punish it." Shaftesbury's was in reality, though perhaps not in appearance, a more truly religious philosophy. For with him the incentives to well-doing and the deterrents from evil-doing are to be sought not solely, or even mainly, in the opinion of mankind, or in the rewards and punishments of the magistrate, or in the hopes and terrors of a future world, but in the answer of a good conscience approving virtue and disapproving vice, and in the love of a God, who, by His infinite wisdom and His all-embracing beneficence, is worthy of the love and admiration of His creatures.

The main object of the *Moralists* is to propound a system of natural theology, and to vindicate, so far as natural religion is concerned, the ways of God to man. The articles of Shaftesbury's religious creed were few and simple, but these he entertained with a conviction amounting to enthusiasm. They may briefly be summed up as a belief in one God whose most characteristic attribute is universal benevolence. in the moral government of the universe, and in a future state of man making up for the imperfections and repairing the inequalities of the present life. Shaftesbury is emphatically an optimist, but there is a passage in the *Moralists* (pt. ii. sect. 4) which would lead us to suppose that he regarded matter as an indifferent principle, co-existent and co-eternal with God, limiting His operations, and the cause of the evil and imperfection which, notwithstanding the benevolence of the Creator, is still to be found in His work. If this view of his optimism be correct, Shaftesbury, as Mill says of Leibnitz, must be regarded as maintaining, not that this is the best of all imaginable but only of all possible worlds. This brief notice of Shaftesbury's scheme of natural religion would be conspicuously imperfect unless it were added that it is popularized in Pope's *Essay on Man*, several lines of which, especially of the first epistle, are simply statements from the *Moralists* done into verse. Whether, however, these were taken immediately by Pope from Shaftesbury, or whether they came to him through the papers which Bolingbroke had prepared for his use, we have no means of determining.

Shaftesbury's philosophical activity was confined to ethics, æsthetics, and religion. For metaphysics, properly so called, and even psychology, except so far as it afforded a basis for ethics, he evidently had no taste. Logic he probably despised as merely an instrument of pedants,—a judgment for which, in his day, and especially at the universities, there was only too much ground.

The influence of Shaftesbury's writings was very considerable both at home and abroad. His ethical system was reproduced, though in a more precise and philosophical form, by Hutcheson, and from him descended, with certain variations, to Hume and Adam Smith. Nor was it without its effect even on the speculations of Butler. Of the so-called deists Shaftesbury was probably the most important, as he was certainly the most plausible and the most respectable. No sooner had the *Characteristics* appeared than they were welcomed, in terms of warm commendation, by Le Clerc and Leibnitz. In 1745 Diderot adapted or reproduced the *Inquiry concerning Virtue* in what was afterwards known as his *Essai sur le Mérite et la Vertu*. In 1769 a French translation of the whole of Shaftesbury's works, including the *Letters*, was published at Geneva. Translations of separate treatises into German began to be made in 1738, and in 1776–1779 there appeared a complete German translation of the *Characteristics*. Hermann Hettner says that not only Leibnitz, Voltaire, and Diderot, but Lessing, Mendelssohn, Wieland, and Herder, drew the most stimulating nutriment from Shaftesbury. "His charms," he adds, "are ever fresh. A new-born Hellenism, or divine cultus of beauty presented itself before his inspired soul." Herder is especially eulogistic. In the *Adrastea* he pronounces the *Moralists* to be a composition in form well-nigh worthy of Grecian antiquity, and in its contents almost superior to it. The interest felt by German literary men in Shaftesbury has been recently revived by the publication of two excellent monographs, one dealing with him mainly from the theological side by Dr Gideon Spicker (Freiburg in Baden, 1872), the other dealing with him mainly from the philosophical side by Dr Georg von Gizycki (Leipsic, 1876).

In the foregoing article the writer has made free use of his monograph on Shaftesbury and Hutcheson in the series of "English philosophers" (1882), published by Sampson Low & Co. In that work he was able largely to supplement the printed materials for the Life by extracts from the Shaftesbury papers now deposited in the Record Office. These include, besides many letters and memoranda, two lives of him, composed by his son, the fourth earl, one of which is evidently the original, though it is by no means always closely followed, of the Life contributed by Dr Birch to the *General Dictionary*. For a description and criticism of Shaftesbury's philosophy reference may also be made to Mackintosh's *Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, Whewell's *History of Moral Philosophy in England*, Jouffroy's *Introduction to Ethics* (Channing's translation), Leslie Stephen's *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, and the article ETHICS in the present work (vol. viii. pp. 599, 600). For his relation to the religious and theological controversies of his day, see, in addition to some of the above works, Leland's *View of the Principal Deistical Writers*, Lechler's *Geschichte des Englischen Deismus*, Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, and A. S. Farrar's Bampton Lectures. (T. F.)

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, SEVENTH EARL OF (1801–1885), was the son of Cropley, sixth earl, and Anne, daughter of the third duke of Marlborough, and was born 28th April 1801. He was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in classics in 1822, and graduated M.A. in 1832. In 1841 he received from his university the degree of D.C.L. He entered parliament as member for the pocket borough of Woodstock in 1826; in 1830 he was returned for Dorchester; from 1831 till February 1846 he represented the county of Dorset; and he was member for Bath from 1847 till (having previously borne the courtesy title Lord Ashley) he succeeded his father as earl in 1851. Although giving a general support to the Conservatives, his parliamentary conduct was greatly modified by his intense interest in the improvement of the social condition of the working classes, his efforts in behalf of whom have made his name a household word. He opposed the Reform Bill of 1832, but was a supporter of Catholic emancipation, and his objection to the continuance of resistance to the abolition of the Corn Laws led him to resign his seat for Dorset in 1846. In parliament his name, more than any other, is associated with the factory legislation (see FACTORY ACTS, vol. viii. p. 845). He was a lord of the admiralty under Sir Robert Peel (1834–35), but on being invited to join Peel's administration in 1841 refused, having been unable to obtain Peel's support for the Ten Hours' Bill. Chiefly by his persistent efforts a Ten Hours' Bill was carried in 1847, but its operation was impeded by legal difficulties, which were only removed by successive Acts, instigated chiefly by him, until legislation reached a final stage in the Factory Act of 1874. The part which he took in the legislation bearing on coal mines was equally prominent. It is worthy of notice that his efforts in behalf of the practical welfare of the working classes were guided by his own personal knowledge of their circumstances and wants. Thus in 1846 he took advantage of his leisure after the resignation of his seat for Dorset to explore the slums of the metropolis, and by the information he obtained not only gave a new impulse to the movement for the establishment of ragged schools, but was able to make it more widely beneficial. For over forty years he was president of the Ragged School Union. He was also one of the principal founders of reformatory and refuge unions, young men's Christian associations, and working men's institutes. He took an active interest in foreign missions, and was president of several of the most important philanthropic and religious societies of London. He died 1st October 1885. By his marriage to Lady Emily, daughter of the fifth Earl Cowper, he left a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son Anthony, who committed suicide shortly afterwards.

SHAGREEN. See LEATHER, vol. xiv. p. 390, and SHARK.

SHÁHÁBÁD, a British district in the Patna division of the lieutenant-governorship of Bengal, India, between 24° 31′ and 25° 43′ N. lat. and between 83° 23′ and 84° 55′ E. long., with an area of 4365 square miles. It is bounded on the N. by the district of Ghazipur in the North-Western Provinces and by Saran, on the E. by Patna and Gayá districts, on the S. by Lohardaga, and on the W. by Mirzapur, Benares, and Ghazipur districts of the North-Western Provinces. About three-fourths of the whole area lying to the north is an alluvial flat, wholly under cultivation, and fairly planted with mangoes, bamboos, and other trees; while the southern portion of the district is occupied by the Kaimur Hills, a branch of the great Vindhyan range, and is a densely wooded tract. The chief rivers are the Ganges and the Son, which unite in the north-eastern corner of Sháhábád. A series of canals on the Son are reported to have secured for the district immunity from future famine. In the southern portion

of the district large game abounds, including the tiger, bear, leopard, and several varieties of deer; and among other animals met with are the wild boar, hyæna, jackal, and fox. The nylghau is seen on the Kaimur Hills. The climate is very sultry, and the rains heavy. The East Indian Railway traverses the north of the district for 60 miles, and the aggregate length of roads is about 1000 miles.

The census of 1881 disclosed a population of 1,964,909 (males 950,250, females 1,014,659); Hindus numbered 1,817,881, Mohammedans 146,732, and Christians 274. Four towns contain a population exceeding 10,000, viz., Arrah 42,998, Dumraon 17,429, Baxar 16,498, and Jagdispur 12,568. The administrative headquarters of the district are at Arrah. The chief staple of Sháhábád is rice, which produces three crops during the year; wheat, barley, maize, cereals, and various other plants are also grown. The principal manufactures of the district are sugar, paper, saltpetre, blankets, coarse cotton cloth, and brass utensils. Its trade is chiefly carried on by means of permanent markets in the town and at fairs. The principal exports are rice, wheat, barley, pulses, grain, oats, linseed, carraway seed, paper, and spices; imports consist of cleaned rice, betel-nut, tobacco, sugar, molasses, salt, pepper, cotton, iron, brass, zinc, copper, lead, tin, and betel-leaf. The revenue of Sháhábád district in 1883–84 amounted to £253,542, of which the land yielded £171,263. The southern part of the district was ceded to the British by Shah Alum, emperor of Delhi in 1765, and the northern part by Azuf-ud-Dowlah, vizier of Oudh, ten years later.

SHÁH JAHÁN, Mogul emperor from 1627 to 1658. See INDIA, vol. xii. p. 795.

SHÁHJAHÁNPUR, the easternmost district of the Rohilkhand division in the lieutenant-governorship of the North-Western Provinces of British India, lying between 27° 36′ and 28° 29′ N. lat. and between 79° 23′ and 80° 26′ E. long. It has an area of 1746 square miles, and is bounded on the N. and N.W. by Pilibhit, on the E. by Hardoi and Kheri, on the S. by the Ganges, separating it from Farukhabad, and on the W. by Budaun and Bareilly. The district consists of a long and narrow tract running up from the Ganges towards the Himalayas, and is for the most part level and without any hills or considerable undulations. The principal rivers are the Gumti, Khanaut, Garái, and Rámganga. The last-named is the main waterway of the district, and is navigable as far as Kola Ghat near Jalálábád, whence grain is shipped for the Ganges ports. To the north-east beyond Gumti the country resembles the *tarai* in the preponderance of waste and forest over cultivated land, in the sparseness of population, and in general unhealthiness. Between the Gumti and the Khanaut the country varies from a rather wild and unhealthy northern region to a densely inhabited tract in the south, with a productive soil well cultivated with sugar-cane and other remunerative crops. The section between the Deoha and Garái comprises much marshy land; but south of the Garái, and between it and the Rámganga, the soil is mostly of a sandy nature. From Rámganga to the Ganges in the south is a continuous low country of marshy patches alternating with a hard clayey soil requiring much irrigation in parts. Sháhjahánpur contains a number of jhils or lakes, which afford irrigation for the spring crops in their neighbourhood. The Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway traverses the district a distance of 39 miles. The climate of the district is very similar to that of most parts of Oudh and Rohilkhand, but moister than that of the Doab. Except in May and June, the country has a fresh and green appearance. Its average annual rainfall is about 38 inches.

In 1881 the population of Sháhjahánpur numbered 856,946 (males 460,064, females 396,882), of whom 735,244 were Hindus and 120,214 were Mohammedans. The district contains only two towns with a population exceeding 10,000, viz., SHÁHJAHÁNPUR (*q.v.*) and Tilhar (15,351). Of the total area of 1746 square miles 1090 were under cultivation in 1883–84, and 464 were returned as cultivable. The chief agricultural products are wheat and gram in spring, and in the autumn sugar-cane, rice, joar, and bajra, and several kinds of pulses. Exports are chiefly sugar, grain of all kinds, pulses, indigo, cotton, and timber, and the imports are mainly European goods, metals, and salt. The gross revenue raised in the district in 1883–84 amounted to £186,162, of which the land contributed £118,638. The only manufactures of any importance under European supervision are those of sugar and rum and of indigo. Sháhjahánpur was ceded to the English by treaty in 1801. During the mutiny of 1857 it became the scene of open rebellion. The Europeans were attacked when in church; three were shot down, but the remainder, aided by a hundred faithful sepoys, escaped. The force under Lord Clyde put a stop to the anarchy in April 1858, and shortly afterwards peace and authority were restored.

SHÁHJAHÁNPUR, municipal town and administrative headquarters of the above district, lies in 27° 53′ 41″ N. lat. and 79° 57′ 30″ E. long., on the left bank of the Deoha. It is a large place, with some stately old mosques and a castle now in ruins. The city was founded in 1647 during the reign of Sháh Jahán, whose name it bears, by Nawáb Bahádur Khán, a Pathán. It has a considerable export trade in cereals, pulses, and sugar. In 1881 the population was 74,830 (36,840 males, and 37,990 females).

SHÁHPUR, the southernmost district of the Rawal Pindi division in the lieutenant-governorship of the Punjab, India, between 31° 32′ and 32° 42′ N. lat. and between 71° 37′ and 73° 24′ E. long., with an area of 4691 square miles. The district is bounded on the N. by the Jhelum district, on the E. by Gujrát and the Chenab, on the S. by Jhang, and on the W. and N.W. by Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. On both sides of the Jhelum stretch wide upland plains, utterly barren or covered only with brushwood; a considerable portion of this area, however, is composed of good soil, only requiring irrigation to make it productive. The most important physical subdivisions of the district are the Salt range in the north, the valleys of the Chenáb and Jhelum, and the plains between those rivers and between the Jhelum and the Salt range. The characteristics of these two plains are widely different: the desert portion of the southern plain is termed the *bar*; the corresponding tract north of the Jhelum is known as the *thal*. That part of Sháhpur to the north of the Jhelum is by far the most interesting, containing as it does such varieties of scenery and climate, such contrasts of soil, vegetation, and natural capabilities. Communications are carried on by well-made roads, by the Jhelum, which is navigable for country craft throughout its course within the district, and by 52 miles of the Salt branch of the Punjab Northern State Railway. The climate of the plains is hot and dry, but in the Salt range it is much cooler; the average annual rainfall is about 15 inches. Tigers, leopards, and wolves are found in the Salt range, while small game and antelope abound among the thick jungle of the *bar*.

The census of 1881 disclosed a population of 421,508 (males 221,676, females 199,832); of these 59,026 were Hindus and 357,742 were Mohammedans. The only town in the district with more than 10,000 inhabitants is Bhera, with 15,165; but the administrative headquarters of the district are at the small town of Shahpur on the Jhelum river, the population of which in 1881 was 5424. Of the total area only 871 square miles were under cultivation in 1883–84, and 3053 square miles were returned as cultivable. Wheat is the chief staple, and covers nearly a half of the cultivated area; bajra and cotton are the next most extensively grown crops; among other crops are sugar-cane and opium. The commercial importance of the district depends almost entirely upon its connexion with the Salt range, salt being found throughout these hills. The revenue derived from this product, however, though collected in the Shahpur district, cannot properly be credited to it, as the mineral, though abundant in the Shahpur portion of the range, is worked chiefly in that part of it which lies in the Jhelum district. The chief exports are grain, rice, cotton, wool, *ghi*, and saltpetre; the imports sugar, English piece-goods, and metals. Its manufactures consist of silk and cotton scarfs, toys, and felt and blankets. The gross revenue in 1883–84 amounted to £55,290, of which the land contributed £39,020.

Shahpur passed into the hands of the English along with the rest of the Punjab on the suppression of the Múltan rebellion in

1849. During the mutiny of 1857 the district remained tranquil, and though the villages of the *bar* gave cause for alarm no outbreak of sepoys occurred. Since annexation the limits and constitution of the district have undergone many changes.

SHAHRASTÁNÍ (1086–1153). Abu'l-Fath Mohammed ibn 'Abd al-Karím, called al-Shahrastání, a native of Shahrastán (Shehristán) in Khorásán, Persia, was noted as a jurisconsult and theologian of the Ash'arite school. He went to Baghdad in 1116 and stayed there three years, but afterwards returned to his native place, where he died. Sam'ání, the famous historian of Baghdad, was one of his hearers, and to him Ibn Khallikán (No. 622, Eng. tr. ii. 675 *sq.*) mainly owes the little that is known of Shahrastání's life.

He wrote various works, of which several still exist; that which gives him a claim to notice here is the interesting *Kitáb al-Milal wan-Nihal*, or "Account of Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools," published by Cureton in 1846 and translated into German by Haarbrücker (Halle, 1850–51). The book was already used by Pocock for his account of the ancient Arabs and has been much referred to since, but has to be read with caution, as the author is often very uncritical. It treats successively of the Mohammedan sects, of other religious bodies (Jews, Samaritans, Christians, Magians, Manichæans, &c.), of philosophical schools (including the Greeks), and of the ancient Arabs and Indians, and contains a great deal of curious and valuable matter.

SHAIRP, JOHN CAMPBELL (1819–1885), principal of the United College, St Andrews, and professor of poetry at Oxford, was born at Houstoun House, Linlithgowshire, on July 30, 1819. He was the third son of Major Norman Shairp of Houstoun and E. Binning, daughter of J. Campbell of Kildaloig, Argyllshire. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and Glasgow University, where he gained the Snell exhibition, and entered at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1840. While a student at Glasgow and an undergraduate at Oxford it was his privilege to make many warm friends and to be very widely loved. At Glasgow began his lifelong friendship with Dr Norman M'Leod, while among those with whom he was most intimate at Oxford were the names of Bradley, Coleridge, Temple, Clough, Walrond, Riddell, Prichard, and Edwin Palmer. In 1842 he gained the Newdigate prize for a poem on Charles XII., and in 1844 took his degree with second class honours. During these years the "Oxford movement" was at its height. Shairp's earnest nature was greatly stirred by Newman's sermons, while Keble's poetry spoke home to his heart; but, though full of warm sympathy for many High Church views, he remained faithful to his Presbyterian upbringing. After leaving Oxford he took a mastership at Rugby under Dr Tait; here he sought loyally to develop Dr Arnold's system by appealing to the better feelings of his pupils and by giving them wide views of culture and education. And in this he was successful, making among his pupils warm and lasting friends. In 1857 he became assistant to the professor of humanity in the university of St Andrews, and in 1861 he was appointed professor of that chair. In 1853 he married Eliza, daughter of Henry Alexander Douglas, Kilhead, Dumfriesshire, and had one surviving son, John Campbell, who became an advocate at the Scottish bar. Shairp was highly respected by the more earnest students, and much loved by some whose spiritual as well as mental nature he helped to quicken. In 1864 he published *Kilmahoe, a Highland Pastoral*; in this his devotion to the scenery and the people of the Scottish Highlands, where he always spent his vacations, found vent. In this poem there was a directness, simplicity, and moral earnestness which showed the true poet. In 1868 he republished some articles under the name of *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*; this book showed him to be one of the foremost critics of his day; the chief subjects it discussed were Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Keble. He insisted strongly on the high spiritual teaching and the deep poetical power of the great lake bard. While not blind to his many faults of style, his occasional puerility, and his prosiness, he urged his claims as a unique interpreter of Nature and a spiritual philosopher. Coleridge interested him as a poet, but much more as a religious teacher; the *Aids to Reflection* was a favourite present to his young friends, and often gave a text for his deeper conversations. The most popular essay was that on Keble, in which he gave a vivid sketch of Newman's influence in Oxford, while he spoke of the author of *The Christian Year* with enthusiasm as a Christian teacher, and with discerning criticism as a poet. In 1868 he was presented to the principalship of the United College, vacant by the death of J. D. Forbes; he discharged the duties of this office with conscientious zeal and interest, and also continued to lecture from time to time on literary and ethical subjects. A course of the lectures, published in 1870, *Culture and Religion*, is one of his most popular works. In 1873 he helped to edit the life of Principal Forbes, and in 1874 he edited Dorothy Wordsworth's charming *Recollections of a Tour in Scotland in 1803*. In 1877 he was elected professor of poetry at Oxford in succession to Sir F. H. Doyle. Of his lectures from this chair the best were published in 1880 as *Aspects of Poetry*. In 1877 he had published *The Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, in which he enters fully into the "old quarrel," as Plato calls it, between science and poetry, and traces with great clearness and literary acumen the ideas of nature in all the chief Hebrew, classical, and English poets. In 1879 he published a short life of Robert Burns. Such were Shairp's chief literary works, though many uncollected magazine articles and a few poems show the versatility of his mind; attention may be specially called to his article KEBLE in this *Encyclopædia* as an example of his critical power. In 1882 he was re-elected to the poetry chair and discharged his duties there and at St Andrews till the end of 1884; but his health had been frail for some time, and in March 1885 he sought a change of air in the Riviera. He returned in June somewhat benefited, but he caught a chill in the autumn, and, after a short illness, died at Ormsary, Argyllshire, on September 18, 1885.

SHAKERS is the name commonly applied to and not rejected by a religious denomination of which the official title is "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." The foundress was Ann Lee, who was born in Toad Lane, Manchester, 29th February 1736, but only privately baptized 1st June 1742. Her father was a blacksmith, and at an early age she found employment, being at one time a cutter of hatter's fur, and at another cook in the infirmary of her native town. She was a quiet child of a somewhat visionary temperament, and in 1758 joined a small religious body, a remnant of the French Prophets. The leader was Jane Wardley, who was regarded by her followers as the "spirit of John the Baptist operating in the female line." These people were called Shakers because, like the early Quakers, they were seized with violent tremblings and shakings when under the influence of strong religious emotion. Ann Lee in 1762 married a blacksmith whose character was not very good. Their four children died in infancy. She became "a seeker after salvation," and her conversion was followed by her taking the lead in the Shaker Society, to which she promulgated a doctrine of celibacy. Their previous training had led them to expect that the second coming of Christ would be in the form of a woman; as Eve was the mother of all living, so in their new leader the Shakers recognized "the first mother or spiritual parent in the line of the female." With their new-born zeal aflame, they preached their doctrine in season and out of season, and suffered something from mob violence and from the intolerance of the constituted authorities. In

1774 Ann the Word and eight of her disciples emigrated to America, and landed at New York on August 1st of that year. Abraham Stanley, not relishing his wife's celibate creed, abandoned her for another woman. The "Believers" settled at Neuskenna, now called Watervliet, and were imprisoned for refusing to take the oath, for which reason they were suspected of being unfavourable to the cause of the Revolution. On being released they preached their creed and gradually gained converts. Ann Lee died at Watervliet 8th September 1780. She was succeeded by James Whittaker, who died in 1788, when Joseph Meacham succeeded to the leadership and organized the society on that communistic basis which now distinguishes it. In the early history of the Shakers various charges were brought against them, including flagellation and naked dancing, but they have outlived these scandals and are now generally respected. There is an interesting sketch of a Shaker community in Howell's *Undiscovered Country*. They all work; they are capital agriculturists; they have a widespread reputation for thoroughness, frugality, and temperance. They believe in the reality of constant intercourse with the world of spirits. There are "poems" by Mother Ann which it is claimed have been dictated by her from the spirit world. They claim from time to time the exercise of the gift of tongues and the gift of healing. The theological ideas of the Shakers are set forth in the *Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing exemplified by the Principle and Practice of the True Church of Christ*, of which a fourth edition, printed in 1856, was extensively circulated. A compacter statement is that in F. W. Evans's *Shakers' Compendium*, which was printed at New Lebanon in 1859. Elder Evans, who is the best-known representative of Shakerism, is of English birth, and has published an autobiography. In 1870 there were eighteen distinct Shaker communities, with eighteen church buildings capable of seating 8850 persons, and possessing property valued at $86,900. These socialist villages are in Connecticut, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and Ohio.

The best known of the settlements is that at New Lebanon, where there are three separate societies in view of each other. The North Family, the Church Family, and the Second Family are distinct groups, whose members live together and have a common right to land, house, hats, tools, books, and all that there is. The only form of government is that supplied by the public opinion of the community, as expressed in its social meetings for mutual confession, counsel, and criticism. Mr Hepworth Dixon's *New America* gives an interesting account of their communistic methods.[1]

There is an extensive literature respecting the Shakers; a bibliography is appended to W. E. A. Axon's *Biographical Notice of Ann Lee*, Liverpool, 1876.

SHAKESPEARE

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564–1616), the national poet of England, the greatest dramatist that modern Europe has produced, was born in April, in the year 1564, at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick. The known facts of the poet's personal history are comparatively few, and before giving them in order we purpose considering in some detail the larger educational influences which helped to stimulate his latent powers, to evoke and strengthen his poetical and patriotic sympathies, and thus prepare and qualify him for his future work. In dealing with these influences we are on firm and fruitful ground. We know, for example, that Shakespeare was born and lived for twenty years at Stratford-upon-Avon; and we can say therefore with certainty that all the physical and moral influences of that picturesque and richly-storied Midland district melted as years went by into the full current of his ardent blood, became indeed the vital element, the very breath of life his expanding spirit breathed. We know a good deal about his home, his parents, and his domestic surroundings; and these powerful factors in the development of any mind gifted with insight and sensibility must have acted with redoubled force on a nature so richly and harmoniously endowed as that of the Stratford poet. It would be difficult indeed to overestimate the combined effect of these vital elements on his capacious and retentive mind, a mind in which the receptive and creative powers were so equally poised and of such unrivalled strength. This review of the larger influences operating with concentrated force during the critical years of youth and early manhood will help to connect and interpret the few and scattered particulars of Shakespeare's personal history. These particulars must indeed be to some extent connected and interpreted in order to be clearly understood, and any intelligible account of Shakespeare's life must therefore take the shape of a biographical essay, rather than of a biography proper. We may add that the sketch will be confined to the points connected with Shakespeare's local surroundings and personal history. The large literary questions connected with his works, such as the classification, the chronology, and analysis of the plays, could not of course be adequately dealt with in such a sketch. It is the less necessary that this wider task should be attempted as the main points it embraces have recently been well handled by competent Shakespearian scholars. The best and most convenient manuals embodying the results of recent criticism and research will be referred to at the close of the article. Meanwhile we have first to look at the locality of Shakespeare's birth, both in its material and moral aspects.

Warwickshire.

Warwickshire was known to Shakespeare's contemporaries as the central county or heart of England. It was the middle shire of the Midlands, where the two great Roman roads crossing the island from east to west and west to east met,—forming at their point of junction the centre of an irregular St Andrew's cross, of which the arms extended from Dover to Chester on the one side and from Totnes to Lincoln and the north on the other. The centre in which these roads—Watling Street and the Fosse Way—thus met was early known from this circumstance as the High Cross. Being the most important Midland position during the Roman occupation of the country, several Roman stations were formed in the neighbourhood of this venerable Quatre Bras. Of these Camden specifies the ancient and flourishing city of Clychester, represented in part by the modern Clybrook, and Manduessidum, the memory of which is probably retained in the modern Mancettar. Important Roman remains have also been found within a few miles of Stratford, at Alcester, a central station on the third great Roman road, Ricknild Street, which runs from south to north across the western side of the county. In later times, when means of communication were multiplied, the great roads to the north-west still

[1] There is considerable similarity between the American disciples of Ann Lee and the English Shakers of the New Forest, who came into public notice in 1874. One of their members had bought 31 acres of land, which they cultivated under the direction of "Mother" Mary Ann Girling, who was at once their foundress and prophetess. As the result of some litigation the Shakers were ejected in 1874, and, after having shelter for a time on a farm belonging to the Hon. Auberon Herbert, they then became a tent community. Charges were made against them of naked dancing in the course of their religious ecstasies. They believe in the second advent, regard Mrs Girling as the woman Messiah, have all property in common, and preach the doctrine of celibacy.

passed through the county, and one of them, the mail road from London through Oxford to Birmingham, Stafford, and Chester, was the "streete" or public way that crossed the Avon at the celebrated ford spanned in 1483 by Sir Hugh Clopton's magnificent bridge of fourteen arches. Immediately beyond the bridge rose the homely gables and wide thoroughfares of Shakespeare's native place.

In Shakespeare's time Warwickshire was divided by the irregular line of the Avon into two unequal but well-marked divisions, known respectively, from their main characteristics, as the woodland and the open country, or more technically as the districts of Arden and Feldon. The former included the thickly-wooded region north of the Avon, of which the celebrated forest of Arden was the centre, and the latter the champaign country, the rich and fertile pasture-lands between the Avon and the line of hills separating Warwick from the shires of Oxford and Northampton. Shakespeare himself was of course familiar with this division of his native shire, and he has well expressed it in Lear's description of the section of the kingdom assigned to his eldest daughter Goneril,—

> "Of all these bounds,—even from this line to this,
> With shadowy forests and with champains rich'd,
> With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads,—
> We make thee lady."

No better general description of Warwickshire could indeed be given than is contained in these lines. Taking the Roman roads, Watling and Ricknild Streets, as boundaries, they vividly depict the characteristic features of the county, including its plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads. The old and central division of Arden and Feldon is clearly embodied in the second line, "with shadowy forests and with champains rich'd." This distinction, practically effaced in modern times by agricultural and mining progress, was partially affected by these causes even in Shakespeare's own day. The wide Arden, or belt of forest territory which had once extended not only across the county but from the Trent to the Severn, was then very much restricted to the centre of the shire, the line of low hills and undulating country which stretched away for upwards of twenty miles to the north of Stratford. The whole of the northern district was, it is true, still densely wooded, but the intervening patches of arable and pasture land gradually encroached more and more upon the bracken and brushwood, and every year larger areas were cleared and prepared for tillage by the axe and the plough. In the second half of the 16th century, however, the Arden district still retained enough of its primitive character to fill the poet's imagination with the exhilarating breadth and sweetness of woodland haunts, the beauty, variety, and freedom of sylvan life, and thus to impart to the scenery of *As You Like It* the vivid freshness and reality of a living experience. In this delightful comedy the details of forest-life are touched with so light but at the same time so sure a hand as to prove the writer's familiarity with the whole art of venery, his thorough knowledge of that "highest franchise of noble and princely pleasure" which the royal demesnes of wood and park afforded. In referring to the marches or wide margins on the outskirts of the forest, legally known as purlieus, Shakespeare indeed displays a minute technical accuracy which would seem to indicate that in his early rambles about the forest and casual talks with its keepers and woodmen he had picked up the legal incidents of sylvan economy, as well as enjoyed the freedom and charm of forest-life. Throughout the purlieus, for instance, the forest laws were only partially in force, while the more important rights of individual owners were fully recognized and established. Hence it happened that Corin's master, dwelling, as Rosalind puts it in a quaint but characteristic simile that betrays her sex, "here in the skirts of the forest, like fringe upon a petticoat," could sell "his cote, his flock, and bounds of feed," and that Celia and Rosalind were able to purchase "the cottage, the pasture, and the flock." It may be noted, too, that, in exchange for the independence the dwellers in the purlieus acquired as private owners, they had to relinquish their common right or customary privilege of pasturing their cattle in the forest. Sheep, indeed, were not usually included in this right of common, their presence in the forest being regarded as inimical to the deer. When kept in the purlieus, therefore, they had to be strictly limited to their bounds of feed, shepherded during the day and carefully folded every night, and these points are faithfully reflected by Shakespeare. Again, only those specially privileged could hunt venison within the forest. But if the deer strayed beyond the forest bounds they could be freely followed by the dwellers in the purlieus, and these happy hunting grounds outside the forest precincts were in many cases spacious and extensive. The special office of a forest ranger was indeed to drive back the deer straying in the purlieus. The banished duke evidently has this in mind when, as a casual denizen of the forest, he proposes to make war on its native citizens :—

> "Come, shall we go and kill us venison ?
> And yet it irks me, the poor dappled fools,
> Being native burghers of this desert city,
> Should, in their own confines, with forked heads,
> Have their round haunches gor'd."

And the melancholy Jaques, refining as usual with cynical sentimentalism on every way of life and every kind of action, thinks it would be a special outrage

> "To fright the animals, and to kill them up,
> In their assign'd and native dwelling place."

Not only in *As You Like It*, but in *Love's Labour's Lost*, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and indeed throughout his dramatic works, Shakespeare displays the most intimate knowledge of the aspects and incidents of forest life ; and it is certain that in the first instance this knowledge must have been gained from his early familiarity with the Arden district. This, as we have seen, stretched to the north of Stratford in all its amplitude and variety of hill and dale, leafy covert and sunny glade, giant oaks and tangled thickets,—the woodland stillness being broken at intervals not only by the noise of brawling brooks below and of feathered outcries and flutterings overhead, but by dappled herds sweeping across the open lawns or twinkling in the shadowy bracken, as well as by scattered groups of timid conies feeding, at matins and vespers, on the tender shoots and sweet herbage of the forest side. The deer-stealing tradition is sufficient evidence of the popular belief in the poet's love of daring exploits in the regions of vert and venison, and of his devotion, although in a somewhat irregular way perhaps, to the attractive woodcraft of the park, the warren, and the chase. The traditional scene of this adventure was Charlecote Park, a few miles north-east of Stratford ; but the poet's early wanderings in Arden extended, no doubt, much further afield. Stirred by the natural desire of visiting at leisure the more celebrated places of his native district, he would pass from Stratford to Henley and Hampton, to Wroxall Priory and Kenilworth Castle, to Stoneleigh Abbey and Leamington Priors, to Warwick Keep and Guy's Cliffe. The remarkable beauty of this last storied spot stirs the learned and tranquil pens of the antiquaries Camden and Dugdale to an unwonted effort of description, even in the pre-descriptive era. "Under this hill," says Camden, "hard by the river Avon, standeth Guy-cliffe, others call it Gib-cliffe, the dwelling house at this day of Sir Thomas Beau-foe, descended from

the ancient Normans line, and the very seate itselfe of pleasantnesse. There have yee a shady little wood, cleere and cristall springs, mossy bottomes and caves, medowes alwaies fresh and greene, the river rumbling here and there among the stones with his stream making a milde noise and gentle whispering, and besides all this, solitary and still quietnesse, things most grateful to the Muses." But the whole of the circuit was richly wooded, the towns, as the names indicate, being forest towns,—Henley-in-Arden, Hampton-in-Arden,—while the castles and secularized religious houses were paled off within their own parks and bounds from the sylvan wilderness around them. Some, like the celebrated castle of the Mountfords, called from its pleasant situation amongst the woods Beaudesert, having been dismantled during the Wars of the Roses were already abandoned, and had in Shakespeare's day relapsed from the stately revelry that once filled their halls into the silence of the surrounding woods. At every point of the journey, indeed, as the poet's eager and meditative eye embraced new vistas, it might be said,

> "Towers and battlements it sees
> Bosomed high in tufted trees."

On the southern margin of the Arden division, towards the Avon, small farms were indeed already numerous, and cultivation had become tolerably general. But the region as a whole still retained its distinctive character as the Arden or wooded division of the county. Even now, indeed, it includes probably more woods and parks than are to be found over the same area in any other English shire.

The Feldon division.

While parts of the Arden district were in this way under cultivation, it must not be supposed that the champaign or open country to the south of the Avon, the Feldon division of the county, was destitute of wood; on the contrary its extensive pastures were not only well watered by local streams overshadowed by willow and alder, but well wooded at intervals by groups of more stately trees. The numerous flocks and herds that grazed throughout the valley of the Red Horse found welcome shelter from the noonday heat and the driving wind under the green roofs and leafy screens that lined and dotted their bounds of feed. And, although even the grazing farms were comparatively small, almost every homestead had its group of protecting elms, its outlying patch of hanging beech and ash, or straggling copse of oak and hazel. This is still reflected in such local names as Wood Park, Shrub Lands, Ockley Wood, Furze Hill, Oakham, Ashborne, Alcott Wood, Berecote Wood, and Radland Gorse. These features gave interest and variety to the Feldon district, and justified the characteristic epithet which for centuries was popularly applied to the county as a whole, that of "woody Warwickshire." And Shakespeare, in passing out of the county on his London journeys, would quickly feel the difference, as beyond its borders he came upon stretches of less clothed and cultivated scenery. As his stout gelding mounted Edgehill, and he turned in the saddle to take a parting look at the familiar landscape he was leaving, he would behold what Speed, in his enthusiasm, calls "another Eden, as Lot the plain of Jordan." While the general aspect would be that of green pastures and grassy levels, there would be at the same time the picturesque intermingling of wood and water, of mill and grange and manor house, which gives light and shade, colour and movement, interest and animation, to the plainer sweeps and more monotonous objects of pastoral scenery.

On the historical side Warwickshire has points of interest as striking and distinctive as its physical features. During the Roman occupation of the country it was, as we have seen, the site of several central Roman stations, of which, besides those already noticed, the fortified camps of Tripontium and Præsidium on the line of the Avon were the most important. A Roman road crossed the Avon at Stratford, and radiating north and south soon reached some of the larger Roman towns of the west, such as Uriconium and Corinium. Between these towns were country villas or mansions, many of them being, like that at Woodchester, "magnificent palaces covering as much ground as a whole town." The entire district must in this way have been powerfully affected by the higher forms of social life and material splendour which the wealthier provincials had introduced. The immediate effect of this Roman influence on the native populations was, as we know, to divide them into opposed groups whose conflicts helped directly to produce the disastrous results which followed the withdrawal of the Romans from the island. But the more permanent and more important effect is probably to be traced in the far less obstinate resistance offered by the Celtic tribes of Mid Britain to the invading Angles from the north and Saxons from the south, by whom themselves and their district were eventually absorbed. Instead of the fierce conflicts and wrathful withdrawal or extermination of the conquered Britons which prevailed further east, and for a time perhaps further west also, the intervening tribes appear to have accepted the overlordship of their Teutonic neighbours and united with them in the cultivation and defence of their common territory. The fact that no record of any early Angle conquest remains seems to indicate that, after at most a brief resistance, there was a gradual coalescence of the invading with the native tribes rather than any fierce or memorable struggle between them. Even the more independent and warlike tribes about the Severn repeatedly joined the Saxon Hwiccas, whose northern frontier was the forest of Arden, in resisting the advance of Wessex from the south. And for more than a hundred years after the establishment of the central kingdom of the Angles, the neighbouring Welsh princes are found acting in friendly alliance with the Mercian rulers. It was thus the very district where from an early period the two race elements that have gone to the making of the nation were most nearly balanced and most completely blended. The union of a strong Celtic element with the dominant Angles is still reflected in the local nomenclature, not only in the names of the chief natural features, such as rivers and heights, —Arden and Avon, Lickey, Alne, and Thame,—but in the numerous *combes* and *cotes* or *cots*, as in the reduplicative Cotswold, in the *duns*, *dons*, and *dens*, and in such distinctively Celtic elements as *man*, *pol*, *try*, in names of places scattered through the district. The *cotes* are, it is true, ambiguous, being in a majority of cases perhaps Saxon rather than Celtic, but in a forest country near the old Welsh marches many must still represent the Celtic *coet* or *coed*, and in some cases this is clear from the word itself, as in Kingscot, a variation of Kingswood, and even Charlecote exists in the alternative form of Charlewood. This union of the two races, combined with the stirring conditions of life in a wild and picturesque border country, gave a vigorous impulse and distinctive character to the population, the influence of which may be clearly traced in the subsequent literary as well as in the political history of the country. As early as the 9th century, when the ravages of the Danes had desolated the homes and scattered the representatives of learning in Wessex, it was to western Mercia that King Alfred sent for scholars and churchmen to unite with him in helping to restore the fallen fortunes of religion and letters. And after the long blank in the native literature produced by the Norman Conquest the authentic signs of its indestructible vitality first appeared on the banks of the Severn. Layamon's spirited poem dealing with the legendary history of Britain, and written

at Redstone near Arley, within sight of the river's majestic sweep amidst its bordering woods and hills, is by far the most important literary monument of semi-Saxon. And, while the poem as a whole displays a Saxon tenacity of purpose in working out a comprehensive scheme of memorial verse, its more original parts have touches of passion and picturesqueness, as well as of dramatic vivacity, that recall the patriotic fire of the Celtic bards. A hundred and fifty years later the first great period of English literature was inaugurated by another poem of marked originality and power, written under the shadow of the Malvern Hills. The writer of the striking series of allegories known as *Piers Plowman's Visions* was a Shropshire man, and, notwithstanding his occasional visits to London and official employments there, appears to have spent his best and most productive years on the western border between the Severn and the Malvern Hills. In many points both of substance and form the poem may, it is true, be described as almost typically Saxon. But it has at the same time a power of vivid portraiture, a sense of colour, with an intense and penetrating if not exaggerated feeling for local grievances which are probably due to the strain of Celtic blood in the writer's veins. Two centuries later, from the same district, from a small town on an affluent of the Severn, a few miles to the west of the river, came the national poet, who not only inherited the patriotic fire and keen sensibility of Layamon and Langland, but who combined in the most perfect form and carried to the highest point of development the best qualities of the two great races represented in the blood and history of the English nation. Mr J. R. Green, in referring to the moral effects arising from the mixture of races in the Midland district, has noted this fact in one of those sagacious side-glances that make his history so instructive. "It is not without significance," he says, "that the highest type of the race, the one Englishman who has combined in their largest measure the mobility and fancy of the Celt with the depth and energy of the Teutonic temper, was born on the old Welsh and English borderland, in the forest of Arden." And from the purely critical side Mr Matthew Arnold has clearly brought out the same point. He traces some of the finest qualities of Shakespeare's poetry to the Celtic spirit which touched his imagination as with an enchanter's wand, and thus helped to brighten and enrich the profounder elements of his creative genius.

The history of Warwickshire in Anglo-Saxon times is identified with the kingdom of Mercia, which, under a series of able rulers, was for a time the dominant power of the country. In later times, from its central position, the county was liable to be crossed by military forces if rebellion made head in the north or west, as well as to be traversed and occupied by the rival armies during the periods of civil war. The most important events, indeed, connected with the shire before Shakespeare's time occurred during the two greatest civil conflicts in the earlier national annals—the Barons' War in the 13th century, and the Wars of the Roses in the 15th. The decisive battles that closed these long and bitter struggles, and thus became turning points in our constitutional history, were both fought on the borders of Warwickshire,—the battle of Evesham on the south-western and the battle of Bosworth Field on the north-eastern boundary. The great leaders in each conflict—the founder of the Commons House of Parliament and the "setter up and puller down of kings"—were directly connected with Warwickshire. Kenilworth belonged to Simon de Montfort, and its siege and surrender constituted the last act in the Barons' War. During the Wars of the Roses the county was naturally prominent in public affairs, as its local earl, the last and greatest of the lawless, prodigal, and ambitious barons of mediæval times, was for more than twenty years the leading figure in the struggle. But notwithstanding this powerful influence the county was, like the country itself, very much divided in its political sympathies and activities. The weakness and vacillation of Henry VI. had stimulated the rival house of York to assert its claims, and, as the trading and mercantile classes were always in favour of a strong government, London, with the eastern counties and the chief ports and commercial towns, favoured the house of York. On the other hand, South Wales, some of the Midland and most of the western shires, under the leadership of the Beauforts, and the northern counties, under the leadership of Clifford and Northumberland, supported the house of Lancaster. Political feeling in the Principality itself was a good deal divided. The duke of York still possessed Ludlow Castle, and, the Welsh of the northern border being devoted to the houses of March and Mortimer, Prince Edward, the young earl of March, after the defeat and death of his father at Wakefield, was able to rally on the border a "mighty power of marchmen," and, after uniting his forces with those of Warwick, to secure the decisive victory of Towton which placed him securely on the throne. Still, during the earlier stages of the struggle the Beauforts, with the earls of Pembroke, Devon, and Wiltshire, were able to muster in the south and west forces sufficient to keep the Yorkists in check. And when the final struggle came,—when Henry of Richmond landed at Milford Haven,—the Welsh blood in his veins rallied to his standard so powerful a contingent of the southern marchmen that he was able at once to cross the Severn, and, traversing north Warwickshire, to confront the forces of Richard, with the assurance that in the hour of need he would be supported by Stanley and Northumberland. Warwickshire itself was, as already intimated, considerably divided even in the more active stages of the conflict, Coventry being strongly in favour of the Red Rose, while Warwick, under the influence of the earl, was for a while devoted to the cause of the White Rose. Kenilworth was still held by the house of Lancaster, and Henry VI. at the outset of the conquest had more than once taken refuge there. On the other hand Edward IV. and Richard III. both visited Warwick, the latter being so interested in the castle that he is said to have laid the foundation of a new and "mighty fayre" tower on the north side, afterwards known as the Bear's Tower. Edward IV., in harmony with his strong instinct for popularity, and command of the arts that secure it, tried to conciliate the people of Coventry by visiting the town and witnessing its celebrated pageants more than once—at Christmas in 1465 and at the festival of St George in 1474. Although he was accompanied by his queen the efforts to win the town from its attachment to the rival house do not appear to have been very successful. Under Edward's rule the manifestation of active partisanship was naturally in abeyance, and no doubt the feeling may to some extent have declined. Indeed, in the later stages of the struggle Warwickshire, like so many other counties, was comparatively weary and quiescent. When Richard III. advanced to the north the sheriff of the shire had, it is true, in obedience to the royal mandate levied a force on behalf of the king, but as this force never actually joined the royal standard it is naturally assumed that it was either intercepted by Henry on his march to Bosworth Field or had voluntarily joined him on the eve of the battle. In view of the strong Lancasterian sympathies in the north and east of the shire the latter is by far the more probable supposition. In this case, or indeed on either alternative, it may be true, as asserted in the patent of arms subsequently granted to Shakespeare's father, that his ancestors had fought on behalf of Henry VII. in the great battle that placed the crown on his head. Many families bearing the name of Shakespeare were scattered through Warwickshire in the 15th century, and it is therefore not at all unlikely that some of their members had wielded a spear with effect in the battle that, to the immense relief of the country, happily closed the most miserable civil conflict in its annals.

Influence of local traditions.

But, whether any of his ancestors fought at Bosworth Field or not, Shakespeare would be sure in his youth to hear, almost at first hand, a multitude of exciting stories and stirring incidents connected with so memorable and far-reaching a victory. After the battle Henry VII. had slept at Coventry, and was entertained by the citizens and presented with handsome gifts. He seems there also to have first exercised his royal power by conferring knighthood on the mayor of the town. The battle was fought only eighty years before Shakespeare's birth, and public events of importance are vividly transmitted by local tradition for more than double that length of time. At this hour the quiet farmsteads of Mid Somerset abound with stories and traditions of Monmouth and his soldiers, and of the events that preceded and followed the battle of Sedgemoor. And a century earlier local traditions possessed still more vitality and power. In the 16th century, indeed, the great events of the nation's life, as well as more important local incidents, were popularly preserved and transmitted by means of oral tradition and scenic display. Only a small and cultured class could acquire their knowledge of them through literary chronicles and learned records. The popular mind was of necessity largely fed and stimulated by the spoken narratives of the rustic festival and the winter fireside. And a quiet settled neighbourhood like Stratford, out of the crush, but near the great centres of national activity, would be peculiarly rich in these stored-up materials of unwritten history. The very fact that within eight miles of Shakespeare's birthplace arose from their cedared slopes the halls and towers of the great earl who for more than a quarter of a century wielded a political and military power mightier than any subject had wielded before would give the district an exceptional prominence in the national annals, which would be locally reflected in an answering wealth of historic tradition. In Shakespeare's day Warwickshire thus supplied the materials of a liberal elementary training in the heroic annals of the past, and especially in the great events of the recent past that had established the Tudors on the throne, consolidated the permanent interests of the Government and the country, and helped directly to promote the growing unity and strength, prosperity and renown, of the kingdom. The special value of Shakespeare's dramatic interpretation of this period, arising from his early familiarity with the rich and pregnant materials of unwritten history, has recently been insisted on afresh by one of our most careful and learned authorities. In the preface to his work on *The Houses of Lancaster and York*, Mr James Gairdner says:—"For this period of English history we are fortunate in possessing an unrivalled interpreter in our great dramatic poet Shakespeare. A regular sequence of historical plays exhibits to us, not only the general character of each successive reign, but nearly the whole chain of leading events from the days of Richard II. to the death of Richard III. at Bosworth. Following the guidance of such a master mind, we realize for ourselves the men and actions of the period in a way we cannot do in any other epoch. And this is the more important as the age itself, especially towards the close, is one of the most obscure in English history. During the period of the Wars of the Roses we have, comparatively speaking, very few contemporary narratives of what took place, and anything like a general history of the times was not written till a much later date. But the doings of that stormy age,—the sad calamities endured by kings—the sudden changes of fortune in great men—the glitter of chivalry and the horrors of civil war,—all left a deep impression upon the mind of the nation, which *was kept alive by vivid traditions of the past at the time that our great dramatist wrote.* Hence, notwithstanding the scantiness of records and the meagreness of ancient chronicles, we have singularly little difficulty in understanding the spirit and character of the times." Familiar as he must have been in his youth with the materials that enabled him to interpret so stirring a period, it is not surprising that even amidst the quiet hedgerows and meadows of Stratford Shakespeare's pulse should have beat high with patriotic enthusiasm, or that when launched on his new career in the metropolis he should have sympathized to the full extent of his larger powers with the glow of loyal feeling that, under Elizabeth's rule, and especially in the conflict with Spain, thrilled the nation's heart with an exulting sense of full political life, realized national power, and gathering European fame.

In the interval that elapsed between the battle of Bosworth Field and the birth of Shakespeare Warwickshire continued to be visited by the reigning monarch and members of the royal family. The year after his accession to the crown Henry VIII., with Queen Catherine, visited Coventry in state, and witnessed there a series of magnificent pageants. In 1525 the Princess Mary spent two days at the priory, being entertained with the usual sports and shows, and presented by the citizens on her departure with handsome presents. The year after Shakespeare's birth Queen Elizabeth made a state visit to Coventry, Kenilworth, and Warwick, the young queen being received at every point of her progress with unusually splendid demonstrations of loyalty and devotion. And nine years before Shakespeare's birth King Edward VI., in the last months of his reign, had specially interested himself in the re-establishment by royal charter of the free grammar school of the guild at Stratford, which had been suppressed at the dissolution of religious houses during his father's reign.

The town of Stratford lies on the north bank of the Avon, at a point about midway in its course from its rise in Northamptonshire hills to its junction with the Severn at Tewkesbury. On entering the town, across Sir Hugh Clopton's noble bridge, the road from the south-east fans out in three main directions,—on the right to Warwick and Coventry, on the left to Alcester, while between runs the central street, the modern representative of the old Roman way to Birmingham, Chester, and the north. Further to the left a fourth and less important road leaves the town beyond the church, and, keeping in the main the line of the river, goes to Bidford, Salford Priors, and Evesham. It is a picturesque country road connecting a string of undulating villages and hamlets with Stratford. The town itself consisted in the 16th century of the low gable-roofed wood-and-plaster houses dotted at intervals along these roads and down the cross streets that connected them with each other and with the river. Most of the houses in Shakespeare's time had gardens at the back, and many at the sides also; and the space between the houses, combined with the unusual width of the streets, gave the town an open cheerful look which enabled it to retain pleasant touches of its earlier rural state. As its prosperity increased the scattered dwellings naturally tended to close up their ranks, and present a more united front of exposed wares and convenient hostelries to the yeomen and graziers, who with their wives and families frequented the place on fair and market days. But in Shakespeare's time the irregular line of gables and porches, of penthouse walls and garden palings, with patches of flowers and overarching foliage between, still varied the view and refreshed the eye in looking down the leading thoroughfares. These thoroughfares took the shape of a central cross, of which Church, Chapel, and High Streets, running in a continuous line north and south, constituted the shaft or stem, while Bridge and Wood Streets, running in another line east and west, were the transverse beam or bar. At the point of intersection stood the High Cross, a solid stone building with steps below and open arches above, from which public proclamations were made, and, as in London and other large towns, sermons sometimes delivered. The open space around the High Cross was the centre of trade and merchandise on market days, and from the force of custom it naturally became the site on which at a later period the market-house was built. Opposite the High Cross the main road, carried over Sir Hugh Clopton's arches and along Bridge Street, turns to the left through Henley Street on its way to Henley-in-Arden and the more distant northerly towns. At the western end of Wood Street was a large and open space called Rother Market, whence Rother Street running parallel with High Street led through narrower lanes into the Evesham Road.

The Rother Market.

This open ground was, as the name indicates, the great cattle market of Stratford, one of the most important features of its industrial history from very early times. In the later Middle Ages most of the wealthier inhabitants were engaged in farming operations, and the growth and prosperity of the place resulted from its position as a market town in the midst of an agricultural and grazing district. In the 13th century a number of charters were obtained from the early Plantagenet kings, empowering the town to hold a weekly market and no fewer than five annual fairs, four of which were mainly for cattle. In later times a series of great cattle markets, one for each month in the year, was added to the list. The name of the Stratford cattle market embodies this feature of its history, "rother" being a good Saxon word for horned cattle, a word freely employed in Early English, both alone and in composition. In the 16th century it was still in familiar use, not only in literature but in official documents and especially in statutes of the realm. Thus Cowell, in his law dictionary, under the heading "Rother-beasts," explains that "the name comprehends oxen, cows, steers, heifers, and such like horned beasts," and refers to statutes of Elizabeth and James in support of the usage. And Arthur Golding in 1567 translates Ovid's lines—

"Mille greges illi totidemque *armenta* per herbas
Errabant—"

"A thousand flocks of sheep,
A thousand herds of *rother-beasts*, he in his fields did keep."

The word seems to have been longer retained and more freely used in the Midland counties than elsewhere, and Shakespeare himself employs it with colloquial precision in the restored line of *Timon of Athens*: "It is the pasture lards the rother's sides." Many a time, no doubt, as a boy, during the spring and summer fairs, he had risen with the sun, and, making his way from Henley Street to the bridge, watched the first arrivals of the "large-eyed kine" slowly driven in from the rich pastures of the "Red Horse Valley." There would be some variety and excitement in the spectacle as the droves of meditative oxen were invaded from time to time by groups of Herefordshire cows lowing anxiously after their skittish calves, as well as by the presence and disconcerting activity of still smaller deer. And the boy would be sure to follow the crowding cattle to the Rother Market and observe at leisure the humours of the ploughmen and drovers from the Feldon district, whose heavy intermittent talk would be in perfect keeping with the bovine stolidity of the steers and heifers around them. There was a market-cross at the head of the Rother expanse, and this was the chief gathering place for the cattle-dealers, as the High Cross was the rallying point of the dealers in corn and country produce. In