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INTRODUCTION

I

IN the introduction to his recent volumes upon the Elizabethan Drama,¹ Mr. Schelling outlines the field he covers as follows:—

“ We could find no better date than 1600 as a point of departure from which to map out the physical dimensions, so to speak, of our subject. If we mark thirty-seven years backward, we have the date of the birth of Shakespeare, 1564; thirty-seven years forward, and we have the date of the death of Ben Jonson, 1637, Shakespeare’s greatest contemporary in his own field. If we add five years, backward and forward, to these two lapses of thirty-seven years, we have the period from the accession of Queen Elizabeth, 1558, to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Indeed, this symmetry of dates—for the statement of which we are indebted to that indefatigable if vexatious scholar, F. G. Fleay,— extends into other points. The career of Shakespeare stretched, roughly speaking, from 1589 to 1611, eleven years on either side of ‘ the meeting-point of the centuries ’; and again, the first Elizabethan structure built expressly for dramatic presentations, and called the Theatre *par excellence*, was erected in 1576, twenty-four years before our point of departure; while the last theatre to be rebuilt, before the advancing tide of Puritanism swept all such landmarks as

¹ *Elizabethan Drama, 1586-1642*, by FELIX E. SCHELLING. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908, vol. i, p. xxxv.

this before it, was the Fortune, in 1624, the same distance of time onward.

“ Within these eighty-four years arose and flourished in the city of London, then of a population not exceeding 125,000 souls, over a score of active and enterprising theatrical companies, averaging some four or five performing contemporaneously, and occupying at different times some twenty theatres and inn yards fitted up for theatrical purposes. Among these actors were Edward Alleyn, who made his repute in the title rôles of *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Doctor Faustus*; Richard Burbage, the original Richard III, and perhaps the first to play Hamlet, Lear, and Othello; John Lowin, the creator of the rôles of Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Volpone*, and of Sir Epicure Mammon; and, of a lesser degree as an actor, though not as a manager, William Shakespeare. Within these eighty-four years wrote and starved, or occasionally acquired competence, a swarm of writers, producing some hundreds of plays, less than half of which are in all probability now extant. Amongst these authors were a score of brilliant playwrights, not one of whom but has added his treasures to that richest of our English inheritances, the literature of our tongue; and at least six of whom have written dramas, which, judged as dramas, are beyond the achievements of the greatest of their successors. Within these eighty-four years, in short, arose, developed, and declined the most universal and imaginative, the most spontaneous and heterogeneous literature in dramatic form which has yet come from the hand of man.”

Compact as this valuable summary is of striking facts, the attention is arrested, even on a first read-

ing, by the statement that a city with a population of 125,000 gave support so loyal and liberal to the stage as to render such a drama possible. An absorbed interest on the part of every rank and class of society was, indeed, a necessary condition of its transcendent greatness. But one must not make the natural error of assuming this interest due to the sudden appearance, in some mysterious way, of men of extraordinary genius, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, with a score of others less marvellously gifted — an error found in its crudest form in the reply returned by undergraduates to the question why the Elizabethan period was so great, that “ it was great because there were so many great men then.” The Elizabethan period was great because of the profound change wrought by the Renaissance in the attitude of men towards life; because England, belated in undergoing its influence, came suddenly and directly into possession of the results of this change already attained in other countries, notably Italy; because a new field of opportunity was opened for men of ability without respect to social distinction; because England was growing in strength and stability as a national power; because the Tudors in general — Elizabeth notably — sincerely cared for, and by their interest and example fostered, literature; above all, because the new influences, intense in their quickening power, wrought in England upon a people which, in the classes that count most, the yeomanry and peasantry, had, for centuries back (however secondary in inspiration “ polite literature ” might be), cherished a deep and abiding love for poetry.

The drama was not the only result, it must be remembered, of this swift exaltation of the national

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genius. But it was its highest expression, and for the following reasons. The play was already, and had long been, loved by the people, and had become an organic part of the national life and a medium for its poetic expression. The national genius, in fact, characteristically combined, with vigor of imagination and instinctive power of poetic expression, an intense interest in active and practical life; in diversity of circumstance as making or marring the fortunes of men; in the play of human nature in character as affected by or commanding circumstance. Moreover, foreign influences became available to aid and hasten the development of the popular drama to artistry in conception, content, and form; and, furthermore, the English genius, while eager enough to welcome and use these, was too stalwart, individual, and independent in its awakened strength to become subject to them in any servile way, and adapted or modified them as it pleased, its drama remaining as it had long been, national and individual, a drama characteristically English.

The purpose of this volume is to help illustrate the first of these points — the long development of the drama that lies behind the great achievements of the Elizabethans, the native genius inherent in it, the important part it played in the nation's imaginative life. To this end it presents certain selected plays to exemplify the several typical stages of development. These plays are translated because, simple matter as it may be to gather the general sense from the original Middle English, the constant recurrence of obsolete words and phrases prevents many persons from gaining a really complete and fully enjoyable understanding of the dialogue. The volume is primarily intended for

reading in the limited time available in outline courses in English literature, and as a convenient introduction to the subject for the student and general reader.¹ Those who wish to pursue the subject in greater detail may read the *Medieval Stage* of Mr. E. K. Chambers, which includes, and, to an impressive degree, enlarges upon its predecessors in the field, and follow it with Mr. Schelling's masterly exposition of the development of the Elizabethan drama, as a result of the varying balance of native conditions and external influences, from its far origins in this medieval drama.

II

THE RISE OF THE RELIGIOUS PLAY

There is no connection between the classic stage and the medieval drama. The medieval drama represents a new beginning. When the dramatic performances, public and private, of the later Roman Empire fell justly under the ban of the Church and disappeared, the place of the actor was taken by the wandering minstrel, acrobat, juggler, and exhibitor of trained animals, whose entertainments in hall, "bower," and street formed a chief source of amusement in medieval life apart from athletic games and the chase. Among the minstrels, the dramatic instinct led to impersonations similar in character to those of the elocutionist of our own day, in

¹ Those who wish a wider range of plays may refer to Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama* (vol. ii, 442). For the general development, see the plays included in Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama* and Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*. Also see Gayley's *Plays of Our Forefathers*.

which monologue and dialogue were rendered dramatically, though by one person, and sometimes even, it would seem, with use of characteristic costume. Certain religious poems, indeed, designed to be read for instruction (the *Cursor Mundi* and the fragment *Judas* may serve for examples), show plainly that they were intended to be delivered dramatically.¹

Also, but in a much more important way, the dramatic instinct found expression in dramatic dances, games, and folk-plays. These had existed from the earliest times, some of the dances and games going back to remote pagan festivities. In these dances and games, certain prescribed figures and movements were executed, typifying plainly, in many cases, myths long forgotten, such as the death of winter and the reawakening of spring. The sword dance, common throughout England in various forms, in which the dancers carried swords and slashed at each other, evidently originated as a mimic representation of war. Familiar examples are the May-day games, and the Morris dancers with their characters drawn in part from the story of Robin Hood. A more developed form of drama, with spoken dialogue and a semblance of plot, is found in the folk-plays, or mummings. We may feel certain that from the earliest times, though no record remains of them, plays were naturally improvised, or even planned for special occasions, just as children to-day, who know nothing of the theatre, improvise in their play what are essentially little dramas. Of the later folk-plays we have examples numerous enough. Two are given in this volume, the

¹ One early work, the *Harrowing of Hell*, though in dramatic form, was, it is now generally believed, intended only to be read or "delivered."

Robin Hood Plays, and the mumming of St. George, or *St. George Play*, the latter in a version recorded, in a much degenerated form, in 1853. For such folk-dances and folk-plays have remained to our own time in parts of England. Kenneth Grahame, in his charming *Golden Age*, refers to the mummers (ed. 1899, p. 117): "Twelfth-night had come and gone, and life next morning seemed a trifle flat and purposeless. But yester-eve and the mummers were here! They had come striding into the old kitchen, powdering the red brick floor with snow from their barbaric bedizenments; and stamping, and crossing, and declaiming, till all was whirl and riot and shout. Harold was frankly afraid: unabashed, he buried himself in the cook's ample bosom. Edward feigned a manly superiority to illusion, and greeted these awful apparitions familiarly, as Dick and Harry and Joe. As for me, I was too big to run, too rapt to resist the magic and surprise. Whence came these outlanders, breaking in on us with song and ordered masque and a terrible clashing of wooden swords? And after these, what strange visitants might we not look for any quiet nights, when the chestnuts popped in the ashes, and the old ghost stories drew the awe-stricken circle close? . . . This morning, house-bound by the relentless, indefatigable snow, I was feeling the reaction. Edward, on the contrary, being violently stage-struck on this his first introduction to the real Drama, was striding up and down the floor, proclaiming 'Here be I, King Gearge the Third,' in a strong Berkshire accent."

The folk-play, as developed from and as fostering a native dramatic instinct, is of the greatest possible importance, but it also had a direct and most important

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influence in shaping the formal drama, as we shall see later in the proper place. To the development of the formal drama we now pass.

III

THE LITURGICAL PLAY

If we may take a wide-spread natural impulse towards dramatic expression for granted, how did it take shape in a formal drama with possibilities of a continuous and orderly development?

The answer is that the drama in its organic historical development originated in the Church, which, though it had sternly repressed the classic drama, in time came itself to use dramatic action to enrich its liturgy and to enforce its teachings. The liturgy indeed was in many parts essentially dramatic in conception, the Mass itself, for example. A specific dramatic development began, however, in the elaboration of the liturgy, during the ninth century, by the use of so-called "tropes," or texts appropriate for special days, adapted for choral rendering in the musical portions of the Mass. Some of these tropes were simply lyric, or hymnal, in character; some, involving dialogue, were from the first dramatic in character. Certain tropes used at Easter, Christmas, and Ascension, are of special importance as starting points of dramatic expansion.

None is of greater importance than the *Quem Queritis* of Easter Day. This trope was based upon the account in the Gospel of the question, "Whom seek ye?" addressed to the Marys, as they went to

anoint the body of Christ, by the angel who sat beside the sepulchre, and his announcement to them of the resurrection. It was originally sung as a choral addition to the music of the Introit of the Mass, that is, the procession with which the Mass begins. In course of time, however, as its dramatic possibilities were developed it was detached from this position, where elaboration in the way of action was impossible, and inserted in the services preceding the Mass. Usage no doubt differed in various places, but the famous passage in the *Concordia Regularis*, translated in this volume, makes it clear that the change had taken place in England before the end of the tenth century; it had taken place probably in France and Germany at an even earlier date. The passage referred to describes the ritual in detail as prescribed for use at Winchester in the tenth century; in this case the trope, which had become a brief, but none the less complete, liturgical drama, formed part of the Third Nocturne during Matins on Easter morning.

In the course of time, with great diversity of development in different places, the original *Quem Queritis* was enlarged by the addition of dialogue and of dramatic action, in particular by transferring to it liturgical plays belonging to other times in the Easter season, producing a play with several separate scenes. The original *Quem Queritis* included a scene between the angel and the Marys at the sepulchre followed by a responsive chant between the Marys and the choir (compare the version of the play used at Winchester, translated in this volume). In one of the fullest versions which developed from the original form, the manuscript of which is at Tours, Pilate sets a watch

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before the sepulchre, an angel sends lightning and the soldiers fall as if dead, the Marys appear and sing *planctus* or songs of lamentation, there is a scene with a spice-merchant from whom they buy spices to anoint the Saviour's body (the spice-merchant was developed into an important humorous element in later forms of the play in Germany), more *planctus* follow, then comes the *Quem Quæritis* proper, after which follows the announcement of the resurrection to Pilate, the apparition of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalen and the announcement of the resurrection by the Marys to the disciples, the appearance of Christ to the disciples and to Thomas, then a trope (which it is needless to consider here) termed the *Victimæ Paschali*, and at the end the *Te Deum*.

The properties used were at the first very simple. For the sepulchre a symbolic representation made by heaping together the service-books on the altar, or a recessed tomb, if there happened to be one in the chancel, at first sufficed. Later, a special sepulchre, more or less realistic, was often constructed; such sepulchres not uncommonly formed permanent features in mediæval churches. A swathed crucifix, representing the dead Christ, was deposited with suitable ceremonies in the sepulchre, and at the proper moment was removed, the cloths which swathed it being left for use in the play. It will be noted that the Winchester ritual prescribes that the cleric who represents the angel shall carry a palm. Such simple symbolism was all that was necessary, but presumably in course of time special costumes and other realistic details were added.

The Christmas liturgical play, representing the visit of the Shepherds to the infant Christ, had a

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similar history. Just as the Easter play centred about the sepulchre, the Christmas play centred about the *præsepe* or manger, in which the Christ was laid, which was at first depicted symbolically and later realistically, much as it often is now in Catholic churches with Joseph and Mary, and the ox and the ass. Moreover, a trope, modeled directly upon the Easter *Quem Quæritis*, beginning *Quem quæritis in præsepe?* — originally used in the Introit of the third or great Mass, and afterwards transferred to Matins, — seems to have been its starting point. This play, the *Officium Pastorum*, or *Pastores*, and a play taken probably from Holy Innocents' Day, the *Rachel*, the subject of which was the lamentation of Rachel for her children, were in some cases taken up into an Epiphany Play, called the *Tres Reges, Magi, Herodes*, or *Stella*, representing the visit of the Magi to the Saviour, which centred about a star hung from the nave and lighted by candles. Thus, in more or less elaborate forms in various places, a Christmas cycle developed. One Christmas play, of special importance, the *Prophetæ*, calls for mention. This did not take its rise in a trope, but in a sermon, the *Sermo contra Iudæos, Paganos, et Arianos, de Symbolo*, ascribed erroneously to St. Augustine, which was commonly used as a *lectio*, or lesson, in the Christmas season. The passage in this sermon converted into a play was one in which the homilist calls first upon the Jews to bear witness to Christ, citing for this purpose the prophets, and then calls upon the Gentiles to bear similar witness, citing Virgil (*Eclogues*, iv, 7), Nebuchadnezzar, and the Erythræan Sibyl. This passage was changed into a dialogue with the several prophets speaking in person, clad in appro-

priate dress and with appropriate symbols. This play of the *Prophetæ* remained as an important part of the great cycles of religious plays to be spoken of later.

We need not touch on the Ascension trope, also modeled on the *Quem Queritis*. The Christmas, Easter, and Ascension plays were the models for a large number of liturgical plays, and plays of similar general character, which were acted in the church at appropriate seasons, and which became in course of time more and more elaborate and more freely dramatic in character. One of them, a German version of the *Antichrist*, apparently for Advent, was a most elaborate spectacle, requiring a large number of actors, a special stage with representations of a temple of God and seven thrones, and abundant space for marching and countermarching. In this play, it is interesting to note, allegorical figures appear of the Synagogue, Holy Church, Pity, and Justice — a most striking anticipation of the later morality. The addition of new scenes to plays, the addition of new plays for special days, the transfer of plays from lesser feast-days to the great feast-days of their season, went on, but the material extant does not permit the progress of these changes to be traced in detail. Two changes are, however, of such fundamental importance as to demand treatment in a separate section.

IV

THE MIRACLE OUTSIDE THE CHURCH

In course of time — when, it is not possible to say — the presentation of liturgical plays thus elaborated

was transferred from within the church to the churchyard, the street or market-place, or to convenient spots in the fields. The cause of this change was not, as often supposed, so much the fact that the plays began to include non-religious elements of a character indecorous for presentation within the church. The real reason was the necessity for more room both for the representation and for the audience.

Furthermore, the control of their presentation passed over to the municipal authorities, into the hands of lay fraternities, or, generally and characteristically, into the hands of the town guilds, that is, the associations of men pursuing the same crafts, such as the butchers, tanners, tailors, weavers, and the like. As the plays became elaborated, the increased number of actors and cost of production made it difficult for the plays to be given with the help only of the lower clergy and scholars from the church schools, and without some division of the labor and cost. When we are first able to find somewhat complete information concerning the religious play, we find it carefully organized by the civic authorities, the different plays or scenes being assigned to the various guilds, each guild being responsible for the proper production of its play and for its share of the general expense.

Important results directly followed. The language of the country took the place of Latin in the dialogues, either in part, or, in most cases, wholly. The acting became more dramatic, scenes that permitted it were made more realistic, and scenes were invented that were not in the Bible story. Certain of the characters took on a new dramatic life and interest quite separate from their part in the Bible story. Herod and Pilate, at first

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given swelling speeches to indicate their importance, became typical braggarts. Herod, notably, became the type of a bullying tyrant; Shakespeare's phrase "out-Herod Herod" will be remembered. Noah's wife became a shrew and scold; she refuses to go into the ark, a picture of obstinacy, till the rain drives her in. The life of Mary Magdalen before her conversion is used to present pictures of profligate luxury. The racial and local character of the people acting the plays became impressed upon them. In brief, the miracle plays, originally in a general way alike in all countries or parts of a country, owing to their transfer without the church and out of ecclesiastical control, became secularized, nationalized, and localized, and their dramatic quality intensified.

A result of very great importance, due to their being played out of doors, was the tendency, owing to the inclemency of the winter and spring weather, to shift their production from their proper season to a time when they could be performed and seen with greater enjoyment. A favorite day was Whitsuntide, but much more frequently the chosen day was the high feast of Corpus Christi, finally instituted after an intermission of its earlier observance in 1311, which was celebrated the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. This feast commemorated a miracle which was believed to have given ocular evidence of transubstantiation, that is, the change of the bread and wine of the sacrament to the actual Body and Blood of Christ, and its characteristic feature was, and in certain Continental cities is still, a procession in which the Host was carried through the streets so as to make a circuit of the parish or town. The performance of the plays became associated with the procession, and originally formed part of it. The plays

were given on platforms provided with wheels, called "pageants," which had two floors, the lower, shrouded with curtains, supplying dressing-room and retiring-place, and the upper, covered with a canopy and open on every side, forming the stage. The pageants were sometimes adapted to the requirements of the particular play performed on them. For example, on pageants for certain plays, hell was represented below the stage as a huge head with gaping mouth belching flame, and, for the play of Noah, the pageant was shaped like an ark. These pageants probably formed part, originally, of the procession itself on Corpus Christi Day, and the plays were given in succession at the several stations or halting places where special ceremonies were performed in connection with the Host. Later, when the popularity of the plays interfered with the real purpose of the procession, they were separated from it, but the convenient method of presenting the plays on the pageants which could be moved from place to place in the town, enabling many persons to see the plays conveniently, was retained. It is interesting to note that in one case at least the plays were given on the feast-day itself, and the procession was put off to the day after.

The change of the plays of various seasons to a single day led to the formation of great "cycles," or series, of plays, in which the original plays came to be something like scenes in a long continued play — there are forty-eight plays in one cycle, the York plays — representing the great events recorded or prophesied in the Bible from the Fall of the Angels, or from Creation, to the Day of Judgment. New plays were added to fill in gaps, and the plays were subjected to more or less constant revision and improvement. Beside these great

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groups, there were independent Bible plays, and plays on saints' lives, but these are of minor importance beside the great cycles. We have seen that the liturgical play existed in England in Anglo-Saxon times, but it is possible, even probable, that the miracle-play in its developed form was introduced by the Normans. There is record of Bible and saints' plays in the twelfth century in England, but the systematic presentation of Bible plays is usually assumed to date about 1250. They became a vital part of English life, and remained so from the reign of Henry II to Elizabeth's reign, reaching the height of their popularity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The historical name in England for all religious plays is *miracle*, a term applied in France, where it originated, to saints' plays only. In France a play on a Bible subject was called a *mystère*, or "mystery;" this term, generally employed in scholarly literature on the subject till recently, is exotic in English use, and was first employed in the eighteenth century. It has now been discarded for the original inclusive English term *miracle*.

Of the many miracles which once existed, there remain a few independent plays and fragments of cycles, and beside these, most fortunately, four complete cycles, three belonging to the towns of York, Chester, and Wakefield (usually called the "Towneley cycle" from the family that owned the manuscript), and the so-called *Ludus Coventriae* (also called "Hegge" plays), which did not probably, despite their name, belong to Coventry, where a quite different cycle, now lost, is known to have been given. Though relatively few miracle plays have survived, there still remain over

one hundred and fifty different scenes treated in a still larger number of plays.

The pageants, or movable stages, have been described. In some cases, plays were given instead on fixed booths in the market-place or fields, the several booths representing different places; and as the scenes changed, the actors went from one to another by passing through the group of spectators. Parts of the plays were commonly acted on the ground before the pageants or the fixed stages; it was a regular feature for the devils issuing from hell to seize upon and torment spectators to the intense delight of other onlookers. The staging was usually arranged to represent several different scenes at once; thus in the *Second Shepherds' Play* given in this volume, the moor might occupy one side, Mak's house the other, with the stable for the Nativity, covered with a curtain till the proper time, in the middle. The actors were, it seems plain, members of the guilds to which the production of the plays was intrusted, though minstrels and musicians seem to have been called in at times to furnish music. The actors were paid; the performer of the part of God at Coventry (Chambers, vol. ii, 139) received 3s. 4d., the man who hanged Judas 4d., and 4d. more for cock-crowing, a soul, saved or damned, received 20 m., and a "word of conscience" 8d. The properties and costumes were of the simplest; some of the records which remain concerning them are quaint and amusing. The Norwich grocers (Chambers, vol. ii, 141) possessed for a play of Adam and Eve, in addition to the pageant and its fittings, "coats and hosen" for the characters, the serpent's being fitted with a tail, a "face" and hair for God the Father, hair for Adam and Eve, and a "rib colored red." In the

1. Lon
2. Lou
3. Dra
4. Wh
5. Wh
6. Hol
7-9. H
10. Ha
11. Lot
12. Lar
13, 14.
15. Bro
16. By
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fra
22, 23.
24. Wa
25, 26.
27. The
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Ho
32. Lir
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. Ha
41. W
42. En
43. Br
44. Ed
45. Ma
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Irv
52. Irv
53. So
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Ve
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Lo
64-66.
67. Sh
68. G
69. H
70, 71.
72. M
73. Te
74. G
75. Sc
76. W
77. Bu

Coventry *Doomsday*, the hell was provided with fire, a windlass, and a barrel for the earthquake. The horses of the Magi at Canterbury were made of hoops, laths and painted canvas. Simple as the properties and dresses were, the gross expense in money, time, and work must have been heavy. The interest and excitement attending a production was very great. The coming performance was ceremoniously announced in advance. The procession of pageants moving slowly from station to station — there were from twelve to sixteen at York — with their many scenes and repetitions was, as Chambers notes, a very lengthy affair. At Chester, three days were necessary. At York, the performance finished in one day, but it started at half past four in the morning.

Two examples of the miracle are included in this volume. One is the Brome *Abraham and Isaac*, selected for its dramatic interest and to serve as a representative of plays from the Old Testament. The other is the *Second Shepherds' Play*, selected to illustrate at once the New Testament plays, and the introduction of additions to the Bible story in its famous "interlude" of Mak, the sheep stealer.

V

THE MORALITY

Liturgical plays continued to exist beside the miracles given in the church, the churchyard, and the streets, which came from them. So also, beside these, developed another, most important type of play, the "morality."

A morality is a moral allegory in the form of a play,

or, as one might better say, a play the subject of which is a moral allegory. An allegory is a figurative description or narration, that is, the real elements of the description or story are represented under the form of something else in order to give them greater force and interest. Thus, for example, in the death of *Blanche the Duchess*, Chaucer, in place of having the knight in black who represents John of Gaunt say, "I had the misfortune to lose my wife," represents him as saying that, while playing at chess with Fortune, Fortune took his queen. So, similarly, Bunyan represents the life of a good man, beset by troubles and temptations, as the pilgrimage of "Christian" to the Heavenly City, and typifies the experiences which a man meets with in life in various forms such as "Vanity Fair," the fight with Apollyon, and Doubting Castle. Personification, or the figure of treating inanimate things or abstractions as if they were persons, is always necessary to allegory, and such personifications serve therefore in the morality as the characters who, through their dialogues and action, exemplify the moral truth which happens to be the subject of the plot or story. These characters are abstractions of any necessary kind — Vice, Virtue, or any particular vice or virtue, Man-kind, the Seven Deadly Sins (in one character or separately), the Christian Virtues, Pride of Life, the World, the Flesh, Learning, Experience, Mind, Will, Understanding, Youth, Age, Holy Church, Riches, — in short any social institution, relation, or distinction. In presenting the moral story, these abstractions talk and act like real persons, and by their talk and action make clear and enforce the moral truth which is its subject.

1. Lor
2. Lor
3. Dra
4. Wh
5. Wh
6. Hol
7-9. E
10. Ha
11. Lor
12. Lar
13. 14.
15. Bro
16. By
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fra
22, 23.
24. Wa
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Ho
32. Lit
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. Ha
41. Wl
42. En
43. Br
44. Ed
45. Ms
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Irv
52. Irv
53. So
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Ve
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Le
64-66.
67. Sh
68. G
69. Hi
70, 71.
72. M
73. Te
74. G
75. So
76. W
77. B

5 hours
to day

moral allegory

The cause of development of this type of play can be readily explained. The miracle plays, besides teaching the facts of the Bible stories they portrayed, enforced moral truths as well. In other forms of literature, religious and didactic literature in earlier times, and later in secular literature, allegory had been used for centuries. Nothing could be more simple than the transition from the use of personified abstractions as characters in allegorical narrative to the use of such characters in a play. The development does not seem to have been a gradual one, brought about by the addition to miracle plays of personified abstractions used as characters. This might have been possible in plays on certain subjects, such as Antichrist, for example, or the life of Mary Magdalen before her conversion, with no well-defined Bible story to be followed, but the transition, so far as there was one, was not of this kind. The morality seems to have resulted from the wish to present themes which, because of their nature, did not provide a story and characters, as the Bible stories did; since a story and characters had, accordingly, to be provided, recourse was had naturally to the familiar mode of the allegory. This is best exemplified in the earliest morality recorded, a dramatization of the Paternoster, or Lord's Prayer, dating 1378. The Lord's Prayer was believed in its several petitions to afford aid against the assaults of the seven deadly sins, and the drama made from it took the form of a contest for the soul of man between these sins and the corresponding Christian virtues. The further development of the type is easily understood when the common use of allegory elsewhere, the extended opportunity for original dramatic invention it afforded, and the habit of the medieval

1. Lon
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17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fra
22, 23.
24. Wa
25, 26.
27. The
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lov
31. Ho
32. Lir
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. Ha
41. W
42. En
43. Br
44. Ed
45. Ma
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Irv
52. Irv
53. Sc
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Ve
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Lo
64-66.
67. Sh
68. Gc
69. H
70, 71.
72. M
73. Te
74. Gr
75. Se
76. W
77. Bc

mind to personify vices and virtues as conscious agents, of similar kind to angels and devils, are considered. It is worth noting that, in a recent article in *Modern Philology*, Mr. Manly, because of the scarcity of plays intermediate in type between the miracle and the morality, and the apparent suddenness of the appearance of the morality, has likened this seemingly sudden development of a new species to the direct production of new and permanent varieties of plants *per saltum* (in place of through the long gradual development predicated by Darwinian theory), proof of which has recently been given by the experiments of DeVries upon the evening primrose. The analogy is striking because of its interest and suggestiveness, even though not justified by logical similarity of the things, conditions, and processes involved.

The morality is of special interest because it gave additional opportunity for invention, and thereby effected a significant advance towards the secular drama. The extant moralities display confusedly but unmistakably this advance. In them, a definitely religious intention can be seen grading into religious controversy, then into a didactic purpose other than religious (for example, enforcement of the value of learning), and finally into something approaching realistic satire of contemporaneous life. Earlier moralities are typically cyclic; they attempt to picture the life of man from birth to death as subject to the conflict between good and evil; for example, in the *Castle of Perseverance*, Mankind (*Humanum Genus*) holds his castle, with the help of the Virtues, against the Seven Deadly Sins, till finally betrayed by the temptation of Covetousness in his old age, and saved only by the intervention of Bonus An-

gelus, his "good angel." In later moralities, with limitation of subject to a narrower scope, there is a corresponding gain in dramatic quality.

There is no finer example of the simplicity and appropriateness of these, the serious dignity and effectiveness of didactic purpose, the dramatic appeal through graphic characterization, the intensely vital humor and pathos, which the morality at its best could attain, than *Everyman*, which in this volume serves as an example of this type of play. As regards its inclusion in a volume of English plays, it matters little whether it is itself the original of, or an adaptation from, the Dutch play of *Elckerlijck*, or whether both go back to a common source; it became, in any case, thoroughly English, if not English in origin. The power of this play is apparent in the reading, but one who has read it only and has not seen it acted might perhaps question whether it could carry, save to the medieval mind, its double appeal as a play and as an allegory. Those, however, who have seen its recent representations, will bear witness that in no way does one stand in the way of the other. The absorbing dramatic interest and the allegorical significance of the dialogue and action are absolutely at one, and are followed concurrently as one. One may even go so far as to say that its moral effect upon the spectator of this present day is not materially less than that it exercised in the past, so truly is it a work of genius in its kind.

1. Lor
2. Lor
3. Dra
4. Wh
5. Wh
6. Hol
7-9. E
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11. Lor
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15. Bro
16. By
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fra
22, 23.
24. Wa
25, 26.
27. The
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Ho
32. Lir
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. Ha
41. W
42. Eu
43. Br
44. Ed
45. Ma
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Irv
52. Irv
53. So
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Ve
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Le
64-66.
67. Sh
68. G
69. H
70, 71.
72. M
73. Te
74. G
75. Sc
76. W
77. B

VI

THE INTERLUDE

We come next not so much to a new type of play as to the use of a term which marks an important stage in the advance toward the secular play, indeed the attainment of a secular drama. The definition hitherto commonly accepted of the term "interlude" has been a play inserted between parts of another play (that is, a miracle or morality) in order to relieve its seriousness by humor. The more recent view is that the evidence hardly warrants certainty on this point, and that the term may merely mean a play, or dialogue, between two or more persons. The term, as Mr. Chambers makes clear in his discussion of the subject, is not specific in its application. The probable development of its use would seem to be as follows.

We have been concerned with the religious play and the morality in their continuous and organic development. Here we must turn to a use of dramatic or quasi-dramatic forms apart from this. The games and folk-plays have already been spoken of. Apart from these there were municipal pageants, puppet shows, dumb shows or pantomimes, and other forms of dramatic entertainment. As may be supposed, the play as a means of diversion was not confined to the church and the streets. It was also used, along with the arts of the minstrel, the acrobat, the conjuror, and the exhibitor of trained animals, for entertainment in the halls of the nobles and gentry, town corporations, and merchant guilds. Plays thus used are called "plays"

1. Lor
2. Lor
3. Dra
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5. Wh
6. Hol
7-9. E
10. Ha
11. Lor
12. Lar
13, 14.
15. Bro
16. By
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fra
22, 23.
24. Wa
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Ho
32. Lit
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. Ha
41. W
42. Eu
43. Br
44. Ed
45. Ma
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. So
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Ve
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Le
64-66.
67. Sh
68. G
69. H
70, 71.
72. M
73. Te
74. G
75. Se
76. W
77. B

or "disguisings" (as being acted in costume), but they are also called interludes. These plays might be specially devised; they might be akin to the mummings or folk-plays; or they might be miracles or moralities. Owing to this fact, the term came into general, though not specific, use. But, though general, it possesses a special significance to the student of the drama. However wide its inclusion, because of its original application to "plays" and "disguisings," it continued to imply a play designed to afford entertainment, whether or no it was designed quite as much to afford edification. While therefore it does not mean a new type of play, it means something just as important, namely, a change of view on the part of the playwright in respect to the character and purpose of the play. It matters not at all whether the term is used for what is nothing more nor less than a miracle or morality, or for episodes wholly without religious or moral intention acted by themselves or inserted in miracles or moralities. What it implies is that the playwright is consciously using a freer dramatic form, is less subject to the limitations of the didactic intention, is inventing more freely, feels himself free to admit new and most important dramatic material which had remained hitherto foreign to the religious and didactic drama. No better formulation could be given of the notable part played by the interlude in the development of the secular drama than that of Mr. Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, vol. i, 78), "The line between the morality and the interlude, as between the later interlude and regular comedy, is artificial at best. But it is clear that the vital principle of the morality was its interest in life and conduct as affecting the actions of

men. The vital principle of the interlude was also its interest in life; but the ulterior end and purpose, guidance to moral action, had been lost and the artistic sense set free. The interlude deals with comedy; it loves what is near and familiar, and its methods are realistic."

So far then as the term "interlude" becomes specific at all, it means a play in which the author may be using old materials or old methods, but in which he is dealing with them freely. This is true even though the playwright be a controversialist like Bishop Bale. An important result of this freedom appears most clearly in John Heywood (born about 1497, died before 1587). Heywood achieved perfect independence, and, as Mr. Schelling has pointed out, to him was owed a clear recognition of the fact that the giving of pleasure was not merely one of the essentials of the drama (this had been tacitly recognized in the early miracle), but the only essential. Thereupon, through recognition of this fact, the artistic principle was set free, and the beginning of artistic development made possible.

The example of the interlude selected for this volume is the earliest example in English. It is the farcical episode of Mak, the sheep-stealer, made a part of the second of the two *Shepherds' Plays* (originally *Nativity plays*, belonging to Christmas), of the *Wakefield* or *Townely Cycle*. Here, by way of caution, it must be pointed out that, though this episode is really without any real connection with the *Nativity* portion of the play, it is not to be called an interlude because it is an episode thrust into a *Nativity* play; as Mr. Chambers truly says, the play is a single fabric. It is an interlude because the author, writing a *Nativity* play, feels himself free to make this piece of realistic low comedy

part of such a play. The work is justly famous. It was evidently written by a man of original dramatic genius (he has been called the "Playwright of Wakefield"), whose hand may be recognized elsewhere in the cycle, at once by his superior dramatic gifts and by his characteristic use of the difficult tail-rime stanza in which Mak is written. The reader will not need to have pointed out to him the delightful realism of the setting and characterization, the liveliness and humor of the dialogue, the spirited handling of the action. Conscious craftsmanship also is evidenced in the opportunities given the players for by-play, and in the care with which important points are prepared for earlier in the dialogue,—for example, Mak's reference to his wife and numerous children in connection with the plausibility of the trick used to hoodwink the shepherds. Very striking also is the sudden change from boisterous fun to the exquisite tenderness and beauty of the Nativity scene at the close. The play within recent years (1908) has been given at four colleges with success. In such presentations, the Nativity scene may be essayed without apprehension. The picture of the Virgin Mother bending over the manger where the Child lies between the ox and the ass, the adoration of the shepherds, the gifts they offer, cannot fail in their ingenuous and infinitely touching appeal.

VII

HUMOR AND HISTORY

If in the interlude a form of play had developed in which the dramatist might freely exercise his powers,

by what means did it become wholly secular, entirely free of the original didactic intention? This it did through the ever increasing importance of two elements in the subjects it used—the element of realism and humor on the one hand, and of history on the other.

The miracle on the Continent made occasional use of secular subjects from the romance; but this was wholly occasional and accidental there and without real significance, and no similar examples exist among the plays extant in English. But within the miracle play from an early period the possibility of the secular drama lay implicit. As noted above, the miracles became in time realistic and humorous. The Biblical characters became realistic types, and themes, serious or even tragic, that of Abraham and Isaac for example (compare the version in this volume), were interpreted realistically with passages of pathos and humor woven into the Biblical story by the playwright. With the morality, a freer choice of subject became possible and still greater freedom in treatment. The morality advanced naturally from purely moral teaching to use as a weapon of controversy and as a means of satirizing contemporary social and political conditions. Realism and humor must also have developed into important elements in the games, folk-plays, the disguisings, and other entertainments for the hall. The spirit of farcical humor appeared notably, for example, in the indecorous pranks attending the Feast of Fools and the installation of Boy Bishops conducted by the minor ecclesiastics in cathedral churches, which parodied ecclesiastical ceremonies, and in the revels under the leadership of the Lord of Misrule at Christmas. In brief, as the use of plays for purposes of entertainment

1. Lot
2. Lot
3. Dre
4. Wi
5. Wi
6. Ho
7-9. I
10. Ha
11. Lot
12. La
13, 14.
15. Br
16. B
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fri
22, 23.
24. W
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. H
32. Li
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. H
41. W
42. Et
43. Br
44. E
45. M
46. O
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Se
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. D
58. D
59. V
60, 61.
62. F
63. L
64-66.
67. S
68. G
69. H
70, 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. B
77. B

rather than for edification increases, the importance of the element of humor proportionately increases. One important source of plays purely secular was, therefore, the realistic treatment of personages and situation in the miracle, satire of contemporary conditions in the morality, realism and humor in the folk-plays, dumb-shows, disguisings, and pageants, whose influence blended with that of the miracle and morality in the interlude; then the humorous interlude led directly to the production of farces, whether of character or situation, and ultimately to the various forms of comedy.

The vitalizing element of humor was present in every form of drama, but, in the religious and moral drama, there was one element which was rare, indeed practically absent, namely, the patriotic or historical element. This might easily have made its appearance there in the saints' plays — there were, for example, plays on St. George, now lost; but, in the first place, plays on the lives of saints do not seem to have been numerous in England, as on the Continent, and, in the second place, such plays were more likely to be on special patron saints than on specifically English saints, selected because of patriotic feeling. The great collections of the lives of saints called the *Legendaries* show a certain amount of patriotic feeling as regards the inclusion of English saints, but to no notable degree. This was not because the domination of the Church in matters churchly or religious precluded patriotic feeling, but because in England there was not, in anything like the same degree, the veneration of local or national saints which formed an essentially pagan cult of *loci genii* on the Continent. Furthermore, the lives of local saints were nothing like so full of

1. Lot
2. Lot
3. Dre
4. Wi
5. Wi
6. Ho
7-9. I
10. Ha
11. Lot
12. Lai
13. 14.
15. Br
16. Br
17. 18.
19. 20.
21. Fr
22. 23.
24. Ws
25. 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Hc
32. Li
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. H
41. W
42. E
43. Br
44. E
45. M
46. O
47. 48.
49. 50.
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Sc
54. Br
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. V
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Lc
64-66.
67. Sh
68. G
69. H
70. 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. Sc
76. W
77. B

interesting and moving incidents as those of many in the great range of foreign saints. And even though the patriotic element had entered into saints' plays, and they had existed in some quantity, it might not there have become a significant factor, through being overpowered by the religious and didactic purpose. But the patriotic element was a significant factor in the folk-plays, puppet-shows, municipal pageants, and other similar entertainments. These turned naturally for their themes to the past of England, heroes and events historical and legendary, the heroes of ballads and English princes, nobles, outlaws, rebels, and other popular historical characters. As the interlude merged into "regular" drama, these themes were taken up into it, and led to the development of the historical drama as a distinct species. The earlier type of historical plays are merely moralities with historical characters introduced into them with didactic rather than patriotic intention. But, with the writing of the tragedies under the influence of the tragedies of Seneca (explained below), patriotic spirit evidenced itself in a number of plays on subjects connected with English history and myth, for example, *Gorboduc* (1562), the Latin tragedy *Richardus Tertius* (1579), *Lochrine* (1586), *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587). At this date, approximately, the more characteristically English historical play, or "chronical history," as it is called, begins. Its inspiration was drawn from England's mounting pride and exultation in the stirring part she was playing in the world's history, and its source was in the more recent of the long line of chronicles stretching back into the Middle Ages. The importance of these plays is very great. Mr. Schelling

notes (vol. i, 251) that, within the Elizabethan period, there is record of upwards of two hundred and twenty titles of plays on themes from English history, biography, and legend, and that from 1588 to a year or two after the close of Elizabeth's reign, they must have constituted more than a fifth of all contemporary plays. In this connection, it is worth remembering also that thirteen of Shakespeare's plays are based on subjects drawn from what was then accepted as the history of Britain. Moreover, the "chronicle history" was one of the direct sources of our greatest tragedies, such as *Lear* and *Macbeth*.

In this volume the folk-plays on English themes are exemplified by the fragments of the *Robin Hood Play*, which are nothing more nor less than ballads in dramatic form, and the *St. George Play*, already referred to above. The chronicle histories, even those so early as *Jack Straw* and the *Famous Victories of Henry V.*, with the still earlier Senecan plays, are beyond its scope.

VIII

AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL

We have learned to recognize in the term interlude its loose generic application to freer forms of the older types of plays, and plays of mixed character derived from the interaction of the miracle, morality, folk-play, and disguising, and we have glanced somewhat far afield to note how the elements of humor and patriotic spirit aided in the emergence from these of the "regular" drama. We must next inquire how the acting of

plays passed from amateur or quasi-amateur actors to professional actors. On this point, Mr. Chambers (vol. ii, 179-198) has, as elsewhere, added materially to our detailed knowledge of English conditions.

In France, the acting of plays was so entirely in the control of amateur associations, religious, literary, or devoted simply to frivolity, that though professional actors appear early, they do not displace the amateurs till the close of the sixteenth century. In England, organizations of this character were few, and of little importance in the general development. In England, the first point to be noted is that local players of miracles often presented their plays away from home. So great was the interest in dramatic productions that the minstrels found their profession interfered with, and in self-defense turned themselves to the presentation of plays. There is clear evidence of bodies of professional players, apparently derived from this source, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. These acted under the patronage of important persons, just as, at a later date, we find the various companies in London known by the names of noble patrons. We next find companies of players attached to the court from the time of Henry VII on. These companies traveled at times, and independent companies, organized for going from place to place, multiplied in number. They presented their interludes in the halls, monasteries, gild-chambers, on the village greens, or even in churches. In certain places there were special rooms or buildings commonly used for the giving of plays. Of especial importance is the acting of plays in the inn-yard, which in its typical form with the stable and its loft at the end and the two buildings with their long galleries

1. Lot
2. Lot
3. Dr
4. Wl
5. Wl
6. Ho
7-9. l
10. Ha
11. Lot
12. La
13, 14.
15. Br
16. Bc
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fr
22, 23.
24. Wc
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Hc
32. Li
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. H
41. W
42. Ec
43. Br
44. Ec
45. M
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Sc
54. B
55. Sh
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. V
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Lc
64-66.
67. St
68. G
69. H
70, 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. Sc
76. W
77. B

leading to guest-rooms on either side, provided the model for the earlier London theatres.

These professional players did not by any means bring to an end quickly the acting of plays by amateurs. The great cycles acted by the trade-gilds were not affected by them. The occasional acting of special plays by local talent still went on, and was even stimulated by the professional performers of interludes. The schools and universities were active in giving dramatic performances of various kinds; the special direction of this activity is referred to below. At the court in the sixteenth century, performances were regularly given by the gentlemen and the children of the Chapel Royal. Plays, professional or amateur, ultimately distinctively amateur, were given by the Inns of Court, and, though the acting of interludes, except at Christmas, was interdicted by an order of the bench in 1550, notable entertainments by these legal societies at this season continued into the seventeenth century. Later amateur performances were largely confined to the masque, a form of musical and spectacular play, which originated in and centred about the performance of set dances by maskers. These began towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, and reached their greatest vogue, often involving an incredible expenditure of money and the exercise of the utmost skill of the poet, musician, artist, and stage-carpenter, in the reigns of James and Charles.

Mr. Chambers' conclusion is that throughout nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, it remained doubtful whether the future of the drama was to rest in professional or amateur hands. But, none the less, a popular stage, with professional players, had early estab-

lished itself, its continued existence was never in doubt, and it is difficult to see how the outcome could have been other than it was, sooner or later. The matter does not rest simply in the fact that the use of choir-boys for the acting of plays (for example, the children of the Chapel Royal and of St. Paul's) led to their professional training and the development of the choir-master into a professional stage-manager. These were professionals, but professionals serving in the interest of what may be termed the literary drama, of the court, school, or university. Of greater importance is the question of the vitality of the essentially professional popular drama, as distinguished from this literary drama. The development here becomes plain if the results of professional presentation upon the plays themselves is considered, and the inevitable triumph of the popular professional company. The presentation of interludes by these companies led to the intensification of their dramatic quality. They were cut down, the action made more direct, the characterization sharpened, the humor and pathos strengthened. The didactic intension slackened, and themes of greater popular interest, and of better dramatic quality, were taken up into them. There came into being a true popular drama, quick with possibilities. On the other hand, most fortunately, separate and apart from this popular drama, there developed and grew to a characteristic strength of its own a literary drama in the university and in the court, the inspiration for which came from external sources. The native popular drama was not destined to dwindle away through being overshadowed by this literary drama, for this literary drama existed in a world apart. Sooner or later, while the literary

1. Lo
2. Dr
3. W
4. W
5. W
6. Ho
7-9. I
10. Ha
11. Lo
12. La
13, 14.
15. Br
16. Bv
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fr
22, 23.
24. W
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ha
30. Lo
31. Hc
32. Lit
33-35.
36. Bc
37. W
38. Lo
39. Lo
40. H
41. W
42. Et
43. Br
44. Ec
45. M
46. OI
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Sc
54. B
55. SE
56. W
57. Di
58. Di
59. Vi
60, 61.
62. Fi
63. Lc
64-66.
67. Si
68. G
69. H
70, 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. Sc
76. W
77. B

drama continued to develop in its separate sphere, its influence had to reach the popular drama, and there by interfusion produce a higher form which partook of the strength of both. But this higher form was not a stage in the development of the literary drama. It was a stage in the development of the popular drama. It was a professional drama, its plays were invented or adapted for professional use, and they were played by professional actors. In brief, the balance of strength lay always with the popular drama, for however the literary drama, drawing on its external sources of inspiration, might grow in strength, its acquirement must inevitably in time pass down to the popular drama, from which, however, it derived little in turn.

Our next duty is to consider this literary or learned drama, to see whence it came, and the manner in which it influenced the popular drama.

IX

THE THREE ARTISTIC IMPULSES IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Three artistic impulses may be discerned as shaping the drama. The first of these, the humanistic or "classical" impulse, is foreign and purely scholarly. The second, the "romantic" impulse, is inherent in dramatic inspiration, but in our drama received a special form and direction from foreign sources. The third, the impulse towards realism, is inherent, and might at any time become dominant in particular works, or the works of particular men.

The humanistic, or classical, impulse took its rise in the classical plays of the universities and the schools, which included both plays written in Latin and English plays written on Latin models. Humanism — the study of the classics to apply its lessons to problems of the present, which formed so important a part of the complex movement called the Renaissance — affected the drama, as it affected all other types of literature. In the universities and the schools, plays were written on the model of the Roman playwrights, Plautus and Seneca, who were adopted as exemplars of comedy and tragedy respectively. The first true English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, was modeled on Seneca; the first true English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*, was modeled on Plautus. Both, it is worth noting, were written on English themes, and the one was written for the court, the other by a schoolmaster, Nicholas Udall, probably for presentation at Eton. In addition to these imitations of Seneca and Plautus, there were didactic and satirical plays, ranging from the utmost academic seriousness to delightful humor, in good part translated from, or written under the inspiration of, Continental humanists. Examples of these are Thomas Ingeland's *Disobedient Child*, Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*, and (far removed from these in kind and date) *Pedantius* and *Ignoramus*. The inspiration derived from this classical influence was the attempt to attain a formal ideal, and its appeal was to things familiar and hallowed by association with the past. In its narrower range of the formal academic drama, it continued into the seventeenth century and found expression in the serious plays, fine but somewhat remote from popular taste and interest,

1. Lo
2. Lo
3. Dr
4. Wl
5. Wl
6. Ho
7-9. l
10. Ha
11. Lo
12. La
13, 14.
15. Br
16. B
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fr
22, 23.
24. W
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Hs
30. Lo
31. Hc
32. Li
33-35.
36. Bu
37. W
38. Lc
39. Lc
40. H
41. W
42. Et
43. Br
44. Et
45. M
46. Ol
47, 48.
49, 50
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Sc
54. Bi
55. Sl
56. W
57. D
58. D
59. V
60, 61
62. F
63. L
64-66.
67. Sl
68. G
69. H
70, 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. W
77. B

1. Lo
2. Lo
3. Dr
4. Wl
5. Wl
6. Ho
7-9. l
10. Ha
11. Lo
12. La
13, 14.
15. Br
16. B4
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fr
22, 23.
24. Wl
25, 26.
27. Th
28. Bu
29. Ho
30. Lo
31. Hc
32. Li
33-35.
36. B4
37. W
38. Lc
39. Lc
40. H
41. W
42. Et
43. B4
44. E4
45. M
46. Ol
47, 48
49, 50
51. Ir
52. Ir
53. Sc
54. B4
55. Sl
56. W
57. D
58. D
59. V
60, 61
62. F
63. L
64-66.
67. Sl
68. G
69. H
70, 71
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. W
77. B

of Greville, Daniel, and Alexander. In the broader range of realistic humanism, its culminating value, much modified by his individuality, was reached in Ben Jonson, whose noble genius broadened and further liberalized its conceptions and methods, both in tragedy (*Sejanus, Cataline*), and in satiric comedies of "humors" (salient traits of character displayed and emphasized in special characters), which was one important source of the pure "comedy of manners," in which the customs of contemporary life were pictured and heightened, whether for entertainment simply, or with satiric intent. The comedy of manners, with its scope of human interest greatly narrowed, with its humor largely displaced by wit, and with no moral basis for character assumed, as had earlier been the case, at least tacitly, became the characteristic comedy of the Restoration. The use of humors, as a theatrical convention or, what is much the same thing, because of the dramatist's barrenness of invention, where originally it was an instrument for the concentration of his strength, constantly reappears in our drama down to the present day.

The earlier classical influence is practically confined to plays for the universities, the schools, and the court. The greater playwrights who characteristically show this influence belong to the seventeenth century, when the separation of the literary and popular drama had ceased to exist. In the earlier history of the popular drama, before this had happened, the influence of Seneca had reached the popular drama in the *Spanish Tragedy* of Kyd, which necessarily reflected the then prevailing Senecan influence. The fact that this influence reached the popular drama (albeit Kyd's play

reflects it, especially in structural features), and through a playwright not himself apparently a university man, is significant of the inevitable gravitation of results attained by the literary drama into the popular drama, to which reference has been made above. As concerns the influence exerted by Kyd, it means little, for he represents essentially the romantic impulse.

The second impulse, that of the spirit of romance, is by far the most important. Its aim is to attract and please by something before unknown; the poet, a law unto himself, using what materials and methods he pleases, strives to embody fittingly the images of power and of beauty conceived by his freely working imagination; his appeal is through the new aspect he gives to things familiar, or through the allurements of things remote and strange in place or time. The drama which resulted from this impulse was as distinctively a Renaissance product as the humanistic classical drama, and indeed more characteristically; for, if the humanistic drama represented reference to the past for guidance, this represented the unfettered genius creating its own ideals and dominating inherited or acquired conditions or laws, that is, it represented the independence of tradition which is the very soul of the Renaissance movement. The romantic spirit in Elizabethan drama found its strength in, and took direction from, the inspiration of Italian literature in verse and prose — in lyric verse, the pastoral, the allegoric epic, and in popular fiction, the romance and short tale; also, to a lesser extent, it was indebted to Spanish literature. English playwrights drew innumerable themes from Italian literature, but, substantial gain though this in itself was, far more important was the lesson they

learned of intellectual and imaginative and artistic independence, and the inspiration they received toward poetic conception and expression. This lesson was applied to, and guided them infallibly right in their use of, native themes as well, whether from medieval romance (native in the sense of being the common property of all Europe), or drawn from British history.

This romantic influence, still under limitation of its sources, appears first in the literary drama, in the allegorical and courtly drama of Lyly and Peele. Its growing ascendancy may be traced also in the Senecan drama and in the changed spirit of comedy; but of supreme importance is its appearance in the work of certain professional playwrights of the popular drama, who indeed placed the triumph of the popular drama over the amateur and scholarly drama beyond all doubt. The beginning of the transformation of the popular drama came through Kyd, who conjoined in his tragedies romantic inspiration and Senecan influence, with the result of an immense gain in imaginative breadth and power. Soon the far finer genius of Marlowe, university bred, uniting a superb insolence of conscious power with a reckless arrogance of will and temper, lent its aid in the work which Kyd had begun. With Marlowe came a marked advance in constructive skill, notably as regards the balance of humor and pathos; what is more important, with him the dialogue became magical poetry; moreover — from a dramatic standpoint, of even greater importance — he conclusively placed the dramatic action where it belongs, namely, within the breasts of the characters, in their motives and passions, and not in sequence of incidents. His characterization was, however, defective in this, that

led by his temperament he made his personages effective and impressive by making them superhuman in their attributes or powers; they are saved from abnormality or unreality, and are dramatically credible, because we recognize that they are real in their motives and passions; though enlarged to superhuman proportions, their impressiveness is not due to a specious use of an unnatural or impossible conjunction of qualities or lack of balance between qualities. The work of Shakespeare next consummated that of Marlowe in lifting the popular drama to the highest artistic plane. In bald terms, he made the central dramatic essential, the character, rational and realistic, without in the least vulgarizing it or rendering it prosaic. He was by no means such a master of mere constructive skill as Ben Jonson was, for, while he recognized to the full the dramatic value of this or that incident, the very fact of his jealousy of its worth together with the prodigality of his powers led him occasionally to admit incidents that were, from the standpoint of dramatic economy, non-essential and therefore better omitted; but, on the other hand, he brought to, and expended upon, the dialogue of the play every utmost excellence of poetry and eloquence. Shakespeare, as he was the supreme genius of his age, was also its creature; he ran through every current mode, tried his hand at all, — attained, naturally and unconsciously, to the perfect law of liberty through obedience. This is no place to attempt (if any one were able) an appreciation of the height and range of his achievement; the elevation and breadth of his comedy, and its immortal drollery and roguishness; his plays of mixed mode and of fantasia. But in respect to his tragedy, one point of preëminent historical importance

must be noted. Shakespeare shares with Marlowe the peculiar glory of lifting the popular drama to the artistic plane. He, like him, took the historical play of the popular drama, the chronicle history, gave it ultimate artistic unity of plot, endowed its characterization with humanity, and transfused it with, and embodied it in, poetry. From the transformed chronicle history came in part the inspiration for the great tragedies, such as *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear*—the greatest tragedy the world has seen, because it is life substantial in its poetry and passion, imaginatively seen and rendered in terms of its realities laid bare, while the Greek tragedy, more purely poetic and artistic in its inspiration, is less life itself than a sublimated essence from the poetry and passion of life.

Our greatest plays are in the romantic mode, but this mode, in which the genius of the individual poet is everything, is also subject to defects in the individual genius and temperament. Into the decadence of the romantic inspiration among the lesser playwrights of the seventeenth century we cannot go, but we may note that, as the energy of the creative impulse slackened, the influence which remained operative was that of Fletcher. His taint of sentimentality in the presentation of characters which are paragons of virtue and of themes involving high-strained self-sacrifice, unreal and more than bordering on the insincere, reinforced by a similar sentimentality from the French romances (ultimately in part Spanish), passed through D'Avenant into the "heroic play" of Dryden and others after the Restoration, with its patterns of virtue and its conflicts between love and honor. The heroic play, essentially an artificial and temporary type, speedily ran its

course, though various elements in it — its patterns of virtue, its impossibly wicked characters, its declamatory passages of moralizing, its rant and bombast, — trailed off after its dissolution among the more worthless plays of the eighteenth century, and persist under changed forms to-day.

The third artistic impulse in the Elizabethan period was that toward popular realism, the depiction in simulated actuality of contemporaneous life, or what was taken to be the life of the past. This impulse is a natural one in the drama at all periods; it appears in our drama from the interludes of John Heywood through Greene, Dekker, Thomas Heywood, and Middleton, to Brome in the reign of Charles I. The motives underlying it may be sincerely artistic or purely mercenary. Among the playwrights of the early seventeenth century are such true artists as Heywood and Dekker, and beside them men who would put anything or everything on the stage that might catch popular fancy and ensure patronage, such as Middleton and Brome.

It will be understood that there was no clear separation of the three main tendencies just indicated. In their interplay, they produced a countless variety of themes and treatments, one or another playwright at one time or another trying various modes, or combinations of modes, or modifications of various kinds. It should also be understood that in a diagrammatic outline such as this, it is not possible, in a limited space and with avoidance of confusion, to specify, to any satisfactory purpose, the place and achievement of even the greater dramatists, or still less to point out the relation to the general movement of individual plays. The intention of the outline is simply to indicate in a

1. Lc
2. Lc
3. Di
4. W
5. W
6. H
7-9.
10. H
11. Lc
12. Lc
13, 14.
15. Bi
16. B
17, 18.
19, 20.
21. Fi
22, 23.
24. W
25, 26.
27. Ti
28. B
29. H
30. Lc
31. H
32. Lf
33-35.
36. B
37. W
38. L
39. L
40. H
41. W
42. E
43. B
44. E
45. M
46. O
47, 48.
49, 50.
51. I
52. I
53. S
54. B
55. S
56. W
57. L
58. L
59. V
60, 61.
62. F
63. L
64-66.
67. S
68. G
69. F
70, 71.
72. N
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. V
77. F

general way how the religious and moral drama, illustrated in this book, developed into the Elizabethan drama. For detailed study of the subject, the reader is referred to Mr. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*. Of special interest, in relation to the theme of this volume, is his clear exposition of the influences of the religious and moral drama which extended down into the Elizabethan drama,—that, as he says, “the roots of Elizabethan drama lie deep in the miracles and especially in the moral plays of medieval times,” and that “even the extraordinary diversity in kind and species which the later drama examples is prefigured in them.”

X

METHODS USED IN TRANSLATION

A word as to the methods used in translating the plays selected for this volume. The original is followed, in respect to verse and rime, as closely as the ability of the translator permitted. Where rime or assonance (partial rime of the vowel only, like *take, mate*) fails in the original, the translation follows the omission. Very seldom, where exigency demanded it in order that the original might be reproduced more closely, an assonance is used, such as the original elsewhere uses, in place of pure rime. Where rimes on syllables with secondary stress are used in the original (as on *-ing*), these rimes are reproduced. When words not in the original are used, they are replaced, with scarcely an exception, by words then in use, and similar care has been used with occasional tags added to make the rime.

The translation of Middle English into Modern English always presents many trifling but in their way difficult problems, and such a work as the *Second Shepherds' Play*, with its complicated rime scheme, necessitates a constant succession of minor *tours de force*. Where paraphrase has been used or words are added, the fact is recorded in the notes. The translator has tried his best, in brief, to enable the reader to realize the spirit, content, and form of the original.

The reader will find difficulty at first in reading the verse as it should be read; till he gets to understand it, it will seem more shockingly rough even than it is. It is rough in the original—may one venture to express the modest hope that it is not more than faithfully so in the translation? The secret of reading it is a loyal love for English traditions in verse, and the power to divine by some happy faculty where the strong beats come irrespective of the number of unstressed syllables between them. Mr. Saintsbury has said that he does not possess organs of speech which enable him to run lightly over three unstressed syllables before he reaches the blessed security of a strong beat. It is to be hoped there are not many so unfortunate. Such persons are confined to the mechanical neatness, simplicity, and obvious symmetry of alternate stressed and unstressed, and are blind to the history of English prosody. They must miss wholly the music of many an exquisite line of modern English verse where two or three strong beats come together, or where two strong beats are separated by more than the statutory number—they allow two—of unstressed syllables. It is a verse-deaf school of prosodists, that limits the free range of English verse

1. L
2. L
3. D
4. W
5. W
6. H
7-9.
10. H
11. L
12. L
13, 14
15. B
16. B
17, 18
19, 20
21. F
22, 23
24. W
25, 26
27. T
28. B
29. H
30. L
31. H

32. L
33-35
36. B
37. W
38. L
39. L
40. H
41. W
42. E
43. B
44. E
45. M
46. O
47, 48
49, 50
51. I
52. I
53. S
54. F
55. S
56. V
57. I
58. I
59. V
60, 61
62. F
63. L
64-66
67. S
68. C
69. F
70, 71
72. A
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. V
77. F

by the ultimate test of counting on the fingers. This may seem to be going somewhat far afield from our immediate subject, but not really so. Much of fifteenth-century popular verse is rough, indeed often defective, though not nearly as often so as verse written in fumbling or decadent imitation of foreign modes. But only one blind to the historic facts of English prosody, deaf to what it means of magic in modern verse, will deny that the popular verse of this period, despite foreign influence, is idiomatically English, and that it preserved an English tradition which to-day gives our verse a flexibility and variety infinitely superior to the regularity and monotony of the exotic rhythm over which, while assimilating its best qualities, it triumphed.

1. Lc
2. Lc
3. D
4. W
5. W
6. H
7-9.
10. H
11. L
12. L
13, 14
15. B
16. B
17, 18
19, 20
21. F
22, 23
24. W
25, 26
27. T
28. B
29. H
30. L
31. H
32. L
33-35
36. B
37. W
38. L
39. L
40. H
41. W
42. E
43. B
44. E
45. M
46. O
47, 48
49, 50
51. I
52. I
53. S
54. E
55. S
56. V
57. I
58. I
59. V
60, G
62. E
63. L
64-66
67. S
68. G
69. F
70. T
72. M
73. T
74. G
75. S
76. V
77. I

Months & years taken up
Construction of early Eng.
text.

THE ENGLISH QUEM QUÆRITIS

FROM THE REGULARIS CONCORDIA MONACHORUM

[WITH regard to the trope in general, see the *Introduction*. The *Regularis Concordia Anglicæ Nationis Monachorum*, from which this version of the *Quem Quæritis* is taken, may be best consulted in the edition of W. S. Logeman, *De Consuetudine Monachorum*, in *Anglia*, vol. xiii, 365. For critical comment and discussion of authorship and date, see in particular Logeman, *Anglia*, vol. xv, 20, F. Tupper, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. viii, 344, Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, vol. ii, 306. The work has been accredited to Dunstan and Ælfric. The better view seems to be that of Chambers, that it was written by, or compiled under the oversight of, Ethelwold, who became Bishop of Winchester in 963. Its date falls between 965, when Elfrida, who is mentioned in the *Proœmium*, became queen, and the death of Edgar in 975, in whose reign it was compiled.

This version of the *Quem Quæritis* is of special interest because it was in use in England, because of its early date, and because of the fullness with which the ritual is given. Only the leading words of the dialogue are given, but the missing words are here supplied in brackets. The original Latin of the dialogue is retained in the translation, as elsewhere in the citations where parts of the service are quoted, but a translation is provided in the notes. It seemed desirable to give with the *Quem Quæritis* also the cere-