only, or even primarily for the money...there hovers a dubiety about the situation that might occasion a resigned pursing of lips on our part if we were dealing with a mere group of business associates...⁶³⁸

Forse sided with cash over art – according to him the artists were indeed in it “for the money”, like the mere speculators of “...Henslowe or Langley.”⁶³⁹ The actual situation probably lay somewhere between these two – but, as this thesis demonstrates, probably more inclined to Forse than Harbage.

In the previous chapter I detailed how entrenched the belief had become that William arrived in London the son of a bankrupt father and consequently the child of a poverty stricken family.⁶⁴⁰ The implicit suggestion accompanying this was that his achievements were all the more praiseworthy in the circumstances of no money and no social standing. But, as the evidence above shows, he would not have been particularly disadvantaged by his origins even if his family were penniless - which they were not - nor were his origins much humbler than those of the playwrights that he competed against. Just as his father had been in the right place at the right time with his move to Stratford, so William had the good fortune, or perhaps good sense, to arrive in London when his personal “mix” of background and skills gave him the opportunity to succeed.

⁶³⁷ Forse, *Art Imitates*

⁶³⁸ Ibid. p.89

⁶³⁹ Ibid. p.7

⁶⁴⁰ *x ref.153*

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE AND TAX

...pill'd with grievous taxes...

Richard II, II, i

...Neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes
should ever become valiant and martial...

Francis Bacon, 1625⁶⁴¹

Francis Bacon was, in the above quotation, making an observation about a “people”, but he could equally have made the comment about how an individual accumulates great wealth. Any individual seeking to amass a fortune should first pay no taxes - which is precisely what William Shakespeare did.

Shakespeare’s only mention of “taxes” in his plays comes in *Richard II* of 1595/6 when taxes are “pil(l)ed”⁶⁴² i.e. heaped on or used to strip bare the people. Moreover, taxes are “grievous”. It may be merely indicative of his personal views of taxation, but it certainly was an interesting observation by a man who, according to our current knowledge, never paid any.

A modern example of tax avoidance is that of Philip Green. Nick Cohen writing in *the Observer* in 2006 noted

...retail tycoon Philip Green, the owner of the Bhs chain of shops, does not need to worry about the tax demands his fellow British citizens must meet because he transfers billions to his wife's accounts in a tax haven...Green and his family had ‘saved themselves’ £300m from their £1.2bn salary by living for a part of the year in Monaco, whose residents don't pay income tax....⁶⁴³

The story of Green, who was awarded a knighthood shortly after this event, is instructive. First transfer assets to a nominee you trust - if you do not own something you cannot be taxed on it - which is exactly what John Shakespeare and Philip Green

⁶⁴¹ Francis Bacon, “Of The True Greatness of Kingdoms,” in *Essays* (London: Penguin, 1985).

⁶⁴² Johnathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008). p.851 footnote 248 “piled - most editors emend to “pilled” (stripped bare, plundered). Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). p.971 also emends to “pilled” meaning “stripped”. However, the OED under the Etymology of “piled”, quotes William Browne in his *Britannia’s Pastorals*, 1st edition, 1613–1616 (2 vols.). London for G. Norton. The entry reads “1595 – C’tess of Pembroke tr. R. Garnier Trag. Antonie ii. sig. D4, His course Stopped with heapes of piled carcasses.” I believe this may be a deliberate pun where “pilled” and/or “piled” are both applicable confused with either or both being appropriate here.

⁶⁴³ Nick Cohen, “What an Honour, Sir Philip,” *The Observer* (18.6.2006).

did. Second, find the tax “wrinkles” that permit you to “be” in two places at once yet exist as a taxable entity in neither - which is what Philip Green and William did.

With the help of a certain amount of power, bribery, larceny or skill in manipulating the law, many have been able to avoid taxation whatever the pressure on the taxing system to obtain funds.

But before we can comment on Shakespeare’s taxation habits it is necessary to review the tax regime during his professional career in London at the end of the 1590’s and into the first decade of the next century.

It is also noteworthy that Chambers referenced a quotation attributed to Queen Elizabeth I concerning the play which had been performed for Essex and his supporters on the eve of their failed rebellion earlier that same year.⁶⁴⁴

... That which passed from the Excellent Majestie
of Queen Elizabeth, in her Privie Chamber at East Greenwich
4 August 1601, 43 Reg. sui, towards William Lambarde⁶⁴⁵ ...

... He presented her Majestie with his Pandecta⁶⁴⁶ of all her rolls, bundells, membranes, and parcells that be repose in her Majestie's Tower at London; whereof she had give to him the charge 21st January last past... She proceeded to further pages, and asked where she found cause of stay.... He expounded these all according to the original diversities ... so her Majestie fell upon the reign of King Richard II saying, “I am Richard II know y not that?” ...

By 1601 the taxes were, certainly “piling up”.⁶⁴⁷ From an average taxation of £165, 816 p.a. on the laity across 1579-1585, this rose threefold to £470,533 p.a. for 1594-1598.

⁶⁴⁴ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II. p.326 – Chamber references this with: (4) [1601, Aug. 4. Memorandum, pr. Nichols, Eliz. iii. 552, from Lambard family MS. A copy is in the De la Warr MSS. (H.M.G. iv. 300).] See also Glossary Richard II.

⁶⁴⁵ Lambarde, William (1536–1601), antiquary and lawyer – “In January 1601 he became keeper of the records in the Tower of London” He died two weeks after the above meeting with the Queen. See. J. D. Alsop, “Lambarde, William (1536–1601)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

⁶⁴⁶ “A complete body of the laws of a country, or of any system of law (natural or statutory). Also in plural ... Derives from the compendium in fifty books of Roman civil law, made by order of the emperor Justinian in the 6th cent., systematizing opinions of eminent jurists and given statutory force.” OED.

⁶⁴⁷ Richard II (1377–99)’s reign was “fraught with crises - economic, social, political, and constitutional.” The Peasants’ Revolt of 1381 was triggered, though perhaps not actually caused, by the introduction of a poll tax of four pence a head at the end of Richard’s grandfather’s (Edward II) reign. More poll taxes followed in 1379, and a third in 1380. These taxes were largely to pay for the war in France and at the time of the Essex rebellion Elizabeth, like her ancestors, was short of cash for foreign wars. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/615557/United-Kingdom/44812/Richard-II-1377-99?anchor=ref482854>.

⁶⁴⁸Elizabeth I, like Richard II, recognized that she was vulnerable not just from rebellion rising from a struggle for political power, but also unrest fuelled by the taxes necessary to address a huge revenue shortfall. It is true that war and rebellion “make rattling good history” and peacetime taxation “poor reading”⁶⁴⁹ but Elizabeth’s daily problem, as previously noted, was simply in finding cash.⁶⁵⁰ R.W. Hoyle in 1997 commented that faced with taxation

... the loyalty of the population at large to the Government could not be relied upon...there was therefore a need to tread carefully in placing impositions upon them least disorder resulted...⁶⁵¹

On the question of Elizabeth I’s finances in the final years of her reign, Lacey Baldwin Smith calculated that

...At home the cost of almost two decades of war (£4 million) raised havoc with the queen’s finances. It forced her to sell her capital (about £800,000, or roughly one-fourth of all crown lands) and increased her dependence upon parliamentary sources of income, which rose from an annual average of £35,000 to over £112,000 a year...⁶⁵²

Hoyle also made the valuable observation that

...Over the reign of Elizabeth...8 per cent of the receipts of the Exchequer were directly transferred to the Irish Treasurer for War. In 1599 and 1600...the figure was around 30 per cent in years when the Exchequer was awash with taxation and land sale revenues...overall 45 per cent of the income raised by sales of land and lay and clerical taxation was spent on the Irish wars...⁶⁵³

Learning Financial Manipulation

William learnt his financial sophistication, the ability to massage taxes and hide income, from his father. John Shakespeare, as detailed in the previous chapter, was fully alert to the legal, taxation and commercial realities of the day.

⁶⁴⁸ R.W. Hoyle, “Place and Public Finance,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (RHS) 7 (1997): 197-215. p.204. This table gives an excellent summary of government finances during Elizabeth’s reign.

⁶⁴⁹ Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts* Pt.1 Act 2 Scene 5 “My argument is that War makes rattling good history; but Peace is poor reading.”

⁶⁵⁰ *x ref.57*

⁶⁵¹ Hoyle, *Place*. p.212

⁶⁵² Lacey Baldwin Smith <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/615557/United-Kingdom/44846/Elizabeth-I-1558-1603>. Hoyle puts the average for 1599-1603 at £367,701 p.a. – an increase from £3,799 p.a. for 1594-1598. Hoyle, *Place* p.212

⁶⁵³ Hoyle, *Place* p.203

In November 1576 John Shakespeare, after the issuance of Proclamation 712,⁶⁵⁴ began a series of asset disposals in the manner of Philip Green. He placed much of the family property, at nominal prices, into the hands of friends and relations. The mantra of the wealthy is repeated through history - if you do not own something it cannot be seized or taxed. However, in at least one case, John found out the hard way just how frail some familial relationships can be when cash is involved.

Schoenbaum made the following observations in setting out the events of his asset sales⁶⁵⁵

...The picture [of the supposed fall from financial grace] is of a piece; John Shakespeare incurred debts and exchanged land for ready money.

...On 14 November 1578 he borrowed £40 by mortgaging part of his wife's inheritance - a house and fifty-six acres in Wilmcote - to her brother-in-law Edmund Lambert of Barton on the Heath, to whom he already owed money... when the borrowed £40 fell due at Michaelmas 1580, John could not pay it, so Lambert held on to the property. He was still in possession when he died seven years later. There followed litigation in the court of Queen's Bench in Westminster, as the Shakespeares (John and Mary, joined by their eldest son William) tried to recover their holding from Lambert's son and heir John. The plaintiffs claimed that John Lambert had promised an additional £20 in return for full title to the parental estate. Lambert denied making any such promise. In another suit ten years later, this time in Chancery, the Shakespeares insisted that they had offered Lambert the £40 for the property, only to be spurned - he wanted other money which they owed him. They never did get back this land, part of the Asbies estate.

...In November 1578 [the same month as the above transfer] John and Mary Shakespeare conveyed eighty-six more acres in Wilmcote, including meadows and pasture, to a Webbe relative for a period of years, after which the land would revert to the original possessors and their heirs; again a need for cash - immediate cash - seems to have motivated the transaction.

...The Shakespeares were also obliged to let go their ninth part in the two houses and hundred acres in Snitterfield, the property leased to Alexander Webbe. This they sold in 1579 to Webbe's son Robert for the mean sum of £4.

However, Schoenbaum in his analysis of these transfers did not ask two important questions:

⁶⁵⁴ *x ref.153*

⁶⁵⁵ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975).

1. Were these assets sold for fair market value? We know that William paid £320 in 1602 for just over a hundred acres of land. Granted that inflation was a feature of the final decades of the sixteenth century and that not all land is of like quality, these transfers are at derisory rates. The only logical conclusion is that they are “friendly rates” reflecting the intention that the assets will return to the original owner i.e. these were only nominal transfers of title to achieve other results than the raising of cash.

2. If the Shakespeares were in the wrong over the “Asbies” transfer would they have been foolhardy enough to pursue the matter in expensive litigation many years after the sale? I would argue they would not, and being deprived of an asset they never intended to sell, remains a much more credible explanation. Certainly Fripp was in no doubt that John Shakespeare

...parted with his property outside [his immediate family]... trusting in one case to a brother-in-law, who proved, it appears, a knave.”⁶⁵⁶

Manifestly, John was manipulating his potential tax liabilities and protecting his assets. William needed no better teacher, nor example of the pitfalls inherent in the process, than that of his father.

⁶⁵⁶ Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare Man & Artist*, 2nd Edition (London: OUP, 1964). I. p.156.

William, The Artful (Tax) Dodger

The National Archives in their Education Service activities take the enlightened view that part of their goal

...is to provide material that encourages pupils to challenge traditional expectations of Shakespeare. By investigating tax records ... pupils are able to identify how Shakespeare avoided paying his tax...⁶⁵⁷

Two noted scholars - Chambers and Greenblatt - have each made their own analysis and drawn differing conclusions from Shakespeare's history of evading tax payments. But while both their analyses are instructive as to detail, when one examines not the possible motives for evasions but the actual cash transfers during this period, then a different possibility emerges.

From Chambers⁶⁵⁸ we obtain an excellent statement of William's tax documents.⁶⁵⁹

The following are direct quotations in sequence from his *William Shakespeare* of 1930.

1. Two payments [by William] as a resident in St. Helen's Bishopsgate were not forthcoming.
2. The first was a sum of 5s. due as a second instalment of the last of three subsidies granted by the parliament of 1593. The assessment was made in October 1596 and payment should have been made by February 1597, but the collectors reported in the following November ...that they had been unable to collect it.
3. A new subsidy was granted by the parliament of 1597 - Shakespeare was assessed, again in St. Helens, on 1 Oct. 1598 at 13s. 4d. on goods valued £5, and should have paid in the following winter.
4. 'Affidavit' was subsequently written in the margin of the assessment against his name, which indicates that again the collectors swore to their inability to collect.
5. The arrear was reported to the Exchequer (e) and entered on the Pipe Roll for 1598-9, with the marginal notes 'Surrey' and 'R', probably for 'Respondit'.
6. These were intended for reference at the sitting of the Court of Exchequer in October 1599.
7. At this sitting a note seems to have been added to the main entry, directing the sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, which were combined for fiscal purposes, to answer for the amount on the *Roll* for 1599-1600. The marginal R was then cancelled.
8. The amount appears on the Sussex membrane of the Roll for 1599-1600. And here there are **three** marginal notes: ["three" here appears to be an error as there are, obviously, four]

⁶⁵⁷ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/lesson34.htm>

⁶⁵⁸ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II. p.88-90

⁶⁵⁹ x ref.393 for copies and translations of these.

- (i) London R,
- (ii) o<neratur> n<is>i
- (iii) Episcopo Wintonensi,
- (iv) T<ot>.

[Despite his one typographical error, Chambers' sequence of events appears to be accurate. Concerning the four marginal roll notes he made the following comments on each.]

- indicates the origin of the entry as an amount to be answered from the London membrane for 1598-9;
- that the sheriff for Surrey and Sussex was to be charged with the amount unless he showed cause to the contrary;
- that the amount was referred for collection to the Bishop of Winchester, who had a liberty, the Clink, in Surrey, outside the sheriff's jurisdiction, and,
- probably a later addition, [emphasis added] that the amount was collected and would be accounted for.

Chambers then concluded

...And in fact the Bishop of Winchester did account in the Roll of 1600-1 for a lump sum received from various persons referred to him by the sheriff. This probably includes Shakespeare's 13s.4d., although names are not given. Shakespeare has not so far been traced in any other subsidy rolls, either for London or Surrey or Stratford, where his name certainly does not appear, or for the Royal Household, of which he became an officer in 1603.

Seventy-five years after Chambers, Greenblatt, in *Will in the World* using, in part, the same records, produced his version of events.⁶⁶⁰ Greenblatt's words are also quoted here but with the connecting prose edited out to present a list of his arguments/conclusions.

1. Shakespeare had made his fortune virtually entirely on his own.
2. His mother's inheritance, such as it was, had been first mortgaged and then forfeited
3. through his father's incompetence or improvidence
4. his father's standing in Stratford had been compromised by debt and possibly by Recusancy
5. his brothers amounted to little or nothing,
6. his sister, Joan, married a poor hatter
7. he himself had married a woman of very modest means.
8. no convenient bequests had come his way
9. no wealthy relations had provided assistance at key moments
10. no local magnate had spotted his brilliant promise when he was still a boy and helped him to a start in life
11. New Place was the tangible fruit of his own imagination and his hard work.

⁶⁶⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005). p.361-2

12. To acquire such a house meant that Shakespeare had had to save his money.
13. The limited evidence that survives suggests that in London he lived frugally.
14. He rented rooms in relatively modest surroundings: records from a minor lawsuit show that in 1604 - the year he wrote part or all of *Measure for Measure*, *Alls Well That Ends Well*, and *King Lear* - he lived above a French wig-maker's shop on the corner of Mugwell and Silver Streets in Cripplegate, at the northwest corner of the city walls.
15. He seems to have had an affinity for neighbourhoods - Shoreditch, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, and the Clink in Surrey - inhabited by artisans, many of whom were migrants from France or the Low Countries.
16. These were not disreputable haunts, but they were modest, and the rents were low.
17. How many rooms he rented, or how spacious they were, is unknown, but he seems to have furnished them sparsely.
18. His personal property in London, assessed for tax purposes, was only five pounds.
19. The property of the most affluent inhabitant of the parish was assessed at three hundred pounds.
20. Of course, Shakespeare could have hidden things away - books, paintings, plate - to reduce his liability, but the assessors at least saw very few signs of wealth.
21. Generations of scholars have combed the archives for more details, but the principal records are a succession of notices for the non-payment of taxes.
22. In 1597, the year Shakespeare bought the handsome New Place, the tax collectors for Bishopsgate ward affirmed that William Shakespeare, assessed the sum of thirteen shillings four pence on his personal property, had not paid.
23. The next year he was again delinquent, and a further notice, in 1600, when he was living on the Surrey side of the river, suggests that he was still in arrears.
24. He may in the end have paid his taxes - the records are incomplete - but it does not seem likely.
25. Shakespeare was someone who not only lived a modest London life but also hated to let even small sums of money slip through his fingers.

[Perhaps]

- I. he was worrying about the financial security of his wife and daughters back in Stratford
- II. he hated the example of his father's embarrassments
- III. he told himself that he would do anything not to end up like the wretched Greene.
- IV. For whatever the reason, Shakespeare seems to have treated money - his money at least - with considerable seriousness
- V. No one refers to him as a skinflint, but he did not like to waste his substance,

VI. and he was clearly determined not to be an easy mark for anyone

From Chambers then we have the detail of the entries - the £5 assessment on his London “property” is an example. However, both writers provided different and non-factual assessments of the data. Chambers was eager to tidy up discrepancies - “This probably includes Shakespeare's 13s. 4d., although names are not given”. This may be so, but is certainly not a fact.

Greenblatt leads his argument (above) with five points, numbered 1 through 5. None of these are facts. Also absent from his consideration was the question of whether William could have conceivably earned through the theatre the money he spent.

To examine his five points:

1. “Shakespeare had made his fortune virtually entirely on his own.” This is at the very least “not proven.” Halliwell-Phillipps may have lived a hundred years before Greenblatt but recognized that quite simply the figures do not add up.⁶⁶¹
2. “His mother's inheritance, such as it was, had been first mortgaged and then forfeited.” Again Asbies is raised but the question of where these supposedly poverty-stricken Shakespeares got the money to litigate over this is not asked. There is also the inference that this one piece of property was the only family asset, which we know was not the case.
3. “Through his father's incompetence or improvidence.” This is a negative assumption arrived at in the absence of any in-depth financial analysis.
4. “His father's standing in Stratford had been compromised by debt and possibly by Recusancy.” As noted previously,⁶⁶² nothing suggests John’s withdrawal from public life was anything but voluntary - the standing in which his colleagues held him, and continued to hold him is clear in the records. The fact that his absence was felt on the Council is shown by their extreme leniency in non-attendance fines and the length of time that passed before they reluctantly removed him from the Council.

⁶⁶¹ “The largest emoluments etc.” See *x ref. footnote 336*

⁶⁶² *x ref.205*

5. “His brothers amounted to little or nothing.” This is a very aggressive conclusion to a simple unknown. Certainly they did not hold public office nor is their wealth recorded and, given their father’s early life of dutiful civic service this is all the more remarkable. The Shakespeares, after John’s withdrawal from public life, went to extraordinary lengths not to appear in records. It is only years after William’s death that anything like a complete edition of his work is published and that by his former colleagues. The only brother whose fate we know in any detail at all is Edmond who died as a young man. The others may have lived very comfortably, tax free, in the black economy.

Greenblatt presented a William Shakespeare who was a strong, purposeful, self-denying, self-made capitalist - all of which he may well have been. Indeed, he probably was just like this. Unfortunately, the financial analysis does not support that all his purchases were made with money from his theatrical activities.

Taking agreed factual points from both Chambers’ and Greenblatt’s observations (referenced above) and my own researches, consensus stands around the following points

- William Shakespeare was a tax-avoider.
- His tax assessment at £5 property was only just above the lowest possible of £3.
- His £5 assessment was current even as he was investing heavily in Stratford.
- He deliberately kept a low profile financially in London living modestly in lodgings.
- He cared more about his investments than preserving his plays.
- Despite decades of research, no other tax record of William, has been uncovered. No record has been found showing that he paid taxes at all.
- His residences in London tend to be with the trading/artisan classes.

The general system of Early Modern taxation in England comes in for considerable comment on its shortcomings, with the frequent observation that evasion and understatement were rife. Yet, in examining the returns, one of the most striking qualities is of a taxation regime that pursued William, across jurisdictions, for thirteen shillings and four pence. In the entries listed above, there is evidence of a system that was persistent but not draconian. If it were open to evasion then it was deliberately so.

According to Hoyle, unlike many countries such as France, tax gathering in England was “not backed by threat or actual force”. Governments feared rebellions resulting from raised taxes. Hoyle continued

...The English system may have served to keep yields low but this voluntary (if not consensual) approach meant the costs of collection were minimal and little was siphoned off into the hands of local officeholders...⁶⁶³

But, notwithstanding a soft approach to tax gathering where persistence was the key collection tool, for William *never* to have paid tax anywhere suggests a very well organized individual, alert to the shortcomings of the taxation process. Given this, it is inconceivable that his avoidance of tax was merely coincidental for it would have been a rare individual who could avoid paying anything while accruing or keeping significant wealth.

⁶⁶³ Hoyle, *Place* p.213

Chapter 5 – IN SEARCH OF THE PLAYWRIGHT

...the desire to amass money was like a fierce universal lust in the Jacobean period...
 Antonia Fraser, 1996⁶⁶⁴

...Money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly by
 suppressing, or at least keeping a strait hand, upon the devouring trades of usury,
 ingrossing great pasturages, and the like.
 Francis Bacon, 1625⁶⁶⁵

The challenge to any researcher investigating Shakespeare's London career is the lack of verifiable information concerning his life outside of the texts of his plays and poems. In the absence of "new" discoveries, the proposal is that techniques can be borrowed from other disciplines that have successfully employed innovative techniques to help circumvent this problem.

By 27 January 2011, astronomers had detected 519 "exoplanets", that is planets lying outside our solar system.⁶⁶⁶ Being too dim and distant, they have not actually been seen through a telescope, but their presence has been deduced through the gravitational effect planets have on their respective stars – they make them wobble. Simply, a presence is detected by looking at something that can be studied to determine the characteristics of something that cannot be observed.

Though we have little detail of William Shakespeare in London, like the exoplanets, we can learn and deduce much from examining his effect on the careers and lifestyles of those he is known to have interacted with, or who were prototypical of the environment in which he lived and worked. But also, like hunting exoplanets, it is the selection of the various "stars" of the Early Modern Theatre that is crucial. Indeed, there is a danger that unless the selection process is truly representative, the final data could be skewed away from fact towards a false image. A full analysis would require perfect information about all parties even tangentially involved with Shakespeare and the London theatre of his time. This body of data neither exists nor is the time available for such an examination in the context of this thesis. However, like the astronomer commencing a

⁶⁶⁴ Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot - Terror and Faith in 1605*, Reprint (London: Arrow, 1999).

⁶⁶⁵ Francis Bacon, "Of Seditions and Troubles," in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (London: Longman, 1857-74).

⁶⁶⁶ See <http://exoplanet.eu/> for the latest totals.

search, there are logical starting points: those who are mentioned in lawsuits with Shakespeare, those with whom he collaborated in the writing of his plays or someone who lampooned him in print. These three filters suggested a pool of candidates from which four were selected. In addition to this, there are the group of individuals who made the greatest financial returns out of their manifold business ventures, including the theatre. From this list the two most successful have been chosen. Collectively these six are the core of the following analysis and to these I have added a seventh, the greatest courtier of the period, to see if his methods of acquiring wealth or, indeed his behaviour, were any worthier than the other six.

This chapter then, is an examination of William's professional career through an analysis of the financial histories and characters of seven men whose actions - some deliberate, some unintentional - influenced Shakespeare's life and hence the accumulation of the Shakespeare family wealth.

They include:

- Francis Langley who built the Swan Theatre and nearly diverted Shakespeare from the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the subsequent creation of the Globe Theatre.
- William Gardiner, Langley's enemy who, by proxy, sued both Shakespeare and the corrupt Langley.
- Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn who succeeded above all others in the accumulation of wealth through using the theatre as one part of a multi-pronged business strategy.
- George Wilkins, pimp, aspiring writer and friend of the Belott-Mountjoy family with whom William lodged while writing *Measure for Measure* and who was very probably involved in the creation of *Pericles*.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ The degree of his involvement remains a subject of debate. One incontrovertible link was referenced by Stanley Wells: "Its success was exploited, also in 1608, by the publication of a novel, by George Wilkins, *The Painful Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre, Being the True History of the Play of Pericles as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet John Gower*". Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *The Oxford Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986). p.1037.

- Henry Chettle who lampooned Shakespeare in print while hiding behind the name of another and then, under his own name, ridiculed all “broggers”.

Lastly, outside these six, in a class of his own for illegal wealth accumulation,

- Robert Cecil whose personal revenge on Langley was to close the Swan and thus divert the course of Shakespeare’s career.

Some of the recorded incidents of William’s career include

Table 55 - Points of Contact

Shakespeare	Year	Interacts with	Outcome	Who Discovered
Named in Gardiner v. Langley law suit	1596	Gardiner & Francis Langley	Unknown	Hotson, 1932 ⁶⁶⁸
Witness in Belott v. Mountjoy	1612	Extended Mountjoy family, George Wilkins	Unclear	Wallace, 1909 ⁶⁶⁹
Tax Defaulter ⁶⁷⁰	1597-99			
Letter from Quiney	1598			Malone, 1793 ⁶⁷¹
Purchase of the Blackfriars Gatehouse	1613	King’s Men and their business friends	Previously Unknown	

Because there are so few documented events, each is of special significance. Most were discovered after the Shakespeare *mythos* was well established which has, to some degree, discouraged their close examination.

In the *Gardiner v. Langley* suit - which will be examined in some detail - though Shakespeare is the first named party, there is a remarkable unwillingness to confront the truth that William Shakespeare was named in a nuisance lawsuit between two crooks. To use a twentieth century American analogy, this was the equivalent of Frank Sinatra having Sam “Momo” Giancana named second as a co-defendant in a suit initiated by “Lucky” Luciano.⁶⁷² This “minor legal drama”⁶⁷³ is significant in any evaluation of

⁶⁶⁸ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931).

⁶⁶⁹ Charles W. Wallace, *Nebraska University Studies* (University of Nebraska), 1910.

⁶⁷⁰ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.162/3 see also *x ref.191 393*

⁶⁷¹ *x ref.360* references Malone.

⁶⁷² The references here are merely illustrative see Steve Fischer, *When the Mob Ran Vegas* (Omaha: Berkline, 2007) should detailed backgrounds for these individuals be required see Glossary “Sinatra”.

⁶⁷³ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.146

Shakespeare's business dealings, in that it connects him with two criminal financial manipulators of the time.

Gardiner had used an established legal device to counter-attack his adversary Langley, and sought to draw three people into the suit to cause as much fiscal and emotional distress to his adversary as possible. Therefore, Shakespeare had an existing or potential business relationship with Langley sufficient to make him not just *a* tempting target but *the* first target.

To recap, the first six individuals under consideration have histories that intersect with both Shakespeare and the London Theatre. Collectively they illustrate - through their own business and theatrical activities - the economic milieu in which Shakespeare thrived. All had contacts (in Langley's case multi-level involvement) with the theatre and all had multiple sources of personal revenue both legal and illegal.

Table 56 - Six of Seven Characters

Name	Theatrical Relationship	Theatre	Other Activities
Francis Langley	Theatre Owner, Impresario	Swan, Boar's Head	Alnager, Landlord, Property Developer, Usurer, Extortionist, Fence
William Gardiner	Regulator (Bankside)	All Bankside	Usurer, Extortionist
Philip Henslowe	Theatre Owner, Impresario	Rose, Fortune	Landlord, Property Developer, Usurer, Extortionist, Trader, Brothel Owner, Pawnbroker, Blood Sports Promoter
Edward Alleyn	Actor, Impresario, Theatre Owner	Rose, Fortune	Landlord, Property Developer, Usurer, Extortionist, Trader, Brothel Owner, Blood Sports Promoter
George Wilkins	Playwright, Writer	Globe,	Tavern Landlord, Pimp, Brothel Keeper
Henry Chettle	Playwright, Writer, printer	All	Plagiarist, Scandal monger

In their businesses these individuals incessantly crossed the divide between legal and illegal. They illustrate how it was possible for someone to bridge the issue of legality and still have an effect on William Shakespeare's own career and the London theatre in general. It would have been possible to expand this list – for example the Burbages are

not included. But the selection criteria focused not only on the quality and quantity of information available but also on their multiple, often overlapping, financial dealings – these six represent the best, but not by any means the only possible subjects for this examination.

THE CRIMINAL THEATRE OF THE SOUTH BANK

A play by Shakespeare is related to the contexts of its production
 - to the economic and political system of Elizabethan and Jacobean England
 - and to the particular institutions of cultural production
 (the court, patronage, theatre, education, the church)...
 Jonathan Dollimore & Alan Sinfield, 1985⁶⁷⁴

...sympathy conditioned by our century's ideology, by recent scholarship, and no doubt above all, by our safe distance from the fear and loathing of [the sixteenth century]...

Stephen Greenblatt⁶⁷⁵

The proposal is that the six parties operated on both sides of the then prevailing law and were engaged in, or were closely allied to, organized criminal activity. The contention is that at least three of them behaved in a manner more akin to modern mafia "Godfathers" than mere commercial entrepreneurs.

The Business of Organizing Crime

The sociologist Mary McIntosh divided criminality between project organizations - criminals working alone or in gangs for task-specific, short-term, purposes and business organizations that are somewhat permanent.⁶⁷⁶ Though dismissive of the possibilities of "Napoleons of crime" akin to Conan Doyle's Moriarty (evil geniuses reigning over criminal empires⁶⁷⁷) she did acknowledge that there are criminal leaders, "racketeers" who control

⁶⁷⁴ "Political Shakespeare - New Essays in Cultural Materialism," ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, 270 (Manchester University Press, 1985). p.viii

⁶⁷⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, "Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre and the Representation of Rebellion," *Representations* (University of California Press), no. 1 (February 1983): 1-29. p.9 Greenblatt actually uses the date 1525 as he starts his essay with this year, when "Albrecht Dürer published his *Painters Manual*".

⁶⁷⁶ Mary McIntosh, *The Organisation of Crime* (London: Macmillan, 1975). p.50

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.47

...two closely related kinds of crime that in some circumstances can become organized on a basis of permanent... business operations; these are extortion and the provision of illegal goods and services.⁶⁷⁸

What makes these unique in her estimation is that the “customer-victim” knows what is going on and for some reason accepts it.

There is no stealth here and the “racketeer” has to make some arrangement with the authorities in order to continue in their illegal business. Indeed both the operator of the “racket”⁶⁷⁹ and the official conniving with him are, by definition, committing an illegal act.

Thomas Schelling, the American economist, took this line of argument a stage further by asserting

...there is, I believe, a characteristic of organized crime... exclusivity, or, to use a more focused term, monopoly. From all accounts, organized crime does not merely extend itself broadly, but brooks no competition. It seeks not merely influence, but exclusive influence. In the underworld its counterpart would be not just organized business, but monopoly. And we can apply to it some of the adjectives that are often associated with monopoly - ruthless, unscrupulous, greedy, exploitative, unprincipled. [It] collectively negotiates with the police not only for [its] own security but to enlist the police in the war against rival[s]...⁶⁸⁰

To ‘monopoly’ can be added ‘integration’. Organized crime spreads not just horizontally by acquiring or destroying competitors but also vertically as it seeks to own all stages of the process from raw material to finished goods and sale.

Sin City⁶⁸¹

Red Light⁶⁸² districts are areas of prostitution in cities and even where prostitution is tolerated, (certain counties in modern Nevada and in the city of Amsterdam for example) there is a strong undertow of criminality. However, I would propose it is the integration of ‘entertainment’ facilities, both legal and illegal, with some degree of distinct geographical differentiation or legal status, that upgrades a mere red light area

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid. p.50

⁶⁷⁹ orig. Brit. A dishonest or fraudulent line of business; a method of swindling for financial gain; a scam. OED

⁶⁸⁰ Thomas Schelling, “What is the Business of Organized Crime?,” *Journal of Public Law* 20, no. 1 (1971). p.73.

⁶⁸¹ See Glossary

⁶⁸² See Glossary

into what may be termed a “Sin City”. Furthermore, in a Sin City two other factors are prevalent. Firstly, there has to be the active cooperation or at the very least connivance of the authorities. Secondly, there is the use of sharp business practice, driven by authoritarian Godfathers who view human weakness as potential for profit and create the medium in which such a business can flourish.

GODFATHERS OF BANKSIDE

...While most of the trades it operates in are either totally illegal or a little shady, it has used some very effective conventional business practices to make them thrive.
Nick Louth, 2008⁶⁸³

Nick Louth’s observation on the twenty-first century American Mafia could have been made of the Early Modern “Godfathers” of Bankside.

To these “businessmen” human beings became commodities whether their motivation was greed for money, power or both. Equally, in their off-duty hours, these individuals frequently lived “normal” lives and had the same family relationships and the same travails and consequential stresses as any other successful businessmen of their age. A dispassionate study of the rise of the Early Modern London theatre confirms that there existed a sin city of varying entertainments run by criminal Godfathers rather than a half-timbered equivalent of today’s National Theatre complex.⁶⁸⁴

In reality the “sharer and housekeeper” of the Globe, William Shakespeare, equated more to a “points owning”⁶⁸⁵ Frank Sinatra in the Las Vegas of the 1950s, rubbing shoulders with the criminal and unscrupulous, than a pantomime Dick Whittington.

A preliminary indication of just who these ruthless bosses were can be gleaned from their paper trails, in the legal documents, land conveyances and litigation of their day. Equally, their traces appear in the legal complaints and judicial appeals made against their activities. If one looks to facts, then non-tax payers with a reluctance to sign anything who engage in certain patterns or types of litigation are likely to be this kind of

⁶⁸³ N. Louth, "Mob Rule: What the Mafia Taught Business," MSN, November 8, 2008, [//money.uk.msn.com/investing/articles/nicklouth](http://money.uk.msn.com/investing/articles/nicklouth).

⁶⁸⁴ The illustration comes from Edmond Malone, *Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. James Boswell, 21 vols. (London: Rivington, et al, 1821). Vol III p.64.

⁶⁸⁵ “Points” is an American term for a percentage ownership.

individual. As previously noted, truly smart criminals and sharp businessmen don't get caught and if they become super successful then they buy dynastic legitimacy for their sundry offspring.⁶⁸⁶

Francis Langley and William Gardiner

Two unscrupulous men at odds with one another,
one of them having the advantage of civil authority.⁶⁸⁷
Ingram, 1978

It is possible to describe Langley and Gardiner as being merely businessmen and moneylenders. However, this is akin to describing Mario Puzo's Don Vito Corleone⁶⁸⁸ as an olive oil importer – his legitimate business façade. Gardiner, notwithstanding earlier court cases, fines and a sullied reputation - was made a Justice of the Peace with responsibility for Bankside in 1580, an office he held till his death in 1597.

Leslie Hotson noted of Gardiner that

...an examination of the Surrey [Records] ...reveals him as by far the busiest justice in the county...his total record of committals to prison in his years of office is 297, as against the 193 of his nearest competitor.⁶⁸⁹

However, this “busyness” was in an age where prisoners were almost certain to be tormented in what Gamini Salgado described as “a system of extortion and corruption of frightening proportions.”⁶⁹⁰ The accused were trapped in a process where, from the judicial top down, the objective of those holding office was to remove whatever money the individual could beg, borrow or had previously stolen.

One example of how an individual (Gardiner) acquired judicial and public office is fully considered later in this thesis,⁶⁹¹ however, financial return through misfeasance and malfeasance manifestly lay at the heart of it. Judges were particularly open to “incentives” – and the alacrity of Gardiner's sentencing probably relates as much to

⁶⁸⁶ In the twentieth century the rise of such businessmen as the late Joseph Kennedy is instructive. See Arnold Offner, “Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, 1938-1940: An Anatomy of Appeasement by Ralph F. de Bedt,” *American Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (1987).

⁶⁸⁷ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

⁶⁸⁸ Mario Puzo, *The Godfather*, Signet (New York: NEL, 1978). p.31.

⁶⁸⁹ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931). p.47

⁶⁹⁰ Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld*, Special edition (London: BCA, 1977). p.164

⁶⁹¹ *x ref.221*

personal gain as the unquestionably high levels of criminality in the parts of Surrey over which he had jurisdiction.

The Writ

England. Be it known that William Shakspere, Francis Langley,
Dorothy Soer wife of John Soer, and Anne Lee, for fear of death...
King's Bench, Controlment Roll, 1596⁶⁹²

“Somehow Shakespeare was drawn into the feud” commented Schoenbaum as Shakespeare became “one of the dramatis personae in this minor legal drama.”⁶⁹³ Langley and Gardiner (together with Gardiner’s stepson William Wayte) had been figuratively at daggers drawn for some time and the above extract from a “writ of attachment” was part of the litigious exchange between them. As Ingram observed

A writ of attachment was, in essence, a directive to the sheriff of a given county to apprehend a specified person, or persons...on the formal grounds that he or they constituted a serious threat to the life and safety of the person entering the complaint...the person complained of was required to enter into sufficient bonds before the court, with the requisite co signers...if he should break the peace within a year, the bonds would be forfeit...many such writs were sworn out of malice.⁶⁹⁴

Table 57 - Extract from Controlment Roll

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Leslie Hotson who unearthed this writ in 1931 and published his findings the same year had previously found a matching one initiated by Langley against Gardiner and Wayte only two weeks previously. Was the “William Shakespere” in the writ the same as the Stratford playwright? Why would the “nefarious” Gardiner through his “creature” Wayte⁶⁹⁵, as Hotson put it, name him at all? Furthermore, who were the two women named in the document? To investigate this puzzle it is necessary to examine the life and career of Francis Langley.

⁶⁹² In full: Writ of Attachment issued and directed to the Sheriff of Surrey, returnable the eighteenth of St. Martin. Public Record Office, Court of King's Bench, Controlment Roll, Michaelmas Term 1596, K.B. 29/234.

⁶⁹³ Schoenbaum, *A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.146

⁶⁹⁴ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). p.144. The copy of the extract in Table 57 can be found at <http://hiwaay.net/~paul/shakspere/evidence1.html>

⁶⁹⁵ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931). p.39

Langley b.1548 d.1602

Reared by his childless uncle, a prosperous London goldsmith and later Lord Mayor, the orphan Langley was apprenticed to a draper. Following undefined “inappropriate liberties” his master dismissed him⁶⁹⁶ but with the direct or indirect patronage of his uncle, he eventually obtained his freedom in the Company of Drapers. His benefactor also arranged a “reversion” for him as an alnager,⁶⁹⁷ one of the small number of City officials in charge of certifying the quality of cloth. Langley had to wait till 1585 for a vacancy to be available to him.⁶⁹⁸ There is ample documentary evidence to show that, from the first, he treated this official position as a platform for extortion and bribe taking.

The letter of the law demanded that woollen cloth entering the city had to first receive an alnager’s stamp. It is apparent in various lawsuits that Langley would have the inns around the market watched for merchants arriving with woollen cloth from the country. If they were foolish enough to visit their lodgings before going to the market then Langley, with his accomplices, would break into merchants’ rooms and “discover” unstamped cloth. Cash payments were then extracted by Langley to “overlook” the offence of having uncertified cloth in the city.⁶⁹⁹

Margot Heinemann⁷⁰⁰ drew attention to Thomas Middleton’s play *Michaelmas Term* (1604-6) that portrayed the linkages between cloth, financial fraud and the corrupt use of financial manipulation.⁷⁰¹ During this period a growing number of self made men who, as Heinemann puts it, were

...middle-rank merchants ...often the victims of oligarchic privilege and financial extortion...

who joined with humbler shopkeepers and traders to form a new social stratum, and who

⁶⁹⁶ William Ingram, "Langley, Francis (1548-1602)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, November 22, 2008.

⁶⁹⁷ See Glossary

⁶⁹⁸ Despite the terms of the Reversion, Langley it appears was passed over for the first available positions when these fell vacant.

⁶⁹⁹ Ingram, *London Life* p.61

⁷⁰⁰ Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980).

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.89

...would soon display their talents as soldiers, organizers and businessmen in the upheavals of the Civil War.⁷⁰²

Even before obtaining his alnager's office, Langley had been active as a moneylender and middleman, often defrauding his clients. Without banks, those seeking cash would approach middlemen - the term "goldsmiths" is often used, as originally it may have been *bona fide* goldsmiths that made loans – men who, by virtue of their trade, could bring the lenders and borrowers together. If the borrower had insufficient security (usually other guarantors or co-signers) then the middleman - Langley for example - would offer to co-sign their bond for an indemnity that in the event of default, twice the value of the bond would be payable, in addition to the sum advanced. A foolish borrower could then find that, had the letter of the bond not been followed, or they failed to pay, Langley would pursue them for his defaulted payment. Moreover, even if the loan were repaid, Langley would frequently keep the bond but pretend to have misplaced it. Later he would claim that the debt had never been satisfied and that he was entitled to his money. Gardiner also favoured this technique in his money-lending activities.⁷⁰³

Significantly, for the Early Modern Theatre and William Shakespeare, when the young and naïve Thomas Cure failed to pay, Langley got the manor of Paris Garden.⁷⁰⁴ At the time this was a hundred acre site on the south side of the Thames abutting both the Rose Playhouse and the "stews"⁷⁰⁵ that stood along the riverside. Like other legal and religious jurisdictional anomalies, Paris Garden stood outside the City of London and therefore beyond the control of the Lord Mayor and aldermen. Paris Garden was, from a legal standpoint, under the authority of the Surrey Sheriff and Justices of the Peace.

Langley began to develop the site as an integrated commercial and entertainment complex and built rental property, landing stages to bring in the customers and, in 1594–5 as its centrepiece, the Swan playhouse. About a year after it was finished, Johannes de Witt, a Dutch traveller, described the Swan as being the most impressive of all the London playhouses.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰² Ibid. p.25

⁷⁰³ Hotson, *Shakespeare Versus* p.39

⁷⁰⁴ The character of Easy in *Michaelmas Term* is almost a double of the real Thomas Cure, except in the play with its "happy ever after" ending Easy triumphs which Cure did not.

⁷⁰⁵ Stew(s) - A brothel... on account of the frequent use of the public hot-air bath-houses for immoral purposes. OED

⁷⁰⁶ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.109

His acting as a “fence” complemented Langley’s illegal dealings in fraud and extortion. He bought and sold stolen merchandise. Langley’s involvement with a diamond stolen from the prize the *Madre de Dios* was integral to a crisis of the Early Modern Theatre - the play *The Isle of Dogs*. But before commenting on that event, it is necessary to examine the writ itself in greater detail.

Table 58 - de Witt’s Sketch of the Swan Theatre

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

The Nature of the Writ

Playhouses need players and those engaged in the illegal trading of wool and cloth need, or at the very least could greatly benefit from, the assistance of corrupt alnagers. Here are two potential links to John and William Shakespeare: the Writ of Attachment and Francis Langley.

Countersuits, seeking to hit back at someone litigating against oneself, have always been a good source of income for the legal profession. They are a non-violent way to counter-attack an adversary or to raise the stakes in any legal battle. Often, to increase

the impact, parties not germane to the dispute will be named to inconvenience the litigant. This is almost standard procedure in most employee/employer litigation in the United States today.⁷⁰⁷ The attorneys for the employee seek to extort money from the employer by inconveniently deposing critical senior staff and thereby inflicting commercial embarrassment and damage on the employer.

Interestingly, John Shakespeare also initiated a Writ of Attachment at least once.

Bearman noted that

...in Trinity Term 1582... John himself appealed directly to Queen's Bench that four men were bound over to save him from "fear of death and mutilation of his limbs."⁷⁰⁸

While seeming to be unaware of the commercial uses this type of writ served (despite quoting Hotson, albeit not in *Shakespeare versus Shallow*) Bearman notes that the appeal to Queen's Bench might reflect that one of the four - Ralph Cawdrey - was high bailiff that year and therefore presumably "fireproofed" as far as local justices were concerned.

It appears virtually certain that the 1596 writ was an attempt at retaliation, aimed at causing Langley as much financial distress as possible. With the Swan finished, Langley needed it to start operating quickly and effectively, not just for profit but also to cover its construction costs. Moreover, if there was a business relationship with the Shakespeares this too represented a source of revenue. As to the two women, it appears that at least one was a tenant of Langley's on the Paris Garden site. The obvious, though as yet unsupported, proposition (which demands further investigation) is that the three named "employees" in the writ represented key businesses for Langley: Shakespeare for the Swan (and possible alnager-related activity) and the two women for Langley's other businesses on the site – perhaps inns or brothels. However there remains genuine puzzlement even in modern writing over these "four quite ill-matched names"⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁷ Lawyers USA, "Employers Counter Suit not per se retaliatory," All Business, 12 31, 2007, www.allbusiness.com/legal/legal-services-litigation/8888923-1.html (accessed 1 15, 2009).

⁷⁰⁸ Bearman, *John Shakespeare* p.417

⁷⁰⁹ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). p. 145

That Shakespeare is named first has been attributed to his possibly lampooning Gardiner in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* where the character Justice Shallow could, in the minds of some (including Hotson), be a caricature of Gardiner, and his son-in-law Wayne, the physical manifestation of the ninny Abraham Slender. However, it is likely that money was a stronger motive for this line of attack, and Gardiner was hardly a Justice Shallow being himself at best little better than Langley.⁷¹⁰ Schoenbaum considers that Hotson's

...argument [is] on a fragile foundation... Shallow foolish, senile, essentially harmless - will hardly pass muster as a caricature of Gardiner...⁷¹¹

It is possible that *The Merchant of Venice* of 1596/7⁷¹² contains a likelier parallel of both Gardiner and Langley in the shape of Shylock. Here is a man who usually charges interest, but whose real aim is to press for the penalty hoping the bond will be defaulted upon (a practice of both Langley and Gardiner⁷¹³). But to make Hotson's sequence of events work, it is necessary to move *The Merry Wives of Windsor* to a first performance date of 1596-7 which challenges the play's customary dating.⁷¹⁴ Today Greenblatt⁷¹⁵ describes it as a play of the 1597-98 season and Andrew Gurr refers to it as being "in 1597".⁷¹⁶

In 1571 John Shakespeare sued a John Luther for £50 plus damages⁷¹⁷ – a case John won, though the damages awarded were only thirty-three shillings and not the ten pounds he had sought.⁷¹⁸ Representing Shakespeare on that occasion was Henry Burr who also represented William Gardiner in his various legal suits during the same period. The possibility exists that Gardiner knew that William was the son of John Shakespeare and, through Henry Burr, may have gained some insight into the Shakespeare family's business.

⁷¹⁰ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931). p.13-26

⁷¹¹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.147

⁷¹² Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

⁷¹³ However this does add the complication that if Shakespeare was at this time in a business relationship with Langley would he lampoon him in a play? This technique is also a central plot device in *Michaelmas Term*.

⁷¹⁴ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.131

⁷¹⁵ Greenblatt, *The Norton* p.1231

⁷¹⁶ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004). p.170

⁷¹⁷ C.P. 40/1304/910d., Trinity 14 Eliz. Also refers to Easter 14 Eliz., mem. 1410

⁷¹⁸ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.39

Langley and Bonds

Langley made one innovation that had an immediate impact on Shakespeare, Early Modern Theatre and the subsequent history of all theatre – the performance contract.

Ingram wrote that

...the plainants were shocked to discover “that your said subjects would become bound to him, the said Langley, in some great penalty with condition that they should not absent themselves nor play elsewhere but in the said playhouse called the Swan...”⁷¹⁹

The plainants, the reconstituted company of players known as Pembroke’s Men, were seeking a theatre to perform in. There exists the possibility that Shakespeare wrote and performed for Pembroke's Men (the Company operating under the patronage of Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke) in the early 1590s. Though quarto printings can at best be viewed with careful scepticism, on a case-by-case basis, the *Henry VI, Part 3* octavo of 1595⁷²⁰ notes that Pembroke's Men did indeed perform the play. Certainly the title page of the 1600 quarto states that the play was “sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruantes”. Moreover, as a line from the play was quoted in *A Groatsworth of Wit* of 1592⁷²¹ it is almost certain to predate that work.⁷²²

Titus Andronicus (quarto of 1594) lists three companies, “As it was Plaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembroke, and Earle of Sussex their Seruants”.⁷²³ Three acting companies for one play is rare, but given the economic upheaval of the decade, and plague related theatre closures, there was considerable mixing of players between companies, as players must have struggled to survive.⁷²⁴

All eight permanent members of the reconstituted company signed with Langley to play the 1597/8 season at the Swan, with a penalty of £100 each if they defaulted. For Langley this was merely transposing the techniques of default penalty from his money

⁷¹⁹ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). p.155

⁷²⁰ Halliday refers to the 1595 printing as being a quarto while the British Library correctly describes it as an octavo.

⁷²¹ Robert Greene, *Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a million of Repentance* (London: William Wright, 1592).

⁷²² British Library Notes, *Henry VI Part3* Quarto (London). & Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). p.297

⁷²³ University of Victoria, "Titus Andronicus - First Quarto," ed. Drew Mildon, 1594, internetshakespeare.uvic.ca.

⁷²⁴ F.E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.361

lending into the theatre. Later in 1597 Henslowe, owner of the nearby Rose Theatre, caught up with his rival and he too started requiring bonds from players. Carson quoted from Henslowe's own notes of 25 July of that year where Thomas Hearne was "not to departe frome my company tyll this ij years be eaned (f.233)". Later on the same page, Henslowe is referenced seeking Richard Jones to "playe in my howsse only".⁷²⁵

Langley and Henslowe both employed another business technique still popular in the modern era - they lured staff away from their competitors. Richard Jones had been one of Pembroke's Men earlier in 1597 but later that year he signed up with Henslowe.

Whatever their state of mind, Pembroke's Men began playing in the Swan by 20 February, 1597 and the defections from the Admiral's Men at the Rose to the Swan caused interruptions to that company's playing schedule.⁷²⁶ However with some false starts, both companies had managed to get their seasons underway. Ingram, noted that

... theatre historians will argue that at the end of July the players in the Swan, by staging a scurrilous play called the *Isle of Dogs*, brought down upon themselves the wrath of both City and (Privy) Council and that a Council order for the cessation of playing and the pulling down of playhouses was the direct and immediate result of this affront.⁷²⁷

Circumstantial evidence does exist. A letter seeking the closing of the theatres had been delivered to the Privy Council on the 28 of July from the Lord Mayor. It was one in a series of near duplicates seeking an end to playing. Meanwhile though pressed by matters of state, the Council also met on the same day and (as had happened previously) did indeed announce a suspension of playing in the hot (plague vulnerable) summer months. One irony is that the man charged to tell Langley of the prohibition was his enemy Gardiner. However, on August 15 the Privy Council acted.

... Upon information given us ... a lewd play [*The Isle of Dogs*] that was played in one of the playhouses on the Bankside, containing very seditious and slanderous matter... [it] caused some of the players to be apprehended and committed to prison, whereof one of them was not only an actor, but a maker of part of the said play⁷²⁸

⁷²⁵ Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.33

⁷²⁶ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). p.157

⁷²⁷ Ibid. p.167

⁷²⁸ APC 1597 p.338

Ingram infers that Lords Howard and Hunsdon as theatrical patrons were particularly keen to protect their reputations.⁷²⁹ Lord Hunsdon, as Peter Thomson notes, “was enriched by the brothel trade in the Paris Garden Manor, of which he was Lord”.⁷³⁰ Complex land conveyancing had hidden the true nature of Hunsdon’s share of the profits and like any competent criminal Lord Hunsdon, patron of Shakespeare’s own Lord Chamberlain’s Men and cousin of the Queen, took a prudently circuitous route in arranging matters to his own financial advantage.⁷³¹

The outcome of the Council’s deliberations was that Roger Topcliffe⁷³² was directed to conduct an examination. In the end no theatres were torn down, playing went on and the only long-term casualty – though rarely identified as such, was Langley and his Swan Theatre. The story of *The Isle of Dogs* fiasco, that started five years before the Swan even opened, is long and involved, but it was sufficiently revealing of the money making mechanisms of the time to have merited an analysis in its own right.⁷³³

Langley v. Woodliffe & Samwell

However, the Swan was not Langley’s last involvement with theatre development.

As Ingram put it

...[Oliver] Woodliffe was no more a haberdasher than Francis Langley was a draper...[a man whose] livelihood lay elsewhere, in an assortment of speculative dealings⁷³⁴.

The Boar’s Head Inn was one of these speculations. In 1594, just as Langley was erecting the Swan across the river, Woodliffe leased the inn with a view to upgrading it into a place of entertainment as well as a hostelry. C.J. Sisson was of the opinion that Woodliffe’s motives were “...apparently purely financial...he shows no respect for the acting profession”.⁷³⁵

⁷²⁹Ingram, *London Life*. p.180

⁷³⁰Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.237

⁷³¹Ingram, *London Life* p.75, p.299 See also “Knight Service” in Glossary for details of the archaic form of conveyancing used.

⁷³²(1531-1604). A landowner and parliamentarian. The scourge of recusant Catholics - especially priests. The use of judicially sanctioned torture was referred to at Elizabeth I’s court as “Topcliffian Customs”.

⁷³³ *x ref.440*

⁷³⁴Ingram, *London Life* p.234

⁷³⁵C.J. Sisson, *The Boar's Head Theatre*, ed. Stanley Wells (London: Routledge, 1972). p.235

From the start legal complexities dogged the project. The inn was rented at £40 a year for twenty years from the owner Jane Poley, who retained a residence there. The lease also provided that Woodliffe spent £100 within seven years in upgrading the structure. Failure to do so would result in forfeiture of the property and a bond of £300 becoming payable. Like so many of Langley's (and Gardiner's) financial transactions, default could be much more lucrative than full performance.

By 1598 however, Woodliffe was sub-letting the hostelry side of the business (also for £40 a year) to Richard Samwell for the balance of the lease period. According to Herbert Berry⁷³⁶ the original plan was that Woodliffe and Samwell should jointly construct galleries to seat the audience with the playing being conducted in the "great yard". Having constructed these, Woodliffe convinced Samwell to first demolish and then replace these with higher capacity seating. Not surprisingly both men ran out of money and the balance of the £100 needed for improvements had evaporated as well, with only three years left out of the original seven.

Samwell turned to a player named Robert Browne for short-term loans but by 1599, unable to repay, Browne had gained control of Samwell's interest in the lease. The total consideration was £360 minus sums advanced. Browne then moved into the premises with his company of players and finally the theatre started making money.

Woodliffe, pressed for cash, then made the mistake of approaching Langley for money. Langley later deposed that he had offered to "buy the whole interest of the said Woodliffe...for £400". Langley agreed to pay £100 cash and three bonds for £100 each but extracted a counter bond of a thousand marks (£666) from Woodliffe to confirm that the title to the lease held by him was valid.

As Ingram puts it, "the stage was now set for a confrontation between Langley and Woodliffe on the one hand and Samwell and Browne on the other" over who actually had control over the yard.⁷³⁷ The original lease had been ill defined on this point and on this ambiguity Langley intended, like the fictional Shylock, to "feed fat".⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ Ingram, *London Life*. p.236

⁷³⁷ Ibid. p.238

⁷³⁸ *The Merchant of Venice* I, iii

The full array of Langley's harassment techniques was now brought to bear: suits flew in both directions, writs abounded, gangs of Langley's bully boys seized control of the buildings, armed with (according to Samwell) "swords, daggers, rapiers, pistols and other weapons".⁷³⁹ Langley even sub-leased his own interest to one of his henchmen, Thomas Wollaston who, in turn, sub-leased it to another of his men, Richard Bishop, thus increasing the number of parties able to file nuisance suits. This continued till 1600 when after inconclusively ending up in the Star Chamber, Samwell simply gave up, went home, and died.⁷⁴⁰

Now it was Woodliffe's turn. If Langley could prevent the £100 worth of improvements being carried out by the seven year cut off date then the £666 would be payable. Woodliffe in desperation offered to return the £100 and to deliver back the three other Langley bonds. Langley, who effectively had paid nothing for his portion, declared that he was "likewise content" to accept this offer.⁷⁴¹

Holland's Leaguer

The financial decline that started with *The Isle of Dogs* and the resulting financial drain made the end almost inevitable. Langley eventually lost Paris Garden with, as a parting shot, his final funds being swindled away from him in a mining speculation in Wales. On July 9, 1602 he died age 54. As Ingram put it "he left a wife, six children, and innumerable unresolved lawsuits and debts. He had neglected to make a will."⁷⁴²

One irony is that the Paris Garden manor house, Langley's home, would in the space of a few years become Holland's Leaguer, the most notoriously expensive and successful brothel of the early Stuart dynasty and reputedly where James I, on occasion, disported himself.

⁷³⁹ Ingram, *London Life* p.241

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid. p.245

⁷⁴¹ Ibid. p.245

⁷⁴² Ibid. p.238

This page intentionally left blank by the author of this thesis

Gardiner b.1531 d.1597

His life... a tissue of greed, usury, fraud, cruelty, and perjury: of crime in short enough
to make him a marked man even in the Elizabethan age⁷⁴³
Hotson, 1931

It is somewhat rare for a much quoted and highly respected academic writer to give full vent in decrying the character of an historical figure. Yet the late Leslie Hotson's disgust for Justice William Gardiner was very evident from the above assertion. Contrasting Gardiner with his enemy Langley certainly gives a modern reader a practical example of what Shakespeare observed in *King Lear*⁷⁴⁴ that "change places and, handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?". Indeed one wonders whether the playwright may have had Gardiner in mind when writing the play.

Born in 1531, Gardiner was the son of a yeoman or gentleman who farmed Bermondsey Grange on the borders of Southwark.⁷⁴⁵ By 1556 he had inveigled himself into the freedom of the City of London, which permitted him to do business, by buying himself into the Company of the Grey Tawyers (workers in grey skins and leathers). As Hotson put it

...[Gardiner] got in by false pretences, for we find a complaint lodged in the Lord Mayor's Court to the effect that Gardiner – was "not skilful in the said art, nor yet do practice the same".⁷⁴⁶

On his brother Richard's death in 1556, Gardiner came into his father's valuable Bermondsey estate and he compounded his good fortune by marrying money in the form of Frances, the widow of Edmund Wayte formerly a well-to-do leatherseller, and eldest daughter of Robert Lucy, another wealthy and successful leatherseller. Through this marriage Gardiner also acquired a stepson, William Wayte. Now well connected to the Leathersellers, Gardiner arranged an elevation into a fellowship of the Leathersellers via the Grey Tawyers.⁷⁴⁷ His pride in his new fellowship was demonstrated by his failing to pay his first dues of £5 – his proportionate share of a loan made by the Company to the Queen.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴³ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.29.

⁷⁴⁴ *King Lear* IV, vi

⁷⁴⁵ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.30

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid, p.134/5. See also 1556, Nov.10 Guildhall, Mayor's Court Repositories, 13/446 and 13/457.

⁷⁴⁷ 1558, March - See Records of the Leathersellers' Company. www.leathersellers.co.uk

⁷⁴⁸ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.130

His career in delivering false testimony starts shortly thereafter with, in 1560, what Hotson described as his “first recorded lie”.⁷⁴⁹ His conduct eroded further and by 1565 he was sent to Newgate for using “language and behaviour to the Wardens of the Leathersellers’ Company so outrageous that they were driven to ask the Lord Mayor’s Court to send him to prison”.⁷⁵⁰ He seems not to have learned much from this experience since, having extricated himself from jail for this first offence, by May 17 1565 he was back in again “for his misdemeanours towards them” [the Company of Leathersellers]. Impenitent, he next took suit against a former Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Lodge) in “an attempt to extort a second payment of a debt secured by a bond of £500 penalty”.⁷⁵¹ Gardiner was evidently working exactly the same ploy as his future enemy Langley would. It is recorded that the suit was unsuccessful.

The following years of 1567/8 produced three more examples of Gardiner’s activities. The Leathersellers were put to legal expenses of sixteen shillings in attempting to get their dues from him. He was fined £10 for making false claims in the Court of Queen’s Bench. Most revealing was the case of Thomas Ducke. Gardiner accused him of perjury as Ducke had previously borne witness against him in a case involving £13 12s. Gardiner, out for revenge, wanted the maximum punishment permitted for this offence by having Ducke “nailed by the ears to the pillory.” Justice did eventually prevail but as Hotson put it “what a picture of Gardiner’s use of power and legal corruption for purposes of revenge!”⁷⁵²

The three examples above are merely indicative. There are no records of exactly how often Gardiner was successful before anything came to trial. Gardiner’s activities appear to have focused on what H.J.M. Milne referred to as “the acquisition of property by fair means or foul.”⁷⁵³ In spite of his personal conduct, his “acquisitions” took him to the top of the Leathersellers having senior positions in 1568 and 1570, though the Company fined him forty shillings in 1573 “for words spoken by him”.⁷⁵⁴ The following years brought a stream of frauds directed at fellow Leathersellers, neighbours, and, perhaps most reprehensibly, family members. Halliday, with reference to his wife’s

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid. p.33

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid. p.133

⁷⁵¹ Ibid. p.144

⁷⁵² Ibid. p.37

⁷⁵³ H. Milne, "William Gardiner, Justice of the Peace," *The British Museum Quarterly*, 1933. p.238

⁷⁵⁴ Hotson, *Shakespeare* p.37

family, comments “he cheated her brothers and sisters of their father’s fortune... defrauded his step-son [sic].”⁷⁵⁵ In 1579 execrated by many, he sought refuge under the patronage of Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain.

As a wealthy citizen Gardiner was now open to nomination as one of the two, annually appointed, offices of Sheriff of the City. Far from being an honour, this could involve considerable expense to the titleholder. William Smith, writing in 1588, noted that “the charge that one Sheriff in London keepeth amounteth sometimes to £2500 that year.”⁷⁵⁶ Such an “honour” was definitely not for Gardiner and he refused to take office, which in turn resulted in a £200 fine that through his patron’s intervention was reduced to £50, which lesser amount he again refused to pay. In 1582, after three years of litigation, with bad grace he finally paid the £50. In 1585 with Sussex dead, the City again voted another sheriff’s appointment. But there was to be no fine paid this time as Gardiner’s friend Chief Justice Anderson heard the case.⁷⁵⁷

Philip Henslowe c.1555 - 1616 and Edward Alleyn 1566 - 1626

Most theatre owners – Henslowe, Alleyn, Langley,
Aaron Holland and others were brothel owners too.⁷⁵⁸
Gamini Salgado, 1977

Whether Henslowe was a good or a bad man seems to me
a matter of indifference. He was a capitalist.⁷⁵⁹
E.K. Chambers, 1923

Henslowe unquestionably played the part of good citizen to the hilt, obtaining (perhaps *buying* would be a more accurate verb) what Walter Greg referred to as “an assured and honoured social position among his fellow citizens.”⁷⁶⁰

During the Early Modern Period royal honours, and therefore patronage and respectability, were literally bought and sold as part of the system of paying for Government, with the benefit to the Crown being paid in cash or kind. Of course, the

⁷⁵⁵ F.E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.180

⁷⁵⁶ William Smith, *A Brief Description of the famous Citie of London, Capital Citte of this Realme* (Harl. M.S. 636.4th., 1588). See “Tax” *x ref.* **on page 249**

⁷⁵⁷ Hotson *Shakespeare* p.47

⁷⁵⁸ Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld*, Special edition (London: BCA, 1977). p.58

⁷⁵⁹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). I.368

⁷⁶⁰ Walter Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Walter Greg, 2 vols. (London: Bullen, 1904). p.15

business of buying Royal Patronage persists today through warrants and titles. Royal Warrants are still, according to one source

...a mark of recognition to individuals or companies who have supplied goods or services for at least five years to HM The Queen, HRH The Duke of Edinburgh or HRH The Prince of Wales. Warrants... have always been regarded and are highly prized... Warrant Holders may display the relevant Royal Arms and the legend 'By Appointment' on their products, premises, stationery, vehicles and advertising.⁷⁶¹

The practice of selling titles also persists with the most recent incarnation being “cash for honours” which was examined extensively in the Parliamentary Select Committee Report of 2007.⁷⁶²

Henslowe's social climb started in 1592 when he was appointed Groom to the Chamber “a post that required him to spend considerable time at court.” After James I came to the throne he moved on to be Gentleman Sewer of the Chamber – though he later tried to sell this title for £220. Perhaps evidenced in *The Isle of Dogs* incident referenced above

...Philip Henslowe was consistently a member of the court circle. Moreover, there is every indication that he used his privilege both to protect and to promote his commercial interests, including the ownership of several London playhouses.⁷⁶³

Royal honours aside, in 1607 he and his son in law Edward Alleyn became vestrymen of the Parish of St. Saviour and in the following year Henslowe was made churchwarden. From March 1608 to 1609 both he and Alleyn were among the assessors of “the third Subsidy graunted to the kinges maty [majesty] for the Clincke Liberty”.⁷⁶⁴ By 1612 he was one of six Governors of the local Grammar School.⁷⁶⁵

To be clear – Henslowe, like many, if not most, others in this period, bought his respectability. He purchased it with cash gleaned from activities that ranged from:

- the legal – property development, lumber trading, manufacturing etc.
- the marginally legal (though in their day viewed by many as merely risqué) – blood sports (principally baiting and fighting of animals), inns, gambling,

⁷⁶¹ Royal Warrant Holders Association, “Royal Warrants,” 2008, royalwarrants.org (accessed 9 January, 2009).

⁷⁶² HMG, "House of Commons - Public Administration - Second Report," 12 18, 2007, www.publications.parliamentuk/pa/cm200708/cmselect (accessed 1 9, 2009).

⁷⁶³ S.P. Cerasano, “Henslowe, Philip,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2004).

⁷⁶⁴ Walter Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Walter Greg, 2 vols. (London: Bullen, 1904). p.14

⁷⁶⁵ Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.2

pawnbroking, theatre management etc. (what today can be termed the “hospitality” industry).

- the downright illegal - prostitution, loan sharking (usury).

Several authors (e.g. Greg, Carson, Cerasano) have been careful to direct their readers’ sympathy in favour of both Henslowe and Alleyn. The following is representative

...Partial as it is, the evidence which survives gives no indication that Henslowe’s pawnbroking activities continued once he began lending money to the players...no suggestion he was guilty of usury and there is no contemporary allusion to such a charge ever being brought against him.⁷⁶⁶

Moreover, it is possible to read Susan Cerasano’s current entry for Henslowe in the (2009) Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and never encounter the word “brothel” or the term “brothel-owner”, “stews” or even “illegal.” Indeed, Henslowe, according to Cerasano was a man who was known for

...never missing an opportunity to turn a penny... he apparently engaged in a variety of business investments including starch making, pawnbroking, and property investment...

The list goes on to mention other innocuous trades such as goatskin trading, lumber sales, land development etc..

The nearest Cerasano comes to censuring Henslowe (and that is carefully tempered before being fully expressed) is to observe that

...Like many landlords he was periodically denounced by one of his tenants for being overly harsh.⁷⁶⁷

That Henslowe made his payoffs - politically and literally - there can be no doubt. Equally, however, there is overwhelming circumstantial and direct evidence that his business dealings often crossed from the legal to illegal. Walter Greg, at the beginning of the twentieth century, described some of the properties Henslowe owned and acquired as having been ‘stews’ (i.e. brothels) though he was quick to state that they might not have continued as such during Henslowe’s ownership

...That among these were certain of the licensed brothels of the Liberty can hardly be doubted. There is indeed no evidence on which to accuse

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid. p.30. However, Natasha Korda, “Household Property/Stage Property: Henslowe as Pawnbroker,” *Theatre Journal*, 1996: 185-195. at p.193 she notes that Henslowe employed “at least” four women as his pawnbroking agents. She also cites the documented transfer of apparel between the pawnbroking and theatre playing businesses, before concluding that “pawnbroking functioned as a supplement to both household and playhouse economies during the period” p.194-5.

⁷⁶⁷ Cerasano, *Edward Alleyn*

Henslowe of himself keeping houses of ill-fame, but there is no question that he was intermediate landlord between the stew-keepers and the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Winchester. Whether he actually shared the profits of the trade, otherwise than as the recipient of a fixed rent, is unknown; if he did he might have pleaded that it was as a sort of insurance against the uncertain character of theatrical enterprise.⁷⁶⁸

Henslowe, originally a dyer, may also have been lampooned in Henry Chettle's *Kinde Harte's Dream* of 1592⁷⁶⁹ – a forerunner of Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* where ghosts interact with the hero in dreams. In this work according to Burford, Chettle writes about “dy[e] houses turned into whorehouses.” Burford then goes on to draw an inference that “such large profits could be earned by prostitution that the dyers... found it better to change their type of business.”⁷⁷⁰ But a close examination of Chettle's work fails to support Burford's assertion, at least not in connection with brothels. There is certainly anti-landlord propaganda and there is reference to brew, bake and dye houses being turned into an “Alley of tenements... [which] keep tip[p]ling in the fore-house.” Henslowe is possibly being satirized here but Cerasano was right to caution against taking Burford's analysis at face value.

Of Alleyn, J.R. Piggot, custodian of the archives of Dulwich College, noted in 2004 that

... There was also an unsavoury side to Alleyn's success and wealth... To begin with, Alleyn was appointed “Squire of the Bears”, an official appointment made by King James for a supervisor of the royal bears, bulls and mastiffs and which included a licence to organise blood sports... These included the whipping of blind bears, as a handwritten poster in the College Archives announces. This position also enabled Alleyn to make a vast amount of money in issuing licences for dog fights. Alleyn was also the proprietor of a tavern on Bankside, The Unicorn, and of three bordellos in that notorious neighbourhood... In 1605 Alleyn bought the manorial estate of Dulwich for £35,000 from Sir Francis Calton who was in financial difficulties... In 1613 [he] moved from Bankside to the manor house at Dulwich, Hall Place...⁷⁷¹

He was childless, and must have pondered the best use of what Thomas Fuller, writing shortly after Alleyn's death, called his “bad shillings”. Alleyn first thought of founding a

⁷⁶⁸ Walter Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Walter Greg, 2 vols. (London: Bullen, 1904). p.22

⁷⁶⁹ Henry Chettle, *Kind-harts dreame Conteyning fiue apparitions* (Chettle, 1593).

⁷⁷⁰ E.J. Burford, *The Bishop's Brothels* (London: Hale, 1993). P167/8.

⁷⁷¹ J.R. Piggot, "History of the College - Edward Alleyn," Dulwich, 1 2006, www.dulwich.org.uk (accessed March 18, 2009).

hospital (presumably on account of the plague) but next proposed to commemorate himself by a foundation to be called "Alleyn's College of God's Gift".⁷⁷²

Joseph Lenz, writing in 1973 described Edward Alleyn as being

...a self-made man, a nice example of newly fashioned affluence, but ultimately he fails to reduce the odds between licentiousness and piety, to re-dress himself in the garb of respectability."⁷⁷³

Even by the end of the eighteenth century there was evidence of writers commenting on how Alleyn came to prominence off the stage. Daniel Lysons writing of him in 1792 commented

It has been a matter of inquiry, how Alleyn should have made so considerable a fortune in a profession, which, at that time, was not very lucrative even to the most eminent. To account for this, the editors of the *Biographia* suppose, that he inherited some paternal estate, and that he improved his fortune by marriage. The tradition in the college has always been, that he had three wives; but there is no certain account of more than two... Alleyn was sole proprietor [sic] of the Fortune play-house in Whitecross-street, which he built at his own expense; and which, no doubt, as he was a favourite actor, was a source of considerable emolument. He was likewise proprietor of a bear-garden on the Bank-side, in partnership with Mr. Philip Henslowe, long before he obtained the place of master of the king's bears... Bear-baiting was an amusement so much in fashion in Alleyn's time, that it afforded entertainment to all ranks of people; and his garden, probably, yielded him as much profit as his theatre...⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Joseph Lenz, "Base Trade: Theatre as Prostitution," *English Literary History* 60, no. 4 (1993): 833-855 at 844

⁷⁷⁴ Daniel Lysons, "Environs of London - Volume 1, County of Surrey," 1792. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=327>.

Strumpet's Souls - Brothels

The triple pillar of the world transform'd
 Into a strumpet's fool
Antony and Cleopatra, I i.

Like as you are: a panderly, sixpenny rascal.
The Honest Whore, Part One Thomas Middleton⁷⁷⁵

...a man should not give over or enthrall his credit and honour to harlots...
 less in the end when he is clean wiped from all his wealth
 Levinus Lemnius, *trans.* Newton. 1576⁷⁷⁶

Not all contemporary scholars are reticent in describing the reality of the Henslowe/Alleyn family. As Gamini Salgado put it: "Alleyn's wife, who was Henslowe's stepdaughter was carted along with some others in 1593."⁷⁷⁷ Even he speculates that she may have been "carted" for not closing one of the family brothels down as required by edict during the plague season of 1593, rather than actually running the day-to-day business. Cerasano is even kinder to the lady's memory, in discussing the Alleyn family portraits she comments on

...a portrait of Joan Alleyn, also the property of Dulwich College, [which] shows a well-to-do woman with gloves and Bible, wearing a hat. She - whom Alleyn referred to as his "mouse" - seems aptly depicted.⁷⁷⁸

The practice of carting - the parading of the guilty through the streets, especially whores, pimps or brothel keepers - was often accompanied by flogging either during the journey or on arrival at the prison

... in November 1555 "the ill-woman who keeps the grayhounds on Grasschurch" was carted and whipped "about the cite" and the woman who kept the Bell in the same street was carted "as a bawd" and whipped. (The Bell ... afterwards became one of the first theatres to be allowed within the city).⁷⁷⁹

But carting was no trivial matter within the mores of Elizabethan society. This was a serious punishment.⁷⁸⁰ Gustav Ungerer called carting a "processional spectacle" and for

⁷⁷⁵ Thomas Middleton, *The Honest Whore* (London: Nick Hearn Books & Globe Education, 1998).

⁷⁷⁶ Lemnius Levinus, *The Touchstone of Complexions [etc.]*, Second, trans. Thomas Newton (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576).

⁷⁷⁷ Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld*, Special edition (London: BCA, 1977). p.58

⁷⁷⁸ Cerasano, *Edward Alleyn*

⁷⁷⁹ E.J. Burford, *The Bishop's Brothels* (London: Hale, 1993). p.68 and F. E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.58.

⁷⁸⁰ Gustav Ungerer, *Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough*, Vol. 15, in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, ed. John Pitcher, 138-224 (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003).

those it was inflicted upon it stood as “the severest possible punishment” on “mortifying days”.⁷⁸¹ Nor was it gender or class specific – it was chiefly reserved for brothel keepers and was “very much in use in the last decade of Queen Elizabeth’s reign”. The process could take several hours and involved the object of the punishment being pelted with ordure or stones in various locations throughout the city before, in some cases, a flogging that could leave the recipient scarred for life. A surviving letter to Joan from her husband “expresses regret that she had been made to ‘ride in a cart by my Lord Mayor’s officer.’”⁷⁸² Which may appear, wrongly, to be a mild punishment. The overwhelming probability was that Joan Hall was, in modern parlance, a “madam”.

After Mrs Alleyn’s death aged 53 in June 1623, the 57 year old Alleyn wooed then wedded on 3 December 1623, Constance, the nineteen year old daughter of the Dean of St. Pauls, John Donne.⁷⁸³ “Despite her relative youth the couple had no children, and Alleyn lived only another three years.” So Cerasano noted in Alleyn’s entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. However, she avoided drawing attention to the interesting interchange between Donne and Alleyn where Alleyn suspected that his future father-in-law (six years his junior) does not approve of him. Donne had insisted that Alleyn settle a substantial income on his wife to be. Alleyn did so by pledging the annual rents of £100 from four inns (almost certainly brothels) to his new wife’s benefit.

Lenz, in contrast to Cerasano wrote

...faced with the prospect of Alleyn, Donne later writes that he would rather his daughter were in the “nunnery in heaven with the blessed virgin there than suffer the mediocrity of his house.”...Ironically, one of those inns was the Unicorn, a brothel inherited from Henslowe. Thus, either out of a supreme sense of spite or complete naiveté, the actor bought the preacher's daughter with profit gained from prostitution...Even after the marriage, Donne continued to complain that “we do but borrow children of God to lend them to the world. And when I lend the world a daughter in marriage, or lend the world a son in a profession, the world does not always pay me well again”...Alleyn was reduced to writing a draft of a letter to his disgruntled father-in-law, asking Donne to justify his treatment of him. This letter, probably written

⁷⁸¹ Ibid. p.176-7

⁷⁸² Salgado, *Elizabethan Underworld*. p.58

⁷⁸³ There is some confusion over the girl’s age at the time of her marriage – some sources state 19 others 17. Hosking, *The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952) - puts her at 20, but his book is one-sided in its praise of Allen and this, together with all other aspects of his life, are “sanitized” by Hosking. He stated that at the time of the marriage “Alleyn was fifty-eight, Constance twenty”. p.227. [neither is correct].

in late January, 1624/25, testifies to Alleyn's ultimate failure to gain the esteem for which he had striven so hard... Alleyn writes of his father in law's "unkind, unexpected and undeserved denial of common curtesie."^{784,785}

Like the businessman he was, Alleyn appeared to equate everything to cash

...Curiously, Alleyn presents himself to Donne strictly in financial terms, cataloguing his properties and income as if he were filing a tax return. He measures his self worth by his account books and assumes he can buy respect just as he buys properties (or wives)... In Donne's eyes, he is a plain man: vulgar, common, mediocre, perhaps even stupid, for only a simpleton would see no harm in securing a marriage with a whorehouse. Perhaps grown unaccustomed to the stage, he lacked the nerve to send the letter...⁷⁸⁶

Lenz's last thought about Alleyn's lack of resolve was, of course, speculative.

However, the notion that brothels were not a major source of revenue for the Henslowe/Alleyn family, as will be shown, flies in the face of the evidence.

Trish Thomas Henley in her doctoral thesis of 2007 draws together evidence of the prices of prostitution⁷⁸⁷ based on her own and other examinations of records of the period⁷⁸⁸

...Bridewell records show that most prostitutes "lay" at a particular brothel and paid for the space by the week, with the fee the prostitute paid ranging from 4 to 6 shillings... Griffiths on a sample of 111 payments comes up with an average of 4s 3d...

⁷⁸⁴ Joseph Lenz, "Base Trade: Theatre as Prostitution," *English Literary History* 60, no. 4 (1993): 833-855 p.843. Also noted by Hosking, *The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952). p.227 – Lenz makes an incorrect page reference to 223. Most interestingly, overall, Hosking paints Donne as the villain of the exchange - a man of "luxurious tastes" - see p.220.

⁷⁸⁵ Hosking, *Edward Alleyn* p.231 for the text of the letter. Hosking's book is interesting but devoid of footnotes, endnotes or any proper referencing. Moreover, it is a very partisan view of Alleyn and it must be regarded as such. Arnold Edinborough in reviewing Hosking's work calls it a "disappointment" – though it stands as the first full attempt at a biography of Alleyn. See the review - Arnold Edinborough, "The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 4, no. 1 (1953): 83-84. An excellent photograph of the letter "MSS 3, Article 102, 02 recto: Letter from William Beecher to Edward Alleyn presenting a candidate for the almshouse, with a draft letter regarding money on the versos by Alleyn to his father-in-law John Donne, complaining about Donne's 'manie vnkind passages' and especially the 'vnkind, vnexspecketed and vndeserved deniall of yt comon curtesie afforded to a frend', c. 1625." is available at <http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-3/Article-102/02r.html>. It is noteworthy that the frugal Alleyn used the back of an earlier piece of correspondence to set out his draft. See also Edinborough, *Life* p.84

⁷⁸⁶ Lenz, *Base Trade* p.844

⁷⁸⁷ Trish Thomas Henley, *Dealers in Hole-Sale: Representations of Prostitution on the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage* (Florida State University, 2007). p.74-77

⁷⁸⁸ Especially - Paul Griffiths, "The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London," *Continuity and Change*, 1993: 39-63. Henley suggests that: "No book length study of Tudor or early Stuart prostitution yet exists." And if one is looking for a careful academic study she is probably correct – see earlier comments on E.J. Burford.

The picture that emerges both from the Bridewell records as well as plays and literature of the period, is one of a Bankside where prostitution was one of the pillars of the economy. Browner quoted Thomas Nashe in *Christs Tears*⁷⁸⁹ of 1594, describing the metropolitan suburbs as little better than “licenced stewes” functioning with the connivance of magistrates.⁷⁹⁰ Nashe described half-a-crown as being “the set price of a strumpet’s soul.”⁷⁹¹ In the same section he had railed

...London what are thy Suburbes but licenced Stewes. Can it be so many brothel-houses, of salary sensuality, and six-penny whoredome, (the next doore to the Magistrates) should be set vp and maintained, if bribes did not bestirre them? ...I am halfe of belief it is not a reasonable soule, which effecteth motion and speech in them, but a soule imitating the diuel, who (the more to despise God,) goes and enliueth such licentious shapes, and (in them) enacteth more abhominacion and villany, then he could in the euillest of euill functions, which is, in diuelling it simply. I wonder there is any of these sher etayling bodietraffiquers...

Prices vary then from a few pence at the low end of the scale, to a mid-price rage of three to ten shillings with occasional “specials” in excess “a Mr. Paul Mowdler, merchant [who] apparently bought Katherine William’s maidenhead for 40s.”⁷⁹²

By the accession of James I, the luxury end of the market included the notorious Bess Broughton who charged £20 for a dinner that “presumably did not include the cost of post prandial entertainment.”⁷⁹³

Attempting to quantify earnings is difficult at best - indeed there are views that suggest that any attempt to quantify fees is pointless given the huge range of compensation possibilities. Faramerz Dabhoiwala concluded

...there is thus little point in calculating such a thing as “the average fee” for a sexual encounter – indeed just to talk of a “maximum fee” would be nonsense, so any minimum fee too is arbitrary.⁷⁹⁴

The deluxe end of the brothel market was Broughton’s “Holland’s Leaguer”. This was hardly in a volume business with its sumptuous gardens and fantasy rooms and

⁷⁸⁹ Thomas Nash, *Christs Tears over Jerusalem Whereunder is annexed, an admonition to London* (London: Andrew Wise, 1594).

⁷⁹⁰ K. Browner, "Wrong Side of the River: London's Disreputable South Bank in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Essays in History* (University of Virginia) 36 (1994). p.21

⁷⁹¹ Nash, *Christs Tears* S. 158

⁷⁹² Henley *Dealers* p.77

⁷⁹³ Browner, *Wrong Side* p.23

⁷⁹⁴ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, “The Pattern of Immorality in seventeenth and eighteenth century London,” in *Londinopolis - Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S. Jenner (Manchester: MUP, 2000). p.95

expensive, exotic, imported talent. Businessmen such as Henslowe and Alleyn, given the number and range of establishments they owned and controlled, would probably have had a range of price points⁷⁹⁵ to match every pocket. Henley makes the valuable observation that, being a pawnbroker, Henslowe could have also had a means to supply his sex workers with cut-price garments which presumably would have recycled downwards as they fell into disrepair.⁷⁹⁶ It is also plausible that female costumes from his various theatrical endeavours, as they lost their “glosses”⁷⁹⁷ moved from public to private performances of another sort.⁷⁹⁸

Griffiths took a sample of 219 cases in the Bridewell records of the 1570s and subjected these to an analysis to determine the occupation of the “customers”

Table 59 - Prostitutes’ Clients’ in the 1570s⁷⁹⁹

Group	Percentage
Apprentices and Servants	39
Craftsmen and Tradesmen	12.3
Foreign merchants and gentlemen	11.4
Ambassadors	7.8

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 60 - Carted

⁷⁹⁵ price point n. Marketing a retail price, selected from the range of available or established prices as that most liable to attract consumers and ensure profitability. OED

⁷⁹⁶ Henley *Dealers* p.80. She also considers that the pawnbroker in Middleton’s “*Your Five Gallants*” could be a “caricature for Henslowe”.

⁷⁹⁷ “That our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness and glosses” - Gonzalo, *The Tempest*, II i

⁷⁹⁸ Gustav Ungerer, *Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough*, Vol. 15, in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, ed. John Pitcher, 138-224 (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003). Ungerer explores in detail the importance of clothing in justifying a higher fee for services. See p.173 *et seq.*

⁷⁹⁹ Paul Griffiths, “The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London,” *Continuity and Change*, 1993: 39-63. & Henley *Dealers* p.78 – these figures are, of course, derived from actual court cases and therefore while representative of the total market they are not in themselves evidence of the total market.

E.J. Burford in 1976 claimed that Alleyn owned the Barge, Bell, Unicorn and Cock inns – almost certainly brothels despite Cerasano’s assertion that there is a lack of proof of these being brothels when Henslowe and Alleyn owned them.

In Cerasano’s sanitized world Alleyn’s wife (and Henslowe’s step-daughter) was carted in a case of mistaken identity. She commented on Burford’s work in her 2001 article on his reissuance of his earlier 1976 volume.⁸⁰⁰ In this she sliced into Burford’s lack of academic rigour and use of speculation over hard evidence.⁸⁰¹ She performed a very creditable academic exercise in doing so, but the one question she seemed anxious not to address was - sloppy and sensation seeking as Burford’s work was - could it be true? Four establishments and four categories of client would seem to indicate some price point differentiation.

Unlike sports that presented an opportunity for the males of different classes to mix socially, sex was stratified by fiscal reality - there was a clear price versus quality issue at work here.

Given that an average theatre’s takings might be £5 per performance and require a Company of sixteen or so players plus expenses, this still equates to only 30 visits to an average brothel in gross revenue terms. Not that prostitution and playing are mutually exclusive - far from it, they are complementary to one another from a commercial perspective and link into numerous other associated businesses such as alcohol, gambling etc. Simply renting working space to prostitutes was a potentially remunerative, if morally bankrupt, means of earning a living. Using Griffiths’ estimate of 4s 3d. a week, this produces £8 10s. a year per worker which is about the same wage as a skilled tradesman earned for a seventy hour week. Moreover, the sale of food and drink at inflated prices was valuable collateral income that could be further increased through gaming or blood-sports.

⁸⁰⁰ S.P. Cerasano, “Edward Alleyn: His Brothel's Keeper?” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 2001: 93-100.

⁸⁰¹ Burford is writing for a popular commercial audience; over several decades he has written mostly the same book about “naughty London” again and again. His work lacks both rigour and precision but clearly he never intended either – his obvious goal was sales which does not *per se* invalidate his ideas as long as one takes a rational look at what he proposes. Cerasano despite all her incisiveness wins the legal argument but loses the common sense one.

Alleyn's £10,000 to found Dulwich College and £35,000 for his estate came from somewhere – the economics of the theatre pre-1610 preclude that level of cash accumulation. On a very conservative estimate, 30 prostitutes working at four brothel/taverns with an average of two customers a night at an average fee of four shillings and performing 300 nights a year, produces £3000 p.a. gross for the sex alone.

The figures are a compelling pointer to where the real profits lay. As Henley noted “in Elizabethan England, Bankside is still the hotbed for hothouses”⁸⁰².

The Bearwardens Vail⁸⁰³

Cry “Havoc,” and let slip the dogs of war;
Julius Caesar III i.

A Mastiff of true English blood
Lov'd fighting better than his food;
He glory'd in his limping pace,
The scars of honour seam'd his face;
In every limb a gash appears,
And frequent fights retrench'd his ears
George Jesse, 1866⁸⁰⁴

In England, both men and dogs baited bulls. These displays were a precursor to the slaughter of the animals and were justified by a belief that baiting tenderized the meat and thus rendered it fit to eat. Even medium sized towns possessed a bullring in which the process was carried out and the spectacle drew large crowds.

Bear-baiting was the related “sport” of setting dogs to attack a bear chained to a stake. Between the two forms of baiting, bear baiting was more often referred to as being the better “sport”. The baiting of bears was also the ideal opportunity to train dogs for war.

...When Henry VIII sent a force to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1544 to aid him against the French king, the 400 English soldiers were accompanied by 400 English mastiffs, each with an iron collar.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰² Henley, *Dealers*. p.70.

⁸⁰³ Vail = Advantage, benefit, profit. OED

⁸⁰⁴ Quoted in: George Jesse, *Researches into the History of the British Dog, from Ancient Laws, Charters and Historical Records [Etc.]*, Vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: R. Hardwicke, 1866). p.150 available online http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924104225572/cu31924104225572_djvu.txt

⁸⁰⁵ Ian MacInnes, “Mastiffs and Spaniels: Gender and the nation in the English Dog,” *Textual Practice* (Routledge) 17, no. 1 (2003): 21-40. p.27

The Earl of Essex also embarked dogs for his disastrous Irish campaign.

...William Resould wrote to Cecil from Lisbon reporting that local rumour put Essex's force at 12,000 men and 3,000 mastiffs. We have no evidence that the force actually included such an enormous number of dogs, but the subject had clearly been under discussion. A year later, in January 1599, another letter recorded that Essex "...of carrieng over two or three hundreth mastives to worry the Irish (or as I take it) theyr cattell".⁸⁰⁶

These "dogs of war", roughly the size of large male lions, trained to attack bears, were used to harass civilians, soldiers and other animals. These dogs were, like rapiers, desirable fashion accessories for the dashing young aristocrat or man-about-town.

... emblems of a particular kind of national identity, mastiffs were increasingly popular with the aristocracy. Chatsworth, Elvaston Castle and Hadzor Hall all eventually became breeding centres for dogs of this type.⁸⁰⁷

Mastiff dogs were becoming national symbols.

...The mastiff's courage and strength were appealing to those who wanted to advertise English masculine valour, both to themselves and to foreigners.⁸⁰⁸

In 1603 one foreigner, Abraham Ortelius, in his *Epitome of the Theatre of the Worlde*⁸⁰⁹ called England famous for its women and "a most excellent kine of mastiffe dogges of a wonderful bigness and admirable fierceness and strength."

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid. p.26 also Calendar of State Papers, 270.25. and see Robert Lemon and Mary Anne Everett Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth [and James I.] 1547-[1625]*, 12 vols (London: Longman, 1856), 266.116.

⁸⁰⁷ MacInnes, *Mastiffs* p.31

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid. p.22

⁸⁰⁹ A Flemish cartographer and dealer in maps, books, and antiquities. The *Epitome of the Theatre of the Worlde* is considered by many to be the first modern atlas. From *Twelfth Night III, iii* "he does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map of the Indies" Full title: "*Abraham Ortelius his epitome of the theatre of the worlde. Now latlye renewed and augmented. The mappes all newe grauen by Michael Coignet. London, printed for Ieames Shawe, 1603.*"

Table 61 - The “New Map”

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Shakespeare, in *Henry V*, articulated the sentiment of his own day putting the description into a fictional scene just before the battle of Agincourt

Rambures	That island of England breeds very valiant creatures: their mastiffs are of unmatched courage.
Orleans	Foolish curs, that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear and have their heads crushed like rotten apples! You may as well say, that’s a valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion.
Constable	Just, just; and the men do sympathize with the mastiffs in robustious and rough coming on, leaving their wits with their wives: and then give them great meals of beef and iron and steel, they will eat like wolves and fight like devils. ⁸¹⁰

Howard Roberts and Walter Godfrey put the earliest specific reference to bear-baiting on Bankside in 1546, with the proclamation of the abolition of the “Stews on Bankside and of bear-baiting in that row or in any place on that side [of] London bridge.”⁸¹¹

But “sport”, like “sin” was not that easily expunged and quickly made its return. In the same year

...Thomas Fluddie, Yeoman of His Majesty's Bears, was granted a licence in September, 1546, to “make pastime” with the king's bears “at the accustomed place at London, called the Stewes.”⁸¹²

⁸¹⁰ *Henry V*, III. vii

⁸¹¹ Howard Roberts and Walter Godfrey, *The Bankside Playhouses and Bear Gardens - Survey of London* 22 (London, 1950). – this is itself a précis of extracts from: C. L. Kingsford in his article "Paris Garden and the Bear-baiting" in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 70, by W. W. Braines in *The Site of the Globe Playhouse*, and E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II p.449

⁸¹² Roberts and Godfrey, *Bankside Playhouses* reference 4.

From 1550 Bear Gardens were in the liberty⁸¹³ of the Clink adjacent to the brothels.

Despite this, Paris Garden was often referred to as their location. Robert Crowley wrote in 1550⁸¹⁴

Of Bearbaytynge.

What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger,
 A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare;
 And to thys onelye ende, to se them two fyght,
 Wyth terrible tearynge, a full ouglye syght.
 And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,
 Whose store of money is but verye smale,
 And yet euerye Sondaye they will surelye spende
 One penyne or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.
 At Paryse Garden eche Sundaye, a man shall not fayle
 To fynde two or three hundredes, for the bearwardes vaile.

Of Bearbaiting [in modern English]⁸¹⁵

What folly is this, to keep with danger,
 A great mastiff dog and a foul ugly bear;
 And to this only end, to see these two fight,
 With terrible tearing, a full ugly sight.
 And yet me think those men be most fools of all,
 Whose store of money is but very small,
 And yet every Sunday they will surely spend
 One penny or two, the bearwardens living to mend.
 At Paris Garden each Sunday, a man shall not fail
 To find two or three hundreds, for the bearwardens vail.

Contemporaneously, Thomas Sampson referred to God's judgment on "certayne Gentlemen upon the Sabboth day, going in a whirry [sic] to Paris garden to the Beare bayting" who were drowned.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹³ Liberty: an area of local administration distinct from neighbouring territory and possessing a degree of independence...the existence of such areas caused difficulties esp. for the administration of justice; therefore in the 19th cent. various Acts of Parliament brought most liberties within the regular administrative structures for most purposes - OED

⁸¹⁴ Roberts and Godfrey, *Bankside Playhouses* reference 139.

⁸¹⁵ My own transliteration.

⁸¹⁶ Roberts and Godfrey, *Bankside Playhouses* reference 140.

Table 62 - Bulls and Bears

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Alleyn's association with the "Bear Garden" was shown by the Token-Books⁸¹⁷ for the years 1613–18 under the heading "Paris Garden". These have the insertion "Mr. Jacob of the beare garden" and "Mr. Edward Alleyn" referencing Rose Alley and Mosses Alley adjacent to the Gardens.

This could explain references in the Dulwich College manuscripts to Edward Alleyn and Philip Henslowe at Paris Garden, and probably resulted from the linking of Paris Garden with bear-baiting in popular speech.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 66 – The Mastiff⁸¹⁸

⁸¹⁷ Ibid. See Glossary for definition of Token-money and Token-book

⁸¹⁸ This English mastiff is Aicama Zorba of La Susa. Zorba stood 89 cm at the shoulder and was 251 cm from the tip of his nose to the tip of his tail, the size of a small donkey. *Guinness World Records 2000* p.106. see also <http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com>.

Table 63 - Henslowe and Alleyn – Investing in Blood Sports

Year	Action
1594	Alleyn bought interest in Bear Garden for £200
1596	Henslowe obtains adjacent land to Bull Ring
1598	Deputyship of Master of the Royal Game of Bulls etc.
1604	Obtained Office of Cheefe Master, Overseer and Ruler of our beares, Bulls and mastiffe dogges
1606	Bull Ring rebuilt
1613	The dual-purpose Hope theatre built

In the 1606 refurbishment they contracted, at a cost of £65, to have pulled down

...so much of the tymer or carpenters worke of the foreside of the messuage ... called the beare garden, next the river of Thames ... as conteyneth in lengthe from outside to outside fyfthe and sixe foote ... and in bredth from outside to outside sixteene foote" ... and to rebuild the same with "good new sufficient and sounde tymer of oke."⁸¹⁹

Again in 1613 hard on the heels of the Globe's destruction⁸²⁰ they undertook the building of

...one other game place or plaiehouse fitt and convenient in all thinges bothe for players to plaie in and for the game of Beares and bulls to be bayted in the same, and also a fitt and convenient tyre house and a stage to be carryed or taken awaie and to stand uppon tressels" the whole to be "of suche large compasse, fforme, widenes and height as the plaie housse called the Swan in the libertie of Parris garden" ...⁸²¹

For the new theatre, the Hope, Henslowe and Jacob Meade a waterman raised a company of players under Nathan Field, and by 1614 they performed Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* in the new venue.

In the time of Elizabeth I, bear-baiting had been a sport for Sunday afternoons, but the Sunday performances were stopped early in the reign of James I. After the building of the Hope it was used for both bear and bull-baiting on Mondays, and for plays during the rest of the week.

Chambers noted that according to

...a note in Henslowe's diary... the receipts for it [the Bear Garden] for the three days next after Christmas 1608 were £4, £6 and £3 14s. which

⁸¹⁹ Ibid. ref. 79

⁸²⁰ 29 June 1613

⁸²¹ H.E. Malden, *The Borough of Southwark: Manors, A History of the County of Surrey: Vol 4* (1912). p.141 *et seq.* See <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43042>

may be compared with the average of £1 18s. 3d. received from the Fortune [theatre] during the same three days.⁸²²

Though intended as a dual-purpose venue - players and animals - it quickly proved unworkable to maintain the two, and the theatre reverted in popular parlance back to the title of Bear Garden and again as Chambers put it

...The Hope is mentioned from time to time, chiefly as a place of baiting up to the civil wars.⁸²³

In 1620 a dispute arose over the site of the theatre. A bricklayer, John Browne, was called and testified

...there was a sinke or open gutter for the use . . . of the beare garden on the West side of the old beare garden running southward which is now stopped vpp and that the old dogg Kennells were more westward beyond the same and that the now new playhouse is in part built vppon the said sinke and where the old dogg Kennell stood...

He also attested that Henslowe started to lay the foundation of the playhouse on part of the old Bear Garden but that on Edward Alleyn's persuasion he moved it southward a few feet "so that it should be wholly on the king's land".

In 2003 Jason Scott Warren made the valuable connection between royalty and blood sports, just as playing was supposedly supported as a Royal pastime. He recorded a number of occasions including requests by both King James I and Henry the crown prince.

...[King] James then asked Edward Alleyn, Master of the Bear-Garden, to set "Three of the fellest dogs in the Garden" on "the lustiest Lion" in the Tower.⁸²⁴

It appears this particular contest did not come to much as the lion had the good sense to let the dogs fight amongst themselves while he headed back to his den. Other lions however, were not so lucky.

But perhaps the real source of revenue from bear baiting lay in the dogs themselves and the gambling surrounding the sport.

...Although the owners of the bear garden maintained their own

⁸²² E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II, p.465.

⁸²³ Ibid, p.470

⁸²⁴ Jason Scott-Warren, "When Theaters Were Bear-Gardens; or, What's at Stake in the Comedy of Humors," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (JHUP) 54, no. 1 (2003): 63-82. Scott-Warren's authority for the quotation is taken from Stowe.

kennels (around seventy dogs lived in them), audience members were free to bring and bet on their own dogs.⁸²⁵

Substantial revenues from the related activities of selling, trading and raising of dogs for sale - together with the related gambling revenues - would explain the size of the baiting investments made by Henslowe and Alleyn. Like the theatre and perhaps even their brothels, the true profit may have lain in the ancillary sources of income.

George Wilkins d.1618 and Henry Chettle d. 1603

Unlike the previous two pairs, where the first were enemies and the second relations through marriage, Wilkins and Chettle could both accurately be described as amongst the dregs of the theatrical and playwriting community. Yet both are illustrative of their time and both were involved with the theatre and affected - directly in the case of Wilkins and indirectly with Chettle - Shakespeare's professional career.

George Wilkins

...the wildness of his youth and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street; and every third word a lie
Henry IV, Part II. III. ii

Anthony Parr writing in 2004 generously described Wilkins as a “playwright and pamphleteer.”⁸²⁶ Roger Prior had earlier called him a “minor dramatist” and showed restraint when he noted that “his life and his literary works have some strange characteristics in common.”⁸²⁷ Scavenger of the literary world, thief and pimp are certainly more accurate descriptions. In his writing he reworked others' ideas, plagiarized shamelessly and participated in producing ‘bad’ quarto editions of plays from memory.⁸²⁸

His frequent brushes with the law have provided valuable insight into his life and later career as a nominal vintner and practical brothel keeper. Parr noted

⁸²⁵ MacInnes, *Mastiffs* p.32

⁸²⁶ Anthony Parr, “Wilkins, George,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁸²⁷ Roger Prior, “The Life of George Wilkins,” *Shakespeare Survey* 25 (CUP), 1972: 137-152. p.137

⁸²⁸ The original scripts (as was customary) being closely guarded literary assets of the performing Company that commissioned and paid for them.

...Records show that he was in trouble with the law as early as 1602, and he was regularly in court from 1610 until the end of his life... he was accused of “abusing one Randall Borkes and kicking a woman on the belly which was then great with child”...⁸²⁹

This was not the only time he was arraigned for violence against women.

When Shakespeare lodged with the Mountjoy family in Cripplegate, Wilkins was a frequent visitor to the home and he already knew all the members of the household.⁸³⁰ Shakespeare gave evidence in the Court of Requests in 1612 concerning the contested Mountjoy/Belott dowry of 1604, as did Wilkins. If, as seems likely, *Measure for Measure* with its underlying theme of illicit sex was written in the 1602-1604 period, it is possible that Wilkins in some way supplied Shakespeare with characters or first hand experience of the sexual underworld.

His short writing career has been tabulated below. It is probable that he had one or more literary supporters who encouraged him, the most obvious candidate being Shakespeare himself, given that Wilkins was catapulted from literary obscurity to writing for the King’s Men in 1606. The two men knew each other at the Mountjoys, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* was a financial success at the Globe and the only two credible candidates to have authored *Pericles* are Shakespeare and Wilkins. Wilkins’ larcenous nature took him to Gosson the publisher (who in 1611 stood bail for him) which neatly explains why Wilkins never worked with any playing company after stealing *Pericles* from the King’s Men.

⁸²⁹ Parr, *Wilkins*

⁸³⁰ Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger - Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Penguin Allen Lane, 2007). Though not written to full academic standard this book is interesting as it takes Shakespeare’s residence with the Mountjoys as its central theme.

Table 64 - The Short Literary Career of George Wilkins

Year	Work	Type	Collaborator	Note
1606	History of Justine	Translation		Plagiarized Golding ⁸³¹
1607	Jests to Make you Merrie	Pamphlet	Thomas Dekker	
1607	The Miseries of Enforced Marriage	Play		King's Men, Globe
1607	The Travels of the Three English Brothers	Play	John Day William Rowley	Queen's Men, Red Bull, Clerkenwell Published by Gosson
1607	Three Miseries of Barbary			
1608	Law Tricks	Play	John Day	
1608	Pericles	Play	William Shakespeare	First nine scenes Wilkins
1608	The Painful Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre.			Published by Gosson
1609	Pericles(?)	Bad Quarto		Published by Gosson

Wilkins appears in the legal records of the Middlesex Session from 1610 to 1618 thirty-eight times in connection with eighteen cases. During this period he resided as a “victualler” at Cow Cross, a place Prior described as: “...notorious as the haunt of whores and thieves, a reputation which the Sessions records amply confirm...”⁸³² The court records repeatedly show that Wilkins was indeed running a brothel. The local community dealt him the same treatment as the fictional Viennese authorities delivered to Mistress Overdone in *Measure for Measure*. “But shall all our houses of resort in the suburbs be pulled down?” asks Overdone.⁸³³ His house certainly was.

...George Wilkins of Cow Cross, victualler, to give evidence...for a riot; ...for the said Richard Greenham of Long Lane, accused that he, in the company of divers other unruly and disorderly persons, did make a very notable riot at Cow Cross, and pulled down a great part of the dwelling-house of George Wilkins.⁸³⁴

As Prior noted “theatres and brothels were the buildings most likely to be pulled down. To ‘deface Turnbull’⁸³⁵ and ‘ruin the Cockpit’⁸³⁶ was a custom of the apprentices on Shrove Tuesdays.”⁸³⁷ Burford also commented on this phenomenon

⁸³¹ Anthony Parr, “Wilkins, George,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁸³² Prior, *Wilkins* p.141

⁸³³ *Measure for Measure* I, ii

⁸³⁴ Sess. Roll 553/54, 69, 176 & Sess. Reg. 2/342, 349. - G.D.R. 2/91. “Sessions, 1616: 5 and 6 September” County of Middlesex. Calendar to the sessions records: new series, vol. 3: 1615-16 (1937), p.288-312

⁸³⁵ Middleton’s *Inner Temple Masque* of 1619 refers to Shrove Tuesday attacks with “Cause spoil in Shoreditch...deface Turnbull and tickle Cod-Piece Row” see Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (Athlone Press, 1994). p.270. See Glossary “Turnbull” See also introductory quote from Henry IV Part II

⁸³⁶ “The apprentices on holidays attacked the Cockpit” [theatre]... see also Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1564-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992). p.225

...the annual Shrove Tuesday rampage of the London apprentices which included, as a very ancient tradition, the sport of whore bashing and the pulling down of the brothels themselves...⁸³⁸

A link to Philip Henslowe, another brothel owner, appeared in 1611 when a reputed whore and associate of Wilkins, Magdalen Samwaise, was charged with stealing fifty shillings. Wilkins made a “composition” over the matter and “carried the woman away.” However, in 1881 George F. Warner⁸³⁹ had, in examining the manuscripts of Allyn’s “College of God’s Gift,” found that Magdalen had borrowed (nominally) forty shillings from Henslowe. The amount advanced may have been less, but the debt was to be repaid in quarterly instalments of ten shillings – the last one being due around the time of the theft. There was a further twist. One of the sureties for Magdalen was John Bonner, a young heir who was defrauded out of his fortune in a manner curiously similar to that of the character William Scarborough in *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Though perhaps not the prime mover in the fraud, Wilkins certainly played a part in the corruption and fleecing of the young man. How Magdalen compensated Bonner can only be imagined.

Henry Chettle

Upon the perill of Henrye Chettle
William Wright, 1592⁸⁴⁰

Emma Smith, writing in 2004, was in no doubt about the origins of Henry Chettle, the son of a dyer who died in the year that Chettle began his seven-year apprenticeship to a printer. Smith called his work “shadowy” in that

...As printer and as author again and again he is associated with a work but not credited with any part of it when it comes to print.⁸⁴¹

The use of “credit” is interesting because the only thing that Chettle did not bring on himself was credit in the other usages of the word. Gossip-monger and plagiarist might be more accurate, if emotive, terms. John Jowett concluded that he contributed to the

⁸³⁷ Prior, *Wilkins* p.148

⁸³⁸ E.J. Burford, *The Bishop's Brothels* (London: Hale, 1993). p.172

⁸³⁹ George F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Allyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (Longman) 1881. p.134 see also Roger Prior, “George Wilkins and The Young Heir”, *Shakespeare Survey* 29 (CUP), 1976: 33-41. p.34

⁸⁴⁰ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.117 “The publisher of the *Groat's-Worth*, William Wright, evidently anticipated a storm for he took the precaution of disassociating himself from the pamphlet;...he added the exculpatory clause, ‘upon the perill of Henrye Chettle’.”

⁸⁴¹ Emma Smith, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

bad quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* of 1597.⁸⁴² One much quoted reference to Shakespeare came with the *Groatsworth of Wit* published in 1592 in the name of the recently deceased Robert Greene.⁸⁴³ Smith reported that Shakespeare and Marlowe considered that Chettle, not Greene, was the author. Certainly its inclusion in the Stationers' Register has the line "upon the perille of Henry Chettle a booke intituled Greenes Groatsworth of Wyt".

In 1592 Chettle went into partnership with the disreputable printers Hoskins and Danter and though the partnership did not last, the association with Danter continued for a number of years. The printing of the *Groatsworth* and the subsequent *Repentance of Robert Greene* both had Danter as printer, either singly or in combination with another printer. Jowett described Chettle as an "intermediary" between authors and Danter⁸⁴⁴ and was firm in his opinion

...He [Chettle] actually forged *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*⁸⁴⁵

Jowett in a 2004 article described Danter's reputation as "extraordinarily low" – W.W. Greg had, nearly a century earlier, called Danter's work "a record of piracy and secret printing."⁸⁴⁶

*Kind Heart's Dream*⁸⁴⁷ has already been referenced for its use of ghosts to tell a story. The work is unusual in that Chettle actually put his name on it. "Intensely topical" is how Jowett describes it. Nominally it was an attack on the suppliers of scurrilous and bawdy ballads but it was no more censoring immorality than a *News of the World* article about adultery. It is in itself salacious but when analyzed from a business perspective there was a layer of gossip intended only for those "in the know" about certain individuals' commercial activities. The "Rupert Murdoch" in Chettle's life was Henslowe, and his Notebook shows "repeated instances of Henslowe's advancing Chettle small loans".⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴² John Jowett, "Notes on Henry Chettle," *The Review of English Studies* (OUP) 45, no. 179 (1994): 384-388.

⁸⁴³ Robert Greene, *Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a million of Repentance* (London: William Wright, 1592).

⁸⁴⁴ Jowett, *Notes* p.384

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.386

⁸⁴⁶ W.W. Greg, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements* (London: Malone Society, 1922). p.130 also quoted in Sidney Thomas, "The Myth of the Authorized Shakespeare Quartos," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Johns Hopkins University Press) 27, no. 2 (1976). p.186-192

⁸⁴⁷ Henry Chettle, *Kind-harts dreame Conteyning fvee appartitions* (Chettle, 1593).

⁸⁴⁸ John Jowett, "Notes on Henry Chettle [Part 2]," *The Review of English Studies* (OUP) 45, no. 180 (1994): 517-522. p.521

In *Kind Heart's Dream* there is the following observation that has no immediately apparent target. Here the barb was less obvious than the much-quoted stab at Shakespeare in the *Groatsworth* that misquoted *Henry VI* on the subject of a tiger's heart.⁸⁴⁹

...There is an occupation of no long standing about London called broking or brogging... in which there is pretty juggling, especially to blind law, and bolster usury: if any man be forced to bring them to pawn, they will take no interest, not past twelve pence a pound for the month; marry they must haue a groat for a monthly bill: which is a bill of sale from month to month; so that no advantage can be taken for the usury.⁸⁵⁰

Here Chettle appears to be pointing the finger at what would today be called pawnbroking. Chettle's commentary about dyers converting dye houses to brothels has already been referenced in this thesis. Henslowe was both dyer by trade and pawnbroker by choice and yet the target appears curious given that Henslowe became Chettle's patron - advancing these "small loans", generally ten shillings a time; however the last one in November 1603 was only three shillings. Henslowe may of course simply have taken these in good humour or even employed Chettle just to hush him up. Another alternative target may have been Shakespeare, with the references to brogging.

⁸⁴⁹ O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide! *Henry VI III I*, iv; see Glossary, *Tiger's Heart* for the conventional, if erroneous, explanation. *x ref. 249 et seq.*

⁸⁵⁰ Chettle, *Kind-harts*. Quotation appears in section "William Cuckoo to all close Jugglers with the discovery of their crafts, and punishment for their knaveries."

All Honourable Men – The Example of Robert Cecil

It is not the business of the historian to strike moral attitudes. And indeed, owing to his happy lack of personal experience, an Englishman living in the twentieth century is singularly unfitted to form a balanced judgment about corruption in public life. As Lord Keynes once remarked, in some societies corruption is the simplest and most convenient method of taxation. Under certain circumstances, and practised with moderation, it is not incompatible with a devotion to the public interest.⁸⁵¹

Lawrence Stone, 1961

For Brutus is an honourable man;
So are they all, all honourable men—
Julius Caesar, III ii

In England during the Early Modern Period if you stole a shilling you could be mutilated, branded or hung. If you stole tens of thousands of pounds you would probably end up as an Earl. Lawrence Stone's comment (above) was written about Cecil's family. It could be hoped that Stone, author of many excellent and detailed historical studies, was merely being sarcastic in this particular essay. But it seems unlikely as he took great care in this otherwise very cogent piece of research – an analysis of Cecil's various corrupt practices – to fawn upon the then Marquis of Salisbury. Corruption, regrettably, has festered in all ages - even in Stone's halcyon "England" of 1961. But even the passage of an additional fifty years from Stone's *apologia* has still not halted the excuses. Pauline Croft, in 2004, considered that

...modern standards do not apply; in an era which did not pay adequate official salaries, it was expected that great servants of the state would reimburse themselves by exploiting their offices...

She also noted that

...There can be no doubt that he used his official position for personal financial gain on an extraordinary scale... after 1603 he acquired a fortune, and was greedier than his father had been...on his deathbed owed the huge sum of £37,867. He had borrowed a total of £61,000 over

⁸⁵¹ Lawrence Stone, *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* - The Fruits of Office, ed. F.J.Fisher (Cambridge: CUP, 1961). p.113. Here Stone referenced Pepys entry for 2 July, 1664 which runs "After dinner sat close to discourse about our business of the victualling of the garrison of Tangier, taking their prices of all provisions, and I do hope to order it so that they and I also may get something by it, which do much please me, for I hope I may get nobly and honestly with profit to the King." Pepys negotiated to receive £300 a year for the award of the victualling contract for Tangier.

the previous four years, more than half from the leading merchants of London.⁸⁵²

Unlike Walsingham who was steadily bankrupting himself to carry out official business, Cecil's main expenditure was in raising monuments to himself i.e. the greatest palaces of the day - Theobalds and Hatfield.

The excuse that illegality was prevalent pardons nothing, and the fact that the Cecils stole so much that time has not eradicated their wealth, is surely an indicator of just how accomplished the Cecils became at dealing "under the table".

As an example of Cecil's shady dealings, in January 1603 he wrote to Raleigh to invite him to join in a privateering expedition with Lord Cobham. It concluded

...I pray you as much as may be conceal our adventure, at the least my name above any other. For though I thank God I have no other meaning than becometh an honest man in any of my actions, yet that which were another man's pater noster would be accounted in me a charm...⁸⁵³

By 1603 all Mediterranean nations were clamouring against English piracy and a series of legal measures had been put in place in response, with another more significant one, due later that same year

Table 65 - The End of Piracy, English Legal Actions

Date	Objective
January 1599	Forbade attacks on Florentine and Venetian shipping
November 1600	Forbade armed English vessels in the Mediterranean without licences
March 1602	Repeated the order of 1600
September 1603	Forbade all English piracies

The letter of January 1603 is documentary evidence that Cecil, the Crown's chief minister, was out to obviate the law and set up Raleigh and Cobham as the potential scapegoats for this particular piece of piracy.

⁸⁵² Pauline Croft, "Cecil, Robert, first Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

⁸⁵³ Historical MSS. Commission, Calendar of the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury xii. 599. 3. See L. Stone, "The Fruits of Office: the Case of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, 1596-1612", in F. J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, p.89-106. This deals briefly with Cecil's interest in privateering and was the first notice of it as a significant phenomenon. For wider views and further references see J. Hurstfield, "Political Corruption in Modern England: the historian's problem", *History*, lii (1967), 6-34. 4. The core of the material is to be found in the Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield and the calendar, and in the records of the high court of admiralty in the PRO.

It is important to recognize that the system itself was, by any rational standard, corrupt from the top down. In such a world anyone making large sums of money had at least one foot on the wrong side of the legal divide. The Shakespeares were, as this thesis shows, no exception to this rule.

The following verse surfaced after Cecil's death describing him as

Oppression's praiser,
Taxation's raiser ...
The country's scourger,
the cities' cheater,
of many a shilling

The king's misuser,
The parliament's abuser,
Hath left his plotting,
... is now a-rotting.⁸⁵⁴

A concurrent personal letter to the English ambassador to Venice sets out the situation

...the memorie of the late Lord Treasurer growes dayly worse and worse and more libells come as yt were continually, whether yt be that practises and juggling come more and more to light...⁸⁵⁵

Which has a curious parallel to Chettle's

...in which there is pretty juggling, especially to blind law, and bolster usury⁸⁵⁶

England had, for a time, "become regnum Cecilianum"⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁴ Pauline Croft, "The reputation of Robert Cecil: libels, political opinion and popular awareness in the early seventeenth century," *TRHS* (RHS) 6, no. 1 (1991): 43-69. p.49

⁸⁵⁵ *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, First, ed. N.E. McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: APS, 1939). p.346

⁸⁵⁶ *x ref. footnote 850*

⁸⁵⁷ Croft *Cecil*

William in London - A Summary

[Every] ...dog will have his day
Hamlet V, i

...At the kynges court, my brother, Ech man for hymself, ther is noon oother.
 Chaucer, c.1386⁸⁵⁸

As previously referenced at the beginning of this chapter, the careful selection of representative figures is crucial in gaining valid insight into the business environment in which William thrived. For example, select six or seven divines and one could erroneously conclude that Early Modern London was a serene, well-ordered place. To avoid this, the seven men in this chapter were chosen for the following reasons:

In four cases they have direct, documented links to Shakespeare in London.

Langley and Gardiner drew him into not a minor legal case, but an acrimonious exchange over money. For Shakespeare to be named first showed his commercial importance to Langley.

Chettle - in print - first lampoons Shakespeare and afterwards damns him with faint praise before sniping at all broggers and the business of “brogging”.

The high probability is that Wilkins co-wrote *Pericles*⁸⁵⁹ and Shakespeare was almost certainly his patron in having his other work performed by the King’s Men. Both men give depositions in the same legal case. Wilkins was a close friend to the family with whom Shakespeare lodged. The full extent of the relationship between Wilkins and Shakespeare - fraternal, commercial, or merely accidental - is impossible to quantify. However, there was certainly a commercial tie between the two that lasted for several years.

Of the other three, Henslowe and Alleyn were the most financially successful individuals in the theatre business. But this was an activity where seat prices alone

⁸⁵⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/webcore (accessed May 21, 2011). l. 1182. “And therefore, at the king's court, my brother, Each man for himself. There is no other” <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/webcore/murphy/canterbury/> (in modern spelling).

⁸⁵⁹ Anthony Parr, “Wilkins, George,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). “Scholarship has confirmed Wilkins's authorship of the first nine scenes of the play, and has constructed a plausible narrative from initial collaboration to its first publication in 1609”.

could not account for their own considerable wealth. That Shakespeare would have known them both is a given. A possible substitute for analyzing these men would have been the Burbage family where the exact sequence of events would have been different but the characters revealed would, almost certainly, have proved similar.

Cecil, the most powerful man in the realm, could be replaced in this analysis by almost any of the leading courtiers of his day. The choice could have settled on such men as Bacon, Coke, Topcliffe etc.. All three ended up in prison for theft and other reasons. Indeed, Topcliffe's incarceration resulted from his having the temerity to say out loud what everybody knew - that behind the flowery verbiage it was every man for himself.⁸⁶⁰ But Cecil deserves his place in this chapter because he was the quintessential example of how to accumulate money in the Early Modern Period.

Cecil set the tone of the age. If the Shakespeare family acquired and kept money then looking at Cecil gives clues as to how wealthy Early Modern individuals conducted themselves. In short it can be summarized as - public virtue, private vices.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶⁰ William Richardson, "Topcliffe, Richard, 1531 -1604," in *ODNB* (OUP, 2008).

⁸⁶¹ The notion is summarized by many in various ways, in this case it was taken from the title of an article: M.M. Goldsmith, "Public Virtue and Private Vices," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 9, no. 4 (1976): 477-510. Others have at various times past argued that vice is necessary and presumably would have defended Cecil. The Dutch philosopher Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) in 1705 published *The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves Turn'd Honest*. This tells of total virtue creating a poor, ascetic society. He suggests that vices are the necessary engines of a wealthy and powerful nation. He wrote "private vices by the dextrous management of a skilful politician may be turned into publick benefits". This proposal was not well accepted in Mandeville's time as he himself put it, the proposal: "went down with the public like chopt Hay". Alex Voorhoeve, "Bernard Mandeville," *Philosopher's Magazine of the Internet*, October 2003, <http://www.philosophers.co.uk/cafe/phil> (accessed July 5, 2011).

Chapter 6 – THE SHAKESPEARE FAMILY INVESTMENTS

...there is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property...only with Plowden's reports...in the later sixteenth century...did references to property and *jus proprietatis* in land and to "proprietors" and "owners" of land begin to appear with any frequency...⁸⁶²
 William Blackstone 1766⁸⁶³

As David Seipp noted, when writing of William Blackstone

...for Blackstone, this right of property was "that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe."⁸⁶⁴

Thomson conservatively estimated Shakespeare's annual income between 1599 and 1608 at £55.⁸⁶⁵ This has to be balanced against the tangible (house, land) and intangible (title, tithes, housekeeper status etc.) investments totalling between £1000 and £1500 listed in this chapter, together with all the various living expenses of both himself in London and his family in Stratford.

The analysis of each of these is complicated by the common practice of undeclared or undocumented payments made in the Early Modern Period relating to taxes and property conveyances. Therefore, if anything, these calculations underestimate the cost of purchases as the intention behind deliberate understatement of costs was to avoid taxes and other duties.

What follows is a brief summary of each major investment together with notes on aspects of that particular acquisition which support or inform the core themes of this thesis.

⁸⁶² David Seipp, "The Concept of Property in the Early Common Law," *Law and History Review* (University of Illinois Press) 12, no. 1 (1994): 29-91. p.66

⁸⁶³ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol. 2 (1766).

⁸⁶⁴ Seipp, *Property* p.29

⁸⁶⁵ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992) p.34. though as he notes "this [£55] makes no allowance for any special payment for the plays he provided, nor for the stronger possibility that he was allowed all the taking on a second-day benefit performance of each of his new plays."

Gentlemanly Atchievements

Date of Investment: 1596

Atchievement: Originally an escutcheon or armorial device
 ...later a representation of all the armorial devices to
 which a bearer of arms is entitled...
 Oxford English Dictionary

Let this be so.
 His means of death, his obscure funeral-
 No trophy, sword, nor hatchment o'er his bones,
Hamlet IV, v

Lawrence Stone estimated that the total acreage of land taken from the Church following the dissolution of the monasteries was a quarter of the whole of England.⁸⁶⁶ He also observed that it was a time when the ruling elite were being “nudged by newcomers”⁸⁶⁷ i.e. those moving up the social strata, whom he collectively referred to as “entrants”. The process of advancement driven by the massive redistribution of land and wealth was recorded in every county and every borough. From a medieval world where blood was almost everything, a new permeability to the upper levels of society now clearly existed for the ambitious. Sometimes they came from the most modest of backgrounds and⁸⁶⁸

...had a clearer perception of the hazards of living beyond their means and were more determined in their social aspirations... they were therefore more cautious about adopting an expensive life-style...they were staking a claim to status.⁸⁶⁹

“Entrants” according to Stone made their money through “law, office or business” and were comparatively careful with their new wealth. Though writing of a whole emergent sub-class he could easily have been writing about the Shakespeares, so closely do their actions follow the pattern he laid out. Having made one’s “money” the next step was to elevate one’s social class by buying gentlemanly status – obtaining a “Grant of Arms”. This customarily involved the invention of noble ancestors or reference to some real or imagined civic services caused by the applicant’s relations.

⁸⁶⁶ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540 - 1880* (Oxford: OUP, 1986). p.25

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid. p.111

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid. p.115/6

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid. p.116

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Shakespeare Grant of Arms lies in the character of William Dethick the herald who made the grant.

...[he] became York herald by patent dated 24 March 1570. Displaying early signs of arrogance...he made three grants of arms under his own seal... he succeeded [his father] as Garter king of arms. He bribed the signet clerk to add a clause to his patent, dated 21 April 1586, allowing him to make visitations and grant arms, thus breaching the rights of [other] kings of arms... earning a severe reprimand from Lord Burghley. He surrendered [his] patent, but following Burghley's death in 1598 he produced a copy of the original one. He continued to make grants himself, including one to William Shakespeare's father, which was criticized by his fellow herald Ralph Brooke... In 1595 Dethick was cited in Star Chamber for having granted [arms] on the basis of a false pedigree...there were other charges of pedigree forgery too...⁸⁷⁰

The above summarizes a man who might be truly described as a “cad”. In 1573 he attacked the Chester herald's wife, “pushing her head into the fireplace with his boot... pouring hot ashes, alcohol, and the contents of her chamber pot over her head, and was only prevented from killing her by his cousin”. He punched his own father, stabbed his brother, and slandered and assaulted his fellow heralds. The seal was set on his character when in 1586 he reduced the funeral of Sir Henry Sidney, the former lord deputy of Ireland, to a shambles by striking

...the minister, and that of the countess of Sussex in Westminster Abbey...with his dagger, for which he was indicted at Newgate, though he escaped being charged because he knew the recorder...⁸⁷¹

In short, this arrogant, foul-mouthed rogue would have been the first stop for any commoner seeking, in exchange for enough cash, a quick elevation of the family pedigree, merited or not.

For the Shakespeares, the sudden upsurge in status reflected the willingness and the capacity to pay over any other consideration. A playwright at the beginning of his career with only his theatrical earnings - especially one with a purportedly bankrupt father - did not have the financial resources for this kind of purchase.

⁸⁷⁰ Anthony Adolph, “Dethick, Sir William (1543-1612),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

New Place

Date of Investment: 1597

Halliwell-Phillipps in 1864, noted that one visitor to Stratford in 1540 described “a praty house of bricke tymbre” constructed by “Hugh Clopton, major of London wherein he lived in his latter dayes and dyed”.⁸⁷² With this statement the erroneous history of New Place was being recorded. Halliwell-Phillipps was quick to correct this particular piece of fiction when he concluded that no member of the Clopton family ever lived in the house in the sixteenth century.⁸⁷³ Yet this was not the last piece of romantic fiction the property was subjected to from 1540 to the present.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries even something as inanimate as William Shakespeare’s long-demolished house excited scholars. Indeed some of the most recent commentaries rank among the most inaccurate.

In 2005 James Shapiro in his book *1599*, described the building as

...New Place, an imposing house on the corner of Chapel Street and Chapel Lane, across from the Guild Chapel. It was the second best house in town, which Shakespeare had bought two years earlier for the considerable sum of £120. New Place was a fifteenth-Century, three-story brick-and-timber building. It was very spacious, with ten rooms warmed by fire-places, far more than the small family and any servants could have needed. The property also contained two gardens, two orchards, and two barns. Shakespeare’s recently acquired coat-of-arms would have been prominently displayed. In putting so much money into a huge home far from where he worked Shakespeare may have been trying to assuage his guilt over living so far away from his wife and daughters. He may have been thinking ahead towards an early retirement. Or perhaps it was simply a good investment, one that few in hard-hit Stratford were in a position to make.⁸⁷⁴

Certainly Shapiro included some correct facts about the property and he had no hesitation in attributing idealized twenty-first century motivations to William.

⁸⁷² Prior to his double barrelling when he was just plain James O. Halliwell - James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853).

⁸⁷³ Ibid. p.3

⁸⁷⁴ James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006). Throughout reference will be made to an abbreviated ‘1599’ as different titles were used on either side of the Atlantic.

In sharp contrast there was the earlier 1963 approach of Eccles. C.J. Sisson⁸⁷⁵ in reviewing *Shakespeare in Warwickshire*, Eccles scrupulously detailed chronology of the Shakespeares, observed that

...He [Eccles] rigidly schools himself to the practice of pure fact-finding. Indeed, perhaps, sometimes he leans too far in this direction, leaving his reader to deduce the significance of his facts...The book is designed as a repository of facts certified by the documents cited in the Notes.⁸⁷⁶

The facts listed by Eccles are summarized in the following table.

Table 66 - New Place

Mark Eccles <i>Shakespeare in Warwickshire</i> 1963, pp. 84/110	Observation re New Place
In 1567 he [Ralph Bott] sold New Place for forty pounds to William Underhill [Sr.] of the Inner Temple.	Documented
[William Underhill Jnr.] though he was imprisoned for recusancy ...and indicted before 1592	Documented – ‘a subtle, covetous and crafty man’ ⁸⁷⁷
The town of Stratford was suing William Underhill for tithe rent in 1597 when he sold New Place	Documented
[Underhill] ...Died of poison...on July 7, 1597	Documented
His son Fulke was executed at Warwick ...for murdering his father	Documented
...the second son Hercules secured a grant of the forfeited estates [in 1602]...Shakespeare probably paid a small sum to Hercules to clear the title	Documented but incomplete – ‘Shakespeare, paid a prescribed fee, equal to one quarter of the yearly value of the property’ ⁸⁷⁸
Shakespeare paid William Underhill sixty pounds, if the fine is right, for the house with two barns and two gardens	Documented however he could have gone on to note as did Schoenbaum ...”the consideration mentioned is customarily a legal fiction. We do not know how much Shakespeare actually paid for Sir Hugh Clopton’s great house, however decayed this may well seem absurdly low...” ⁸⁷⁹
Shakespeare may have repaired the house since a	The sale of the stone is documented, its

⁸⁷⁵ C.J. Sisson, “Shakespeare in Warwickshire by Mark Eccles,” *The Modern Language Review* 57, no. 1 (1962): 87-88.

⁸⁷⁶ He does however continue: As a reference book, however, its use will be hampered by the want of an index beyond a bare index of names and places, except for a brief analysis of items under Stratford and William Shakespeare...Bearing in mind again the interests of future research in this field, we could have wished for some account of the scope of the inquiries pursued, and indeed for a catalogue of archives examined.

⁸⁷⁷ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.173

⁸⁷⁸ Schoenbaum, *Records and Images* (London: Scolar Press, 1981). p.53

⁸⁷⁹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.173

"mr Shaxspere" either he or his father, sold the town a load of stone in 1598	use is only a possibility
Shakespeare probably settled his family at New Place during 1597	Probability
Thomas Greene ...had lived in Shakespeare's House and set down in his diary what Shakespeare said to him	Documented
New Place is the only house in which the Halls are known to have lived	Factually correct based upon current knowledge ⁸⁸⁰

In contrast to Shapiro's referencing of New Place,⁸⁸¹ Eccles never bowed to the need for sensationalized commentary even when relating the most striking facts about the property.

The full history of New Place and the Shakespeare family's involvement with its various former owners and how the purchase and renovation were funded, all seem to have been either overlooked or merely taken for granted – even by Eccles.

William Long delivered a nine thousand word polemic on Shapiro and his book

[1599] is not a scholarly study and should not be confused with one. Unfortunately, this volume is basically a house of cards. From a distance, the edifice is interesting and even pleasing. But a push here and there collapses the structure. Incorrect facts and unsupportable suppositions do not provide firm bases for supporting Shapiro's contentions.⁸⁸²

Long dissects almost every aspect of Shapiro's writing becoming at times irritatingly petty. But if one sifts through the invective there are indeed numerous factual discrepancies between Shapiro's hyperbole and fact. A few examples of these that referenced New Place included

⁸⁸⁰ However this is open to interpretation, there is also "Halls Croft". Schoenbaum observed "local tradition holds that the Halls lived in a handsome half-timbered house in Old Town, close to Holy Trinity, and even closer to New Place ... Today the house is called Hall's Croft, but I have been able to find no reference to it by that name earlier than the listing of "Hall Croft" in Spenell's Family Almanack, Directory of South Warwickshire, and Annual Advertiser, for 1885... When Shakespeare died, the Halls moved into New Place. There they stayed for the rest of their lives." Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.237. Joan Lane in the current ODNB entry for Hall does not reference Hall's Croft at all. See also Mark Eccles, "Review of: Shakespeare's Son-in-Law [etc.] by Harriet Joseph," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 17, no. 4 (1966): 432-433. In this Eccles commented: "there is no evidence to support the myth that he lived in the house now known as Halls' Croft". Eccles was reviewing: Harriet Joseph, *Shakespeare's Son-in-Law: John Hall, Man and Physician* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1964).

⁸⁸¹ James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006).

⁸⁸² W. Long, "Review: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008).

...he [Shapiro] claims that the chapel of the Guild of the Holy Cross "had stood at the heart of Stratford's civic and religious life since the thirteenth century"...Shapiro would seem to be saying that this chapel opposite the side of New Place was the parish church...[but] Holy Trinity Church was and remains the parish church; it is where Shakespeare was baptized ...at no time in its existence was the chapel ever the "heart" of religious and civic activity in Stratford.

...Hugh Clopton, the builder and original owner of Shakespeare's New Place, would have obtained a crick in his neck trying to see "the beautiful stained-glass windows" of the chapel from his garden. New Place...[was] effectively blocking any good view of the windows from any point in the gardens.

One also wonders what Shapiro fantasizes [that] he would have seen by looking from any angle at any stained-glass window from the outside. In natural light, from the outside a stained-glass window is just so many grey and black pieces of glass held in place by stone tracery or lead.

Long concluded

...I shall close with a sentence worthy of James Shapiro: "You get the picture; there's a lot wrong with this book." Shapiro's 1599, ultimately, seems to this reader to be a botched opportunity. An interesting, perhaps even an exciting, study could have been written about Shakespeare's artistic development in or about 1599; but to do so would have necessitated leaving out the froth and the suppositions, expunging the romanticism and the sentimentality...a path Shapiro, for whatever reasons, chose not to follow.⁸⁸³

Towards A New Description

The following is a new summary of how New Place came to be owned by William Shakespeare

Sir Hugh Clopton, former Lord Mayor of London and local benefactor, died leaving New Place to William Clopton. His son William Clopton [jr.] leased the house to former royal physician Dr. Thomas Bentley in 1543, but Bentley died in 1549 leaving the property, as Clopton [jr.] would later declare in Chancery, '...in great ruyne and decay and unrepayered'. In 1560 on William Clopton [jr.]'s death William Bott "occupied" the house and managed to wrest the title in 1563 from William Clopton [III]. It appears that Bott, when acting as Clopton's agent, had been helping himself to the young Clopton's legacy and the whole issue of fraud and malfeasance ended up in Star Chamber in 1564 and thereafter in Chancery.

⁸⁸³ Long, *Review: 1599*

Bott appears to have been a generally untrustworthy character. One Roland Wheeler told him to his face in the Swan [the Stratford inn, not the theatre] that he was “a false harlot and a false villain”. Bott, an alderman in Stratford, was thrown off the Council for his assertion that “ther was never an honest man of the Councell or the body of the corporacyon of Stratford”⁸⁸⁴. His place on the council was taken by the ambitious glover, John Shakespeare.⁸⁸⁵

Bott sold the property to William Underhill (sr.) whose son William (jr.) described as being a subtle, covetous, and crafty man, sold it to William Shakespeare. That the ‘official’ purchase price of £60 was understated seems very probable⁸⁸⁶ – but simply stating it was £120, as some writers have done, is at best unproven. Additionally Shakespeare almost certainly made alterations (upgrades) to the house and a later payment to Hercules Underhill (brother to William) was required to clear the title. This was in 1602 when Hercules reached his majority, i.e. 21 years of age. Many authors have dismissed this event as a minor cost, “a prescribed fee equal to one quarter of the yearly value of the property”⁸⁸⁷. That the title should need to be confirmed relates to William Underhill’s murder by his first-born son Fulke. Two months after the sale to Shakespeare, Underhill died mysteriously orally bequeathing “all his land” to Fulke. In 1599 the heir, though still a minor, was hanged for poisoning his father.⁸⁸⁸ At this juncture under the law, the estate was forfeited to the crown as a result of the felony, however it was later regranted to Hercules. At this point the question of the validity of Shakespeare’s title was in grave doubt and necessitated the payment to Hercules.

Hercules was later knighted by James I⁸⁸⁹, and though it cannot be assumed he was like his father and brother in temperament, we can surmise that he was no fool.

Schoenbaum, though careful to record that he is “merely speculating” commented that Shakespeare, in paying off Hercules, was acting to “prudently safeguard his title to New Place”. However, he then went on to make the assumption that “very likely Hercules went through the motions at Shakespeare’s request”⁸⁹⁰. Quite how Schoenbaum arrived at this latter conclusion is difficult to gauge. Hercules Underhill’s claim against the

⁸⁸⁴ James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford Upon Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853).

⁸⁸⁵ *x ref. footnote Error! Bookmark not defined.*

⁸⁸⁶ Halliwell, *New Place* p.19 “but I believe that the sums named in fines are not always to be depended upon” though he then concluded that in this case the fine might have actually been correct and reflected the very poor condition of the property.

⁸⁸⁷ Schoenbaum, *Records* p.53

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.53

⁸⁸⁹ Thomas Birch and Williams R.F., *The Court and Times of James the First* (London: Henry Colburn, 1849). II p.48

⁸⁹⁰ Schoenbaum, *Records* p.53

property would have given him a good, if not very good, legal position to extract much more than the equivalent of three months rent from New Place's owner.⁸⁹¹

Why this matters is twofold. Firstly, Shakespeare is seen to be proactively protecting his investments. Schoenbaum suggests he does so through an excess of caution - a position I cannot entirely agree with. However, Shakespeare is certainly policing this one most carefully. Secondly, whatever it cost to make Hercules go away, it was met comfortably from cash on hand as evidenced by the significant investments Shakespeare went on to make post 1602.

Returning to £120 being quoted as the purchase price. The first instance appears to be by Edgar Weiss⁸⁹² in 1928. Certainly by 1949 Frank Hill felt secure enough to assert that £60 was merely a "down payment ...the total cost being £120."⁸⁹³ By 2005 to James Shapiro it had simply become a factual £120.⁸⁹⁴

But where did the money come from to buy and refurbish New Place? Simply to state that *Shakespeare must have been doing well in London to afford this* hardly explains where even the £60 in silver came from. Halliwell-Phillipps speculated

...it is not impossible that Shakespeare gave a security for all or part of the purchase money of New Place by way of mortgage on the estate instead of paying money...when Shakespeare paid off the security in 1602, the second fine...may have become necessary...⁸⁹⁵

But this was just speculation.

⁸⁹¹ The legal position of conveyances made in good faith and for value was in flux in the English Law at this particular time. For example, in bankruptcy see Harvard Law Review, "Good Faith and Fraudulent Conveyances," *Harvard Law Review* (HLRA) 97 (Dec. 1983): 495-510. "Fraudulent conveyance law has protected creditors by invalidating certain transactions that render debtors' assets unreachable" was enacted by 13 Eliz., Ch. 5 (1570). The article continued "The Statute of Elizabeth is remarkably similar to modern fraudulent conveyance law in both purpose and language. The focus on intent in modern fraudulent conveyance law is derived from a similar focus in the Statute of Elizabeth". The medieval notion of entail was being washed away by commercial realities and though bankruptcy may seem worlds away from confiscation post felonious acts, the concept of conveyance and good faith is common to both. Interestingly, by 1602, new legislation was being enacted that would start to clarify the position. Certainly Hercules had some legal basis for challenging Shakespeare's ownership of New Place and it would be naïve to suggest he did not take advantage of this. See also: W. J. Jones, "The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period," *Transactions of the APS* (APS) 69, no. 3 (1979): 1-63.

⁸⁹² Edgar Weiss, *Shakespeare's Stratford* (1928).

⁸⁹³ F. Hill, *To Meet Will Shakespeare* (Manchester, NH: Ayer & Co., 1949). p.235

⁸⁹⁴ James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006).

⁸⁹⁵ Halliwell, *New Place* p.16

William Shakespeare's wealth was greatly enhanced by his becoming part owner of the Globe and not remaining merely an actor and playwright. This part ownership occurred in two stages – the first in 1594 in becoming a sharer. But it was not till 1599 - two years after the purchase of New Place – that he became a housekeeper. In 1597 he could have hardly afforded the £60, let alone the cash to refurbish the property. That the Shakespeares had moved into the house by February 1598 is evidenced by a document (a “Noate”) of Shakespeare as a holder of corn and malt – the authorities were at that time recording and limiting amounts held by individuals due to shortages following three wet summers.⁸⁹⁶ Schoenbaum recorded

The house described as run down a half century earlier underwent restoration by its new owner [Shakespeare]... In his 1733 edition of Shakespeare, Lewis Theobald reports... that [he] ‘repaired and modell’d it to his own mind’.⁸⁹⁷

A £120 purchase price is manifestly unproven. However all the circumstantial evidence supports the notion that New Place would have cost Shakespeare considerably more than the £60 recorded in the first fine.⁸⁹⁸

Sharer and Housekeeper

Date of Investment: 1594 & 1599

...William Shakespeare, whose decision to purchase a share in the Chamberlain's Men proved decisive, and whose ability to purchase it is surprising...
Peter Thomson⁸⁹⁹

...but to be said an honest man
and a good housekeeper goes as fairly as to say a
careful man and a great scholar.
Feste, *Twelfth Night* IV, I

For Thomson, buying into the Lord Chamberlain's Men was a significant step for the thirty-year-old William though he did wonder where the cash had come from to accomplish this.

To Chambers broadening the ownership of the Globe in 1599 was, on the part of the Burbage brothers, “hit upon [as] the device of binding the interests of some of the

⁸⁹⁶ SBTRO, Misc. Doc 1, 106

⁸⁹⁷ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.178

⁸⁹⁸ SBTRO, Item 1, Case 8, New Place Museum, Nash Place.

⁸⁹⁹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992) p.14

leading actors more closely to their own by giving them a share in these profits of the 'house'.⁹⁰⁰ Chambers, great scholar he was, seems unable to see any commercial rationale. The fact was that the brothers were technically insolvent. The new theatre had to be finished and the amounts expended by the family on the Blackfriars,⁹⁰¹ which would not really bear fruit financially till nine years later must have more than strained their coffers.

Selling half the theatre was the only choice, and disposing of half to five known parties who individually could never challenge the brothers, must have seemed the best of all the bad options open to them. Chambers described the process

...[The Globe] was conveyed by lease to 2 distinct moieties. One the Burbages held; the other was divided amongst five of the actors. Subsequently it was several times redivided into a fleeing number of fractions, according as one man dropped out, or it was desired to admit another to participate in the benefits... this gave rise to some trouble, owing to the remarriage of widows with persons who are not members of the company at all... there was a rent payable to the ground landlord, and to this each holder of a fraction made a proportionate contribution.⁹⁰²

It is possible to conceive of this arrangement as an early workers' commune – the workers (actors) literally controlling the means of production. Political sentimentality aside, the structure proved barely workable. This was documented in 1635, albeit in a partisan fashion by Cuthbert Burbage, when the Lord Chamberlain was petitioned to broaden the number of housekeepers

...at like expense built the globe with more sums of money taken up at interest, which lay heavy on as many use, and to ourselves we enjoined those deserving men, Shakespeare, Heminges, Phillips, and others partners in the profits of what they call the house, but making the leases for twenty one years have been the destruction of ourselves and others, for they dying at the expiration of three or four years of the lease, the subsequent years became dissolved [devolved] to strangers, as by marrying with their widows, and the like by their children. Thus,... as concerning the Globe, where we ourselves are but lessees...⁹⁰³

⁹⁰⁰ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). I. p.356

⁹⁰¹ Ibid. p.15 "on 4 February 1596 Burbage completed the purchase of the Parliament Chamber of the Blackfriars at a cost of £600...he then began work on converting the building at once..."

⁹⁰² Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, I. p.356

⁹⁰³ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II. p.66

Table 67 - Shakespeare's Ownership of the Globe

Date	% Owned by Shakespeare
21/2/1599	10
Later in 1599	12.5
1605-8	8.3
20/2/1612	7.1

An interest varying between seven and twelve and a half percent of the Housekeeper's share of the Globe's earnings made a sound addition to Shakespeare's income – plague permitting. But this was not, in itself, the stuff to make him rich.⁹⁰⁴

The final word on the reality of the shareholding and housekeeping belongs to Thomson

The fact is, if the sharers of the Chamberlain's Men were equals,
[Richard] Burbage was more equal than the others.⁹⁰⁵

Land in Fee Simple

Date of Investment: 1602

...An I were so apt to quarrel as thou art,
any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter...
Romeo and Juliet III, 1

Here's the lord of the soil come to seize me for a stray,
for entering his fee-simple without leave...
Henry VI, Part II IV, 10

On May 1, 1602, William Shakespeare bought land in Old Stratford from William Combe of Warwick, esquire, and John Combe of Old Stratford, gentleman. The deed was "Scaled and delivered to Gilbert Shakespere to the use of the within named William Shakespere in the presence of Anthony Nashe, William Sheldon, Humfrey Maynwaringe, Rychard Mason, John Nashe." For three hundred and twenty pounds paid in full Shakespeare acquired in fee simple (absolutely)⁹⁰⁶

...four yards of land⁹⁰⁷ of arable land ... Containing by estimation One hundred and Seven acres be they more or less And also all the Common pasture for sheep horse cows or other cattle in the fieldes of Old Stratford

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid. Pages 68 & 69 contain a very erudite analysis of the question.

⁹⁰⁵ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁹⁰⁶ An estate in land, etc. belonging to the owner and his heirs for ever, without limitation to any particular class of heirs... in fee-simple: in absolute possession. OED

⁹⁰⁷ A yard of land (OE. {asg}yrd landes = L. virgata terræ): An area of land of varying extent according to the locality, but most freq. 30 acres: commonly taken as = a fourth of a hide. The question of the extent of the hide has been much controverted. The general conclusion appears to be that it was normally = 120 acres; but the size of the acre itself varied. OED

aforesaid to the said four yard land belonging or in any way appertaining And also all hades⁹⁰⁸ leys tyinges proffittes advantages and Commodities whatsoever . . . hertofore reputed taken known or occupied as part parcel or member of the same . . . now or late in the several tenures or occupations of Thomas Hiccox and Lewes Hiccox . . .⁹⁰⁹

As Schoenbaum noted of the last line in the above quotation, Thomas and Lewes were

...the tenants of the freehold; whether they stayed on after the ownership changed hands is not known...five months later [Shakespeare] acquired the copyhold title to a quarter acre of land, comprising a garden and a cottage, on the south side of Chapel Lane, facing the garden of New Place.⁹¹⁰

Chambers was silent on just how much rent (if any) was paid on the land. The question of the rent's possible effect on Shakespeare's cash flow is exceedingly complicated.

Chambers notes that there was a Hiccox as a tenant in 1552. This was a freehold purchase but there may have been a long leasehold rental on the property.

Traditionally, leases had been up to 1000 years though there were strenuous efforts on the part of landowners to ratchet down these exceedingly long periods to permit the rents to be raised periodically. A pre-existing lease may have been at a very old (low) rate set when land prices were depressed. Paul Slack, writing of the middle of the seventeenth century, put the national average for land at six shillings and eight pence per acre but it would be foolhardy to suggest that this automatically was reflected in this purchase earlier in the century.⁹¹¹

The Combes also agreed to take additional legal steps to ensure Shakespeare's title, should these be necessary, in the following five years. A "fine" or "final concord" - a fictitious legal suit to confirm a transaction⁹¹² - was belatedly started in 1610 in the court of Common Pleas. This fictional legal action called for Shakespeare to have paid

⁹⁰⁸ Hades - A strip of land left unploughed as a boundary line and means of access between two ploughed portions of a field; also, according to some recent writers, a small piece of greensward left at the head or end of arable land upon which the plough turns. - OED

⁹⁰⁹ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p.188

⁹¹⁰ Ibid. p.188 also E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). p.110 and 111.

⁹¹¹ Paul Slack, "Measuring the Wealth in Seventeenth Century England," *The Economic History Review* (EHS) 57, no. 4: 607-635. p.615 "The average rent per acre is therefore 6s. 8d., and at 18 years purchase the total capital value [of all agricultural land in England] is £144 million."

⁹¹² In the absence of a comprehensive land registry a pretended lawsuit was the only route available to have transactions recorded in an official, legal manner. It also illustrates how amounts paid and received could also be under or over stated to avoid or minimize taxes and duties as well as (the case here) when, what was in all probability, a fictional payment was due.

£100 – in all probability this was a made up amount, but the court records duly showed the transfer of title. The fine listed described one hundred and seven acres of land and twenty acres of pasture, the same amount bought in 1593 by William Combe. The pasture, therefore, was part of the land he sold in 1602. The deed to Shakespeare conveyed land “within the parrishe feildes or towne of Olde Stratford”.

Shakespeare's will references property in Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe. In 1634, John Hall his son-in-law is referred to as having owned four yardlands [sic] out of seventeen and a half in “the whole town” of Bishopton.

Like New Place an earlier owner had been a Clopton. In 1570, William Clopton had sold this property to Rice Griffin. William Combe purchased it twenty-three years later from Griffin and nine years after that he sold it to William Shakespeare.⁹¹³

The Moiety of a Lease of the Tithes

Date of Investment: 1605

In 1544, the ecclesiastical body known as the “College”, or to give it its full title Collegiate Church of Stratford-upon-Avon, possessed large tracts of Warwickshire including lands, buildings, and tithes. To protect the College’s interests, the Warden and Chapter, collectively its governing body, conveyed all their properties in a 92 year lease, the consideration for which was an annual payment by one William Barker (and his successors) of £122, 18s. 9d. The lease survived the College’s abolition and in 1553 Edward VI granted that the property would revert to the Stratford Corporation upon the lease expiry in 1636. The lease was inherited by John Barker who in 1580 transferred it to Sir John Huband⁹¹⁴ while retaining an annual rent of £27 13s. 4d. for himself. This was in addition to the amount due to the Corporation under the terms of the 1553 grant. Barker had previously started to divide (by sub-leases) the total pool and one of these through Sir John Huband’s estate formed the portion that Shakespeare invested in. On July 24, 1605 for a consideration of £440, Shakespeare acquired from Ralph Huband of

⁹¹³ On 28 September of the same year as the land purchase Shakespeare acquired a cottage which seems to have been a humble affair – Chambers thought it likely to have been “a servant’s dwelling”. A further cottage was purchased on 24 October 1604 in Rowington Manor (E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930) II p.111/112). As the value of these would have been a very small portion of the total family estate I have not included it in the earlier calculations of William’s income nor listed in here as a separate purchases.

⁹¹⁴ For reasons of consistency I have used “Huband” throughout as the spelling of the family name – this accords with Chambers however, many other writers including Schoenbaum use “Hubaud”.

Ipsley, a half-share (a “moiety”) in the “tythes of corne, grayne, blade, and heye” from Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton and in the “tythes of wooll, lambe, and other smalle and pryvie tythes” from the parish of Stratford, aside from certain tithes of Luddington and Bishopton and certain rights of Lord Carew and Sir Edward Greville.

Shakespeare's deed was explicit - for his moiety (share) he was obligated to pay seventeen pounds rent annually to the Corporation as well as £5 to John Barker (a disproportionately high share of the £27 13s. 4d.).

In 1925 Tucker Brooke⁹¹⁵ presented a very detailed account of the overall financial picture of the Stratford tithes and how Shakespeare's share related to these. Moreover, he gave a very detailed explanation of the Chancery Petition that he, Richard Lane and Thomas Greene initiated in defence of their holdings. Understanding their reason for this demonstrates clearly just how aware Shakespeare was of the importance of maintaining the fiscal structure that preserved their legal rights. His actions were those of a shrewd investor who was actively policing his financial interests.

It is important to recognize that Shakespeare held only one half of a particular tranche of these receivables - not half of the total as is sometimes indicated. The total pool, according to Brooke, was valued at an annual income of £473 16s. 8d. held amongst 42 individuals and divided into many individual holdings specifically related to a district, particular building or property. The portion Shakespeare invested in yielded £122 18s. 9d. p.a. of which he was entitled to half. Accordingly, his share was about one eighth of the total, yielding him at the outset slightly over £60 per annum.

Table 68 - Tithe Holders

Holder	Est. Value £. p.a.
Richard Lane	110
Thomas Greene	3
William Shakespeare	60
Lord Carewe of Clopton	20
Sir Edward Greville	2
Sir E. Conway	30
Mary Combe	75
John Nashe	13
Others (32) on average	4.75

⁹¹⁵ Tucker Brooke, “Shakespeare's Moiety of the Stratford Tithes,” *Modern Language Notes* (Johns Hopkins University Press) 40, no. 8 (December 1925): 462-469.

It is worth noting that the 32 “others” were a very disparate group based on the size of the holding and social status and education. Overall, the total pool had a wide degree of variance by average receivable size and what proportion of the individual’s total income the investment represented. For example, £2 a year for Sir Edward Greville would most likely have been insignificant compared to his total revenues - £60 for William Shakespeare would be material. This pool has, in the jargon of modern structured financing, very poor homogeneity or granularity.

In summary, the financial transaction was a purchase of leases of tithes for a specified period of time (till 1636) minus “rents” made on a periodic basis.

In a time without banks and no specific mechanisms for a whole range of financial transactions, this purchase was, even by present day standards, a sophisticated piece of financing. Shakespeare purchased a partial participation in a stream of cash flows defined as a fraction of a share of agricultural produce whose underlying price varied with changes in commodities determined by supply and demand. Moreover, there is an in built priority of payments with the “rents” *de facto* having a prior claim on the cash flows.

In a modern securitization a pool of cash flows (financial receivables), be they credit cards, instalment loans, mortgages etc., are pooled together in a financial vehicle, typically a company formed for this sole purpose. Using this as collateral, layers of securities are created, each layer having a different priority of payment from the next. Hence, if there are two classes of securities created, and Class A gets the cash first, then the premium (margin) on these securities will be reduced as the risk is presumed lower. This is because the cash will go to Class A first, leaving Class B with whatever is left after deduction of administration charges. Class B holders will only have bought into the transaction if they expect to make higher returns from taking a greater risk.

The following table compares the Stratford Tithes with a modern Collateralized Debt Obligation⁹¹⁶ of 1989 – Freedom Finance B.V.

⁹¹⁶ Collateralized Debt Obligation (CDO) is similar in structure to a collateralized mortgage obligation (CMO) or collateralized bond obligation (CBO). CDOs are unique in that they represent different types of debt and credit risk. In the case of CDOs, these different types of debt are often referred to as “tranches”

Table 69 - Two Structured Financings

Stratford Tithes 1605	Freedom Finance B.V. 1989 ⁹¹⁷
1. ⁹¹⁸ Rents p.a. - £5 to John Barker £17 to the Bailiff and Burgesses of Stratford	1. \$120,000,000 Class A Floating Rate Notes 0.75% over LIBOR p.a. ⁹¹⁹
2. Service Costs p.a. to Anthony Nash	2. Service Costs p.a. to Trust Bank
3. Residual Revenue to Purchasers 50% to W.S.	3. \$20,000,000 Class B Residual Notes to High Yield Investors

Freedom Finance B.V. was a nominal (paper) Dutch company into which secured ⁹²⁰ bank loans from the United States were conveyed before being used as collateral for two classes of Notes. Though the amounts are inverted, i.e. the larger portion in Freedom Finance is Class A vs. the Tithes where the Residual Revenue is larger, the concepts behind the two transactions are identical. Equally, the quality of legal drafting apart from the modernization of some legal terms is of a similar standard.

Indeed the sixteenth century drafting was, if anything, superior in that it documents the transaction in a much more precise manner than the later transaction.

Shakespeare was buying what in modern parlance would be called “Class B residual risk notes.” This transaction was appropriate for a sophisticated, knowledgeable investor who had confidence in the legal drafting and in the administration and accounting, as well as an excellent appreciation of the risks involved. Today, specialist legal firms and trust companies have made their businesses out of documenting this type of financial arrangement. Anthony Nash of Welcombe managed Shakespeare’s

or “slices”. Each slice has a different maturity and risk associated with it. The higher the risk, the more the CDO pays. See <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/cdo.asp>

⁹¹⁷ No corporate relation to the UK’s Freedom Finance, a consumer lender. This transaction was arranged by Mellon Bank N.A., the Trustee was J.P.Morgan and the lead investors were Japanese clients of The Industrial Bank of Japan.

⁹¹⁸ Shakespeare’s share.

⁹¹⁹ LIBOR - London Interbank Offered Rate – the rate at which Banks lend (wholesale, in lots of \$1,000,000) to each other in the City of London.

⁹²⁰ Backed in some cases by both tangible and intangible assets in addition to the individual borrowers’ promises to repay.

“moiety” interests. The legal drafting was by Francis Collins who would later draft and redraft Shakespeare’s will.

Shakespeare’s share was residual and would be computed after the rents (Class A) had been paid. In 1617 Thomas Greene sold his lease for four hundred pounds, well below his asking price of five hundred and fifty pounds for a similar share to Shakespeare’s. In 1625 the Halls, as William’s heirs, sold their share back to the Corporation for four hundred pounds at which time the net annual income stood at sixty-eight pounds.⁹²¹

After Ralph Huband’s death, on January 31 1605, his estate listed a debt of twenty pounds “owinge by Mr. Shakespre.”

The Chancery Bill

Shakespeare and the two other owners in Shakespeare’s portion lodged a Chancery Bill of Complaint. Their argument was that there was no *pro rata* scale across the investors to apportion fairly the annual rent due to Barker.

Many investors had paid nothing at all towards the rent and unless another investor took on a disproportionate payment, under Barker's lease he could have foreclosed on the entire pool.

The complainants joined in a plea of equity to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. The suit (in 1610 or 1610/11 – the exact date is uncertain) was drawn against George Lord Carew of Clopton, Sir Edward Greville, Sir Edward Conway, Mary and William Combe, and Henry Barker.

Barker, as assignee of his father, travelled to Stratford in 1612 to testify about the tithes. The borough had offered to buy the Barker lease in May 1610, offering ten times the yearly rent, but Henry Barker was now threatening to repossess the tithes and other property (which his father in 1580 had leased to Sir John Huband) unless he received his full yearly rents of £27 13s. 4d.. Here lay the inherent weakness in the legal structure - a disagreement about who paid the rents. Shakespeare was liable for “only” £5, as was William Combe, the holder of the other half. The balance of £17 13s. 4d. was owed by

⁹²¹ After the £22 in rents had been satisfied.

others who derived land from Sir John Huband, and they “could never yet be drawn to agree howe to paye the residue: the said rente” so that “Richard Lane and William Shackspear and some fewe others of the said parties, are wholly... usually dryven to pay the same.”⁹²²

As Brooke noted, no formal decision of the case has been found, but equally there is no evidence that Barker ever foreclosed. It is probable that some form of agreement was reached.

Another 20 Acres

Date of Investment: 1610

In 1610 Shakespeare bought, for £100, a further 20 acres from the Combe family, adding to his previous purchase of 127 acres eight years before.

Buying The Farm

Date of Investment: 1610

C.C. Stopes noted that: “In Richard Hathaway's will of September, 1581. To his eldest son, Bartholomew, he left the farm, to be carried on with his mother”. To his six other children he left £6 13s. 4d. with varying conditions and Sir William Gilbert, clerk and curate of Stratford witnessed the will. She continued “The farm was not a freehold; Bartholomew did not become its owner until 1610...”⁹²³

As Peter Ackroyd neatly put it

...In this period his brother-in-law, Bartholomew Hathaway, paid £200 for the farm and farmhouse at Shottery where Anne Hathaway had been brought up. It was their real family home. It was more than likely that Shakespeare helped his relative to find that large sum. *Cymbeline* was written at this time and [contained references] ...to “buying and selling, value and exchange, every kind of payment.”⁹²⁴

The Hathaways had long been copyholders (tenants). Bartholomew purchased the property subject to a chief-rent of 33s. 4d., from William Whitmore and John Randoll,

⁹²² Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961). p.105-6

⁹²³ C.C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Family* (London: Elliot Stock, 1901).

⁹²⁴ Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005). p.451

to whom the Manor of Old Stratford had been granted by the Crown, by letters-patent of James I.

On Bartholomew Hathaway's death in 1624, the Shottery property came, under the terms of his will, into the hands of his son John, and a portion of the property together with the house known as Anne Hathaway 's Cottage remained in the possession of the family until 1838.⁹²⁵

Dr. John Hall was overseer of Bartholomew Hathaway's will in 1621, and in 1625 he was one of the trustees at the marriage of Isabel, his granddaughter, the daughter of Richard Hathaway of Bridge Street.

Blackfriars Gatehouse

Date of Investment: 1613

Yes we did our bit, as you folks say, I'll tell the world...

T.S. Eliot, 1932⁹²⁶

The Dominican monastery in London had, by the Reformation, become a sprawling precinct between the River Thames and Ludgate Hill. The area became commonly known as the "Blackfriars", reflecting the black robes of the monks. A "liberty" outside the city's jurisdiction, yet within its walls, it had historically functioned both as a religious centre and as a meeting place for Parliament and the Privy Council. But with the dissolution of the monasteries its many buildings and land were divided up piecemeal and sold off.

In 1576, a lease was granted to Richard Farrant, Master of the Children of the Chapel, of the Upper Frater⁹²⁷ of the old monastery, to permit the "Children" to rehearse and perform plays in private prior to these being performed at court. The Children of the Chapel, as well as other children's companies, continued to perform there until 1584, when the theatre was closed. Gabriel Egan attributed the closure to "legal wrangles

⁹²⁵ Birthplace Manuscripts No. 86.

⁹²⁶ T.S. Eliot, *Sweeney Agonistes: Fragments of an Aristophanic Melodrama*, 1st Edition (London: Faber & Faber, 1932).

⁹²⁷ The eating or refreshment room of a monastery; a refectory. OED

between the partners”,⁹²⁸ Roger Bowers to a “hostile landlord”,⁹²⁹ while Joseph Q. Adams put it down to the bellicose character of Sir William More the property’s owner.⁹³⁰ Whatever the interpretation of events in 1584, it is certain that James Burbage paid £600 for the property in 1596 and commenced its alterations into a permanent theatre venue for the Chamberlain’s Men. However, local sentiment ran contrary to the plan, and the Privy Council acted to prevent its use by adult actors. Presumably boys performing represented less of a threat, for when Richard Burbage (the father James now being dead) was prevented from using the venue for the Lord Chamberlain’s men, he then leased it to Henry Evans, who had previously used the space for boys’ companies twenty years earlier. Egan noted that

... Evans's boys changed names and managements several times during their residency at the Blackfriars. In March of 1608 they gave a performance of George Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron* which offended King James and the company was disbanded, leaving the Blackfriars playhouse vacant.⁹³¹

This gave Burbage the opportunity to break the lease and, now as leader of the King’s Men, he renewed his plans for an adult theatre in the Blackfriars. In August 1608 Burbage formed a seven-man consortium of housekeepers for the theatre much in the manner of the Globe theatre housekeepers a decade earlier. This new group included the two Burbage brothers, Heminges, Shakespeare, Condell, Sly and Evans. But active playing did not commence till the final months of 1609 as plague had kept all theatres closed.

Shakespeare’s Gatehouse Investment of 1613

All investments generate a financial return, customarily expressed as a percentage over and above the principal amount. The rate of the return, which Shylock calls the “rate” and Antonio calls “interest”,⁹³² generally reflects the risk being taken in holding that particular investment. For example a simple deposit with a Bank, traditionally considered a “low” risk, attracts a much smaller “rate” than a speculative venture, such

⁹²⁸ Gabriel Egan, “Blackfriars” in Stanley Wells and Michael Dobson, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Stanley Wells and Michael Dobson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁹²⁹ Roger Bowers, “Farrant, Richard (c.1528-1580),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁹³⁰ Joseph Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses: A History of English Theatres from the Beginnings to the Restoration* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1917).

⁹³¹ Egan, “Blackfriars” *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*

⁹³² *Merchant of Venice* I, iii

as shares in a new company. To put it another way, the greater the risk, then, the greater the potential return, but the higher the chance of loss.

Individual investments generate their own rate of return commensurate with their perceived risk, a risk that can move up and down with markets as well as political upheavals, product substitutions (the steam engine was invented and the price/value of sailing ships collapsed) and preferences for particular asset categories, e.g. real estate loans over consumer loans. Lenders typically aim to reduce their overall risk by spreading their loans across several different asset and conditions of payment, i.e. loans of differing final maturities. One common transaction in financing large commercial buildings is “sale and leaseback” where the owner of a property keeps the use of a building while releasing the capital he has invested in either constructing or purchasing the building. The assumption is that the cash released by the sale of the building can be used to make more money even after a) deducting the lease payments (rents) that will now be payable, plus b) foregoing any future appreciation in the relative value of the building.

The parties to a sale and leaseback will be a cash-rich investor seeking a secured, long term, low risk, real estate related investment (the buyer) and, typically, a corporation with a successful business whose activities are generating a high rate of return (the seller). Selling one’s building is a means of raising capital without recourse to other alternatives such as issuing new shares in the company.⁹³³ A recent example of this type of financing was in 2009 when HSBC bank sold, but immediately leased back, its London headquarters from the National Pension Service of Korea (NPSK). NPSK is one of Asia’s largest investors who effectively became HSBC’s new landlord.⁹³⁴

The purchase of the gatehouse in 1613 was, in many ways, akin to this HSBC/NPSK transaction, with Shakespeare taking the same role as the NSPK, that of long-term landlord and investor.

⁹³³ Issuing new shares leads to equity dilution so a sale and leaseback may be preferable depending on the company’s perception of the relative costs of the two capital raising transactions. Equity dilution: “An increase in the number of ordinary shares in a company without a corresponding increase in its assets or profitability. The result is a fall in the value of the shares and lower dividends. The percentage of the equity held by each existing shareholder (and hence his or her voting power) will likewise be reduced.” “Dilution of Equity” *A Dictionary of Finance and Banking*, ed. Jonathan Law and John Smullen (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

⁹³⁴ <http://www.bankingtimes.co.uk/15112009-hsbc-sells-canary-wharf-headquarters/> -

The acquisition itself was, according to Schoenbaum “an investment pure and simple...[but]...in some ways not so simple.”⁹³⁵

As the conveyance (indenture) itself is key to what follows, a new transliteration into modern English is set out in the appendices.⁹³⁶ All following quotations from the indenture are taken from this.

Though Shakespeare was the real purchaser - he supplied the cash - there were three other “co-purchasers”: William Johnson, John Jackson and John Heminges – probably the John Heminges who was a member of the King’s Men. From the indenture

...Witness that the said Henry Walker (for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and forty pounds of lawful money of England to him in hand before the sealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well & truly paid, whereof and wherewith he the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himself fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof doth clearly acquit and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, and each of them by these presents) hath bargained and sold and by these presents doth fully, clearly, and absolutely bargain and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Heminges, their heirs, and assigns forever;

The fact that Shakespeare was the source of finance does not suggest that the other co-purchasers were not wealthy men in their own right. It merely sets out who actually paid for this particular purchase.

The indenture called for Shakespeare to make the payment in two tranches, one of £80 and, at a later date, a further one of £60.⁹³⁷ He was also required to lease the property back to its vendor, Henry Walker, by profession a “minstrell”. In all important aspects this was, from a commercial standpoint, a sale and leaseback where Walker got Shakespeare’s cash, Shakespeare obtained a long term investment and the Burbages and King’s Men put another property into “friendly” hands. Crucially, the three co-purchasers became joint owners of a property within the precincts of the Blackfriars. As far as the three co-purchasers were concerned, they could legally represent themselves

⁹³⁵ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.223. p.221 is an excellent facsimile – though reduced in size by about a third from the original. See also E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). II. p.154-169. Also J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). II p.34 for the full text.

⁹³⁶ *x ref.423*

⁹³⁷ The £60 was by way of mortgage due the following Michaelmas though as Lee and other have noted it remained unpaid at the time of Shakespeare’s death.

and have the day-to-day running of the leased property without any legal need to draw Shakespeare into the process. In effect, they were acting as trustees on Shakespeare's behalf.

Explanations for the Gatehouse purchase.

Various explanations for this complex conveyance have been suggested. Chambers largely ignored it, beyond reporting the facts of its existence. Sidney Lee asserted the aim was to reduce Shakespeare's wife Anne's rights in widowhood: i.e. it might have been a way to obviate her right to the widow's portion of the property. Undoubtedly it had this effect, but the amount concerned was very modest compared with the Shakespeare family's total wealth. Moreover, it would have been a most convoluted, public and expensive approach to achieve this modest result.

Lee in 1899 phrased it as

...He [Shakespeare] had barred her dower in the case of his latest purchase of freehold estate, viz. the house at Blackfriars. Such procedure is pretty conclusive proof that he had the intention of excluding her from the enjoyment of his possessions after his death...

But having made the assertion, one that boosts the notion of marital strife, Lee then immediately recanted this as proof positive of enmity between the couple:

.... But, however plausible the theory that his relations with her were from first to last wanting in sympathy, it is improbable that either the slender mention of her in the will or the barring of her dower was designed by Shakespeare to make public his indifference or dislike...⁹³⁸

Another theory revolves around the building's use as a place to hide priests and for other Catholic activities. Chambers wrote of the building being "at later dates a headquarters of Catholic intrigue"⁹³⁹. Later in the same work he noted.⁹⁴⁰

...The earlier history of the house is of interest... William Blackwell, town clerk of London from 1538 to his death 1569...married Margaret Campion, a kinswoman of the "martyr". About 1586 Richard Frith, himself a dweller in Blackfriars, reported his suspicions of:

One great house in or adjoining to the Blackfriars, wherein Mr Blackwell, the town clerk, sometime dwelt... It hath sundry

⁹³⁸ Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, Fourth (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1899). p.274

⁹³⁹ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). I p.85

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid. II. p.165-168 the above quotations have been edited. For the sake of brevity, I have modernized the inner quotation's spellings as well as the text. Chambers presented these in their original form.

backdoors and bye-ways, and many secret vaults and corners. It hath been in time past suspected, and searched for papists but no good done for want of good knowledge of the backdoors and byways and of the dark corners...

The gate-house came to Mathias Bacon in 1590 and here the tradition of Catholic intrigue continued. The second [tenant] John Fortescue... was nephew and in 1574 servant to Sir John Fortescue, ...unlike his uncle, he was a Catholic. His father, Sir Anthony, was concerned in the conspiracy of 1562. ...In 1591 the priests Anthony Tyrrell and John Ballard, who himself used the alias of Fortescue, presented John and Ellen with "such stuff as we brought from Rome". In 1591 "Fennell the priest doth use to come very much to John Fortescue his house". John and his uncle were warned by Richard Topcliffe, the priest-hunter, of the risk he ran, and on 1 March 1598 the house was searched for hidden priests on a report [which] described it as having "many places of secret conveyance in it" apparently communicating with secret passages "towards the water". Fortescue was away. His wife resisted the searchers, and, ...one of two priests who were there slipped away with Hugh the butler. An examination of Ellen Fortescue and her daughters produced admissions of recusancy, but denial of the presence of priests...

Chambers' comments are voluminous, detailed and factually based. The same bias-free construction was not present when Mutschmann and Wentersdorf performed the same analysis.⁹⁴¹ To their minds almost everyone ever associated with the building was either a Catholic or related to a priest and therefore, by implication, Shakespeare, in buying the property, must have held to the old faith.

Exciting as secret tunnels to the Thames and "dark corners" may be, there is no factual link here to Shakespeare and Catholicism. As noted previously, the Shakespeares had friends and business contacts whose religious beliefs ran the gamut from Puritan to Catholic and back again.⁹⁴² Surely the simplest explanation is that the conveyance satisfied the aims of all the parties involved without the need for unstated purposes relating to relationships or religion, and it is in the conveyance itself and its underlying commercial aims that the true explanation rests.

To recap, Shakespeare got a long term investment though he had to rely on the honesty of his co-purchasers to protect his real commercial interests, i.e. he "owned" it all but relied on his co-purchasers to deliver back the whole sale price to him or his heirs when the time came. He did something similar to his father's placing of property into safe

⁹⁴¹ H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf, *Shakespeare and Catholicism*, 2nd Edition (New York: AMS Press, 1969). p.142 & 407

⁹⁴² *x ref.153 et seq.*

hands in the years following Proclamation 712. It is true that he was slightly better protected than his father had been in the case of the Asbies estate - he was one of four owners of record - but the technique was comparable. In the event, he chose his friends wisely as the cash from property was ultimately transferred according to his testamentary wishes.

But the co-purchasers William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Heminges⁹⁴³ also got something out of the transaction. By being actual property owners in the Blackfriars this gave them a say in shifting influence in favour of members of what can be called the “King’s Men and Friends” - I will use the term “King’s Men” hereafter in this section to describe this group - in directing the future of the precinct.

This transaction was probably part of the King’s Men’s attempt to gain commercial control of the area. Barroll made the observation in 1991 when he commented that after their father’s death in 1597

...Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert... continued to extend their Blackfriars holdings by the purchase of an interest in more property there, an interest whose fruition would have to wait upon the death of one of the other owners. Nevertheless, the Burbage brothers continued their purchasing program, buying more space in the Blackfriars structure in 1601, 1610, and 1614. There seems to have been some long-range (Burbage) plan here that did not necessarily involve drama...Surely the Burbage brothers must have assumed that any future public theatrical enterprise might be opposed by the residents as they had opposed it in 1596...⁹⁴⁴

Barroll moved the notion of a long-term business strategy much further forward than earlier writers, indeed he felt that this was the case “despite what Chambers and later Schoenbaum have inferred.”⁹⁴⁵ Thomson concurred with Barroll and also remained open to the possibility that this may have been “a landlord’s determination to improve the precinct.”⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴³ Heminges - to avoid confusion I have used “Heminges” throughout this thesis. Thomson and Chambers both use “Heminges”. Halliday opted for “Heminge” though the one quotation in his reference to the actor is actually spelt “Heminges”. See F.E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion*, Penguin (London: Penguin, 1964). p.213. The name is also spelt a number of other ways including Heming, Hemminge, or Hemmings see also <http://www.britannica.com/shakespeare/article-9039961>.

⁹⁴⁴ J. Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare’s Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1991). p.187

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid. p.187 – he is specifically referring to E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II p.507- 509 and Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). p.213

⁹⁴⁶ See: Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare’s Theater*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.168 and J. Barroll, *Politics*, p.187 Thomson graciously thanked Leeds Barroll for access to an (at the time) unpublished paper that may have formed the basis for the section in the later book.

I would extend this notion even further than Barroll or Thomson. The proposition stands that, like both Langley and Henslowe, the Burbages, over a number of years, sought to control, either personally or through friends and associates, the business area and property surrounding the theatre.⁹⁴⁷ It is logical to conclude that they did so both to consolidate the operating viability of the Blackfriars, i.e. to resist attempts to oust the theatre by other residents of the quarter (as had happened in 1596), and to influence the Corporation against permitting any competitors to set up in business, other than on terms acceptable to the King's Men.

Should the King's Men gain the commercial upper hand in the area they would be in a position to

- trap the theatre's related entertainment earnings
- protect against the local tenants trying (in the future) to have the theatre shut down as they had done successfully before in 1596 – because they themselves controlled enough of the neighbouring property
- prevent a competitor from opening another theatre in the area and/or,
- ensure continued access, particularly vehicular access, to their theatre.

The Co-Purchasers

Aside from Heminges, the choice of the other two co-purchasers was significant. William Johnson, landlord of the Mermaid, was one - and in examining the indenture one is reminded of the earlier Chomley/Henslowe proposed partnership where Chomley was to benefit by controlling food and drink sales at the Rose. The other trustee is less certain. Hotson thought that the John Jackson here might be the “shipping magnate of [Kingston Upon] Hull”⁹⁴⁸ who

⁹⁴⁷ It seems most unlikely that Burbage was buying property for a residence as the records of 19 February, 12 James I [A.D. 1614–15]. Sess. Roll 538/80, 83, 229, 230, 234. G.D.R. 2/44d. records “at the homes of Cuthbert Burbage [Burbidge] of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, gentleman, at Holywell Street...and for breaking into the house of Richard Burbage, gentleman, at the same, about twelve o'clock at night.” <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk>

⁹⁴⁸ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949). p.111-140 & 207-17. See especially p.113. Also referenced by Schoenbaum p.223. Hotson identifies Jackson as being of “Kingston Upon Hull” while Schoenbaum refers to the shortened form of “Hull” – see Hotson p.126 vs. Schoenbaum p.223.

...enjoyed the company of noble wits at the Mermaid and was married to the sister-in-law of Elias James, a brewer at the foot of Puddle Dock Hill...⁹⁴⁹

Concerning the gatehouse there remains the clear, documented purchase by

- a long term, passive, cash-rich investor (Shakespeare)
- direct links into the King's Men (Heminges and Shakespeare)
- two individuals in the entertainment business (Johnson and Walker)

With a possible connection into the

- brewing, shipping and capital investment businesses (Jackson).

Schoenbaum, with no business background, finds the conveyance “not so simple”.⁹⁵⁰ However, it is much less complex if one looks at what the individuals concerned were seeking to achieve financially.

A New Theatre

What must eclipse coincidence was, as Chambers describes it, an

...authority...for the erection of a new theatre by [a] patent of 3 June 1615...within the Precinct of ther Blacke ffryers neere Puddlewarfe in the Suburbs of London.⁹⁵¹

The history of this new theatre - Porter's Hall - is unclear beyond the fact that its life was short, and that obtaining permission under the Great Seal suggests very substantial political or even royal influence. The prime mover behind it was an established musician, composer and theatre company manager - Philip Rosseter.

According to Ian Harwood

...Rosseter was appointed a court lutenist from midsummer 1604, at a salary of £20 per annum, with £16 2s. 6d. for livery. His wages, livery, and payments for lute strings continued until the year of his death.⁹⁵²

Rosseter had access to the powerful at court. In 1610 he had been permitted to reconstitute the Children of the Queen's Revels, the company previously disbanded in

⁹⁴⁹ Schoenbaum *Documentary Life*. p.223

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid. p.223

⁹⁵¹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II. p.472

⁹⁵² Ian Harwood, “Rosseter, Philip (c.1568-1623),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

1608 after the performance of George Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron*.⁹⁵³ Initially they played at the Whitefriars, but the lease expired in 1614, hence their need for a new playing venue.⁹⁵⁴

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 70 - Map Showing Blackfriars & Porter's Hall

English Heritage⁹⁵⁵ maintains that this new theatre at the Blackfriars “in 1615 enjoyed only a very brief existence and was said to have been closed down the same year” and “while it was in use, the troupe of child actors known as the Children of the Queen's Revels, were resident there.” They go on to note “No further information exists regarding its structure, plan or materials used in its construction.”⁹⁵⁶ Andrew Gurr concurs with this but considers “Porter’s Hall playhouse enjoyed only a single performance, if that...”⁹⁵⁷

In 1613, Rosseter had combined his own company, the Children of Whitefriars,⁹⁵⁸ with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, managed by Henslowe. Later that year this joint company performed at the Swan. Subsequently, they merged again, this time with Prince Charles's Men and then acted at Henslowe’s newly built Hope Theatre on October 31,

⁹⁵³ Egan, “Blackfriars” *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*. There is an apparent discrepancy here between Egan, who gives the date as 1608 and Harwood who states “Children of the Queen's Revels. The royal patronage had been withdrawn in 1606”. However it may be explained by the fact that two companies of boys were closed down: one in 1606 – The Children of “Pawles” [Paul’s] and one in 1608 the “Blackfriars Boys” see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). p.344 for a fuller analysis of the time sequence.

⁹⁵⁴ The above map is a fragment of one appearing on Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*, Reprint (London: Routledge, 1971). p.50-51 also reproduced in Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). p.170-171

⁹⁵⁵ English Heritage – see Glossary is a non-departmental public body of the government of the United Kingdom and functions under the National Heritage Act (1983). It functions as the Government's statutory adviser on the historic environment and its commentaries on historic sites are taken to be authoritative.

⁹⁵⁶ http://pastscape.english-heritage.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=1511135#aD

⁹⁵⁷ Gurr, *Playing Companies* p.121 at footnote 7 – he also references S.P. Cerasano, “Competition for the Kings Men? Alleyn's Blackfriars Venture,” *MRDE* (FDU) 4 (1989): 173-86.

⁹⁵⁸ This company of child actors performed under a variety of names at different times (see Glossary)

1614.⁹⁵⁹ In 1615 the company fell out with Henslowe and listed their complaints in “Articles of Oppression against Mr. Hinchlowe.”⁹⁶⁰ Many of their gripes were financial - that Henslowe had loaned them money on extortionate terms, that he withheld scripts that had already been paid for but, most significantly for this thesis, that he had “broken and dismemb'ed five companies” in the preceding three years.

Chambers presumed that the demise of Rosseter’s new theatre was attributable to the fact that

... the inhabitants of the Blackfriars, who had already had one theatre in their midst, thought that one was enough...⁹⁶¹

However, by 1615 various new owners of some Blackfriars and adjacent properties including the Gatehouse were “King’s Men” and it can be presumed that they would not have welcomed competition in what was practically an adjacent building to their own theatre.

Given the pressure from residents and property owners, the Corporation approached the Privy Council concerning an inconvenience [sic] in “Puddle Wharf.”⁹⁶² The Council in turn referred the matter to the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke. Coke, described by Chambers as “no friend of players”,⁹⁶³ duly produced a legal “wrinkle” which Chambers, perhaps rather generously, called a “technical flaw” - that the Blackfriars was somehow not in the suburbs for this purpose. Building work was stopped on 26 September 1615. Of course this contradicts the original reason for the Blackfriars Theatre’s location in 1596 – that the religious history of the property *excluded* it from Corporation control – but Coke never let facts get in the way of a fee.⁹⁶⁴ The Privy Council’s instruction to the Corporation confirming the suppression notice referred to

⁹⁵⁹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II, p.469. This arrangement did not last long as the Hope at this time was being used for both baiting and playing as Gurr puts it “The Hope stank”. Gurr, *Playing Companies* p.121

⁹⁶⁰ Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary, Part 2, Commentary*, ed. W. W. Greg (London: Bullen, 1908). p.139

⁹⁶¹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II p.473. – this was a supposition on Chamber’s part.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.* 473

⁹⁶³ One might cynically but with justification add – “unless there was a fee involved”.

⁹⁶⁴ “By 1600 Coke was a very wealthy man with many possessions; he eventually owned at least 105 properties...he was extremely acquisitive.” Allan D. Boyer, “Coke, Sire Edward (1552-1634),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). This was a considerable fortune indeed for a man who, according to Boyer, when he set off for London to win his fortune “left with the horse on which he rode, £10 in his pocket, a rapier, and a diamond ring inscribed *O prepare*”.

the theatre as being “almost if not fully finished.”⁹⁶⁵ It referenced the “pulling down of a great messuage in Puddle wharfe” and “erecting a newe playhouse”. The minute of the Privy Council read

...any of the patentees or their workmen shall proceede in their intended buildinge contrary to this their Lordships inhiacion, and that then the Lord Mayor shall commit him or them so offending unto prison and certify their Lordships of their contempt in that behalf...

...persons that go about to set up a playhouse in the Blackfriars ... have lately erected and made to fit a building which is almost if not fully furnished, ... the same shall be pulled down so as to be unfit for any such use...⁹⁶⁶

From a financial standpoint this went far beyond merely stopping the building of a second Blackfriars theatre. By demolishing and then erecting a new theatre, Rosseter and his backers (who almost certainly included Henslowe and Alleyn) faced a double financial disaster - loss of income plus writing off the investment in the building. The “fig-leaf” in the complaint had rested on the issue of the noise of the new theatre disturbing nearby church services.

Defeated, Rosseter made sporadic attempts during 1617 to tour part of the Company now “of the late Queen’s Revels” but withdrew in about 1620, at which point the era of children’s theatre, effectively ended.⁹⁶⁷ By 1623 he was dead.

The whole matter of Porter’s Hall reeks of politicking and influence peddling – on both sides of the question. Though it is unlikely ever to be proved absolutely, the proposition remains that its destruction resulted from a long term and well-orchestrated effort on the part of the Burbages and others of the King’s Men (including Shakespeare) to protect their own Blackfriars Theatre.

Though it is speculative, the division of the £140 purchase price into £80 followed by £60 could reflect Shakespeare’s personal cash flow situation. £80 would be a likely

⁹⁶⁵ Documents of Control CLVII dated September 26, 1615 – see also Chambers *Elizabethan Stage* IV p.343.

⁹⁶⁶ Minute of the Privy Council, M.S.C. i.374 see also Chambers IV p.345. I have modernized the spelling.

⁹⁶⁷ Ian Harwood, “Rosetter, Philip (c.1568-1623),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Andrew Gurr, “Beeston, Christopher,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004) made observation that in 1636 “... Beeston install[ed] a new company at the Cockpit chiefly made up of ‘youths’, a group known as Beeston’s Boys. It is perhaps more fitting to say that Rosseter’s removal from the scene marked the end of the earlier form of children’s companies.” By 1636 Beeston, a former member of the later King’s Men, had become the preeminent impresario in London.

sum for a payment due to him through his housekeeping income from the Blackfriars with £60 either the same or a known future cash payment from his tithes which were yielding about £60 p.a. at that date. In the event, he never cleared the mortgage. Smith suggested this might have been due to the burning down of the Globe which would have cost him dearly

...At that time Shakespeare held a one fourteenth interest in the Globe and was therefore liable for a fourteenth part of the cost of rebuilding...£50 or £60 – that levy coming less than four months after his disbursement of £80 for the gatehouse.⁹⁶⁸

The issue of why the mortgage was not redeemed remains moot.⁹⁶⁹ One small historical irony that has been noted by Halliwell Phillips and others is that

...at some time previous to his death, he [Shakespeare] had granted a lease of it to John Robinson, who was, oddly enough, one of the persons who had violently opposed the establishment of the neighbouring theatre...⁹⁷⁰

It is merely conjecture, but who would have been better than Robinson to lobby against the proposed Porter's Hall theatre?

Summary

The two following tables illustrate the sequence of events around the various incarnations of the Blackfriars' theatres.

⁹⁶⁸ Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1964). p.252

⁹⁶⁹ J.O. Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). I. p.239

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid. I p.239, also Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars* p.252 & p.481 which contains a copy of the original petition.

Table 71 - The Blackfriars Theatres 1576 – 1608

Year Open Closed	Theatre Name	Company	Principals	Landlord	Other
1576	The First Blackfriars Playhouse	Children of Chapel Royal Children of Windsor	Richard Farrant, William Hunnis (silent)	William More Rent £14 p.a.	James Burbage opens “The Theatre” Rent £14 p.a.
1581	The First Blackfriars Playhouse		William Hunnis, John Newman	William More Rent £20.13s.4d. p.a.	Hunnis & Newman slow payers of rent neglected repairs to building
1583 Closed 1584	The First Blackfriars Playhouse	Children of the Chapel Children of St. Pauls	Henry Evans Earl of Oxford John Lyly		Sub-Lease – not permitted in original lease.
1596	The Second Blackfriars Playhouse		James Burbage dies February 1597 aged 67 years		James Burbage purchases the “Seven Great Upper Rooms”
1600	The Second Blackfriars Playhouse	Children of the Chapel	Henry Evans Nathaniel Giles James Robinson	Richard Burbage	21 years at £40 p.a. plus Bond of £400 from Evans & Alexander Hawkins (Evans son-in-law)
1602	The Second Blackfriars Playhouse	(1603) Children of the Revels to the Queen	Edward Kirkham William Rastall Thomas Kendall	Henry Evans As Lessee but with continuing interest in the business	Follows Evans being censured in Star Chamber over the Clifton affair. Much legal wrangling between the partners follows.
1606 Closed 1608	The Second Blackfriars Playhouse	Children of the Revels or Children of Blackfriars	Robert Keysar		Day’s <i>Isle of Gulls</i> forces out Kirkham, ensures name change of Company King closes theatre after Chapman’s play <i>Duke of Byron</i>

Table 72 - The Blackfriars Theatres 1609 Onwards

Year Open/Close	Theatre Name	Company	Principals	Other
1609 Closed 1614	Whitefriars	Children of Whitefriars	Robert Keysar Phillip Rosseter	Rosseter has "Children of Whitefriars" patent 1610
1609-10 3 private theatres – Whitefriars, Blackfriars, Pauls’ Rosseter pays Pauls’ Edward Pearce £20 p.a. to reduce competition by ceasing performances. Rosseter gets King’s Men to agree to pay half.				
1608	Blackfriars Playhouse	King’s Men	Richard Burbage John Heminges William Shakespeare Cuthbert Burbage Henry Condell William Sly Thomas Evans	1608 Richard Burbage executed six leases one to each partner for a one seventh share for 21 years. The total rent remained £40 p.a.
1615 Closed 1615 Licence Revoked 1617	Porter’s Hall	Children of the Revels, for the time being of the Queen’s Majesty		

The history of the Blackfriars as a theatre during Shakespeare’s lifetime can be characterized as hard-nosed businessmen jockeying for the earnings of a venue that could produce strong positive cash flow. The level of aggressive litigation among all the various partners is remarkable.⁹⁷¹ When their various suits are examined it is evident that truth had very little to do with it. Side-deals were repeatedly made out of commercial pragmatism and not one of the parties involved was averse to doing another down if the opportunity presented itself. One example was that of Rosseter who, though he was ultimately to lose out to the King’s Men over Porter’s Hall, had just a few years earlier, connived with the King’s Men to stifle competition by paying Edward Pierce (see above reference to Paul’s Boys) not to perform. Another comes with a “Thomas Evans” being a new Housekeeper in 1608 to placate the residual interests of Henry Evans in the original 1596 lease.

The Blackfriars Gatehouse was a key part of the King’s Men’s business strategy – this is evident from the trouble they went to in acquiring it. The Blackfriars in the early years of the first decade of the sixteenth century was an unquestioned money-maker. Richard Burbage, pressed to turn it into an earning asset, had created his biggest

⁹⁷¹ See Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars* p.426-559 which sets out many of these complaints and other useful transliterations of relevant documents.

competitor. Evidence for that comes from no less a source than *Hamlet*. “Shakespeare probably wrote *Hamlet* in 1600 ...but the precise date of composition is uncertain...”⁹⁷² so records Greenblatt and by 1600 the “Children” or “eyases” (young hawks)⁹⁷³ across the river were making financial inroads into the adult player’s income

Rosencrantz. Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace; but there is, sir, an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't. These are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages - so they call them - that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goosequills and dare scarce come thither.

Hamlet. What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players - as it is most like, if their means are not better - their writers do them wrong to make them exclaim against their own succession.

Rosencrantz. Faith, there has been much to do on both sides; and the nation holds it no sin to tarre them to controversy. There was, for a while, no money bid for argument unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.⁹⁷⁴

Smith goes further suggesting that

...Ben Jonson also bears testimony to the crippling effect of the competition presented by the Children. In *Poetaster*, acted in 1601, a character named *Histrio*, who serves as spokesman for the public theatres in general and perhaps for the Globe in particular, tells of a play that he plans to present

Histrio. O, it will get us a huge deal of money, captain, and we have need on't; for this winter has made us all poorer than so many starved snakes: nobody comes at us, not a gentleman...

...and since the winter of 1600-1601 was virtually free of plague, *Histrio*'s complaint can be attributed only to the Children's rivalry.⁹⁷⁵

Many reasons have been cited for the explosive rise of the reincarnated children’s theatre:

⁹⁷² Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997). p.1659. It was certainly registered for publication (as a bad quarto) by 1602. See Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008). p.1922

⁹⁷³ Eyas - A young hawk taken from the nest for the purpose of training, or one whose training is incomplete. OED.

⁹⁷⁴ *Hamlet* II, ii

⁹⁷⁵ Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars* p. *The Poetaster* III, I <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5166/5166-h/5166-h.htm> for full text.

- convenience, the wealthy could ride in their carriages to the theatre, leave the coachman outside while the performance was on,⁹⁷⁶
- the likelihood of risqué or even scandalous material on stage,⁹⁷⁷
- protection from the elements.

Profit is what accountants call the “balancing charge” – the sum that evens the scales between earnings and costs. Children were in no position to demand wages or shares in the business, especially when those running the theatre were vested with powers such as these:

July 15, 1597

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, & c., to all mayors, sheriffs, balliffs, constables, and all other our officers, greeting;

For that it is meet that our Chapel Royal should be furnished with well-singing children from time to time, we have and by these presents do authorize our well-beloved servant, Nathaniel Giles, Master of our Children of our Said Chapel, or his deputy being by his bill subscribed and sealed so authorized, and having this our present commission with him, to take such and so many children as he or his sufficient deputy shall think meet, in all cathedral, collegiate, parish churches, chapels, or any other place or places, as well within Liberty as without, within this our realm of England, whatsoever they be; . . .

Wherefore we will and command you, and every of you to whom this our commission shall come, to be helping, aiding, and assisting to the uttermost of your powers, as you will answer at your uttermost perils.⁹⁷⁸

Smith summarized the situation:

In recruiting boys for their company, the managers of the troupe had made occasional use of a commission that the Queen had granted to Nathaniel Giles in his capacity as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. In effect, it gave him the right to kidnap children for her Majesty's service as chapel choristers... There was nothing unusual about the commission or its issuance. Giles's predecessors had held similar writs from the time of Edward IV on, and perhaps even earlier. But Giles, or Evans and Robinson as his deputies, interpreted the commission more liberally than his predecessors had done; for whereas previous Masters had exercised the instrument only to recruit boys for her Majesty's service as choristers in the Chapel Royal, Giles and his colleagues

⁹⁷⁶ Thereby clogging the roads of the district to non-theatre going residents and worshippers alike – there is extensive evidence of this in related legal documents.

⁹⁷⁷ “Risqué” here refers to what some might term politically incorrect today. Adults in the theatre, including Ben Jonson, were put in jail for this – more difficult perhaps to put children in prison?

⁹⁷⁸ Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars* p.180 and Charles W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars 1597-1603* (University of Nebraska, 1908). p.61 n.1

exercised it to recruit boys for their own service as actors at Blackfriars.⁹⁷⁹

It was the exercise of this power that almost brought the theatre to its halt and the Giles-Evans-Robinson combine to an end. The “egregious blunder” was in “picking up the thirteen year old son of an influential gentleman named Henry Clifton”.⁹⁸⁰ Clifton was so incensed that he took the matter to the Star Chamber. “The Replication of Edward Kirkham” makes interesting reading containing the following at clause 43

[Evans] ...unorderly carriage and behaviour in taking up gentlemen’s children against their wills, and to employ them for players...⁹⁸¹

The “crime” it would appear was in lifting a “gentleman’s” child. Presumably if the impresarios had stuck to abducting the children of the masses, nothing would have been said about the matter.

Conclusion

It seems evident that even in 1596 James Burbage knew that an indoor theatre catering to the wealthy was potentially highly profitable. It took his sons nearly fifteen years to realize that vision. By 1613 the King’s Men at the Blackfriars would have been producing positive cash flow and guarding the theatre must have been a priority. Shakespeare, by buying the gatehouse, was as T.S. Eliot put it “doing his bit”⁹⁸² for his comrades.

Postlude – After William

Owning property in Blackfriars did not automatically mean the King’s Men were free of continuing attempts to remove the theatre. In 1619 a group of churchmen and officers of the precinct petitioned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to close the Blackfriars theatre citing

...hackney coaches, bring in people of all sorts...that sometimes our streets cannot contain them ...every day in the Winter time...from one or two of the clock till six at night...⁹⁸³

The upshot was an Order of the Corporation suppressing the “Blackfriars Playhouse”.⁹⁸⁴ But, by this date, the King’s Men were so well entrenched in Blackfriars, as well as

⁹⁷⁹ Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars* p.180

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid. p.182

⁹⁸¹ Ibid. p.545

⁹⁸² To do one's bit : to play one's part; to fulfil one's responsibilities or obligations; to make one's contribution to a cause or the like, esp. by serving in the armed forces. OED

⁹⁸³ Reproduced in full in Smith, *Shakespeare's Blackfriars* p. 489

being integrated into the court of James I, that a new royal licence was granted and the question did not arise again till 1633.⁹⁸⁵

One final twist comes in the complaints that culminate in the Privy Council sitting of December 29, 1633. This again refers to coaches in the Blackfriars but also mentions the trouble around an ordinance of the time stating that “no coaches may stand within the Blackfriars Gate”.⁹⁸⁶ In other words – if one were going to have a theatre in the Blackfriars then, from a commercial point of view, one would want to be able to control access for wealthy patrons in carriages. Hence any right thinking players would want to own not only the theatre space but also to know the gatehouse was also in friendly hands - someone that would not complain about the coaches *nor* bar access to the theatre itself.

⁹⁸⁴ *SPD James I, Vol. 205 No.32 (iv)* J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). I. p.311

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.488

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p.499

Chapter 7 – THE SUMMATION OF THE EVIDENCE

It is a capital mistake to theorize before you have all the evidence.
It biases the judgement.⁹⁸⁷
Arthur Conan-Doyle, 1888

In this thesis I set out to examine if William’s theatrical activities could, alone, have provided the cash to support the Shakespeare family’s lifestyle and investments. This chapter draws together the various lines of research into one cohesive story. As it does so, it supplies answers to many traditional “problems” surrounding the Shakespeares and presents a financially credible explanation - a “theory” - of how events unfolded. This theory explains much and it does so without the need for ghost-writers, closet Catholics or any other *Deus ex machina* that have provided much entertainment over the centuries. The love of money may or may not be the “root of all evil”⁹⁸⁸ but, for the Shakespeares, I would propose that the pursuit of money sat at the root of many things.

This Chapter is divided into three short sections:

1. A summary of the research findings divided into those focusing on
 - a. John Shakespeare and Stratford,
 - b. William in London,
 - c. the Early Modern Theatre immediately before, during and after William’s professional career in London.
2. The conclusions drawn from the findings and,
3. A “Chain of Events” that summarizes how, based on this thesis, circumstances unfolded in the rise of the Shakespeare family wealth.

⁹⁸⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet* (London: Penguin, 1981). p.27

⁹⁸⁸ King James Bible: 1 Timothy 6:10 “For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.”

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

“It is a capital mistake to theorize before you have all the evidence. It biases the judgement.” It is ironic that it was not a lawyer but an Edinburgh doctor of medicine who articulated this great conclusion concerning evidence and presented it through the mouth of a fictional detective. Yet, that was precisely what Conan-Doyle did, and what many of the builders of the Shakespeare *mythos* have consistently ignored.

Given the size of the body of research already referenced in this thesis, it is inevitable that its findings should in many areas agree with some previous investigations, extend the scope or depth of others as well as present new data. To summarize my findings, I have indicated this division in each case, as well as defining the relative importance of each by commenting on whether I consider them to be of “major” or “minor” importance both to my overall themes as well as to the wider field of study.

John Shakespeare & Stratford

Major

John Shakespeare was indeed, as Nicholas Rowe stated, “a considerable dealer in wool”⁹⁸⁹ and was engaged in extending what would today be called commercial credit facilities in relation to his main business – at the time legally defined as usury. The prosecutions against him for illegal dealing and usury demonstrate this. An important new finding has been the position of his trading activities in the context of the national picture of the wool trading business. When those trades (the ones he was indicted for) are compared with others of the time it confirms his was not a marginal or small-scale business. It can be confidently stated that he was a dealer at a national level given the record of transaction sizes that match other top-level traders in terms of both weight and value.⁹⁹⁰

Major

No record exists that John Shakespeare ever plunged into poverty or suffered any significant financial reverses. The only credible evidence is the timing of Proclamations intended to shut down illegal (unlicensed) trading in wool. Proclamation 712 of

⁹⁸⁹ *x ref.360*

⁹⁹⁰ *x ref.141*

November 1576 was followed by more strenuous efforts than had been previously seen to enforce control through local Justices of the Peace in twenty counties. Warwickshire was one of these counties. The timing of P.712 matches perfectly John's last council meeting and his immediate withdrawal from public life.⁹⁹¹

Major

The record of John Shakespeare's public service up to the month of the issuance of Proclamation 712 is exemplary, as are the records of many of his long-term friends and fellow townsmen. It is not an exaggeration to say that he distinguished himself both as Constable and later as Chamberlain during the plague years. Though briefly acknowledged by other researchers, the detail of his service, much of which resonates through his son's plays, has been ignored. Where it becomes crucial is in gauging the amount of accrued goodwill he retained with the Council even after he ceased attending council meetings. This is evidenced by the Council's willingness to treat him far more generously than other non-attending councillors and other tax avoiders. Without the Council's tacit support he could not have continued in business after P.712. Proof that he did, is evidenced in his continuing litigation extending at least until he was 69 – only two years before his death.⁹⁹²

Major

In the process of preparing this thesis not a single, primary, factual document has come to light that links John or any member of his family to a clandestine maintenance of Catholicism during the reign of Elizabeth I. By "factual" and "primary" here I am referring to official records of any sort. As has been shown, recusancy is not *per se* Catholicism any more than it is extreme Protestantism. The only purportedly tangible evidence, John's supposedly "spiritual testament", now lost, was an original document supplied to Edmond Malone by a professional "treasure hunter" and John's name was added in another hand from the original writer's own. Malone was at first deceived by this though he later repudiated its authenticity. Indeed, there is documented evidence clearly showing John was, on more than one occasion, in charge of the removal of Catholic decoration and the disposal of Catholic paraphernalia. However, he maintained friendships with both Catholics and Puritans, the social and commercial bonds between the townsmen often eclipsing their "duties" to "foreigners". This is not

⁹⁹¹ *x ref.153*

⁹⁹² *x ref.117*

to say that its own cliques and factions did not, at times, rive the Council. As one closely examines the town's records for this period it becomes clear that the dynamics of running the Borough were much more complex and widespread in scope than in a modern Borough. The operation of the Council and its officers functioned to replace most of the services that a central Government now supplies. For the townsfolk the operation of the council was a matter of life and death.⁹⁹³

Major

John was a lifetime litigator, starting in his twenties. He served as both attorney and judge and was himself indicted in one of the highest courts of the land. His legal activities match the patterns of other successful merchants of the time and there is evidence of his adept use of the law as a tool for both conflict resolution and as an offensive business technique. His skilful use of the law as a business tool is far beyond the scope of a small-town glover who fell on hard times.⁹⁹⁴

Minor

The case supporting his illiteracy is unproven – he signed with his own, quite carefully drawn, mark, as did many of his fellows in Stratford. Even if he were shy of writing, the two skills - reading and writing - were not viewed as inextricably linked at this time. It is possible that he may have had more than adequate reading skills but left the drafting of documents to others. His business and civic service activities show that he simply could not have been innumerate.⁹⁹⁵

Minor

It is highly probable he was a vigorous, well built man who in his early years was physically sound and capable of carrying out civic duties which at one time required him to arrest armed individuals. While he may not have been intellectual he was extremely capable and shrewd, as evidenced by the longevity of his business career.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹³ *x ref.110*

⁹⁹⁴ *x ref.153*

⁹⁹⁵ *x ref.176*

⁹⁹⁶ *x ref.117*

William Shakespeare in London

Major

The myth of Shakespeare the romantic, rags-to-riches player, can now be refuted as the improbable fiction it always was.⁹⁹⁷ A creation of the eighteenth century, it was greatly embellished during the nineteenth and codified (if not actually ossified) in the first half of the twentieth. Like many great theories, it falls before the observational, factual and numerical evidence.

That such a myth should have evolved, in a curious parallel to Dick Whittington, is not surprising. The quality of Shakespeare's work when "rediscovered" in the eighteenth century deserved the literary respect and position it quickly attained. Perhaps we should not be too critical of Alexander Pope who began the purification of Shakespeare's memory.

But the facts do not accord with the myth. Shakespeare could not have spent the money he invested, when he did, entirely through his theatrical endeavours. The numbers simply do not add up. Earlier scholars have, in varying degrees, commented on this. Halliwell-Phillipps knew that William could not have afforded New Place based on his theatrical earnings at the time.⁹⁹⁸

Shakespeare's theatrical income - notwithstanding his rare participation as an actor, writer, sharer and housekeeper - cannot fully account for the cash used to purchase the stream of investments in Stratford. This is especially true of those purchased between 1597 and 1605.⁹⁹⁹ The theatre-related activities of publishing, patronage, and touring could not have filled the earnings gap and there is no primary evidence to suggest that they did.¹⁰⁰⁰ Nicholas Rowe's assertion of 1709 about the £1000 gift from the Earl of Southampton was mere fantasy – Rowe himself had no sooner stated the story than he immediately lampooned it.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁷ As Shakespeare himself put it "If this were played upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction" *Twelfth Night*, III iv

⁹⁹⁸ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). I. p.146 *x ref.369*

⁹⁹⁹ *x ref.256*

¹⁰⁰⁰ *x ref.40*

¹⁰⁰¹ *x ref.364*

Shakespeare deserves the honour of an honest assessment of all aspects of his life - financial, social and artistic - to better comprehend his work. Based on the research undertaken in the preparation of this thesis, it appears to be the first to quantify the “financial” component of the assessment.

Major

This thesis provides a commercially viable explanation of why the Blackfriars Gatehouse purchase took place and how it was documented in such an apparently convoluted manner. It was simply about money and business.¹⁰⁰²

Major

Shakespeare devoted much care to the selection and timing of his Stratford investments. Shakespeare was a shrewd investor, his purchases being made when prices were most depressed.¹⁰⁰³ The investments themselves were conservative, long term and tangible - they shun short-term gain or loss and have extremely low investment volatility.¹⁰⁰⁴

Major

The appearance of Shakespeare on the Wyatt/Langley/Gardiner writ is of major significance. Though many researchers have chosen to dismiss it as an irrelevancy, the fact is that it tangibly links Shakespeare to a noted known villain. A modern equivalent might be Alan Bennett being named before the Kray twins in a lawsuit. The suit itself is a prime example of a technique used to economically harass an adversary, and Shakespeare’s inclusion - amplified by his being named first - strongly indicates that Shakespeare was financially important to Langley’s business operations. The business relationship was certainly connected to the Swan theatre but was also probably linked to Langley’s alnager related activities. The Shakespeare family business had grown to incorporate the export of wool or cloth through London, and Langley’s ability to certify goods would have been extraordinarily convenient to the Shakespeares. This cannot at the moment be demonstrated beyond doubt, but it clearly merits further investigation.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰² *x ref.272*

¹⁰⁰³ *x ref.411*

¹⁰⁰⁴ “Investment Volatility” see Glossary *x ref.97*

¹⁰⁰⁵ Any proof will most likely be found in what William Ingram (and earlier Herbert Berry) referred to as the “documents in the Public Records office about Francis Langley that ought to be pursued.” William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). p.IX. *x ref.213*

Major

From the records we have of Shakespeare's life in London, the documentary evidence supports the conclusion that he was, like his father, a tax avoider if not indeed a tax dodger.¹⁰⁰⁶

Minor

There are still those who question Shakespeare's authorship. Mark Rylance, the first Artistic Director of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre (1995-2005), and the actor Derek Jacobi unveiled their "Declaration of Reasonable Doubt" on the authorship of Shakespeare's work after a performance of *I Am Shakespeare*, in September 2007.¹⁰⁰⁷ These are both highly respected figures in the Shakespeare "world" and therefore this "question" obviously still persists. Julia Cleeve for the "Oxfordians" reported on a Conference at Shakespeare's Globe entitled *Shakespeare: from Rowe to Shapiro* held on Nov. 28, 2009.¹⁰⁰⁸ It is ironic that the conference title embodies both Rowe - who manifestly made up his biographical essay substantially on hearsay - and Shapiro, possibly the "loosest" of major modern biographers and a man then preparing a book on the authorship question.¹⁰⁰⁹ Cleeve, unsurprisingly, concluded that the question still remained open. Shapiro's book was published on All Fool's Day 2010. Reviewing it in the Observer on 4 April, Peter Conrad, presumably wishing to preserve the ambiguity which is always "a happy hunting ground for the critic",¹⁰¹⁰ concluded with the lines

...some puzzles – like that of how this nondescript provincial came to be the greatest and most elusively polymorphous of writers – are best left unsolved...

This thesis contradicts this persistent irritant – Shakespeare's plays are saturated with his familial experiences and intimate knowledge of Stratford. Two of the clearest examples of this was the deaths of Kathleen Hamlett and Jane Shaxspere.¹⁰¹¹ The

¹⁰⁰⁶ x ref.191

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mark Rylance and Matthew Warchus, *I Am Shakespeare*, directed by Mark Rylance, performed by Mark Rylance, Mercury, Chichester, 2007. See //www.doubtaboutwill.org/declaration – the "Declaration" is still accepting signatories. By 8 November 2010 its website stated that it had attracted *inter alia* 331 "academic signatories".

¹⁰⁰⁸ <http://shakespeareoxfordsociety.wordpress.com/2009/12/07/sat-trustee-julia-cleave-reports-on-shakespeare-bio-conference-at-the-globe/>

¹⁰⁰⁹ James Shapiro, *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010).

¹⁰¹⁰ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.146

¹⁰¹¹ David Fallow, "Hamlet, Crowner's Courts and the exhumation of rotted corpses," *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 31, no. 1 (2011): 113-120. p.114. Kathleen Hamlett was a girl who drowned in the Avon. The circumstances surrounding her death are more than coincidentally repeated in *Hamlet*. On 8 June 2011 the BBC reported that "Dr Steven Gunn [Merton College, Oxford] has found a coroner's

likelihood that any non-Stratfordian could feasibly have known about either of these cases is so remote as to be negligible.

As this thesis demonstrates, the Shakespeares - father and son - were not “nondescript provincial[s]” but serious self-made men who created wealth through their own efforts and achieved a considerable measure of financial success and social position through both trade and the theatre.

Minor

Professionally, William deliberately maintained a low public profile avoiding incarceration and any discernible conflict with the law, beyond tax avoidance and illegal trading. The matter of his religious beliefs is interesting but only as a curiosity - the probability must be that he was largely indifferent to the question as, the primary materials indicate, was his father. There is ample evidence that of prime importance to the Shakespeares was money, social position and passing the wealth on to the next generation of the family. The absence of any handwritten material by Shakespeare is almost certainly due to a deliberate mindset on his part and contrasts starkly with writers such as Ben Jonson who went to great lengths to preserve and memorialise their works.

The Early Modern Theatre in London

Major

Virtually all Shakespeare’s contemporaries involved in theatre ownership ran other businesses on the side, albeit many were activities related to the “hospitality” trade – Henslowe and Alleyn are good examples of this. Both men were certainly brothel owners and were almost certainly brothel keepers, though this last activity may have been through employees rather than direct personal involvement. The notion that Alleyn’s wife was carted by some “accident” not connected with the family’s brothels is naïve in the extreme.¹⁰¹²

report into the drowning of a Jane Shaxspere in 1569...the real-life inspiration for Shakespeare's tragic character, Ophelia.”

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-13682993>.

¹⁰¹² x ref.229

Minor

The debacle over *The Isle of Dogs* illustrates how the theatre and those who ran it were involved in the overall economic and political picture. This thesis reinforces this notion against attempts to see either the plays or the theatres themselves as islands distinct from what was going on around them. Ingram's insights into Langley's background have been fully supported and make perfect sense when added to other evidence accumulated on the subject of Topcliffe and how the Privy Council operated. It was, as has been shown, the Privy Council that paid the players for Court Performances and it is evident that its members would have been fully aware of the theatres, either through their patronage of playing companies, or in approving individual payments on behalf of the crown.¹⁰¹³

CONCLUSION: NEC MANIFESTUM

...a man stealing the property of another [furtum] was either *manifestum* or *nec manifestum*. It was clearly manifestum when the person was caught in the act; but in various other cases there was a difference of opinion as to whether the furtum was *manifestum* or not¹⁰¹⁴
William Smith, 1875

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.
Hebrews 11:1¹⁰¹⁵

Roman Law has the interesting concept of different levels of culpability depending, in certain circumstances, on whether an act such as theft is incontrovertible - *manifestum* - or open to doubt - *nec manifestum*. As Smith noted (above) the problem of definition comes when an act moves from one category to another. Evidence often has the same difficulties, especially when it encounters conspiracy theories or myth. For some, no matter what is demonstrated, there will always be alien abductions, a second shooter on the grassy knoll¹⁰¹⁶ or someone else writing Shakespeare's plays. Yet again one is reminded of Peter Thomson's observation that ambiguity is "a happy hunting ground for the critic".¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹³ x ref.440

¹⁰¹⁴ William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875).

¹⁰¹⁵ King James Bible, 1611

¹⁰¹⁶ The "grassy knoll" of Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas, is a small, sloping hill inside the plaza itself and is one possible site (according to conspiracy theorists) for a second shooter when John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963. See: Mel Ayton, "Forty Years on: Who Killed JFK?," *History Ireland* 11, no. 4 (2003): 45-49.

¹⁰¹⁷ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.146

In the documented life of Shakespeare, the gaps and inconsistencies in the records have fed the creation of various conspiracy theories, religious fantasies and even suggested professions and foreign travel that, while entertaining, have added little to a credible analysis of his life and career. However, the facts we do have are, I believe, sufficient to produce a single, credible, coherent picture of a Renaissance man who was brilliant as a playwright, successful as a businessman and in many ways typical of an emergent self-made class of individual. Shakespeare represented the shift from his father's early adult life of guild-based public service, to that of capitalist self-interest - a move from paternalistic medievalism to Early Modern capitalism. To comprehend the Shakespeare family, their commercial interests, together with their abilities in both making money and keeping it, had to be explained. What is proposed here is a single theory of Shakespeare's life that rationally includes all the known factual data points that have, so far, been accumulated. Like all theories, it should now be rigorously challenged by other researchers to see if it supports its findings and conclusions. Scientific theories are held to be merely proposals until they have been replicated by others in controlled conditions and I see no reason why this new, financially based explanation should not be tested and modified if necessary, or indeed be consigned to the dustbin if it is found completely wanting.

No matter what this thesis contains, there are some who take on a religious zeal where their own views on the life of William Shakespeare are concerned. Nothing in this thesis will win them over and I have not tried to do so. But for those with open minds I have assembled evidence that follows the cash flows in and around both the Shakespeares and the age in which they lived. I have attempted to do so in a non-doctrinal fashion, not using personal or fashionable hobbyhorses to carry the argument. What is asked of the reader is to take the view of the legal "reasonable person" sitting in the jury in a court of law. The evidence can never be absolutely *manifestum* after the passage of four hundred years – even a trunk full of documents written in William's hand and freshly unearthed would have someone crying "forgery", whether they were genuine or not.

A Chain of Events

Based on the research summarized in this thesis, each link forged with factual evidence, I would propose the following sequence of events as the best description to date of how the acquisition of the Shakespeare fortune took place.

John Shakespeare went to Stratford where he became a glover. Even before his apprenticeship was formally concluded, he began to take an interest in wool broking and property ownership – the former having some legal licence through the tradition that glovers were tacitly permitted to sell the wool clipped from fleeces purchased for their leather. By the early 1570's John had risen through the ranks of Stratford's emergent middle classes by means of civic service and the growth of his business, which was primarily wool broking – he had become a *brogger* at a national level.

In business he was dealing directly with members of the aristocracy as well as the largest landowners in and around Stratford. Like the sons of other prosperous burghers, William Shakespeare attended school. When he finished grammar school William did what the sons of most of his father's friends on the Borough Council did, he went to work for his father. The so-called seven "lost years" in William's life were, probably, spent in informal familial apprenticeship in Stratford. Because of successive attempts to drive unlicensed broggers out of the market and for sound commercial reasons, in late 1576 John Shakespeare took his business out of the public eye and himself with it. He abandoned plans for gentlemanly status and deliberately assumed the lowest of low profiles, using the shield of apparent religious conviction as a tacit excuse. He also, crucially, stopped paying any taxes.

The profound shift in the mid and late 1500's concerning wool production in England involved the switch from the export of the raw wool through regional ports to finished cloth through London. For the Shakespeare family business to survive it needed trustworthy representation in London – that is the most logical explanation for William's move to the City.

William made commercial contacts on the family's behalf, and like all businessmen of the age, those he met and did business with often crossed the line between legitimate

and illegal activities. Francis Langley is a case in point. Langley was, in his official guise, an alnager – a certifier of wool cloth and a most useful contact to a family in the business of wool broking and cloth export.¹⁰¹⁸ William’s poetry and playwriting was initially similar to, say, Leonardo Da Vinci’s interest in painting: i.e. it was an adjunct to his other interests. Leonardo himself wrote “I am no artist (to speak of) but ever since I can remember, I liked to draw”.¹⁰¹⁹

As Shakespeare’s artistic career developed, giving him an alternative source of income he was able to move the family’s accumulated cash resources - predominantly illegally accumulated - into a series of purchases in the late 1590s and the early 1600’s, to legitimize the family’s assets and social position. By the start of the next decade he had semi-retired and for a few years enjoyed his family’s accumulated wealth, selecting lawyers and doctors as his chosen company.

None of this was accidental. William took great pains, like his father after 1576, to keep a low profile while avoiding the taxman at every opportunity. He took no steps to preserve his literary legacy but was punctilious concerning his investments and properties. This behaviour, in itself, speaks volumes. To understand him better we must recognize his own financial ambitions and examine how these and his own life experiences are intimately woven into his plays.

Leona Hemsley, the New York property tycoon, was a rare example of a tax evader who actually was imprisoned though this was only after carelessly remarking that “we don't pay taxes, only the little people pay taxes...”.¹⁰²⁰ John and William Shakespeare both demonstrated how in the sixteenth century as the business classes blossomed, so too did the business of tax avoidance, and a family from humble peasant origins rose to wealth and position. William Shakespeare at his death was most definitely not a “little person”.

¹⁰¹⁸ J. P. Cooper, “Economic Regulation and the Cloth Industry in Seventeenth Century England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Royal Historical Society) V, no. 20 (1969): 73-99. – Corruption amongst Alnagers was a problem that continued well into the seventeenth century see p.77 “trying to restrain abuses by alnagers” in 1608.

¹⁰¹⁹ Martin Kemp and Walker Margaret, *Leonardo on Painting* (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2001). p.137. One can put this statement down to excessive modesty on Leonardo’s part - but I believe he was being honest in how he saw himself - certainly painting only represents a tiny part of his total creative output.

¹⁰²⁰ U.S. v. Helmsley, “Charge: conspiracy, tax evasion, false filing tax returns” (1989). See <http://law.jrank.org/pages/3448/U-S-v-Helmsley-1989.html>

Afterword

The advice from the character “Deep Throat” in the film *All the President’s Men* (1976)¹⁰²¹ was “follow the money” and that is what I have done.

But I personally prefer William’s earlier observation¹⁰²²

... Why, nothing
comes amiss, so money comes withal.

finis

¹⁰²¹ Carl Bernstein, Bob Woodward and William Goldman, *All the President's Men*, directed by Alan J. Pakula, 1976.

¹⁰²² *Taming of the Shrew* I, ii

POSTSCRIPT - FURTHER RESEARCH

In 1989 Gary Miles was comfortable enough to make the statement in a respected academic journal that

...Shakespeareans have taken for granted the obvious: that Shakespeare's Romans reflect his own values and attitudes and those of his world¹⁰²³

Miles's article examined how the historical figures in plays such as *Julius Caesar* are portraying themes contemporaneous to Shakespeare's own time rather than reflecting any attempt at historical accuracy. He continued

...as is well known, Shakespeare's chief sources for Julius Caesar and Antony and Cleopatra were Thomas North's English translations of biographies written by Plutarch, a Greek born sometime before A.D. 50 who died sometime after A.D. 120. Plutarch's Lives reflects the tendencies to stereotype, to polarize, and to exaggerate that are inherent in the propaganda surrounding his subjects...¹⁰²⁴

Equally, when one reads *Macbeth* we do so with some acceptance that what we are reading is not even a pasteurized version of Scottish history written by Hector Boece,¹⁰²⁵ later adapted by Raphael Holinshed.¹⁰²⁶ What we read is diluted Scottish history used as thematic material for a play from the year of the Gunpowder Plot (1605) that deals with regicide and the dangers that surround the fictionalized story.

This thesis does not take issue with the Romans reflecting Shakespeare's "values and attitudes and those of his world" but what it does assert is that as well as the stock characters and plots drawn from books there are two other key sources of both characters and settings.

- Real-world characters in London, past and (then) present.

¹⁰²³ Gary Miles, "How Roman are Shakespeare's "Romans"?", *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Cambridge) 40, no. 3 (1989): 257-283. p.257

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid. p.257

¹⁰²⁵ In 1527 he published the book for which he was became known, his *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (*History of the Scottish People*), The text was heavily influenced by a desire to pay tribute to Scotland's James IV.

¹⁰²⁶ Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 vols. (London: J. Johnson et al, 1808). The 1577 edition was compiled by Holinshed and others, the 1587 edition was edited by John Hooker, assisted by others including John Stow. The 1808 edition was reprinted from the 1587 edition, with earlier excisions ordered by the Privy council replaced, and was edited by Sir Henry Ellis. Ellis noted that "the description of Scotland ... by Hector Boetius". See <http://www.archive.org/details/holinshedschroni06holi> for the (1808) original now in the University of California Library System.

- Personal and familial experiences involving trade, money and the law.

The first of these is hardly a revolutionary notion. Many authors have spent considerable time, with varying degrees of success, trying to attach the fictional characters in Shakespeare's plays to actual historical characters.

As an example, there is Falstaff who first appears in *Henry VI, I*

If Sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward:
He, being in the vaward, placed behind
With purpose to relieve and follow them,
Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.¹⁰²⁷

The real Sir John Fastolf was a career soldier who lived to the ripe age of 81. But unlike the cowardly Falstaff, his military record is outstanding, including service at Agincourt (1415), Verneuil (1424) and Rouvay (1429). In June 1429, after a battle at Patay,¹⁰²⁸ he was indeed accused of cowardice by Talbot but was much later cleared of the charge. John Paston, a friend of Fastolf's, described him in old age as being irascible, acquisitive and ruthless in his business dealings. In 1439 the real Fastolf did acquire a Boar's Head Tavern in Southwark where he also built himself a residence. The tavern in *Henry IV* is also the Boar's Head but is fictionally situated in Eastcheap. Fastolf died childless and litigation ensued over his will. The then Bishop of Winchester eventually obtained some of his estate which went towards the costs of the new Magdalen College at the University of Oxford.

The fictional Falstaff, had another historical parallel in Sir John Oldcastle, the original name used by Shakespeare. Oldcastle had been a friend of Henry V both prior to and after his ascension to the throne and had served with the Prince in Wales. While his military career was not quite as prominent as Fastolf's it was distinguished. But Oldcastle's sin was to be a Lollard¹⁰²⁹ and after many opportunities to recant remained obdurate to what John Thomson called that "sect".¹⁰³⁰ He was hung in chains before being burned as a heretic.

¹⁰²⁷ *Henry VI, I*.i.

¹⁰²⁸ Falstaff was, in the real battle, actually in the vanguard of a body of troops when the rearguard was attacked.

¹⁰²⁹ "A name of contempt given in the 14th c. to certain heretics, who were either followers of Wycliffe or held opinions similar to his." OED.

¹⁰³⁰ John Thomson, "Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d.1417)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford, 2004).

I have described these two biographical threads which both have elements of the fictional Falstaff not because the research itself is in any way new, but to highlight how Shakespeare “bridges” reality to fiction. In doing so he is relying on at least some of his audience having background knowledge of the history of the characters he fictionalized. I would propose that this process is going on between the playwright Shakespeare and different sectors of his audience on a continual basis. The audience at the Globe encompassed all social classes and some of these historical, social, legal or mercantile bridges are built into the text to access every kind of person in the theatre. This goes far beyond merely pitching a vulgar visual pun at the groundlings then a witty and cerebral *bon mot* at the galleries. It encompasses the entire social history that the audience could be deemed to know. The proof lies in the detail - why bother using references to real, but long dead characters, if it would be entirely lost on the whole audience? Certainly an argument could be made that this was mere expediency in that it was simply easier to copy straight from a book and not change the name. Yet, this does not fit with the constant barrage of what I would describe as multi-layered data being streamed at the audience. Whatever one’s class, in Shakespeare’s day, sitting or standing in the Globe there would have been, in Shakespeare’s plays, a “bridge” into the text being presented to you. By the nineteenth century, it had become a cliché to say that anyone could prove anything based on Shakespeare’s plays. One example of this appeared in 1897,

...Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant. An addition to Shakespearean literature, distinct and notable, and at this time of day! Mr. Carter being himself a Puritan, and the son of a Puritan, is delighted to find that Shakespeare was a Puritan and the son of a Puritan also. He seems to prove it, even amid the proverbial facility with which you can prove Shakespeare was everything under the sun...¹⁰³¹

To the audience of Shakespeare’s day these multiple bridges of common experience or emotion would have rendered the work engaging to the point that it was almost impossible to ignore. The term “enthraling” is much overused in contemporary usage, but here the word, with its underlying meaning of enslavement, is truly justified. Shakespeare then, and now, enslaves his audience.¹⁰³² He himself used the word: Titania dosed with herbal Rohypnol¹⁰³³ is so enchanted she tells Bottom - *So is mine eye*

¹⁰³¹ The Expository Times, Vol. 9, No. 1, p.31-34 (1897)

¹⁰³² “To reduce to the condition of a thrall; to hold in thrall; to enslave, bring into bondage. Now rare in lit. sense.” OED

¹⁰³³ A proprietary name for: flunitrazepam, a sedative and hypnotic drug...1997 *The Telegraph*. 5 Sept. 11/1 “Concern is growing that Rohypnol, a drug 10 times more powerful than Valium, is being used by men intent on rape or sexual abuse, to spike women's drinks.” OED

*enthralled to thy shape.*¹⁰³⁴ If in the twenty-first century, we find the plays compelling, containing a rich vein of commentary on the human condition, then how much more so would they be if we, the audience, understood even a fraction of the bridges built by the playwright? The conclusion is inescapable. If Shakespeare's plays can be used to prove almost *any* thesis then that is because they contain elements of almost *every* thesis.

In such "a well foughten field"¹⁰³⁵ as the analysis of Shakespeare's plays there is the question of originality. This thesis's aim was to better understand, perhaps understand for the first time, the finances of the Shakespeare family. As Shakespeare wrote, he drew from both written material and life experience with the aim of producing a commercial product. Nothing in his history suggests he ever sought immortality through his work. Quite the reverse - money made, he returned to Stratford to enjoy the family's winnings with his new friends, predominantly lawyers and doctors. Unlike Ben Jonson, he did not attempt to preserve his work. This was genius used for commercial ends. As such, the plays are crafted for the precise milieu of their performances. They are structured to strike chords with every member of his audience, though not all chords were similar or struck the same recipients.

This is not like Van Gogh who painted sunflowers whether people wanted or appreciated them or not.

This is not even Ben Jonson, who died with an estate of eight guineas yet somehow looked down on everyone who did not appreciate his genius.

Shakespeare's plays are commercial products that have, almost accidentally, stood the test of time even when the "modern" audience of each successive era would have understood a decreasing number of the references to Early Modern political, religious or social affairs. The challenge for future scholars using the work set out in this thesis is to analyze - from a commercial standpoint - just how sophisticated the referencing in the plays actually was and what the subliminal messages being delivered really achieved with Shakespeare's own audiences.

¹⁰³⁴ *Midsummer Night's Dream* iii. i.

¹⁰³⁵ "...in this glorious and well-foughten field" *Henry V* IV, vi

I believe the study of these “messages” and implied “speechless messages”¹⁰³⁶ using psychological tools from marketing and sales research could yield data on why Shakespeare’s work is so universally appealing, even to audiences that appreciate only a small fraction of its full contemporary referencing.

By 1935 Wright was noting that

...Shakespeare enriched his character studies and Jonson enlivened his satires with situations and motivations growing out of the application of [then] contemporary theoretical psychology...¹⁰³⁷

Knutson, referring to the present, also touched on the psychological from what she described as “economists”. She described commercial playing companies in Early Modern London as being able to close ranks for commercial support when presented with a common threat or sales opportunity

...[in] the phenomenon economists now call “cluster marketing”...the manifestation of cluster marketing today include food courts in suburban malls, car dealerships on arterial highways between urban centers....¹⁰³⁸

A Piece of Work¹⁰³⁹

Shakespeare is not a God nor is his ground hallowed.¹⁰⁴⁰ Baconians, though perhaps misguided, are not committing heresy.¹⁰⁴¹ Moreover, I agree with Evelyn Hall and would defend the right for everyone’s voice to be heard - no matter how much I disagree with it.¹⁰⁴²

It is perhaps sufficient to observe that William Shakespeare, amongst many other things, was a very clever businessman. A researcher with multiple training in psychology, both current and of the Early Modern Period, and/or marketing and business sales as well as an abiding interest in the Early Modern Theatre could, I

¹⁰³⁶ *Merchant of Venice* I, i “...sometimes from her eyes, I did receive fair speechless messages...”

¹⁰³⁷ Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Reissued, 1964 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1935). p.588 See footnotes 85 and 86

¹⁰³⁸ Roslyn Lander Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). p.35

¹⁰³⁹ *Hamlet*, II, ii

¹⁰⁴⁰ “And may no sacrilegious hand, near Avon’s Banks be found, To dare to parcel out the land, And limit Shakespeare’s hallowed ground” David Garrick. Quoted in James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853). p. Frontispiece

¹⁰⁴¹ J.M. Robertson, *The Baconian Heresy* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913). Baconian: “In modern times used with reference to the theory that Francis Bacon wrote the plays attributed to Shakespeare.” OED.

¹⁰⁴² “I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.”

Evelyn Beatrice Hall writing under the pseudonym Stephen Tallentyre, *The Friends of Voltaire* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906).

believe, produce a new “sales” analysis that would complement the financial and legal one started in this thesis.

Alexander Pope’s quotation opened this thesis, and his thought about William’s career and motivations is so apposite it deserves to be repeated as the starting point for further research.

Shakespeare (whom you and every playhouse bill
Style the divine! the matchless! what you will),
For gain, not glory, wing’d his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own despite.¹⁰⁴³

Length.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴³ Alexander Pope, *Imitations of Horace* (London: T. Cooper, 1737). I. ii. i. 69

¹⁰⁴⁴ This thesis is (minus footnotes and abstract) 87,010 words in length.

John and William Shakespeare
The Sources and Acquisition of their Wealth
In two volumes

Volume 2 of 2

APPENDICES, GLOSSARY & BIBLIOGRAPHY

Submitted by
David Fallow to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Drama

July 2011

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(signature)
David Fallow

I - THE ABRIDGED INTRODUCTIONS OF EDGAR I. FRIPP

Richard Savage (1847-1924) was secretary and librarian of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust from 1884-1910.¹⁰⁴⁵ The Trustees of the Trust were incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1891, later modified under the terms of the Shakespeare Birthplace Act, 1961. On Savage's death his notes and research were purchased by the Trust.¹⁰⁴⁶ This body of work was used as the basis for the multi-volume *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*.¹⁰⁴⁷ This work was a long-term collaboration between Savage and Edgar Fripp, the first volume appearing in 1921, three years before Savage's death. Prefacing each volume Fripp wrote voluminous introductions - part commentary, part analysis of the records that followed. When first directed to these by Mairi Macdonald of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, I was struck by the absence of a digest of how these records touched upon the Shakespeare family. The following summary is my attempt to remedy this situation.

The reader should remain mindful of the particular religious bias Fripp maintained in all his work. Notwithstanding this, I believe the abridged summary drawn from the introductions to the first three volumes (1553 to 1586) shows details relevant to the Shakespeare family, their friends and how the Stratford-upon-Avon of their day actually functioned.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For a more detailed commentary on Savage see: Levi Fox, *The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust and Jarrold Publishing, 1997). p.28-40

¹⁰⁴⁶ As at 6/2011 these are held as ER82, 547 files, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

¹⁰⁴⁷ Richard Savage, *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University for the Dugdale Society, 1921). As noted in the introduction to the fifth volume of 1990: "Four volumes covering the years 1553 to 1592 were published between 1921 and 1929...Richard Savage ...responsible for the transcription and Edgar I. Fripp ...provided the introductions and notes." Levi Fox, *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records*, Vol. V, 5 vols. (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 1990). p.xiii. The Dugdale Society continues to number its publications in sequential date order in Roman Numerals. Hence Fox's Volume V is Vol. XXXV of the Society's publications.

**Pages 311 to 358 have been intentionally left blank
by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons**

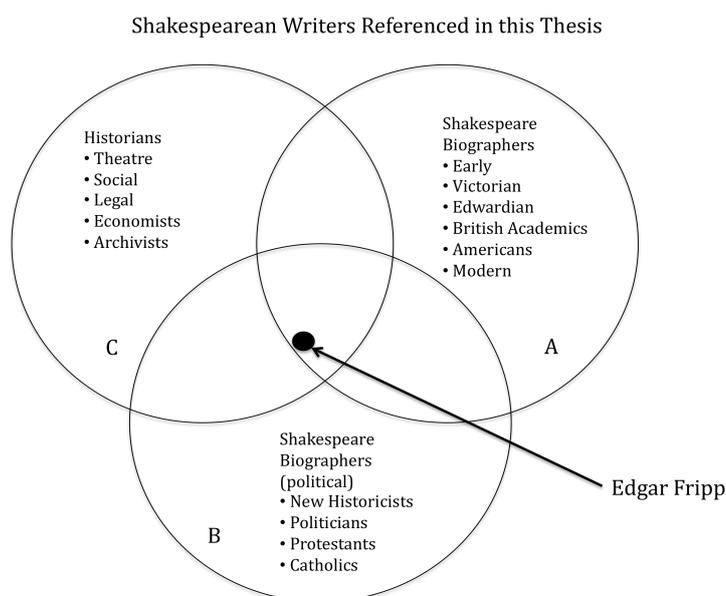
II - FURTHER READING

The following sets out the methodology used to identify the groups of writers who have written about William Shakespeare and in the process commented on John Shakespeare or the Shakespeare family. These “groups” mirror the trends prevalent in Shakespearian biography at that particular time. In some cases these individual scholars were contemporaries and some even collaborated. In others, writers are linked by a single idea or thesis that was passed on from one to another whether openly acknowledged or not. They are brought together in this way to bring structure to a vast body of work that resembles a Bach fugue more than a steadily growing linear body of research. Both fugue and Shakespeare biography have distinct themes that are exposed, developed, recapitulate and twist about one another. In some cases a theme was repeated so often it moved from conjecture to fact – this analysis aimed to identify the most significant of these.

Literary Sources

The blocks of writers and commentators have been divided into three broad categories and within each, into major literary or methodological sub-groups. However, as many writers’ work straddles two or three categories and frequently to varying degrees, a Venn¹⁰⁴⁸ diagram has been used to illustrate where each writer was focused. For example, Edgar Fripp sits in the group of Shakespeare biographers who demonstrate a particular aspect of the Shakespeares relevant to a political, religious or other interest of the writer. In Fripp’s case, he concentrated on what he interpreted as the family’s purported Protestant leanings. However, his non-religious insights are closely akin to those of the group defined as “Edwardian biographers”, such as E. K. Chambers. A third influence is evident in Fripp’s close collaboration with Richard Savage a leading “archivist” within the “historians”. Accordingly, Fripp would be placed where all three circles overlap, closest to the centre of the “B” Group of Political Biographers, next closest to the “C” Historians yet still included in the “A” Biographers.

¹⁰⁴⁸ John Venn, “On the Diagrammatic and Mechanical Representation of Propositions and Reasonings,” *Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, 1880.



Keeping this A, B, C approach the following sections look at each group and its individual sub-groups in turn. Within the sub-groups a few characteristic writers are referenced in each case. Those selected are only intended to be illustrative of the principal arguments and by necessity (the bibliography cites over 500 references) the list is not all-inclusive.

This thesis is money and how the acquisition of it provided the means for William Shakespeare's literary career and financed the Early Modern Theatre. Just as with Shakespeare, how each of the writers used, or did not use, their work to earn a living had an effect on the tone and in some cases even the selectivity they showed in presenting their arguments. Accordingly, a comment on the origins of their respective sources of income is made within each sub-group.

Where another writer, outside those listed in each sub-group, has made a pertinent observation or has reviewed the work under discussion I have included this reference where it crystallizes the issue under consideration. The field of Shakespearean scholarship is vast, four centuries deep and many authors have commented on the work of their predecessors and rivals. Schoenbaum, a noted scholar whose work has been referenced many times in this thesis, produced a six hundred page volume - *Shakespeare's Lives*¹⁰⁴⁹ - which was almost entirely composed of potted biographies of only some of the writers whose life's study was commentary and analysis of the

¹⁰⁴⁹ Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, New edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

playwright and his work. This summary aims to compress both the data itself together with an appreciation of how it has been considered and manipulated whilst taking careful note of how the particular research in question was funded. A summary of the writers referenced appears in the table on the next page.

Table 74 - Representative Writers

Group A Shakespeare Biographers	<i>Early Biographers</i> 1709-1812	Nicholas Rowe Alexander Pope Edmond Malone
	<i>Victorian Biographers</i> 1830-1889	J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps Frederick Gard Fleay
	<i>Edwardian Biographers</i> 1900-1930	C.C. Stopes E.K. Chambers J.M. Robertson
	<i>American Biographers</i> 1890 Onwards	Charles W. Wallace Gerald Eades Bentley Mark Eccles Leslie Hotson Alfred Harbage Samuel Schoenbaum William Ingram James H. Forse James Shapiro
	<i>British Academic Biographers</i> 1930 Onwards	C.J. Sisson Stanley Wells Andrew Gurr Peter Thomson
	<i>Commercial Biographers</i> 2000 Onwards	Peter Ackroyd Charles Nicholl
Group B Political Biographers	<i>The Religionists</i> 1880 Onwards	Thomas Carter Edgar Fripp Heinrich Mutschmann Eamon Duffy Ernst Honigmann
Group C Historians & Editors	<i>Historical Writers & Biographers</i> 1875 Onwards	Peter Bowden John Burnett Melissa D. Aaron Daniel Kornstein B.J. & M. Sokol Lawrence Stone Martin Ingram Richard Savage Robert Bearman
	<i>Editorial Biographers</i> 1970 Onwards	Stephen Greenblatt Jonathan Bate

Note: Writers in bold represent principal secondary sources.

Group A – The Shakespeare Biographers

Early Biographers 1709-1812

Nicholas Rowe	(1674 - 1718)
Alexander Pope	(1688 - 1744)
Edmond Malone	(1741 - 1812)

Schoenbaum rightly refers to the playwright's first biographers as creating the "Shakespeare of the Legends."¹⁰⁵⁰ Writers of this period frequently altered biographical details to fit their story or to improve the growing *mythos* surrounding the family. Even the texts of Shakespeare's plays themselves were not exempt from their edits. A study of these sources is vital because many later scholars relied blindly, in some cases almost implicitly, on the accuracy of what these first biographers knew to be personal invention or gossip. To begin to understand the Shakespeares' finances, it is crucial to try to separate fact from fiction.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 75 - Rowe 1709

In 1709 Nicholas Rowe wrote in the preamble of what has been described as the first biography of Shakespeare¹⁰⁵¹

"...how fond do we see some People of discovering any little Personal Story of the great Men of Antiquity, their Families, the common Accidents of their Lives, and even their Shape, Make and Features have been the Subject of critical Enquiries. How trifling soever this Curiosity may seem to be, it is certainly very Natural; and we are hardly satisfy'd with an Account of any remarkable Person, till we have heard him describ'd even to the very Cloaths he wears..."

Rowe appears to have been fully aware of just what he was doing in assembling a fairly light-hearted group of anecdotes surrounding Shakespeare's life. An appeal was made for those with "materials" which could assist in the publication to come forward: the following is the text of the advertisement:

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid. p.42

¹⁰⁵¹ Nicholas Rowe, *The Works of William Shakespear* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709).

Table 76 - The Search for Anecdotes

<p>THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR</p> <p><i>a very neat and correct edition of Mr. William Shakespeare's works... Is now so near finished as to be published in a month; to which is designed to be prefixed an account of the life and writings of the said author, as far as can be collected.</i>¹⁰⁵²</p> <p>17 March 1708</p>
--

Schoenbaum noted that “Any gentlemen having by them materials that might further the project were invited to it to pass them on, as a favour to the editor...”¹⁰⁵³

It is only by reading Rowe's biographical essay (it runs to barely 40 pages) that one gets a good impression of what was actually intended. His edition of Shakespeare's works was being prefaced by a gossipy piece, parts of which would not have been out of place had they appeared a few years later in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator*.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is an assembly of stories (some wildly inaccurate: for example William was one of ten children) written for a tiny aristocratic or at least gentlemanly audience. Unfortunately, some of the few accurate inclusions in Rowe's biography were among the very first to be “edited” out by Alexander Pope and other commentators. Rowe's first description of John Shakespeare asserts he was “...a considerable dealer in wool”, a fact largely ignored until the last few decades.¹⁰⁵⁵

Schoenbaum noted that

...a writer in *The Universal Magazine* could declare near the end of the [18th] century ‘the first thing that would surprise him [should William Shakespeare miraculously reappear] would be, to learn that above 150,000 pounds have lately been devoted towards splendid editions of his works’...¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵² Schoenbaum, *Lives*, p.87 “...a press notice dated 17 March 1708, announced that”. Nicholas Rowe, *The Works of William Shakespeare* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709).

¹⁰⁵³ *Ibid.* p.87

¹⁰⁵⁴ See <http://meta.montclair.edu/spectator/about.html> First published 1711. “It, along with the *Tatler*, inaugurated the tradition of the daily periodical whose subject was not news, but literature and manners, and they adapted the gentlemanly culture of polite letters to a wide print audience.”

¹⁰⁵⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Schoenbaum, *Lives*, p.99. Also See Glossary re “*Universal Magazine*”.

One piece of gossip - clearly identified as such - that has given rise to more misunderstanding of the commercial realities of Shakespeare and the Early Modern Theatre derived from Rowe:

... there is one Instance so singular in the Munificence of this Patron of Shakespear's, that if it had not been assur'd that the Story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted, that my Lord Southampton, at one time, gave him a thousand Pounds, to enable him to go through with a Purchase which he heard he had a mind to. A Bounty very great, and very rare at any time, and almost equal to that profuse Generosity the present Age has shewn to French Dancers and italian Eunuchs...¹⁰⁵⁷

Accordingly, Rowe's often quoted £1000 was based on a story that, if one transliterates Rowe's flowery terminology "an unnamed person attributed to William D'Avenant"¹⁰⁵⁸ (who himself had died six years before Rowe was born) that the Earl of Southampton once gave Shakespeare a £1000".

An earlier reference to £1000 has also added to the confusion and possibly was taken as support for the Rowe claim. Fifty years after William's death, and twenty five before Rowe's biography, The Reverend John Ward, Vicar of Holy Trinity in Stratford, asserted that William "supplied the stage with two plays every year, and for that had an allowance so large, that he spent at the rate of £1000 a year as I have heard...".¹⁰⁵⁹ Where Ward got his "facts" from is unstated - though he did know William's daughter Judith Shakespeare in her dotage.

But such is the power of the mythos that writers continue to recount the £1000 story. For example, Katherine Duncan-Jones in her 2002 *Ungentle Shakespeare*¹⁰⁶⁰ though stating that £1000 is "incredible", still spends the best part of a page debating if some lesser figure was credible.

D. Nicol Smith noted in 1903 one additional problem with Rowe:

¹⁰⁵⁷ Nicholas Rowe, *The Works of William Shakespear* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709). S. [3]

¹⁰⁵⁸ Who may or may not have been Shakespeare's godson - Mary Edmond presents what might be termed the minority view in 'Davenant, Sir William (1606–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004 where she opines that: "There is no compelling reason to reject near-contemporary reports that Shakespeare stood godfather when young William was baptized at St Martin's, Carfax, on 3 March 1606".

¹⁰⁵⁹ Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare The Globe and The World* (Oxford: OUP, 1979). p.145

¹⁰⁶⁰ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare* (London: Arden Shakespeare - Thomas Learning, 2001). p.85

[Rowe's] Account of Shakespeare was the standard biography during the eighteenth century. It was reprinted by Pope, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, Steevens, Malone, and Reed; but they did not give it in the form in which Rowe had left it. Pope took the liberty of condensing and rearranging it, and as he did not acknowledge what he had done, his silence led other editors astray. Those who did note the alterations presumed that they had been made by Rowe himself in the second edition in 1714. Steevens, for instance, states that he publishes the life from "Rowe's second edition, in which it had been abridged and altered by himself after its appearance in 1709." But what Steevens reprints is Rowe's Account of Shakespeare as edited by Pope...

He continued,

...Pope omitted passages dealing only indirectly with Shakespeare, or expressing opinions with which he disagreed.¹⁰⁶¹

In his 1995 doctoral thesis A.D.J. Brown, writing of Alexander Pope, observed,

...Pope's edition of Shakespeare has been rarely discussed. Where it has been discussed it has been treated without sympathy...However, since it is eventually my contention that Pope's editorial procedure is not a describable process, but a creative activity...

...He did arrive at general propositions about the quality of each individual [quarto] text, but his ultimate criteria were atextual in the sense that his final judgements were based on poetic, stylistic and dramatic principles...¹⁰⁶²

Brown concluded that Pope did not consider himself bound by any convention but his own taste. As a practising Catholic he was (by necessity, Catholics being barred from University entrance) a self-taught scholar who earned his living by writing. Though it neither confirms nor invalidates their assertions, in the end, both Rowe and Pope were, at least in part, motivated by the prospect of sales of editions of Shakespeare's work. Edmond Malone, who followed them, had an altogether different source of cash.

Funded by inheritance, educated at Trinity College, Dublin and trained as a barrister, Malone became a noted literary figure in London. Peter Martin, writing in 2004, described him as being

...well known in the luminous Johnsonian circle of literary, social, and political personalities and a close friend of many of them,... friendships with the likes of

¹⁰⁶¹ D. Nicol Smith, *Introduction to Rowe's Life of Shakespeare* (Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons, 1903).

¹⁰⁶² A.D.J. Brown, *Alexander Pope's Edition of Shakespeare (Unpublished)* (Bristol: University of Bristol, 1995).

Edmund Burke, Edward Gibbon, Dr Charles Burney, James Boswell, Joseph Banks, William Windham, and Charles James Fox developed from his election to Johnson's famous Literary Club¹⁰⁶³. He soon became the club's first treasurer, holding the office until his death and becoming its greatest promoter and historian...¹⁰⁶⁴

Malone, free of commercial pressures and of even familial ones as he never married, was able to bring both a scholar's and a lawyer's mind to the field of Shakespeare studies. He was also the first writer to focus on original (primary) documentation as the basis for some of his work. Martin noted,

...Malone also struck up correspondence with James Davenport, vicar of Stratford, who lent him the parish registers and did some research for him...¹⁰⁶⁵

With his systematic approach,

...Malone ended up debunking much erroneous tradition about Shakespeare that Nicholas Rowe had perpetuated in his 1709 biography, discovering more about the poet's life than was known before or has been discovered since...¹⁰⁶⁶

Martin went on to observe that,

...[literary] criticism in the 1980's and 1990's attempted to minimize this monumental achievement in Shakespearian studies by discounting the importance of Malone's unprecedented documentary and textual research, but his work heralded a new age of scholarship in which he helped define the scholar's code for generations to come.

In 1790 Malone published to great acclaim his ten volume *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*. This success prompted at least one spiteful and critical pamphlet that caused Malone to write in response *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.* of 1792.¹⁰⁶⁷ The 'Letter', though essay might be a better term as it runs to thirty nine printed pages, provided a rare glimpse into Malone's working methodologies, illustrating his thirst for well substantiated research. Martin rightly describes it as being an "important definition of editorial practice."¹⁰⁶⁸ Malone, by selecting fact over appealing stories, can be considered truly the first serious researcher into Shakespeare's life and work. Possessing intellectual rigour plus the financial freedom to accept or

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid. ...a supper and conversational club founded by Joshua Reynolds in February 1764, partly to furnish 'The great delight of [Samuel Johnson's] life'.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Peter Martin, "Malone, Edmond," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Edmund Malone, *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.* (London: Robinson, 1792).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.

decline a “newly discovered” juicy morsel of biographical ephemera meant that his work was free to be dispassionately critical and generally free of the flights of fancy that were to cloud the prevailing and future research. When offered what has come to be called “John Shakespeare’s Spiritual Testament”, a document purportedly found in the Shakespeare birthplace, he was, on reflection, able to dismiss it for the forgery it almost certainly was. His other great contribution was his insistence on examining original documentation. Unlike Rowe, who looked for anecdotes through newspaper advertisements, or Pope who selected only those bits he liked, here was a scholar whose standards would today be called “forensic” or even “clinical”. If his successors could have avoided the “romance”, much of the Shakespeare *mythos* could have been avoided.

Victorian Biographers 1830-1889

J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (1820 - 1889)

Frederick Gard Fleay (1831 - 1909)

The term ‘literary phenomenon’ could be rightly used to describe J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, a man responsible for hundreds of publications during his lifetime. Elected to the Royal Society in 1839 he wrote, in that same year the “saucily titled for a lad of nineteen” *A Few Hints to Novices in Manuscript Literature*¹⁰⁶⁹. A man whose initial literary interests lay in scientific books (hence the Royal Society), by 1842 he wrote “I grow fonder every day”¹⁰⁷⁰ when describing his passion for Shakespeare’s work. By twenty-eight he had written his *Life of William Shakespeare* which he advertised as including “many particulars respecting the poet and his family never before published.” The “many particulars” were a result of his having “combed the records of Stratford-upon-Avon and nearby communities.”¹⁰⁷¹ By 1861 he had personally initiated the campaign to preserve the site of New Place and was active in the establishment of the library of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. In 1864 he published his¹⁰⁷² *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*. Just as the Malone Letter¹⁰⁷³ reveals the inner workings of one scholar, so the first edition of his account of New Place is rich

¹⁰⁶⁹ Arthur Freeman and Janet Freeman, “Phillipps, James Orchard Halliwell,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Halliwell to Joseph Hunter 15 January 1842, BL, Add. MS 24869. Hunter (1783-1861) was himself a noted antiquarian and record scholar.

¹⁰⁷¹ Freeman, *Halliwell*

¹⁰⁷² James Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon*, first (London: J. E. Allard, 1853).

¹⁰⁷³ Edmond Malone, *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.* (London: Robinson, 1792).

with Halliwell's own style of writing and presentation. Like a Victorian drawing room, the amount of clutter is remarkable. It is as if the text was written and then steel engravings, which are only marginally relevant at best - were clustered around and throughout it. Like the architecture of the time, the sheer amount of extraneous decoration almost obscures the very fine structure underneath.

In 1881 his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* appeared - a work that has rightly been described as "magisterial" and "the culmination of all his biographical labours."¹⁰⁷⁴

That it was used in the attached thesis, together with the account of New Place, indicates the timeless quality of the research and the meticulous love of detail that he brought to his writing.

At thirty he had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn, though he never practised. Both Malone and Halliwell-Phillipps were non-practising lawyers and both were keen investigators of the Stratford records using facts as the basis for their biographical work.

It is clear that Halliwell-Phillipps knew there were inconsistencies between the timing of the Shakespeare investments and the possible generation of income through the theatre

...Unless the general truth of the story [the £1000 gift] be accepted it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare could have obtained, so early in his career, the ample means he certainly possessed in that [1597] and the following year. The largest emoluments that could have been derived from his professional avocations would have hardly sufficed to have accomplished such a result, and the necessity of forwarding continual remittances to Stratford-on-Avon must not be overlooked.¹⁰⁷⁵

The fact that he writes in the flowery pedantic manner of his period should not obscure the fact that Halliwell-Phillipps was financially aware. He spent his life embroiled in overlapping financial deals buying and selling rare books and papers¹⁰⁷⁶ and it was from this source he derived much of his own income.

However, having pointed out this important inconsistency, he retreated to the task of trying to sort out the historical order of Shakespeare's plays so as to avoid, as he

¹⁰⁷⁴ Freeman and Freeman, *Phillips, James Orchard Halliwell*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Eighth, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889). I. p. 146

¹⁰⁷⁶ Freeman, *Halliwell* – this abbreviated biography is replete with financial detail.

himself might have put it, besmirching the Bard's good name with too much speculation on the "sordid topic of coin".¹⁰⁷⁷

If one were being kind to the memory of Frederick Gard Fleay, as a biographer of Shakespeare in particular and the Early Modern Theatre in general, then one could endorse Sidney Lee's view that Fleay tended to "questionable conclusions... [which] diminished both the reception of his other works and his overall reputation."¹⁰⁷⁸ A less charitable view would be that his work was simply slapdash and full of errors. However, what is important to this thesis was his 1890 attempt to quantify Shakespeare's theatrical earnings, even though his aim was to present what he considered to be the final word on the subject:

...from these details, among other things, we gather that an actor in 1635 got £180 and a housekeeper for each share in Blackfriars, about £112...So that Shakespeare in 1635, had he lived, might have received

For his four shares in the Globe	£1088}
For his two shares in Blackfriars,	£ 272}
As poet say	£ 30} Total £1575 [<i>p.a.</i>]
As actor	£ 180}
Court money	£ 5}

Making all allowances for the difference between 1610 under James and 1635 under Charles, but remembering also that the Globe was in Shakespeare's time the Court theatre *par excellence* as well as the most popular, I think I may consider that the interminable dissertations as to how he got his money may as well come to an end, especially as he had his shares for nothing...¹⁰⁷⁹

All Fleay's figures are incorrect in almost every aspect, but his manner in laying out the various sources of income to yield an annual figure of £1575 p.a. was an advance in that it tried, probably for the first time, to systematically compute Shakespeare's possible theatrical earnings.

¹⁰⁷⁷ "The sordid topic of coin..." Martin Donovan and David Koepp, *Death Becomes Her*, film, directed by Robert Zemeckis, 1992. Joyce Grenfell (1910-1979) also used the similar term "sordid matter of coin" in her performances.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sidney Lee, "Fleay, Frederick Gard (1831-1909)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the London Stage 1559-1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1890). p.328

Edwardian Biographers 1900-1930

C.C. Stopes	(1841 - 1929)
E.K. Chambers	(1866 - 1954)
J.M. Robertson	(1856 - 1933)

C.C. Stopes was an eccentric independent scholar who, with virtually no resources, unabashedly challenged the great biographers of Shakespeare and continued to do so with relish and élan into her eighties.¹⁰⁸⁰ Published when she was seventy-three, her *Shakespeare's Environment*¹⁰⁸¹ has a preface which is both charming and hilarious by turns. Not that hilarity was intentional. She shares with us that on 23 April 1908 in Stratford-upon-Avon was a day of “storm, snow and sleet”. She continued “I have collected a few of my old papers which all contained something *new* [her emphasis] at the date at which they appeared.” Unfortunately the scholarship supporting the articles is somewhat uneven, with at least one “discovery” being previously reported by Halliwell-Phillipps.¹⁰⁸² If one reads through her unfailingly conversational style of writing and can forgive her almost desperate desire to rush to conclusions, she does present some material that she personally unearthed, though she was to be denied the major find that would have earned a place among the great Shakespeare researchers. Also to her credit, she had little time for totally unsubstantiated fables, treating William as “an interesting Warwickshire gentleman”,¹⁰⁸³ an approach Schoenbaum described as “refreshing” though in summary he found her work to be slapdash and poorly collated. When she does mention money it is only in the most simple of terms. She took the financial “fall” of John Shakespeare entirely at face value,¹⁰⁸⁴ content in repeating financial figures with no explanation or understanding of the law of the Early Modern Period. Numbers were her enemy not her friend and her work is of such poor quality and consistency that her major contribution was, if anything, negative, in that she further romanticised the *mythos* at the cost of reality.

Like Alexander Pope, J.M. Robertson was a self-taught scholar who left school at thirteen. After working as a clerk for the railways and having served time in a

¹⁰⁸⁰ Schoenbaum calls it a “rage for discovery” in Schoenbaum, *Lives*, p.460

¹⁰⁸¹ C.C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Environment* (London: Bell & Sons, 1914). p.V.

¹⁰⁸² This reference is to the 1595 “Mr. Shaxpere” indebted to “Jone Perat” for one book – an earlier reference appears in Halliwell-Phillipps *New Booke* of 1850.

¹⁰⁸³ Schoenbaum, *Lives*, p.461

¹⁰⁸⁴ Stopes, *Shakespeare's Environment* p.42.

solicitor's office again as a clerk, he became a journalist before becoming a Member of Parliament. Michael Freedon¹⁰⁸⁵ quoted H. J. Laski¹⁰⁸⁶ who said of Robertson "I doubt whether there was a more learned man ... in Great Britain." Living in an age when the weight of opinion held that Shakespeare wrote very little of his work, Robertson was a noted opponent of that position.¹⁰⁸⁷ While writing may have been a component of his income, his seat in Parliament removed the need to sell his publications and accordingly he was free to express his own opinions in his best tub-thumping manner.¹⁰⁸⁸

Inclined to prolixity, his attack in *The Baconian Heresy*¹⁰⁸⁹ is unsurprisingly wordy. However, where his work has been valuable to this thesis lies in his analysis of litigation and legalism. Robertson wrote extensively about the unwillingness of many writers to acknowledge the evidence for the general currency of legal phrases in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods: "they pervade all Elizabethan literature, and they tell of a general litigiousness which is at once the cause and the explanation."¹⁰⁹⁰ He quoted many examples to illustrate his point that the literature of the time is larded with legalese. His writing was especially useful where it concerns John Shakespeare:

...Shakespeare's father was a man of many lawsuits but nowhere in connection with this question has note been taken of the extent and significance of that expedience in the Shakespeare household...¹⁰⁹¹

He later continued,

...the fact seems to be that when John Shakespeare was distrained upon for debt and the writ was returned endorsed with the note... "quod predictus Johannes Shakspere nihil habit unde potest habet" ... he was not at all devoid of means, but was simply baffling the suit against him...¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁸⁵ Michael Freedon, "Robertson, John Mackinnon 1856 - 1933," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Long-serving Professor of Political Science at LSE and later Chairman of the Labour Party 1945-1946.

¹⁰⁸⁷ However his position on this issue was not universal.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Robertson was MP for Tyneside from 1906 to 1918, and was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1911-15, and Privy Councillor. Salaries for MPs commenced in 1911 at £400 p.a. and remained unchanged till they were reduced in 1931 to £360 p.a.. see: www.parliament.uk/about/faqs/house.

¹⁰⁸⁹ J.M. Robertson, *The Baconian Heresy* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913). See particularly Chapter VI – *Litigation and Legalism in Elizabethan England*.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid. p.140 Some of his other examples: "'Thou'lt go to law with the vicar for a tithe goose', says Hobson in Heywood's *Edward IV*...As Nashe has it in *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Devil* 'Lawyers cannot devise which way in the world to beg, they are so troubled with brabblements and suits every term, of yeomen and gentlemen that fall out for nothing'."

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid. p.144

¹⁰⁹² Ibid. p.146 – John Shakespeare does not have anything which can be distrained (seized as debtors payment see Glossary)

Robertson considered that if John Shakespeare were in reduced circumstances - as many supposed - then how could he have paid the fines which the same critics point to as evidence of his poverty?

He concluded this part of his investigation with three observations:

“...the normality of litigation in Stratford as in Elizabethan England in general...”

“...the abundant share of the Shakespeares in legal experience...”

“...the possibility of error in the old inference, accepted by most of us, as to the father’s impecuniosity...”¹⁰⁹³

E. K. Chambers was described by Schoenbaum as “This most eminent of modern Shakespearians”.¹⁰⁹⁴ Like Robertson and Stopes, Chambers could be described as an “amateur” in that Shakespearean biography and theatrical analysis were an adjunct to his civil service career. Chambers himself could be equally modest in insisting on the part-time nature of his scholarship. Yet his accomplishments are quite simply staggering in terms of volume produced and detail included. A knighthood recognized his service both to education and scholarship. In 1892 he had begun service in the Education Department, later to be the Board of Education.

Among Chambers’ greatest achievements was his four volume work *The Elizabethan Stage*¹⁰⁹⁵ and two volume biography *William Shakespeare*.¹⁰⁹⁶ However, in both there are signs of a definite inflexibility of viewpoint. When a fact emerged that did not fit with his view it was either not relevant or he somehow knew all about whatever it was already. There is an Edwardian, some would say Imperial, approach to how he dismissed opinion or research that deviated from his own, and in so doing perhaps limited the range of his work. The only other aspect of his writing that occasionally jars is when, like Schoenbaum, he becomes wrapped up in the romance of his own imaginings – Chambers described Shakespeare’s last days as being set in

...the open fields and cool water-meadows and woodland of Stratford, and the great garden of New Place, where the mulberries he had planted were yet young...¹⁰⁹⁷

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid. p.146

¹⁰⁹⁴ Schoenbaum, *Lives* p.521

¹⁰⁹⁵ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923).

¹⁰⁹⁶ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid. p.88

There are no enclosures, starvation, filth and plague in this vision, or if there were, they were kept in their proper place. The financial figures he quotes are accurate but the financial conclusions are either absent or naïve at best and he spends an entire chapter of his *The Elizabethan Stage* reporting on the amounts of investments made by successful players together with a rudimentary analysis of theatre earnings. In this latter case his arguments rely heavily on the opinions of Alwin Thaler who in 1918 had tried to bring some sense of reality to the inflated claims of Sidney Lee.¹⁰⁹⁸

Fleay had put Shakespeare's annualized earnings at £1545 p.a. after which Lee, with marginally better accuracy, estimated these at over £700 p.a.. Thaler with considerable ease knocked this down to £350 p.a.

Chambers himself correctly rejects suggestions that Shakespeare spent £1000 a year as nonsense but there is no great confidence in his writing where numbers are concerned.¹⁰⁹⁹ He takes a thousand pages in his *William Shakespeare* of 1930 to describe the man and his works, but the subject of money is always quickly dispatched.

But perhaps the greatest compliment that can be paid any writer - and it is certainly so in the case of Chambers – was that he stood, and in some aspects still stands, as the benchmark for others to aspire to.¹¹⁰⁰

Edwardian Postscript

All three of the above writers were, in true British fashion, amateurs. Stopes can lay the best claim to being a writer, though the manner in which she approaches her work could hardly be called professional. Robertson and Chambers were civil servants who purportedly had full time occupations. All three lack any form of financial or even mathematical training; they manifestly loved Shakespeare's work and idolized the man. Unsurprisingly all three become less authoritative when their investigations move on to the subject of money.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Alwin Thaler, "Shakespeare's Income," *Studies in Philology* (U. of North Carolina) 15, no. 2 (1918): 82-96.

¹⁰⁹⁹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). II p.348

¹¹⁰⁰ All six volumes (3000 densely printed pages) referred to above permanently sit within my arm's reach on my desk.

British Academic Biographers 1930 Onwards

C. J. Sisson	(1885 - 1966)
Stanley Wells	(1930 -)
Andrew Gurr	(1936 -)
Peter Thomson	(1938 -)

The British university system, post Chambers, produced professors of Shakespeare and the Early Modern Theatre who were able to successfully combine teaching with their own research and writing.

On 25 April 1934 C. J. Sisson delivered the annual Shakespeare lecture to the British Academy entitled *The Mythical Sorrows of Shakespeare* - an event described “as momentous in its own way as Chambers’ lecture ten years previously.”¹¹⁰¹ Hazelton Spencer, in review,¹¹⁰² described Sisson as “protesting with learning and wit” in a lecture that mostly dwelt on the pointlessness of the over-dramatization of Shakespeare’s own life. He wanted to establish that too much fanciful interpretation, without facts, is hardly productive or useful. Spencer asserts that he delivered “a swashing blow... against [earlier] biographical follies.” As a sample of Sissons work there is his *The Boar’s Head Theatre* - a short yet beautifully detailed account of the inn-yard theatre.¹¹⁰³ In the preface to the 1972 edition Stanley Wells wrote of his first meeting with Sisson,

...A day in 1947 when, as a schoolboy, I travelled from Yorkshire to London as an applicant for a place in the English Department of University College...

He continued,

...as an undergraduate I attended his lectures on Shakespeare...[he was] mischievous, ripe in sagacity, genial in his capacity for irreverence...his obvious warmth of heart...¹¹⁰⁴

The remaining three writers, all now Professors Emeritus, are still writing about Shakespeare. They all commenced their academic careers in a period when University

¹¹⁰¹ Schoenbaum, *Lives* p.526

¹¹⁰² Hazelton Spencer, “The Mythical Sorrows of Shakespeare,” *MLR* (MRHA) 30, no. 3 (July 1935): 363-364.

¹¹⁰³ C.J. Sisson, *The Boar’s Head Theatre*, ed. Stanley Wells (London: Routledge, 1972).

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Preface.

education was available to those of ability and their work resonates with the same rational tone set by Sisson. All three write with skill, knowledge and wit.

Andrew Gurr's *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642*¹¹⁰⁵ of 2004 was of particular assistance in the preparation of this thesis. In this he sought to chronicle "the first complete history of the theatre company created in 1594." Within his chapter: "Will money buy em?: company finances"¹¹⁰⁶ he presented his effort as being to

...register an individual company's business activities in modern accountancy terms, turnover, income and expenditure accounts, the sharers' profits, levels of staff pay...¹¹⁰⁷

This was a remarkably brave statement, given that Gurr's career had been in the teaching of English, though he lists others who supported his work - including both Aaron¹¹⁰⁸ and Carson.¹¹⁰⁹ That Gurr's analysis fell short was partly due to a lack of empirical data, partly due to a desire to express and interpret financial analysis as prose. However, his recognition of the crucial approach i.e. abandon fable and look for tangible figures, deserves the highest praise.

Peter Thomson, modestly delivered a neat bombshell when in 1983¹¹¹⁰ he made the observation that

...his [William Shakespeare's] annual income from the Globe alone between 1599 and 1608 may be conservatively estimated at £55...

He then mentions other potential payments in addition to the £55 might have been in respect of:

...the plays he provided ...nor for the stronger possibility that he was allowed all the takings on a second-day benefit performance of each of his new plays...¹¹¹¹

In ninety years Shakespeare's annual earnings had fallen, in estimate, from Fleay's 1890 £1545 to Thomson's £55 (plus tips) of 1983.

¹¹⁰⁵ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004).

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p.85-119

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p.85

¹¹⁰⁸ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005). Associate Professor of English, California Polytechnic State University at Pomona.

¹¹⁰⁹ Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Associate Professor of English at the University of Guelph.

¹¹¹⁰ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.34

¹¹¹¹ Ibid. p.34

Now £55 a year was far from a trivial sum as an annual wage at the time. But it is far short of the many hundreds of pounds of investments that the Shakespeares made during these years, nor could earnings from his plays have made up the difference. Elsewhere in the same volume he termed Shakespeare's ability to raise the cash to become a sharer in 1594 as "surprising."¹¹¹²

Gurr and Thomson were addressing both the same key questions: who made what out of the business of the Early Modern Theatre in London and when? The last word belongs to Thomson. He observed of Henslowe - and we must consider the possibility that this applied to many more of those involved with the theatre - "Henslowe went where the money was..."¹¹¹³

American Biographers 1890 Onwards

Charles William Wallace	(1865 - 1932)
Gerald Eades Bentley	(1901 - 1994)
Mark Eccles	(1905 - 1998)
Leslie Hotson	(1897 - 1992)
Alfred Harbage	(1901 - 1976)
Samuel Schoenbaum	(1927 - 1996)
William Ingram	(1940-)
James H. Forse	(1939-)

In 1998, Conrad Sordino made the following observation in Mark Eccles' obituary:

...no one has made fuller and better use of England's public records than the American Shakespeare scholar Mark Eccles. His researches in the manuscript records of the Public Record Office, the London Guildhall, the Corporation of London, Westminster, and London and Warwickshire parishes...¹¹¹⁴

In doing so he was perhaps being a little unkind to Eccles's fellow American scholars, several of whom also deserve praise for their gritty assault on English public records in their search for new data about the Shakespeares and the Early Modern Theatre.

¹¹¹² Thomson, *Shakespeare* p.14

¹¹¹³ Ibid. p.27

¹¹¹⁴ Conrad Sordino, "Mark Eccles, Obituary," *The Independent*, 12 18, 1998.

An early critique of the technique of delving into public records in search of new, tangible, evidence about Shakespeare, so central to the Americans' efforts, came in E.K. Chambers' review of Wallace's *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603* of 1908. The tone in the preamble to this volume would likely, on its own, have raised eyebrows – it describes Wallace as having

...In 1905 ...discovered and published in London, as side-lights on larger results, three contemporary documents concerning Shakespeare. These, as the first scrap of information since Halliwell's discovery thirty-five years before, were widely reviewed and discussed in the metropolitan newspapers and literary journals of Europe and America. But their immediate worth was in inducing the realization that not all records touching the Poet were yet known ...¹¹¹⁵

Chambers launched his review with

...a foretaste of his results has already been given by means of certain communications to the daily journals...

As far as he was concerned Wallace only

...Claims to have tracked much unpublished material...

He continued,

...I venture to think that his conclusions are in certain respects vitiated by an exaggerated conception of the extent to which it is possible to get behind the often conventional phraseology of official documents...Like Lear, Dr. Wallace will talk of court news and take upon him the mystery of things, as if he were God's spy...¹¹¹⁶

Was Chambers misplaced in his criticisms? As one reads Wallace, there is no doubt where the strength of his work lies. Even Chambers acknowledges that “his assembling is done exhaustively” with the qualification that it is done “...on the whole with commendable, although not perfect, accuracy...”.¹¹¹⁷ However, many of Wallace's conclusions were indeed highly conjectural.

Twenty years later W.W. Greg, commenting on one of the next generation of Americans - Leslie Hotson - made the observation of his *Shakespeare versus Shallow* that

¹¹¹⁵ Charles W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars 1597-1603* (University of Nebraska, 1908).

¹¹¹⁶ E.K. Chambers, “The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603 by Charles William Wallace,” *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 5, no. 2 (April 1910): 224-227.

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

...Hunting for records of Shakespeare is a heart-breaking and not very profitable game that is played mainly by American professors, to whom naturally and very properly the plums usually fall. The skill and perseverance of Professor Hotson have been rewarded by the discovery that in the autumn of 1596 one William Wayte swore the peace against William Shakespeare, Francis Langley, and two unknown women, and this fact has been elaborated to the extent of a hundred and thirty pages...¹¹¹⁸

In writing this, Greg very neatly summarized both the greatest strength and perhaps the corresponding weakness in the work of this group of American scholars – great and exhaustive persistence in searching records but poor or fanciful presentation and analysis.

That the Americans' work existed at all is due in large part to the various foundations established by the corps of American millionaires who, during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, came to Europe to buy culture and cultural respectability. So large were some of these fortunes that building a library or museum went in tandem with establishing foundations to fund further scholarly research. The Folger Library in Washington D.C. is a case in point, with its origins in the cash derived from two great family fortunes, and it was in this library that Halliwell-Phillipps' collections were eventually housed, after the City of Manchester declined to purchase them, following his death, for £8000.

With foundation or academic support the Americans were, and remain, able to investigate "England's public records"¹¹¹⁹ in painstaking detail.

For example, Mark Eccles in 1961 listed his latter-day patrons and hosts as being

...the Fulbright Commission, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation...the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin... the Folger library¹¹²⁰

That they have made valuable discoveries (perhaps rediscoveries would be the better term) remains beyond question but where there is a lack is in the successful transmutation of these individual finds into a cohesive structure that resolves other gaps in the record. W.W. Greg's severe attitude to Hotson's work can be justified only on

¹¹¹⁸ W.W. Greg, "Shakespeare versus Shallow by Leslie Hotson," *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 27, no. 2 (1932): 218-221.

¹¹¹⁹ Sordino, *Mark Eccles, Obituary*

¹¹²⁰ Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961). p.VI

the basis that he was indeed factually correct – most of Hotson’s “hundred and thirty pages” were indeed of fairly poor quality from a scholarly standpoint. Much of it could be rightly described as padding. Alfred Harbage was one writer who took a different tack both in terms of academic approach and to a limited extent in finance. If one looks beyond his flowery prose, there was considerable originality in the manner in which he determined the finances of the early theatres by returning to first principles and calculating what the seating/standing capacities could have been. That his calculations contained errors need not diminish his originality and his desire for fact over anecdote.¹¹²¹

James Shapiro, William Ingram and James Forse represent the current body of American academics focused, in varying degrees, on the English Early Modern Theatre. All three, in differing, ways still represent the American willingness to take what can be termed either fresh approaches or liberties, depending on one’s point of view, with established scholarship.

Margaret Rose Jaster described Forse’s *Art Imitates Business* as having the ability to both “stimulate and irritate.” Yet she found that

...Forse convincingly argues that it was the commercial pursuits of Burbage, Henslowe, Alleyn, and Shakespeare that catapulted England into her dramatic glory...¹¹²²

However, an English reviewer N. W. Bawcutt found the aim of the same book was

...to emphasize the financial side of the Elizabethan theatre, its functioning as a commercial business whose aim was to make money, sometimes in very dubious ways. There are frequent comparisons to Hollywood and modern big business...¹¹²³

And yet, he accurately observed that

The scholarship of the book is sometimes defective... somewhat slapdash in manner [and] the book is a strange mixture of wary scepticism and wild speculation... clearly the book provokes a mixed

¹¹²¹ He also took an alternative approach to personal funding for while drawing his salary as a Harvard professor he moonlighted as “Thomas Kyd” creator of the fictional police investigator Sam Phelan. *Blood is a Beggar* (1946), *Blood of Vintage* (1947), *Blood on the Bosom Devine* (1948), and *Cover His Face* (1949). Amusingly a “fine” first edition copy of *Blood is a Beggar* now trades for upwards of \$200 – far in excess of his scholarly works.

¹¹²² Margaret Rose Jaster, "Art Imitates Business by James H. Forse," *Albion* 26 (1994): 498-499.

¹¹²³ N.W. Bawcutt, "Art Imitates Business by James H. Forse," *The Review of English Studies* 47, no. 186 (1996): 241-242.

response: there are good things in it, but there are also fantastic implausibilities, and it obviously needs to be read very cautiously...¹¹²⁴

In 2005 James Shapiro in *1599* produced what Gary Taylor writing in the Guardian called "...a hitchhiker's guide to the Shakespearean universe"¹¹²⁵. Robert McCrum in the Observer gushed that it was an "unforgettable illumination of a crucial moment in the life of our greatest writer...Shakespeare lovers everywhere will be grateful for it". Yet William Long in a nine thousand word critique of Shapiro and his book in 2008 commented

...[1599] is not a scholarly study and should not be confused with one. Unfortunately, this volume is basically a house of cards. From a distance, the edifice is interesting and even pleasing. But a push here and there collapses the structure. Incorrect facts and unsupportable suppositions do not provide firm bases for supporting Shapiro's contentions.¹¹²⁶

In 1978 William Ingram produced his biography of Francis Langley, the man behind the building of the Swan Theatre.¹¹²⁷ He embarked on this work at the suggestion of another author, Herbert Berry, who had commented to him about the numerous documents in the Public Records Office concerning Langley. Ingram, very much in the manner of Wallace, began an extended search. What emerged was an analysis of a man who operated in close proximity to Shakespeare and who, as Hotson¹¹²⁸ had established earlier, was named in the same writ - an event that figures prominently in this thesis.

Why the "American" contribution matters

Their contribution is threefold: first in their willingness to search for and find new data in the public record, often taking years of painstaking research – typified by Wallace and Hotson. Secondly, their search for documentary evidence over hearsay and myth - as demonstrated by Eccles, Schoenbaum, and Ingram. Thirdly, they demonstrate a willingness to go outside the bounds of convention to seek alternative ways of interpreting data or deriving fact from factual analysis.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹¹²⁵ He is referring to Douglas Adams, *The Hitchhikers Guide to The Galaxy* (Pan Macmillan, 1979).

¹¹²⁶ W. Long, "Review: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008).

¹¹²⁷ William Ingram, *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

¹¹²⁸ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931). The writ is PRO, KB27/1340/425

The weaknesses in their work is when they drift from fact into surmise and sentimentality which often blinds the writer to any unpleasant conclusions that could be safely drawn from the facts as presented. Robert Bearman called him “the ever-cautious Schoenbaum” yet even Schoenbaum, one of the most rational and factually driven of the group, when confronted with the unquestionable existence of William’s name on the Langley/Gardiner writ,¹¹²⁹ a writ initiated between two manifest villains, sought to sweep it away with “somehow Shakespeare was drawn into this feud”. The question of how and why Shakespeare appeared in the suit was never asked and the evidence was brushed aside as being part of a “minor legal drama.”¹¹³⁰ But when the more sentimentally satisfying but much weaker proposal of Shakespeare “in Lancashire” received a boost from Honigmann in 1985¹¹³¹ then “Schoenbaum [was] prepared to temper his initial scepticism”. As Bearman continued,

...it should come as no surprise [i.e. with Schoenbaum on board with the proposal] that bolder spirits have since developed the “Lancastrian connection” into an edifice of startling proportions.¹¹³²

However, book sales were not the primary funding source for this body of work. Little or none of this research would have been possible without the patronage of the American University system financially underpinned (then and now) by a small group of the hyper-wealthy in search of memorialisation. As English kings once sought to ameliorate their family’s sins - *post factum* - so this group of wealthy families continues to subscribe to purifying the family names through scholarship.

In the patron’s actions one is reminded of the lines from *Henry V*

...Toward heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do;
Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
Since that my penitence comes after all,
Imploring pardon.¹¹³³

This section started with the work of Mark Eccles and it is only fitting it concludes with the same. Eccles observed that

¹¹²⁹ The writ itself is actually sworn out by William Wayte who Ingram rightly describes as Gardiner’s “creature” though Gardiner himself is also a party to the document. Ingram, *London Life* p.144.

¹¹³⁰ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.146

¹¹³¹ Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the "lost years"* (Manchester: MUP, 1985).

¹¹³² Robert Bearman, “Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte? - Revisited,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger) 53, no. 1 (2002): 83-94. *x ref: 153* – Schoenbaum was initially critical of the Shakeshafte proposal though his position seemed to soften over time. See p.161.

¹¹³³ *Henry V*, IV, i

...As soon as Shakespeare had a house of his own [New Place, 1596/7] he began to think about buying land near Stratford. Adrian Quiney told Abraham Sturley, and Sturley wrote to Richard Quiney on January 24, 1597, “*that our countryman Mr. Shakespeare is willing to disburse some money upon some land or other at Shottery or thereabouts, he thinks it a very apt time for him to deal in the matter of tithes*”¹¹³⁴

Eccles’ research is accurate, his summary neutral and the follow-through missing, like much of the American contribution. Surely the key issue is not that Shakespeare bought the land or tithes - he did both in 1602 and 1605 - but where did the money come from? True, Shakespeare in 1597 might have been merely window-shopping in looking for investments for which he did not yet have the cash, but the tone of the letter does not suggest this.

Commercial Biographers 2000 Onwards

Peter Ackroyd (1949 -)

Charles Nicholl (1955 -)

These are representative of the body of professional writers who have recently popularized aspects of Shakespearean biography with varying degrees of accuracy. The study of Shakespeare is not a lifetime academic quest for them and their skills in storytelling are what earns their income through book sales. To some, such as Charles Nicholl, Shakespeare is an interesting historical figure – but only one of a number of interesting historical characters. His earlier books included biographies of Thomas Nashe and Leonardo da Vinci. In general, he approximates an academic style of research and his writing lists numerous sources, yet the scholarship is only skin deep as the text often repeats poorly supported legends. *The Lodger, Shakespeare on Silver Street*¹¹³⁵ was unquestionably a commercial success and popularized the study of Shakespeare but overall added nothing to the base of knowledge. Peter Ackroyd’s *Shakespeare the Biography*, though still in the popular domain, is altogether academically stronger. Ackroyd’s research is painstaking and where he could not find corroborating evidence he demonstrated considerable strength of character in avoiding the customary explanations. His refusal to join the legend over John Shakespeare’s

¹¹³⁴ Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961). p.92 – In the book the spelling has not been modernized, I have done so here (italicized) to aid the flow of the material.

¹¹³⁵ Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger - Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Penguin Allen Lane, 2007).

plunge into poverty was a case in point. However, detailed as his work was, it restricts itself to reportage. No conclusions are extrapolated from the data he presents. His work focuses on book sales and, like Nicholl, he moved onto other biographies such as those of Turner and Newton which he completed in 2006 and 2007 respectively.

But works of this type are superficial, there will be no hard questioning, nothing new will emerge. The strongest of these authors accept less fable and more fact, the weaker shun real research and deliver a précis of more scholarly work.

From a personal standpoint they can provide an afternoon's pleasure, an experience akin to watching a good television documentary programme. From a scholarly standpoint they are, at best, interesting and, at worst, downright misleading.

Group B – Shakespeare's Political Biographers

The Religionists 1880 Onwards

Thomas Carter	unknown
Edgar Fripp	(1861 - 1931)
Heinrich Mutschmann	(1885 - 1955)
Eamon Duffy	(1947 -)
Ernst Honigmann	(1927 -

Speculation around the religious beliefs of the Shakespeares still plays a part in Shakespearian biography even in the twenty-first century. True, much of this is a legacy from earlier periods and akin to the debate over Shakespearean authorship. But this fascination with religion still permeates and at times obstructs the analysis of the Shakespeares' lives and finances. Ernst Honigmann writing in 2009,¹¹³⁶ persisted with the question of John Shakespeare's possible Catholicism. Even outside Shakespearean biography, writers such as Eamon Duffy continue related debates. In 2009¹¹³⁷ Duffy wanted his readers to believe that Queen Mary I's "regime was neither inept or

¹¹³⁶ Ernst Honigmann, "Shakespeare's Life", in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: CUP, 2009).

¹¹³⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith - Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). See also Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* (New Haven: Yale, 2002). p.XVI.

backward looking” that it was “inspired” and “effective” and as they were “inevitable”, then the “devastatingly effective...burnings” were simply what was necessary in the circumstances.

Considering both Protestants and Catholics in one group may seem incongruous, but both factions seek to use the Shakespeare family to add prestige to their own religious beliefs. To them, the works of William Shakespeare are so important that he must have belonged to their own brand of religion.

The degree of “propaganda” spread by each writer varies enormously with both their level of conviction and the time in which they were writing. Thomas Carter¹¹³⁸ and Edgar Fripp, both protestant clergymen writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, certainly pull no punches in their writings.

The Expository Times,¹¹³⁹ a publication of the Church of Scotland, in its commentary on Carter’s book presented the following (tongue-in-cheek?) review in 1897:

...Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant. An addition to Shakespearean literature, distinct and notable, and at this time of day! Mr. Carter being himself a Puritan, and the son of a Puritan, is delighted to find that Shakespeare was a Puritan and the son of a Puritan also. He seems to prove it, even amid the proverbial facility with which you can prove Shakespeare was everything under the sun. And what then? Why, then, Puritans are proud all the world over. And besides all that, Shakespeare being a Puritan, knew his Bible, was trained on it, knew it well, and loved it too, you may be sure. And of that the evidences are everywhere throughout his works. Mr. Carter tells us even (following Phillips) which version he used. It was the version of 1560, the Puritan version of Geneva. It's a very pleasant book; at once literary and religious.¹¹⁴⁰

However, Fripp must be placed in an altogether different category from Carter. His two volume *Shakespeare: Man and Artist*, absent its religious gloss, stands firm alongside Chambers’ biography as one of the great works on the subject. Fripp had factors working both for and against a valid recognition of his work. In favour, he followed the approach of Malone in focusing on the Stratford Records themselves. Additionally

¹¹³⁸ T. Carter, *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*, New Edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1906).

¹¹³⁹ The publication is still in existence. Iain Torrance, President of Princeton Theological Seminary and former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1987 made the ‘recommendation’ that “The Expository Times inhabits a unique niche position. It is trustworthy both academically and pastorally. It publishes notices of new books more rapidly than any other journal. If a working pastor is to subscribe to any single journal, this is probably the wisest choice”. The Expository Times, volume 9, number one, p.31 to 34.

¹¹⁴⁰ *The Expository Times*, Vol. 9, No. 1, (1897) p.34

Malone had his contact/collaborator/investigator in Stratford in James Davenport – as did Fripp in Richard Savage.

Savage carefully brought all the *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*¹¹⁴¹ together in a most painstaking fashion. When one examines his original notes in the Shakespeare Birthplace Library both the care and the dedication he brought to the task are evident in his tiny, spidery handwriting. And these records, edited and accompanied by very large introductions by Fripp, contain the facts that were the foundations to Fripp's own work.¹¹⁴²

Against Fripp's recognition were his religious bias and his untimely death seven years before *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* was finally published in 1938.

Sisson in his review of the volumes¹¹⁴³ made the comment that

...Mr Fripp will surely gain common consent to his thesis that Shakespeare should be approached mainly from his antecedents, in the light of an older England of which he was the heir. Yet such consent will be more difficult if these antecedents are glossed, as by Mr Fripp, with a predominantly Protestant and "Liberal" bias, the inevitable concomitant of Mr Fripp's own strong convictions...

Sisson points out the central problem of the religionist biographers - the "good" was often obscured by the "worthy." Yet Fripp gives a far more rational explanation of how and possibly why John Shakespeare counter-indemnified other parties to avoid fines and in doing so demonstrated a clear understanding of the legal process of the time, and its shortcomings.¹¹⁴⁴

A shining example of conviction over reality is Heinrich Mutschmann and Karl Wentersdorf's¹¹⁴⁵ *Shakespeare and Catholicism*, a book that shares both Carter's directness of title and single mindedness of approach. But whereas Fripp took the trouble to seek factual support for some of his conclusions, the authors were content

¹¹⁴¹ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts*

¹¹⁴² Such is my own admiration for Fripp and Savage's achievement and my belief that the *Records* are vital in any analysis I have prepared my own summary of Fripp's introductions and this is attached to the thesis. *x ref.311*

¹¹⁴³ C.J. Sisson, "Shakespeare Man and Artist by Edgar Fripp," *The Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 34, no. 3 (July 1939): 433-434.

¹¹⁴⁴ *x ref. footnote 544*

¹¹⁴⁵ H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf, *Shakespeare and Catholicism*, 2nd Edition (New York: AMS Press, 1969).

recounting old stories - though it must be granted they recounted them fairly well - and then blindly insisting that everything confirmed the Shakespeare family's closet Catholicism. Where there is some reference to money it is invariably incorrect, startlingly naïve or folded into the proposition that the only question on anyone's mind during this period was of religion. An example of this concerns the purchase of New Place where it is clear neither Mutschmann nor Wentersdorf has any grasp of how property was conveyed or even questioned where the purchase price was obtained.¹¹⁴⁶ By some miracle, the closing words of this four hundred page book state that

[William Shakespeare] before he died, he received the last sacraments of that faith in which he was born and brought up – Catholicism¹¹⁴⁷

Quite how this conclusion was validated remains unclear.

Notwithstanding the extreme preoccupation of most religionists, there is no doubt that, almost accidentally, their work can highlight some aspect of the Shakespeares' finances or legal affairs that has been overlooked by mainstream biographers. Fripp's explanation of John Shakespeare's fines is surely the best and most logical analysis of what actually took place. As a group, much of their work is too coloured to be of use but there are occasional gems, even if they are coincidental.

Group C – Historians and Editors

The Historical Writers & Biographers 1875 Onwards

Peter Bowden	(1925 -)
John Burnett	(1925 -)
Melissa D. Aaron	
Daniel Kornstein	
B.J. (& M.) Sokol	
Lawrence Stone	(1919 - 1999)
Martin Ingram	
Richard Savage	(1847 - 1924)
Robert Bearman	

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p.143

¹¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p.385

The term “Historians” describes this group of economists, social historians, lawyers and archivists.

In Peter Bowden¹¹⁴⁸ and John Burnett there are two economic historians writing of the history of the wool trade and the cost of living. Though neither mentions the Shakespeares, the work of both is important to this thesis. In Bowden’s case he quantifies not just the nature of the industry but also describes individual business transactions. These transactions can then be compared to those of John Shakespeare listed in his various legal cases. By tying these sets of data together we have evidence of the actual size of John’s business, relative to other national-level wool dealers. Bowden supplies the pieces necessary to prove that John Shakespeare was not the marginal player many have assumed but a major trader and consequentially he supported Rowe’s assertions. Burnett supplied the data necessary to start the process of quantifying the economic conditions in which the Shakespeares’ business operated, and most importantly the fiscal reality prevailing when William made his investments, crucial data when trying to gauge relative buying power after four centuries.¹¹⁴⁹

Melissa Aaron, already mentioned in connection with Andrew Gurr, focused in 2005¹¹⁵⁰ on the economics of the Globe though, as noted earlier, she herself is an Associate Professor of English who specializes in “Shakespeare, ...the history of the theater business in the Early Modern era...”.¹¹⁵¹ Aaron’s reference to the “theatre business” is significant for it is the “business” aspect that draws this group together. Despite her conclusions being overly optimistic, both she and Gurr¹¹⁵², prior to this thesis, delivered two of the most systematic attempts to show abbreviated balance sheets for the business of playing.

The range of Lawrence Stone’s writing was quite remarkable and frequently when looking for information on a precise aspect of life in the Early Modern Period one discovers he had written a highly detailed account of that particular issue. Both Stone and Martin Ingram¹¹⁵³ commented on the question of the social tone in Early Modern

¹¹⁴⁸ Peter Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 1st Edition (London: Macmillan, 1962).

¹¹⁴⁹ John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London: Pelican, 1969).

¹¹⁵⁰ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

¹¹⁵¹ See <http://www.csupomona.edu/~maaron/main.html>

¹¹⁵² Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1564-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

¹¹⁵³ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987).

England. Stone took an essentially dark view of early modern life. He wrote about a society where neighbour spied upon neighbour and the church and state spied on everyone. Ingram did not dispute facts. However, he held that there was some truth to the notion of Hazlitt's¹¹⁵⁴ "Merry" England where laughter and beauty did exist. Apart from the factual detail, what these authors present is a clear illustration that investigation cannot rely on one writer, as personal preference can have a profound effect on how a particular circumstance or event is reported.

Daniel Kornstein and the Sokols represent current attempts to take a multi-disciplinary approach to the questions surrounding Shakespearean scholarship using, in part, their skills as lawyers. Indeed *Shakespeare, Law and Marriage* asserted it was an

...interdisciplinary study [which] combines legal, historical and literary approaches and applies them to the practice and theory...¹¹⁵⁵

and the Sokols stated their ultimate goal as being

...a better understanding of these issues, ...illustrates both Shakespeare's work and his age.¹¹⁵⁶

The work of Richard Savage in connection with Edgar Fripp has already been referenced. However Robert Bearman, one of the subsequent holders of a similar position in The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, deserves special credit. Bearman's article of 2005 *John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless*,¹¹⁵⁷ was the first writing to focus on Shakespeare's father in a hundred years. However, though informative, one wonders to what degree the writing had to be shaped to fit in with the *mythos*, given that it had to conform both to Stratford orthodoxy as well as the helpers¹¹⁵⁸ he lists. However, he graciously acknowledged that

...my biggest debts, however, are posthumous: to Edgar Fripp, whose voluminous notes on Shakespeare's Stratford have provided many useful pointers...

¹¹⁵⁴ William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, 3rd. Edition (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845). p.168

¹¹⁵⁵ Daniel Kornstein, *Kill All The Layers*, 2005 (new edition) (Bison Books, University of Nebraska, 2005).

¹¹⁵⁶ B.J. Sokol and Mary Sokol, *Shakespeare, Law and Marriage* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

¹¹⁵⁷ Robert Bearman, "John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless," *Shakespeare Quarterly* (CUP) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433. His full title was: Head of Archives and Local Studies, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

¹¹⁵⁸ Professor Katherine Duncan-Jones, Professor René Weis, and Professor Sir John Baker are specifically mentioned.

The Editorial Biographers 1970 Onwards

Stephen Greenblatt (1943 -)

Jonathan Bate (1958 -)

Jonathan Bate and Stephen Greenblatt stand on either side of the Atlantic, with one as the co-editor of the RSC *William Shakespeare Complete Works* and the other the general editor of the American *The Norton Shakespeare*. Both are professional academics and may be described as being literary critics, theorists and scholars.

From Greenblatt's first book - on Walter Raleigh¹¹⁵⁹ - there were inklings of an underlying philosophy that he would later articulate as "my deep, ongoing interest...[in] the relation between literature and history." He first adopted the term "new historicism" in 1982¹¹⁶⁰ to illustrate the "mutual permeability of the literary and the historical." But his philosophical approach, important and brilliant as it is, has centred on how to understand or view problems and differed from the earlier "American" researchers who sought to make "new" discoveries.

Both Bate and Greenblatt have, in recent years, published commercially successful Shakespearian biographies, and how they define John Shakespeare is instructive. Greenblatt recounts all the customary stories with accuracy, but the approach is hardly innovative – he quoted Nicholas Rowe (as many have) and noted the evidence of the "ten" children mistake.¹¹⁶¹ But, unlike Peter Ackroyd, he is already going down a well-trodden path to John Shakespeare's supposed financial decline. Bearman contrasts Greenblatt with several other authors and makes this careful observation

...Stephen Greenblatt... in *Will in the World*... presents a more complex character [than others], but a man still much preoccupied by his religious beliefs.¹¹⁶²

¹¹⁵⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973) this was based on his own doctoral thesis.

¹¹⁶⁰ The first use is in the introduction to *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance concerning Queen Elizabeth's "bitter reaction to the revival of Shakespeare's Richard II on the eve of the Essex rebellion"* see also Stephen Greenblatt, *The Greenblatt Reader*, 1st Edition, ed. Michael Payne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

¹¹⁶¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Pimlico, 2005).

¹¹⁶² Bearman, *John Shakespeare*.

For Bate, John Shakespeare hardly exists, meriting only an occasional reference.¹¹⁶³ However, he has recently focused on the court structure of the time in particular the Consistory Court¹¹⁶⁴ and this has been of value in preparing this thesis.

¹¹⁶³ Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare*, 2nd Edition (London: Picador, 2008).

¹¹⁶⁴ Jonathan Bate, "Shakespeare and the Law" (University of Warwick, 2007). Conference Paper.

III - EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS HELD AT THE PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE

1. London tax commissioners 1597 (E 179/146/354)

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Transcript of an extract from a certificate
by London tax commissioners 1597 (E 179/146/354)

St Martyns Outwhiche parishe.

Anthony Treavys.....viii liviii s

Robert Whorewood..... v li v s

St Ellens parishe.

Peter Dallila..... 1 li 1 s

William Shackspeare..... v li..... v s

Thomas Smythe gent..... xxx li xxx s

William Boyele..... xxx li xxx s

..... dyd saye and affirme that the persons hereunder named are all other dead departed and gone out of the sayd warde or their goodes so eloigned or conveyed out of the same or in suche pryvate or coverte manner kepte whereby the severall Sommes of money on them severally taxed and assessed towards the sayde second payment of the sayde laste subsidye nether might nor coulde by anye meanes by them the sayde Pettycollectors or ether of them be leveyed of them or anye of them to her majestie's use.

2. By London tax commissioners, 1598 (E 179/146/369)

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

St Hellens parishe
 Sir John Spencer knight a commissioner..ccc li.... xl li
 ...

John Robinson the yonger.....x li.....xxvis viiid
 John Scymme.....iii li....viii s
 Affid
 William Shakespeare.....v li.....xiii s iiiii d
 George Axon.....iii li....viii s
 Edward Jackson.....iii li....viii s

 Note: Each line contains the name of the person being taxed, the first number in the line is the value of their belongings and the second number (at the end of the line) is the amount of tax they have to pay at this collection. Therefore Sir John Spencer has goods worth 300 and he therefore owes 40 in tax.

Affid. = affidavit: this indicates that the person has not paid the tax which he/her [she] owes to the Exchequer.¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁶⁵ Emphasis added. The “her” is a typographical error in the original PRO website.

3. Entry on main account of the Exchequer 1599 (E 372/445)

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Transcript of entry on main account of the
Exchequer 1599 (E 372/445)

“William Shakespeare in the parish of St. Helen's, 13s. 4d. of the first entire subsidy granted in the said thirty ninth year [of the reign of Queen Elizabeth] which is required upon the same there.”

Note: This Pipe Roll lists an old debt of tax owed (13s, 4d.) and points out that it is the business of the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex and according to a note in the margin of the document, this matter was sent to the Bishop of Winchester for his attention. In both Surrey and Sussex, the Bishop only had authority over the area of the Clink in Southwark. This is where many of the London Elizabethan theatres, including the Globe Theatre were built.

The National Archives section from which the above is drawn could also have included two further references to Shakespeare in the

Residuum London Accounts of 6 October 1599 (PRO Pipe Rolls E. 372/444) *Residuum Sussex Accounts* of 6 October 1600 (PRO Pipe Rolls E. 372/445)

Both of these are effectively follow-up entries to the three listed above.

IV - EXPLANATORY NOTES TO FINANCIAL TABLES

x ref. Table 17 - Hypothetical Financial Statement - Globe Theatre c.1600

Line	Comments
1	Gurr ¹¹⁶⁶ and Aaron have been selected as comparative analyses as both are recent and both offer a degree of a consistency in financial approach.
2	Year of publication –see footnotes.
4	Income is gross income from the activity of playing i.e. from all sources.
5	Galleries (sharers) Gurr estimates gallery income at £750 gross for 1594-7, rising to £800 for 1603-8 based on “increased earnings as the Company’s status rose.” ¹¹⁶⁷ At the Rose Theatre income from galleries 1594-6 was £672. ¹¹⁶⁸ I have tended towards Thomson’s observation of a much flatter earnings curve than Gurr or Aaron “...no increase in the theatrical public since 1595...” ¹¹⁶⁹
6 & 7	Despite the earlier evidence from the Rose that gallery receipts exceeded those of the yard, Gurr in all his analysis shows the reverse – which from a financial standpoint favours the Company over the Owners. ¹¹⁷⁰ Aaron has the yard at only 50% of Gallery income. To put it another way: per Henslowe’s notebook Gallery income is 53% of the gross, Gurr for 1594-7 is 49% falling to 48.5% for 1603-8, Aaron has the Galleries at only 33% as “Forse and Baldwin assume that the gallery represented two thirds of the total receipts” ¹¹⁷¹ though she does not detail exactly where and how these two authors reached this conclusion. Forse does not (even) provide an index to his work (certainly not in the 1993 edition). ¹¹⁷² However, I am convinced that the two thirds galleries is the better approach based on Thomson, Cook etc.
8	I have followed the assumption that 6 per year is a good average figure – Chambers notes that: “The longest number of plays given before given before Elizabeth in any one winter was probably in 1600-1, when there were 11...during the greater part of the reign the number ranged from six to ten”. ¹¹⁷³ The question then arises what share would have fallen to the Lord Chamberlain’s Men? Six out of a total of 11 appears reasonable. Chambers continues by stating that £10 was the usual fee for “presentinge.” Gurr’s £50 is defensible as a good average figure But as there were occasional exceptional fees such as one paid to the (then) King’s Men of £30 in 1603 ¹¹⁷⁴ for the players “paynes and expenses” in coming down to Mortlake in what was the plague Winter. It is of course highly debatable that Elizabeth would ever have paid over the odds - £10 being the norm - versus her spendthrift Scottish successor. I have edged the amount higher to £60 to reflect some possibility of this.
9	Touring is shown as a net revenue figure – while the REED data is convincing that a viable touring circuit existed the amounts involved do not suggest any great income could be derived from it – Aaron simple ignores it focused as she is on the Globe Theatre. £60 is probably a generous estimate.
10	Aaron gives no allowances for other performances or gratuities – Gurr on the other hand is bullish on the issue. It is most unlikely that “tips” wouldn’t be forthcoming and that requests such as the Richard II performance for the Essex rebels (well documented) with a £2 special fee were occasionally available. But the scale of these – like those for patronage-type dedications

¹¹⁶⁶ A Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004).

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p.108

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p.106

¹¹⁶⁹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.30

¹¹⁷⁰ Curiously even in the pages before his own tables he correctly shows the figures for the Rose (Table 3.1) the other way round see Gurr, *Shakespeare Company* pages p.106, 108

¹¹⁷¹ Melissa Aaron, *Global Economics* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005). p.55 She could also have added Harbage - Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience*, 2nd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). p.28-32

¹¹⁷² James H. Forse, *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993).

¹¹⁷³ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). Vol. I. p.214 see footnote 1 concerning “unrewarded” plays.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p.217/8

	would, using the Essex/Richard II case as an indication were most likely to have been in the order of a few pounds.
11	Other income relates to some measure of compensation for those selling refreshments and cushions in the theatre during performances as well as exceptional fees such as the “£2 that the Exeter conspirators paid to have <i>Richard II</i> restaged”. ¹¹⁷⁵
12	Gurr feels that £1500 is an “at least” figure ¹¹⁷⁶ – but here he is grossing up from figures in Henslowe’s notebook without recognizing that an additional theatre would mean more supply of entertainment and hence a lowering of price or number of customers – i.e. just opening a theatre does not magically increase the total number of available patrons overnight. Earlier he noted that £5 a day at the Theatre produced £1100 for a playing year of 220 days. ¹¹⁷⁷
15 & 16	All three estimates for costs of plays are close together, the data supporting these being from several disparate references – the estimate for costumes is less well supported, if anything it is still low at £250.
16	See Section 3.3 (above) <i>x ref.60</i> for a discussion on this issue. Gurr has clothing falling in price as a cost in 1603-1608 in contrast to his £300 for the earlier and later periods – I have included his “£250” though one wonders if this was an oversight on his part? Again, Gurr seems high and Aaron too low.
17	Aaron’s actual estimate was £144 ¹¹⁷⁸ – but as she herself notes this is not an all inclusive cost – she makes no estimate for musicians and uses the term “at least” before the £144 – the £50 notional increase reflects the additional charges she alludes to but does not quantify. Gurr ¹¹⁷⁹ put the figure on a much higher basis and though he details his thinking there is altogether a suggestion of “rounding up” in his final £300.
18	Aaron inexplicably makes no specific addition for this – she references “Poor Law” twice but only in another context. Gurr’s estimate of £10 is acceptable.
21	Gurr is tacit on this cost while Aaron’s figure seems extortionately high. The probability is that the Burbages themselves – a family of joiners and at least one painter (Richard) would have done at least some portion of any work themselves. Even Aaron noted that the £108 Henslowe paid for the Rose in 1592 included a remodelling and enlargement of the theatre. ¹¹⁸⁰
22	Again Gurr is non-specific on this cost.
24	Aaron appears to understate this figure – as Gurr notes “we may note it as a signifier of the general lack of money the fact the Burbages failed to pay their Licence Fees to the Master of the Revels until he took them to court in 1604”. ¹¹⁸¹
41	Gurr ¹¹⁸²

Note: This table was prepared as a quick comparison to the recent work of two other scholars – I have prepared my own estimates using the methods described in the thesis especially using the approaches of Harbage and others. I have concluded that the history of estimating theatre revenue has been one of grossly overestimating - or simply wishful thinking - while understating expenses. My own contention is that strict ticket sales (alone) from patrons have very, very rarely supported any theatrical performance over time. The ancient Greek theatre relied in part on sponsorship in lieu of taxation of the wealthy just as performance in modern day Las Vegas is, in truth, only existing because of gambling and other revenue streams. Based on my analysis, Early Modern Theatre in London was no “golden age” despite very low salaries.¹¹⁸³ Theatrical fortunes were made, but not through entrance fees alone.

¹¹⁷⁵ Gurr, *Shakespeare Company* p.98

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid. p.97

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p.98

¹¹⁷⁸ Aaron, *Global Economics* p.54

¹¹⁷⁹ Gurr, *Shakespeare Company* p.102

¹¹⁸⁰ Aaron, *Global Economics* p.52

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid. p.98 see also Mary Edmond, “Yeomen, Citizens, Gentlemen and Players: The Burbages and Their Connections,” in *Elizabethan Theatre: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum*, ed. R.B. Parker and S. P. Zitner, 30-49 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996).

¹¹⁸² Gurr, *Shakespeare Company* p.98

¹¹⁸³ See Mary Oates and William Baumol, “On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London,” *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976). who try to use this as an explanation for the phenomenon.

x ref. Table 20 - William Shakespeare's Expenditures

Year	Comments
1593	Joint London and Stratford Expense starts at £35 per annum, compounding starts. £50 London investment as he becomes sharer in Lord Chamberlain's Men.
1597	Living expense jumps to £55 with the acquisition of New Place, compounding continues. Stratford expense is New Place at £60 (though this is, in all probability understated).
1599	Expense moves to £65 with change in status, New Place etc. compounding continues. £60 to become Housekeeper in Globe, £40 in connection with title.
1602	£320 for land in Stratford.
1605	£440 for tithes
1610	£200 (assumed) to B. Hathaway for farm. £100 for a 20 acre parcel of land
1613	£140 for gatehouse - only £80 is actually paid for the Gatehouse balance is mortgaged.

V - THREE SHORT PAPERS – FACTORS AFFECTING COMMERCE

Paper I Law
 Paper II Money
 Paper III Wool and Cloth

Paper I - Law

Justinian the Emperor by commissions directed to diverse persons learned in the laws, reduced the Roman Laws... from vastness of volume and a labyrinth of uncertainties unto that course of the Civil Law which is now in use.
 Francis Bacon, 1629¹¹⁸⁴

[like an] Ancient palace, that hitherto hath bene acoumpted (howsoever substantiall) yet but darke and melancholy
 John Cowell, 1607¹¹⁸⁵

Law in England at the end of the sixteenth century was, as Francis Bacon commented, lost in a labyrinth. The reasons for this were many and varied. Religion, following changes of sovereign, accounted for much of the confusion. By the time Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 an individual born in 1531 would have lived through legislative environments that tried to appease state enforced episcopalianism (Henry VIII), militant Protestantism (Edward VI) and reactionary Catholicism (Mary I). Even during Elizabeth's reign the law struggled to keep society on her middle road of her own Church of England style Episcopalianism. To complicate matters further with the Union of the Crowns in 1603, James VI of Scotland became James I of England and the new sovereign ruled over two kingdoms, one with a Roman Law based legal system (Scotland) and the other with its English Common Law - a legal duality that exists to the present. However, the rise of the middle (merchant) class and its accompanying trade related activities also rendered much of the existing legal mechanisms obsolete and created anachronisms and ambiguities that were ripe for plunder.

In the new Borough of Stratford¹¹⁸⁶ in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there were, as in all of England, both Civil (Roman) and English (Common) Law in active use. To appreciate how these two legal strands functioned it is necessary to briefly review their individual origins.

¹¹⁸⁴ Francis Bacon, "To The King: of a digest to be made of the Lawes of England (1629).," in *Certaine Miscellany Works* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1855). A commentary on the need to reform English Common Law

¹¹⁸⁵ John Cowell, *The Interpreter* (Cambridge, 1607). A commentary of the Laws of England at that date.

¹¹⁸⁶ Created by Royal Charter in 1553.

Roman & Civil Law

Laws in all of Christendom have a common root in those of the Roman Empire as codified by the Emperor Justinian and later interpreted by the eleventh and twelfth century Glossators.¹¹⁸⁷

Laws split between religious laws, “Canons” of the church, and temporal laws enacted by sovereigns with or without parliaments or peers. “Civil Law” is a broad term concerning “the law of Roman citizens; thence, the Roman Law as a whole, especially as received... after the Middle Ages”¹¹⁸⁸. This is not to say that there were not strong national and regional divergences – most notably over the extent to which Law created by individual Kings held or did not hold sway over Justinian’s precepts. Adding to the confusion were strong cadres of Catholic clerics who took “nationalized” standpoints on many issues e.g. the French Catholic Church.

As Europe reformed and fragmented (from a religious standpoint), each territory, as it diverged from Rome’s supremacy, developed its own distinct branch of the Civil law, amending and evolving new statutes for its own people. By 1545 the Catholic Church counter-attacked the Reformation through the creation of the Council of Trent. This ran, off and on, for eighteen years¹¹⁸⁹ and was intended to stiffen the resolve of Catholic nations to stay loyal to Rome. In the decrees that finally emerged the Church conceded much, especially with regard to loosening its own prohibitions around previously incestuous “cousin” marriages, to maintain its control. Nor was Trent universally accepted even by those nations who retained allegiance to the Pope. The French, for example, never adopted the Council’s final Decrees.

Canon Law¹¹⁹⁰ (sometimes also referred to as Ecclesiastical Law) is a sub-division of Civil Law. However, Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church could and did vary widely in application from country to country. As countries broke away from Rome many retained “Canon Law” though as time passed it increasingly began to diverge (as new Canons were being independently created at the individual national level) from the Canon Law of the Church of Rome.

English Common Law

Of all European nations the one with the most convoluted legal evolution was England, which created its own unique legal system. As John Hudson put it:

in the mid 1230’s the rulers of England were confronted with a problem concerning bastards. Church Law¹¹⁹¹ legitimized children born out of wedlock whose parents subsequently married.¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁸⁷ C. Donahue, “The Case of the Man who Fell into the Tiber,” *The American Journal of Legal History* (AJLH) 22, no. 1 (1978): 1-53. Commenting on the Laws of England. See Glossary for definition of ‘Glossators’

¹¹⁸⁸ OED, Roman Law

¹¹⁸⁹ In one case suspended for two full years while Bavaria teetered on the edge of reforming.

¹¹⁹⁰ The term ‘Canon’ singly refers to any rule, law, or decree of: [a] ‘Church; especially a rule laid down by an ecclesiastical council’ OED

¹¹⁹¹ A very imprecise non-legal term – Canon Law or even Ecclesiastical Law might have been better here – one can only assume that the brevity of the article or assumptions about his readers dictated its use here.

¹¹⁹² John Hudson, “Common Law- Henry II and the Birth of the State ,” BBC,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/henryii_law_01.shtml (accessed 08 20, 2008). see also

This did not please the Barons who were accustomed to controlling who inherited by selecting when to marry (though they did not restrict themselves to fathering offspring only within marriage). To justify their stance reference was made to ill-defined customary “Laws of England”.

To administer these nebulous “laws” a legal profession evolved which (and to some extent remains) more a religious sect than anything else - the “Inner Temple” being particularly well named. Over the next four centuries these lawyers nurtured the Laws of England into a conflicting morass of courts, titles and legislation. Its cases were recorded in a near incomprehensible hybrid language (Law French) only, and most definitely unevenly, comprehended by its initiates. By King James’s accession the members of the Inns of Court had carved out for themselves a position of highly profitable and self-sustaining complexity.

“Law” here should not be confused with “Justice”. The Law was then as it is now no more than a set of evolving rules administered by a group of individuals whose first concern was their own remuneration and advancement. However, even some of their number had concerns, as Collum notes

...one of the fears of laypersons and lawyers alike was that the law introduced uncertainties by exceeding its own confines. The English legal system was commonly felt to be governed by a hopelessly confusing set of laws administered in a professional discourse that, through its obscurity and multiplicity, invited abuse and sheer confusion. Law French, in which much of the law was recorded, was called by Thomas Elyot a "barbarous" language The language of the law was not pure but multiple, “myngled with dyvers languages...” (Richard Morison, *A Persuasion to the King*,... [states that it] was a “Hotchpot French, stufft up with such variety of borrowed words.”¹¹⁹³

The *Gesta Grayorum* purports to be a summary of the student revels at Gray’s Inn in 1594¹¹⁹⁴. It refers clearly to The Comedy of Errors being performed as part of the revels. This is a highly unreliable document of unproven authorship, however it does summarize very neatly what was undoubtedly required for the English Common Law of the time

...Then look into the state of your laws and justice of your land; purge out multiplicity of laws, clear the incertainty of them, repeal those that are snaring, and press the execution of those that are wholesome and necessary; define the jurisdiction of your courts, repress all suits and vexations, all causeless delays and fraudulent shifts and devices, and reform all such abuses of right and justice; assist the ministers thereof, punish severely all extortions and exactions of officers, all corruptions in trials and sentences of judgement...¹¹⁹⁵

John Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law*, 2nd Edition (1999) (London: Longman, 1996). p.16 *et alibi*

¹¹⁹³ E. Collum, “Irregular Courses/Illegitimate Ends: The Hermeneutics of Space and Other Early Modern Legal Perversions,” *Renaissance Forum Early Modern Literacy and Historical Studies*, 2008.

¹¹⁹⁴ Records of Gray's Inn printed in 1688 "Gesta Grayorum" *A Dictionary of Shakespeare*. Stanley Wells. Oxford University Press, 1998. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press.

¹¹⁹⁵ The Speech of The Fifth Counsellor, *The Gesta Grayorum*

The authorship of the play *The White Devil*¹¹⁹⁶ is in no doubt. In this drama, John Webster ridiculed the legal pedantry of the day

Lawyer: Most literated judges, please your lordships
 So to connive your judgments to the view
 Of this debauch'd and diversivolent woman;
 Who such a black concatenation
 Of mischief hath effected, that to extirp
 The memory of 't, must be the consummation
 Of her, and her projections ----
 Vittoria: What 's all this?
 Lawyer: Hold your peace!
 Exorbitant sins must have exulceration.
 Vittoria: Surely, my lords, this lawyer here hath swallow'd
 Some 'pothecaries' bills, or proclamations;
 And now the hard and undigestible words
 Come up, like stones we use give hawks for physic.
 Why, this is Welsh to Latin...

E.F.J. Tucker¹¹⁹⁷ reflected on how George Ruggle's comedy *Ignoramus*¹¹⁹⁸, a satire on the disarray of Common Law legal language, was the "hit" of 1614. Indeed, Edward Coke¹¹⁹⁹, then Lord Chief Justice of The King's Bench, was said to have been infuriated. When King James saw the play in March 1615 he enjoyed it so much that returned to see it again barely two months later. Hilaire Kallendorf¹²⁰⁰ noted that the play ran for five hours and in the March performance attracted an audience of two thousand in Oxford.

Plans of how to 'reform' English Common Law were drawn up by two members of the Inns of Court, – Francis Bacon¹²⁰¹ and Edward Coke. Bacon favoured a return to the style of the Civil Law. Writing to King James in 1621 he proposed that the King use the Emperor Justinian as an example to transform English law as Justinian had supposedly rationalised Roman Law "from [a] vastness of volume and a labyrinth of uncertainties."¹²⁰² Coke favoured, and largely succeeded in his aim of, codifying English Common Law in his own idiosyncratic *Institutes of the Laws of England* the first volume of which was completed in 1628.¹²⁰³ But both Coke's *Institutes* and Bacon's *Proposition* lay in the future. For those living at the time of William and John Shakespeare's business careers there was no such clarity.

¹¹⁹⁶ *The White Devil* III, ii 1612

¹¹⁹⁷ E.F.J. Tucker, "Ruggles Ignoramus and Humanistic Criticism of The Language of Common Law," *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1977). p.341

¹¹⁹⁸ Based on a play by the Italian Giambattista della Porta's *La Trappolaria*

¹¹⁹⁹ later Sir Edward Coke

¹²⁰⁰ Hilaire Kallendorf, *Exorcism and Its Texts: Subjectivity in Early Modern Literature of England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

¹²⁰¹ Later 1st Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans (1561-1626)

¹²⁰² Francis Bacon, "To The King: of a digest to be made of the Lawes of England (1629).," in *Certaine Miscellany Works* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1855) p.1.

¹²⁰³ Edward Coke, *The Institues of the Lawes of England*, 4 vols. (London, 1628-1644). The First Part *A Commentary upon Littleton*. Often called "Coke on Littleton" or abbreviated "Co. Litt." The Second Part *Containing the Exposition of Many Ancient and Other Statutes*. The Third Part *Concerning High Treason, and Other Pleas of the Crown and Criminal Causes*. The Fourth Part *Concerning the Jurisdiction of Courts*. See also: Steve Sheppard, *The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke*, III vols. (Washington, D.C.: Liberty Fund Books, 2005).

English Bifurcation

Law in post-reformation England (after 1535) operated by necessity under both legal systems. There was the Common Law, formed by the King and his House of Lords creating statutes which worked in conjunction with Case Law - a body of legal precedents rising from decided legal cases argued by professional advocates and judges¹²⁰⁴ and these two elements were lumped together with nebulous ancient "Laws of England".

The other branch was Ecclesiastical Law and Ecclesiastical Courts¹²⁰⁵ which were fundamentally Civil Law based and run by churchmen concerned with matters touching family and moral legal issues such as marriage, witchcraft etc.. The churchmen administering this legal system could also call on Civil Law trained lawyers¹²⁰⁶ when the need arose.

Therefore in England, there were two different types of legal professionals. Common Law Lawyers had on-the-job training. D.J. Seipp records that no record of a rank-and-file Common Law lawyer attending any University appeared till 1620¹²⁰⁷ when a James Whitelock became a serjeant. Seipp continued

Common [Law] lawyers maintained the body of law as a living tradition, a common learning passed down to new entrants ... texts of Statutes and Year Book reports were a means of preserving bits of the ancient oral wisdom but they were not themselves "the common law".

Common Law Courts dealt with temporal matters and imposed temporal punishments such as fines, mutilations and death. Church Courts (Ecclesiastical Courts) dealt with spiritual matters¹²⁰⁸ and imposed spiritual sanctions, principally public naming and shaming rising to excommunication.¹²⁰⁹ It is reasonable to suggest that the weighting between these two types of law in the Early Modern Period was fairly evenly balanced in terms of impact on the life of the average citizen.

Common Law had a vigorous growth ahead as capitalism greatly increased the need for mercantile law (and subsequent litigation).

On the other hand the Church Courts had both a body of Civil Law lawyers and a clergy that was increasingly university educated and more centrally controlled. The publication that year of the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical agreed upon with the King's Maiesties Licence in...the Synod begun at London Anno Dom. 1603* contained many tangible signs of the Church of England tightening its control over each citizen's life. Here the Church was attempting to reassert its pre-reformation authority and inter

¹²⁰⁴ With the Judges themselves having previously been advocates.

¹²⁰⁵ See B. Brown, "The Canon Law of Marriage," *Virginia Law Review* 26, no. 1 (Nov. 1939): 70-85 as an example.

¹²⁰⁶ Who additionally were, for the most part, academics at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

¹²⁰⁷ D.J. Seipp, "The Reception of Canon Law and Civil Law in the Common Law Courts before 1600," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* (OUP) 13, no. 3 (1993): 388-420. p.411

¹²⁰⁸ Which also included such issues as licensing of teachers, midwives, doctors etc. E.R.C. Brinkworth, *Shakespeare and The Bawdy Court of Stratford* (London: Philmore, 1972). p.98

¹²⁰⁹ Though it must be acknowledged that by charging fees for hearing cases and accepting payments to the poor in lieu of penance the Church Courts were implicitly fining (albeit to a modest degree) as well.

alia making a conscious attempt to impose greater moral authority over the lives of citizens.

Over the next four centuries (assisted greatly by Cromwell's Commonwealth) the secular Common Law would win through and strip the Civil Law based Church Courts of any real power. Never fully extinguished, Church Courts now exist only as an internal control mechanism of the Church of England.

The Stratford Courts

Piepowder

Stratford market was a weekly event and Piepowder¹²¹⁰ Court on market and fair days sat to adjudicate "pressing disputes". Originally, it had referred to the dusty feet (in French, *pieds poudrés*) of vagrants, travellers and vagabonds.

Court of Record

"Please ye, we may ... as adversaries do in law, strive mightily but eat and drink as
friends.
The Taming of the Shrew I, II

The Stratford Court of Record, followed the pattern of the Court at Coventry¹²¹¹ and was held every two weeks generally on a Wednesday. The Bailiff and the Head Alderman sat on the bench as the Justices of the Peace for the Borough supported by two or three of their "Brethren"¹²¹² and the borough Steward. The Steward was a lawyer of some standing in the neighbourhood and guided the proceedings. He or his deputy, the Town Clerk, kept a record in Latin of the court's activities.¹²¹³ Cases up to £30 were heard. Summons was formally delivered by one of the Serjeants. If the defendant failed to appear, a *distringas*, or writ to compel appearance, was issued, which the Serjeant again formally delivered. If the defendant still failed to appear the Serjeant returned *nihil*, that is, he made formal declaration in Court that he had waited upon the defendant at his house and found "nothing to distrain upon", and he asked for a *capias* - a warrant to arrest. Then the defendant had either to go to prison or find sureties, who would answer the charge against him, or pay the penalty, or bring him dead or alive into the Court. The *capias* was drawn up by the Steward or the Town Clerk. No *capias* was granted at the suit of a "foreigner", or non-townsmen, except where there was a manifest case to answer. The Steward or Town Clerk had to make "good and perfect declarations" and deliver them to the two Attorneys of the Court. Townsmen with recognized experience of the law, such as Adrian Quiney and John Shakespeare, could

¹²¹⁰ In England, a Court of Piepowders was a special tribunal organised by a borough for a fair or market – see Glossary.

¹²¹¹ The new boroughs of Banbury and Stratford were both based on the structure of Coventry – see *The Black Book of Warwick*, Thomas Kemp, p.10-14, 56-61, 105-16. The Assistants at Warwick envied the Principal Burgesses of Stratford (ib. p.113). "Such pleas, complaints and actions be there heard and determined according to the law and customs of our City of Coventry" (Charter of Incorporation of Banbury, 26 January, 1551). See "The Regulations of the Court of Record" in the *Book of Orders of Banbury*, 14 May, 1558.

¹²¹² Aldermen who had previously served as Bailiff

¹²¹³ Hence the Court's name.

act as attorneys. Businessmen went readily into Court to enforce payments and resolve disagreements and defendants often delayed payments until the *capias*.

Fripp has noted that going to law was so common that there was little or no disgrace in it or ill feeling, indeed a legal suit was the only practical way to create a public record of commercial transactions. John Shakespeare through his various civil positions would have been a regular if not habitual presence in the Stratford Court of Record.¹²¹⁴

The Bawdy Court

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 77 - Chichester ...the theatre and the consistory [religious] court (the so-called "bawdy" court) were the two principal public spheres in which relations between the sexes were played out in Shakespeare's time... Shakespeare's plays -- Measure for Measure, Much Ado, All's Well and The Winter's Tale in particular - constituted a kind of alternative bawdy court...

Jonathan Bate, 2007¹²¹⁵

The Act of Uniformity¹²¹⁶ that imposed the Book of Common Prayer on the Church of England also stipulated a one-shilling fine for failure to attend church on Sunday¹²¹⁷. Forced church attendance meant that offenders of the Church Courts were confessing their moral lapses before the entire community – sometimes in ordinary dress, sometimes clad in a white sheet holding a white rod as symbols of repentance. It was unquestionably one way, together with sermons, to ensure that the populace knew something of Canon Law even if it amounted to no more than a list of ‘thou shalt not’s’.

The court itself¹²¹⁸ often had a distinct physical presence and was often located in the room above the Church Porch. There was typically a raised dais and suitably impressive chair for the judge (the Vicar in the case of Stratford) and below this a large table for the notary. The Churchwardens, drawn from the congregation, were “sworn in” and were given a list of offences “Articles of Inquiry”.¹²¹⁹ Their job was to root out the transgressors at which time “Bills of Detection” would be drawn up and citations to appear delivered by “Apparitors”.

E.R.C. Brinkworth sets out in detail the principal types of cases and the process for hearing them in Stratford’s own Church Court through reference to the Stratford Court

¹²¹⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹²¹⁵ Jonathan Bate, "Shakespeare and the Law" (University of Warwick, 2007). Conference Paper.

¹²¹⁶ The Act of Uniformity 1558, passed in 1559, See “Uniformity, Acts of” *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. E.A. Livingstone. Oxford University Press, 2006. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. [25 November 2007]

¹²¹⁷ Not a trivial amount given that a skilled craftsman would have earned about that for a day’s work.

¹²¹⁸ The drawing (above) is of The Consistory Court in Chichester Cathedral it is the only one remaining in its original condition E.R.C. Brinkworth, *Shakespeare and The Bawdy Court of Stratford* (London: Philmore, 1972) p.9. OED - Consistory – “A court, a company surrounding a throne, as in heavenly consistory, c. of saints and martyrs”.

¹²¹⁹ The list was long and included: adultery, whoredom, incest, drunkenness, irregular marriage, blasphemy etc.

Act Books for the years 1590 to 1625.¹²²⁰ He quotes A.G. Dickens that this type of court

...ground through their ancient routines, keeping the morals of men under observation; ...their notaries scribbled down the sins and quarrels of society in spidery hands across countless pages...¹²²¹

Religion was both pervasive and invasive. Lawrence Stone¹²²² takes a dark view of a society where everyone was telling tales on everyone else and privacy was virtually nonexistent. Martin Ingram¹²²³ holds to a much lighter course suggesting that English society was overall relatively light-hearted at this time. The truth probably lies somewhere between the two with wide variations depending on the rigour of the local clergy.

Each of the two Archbishops (Canterbury and York), every bishop and every archdeacon maintained his own court. In addition there were 300 'peculiar' jurisdictions (Stratford and its outlying villages with a population in Shakespeare's time of around 2000 was one of these 'peculiar') where the parish church doubled as a court. The Stratford Church Court met monthly with the Vicar sitting as judge or "Ordinary". Proceedings were recorded in Act Books. The surviving Act Books for Stratford include several Shakespeare family names: Shakespeare's elder daughter Susanna, son-in-law Thomas Quiney husband of his daughter Judith, his brother Richard, sister Joan and brother-in-law Bartholomew Hathaway.¹²²⁴

One of the few well-documented events in Shakespeare's own life is the case of his son-in-law, Thomas Quiney. Just as Quiney was about to marry Shakespeare's younger daughter Judith, rumours circulated that another woman was pregnant by him. In spite of this, Thomas and Judith were married in Stratford Parish Church. A month after the wedding Margaret Wheeler died in childbirth. Apparitor Greene personally served a citation on Quiney to appear in open court in 1616. As Brinkworth noted

...before the Vicar, John Rogers, sitting as judge, Quiney confessed he had carnal copulation with Margaret Wheeler...the court meted out one of the severest punishments recorded in the (parish) Act Books...(he) was ordered to face "open shame" of "three days penance done" ...Quiney managed to escape the full rigour of the penalty by offering by way of commutation to give five shillings to the use of the poor...the judge accepted this though he directed Quiney to make acknowledgement of the crime (so it is called in the record) clad in his ordinary clothes before the minister in the comparative privacy of the chapel out at Bishopton.¹²²⁵

However, Quiney and his new wife may have received another form of punishment in that the (then) dying Shakespeare, in the face of this disgrace, changed his will.¹²²⁶

¹²²⁰ Brinkworth, *Bawdy Court* Those that remain – the records themselves being part of the Sackville of Knowle Manuscripts deposited (as of 1972) in the Kent Archives Office.

¹²²¹ Ibid. p.3

¹²²² Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

¹²²³ Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987).

¹²²⁴ Ibid. p.5

¹²²⁵ Ibid. p.80

¹²²⁶ Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.247 see also Chapter 4.

Brinkworth also referred to

...the case of Martin Wright, curate of Luddington...he was cited by the Judge, the Vicar, directly for getting married to Frances Cooke¹²²⁷, without having either banns called or getting a licence instead. Although a curate of the Parish he did not appear upon the first citation and accordingly incurred excommunication (26 March 1616). However, he shortly complied and admitted both the fact itself and that the marriage had been solemnised by one William Jervis who was only a deacon. He asked the favour of the court both for himself and for others who had been present at the wedding. He secured dismissal upon payment of one shilling to the poor of Luddington.¹²²⁸

Bate¹²²⁹ compares the Church Court to the theatre and when one reads records of the Stratford “Bawdy” Court there is more than a passing resemblance. Not everyone “toed the line” and some of the exchanges were indeed much more akin to something Pompey Bum might have said in *Measure for Measure* than would be tolerated in modern court procedure. The “bawdy” epithet is probably fully justified.¹²³⁰

The Church Court was indeed a court. It not only looked like one but its proceedings were conducted in a substantially similar manner to the temporal courts. There are no records of attendance levels but in Shakespeare’s time with a population of two thousand or so in greater Stratford it would be extraordinary if most people did not know of every juicy scandal – and either witnessed the guilty party in Church confessing their guilt or knew of the fine paid in lieu.

Laws, Statutes and Proclamations

Under English Common Law a proclamation is a formal announcement, with a Royal Proclamation (made under the great seal) being a Royal Announcement that had, in effect, the force of law. Before the 1530’s the question of whether a proclamation could, or even did, supersede a law enacted by Parliament (with the Royal Assent) seems to have had little or no consideration.

In 1531 Thomas Cromwell, seeking absolute power for his master Henry VIII referred the question to “chief legal officers”¹²³¹ seeking a loophole in an existing statute that would make Royal proclamations at least the equivalent (*pari passu*) with Statutes. The answer was that there were “diverse opinions” and with a Parliament handpicked by Cromwell a Statute “An Act that Proclamations Made by the King Shall Be obeyed” was enacted in 1539, though repealed in 1547.¹²³²

Leading up to the Civil War the Stuarts increasingly used Proclamations in furtherance of their “divine right” which in many ways built up the pressures for the subsequent conflict. James I in a speech framed his position thus

¹²²⁷ Not to be confused with Francis Coke daughter of Edward Coke.

¹²²⁸ Brinkworth, *Bawdy Court* p.108

¹²²⁹ Jonathan Bate, "Shakespeare and the Law" (University of Warwick, 2007). p.1 Conference Paper.

¹²³⁰ Brinkworth, *Bawdy Court* p.70

¹²³¹ Frederic A. Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976). p.27

¹²³² 31 Henry VIII, c.8, repealed by 1 Edward VI, c.12. see Youngs, *Ibid.* p.28

Although we know well that, by the Constitution of the frame and policy of this kingdom proclamation was on not of equal force and in like degree as laws; yet nevertheless, we think it a duty appertaining to us and inseparably annexed to our crown and regal authority to restrain and prevent such mischiefs and inconveniences as we see growing in the common weal, against which no certain law is extant, and which may tend to the great grief and prejudice of our subjects, if there should be no remedy provided until a parliament; which prerogatives our progenitors have, as well in ancient as latter times used and enjoyed.¹²³³

In 1616 Sir Edward Coke was said to have been dismissed from the bench for disagreeing with the King on four key issues of the day - "Pride, Prohibitions, Praemunire¹²³⁴ and Prerogative" however, as Esther Cope notes a fifth "p" which could have been added to the list that of "Proclamations."¹²³⁵

Proclamations have survived as executive orders in Common Law systems with their uses being confined to specific situations where legislation would be too cumbersome to address specific causes where time does not permit the enacting of a new statute - such as declarations of war.

In the sixteenth century one use for the Proclamation was to execute control over the wool and cloth industries. When used in this manner the Proclamation was a tool of economic policy, less likely to have been a personal desire or decision of the monarch, and more probably an instrument of fiscal control exercised by one or more members of the Privy Council.

¹²³³ 2 Lords Journals 659. Esther Cope, "Sir Edward Coke and Proclamations," *The American Journal of Legal History* (Temple University) 15, no. 3 (July 1971): 215-221. p.220

¹²³⁴ The offence of introducing foreign authority into England, the penalties for which were originally intended to depress the civil power of the Pope in the kingdom." *Webster's Dictionary* 1913 See also <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/praemunire.htm>

¹²³⁵ Cope, *Coke and Proclamations* p.215 – The reference was made in a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton

Paper II - Money

Faith, sir, few of any wit in such matters: as they
are chosen, they are glad to choose me for them; I
do it for some piece of money,
Measure for Measure II, i

The most striking aspect of price change in England over the past seven hundred and fifty years was the prolonged periods where there was low or no price volatility. A major exception to this occurred in England between 1580 and 1613 when inflation (increase in money supply versus the price of goods), coupled to rising population and other factors forced a huge reallocation of wealth and a profound shifting in terms of relative value between both goods and wages. This had a profound effect on those such as the Shakespeares who were accumulating wealth.

To better understand relative values it is first necessary to estimate how buying power then equated to present day costs for the same or similar commodities. This is important in demonstrating that goods were not always “cheap” in the past but have to be compared to average costs in their own respective time period.

For example, unskilled labour might be “cheap” relative to a judge’s wages in 1604, but while the judge earns more than the labourer in the present day the mathematical ratio of one to the other has changed radically.

Even a cursory review of how these cost ratios stood produces a better understanding of the tastes, values, and cost priorities of both those who produced plays and those who sat in the audience of the Early Modern Theatre. Additionally, it may help avoid the temptation to apply present day values, both cash and moral, on an earlier society where relative values were very different.

In trying to equate prices from one period to another researchers have taken varying approaches.

The Single Commodity

In this method a single product or commodity, whose price is known, was selected from one historical period and then contrasted with the present day price: e.g. Peter Thomson¹²³⁶ noted that an orange at the Globe “might cost a farthing”. An orange in Sainsbury’s on 22 October 2008 cost 29p. Converting this into a ratio then results in a 280-fold price increase.

In this simplest model by multiplying another 1604 known cost, for a specific article, by 280 it could deliver an approximation of its current cost.

Accordingly, take Thomas Platter’s statement¹²³⁷ that “anyone who remains on the level standing pays only one English penny”. The “only” was perhaps significant, suggestive

¹²³⁶ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.28

¹²³⁷ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1923). Vol.II p.365 – page 364 contains the original German text see also Peter Razzell, *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busio* (London, 1995). p.166/7.

of relatively good value. If the ‘orange’ ratio is correct, then we could expect the New Globe – assuming no change in relative charges and values over time - to be charging £1.20 for an equivalent standing space. The correct (real) answer is £5.

There are numerous deficiencies in this method, to list a few:

Comparing like with like – Sainsbury’s is not the New Globe – places of entertainment generally charge much more than equivalent shops in 2009 and this might also be the case in Shakespeare’s time.

Quality – were oranges in the old Globe of high or low quality compared with Sainsbury’s – is the comparison really like with like?

Did buying an orange at the Globe have some social exclusivity attached to it that might have encouraged someone to pay the premium price of a farthing because of the social status it would denote?

This last point is not as fanciful as it might at first seem, for example in the present people continue to buy luxury brands far in excess of their cost of manufacture. Rolex watches might justify some level of premium pricing reflecting quality of manufacture but clearly the perception of exclusivity also forms a major part in any purchasing decision. Nor is it only the wealthy seeking exclusivity that pay premium prices. Harley Davidson motorcycles are heavy, expensive and, technologically dated and yet to a particular segment of the market they remain in demand because their lifestyle image remains attractive to some potential buyers.

The Small Representative Selection

Returning to Thomson’s *Shakespeare’s Theatre*, here the author chose a few representative commodities to give the reader some sense of both absolute costs – i.e. that an orange cost a farthing - together with relative costs a well-paid schoolmaster earned one fiftieth of a junior judge’s remuneration. This ratio is very high in comparison with the five times or so that nowadays would be more common. Thomson noted of a judge “in this litigious age...he would have been one of the very few Elizabethans in the four figure bracket”¹²³⁸ Accordingly, the reader is being given a glimpse not only of absolute wages, but of why the pay was so high and in addition, some sense of where a judge would stand in the economic and probably social pecking order. A further implication was that where judges appear as characters in Early Modern and Shakespeare’s plays they are indeed very wealthy men.

This knowledge could have been significant to an audience member as it may have denoted both high social status and temporal power. A modern audience member might accord a £100,000 p.a. judge with respect but if such a man or woman was known to be earning a salary of £1,500,000 p.a. (50 times a present day teacher’s salary) how they would perceive such a character is, I would propose, significantly different. However helpful this approach might be in illustrating a particular point, its obvious shortcoming remains the random nature of the cost comparisons. Though informative, this approach is not systematic and is only tangentially useful to other situations.

¹²³⁸ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare’s Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.29

Table 78 - Thomson's Examples of Early Modern Prices

Commodity	£	s	d.
Orange			1/4
Globe Groundling			1
Beer (quart)			1
Hen's egg			1/2
Beef (per pound)			2
Salaries			
Schoolmaster p.a.	20		
Barrister p.a.	600		
Judge (junior) p.a.	1000		

The Selected Basket

John Burnett in his *History of the Cost of Living*¹²³⁹ described the huge rises that occurred in prices across Europe in the sixteenth century. However, when he came to commenting on how these have been numerically quantified he made the following observation¹²⁴⁰ “The best cost-of-living index for the period is that constructed by E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, which is based on a supposed ‘basket’ of goods typically consumed by a family living in southern England: it relates to the basic necessities of life - bread, meat, fish, butter, cheese, beer, fuel, light and clothing - and is therefore a better guide to the expenditure of the less prosperous than to that of the rich.”¹²⁴¹ And this opinion seems to have changed little right up to the present.¹²⁴²

Phelps Brown and Hopkins in five short articles produced a clinical and precise view of relative price change. They started by charting the income of a single tradesman in the building trade over seven centuries. To this they later added the ‘basket’ (which Burnett refers to) of necessities and in doing so amplified their earlier work.

In practical terms they took each year from 1260 to 1954 and calculated the first two columns. The Ratio column indicates the likely financial distress caused to the average worker and their family resulting from these economic fluctuations. 1597 was the year (according to Phelps Brown and Hopkins¹²⁴³) of the first performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – it was also the year of the worst economic ratio in seven hundred years.

¹²³⁹ John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (London: Pelican, 1969) p.60

¹²⁴⁰ As do Mary Oates and William Baumol, “On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London,” *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976). They are fulsome in their praise of Phelps Brown and Hopkins.

¹²⁴¹ E. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, “Wage-Rates and Prices: Evidence for Population Pressure in Sixteenth Century,” *Economica* 24, no. 96 (1957): 289-306; E Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, “Seven Centuries of Building Wages,” *Economica* 22, no. 87: 195-206. E. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins, “Seven Centuries of Wages and Prices: Some Earlier Estimates,” *Economica* 28, no. 109 (1961): 30-36.

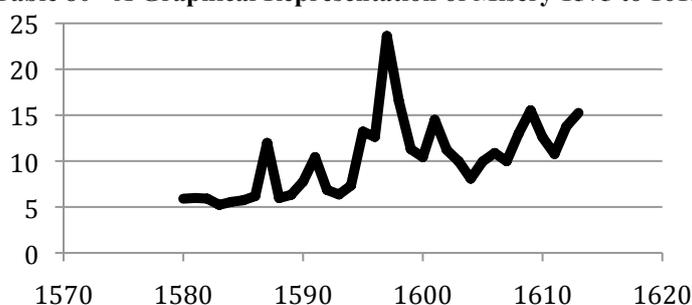
¹²⁴² For example, Brad DeLong a professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley continues to recommend their work - http://delong.typepad.com/reading_economics/2008/02/phelps-brown-an.html. See also Y. Brenner, “The Inflation of Prices in England, 1551-1650,” *The Economic History Review* 15, no. 2 (1962): 266-284. D. Loschky, “Seven Centuries of Real Income per Wage Earner Reconsidered,” *Economica* 47, no. 188 (1980): 459-465.

¹²⁴³ There remains considerable academic debate as to the actual date of the first performance for example Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008) put it in 1595/6.

Table 79 - Basket of Goods vs. Builders Wages

Year	Basket Brown/ Hopkins	Builders Wages	Ratio
1594	381	52	7.33
1595	515	39	13.21
1596	505	40	12.63
1597	685	29	23.62
1598	579	35	16.54
1599	474	42	11.29
1600	459	44	10.43
1601	536	37	14.49
1602	471	42	11.21
1603	448	45	9.96
1604	404	50	8.08

Translating the last column of the table into a graph

Table 80 - A Graphical Representation of Misery 1575 to 1615

The higher the peak the greater the economic misery¹²⁴⁴

The Misery Index table (above) shows diagrammatically when the buying power of workers wages was lowest against the basic commodities needed to sustain both self and family. The spike in 1597 and the general upward trend graphically demonstrate misery in terms of cold, malnourishment and starvation for the weakest members of society and implicitly when it can be assumed most goods and services would dip in price indicating a “buyers market” for the cash rich. In the group “cash rich” must be included the Shakespeare family, as later analysis will show they were able to raise cash at the very “worst of times”¹²⁴⁵ and bought their key family assets during peaks of economic adversity when buying power for those with cash-in-hand was highest.

¹²⁴⁴ This is my own ratio extrapolated from Phelps-Brown and Hopkins data – the Ratio of Builders Wages to a specified Basket of Goods.

¹²⁴⁵ Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859). opening lines, Book the First.

The Bespoke Basket

...Unfortunately, there is no single source available for making comparisons over long periods of time, and a composite index has to be specially constructed for this

purpose...
O'Donoghue and Goulding, 2004¹²⁴⁶

In the present day, indexing techniques, creating indexes by and using baskets of commodities, have become established tools of Government financial monitoring. There is, for O'Donoghue and Goulding, no doubt that the buying power of money in one time period vs. another can be "answered by reference to an appropriate price index...questions about changes in the purchasing power of the pound are usually framed in terms of what the domestic consumer can buy".

They do however note some significant limitations to this technique

...it should be noted that in general the relevance and quality of the primary sources diminishes the further one goes back in time. This means that comparisons further back in time and over long periods should be regarded as more approximate than comparisons over short periods in more recent years. In addition, there have been continual changes in the pattern of household expenditure over time. These changes can be accommodated in a price index, such as the retail prices. However, over a period of time these changes build up, with the result that the commodities for which we measure prices now are very different from 50 years ago, let alone 250 years ago. As a result, it is not possible to compare the cost of exactly the same fixed basket of goods and services over an extended time period...

In conclusion, tying the above general economic data to the Shakespeares:

- The timing of Shakespeare family investments compared to macroeconomic trends suggests smart buyers acquiring at times of peak economic distress and hence at depressed prices.
- Mary Oates and William Baumol in their 1976 examination of the Early Modern Theatre's economic structure conclude that its existence was entirely as a result of the wages (of those who made plays) being so "depressed" and constrained over decades that this was a (if not "the") major contributor to fiscal survival.¹²⁴⁷
- Shakespeare's major works were written and performed at this financially "worst of times."

¹²⁴⁶ J. O'Donoghue and L. Goulding, "Consumer Price Inflation since 1750," *Economic Trends* (Office for National Statistics) 604 (March 2004).

¹²⁴⁷ M Mary Oates and William Baumol, "On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London," *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976).

Paper III - Wool and Cloth

History

In England, during the middle ages and Early Modern Period, wool and later cloth as the preeminent trade and export commodities were subject to both Statute, Proclamation and regulation governing their growth, processing and distribution.

In 1353 Edward III, by the “Ordinance of the Staple” designated 15 towns as “Staple Towns” to control the export of wool and thus ensure the customs tax due to the Crown.¹²⁴⁸ Ten years later, Calais was made the “wool staple” through which all wool exports had to pass. The highly profitable monopoly of the wool export trade was given to the “Company of Merchant Staplers” and the “continental staple” was to stand until 1617. The *quid pro quo* for this royal monopoly was to pay for the cost of the Calais garrison though on later occasions paying off selected Royal debts also became part of the price. One consequential effect of this monopoly was to create a dampening pressure on domestic English wool prices¹²⁴⁹ (to maximize the Staple’s gain) paradoxically encouraging the rise of the English cloth industry and its related manufacturers and merchants, such as the Clothworkers¹²⁵⁰ and the Company of Merchant Adventurers.¹²⁵¹

To ship wool to Calais a merchant had to be a member of the Company of Staples and obey its ordinances - admission was either through a three to four year apprenticeship or by purchase. At the close of the fifteenth century nearly 400 men were members.

Despite the efforts of the Merchants of the Staple the demand for cloth outstripped supply as seen in the graph below – despite short-term fluctuations the price rise was inexorable.¹²⁵²

Though it is tempting to think of wool itself as a fixed commodity - such as a metal with its purity scientifically defined - wool is far more variable. That different breeds of sheep will produce fleeces of differing quality is perhaps self evident, however varying the density of sheep on the land, grass quality, care in rearing etc. - all these have a direct impact on the quality of the wool produced and ultimately on the types and value of cloth that can be produced. The size of flocks varied enormously, from the smallholder with two or three sheep to breeders such as Sir Henry Fermor of Norfolk who, in 1521, had 20 flocks totalling 15,500 sheep.¹²⁵³

¹²⁴⁸ Analyzed in detail in “The estate of merchants, 1336-1365 : III - 1349-54”, Finance and trade under Edward III: The London lay subsidy of 1332 (1918), p.221-232. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report>

¹²⁴⁹ The above table would have an even steeper incline were it not for this effect. Data for this table was taken from Peter Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 1st Edition (London: Macmillan, 1962).

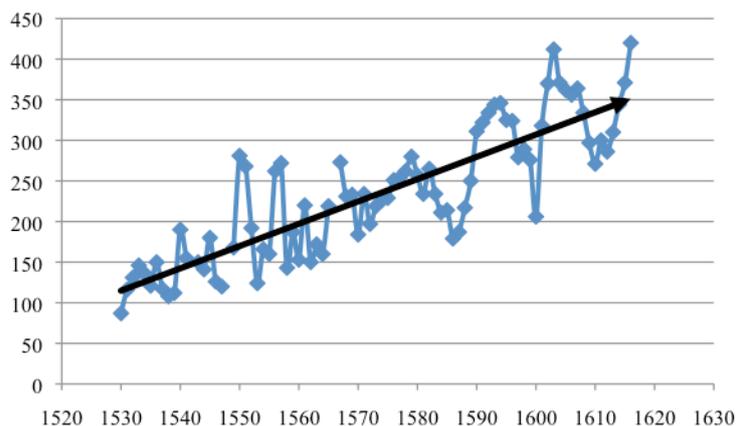
¹²⁵⁰ The Clothworkers Company - Founded by Royal Charter in 1528 “to promote the craft of cloth working in the City of London”

¹²⁵¹ Founded by Henry IV in 1407, The Merchant Adventurers had a commercial monopoly on the export cloth from England.

¹²⁵² Bowden, *Wool Trade* p.219 – i.e. put simply demand outstrips supply and price rises.

¹²⁵³ K.J. Allison, “Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Economic History Review* (Wiley) 2, no. 11 (1958): p.100

Table 81 - The Upward Trend in Wool - Price vs. Year



The Wool and Cloth Trade

... [a]mong all manuell Arts used in this Land, none is more famous for desert, or more beneficiall to the Commonwealth than is the most necessarie Art of Cloathing¹²⁵⁴
 Thomas Deloney, 1597

... It is impossible to comprehend the development of English nationalism during the Early Modern Period without also understanding the culture of cloth¹²⁵⁵
 Roze Hentschell, 2008

Akin to Saudi Arabia in the late twentieth century, Early Modern England was a one-export economy for two hundred years from 1350 to 1550. But from the early 1500's onward a huge commercial shift took place from the export of raw wool to manufactured woollen cloth. By 1565¹²⁵⁶ woollen cloth accounted for 78% of all exports, wool having fallen to just over 6%.¹²⁵⁷

In the early 1560's, at Lord Burleigh's initiative, the first concerted attempt at a "rudimentary economic information service" was made to determine "the precise nature of English commerce." The pressures to do this stemmed less from a desire to promote trade than from a fear of a trade imbalance through the importation of luxury goods in excess of exports. The Crown was, according to Lawrence Stone, "tormented by a fear of the drain of bullion through an adverse balance of payments."¹²⁵⁸

The following table shows London's balance of Trade 1559-61 (London representing approximately 80% of trade by value), excluding invisible items, freight costs, royal and private debts and interest payments. As Stone noted "...adverse balance was attributed entirely to the Aliens" i.e. foreign traders who were at this time still responsible for 38% of the value of imports and 23% of exports.

¹²⁵⁴ Thoms Deloney, *The Pleasant History of John Winchcomb, in his younger years called Jack of Newbury* (London, 1597).

¹²⁵⁵ Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England*, 1st Edition (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008).

¹²⁵⁶ By value

¹²⁵⁷ Lawrence Stone, "Elizabethan Overseas Trade," *The Economic History Review* (Wiley) 2, no. 1 (1949): 30-58. p.37

¹²⁵⁸ Ibid. p.30

Table 82 - Balance of Trade 1560 & 1561

1560			
	Exports	Imports	Balance
Natives	452	421	31
Aliens	138	271	-133
	590	692	-102
1561			
	Exports	Imports	Balance
	564	674	-110

Above table¹²⁵⁹

Exports in this table were almost exclusively of cloth at 134,055 cloths (bolts) though a decade later the number had fallen by a third as a result of wars and consequent disruptions. The effect on the change to cloth from wool was dramatic for all other ports outside London. Only Bristol seems to have avoided complete “decay” and forty years later it remained the only port outside London that had anything more than “negligible quantities” of the prestige broadcloth (i.e. premium) export market.¹²⁶⁰

In 1565 two thirds of all English trade went through Antwerp with the balance to France and Iberia. This concentration of business through Antwerp was to prove a distinct vulnerability when the port closed through the wars of 1585-1603.

Wool Middlemen

As Bowden noted of the wool broking business in the latter half of the sixteenth century in England

...A trend towards regional specialization as the barriers of self-sufficiency were being broken down...[this] owed something to improvements in communication, but more largely it was due to the rise of classes of professional middlemen...¹²⁶¹

His analysis categorized the classes of dealers as follows

¹²⁵⁹ Ibid. p.36

¹²⁶⁰ W. B. Stephens, “The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports, 1600-1640,” *The Economic History Review* (Wiley) 22, no. 2: 228-248. p.233

¹²⁶¹ Bowden, *Wool Trade* p.77

Table 83 - Wool Middlemen in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century¹²⁶²

Group	Category	Description	Location	Order Size
A	Large Wool Dealers	The Staplers - after Calais fell returned to England - pursued domestic middleman business	Residence – part time in fine wool area – part time London	High Grade wool, large orders personally (up to 600 stones), his factor ¹²⁶³ deals with smaller orders (10 to 20 stones) – 50 to 200 typical
B	Glovers, Fellmongers, ¹²⁶⁴ Leather Sellers	“Glovers of the Central and East Midlands were great wool dealers”	Entry into broking through original occupation, stay in original domicile	Size of order varies could be as large as 800+ stones (exceptional)
C	Brogging Clothiers	Brokers who got into the business by being or having been manufacturers	Entry into broking through original occupation, stay in original domicile	Size of order varies could be as large as 1000+ stones (exceptional)

It is noticeable that in each category there are examples of market participants who, despite their route into the business, rose to deal in the largest transactions. To some extent the term “brogging” could be applied to all three categories in that they all (as will be shown) in varying degrees operated outside the letter of the law. However, “brogger” with its disparaging overtone was more often applied to the “retail” dealers who numerically make up the bulk the bulk of category B and C and whose business was conducted between the smaller growers and clothiers. Though very large transactions are listed above for illustrative purposes, typical purchases - even for the large wool dealers - were generally much smaller and references exist for even Merchant Staplers buying wool in lots as small as “a dozen stones”¹²⁶⁵

At its simplest, broggers bought wool from rural farmers and sold it at a profit in regional markets. Often a price was set and paid in April or May and the wool was delivered after shearing in June. They were

- making a futures market in wool – pricing the commodity today for delivery later, thus risking the price would fall before sale,

¹²⁶² Ibid. p.82 Table by Fallow drawn from text.

¹²⁶³ “A person or agency that takes over and collects debts owed to other (esp. finance) companies.” OED

¹²⁶⁴ fellmonger – “A dealer in skins or hides of animals, esp. sheep-skins”. OED

¹²⁶⁵ Bowden, *Wool Trade* p.81 See also P.R.O. S.P. 12/114/47.

- factoring¹²⁶⁶ a receivable¹²⁶⁷ by extending a portion of its future value in cash in the present or, viewed from a different perspective, making a loan secured by a future promise to deliver the commodity.

Today, these would be considered legitimate, indeed sophisticated, forms of financial transaction as long as the parties involved held the appropriate licences. Then, all three were manifestly illegal though often practised.

A very bipolar attitude to wool broggers existed at different times and locations. During the reign of Henry VIII there is much evidence of brogging being complained of as a means of practising unfair pricing on vulnerable small producers. Smallholders whose arable harvest had failed and whose only cash crop was the wool on their animals had, of necessity, to resort to deep discounts on the future value of the fleeces to raise quick cash. Moreover, the Crown and other authorities were against anything that was cash based and therefore could not be taxed.

Beatrice Hewart writing of the cloth trade in the Northern counties later in the sixteenth century noted that:

In 1586 a petition against broggers was signed by eighteen northern clothiers among others. It described them as exacting exorbitant prices from poor men, who were compelled to buy from them as there was no market for small quantities.¹²⁶⁸

On the legal position of brogging, Hewart also stated that

By an Act of Edward VI's reign, middlemen had been forbidden to engage in the buying and selling of wool. Wool was to be sold by the grower either to the merchant of the staple or to the weaver or clothier actually engaged in the manufacture of cloth, not to an intermediate person.¹²⁶⁹

However, legislation intended to be national in scope to control this activity had, of necessity, to have exceptions and was therefore doomed to failure

The Act of II and III Philip and Mary c.13¹²⁷⁰ exempted the neighbourhood of Halifax from its operation, and stated in the preamble that the barrenness of the country round Halifax and the poverty of the clothiers who could not afford to travel far and buy a large stock, rendered it unwise to prohibit middlemen. The description of the Halifax clothiers is of poor men, each working for himself.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁶ "To sell (debts) to a factor." OED

¹²⁶⁷ "Things that may be received or accepted; spec. (short-term) debts owed to a business, esp. regarded as assets." OED

¹²⁶⁸ Beatrice Hewart, "The Cloth Trade in the North of England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Economic Journal* (Blackwell for Royal Economic Society) 10, no. 37 (March 1900). p.23.

¹²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p.25

¹²⁷⁰ 2 Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 34, 324. 3 D.S.P. Eliz., vol. 117, 38. 538-539 "Causes moving the poor inhabitants of Lancashire, Richmond, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the bishopric of Durham, to make petition to the Queen's Highness, to have licence and dispensation for the buying and selling of wools. [Signed, John Byron, K.]"

¹²⁷¹ Hewart, *Cloth Trade* p.25

Here then was the bipolar view of broggers. Though vilified for predatory business practices they were increasingly seen as the only way in which smaller producers and weavers (clothiers) could survive in a market that was already becoming concentrated in the hands of larger manufacturers. Reference has already been made to the issue of trading illegally – the picture of who was and was not doing this remained unclear throughout the period. The following table summarizes the significant events affecting the middlemen's business

Table 84 - Wool Middlemen 1551-1592

Year	Event	Effect/Quote
1551	Collapse of export markets	Depresses wool prices in England
1552	1552 Merchant Staplers and Merchant Adventurers get Act (5 & 6 Edward VI, c.7) passed	Both Companies maximize remaining market share at expense of other wool middlemen
1558	Loss of Calais to France	Staplers lose their market on the Continent
1562, 10 August	Proclamation 570 (Greenwich)	...No grower, breeder, brogger, or gatherer of wool to sell to any uncertificated person...
1560's	Merchant Staplers begin to serve as domestic middlemen	Despite being restricted to foreign trade Merchant Staplers take market share from other intermediaries.
1570's	Licences for wool middlemen circumventing earlier legislation	Widespread fraudulent multiple selling of Licences, often with no compensation if participants were found to be holding an invalid licence.
1575	Wool price spiked	
1576, 28 Nov.	Proclamation 621/712 (Hampton Court) suspends licences for a year and bans Staplers from acting in the domestic trade.	...The Clothiers complain that the greed of the Licensees in selling wool out of the kingdom has raised the price and diminished the supply. No such licensee is to buy any wool before All Saints' next... ¹²⁷² all licences to be returned into the Exchequer for revision within two months.
1577	Privy Council sent letters to twenty counties ordering Justices of the Peace to take £100 bonds from broggers 'that they would not buy for resale.'	Little or no effect on wool prices. Justices of The Peace reluctant to take action against their own local wool middlemen.
1577	Staplers proposed two royal proclamations – 1) to restrict the number of broggers 2) to ban glovers selling wool left on fleeces.	Pure self-interest on part of the Staplers – neither proclamation was issued.
1577	Privy Council issues: APC, ix, 386; x, 24-5. Demanding enforcement of Proclamation 621/712	
1581	Privy Council concedes the need for middlemen, ordered J.P.s to let the licences be used freely.	However, this was still far from being a free-for-all permit for unlicensed broggers.
1584 - 1591	Staplers force no new licences for 7 years	

¹²⁷² The first of November 1577

Licences

Licensing of middlemen in wool became an issue of growing importance to the Government during the 1570's. Records of legal cases in Star Chamber and other courts are plentiful¹²⁷³ as one self-interested party after another lobbied for an ever-increasing share of the winnings from both the wool trade and the subsequent cloth manufacturing business. The various interested parties and their motivations can be summarized as

Table 85 - Wool Licences

	Interested Party	Motivation - Difficulty
1	Queen Elizabeth	Licences for wool export or wool trading were a non-cash way of rewarding favourites or avoiding cash payments due to others.
2	Privy Council Members – Dudley, Walsingham	Non Cash compensation ¹²⁷⁴
3	Patentees	Licences to patentees could be granted by the Crown in place of cash fees due. Opportunity for fraud by reselling licences many times over.
4	Foreigners	Frequently the buyers of licences – provided a legal entry into the domestic wool trade.
5	Wool Middlemen (licenced)	Only means of operating legally – cost of licence typically halved first years profits – opportunity to resell (oversell) licences. Risk of Patentee being caught and invalidating licences after these had been paid for – no compensation in this event.
6	Wool Middlemen (unlicensed)	Vulnerable to professional informers, Local Justices of the Peace – prosecution and fining.
7	Professional Informers	Potentially a rich source of victims, however, prosecution and court costs could eat up profits hence only largest unlicensed middlemen were targets. Additionally, some targets off-limits due to their aristocratic status or patronage.
8	Justices of the Peace	Reluctant enforcers of Privy Council motivated Proclamations – would have been enforcing in many cases against prominent local figures who themselves may have been Justices of the Peace. ¹²⁷⁵
9	The Courts	Though hardly needed given the Early Modern love of litigation, yet another source of litigation drawing revenue into the court system.

¹²⁷³ Bowden, *Wool Trade* Chapter V. footnotes which list ranks of cases recorded in the PRO.

¹²⁷⁴ In the case of Walsingham he used his own resources to part fund his secret service and notwithstanding compensation from the Queen died insolvent. See Robert Hutchinson, *Elizabeth's Spy Master* (London: Phoenix, 2006). At p.237 are quoted the words from Walsingham's Will of 12 December 1589 – "...my body, in hope of a joyful resurrection, be buried without any extraordinary ceremonies as usually appertain to a man serving in my place, in respect of the greatness of my debts and the mean state I shall leave my wife and heirs in..."

¹²⁷⁵ Such as John Shakespeare, Justice of the Peace and Brogger.

Two Significant Proclamations

Royal proclamations were a quick non-statutory way of exercising executive power. The history, legality and effects of proclamations remains, in itself, a matter for a separate legal study.¹²⁷⁶ However, suffice here to note that these were in the sixteenth century executive orders issued in the monarch's name but, for the most part, issued through the executive members of the Privy Council. Their purposes were varied – from political propaganda to economic management. Those in the latter category often reflected the influence of a particular pressure group that acted in its self-interest and applied political pressure for some specific outcome. As one source of Governmental revenue was the sale of monopolies and licences, monopolists and patentholders were, perhaps unsurprisingly, irate when illegal traders went unpunished. However, in the absence of any police force or even consistent means of enforcing economic legislation, not all economic proclamations achieved their desired effect. Proclamation 570 of 1562 failed as "...the importance of the middlemen in the wool trade was too great to be choked off...".¹²⁷⁷

Proclamation 712 of November 1576 was followed up by more strenuous efforts to enforce control through local Justices of the Peace in twenty counties. In the wake of this

...some returns from the counties had begun to trickle in, but further enforcement seems to have been based on some of the suggestions for reform which the Council had begun to seek...¹²⁷⁸

In the event, market forces were to dominate as the Merchant Adventurers, Merchant Staplers and leading clothiers blamed each other and, of course, all unlicensed middlemen.

Linsey Woolsey and Alnagers

But what linsey-woolsey hast thou to speak to us again?
Alls Well That Ends Well IV, i

...The broggers continued to buy the wools of the northern farmers to sell again, and to the north too the coarse wools of Lindsay, Kesteven and other places. They were often accused of introducing "deceitfull and naughty stuffs such as flocks and hare" into their wares, and in time the northern clothiers grew dissatisfied with them...¹²⁷⁹

The "linsey-woolsey" of *Alls Well That Ends Well* is the stuff of substandard truth the term coming from substandard cloth. The weave of this had been adulterated with the mixing of another fibre¹²⁸⁰ such as flax though as the above reference by Hewart notes almost any fibre would suffice even simply mixing different qualities of wool. Any adulteration could, in itself, be a profitable activity as long as the buyer was gullible

¹²⁷⁶ Frederic A. Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976). Part 1.2 and Part 3.5

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid. p.130

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid. p.131

¹²⁷⁹ Hewart, *Cloth Trade* p.24

¹²⁸⁰ Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008). Bate refers to the other fabric as flax. "Linsey" referring to "linseed" another name for flax both terms for *Linum Usitatissimum* or Common Flax.

enough to buy the cloth. Other money-spinners were short weighting and stretching. Hewart noted

...In 1576 Leake wrote: *A Discourse against Clothiers, Alnagers Searchers, Merchants, and Retaylers* in which, while he stated generally that he was fully of opinion “that for all cloth in this realm - the laws were never yet observed in any one place”, he singled out for special condemnation all kinds of northern cloths which were “worst of all for false dyeing, for shortness of weight, and for stretching.”¹²⁸¹

Leake’s reference to “Alnagers” - officials in charge of certifying the quality of cloth - is more significant than it first appears in relation to the Shakespeares. Francis Langley, theatre impresario, alnager and villain is considered at length in this thesis but it is sufficient to note here that if someone were dealing in adulterated cloth a corrupt alnager would be a highly valuable business contact.¹²⁸²

Summary - Key Points

Throughout the period:

- the wool and cloth businesses were becoming steadily industrialized with a corresponding increase in the business size of successful growers, clothiers, and middlemen while smaller players were squeezed out.
- businesses became steadily more directed through London. While wool production and local weaving had originally created self-contained markets with exports through regional ports, by the end of the sixteenth century the trading centre was the capital.
- foreigners held a very large slice of both exports and imports. Therefore contacts with foreigners in the clothing trades would have been vital for any business exporting wool or cloth or importing raw materials used in cloth manufacture.
- from 1585 onwards the export picture fragmented - as a result of war and the closure of Antwerp a cluster of new “niche” markets - from the Baltic to Turkey - developed and greatly complicated the pattern of trade and reduced the need for an entrepôt. Representation in London would become vital to all significant wool or cloth traders.
- regulation of growing, manufacture and export/import was sporadic and hampered by attempts to convert medieval institutions and outdated means of regulation to a marketplace that was creating its own rules. If anything, regulation pushed changes in location and product mix into areas of lesser control or developed market niches around obviating outdated regulation.
- fraud through stretching, re-dyeing, blending or simple false certification of cloth greatly increased in England especially in regions where there was less regulatory control.

¹²⁸¹ “Mr. Leake's discourse. Relative to the history of the cloth trade, and the means for preventing the abuses of clothiers, alnagers, &c., existing at present in that trade”. See reference in 'Queen Elizabeth - Volume 111: February 1577', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80* (1856), p.538-539. And Hewart, *Cloth Trade* p.26

¹²⁸² *x ref.209*

VI - THE BLACKFRIARS GATEHOUSE - INDENTURES¹²⁸³

This Indenture¹²⁸⁴ **made** the tenth day of March, in the year of our Lord God according to the computation of the church of England, one thousand six hundred and twelve, and in the years of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland defender of the faith & etc. (that is to say) of England, France and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortieth; Between Henry Walker citizen and Minstrel of London of the one part; And William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick gentleman, William Johnson, citizen and Vintner of London, John Jackson and John Hemming of London gentlemen, of the other party; Witness that the said Henry Walker (for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and forty pounds of lawful money of England to him in hand before the sealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well & truly paid, whereof and wherewith he the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himself fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof doth clearly acquit and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, and each of them by these presents) hath bargained and sold and by these presents doth fully, clearly, and absolutely bargain and sell unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemming, their heirs, and assigns forever; All that dwelling house or Tenement with the appurtenances situate and being within the Precinct, circuit and compass of the late Blackfriars London, sometimes in the tenure of James Gardiner Esquire, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue gentleman, and now or late being in the tenure or occupation of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assigns; abutting upon a street leading down to Puddle Wharf on the east part, right against the King's Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said Tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a capital messuage [¹²⁸⁵] which sometime was in the tenure of William Blackwell Esquire deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupation of the right Honourable Henry now Earl of Northumberland; And also all that plot of ground on the west side of the same Tenement which was lately enclosed with boards on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon widow, so far and in such sort as the same was enclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side enclosed with an old brick wall; Which said plot of ground was sometime parcel and taken out of a great piece of void ground lately used for a garden; And also the soil whereupon the said Tenement stands; And also the said brick wall and boards which do enclose the said plot of ground; with free entry, access, ingress, egress, and regress in, by and through the said great gate and yard there unto the usual door of the said Tenement; And also all and singular cellars, solars, rooms, lights, easements, profits, commodities and hereditaments [¹²⁸⁶] whatsoever to the said dwelling house or Tenement belonging, or in any wise appertaining; And the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singular the premises, and of every parcel thereof; And also all

¹²⁸³ *x ref. 272*

¹²⁸⁴ 1613, Mar. 10. From Conveyance (in Guildhall Library, London), facs. Library Committee (1896).

This is the counterpart held by the vendor; it was found in 1796 among the title-deeds of the Fetherstonhaugh family (Malone, *Inquiry*, 119) and bought by the Corporation in 1843. The deed held by the purchasers (pr. H.P. ii 31) was formerly in H.P.'s collection (*Rarities*, 148) and is now in that of H. C. Folger. It was enrolled (*Close Roll, II Jac.*, p.31) on 23 Apr. 1613.

¹²⁸⁵ "...a dwelling house together with its outbuildings and the adjacent land assigned to its use." OED

¹²⁸⁶ "Any kind of property that can be inherited; any thing, corporeal or incorporeal, that in the absence of testamentary disposition descended to the heir at common law." OED

rents, and yearly profits whatsoever reserved and from henceforth to grow due and payable upon whatsoever lease, demise, or grant, leases, demises or grants made of the premises, or of any parcel thereof; And also all the estate, right, title, interest, property, use, possession, claim and demand whatsoever which he the said Henry Walker now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have of, in, or to the premises, or any parcel thereof; And also all and every [of] the deeds, evidences, charters, scripts, muniments, [¹²⁸⁷] & writings whatsoever which he the said Henry Walker now hath, or any other person or persons to his use have, or hath, or which he may lawfully come by without suite in the law, which touch or concern the premises only or only any part or parcel thereof; Together with the true copies of all such deeds, evidences and writings as concern the premises (among other things) to be written and taken out at the only costs and charges of the said William Shakespeare his heirs, or assigns. Which said dwelling house or Tenement, and other the premises above by these presents mentioned to be bargained and sold the said Henry Walker late purchased and had to him, his heirs and assigns forever, of Mathew Bacon of Grays Inn in the County of Middlesex gentleman, by Indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and four, and in the years of the reign of our said Sovereign Lord king James of his Realms of England, France and Ireland the second, and of Scotland the eight & thirtieth; To have and to hold the said dwelling house or Tenement, shops, cellars, solars, [¹²⁸⁸] plot of ground and all and singular other premises above by these presents mentioned to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances, unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemming their heirs, and assigns forever; To the only and proper use and behalf of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemming their heirs, and assigns forever. [Vendors covenants] to Shakespeare for (i) freedom from encumbrances, ‘Except the rents and services to the chief lord or lords of the fee or fees of the premises from henceforth for or in respect of his or their seigniori [¹²⁸⁹] or seignories only to be due and done’, to which a cancelled passage, not in the counterpart, added an exception for a lease granted by Henry Walker to William Ireland citizen and haberdasher of London, on 12 December 1604 for twenty-five years from the following Christmas at a rent of £7; (ii) quiet enjoyment; (iii) further, on request within three years, And further that all and every fine and fines to be levied, recoveries to be suffered, estates and assurances at any time or times hereafter to be had, made, executed, or passed by, or between the said parties of the premises, or of any parcel thereof, shall bee, and shall be esteemed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be to the only and proper use and behalf of the said William Shakespeare his heirs, and assigns forever, and to none other use, intent or purpose.’

In witness whereof the said parties to these Indentures interchangeably have set their seals. Given the day and years first above written.

William Shakespeare
 William Johnson
 John Jackson

¹²⁸⁷ “A document, such as a title deed, charter, etc., preserved as evidence of rights or privileges; an archival document.” OED

¹²⁸⁸ “an upper chamber in a medieval house” OED.

¹²⁸⁹ “A particular feudal lordship; in English Law chiefly, the relation of the lord to the tenants of a manor.” OED

[Endorsed.] Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of William Atkinson; Edward Overy; Robert Andrews, scrivener; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scrivener.

Notes to the Indenture¹²⁹⁰

This Indenture¹²⁹¹ made the eleventh day of March in the years of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c (that is to say) of England, France and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortieth; Between William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizen and Vintner of London, John Jackson and John Hemming, of London, gentlemen, of the one party, and Henry Walker, citizen and Minstrel of London, of the other party: Witness that the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemming, have demised, granted and to ferme letten, and by these presents do demise, grant and to ferme letten to the said Henry Walker, All that dwelling house or Tenement, with the appurtenances, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compass of the late Blackfriars, London [Description as in above] to have and to hold the said dwelling house or Tenement, cellars, solars, rooms, plot of ground, and all and singular other the premises above by these presents mentioned to be demised, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances, unto the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators and assigns, from the feast of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary next coming after the date hereof, unto the end and term of one hundred years from thence next ensuing and fully to be complete and ended, without impeachment of or for any manner of waste, Yielding and paying therefore yearly during the said term unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemming, their heirs and assigns, a pepper corn at the feast of Easter yearly, if the same be lawfully demanded, and no more. Provided always that if the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, or any of them, do well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators or assigns, the some of threescore pounds of lawful money of England in and upon the nine and twentieth day of September next coming after the date hereof, at or in the now dwelling house of the said Henry Walker, situate and being in the parish of Saint Martin near Ludgate of London, at one entire payment without delay; That then and from then forth this present lease, demise and grant, and all and every matter and thing herein contained (other than this proviso) shall cease, determine, and be utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never been¹²⁹² made, these presents, or any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding. [Covenant by Shakespeare to Walker for freedom from encumbrances.]

¹²⁹⁰ Copies of the original indenture used for the above transliteration. Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* P221, Schoenbaum, *Records and Images* p.45 (fold out large scale copy). Folger Library – Electronic copy with magnification at http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~575293~140001:Bargain-and-sale-from-HenryWalker,?sort=Call_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD_Title%2CImprint&fullTextSearch=fullTextSearch&qvq=q:Blackfriars;sort:Call_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD_Title%2CImprint;lc:FOLGERCM1~6~6&mi=64&trs=66

¹²⁹¹ 1613 March 11. From Mortgage (*Egerton MS.* 1787), facs. B.M.; pr. in full, *Var.* ii. 591; H.P. ii. 34. It was found in 1768 among the Fetherstonhaugh title-deeds. It was given to Garrick, but was missing in 1796 (Malone, *Inquiry*, 119) and had apparently returned to the family solicitors. It was bought by the B. M. from one of the firm in 1858.

¹²⁹² The letters “had ne” appear here in the original.

In witness whereof the said parties to these Indentures interchangeable have set their seals. Given the day and years first above written. W^m Shakespe W^m Johnson, Jo: Jackson

VII - TITHES AS AN INVESTMENT

Spelling, grammar and in some cases terminology have been modernized to aid comprehension. Where archaic terms have precise legal meaning they have been given an explanatory footnote. Original legal drafting by Francis Collins.

The Conveyance to William Shakespeare of the Moiety of a lease of the tithes in and near Stratford-on-Avon

24 JULY, 1605

From the original reserved amongst the records of that town¹²⁹³

This indenture made the fourth and twentieth day of July in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., that is to say, of England, France and Ireland the third, and of Scotland the eight and thirty, Between Ralph Huband of Ippsley in the county of Warwick esquire on the one part, and William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the said county of Warwickshire, gentleman, on the other part; Whereas Anthony Parker clerk, late Warden of the College or Collegiate Church of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said county of Warwickshire and Giles Coventry subwarden there, and the whole chapter of the same late college, by their deed indented, sealed with their chapter seal, dated the seventh day of September in the sixth and thirtieth year of the reign of the late king of famous memory King Henry the Eighth demised, granted, and to farm let (amongst diverse other things) onto one William Barker of Sonning in the county of Berkshire, gentleman, all and all manner of tithes of corn, grain, blade and hay yearly and from time to time coming, increasing, renewing, arising, growing, issuing or happening, or to be had, received, perceived or taken out, upon of or in the towns, villages, hamlets, grounds and fields of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton in the said county of Warwickshire, and also all and all manner of tithes of wool, lamb, and other small and privy tithes, oblations¹²⁹⁴, obventions¹²⁹⁵, alterages, monuments and offerings whatsoever yearly and from time to time coming, increasing, renewing or happening, or to be had, received, perceived or taken within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwickshire by the name or names of all and singular their manors, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rents, reversions, services, courts, leets, reliefs¹²⁹⁶, wards, marriages, harriottes, perquisites of courts, liberties, jurisdictions, and all other hereditaments, with all and singular other rights, commodities, and their appurtenances, together with all manner of parsonages, glebe

¹²⁹³ J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (New York: AMS Press, 1966). p.601-616 – originally published 1882. Adapted to colloquial English with explanatory footnotes by David Fallow, July 2009.

¹²⁹⁴ The presentation of money, goods, property, etc., to the Church for use in God's service - OED

¹²⁹⁵ An incoming fee or revenue, esp. one of an occasional or incidental character. Chiefly in pl. (chiefly Ecclesiastical Law) OED

¹²⁹⁶ A payment, varying in value and kind according to rank and tenure, made to the overlord by the heir of a feudal tenant on taking up possession of the vacant estate OED.

lands, tithes, alterages, oblations, obventions, monuments, offerings, and all other issues, profits, emoluments and advantages in the county of Warwickshire or Worcester, or elsewhere whatsoever they be, unto the said then college appertaining, the mansion-house and the site of the said college, with their appurtenances within the precincts of the walls of the said college unto the said warden and sub-warden only excepted, - To have and to hold all the said manors, lands, tenements, and all other the premises with all and singular their appurtenances (except before excepted) unto the said college belonging or in any ways appertaining, unto the said William Barker, his executors and assigns, from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel [29 September] then last past before the date of the said indenture, unto the end and term of fourscore and twelve years then next ensuing, yielding and paying therefore yearly unto the said warden and sub-warden and their successors at the said college £122 18s. 9d. of lawful money of England, as more plainly appeareth by the said indenture; And whereas also the reversion of all and singular the said premises, among other things, by virtue of the Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lord King Edward the sixth for the dissolution of chantries, colleges, and free chapels, or by some other means, came to the hands and possession of the said late King Edward, and whereas the said late King Edward the sixth being seised,¹²⁹⁷ as in right of his crown of England, of and in the reversion of all and singular the premises, by his letters patents bearing date the eight and twentieth day of June in the seventh year of his reign, for the consideration therein expressed, did give and grant unto the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and to their successors, among other things, all and all manner of the said tithes of corn, grain and hay, coming, increasing or arising, in the villages and fields of Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton aforesaid, in the said county of Warwickshire then or late in the tenure of John Barker, and to the late College of Stratford-upon-Avon in the said county of Warwickshire of late belonging and appertaining, and parcel of the possessions thereof being, and also all and all manner the said tithes of wool, lamb, and other small and privy tithes, oblations and alterages, whatsoever, within the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, and to the said late College of Stratford-upon-Avon belonging or appertaining, and then or late in the tenure of William Barker or of his assigns, and the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singular the said tithes, and every parte and parcel thereof, and the rents, revenues, and other yearly profits whatsoever reserved upon any demise or grant of the said tithes or any part or parcel thereof: and whereas also the interest of the said premises in the said original lease mentioned, and the interest of certain copyholders in Shottery in the parish of Stratford aforesaid, being by good and lawful conveyance and assurance in the law before that time conveyed and assured to John Barker of Hurst in the said county of Berkshire, he the said John Barker by his indenture bearing date the fourth and twentieth day of June in the two and twentieth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth for the considerations therein specified, Did give, grant, assign and set over unto Sir John Huband Knight, brother of the said Ralph Huband, all and singular the said last mentioned premises, and all his estate, right, title and interest that he then had to come, of, in and to all and singular the said premises, and of all other manors, messuages,¹²⁹⁸ lands, tenements, glebe lands,¹²⁹⁹ tithes, obligations, commodities, and profits in the said original lease mentioned, for and during all the years and term then to come unexpired in the said original lease, excepting as in and by the said last mentioned indenture is excepted, as, by the same indenture more at large may appear, To have and to hold all and singular the said recited premises (except before excepted) to the said Sir John Huband, his executors and assigns, for and during the years then to come of and in

¹²⁹⁷ having ownership in

¹²⁹⁸ properties

¹²⁹⁹ a glebe was an area of land belonging to a benefice (priest's living)

the same, yielding and paying therefore yearly after the feast of St. Michael the archangel next ensuing the date of the said last mentioned indenture, for and during all the years mentioned in the said first mentioned indenture then to come and not expired, unto the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assigns, one annual or yearly rent of twenty seven pounds thirteen shillings four pence by the year, to be issuing and going out of all the manors, lands, tenements, tithes and hereditaments¹³⁰⁰, in the said indenture specified, to be paid yearly to the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assigns, by the said Sir John Huband, his executors, administrators, and assigns, at the feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady and St. Michael the archangel, or within forty days after the said feasts, in the porch of the Parish Church of Stratford aforesaid by even portions, and further paying, doing, and performing all such other rents, duties, and services, as at any time from henceforth, and from time to time, for and during the term aforesaid, should become due to any person or persons for the same premises, or any parte thereof, and thereof to discharge the said John Barker, his executors and administrators and if it should happen the said twenty-seven pounds thirteen shillings four pence to be behind and unpaid, in parte or in all, by the space of forty days next after any of the said feasts or days of payment, in which, as is aforesaid, it ought to be paid, being lawfully asked, that then it should be lawful to and for the said John Barker, his executors, administrator and assigns, into all and singular the premises, with their appurtenances and every parte and parcel thereof, to re-enter and the same to have again, as in his or their former right, and that then and from thenceforth the said recited indenture of assignment, and every article, covenant, clause, provision and agreement, therein contained on the parte and behalf of the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, and assigns, to be performed, should cease and be utterly void and of none effect; with diverse other covenants, grants, articles and agreements in the said indenture of assignment specified to be observed and performed by the said Sir John Huband, his executors and assigns, as in and by the said recited indenture it doth and may appear. And whereas the said Sir John Huband did, by his deed obligatoric, bind himself and his heirs to the said John Barker in a great some of money for the performance of all and singular the covenants, grants, articles and agreements, which on the parte of the said Sir John Huband were to be observed and performed, contained and specified as well in the said recited indenture of assignment, as also in one other indenture, bearing the date of the said recited indenture of assignment, made between the said John Barker on the one party and the said Sir John Huband on the other party, as by the said dead obligator¹³⁰¹ more at large it doth and may appear. And whereas also the said Sir John Huband, by his last will and testament in writing, did give and bequeath unto his executors, amongst other things, the moiety or one half of all and singular the said tithes, as well great as small, before mentioned, to be granted to the said bailiff and burgesses of Stratford, and during so long time, and until of the issues and profits thereof, see much as with other things in his said will to that purpose willed, limited, or appointed, should be sufficient to discharge, bear, and pay his funerals debts and legacies, and also by his said last will and testament did give and bequeath the other moiety or one half of the said tithes unto the saved Ralph Huband and his assigns, during all the years then to come in the said first mentioned indenture and not expired, paying the one half of the rents and other charges due or going out of or for the same, that is to save the one half of ten pounds by year to be paid to the said John Barker, over and above the rents thereof reserved upon the said original lease for the same, as by the said will and testament more plainly appeareth ; This indenture now witnesses that the said Ralph Huband, for and in consideration of the sum of **four hundred and forty**

¹³⁰⁰ Any kind of property that can be inherited OED

¹³⁰¹ One who establishes an obligation under law.

pounds¹³⁰² of lawful English money to him by the said William Shakespeare, before the sealing and delivery of these presents, well and truly contented and paid, whereof and of every parte and parcel whereof he, the said Ralph Huband, dothe by these presents acknowledge the receipt and thereof and of every parte and parcel thereof doth clearly acquit, exonerate and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his executors and administrators, for ever, by these presents, hath demised, granted, assigned, and set over, and by these presents doth demise, grant, assign, and sett over unto the said William Shakespeare, his executors and assigns, the moiety or one half of all and singular the said tithes of corn, grain, blade and hay, yearly, and from time to time coming, increasing, renewing, arising, growing, issuing, or happening or to be had, received, perceived, or taken out, of, upon, or in the towns, villages, hamlet's, grounds, and fields of Stratford, Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton, in the said county of Warwickshire, and also the moiety aforesaid or one half of all and singular the said tithes of wool, lamb, and other small and privy tithes, herbage, oblations,¹³⁰³ obventions,¹³⁰⁴ alterages,¹³⁰⁵ monuments, and offerings, whatsoever, yearly, and from time to time, coming, increasing, renewing, or happening, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken, within the parish of Avon-upon-Avon aforesaid: and also the moiety or one half of all and all manner of tithes, as well great as small whatsoever, which were by the last will and testament of the said Sir John Huband given and bequeathed to the said Ralph Huband, arising, increasing, renewing, or growing, within the said parish of Stratford-upon-Avon, and whereof the said Ralph Huband hath at any time heretofore been, or of right ought to have been, possessed, or where- unto he now hath, or at any time hereafter should have, any estate, right, or interest, in possession or reversion, and all the state, right, title, interest, term, claim, and demand whatsoever, of the said Ralph Huband, of, in, and to all and singular the premises hereby lastly mentioned to be granted and assigned, and every or any parte or parcel thereof, and the reversion and reversions of all and singular the said premises, and all and singular rents and yearly profit's reserved upon any demise, grant, or assignment thereof, or of any parte or parts thereof heretofore made in the privy tithes of Luddington and such parte of the tithe hay, and privy tithes of Bishopton, as of right do belong to the vicar, curate or minister there for the time being, always excepted and foreprised,¹³⁰⁶ -- To have and to hold all and every the said moieties or one half of all and singular the said tithes, before, in, and by these presents lastly mentioned to be granted and assigned, and every parte and parcel of them, and every of them, and all the state, right, title, and interest, of the said Ralph Huband, of, in, and to the same, and all other therefore demised premises, and every parte and parcel thereof (except before excepted) unto the said William Shakespeare, his executors and assigns, from the day of the date hereof, for and during the residue of the said term of fourscore and twelve years in the said first recited indenture mentioned, and for such and so long term and time, and in as large, ample, and beneficial manner as the said Ralph Huband should or ought enjoy the same, yielding and paying therefore yearly during the residue of the said term of fourscore and twelve years which be yet to come and unexpired, the rents hereafter mentioned, in manner and form following, that is to say, unto the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and their successors, the yearly rent of seventeen pounds, at the feasts of St. Michael the archangel and the annunciation of blessed Mary the Virgin by equal

¹³⁰² Emphasis added.

¹³⁰³ Oblation - The presentation of money, goods, property, etc., to the Church for use in God's service, esp. for the maintenance of ministers, services, religious communities, etc., or for the relief of the poor - OED

¹³⁰⁴ An incoming fee or revenue, esp. one of an occasional or incidental character - OED

¹³⁰⁵ rearing [as in people or animals] - OED

¹³⁰⁶ To assume, take for granted - OED

portions, and unto the said John Barker, his executors, administrators or assigns, the annual yearly rent of five pounds at the feast days and place limited, appointed and mentioned in the said recited indenture of assignment made by the said John Barker, or within forty days after the said feasts by even portions, as parcel of the said annual rent of twenty seven pounds thirteen shillings four pence in the said assignment mentioned; And the said Ralph Huband doth, by these presents for him, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and grant to and with the said William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators, and assigns, that he the said Ralph Huband at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents hath, and at the time of the first execution, or intention of any execution, of any estate by force of these presents shall have, full power, and lawful and sufficient authority certainly, surely, and absolutely, to grant, demise, assign, and sett over all and every the said moieties, or one half of all and singular the said tithes, and other the premises before in these presents lastly mentioned to be assigned and sett over, and every part and parcel thereof, unto the said William Shakespeare, his executors and assigns, according to the true meaning of these presents ; and also that the said William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall and may from time to time, and at all times during the residue of the said term of four score and twelve years yet to come and unexpired, for the yearly several rents above by these presents reserved, peaceably, lawfully and quietly have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy all and every the said moieties, or one half of all and singular the said tithes of corn, grain, blade, hay, wool, lamb and other small and privy tithes, herbage, oblations, obventions, offerings, and over the premises before by these presents granted and assigned, and every parte and parcel thereof, except before excepted, without any let, trouble, entry, distress, claim, denial, interruption, or molestation whatsoever of the said Ralph Huband, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or of any other person or persons having or claiming to have, or which, at any time or times hereafter, shall or may have, or claim to have, any thing of, in, or to the afore granted premises or any part thereof, by, from, or under the said Ralph Huband, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or by, from, or under the said Sir John Huband, or by their or any of their means, consent, forfeiture, act, or procurement, and without any lawful let, trouble, distress, claim, denial, entry or demand whatsoever, other then for the said yearly rent of twenty seven pounds thirteen shillings four pence by the said recited assignment reserved of the said John Barker, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or of any person or persons claiming by, from, or under them, or any of them, - the state and interest of the Lord Carew of, in and to the tithes of Bishopton and Ryen Clyfforde, and the interest of Sir Edward Greville knight of and in the moiety of the tithe, hay, wool, lamb, and other small and privy tithes, oblations, obventions, offerings, and profited, before by these presents granted and assigned unto the said William Shakespeare, which is to endure until the feast of St. Michael the archangel next ensuing the date hereof, and no longer, only excepted and foreprised; - and the said Ralph Huband doth by these presents, for him his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and grant to and with the said William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators, and assigns, that all and every the said moieties of the said tithes before mentioned to be granted to the said William Shakespeare, and other the premises (except before excepted) now are, and so from time to time, and at all times hereafter during the residue of the said term of fourscore and twelve years yet to come and unexpired, according to the true meaning hereof unto the said William his executors or assigns, shall be, remain, and continue, free and clear, and freely and clearly acquitted, exonerated and discharged, or well and sufficiently saved and kept harmless, of and from all and all manner of bargains, sales, gifts, assignments, leases, recognisances,¹³⁰⁷

¹³⁰⁷A bond or obligation by which a person undertakes before a court or magistrate to perform some act or observe some condition, such as to pay a debt, or appear when summoned; the action or process of

statutes merchant, and of the staple, outlawries, judgments, executions, titles, troubles, charges, encumbrances, and demands whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, committed, omitted, or suffered, or hereafter to be had, made, done, committed, omitted, or suffered, by the said Ralph Huband, Sir John Huband and John Barker, or any of them, their or any of their executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or by any person, or persons whatsoever claiming, or which at any time hereafter during the residue of the said term, shall or made claim, by, from, or under them or any of them, their or any of their executors administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or by any person or persons whatsoever claiming by, from or under them, or any of them, or by their or any of their means, act, title, grant, forfeiture, consent, or procurement, except before excepted; and also that he the said Ralph Huband, his executors, administrators, and assigns, shall and will, from time to time and at all times during the space of three years next ensuing, upon reasonable request, and at the costs and charges in the law of the said William Shakespeare, his executors or assigns, do, perform, and execute, and cause, permit, and suffer to be done, performed, and executed, all and every such further and reasonable act and acts, tying and things, device and devices in the law, whatsoever, be it or they by any means, course, act, devise, or assurance in the law whatsoever, as by the said William Shakespeare, his executors or assigns, or his or their learned counsel shall be reasonably devised, advised, or required, for the confirmation of these presents, or for the further or more better or firmer assurance, surety, sure making and conveying of all and singular the premises before by these presents demised and assigned, or meant or intended to be demised and assigned, and every parte and parcel thereof, unto the said William Shakespeare, his executors and assigns, for and during all the residue of the said term of fourscore and twelve years which be yet to come, and unexpired, according to the tenor and true meaning of these presents, so as the said Ralph Huband, his executors or assigns, be not hereby compelled to travel from Ippsley aforesaid for the doing thereof; And the said William Shakespeare doth by these presents for him, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and grant to and with the said Ralph Huband, his executors, administrators, and assigns, that he the said William Shakespeare, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall and will, during the residue of the said term of fourscore and twelve years, which be yet to come and unexpired, yearly content and pay the several rents above mentioned, viz, seventeen pounds to the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford aforesaid, and five Pounds to the said John Barker, his executors or assigns, at the days and places aforesaid in which it ought to be paid according to the purpose and true meaning of these presents, and thereof shall and will discharge the said Ralph Huband, his executors, administrators and assigns. In witness whereof the parties aforesaid to these presents interchangeable have set their scales the day and year first written.

Bond for the performance of covenants. *Noverint universi per praesentes me Radulphum Huband de Ippsley in com. War., armigerum, tencri et firmiter obligari Willielmo Shakespeare de Stratforde-super-Avon in dicto com. Warr. generoso, in octoginta libris bonae et legalis monetae Angliae solvend. eidem Willielmo, aut suo certo attorn. executoribus vel assign. suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciend. obligo me, haeredes, executores, et administratores meos firmiter per praesentes sigillo meo sigillat. Dat. vicesimo quarto die Julii, annis regni domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia, Angliae, Scociae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, regis, fidei defensoris, &c., scilicet Angliae, Franciae, et Hibernae, tertio, et Scociae tricesimo octavo.* The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden Ralph Huband, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, and every of them, shall and do, from time to

time and at all times, well and truly observe, perform, fulfil and keep all and every covenant, grant, article, clause, sentence, and thing mentioned, expressed and declared in a certain writing indented, bearing date with these presents, made between the said Ralph Huband on the one parte and the above named William Shakespeare on the other parte, and which on the parte and behalf of the said Ralph, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, or any of them, are to be observed, performed, fulfilled, or kept, according to the purported and true meaning of the said writing, that then this present obligation to be void and of none effect, or else to stand and abide in full force, power, and virtue.

VIII - WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S WILL - 1616

Spelling, grammar and in some cases terminology have been modernized to aid comprehension. Where archaic terms have precise legal meanings they have been given an explanatory footnote. Original legal drafting by Francis Collins.

¹³⁰⁸In the name of god Amen I William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwickshire, gentleman, in perfect health and memory, God be praised, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say, first, I commend my soul into the hands of God my Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits, of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting, and my body to the earth whereof it is made. Item, I give and bequeath unto my [son and] daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful English money, to be paid unto her in the manner and form following, that is to say, one hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion within one year after my decease, with consideration after the rate of two shillings in the pound for so long {a} time as the same shall be unpaid unto her after my decease, and the fifty pounds residue thereof upon her surrendering of, or giving of such sufficient security as the overseers of this my will shall like of, to surrender or grant all her estate and right that shall descend or come unto her after my decease, or that she now hath, of, in, or to, one copyhold tenement, with the appurtenances, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid in the said county of Warwickshire, being parcel or holden of the manor of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heirs for ever. Item, I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds more, if she or any issue of her body by living at the end of three years next ensuing the day of the date of this my will, during which time my executors are to pay her consideration from my decease according to the rate aforesaid; and if she die within the said term without issue of her body, then my will us, and I do give and bequeath one hundred pounds thereof to my niece¹³⁰⁹ Elizabeth Hall, and the fifty pounds to be set forth by my executors during the life of my sister Joan Harte, and the use and profit thereof coming shall be paid to my said sister Joan, and after her decease the said £150 shall remain amongst the children of my said sister, equally to be divided amongst them; but if my said daughter Judith be living at the end of the said three years, or any issue of her body, then my will is, and so I devise and bequeath the said hundred and fifty pounds to be set our by my executors and overseers for the best benefit of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paid unto her so long as she shall be married and covert¹³¹⁰ baron¹³¹¹ [by my executors and overseers]; but my will is, that she shall have the consideration yearly paid unto her during her life, and, after her decease, the said stock and consideration to be paid to her children, if she have any, and if not, to her executors or assigns, she living the said term after my decease. Provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto, or at any after, do sufficiently assure unto her and the issue of her body lands answerable to the portion by this my will given unto her, and to be adjudged so by my executors and overseers, then my will is, that the said £150 shall be paid to such husband as shall make such assurance, to his own use. Item, I give and bequeath unto my said sister Joan £30 and all my wearing apparel, to be paid and delivered within

¹³⁰⁸ Written by Francis Collins "matches exactly his handwriting in the council book" Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961) p.141.

¹³⁰⁹ Should read granddaughter according to Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life* p.247

¹³¹⁰ Law. (of a wife) under the protection of one's husband - 1563 Homilies II. Matrimony (1859) 506 - She is under covert and obedience of her husband. OED.

¹³¹¹ Husband. - 1594 If a baron match with a femme that is an inheretrix. OED.

one year after my decease; and I do will and devise unto her the house with the appurtenances in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her natural life, under the yearly rent of 12d. Item, I give and bequeath unto her three sons, William Harte, {Thomas}¹³¹² Hart, and Michael Harte, five pounds a piece, to be paid within one year after my decease [to be set out for her within one year after my decease by my executors, with the advise and directions of my overseers, for her best profit, until her marriage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paid unto her]. Item, I give and bequeath unto [her] the said Elizabeth Hall, all my plate, except my broad silver and gilt bowl, that I now have at the date of this my will. Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of Stratford aforesaid ten pounds; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquire five pounds; and to Francis Collins, of the borough of in the county of Warwickshire gentleman, thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, to be paid within one year after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler the elder] Hamlett Sadler 26s. 8d. to buy him a ring; to William Reynolds gentleman, 26s. 8d. to buy him a ring; to my godson William Walker 20s. in gold; to Anthony Nashe gentleman 26s. 8d. [in gold]; and to my fellows John Heminges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, 26s. 8d. a piece to buy them rings, Item, I give, will, bequeath, and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, for better enabling of her to perform this my will, and towards the performance thereof, all that capital messuage¹³¹³ or tenement with the appurtenances, in Stratford aforesaid, called the New Place, wherein I now dwell, and two messuages or tenements with the appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in Henley street, within the borough of Stratford aforesaid; and all my barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatsoever, situate, lying, and being, or to be had, received, perceived, or taken, within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields, and grounds, of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, or in any of them in the said county of Warwickshire And also all that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances, wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, situate, lying and being, in the Blackfriars in London, near the Wardrobe; and all my other lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singular the said premises, with their appurtenances, unto the said Susanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life, and after her decease, to the first son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said first son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the second son of her body, lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said second son lawfully issuing; and for default of such heirs, to the third son of the body of the said Susanna lawfully issuing, and of the heirs males of the body of the said third son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, the same so to be and remain to the fourth [son], fifth, sixth, and seventh sons of her body lawfully issuing, one after another, and to the heirs males of the body of the body of the said fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons lawfully issuing, in such manner as it is before limited to be and remain to the first, second, and third sons of her body, and to their heirs males; and for default of such issue, the said premises to be and remain to my said niece Hall, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said William Shakespeare for ever. Item, I give unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture, Item, I give and bequeath to my said daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bowl. All the rest of my goods, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuff whatsoever, after my debts and legacies paid, and my funeral expenses discharged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my

¹³¹² Left blank – “memory fails and a blank space is left for the third nephew” Ibid. p.247

¹³¹³ Messuage - Originally: a portion of land occupied, or intended to be occupied, as the site for a dwelling house and its appurtenances. In later use (chiefly Law): a dwelling house together with its outbuildings and the adjacent land assigned to its use. OED

son in law, John Hall gentleman, and my daughter Susanna, his wife, whom I ordain and make executors of this my last will and testament. And I do entreat and appoint the said Thomas Russell esquire and Francis Collins gentleman to be overseers hereof, and do revoke all former wills, and publish this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my [seal] hand, the day and year first above written.

Witness to the publishing hereof

Francis Collins
Julyns Shaw
John Robinson
Hamnet Sadler
Robert Whatcott

IX - CONVEYANCE OF OVER A HUNDRED ACRES OF LAND

from William and John Combe to William Shakespeare, May, 1602

Spelling, grammar and in some cases terminology have been modernized to aid comprehension. Where archaic terms have precise legal meanings they have been given an explanatory footnote.

This Indenture, made the first day of May, in the four and fortieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defendress of the faith, &c., Between William Combe, of Warwick, in the county of Warwick, esquire, and John Combe, of Old Stratford, in the county aforesaid, gentleman, on the one party, and William Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county aforesaid, gentleman, on the other party; Witnesseth that the said William Combe, and John Combe, for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred and twenty pounds of current English money, to them in hand, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, well and truly satisfied, contented, and paid; whereof and wherewith they acknowledge themselves fully satisfied, contented, and paid, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, do clearly exonerate, acquit, and discharge the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns for ever by these presents, have aliened, bargained, sold, given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents, do fully, clearly, and absolutely alien, bargain, sell, give, grant, and confirm unto the said William Shakespeare, all and singular those arable lands, with the appurtenances, containing by estimation four yard lands of arable land, situate, lying or being within the parish, fields, or town of Old Stratford aforesaid, in the said county of Warwick, containing by estimation one hundred and seven acres, be they more or less; and also all the common of pasture for sheep, horse, cows, or other cattle, in the fields of Old Stratford aforesaid, to the said four yard land belonging, or in any wise appertaining; and also all hides, leys,¹³¹⁴ tyings,¹³¹⁵ profits, advantages, and commodities whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances to the said bargained premises belonging or appertaining, or heretofore reputed, taken, known, or occupied as parte, parcel, or member of the same, and the reversion and reversions of all and singular the same bargained premises, and of every part and parcel thereof, now or late in the several tenures or occupations of Thomas Hiccox, and Lewes Hiccox, or of either of them, or of their assigns, or any of them; together also with all charters, deeds, writings, scripts, and monuments whatsoever, touching or concerning the same premises only, or only any parte or parcel thereof; and also the true copies of all other deeds, evidences, charters, writings, scripts, and monuments, which do touch and concern the said premises before bargained and sold, or any part or parcel thereof, which the said William Combe, or John Combe, now have in their custody, or hereafter may have, or which they may lawfully get, or come by, without suit in law; to have and to hold the said four yard of arable land, containing by estimation one hundred and seven acres, be they more or less, and all and singular other the premises before by these presents aliened and sold, or mentioned, or intended to be aliened and sold, and every part and parcel thereof; and all deeds, charters, writings, scripts, and monuments, before by these presents bargained and sold unto the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns for ever, to the only proper use and behove of the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns, for ever. And the said William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heirs, executors, and administrators, do covenant, promise, and

¹³¹⁴ leases – see Glossary

¹³¹⁵ enclosures (of land) – see Glossary

grant to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, and assigns, by these presents, that they, the said William and John Combe, are seized, or one of them is seized, of a good, sure, perfect, and absolute estate, in fee simple, of the same premises before by these presents bargained and sold, or lent, or mentioned to be bargained and sold, without any further condition, or limitation of use, or estate, uses, or estates; and that he, the said John Combe, his heirs and assigns, shall and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, well and sufficiently save and keep harmless, and indemnified, as well the said four yards of arable land, containing one hundred and seven acres, and all other the premises, with their appurtenances, before bargained and sold, or mentioned or intended to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcel thereof, as also the said William Shakespeare, and his heirs and assigns, and every of them, of and from all former bargains, sales, leases, jointures¹³¹⁶, dowers¹³¹⁷, wills,stattites,¹³¹⁸ recognisances¹³¹⁹, writings obligatory, fines, feoffments¹³²⁰, entails, judgments, executions, charges, titles, forfeitures, and encumbrances whatsoever, at any time before the sealing hereof, had, made, knowledged, done or suffered by the said John Combe, or by the said William Combe, or either of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, any thing lawfully claiming or having, from, by, or under them, or either of them, the rents and services hereafter to be due in respect of the premises before mentioned or intended to be bargained and sold to the chief lord or lords of the fee or fees only excepted and foreprised. And the said William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do covenant, promise and grant to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns, by these presents, that they, the said William and John Combe, or one of them, bathe rightful power and lawful authority for any act or acts done by them, the said William and John Combe, or by the sufferance or procurement of them, the said William and John Combe, to give, grant, bargain, sell, convey, and assure the said four yards of arable land, containing one hundred and seven acres, and all other the premises before by these presents bargained and sold, or meant or mentioned to be bargained and sold, and every parte and parcel thereof, to the said William Shakespeare his heirs and assigns, in such manner and form, as in and by these presents is limited, expressed, and declared; and that they, the said William and John Combe, and their heirs, and also all and every other person, and persons, and their heirs, now, or hereafter having or claiming any lawful estate, right, title or interest, of, in, or to the said arable land, and all other the premises before by these presents bargained and sold, with their and every of their other, -other then the chief lord or lords of the fee or fees of the premises, for their rents and services only, -- at all times hereafter, during the space of five years next ensuing the date hereof, shall do, cause, knowledge, and suffer to be done and knowledged, all and every such further lawful and reasonable act and acts, thing and things, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances whatsoever, for the further, more better, and perfect assurance, surety, sure making and conveying of all the said premises before bargained and sold, or mentioned to be bargained and sold, with their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, to the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns, for ever, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, as by the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns, or his or their learned counsel in

¹³¹⁶ The holding of an estate by two or more persons in joint-tenancy. OED

¹³¹⁷ The portion of a deceased husband's estate which the law allows to his widow for her life.

¹³¹⁸ Stat-tites those which enlarge or extend the common law remedy Stewart Rapalje and Robert Lawrence, *A Dictionary of American and English Law* (Law Exchange Limited, 1997).

¹³¹⁹ A bond or obligation by which a person undertakes before a court or magistrate to perform some act or observe some condition, such as to pay a debt, or appear when summoned; the action or process of entering such a bond. Also: a sum of money pledged as a surety for such a bond, and forfeited by a failure to fulfil it. OED

¹³²⁰ A form of entail – see Glossary

the law, shall be reasonably devised, or advised, and required, be it by fine or fines, with proclamation, recovery with voucher or vouchers over, deed or deeds enrolled, enrolment of these presents, feoffment, release, confirmation, or otherwise; with warranty against the said William Combe, and John Combe, their heirs and assigns, and all other persons claiming by, from, or under them, or any of them, or without warranty, at the costs and charges in the law of the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, so as for the making of any such estate, or assurance, the said William and John Combe be not compelled to travel above six miles. And the said William Combe, and John Combe, for them, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said William Shakespeare, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, by these presents, that the said William Shakespeare, his heirs and assigns, shall or may, from time to time, from henceforth for ever, peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy the said four yards of arable land, and all other the bargained premises, with their appurtenances, and every parte and parcel thereof, without any manner of let, trouble, or eviction of them, the said William Combe, and John Combe, their heirs, or assigns; and without the lawful let, trouble or eviction, of any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfully having, or claiming any thing in, of, or out of the said premises, or any parte thereof, by, from, or under them, the said William Combe, and John Combe, or either of them, or the heirs or assigns of them, or either of them, or their, or any of their estate, title, or interest. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have interchangeably set to their hands and seals, the day and year first above written. 1602.

X - CONVEYANCE TO BARTHOLOMEW HATHAWAY, 1610.

Deed of Feoffment¹³²¹ by William Whitmore, of London, Esq., and John Randoll, of Preston Bagot, co. Warw., gent., to Bartholomew Hathaway, of Shottery, husbandman, of land, etc., in Shottery in his own tenure and parcel of the Manor of Old Stratford, viz. : a messuage and yard-land sometime in the tenure of Thomas Perkins, a messuage and yard-land called Howlands, a toft and half yard-land called Hewlyn's and three closes called Howland's, Hewlyn's, and Palmer's, with common of pasture in Shottery, to hold the same at a yearly rent of 33s. 4d. Dated 1 April, 1610.

Signed: with seals.

Witnessed by Richard Cockes, Francis Collyns, Peter Roswell, John Roswell.

¹³²¹ See Glossary

XI – TWO “PERFORMANCES” AND *THE ISLE OF DOGS*

Note: I have included the following research paper concerning *The Isle of Dogs* as it expands on several of the characters and situations referenced in Chapter 5. While the link to the Shakespeare family wealth and is tangential, the “event” of *The Isle of Dogs* clearly had a significant impact on the lives of William Shakespeare and Francis Langley. It is interesting to consider how Shakespeare’s career might have been influenced had Langley’s Swan theatre not been suppressed.

Performance

...Since Truth is ever drawn and painted naked,
and I have lent her but a leathern patched cloak
at most to keep her from the cold: that is,
that she come not off too lamely and coldly...
Thomas Nashe, 1594¹³²²

The “performance”, which took place five years before the playing of *The Isle of Dogs* on the stage of the Swan theatre in London, was on 20 September 1592 and had Walter Raleigh¹³²³ as its leading man. The stage was the maindeck of the *Madre de Dios* a captured Portuguese carrack¹³²⁴ loaded with exotic cargo from the Far East. She was probably the greatest prize ever sailed into an English port. A stage direction of the scene would have read “at anchor in the harbour of Dartmouth in Devon”. Other cast members included Raleigh’s jailer who had escorted him from his incarceration in the Tower of London as well as Robert Cecil, Francis Drake and an array of courtiers, mariners and the key members of Raleigh’s extended family.

¹³²² Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night or A Discourse of Appartitions* (London: William Jones, 1594).

¹³²³ The spelling “Raleigh” is used throughout, however when some scholars have used another alternative spelling I have not altered their original choice of letters.

¹³²⁴ “Carrack” is an English word see Glossary for Spanish and Portuguese equivalents.

An Accepted View

Our Voyage is to the Isle of Dogs, where the Blatant Beast¹³²⁵ doth rule and reign,
 rending the credit of whom it please...
 Anon.¹³²⁶

If I had thought the ship of fooles would have stayed to take in fresh water at the Ile of
 dogges I would have furnished it with a whole kennel of collections to the purpose.
 Thomas Nashe, 1600¹³²⁷

Commentaries about the events surrounding *The Isle of Dogs*, a play of which no copy now remains, have generally fallen into two camps – the “accepted” view adopted by noted scholars such as Fripp, Chambers, Egan and Wells and an “alternative” construction by Ingram.

In 1932 Fripp held that “Pembroke’s men including Ben Jonson brought out about 21 July 1597 a comedy by Nash which gave mortal offense to the state authorities”.¹³²⁸ Contemporaneous with Fripp was Edmund Chambers who put it that “offence was given by The Isle of Dogs”.¹³²⁹ Stanley Wells and Lena Cowen Orlin as recently as 2003 referred to the play as being “highly critical of the government”¹³³⁰ while yet another modern reference publication went even further and summarized the play as having “caused offence to an important person.”¹³³¹

But tangible evidence of the nature of the play is tenuous and rests principally on the Privy Council order of 28 July 1596 and the subsequent letter of 15 August to Roger Topcliffe. The assumption that it “presumably was a satire of a scandalous [nature]”

¹³²⁵ “Blatant Beast...in Spenser's Faerie Queene, a monster, the personification of the calumnious voice of the world, begotten of Envy and Detraction”. Elizabeth Knowles, ed., *A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, ed. Elizabeth Knowles (OUP, 2006).

¹³²⁶ Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare Man & Artist*, 2nd Edition (London: OUP, 1964). p.458

¹³²⁷ Thomas Nash, *A Pleasant Comedy called Summer's Last Will and Testament* (London: Burre, 1600).

¹³²⁸ Ibid. p.457

¹³²⁹ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930) p.64.

¹³³⁰ Stanley Wells, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Michael Dobson (Oxford University Press, 2001). They also comment that it “landed the dramatists in jail”... which is factually incorrect as only one dramatist (Jonson) was incarcerated though accompanied by two other members of the company. Nashe maintained that he had been the junior party in writing the play with the lion’s share being contributed by Jonson. That there were two dramatists involved seems certain and runs contrary to Fripp’s statement of the play being ‘a comedy by Nashe’ see above.

¹³³¹ Gabriel Egan, “Censorship,” in Stanley Wells and Michael Dobson, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Stanley Wells and Michael Dobson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

and in consequence all the "...lewd matters, great disorders...and confluence of bad people" who resorted to the theatre had to be severely dealt with. The Privy Council's solution was that all play houses were to be "knocked down" or at least so "de-faced" that they could not be used again for acting. Additionally playing in a public place, within 3 miles of London was to cease until 1 November of 1596.¹³³²

For some, it appears that Fripp's "presumably" has hardened to "fact" with the passage of time.

Glynne Wickham in 1963, accurately drew attention to the only tangible net effect as being

...the Swan foundered on this account... and was never again officially allowed to function as a regular theatre.¹³³³

William Ingram, originally describing it as a 'dissenting' one in 1971,¹³³⁴ presented a fully formed alternative construction in his later biography of Francis Langley¹³³⁵

...theatre historians will argue that at the end of July the players in the Swan, by staging a scurrilous play called the Isle of Dogs, brought down upon themselves the wrath of both City and (Privy) Council...¹³³⁶

Additional circumstantial evidence for the 'accepted' view does exist. On 28 of July 1597 one in a series of letters of complaint from the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council seeking the permanent closing of the theatres had indeed been delivered, though this was a near duplicate of earlier requests to put an end to playing. Meanwhile, despite being pressed by matters of state concerning Ireland and France, the Privy Council met on the same day and announced the suspension of all playing.

On August the fifteenth the Privy Council acted again, sending instructions to Roger Topcliffe

...Upon information given us [about] a lewd play that was played in one of the playhouses on the Bankside, containing very seditious and slanderous matter... [it] caused some of the players to be apprehended

¹³³² Fripp, *Shakespeare* p.457

¹³³³ Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*, Reprint (London: Routledge, 1971). p.134

¹³³⁴ William Ingram, "The Closing of the Theatres in 1597: A Dissenting View," *Modern Philology*, 1971: 105-115. This paper contains minor factual errors e.g. Ingram refers to a "Spanish" ship a fact he corrects to "Portuguese" in the later work. However, it rewards careful reading as it sets out the early proposals for his alternative approach.

¹³³⁵ Ingram, *A London Life*

¹³³⁶ *Ibid.* p.167

and committed to prison, whereof one of them was not only an actor, but a maker of part of the said play¹³³⁷

Topcliffe was directed

...to examine those of the players that are committed, whose names are known to you, with an eye to determining what is become of the rest of their fellows who were sharers in ‘the lewd and mutinous behavior’...

Ingram was not shy of speculating about the possible motivations of some Privy Council members: “Howard and Hunsdon in particular, I suspect, ...[as] the Company in question might be one of their own.” As previously referenced, he held out that they would have been keen to pursue the matter to protect their “good names”¹³³⁸

Again, there is some circumstantial evidence to support this contention. Lord Hunsdon’s desire to protect his reputation had previously been seen in how he disguised being “enriched by the brothel trade in the Paris Garden Manor, of which he was Lord”¹³³⁹.

Hunsdon had legally conveyed Paris Garden, the manor in which the Swan stood with individual parcels being sold to a number of citizens using a circuitous method.¹³⁴⁰ While an apparent transfer of title had taken place Hunsdon had, in fact, retained a slice of the economic benefit.¹³⁴¹

The upshot of the Privy Council letter was that Roger Topcliffe conducted his examination. In the end no theatres were plucked down, playing went on and the only long-term casualties were, as Wickham noted, Francis Langley and his theatre.

I propose another “alternative” construction to that of the “accepted” view of events surrounding the Isle of Dogs, one much closer to that of Ingram. This “alternate” approach starts in 1592, five years before the opening of the Swan and an examination

¹³³⁷ Acts of the Privy Council (APC) 1597 p.338

¹³³⁸ Ingram, *London Life* p.180

¹³³⁹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1992). p.37

¹³⁴⁰ Paris Garden, had been transferred under the archaic ‘knight service’ that by this date time would be paid in cash. See Glossary “knight service” “By far the greater part of England [in the 13th century] is held of the king by knight's service. . . . In order to understand this tenure we must form the conception of a unit of military service. That unit seems to be the service of one knight or fully armed horseman (servitium unius militis) to be done to the king in his army for forty days in the year, if it be called for. - Pollock, Sir Frederick; F.W. Maitland *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I.* 2d ed. CUP Cambridge 1898

¹³⁴¹ Ingram, *London Life* p.299

of this reveals the scope and range of corruption, theft and extravagant theatrical behaviour demonstrated on both sides of the legal fence by all levels of society. The following explanation of events may appear circuitous but it does have the advantage of answering a mystery that has been unsolved for four centuries. Moreover, it also provides a credible explanation of why all the theatres were closed down and why the Swan never really re-opened. It starts with the Mother of God and a wedding.

Raleigh and the Mother of God – 1592

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 86 - Portuguese Carrack

Oh, sir, upon her nose all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain; who sent whole armadoes of caracks to be ballast at her nose.
The Comedy of Errors 1594¹³⁴²

It is surprising how nearly coextensive with the world is the stage on which this endless, marvelous, incomparable tragedy, or if you will comedy, can be played; its area is in fact that of the whole world
John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 1159

Walter Raleigh, by marrying one of the Queen's Ladies-in-Waiting without Her Majesty's consent, earned a place for himself and his new wife in the Tower. Both were committed on the seventh of August, 1592.

To modern eyes marrying without Royal approval might appear to be a trivial matter, one hardly meriting imprisonment.¹³⁴³ However, the Italian style of austere and ritualized courtly behaviour, though somewhat mocked by English traditionalists, had become entrenched during the first half of Elizabeth's reign.¹³⁴⁴

¹³⁴² *The Comedy of Errors* [III, 2]

¹³⁴³ In 2008, Mary Partridge set out in considerable detail the Italian Baldassare Castiglione's rules for "correct" Renaissance behaviour drawn from his *Book of the Courtier* of 1528. She notes that in 1561 Thomas Hoby, recorded that the Courtier "is become an Englishman" – evidently the book had arrived and had seen active use in England. Mary Partridge, *Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England*, Modern History, University of Birmingham (Unpublished, 2008).

¹³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p.48. The writer Gabriel Harvey in 1578 boasted that Queen Elizabeth "had told him he looked just like an Italian when he entertained her with an oration". "Thomas Nashe, with whom Harvey became embroiled in an acrimonious pamphlet war, brought up the episode 'De vultu Itali' ('of the Italian look') twice. In his *Strange newes*, he recounted 'a merryest': The time was when this Timothie Tiptoes

By marrying without the Queen's consent - moreover by marrying one of the Queen's own ladies - Raleigh as a courtier had perpetrated an enormous social gaffe contrary to the rules of Italianate Princely worship. In a very real social sense he had given the Queen no choice in the matter but to act severely against the couple.

The "Italian" Courtier

Stephen Greenblatt wrote of Raleigh

...he seems to have had what I should like to call "a dramatic sense of life": a histrionic lifestyle and, with this, a consciousness of the universe and of the self shaped in theatrical terms. It is not surprising that for Raleigh ... the theatre was a central metaphor for man's life...¹³⁴⁵

Greenblatt also refers to Pierre Lefranc¹³⁴⁶ who speaks of Raleigh's theatricality (Lefranc used the term *théâtralisme*) that he finds more Italian than romantic, by virtue of its cold control and extreme attention to the public gaze.

Raleigh himself wrote

What is our life? A play of passion,
Our mirth the music of division;
Our mothers' wombs the tiring-houses be
Where we are dressed for this short comedy...¹³⁴⁷

Mark Nicholls and Penny Williams set the background for Raleigh's *coup de théâtre*

...the fleet [Raleigh] had recently sent ...succeeded in capturing a Portuguese carrack, the *Madre de Dios*. The ship was brought home ... exaggerated tales reached London of how the vast treasure on board was being rapidly plundered... In this administrative chaos lay Raleigh's opportunity. On 15 September [1592], at the request of Sir John Hawkins and through the mediation of Burghley, he was sent...still technically a prisoner...¹³⁴⁸

[Harvey] made a Latine Oration to her Maiestie." - Nashe actually berated Harvey on one other occasion about the incident.

¹³⁴⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973). p.26 – the book was based on Greenblatt's own PhD thesis.

¹³⁴⁶ Pierre Lefranc, *Sir Walter Raleigh, the writer, the work and Ideas* (Paris: University of Laval, 1968).

¹³⁴⁷ Harvard Classics, *English Poetry I - Chaucer to Gray*, ed. Charles Eliot (New York: Collier & Son, 1909). No.50. *What Is Our Life*

¹³⁴⁸ Mark Nicholls and Penny Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

The scene that was about to unfold on the maindeck of the prize ship is one of the less appreciated performances of Raleigh's career. Greenblatt barely refers to it, treating its aftermath merely as a rationale for Raleigh's subsequent depressive behaviour.¹³⁴⁹

Certainly it does not rank with his great declamation before his treason trial of 1603 where his oratory and demeanour totally turned the tables to his favour. "As Dudley Carleton [a diplomat and 1st Viscount Dorchester] put it a few days later, 'never was a man so hated and so popular in so short a time'"¹³⁵⁰ Another man who heard Raleigh on that occasion was an unnamed Scotsman commissioned by the king to report on the trial. He stated that

...whereas, when he saw Sir Walter Raleigh first, he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere they parted, have gone a thousand to save his life.
1351

Greenblatt summarized Raleigh "for he was an actor, and at the great public moments of his career he performed unforgettably"¹³⁵².

The Events

Even without their leader, Raleigh's men had pressed ahead with his plan for a privateering venture to the Azores. There they saw success with the capture, among other ships), of the Lisbon bound *Madre de Dios*. At sixteen hundred tons the carrack would have been one of the largest ships in the world at the time. Fripp described her as a "great seven decker"¹³⁵³.

Peter Kirsch¹³⁵⁴ called the Carrack design "the choice high seas beast of burden and [it] has been described as the 'perfected transport ship'". In summary he proposes that its chief advantage over other hull types was the high freeboard that made it easily defensible against the small craft used by pirates in the Far East. Its sheer size gave it considerable cargo carrying capacity as well as the ability to make extremely long

¹³⁴⁹ Greenblatt, *Raleigh* p.99

¹³⁵⁰ Bodl. Oxf., MS Carte 80, fol. 622v

¹³⁵¹ Greenblatt, *Raleigh* p.1 Here Greenblatt is quoting from William Stebbing's *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Oxford, 1891) p.230.

¹³⁵² *Ibid.* p.1

¹³⁵³ Fripp, *Shakespeare* p.301

¹³⁵⁴ Peter Kirsch, *Galleon: Great Ships of the Armada Era* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1990).

voyages. The rig of four main and two lateen sails proved handy for both main propulsion as well as providing some manoeuvrability. Size again came into play with bulk providing a stable mounting for main armament.¹³⁵⁵

However, as was demonstrated at the Armada in 1588, in battle carracks were no match for the smaller and more agile English fighting ships. The English vessels at around 300 tons could attack at long range with concerted canon fire and then outmanoeuvre their larger opponents. This latter ability prevented the much larger Spanish and Portuguese ships from either bringing their main armament to bear or successfully boarding the smaller vessels.¹³⁵⁶

Tomaso Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, in a letter dated the twelfth of September 1592, informed the Doge and Senate,

...news has come from Lisbon that nine Englishmen attacked the flagship of the East India fleet and another ship, which had cargoes worth three millions of gold. If this is true, it will bring great ruin chiefly on the city of Lisbon.¹³⁵⁷

The carrack, under a prize crew, had been sailed back to England and had arrived in Dartmouth on the seventh of September 1592.¹³⁵⁸ Russell Miller described the net result of bringing in one of the richest prizes in history safe into an English port as “pandemonium”.¹³⁵⁹

Why Dartmouth?

Why was the *Madre de Dios* sailed into Dartmouth? It is of course possible that wind and weather dictated that this was the safest and easiest port to reach. Unquestionably Dartmouth was a major naval port at the time.

Gonzalo Gonzales del Castillo who had been captured at the Armada in 1588 was released and repatriated four years later. On his return home he was debriefed on what he had seen in England. Gonzales concluded his report: “I left Dartmouth and was at

¹³⁵⁵ Ibid. First section ‘carrack’

¹³⁵⁶ A notable exception to this was the Ark Raleigh at about 800 tons. The Queen bought the ship from Raleigh for £5000 and renamed it Ark Royal. During the Spanish Armada it served as the English flagship.

¹³⁵⁷ Horatio Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Vol. 9 (1897).

¹³⁵⁸ Ingram, *London Life* p.97

¹³⁵⁹ Russell Miller, *The Seafarers: The East Indiamen* (Alexandria, Virginia, 1920). p.8

Plymouth on the 5th February 1592. These are the best harbours possessed by the Queen, and her fleets are usually gathered therein.” However, he goes on to note that both ports were at that time bereft of ships.¹³⁶⁰

But why bring her into Dartmouth over Plymouth? Possibly Sir John Burrough, the commander of the squadron, had an ulterior motive. Compton Castle, outside the village of Marldon, a few miles from Dartmouth, was the ancestral home of the Gilbert family, kindred of Sir Walter Raleigh.¹³⁶¹ The immediate area around Dartmouth could be accurately described as a stronghold of Raleigh and his extended family.

According to Miller¹³⁶²

At Dartmouth the pillage continued as the light-fingered sailors trafficked... A large share of the captured treasure was owed to Queen Elizabeth; when she heard what was happening she sent Sir Walter Raleigh down from London to retrieve her share of the booty and discipline the looters. “If I meet any of them coming up,” Raleigh swore “if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born, for Her Majesty has been robbed and that of the most rare things...”

Miller’s summary while correct in outline misses some key points - such as the role played by Robert Cecil.

Extracts drawn from the Calendar of State Papers¹³⁶³ relate that

Sept.16 1592 ... Instructions delivered to Sir Robt. Cecil and Thomas Myddleton, appointed Commissioner and Treasurer for the carrack and other prizes come from seas this summer, lying at Dartmouth and Plymouth. Cecil is to repair to Dartmouth, and inquire in what... Commissioners lately sent there have proceeded for the surety of the carrack... to cause all the lading to be viewed and entered in registers, especially to search out all the precious things...

... On account of the contagion in London, the goods are to come to Greenwich for sale... The Mayor of Dartmouth and Sheriff of the county are to publish a strict prohibition to any to come from London, where the

¹³⁶⁰ Volume 4 1587-1603 at p.592-595 Simancas, Simancas, Vol. 4, in *Calendar of Spanish State Papers* (1899).

¹³⁶¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert was himself a noted explorer and soldier. Born in Greenway, near Dartmouth in 1537 he was the second son of Otho Gilbert of Compton and Katherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernown of Modbury itself a few miles west of Dartmouth. Following Otho's death Katherine married Walter Raleigh (1496? – 1581), a gentleman from Hayes Barton – about fifteen miles east of Dartmouth. Sir Walter Raleigh (1554 –1618) was a child of this second marriage and was therefore Humphrey (and his brother John) Gilbert's half-brother. The Raleigh name (whichever way one spells it, there is considerable debate) is tied to place names such as Colaton Raleigh, a hamlet a half mile to the east of Hayes Barton.

¹³⁶² Also quoted in Rogerio Miguel Puga, “The Presence of the 'Portugals' in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt's Navigations,” *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), December 2005: 81-116. p.85

¹³⁶³ Edited by Mary Everett Green [1869] in note form. CSP 1592

contagion is, to buy the goods, and to put in prison those who disobey. Cecil is to get to understand what persons pretend to any interest in the goods, so that the same may be duly examined, before any sale or distribution is made...[Draft, by Burleigh. 4 pages.]

No less a person than Lord Burleigh considered the situation involving this ship to be so important that he personally drafted the papers governing how matters were to be dealt with and then dispatched his son to take charge of the situation. Perhaps also significant is that, in the Calendar of State Papers (domestic), entries mentioning the Carrack are also heavily concerned with the cost of the English Army then in France (about 4000 strong).¹³⁶⁴ Expenses for the troops were running at £3500 a month and the arrival of a treasure ship proved very timely.¹³⁶⁵

On the nineteenth of September at ten in the morning, Cecil wrote to his father from Exeter. By this time Raleigh had been released, under guard, from the Tower - the following are extracts from Cecil's letter (again in note form)

Sir Robt. Cecil to Lord Burghley. Every one he [Cecil] met within seven miles of Exeter, that either had anything in a cloak, bag, or malle which did but smell of the prizes...(for he could well smell them almost, such has been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them...stayed any who might carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth at the gates of the town; compelled them also to tell him where any trunks or malles were, and, finding the people stubborn, committed two innkeepers to prison, which example would have won the Queen £20,000 a week past. Has found, in a Londoner's shop, a bag of seed pearl, pieces of damask, cipreses, and calicoes, a very great pot of musk, certain tassels of pearl, and divers other things, which have been registered in the presence of the Mayor...

...There never was such spoil; has intercepted letters written to friends in London to come down, promising what they will do for them. Keeps the letters to charge the parties at Dartmouth; the man who had all these things has gone back again for new booty; will take him by the way, and make as much benefit of him and of his knowledge as he can. Will suppress the confluence of these buyers, of which there are above 2,000...

...In the search...and a fork and spoon of crystal, with rubies, which he reserves for the Queen.¹³⁶⁶ Her Majesty's captive [Raleigh] comes after the writer; [Cecil] has outrid him, and will be at Dartmouth first. In spite of his orders, one has ridden past to warn Dartmouth of his coming.¹³⁶⁷

¹³⁶⁴ In a related cost control measure the Queen chose that summer of 1592 to go on progress in the Midlands and thereby transfer a portion of the housekeeping bill for her court onto her various hosts as well as the much larger expense of the lavish entertainments.

¹³⁶⁵ CSP 1592

¹³⁶⁶ emphasis added

¹³⁶⁷ CSP 1592

Ingram in his account of events is mistaken in suggesting that Raleigh “accompanied Cecil”. Certainly they were eventually together in Dartmouth - but they were not together when Cecil first arrived in Exeter [see above]. Where Ingram was on firmer ground was in his summation that:

...the greater part of the booty must have escaped...in particular the precious stones which alone were estimated variously from £100,000 to £250,000 above and beyond the rest of the cargo...there were persistent rumors that a great diamond had been aboard the ship...Cecil made it his special concern to trace it... prestige as well as money was involved.¹³⁶⁸

There are several points in Cecil’s letter of the nineteenth that merit careful review – ranked according to the availability of corroborating material

- Cecil was personally tracking down looted treasure.
- He was already estimating the potential loss to the Crown through theft at over £20,000.
- Goods have been found in “a Londoner’s shop”.
- The London criminal fraternity was being encouraged to join the treasure hunt.
- Cecil was picking out the choicest articles for the Queen for her own use – the jewel encrusted fork and spoon.
- Despite his orders “Dartmouth” (i.e. Raleigh’s men) knew that Raleigh was on his way before either of their arrivals.
- Prestige as well as money was now at stake.

By February 1597, the remaining cargo had been sold for £150,000 and was divided up:

Table 87 - *Madre de Dios*, Division of the Cargo

The Crown	£59,000	A private investor? ¹³⁶⁹
The Earl of Cumberland	£37,000	Who took part in the action
Sir Walter Raleigh	£24,000	Against an estimated investment of £26,000 ¹³⁷⁰
The City of London	£12,000	Who had invested £6000 ¹³⁷¹
Others	£ 8,000	
The Mariners	£10,000	

¹³⁶⁸ Ingram, *London Life* p.98

¹³⁶⁹ Greenblatt, *Norton Shakespeare*. p.6. Greenblatt refers to “the queen had in fact privately invested £1800 for which she received about £80,000”

¹³⁷⁰ Greenblatt, *Raleigh* p.99. – some sources suggest Raleigh lost £2000 on the venture while others maintain he made (only) £2000. Mark Nicholls and Penny Williams, “Raleigh, Sir Walter,” in *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). For example summarize his financial position as “Elizabeth allowed Raleigh only a small share of the spoils: a notional profit of £2000 on the £34,000 adventured by him and his associates”.

¹³⁷¹ Ingram, *London Life* p.97

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 88 - Carrack vs. Modern Warship – to scale

Though it “was an exceeding great booty, and a heavy loss to the Portuguese, considering how, besides all this, the precious things that were in her were rifled before she came to land...”¹³⁷² Estimates of the Carrack’s fully laden value, ran much higher.
1373

Cecil received a report from one of his foreign agents simply known as the “Frenchman”

...I understood by Dom Jonay that the value of the vessel was some four million crusados, [about a million pounds]...one stone costing 500,000 ducats...and the whole loss did not grieve Dom Jonay or Captain More as much as the loss of this stone.¹³⁷⁴

¹³⁷² CSP 1592 and CPH 22/1 as well as an official proclamation of September 23, 1592 stating anything stolen from the ship was to be “discover[ed] and deliver[ed]” i.e. returned. I have been unable to ascertain the level of actual “returns” though Ingram in *London Life* (p.97) comments on the crew estimating £28,500 being removed. There remain considerable inconsistencies between various scholars – Ingram for example refers to a final sale value of £141,200.

¹³⁷³ H.M.S. Somerset is an ‘Iron Duke’ class frigate, first commissioned in 1996. <http://www.royal-navy.mod.uk/operations-and-support/surface-fleet/type-23-frigates/hms-somerset/index.htm>

¹³⁷⁴ Ingram, *London Life* p.99 and CPH n.d., 22/11

Raleigh The Player

It would be naïve to suggest that Raleigh's men were not, on their own and their master's account, helping themselves to the cargo long before Cecil arrived. Moreover, that the same mariners that took the prize in a sanguinary action could not have kept looters at bay remains improbable in the extreme given that the sheer size of the vessel would have dictated her being anchored well into the river. Large vessels (anything over 100 tons) in Dartmouth harbour do this even today.

Her high freeboard would have made any opposed boarding very problematic – the prize crew was commanded by John Bedford an experienced officer taken from the *Roebuck*, herself commanded by the leader of the expedition Sir John Burroughs.¹³⁷⁵

The cargo weighed 540 tons¹³⁷⁶ (though some estimates go as high as 900) and though much of the value would have been in small items (jewels etc.) only with a willing prize crew's cooperation could anything of any size have been unloaded into small craft – the bulk of the heavy (and lower value) materials were still on board when Cecil arrived.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

Table 89 - HMS Somerset in the River Dart

Given the geographical nature of Dartmouth and its surrounding area (a very steep incised river valley) the only practical way to move heavy goods is by water. A short distance up the River Dart there is flat ground and two miles across the fields to the east sits Compton Castle. The image above shows H.M.S. Somerset in 2005 at anchor in Dartmouth.¹³⁷⁷

¹³⁷⁵ I was a naval officer myself and attended Britannia Royal Naval College in Dartmouth. Like all officers under training I was required to spend many days on the river in a variety of small craft. I am lost in admiration of the seamanship displayed in bringing the carrack into the Dart. The *Madre de Dios* under sail would have handled like a modern super tanker in the constricted entrance and river. This was an awesome piece of pilotage.

¹³⁷⁶ See *Madre de Dios* in Glossary for further details re debate on likely tonnage and cargo.

¹³⁷⁷ The vessel alongside H.M.S. Somerset is a small tug – even a modern warship would be hard to board from a small boat – let alone one with the huge freeboard (height out of the water) of the *Madre de Dios*. There is no possibility a ship of her size could have come alongside any jetty – then or now in Dartmouth.

The sincerity of Raleigh's ranting as the loyal subject enraged that anyone should steal from the Crown is, to say the least, questionable.

Describing Raleigh's performance on the deck of the *Madre de Dios*, Cecil wrote to Vice-Chamberlain Sir Thomas Heneage on the twenty-first of September 1592

...Dartmouth...As soon as [Cecil] came on board the carrack Sir W. Raleigh arrived, with his keeper, Mr. Blount; his poor servants, to the number of 140 goodly men, and all the mariners came to him with shouts of joy; never saw a man more troubled to quiet them; but his heart is broken, as he is extremely pensive, unless he is busied, in which he can toil terribly.

However, he continues somewhat more cynically

[Cecil] Cannot help laughing to hear him rage at the spoils. The meeting between him and Sir John Gilbert was with tears on Sir John's part; but he, finding that it is known that he has a keeper, whenever he is saluted with congratulation for liberty, answers, "No, I am still the Queen of England's poor captive." Wished him to conceal it, because it diminished his credit there, which is greater amongst the mariners than the writer thought. Graces him as much as possible, finding him greedy to do anything to recover the conceit of his brutish offence...

Cecil then goes on, almost incredibly, to exonerate the Raleigh family¹³⁷⁸

...Has examined on oath Sir John Gilbert, and all his; finds them, clear in the opinion of most men. His heart was so great, until his brother [Raleigh] was at liberty, that he only came once to the town, and never was aboard her; but now he is sworn, he sets all aboard to hunt out others, and informs the Commissioners daily by his spies, wherein he would not be so bold if he could have been touched. Thinks him wronged in this, however in others he may have done like a Devonshire man...¹³⁷⁹

The proposition that Raleigh, a tough soldier, sailor and adventurer would be reduced to tears because the Queen was not getting her maximum possible share of the booty is highly questionable. However, in terms of courtly behaviour all this excessive grief and repentance before notable witnesses may have formed part of his public penance.

Just how much loot was "liberated" by the Raleigh family versus how much was handed out to the smokescreen of "looters" (some of whom were genuine criminals though most would probably have been citizens of Dartmouth) will never be known. Certainly the presence of "looters" offered one way of concealing any filching by the mariners on

¹³⁷⁸ Unless one takes the unproven view that Cecil himself was also being handsomely paid off, or was prudently assuming that eyes other than those of Heneage might read the letter's contents.

¹³⁷⁹ CSP 1592

the return voyage. To the question of the total original value of the cargo, if there is an answer to be had, it must lie with the original Portuguese cargo manifests and comparing these with the final figure of £150,000. Peter Borschberg¹³⁸⁰ in response to this issue quoted details of another carrack, the *Santa Catarina*

The *Santa Catarina*'s cargo (taken [by the Dutch] off the coast of Singapore) in 1603 was 3.5 million florins in market value (actual sales), but earlier estimates had been higher.

At dawn on February 25, 1603 three Dutch ships under the eventual command of Admiral Jakob Van Heemskerck spotted the carrack at anchor off the Eastern coast of Singapore. After a couple of hours of fighting, the Dutch managed to subdue the crew who forfeited the cargo and the ship, in return for the safety of their lives. The cargo was particularly valuable because it contained several hundred ounces of musk. The ship was laden with wares from China and Japan and was travelling from Macau to Melaka [Malacca].

Three and a half million Dutch florins in 1603 would have equated to £350,000 at then prevailing exchange rates. However this assumes that this ship's captors were not helping themselves to some of the smaller, high value, items before the public sale. Borschberg describes the determination of the exact value of a laden Portuguese carrack as being 'tricky' in general and difficult in particular

...most gemstones were not brought as part of an official cargo, but brought along in the so-called *caixa de liberdade* (luggage allowance) of the different sailors and officers of a vessel. Empty nooks and crannies were often stuffed with compact, high value items such as diamonds, rubies, musk cods, ambergris and bezoar stones that never show up on a cargo list (in order to avoid paying taxes, naturally). It would only have been featured on the official bill of lading if it was a) destined for a high functionary such as the viceroy or the king and b) if it was part of a high-ranking official's personal belongings that were being taken to/out of the Indies at the beginning/end of his tenure
...see footnote¹⁰²⁶

Cecil proved to be tenacious in his pursuit of the "500,000" ducat diamond.

As Ingram noted

...the quest [for the diamond] was a personal one for Cecil; one finds records of its progress among his own papers, but not in any public

¹³⁸⁰ Doctor Borschberg is an expert in maritime affairs at the University of Singapore. I am also indebted to Doctor Martine Van Ittersum of the University of Dundee for her assistance on this question – see Attachment re Peter Borschberg, "Professor, University of Singapore" (April 2009).

documents, for he did not trouble the rest of the Privy Council with his efforts.¹³⁸¹

To which must be added the observation that had he alone been successful in recovering the stone then the glory, as he presented the stone to Elizabeth, would have been all his.

The Nature of Diamonds and Cecil's Hunt

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

My Crowne is in my heart, not on my head
Not deck'd with Diamonds, and Indian stones.
Henry VI, Part III, I (1593)

...Owners don't just let go of these stones,
not big ones, and not if they are thought to be magical...
Peter Borschberg, 2009¹³⁸²

Table 90 - Dyamant

Even into the late nineteenth century diamonds were still seen as giving a symbolic 'halo' effect to Royalty. Edwin Streeter writing of their "history and romance" noted

the mystery which surrounds the diamond is accentuated even in the etymology of the word itself ...diamond comes directly from the Greek...meaning literally the "unconquerable"¹³⁸³

Initially the Portuguese controlled the diamond trade relying on alluvial diamonds from India and Borneo where they had established trading posts. That the *Madre de Dios*

¹³⁸¹ Ingram, *London Life* p.124

¹³⁸² Peter Borschberg, "Professor, University of Singapore" (April 2009) – see note below.

¹³⁸³ Even the frontispiece to Streeter's book mentions female royalty and their diamonds – the account of the "Koh-I-Noor" diamond is described as having been "graciously read & approved by Her Majesty The Queen" [Victoria] as well as references to stones owned by "Her Majesty The Empress Eugenie" [consort to Emperor Napoleon III]. Edwin Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World* (London: George Bell, 1898).

would have carried a large portion of her value in the stones, and other gems is, in expert opinion, a near certainty.¹³⁸⁴

Superstitions abounded around their purported power in a wide variety of circumstances. By 1650 the stone was still reputed to have a range of remarkable powers. One author advised that: - "... a Diamond laid under the pillow, will betray the incontinency of a wife". Divination of adultery was also joined by: invincibility in battle, temporal power, resistance to poisons and many other purported powers.

The Middle Ages had witnessed a rediscovery and reinterpretation of early writings on gemstones and lapidaries which set out the qualities of different stones and their attributes.¹³⁸⁵

The illustration above originally titled "Dyamant", is from an anonymous early 15th-century French example. It sets out as fact that "Diamond is the first named stone fashioned by the lapidary as the gem only for kings."

When diamonds first arrived from the East, European monarchs raced one another to acquire both the largest and rarest stones in order to enhance their image of temporal power and dynastic legitimacy. Henry VIII and Francis I had spent most of their reigns in an open contest to obtain the best and largest stones.

One tool used in the Early Modern Period to categorize and give structure to the world was to place everything within a "great chain of being" – the notion that everything had its allotted place on a hypothetical ladder of existence. E.M.W. Tillyard drew attention to the concept of "primacies". In each broad category of existence one would be superior to all the others. He noted in *Richard II* that no fewer than four primacies are referred to in one scene: "in short space we have four of the traditional primacies [referenced]: Fire among the elements, the Sun among the planets, the King among men, the Eagle among the birds."¹³⁸⁶

There was a fifth primacy that Shakespeare could have included, that of the Diamond - the primacy of the elements.

¹³⁸⁴ Peter Borschberg, "Professor, University of Singapore" (April 2009) – see note below.

¹³⁸⁵ Diamonds, 2005, www.amnh.org/exhibitions/diamond/middle.html.

¹³⁸⁶ E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, 4th (London: Pelican, 1976) p.37-39

Today we recognize the rarity and beauty of the stones, but to Cecil in 1592 a large diamond presented to his Queen would have been a gift almost beyond price. In the eyes of her subjects it would have been a symbol of great power and would have surely prompted even a Queen as parsimonious as Elizabeth to grant the donor near limitless patronage. In the “chain of being” the monarch was, after all, God’s anointed.

Cecil had every possible incentive to find the stone and it can be safely implied that anyone who frustrated him in this goal would pay heavily.

The Hunt for the Diamond

In October 1592 a London merchant named Bradbank was arrested by Cecil’s men and found to be in possession of looted treasure from the carrack: “1300 diamond sparks, 150 rubies, sixteen ounces of ambergris¹³⁸⁷, jewels, gold in chains and some four ounces of pearls”¹³⁸⁸. At his confession on the ninth of October he named Captain Merick of the *Prudence*, a vessel in the sub-squadron of the Earl of Cumberland, as the supplier of the goods as well as a London goldsmith named Shory as the buyer. Merick denied any knowledge of the booty.

Later in 1592, Shory in turn named a number of other Goldsmiths who had been handling the stolen items. Two of those named were Gammon and Howe both of whom were tenants at Francis Langley’s *Saracen’s Head* in Cheapside. However, as Ingram notes ‘no record remains’ that the pair were, at this time, interrogated let alone incarcerated.

In late 1594 Cecil’s men had tracked down and imprisoned another goldsmith named Gilbert. He eventually admitted, after six months incarceration in the notorious Wood Street Counter prison, to purchasing a diamond of twenty-six and a half carats¹³⁸⁹ for

¹³⁸⁷ Ambergris is a secretion of the intestines of the sperm whale and is used as a fixative in manufacture of perfumes. The usage “worth its weight in gold” more than applied to this rare substance in the Early Modern Period.

¹³⁸⁸ Ingram, *London Life* p.100

¹³⁸⁹ A modern (but non-scientific) comparison in terms of size and possible worth - in 1664, King Philip IV of Spain bought a 36 carat blue diamond which came to be known as the ‘Wittelsbach’ - on 10 December 2008 it was sold at auction in London for a world record £16.4 million pounds.

£500 which action had been his ‘utter undoing’. According to his story, he too met with the seller (a mariner) and the seller’s go-between at Langley’s *Saracen’s Head*.¹³⁹⁰

However, after further inconclusive haggling between several other goldsmiths, the stone temporarily disappeared.

At this juncture, even a researcher as driven and expert as Ingram, gives up “trying to make the pieces [of the story] fit”, though he does add that in his opinion “the problems are all in the details, not in the substance”.

The Isle of Dogs - 1596

Anthony Ashley, like his father before him, was a follower of Sir Christopher Hatton the Lord Chamberlain. Through Hatton’s patronage Ashley acquired the post of Clerk to the Privy Council. His sister Jane married Francis Langley.

Langley,¹³⁹¹ unquestionably through the intervention of his brother-in-law, was able to deliver in 1594 to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen a Letter from the Privy Council attesting to his good character - ‘the said Francis is a very honest man’ - as part of his quest to obtain the position as alnager that his uncle had previously purchased for him. Burghley and the Earls of Lincoln, Warwick, Bedford and Leicester as well as Hatton and Walsingham had signed the letter.¹³⁹²

Fourteen years later, in April 1596, in a letter to his new master Burghley (Hatton having died in 1591) Ashley related how he had put his own money at risk in an unnamed undertaking.¹³⁹³ As Ingram put it “...Ashley, by some strange devices of his own, had indeed become involved in the business of the diamond”. One possible sequence of events was that Cecil had learned that Ashley was somehow involved and Ashley, in a like manner to Raleigh’s protestations on the deck of the *Madre de Dios*, claimed to be attempting to recover the diamond for the Queen.

¹³⁹⁰ Ingram, *London Life* p.101

¹³⁹¹ Alnager was a City position entitling the holder to certify woollen cloth as fit for sale in the City – Langley’s uncle had purchased a ‘reversion’ for him whereby when an Alnager’s post became available through the death of an incumbent Langley was entitled to the post.

¹³⁹² This remarkable letter now resides in the Corporation of London Record Office: Corporation of London, Remembrancia I.439.

¹³⁹³ CPH 40/36

Cecil at this point pressured Ashley on the stone's whereabouts and another, more explicit, letter was written in reply

... for the diamond, so heavily laid on me sithence my coming home, I have sent for the party, but cannot yet get him by reason of his absence ...

Cecil once again confronted Ashley who had no option but to reveal all he knew. On May 15th as he was leaving for Plymouth to join the Cadiz expedition as Secretary of War (and as Cecil's spy on the Earl of Essex)¹³⁹⁴ he wrote to Cecil:

...One Terry a Goldsmith...is the party that first contracted with Mr. Francis Langley, and myself for the diamond, and took assurance by obligation for the sum of two thousand six hundred pounds in the name of one James Woolveridge...of purpose to conceal the true owner...one Howe. Myself with Francis Langley and Hannibal Gammon, were jointly bound...for the payment of this money ...¹³⁹⁵

And again on May 16 while en route to Plymouth from Hartford Bridge, near Tavistock,¹³⁹⁶

...have spoken this morning at three o'clock (a.m.) with Langley...[he] faithfully promised that he would not fail forthwith to repair unto your honour (as so advised by me), and make offer of the thing unto you to be disposed of either privately to gain, or otherwise to good opinion,...¹³⁹⁷

But by May 24 Ashley was panicking over his 'investment' in the proposed purchase

...I may not lose or long time expect the repayment of my three hundred and fifteen pounds...write me how she [the Queen] accepteth the jewel.¹³⁹⁸

Langley did not 'repair' to Cecil. In the aftermath of his brother-in-law's revelations to Cecil he simply unwound the proposed transaction, presumably returned the stone to

¹³⁹⁴ This was a reprisal of the role he played in the earlier 1589 failed expedition to Lisbon where he had been sent along this time by the Queen to spy on Drake. Ingram, *London Life* p.122.

¹³⁹⁵ CPH 40/88

¹³⁹⁶ In 1588 (see Michael Hicks, "Ashley, Sir Anthony," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008, www.oxfordnb.com.lib.) Ashley had been elected MP for Tavistock. Presumably he was writing from a 'second home' or the home of a constituent. And yet this letter itself makes little sense. London to Tavistock is 240 miles (on modern roads) and it is impossible that Ashley could have been in London at 3.00 a.m. and in Tavistock the same day. If the location is accurate the date is incorrect – either deliberately or accidentally.

¹³⁹⁷ Ibid. 40/89

¹³⁹⁸ Ibid. 41/6

Howe from its hiding place and pocketed not only his own share of the refund but Ashley's as well.¹³⁹⁹

One interesting possibility is that Langley after the three a.m. meeting with Ashley decided to make himself scarce and absented himself to Croydon where the law in the shape of William Gardiner confronted him on the twenty-first of May.

The notion that Gardiner had been actively seeking Langley at the behest of Cecil or Topcliffe is an intriguing possibility – the timing alone is remarkably coincidental.

Langley as a resident of Bankside would have been under Gardiner's jurisdiction and it would be logical for Gardiner to be sent to find Langley. It might also explain the extreme, possibly physical manner, in which Langley reacted to Gardiner's challenge. This was the confrontation that resulted in Gardiner having the chance to strike at Langley in the lawsuit naming, as well as Langley, "William Shakspere, Dorothy Soer wife of John Soer, and Anne Lee" in October 1596.¹⁴⁰⁰

During the Cadiz expedition, "Cadiz pillage" might be a more accurate term, Ashley compounded a series of bad decisions by a lack of circumspection in his personal plundering.

In assessing Ashley's character Michael Hicks related how previously

[for Ashley] Burghley was... not the patron that Hatton had been. Frank accusations of frauds, embezzlement, oppressions, and perversion of justice were made against Ashley to Burghley, some of which he evidently believed and for which Ashley was suspended late in Elizabeth's reign. If no more official rewards came Ashley's way, he nevertheless profited, perhaps from successful malpractices.¹⁴⁰¹

On his return to England, he landed at Plymouth on July 28, it came to light that against the Expedition's express orders against looting Ashley had acquired a gold chain that he subsequently sold to a goldsmith in Cheap¹⁴⁰² [Cheapside] for £530 and a further £500-700 by ransoming prisoners.

¹³⁹⁹ Ingram, *London Life* p.131

¹⁴⁰⁰ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931). p.322

¹⁴⁰¹ Michael Hicks, "Ashley, Sir Anthony," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford, 2008).

¹⁴⁰² "Cheap" here could be being used to denote any individual market in London such as Eastcheap or Cheapside or it may be an abbreviation for Cheapside see OED.

Consigned to the Fleet prison, by early October he was willing to agree to anything Cecil proposed. He was released to “pursue the diamond matter.”¹⁴⁰³

It is probable that by crossing Cecil, Langley had over-reached himself. The man that Ashley referred to Cecil, in writing, as being “my bad brother-in-law” was now vulnerable

...For Cecil, Langley was a man who made too many wrong moves. Imprisonment was not in order¹⁴⁰⁴: but sooner or later an occasion for punishment would present itself...Cecil would bide his time.¹⁴⁰⁵

While agreeing with Ingram, I would propose that Langley’s time came in 1597 and the *casus belli* - the Isle of Dogs - was the punishment engineered by Cecil.

Cecil’s Revenge on Langley

Le secret des grandes fortunes sans cause apparente est
un crime oublié, parce qu’ il a été proprement fait.¹⁴⁰⁶
Honoré de Balzac, 1835¹⁴⁰⁷

If Langley were to be compared to a criminal “Godfather” then Roger Topcliffe was, to use a similar twentieth century metaphor, the ultimate Elizabethan “enforcer”. William Richardson in his biographical entry for Topcliffe¹⁴⁰⁸ describes him as an “interrogator and torturer” but also notes the Catholic view of him as “the cruellest tyrant of all England”.¹⁴⁰⁹ In court circles in the mid-1590s the rack and other officially sanctioned instruments of torture were referred to as “our Topcliffian¹⁴¹⁰ customs”.¹⁴¹¹

¹⁴⁰³ Ingram, *London Life* p.131

¹⁴⁰⁴ Though Cecil was a major political figure his power was not limitless - there was enough of a judicial process to ensure that Langley as both a guild member and a servant of the Corporation (Alnager) would have to have had some case against him i.e. no diamond, no cause.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Ingram, *London Life* p.138

¹⁴⁰⁶ “The secret of the great fortunes without apparent cause is a crime forgot, because it has been properly done”- my own translation.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Honoré de Balzac, *Old Goriot* (1835).

¹⁴⁰⁸ William Richardson, “Topcliffe, Richard, 1531 -1604,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2008).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Quotation from - Philip Caraman, *The Other Face: Catholic Life Under Elizabeth I*, ed. Caraman (London: Longmans, 1960). p.230

¹⁴¹⁰ Terminology around Topcliffe’s name as a byword for cruelty and torture has been long referred to in *British History, Biography and Manners*, Vol. 2 (London: Chidley, 1838). Sir Anthony Standen, too, praising the Earl of Essex’s agreeable manners, in a letter to Mr. Anthony Bacon, of the 3rd of March, 1593-4, in Dr. Birch’s papers, says, “Contrary to our Topcliffian customs, he hath won more with words than others could do with racks.” It appears likewise, in another letter in that collection, that Topcliffian, in the quaint language of the court, signified to hunt a recusant.”

Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General in one state trial noted “Mr. Topcliffe has no need to go about to excuse his proceedings in the manner of his torturing”.¹⁴¹²

Topcliffe was most often in the service of Cecil or Walsingham though he retained, almost to the end of her life, a direct personal link to the Queen. In this situation Topcliffe was to be Cecil’s tool in bringing destruction on Langley.

Ingram summarizes the events leading up to the Privy Council letter to Topcliffe of the 15 August 1597 as follows

...The Council received its first detailed information about the play from its Secretary Sir Robert Cecil; Cecil had been told by his agent Topcliffe who had in turn been informed by a shadowy creature of his own, a man whose name has not been preserved for us, but whom Topcliffe described as being in “exceeding grief” because of heavy debts “for the which he hath been arrested”. The man had come to Topcliffe perhaps on August 7 or 8 with the information about a seditious play called “The Isle of Dogs” which was “in his opinion venomous and mischievous”. Topcliffe heard all this with interest and as I interpret the evidence promptly went out and arrested a few of the players. He then wrote to Cecil at Greenwich probably on August 8 or 9 telling him of the informer and of the arrests. Cecil responded indicating that he was “well pleased with him.”¹⁴¹³

In essence, the “complaint” made to the Privy Council was brought about by Topcliffe who sourced the nominal and unnamed complainant and presented him to Cecil as a man who would say anything for Cecil’s favour.¹⁴¹⁴

Accordingly, the only officially received evidence of the content of the play is a statement that, (“in his opinion” that is) in the sole unsubstantiated opinion of a man already held for debt and who will perjure himself for favour, the play is “venomous and mischievous”.

¹⁴¹¹ Catherine Bowen, *The Lion and the Throne - The Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke* (Boston: Little, Brown & co., 1957). British History, Biography and Manners, Vol. 2 (London: Chidley, 1838).No. CXXVII. (Howard Papers, August 30, 1758, at Stamford.) Letter Richard Topcliffe to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

¹⁴¹² James Heath, *Torture and English Law: An Administrative and Legal History* (London: Greenwood, 1982). p.143

¹⁴¹³ Ingram, *London Life* p.181

¹⁴¹⁴ William Richardson, “Topcliffe, Richard, 1531 -1604,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2008).

That Topcliffe became the inquisitor would have been, on its own, terrifying to those involved. Ian Donaldson summarized what actually took place

...Jonson and two of his fellow actors, Gabriel Spencer and Robert Shaa, were arrested and imprisoned at the instigation of Elizabeth's interrogator, the notorious Richard Topcliffe, and charged at Greenwich on 15 August with 'Leude and mutynous behavior'... Nashe had fled to the safety of Great Yarmouth, but his rooms were raided and papers seized. Throughout this episode, as Jonson later [said], 'his judges could gett nothing of him to all their demands bot I and No'; though 'they plac'd two damn'd Villans to catch advantage of him, with him', he was warned of their intentions by the prison keeper, and evaded their enquiries... The affair subsided as mysteriously as it had begun. Jonson and his companions were released on 2 October, and a few days later Henslowe's company, the Lord Admiral's Men, began to perform again at the Rose Theatre with impunity, in defiance of the closure order that was still officially in place. Pembroke's Men were effectively destroyed, however, by the closure, and several members of this company were recruited by Henslowe for the Admiral's Men...¹⁴¹⁵

“The affair subsided as mysteriously as it had begun” – this is surely a difficult position to support. The affair ended with exactly the desired result for Cecil and coincidentally Henslowe and Gardiner.

A Review of The Evidence – The Accepted vs. The Alternative

One of the most cogent summaries of the “Accepted View” came from Glynn Wickham in the form of a conference paper delivered in 1968. Wickham starts his presentation with the observation that:

Superficially, this paper is nothing more than a simple detective story – an answer to a puzzle which has so far defied solution: why the court order of 1597 for the destruction of all theatres in and about London was never carried out.¹⁴¹⁶

The crux of his argument is that the Privy Council’s order of 28 July 1597, while apparently meeting the full request of the City was, in actuality, a subterfuge to permit all parties a cooling-off period. He draws attention to some of the inherent inconsistencies, questions and implications that flow from the wording of the order, such as

¹⁴¹⁵ Ian Donaldson, “Jonson, Benjamin (1572-1637),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁴¹⁶ Glynn Wickham, “The Privy Council Order in 1597 for the Destruction of All London Theatres,” in *International Conference of Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. David Galloway (London: Macmillan, 1969), 21-44. p.21

...The short-term nature of the prohibition it only runs “until Allhallowtide next”. August, September and October as months of foreclosure coincided with the normal holiday season when the court and wealthier theater patrons would not be in London. Untangling the property and compensation arrangement would have been complex and (inevitably) very time consuming.¹⁴¹⁷

Where would the City have found the money to compensate the theatre owners, and landlords?

After this very precise introduction he lets his case wander by referring to Pembroke’s Men with the phrase “half the company were already in custody” which is incorrect given that only three individuals were incarcerated. He also seems keen to make the characters seem as morally positive as possible in his investigation. Francis Langley is referred to as a “financier by occupation, brother-in-law to one of the clerks to the Privy Council and himself a city official”. Factually true of course, but sadly lacking in any in-depth research on the character of the man. To be fair, Wickham in 1968 did not have the benefit of the later work of Thomson and Ingram, but he seemed content not to investigate the motives nor the sources of income of the participants.

Some conclusions and assertions are made on very flimsy evidence such as

...Langley must then have laid out additional monies on new building works at the Swan, for on May 1, 1598, the Church Wardens of St. Saviours, Southwark, were invited to view them.¹⁴¹⁸

Wickham proposes that the Wardens’ visit would have been an attempt by Langley to obtain a playing licence for the Swan. However a cursory examination of the vestry records would have revealed the long and acrimonious disagreement over tithes – the much more probable cause of the visit. Langley simply refused to pay tithes, notwithstanding the fact that Paris Garden was entirely within St. Saviour’s parish. Had Wickham examined the records rather than relying on the earlier work of E. K. Chambers¹⁴¹⁹ he would have gained useful insight into the character of Langley as well as avoiding a questionable conclusion.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁸ Wickham, *Privy Council Order* p.21-44.

¹⁴¹⁹ He refers to “E.K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, p.325, quoting vestry record”.

A brief examination of what other business the Privy Council was engaged in at that time - situations such as Ireland and France - would have shown the improbability of the Council rushing to address the receipt of a routine complaint from the City fathers.

This is not to say that his paper is devoid of some very sharp observations, particularly as these apply to Henslowe and his ignoring of the Council's instructions. Wickham saw Henslowe very much as the cautious "yes man" who would have been most unwilling to challenge authority without "inside information".

Towards the end of this paper Wickham pointed out that in the wake of *The Isle of Dogs* fiasco, on 9 February 1598

...an Act of Parliament governing both a citizen's right to act professionally and a gentleman's right to maintain a company of actors was drastically amended making it illegal for anyone other than a Baron "or any honourable personage of greater degree" to support an acting company.

Though this legislation was never entirely successful in restricting playing companies to just the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Chamberlain's men as is specified in the legislation, it very neatly stopped any playing company from using the Swan Theatre.

In summary, Wickham makes a very creditable attempt to maintain the *status quo* created by earlier scholars in that he considered his paper as an investigation and accurately recognized the aftermath: i.e. who actually lost out - which was Langley.

However, I would suggest that by starting off with a particular solution in mind and in failing to consult original documentation he fell short of finding a satisfactory "answer to a puzzle".

The Alternative

I would propose that the results post *Isle of Dogs* were as follows (in order of quality of proof):

- The Pembroke's Men, at the Swan, were disbanded and coincidentally the evolution of the Early Modern Theatre diverted.
- Langley's Swan had become a financial albatross despite its subsequent sporadic use for sporting events and performances.
- Henslowe reacquired the players that had been lured away by Langley and put a major competitor out of business just as the Swan was beginning to bite into the Rose's earnings.¹⁴²⁰
- Gardiner's enemy Langley suffered what was to become a mortal financial blow.¹⁴²¹
- With the legislation in 1597 control of the theatres was now firmly vested in the Privy Council.

There were two further probable consequences:

As Ingram suggests, Howard and Hunsdon were put on their guard by Cecil.

If Shakespeare had ever been tempted to join Langley's incarnation of Pembroke's Men at the Swan (and this must surely be a possibility given the inclusion of his name in the lawsuit), this was now very firmly ended.

Ashley, despite his many faults, lived out a comfortable and nefarious life buying titles and manor houses in a style akin to William Shakespeare. At nearly seventy he married into the extended family of the Duke of Buckingham hoping this would lead to a return to public office. In the event, it did not and, in a twist of fate, his young widow, who outlived him by 46 years, remarried Walter Raleigh's third son Carew.¹⁴²²

¹⁴²⁰ Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Chapter 2

¹⁴²¹ Though he did not have much time to enjoy his victory; he died in November 1597.

¹⁴²² Michael Hicks, "Ashley, Sir Anthony," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford, 2008).

Cecil had his ‘pound of flesh’ through the mechanism of *The Isle of Dogs*. However, like Shylock, he was ultimately unsuccessful in his quest - the diamond was never recovered.

Conclusion

To paraphrase Nash, the “naked truth” remains that, without the discovery of additional documents, it may never be possible to determine with complete certainty the truth behind the “scandalous” play *The Isle of Dogs*. The question still stands - was the play truly “lewd and mutinous” or merely a convenient justification for Cecil’s reprisals against Francis Langley, or indeed could it have been both?

Edmund Tilney, the *de facto* Government censor, held the post of Master of the Revels between 1579 and 1610. These are dates that straddle the opening of the Swan and the play’s performance. The notion that the experienced Tilney would have approved so scandalous a piece that would on its own justify the tearing down of theatres (and the effective end of Tilney’s lucrative employment) is difficult to imagine. If he had not approved the play, then why was Topcliffe’s highly suspicious “witness” necessary? And if Tilney had somehow “missed” the implicit scandal in the piece then why was he allowed to continue in the role for another 15 years? It is possible that no other records remain of the nature of the play. However, if it were truly outrageous surely some commentary would have survived.

Complex as the whole “*Madre de Dios*, diamond, Cecil’s revenge” explanation is, it alone has the merit of making sound commercial sense and fitting in with the characters of the principal “real world” players.

Mafia ‘Godfathers’ in the United States have usually been identified for years before arrest or incarceration. The difficulty for the law is proving their criminality. That Langley was notorious is well documented. That there is hearsay evidence of his possession of the diamond is sure. But perhaps the best proof of all is to look at the economic outcome – only Langley really lost out.

The other theme that emerges from examining this “alternative” interpretation of *The Isle of Dogs* is the essential theatricality of the time. Raleigh lived, prospered and died

based on oratory that, I would propose, must have rivalled the fictional Mark Anthony's speech after the death of Caesar.¹⁴²³ The Courtly society with its chilling Italian-style rectitude and love of pageant stood as a backdrop to all the plays of the Early Modern Period.

The more one reads the correspondence of Raleigh, Cecil and Topcliffe with its flowery prose and grovelling to the monarch and the more one reads of histrionic feigned emotions to express horror having given offence, such as Raleigh's on the *Madre de Dios*, then the more one is driven to the conclusion that the "courtly" minority population "acted out" a series of exaggerated mannerisms. Moreover, these patterns of behaviour were not merely expected but demanded.

Conformity was and is demanded in every autocracy, from life under the Roman Emperors to the tyranny of the Chief Executive Officer of a modern U.S. Corporation. It can be postulated that how actors behaved on the Early Modern stage actually mirrored what was going on around them. The audience was pre-programmed to respond to certain behavioural patterns and stereotypes – very much as if they were in church. Just as the priest could conjure up the body and blood of Christ based on conditioned responses, so the playwright could play on his audience's established patterns of knowledge. Even if a play's setting were in another time or place, characters acted within the behavioural matrix existing outside and inside the theatre. Therefore, if one were seeking to stage a play today as it would truly have appeared in, say, 1597 in London, then the more the performers and audience are aware of the social conventions of the time, the greater the tendency towards authenticity. Raleigh, one of the most powerful men in the realm, had been locked up for an offence almost incomprehensible in a modern libertarian society. If an actor were playing Raleigh in a hypothetical play called "*The Madre de Dios*" then to achieve greater authenticity to the original staging, specialist knowledge of the behavioural norms for a man such as he, in these particular circumstances, would be vital for the production to succeed. Indeed the modern actor's feigned distress might look to an uninformed spectator as being merely "ham" acting if the player had not been primed to bring the audience into the secret that this was, in reality, a form of ritual penance.

¹⁴²³ *Julius Caesar* III, ii

The Duke in *Measure for Measure* may be behaving in what to us was an underhand manner in his testing of Isabella, but the patriarchy of the Early Modern Period and then prevalent social attitudes would mean his actions would probably have been taken for granted, if not actually expected. Even if a present day director were to shun historical authenticity in favour of another artistic approach, only by grasping the inherent social mores being tested by the playwright could there be adequate comprehension of the playwright's original dramatic intentions.

One can see in Stephen Greenblatt's study of Raleigh's "roles"¹⁴²⁴ the beginnings of what subsequently developed into the doctrine of New Historicism: i.e. to understand past drama it must be framed in its socio-political context. He considered the *Madre de Dios* of historical consequence and so he only waited until page five to name the ship in his own seventy-six page introduction to the most recent edition of *The Norton Shakespeare*¹⁴²⁵ of which he is the General Editor.

Notes

Advice from Professor Borschberg – These are extracts from a series of e-mails from Borschberg to Fallow:

April 14, 2009 Subject: RE: Madre de Dios - Capture of the Santa Catarina: The closest we get is the Sta. Catarina and the Santo Antonio. The Santa Catarina's cargo (taken off the coast of Singapore) in 1603 was 3.5 million florins in market value (actual sales), but earlier estimates had been higher. The Santo Antonio was less, about 1.5-2 million....as I understand your question, you are specifically interested in a particular item, namely, a diamond that belonged to the cargo of the Madre de Dios. This is very tricky, as most gemstones were not brought as part of an official cargo, but brought along in the so-called caixa de liberdade (luggage allowance) of the different sailors and officers of a vessel. Empty nooks and crannies were often stuffed with compact, high value items such as diamonds, rubies, musk cods, ambergris and bezoar stones that never show up on a cargo list (in order to avoid paying taxes, naturally). It would only have been featured on the official bill of lading if it was a) destined for a high functionary such as the viceroy or the king and b) if it was part of a high-ranking official's personal belongings that were being taken to/out of the Indies at the beginning/end of his tenure. By the way, most of the diamonds purchased by the Portuguese were rough diamonds, in other words uncut and unpolished diamonds. The vast majority were sold not to Europe, but to the Moghul court, to the Persians and also the Arabs. The principal cutting centres were in India at

¹⁴²⁴ *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New Haven: Yale University, 1973) is itself based on Greenblatt's own doctoral thesis.

¹⁴²⁵ *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

the time and rivalled, if not surpassed, Antwerp in both the number of diamonds cut as well as in ability and techniques. Diamonds polished in India fetched a much higher price than those polished in Europe. The highest quality diamonds were panned in the rivers of Borneo (Sambas, Sukodana) which also explains why the English East India Company maintained a presence in Sukodana for much of the early 17th century. The Portuguese also buy from Sukodana. The Dutch company procured most of its diamonds from Sambas, a political dependency of Johor, which also serves to explain why the third highest person in command at the VOC factory in Batu Sawar (Johor's capital) was a gemstone expert.

April 15, 2009...First, are we really sure we are dealing with a diamond here, or is it possibly something else? The price quoted seems a bit high to me (relative to other prices, say of bezoars on which I have also written, that is why I know about the diamond trade), or did popular imagination and gossip just go wild?...in Hindu and Buddhist Asia, diamonds are very special stones that go beyond the decorative. The refraction of light (from a properly cut stone) ward off evil (the powers of darkness hate light) and in some cases even bestow on their owner magical powers, such as to pacify a volcano or other forces of nature. The bigger the stone, the more such a stone would have been regarded as unusual and exceptional. Similar things hold true for bezoars which are never cut and only exist in their raw natural form, but unlike gemstones such as diamonds, bezoars were believed to possess medicinal healing power in addition to all the magic mentioned above. Owners don't just let go of these stones, not big ones, and not if they are thought to be magical

GLOSSARY OF WORDS, TERMS AND ADDITIONAL EXPLANATORY NOTES

A

Alderman (elder man.)	One of a certain select number of the senior members of a Borough Council, next to the Mayor in civic dignity; generally elected by the Council to hold office for life.
Aletaster	A municipal officer charged with the testing of the ale and beer brewed and sold within the borough, to ensure its purity and wholesomeness.
Allhalontide	The festival of All Hallows, or All Saints (1 November), with the eve and the octave.
Alnager	A sworn officer appointed to examine and attest the measurement and quality of woollen goods. The office was abolished by 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 20. [Even in the early nineteenth century the office was a valuable one]..1838 J. HOLT in Mem. II. 32, I was deputy alnager...which produced me from £80 to £100 a year. OED.
Amercement amerciament	A fine assessed by a Jury.
Amorites	A member of any of a group of Semitic tribes who dwelt in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria in the second and third millennium B.C., and who are described in Biblical texts as inhabiting the land of Canaan before the arrival of the Israelites. OED
Apparitor	The process-server of an ecclesiastical Court.
Apprise appraise	To estimate the value of an article.
Approvement	Improved value of lands or tenements.
Appurtenance	What belongs to and goes with the enjoyment of a tenement.
Articulate	Mentioned in an Article of the Interrogatories in Star Chamber proceedings.
Assign	A person to whom personal property is made over by its owner.
Assize	The regulation of the weight, measure and price of certain common articles of food, particularly bread and ale.
Atchievement (heraldry)	A complete set of the heraldic insignia of an individual, consisting of the shield or coat-of-arms, with helmet, mantlings, wreath, crest, scroll and motto; and, in certain cases, garter or chain, coronet, supporters, second crest, badge and war-cry.
Attachment	Arrest effected by a writ.
Attorney	A person appointed to act in another's place in some formal transaction. An obsolete name for a Solicitor.
Augmentation Papers	Documents relating to proceedings in the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown, established by King Henry VIII. to deal with the confiscated Church property.

B

Bailiff	(Latin <i>Ballivus</i> .) A land-steward. A high officer representing the lord's civil jurisdiction over a borough. The chief magistrate of a municipality, and the head of the corporation. This office, which in some towns was held by two persons jointly, has in most cases been changed for that of mayor.
Bailiwick	The office of bailiff. The district over which the bailiff's jurisdiction extends.
Band.	A bond.
Bank Initiative	Of 1576 The plan for a public bank in 1576 was buttressed by the argument that it would serve for the "prousshon of munisshons and othet things appartaining for the defeence in time of warren thinges in these trobbelsomme days thought very necessary." ¹⁴²⁶
Bank of England	"The Bank was founded in 1694 as a commercial enterprise. The Committee of Finance and Industry 1931 (Macmillan Report) description of the founding of Bank of England - Its foundation in 1694 arose out the difficulties of the Government of the day in securing subscriptions to State loans. Its primary purpose was to raise and lend money to the State and in consideration of this service it received under its Charter and various Act of Parliament, certain privileges of issuing bank notes. The corporation commenced, with an assured life of twelve years after which the Government had the right to annul its Charter on giving one year's notice. Subsequent extensions of this period coincided generally with the grant of additional loans to the State." Extract from British Parliamentary reports on international finance see: http://books.google.ca/books=British+Parliamentary+reports+on+international+finance
Banneret (heraldry)	A little square, fringed banner, upheld by one or both the supporters of the shield. It bears usually the paternal coat-of-arms in miniature.
Bar, Pleas in	Pleadings which, if allowed, barred an action. There were two of these, viz., <i>Non culpabilis</i> and <i>Autrefois acquit</i> . The former was "not guilty"; the latter meant that the accused had been previously tried and acquitted on the present charge.
Barm	To mix with yeast; to leaven, ferment. 1616 SURFL. & MARKH. Countr. Farm 589 "Your best ale must be barmed as soone as it is coold." OED – barmy - Of, full of, or covered with barm; frothing – Full of ferment, excitedly active, flighty. In <i>Measure for Measure</i> Shakespeare gives us the "barmy" Master Froth who is easily led astray by Pompey. 'Froth' is also listed by Pauline Kiernan as one in a galaxy of words with a secondary meaning of sexual intercourse: Pauline Kiernan, <i>Filthy Shakespeare</i> (London: Quercus, 2006) p.206. Also: <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> :2.1 "And sometime make the drink to bear no barm; Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?"
Barrator	An encourager of litigation, one who goes to law with his neighbour on the smallest provocation.
Bawd	Someone employed in pandering to sexual debauchery; a procurer or procuress; orig. in a more general sense, and in the majority of passages masculine, a 'go-between,' a pander.
Bedelry	The district within the jurisdiction of a beadle.
Betroth	To contract two persons to each other in order to marriage; to affiance. (More usually, but not exclusively, said of contracting the female to her future husband.)
Bill	Military weapon used chiefly by infantry; varying in form from a simple concave blade

¹⁴²⁶ R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols. (1924).

with a long wooden handle, to a kind of concave axe with a spike at the back and its shaft terminating in a spear-head; a halberd. 1593 Shakespeare *Richard. II*, III. ii. "Distaffe-Women manage rustie Bills". OED

Bill of Complaint	The formulated written statement of a Complainant, in the Star Chamber and some other Courts of Justice.
Bondsman	A serf, a villein, an unfree tenant of the lord of a manor, bound to the soil and to a periodical performance of bodily labour on the lord's demesne. A surety.

C

Carabinieri (Italian Para-Military Police)	A member of an Italian Army Corps which serves as a police force – OED. Popularly berated for their supposed stupidity the following is a representative story: There was this peasant who lived up in the mountains on a narrow road. One day, he saw a carload of carabinieri driving backwards up the mountain. "Why are you driving backwards" he asked. Came the reply "Because we're not sure well be able to turn around up ahead". Later, the peasant saw the carabinieri driving backwards down the mountain. "How come you're still driving backwards" the peasant asked. "Well" the driver replied, "We found a place to turn around." See http://www.theflorentine.net/articles/ .
Carrack	"Carrack" had a specific meaning in northern Europe but not elsewhere. In southern Europe a ship of this type and period was known as a nao. Nao = Spanish: the Nau = Portuguese. "The English were more inclined to apply the term galleon to foreign ships than to their own." ¹⁴²⁷
Children of Whitefriars	This Company of child actors performed under a variety of names at different times - The Children of the Chapel, the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, the Children of the Chapel Royal, the Children of the Queen's Revels, the Children of the Revels, the Children of the Blackfriars Theatre or Children of the Blackfriars, and finally the Children of the Whitefriars Theatre or Children of the Whitefriars.
Court of Admiralty	The tribunal for the trial and decision of such causes, formerly presided over by the Lord High Admiral, whose jurisdiction was transferred to the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice from 1873-1970.
Court of Arches, or Arches	The ecclesiastical court of appeal for the province of Canterbury, formerly held at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow (or 'of the Arches'), so named from the arches that supported its steeple – see "Peculiarities" below.
Court of Chancery	The court of the Lord Chancellor of England, the highest court of judicature next to the House of Lords; but, since the Judicature Act of 1873, a division of the High Court of Justice. It formerly consisted of two distinct tribunals, one ordinary, being a court of common law, the other extraordinary, being a court of equity. To the former belonged the issuing of writs for a new parliament, and of all original writs. The second proceeded upon rules of equity and conscience, moderating the rigour of the common law, and giving relief in cases where there was no remedy in the common-law courts. Its functions in this respect are now transferred to the Court of Appeal.
Court of Common Pleas	A court for the trial of civil causes, formerly one of the three superior courts of common law in England. This court, long seated at Westminster, was abolished in 1875; it was represented by the Common Pleas Division of the High Court of Justice until 1880, when that division was merged in the King's (or Queen's) Bench Division.

¹⁴²⁷ John Guilmartin, *Galleons and Galleys* (London: Cassell, 2002). p.91, 96, 158.

Court of Exchequer	Originated as a court representing the Anglo-Norman exchequer in its judicial capacity. By the Judicature Act of 1873 it was converted into “The Exchequer Division” of the High Court of Justice, and by Order in Council in 1881 this was merged in the Queen's Bench Division. The jurisdiction of the court was theoretically confined to matters of revenue, but in practice was gradually extended to all kinds of cases (except “real actions”) by means of the legal fiction that the wrong suffered by the plaintiff had rendered him unable to pay his debts to the king. In addition to its jurisdiction at common law, the court had a jurisdiction in equity, abolished in 1841.
Court of Requests	Formerly a court of record, technically forming part of the king's council, held by the Lord Privy Seal and the Masters of Requests for the relief of persons petitioning the king; also, in later use, the hall at Westminster in which the court was held.
Coventry Doom	In 2003 a medieval fresco of the Last Judgment [was] uncovered in a church in Coventry. Known as the "Coventry Doom", it depicted a wealth of detail, including damned souls licked by the flames of hellfire, a group of nervous cardinals fearing the worst as they await judgment, and a naked man rising from the tomb with wide, startled eyes. The costumes worn by the figures, in particular the heart-shaped headdresses of three ale-wives [otherwise naked] consigned to damnation, suggest the fresco was painted in the early 1430s. According to church records, it was lime washed in the 1560s as part of a drive to remove "popish" imagery following the accession of Elizabeth I. - Extract from an article by Elizabeth Day, 21 Dec 2003.
<i>Cymbeline</i>	“So children temporal fathers do appease” variations in positioning of this quotation between editors: Bate and Rasmussen, ¹⁴²⁸ have it in V.iii. Orgel and Braunmuller position it in V.iv. Wells and Taylor place it in V.v as does Greenblatt.

DEF

Distringas	A writ to compel appearance in court
English Heritage	English Heritage is a non-departmental public body of the government of the United Kingdom and functions under the National Heritage Act (1983). It functions as the Government's statutory adviser on the historic environment, and its commentaries on historic sites are taken to be authoritative.
Espousal	The formal “plighting of troth” between a man and a woman; the whole of the ceremonies constituting or accompanying this. The celebration of a betrothal.
Feoff, feoffments	To invest with the legal estate, subject to an obligation to allow the use to (the other person). Until 1535 this proceeding was very commonly resorted to evade the burdens incident to ownership of land. The Statute of Uses passed in that year provided that in all cases of feoffment to uses the <i>cestui que</i> use should have the legal estate.
Fines (judicial)	Where fines were imposed the legal mechanism was based on the bishopric in which the person being fined resided. Where sureties were required for payment the system soon began to break down if the party providing the surety lived outside the diocese. Multiple sureties in different dioceses compounded the problem – there is no central mail system. Where multiple parties in multiple dioceses all cross-guaranteed each other, then the situation descended into chaos as the diocese themselves would have to agree who got paid first. Individuals

¹⁴²⁸ Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, *William Shakespeare Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008). Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *The Oxford Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991). Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). Stephen Orgel and Braunmuller A.R., *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare* (New York: Penguin Group, 2002).

could therefore “beat” the system by using its own bureaucracy against it if they could coordinate co-sureties over a large enough geographical area spanning multiple dioceses.

Forty Shilling Freeholder Act 1429 Statutes of the Realm, II, 243, also "forty-shilling freeholder." *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*. Oxford University Press. 2007. The Act of 1429 (8 Henry VI c7), reciting that elections “have now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive Number of People ... of the which most Part was of People of small Substance, and of no Value ... whereby Manslaughters, Riots, Batteries, and Divisions among the Gentlemen, and other People of the same Counties, shall very likely rise and be,” provided that knights of the shire were to be elected by persons “dwelling and resident in the same Counties, whereof every one of them shall have free Land or Tenement to the Value of Forty Shillings by the Year at least, above all Charges.” A clarifying Act of 1432 (10 Henry VI c2) stated that the qualifying land must be “within the same county where such chooser [elector] will meddle of any such election.” See also <http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/sccwebsite/>

G to M

“God encompasseth us” The use of once serious religious terms, such as this one, became corrupted into rhyming slang – here the ‘Goat and Compasses’. In this case used as the sign of a public-house at [321] Euston Road, London. The particular pub Fripp refers to in his introduction to Savage’s Volume I of the Minutes and Accounts survived at least until 1950 (it was noted as the venue for RAF reunion functions) but appears to have been renamed at some point thereafter. It is now a block of flats (2011).¹⁴²⁹

Glossators A sixteenth century term for continental legal scholars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who interpreted Roman law especially the “Digesta” and the works of the Emperor Justinian. The Digest (Digesta), or Pandects (Pandectae), was a part of the great collection of Roman laws known as the Corpus Iuris Civilis. The Digest was issued in AD 533 under the direction of the imperial quaestor Tribonian. It compiled the writings of the great Roman jurists such as Ulpian along with current edicts. It constituted both the current law of the time, and a turning point in Roman Law: from then on the sometimes contradictory case law of the past was subsumed into an ordered legal system.

Husbandman OED A man who tills or cultivates the soil; a farmer. In earlier northern use, app., the holder of a husbandland: An old Northumbrian and Lowland Scotch term for the holding of a ‘husband’ or manorial tenant, = yardland, virgate; the land occupied and tilled by the tenants of a manor, in contradistinction to the demesne (freehold) lands.

Ireland, Samuel Samuel Ireland (1744 –1800) an author, engraver and Shakespeare admirer was himself duped by his son William Henry with forged documents that purported to relate to William Shakespeare.

Investment Volatility The relative rate at which the price of an investment moves up or down. Volatility is found by calculating the annualized standard deviation of changes in price. If the price of an investment moves up and down rapidly over short time periods, it has high volatility. If the price almost never changes, it has low volatility – see <http://www.investorwords.com/5256/volatility>.

John Shakespeare’s Brothers Anthony see: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~shakespeare/pedigrees/warks/hampton_lucy/anthony_igi.htm re a marriage on 14 March 1573, at Budbrooke, of Anthony Shakespeare and Joan Whitrefe. Anthony Shakespeare, of Snitterfield, and later Hampton Lucy, where he and Joan are buried.

¹⁴²⁹ Savage, *Minutes and Accounts* I xlvi

Earlier Richard French¹⁴³⁰ in 1869 had proposed re Richard Shakespeare “it is believed, three sons, viz. John, the Poet's father, Thomas, and Henry. The two last are identified with Snitterfield, and we have no account of other Shakspeares in connection with that place.”

Jury
(medieval) -
evidence

Expanded from footnote: Kathy Laster, *Law as Culture*, 2nd, revised (Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2001). See Section the Origins of the Adversarial System by Stephan Landsman, 1994, page 288. “The early juries were not the passive fact-finding mechanism they eventually became plain in Inc. with in the adversary system. At first, the jury was little more than another sort of formal or inscrutable trial, like ordeal or wager of law. In its early days the jury had no evidence and rendered its decision on no rational basis. Apparently, divine guidance was relied upon to produce the proper results... jurors were selected from the locality in which the dispute arose and almost always included among their number some persons with knowledge of the events that were the focus of the litigation. As the jury mechanisms matured, jurors were allowed as much as two weeks notice before jury trials. During the peak between notice and trial, jurors were allied to certify themselves of the facts in dispute by talking to the litigants and making private inquiries in the community”.

Knight
Service
(in
connection
with
conveyance
of Paris
Garden)

Paris Garden, had been transferred under the archaic “knight service” that by this date would be paid in cash. ‘...to be held “de nobilis...in libero” etc. ...a Tudor device designed to facilitate the holding of lands from the Crown other than in chief. Paris Garden, however was to be held in chief, that is, by knight service.’¹⁴³¹ “By far the greater part of England [in the 13th century] is held of the king by knight's service. . . . In order to understand this tenure we must form the conception of a unit of military service. That unit seems to be the service of one knight or fully armed horseman (servitium unius militis) to be done to the king in his army for forty days in the year, if it be called for. - (Pollock and Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 1898) ‘knight service’ originally required the physical performance of services to the Crown. By this method a property could be conveyed but the person disposing of the property (the seller of record) could still retain a slice of its economic value.

Langrake

Additional case: Piece details E 133/3/566 *James Langrake, informer, v. Richard Hollyman*. Cattle bought out of fair or market by the defendant. Bucks. 20 Eliz. Trin. & 21 Eliz. Trin. E Records of the Exchequer, and its related bodies, E 133 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Barons' Depositions with those of the Office of First Fruits and Tenths, and the Court of Augmentations The National Archives, Kew. See Thomas and Evans reference to this type of case “peak [ing] in 1574” presumably throwing 12 Compounders into jail had the desired effect for the authorities. (Thomas and Evans 1984)

Leet,
Court Leet
Book

The Court-Leet was a court of record held periodically in a hundred, lordship, or manor, before the lord or his steward, and attended by the residents of the district. Records of its activities were recorded in the Leet Book. See OED Court-Leet. In Boroughs, the Borough's own Court of Record generally supplanted the older style medieval leet.

*Madre de
Dios*
(tonnage)

The Norton Shakespeare, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).p.5. Greenblatt lists the cargo at 536 tons including “pepper, cloves, cinnamon, cochineal, mace, civet, musk, ambergris and nutmeg as well as jewels, gold, ebony, carpets and silks. Where one might take issue with him is in his flat assertion that she was ‘the largest that had ever entered any English port. Certainly “one of the largest” might be more accurate. Roger Smith (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) writing for the Newberry Library in Chicago in 1986 commented - *Madre de Dios*, was rated at 1600 tons; carried 900 tons of merchandise and had a crew of 600 or 700 men. As measured by her captors, the vessel's keel was 100 ft.; her overall length, 165 ft.; and her beam, 47 ft. She drew 31 ft. of water, had a mainmast 121 ft. high, and a main yard 106 ft. in length. Aside from her high forecastle, she had four complete decks, not including a poop and topgallant poop. At sea, her helm required the efforts of 12 to 14 men to keep her on course.

¹⁴³⁰ George Russell French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica: In Two Parts* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1869).

¹⁴³¹ Ingram, *London Life* p.299

Marginal Cost	The marginal cost of access to cash is the essence of what in the late twentieth century became known as the “Swap” market. Banks within their own balance sheets have always functioned as intermediaries between depositors and borrowers changing short-term deposits into long-term loans (and vice versa). The Swap takes the Bank’s own financial resources out of the equation and seeks to connect the depositor and borrower through a legal document. Thus a party with a high access to cash but no need for cash can effectively rent its name in the market as long as it trusts the counterparty (which has poor or to put it another way costly access to cash) to perform under the agreement. By trading in these perceptions of credit worthiness it is possible to achieve better (cheaper) financial execution for the borrower. The lender earns fees by using up its unused borrowing capacity. Swaps are not reserved for cash alone (also known as interest rate swaps) but are used between a variety of instruments such as foreign exchange agreements (i.e. changing currencies).
Michaelmas	The feast of Saint Michael the Archangel - 29 September. A Quarter Day one of four a year often used in legal agreements, rents, hiring of servants Etc.

N to R

Occam’s or Ockham’s Razor	“The principle (attributed to the English philosopher and Franciscan friar William of Occam, c.1285-1349) that in explaining a thing no more assumptions should be made than are necessary.” See: A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. Edited by Elizabeth Knowles. Oxford University Press, 2006.
Peculiar	In the Church of England: a parish, church, chapel, or ecclesiastical court exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocese in which it is physically located. royal peculiar n. a chapel exempt from any jurisdiction but that of the sovereign. court of peculiars n. [compare post-classical Latin <i>curia peculiarum</i> (1586 in a British source) now hist. a branch of the Court of Arches with jurisdiction over the peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
Piepowders (Court of)	These courts had unlimited jurisdiction over personal actions for events taking place in the market, including disputes between merchants, theft, and acts of violence. In the Middle Ages, there were many hundreds of such courts, and a small number continued to exist even into modern times. Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England in 1768 described them as "the lowest, and at the same time the most expeditious, court of justice known to the law of England" Halsbury's Laws of England: volume 12(1), paragraph 662, note 10; and volume 10, section titled "Inferior courts and tribunals and ancient courts", paragraph 851 and following. Originally, it referred to the dusty feet (in French, <i>pieds poudrés</i>) of travellers and vagabonds, and was only later applied to the courts who might have dealings with such people. Ben Jonson's <i>Bartholomew Fair</i> , in which Justice Adam Overdo patrols the fair in disguise (Act 2, Scene 1) “Many are the yeerly enormities [wrongdoings] of this Fayre, in whose Courts of Pye-pouldres I have had the honour during the three dayes sometimes to sit as Judge”.
Private & Public Theatres (distinction between)	Irwin Smith, <i>Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse</i> (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1964). P.130-131 Quote The year 1576 is doubly important in the history of the English stage. In that year Richard Farrant established the First Blackfriars Playhouse, and in that year James Burbage built the Theater. Farrant's Blackfriars was the first of the theatres later to be known as “private” houses. Burbage's Theater was the first of those later to be called “public.” The two types of playhouse came into existence simultaneously, and coexisted until the Puritan revolution. The distinction between the two types was real, but was not based upon anything

that the words “private” and “public” imply; both kinds were public in the sense that any person could enter either upon payment of the required admission fee. The origin of the term “private house” or “private playhouse” is not fully understood. W. J. Lawrence explained it as being an attempt by theatre managers to take advantage of a loophole in a 1574 Act of the Common Council, which, while seeking to restrict plays and acting, made an exception of “any plays, interludes, comedies, tragedies or shows to be played or showed in the private house, dwelling or lodging of any nobleman, Citizen, or gentleman, . . . without public or common collection of money of the auditory or be-holders thereof.”

But this attractive theory falls to take account of certain relevant facts. For one thing, all the early private playhouses were established in Liberties, and thus had no need to fear the Common Council's restrictions. For another thing, they produced their plays under the pretence of readying them for performance before the Queen, and thus acquired an exemption more effective than either a Liberty or a private dwelling could provide. And finally, the term “private house,” as designation for a play-house, does not appear in print until thirty years after the Common Councils Act of 1574. It was first used by Webster in 1604, in his Induction for the Globe performance of Marston's *Malcontent*, when he had Sly say “Why, we may sit upon the stage at the private house.” The term “private playhouse” first appeared in 1606, in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*.

But even though private playhouses were not distinguished from public playhouses in respect of privacy, they were distinguished from them in several other respects. Many of the private houses were located in Liberties inside the City walls; all the public houses were built in London's suburbs. The private houses were roofed over and probably heated in winter; the public houses were open to the sky and the weather. The private houses gave their performances by candlelight the public gave theirs by the light of the sun. The private houses were relatively small they charged admission fees ranging from sixpence to half a crown, and they provided seats for all their patrons; the public play-houses had a far greater capacity, charged fees ranging from a penny to a shilling, and furnished no seats in the pit. Finally, the first private houses were occupied only by companies of child actors; all public playhouses were occupied by men.

Elizabethans seem to have felt that this last difference was the essential distinction between the two types of playhouse. This is suggested by the complaint against the Blackfriars Playhouse that some inhabitants of the precinct addressed to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London in 1619. In it they charged that “the owner of the said playhouse doth, under the name of a private house, . . . convert the said house to a public playhouse” (27:4). The City Corporation agreed that the conversion from private to public had taken place (29:2) but, as will be seen later, the only important change that had in fact occurred was the substitution of adult actors for children. After 1610, when that substitution took place, child actors were no longer a distinguishing mark of the private theatre, but the cleavage between the two types persisted. Thus *The Duchess of Malfi* was “Presented privately, at the Black-Friers; and publiquely at the Globe,” according to the title page of its 1623 Quarto and the 1629 Quarto of *The Lovers' Melancholy* says of that play that it was “Acted at the Private House in the Black Friers, and publiquely at the Globe.” As has been said, the distinction between the private playhouse and the public was not recognized in print until the turn of the century.

End Quote

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Ramsay | Ramsay's place in history is marked for being part of the Lordship of Henry Cromwell and his son Oliver. The DeWint's work concerning the town is especially valuable as it is nearly always tied to the relevant historical manuscripts and records. |
| Recusant | A person, esp. a Roman Catholic, who refused to attend the services of the Church of England. The Act of Uniformity of 1558 first imposed fines on all |

non-attenders of a parish church, but Roman Catholics were the specific target of the Act against Popish Recusants of 1592; subsequent acts through the 17th century imposed heavy penalties on Catholic recusants, the exaction of which persisted up to the Second Relief Act of 1791. Recusancy amongst Catholics was not common until 1570, when the papal bull 'Regnans in Excelsis' excommunicated Elizabeth I. In historical use, recusant is occasionally used to refer to Catholics before 1558 who refused the Oath of Supremacy. Sectary recusant: a Protestant or other non-Catholic recusant. Source: OED
 Obstinate in refusal; specifically, in English history, refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the king in the church, or to conform to the established rites of the church. Source: [1913 Webster]

- Red Light District A locality identified as an occupational site for prostitution, whether legalized and regulated, unregulated and illegal, or on the fringe of local laws and regulations. Red light districts are often the setting for other criminal activity, such as drug trafficking. In jurisdictions where prostitution is legal and regulated, medical examinations of sex workers and patrolling by police to enhance their safety from harm by violent clients may help to ensure that this otherwise marginal occupation is less hazardous and unhealthy than in the absence of legality. A Dictionary of Public Health. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007.1849 C. Bronte Shirley III. iii. 44 'He is one of Mrs. Yorke's warning-examples one of the blood-red lights she hangs out to scare young ladies from matrimony'.
- Reversion A position made possible by the death or incapacity of a previous incumbent
- Richard II (Performance of Essex) "The afternoone before the rebellion, Merricke, with a great company of others, that afterwards were all in the action, had procured to bee played before them, the play of deposing King Richard the second. Neither was it, casual, but a playbespoken by Merrick. And not so onely, but when it was told him by one of the players, that the play was olde, and they should haue losse in playing it because fewe would come to it: there was forty shillings extraordinarie giuen to play it, and so thereupon playd it was. So earnest hee was to satisfie his eyes with the sight of that tragedie which hee thought soone after his lord should bring from the stage to the state, but that God turned it vpon their owne heads."

S to Y

- Sale and Leaseback See link: <http://www.bankingtimes.co.uk/15112009-hsbc-sells-canary-wharf-headquarters/> - in 2009 Bank HSBC sold but immediately leased back its London headquarters from "National Pension Service of Korea, one of Asia's largest sovereign investors [the] new landlord. The article carefully sets out the rationale for this type of which could equally be applied to the Blackfriar's gatehouse.
- Sin City *slang*, a title applied jocularly or otherwise to a city considered to be a place of vice – OED
- Sinatra In brief, in "1961, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover sent a pointed memo to [the] Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, regarding singer Frank Sinatra's extensive connections to organized crime figures. Special agents had been keeping tabs on the singer since 1947" Giancana and Luciano were both notorious mob leaders. "Chicago boss Sam Giancana was known to wear a pinkie ring that was a gift from Sinatra... when Giancana had been arrested in 1958, the police found Sinatra's private telephone number in [his] wallet." In connection with Luciano, "When police searched Lucky Luciano's home... they found a gold cigarette case with the inscription, "To my dear pal Lucky, from his friend, Frank Sinatra.'" Extracts from "Frank Sinatra and The Mob" by Anthony Bruno. http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/gangsters_outlaws/cops_others/frank_sinatra/1.html
- Tawney's Examples "...Lady Hungerford pays 19%... Edward Willoughby complains to his brother that lenders refuse accommodation under 20%..." SPD Elizabeth additional 1566 to 1579,

- x ref.* 18, number 53.
footnote 74 "...a correspondent of Cecil's can only raise £800 on land producing £1000 a year and with a capital value presumably 20 times that figure...MSS Marquis of Salisbury, part eight, pages 190 – 191.
 "...A grocer who did business as a money lender gets a country gentleman into his clutches, discounts his bills at 25%, renews them at compound interest, and finally having sold up the debtor, becomes Lord of the Manor"...Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1887).
- Tiger's Heart Extract from *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*
 By Margreta De Grazia, Stanley W. Wells (Eds.) Page 4 - E.A.J. Honigmann:
 "In his groats worth of wit Robert Green addressed three gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spent their wits in making plays (Marlowe, Peele, Nashe) and denounced an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his "Tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide" supposes he is as well able to bombast out (write) a blank verse as the best of you: and, being an absolute Johannes factotum, is in his own conceit the only shake-seen in a country. The pun in Shake scene and ridicule of a line from 3 henry six period to period leaves us in no doubt as to Greene's target."
- Token-Money
 Token-Book Token Money - Eccl. The payment made or contribution given (by way of Easter Offering) by persons on receiving their token that they were duly prepared to make their Easter communion. "1546 Churchw. Acc. St. Martin in the Fields 101 In primis Receued and gatherd of the Paryshyons ffor the pascall and tokyn money at Easter in the Church xliis. vjd. 1564 Ibid. 216 It'm Receyued the ixth of Aprile 1564 for the halfe of the token monneye at Easter xxvjs viijd. 1572 Ludlow Churchw. Acc. (Camden) 153 Imprimis receaved of the parishenars for the token money at Easter..xlijs. 1573 Ibid. 156 Receavede at Easter of token money..xlvs. xd. 1611 Churchw. Acc. St. Margaret's Westm. (Nichols 1797) 29 Received for the token-money for the whole year, ended the 11th day of May, 1611 £6. 5." OED Token Book – Record of the above.
- Turnbull Street The actual street name was Turnmill in Clerkenwell. Stow explains that Turnmill Street was so called from its proximity to the Fleet, or Turnmill or Tremill Brook, because mills were erected upon it [John Stow, *Survey of London* (1598), 2nd Edition of reprint (London: Everyman, 1929) P.14] ...long vulgarly called Turnbull and Trunball Street.
- Tyings See Thomas Blout (1618-1679) in his *Glossographia* of 1656 [the OED refers inexplicably to 1670 – the second edition appears to have been published in 1719] "Tigh or Teage..a Close or Enclosure, a Croft... The word Tigh is still used in Kent in the same sense"
- Universal Magazine See <http://18thcenturyreadingroom.wordpress.com/2007/08/17/item-of-the-day-the-universal-magazine-of-knowledge-and-pleasure-1777/>. This excellent website gives the full title which as a most detailed description surely eclipses *THE Sun* "The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure: Containing News, Letters, Debates, Poetry, Musick, Biography, History, Geography, Voyages, Criticism, Translations, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Husbandy, Gardening, Cookery, Chemistry, Mechanicks, Trade, Navigation Architecture and Other Arts and Sciences, which may render it Instructive and Entertaining to Gentry, Merchants, Farmers, and Tradesmen: to which occasionally will be added An Impartial Account of Books in several Languages and of the Store of Learning in Europe Also of the Stage, New Operas Plays and Oratorios. Vol. LXI. Published Monthly according to Act of Parliament, by John Hinton, at the King's Arms in Paternoster Row, near Warwick-Lane, London. [1777]..."
- Whittington (Dick) Whittington, Richard [Dick] (c.1350–1423), merchant and mayor of London, was born at Pauntley, Gloucestershire, the third son of Sir William Whittington (d. 1358), a lesser landowner of Gloucestershire, and his wife, Joan Maunsell. He was apprenticed to a London mercer and was sufficiently established in London by 1379 to contribute 5 marks towards a civic gift to the nobles of the realm. At this date a mercer of London dealt in silk, linen, fustian, worsted, and luxury small goods, and the wealthiest of the trade expected to participate in the export of English wool, woollen cloth, and worsted, and to import the other merceries.

- Wither
(George) A man who enjoyed a long and remarkable life encompassing scholar, writer, soldier, judge, politician etc. he also could be described as a self-interested turncoat who twisted whichever way the political wind happened to be blowing. He started by fawning over royalty for patronage, then attacked the Stationers for protecting their own monopolies before himself seeking and obtaining his own (50 year) monopoly for his Psalter. Come the Civil War, he switched sides and was by turns pro-Essex, Cromwell, and the Levellers. Over a period of decades he was imprisoned for libelling almost every political group. At the Restoration he immediately switched back to pro-Royalist writing. Like many others of the period he spent decades litigating over ill-gotten gains. See: Michelle O'Callaghan, "Wither, George (1588-1667)," in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: OUP, 2004).
- Yeoman A man holding a small landed estate; a freeholder under the rank of a gentleman; hence vaguely, a commoner or countryman of respectable standing, esp. one who cultivates his own land. OED

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, Melissa. *Global Economics*. Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Aaron, Melissa. "The Globe and Henry V as a Business Document." *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40, no. 2 (2000): 277-292.
- Ackroyd, Peter. *Shakespeare The Biography*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2005.
- Adair, E.R. "The Statute of Proclamations." *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 32, no. 125 (1917): 34-46.
- Adams, Douglas. *The Hitchhikers Guide to The Galaxy*. Pan Macmillan, 1979.
- Adams, Joseph Q. *Shakespearean Playhouses: A History of English Theatres from the Beginnings to the Restoration*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1917.
- Adams, Joseph Q. "The Conventual Buildings of Blackfriars, London, and the Playhouses Constructed Therein." *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina Press), April 1917: 64-87.
- Adams, Joseph. *The Jonson Allusion Book*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928.
- Adolph, Anthony. "Dethick, Sir William (1543-1612)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Africa, Thomas. "Urban Violence in Imperial Rome." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (MIT Press) 2, no. 1 (1971): 3-21.
- Alexander, M.A. "Shakespeare's Knowledge of the Law, A Journey Through the Arguments." *The Oxfordian*, 2001 October.
- Allison, K.J. "Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Economic History Review* (Wiley) 2, no. 11 (1958): 100.
- Alsop, J.D. "Innovation in Tudor Taxation." *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 99, no. 390 (Jan. 1984): 83-93.
- Alsop, J.D. "The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation." *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 97, no. 382 (January 1982): 1-30.
- Andrews, K.R. "Sir Robert Cecil and Mediterranean Plunder." *The English Historical Review* (OUP) 87, no. 344 (1972): 513-532.
- Archer, Ian W. "The Burden of Taxation on Sixteenth-Century London." *The Historical Journal* (CUP) 44, no. 3 (Sep. 2001): 599-627.
- Asquith, Clair. *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare*. New Edition. New York: Public Affairs, 2005.
- Aubrey, John. *Brief Lives*. London: Penguin, 1972.
- Aughterson, Kate, ed. *The English Renaissance*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Ayton, Mel. "Forty Years on: Who Killed JFK?" *History Ireland* 11, no. 4 (2003): 45-49.
- Bacon, Francis. "Of Seditions and Troubles." In *The Works of Francis Bacon*, edited by James Spedding. London: Longman, 1857-74.
- Bacon, Francis. "Of The True Greatness of Kingdoms - 1625." In *Essays*. London: Penguin Classics, 1985.
- Bacon, Francis. "Of Usury." In *Essays*, by Francis Bacon. London: Penguin Classics, 1985.
- Bacon, Francis. "To The King: of a digest to be made of the Lawes of England (1629)." In *Certain Miscellany Works*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1855.
- Bailey, F.Y., and Joan Lock. *The Oxford Companion to Crime*. Oxford: OUP, 1999.
- Balboni, Alan. *Beyond the Mafia - Italian Americans and the development of Las Vegas*. New Edition. Reno, CA: University of Nevada, 2006.

- Baldwin, T. W. "Review: Shakespeare's Audience by Alfred Harbage." *Modern Language Notes* (Johns Hopkins University Press), 1943.
- Banks, George Linneus. *All About Shakespeare*. London: Henry Lea, 1864.
- Barish, Jonas. *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1981.
- Barroll, J. Leeds. *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theater*. Ithica: Cornell, 1991.
- Bate, Jonathan. "Shakespeare and the Law." University of Warwick, 2007.
- . *The Genius of Shakespeare*. 2nd Edition. London: Picador, 2008.
- Bate, Jonathan, and Eric Rasmussen. *William Shakespeare Complete Works*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008.
- Bawcutt, N.W. "Art Imitates Business by James H, Forse." *The Review of English Studies* 47, no. 186 (1996): 241-242.
- Baxter, Richard. *Plain Scripture Proof*. 1st Edition. London: Robert White, 1651.
- Bearman, Robert. "John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (CUP) 56, no. 4 (2005): 411-433.
- . *Shakespeare in the Stratford Records*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1994.
- Bearman, Robert. "Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte? - Revisited." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger) 53, no. 1 (2002): 83-94.
- Beattie, J.M. *Policing and Punishment in London*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- Beaumont, Francis, and John Flethcher. "The Knight of the Burning Pestle." Burre, 1613.
- Beckerman, Bernard. *Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.
- Becon, Thomas. *The Works of Thomas Becon*. Edited by J. Ayre. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1843.
- Bell, John. *London Remembrancer or A true Accompt of every particular Weeks etc*. London: Coates, 1665.
- Bennett, H.S. *English Books and Readers*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1965.
- Bennett, H.S. "Review: Shakespeare's Audience by Alfred Burbage." *The Review of English Studies* (OUP) 18, no. 72 (1942).
- Benson, Robert Hugh. *Come Rack! Come Rope!* Reprint. London: Burns & Oates Limited, 1966.
- Bentley, Gerald Eades. *Shakespeare A Bibliographical Handbook*. 2nd Edition. New Haven: Yale University, 1961.
- . *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*. 7 vols. Oxford: Oxford - Clarendon Press, 1940 - 1968.
- . *The Profession of Player in Shakespeare's Time 1590-1642*. Princeton: Princeton Press, 1984.
- Beresford, M.W. "The Common Informer, The Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation." *Economic History Review*, 1957: 221-238.
- Bernstein, Carl, Bob Woodward, and William Goldman. *All the President's Men*. Directed by Alan J. Pakula. Produced by Walter Coblenz. 1976.
- Beveridge, William. *Prices and Wages in England*. 2nd Edition (1966). Vol. 1. London: Longmans, 1939.
- Birch, Thomas, and Williams R.F. *The Court and Times of James the First*. London: Henry Colburn, 1849.
- Blackstone, William. "Commentaries on the laws of England volume 2." 1766.
- Bland, Mark. "Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past." *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Huntington Library) 67, no. 3 (2004).
- blogspot. *blogspot*. <http://proimigrant.blogspot.com> (accessed 2009 02-1).
- Board, Selected Advisory. *The Spectator*. Monclair State University. <http://meta.monclair.edu/spectator/about.html> (accessed 2010 20-Aug).

- Borish, M. E. "John Day's "Law Tricks" and George Wilkins." *Modern Philology* (University of Chicago) 34, no. 3 (Feb 1937): 249-266.
- Borschberg, Peter. "Professor, University of Singapore." 2009 April.
- Botero, Giovanni. "A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities." 1606.
- Bouchard, Gary. "The Roman Steps to the Temple." *Logos* 10, no. 3 (2007): 131-150.
- Bowden, Peter. *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*. 1st Edition. London: Macmillan, 1962.
- Bowen, Catherine. *The Lion and the Throne - The Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke*. Boston: Little, Brown & co., 1957.
- Bowers, Roger. "Farrant, Richard (c.1528-1580)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Boyer, Allan D. "Coke, Sir Edward (1552-1634)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Bradley, Raymond S., and Philip D. Jones. "Little Ice Age' summer temperature variations." *The Holocene* (Sage Journals), 1993: 367-376.
- Brenner, Y. "The Inflation of Prices in England, 1551-1650." *The Economic History Review* 15, no. 2 (1962): 266-284.
- Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997.
- Briley, John. "Edward Alleyn and Henslowe's Will." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 9, no. 3 (Summer 1958): 321-330.
- Brinkworth, E.R.C. *Shakespeare and The Bawdy Court of Stratford*. London: Philmore, 1972.
- Britten, Nick. "Men Owe Women for Creating Beer." *The Telegraph*. London, 2010 30-March .
- Bromberg, Murray. "The Reputation of Philip Henslowe." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 1, no. 3 (1950): 135-139.
- Bronowski, Jacob. *The Ascent of Man - Episode 4, The Hidden Structure*. Television. Directed by Mick Anderson. Produced by Adrian Malone. Performed by Jacob Bronowski. BBC, 1973.
- Brooke, Tucker. "Shakespeare's Moiety of the Stratford Tithes." *Modern Language Notes* (Johns Hopkins University Press) 40, no. 8 (December 1925): 462-469.
- Brookes, Mel. *The History of the World Part 1*. Film. Directed by Mel Brookes. Produced by Mel Brookes. Performed by Mel Brookes. 20th. Century Fox, 1981.
- Brown, A.D.J. *Alexander Pope's Edition of Shakespeare (Unpublished)*. Bristol: University of Bristol, 1995.
- Brown, B. "The Canon Law of Marriage." *Virginia Law Review* 26, no. 1 (Nov. 1939): 70-85.
- Brown, Horatio, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Translated by Brown Horatio. Vol. 9. 1897.
- Browner, K. "Wrong Side of the River: London's Distreputable South Bank in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Essays in History* (University of Virginia) 36 (1994).
- Brownlow, F.W. "John Shakespeare's Recusancy: New Light on an Old Document." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1989): 186-191.
- Brownstein, Oscar. "The Popularity of Baiting in England before 1600." *Educational Theatre Journal* 21, no. 3 (1969): 237-250.
- Bruster, Douglas. *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1994.
- Buckland, W.W. *Roman Law and Common Law a Comparison in Outline*. Cambridge: CUP, 1965.

- Burbank, J. "Billy Wilkerson." www.onlinenevada.org/billy_wikerson (accessed 2008 8-December).
- Burford, E. J. *Of Bridles and Burnings*. London: Hale, 1992.
- Burford, E.J. *Bawds and Lodgings*. London: Peter Owen, 1976.
- . *The Bishop's Brothels*. London: Hale, 1993.
- Burnett, John. *A History of the Cost of Living*. London: Pelican, 1969.
- Burns, Robert. *Address to the Devil*. 1784.
www.poetryfoundation.org/archive/poem.html?id=173053.
- Burton, J. Anthony. "An Unrecognized Theme in Hamlet: Lost Inheritance and Claudius's Marriage to Gertrude." *Shakespeare Newsletter*, no. fall (2000).
- Cairncross, Andrew. "Shakespeare and the Golden Age." *The South Central Bulletin* (Johns Hopkins University), Winter 1970: 173-175.
- Calder, Nigel. *The Great Global Warming Swindle*. television documentary film. Directed by Martin Durkin. Produced by Channel 4. Performed by Nigel Calder. 2007.
- Caraman, Philip. *The Other Face: Catholic Life Under Elizabeth I*. Edited by Caraman. London: Longmans, 1960.
- Carson, Neil. *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Carter, T. *Shakespeare: Puritan and Recusant*. New Edition. Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1906.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Competition for the Kings Men? Alleyn's Blackfriars Venture." *MRDE* (FDU) 4 (1989): 173-86.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Edward Alleyn." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Edward Alleyn: His Brothel's Keeper?" *Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 2001: 93-100.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Geography of Henslowe's Diary." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2005): 328-353.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Henslowe, Philip." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. OUP, 2004.
- Cerasano, S.P. "Theatrical Entrepreneurs and Theatrical Economics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton. Oxford: OUP, 2009.
- Chalmers, George. *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers*. London: Thomas Egerton, 1797.
- Chambers, E.K. "Ben Jonson and "the Isle of Dogs"." *The Modern Language Review*, Vol 4 no 4, July 1909, p 511 (MHRA), 1909.
- Chambers, E.K. "Court Performances before Queen Elizabeth." *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 2, no. 1 (1906): 1-13.
- . *Shakespearean Gleanings*. Oxford: OUP, 1944.
- Chambers, E.K. "The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597-1603 by Charles William Wallace." *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 5, no. 2 (April 1910): 224-227.
- . *The Elizabethan Stage*. 4 vols. Oxford: OUP, 1923.
- . *William Shakespeare*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1930.
- Chapman, George, Ben Jonson, and John Marston. *Eastward hoe As it is playd in the Black-friers. By the Children of her Majesties Reuels*. William Aspley, 1605.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Knight's Tale*. academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/webcore (accessed 2011 21-May).
- Chettle, Henry. *Kind-harts dreame Containing fiue apparitions*. Chettle, 1593.
- Chillington Rutter, Carol. *Documents of The Rose Playhouse*. Revised Edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Clarkson, L. A. "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *EHR* (Wiley-Blackwell) 13, no. 2 (1960): 245-256.

- Cohen, Nick. "What an Honour, Sir Philip." *The Observer*. 200618-6.
- Coke, Edward. *The Institutes of the Lawes of England*. 4 vols. London, 1628-1644.
- Collum, E. "Irregular Courses/Illegitimate Ends: The Hermeneutics of Space and Other Early Modern Legal Perversions." *Renaissance Forum Early Modern Literacy and Historical Studies*, 2008.
- Colucci, Donato. *Solved: John Shakespeare's "Reversal of Fortune"*.
www.donatopresents.com/shakespeare/Reversal.html (accessed 2011 4-7).
- Conan Doyle, Arthur. *A Study in Scarlet*. London: Penguin, 1981.
- . *The Complete Sherlock Holmes*. Complete. New York: Barnes & Noble.
- Cook, Ann Jennalie. *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Cooper, J.P. "Economic Regulation and the Cloth Industry in Seventeenth Century England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Royal Historical Society) V, no. 20 (1969): 73-99.
- Coote, Edmund. *The English Scholemaister*. 1596.
- Cope, Esther. "Sir Edward Coke and Proclamations." *The American Journal of Legal History* (Temple University) 15, no. 3 (July 1971): 215-221.
- Cowell, John. *The Interpreter*. Cambridge, 1607.
- CPH. *Cecil Papers at Hatfield*.
- Craig, Hardin. *A New Look at Shakespeare's Quartos*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.
- Cressy, David. "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730." *The Historical Journal* (CUP) 20, no. 1 (1977): 1-23.
- Crittall, Elizabeth. *A History of the County of Wiltshire - Cloth 1550-1640*. Vol. 4. 1959.
- Croft, Pauline. "Cecil, Robert, first Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004.
- Croft, Pauline. "The reputation of Robert Cecil: libels, political opinion and popular awareness in the early seventeenth century." *TRHS* (RHS) 6, no. 1 (1991): 43-69.
- CSP. "Queen Elizabeth - Volume 243: September 1592 & 244: February 1593." In *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1591-94 (1867)*, pp.266-277, 312-324. London: CSP, 1592.
- Cunningham, P. *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*. London: Shakespeare Society, 1842.
- da Vinci, Leonardo di ser Piero. *Leonardo on Painting*. Edited by Martin Kemp. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Dabhoiwala, Faramerz. "The Pattern of Immorality in seventeenth and eighteenth century London." In *Londinopolis - Essays in the Cultral and Social History of Early Modern London*, edited by Paul Griffiths and Mark S. Jenner. Manchester: MUP, 2000.
- Dasent, John Roche. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. London: H.M.Stationery Office, 1905.
- Davies, Margaret. *The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship 1563-1642*. 1st Edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Dawson, Giles. "Shakespeare's Handwriting." *Shakespeare Survey*, 1990.
- de Balzac, Honore. *Old Goriot*. 1835.
- Dekker. *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*. Edited by Grossart. London, 1606.
- Deloney, Thoms. *The Pleasant History of John Winchcomb, in his younger years called Jack of Newbury*. London, 1597.
- Devlin, Christopher. "Topcliffe." In *Hamlet's Divinity and Other Essay*. 1963.
- Dewald, Jonathan, ed. *Europe 1450 to 1789*. Charles Scriber's Sons, 2004.
- DeWindt, Anne, and Edwin DeWindt. *Ramsay - The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200-1600*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 2006.

- Dickens, Charles. *A Tale of Two Cities*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1859.
- Dolan, Frances. "The Shakespeare Myth by Graham Holderness." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 381-385.
- Donahue, C. "The Case of the Man who Fell into the Tiber." *The American Journal of Legal History* (AJLH) 22, no. 1 (1978): 1-53.
- Donaldson, Ian. "Jonson, Benjamin (1572-1637)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, 2004.
- Donovan, Martin, and David Koepp. *Death Becomes Her*. film. Directed by Robert Zemeckis. Produced by Robert Zemeckis. 1992.
- Duffy, Eamon. *Fires of Faith - Catholic England under Mary Tudor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . *The Stripping of the Altars*. New Haven: Yale, 1992.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine. *Ungentle Shakespeare*. London: Arden Shakespeare - Thomas Learning, 2001.
- Eccles, Mark. "Martin Peerson and the Blackfriars." *Shakespeare Survey* (CUP) 11 (1958): 100-106.
- Eccles, Mark. "Review of: Shakespeare's Son-in-Law [etc.] by Harriet Joseph." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 17, no. 4 (1966): 432-433.
- . *Shakespeare in Warwickshire*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1961.
- Edinburgh, Arnold. "The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 4, no. 1 (1953): 83-84.
- Edmond, Mary. "Burbage, James (c.1531-1597)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Edmond, Mary. "Yeomen, Citizens, Gentlemen and Players: The Burbages and Their Connections." In *Elizabethan Theatre: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum*, edited by R.B. Parker and S.P. Zitner, 30-49. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996.
- Egan, Gabriel. "Censorship." In *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells. 2001.
- Egan, Gabriel. "Reconstructions of the Globe: a Retrospective." *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge), no. 52 (1999): 1-16.
- Einstein, Albert. "On The Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies." In *The Principal of Relativity*, by Albert Einstein. London: Methuen, 1923.
- Eliot, T.S. *Four Quartets*. London: Faber & Faber, 2001.
- . *Sweeney Agonistes: Fragments of an Aristophanic Melodrama*. 1st Edition. London: Faber & Faber, 1932.
- Evans, Albert. "A Cruise on the Barbary Coast." *San Francisco Museum*. <http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist6/evans.html> (accessed 2009 6-February).
- Fallow, David. "Hamlet, Crowner's Courts and the exhumation of rotted corpses." Edited by Peter Thomson. *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 31, no. 1 (2011): 113-120.
- Fallow, David. "Like father like son: Financial Practices in the Shakespeare family." Edited by Peter Thomson. *Studies in Theatre and Performance* (Intellect) 28, no. 3 (2008): 253-263.
- . *The Abridged Introductions of Edgar I. Fripp and Accounts etc.* 2009.
- Fancher, Hampton, and David Peoples. *Blade Runner*. Film. Directed by Ridley Scott. Produced by Michael Deeley. Performed by Harrison Ford. Warner Bros. Pictures, 1982.
- Finkelpearl, P.J. "Davies, John (1564/5-1618)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Fischer, Steve. *When the Mob Ran Vegas*. Omaha: Berkline, 2007.
- Fisher, F.J. "Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth Century England." *EHR* (Blackwell), 1940: 95-117.

- Fisher, F.J. "London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century." *The Economic History Review* (Blackwell for EHS) III, no. 2 (1950).
- Fisher, F.J. "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (RHS) 30 (1948): 37-50.
- Fleay, Frederick Gard. *A Chronicle History of the London Stage 1559-1642*. London: Reeves and Turner, 1890.
- Forse, James H. *Art Imitates Business*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993.
- Fox, Alastair. "The Complaint of Poetry for the Dearth of Liberality: The Decline of Literary Patronage in the 1590s." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, by John Guy, 229-257. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.
- Fox, Levi. *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records*. Vol. V. 5 vols. Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 1990.
- . *The Borough Town of Stratford-Upon-Avon*. Stratford-Upon-Avon: Town Council, 1953.
- . *The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust*. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust and Jarrold Publishing, 1997.
- Fraser, Antonia. *The Gunpowder Plot - Terror and Faith in 1605*. Reprint. London: Arrow, 1999.
- Freeden, Michael. "Robertson, John Mackinnon 1856 - 1933." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2006.
- Freeman, Arthur, and Janet Freeman. "Phillipps, James Orchard Halliwell." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, 2004.
- Freeman, Thomas. "Foxye, John." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. OUP, 2008.
- Freer, Coburn. "John Donne and Elizabethan Economic Theory." Wayne State University. 1996.
- French, George Russell. *Shakespeareana Genealogica: In Two Parts*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1869.
- Fripp, Edgar. *Shakespeare Man & Artist*. 2nd Edition. London: OUP, 1964.
- . *Shakespeare Studies*. London: OUP, 1930.
- . *Shakespeare's Stratford*. London: OUP, 1928.
- Gaylev, C.M. *Plays of our Forefathers*. New York: Duffield & Co., 1907.
- Glaesner, Edward. "Neither a Borrower Nor a Lender be: An Economic Analysis of Interest Restrictions and Usury Laws." *The Journal of Law and Economics* (University of Chicago) XLI (April 1998).
- Goldsmith, M.M. "Public Virtue and Private Vices." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 9, no. 4 (1976): 477-510.
- Grant, J. *Burgh Schools Scotland II* ix.288. 1876.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. "Culture." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, edited by McLaughlin and Lentricchia, 225-32. University of Chicago, 1990.
- . *Hamlet in Purgatory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. "Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre and the Representation of Rebellion." *Representations* (University of California Press), no. 1 (February 1983): 1-29.
- . *Sir Walter Raleigh*. New Haven: Yale University, 1973.
- . *The Greenblatt Reader*. 1st Edition. Edited by Michael Payne. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, ed. *The Norton Shakespeare*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.
- . *Will in the World*. London: Pimlico, 2005.

- Greene, Robert. *Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a million of Repentance*. London: William Wright, 1592.
- Greenfield, Jon. "Timber Framing the Two Bays and After." In *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, by J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997.
- Greenfield, Peter. "Touring." In *Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton. Oxford: Oxford, 2009.
- Greg, W. W. *Henslowe's Diary*. Edited by Walter Greg. 2 vols. London: Bullen, 1904.
- Greg, W.W. "Shakespeare versus Shallow by Leslie Hotson." *Modern Language Review* (MHRA) 27, no. 2 (1932): 218-221.
- . *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*. London: Malone Society, 1922.
- Griffiths, Paul. "The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London." *Continuity and Change*, 1993: 39-63.
- Grimond, John. *The Economist Pocket Style Book*. London: The Economist, 1986.
- Guilmartin, John. *Galleons and Galleys*. London: Cassell, 2002.
- Gundry, W.G.C. "William Cecil, Lord Burghley." *Baconiana*, no. Spring (1948).
- Gurr, Andrew. "Beeston, Christopher." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Gurr, Andrew. "Henry Carey's Peculiar Letter." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 51-75.
- . *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642*. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.
- . *The Shakespearean Stage 1564-1642*. Cambridge: CUP, 1992.
- . *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Hall, Evelyn Beatrice, and as Stephen Tallentyre. *The Friends of Voltaire*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906.
- Hall, Hubert. *Society in the Elizabethan Age*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1887.
- Halliday, F.E. *A Shakespeare Companion*. Penguin. London: Penguin, 1964.
- Halliwell, James. *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford Upon Avon*. first. London: J. E. Allard, 1853.
- Halliwell-Phillipps, J.O. *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*. Eighth. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889.
- . *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*. New York: AMS Press, 1966.
- Hamer, Douglas. "Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?" *Review of English Studies* (Oxford) 21 (1970): 41-48.
- Hamilton, Charles. *In Search of Shakespeare*. Harcourt Brace, 1985.
- Hanson, Elizabeth. "Torture and Truth in Renaissance England." *Representations* (University of California Press) 34, no. Spring (1991): 53-84.
- Harbage, Alfred. *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968.
- . *Shakespeare's Audience*. 2nd Edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.
- Harvard Law Review. "Good Faith and Fraudulent Conveyances." *Harvard Law Review* (HLRA) 97 (Dec. 1983): 495-510.
- Harwood, Ian. "Rosetter, Philip (c.1568-1623)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Hay, David, John Halstead, R. W. Hoyle, and Brian Short. *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*. Edited by David Hay. Oxford: OUP, 2009.
- Hazlitt, William. *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*. 3rd. Edition. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.
- Heath, J. "From 1580 to the accession of James I." In *Torture and English Law: an Administrative and Legal History, etc*, by J. Heath. London: Greenwood, 1982.
- Heath, James. *Torture and English Law: An Administrative and Legal History*. London: Greenwood, 1982.
- Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen, 1979.

- Heinemann, Margot. *Puritanism and Theatre*. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.
- Heinlein, Robert A. *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress*. New York: Doherty, 1966.
- Helmsley, U.S. v. "Charge: conspiracy, tax evasion, false filing tax returns." 1989.
- Henley, Trish Thomas. *Dealers in Hole-Sale: Representations of Prostitution on the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage*. Florida State University, 2007.
- Henslowe, Philip. *Henslowe's Diary*. Edited by R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1961.
- . *Henslowe's Diary, Part 2, Commentary*. Edited by W.W. Greg. London: Bullen, 1908.
- Hentschell, Roze. *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England*. 1st Edition. Farnham: Ashgate, 2008.
- Hewart, Beatrice. "The Cloth Trade in the North of England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *The Economic Journal* (Blackwell for Royal Economic Society) 10, no. 37 (March 1900).
- Hicks, Michael. "Ashley, Sir Anthony." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford, 2008.
- Highley, Christopher. "A Pestilent and Seditious Book: Nicholas Sander's "Schismatici Anglicani", etc." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (The University of California Press) 68, no. 1/2 (2005): 151-171.
- Hill, F. *To Meet Will Shakespeare*. Manchester, NH: Ayer & Co., 1949.
- HMG. "House of Commons - Public Administration - Second Report." 2007 18-12. www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmselect (accessed 2009 9-1).
- HMSO. *Shakespeare in the Public Records*. London: HMSO, 1964.
- Hodgson, Arthur. *Shakespearean Jottings*. London: Chiswick Press, 1902.
- Hoess, R. *Commandant of Auschwitz*. New Edition. London: Pan Books, 1975.
- Holden, Anthony. *William Shakespeare - His Life and Work*. London: Little, Brown & Co, 1999.
- Holderness, Graham. *The Shakespeare Myth*. Edited by Graham Holderness. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. 6 vols. London: J. Johnson et al, 1808.
- Holland, P. "Shakespeare, William 1564-1616." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2009.
- Honigmann, E.A.J. "Catholic Shakespeare? A Response to Hildegard Hammerschmidt - Hummel." *Connotations* (University of Teubingen), 2002/2003: 52-60.
- . *Shakespeare: The "lost years"*. first and second (1985). Manchester: MUP, 1985.
- . *Shakespeare: The Lost Years*. Manchester: MUP, 1999.
- Honigmann, E.A.J. "Shakespeare's Life." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells. Cambridge: CUP, 2009.
- Honigmann, E.A.J. "The Shakespeare/Shakeshafte Question, Continued." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (John's Hopkins) 54, no. 1 (2003): 83-86.
- Hosking. *The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1952.
- Hotson, Leslie. *Shakespeare by Hilliard - A Portrait Deciphered*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1977.
- . *Shakespeare versus Shallow*. London: Nonesuch Press, 1931.
- . *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949.
- . *Shakespeare's Wooden O*. 2nd Edition. Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960.
- . *The First Night of Twelfth Night*. London: Mercury, 1961.
- . "The Wool Dealer of Stratford." *The Times*, 1930 22-11.
- Howard, Jean. *Theater of a City*. Philadelphia, PA: U. of Pennsylvania, 2007.
- Hoyle, R.W. "Place and Public Finance." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (RHS) 7 (1997): 197-215.

- Hudson, John. "Common Law - Henry II and the Birth of the State." *BBC*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle_ages/henryii_law_01.shtml (accessed 2008 20-08).
- . *The Formation of the English Common Law*. 2nd Edition (1999). London: Longman, 1996.
- Hutchinson, Robert. *Elizabeth's Spy Master*. London: Phoenix, 2006.
- Ingram, Martin. *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. Cambridge: CUP, 1987.
- Ingram, R.W. *REED Records - Coventry*. University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Ingram, William. *A London Life in the Brazen Age, Francis Langley, 1548-1602*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- . "Langley, Francis (1548-1602)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2008 22-November.
- . "The Closing of the Theatres in 1597: A Dissenting View." *Modern Philology*, 1971: 105-115.
- Ingram, William. "Robert Keysar, Playhouse speculator." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 37, no. 4 (1986): 476-485.
- . *The Business of Playing*. Ithica: Cornell, 1992.
- Ingram, William. "The Cost of Touring." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* (UOV), no. 6 (1993): 57-62.
- James, Mervyn. *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1560-1640*. 1st. Edition. Oxford: OUP, 1974.
- Jaster, Margaret Rose. "Art Imitates Business by James H. Forse." *Albion* 26 (1994): 498-499.
- Jesse, George E. *Researches into the History of the British Dog*. II vols. London: Hardwicke, 1866.
- Jesse, George. *Researches into the History of the British Dog, from Ancient Laws, Charters and Historical Records [Etc.]*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: R. Hardwicke, 1866.
- Jones, W. J. "The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period." *Transactions of the APS* (APS) 69, no. 3 (1979): 1-63.
- Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson Collected Works*. Edited by C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1952.
- Joseph, Harriet. *Shakespeare's Son-in-Law: John Hall, Man and Physician*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1964.
- Jowett, John. "Notes on Henry Chettle [Part 2]." *The Review of English Studies* (OUP) 45, no. 180 (1994): 517-522.
- Jowett, John. "Notes on Henry Chettle." *The Review of English Studies* (OUP) 45, no. 179 (1994): 384-388.
- Kallendorf, Hilaire. *Exorcism and Its Texts: Subjectivity in Early Modern Literature of England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Kathman, David. "The Spelling and Pronunciation of Shakespeare's Name." *Shakespeare Authorship - Dedicated to the Proposition that Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare*. shakespeareauthorship.com/name1.html (accessed 2009 1-March).
- Kavanagh, P.J. "A Balancing Act - English Catholic Heroes." *Spectator*, 2008 20-December: 72.
- Kemp, Martin, and Margaret Walker. *Leonardo on Painting*. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Kermode, Frank. *The Age of Shakespeare*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004.
- . *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Kerridge, Eric. *Trade & Banking in Early Modern England*. Manchester: MUP, 1988.
- Kiernan, Pauline. *Filthy Shakespeare*. London: Quercus, 2006.

- King, John N. "Guides to Reading Foxe's Book of Martyrs." *Huntington Library Quarterly* (University of California Press) 68, no. 1&2 (2005): 133-150.
- Kirsch, Peter. *Galleon: Great Ships of the Armada Era*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1990.
- Knights, L.C. *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson*. Second. London: Peregrine, 1962.
- Knowles, Elizabeth, ed. *A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. OUP, 2006.
- Knutson, Roslyn Lander. *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*. Cambridge: CUP, 2001.
- Korda, Natasha. "Household Property/Stage Property: Henslowe as Pawnbroker." *Theatre Journal*, 1996: 185-195.
- Kornstein, Daniel. *Kill All The Layers*. 2005 (new edition). Bison Books, University of Nebraska, 2005.
- Who's Afraid of the Big Black Hole*. Television. Produced by BBC. Performed by Lawrence Krauss. BBC, 2009.
- L.A., Clarkson. "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Economic History Review* (Wiley-Blackwell for EHR) 13, no. 2 (1960): 245-256.
- Lace, William. *Elizabethan England*. San Diego: Lucent, 1995.
- Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier. "Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England; The Edmund Campion Affair in Context." *The Journal of Modern History* (The University of Chicago Press) 72, no. 3 (2000): 587 - 627.
- . *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*. New Haven: Yale, 2002.
- Lane, Joan. *John Hall and his Patients*. 1st. Edition. Stratford: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 1996.
- . *John Hall and His Patients*. Stratford: The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 1996.
- Laster, Kathy. *Law as Culture*. 2nd, revised. Annandale, NSW: Federation Press, 2001.
- Law, Jonathan, and John Smullen, *A Dictionary of Finance and Banking*. Oxford: OUP, 2008.
- Lee, Sidney. *A Life of William Shakespeare*. Fourth. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1899.
- Lee, Sidney. "Fleay, Frederick Gard (1831-1909)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Lefranc, Pierre. *Sir Walter Raleigh, the writer, the work and Ideas*. Paris: University of Laval, 1968.
- Lendon, J. E. "Social Control of Ancient Rome." *The Classical Journal* (The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc.) 93, no. 1.
- Lenz, Joseph. "Base Trade: Theatre as Prostitution." *English Literary History* 60, no. 4 (1993): 833-855.
- Levin, Yael. "Conrad, Freud and Derrida on Pompeii: A Paradigm of Disappearance." *Journal of Literature and History of Ideas* (Hebrew University) 3, no. 1 (2005).
- Levin-Richardson, Sarah. "Sex, Sight and Societas in the Lupanar, Pompeii." *Stanford University*. 2005 January. <http://traumwerk.stanford:3455/31/345> (accessed 2009 6-February).
- Levinus, Lemnius. *The Touchstone of Complexions [etc.]*. Second. Translated by Thomas Newton. London: Thomas Marsh, 1576.
- Lintott, Andrew. "Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic." *The Journal of Roman Studies Vol.80 (1990)* (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies) 1-16.
- Loades, D.M. "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in 16th Century England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Royal Historical Society) 24 (1974): 141-157.
- Lock, Stephen. *The Oxford Companion to Medicine*. Oxford, 2001.
- Lodge, Edmund. *Illustrations of British History*. Vol. II. III vols. London: Nicol, 1791.

- Loftus Ranald, Margaret. "As Marriage Binds, Blood Breaks: English Marriage and Shakespeare." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (1979): 66-81.
- London, Corporation of. *Remembrancia I.439*.
- Long, W. "Review: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare:1599." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008).
- Loschky, D. "Seven Centuries of Real Income per Wage Earner Reconsidered." *Economica* 47, no. 188 (1980): 459-465.
- Louth, N. "Mob Rule: What the Mafia Taught Business." *MSN*. 2008 8-November. //money.uk.msn.com/investing/articles/nicklouth.
- Love, Harold. "Who Were the Restoration Audience?" *The Yearbook of English Studies* 10 (1980): 21-44.
- Lysons, Daniel. *Environs of London - Volume 1, County of Surrey*. London, 1792.
- Macdonald, Mairi. "A New Discovery about Shakespeare's Estate in Old Stratford." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 45, no. 1 (1994): 87-89.
- MacDonald, Michael. "Ophelia's Maimed Rites." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger Shakespeare Library) 37, no. 932 (1986): 309-317.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo. *The Prince*. 1908. Translated by Marriott. 1513.
- MacInnes, Ian. "Mastiffs and Spaniels: Gender and the nation in the English Dog." *Textual Practice* (Routledge) 17, no. 1 (2003): 21-40.
- MacLean, Diane. "Macbeth." *Scotsman*. Edinburgh, 2005 10-2.
- Magee, Brian. *The English Recusants*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1938.
- Malden, H.E. *The Borough of Southwark: Manors, A History of the County of Surrey: Vol 4*. 1912.
- Malone, Edmund. *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.* London: Robinson, 1792.
- . *Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*. Edited by James Boswell. 21 vols. London: Rivington, et al , 1821.
- Manly, John. "Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, et al." *The American Historical Review*, 30, no. 2 (1925): 353-355.
- Markham, C.A., and J. Charles Cox. *The Records of the Borough of Northampton*. II vols. 1898.
- Marotti, Arthur F. "Patronage, Poetry and Print." *The Yearbook of English Studies* (MHRA), 1991: 1-26.
- Marsden, John Buxton. *The History of the Puritans from The Reformation to the Opening of The Civil War in 1642*. 3rd Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, 1853.
- Martin, Peter. "Malone, Edmond." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP.
- McClure, N.E., ed. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*. First. 2 vols. Philadelphia: APS, 1939.
- McConnell, Campbell R., and Brue Stanley. *Economics:principles, problems and policies*. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005.
- McCrum, Robert. "Review: 1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare by James Shapiro." *Observer* , 2005 5-6.
- McIntosh, Mary. *The Organisation of Crime*. London: Macmillan, 1975.
- McKeon, Thomas. "Incursion by Organized Crime into Legitimate Business." *Journal of Public Law* 20, no. 1 (1971): 117.
- McMillin, Scott, and Sally-Beth MacLean. *The Queen's Men and their Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 1998.
- Middleton, Thomas. *The Honest Whore*. London: Nick Hern Books & Globe Education, 1998.
- Milburn, Colin. "Syphilis In Faerie Land: Edmund Spencer and the Syphilography of Elizabethan England." *Criticism* 46, no. Fall (2004): 576-632.

- Miles, Gary. "How Roman are Shakespeare's "Romans"?" *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Cambridge) 40, no. 3 (1989): 257-283.
- Miller, Russell. *The Seafarers: The East Indiamen*. Alexandria, Virginia, 1920.
- Milne, H. "William Gardiner, Justice of the Peace." *The British Museum Quarterly*, 1933.
- Moeller, Walter. "The Riot of AD 59 at Pompeii." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* (Franz Steiner Verlag) 19, no. 1 (1970): 84-95.
- Moles, Peter, and Nicholas Terry. *The Handbook of International Financial Terms*. Oxford: OUP, 1997.
- Morgan, E. "Puritan Hostility to the Theatre." *American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 5 (1966): 340-347.
- Mulryne, J. R. "Professional Players in the Guildhall, Stratford Upon Avon, 1568-1597." Edited by Peter Holland. *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge) 60 (2007).
- Mutschmann, H., and K. Wentersdorf. *Shakespeare and Catholicism*. 2nd Edition. New York: AMS Press, 1969.
- Myers, A.R., and David Douglas. *English Historical Documents 1327-1485*. Second. Routledge, 1995.
- Nash, Thomas. *A Pleasant Comedy called Summer's Last Will and Testament*. London: Burre, 1600.
- . *Christs Tears over Jerusalem Whereunder is annexed, an admonition to London*. London: Andrew Wise, 1594.
- Nashe, Thomas. "The Dedication to Strange Newes (1592)." Edited by Charles Wisner Barrell. *Shakespeare Fellowship Quarterly*, October 1944.
- . *The Terrors of the Night or A Discourse of Appartitions*. London: William Jones, 1594.
- Newton, Isaac. *Correspondence of Isaac Newton*. Edited by H. W. Turnbull. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1959.
- Nicholl, Charles. "Shakespeare's Circle." *Penguin Shakespeare*. Penguin.
www.penguinclassics.co.uk/static/cs/uk/10/minisites/shakespeare/readmore/marlowe.html (accessed 2011 10-January).
- . *The Lodger - Shakespeare on Silver Street*. London: Penguin Allen Lane, 2007.
- Nicholls, Mark, and Penny Williams. "Raleigh, Sir Walter." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Nock, S. A. "Muntschmann's Milton." *The Sewanee Review* (Johns Hopkins University Press), no. 3 (1928): 362-368.
- Oates, Mary, and William Baumol. "On the Economics of the Theater in Renaissance London." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* (Blackwell) 78 (1976).
- O'Callaghan, Michelle. "Wither, George (1588-1667)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- O'Connor, Desmond. "Florino, John." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, 2004.
- O'Donoghue, J., and L. Goulding. "Consumer Price Inflation since 1750." *Economic Trends* (Office for National Statistics) 604 (March 2004).
- Offner, Arnold. "Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, 1938-1940: An Anatomy of Appeasement by Ralph F. de Bedt." *American Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (1987).
- Orgel, Stephen. "What is a Character?" *Text* (Indiana University) 8 (1995): 101-108.
- Orgel, Stephen, and Braunnmuller A.R. *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare*. New York: Penguin Group, 2002.
- O'Sullivan, Maurice J. "Shakespeare's Other Lives." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1987): 133-153.
- Outhwaite, R.B. *Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England*. McMillan, 1969.
- Owen, Richard. "Shakespeare and Italy." *The Times*, 2000 8-April.

- Palmer, Barbara D. "Early Modern Mobility: Players, Payments and Patrons." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2005): 259-305.
- Palmer, Barbara D. "Playing in The Provinces." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 2009.
- Palmer, Barbara D. "Review: Global Economics." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, no. Spring (2007): 119-122.
- Parr, Anthony. "Wilkins, George." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Partridge, Mary. *Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England*. Modern History, University of Birmingham, Unpublished, 2008.
- Pechter, Edward. "The New Historicism and Its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama." *PMLA* (MLA) 102 (May 1987): 292-303.
- Peter, Martin. "Malone, Edmond (1741-1812)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Phelps Brown, E, and S. Hopkins. "Seven Centuries of Building Wages." *Economica* 22, no. 87: 195-206.
- Phelps Brown, E., and S. Hopkins. "Seven Centuries of Wages and Prices: Some Earlier Estimates." *Economica* 28, no. 109 (1961): 30-36.
- Phelps Brown, E., and S. Hopkins. "Wage-Rates and Prices: Evidence for Population Pressure in Sixteenth Century." *Economica* 24, no. 96 (1957): 289-306.
- Phillips, Francis. "Review: Shakespeare the Biography by Peter Ackroyd." *Theotokos Books*. 2005. <http://www.theotokos.org.uk/index.html> (accessed 2009 2-8).
- Piggot, J.R. "History of the College - Edward Alleyn." *dulwich*. 2006 1. www.dulwich.org.uk (accessed 2009 18-March).
- Pike, Joseph. *Frivolities of Courtiers etc./selections from Policraticus by John of Salisbury*. New Edition. New York: Octagon, 1972.
- Platter, Thomas. *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599*.
- Pogue, Kate Emery. *Shakespeare's Friends*. London: Praeger, 2006.
- "Political Shakespeare - New Essays in Cultural Materialism." Edited by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, 270. Manchester University Press, 1985.
- Pollard, Alfred W. *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays 1594-1685*. First. London: Methuen, 1909.
- Pollock, Frederick, and F. Maitland. *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*. Cambridge: CUP, 1898.
- Pollock, Frederick, and Frederick Maitland. *The History of English Law: Before the time of Edward I*. 2nd. ed. Vol. 1. Cambridge: CUP, 2008.
- Ponko, Vincent. "The Privy Council and the Spirit of Elizabethan Economic Management, 1558-1603." *Transactions of The American Philosophical Society* (The American Philosophical Society) 58, no. 4 (1968): 1-63.
- Pope, Alexander. *Imitations of Horace*. London: T. Cooper, 1737.
- Porder, Richard. "A Sermon of God's Fearful Threatenings for Idolatry - 1570." London: Henry Denham, 1570.
- Prior, Roger. "George Wilkins and The Young Heir." *Shakespeare Survey* 29 (CUP), 1976: 33-41.
- Prior, Roger. "The Life of George Wilkins." *Shakespeare Survey* 25 (CUP), 1972: 137-152.
- Puga, Rogerio Miguel. "The Presence of the 'Portugals' in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt's Navigations." *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), December 2005: 81-116.
- Puzo, Mario. *The Godfather*. Signet. New York: NEL, 1978.
- Questier, Michael. "Practical Antopapistry during the Reign of Elizabeth I." *The Journal of British Studies* (Univeristy of Chicago) 36, no. 4 (1997): 371-396.

- Randolph, Thomas. *The Muses Looking-Glass*. London, 1642.
- Rapalje, Stewart, and Robert Lawrence. *A Dictionary of American and English Law*. Law Exchange Limited, 1997.
- Rastell, John. *Termes de la Ley*. London: Beale, 1641.
- Razzell, Peter. *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busio*. London, 1995.
- Reynolds, Bryan. *Becoming Criminal*. Baltimore, Ma: John Hopkins Press, 2002.
- Richardson, William. "Topcliffe, Richard, 1531 -1604." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. OUP, 2008.
- Roberts, Howard, and Walter Godfrey. *The Bankside Playhouses and Bear Gardens - Survey of London 22*. London, 1950.
- Robertson, J.M. "Litigation and Legalism in Elizabethan England." In *The Baconian Heresy*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913.
- . *The Baconian Heresy*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913.
- Robinson, Alan. "The Real William Shakesper." *De Vere Society Newsletter* (De Vere Society), 2004.
- Rochon, Louis Philippe. *Modern Theories of Money*. New Title. London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2004.
- Rogers. *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*. Vol. V.
- Rowe, Nicholas. *The Works of William Shakespear*. London: Jacob Tonson, 1709.
- Russell, Bertrand. "Logical Atomism." In *The Philosophy of Logical Atomism*, edited by D. F. Pears, 157-181. La Salle: Open Court, 1985.
- Rylance, Mark, and Matthew Warchus. *I Am Shakespeare*. Directed by Mark Rylance. Performed by Mark Rylance. Mercury, Chichester. 2007.
- Safire, Willam. "On Language; Words Left Out in the Cold." *New York Times*. 1993 14-2.
- Salces, Juan. "The expression of fear: William Cecil's The Execution of Justice." *Sederei* (University of Oviedo) 8 (1997): 93-97.
- Salgado, Gamini. *The Elizabethan Underworld*. Special edition. London: BCA, 1977.
- Salisbury, John of. *The Metalogicon (of 1159)*. Translated by Daniel Mc Garry. Peter Smith Pub Inc. , 1985.
- Sams, Eric. *The Real Shakespeare II Retrieving the Later Years 1594-1616*. Centuro Studi Eric Sams [Italy].
- Samuelson, Paul, and William Nordhaus. *Economics*. 19th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009.
- Saunders, H. W. *The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon*. Vol. 26. London: RHS, 1915.
- Savage, Richard. *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1620*. V vols. Oxford: Oxford University for the Dugdale Society, 1921.
- Sayers, Dorothy. *Whose Body? Four Square - 1963*. London: NEL, 1987.
- Schelling, Thomas. "What is the Business of Organized Crime?" *Journal of Public Law* 20, no. 1 (1971).
- Schoenbaum, Samuel. *Shakespeare The Globe and The World*. Oxford: OUP, 1979.
- . *Shakespeare's Lives*. New edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- . *William Shakespeare - Records and Images*. London: Scholar Press, 1981.
- . *William Shakespeare A Documentary Life*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975.
- Schofield, R. *Parliamentary lay taxation, 1485-1547*. Unpublished.
- Scott, Sibbald David. *Anthony, Viscount Montague's Book of Orders and Rules*. Sussex Archaeological Collections, 1854.
- Scott-Warren, Jason. "When Theaters Were Bear-Gardens; or, What's at Stake in the Comedy of Humors." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (JHUP) 54, no. 1 (2003): 63-82.

- Seipp, D.J. "The Concept of Property in the Early Common Law." *Law and History Review* (University of Illinois Press) 12, no. 1 (1994): 29-91.
- Seipp, D.J. "The Reception of Canon Law and Civil Law in the Common Law Courts before 1600." *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* (OUP) 13, no. 3 (1993): 388-420.
- Shapiro, James. *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599*. London: Faber & Faber, 2006.
- . *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* London: Faber & Faber, 2010.
- Shapiro, James. "Recent Studies in Tudor and Stuart Drama." *Studies in English Literature* (Rice University) 36, no. 2 (1996).
- Shaw, Barry. "'Devices' for a Godly Realm." *Sixteenth Century* (The Sixteenth Century Journal) 22, no. 3 (1991): 495-509.
- Sheavyn, Phoebe. *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*. 2nd Edition. Edited by J.W. Saunders. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969.
- Shell, Marc. *Money, Language and Thought*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1993.
- Sheppard, Steve. *The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke*. III vols. Washington, D.C.: Liberty Fund Books, 2005.
- Sherwin, Oscar. "All That Glisters is not Gold - A Devaluation of the Elizabethan Age." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* (AJES) 6, no. 3 (1947): 387-401.
- Shuger, Debora. *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance, etc.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Simancas, Volume 4 1587-1603 at pp. 592-595. *Simancas*. Vol. 4, in *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, 1899.
- Sisson, C.J. "Marks as Signatures." *The Library* (Bibliographical Society) 9, no. 1 (June 1928): 1-37.
- Sisson, C.J. "Shakespeare in Warwickshire by Mark Eccles." *The Modern Language Review* 57, no. 1 (1962): 87-88.
- Sisson, C.J. "Shakespeare Man and Artist by Edgar Fripp." *The Modern Language Review* (Modern Humanities Research Association) 34, no. 3 (July 1939): 433-434.
- . *The Boar's Head Theatre*. Edited by Stanley Wells. London: Routledge, 1972.
- Skidmore, Paul. "Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law by Alan Hunt." *Cambridge Law Journal* (CUP) 56, no. 3 (1997): 631-633.
- Slack, Paul. "Measuring the Wealth in Seventeenth Century England." *The Economic History Review* (EHS) 57, no. 4: 607-635.
- Smith, D. Nicol. *Introduction to Rowe's Life of Shakespeare*. Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons, 1903.
- Smith, E.O. "The Elizabethan Doctrine of the Prince as Reflected in the Sermons of the Episcopacy." *Huntington Library Quarterly* (U. of California Press) 28, no. 1 (1964): 1-17.
- Smith, Emma. *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare*. Cambridge: CUP, 2007.
- Smith, Irwin. *Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1964.
- Smith, James. "The Funeral of Ophelia." *The Irish Monthly* (Irish Jesuit Province) 79, no. 932 (1951): 60-66.
- Smith, Roger. "Newberry Library." 1986.
- Smith, William. *A Brief Description of the famous Citte of London, Capital Citte of this Realme*. Harl. M.S. 636.4th., 1588.
- . *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. London: John Murray, 1875.
- Sokol, B.J., and Mary Sokol. *Shakespeare, Law and Marriage*. Cambridge: CUP, 2003.
- Somerset, Alan. "How Chances it they Travel: Provincial Touring, Playing Places and the King's Men." *Shakespeare Survey*, no. 47 (1994).
- Somerset, Alan. "Review. Andrew Gurr. The Shakespeare Company, 1594-1642." *ESC* (U.W.Ontario).

- Sordino, Conrad. "Obituary: Mark Eccles." *Independent*, 1998 18-12.
- . "Mark Eccles, Obituary." *The Independent*, 1998 18-12.
- Spark, Muriel. *The Independent*. London, 1989 2-8.
- Spencer, Hazelton. "The Mythical Sorrows of Shakespeare." *MLR (MRHA)* 30, no. 3 (July 1935): 363-364.
- Stephens, W. B. "The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports, 1600-1640." *The Economic History Review* (Wiley) 22, no. 2: 228-248.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Accross the Plains with other Memories and Essays*. U.S.edition. New York: Cosimo, 2005.
- Stone, Lawrence. "Elizabethan Overseas Trade." *The Economic History Review* (Wiley) 2, no. 1 (1949): 30-58.
- . *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England - The Fruits of Office*. Edited by F.J.Fisher. Cambridge: CUP, 1961.
- Stone, Lawrence. "The Anatomy of the English Aristocracy." *The Economic History Review* (Blackwell) 18, no. 1/2 (1948): 1-53.
- . "State Control in Sixteenth Century England." *The Economic History Review*, 1947: 103-120.
- . *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977.
- Stone, Lawrence, and Jeanne Fawtier Stone. *An Open Elite? England 1540 - 1880*. Oxford: OUP, 1986.
- Stopes, C.C. *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*. London: Alexander Moring Ltd., 1913.
- . *Shakespeare's Environment*. London: Bell & Sons, 1914.
- . *Shakespeare's Family*. London: Elliot Stock, 1901.
- Stoppard, Tom. *Shakespeare in Love*. Directed by John Madden. Produced by David Parfitt. Performed by Joesph Feinnes. Miramax, Universal, 1998.
- Stow, John. *Survey of London (1598)*. 2nd Edition of reprint. London: Everyman, 1929.
- Streeter, Edwin. *The Great Diamonds of the World*. London: George Bell, 1898.
- Streitberger, W.R. "Adult Playing Companies to 1583." In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton. Oxford: OUP, 2009.
- Styan, John. *Shakespeare's Stagecraft*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: CUP, 1971.
- Swabey, Henry. *Usury and the Church of England*. Online -still in draft. Edited by Peter Etherden. Buckfastleigh: CESC, 2008.
- Tarrago, Rafael. "Bloody Bess: The Persecution of Catholics in Elizabethan England." *A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 7, no. 1 (2004).
- Tawney, R.H., and Eileen Power. *Tudor Economic Documents*. 3 vols. 1924.
- Tawney, R.H., and Thomas Wilson. *A Discourse Upon Usuary by Thomas Wilson*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925.
- Taylor, Gary. "Review: 1599." *Guardian*, 2005 4-June.
- Taylor, Rupert. "Shakespeare's Cousin Thoms Greene and his kin." *PMLA* (Modern Language Association) 60, no. 1 (1945): 81 -94.
- Thaler, Alwin. "Shakespeare's Income." *Studies in Philology* (UNC) 15, no. 2 (1918): 82-96.
- Thomas, D.L., and N.E. Evans. "John Shakespeare in the Exchequer." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1984): 315-318.
- Thomas, Sidney. "The Myth of the Authorized Shakespeare Quartos." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Johns Hopkins University Press) 27, no. 2 (1976).
- Thomson, John. "Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d.1417)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford, 2004.
- Thomson, Peter. *Shakespeare's Theatre*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Thurber, James. *My World and Welcome to It*. Mariner Books, 1969.

- Thurston, Herbert. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York, NY: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.
- Tillyard, E.M.W. *The Elizabethan World Picture*. 4th. London: Pelican, 1976.
- Topcliffe, Richard. "Letter To Earl of Shrewsbury Re Rookwood." *Howard papers No. CXXVII*. Stamford, 1758 30-august.
- Tucker, E.F.J. "Ruggles Ignoramus and Humanistic Criticism of The Language of Common Law." *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1977).
- Ungerer, Gustav. *Prostitution in Late Elizabethan London: The Case of Mary Newborough*. Vol. 15, in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, edited by John Pitcher, 138-224. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2003.
- USA, Lawyers. "Employers Counter Suit not per se retaliatory." *All Business*. 2007 31-12. www.allbusiness.com/legal/legal-services-litigation/8888923-1.html (accessed 2009 15-1).
- Veenstra, Jan R. "The New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt: On Poetics of Culture and The Interpretation of Shakespeare." *History and Theory* (Wesleyan University) 34, no. 3 (Oct. 1995): 174-198.
- Venn, John. "On the Diagrammatic and Mechanical Representation of Propositions and Reasonings." *Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, 1880.
- Voorhoeve, Alex. "Bernard Mandeville." *Philosopher's Magazine of the Internet*. 2003 October. <http://www.philosophers.co.uk/cafe/phil> (accessed 2011 5-July).
- Voss, Paul. "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (1998): 733-756.
- Wakeman, Frederic. "Licensing Leisure : The Chinese Nationalists' Attempt to Regulate Shanghai, 1927-49." *The Journal of Asian Studies* (Association of Asian Studies) 54, no. 1 (1995).
- Wallace, Charles W. *Nebraska University Studies* (University of Nebraska), 1910.
- . *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars 1597-1603*. University of Nebraska, 1908.
- Wallace, Charles W. "The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants." *Englishe Studien* 43 (1910): 340-95.
- Wallington, Lloyd. "Forensic Podiatry, A Statistical Analysis of dynamic Barefoot Impressions." Dissertation, School of Health, University of Northampton, 2007.
- Wardropper, Ian. "Between Art and Nature: Jewellery in the Renaissance." *Museum Studies, Vol 25, no 2 2000, pp 6 - 15* (Art Institute of Chicago), 2000.
- Wardropper, Ian. "Between Art and Nature: Jewelry in the Renaissance." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies, Vol. 25, No.2* (Srt Institute of Chicago), 2000.
- Warner, George F. "Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alieyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich." (Longman) 1881.
- Watson, George, ed. *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. Vol. 1. 7 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1974.
- Weis, Rene. *Shakespeare Revealed*. London: John Murray, 2007.
- Weiss, Edgar. *Shakespeare's Stratford*. 1928.
- Wells, Stanley. *A Dictionary of Shakespeare*. Oxford: OUP, 1998.
- . *Is it True What they Say about Shakespeare?* Ebrington: Long Barn Books, 2007.
- . "S. Schoenbaum: Obituary." *The Independent*. London, 1996 2-April.
- . *Shakespeare for All Time*. London: Macmillan, 2002.
- Wells, Stanley, and Gary Taylor. *The Oxford Complete Works*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1986.
- Wells, Stanley, and Michael Dobson, . *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Wellstood, F.C. *Catalogue of An Exhibition - Illustrating Shakespeare's Life in the Town*. Stratford Upon Avon: Fox, 1916.

- Wentersdorf, Karl P. "Origin and Personnel of The Pembroke Company." *Theatre Research International*, no. 5 (1979/80): 45-68.
- Werstine, Paul. "Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad Quartos"." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Folger) 41, no. 1 (1990): 65-86.
- Whalley, Peter. *The Dramatic Works of Ben Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher*. Edited by Peter Whalley. Vol. 1. 4 vols. London: John Stockdale, 1811.
- White, T. *Sermons*. 1578.
- Wickham, Glynne. *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*. Reprint. London: Routledge, 1971.
- . "The Privy Council Order in 1597 for the Destruction of All London Theatres." Edited by David Galloway. *International Conference of Elizabethan Theatre*. London: Macmillan, 1969. 21-44.
- Williams, Franklin. "Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing." *Studies in Bibliography*, 1966.
- Williams, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. Athlone Press, 1994.
- Williamson, Hugh Ross. *The Day Shakespeare Died*. London: Michael Joseph, 1962.
- Wilson, F.P. *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*. Oxford: OUP, 1927.
- Wilson, Luke. "Hamlet, Hales V. Petit and the Hysteresis of Action." *ELH* (Johns Hopkins University Press), no. 1 (1993): 17-55.
- Wilson, Thomas. "A Discourse Upon Usury (1572)." In *The English Renaissance*, by Kate Aughterson, edited by Kate Aughterson, 608. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Wither, George. *Schollers Purgatory*. London: Imprinted for The Honest Stationers, 1624.
- Wither, George. *Schollers Purgatory*. Vol. I, in *Miscellaneous Works*. Spenser Society, 1872.
- Wood, Michael. *In Search of Shakespeare*. BBC Edition. London: BBC, 2005.
- In Search of Shakespeare*. Television. Produced by PBS. Performed by Michael Wood. 2004.
- Woodward, George M. *Familiar Verses from the Ghost of Willy Shakespeare to Sammy Ireland*. London: Richard White, 1796.
- Wright, Louis. *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*. Reprint. London: Methuen, 1964.
- Wrightson, Keith. *Early Modern England: Politics, Religion, and Society Under the Tudors and Stuarts No.2*. Produced by Yale University. Performed by Keith Wrightson. 2009.
- Wunderli, R.M. "Evasion of the Office of Alderman in London, 1523-1672." *The London Journal* (Maney Publishing) 15 (May 1990): 3-18.
- Yarborough, Ann. "Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth-Century Bristol." *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 1 (1979): 67-81.
- Youngs, Frederic A. *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens*. Cambridge: CUP, 1976.