

THE SITE

OF

THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE OF SHAKESPEARE.

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INTRODUCTION, WITH ALLUSIONS TO SOME IMPORTANT INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF "THE GLOBE" AND OF ITS SUCCESSOR.

IN October 1909, a pictorial bronze commemorating Shakespeare's Playhouse, "The Globe," was unveiled by Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, on behalf of "The Shakespeare Reading Society," of which Sir Herbert is the President. The bronze was fixed upon a wall of the Brewery of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited, the wall being situated upon the south

side of Park Street, that portion of Park Street which runs east and west in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, a hundred feet to the north of the supposed site of the Playhouse (*v. Ordnance map, Plate I.*).

In deciding upon the position of the bronze, existing evidence, so far as it was obtainable, was carefully scrutinised. Owing, however, to the merging of ownership of many small plots of land, to the demolition and re-erection of sundry tenements and buildings, and to other causes, no such conclusive evidence was forthcoming as to the exact position of the site as would have been afforded by, say, the discovery of foundations. When no trace of the foundations of a structure has been discovered, difficulties necessarily present themselves in the endeavour to settle upon the precise spot where such structure stood. This is the case even when but few changes have been made in surroundings: when, however, destruction, rebuilding, variation in ownership of adjacent plots, and general disturbance of environment have supervened, the difficulty in accurately identifying a site is materially increased. In the case of The Globe Playhouse, the alterations to which the physical standards of reference had been subjected were such as to compel collation of allusions to the site before close approximation to certainty was reached. In these circumstances, therefore, reliance had necessarily to be placed upon the cumulative effect of certain facts which, as individual items of proof, were of varying degrees of importance, cogency, or weight.

In this Paper it is proposed to set out and to review the evidence which determined the position of the commemorative bronze. Incidentally, the shape of The Globe also appears. It is hoped that, by drawing attention to the subject in this manner, additional information may be elicited whereby the position of the site, as concluded by the promoters of the memorial, may be checked.

Since this Paper is concerned solely with the site of The Globe, and with matters directly arising therefrom, much of subsidiary interest is omitted. For instance,



the shares into which the ownership of the Playhouse was divided, the owners of the shares, the plays produced, and the method of representing them; also the companies that acted there, and the members of those companies, with the rôles they filled, are all topics which, deserving the fullest treatment, must necessarily be postponed.

In the history of this theatre of Shakespeare and of its successor which bore the same name, *The Globe*, some well-known incidents stand out prominently. Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, sons of James Burbage, the builder of the “Theatre” at Shoreditch in 1576, failing to obtain a renewal of the lease of twenty-one years of the ground upon which the “Theatre” stood, demolished their playhouse, and on the 28th December, 1598, or, according to another and contemporary authority, on the 20th January, 1598/9, removed the remains to Bankside in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.¹ There the timber playhouse was re-erected and became known as *The Globe*. The cost of the buildings was said to be £600, “but, upon better evidence, approximately £400.”² The ground upon which *The Globe* was built was leased from Nicholas Brend, of West Moulsey, to Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge, William Shakespeare, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, John Hemynge, and William Kempe, from the 25th December, 1598, for the term of thirty-one years. The rent reserved was £14 : 10s. per annum, the date of the lease being the 21st February, 1599.³

An early reference “to the late erected Plaiehowse On the Banek in the said p’ishe of S^{te} Saviour’s Called the *Globe*” occurs in the contract, dated 8 Jan., 1599/1600, for the erection of the Fortune Playhouse

¹ P. R. O., Star Chamber Proceedings, 44 Eliz. (1601), A. xii, 35 ; Coram Rege Roll, 1362, Trin., 42 Eliz., rot. 587 ; Halliwell-Phillipps’ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1889, I, 358 *et seq.* ; *The Athenaeum*, Oct. 16th, 1909, *per* Mrs. Stopes.

² *The Times*, Oct. 2nd, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

³ P. R. O., Coram Rege Roll, 1454, 13 Jas. I, Hil., m. 692 ; *The Times*, Oct. 2nd and 4th, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

at Cripplegate.¹ In 1600/1, the Globe is mentioned as a place of assembly, on the 7th February, the eve of Essex's ill-starred rising against the Queen's advisers.² By letters-patent granted, May 19th, 1603, to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, permission was accorded for performing "within their now usual house, the Globe, within our County of Surrey."³ The original Globe was destroyed by fire on the 29th June, 1613, during a performance of "King Henry VIII" or "All is True," the thatch which covered the galleries being ignited by the negligent discharge of ordnance.⁴ The date of the burning is given as 1612 in the MS. additions to *Stow* in the Phillipps's collection at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.⁵ In view of the other evidence, however, it is difficult to believe this date 1612 to be correct.

Ben Jonson, in reference to the fire at which apparently he was present, exclaims:—

. . . the Globe, the glory of the Bank :
 Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
 Flank'd with a ditch, and forced out of a marsh,
 I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
 And razed ; ere thought could urge this might have been !
 See the World's ruins ! nothing but the piles
 Left, and wit since to cover it with tiles.⁶

In Norden's Map of London and Southwark, 1593, and in many other maps in which Bankside was included, the open ditches to which Jonson alluded and which intersected the locality, are plainly depicted. For an example of one of these ditches, we may refer

¹ Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 5.

² Cal. State Pap. Dom., 1598—1601, 573.

³ P. R. O., Pat. Rolls, 1 Jas. I, Part 2, m. 4.

⁴ *Relig. Wotton.*, ed. 1655, 425–6; Howe's *Continuation of Stow's Annals*, ed. 1631, 1003–4; Winwood's *Memorials*, III, 469; B. M., Harl. MS. 7002, letter from Lorkin to Puckering; Taylor's *Collected Works*, 1630, Epigram 33, 265; Epigram 22, 31; Prynne's *Histrionemastix*, 1633, Part I, Fol. 556.

⁵ Collier's *Life of William Shakespeare; Works, &c.*, 1844, I, cxxli, n. 6; *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314–5, *per* Dr. Furnivall.

⁶ *An execration of Vulcan*, written *ante* 27th June, 1629, and printed 1640; *Works of Ben Jonson*, by W. Gifford, 1816, VIII, 420–2.

to the statement in 1797, that under the Globe lay Fountain Alley,¹ an alley which, to-day, is represented by the continuous line of narrow yards at the back of the houses in Anchor Terrace. Along this line a few years ago the sewer-ditch was again uncovered and the silt enclosed in concrete. Complaints as to the conditions of the ditches may be seen in the *Sewers Presentments* for 1640.²

The Playhouse was re-erected of wood in the spring of the next year, 1614, on the same site,³ at a cost of £1,400.⁴ "Other contemporaneous documents" show "the cost was far less than £1,400."⁵ The value of the Globe in the year 1614 has been estimated at £4,200.⁶ It was rebuilt "upon an old foundation" which, if like the bear garden and playhouse of 1613 to the north of Maid Lane, the present east-and-west Park Street, was of brick "13 inches at the least above the ground."⁷ According to the MS. addition to Howes' *Stow* of 1631 in the Phillipps's collection, The Globe "is now built up againe in the year 1613, at the great charge of King James and many noblemen and others."⁸ "Chamberlain, writing from London on June the 30th, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says: 'I heare much speach of this new playhouse, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England,'"⁹ In Goodman's pamphlet, *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, The Globe was cryptically alluded to as one of the summer amphitheatres visible from the house, Holland's Leaguer, in Paris Garden. The Globe is styled, in a corrected return of 1637, as of the inheritance of Sir Mathew

¹ Concanen and Morgan's *History, &c. of Southwark, &c.*, 1795, 225.

² Guildhall MS. 170.

³ Howe's *Continuation of Stow's "Annals,"* 1631, 1004; Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xvii, in Furnivall's *England*, by Harrison, 1878, Part II, Book 3.

⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, I, 246.

⁵ *The Times*, Oct. 2nd, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 21.

⁸ *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314.

⁹ Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, I, 246.

Brand, and worth £20 per annum.¹ In consideration of the sum of £1,400 having been laid out on the re-building of the Playhouse,² it would appear that at the end of the original lease of thirty-one years,³ and seemingly of a subsequent term which ended at Lady Day, 1635, a continuation of the lease was obtained by word of mouth from Sir Mathew Brand "for about nine or ten years yet to come." To secure confirmation of this lease, Sir Mathew Brand was sued in the Court of Requests.⁴

In the decision, however, 12 July, 1635, by the Earl of Pembroke, concerning shares in the playhouses, five years is stated as remaining of the lease in The Globe; but this period may be only the share which was the property of the respondent or suppliant in that suit.⁵

The growth of Puritan opposition to the Drama resulted in the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons of September 2nd, 1642, whereby it was ordered "that while these sad causes, and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage-plays shall cease, and be forborne."⁶

Finally, anticipating, as it were, the power conferred on magistrates in 1648, to pull down all stage galleries, seats, and boxes, The Globe Playhouse was "pulled down to the ground by Sir Mathew Brand, on Monday, the 15th April, 1644, to make tenements in the room of it."⁷ This date, 1644, corresponds somewhat to the termination of the lease by parol referred to above.

From this time onwards, the position of the site of the Playhouse began to be forgotten, and at the present day it is lost in an obscurity which can be penetrated only by reasoned conjecture.

¹ Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xvii, citing Vestry Papers at Southwark Cathedral.

² Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1888, I, 312-16.

³ *The Times*, Oct. 4th, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1888, I, 312-16. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁶ Husband's *Exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c.*, 1643, 593.

⁷ Collier's *Life of William Shakespeare; Works, etc.*, 1844, I, cclxi, n. 6; *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314-5.

NORTH.



SOUTH.

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, 1896, with the sanction
of the Controller of H. M. Stationery Office.

The site of the Workhouse for the poor, upon which the Globe probably stood, and the sites of
Globe Alley, with others, have been marked thereon.

(2) SOME PRELIMINARY TOPOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATIONS.

In the course of this Paper, certain thoroughfares will be mentioned by their former and present names. Thus mention will be made, among others, of Bankside, the Bank, Deadman's Place, Maid or Maiden Lane, Park Street, Globe Alley, and Fountain Alley. At the outset, therefore, it will be convenient for these places to be identified. As an aid, a section from the 60-inch Ordnance map may be invoked, and also the plan by Mr. F. G. Newnham with which the Directors of the Brewery have kindly supplied me (Plate XII).

Many variations in buildings, the closing of sundry passages and small open spaces, and the numerous alterations made from time to time, which must have considerably altered the appearance of the neighbourhood under discussion, are to be traced in the compendious Deed of 1787, by which the conveyance of Thrale's Brewery to Barclay and Perkins was effected.

The terms Bankside, or the Bank, were sometimes used to denote in an indefinite manner the greater portion of the area in which the thoroughfares mentioned lay. Thus, Bankside, in an extended sense, apparently stretched from the garden of Winchester House, which lay to the east—a garden which is still alluded to as late as 1787 in the Brewery deed of that date—to possibly Paris Garden, the modern Christchurch Parish on the west, the northern boundary being the river, and Winchester Park the limit at the south. For some time, however, Bankside has been restricted to the highway which starts westerly from Clink Street on the edge of the river. According to Strype, "The Bankside is very long, running Eastwards unto Deadman's Place; and is a Row of Buildings on the South side fronting the River of Thames, which affords a pleasant Prospect and a Walk by the River side, yet it is a Place not over well built, or Inhabited, except by some few Dyers there seated for the Conveniency of the Water. In this Place called the Bankside, are divers Courts, and Alleys, and Places of Name, most of which

have a Passage into Maiden Lane as appears by the Map.”¹

As regards Deadman’s Place, it is to-day represented by that arm of Park Street which, at its northern termination, runs southerly from Bankend—Bankend continuing northward to the river. This arm of Park Street contains the main entrance to Barclay’s Brewery, and with Bankend runs for some distance approximately parallel with the South Eastern Railway after the railway has crossed the river into Southwark. According to Hatton, “Deadmans Place, a crooked str. between the E. end of the Bankside, Southwork, N. and *New Rents*—S. Ely.”²

“ Deadmans Place,” says Strype, “ a long, dirty straggling street, of no great Account for Buildings or Inhabitants; It may be reckoned to begin at New Rents, and severing Counter Street from Stoney Street passeth by College Churchyard, and then turning northwards by Red Cross Street runs to the Thames, where it is broad. In this Place is Globe Alley, long and narrow, and but meanly built; hath a Passage into Maiden Lane.”³

Maid or Maiden Lane started at right angles from the northern extremity of the north-and-south arm of the present Park Street (formerly Deadman’s Place) and ran westerly. To-day it forms the east-and-west arm of Park Street. “ Maiden Lane, a long straggling Place with Ditches on each side the Passage to the Houses being over little Bridges, with little Garden Plotts before them, especially on the North side which is the best side for houses and inhabitants; this Lane begins at Deadmans Place, and runs Westwards into Gravell Lane.”⁴ By an Act of Parliament of 1812 (52 Geo. III, ch. 14) power was conferred for widening the east end of the lane, a power which evidently must have been exercised.

¹ Strype, 1720, II, 27.

² *New View of London*, 1708, I, 23.

³ Strype, 1720, II, 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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Fountain Alley lay approximately at right angles to Maid Lane, opposite Horseshoe Alley which still remains under that name. Fountain Alley opened into Maid Lane on the south side of the lane. Now it forms the line of court-yards of the houses which face what was formerly Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road. From Park Street, the entrance to the alley is seen in a closed gateway. "In this Maiden Lane is Fountaine Alley which falls into Castle Street, where it is indifferently well built and Inhabited, being Airy, with Gardens to the Houses, and Northwards it falls into Maiden Lane."¹

Concerning Globe Alley, a fuller notice is desirable. Its site now lies wholly within the premises of the Brewery of Barelay, Perkins and Co. Limited, which, through a succession of purchases, has swallowed up the alley piecemeal. The alley ran from Deadman's Place westerly for some three hundred and eighty feet, one entrance being in Deadman's Place some fifty feet south of the corner of Maid Lane. Instead of continuing under the name of Globe Alley into Fountain Alley, which lay approximately parallel to Deadman's Place, the name seems also to have been applied to one of the alleys which turned at a right angle northerly and opened into Maid Lane. That there was a continuation of Globe Alley into Fountain Alley can be seen from old plans of the Brewery, and may be inferred from a recital in the Brewery Deed of 1787 concerning the boundaries of certain property which lay between "a great ditch or common sewer" upon the south, and "towards the north . . . in part to the late way or passage leading to Fountain Alley which hath been stopt up and built upon."

In the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, in the case of *Osteler v. Heminges* (*infra*, p. 161), mention is made of a way or lane which may be reasonably identified with what by that time had begun to be known as Globe Alley.

The genesis of the name "Globe Alley" is to be traced in the "Sacrament Token Books," which are

¹ Strype, 1720, II, 28.

preserved at Southwark Cathedral. These books of the last decade of the 16th century onwards, contain lists of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Saviour, arranged in the order of their residences in the various alleys, rents, lanes, &c.

"About 1614, the place for the first time appears as Globe Alley; before that it was Brand's Rents; 1600, Mr. Brande's Rents; and to 1610 it is still Brande's Rents, and not Globe Alley; but, in 1614, it is Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodlie's; 1620, Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodley's."¹

While in 1610, as Rendle has pointed out, "Brand's Rents" only is seen, in 1612 we have "Globe Alleye Brande's Rents," and, in 1613, "Globe Allye Brande's Rents nowe Bodley's." In the Token Book for 1621, a photograph of four pages of which are here given, the relation of Sir John Bodlye's Rents to Gloab Alley may be seen. After the number 380 the words "Gloab Alley" have been inserted, the heading, Sir John Bodlye's Rents, having been struck out.

Proceeding: Globe Alley, with its right-angled formation, is shown on the map of Morden and Lee of 1682 (*v. p. 196*).

Hatton says:—"Globe alley on the W. side of Deadmans Place Southwork, a passage to Maid lane."² "In this place (*i. e.*, Deadmans Place) is Globe Alley, long and narrow, and but meanly built; hath a passage into Maiden Lane."³

By an Act of Parliament of 1786 (26 Geo. III, c. 120), "for discontinuing the passage through Globe Alley," commissioners were empowered "to stop up the said Alley from Park Street, so far as the premises of Barclay and Company extend."⁴ The additional power which was also given for stopping up the remainder of the alley appears not to have been exercised, for by a second Act, viz., 1812 (52 Geo. III, c. 14), the alley was entirely closed. Allusion to the closing of the alley

¹ Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xviii.

² *New View of London*, 1708, I, 33.

³ *Strype*, 1720, II, 28. ⁴ Cf. Horwood's map, 1599, p. 197.

SACRAMENT TOKEN BOOK, 1621.

Folio 5 *verso* and folio 6 *recto*.

appears in reminiscences of Mrs. Piozzi (*infra*, p. 176). Since the enclosure of the alley within the Brewery precincts, a passage, which runs over the eastern extremity of the alley, has been known as "Dark Alley."

(3) EVIDENCE BEARING UPON THE POSITION OF THE SITE.

Preliminaries having thus been dealt with, the problem as to the exact situation of the site of the Playhouse may now be attacked at close quarters.

The site has been considered for some time to be included within the Brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited, an attribution which was strengthened by the researches of the late Mr. Rendle, Medical Officer of Health for Southwark. The results of Rendle's investigations appeared in *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspere's Youth*, 1878, Part II, 3rd Book, published by "The New Shakspere Society," which in this Paper is cited as Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*. Rendle's conclusions were chiefly based upon entries in the "Sacramental Token Books," preserved at Southwark Cathedral, upon references in two title deeds relating to the brewery, and upon a collation of early London maps. Rendle allocated the site to a position closely adjacent to the engine-house, some 80 or 100 feet west of the east corner of (east-and-west) Park Street. In the present investigation, these documents again receive consideration.

As the result of an examination of the whole of the evidence, it is to be inferred that the theatre stood some 120 yards west from the south-east corner of east-and-west Park Street, and upon a plot 100 feet and more south of the present memorial (*v. Ordnance map, Plate I.*).

The evidence which bears upon the position of the site may be classified according to its derivation; viz., (A) from documents of a legal, semi-legal, or business character; (B) from printed and oral accounts, which, purporting to describe the position of "The Globe Playhouse," were not, in general, of a legal, semi-legal, or business character; and (C) from 16th- and 17th-century map-views and plans of London and Southwark.

(A) DOCUMENTS OF A LEGAL, SEMI-LEGAL, OR BUSINESS CHARACTER.

There are several documents extant which were drawn up by, or for lawyers in legal proceedings, and in conveyancing and other operations which related to the transference or development of property in the locality under discussion, or were documents employed in semi-legal, official, or in business operations, from which conclusions as to the site of the *Globe* may be drawn. From the documents it is, of course, apparent that somewhere on Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour's, formerly St. Mary Overy's, the Playhouse stood. The documents, with a possible exception, indicate the site as being within the Brewery of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited. Further, the evidence points to the exact site as being outside of and against the right angle which the long arm of the formerly existing *Globe Alley* made with an alley which turned northwards.

Soon after the erection of the playhouse, its situation is incidentally referred to. These references, however, are too indefinite to be of much service in identifying the site with precision. Thus, in the Bill of Complaint, *Allen v. Burbage*,¹ concerning the demolition of the Shoreditch "Theatre," it is narrated how certain persons did "take and carry awaye from thence all the wood and timber thereof unto the Bancksyde in the parishe of St. Marye Overyes."² "The late erected playhouse on the Banck in the said Parish of Saint Saviour's, called the *Globe*" is the allusion in the contract, January 1599/1600 for the building of the Fortune Playhouse at Cripplegate.³ "The *Globe* on the Bank-side";⁴ "to the *Globe* over the water where the Lord

¹ P. R. O., Star Chamber Proceedings, 44 Eliz. (1601), A XII, 35.

² Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, I, 361; *The Athenaeum*, Oct. 16th, 1909, *per* Mrs. Stopes.

³ Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 5.

⁴ Index to *City Remembrancia*, June 22nd, 1600, 355.

Chamberlain's men use to play";¹ "The Globe scituate in maiden lane on the Banckside in the Countie of Surrey,"² "The Globe, Bankside,"³ are further contemporary references to the situation.

More precise information, however, concerning the situation is to be obtained from the Coram Rege Roll, 1616.⁴ This contemporary document, which was discovered by Dr. Wallace, of the University of Nebraska, is of great importance to students of Shakespeare, and compels close attention to all the points with which it deals. In the course of this interesting document, there is set out as preliminary to a claim for damages, in the case of *Osteler v. Hemynges*, the circumstances in which land on Bankside was leased for the building of a playhouse. The lease was for a period of thirty-one years from December 25th, 1598, the lessees being Cuthbert Burbadge, Richard Burbadge, William Shakespeare, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, John Hemynges, and William Kempe. The relevant extracts, which for this Paper Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., has been good enough to extend, are as follows:—

"LONDONIA. Memorandum quod alias scilicet Termino Sancti Michaelis ultimo præterito coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venit Thomasina Osteler vidua administratrix omnium et singulorum bonorum cattallorum jurium et creditorum quæ fuerunt Willelmi Osteler nuper viri sui defuncti qui obiit intestatus ut dicitur per Thomam Farrer attornatum sum. Et protulit hic in curia dicti domini Regis tunc ibidem quandam billam suam versus Johannem Hemynges in custodia Marescalli etc. de placito transgressus super casum.

* * * * *

"Quod cum quidam Nicholaus Brend de West Moulsey in Comitatu Surriensi armiger per indenturam suam tripartitam gerentem datum vicesimo primo die Februarii anno regni dominae Elizabethæ nuper Reginae Angliae quadragesimo primo pro considerationibus in eadem indentura tripartita mencionatis et expressatis dimisisset concessisset et ad firmam tradidisset qnibusdam Cuthberto Burbadge et Ricardo Barbadge de Londonia generosis praefato Willelmo Shakespeare et Augustino Phillipps et Thomae Pope de Londonia generosis defunctis

¹ Examination of Sir Gelly Merrick, Feb. 17th, 1601, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1598—1601, 575.

² April 9th, 1604 : Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 61.

³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619—23, 28.

⁴ P. R. O., Coram Rege, 1454, 13 Jas. I, Hil., m. 692.

prædicto Johanni Hemynges et Willelmo Kempe nuper de Londonia generoso defuncto totam illam parcelam fundi nuper præantea inclusam et factam in quatuor separalia gardina nuper in tenuris et oœcupacionibus Thomae Burt et Isbrand Morris diers et Lactantii Roper salter Civis Londoniae Continentem in longitudine ab oriente usque Occidentem ducentos et viginti pedes assisæ vel eo circiter jacentem et adjungentem viae sive venellæ ibidem ex uno latere et abbutantem super peciam terræ vocatam the Parke super boream et super gardinum tunc vel nuper in tenura sive oœcupacione cuiusdam Johannis Cornishe versus occidentem et super aliud gardinum tunc vel nuper in tenura sive oœcupacione cuiusdam Johannis Knowles versus orientem cum omnibus domibus aedificiis structuris viis easiamentis commoditatibus et pertinentiis adinde spectantibus vel aliquo modo pertinentibus quae dieta præmissa sunt seituata jacentia et existentia iufra parochiam Sancti Salvatoris in Southwarke in comitatu Surriensi acceiam totam illam parcelam terræ nuper præantea inclusam et factam in tria separalia gardina unde duo eorundem nuper in tenura sive oœcupacione cuiusdam Johannis Robertes carpenter ae aliud nuper in oœcupacione cuiusdam Thomae Ditcher civis et mercatoris seissoris Londoniae seituatam jacentem et existentem in parochia prædicta in prædicto comitatu Surriensi continentem in longitudine ab oriente ad occidentem per estimacionem centum quinquaginta et sex pedes assisæ vel eo circiter et in latitudine a borea ad austrum centum pedes assisæ per estimacionem vel eo circiter jacentem et adjungentem super alio latere viae sive venellæ prædictæ et abbutantem super gardinum ibidem tunc vel nuper præantea in oœcupacione Willelmi Sellers versus orientem et super unum aliud gardinum ibidem tunc vel nuper præantea in tenura Johannis Burgram Sadler versus occidentem et super venellam ibidem vocatam Maiden Lane versus austrum cum omnibus domibus aedificiis structuris De quibus quidem præmissis vel desuper aliqua parcella inde anglie upon somme parte thereof quaedam domus lusoria apta pro ostencione et actione comediarum et tragediarum existebat ”¹

It will be noted that the account which thus appears on the Roll is but a conversion, into a Latin form, of wording which was evidently first written in English.

An English version of these excerpts is as follows:—

LONDON. Be it remembered that elsewhere, that is to say, in Michaelmas Term last past, before the lord the king there came, by Thomas Farrer, her attorney, Thomasina Osteler, widow, administratrix of all and singular the goods, chattels, rights and credits which were of William Osteler, late her husband, deceased, who died intestate, as it is said. And brought forward here in the Court of the said lord the king then and there her certain bill against John Hemynges, in the custody of the Marshal, etc., of a plea of trespass upon the ease.

* * * * *

¹ The bounds of the estate set out in this document are recited in “all later leases to shareholders” in *The Globe. The Century Magazine*, Aug. 1910, 505, *per* Dr. Wallace.

That whereas one Nicholas Brend, of West Moulsey, in the county of Surrey, esquire, by his indenture tripartite bearing date the twenty-first day of February, in the year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the forty-first, for considerations in the same indenture tripartite mentioned and expressed, demised, granted and to farm, let to certain individuals, Cuthbert Burbadge and Richard Burbadge, of London, gentlemen, to the afore-mentioned William Shakespeare and Augustine Phillips and Thomas Pope, of London, gentlemen, deceased, to the aforesaid John Heminges and William Kempe, formerly of London, gentleman, deceased, all that parcel of land lately heretofore inclosed and made into four several yards lately in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Burt and Isbrand Morris, dyers, and of Lactantius Roper, salter, citizen of London, containing in length from east to west two hundred and twenty feet of assize, or thereabouts, lying and adjoining upon a way or lane there on one side, and abutting upon a piece of land called the Park upon the north, and upon a yard then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Cornish toward the west, and upon another yard then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles toward the east, with all the houses, buildings, structures, ways, easements, commodities, and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any way appertaining, which said premises are situate, lying, and being within the parish of St. Saviour in Southwark, in the county of Surrey. And also all that parcel of land just recently enclosed and made into three several yards, whereof two of the same were late in the tenure or occupation of John Roberts, carpenter, and another, late in the occupation of a certain Thomas Ditcher, citizen and merchant tailor, of London, situate, lying, and being in the aforesaid parish in the aforesaid county of Surrey, containing in length from the east to the west by estimation one hundred and fifty and six feet of assize, or thereabouts, lying and adjoining upon the other side of the way or lane aforesaid, and abutting upon a yard there, then or late heretofore in the occupation of William Sellers toward the east, and upon another yard there, then or late heretofore in the tenure of John Burgram, sadler, toward the west, and upon a lane there called Maiden Lane toward the south, with all the houses, &c. Upon which same premises, or upon some part thereof, existed a certain playhouse fit for the showing or acting of comedies and tragedies.

From this case of *Osteler v. Heminges*, we see that the boundaries of the plots upon which "a certain playhouse," the Globe, was erected, included "all that parcel of ground . . . lying and adjoining upon a way or lane there on one side and abutting upon a piece of land called the Park upon the north . . . and also all that parcel of land . . . abutting . . . upon a lane there called Maiden Lane towards the south." These statements, as to the boundaries relatively to the Park

and to Maiden Lane, from which the situation of the site should be obtained, require to be interpreted and the result marshalled with evidence obtained from other sources. The more ready interpretation would probably be that which places Maiden Lane to the south and the Park to the north of the site. Since, however, this allocation is in conflict with the general body of extraneous evidence, some means of harmonizing the apparent conflict should be sought for. Want of agreement between the testimony of the Osteler document and the other evidence may be explained by observing, in the first place, that the document in question is susceptible of two interpretations, one of which is as alluded to, and the other which would place Maiden Lane to the north and the Park to the south of the site, both interpretations being covered by the wording under discussion. Alternatively, the explanation might be that the individual who drafted the document erred in his orientation. Each of these possibilities may be further considered. As regards allocating the site of the playhouse to a position to the north of Maid Lane, the Park, or possibly a portion thereof, must then be found between the Lane and the River Thames. But concerning the situation of the Park, presumably the park of the Bishop of Winchester, no evidence is yet forthcoming that the park ever lay to the north of Maid Lane, while there is ample evidence that it lay to the south and south-east of that thoroughfare.¹ Further, we may see from the details given in the extracts, that if the parcel of land lay to the north of Maid Lane, the space for the park from north to south would have been extraordinarily limited. Thus from Maiden Lane northwards, on such hypothesis, there would be firstly the parcel of land 100 feet long, then a "way or lane," another parcel the length of which is not defined, the "Park," and finally, a causeway or highway on the bank of the River Thames, the whole of which, judging from present day measurement and

¹ E. g., Dugdale's *Hist. of Imbanking, etc.*, 2nd Ed., 1772, 65; Map in *Strype*, 1720, II, 26-7; Tiler's *Hist. and Antiq. of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1765, 50.

assuming no reclamation of the foreshore to have taken place, was contained within a length from something less than 200 feet—to say less than 350 feet. As regards the “way or lane” relatively to the “Park,” Globe Alley, which, before 1616 the date of the document, appears under that name (*cf.* Sacrament Token Books), satisfies the condition as lying between the Park and Maid Lane. It was also of such a length as would naturally have been referred to as a boundary, whereas there does not appear to have been a way or alley north of Maid Lane of a length and importance likely to have been similarly employed; nor indeed, as judging from maps, of any way or lane, as opposed to what may be termed mere “occupation” passages of which they are signs. Moreover 100 feet, the depth of the plot of Thomas Ditcher, a plot which was part of the estate (*see* diagram, p. 168), approximates closely with the distance of Maid Lane, now (east-and-west) Park Street from the western end of Globe Alley, where it passed northward into Maid Lane.

From the excerpts we also see that the site of the playhouse abutted “upon another garden plot then or late (*tunc vel nuper*) in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles towards the east.” In the conveyance of Thrale’s Brewery to Barclay and Perkins in 1787, certain properties are referred to in Globe Alley containing in length, from the said alley there called Globe Alley on the north to the common sewer which lay to the south, 100 feet of assize or thereabouts, “which in or about the year 1715 were or then late were in the several tenures or occupations of William Forrester the Widow Bayford and John Knowles.” If this John Knowles of 1715 could be identified with the John Knowles of the Osteler document, the position of the site relatively to Maid Lane and the plots to one another would be accurately determined. Assuming this identification, the result accords largely with external evidence; but the possibility of doubt is present as to the accuracy of this identification for the following reasons:—

The name John Knowles occurs in the proceedings of

the manor of Southwark at a much later date than 1598, the date of affairs recited in the Osteler document, for a certain John Knowles is recorded as having been presented and amerced in the Court of the Manor in 1712.¹

Again, there were executed in Michaelmas Term, 1715, certain "Indentures of fine between John Knowles, Plaintiff, and Thomas Wadsworth, Doctor in Physic, Jonathan Reeve, and Mary his wife, Deforciants"—which serve to show that in 1715 a John Knowles was still living in the neighbourhood. It is obvious that this John Knowles of 1715 could not be the John Knowles of 1598, and in connexions other than the tenure or occupation of land the bond between the two individuals would be slight. Here, however, there is probability that the two lives or so which must have intervened, represented a devolution from father to son or grandson by inheritance or otherwise.

Even though what is perhaps the more ready way of reading the extracts is that which ought to be adopted, there is the possibility—one might almost say the probability—to be kept in mind of the draftsman of the document having been careless as regards the bearings of the area which he was describing. He may have been strictly accurate in the names of the holders of the plots and parcels of ground, and yet inaccurate as regards their directions and the directions of adjacent boundaries. This inaccuracy might well have arisen through the draftsman having before him a rough plan in which the top edge of the plan lay toward the south, no indication by wording or otherwise being given as to the true bearings. Although it is more usual for the north of a map to be uppermost, yet this is by no means a universal convention. Even at the present day surveyors' plans frequently appear without regard to this convention. An example of an early plan where the south lay to the top edge of the plan, but where care had been taken

¹ Guildhall Library MS. 1513, Jury Presentments, 1707–41.

to minimise the possibility of a mistake by the insertion of suitable wording, occurs in a plan of the manor of Idle, near Bradford, dated 1584.¹

Another example where the top of the plan is toward the south may be seen in the “Mapp of the Mannor or Lordship of Old Paris Garden Surveyed 1627,” Paris Garden lying to the west of and being contiguous to Bankside. In this plan the Thames is at the bottom of the plan and Winchester Park at the upper left-hand corner, while no indication is given as to the points of the compass.²

If the bearings in the Osteler document had been inverted by the draftsman, the result obtained, on reversal of all the bearings, would accord with and be consistent with the general body of evidence.

Assuming this inversion of the plan by the draftsman, or, alternatively, interpreting the document according to the second method of which it is susceptible, for the result is the same, and also assuming, although not necessarily, the identity of the John Knowles of the document with that John Knowles who in or about the year 1715 was, or late was, an occupier of certain property in the vicinity, we approach coincidence in the site as derived from the Osteler document and from the early Brewery deeds.

The following diagram represents the state of affairs as thus derived, in the corrected manner set out, from the Osteler document, “upon which same premises or upon some part thereof existed a certain playhouse fit for the showing forth and acting of comedies and tragedies.”

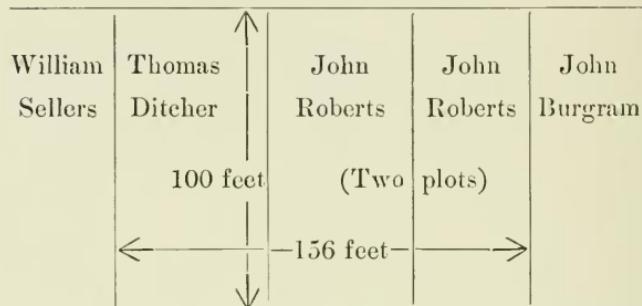
¹ *Bradford Antiquary*, 1888, I, 192.

² “From an old parchment . . . at present at the Guildhall Library,” Rendle’s *Globe Playhouse*, ii.

NORTH.

MAIDEN LANE.

[East-and-west Park Street.]

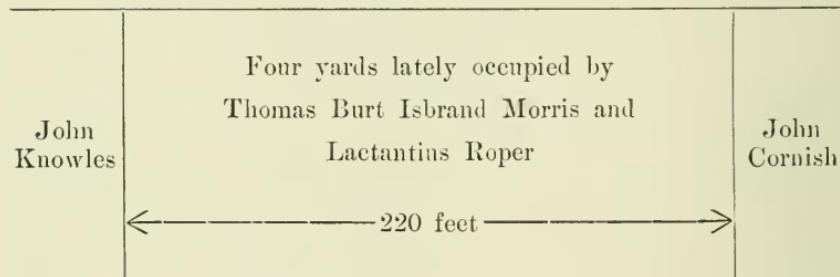


WEST.

A way or Lane.

EAST.

[GLOBE ALLEY.]



THE PARK [of the Bishop of Winchester].

SOUTH.

Passing onwards, Rendle's conclusions, as the result of his examination of the Sacrament Token Book of 1621 (*supra*), were as follows:—

"These entries in the token-book, I take it, point out the spot of the Globe Play-house. In all the token-books, I think without exception, the name of any court or alley is placed on the left, and the word alley or court with it, except when placed in the body of the writing, followed by the names of the token-holders in column. The word 'Gloabe,' and not Globe Theatre, or Play-house, standing alone, is, as Malone says, 'the universal language of the time.' Estimating the site as closely as I may, and noting first that the play-house is to be got at by going west from Deadman's Place along the alley or way called Globe Alley;

and next that the name ‘Gloabe’ in the margin comes after some twelve residents, I should fix the site of Shakespere’s theatre at or close to the open space shewn in Rocque’s map, south of the meeting-house, about eighty or one hundred feet along the alley on the right-hand side.”¹

On referring to the photographs of the pages of the Token Book of 1621, in which the word “Gloabe” appears, it would seem that, if those names which preceded the word were the names of those who occupied the north-and-south arm of Globe Alley, the site would work out close to the right angle of the alley, and thereby accord more exactly with the evidence which assigns the site to that position.

There is, of course, the possibility that the “Gloabe,” which is mentioned in the margin of the Token Book, was an inn or public-house, in which case it might have been that alluded to in Concaren’s *History of Southwark* (*infra*, p. 178).

It may also be remembered that “Tap-houses, and a tenement, and a garden belonging to the [Globe] premises” are alluded to in a petition, in 1635, to the Lord Chamberlain concerning the allocation of proceeds in the Globe.²

The next document which may be considered is that enrolled in Chancery.³ It was executed by Sir Mathew Brend of West Moulsey and Hillarie Memprise, Citizen and haberdasher of London. Some of the property which was transferred by Sir Mathew Brend is identified as—

“ bounded with the king’s highway called Deadman’s Place on the east and upon the brook or common sewer dividing them from the Park of the Lord Bishop of Winchester on the south and the garden commonly called the Lumberde Garden on the west and the alley or way leading to the *Gloabe Playhouse* commonly called *Gloabe Alley* on the north and contained in length from the king’s highway called Deadman’s Place on the east to the aforesaid garden called the Lumber or Lumberde Garden on the west three hundred and seventeen feet or thereabouts and in breadth from the path called *Gloabe Alley* on the

¹ Rendle’s *Globe Playhouse*, xix. For Rocque’s map, *v.* Plate XI.

² Halliwell-Phillipps’ *Outlines*, 1889, I, 313.

³ P. R. O., Close Rolls, 3 Chas. I., Part 23, 22.

north to the common sewer on the south one hundred and twenty-four feet or thereabouts."

The wording relating to the Gloabe is here printed in italics.

From this enrolment, it is certain that there was some intimate connexion between Globe Alley and the Playhouse, for otherwise it would be difficult to understand the allusion to "the alley or way leading to the Gloabe Playhouse commonly called Gloabe Alley." Although Globe Alley had a short branch northerly into Maid Lane, it is hardly probable, from the language employed, for Maid Lane to have been nearer the playhouse than was the alley, or Maid Lane to have led to it without entering the alley. The fair conclusion to be drawn is that the playhouse was adjacent to, or, as we might say, in Globe Alley. Further, from this document, as we have seen, the depth from Globe Alley to the Winchester sewer was 124 feet or thereabouts, and if there is added the depth of 100 feet which, according to the document of 1616, lay between Maiden Lane and the way or lane there alluded to, a total of not less than 224 feet is obtained. This depth, according to the Ordnance map, approximates to the measurement adjacent to Fountain Alley from Maid Lane to the sewer which here formed the northern boundary of Winchester Park. It may be mentioned that the common sewer which is alluded to runs at the present day west from the main entrance of the Brewery in north-and-south Park Street (*v. Brewery plan, Plate XII.*)

Among contemporary evidence concerning the site, one must notice the entry in the "Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities" of the late Halliwell-Phillipps, if only to express the hope that the contents of the complete document may some day be available.

The entry is as follows:—

245. Proceedings "att a Session of the Sewers holden in Southwark," July and October, 1653, respecting the one "in Maide Lane nere the place where the Globe Playhouse lately stood." This interesting document establishes the exact locality of the theatre. (2nd ed., 1891, 81.)

If one may hazard a guess, it would be that these Proceedings were bought at the time when the original manuscript of the Southwark Sewers Presentments of 1640, was recommended for purchase to the Librarian of the Guildhall in 1868 for 35s. The letter of Halliwell-Phillipps, and the cutting from a bookseller's catalogue, in which the Proceedings of 1640 were advertised, are attached to the document in the Guildhall Library.¹ The collection of Halliwell-Phillipps went to America in January, 1897, and was thus lost to the English public.²

Proceeding with the documentary evidence, there is in existence a certified copy of a deed, of December 21st, 1706, to declare the uses of certain fines, and acknowledgment—in effect a mortgage—between Timothy Cason and “Elizabeth his wife, surviving daughter and heir of Thomas Brend, late of West Moulsey,” of the one part, and William James, citizen and merchant taylor of the other part. Of the property alluded to there occurs:—

“ All those messuages or tenements with their and every of their appurtenances situate and lying and being in or near Maiden Lane most of which last before-mentioned messuages or tenements were erected and built *where the late playhouse called the Globe stood* and upon the ground thereunto belonging.”

If the site of these messuages or tenements could be traced through succeeding documents of title, it would, of course, follow that the site of the Globe had been determined. Unfortunately, however, the next document to be mentioned falls short of complete identification of these messuages “in or near Maiden Lane.” As regards these words “in or near Maiden Lane,” the Brewery title deeds allude in several instances to Globe Alley as “near Maid Lane.” Also at the head of a list of Brewery deeds compiled in 1787 there occurs the note, “Title to premises in and near Maiden Lane, lately used as St. Saviour's Workhouse.”

The next document to be mentioned is that of February 9th, 1726/7. It is an original lease and release

¹ *Southwark; Proceedings at a Court of Sessions, &c., MS. 170.*

² Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*, 4th ed., 1899, 267n.

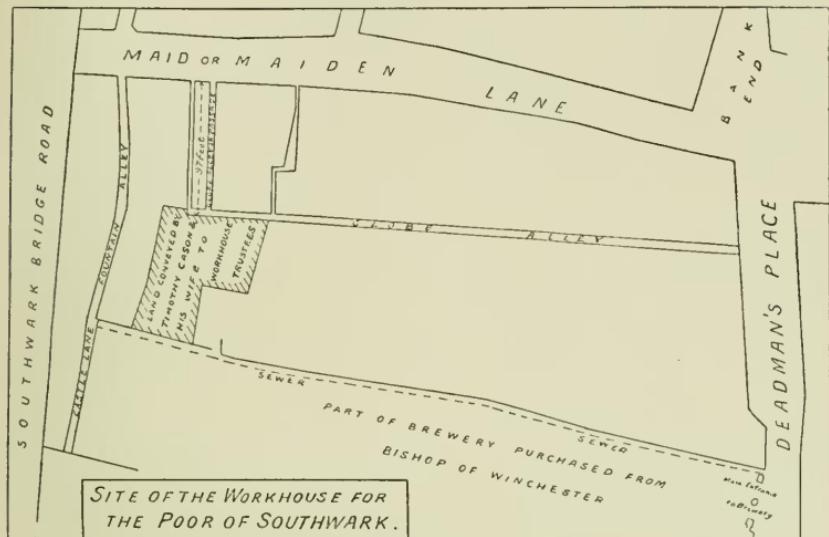
between Timothy Cason and Elizabeth his wife of the first part, Hannah Silvester, the then mortgagee, of the second part, and John Lade, James Kinder and other parishioners of the third part. Upon the plot, the subject of this document, a workhouse for the poor of Southwark was erected. Although the property which is here in question cannot by the express wording of the deed be identified with the messuages or tenements of the deed of 1706, yet there is a strong presumption that the identity is present. Indeed, Mr. Marson, whose family has acted as solicitors for Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited for upwards of a century, informed the writer that he was quite satisfied of the two properties, mentioned respectively in the document of 1706 and in the document of 1726, being identical, the document of 1706 being, as mentioned above, that in which the Globe is referred to by name. The two documents have always been kept in the same bundle and treated as part of the title to the particular piece of land. Further, since the Brewery does not, and never has owned, in fee simple, land to the north of and abutting on Maid Lane, it is practically impossible for either of the deeds to refer to land on the north side of the lane.

The only possible conclusion, therefore, seems to be that the workhouse plot and the plot upon which, according to the deed of 1706, the Globe stood were the same. The position of the workhouse estate has been identified, and is shown on plans which accompany this Paper, viz., at the west end of Globe Alley and to the south of Maid Lane.

The position of the Globe estate and the workhouse plot at the right-angle of Globe Alley is sufficient to account for both arms of that L-shaped alley being sometimes called, as it would seem, by the same name, a fact otherwise difficult to account for. Both arms, doubtless, afforded the most direct way of approach from the adjacent and important thoroughfares, Deadman's Place and Maid Lane, and the most ready access to the Globe premises situate at the junction of the two arms.

Around the open space—a part of the workhouse plot—which appears on the Ordnance Map of 1896, and

NORTH.



SOUTH.

which still remains as an open space, stood stables from the latter portion of the 18th century. It is likely that this open space is the only part of the workhouse plot that has not been upturned for building purposes.

As regards the position of the Workhouse, Tiler says, "Work-House. In the back Part of Maid lane, by Globe Alley. Here is a Master and other inferior servants,¹ 1723."

In the indenture made upon the 7th June, 1787, by which in effect Barclay and Perkins took over Thrale's Brewery, the following appears, the reference to the Globe being put, as before, in italics:—

"And this Indenture further witnesseth that . . . they the said Gabrielle Piozzi . . . doth release ratify and confirm unto the said Nathaniel Springall . . . All that ground . . . on which lately stood two small messuages or tenements with their appurtenances situate and being in Globe Alley near Maid Lane, . . . and also all that ground and all the buildings thereon on which lately stood

¹ Tiler's *Hist. and Antiq. of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1765, 48.

two several messnages or tenements up the steps in the said [Sun] Court at the further end thereof next adjoining to each other built over a cellar hereinafter mentioned fronting the said Court towards the south together also with the said Court called Sun Court And on which also lately stood the before mentioned cellar fronting a certain Alley or passage called *Globe Alley* in antient times leading from Deadmans Place aforesaid to the then *Globe playhouse* which said cellar were purchased by Thomas Wadsworth of Joseph Huddlestone by Indentures of Lease and release bearing date respectively the eleventh and twelfth days of November one thousand seven hundred and twenty three”

“ Again, Wadsworth to Ralph Thrale, 1732, messuages are conveyed ‘fronting a certain alley or passage called *Globe Alley*, in antient times leading from Deadman’s Place to the *Globe Playhouse*.’”¹ Presumably the document which Rendle has thus referred to is one of the two following:—

“ 29 and 30 September, 1732. Indentures of lease and release between Thomas Wadsworth Doctor in Physie eldest son and heir of Thomas Wadsworth Clerk and Anna his wife both deceased and likewise devisee of his said father which said Anna was residuary devisee of her said husband which said Thomas Wadsworth Clerk was eldest son and heir of Thomas Wadsworth Citizen and Currier of London and Ann his wife (both deceased) and likewise devisee of his said father and which said Ann was residuary devisee of her said husband and the said Thomas Wadsworth Clerk was likewise eldest brother and heir of John Wadsworth Ann Wadsworth afterwards the wife of Robert Hale and Elizabeth Wadsworth afterwards the wife of William Maltby long since deceased devisees also of the said Thomas Wadsworth their father Currier of the one part and Ralph Thrale Brewer of the other part.”

“ 30th September, 1732. Indenture of a Feoffment with livery of seisin indorsed between said Thomas Wadsworth of the 1st part W^m Adams Gent. of the 2nd part and Ralph Thrale of the 3rd part.”

In 1777, May 28th and 29th, a lease and re-lease were executed between Josiah Boyfield, son and heir to Josiah Boyfield and Ann his wife, only daughter of James Kinder, the survivor of the grantees in the Deed of 1726/7 of the first part, and the trustees who had been appointed by an Act of Parliament of 1774 (14 Geo. III, c. 75), for providing a new workhouse for the use of the parishioners of St. Saviour’s of the second part, and Henry Thrale of the third part. This deed

¹ Rendle’s *Globe Playhouse*, xviii.

was the result of a sale by auction at which Thrale purchased the property, defined by plan, for £460.

On June 6th and 7th, 1787, the brewery held by Thrale was conveyed by Thrale's executors to Barclay and Perkins. In the lengthy document by which this was effected and to which references have already been made and an excerpt given, the various plots on which the brewery stood were identified by the recital of previous deeds, including those in which Globe Alley was mentioned as leading to the Globe Playhouse, and those in which the workhouse plot was dealt with. The sites of the plots in the Deed of 1787 are, it is thought, all capable of identification. Since the date of the assignment of the brewery by Thrale's executors, the land under consideration has remained undivided.

From a consideration of the afore-mentioned documents, it would appear that to visit the playhouse or its site, whether passing from Maid Lane or Deadman's Place, Globe Alley would have had to be threaded. Moreover, with possibly the exception of the document in the case of *Osteler v. Hemynges*, which, however, as has been shown, admits of being brought into line, the documents are in favour of a site to the south of Maid Lane. Further, the ground on which the playhouse stood has been shown all but conclusively to have formed at one time the site of the workhouse for the poor, a site which is identified in the accompanying plans.

(B) PRINTED AND ORAL ACCOUNTS WHICH, PURPORTING TO DESCRIBE THE POSITION OF THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE WERE NOT, IN GENERAL, OF A LEGAL, SEMI-LEGAL, OR BUSINESS CHARACTER.

The evidence which is brought together under this heading—evidence dating from the 18th century—is in favour of the site being to the south of east-and-west Park Street and within the brewery premises.

Proceeding chronologically, the following reference to the Globe occurs in Aubrey in 1719 :—

“ Next this [Bear] Garden was a *Theatre*, known by the Name of the Globe Play-House, to which *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Philip*

Massinger belonged, and wrote for ; and though the most eminent Place for Tragedies, Comedies, and Interludes, was, because of its Situation, only used in the hot Summer Months.”¹

The Bear Garden or Gardens were upon the north side of Maid Lane, unless there was truth in the representation of some 18th-century map views which mark a Bear Garden as within the quadrangle of Winchester House against the Church of St. Saviour’s.

Mrs. Piozzi, the widow of Henry Thrale, the Brewer who died in 1781, in her customary airy manner, made allusion to the Globe and Globe Alley thus :—

“ For a long time, then—or I thought it such—my fate was bound up with the old Globe Theatre, upon the Bankside, Southwark ; the alley it had occupied having been purchased and thrown down by Mr. Thrale to make an opening before the windows of our dwelling-house. When it lay desolate in a black heap of rubbish, my Mother, one day, in a joke, called it the Ruins of Palmyra ; and after that they laid it down in a grass-plot. Palmyra was the name it went by, I suppose, among the clerks and servants of the brewhouse ; But there were really curious remains of the old Globe Playhouse, which though hexagonal in form without, was round within, as circles contain more space than other shapes, and Bees make their cells in hexagons only because that figure best admits of junction.”²

If this testimony could be relied on, it would be conclusive as to the playhouse being situated in Globe Alley. It is difficult, however, to suppose the remains of the old playhouse were to be seen in Mrs. Piozzi’s days, who married her first husband Thrale in 1763, in view of the assertion that the playhouse was pulled down in 1644 (*supra*, p. 154). Moreover, the garden called “Palmyra” was on the east side of Deadman’s Place, opposite to Globe Alley. It is strange, however, that a statement of fact such as this could have been made if it were not true, unless, indeed, Mrs. Piozzi’s memory was playing her false or, unless she had mistaken some other ruin for that of the playhouse, a matter scarcely probable.

¹ Aubrey’s *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Surrey*, 1719, V, 221.

² *Autobiography, etc. of Mrs. Piozzi*, ed. 1861, by A. Hayward, II, 33 ; *The Builder*, March 26th, 1910, citing the *Conway MS.*

An assertion of late date concerning the Globe is that of Pennant who, in his *London*, wrote :—

“A little west of St. Mary Overie’s (in a place still called Globe Alley) stood the Globe I have been told that the door was very lately standing.”¹

In the following narrative² we have the position of the site again expressed with precision. Moreover, from the style in which the narrative is written, the author, whoever he may have been, seems to have no doubt concerning its accuracy. Possibly it was contributed by the author of the account of *Thrale’s Brewery* which appears later in the history (*v. infra*) :—

“With respect to the exact spot on which this theatre stood, we have this account :

“It was situated in what is now called Maid lane ; the north side and building adjoining, extending from the west side of Counter-alley [page 225] to the north side of the passage leading to Mr. Brook’s cooperage ; on the east side beyond the end of Globe-alley, including the ground on which stood the late parish workhouse, and from thence continuing to the south end of Mr. Brook’s passage. Under this building was Fountain-alley, leading from Horseshoe-alley into Castle-lane. Several of the neighboring inhabitants remember these premises being wholly taken down about fifty years ago, having remained for many years in a very ruinous state : avoided by the young and the superstitious as a place haunted by those imaginary beings called evil spirits.”

The ruinous condition of the premises here alluded to also receives notice in the Brewery deed of 1787 in connection with a parcel of ground on which—

“some time since stood three messuages or tenements and the yards and backsides to the same belonging which in or about the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen were or then late were in the several tenures or occupations of William Forrester the Widow Bayford and John Knowles their undertenants or assigns and the same were in or about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven in the tenure or occupation of Robert Sayers Carpenter his undertenants or assigns since which the said messuages or tenements and buildings being ruinous and decayed have been pulled down and the said ground whereon the same stood together with the leather

¹ *London*, 2nd ed., 1791, 60.

² Concanen and Morgan’s *Hist. of Southwark, &c.*, 1795, 224–5.

dressers yard adjoining thereto hath been and is now used for a drayyard and part of the running storehouse belonging to the Brewhouse yard."

Thus, then, we obtain a reference in a publication of 1795 to buildings on, or adjacent to, the site not only of the Globe but also of the workhouse, being in a ruinous state and having been pulled down about fifty years previously; also a recital in 1787 to the pulling down of decayed buildings, some of which, in the year 1715, "were or late then were" in the tenure or occupation among others of John Knowles; and, on the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, the statement that a yard "then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles towards the east," or in its corrected form "towards the west," was a boundary of the Playhouse site.

The position of the ground upon which the workhouse stood has already been set out. Fountain Alley has also been demarcated, as well as Globe Alley.

This further statement also appears:—¹

"An intelligent correspondent having favoured us with the following particulars, we have preferred his account:—

“THRALE'S BREWHOUSE.

" . . . Upon a part of the premises formerly stood the *Globe Playhouse*, so well known for having been one of the most frequented theatres of the metropolis in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First. . . . The passage which led to the *Globe Tavern*, of which the playhouse formed a part, was, till within these few years, known by the name of *Globe-alley*, and upon its site now stands a large storehouse for porter."

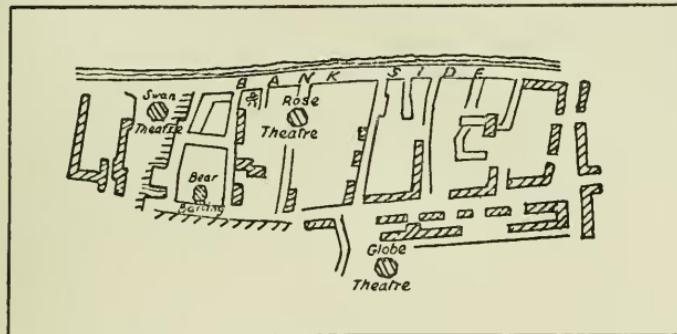
Doubtless Chalmers, in his *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers, &c.*, also reflected current opinion:—

" . . . I maintain, that the *Globe* was situated on the Bank, within eighty paces of the river, which has since receded from its former limits; that the *Globe* stood on the site of *John Whatley's windmill*, which is at present used for grinding colours; as I was assured by an intelligent manager of *Barclay's brewhouse*, which covers, in its ample range, part of *Globe Alley*; and that *Whatley's windmill* stands due south from the western side of *Queenhythe* by

¹ Concanen and Morgan's *Hist. of Southwark, &c.*, 1795, 226–7.

the compass, which I set for the express purpose of ascertaining the relative bearings of the windmill to the opposite objects on the Thames.”¹

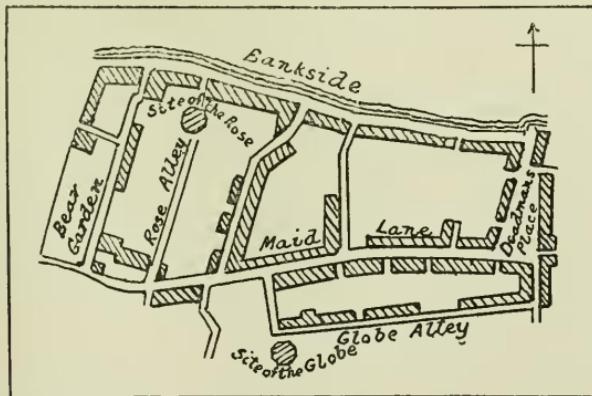
In a plan, published in 1818 by Boydell and Co., and evidently taken from, or based upon, some older view,



Boydell's plan, 1818.

the Globe is shown to the south of Maid Lane, and in the position which was occupied subsequently by the workhouse.²

At the base of a view of the Theatre, as depicted by Wilkinson in his *Theatrum Illustrata*, 1825 (pp. 136–7), the view being taken from the Merian map-view of 1638,

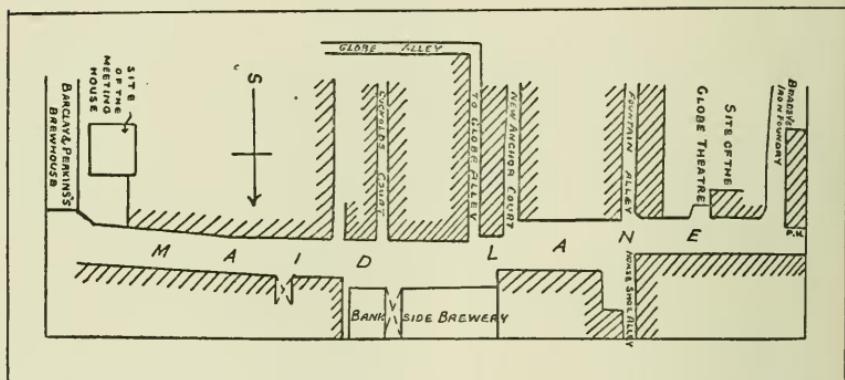


From Wilkinson's *Theatrum Illustrata*,
the plate being dated 1810.

¹ Chalmers' *Apology*, 1797, 114n.

² Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Overy, &c.*, 1833, 140–1.

there is shown a plan where the site of the Globe is indicated as adjacent to the south side of Globe Alley, and at the western extremity this position coincides with the eastern portion of the L-shaped plot upon which the workhouse stood. Since this attribution appears to be approximately correct, it would have been interesting to learn the origin of this plan. No clue, however, to it is given. The plate, which includes the view and the plan, was published in 1810. Boydell's plan, *supra*, is evidently based on the same original as this. In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, 1819 (p. 135), a plate, published 1813, assigns the site to



From Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, the plate being dated 1813.

a position west of Fountain Alley, and between that alley and "Bradey's Iron Foundry." For this there appears to be no warrant. The accompanying letter-press is headed—"The late Mr. Skelton's Meeting house, erected near the site of the Globe Theatre, Maid Lane, Southwark," while the letter-press itself says the meeting-house occupied the site:—

"Upon the disuse of the Theatre for dramatic purposes, its site again reverted to the service of religion and was formed into a Meeting-house for Protestant Dissenters Its construction as a place of worship probably took place about the year 1672, when Charles II. granted indulgence in favour of religious profession . . . afterwards a mill was erected here to grind bones; and it is at present appropriated for the purpose of grinding stones and similar materials."

Thus, then, Wilkinson places the site in three different positions, of which that indicated on the plate of 1810 is probably the most correct.

The reference to the Globe which occurs in Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, &c.*, is as follows:—

"The meeting house that now claims our attention, was situated properly in Globe Alley, a passage leading into Maid-lane. In former days there stood here a theatre called the 'Globe' Near to this place stood the meeting-house Its dissolution became easy and natural, and took place about the year 1752. (1814, IV, 148.) the meeting-house was taken for secular purposes, and it is at present used for warehousing goods. A mill was also erected over it for the purpose of grinding bones." (*Ibid.*, 175.)

In these extracts there is perhaps some confusion between the meeting house shown in Roeque's map of 1746 to be near Maid Lane, and possibly another meeting house which may have stood to the south of the workhouse plot. Thus as recently as twenty years or so ago, the locality in Cock Alley to the south-west of the plane tree (*see* the Brewery plan of 1909), was known as the "Meeting House, Stoney Lane."

As regards a meeting house, its boundaries are set out in the Brewery Deed of 1787 in this manner:—

"All that piece or parcel of ground and the erections and buildings thereon on which lately stood all that great shop or workhouse formerly used for a Meeting house situate and being in the parish of Saint Saviour's Southwark aforesaid adjoining northwards to a way or passage leading from Maiden Lane to other Ground and Buildings formerly of Timothy Cason and then let to John Eldridge Leather Dresser and adjoining towards the east and south to other ground of the said Timothy Cason and let to the said John Eldridge and on which also stood all that little shop or workhouse adjoining the west side of the said Great Shop or workhouse."

In 1823, *The Nic-Nac*, page 198, stated that "Its site is now occupied by Barclay and Perkins' brewery"; while on page 222 of the same periodical, "Truth," in a letter to the editor, writes: "You are correct in stating that the site of Shakespeare's Theatre, the Globe, is now partly occupied by the brewhouse of Barclay and Perkins." And, in alluding to the meeting-house, continues, "It was shortly afterwards converted into a

warehouse; and subsequently into a mill to grind bones, which, for some time, formed a conspicuous object in this neighbourhood, but was pulled down in the month of February, 1820."

"The exact site of the Globe Theatre is presumed to have been at the north-west angle of Globe Alley, Maid lane."¹ "Near the banks of the Thames, and not far from St. Saviour's Church, is the extensive brewery of Messrs. Perkins and Co. The building and offices occupy a space of nearly six acres, on part of which stood the Globe theatre."²

According to Taylor, "The Globe stood on the site of the present brewery of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins."³

In 1858, the *Art Journal* (IV, 280), the site of the Globe is described by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall as "near that part of Southwark crossed by the road from the iron bridge"; and more nearly, it "is believed to have stood where the iron-works of Messrs. Sheeres are now located, close beside the bridge."⁴

According to Halliwell-Phillipps:—

"The exact position of the Globe Theatre will be gathered from the annexed view of London, which was published a few years after its erection, and contains by far the most interesting representation we have of the building. A person entering Southwark from London Bridge, after passing the last gateway, its poles and its traitors' heads, would proceed a short distance along the High Street. Turning then to the right, threading the streets and alleys that lay on the south of the Church and Winchester House, he would arrive at the Globe, the circular building which is seen amidst the trees in the open space below the thickly-populated fringe of houses known as the Bank-side, the theatre itself being only about two hundred yards from the margin of the river."⁵

This "annexed view of London" was the inset to Hondius' map of Great Britain, 1610, which is discussed below (p. 186). Here it is sufficient to remark that the "circular building" may or may not have been a view of the Globe. It may have been the Rose Playhouse,

¹ Allen's *Hist. of Surrey*, 1827, p. 100-1.

² *Ibid.*, 108.

³ Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Overy, &c.*, 1833, 141.

⁴ Quoted by Ordish in *The Antiquary*, August 1885, 42.

⁵ Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, i, 181.

or possibly a representation evolved by the engraver of two pictures in little of the Globe and the Rose respectively, which appeared on the draft forming his instructions in the preparation of the map.

The opinion of Mr. T. F. Ordish, F.S.A., is in substantial agreement with that of Halliwell-Phillipps.¹

The plan in Ordish's *Shakespeare's London*, and the accompanying text, follow the Ordnance map in placing the site at the west-end of the Brewery.²

From a comparison of early London maps, Mr. George Hubbard, F.S.A., in a well-illustrated paper,³ thinks the site was adjacent to the present causeway by the river side, the modern Bankside. Neither the interpretation of the maps in this paper, however, nor the conclusions drawn from them, are in accord with the present writer's views. Mr. Hubbard's conclusions, moreover, are alone among those which are set out under the present heading.

As regards local opinion in modern times:—

"Mr. Howe, late a surveyor, of St. Saviour's of antiquarian repute, believed the site to be close at hand [viz., to the Meeting-house, Maid Lane], and he had thought the matter well out. An old friend of mine, Mr. Rider, an inhabitant of the locality from a boy, holds to the same: 'The site marked Meeting-house,' he says, 'is the site, or very nearly so, of the Globe Theatre.' This, only to show the local belief and tradition."⁴

In 1905, Mr. Muggeridge, now retired, who was for many years at the Brewery, informed the present writer that the site was understood to be near to, or be covered by, the dwelling-house formerly known as 15, Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road.

In October of 1909, Mr. James Alexander Lumsden, who for forty years has held a responsible position in the Brewery, narrates how he, Mr. Lumsden, was told by his father, who received it from his father, that the

¹ *London Topographical Record*, 1903, II, 112; *Shakespeare's London*, 1904, 222–5.

² 298–9; *The Academy*, April 23, 1904, 462.

³ *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Nov. 6th, 1909, 26.

⁴ Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xix.

Globe stood on or about the position where a plane tree now grows. This plane tree is situated a short distance in a south-easterly direction from what was formerly the right-angle of Globe Alley. Mr. Lumsden's grandfather was with Thrale the Brewer from the year 1769, while his father was at the Brewery from 1831 to 1852.

What seems to have been a remarkable relic of one of the playhouses came to light in 1884. In that year, a beam engine, which was erected in 1784 a few feet south of Globe Alley for raising water from the brewery well, was replaced by a horizontal engine. While preparing the foundation for this second engine, the workmen unearthed a stone slab on which were inscribed what were thought to be Roman numerals, probably a date, and the word "theayter," the letter "t" of which, however, was missing. After inspection by the workmen, from whom the information was subsequently obtained, the slab was thoughtlessly broken up for concrete and placed in the foundation of the engine.¹ In the Ordnance map, published 1896, 60 inches to the mile (*ante*, p. 155), the site of the Globe is marked in substantially the position to which the accumulated evidence would assign it.

From the non-official writings and the traditions under review in this section of the paper, it appears that when the situation of the theatre is particularised, testimony is almost wholly in favour of a site in the brewery, but as to what part of the brewery, varying opinion obtains.

(c) EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE SITE DERIVED FROM 16TH- AND 17TH-CENTURY MAP-VIEWS AND PLANS OF LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that the views of the Globe Playhouse and the situation of that structure as set out in the map-views of London of the 16th and 17th centuries, cannot be accepted without reservation or without a certain amount of qualification. To begin with, they are not in agreement among them-

¹ Communicated by Mr. C. Carlos Perkins, who received the information from an employee who saw the stone. (*The Times*, October 8th, 1909.)

selves. Indeed, these map- or bird's-eye views are occasionally as far removed from an accurately-plotted survey or a photographic representation as are some of the modern advertisements concerning rural districts served by railway systems.

In the compilation of the old map-views, prominent buildings have evidently been selected and then arranged in their relation to one another and to main roads, in so far as the main roads do not interfere too much with the general effect which is among the aims of the picture. The direction of the roads, therefore, is often found to accord rather with picturesque plotting than with fact. The circumstances of engraving and of publication also have their effect upon the accuracy of the views. In short, to interpret map-views correctly, many considerations must be taken into account.¹

With these prefatory remarks, the information which the maps afford concerning the site of the Globe, and incidentally of the shapes of the old and the later playhouse, may now be discussed. Accordingly, there will be brought under review the Norden map of 1593; the inset to the Speed-Hondius map of 1610; the Visscher panorama of 1616, particularly in its relation to the earlier map in the atlas of Braun and Hogenberg of 1572; the important bird's-eye view by Merian issued in 1638 in the *Archontologia* of Gottfried; the "Porter" map (c. 1660), which is probably based on an early view of date about 1640; the Hollar panorama of 1647; the Faithorne and Newcourt map of 1658; and a map which included both the Leeke survey (1666) of the burnt portions of the City of London, and an extensive fringe borrowed from another source, the compilation bearing the name of Hollar. References to later plan-maps will also be made in connection with the history of Globe Alley. Sections from the maps and views mentioned accompany this Paper.

As a result of the collation, it will be found that, with one notable exception, a playhouse either is shown to the south of Maid Lane, or otherwise no positive im-

¹ *The Antiquary*, Sept. and Nov., 1909, per Dr. Martin.

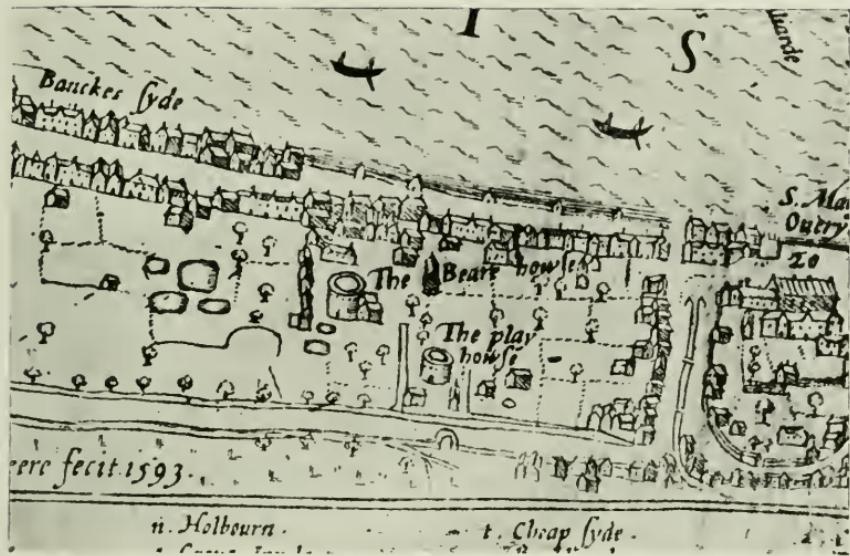
formation as to the playhouse relatively to Maid Lane is obtainable.

In 1593, Norden published in his *Speculum Britanniae*, a bird's-eye view of London and Southwark. On the Bankside area there appeared two cylindrical buildings,—not unlike the later Martello Towers—one of which was styled “The playhouse.” It is alluded to here since this representation may have had an influence in the formation of certain later views which, seemingly published after the building of the Globe, 1598–9, showed a cylindrical structure on Bankside.

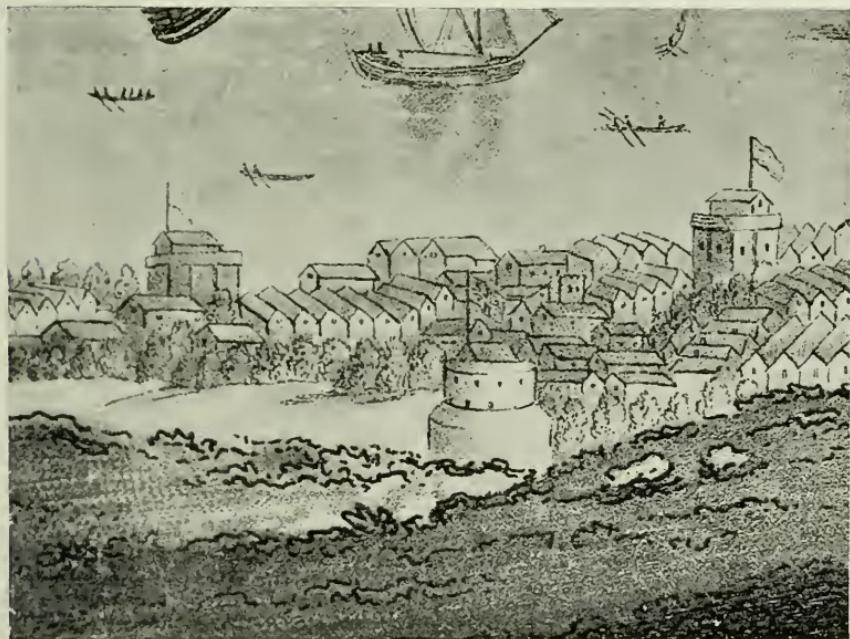
Concerning the inset to the Hondius' map of *The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* of 1610 in Speed's Atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1611, it is evident from its trimmed edges, from its similarity to the view on the title page of *Herologia Anglicæ*, 1620, where the bend of the river on its way to Westminster is shown, and from other considerations, that it originally formed a portion of a larger view which remains to be identified. On the inset there is shown a cylindrical erection in the foreground, and immediately to the north some indication of a roadway leading west from a north-and-south thoroughfare which separates the Church of St. Saviour from the Bishop of Winchester's Palace. The cylindrical erection may be the Globe. It is placed on the south side of the thoroughfare alluded to. Further, the rising ground on the left of the Globe is perhaps a portion of the mound which may have been inserted on a view of London and Southwark, a view which has served as a background for many equestrian portraits, that after Delaram being an example.

As regards this background in the engraving after Delaram of an equestrian figure of James I, the round structure which we may tentatively style the Globe, is shown upon the south side of a road which runs in a north-easterly direction. But the evidence afforded by this engraving as to the site of the Globe is slight.

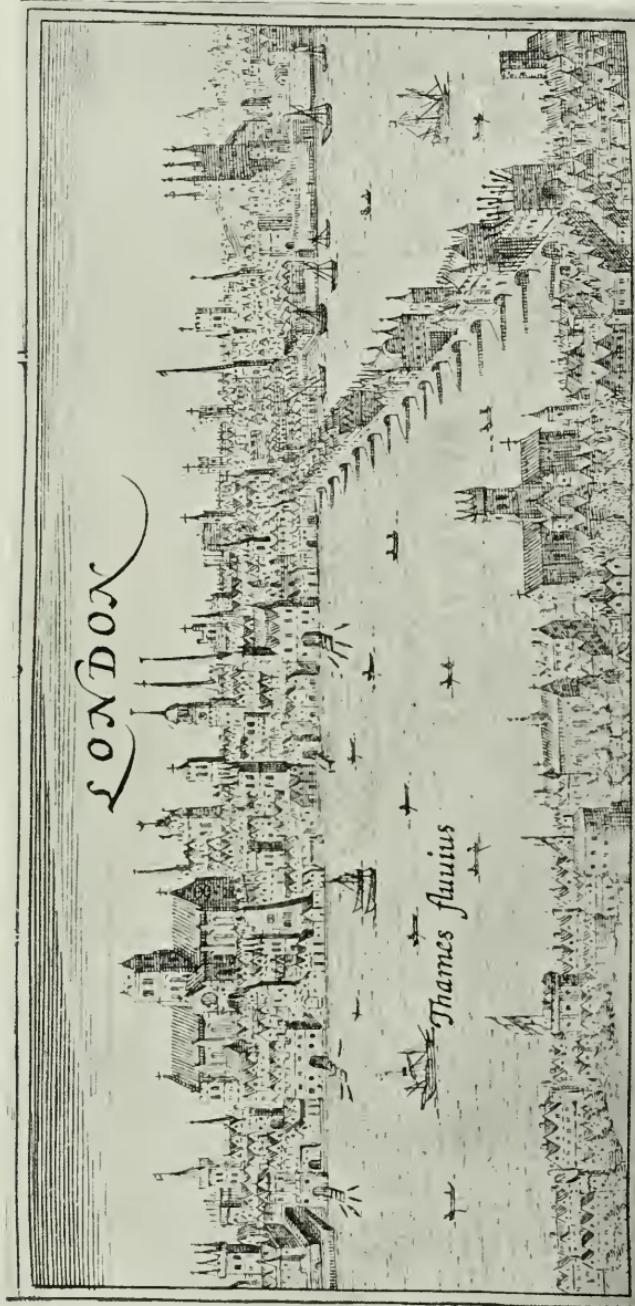
Whether the round building which appears in Hondius, in Delaram, and in other map-views, is the Globe Playhouse of the time is not wholly free from doubt.



Published in Norden's *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, showing a cylindrical "playhouse," the "Rose," on the north of Maid Lane.



From the background of an engraved portrait of James I,
after Delaram.



Inset to the Hondius' Map of Great Britain, 1610, in Speed's Atlas, 1611.

Insufficiency of the illustrated environment, together with the absence of a second similar house, such as appears in Norden, raises the question whether the round building



From Baker's Chronicle, 1643; probably based on
the Hondius' inset, 1610 (Plate V).

may not have been intended for the Norden playhouse, and that the Globe, if originally present, was cut out of the picture,—of course to be omitted from succeeding copies and adaptations. The question is further complicated by the fact that in the same Atlas as that in which the Hondius inset occurred, *viz.*, Speed's, 1611, Norden's map reappears, with slight modifications, as an inset to the map of Middlesex. “The playhouse” is there, but without the label, while no indication is given of the playhouse of 1598/9,—the Globe. However this may be, until further information is obtained, doubt, not only in respect of the identification of the cylindrical building on Bankside which is present in the later map-views, must remain, but also in respect of the existence of any authentic view of Shakespeare's Globe.

We may now proceed to the well-known Visscher Panorama and compare it with the earlier map of Braun

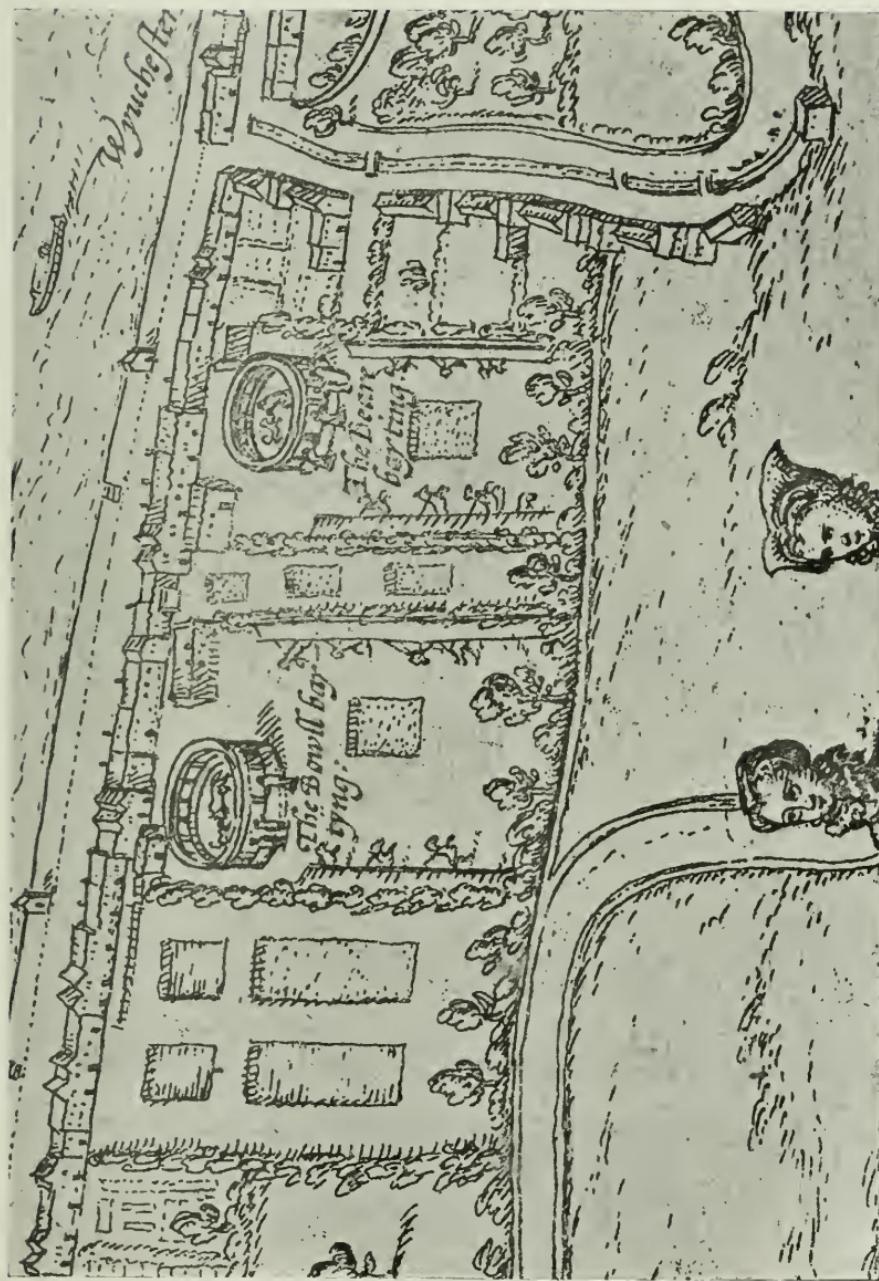
and Hogenberg, upon which it appears to have been based. Judging from the colophon of the letter-press which accompanies the copy of the Visscher Panorama in the British Museum, the Panorama is of date not later than 1616.¹ The earlier map, which has been attributed to Hoefnagel, appeared in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in 1572. This map of Braun has been chosen for comparison, rather than the so-called Agas map,² on account of its probably more faithful adherence to some original.³

On the comparison being made, it would seem that Visscher, in the preparation of his Panorama, had before him the Braun map, or the original from which the Braun was derived. For instance, there are in common and expressed in similar style, Bankend on the east, with its central ditch, its pair of bridges and its trees, the houses lining the west side of Bankend, and the house at the east end of Maid Lane. The group of Pyke ponds to the west of "The Bolle bayting" also appear in each, while the houses along the edge of the river are alike in their conventional dress. At first sight also, it would seem as if the "Bear Garden" of Visscher was placed where the bull ring of Braun was situated and that "The Globe" occupied the site of the bear pit of Braun. A closer examination, however, reveals the four plots, counting westward from Bankend, to have been extended and elaborated and Visscher's "Bear Garden" to have been placed within the fourth plot from Bankend, viz.: on the site of Braun's bear pit. In Visscher, the third plot, although hidden between the hedges, can be traced. Passing westwards, the narrow plot of Braun with its three ponds and the adjacent bull-ring field have been suppressed in Visscher. This is evident from the want of parallelism between the ponds and the hedge and shed of the Bear Garden field. Here the cartographer experienced

¹ *London Topographical Record*, 1909, VI, 42.

² Hubbard's *Site of the Globe Theatre, &c.*, Journal, R. I. B. A., Nov. 6th, 1909, 26.

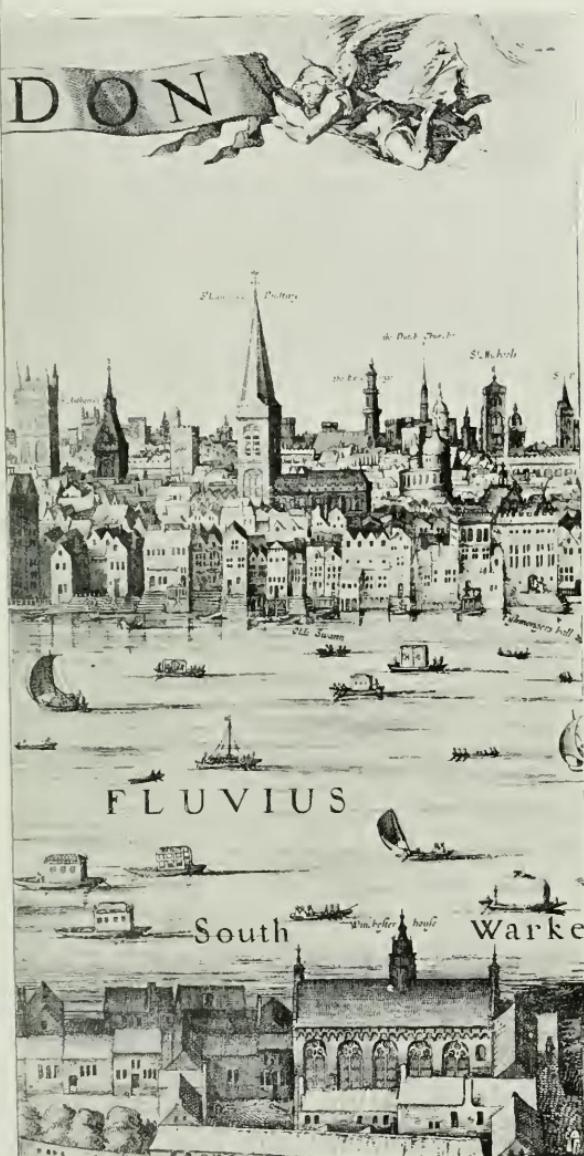
³ Proc. S. A. L., 2 S., XXII, 535.



From the Atlas of Braun and Hogenberg, 1572, for comparison with Visscher's Panorama, 1616.



PLATE VII.



nberg's Atlas, 1572.



From Visscher's Panorama, 1616, for comparison with the View from Braun and Hogenberg's Atlas, 1572.

difficulty in joining the edges of the plots due to the suppression, and has not been successful in the operation.

The similarities are seen to be more pronounced when the "Agas" map is substituted for that from Braun.¹

Although for the purposes of comparison, the plots on each map have been counted, yet it need not be supposed that the plots as shown represent accurately the true state of affairs, for they may be taken to be but typical of the character of the neighbourhood.

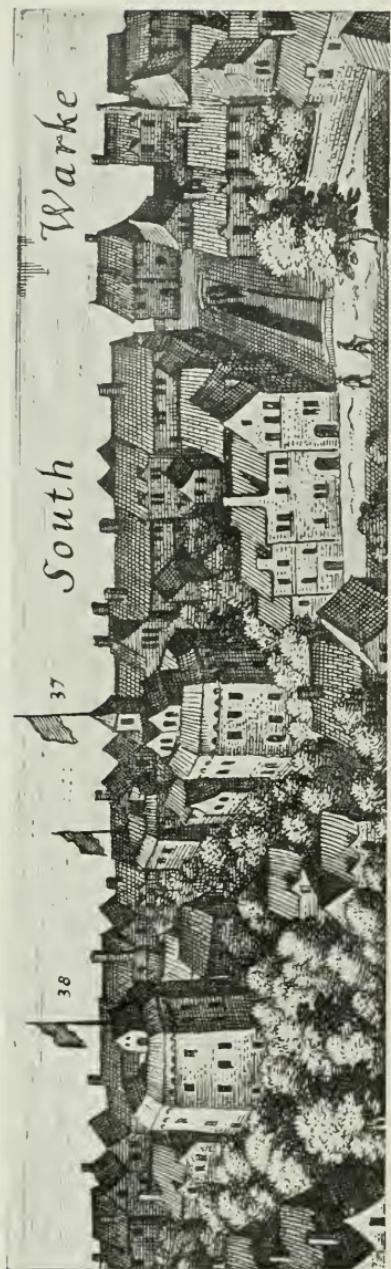
In this adaptation of Braun's map by Visscher, the words "The Globe" are attached to the prominent building on the north side of Maid Lane. It is far from clear, however, that the polygonal building thus styled, which was evidently some form of playhouse or amphitheatre, was in fact the Globe. It is known that Henslowe's "Rose" Playhouse—"The playhouse" of Norden—erected in 1586 or 1592, concurrently engaged the attention of the play-going public with the Globe and a Bear Garden. Thus Taylor (later than "In the month of January last, 1613") wrote, "I have knowne three companies, besides the Bear-bayting, at once there; to wit, the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan."² Further, there is no reason to doubt that both the Rose and the Bear Garden were on the north side of Maid Lane; and moreover the Rose was in existence at least as late as 1622, when a tithe was paid in respect of it.³ Yet in Visscher there is no trace of the Rose, while "The Globe" is placed where the Rose would be expected. Therefore, Visscher, or the surveyor of the Panorama, having before him in the formation of his view the Braun map, and lacking intimate local information concerning what was then the relatively unimportant and possibly decaying Rose, but knowing by repute the renowned Globe, placed his Globe in the position of the Bear-pit of Braun and omitted the Rose. To account correctly for the absence of the Rose and the placing of the building styled "The Globe" on its site is not easy. It may well be that the Visscher

¹ *Vide Hubbard's Site, &c.* ² *Taylor's Collected Works*, 1630, 1172.

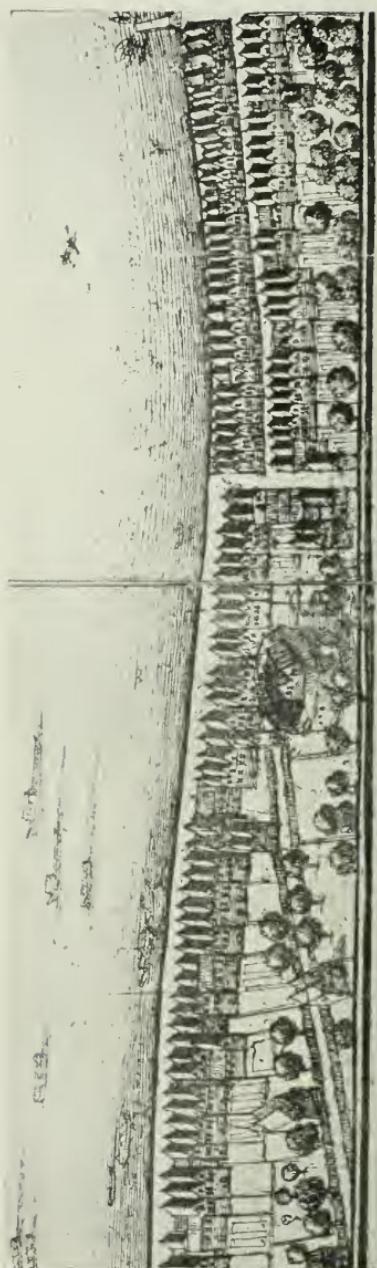
³ *Greg's Henslowe's Diary*, 1908, II, 44.

Panorama, as originally drafted, contained the Globe in a position to the south of Maid Lane, and on curtailing the depth of the view for publication, or for some other purpose, the Globe was consequently removed from the picture, along with associated matter on either side, the style "The Globe" within the limits of the picture being still allowed to remain. That the Panorama has been curtailed may be seen from the way in which its lower boundary sharply cuts through the line of hedging, a line such as in Braun forms the southern side of Maid Lane. Consequently, we know nothing of what originally appeared below this line on the sketch as prepared for the engraver. It may be that two play-houses correctly appeared on the original sketch, and that the engraver mistook his instructions when preparing the plate. Seeing two similar structures present, and possibly overlapping, he concluded that only one was intended, and accordingly engraved it to the north of Maid Lane. The delay and expense incidental to an alteration of the plate after engraving might have been a sufficient deterrent to a correction before publication. Further, bearing in mind the date, 1616, which is given in the colophon of the letter-press as the date of publication of the British Museum copy, and that the Globe was not rebuilt before 1614, the publication of a view so up to date as the Visscher must have been, for it correctly to have represented the new Globe, is of itself sufficient to arrest attention and to compel scrutiny as to its representations. Consequently, what we see in Visscher may not be the Globe, but rather the Rose, or a combination picture of the two set upon the site of the Rose. At any rate, whatever may have been the incidents in the preparation and publication of the Panorama, enough has been submitted to warrant our viewing it with suspicion, both in respect of the site and of the shape of the second Globe. To set at rest all doubt upon the matter, there is required a view of Bank-side drawn either before the date of the burning of the Globe, or published soon after, in which there appear simultaneously the round Globe, the round "playhouse"

PLATE VIII.



From Merian's map-view of London in Gottfried's *Archontologia*, 1638.



From the Hollar post-conflagration compilation in the Grace Collection.

of Norden, and the adjacent Bear Garden, together with sufficient environment to distinguish them from the Swan Playhouse which lay to the west in Paris Garden.

The next map which falls for consideration is that which was published, with others, in the *Archontologia* of Gottfried, the maps in which, according to the title-page, being by Merian. When we reach this map-view of London, we are on firmer ground. It is not until this publication in 1638 that, so far as present knowledge extends, the Globe, the Rose and Bear Garden, are found undoubtedly standing together in the same picture. Whether, indeed, in the year 1638 the Rose was still in existence is not known. Rendle says, "In the last great fire The Rose did expire," but gives no reference for his quotation; he adds, "but when that was, I am not quite clear."¹ That the Globe and a Bear Garden were standing together in 1638 there appears to be every reason to suppose.

To a large extent, the Merian view suggests an independent compilation, and, as such, may be considered as one of the types of the 16th- and 17th-century map-views of London.² Two of the polygonal buildings in Southwark are placed on what would seem to be one side of a road which runs north-westerly, while the third building (38) is on the other side of the same thoroughfare. In subsequently published views, which appear to be based upon or copied from this by Merian, the thoroughfare is much emphasised.³ The road turns at an angle to a house which, together with the adjacent ditch, bridge, and tree, can be readily identified with those which appeared at the corner of Maid Lane and Bank-end in the Braun and Visscher maps. The angular turn in the road, Maid Lane, may have been introduced

¹ Rendle's *Rose*, xv, preceding Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, 1878, App. I to *Harrison's Description of England*, Part II, 3rd book, by The New Shakspere Society.

² *The Antiquary*, Sept. and Nov. 1909.

³ E.g., in Wilkinson's *Illustrata Londina*, 1819, and in Taylor's *Annals, &c.*, 1833, 142-3, the view in the latter being "Engraved for *The Encyclopaedia Londinensis*."

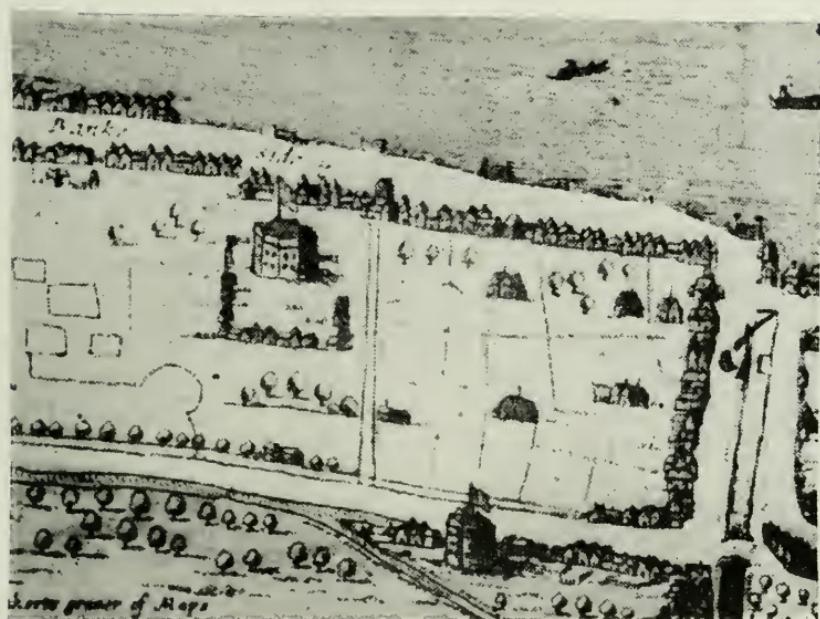
so as to prevent overlapping of the playhouses, and to preserve pictorial effect. The two buildings on the upper side of Maid Lane are similar to those depicted in Visscher. They are evidently the Rose (37) and the Bear Garden, while the building (38) which, being on the lower side of Maid Lane, in Visscher's view did not there appear, is clearly the Globe. The Rose, however, is styled the Globe in the key at the base of Merian's map, while the Globe is called the Bear Garden; the third building, the Bear Garden of Visscher, being unnamed. That the names have been wrongly marked, and that Maid Lane has been placed at an angle need not disturb us when we think of the convention and freedom adopted and exercised by engravers and artists in delineating the London of their days. From this map-view of Merian, then, we see the Globe assigned to a position south of Maid Lane.

The "Ryther" map, so called, may now be examined.¹ The London Topographical Society having published the "Porter" map, *circa* 1660, which combines the "Ryther" with lateral portions drawn according to another style, we may, for convenience, allude to this type of map-view as the "Porter" map, and thereby avoid suggesting the erroneous attribution to Ryther. In the edition of the Porter map which accompanies Strype, 1720, the unfinished Southwark area contains a polygonal building which is evidently intended to represent one of the theatres or amphitheatres of Bankside; but beyond indicating that some building of this character was at one time in existence in Southwark, no reliable information is derivable therefrom. In the other edition of this map which is in the Crace Collection,² the Southwark area has received greater attention at the hands of the cartographer or engraver, and on the south side of Maid Lane a theatre is shown. This presumably is intended for the Globe. If the origin of this aug-

¹ Crace Catalogue; Maps and Plans, Part I, 31 and 32; Loftie's *Hist. of London*, 1883, II, 282, 286 n.

² Maps and Plans, Part I, 31; Kingsford's *Chronicles of London*, 190, *front.*; see also *Notes and Queries*, 7th S., III, 110; VII, 498.

PLATE IX.



From an edition in the Crace Collection of a map (1680-40)
re-issued by Porter, c. 1660.







From Hollar's Panorama, 1647.

mented map could be traced, and the map were found to be contemporaneous with the Globe, the question would be settled as to the side of Maid Lane upon which the Globe stood, whether on the north or on the south. Knowing, however, the extent to which map-views have been adapted to later circumstances, and alterations effected upon insufficient evidence, this augmented re-edition in the Crace Collection cannot *per se* be taken as conclusive, but should be ranged with the other maps and items of evidence. As an example of an older map with augmentation, there is that publication upon a smaller scale of Vertue's "Agas" map of London during the 18th century. In this an isolated playhouse has been inserted in Southwark, and the label "Shakespeare's Playhouse" attached. This publication, one in which Maid Lane is not shown, may be neglected, except so far as it indicates the trend of current opinion.

In the long panoramic view of London which bears the name of Hollar and the date 1647, a building called "The Globe" appears prominently upon the Surrey bank of the river. This building is shown at the edge of the water near a road which on the west of the building runs approximately at right angles to the Thames. The Globe, as also the "Beere bayting h[ouse]," together with the neighbouring houses, have been so conventionalised in their representation as to suggest that the draftsman had no local knowledge. It would seem that he filled up an uncharted area from memory which was faulty.

For accurate or exact information concerning Bankside, the value of this map-view of Hollar is trifling.

A word or two is desirable as regards the Faithorne and Newcourt map, 1658, of which only two early copies are known, viz., one in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and one in the British Museum. The Southwark area now under discussion is portrayed in a curiously mechanical fashion. A round, shell-like structure is shown under the name of the "Beare garden" in the midst of garden plots and park land, except on the north side where a row of Noah's Ark houses fringe the river.

The view may be compared with the plan of Morden and Lee, 1682, which seems by far to be the more trust-



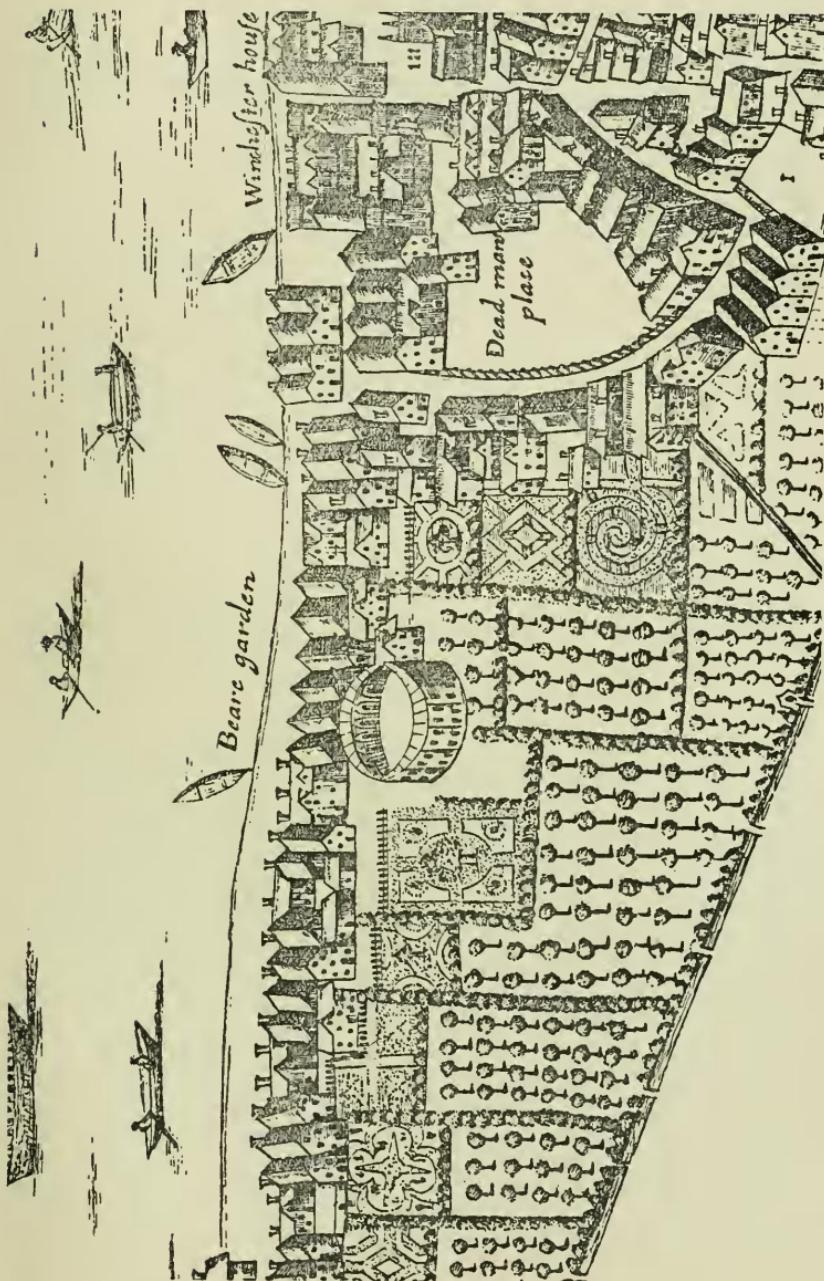
View of Bankside; after Hollar's Panorama of 1647
through successive copyings.

The view purports to show the Bear Garden and a playhouse.

worthy. The V-shaped ditch of Faithorne on the south of Winchester Park and others have here been inserted, according to plans in the Brewery, in the Ordnance map, and in the Brewery Plan of 1909 which accompany this Paper. If any thing is to be gathered from this map of Faithorne, it is that the Bear Garden lay to the south of a thoroughfare. Possibly its vagueness and conventional representation in respect of Bankside is a reflection of the similar defect in the Hollar panorama of 1647 which it seems to have followed. But so far as the area now in question is concerned, the map is fanciful.

There is also another map which requires attention, inasmuch as a theatre-like structure is illustrated to the south of a thoroughfare running approximately north-east and south-west through the locality in question.

It is post-conflagration, and shows the burnt area of



From the Faithorne and Newcourt map-view, 1658.

the City according to Leeke's survey, surrounded by portions according to another style of several years' earlier date. The original of this map has served for many editions. That edition in the Crace Collection which bears the name of Hollar depicts upon Bankside a building to the south of Maid Lane. The building is doubtless one of the theatres, and, from its position, may be identified with the Globe. Since, however, no other building of this character is shown and the lower edge of the map has removed what may be assumed to have been present originally, and, further, since houses and fields are so artificially expressed, too great reliance must not be placed upon its representation concerning the position of the Globe. So far as it may be relied upon, it shows a playhouse, presumably the Globe, to the south of a thoroughfare, apparently Maid Lane (*v. Plate VIII.*).

By the time the plan-views of London as opposed to map-views came into use, Southwark was either not shown, as in the plan by Ogilby and Morgan of 1677, or the playhouses on Bankside had been extinguished. Accordingly, no playhouse is visible, for instance, in



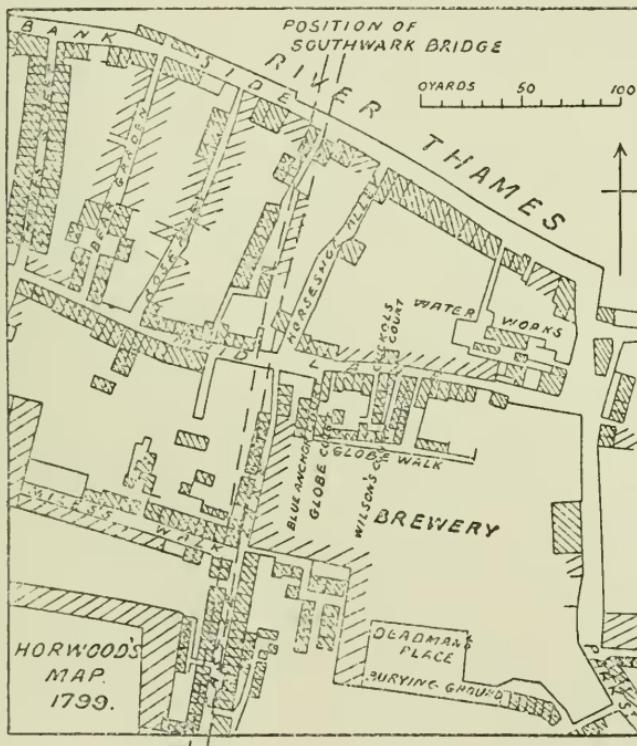
From Morden and Lee's plan-map, 1682.





From Rocque's map of 1746

Morden and Lee's plan-map of 1682. This map reappears by parishes and wards in Strype, 1720,¹ and may be compared with Rocque's map of 1746, which, in its turn, may be viewed with many others, reliable and unreliable, of the 18th century. From all of these, the vicinage of Maid Lane, prior to the absorption within the precincts of Thrale's Brewery of Globe Alley, may be traced through its various changes (*e.g.*, see Horwood's map, 1799).



To sum up this section of the Paper—of the whole series of map-views examined, the Visscher Panorama undoubtedly places the playhouse which it styles “The Globe” on the north of Maid Lane; but for reasons set out this attribution must be viewed with suspicion. The other maps of the series show, or are in favour of, a

¹ *London Topographical Record*, 1908, V, 117.

position to the south of the Lane; alternatively, their representations are such that no definite pronouncement is obtainable from them. As regards the situation of the Globe relatively to buildings or plots east and west of it which to-day are capable of identification, the maps and views yield little or no information.

(4) SUMMING UP AND CONCLUSION.

Reviewing the evidence which has been set out in the course of this Paper, evidence which should serve as a starting-place for future research, we obtain the following :—

With respect to tangible remains of Shakespeare's Playhouse, or of its successor on the same spot, nothing to-day is known to exist from which to infer the position of the site. Whether excavation would produce successful results is an open question.

Mrs. Piozzi, whose first husband, Thrale, the Brewer, died in 1781, thought herself to have been an eye-witness of the last stages in decay of the Playhouse. In 1791, Pennant reported that the door was very lately standing. An inscribed stone which was exhumed near the Brewery well in 1884 and thoughtlessly destroyed by the workmen, may have been a relic of the Globe or of some other playhouse in the vicinity.

With respect to documents of a legal or semi-legal or official character, the Coram Rege Roll of 1616 places the Playhouse, according to one interpretation, to the north of Maid Lane, the present (east-and-west) Park Street; but as this is opposed to the tenor of other evidence concerning the site, the other interpretation of which it is susceptible should perhaps be chosen, *viz.*, one which would indicate the site to have been to the south of Maid Lane. Alternatively, the draftsman's orientation of the site was incorrect, which was probably the case. This southern attribution would be in accordance with extraneous evidence and would place the site against Globe Alley.

The Sacrament Token Book of 1621, with its marginal reference "Gloabe," points to the Playhouse being near one end of "Gloab Alley," the heading under which the word is placed. The contemporary indentures of 1626 upon the Close Roll speak of Globe Alley as that which led to the Playhouse. Each of two arms of an alley forming a right-angle being styled Globe Alley is satisfactorily explained by supposing them both to have led from important thoroughfares to the gate of the Globe or the plot on which the Globe stood. A Deed of 1706 mentions tenements "erected and built where the late playhouse called the Globe stood and upon the ground thereunto belonging." There is the probability of the plot of John Knowles, which, according to the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, bounded the Globe estate, being one of the same plots alluded to in the Brewery Deed of 1787 as "were or then late were" in 1715 in the occupation, among others, of John Knowles. The Deed of 1726/7 which dealt with what became the workhouse estate doubtlessly treated of the same property as that set out in the Deed of 1706. The workhouse estate bounded the outer side of the right angle formed by Globe Alley, by its short arm which extended northerly in Maid Lane, and possibly by a parallel alley.

Literary allusion, oral and written tradition, so far as it has been traced, is almost wholly in favour of the enclosure of the site by Barclay's Brewery, and of its situation along or beyond the line of Globe Alley.

Of the map-views of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Visscher Panorama of 1616 alone clearly illustrates the Globe as being to the north of Maid Lane. For the reasons, however, which have been stated, this placing by Visscher is suspicious, even if it is not clearly incorrect. The Merian view of 1638, when the references are corrected, appears conclusive as to the relative positions of the contemporary Bear Garden and the Rose on the north side of Maid Lane and opposite to the Globe on the south side of the lane. The other map-views which have been considered are in favour of, or not inconsistent with, the southern attribution of the site.

Finally, having regard to the general concurrence of testimony derived from numerous independent sources, to the smallness of the area of conflict as compared with that where substantial agreement is present, and to the ease with which such conflict where it occurs can be accounted for, the balance of probability is, in the opinion of the writer, in favour of a position to the south of (east-and-west) Park Street, Southwark ; along the line of the formerly existing Globe Alley ; on the ground where from 1727 to 1774, there stood the workhouse for the poor of Southwark ; behind what, to a few years ago, was known as 15, Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road ; within the area covered by the Brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited ; about 120 yards west from the south-east corner of east-and-west Park Street and from 100 to 200 feet south of the Globe Memorial Bronze as erected by The Shakespeare Reading Society.

I take this opportunity of thanking the many who have been good enough to interest themselves in this Paper. I am particularly indebted to the Directors of Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited, for the kindness and courtesy shown to me on every occasion when prosecuting my inquiries, and also to those of the Brewery Staff with whom, from time to time, I have had the pleasure to converse ; to Mr. Marson, M.A., solicitor for the debenture holders of the brewery for his valuable advice concerning the title deeds of the Brewery ; to Mrs. C. C. Stopes, who has helped me of her abundant stores of knowledge ; to Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., for his extension of the Coram Rege Roll of 1616 ; and to Mr. Tabrum, Warden of the Great Account of St. Saviour's. My thanks are also specially due to the Editor of the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, and Mr. George Hubbard, F.S.A., and to Mr. W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., Editor of *The Home Counties Magazine*, for lending me blocks for illustration purposes. Without the kindly co-operation of all of these, the Paper would have been shorn of much that is interesting, and possibly of all that for which the Author hopes it may prove to be of value.

(5) POSTSCRIPT.

While this Paper was in the Press the following information concerning the discovery of twenty years or so ago was kindly communicated by Mr. E. Barclay. It is possible that remains which were then exhumed formed a part of the Globe; but, whether this is so or no, the discovery seems to be of sufficient interest to deserve mention here.

In the year 1891, the ground-floor of No. 10 Cellar in the Brewery was being lowered, this cellar lying to the south of and being contiguous to the workhouse plot. According to the testimony of Messrs. H. W. Pinder, Clerk of the Works, T. A. Pinder, and Ned Wright, who were engaged upon the work, a wooden staging was discovered at a depth of five to seven feet below the ground level. The staging was supported on the mud-piling usual to the locality, and was composed of "plates," or joists, about four feet apart, each of which carried two or three courses of "Stretcher" bricks. The bricks supported other plates across which were laid floor-boards of pitch-pine. The shape of the staging was semi-circular with the flat side towards the north. The size, so far as can be remembered, was about thirty feet across, or, say, forty feet long by thirty feet wide. Through the staging two holes had been cut, and in each cavity an independent footing of the same character as the staging had been constructed. These smaller stagings or footings were each surmounted by a stone slab, a stone block not unlike those which are placed under wheat- and hay-stacks, and an upright piece of timber for supporting a vat or the roof of the cellar. Beyond the interest occasioned by the find itself, the attention of the witnesses, whose testimony has been given, was keenly directed towards the details owing to the assertion of a curio-purchaser, who hovered about the remains as the work was progressing, that he believed the wood-work which they had uncovered was in truth the stage of the old Globe.

The staging may, of course, have carried the tower of some building ; but no evidence of this is forthcoming. The possibility of its being a support for a vat is suggested ; but its depth below the surface of the ground, and its size, scarcely favour that idea. Moreover, the Clerk of the Works is positive that it was not the support for a vat. That it was a portion of the Globe is, however, not an unreasonable hypothesis, since its construction and dimensions are comparable with those of the Playhouse in so far as they have been ascertained. For instance, the second Globe, like the first, was of wood, and built on an old foundation ; and there was the likelihood of brick appearing above the ground. As regards dimensions, the size of the Playhouse was probably small, for the rectangular "Fortune," at Cripplegate, 1600, which in so many many particulars was fashioned after the Globe was only fifty-five feet across internally.

Further, it will be remembered that Concanen's *History of Southwark* states, that "upon its site [*i.e.*, of the Playhouse], now stands a large storehouse for porter" *supra*, p. 178). Reference to the Brewery plans of 1771 onwards, shows a storehouse to have been on the spot now occupied by No. 10 Cellar where the remains were discovered.

On the Brewery plan, 1909, the site and shape of the staging, so far as they are remembered, are indicated in No. 10 Cellar, some fifty feet to the south of the Workhouse plot, to the north of which, at the end of the formerly existing Globe Passage, the Globe Memorial is placed.

If, then, the staging was truly a portion of the Globe, the site of the Playhouse must have been a few feet to the south of the plot to which the evidence in the Paper assigns it. But the whole relation of the find to the Globe deserves a closer investigation and a treatment fuller than can be accorded in a mere postscript. The future must decide for what structure or purpose the staging was originally designed.



PLAN OF THE BREWERY OF MESSRS. BARCLAY, PERKINS & CO., LIMITED, 1909

The site of the Workhouse for the poor, upon which the Globe probably stood, the sites of Globe and other Alleys, and the position of other features of interest have been marked thereon.