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ON THE HISTORY OF THEATRES IN LONDON, FROM THEIR FIRST OPENING IN 1576 TO THEIR CLOSING IN 1642.

BY F. G. FLEAY, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

IN the time before the building of theatres the men's companies used to act in inn-yards on temporary stages ; but the boys' companies seem to have had more permanent arrangements. The Paul's boys, for instance, acted in a singing room of their own till they were inhibited in 1589, and again from 1599 to 1606: the children of the Chapel also, in my opinion, acted in the Blackfriars building many years before it was rebuilt as a private theatre in 1596. But it is not with these temporary arrangements that this paper is concerned.

In 1576 the first theatre was built in London, by J. Burbadge. It was simply called The Theatre. Almost simultaneously the Curtain was erected. They both stood in the fields at Holywell, Shoreditch. No one, I believe, has hitherto attempted to determine what companies acted at these theatres ; yet there can be no doubt that Leicester's men, of whom James Burbadge was one, acted at the Theatre, perhaps alternately with Warwick's ; while the actors of Sussex, the then Chamberlain, perhaps alternately with Derby's, occupied the Curtain.

In 1583 Warwick's and Leicester's men were united under the name of the Queen's men, who are known to have remained at the Theatre under J. Lanham, but at the Curtain the men of the new Chamberlain, P. Howard, afterwards Admiral and Earl of Nottingham, probably succeeded to those of Sussex.

On 27th December, 1591, the Queens' men, in my opinion,

were almost entirely merged in L. Strange's company, under the management of Alleyn, and on or before 19th February, 1591-2, they removed to the third London theatre, the Rose, built for Henslowe on Bankside ; their place at the Theatre was (as we shall show later on) filled by Pembroke's men, while the Curtain, also vacant through the inhibition placed on the Admiral's, was probably occupied by Sussex's company.

On 26th December, 1593 (Henslowe has 27th December wrongly), Sussex's actors came to the Rose, and on the 1st of April, 1594, were joined by the remnant of the Queen's men left when L. Strange's company absorbed the most of them ; but they finally quitted London on 8th April and went into the country. I should say here that 1593 having been a great plague year all the theatres had been closed, and their companies "travelled." This is the reason why we find new arrangements made by most of them in 1594. On 14th May, 1594, the Admiral's men came to the Rose, and the Chamberlain's, formerly L. Strange's, after acting about the City of London and at the Cross Keys in the winter, and from June 5th to June 15th (Henslowe has 3-13) at Newington, took possession of the Curtain.

In October, 1597, the lease of the Theatre having expired, Pembroke's men left it and joined the Admiral's ; the building was soon after pulled down, and the materials used in building the Globe, to which the Chamberlain's men removed in 1599. In 1596 the Blackfriars building was adapted to theatrical purposes, but as it was used solely by a children's company, that of the Queen's Chapel, afterwards called Her Majesty's Revels, this did not interfere with the existing arrangements of the men players.

Between September and December, 1600, the fourth public theatre in London was opened by the Admiral's company, who moved to it from the Rose ; it was called the Fortune, and was situate in Golding Lane, St. Giles, Cripplegate. It was a square building, the preceding public theatres being round. The company occupying the Rose after this was Derby's, afterwards called the Earl of Worcester's.

This brings us to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to another great plague year, 1603, during which performances were forbidden. James I. changed the names of the companies. The Chamberlain's became the King's, the Earl of Worcester's the Queen's, and the Admiral's Prince Henry's. The Rose was given up in 1603, and the Queen's company played at the Boar's Head (an inn-yard) till 1609, when they removed to the Red Bull, St. John Street, Clerkenwell; they had also had possession of the Curtain since 1600. This is clear from the fact that in 1601 a company acting at the Curtain got into trouble; and, as this company is expressly distinguished from the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's, it could only have been Derby's (Worcester's), there being no other men's company then acting in London. In 1604 the children at the private house in Blackfriars assumed the name of Children of the Queen's Revels. In 1606 they were succeeded by the Children of the King's Revels, an entirely distinct company, which in 1610 became the Duke of York's. In this same year, 1610, another private house was opened in Whitefriars by a second set of Children of the Queen's Revels; they remained there till 1613, after which we hear nothing of them, and only once of their theatre.

In 1612 Prince Henry died, and shortly after the Princess Elizabeth married the Palsgrave. These events had great influence on the theatres. Prince Henry's company became the Palsgrave's on January 3, 1612-13. From that of the Duke of York (now Prince Charles) and the Queen's Revels children were formed various companies, which ultimately became the Princess Elizabeth's and the Prince's. I need not go through these tangled details here, having already done so in my paper on actors. I must notice, however, that on October 3, 1614, the Princess Elizabeth's company acted at the Hope (previously a bear garden) on Bank-side. Excepting the years 1613, 1614, this theatre does not appear in dramatic history. It probably became a bear garden again; and I have sometimes doubted if it were not identical with Paris Garden.

Before 1617, probably in 1615, Lady Elizabeth's company had removed to the Cockpit, another new theatre, which stood in Drury Lane; it was attacked by a prentice mob and destroyed on March 4, 1616-17, Shrove Tuesday; but soon restored and reopened.

On June 29, 1613, the Globe was burned down; the King's company thenceforth acted at Blackfriars, which seems, curiously enough, to have been just then unlet. After the rebuilding of the Globe they retained both houses to their own sole use. It is noticeable that the retirement of Shakespeare and of Beaumont from the stage is coincident with this fire, so that all the works of both these authors were originally produced at the Globe.

In 1619 Queen Anne died; the Queen's men then lost their title and recurred to the old one of the Revels, but not being children they called themselves the Company of the Revels. They are often confused with the children by uncritical writers.

In December, 1621, the Fortune was burned down. The accounts of the companies during 1622 are confused; but the Palsgrave's and Princess Elizabeth's seem to have been connected; and in 1623 I find the Prince Charles' men acting at the Curtain and at the Bull, and in 1624 at the Fortune. Of where they acted between 1615 and 1623 I find no trace, but suppose it must have been at the Curtain; nor is it certain at what houses the Prince's and the Palsgrave's acted in 1624. At this date, however, the four companies officially recognised were the King's, the Prince's, the Revels, and the Palsgrave's. In 1625 Charles I. came to the throne. The Lady Elizabeth's (or Queen of Bohemia's) company broke up, and Queen Henrietta's men took their place at the Cockpit (or Phoenix). The Curtain disappears from history, and the Prince's company takes the name of that of the Bull, and the Palsgrave's that of the Fortune. This year was also a great plague year; the plague always interfered with theatrical performances.

In 1629 a new private theatre was built on or near the site

of the Whitefriars; it was called that of Salisbury Court: the company acting at it was called the Company of the King's Revels. In 1632 this company removed to the Fortune, and Prince Charles' men acted at Salisbury Court.

In 1635 the Prince's company removed to the Fortune, the Revels to the Red Bull, and the company at the new theatre was called that of Salisbury Court.

In 1637 a new company, called the King and Queen's or Beeston's boys, was set up at the Cockpit (or Phoenix). The Queen's removed to Salisbury Court, the Prince's to the Bull, and the remaining company was simply called that of the Fortune.

In 1640 the Fortune company removed to the Bull, and the Prince's to the Fortune.

In 1642 the theatres were closed, and in 1647 finally put down.

Such, then, is the whole story of the theatres from their introduction till their suppression at the beginning of the Civil War. The question naturally suggests itself, Is it worth while to occupy a society like ours with so slight a subject? In answer I would first say that till now the whole history of our drama has been one mass of confusion, in consequence of no careful analysis of this kind having been made. Nearly all writers on the subject have swallowed without research and without objection the statements of Mr. Collier, which are based in so many instances on forgeries and guesses as to be practically worse than worthless. Take for instance his dates for the construction of theatres ("Annals of the Stage," i., 343). He gives for the Theatre 1570 (6 years wrong); the Curtain, 1570 (7 years wrong); Blackfriars, 1576 (20 years wrong); Whitefriars, 1576 (34 years wrong); the Rose, 1585 (7 years wrong); and the Globe, 1594 (5 years wrong). He asserts that the Chamberlain's (or King's) men acted at the Globe in the summer and at Blackfriars in the winter during the period of Shakespeare's career from 1594 to 1613, the fact being that they acted at the Curtain from 1594 to 1599, not at all at Blackfriars, and at the Globe

(only) from 1599 to 1613; he assigns the occupation of the Curtain to Prince Henry's company from 1603 onward, the truth being that the Queen's company acted there and Prince Henry's at the Fortune. In the same work he confuses the company of His Majesty's Revels with the children of His Majesty's Revels (iii., pp. 293-4); he says the Queen's men played at the Bull in 1603 (iii., pp. 324, 329), whereas they did not go there till 1609; he confuses Wentworth and William Smith (iii., p. 325); and repeats Malone's blunder that the Queen's servants became those of Princess Elizabeth in 1619 (iii., 330): they really became the Revels company.

But it would take us too long to enumerate his blunders and perversions. I will just in one instance show how such things bear on æsthetic criticism.

The Globe was a public theatre, that is to say, open to the air, with daylight performances, cheap terms of admission (penny and twopenny galleries), situated on Bankside Blackfriars was a private house, covered in, with performances by candlelight, dearer admission (no price under sixpence), and allowing visitors to sit on the stage. These kinds of theatres appealed to different audiences: the public theatre provided Jigs, Fools, or Clowns, and, in their earlier career, Hobby-horses, Vices, and Iniquities, suited to the sightseers, who came in wherries across the Thames; the private houses dealt rather with comedies of personal satire, tragedies founded on classical history, or pastorals, which the critical amateurs or the aristocratic *dilettanti* visited in coaches. It should never be forgotten in comparing the work of Shakespeare with that of Fletcher, Massinger, or Shirley that the former wrote for public theatres only; hence it was impossible for him to avoid introducing, for many a long year, his puns, his clowns and fools; the wonder is how he educated his audiences, before he gave up writing, to appreciate such plays as *Coriolanus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, whereas of his successors, those who wrote, like him, for public stages, invariably fell back into buffoonery and spectacular show; and those who wrote for the private ones soon degenerated into

lascivious effeminacy or polished imitation. This one fact will account at once for the frequent superiority of the after men in stage business, for the necessity of considerable alteration in fitting Shakespeare to the modern stage, and for the large amount of excision, interpolation, and other changes which I have elsewhere shown to have been introduced into *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, and other plays, even before the accession of the First Charles, in 1625.

It will have been noticed that the usual number of theatres in existence simultaneously was six, the number of companies five. It has generally been supposed that the number was much greater. There is a well-known passage in Howe's continuation of Stow, which is conclusive on this point and deserves fuller explanation than it has received. Speaking of the theatre at Salisbury Court in 1631, he says :—

“And this is the seventeenth stage or common playhouse which hath been new made within the space of three score years within London and the suburbs, viz., five inns or common hostleries turned to playhouses; one cockpit, St. Paul's singing school, one in the Blackfriars, and one in the Whitefriars, which was built last of all in the year 1629. All the rest, not named, were erected only for common playhouses, besides the new-built bear garden, which was built as well for plays and fencers' prizes, as bull-baiting, besides one in former time at Newington Butts.”

Let us see if we can identify these 17 stages: viz., five inns, four private houses, two bear gardens, and six public theatres.

The six public stages are necessarily—1. The Theatre; 2. Curtain; 3. The Rose; 4. The Globe; 5. The Fortune; 6. The Red Bull (or perhaps the Swan). The four private houses he enumerates, viz.—1. Blackfriars; 2. Whitefriars (or Salisbury Court); 3. The Cockpit (or Phoenix); 4. St. Paul's Singing School. It will be noticed that he reckons Salisbury Court as a rebuilding of Whitefriars, and not as a separate theatre.

The two bear gardens he gives as Newington Butts and the Hope; as he does not mention Paris Garden, this

confirms my conjecture that it and the Hope were identical. The five inns were probably the Belle Savage in Ludgate; the Bull, in Bishopsgate Street; the Cross Keys, in Gracious Street; the Boar's Head, outside Aldgate; and the Swan, on Bankside (or perhaps the Red Bull). The Swan is usually regarded as a theatre, but it may have been only an inn. These five inns only come incidentally under our notice, and we must not be misled with regard to them by the frontispiece to Mr. Collier's "History of the Drama," vol. iii., 1831. In his last edition he has re-christened the engraving of the Swan, and called it the Fortune. As these theatres were on different sides of the river, it is hard to guess from what maps he obtained his data.

We now come to an important question as to these theatres. We have identified the companies who acted in them, and, by the help of the paper I read to you last year, can even, in many cases, identify the individual actors; but can we answer a question far more interesting to us, What poets were connected with these companies, and at which theatres were their works performed? I can answer this question, but have only room, in my allotted limits, to give a list. If you will permit me hereafter, I hope to lay before you detailed proof for every instance here alleged. The chief source of information on this matter at present available is Mr. Halliwell's "Dictionary of Old English Plays." This I have made the basis of my investigations, supplementing, and in many instances correcting, it from the title-pages of every drama accessible to me, and from the entries in Mr. Arber's excellent reprint of the "Stationers' Registers."

Previously to 1583, Lyly and Peele were writing for the Chapel children. From 1584 to 1592 Greene, Lodge (?), Peele, and probably Shakespeare, wrote for the Queen's men at the Theatre, and Marlowe and Lodge for the Admiral's at the Curtain. The following anonymous plays were also produced by the Queen's men: *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, the old play of *Leir*, *Richard III.*, *Selimus*, and *Valentine and Orson*. In 1592 Shakespeare, Marlow, Peele, and perhaps

Greene, were writing for L. Strange's at the Rose. This company also produced *Fair Emm*, *The Knack to Know a Knave*, 1 *Henry VI.*, *Titus and Vespasian* (probably Shakespeare's version of the Titus Andronicus story), the *Jealous Comedy* (which I take to be the same as the *Merry Wives of Windsor*), and had acquired Greene's *Friar Bacon* and *Orlando*, Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (*Mulomorco*), Kyd's *Don Horatio* and *Spanish Tragedy*, Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, Greene and Lodge's *Looking-glass*, and the *Famous Victories of Harry V.* These eight plays had probably all been acted by the Queen's men.

In 1593-4 Sussex's men acted, at the Rose, *George-a-Greene*, *Titus Andronicus* (falsely attributed to Shakespeare), and the old *Leir*, formerly in the possession of the Queen's company.

Between 1592 and 1597 Pembroke's men acted at the Theatre *The True Tragedy* and the old *Taming of a Shrew* (both falsely attributed to Shakespeare), and Marlowe's *Edward II.* They also acted *Titus Andronicus*, which they obtained from Sussex's men when they broke up.

Between June, 1594, and October, 1597, the Admiral's men played, at the Rose, Marlowe's *Guise* (*Massacre of Paris*), which they must have brought from L. Strange's; his *Tamberlaine* (from the old Admiral's company); his *Doctor Faustus*, the second part of *Godfrey of Boulogne* (which I identify with Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*), *The Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *Cæsar and Pompey*, *Stilio* (*Celio*) and *Olympo*, *Hercules*, parts i. and ii., *Five Plays in One*, and *Troy* (which are identified by me with the *Golden*, *Silver*, *Brazen*, and *Iron Ages* of Heywood), the *Grecian Comedy*; or, *Love of a Grecian Lady* (which I identify with Heywood's *Jupiter and Jo*), a new play on *Harry V.*, Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, Dekker's *Fortunatus*, *Stukely*, *Time's Triumph* (possibly Heywood's *Cupid and Psyche*), the anonymous *Vortiger* and *Uter Pendragon* (which may have been the foundation of the *Birth of Merlin* (attributed absurdly to Shakespeare), and the *Comedy of Humours* (which is certainly Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*). The entry in Henslowe of Nash's *Isle of Dogs* is a forgery.

In June, 1594, the Chamberlain's men, formerly L. Strange's, acted at Newington Butts *Hester and Ahasuerus*, *Andronicus* (probably *Titus and Vespasian*), *Hamlet* (the old version), and the *Taming of a Shrew* (probably the Shakespearian, not the old Pembroke drama).

For the Admiral's company, acting at the Rose from November, 1597, to September, 1600, Henslowe's Diary enables us to give an exhaustive list of poets as subjoined:—

Haughton,	from	5 November, 1597,	to	18 February, 1598
and	„	20 August, 1599	„	Fortune
Jonson	„	3 December, 1597	„	23 August, 1598
and	„	10 August, 1599	„	3 September, 1599
Munday	„	22 December, 1597	„	Fortune
Dekker	„	22 December, 1597	„	Fortune
Chettle	„	20 February, 1598	„	Fortune
Drayton	„	13 March, 1598	„	Fortune
Wilson	„	25 March, 1598	„	21 August, 1598
and	„	16 October, 1599	„	10 January, 1600
Chapman	„	16 May, 1598	„	17 July, 1599
Porter	„	30 May, 1598	„	7 April, 1599
Hathaway	„	12 April, 1598	„	19 July, 1598
and	„	16 October, 1599	„	Fortune
*Day	„	1 November, 1599	„	Fortune
Heywood	„	6 December, 1598	„	10 February, 1599
Boyle	„	9 February, 1600		
Pitt	„	17 May, 1600		

A similar list is annexed of the poets who wrote for the same company at the Fortune from 14 December, 1600, to 12 March, 1603:—

Haughton,	from	Rose	to	14 November, 1601
Munday	„	„	„	2 December, 1602
Dekker	„	„	„	3 November, 1602
Chettle	„	„	„	12 March, 1603

* An old play of Day's was purchased by Henslowe, 30 July, 1598, and one of Rankine's, 3 October, 1598.

N.B.—In the dates in this table, modern notation is used: thus February, 1598-9, is written February, 1599.

Drayton, from Rose to 29 May, 1602
 Hathaway „ „ „ 1 March, 1603
 Day „ „ „ 1 March, 1603
 Smith „ 4 April, 1601, to 8 November, 1602
 Rankine „ 3 January, 1601, to 18 April, 1601
 Wadeson „ 13 January, 1601
 Jonson „ 25 September, 1601, to 24 June, 1602
 Webster „ 3 November, 1601, to 22 May, 1602
 Rowley and Bird from 20 Dec., 1601, to 22 Nov., 1602
 Middleton from 22 May, 1602, to 14 December, 1602
 Robinson, 9 September, 1602
 Singer, 13 January, 1603

Of these poets Dekker, Chettle, Smith, Webster, Middleton, Hathaway, Day, and Heywood were also writing contemporaneously for Worcester's men at the Rose between 17 August, 1602, and 7 March, 1603.

Besides the plays enumerated in Henslowe's Diary and tabulated in my "Introduction to Shakespearian Study," Worcester's men also possessed Green's *Tu quoque*, or *City Gallant*, and *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (both in my opinion written by Cooke), and had inherited from Derby's men *Guy, Earl of Warwick*,* by Day and Dekker, the *Trial of Chivalry* (possibly by Heywood), the *Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, Heywood's *Edward IV.* (also called *Jane Shore*, and entered under that title in 1599), and *Titus Andronicus* (formerly played by Sussex and Pembroke's men; our present play, not by Shakespeare). As Marlowe's *Edward II.* was played by Queen Anne's men at the Bull after 1609, they must also have had this play from Pembroke's company.

The Earl of Oxford's men played at some theatre before 1600 *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*.

In 1602 the spectacle of *England's Joy*, by Fennor, was shown at the Swan.

Besides the plays of Shakespeare, the Chamberlain's men

* Cf. Taylor's *Penniless Pilgrimage* (near the end), and *Stationers' Registers*, 1619.

played at the Globe *Mucedorus*, the *Warning to Fair Women*, the *Siege of Antwerp*, or *Larum for London*, and the *Life and Death of Cromwell*, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. Of Shakespeare's plays early sketches of *Hamlet*, *All's Well that ends Well*, *Macbeth*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Love's Labours Won*, and *Romeo and Juliet* were almost certainly produced at the Theatre between 1589 and 1591; early sketches of the *Merry Wives* and *Titus and Vespasian* at the Rose in 1592; *Midsummer Night's Dream* also in 1592, but not at the Rose; *Edward III.*, *Richard II.*, and the *Taming of the Shrew*, in its first state, while travelling in 1593; the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Comedy of Errors*, *King John*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV.*, and rewritten versions of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merry Wives*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Love's Labours Won* (*Much Ado about Nothing*), at the Curtain, between 1594 and 1599, or at the Cross Keys, where the Chamberlain's men played some years in the winter; the other plays, from *Henry V.* onward, were certainly produced at the Globe, and played there till 1613.

We have now reached the end of the men's company poets in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Of the boys' companies left for consideration, one serves as a connecting link between her reign and her successor's. Between 1599 and 1606, in addition to plays by Lyly (formerly in the possession of the Chapel Children), the Paul's boys acted plays by Marston, Dekker, Chapman, Middleton, Webster, and one by Beaumont; also *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, *Dr. Doddipoll*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, and *The Abuses*.

The other company, the Chapel children, who played at Blackfriars, produced, between 1599 and 1601, three satirical plays by Jonson, *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (afterwards in the possession of the Paul's boys) and *Sir Giles Goosecap*.

Between 1602 and 1605 the Blackfriars children (otherwise the Children of the Revels) produced some dozen plays by Chapman, Marston, and Middleton at the same theatre. Middleton probably left the company of Worcester at the end of 1602 (compare the list on p. 131.)

From 1606 to 1610 Day, Sharpham, Rowley, Machin, Middleton, Mason, and Barry wrote for the King's Revels children performing at Blackfriars; Armin also wrote one play for them during his temporary defection from the King's company.

From 1610 to 1613 Chapman, Jonson, Field, Marston, Beaumont, and Fletcher wrote for the second Queen's Revels children, acting at Whitefriars. Tailor also produced his *Hog hath lost a Pearl* at this theatre in 1614, after which we hear no more of this private house.

Between 1603 and 1616 Wilkins, Day, Rowley, Heywood, Dekker, Webster, and William Smith wrote for the Queen's men, acting at the Boar's Head 1603-9, at the Red Bull 1609-16, and simultaneously at the Curtain 1603-15; the anonymous play of *Nobody and Somebody* (revived) and the *Honest Lawyer* (by S. S.) also belong to this group.

In 1614 Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was produced at the Hope by Lady Elizabeth's men.

In 1613 Field wrote for the conjoined companies of the Lady Elizabeth and Prince (Charles), then performing at Blackfriars.

Before 1615 R. A. wrote *The Valiant Welchman* for the Prince (? Charles) company.

About 1611 *The Ship, Long Meg*, and *The Almanac* were acted at the Fortune by Prince Henry's men.

Between 1603 and 1613 were acted at the Globe by the King's men, in addition to Shakespeare's plays, the following:—*Gowry, The London Prodigal, The Yorkshire Tragedy, The Merry Devil of Edmonton, Buck is a Thief*, and plays by Dekker (*Satiromastix*), Wilkins, Jonson, Marston, and Webster (*Malcontent**), Tourneur, Fletcher, Beaumont, William Smith, and T. B.

* This case of *The Malcontent* is worth special notice. It was acted first at Blackfriars, by the Chapel children, and afterwards appropriated and acted at the Globe, "with Webster's additions," by the King's company. In the induction, Sly says, when the tireman tells him he cannot sit on the stage, "Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house" (*i.e.*, at Black-

This completes our list to 1613.

Between 1619 and 1622 Dekker, May, Massinger, Sampson, and Markham wrote for the Revels company, acting at the Red Bull and the Curtain; *The Welsh Traveller* and the *Two Merry Milkmaids* belong to this group.

In 1623 Bonen wrote for the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit, where *The Gipsy*, *The Black Lady*, and *The Valiant Scholar* were also acted. Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* was acted by this company at the Swan (date unknown).

friars, the only private house then existing) ; and adds afterwards, " I am one that hath seen this play often ;" and again alluding to the former performances he says, " This play hath beaten all your gallants out of the feathers ; Blackfriars hath almost spoiled Blackfriars for feathers." And again Condell says, " Why not Malevole in folio with us as *Jeronimo* in decimo-sexto with them ? They taught us a name for our play ; we call it one for another." Decimo-sexto shows that it had been acted by a children's company ; yet Mr. Collier and his followers will have it that the Admiral's company of men is intended. The mistake has arisen from the fact that when Jonson, in September, 1601, left the Chapel children and returned to the Admiral's, he took with him the play of *Jeronimo* (*the Spanish tragedy*), for which he afterward wrote additions. There is no doubt he had acted *Jeronimo* with the Chapel children, and that he wrote additions for it for Henslowe, in September, 1601, and June, 1602 ; but these additions are clearly not extant : the additions in the extant play are by quite a different hand. It is not unlikely that Jonson himself is alluded to in the following speeches.

Sinklo.—I durst lay four of mine ears the play is not so well acted as it hath been.

Condell.—Oh no, sir ; nothing *ad Parmenonis Suem*.

He would most likely have taken the chief part in *The Malcontent* with the Chapel children, as he did in *Jeronimo*. Compare the allusion to garlic further on with what Dekker says of Jonson's garlic comedies in *Satiromastix*, Sc. 2, and note the allusions to Hector and Achilles, *i.e.*, to *Troilus and Cressida* by Shakespeare. In 1604, when the King's men acted *The Malcontent*, Jonson, who had written *Sejanus* for them, in 1603 was satirizing their plays, *Hamlet*, &c., in *Eastward Ho*, in conjunction with Chapman and Marston. It was therefore a good joke for the King's men to retaliate by acting a play of Marston's in which Jonson had probably taken a chief part. In any case there is not a particle of evidence that the Admiral's men ever had any right to it, or that the King's men acted it at Blackfriars.

In 1623, 1624, Davenport, Drew, Sam. Rowley, Bonen, Gunnell, and Ford wrote for the Palsgrave's company at the Fortune, who also acted the *Angel King*, the *Fair Star of Antwerp*, and the *Whore in Grain*.

Between 1622 and 1625 Rowley, Broome, Jonson junior, Sampson, Ford, Dekker, Barnes, and Middleton wrote for the Prince Charles' men, who also produced the *Dutch Painter*, *Revenge for Honour* (foolishly attributed to Chapman), the *Plantations of Virginia*, the *Peaceable King*, and an old Admiral's play, the *Four Sons of Aymon*. The *Dutch Painter* was acted at the Curtain; hence Mr. Halliwell is mistaken in assigning *Hector of Germany* as the last play there performed; the other plays were acted at the Bull or Curtain, except the *Witch of Edmonton*, which (if we can trust the 1658 title-page) was acted at the Cockpit. For the Princess Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit before 1625 plays were written by Ford, Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley.

From 1613 to 1625 the poets of the King's company at the Globe and Blackfriars were Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Middleton, Davenport, Rowley, and Massinger. This completes our list to the accession of Charles I.

Between 1625 and 1642 the poets of this same company were Jonson, Mayne, Ford, Massinger, Shirley, Carlell, Davenant, Broome, Glapthorne, Suckling, Heywood (in one play with Broome), and Wilson. They also acted Chettle's old play of *Hoffmann*.

Between 1625 and 1637 the poets of the Queen's company at the Cockpit (or Phoenix) were J. Shirley, Heywood, Glapthorne, Nabbes, H. Shirley, and Rutter.

Between 1637 and 1642 Nabbes, Killigrew, Marmion, and Rutter wrote for their Majesties' servants at the Cockpit; the *Spaniards in Peru*, and the *World*, were also acted at this theatre; but they depended greatly on revivals of old plays, of which they possessed many, by Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, Broome, Middleton, Ford, Greene, ? Heywood, Webster, Rowley, &c. Most of these had belonged to Queen Henrietta's company; one or two can be traced back to Queen Anne's and Sussex's; one to the Revels children.

The Revels companies must be carefully distinguished; for that acting at the Bull and Curtain, between 1619 and 1623, Rowley, May, and Massinger wrote plays.

For the Revels company, acting at the Bull from 1635 to 1637, Rawlins and Richards wrote. *The Whore*, new vampt, *The Whisperer*, and *Actæon and Diana*, were also acted at this theatre, but by what company is uncertain.

The Knave in Grain, new vampt, by J. D., was acted at the Fortune, by what company I know not.

At Salisbury Court private house was acted a play by Shirley, in 1632, by the Revels company.

In 1633, by the Prince's company, plays by Nabbes, and Marmion; also *The City Shuffler*, and in 1634 *Love's After-game*, or the *Proxy*.

In 1635 Broome was writing for the Revels company at Salisbury Court; Mr. Collier's guess that they then acted at the Bull is erroneous; and in 1636 *Sir Giles Goosecap* (formerly belonging to the Chapel children) was acted there.

From 1637 to 1640 Broome and Sharp wrote plays for the Queen's company at this theatre.

Goffe, Lovelace, and Rider wrote also for the same house, but for what company is not known. The *Old Law* was revived there by Massinger, probably in 1639.

This concludes the list, which contains the name of every author and anonymous play that can be traced with certainty in connection with any theatre before 1642.

It will consequently be in the power of any reader, by help of this paper, to trace the theatre at which any play of a known date by a known author was produced; and conversely, if the theatre and author be known, to fix the date within limits of about five years, so that by taking the central year he need never incur more than a three years' error: and finally, when the author is unknown, but the date and theatre known, the list of authors then writing for the said theatre is at once attainable, and, what is more important, the lists of authors who were writing for other theatres, and which, therefore, cannot contain the one required. Attention

to this point would have saved our critics of the new school numerous hypotheses they have put forth as probabilities, which are in fact demonstrable absurdities. It is to prevent the recurrence of such misleading and time-wasting criticism that the means of testing it have here been brought together, while at the same time I trust that the numerous inferences as to biographical facts in the careers of Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, Shakespeare, &c., now rendered possible, would justify even a longer tax on your patience than that inflicted this evening.

I append two tables for reference—1, of the companies acting at the several theatres from 1576 to 1642; it will be seen that in every instance (with one possible exception) the tenancy of every theatre is accounted for; 2, of the Revels accounts from 1603 to 1618, which will be found specially useful for understanding the complex history of the companies during 1613-1616.

	KING'S.	PRINCE'S.	QUEEN'S.	i. QUEEN'S REVELS.	
1603-4	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 9 plays, Dec. 2, 26, 27, 28, 30; Jan. 1; Feb. 2, 18.	<i>E. Allen. E. Juby.</i> 4 plays, Jan. 4, 15, 21, 22. <i>E. Juby</i> , Feb. 19.	<i>J. Duke.</i> 2 plays, Jan. 2, 13.	<i>E. Kirkham.</i> 1 play, Feb. 20.	
1604-5	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 11 plays, Nov. 1, 4; Dec. 26, 28; Jan. 7, 8; Feb. 2, 3, 10, 11, 12.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 8 plays, Nov. 23, 24; Dec. 14, 19; Jan. 15, 22; Feb. 5, 19.	<i>J. Duke.</i> 1 play, Dec. 30.	<i>S. Daniel, H. Evans.</i> 2 plays, Jan. 1, 3.	
1605-6	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 10 plays.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 6 plays.	<i>J. Duke.</i> 1 play, Dec. 27.	<i>PAUL'S.</i> <i>E. Kirkham.</i> 2 plays.	
1606-7	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 3 plays before the King of Denmark, and 9 plays, Dec. 26, 29; Jan. 4, 6, 8; Feb. 2, 5, 15, 27.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 6 plays.			
1607-8	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 13 plays, Dec. 26 (Lear), 27, 28; Jan. 2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 26; Feb. 2, 6.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 4 plays, Nov., Dec., Jan.			
1608-9	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 12 plays.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 3 plays.			
1609-10	[The Plague prevailed in London in 1609.]				<i>D. OF YORK'S.</i> <i>W. Rowley.</i> 1 play, Feb. 9.

1610-11	KING'S. <i>J. Hemings</i> . 15 plays.	PRINCE'S. <i>E. Juby</i> . 4 plays.	QUEEN'S. <i>T. Greene</i> . 3 plays.	i. L. ELIZABETH'S. <i>A. Foster</i> . 1 play, Feb. 24 (<i>The Proud Maid</i>), and 2 plays in Jan. & Mar.	D. OF YORK'S. <i>W. Rowley</i> . 3 plays, Dec. 12, 20; Jan. 15. <i>W. Rowley</i> . 4 plays, Jan. 12, 28; Feb. 13, 18.
1611-12	<i>J. Hemings</i> . 22 plays, Oct. 31; Nov. 1, 5, 9, 19; Dec. 16, 26, 31; Jan. 5, 7, 15; Feb. 9, 19, 20, 23, 28; Mar. 28; Apl. 3, 16, 26.	<i>E. Juby</i> . 4 plays, Dec. 28, 29; Feb. 5, 29.	<i>T. Greene</i> . 4 plays, Dec. 27; Jan. 16, 23; Feb. 2.		
1612-13	<i>J. Hemings</i> . * 28 plays & June 8 (before D. of Savoy's ambassador).	<i>E. Juby</i> . 1 play.	CHAPEL (ii. REVELS) <i>P. Roskiter</i> . 3 plays.	ii. L. ELIZABETH'S. <i>J. Taylor</i> . 2 plays.	<i>W. Rowley</i> . 2 plays.
1613-14	<i>J. Hemings</i> . 7 plays, Nov. 4, 16; Jan. 10; Feb. 4, 8, 10, 18, and 9 plays from Nov. to Mar.		QUEEN'S. <i>R. Lee</i> . 2 plays, Dec. 28; Jan. 5.	<i>J. Taylor</i> . Dec. 12 (<i>Dutch Courtezan</i>); Jan. 25 (<i>Eastward Ho</i>).	
1614-15	[* Among these were <i>Cordeno</i> , <i>The Captain</i> , <i>The Alchemist</i> , <i>Holshur</i> (Henry IV.), <i>Benedicite</i> [sic] and <i>Bettris</i> , <i>A Bad Beginning</i> Makes a <i>Good Ending</i> , <i>The Tempest</i> , and <i>Winter's Tale</i> .—Shakespeare Society's Papers, ii. 125. For the list of plays said to have been acted 1604-5 and 1611-12 see Cunningham's "Revels at Court," pp. 203, 210.]				
1617				<i>N. Field</i> . Nov. 1 (<i>Bartholomew Fair</i>).	
1618	<i>J. Hemings</i> . Apl. 6 (<i>Twelfth Night</i>), Apl. 7 (<i>Winter's Tale</i>); May 3 (<i>Merry Devil of Edmon-ton</i>).			<i>J. Townsend</i> , <i>J. Moore</i> . 3 plays during King's journey to Scotland.	

Totals—152 (King's), 41 (Prince's), 13 (Queen's), 3 (1 Queen's Revels), 1 (Paul's), 3 (2 Queen's Revels), 11 (Lady Elizabeth's), 10 (D. of York's). In all 234.