Treatment of the rustic and the citizen in Elizabethan drama

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1916

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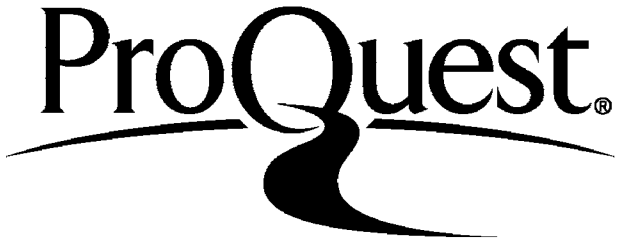

TREATMENT OF THE RUSTIC AND THE CITIZEN IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

General Scheme.

Incidental light thrown on his relationships by allusions in the drama.

III. The Citizen

I. Introduction.

The Elizabethan dramatist "stood among substantial men and sang upon recorded action", (1) but the drama of this period is in many respects romantic. The pioneers of its early development, the giants of its prime, as well as the lesser writers of its decadence, look away from the life immediately around them, and treat of "high facinorous things great patriots, dukes, and kings" and if they deal with contemporary life, lay their scenes by preference in Italy. Not through contemporary and actual life, but through an ideal world of romantic story, the Elizabethan dramatist comes at his expression of the humour and tragedy of things, and finds heroes in Asia and Spain, Denmark and Italy, ancient Britain and ancient Rome. Both Heywood, embarking upon domestic tragedy in "A Woman killed with kindness", and Ben Jonson in " Every man in his Humour" setting forth his comedy of humours to rival the old romantic stuff, recognize that their choice of subjects from contemporary life is exceptional, and feel it necessary to justify that choice. Nevertheless, the Elizabethan dramatists, bound upon romantic voyages as they were, rarely cut themselves completely adrift from the world of realism and actuality. The tradition of the Mysteries, the demands of the groundlings for comic realism, the urgent vitality of the stirring life around, and the dramatist's conviction of the reality of the life he depicted, combined to bring about the introduction into the drama of a mass of realistic stuff. Hodge and Rusticus jostle Orestes and Clytemnestra, a tragedy of London life is sandwiched in with an Italian tragedy by Robert Yarington.

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(1) Landor : Imaginary Conversations. Vol: IV. p.74.

Shakespeare, the King of the Romanticists, put an English grave-drigger beside his Hamlet, a ristic clown beside his Cleopatra, and sets his Henry V in a London tavern. This infiltration of realism into romance may be illustrated by a study of the treatment of the Rustic and the Citizen in Elizabethan drama (1). Such a study should also throw light on the development of the English drama, and incidentally on the manners & social conditions of the time. The various stages in the development of both types were by 1616 accomplished ; investigation has, therefore, not been carried beyond that date.

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(1) The treatment of the rustic and the citizen in Shakespeare, as a special case demanding for its consideration special equipment, lies outside the scope of this study, and has been only incidentally referred to as illustrated by or illustrating the general treatment.

II The Rustic.

1. Introduction.

(a) As has been suggested, the Elizabethan stage was bound, by tradition, by circumstances, by the dramatic instinct of the writers, to hold the mirror up to the everyday life of its audience. A sturdy of the treatment of the rustic in these plays illustrates clearly how these different influences worked. It shows the dramatist using traditional stage material, conceding something to the groundlings in the repetition of farcical motives, and at the same time drawing his figures and scenes from first-hand observation of life. It also reveals certain stages that the treatment of the rustic passed through in Elizabethan drama, and it has been found convenient to divide the consideration of the general treatment of the rustic into two chapters, corresponding with certain differences in the handling in the earlier and later period.

(b) The rustic was a favourite figure in early Elizabethan drama Only about a quarter of the extant dramas produced before 1580 are quite devoid of rustic material. In the Preface to the "Three Ladies of London" (printed in 1584) the affairs of the rustic are enumerated amongst those generally chosen by dramatists as having interest for the public :-

" We do not show of warlike fight, as sword and shield to shake
We do not seek high hills to climb, nor talk of love's delights
-------- (etc)---------
We do not here present to you the thresher with his flail,
We do we here present to you the milkmaid with her pail;
We shew you not of country toil, as hedger with his bill,
We do not bring the husbandman to lop and top with skill;
We play not here the gardener's part, to plant, to set, to sow;
Ye marvel, then, what stuff we have to furnish out our show."

Clearly the thresher, the milkmaid, the hedger, the husbandman,

the gardener are here regarded as figures naturally to be looked for in the drama, and likely to win the favour of the audience (1).

With the advent of the University wits and their turning to romantic themes and "stately-pen'd histories" (2) rustic material became for the moment less important, though in the hands of Greene it appears again in a different form. But it is never wholly absent. When it again appears in abundance, it exhibits slight differences, which become marked after 1595. For some ten years after this date fulness of description of and of allusion to the life of the rustic continues, but there is some change in the way in which the rustic is contemplated, and in the aspects of rusticity upon which the attention of the playright is focussed. The point of view is more that of the Londoner, and the rustic is seen more in those relationships in which a Londoner would encounter him. It is more often either the farmer rich enough himself to visit London, or the middleclass rustic of the London suburbs who is treated - less often the agricultural labourer in his obscure country home. The agricultural labourer has fallen a little into disrepute. Even the poorest mechanic who can boast of belonging to the city scorns to be regarded as a peasant. - Bunch the Botcher in " The Weakest Goth to the Wall" resents the name :-

" I am no Peasant, I am Bunch the Botcher: Peasants be Plow-

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(1) Even a quarter of a century later, when Fletcher produced his "Faithful Shepherdess" (1609), the title " A pastoral play" still led at least part of his audience to anticipate with pleasure a realistic English Country play, though he and the circle of spectators for whom he wrote had lost interest in this homespun stuff.

(2) J. Day : " Ile of Gulls" (1605).

men, I am an artificiall". And even where Lollio, the regular country boor, is introduced into a drama, (1) it is as a visitor to the city, by whose size and magnificence he is bewildered and overwhelmed. Sympathy with life upon the land is disappearing, though interest in the upper walks of country life is still maintained. It might have been expected that when the drama had passed through the earlier and more tentative stages of its development, when stage traditions hardened, and the playwright, no longer a tiro, set forth upon his task with a store of previous practice behind him, the types introduced into the drama would also harden and fix themselves. But in the case of the rustic this did not take place. From the examination of the later Elizabethan plays (1595 - 1616) emerges the notable fact that the figure of the rustic, plentifully used in the earlier plays, and still constantly appearing for another ten years, about the middle of this second period practically disappeared from the stage, only to be found later in a few sporadic instances. The type was used throughout Elizabeth's reign, - a reign of great national activities, and was dropped when literature, and the drama in particular, began to depend more directly upon the patronage of the Court and the gentry, and came to be regarded less as a common national inheritance (1) It is perhaps significant that a Comedy entitled "Alba" mentioned in Nichols' Progresses and Public Processions of King James" as being performed before the King at Oxford in 1605, is described as containing "many rusticall songs and dances, which made it very tedious, inasmuch that if the Chancellors of both Universities had not intreated His Majesty earnestly, he would have gone before half the Comedy had been ended." Rusticity had become tedious to the Jacobean audience.

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(1) "Timon"
(1) For use of the word "national" cf. Hamlet II. ii. 373: "The nation holds it no sign to tarra them on to controversy.

2. General treatment of the rustic up to 1595.

The rustic material found in the drama from 1558 to 1595 is partly inherited from the religious drama (1); certain motives may also be traced to earlier literary forms such as tales, ballads,(2) etc; probably ~~the~~ French moralities & farces (3) gave some suggestions for figures and situations. In the use of it, again, the dramatists recur to stock incidents and employ some well worn rustic drolleries. Yet on the whole the dramatic presentation of the type is by no means a conventional nor a circumscribed one. An examination of the extant dramas dating from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to 1595 (with which may be included also the few representatives of the secular drama which have survived from the reigns of the early Tudor Sovereigns) affords fruitful information as to the close touch of the dramatist with this side of contemporary life. Representatives of all sections of the rustic population enter into the drama, and bring with them all the life of the Countryside, the activities of the Village community, the talk of the fair and the wayside, the business of the farm, the market town, and the Country Estate.

The topographical knowledge of England shown in the drama of this period is a noticeable feature. Allusions to towns and villages abound, and the fact that the writers seem often to be using their own local knowledge helps to show that the rustic material they used, though undoubtedly to some extent of literary origin (4), was for the most part grown on the soil. Greene's "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" is localised in Suffolk. The heroine is Margaret, the fair maid of

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(1) v. post pp: 30-31, 33, 53. (2) v.post.pp: 16(2), 19, ~~53~~ 52-3.
(3) v. post. pp: 70, 76.
(4) Ballads and tales, were, of course, often localised, but details in such dramas as "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" and "Edward IV" seem to indicate first hand knowledge.

Fressingfield ; her lover Lacy follows her to Harleston fair and mingles with the villagers in the guise of a farmer from Beccles ; suitors from the Manors of Laxfield and Cratfield seek her hand, and she purposes, when told that Lacy has forsaken her, to retire to the nunnery at Framlingham. The scene of LyLy's "Gallathea" is the Lincolnshire bank of the Humber, and the main motive of the play is the yearly tribute demanded by the Eger, a monster personifying the tidal bore of the Humber (1)". Faversham in Kent, is the scene of a tragedy. "A Knack to know a Knave" introduces the Bailiff of Hexham. The favourités of Richard II in the early tragedy of that name (2) find scope for their rapacity amongst the simple agricultural population of Dunstable, Hockley-in-the-Hole, and Leighton Buzzard, and the Western Counties are represented in the play of "Edward IV", where that monarch, hunting in the neighbourhood of Tamworth and Drayton Bassetŧ, visits incognito the home of Hobs the tanner. And even when the peasant is not seen at home, the locality to which he belongs is often specified: the rebels in "Jack Straw" are men of Kent and of Essex; those in the " Contention" between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York " complain of the enclosure of the commons at Long Melford, and are led by Jack Cade of Ashford, Leaders of rebel troops in "Edward IV" comprise Smoke the Smith of Chepstead and Chub the chandler of Sandwich. One of the victims of the tyranny of Archigallo in " Nobody and Somebody" is Ralph, a native of Yorkshire, in which County some later scenes of the play are laid.

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(1) N.B. When Phineas Fletcher in " Sicelides" (1613) uses the same motive, he lays his scene in Sicily, and his heroine Olinda is rescued from a sea-monster, the great "Orke".

(2) Also called " Thomas à Woodstock"

Some places are mentioned in connection with incidents recorded e.g. the cheatings of Fraud in the matter of horses at Ware and at Gravesend (1), the visits of Dr. Burden (2) of Oxford to the Bell at Henley, or the imprisonment of Sin in the worm-eaten stocks at Banbury (3). Others are referred to for some special local features or commodity : "Coventry blue," " a right Croyden sanguine", "geese from the Isle of Ely", Dunmow for its reward of conjugal tranquillity (4), Croydon and Lambeth (5) as centres (apparently) of summer sports for the youth of London. Some localities are famous for witches : Margery Jourdaine, Witch of Ely, is sought out by the Duchess Eleanor in the " Contention between the two famous Houses of Lancaster and York", and Thersites speaks of

"Mother Brice of Oxford and Great Gib of Hinksey,
Also Maud of Thrulton and Mabel of Chertsey,
And all other witches that walk in Dimmingsdale"

and refers to meetings of witches on Newmarket Heath.
In some of the earliest plays lists of place names occur, strung together in long alliterative lines. In Heywood's " Foure PP." the Palmer describes his journey, and the shrines and sanctuaries he has visited, in a passage reminiscent of that which records the pilgrimage of the Wyf of Bath, though in a greatly amplified form. Similarly "Merry Report" in the "Play of the Wether" boats of having visited some forty places in all parts of England and abroad - he has been

" At Canterbury, at Coventry, at Colchester.
At Wallingford, at Wakefield, at Walthamstow,
At Taunton, at Tiptree, at Tottenham,
At Hertford, at Harwich, at Harrow-on-the-Hill"

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1. " Three Ladies of London "
2. " Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay ".
3. " All for Money "
4. " Tom Tyler".
5. V. song at end of "Summer's Last Will and Testament".

and so forth. Alliterating or rhyming place names are also used in a series of nonsense lines in Thersites :

" Simkin Syd'nam Sumnor That killed a Cat at Cumnor"

" The butterfly of Bromwicham that was born blind" etc.

Having then this background of contemporary England in their minds, it was natural that the dramatists should make free use of country life and country figures - for the life of England in the sixteenth century was largely country life. The population was not in Elizabeth's day thickly congregated in large manufacturing towns and spread thinly in the rural districts, but was more evenly distributed, and the difference between town and country was less emphasized. Every large town was more or less a market town : the countryman brought his produce to the market and sold it direct to the consumer : the weekly market and the yearly fair were centres of the life of the district ; and although the importance of both, and more particularly of the fair, was to (1) decrease with the opening up of foreign markets and the nationalisation of commerce, much of the old order survived well into the reign of Elizabeth. Rustic material is therefore found in the towns as well as in the villages. Bradford and Wakefield are described by Leland each as a "praty quick market town "; it is here that George-a-Greene is depicted actively fulfilling his duties as Pinder. impounding horses that dare to trespass in the Wakefield corn ; it is hither that Robin Hood and his merry men come

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(1) v. Social England III. (2nd edition) pg. 141.

from Bernisdale to visit the famous champion & test his prowess with ashen quarter-staves. Even in Manchester (1) described by Leland in 1538 as "the fairest, best-builded, quickest, and most populous town in Lancashire", the rustic element still appears in the person of the Miller's man Trotter, whose density, gullibility, and uncouthness of manners stamps him as fresh from the land. London itself seems to have been looked upon by the denizens of the outlying villages as a sort of "glorified" market town; Pearl of Colchester (2) talks of driving sheep and goats up to London as though it were an ordinary proceedsing, and the inhabitants of Fulham, Putney, Hounslow, etc, live still in the very heart of rusticity. It is only later, as the distinction between citizen and countryman sharpens, and as the drama becomes more closely associated with London in the last decade of the century, that characteristic town figures, the 'prentice (3), the shopkeeper (4), the Mayor and Aldermen (5), begin to play an important part in the drama.

As has been said, the treatment of rustic life in this early drama is fresh and full. A complete picture of the village community can be reconstructed. All the inhabitants of the village - private householders, artisans, hucksters, taverners, parish officials, village celebrities, - are faithfully depicted ; and their superstitions & folk-lore, the songs and stories current among them, their rural festivities and recreations, as well as their agricultural labours and interests, are all introduced into the drama.

The diversity of names is interesting. Names occur in plenty, and are of a variety of kinds. Here something must be attributed to literary tradition . The Shepherds of

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(1) "Faire Em".
(2) "Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants".
(3) especially in the work of Thomas Heywood.
(4) e.g. Simon Eyre in "Shoemakers' Holiday".
(5) cf. at about the close of the century the popularity of civic pageants and "triumphs" such as those of Munday.

the Mystery plays had christian names, and lists of alliterating names, - many denoting occupations or qualities, - are found in many places in fourteenth and fifteenth-century literature. These and some morality abstractions survive in the secular drama, but there are plenty of christian names and surnames of a modern character clearly taken from the life around. A few stock names denoting the typical rustic occur : Hob and Lob, Cob, Nobs, Clunch, Hodge ; Grimball (1) is used in "Promos and Cassandra" to denote the country clown ; Bullithrumble (2) in"Selimus" is of similar import. A few names are taken from Latin, Greek or dog-Latin : e.g. Rusticus, Alcon, Mansipulus - a feww from the pastoral e.g. Corin (3) Codrus (4) Mopsa (4) Menalcas (5). Of morality abstractions many of the transitional plays afford examples; Ignorance, Tenacity, Simplicity, Greediness etc. Piers Plowman pleads before the King in "A knack to know a knave", Piers and Plaine are the oppressed tenants of the Country Gentleman in the "Cobbler's Prophecy" As old at least as Piers Plowman are the alliterative combinations referred to ; e.g. Dick Duckling and Will Wasp, Susan Sweetlips, Peter Plodall. Names denoting the trade of the bearer vary from "Madge the souce-wife " and "Clim the sow-gelder", where the tradename is descriptive, to Wat Tyler, Gaffer Miller, William Waterman, where it has become almost a surname. Besides these allegorical class-names there are plenty of genuine surnames, And early form ~~derives~~ survives in George-à-Greene, John-à-Kent, Ned-à-Barley, John-à-Droynes, but most are of the modern kind: Spurling, Stainer, Perkins, Jennings, Downing, Blenkinsop, - names obviously caught up without any art from real life.

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(1) a name going back to Saxon times, e.g. "Grimbold mine mæssepreost" of Alfred.
(2) Dialect Dictionary gives "Bully"= pease, "Thrumble" = a clumsy fellow, fumblefingered, as Yorkshire forms.
(3) Shepherds Calendar.
(4) Arcadia.
(5) Theocritus.

The family life, the social life of these people is depicted. Grim the Collier in "Damon and Pithias" describes how :

"All day through I toil with my main and my might,
With money in my pouch I come home merry at night,
And sit down in my chair by my Wife fair Alison,
And turn a crab in the fire as merry as Pope John".

In the house of Clunch the smith in the "Old Wives' tale" there are games and singing and story telling in the winter evenings. Other pictures of a rustic home are given in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" and "Edward IV"(1) The large size of rustic families is twice suggested : Codrus in "Misogonus" asserts ; "I was the wisest that my mother had, and we were nineteen"; and Bullithrumble the Shepherd in "Selimus" enumerates amongst his home claims "seventeen cradles rocking". The hospitality and sociability of the country folk is a common theme. The Pedlar of the "Prophecy" is invited by the peasant who inspects his wares to partake of his homely supper of bacon and souce ; Bullithrumble offers the strangers who accost him a "hog's cheek and a dish of tripe and puddings". Clunch the smith in the "Old Wives' Tale" gives lost strangers a night's shelter and refreshment. In "Thomas Lord Cromwell" the goodwife Joan reminds the young man of the excellent cheesecakes he tasted at her house in the days of his boyhood. In the "Cobbler's Prophecy" the Soldier contrasts the Country Gentleman's niggardliness with the openhandedness of his poor tenants Piers and Plaine. "Their bread and cheese is seldom denied to any". And it is perhaps not without significance that the clown in "Nobody and Somebody" advises his master to leave the country and seek the town, where they are kind and hospitable to "Nobody". The goodwife is introduced with her gossips; Gammer Gurton with Dame Chat, Alison in "Misogonus" with Madge Caro and Isbell Busby, Tom Tyler's Wife with her gossips Sturdy & Tipple, &

(1) That of Hobs the Tanner of Tamworth.

a group of ale-loving cronies in "Ralph Roister Doister". The friendly interest taken in everyone else's business by the villagers appears in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" and again in "Thomas Lord Cromwell" where Hodge, Cromwell's servant, brings to his master at Antwerp presents from his old home; "Alice Downing has sent a Nutmeg, and Bess Makewater a race of ginger, and Will and Tom a dozen points, and good man Toll of the Goat a pair of Mittens". The individual villagers feel themselves members of a community, long established connection with which gives respectability. One rustic after another, if he thinks his good name is challenged, calls to witness the number of years he has lived amongst his neighbours with a good reputation. Codrus in "Misogonus" boasts "I ha' been 'lected for my 'scression five times constable". Grim the Collier in "Damon and Pithias" maintains : "this vorty winter cha been to the king a servitor". Hob in "Cambises" claims:-

"Chave lived well al my life my neighbours among
And now chould be loth to come to such wrong"
(namely to be apprehended for treason.)

And Tom Tabrer in "John-à-Kent and John-à-Cumber", when the party of minstrels of whom he is the "ancientest man" is asked to account for the disappearance of the brides from the bridal chamber, protests: "My lord, I hope it is not unknowen to your worships that I have lived a poor professor of music in this parish forty year, and no man could ever burden me with the value of twopence; that ye should now lay three wenches at once to my charge, I will not say how much it grieves me, but between God and your conscience be it" (1) A certain positiveness as to his own judgment, found in these as in later rustics, is often grounded on the claim that

"old experience doth attain
To something like prophetic strain".

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cf. later John Clay :
"I take the town to concord where I dwell,
All Kilburn be my witness ------- etc.
Receive me at the latter day, if I
E'er thought of such a matter."

e.g. one of the Beacon-keepers in the "Chronicle History of Leir" :- "I have been a watchman about this beacon this thirty year, and yet I ne"er see it stir." (1)

Amongst the inhabitants of the village the Host, and the alewife (2) are naturally conspicuous. Hobs the tanner of Tamworth commends the brewing of Mother Whetstone : Master Burden of Oxford resorts for refreshment to the Bell at Henley; the beacon-keepers in the "Chronicle History of King Leir" discuss matters of state over ale and a rasher of bacon at Goodman Jennings'.

But drinking bouts are not conspicuous in the picture of rustic life : the deep drinker and the tavern roysterer are rather city than country types. The other function of the inn - as a resting-place for man and beast on their journeys up and down the land - is also to the fore. The Carrier, calling at the inn, tending his horses, and timing himself by the positions of the stars, is an interesting figure who appears in several plays. Crackstone in " Two Italian Gentlemen" who brings butter and cheese to victual the camp, & makes a good business out of it by cheating, partakes of the qualities of the carrier class, and can tell the names of all the constellations:

" the green dog and the blue bear,
Harry Horner's girdle, and the lion's ear".

The carrier of Fulham in "Thomas Lord Cromwell" is of similar fame for his knowledge : "He'll tickle your Charles'Waine in nine degress." Club the carrier in "Sir John Oldcastle" is a later development of the type sketched here, and brings news from Lancashire to friends in the Southern counties.

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(1) cf. Beacon-keepers of Hardy's "Dynasts". the same characteristic of the rustic is ridiculed in the song:

"I've minded this farm now for forty years,
An' afore that the pigs in the sty,
An' I knows what I knows, and I 'ears what I 'ears,
An' 'e can't get a rise out of I".

(2) The alewife has literary antecedents e.g. Elinor Rumming or Kynd Kyttoch.

The ordinary rural trades are well represented. There are the farmer, the shepherd, and the milkmaid ; the miller, the butcher and the grazier, (1) the tanner and the tallow-chandler, the village smith at his smithy. There is the pedlar (2), too, with his old cry of "Conyskins, conyskins", to whom father, mother, and daughter come respectively for spectacles, pepper, and pins. The beacon-keepers of the "Chronicle History of King Leir" represent a less common rustic function (3). Then there are all the regular parochial officials.- the whole village being essentially a parish. The village parson, already introduced in John Heywood's "Pardoner and Friar", reappears in"Jack Straw" : the busy Vicar is appealed to in the interests of the peace of the village in "Gammer Gurton's Needle". Corin in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" describes his jolly but apparently testy priest : "an there be any noise in the church, in the midst of his prayers, he'le swear". In the same play the old shepherd prides himself on the fact that his handsome new boy (a maiden in disguise) will go to church before his Wife Madge in her holiday gown, and draw the eyes of everyone, so that even the Churchwarden cannot fail to notice him. The Churchwarden himself appears with the Sexton and Bellringer in Peele's "Old Wives' Tale", debating as to the burial of the body of the destitute Jack. The wife of Mansipulus in "Apius and Virginia" describes her duties in regard to the care of the Church, and tells how, had she not been detained:-

"My lady's fair pew had been strawed full gay
With primroses, cowslips & violets sweet,
With mints & with marigolds and majoram meet".

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(1) e.g. in "Thomas à Woodstock"

(2) "Pedlar's Prophecy", cf: reference ~~to~~ in Piers Plowman to Pedlars who kill cats for their skins.

(3) It is interesting to compare them with their nineteenth century descendants ; the beacon-keepers of Hardy's "Dynasts" are not far from these Elizabethan watchmen.

The whole village choir and orchestra assembles in "John à Kent and John à Cumber" to honour the bridal festivities of certain lords.

Less clerical officials alsom play their part. The Beadle appears in "Three Lords and Three Ladies of London" & in the "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York". The Pinder and his men are busy in "George-à-Greene" ; Codrus in Misogonus" has been constable five times, and "Pigwiggen our constable" is alluded to in"Selimus". The Bailiff (i.e.kings officer and administrator of justice in the town or hundred) appears in "A Knack to know a Knave" and in the tragedy of "Thomas à Woodstock" and Master Baily in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" exercises the same function. Mansipulus in "Apius and Virginia" represents another type of bailiff, the bailiff of the manor, who acts as overseer of the agricultural operations on his lord's estate (1) and the lord of the manor himself appears in this play and in "Misogonus". There is a justice in "George à Greene" and against in the "Pedlar's Prophecy". Sheriff and officers, Crier and Constable appear in full court in the trial scene in the "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality" Trials or inquests (formal or informal) in which the rustick plays a comic part occur in this play, in "Misogomus", in "A Knack to know an honest man", & in the "Valiant Welshman" as well as in "Gammer Gurton's Needle". Besides the ordinary tradesmen and officials there are other typical figures of the countryside. The portrait of the old blind Isaac led and waited upon by the pert little Mido in "Jacob and Esau" is perhaps connected with such earlier literary examples as Lamech and Adolescens in the Ludus Coventriae, but it recalled also a figure of the highroads of the time.

A professional blind beggar - this time a sham, appears in the "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York". Diccon the village Bedlam, - halfwitted

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(1) v. W.J.Ashley : Introduction to English economic History (3rd. edition) p. 11.

but with method in his mischief, plays an important part in the story of "Gammer Gurton's Needle", and "Lomia, a natural" appears in "Common Conditions". Sometimes local celebrities are introduced, such as George-à-Greene and ~~the~~ Hobs the tanner of Tamworth, but in these cases the dramatist is probably drawing upon literary sources (1).

Amongst the characters to whom the greatest note, or rather notoriety attaches are the old women of the countryside. Mother Croote in "All for money" is an old crone, the laughing stock of the village, who, blind and decrepit with age, seeks a young and merry husband. Mother Bombie is the "Cunning woman" of Rochester, to whom all parties in difficulties resort. Margery Jourdaine, the Witch of Ely (2) practises "witchcrafts, sorceries, and conjurings" and has to "talk and whisper with the devils below" to obtain her oracles ; she is a step nearer the malignant Witch-hag who plays such an important part in later Jacobean drama.

The superstitious fears of the countryfolk are often derisively introduced. A lively belief in devils of the kind that had appeared in "orrible wyse" on the Mystery stage seems to have prevailed among the ignorant. Diccon terrorizes Hodge in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" by pretending to raise the devil. The rustics in John à Kent and John à Cumber" will not oppose John à Kent because he is "able to make a man a munkey in less than half a minute of an hour" and "never goes abroad without a bushel of devils about him". Bullithrumble the shepherd in "Selimus" is full of similar superstitious fears.

Belief in such things was not confined to rustic circles, but it is in connection with the country that folklore material comes into the drama of this period.

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(1) Both stories appear in ballad form.

(2) "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York".

The "grateful Ghost" story, used as a theme for chivalric romance in "Sir Amadas" and to-day a nursery story, is to Peele an "Old Wives' Tale" told in the cottage chimney-corner of Clunch the Smith. The magic well in the same play belongs also to this class of motive. The cutting of a cake in which a bean and a pea are hidden to determine who shall be King and Queen of the feast, - a survival of primitive sacrificial rites (1) and to-day a children's game, - forms part of a pastoral entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth at Sudeley. A song of Harvestmen occurs in the "Old Wives' Tale", and in "Summer's last Will and Testament" not only is the song introduced, with a regular harvest home refrain (2) but the figure of harvest is dressed in straw, (Will Summer calls him a "bundle of straw" and speaks of his "thatched suit"), the costume being probably a survival of the ancient rite of wrapping in a bundle of straw a man or woman to represent the corn-spirit (3).

There are plentiful allusions to tales & ballads, - to the tale "of the giant and the king's daughter" (3) to "Hop'o' my thumb, (4) and to Bluebeard (5)(6), to Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton and other "Romauns of prys", to Robin Hood and other ballad heroes. Sincerity in "Three Ladies of London" laments that ballads of Robin Hood are preferred to churchgoing, and Ignorance in the "Interlude of the Four Elements" sings a nonsense song, beginning:-

" Robin Hood in Barnesdale stood
And leaned him till a maple thistle"

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(1) v. Frazer's Golden Bough (2nd. Edition) Vol. III p. 264 note.

(2) v. Note 1 in Dodsley's Old Plays (4th. edition ed. W. C. Hazlitt) Vol. VIII p. 48.

(3) v. Frazer's Golden Bough (2nd edition) Vol II p. 227.

(4) "Old Wives' Tale"

(5) "Taming of the Shrew".

(6) "Edward the IV".

(7) Later, in the "Fairy Pastorall", is told the story of how Cock and Hen went a nutting, still told to children.

continuing with snatches about other heroes - "Geffrey Coke" and "Wilkin" whose stories have not survived. The recurrence of such names as Adam (1) and Clim (2) recalls another outlaw ballad. And what is apparently the first mention of a "William and Margaret" ballad (3) occurs in the "Three Lords and Three Ladies of London"s, where Simplicity offers for sale a whole sheaf of ballads, including, with what are probably topical rhymes of the day ("the ballad of Chipping Norton, a mile from Chapel o'the Heath ; a lamentable ballad of burning the Pope's dog ; the sweet ballad of the Lincolnshire bagpipes"), the more genuine ballad of "Peggy & Willy :-

"But now he is dead and gone,
Mine own sweet Willy is laid in his grave".

Many snatches of song are introduced in the rustic scenes in these plays , - fragments of old ballads and folk-songs tags and refrains from the lyrics of a former age, old love-songs, old songs of ale and revelry, often mixed up with much that is new and topical. Ralph the Cobbler (4) describes the song he sings at his work "my own recantation", but he was certainly not the original composer of :

" Hey downe downe a downe a downe,
Hey downe a downe a,downe a,
Our beauty is the bravest lass in all the towns a,
For beauties sweet sake,
I sleep when I should wake,
She is so nut browne,
Her cheeks are red as a cherie,
Do make my hart full merry,
So that I cannot choose, in cobbling of my shoes,
but sing hey derry down derry"

Ralph Roister Doister in a similar way catches up part of an old song :-

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(1) "A looking glass for London and England".

(2) "George - a - Greene".

(3) Probably the "Sweet William's Ghost" ballad, No. 177 in Child's "English and Scottish ballads", where the lover William is the first to die.

(4)"Cobbler's Prophecy".

" I mun be married a Sunday,
I mun be married a Sunday,
Whosoever shall come that way,
I mun be married a Sunday".

into the latter verses of which the personages of the drama are introduced.

Moros the fool, in the Morality entitled ; "The longer thou livest, the more foole thou" (1559-60) has a whole collection of songs, of which he offers his audience samples, Amongst these are several of the ballad type:- e.g.

" There was a maid came out of Kent,
Deintie Love, Deintie love,
There was a maid came out of Kent,
Dangerous be.
There was a maid came out of Kent,
Fair, proper, small and gent,
As ever upon the grounde went,
For so should it be."

or

Tom-a-lin and his wife and his wife's mother,
They went over a bridge all three together;
The bridge was broken and they fell in,
The devil go with all, quoth Tom-a-lin", (1)

or "There dwelleth a Foster here by West"

or "The white Dove sat on the castle wall" etc.

Some bird songs are noticeable;
e.g. "Little prettie Nightingale
Among the branches greene" (1) (2)

"I have a pretty titmouse
Come pricking on my toe"

or "Robin Redbreast with his notes
Singing aloft in the quere,

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(1) Tomalin is mentioned also in Damon and Pithias.

(2) v. Chambers & Sidgwick: Early English Lyrics, where the the whole of this song, and another also quoted by Moros, "By a bank as I lay" are given.

Warneth to get you fresh coats
For winter then draweth near."

Some seem to have been of the nature of catches or rounds ; singing in parts and one against the other was a favourite Elizabethan pastime, and the frequent repetition of lines and catchwords in some of the songs probably points to a rendering of this kind. Moros quotes :-

" Brome, Brome on hill,
The gentle brome on hill, hill,
Brome, Brome on Hive hill,
The gentle Brome on Hive Hill,
The Brome stands one Hive hill-a"

and " Robin, lend to me thy Bow, thy Bow,
Robin the Bow, Robin, lend to me thy Bow-a."

and again " Come over the Bourne, Besse,
My litèle pretie Besse,
Come over the Boorne, Besse to me"

and " Martin Swart and his man, sodledum, sodledum,
Martin Swart and his man, sodledum bell" (1)

and in Edward IV the patriotic song :

" Agincourt, Agincourt,
Know ye not Agincourt ? "etc"

is introduced by the direction : "Here they sing the three-man's Song". All through these plays drinking songs are frequent; "Troll the bowl" and "Good hostess, lay a crab in the fire" of "Like Will to like" are fairly typical ; Moros quotes :

" Gossip with you I purpose
To drink before I go "

These are not characteristically rustic. But the best drinking-song of all is that sung by the rustic company of " Gammer Gurton's Needle" :-

"Back and side go bare, go bare,
Both hand and foot go cold,
But belly, God send thee good ale enough
Whether it be new or old" etc.

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cf. allusion in "Lovesick King" to "What Martin said to his man."

More definitely rustic again are the songs, of which a few examples are found in the plays, appropriate to certain festive seasons. The Christmas Carol was popular all over the country, in town and village alike, Moros sings :

" Give us some of your Christmas ale
In honour of Saint Ste'ene."

Summer's last Will and Testament " has a harvest drinking song :-

" Merry, merry, merry, cheery, cheery, cheery,
Troll the black bowl to me;
Hey derry derry, with a poup and a lerry,
I'll troll it again to thee ;
Hooky, Hooky, we have shorn,
And we have bound,
And we have brought Harvest
Home to town. "

A more courtly adaptation of what sounds like an old harvest song is found in Peele's "Old Wives' Tale", where the Harvestmen enter singing :-

" All ye that lovely lovers be,
Pray you for me ;
Lo, here we come a-sowing, a-sowing,
And sow sweet fruits of love;
In your sweet hearts well may it prove "

and a second time

" Lo here we come a-reaping, a-reaping,
To reap our harvest fruit,
And thus we pass the year so long
And never be we mute."

In "Summer's last Will and Testament" again another season is represented; in the morris-dance with the May-song of the spring festival, old and new mingle :-

" Trip and go, heave and hoe,
Up and down, to and fro,
From the town to the grove,
Two and two let us rove
A maying, a playing,
Love hath no gainsaying,
So merrily trip and go "

Such scraps of quoted song are of particular interest as affording evidence of the undercurrent of popular song which carries down to later times old tunes, old motives, old metres, old phrases and refrains, of whose persistence, proved by their later emergence, no other traces are preserved in written literature.

The sports and pastimes of rural life, are alluded to in some plays, Moros, in " The longer thou livest, the more fool thou", describes the various kinds of sport in which he has attained skill, and these include hunting and birds-nesting (1), dancing and "hopping on one leg" ; top-spinning, bowls, "mosel the peg" (2) "skales" and "playing with a sheeps joint" (3). In Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" a distinction is drawn between such country pastimes as these (and other games involving physical exercise such as wrestling, swimming, quoit throwing, etc) together with which rural sports he includes May-games, feasts, fairs, and wakes, - and the pastimes of Londoners, who " take pleasure to see some pageant or sight go by." (4)

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(1) c/f. his offer to Discipline :
" By my troth, if you will can me good thanke,
I will bring you to a pretty birds neast,
Verily I think it be a redshanke,
She is white in the taile and black in the breast.

(2) Can this be "tip-cat" ? N.E. Dictionary gives "peg" as = peg-stick, "mosel" = strike or knock. Cox in notes to Strutt's Sports & pastimes" suggests it may be a variant of "Nine Men's Morris", sometimes called "Peg Meryll."

(3) Strutt (Sports and Pastimes) quotes this as an allusion to the games of "kayles" and "loggats" (akin to ninepins), played by boys and by rustics with bones for pins.

(4) Strutt observes the same distinction in the division of his work on English sports into Chapters.

Fairs are several times alluded to in the plays, and in " Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" a country fair is represented with its pedlars' booths and its chapmen, its "country sluts .... come to buy needless naughts to make us fine" and its "lovelads" investing in fairings for their "quaint maidens." Among sports common to both city and country Burton places jugglers, comedies and tragedies. Various entertainers, such as balladmongers (5), conjurers (6) and fortune tellers (7) appear in the drama ; and Nash in a poem for St. Valentine's day describes how the Villagers come forth in February

" To see a play of strange morality
Shewn by the bachelrie of Manningtree,
Whereto the country francklins flockmeal swarm,
And John and Joan come ymaveling arm in arm."

Abundant information as to the diet of the Elizabethan countryman (ale and bacon, pork and pease, " souce " and puddings) can be collected from the drama (8). All his more strictly agricultural interests are represented. There is plentiful reference to the live-stock and the produce of the farm or the " half-acre." The country folk are careful about the attention given to their horses ; Hobs the tanner gives instructions to his man Dudgeon : "Dudgeon ! dost thou hear ? look well to Brock my mare. Drive Dun and her fair and softly down the hill : and take heed the thorns tear not the horns of

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(5) Simplicity in " Three Lords and three ladies of London."

(6) Roger Bullenbrooke in " Contention between the two famous Houses of Lancaster and York."

(7) A "Giptian" in " Promos and Cassandra"; Peter the Prophet in " Troublesome Raigne of King John ; Mother Bombie.

(8) cf. the plentiful fare of the shepherds in the Townley and Chester plays.

my cow-hides, as thou goest near the hedges. " Turnop (1) the hogheard ~~of~~ tells how Dawes the Churchwarden made a speech in praise of his mill-horse. Horses that trespass in the corn are impounded by George-a-Greene the Pinner of Wakefield and his man ~~H~~ Jenkin, and a trespassing horse is the ground of complaint brought by Walter Would-have-more (2) against the poor farmer Dunstan.

The sheep and the sheep-dog (3) and other accessories of the shepherd's calling, are frequently introduced. The Baily of Dunstable in " Thomas-à-Woodstock" signs as his mark a sheep-hook and tar-box, Corin in " Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes " complains of his lazy dog : " An cha should entreat him with my cap in my hand, he wad stand still," and when he enters later he is seeking a lost sheep. Antimon (4) "for fault of a better, shepherd to Lord Servio~~ff~~," witnesses a fatal quarrel " when my master's sheep and I were at breakfast together," and Slip, his dog, and Craft, goodman Coridons dog, take part in the hue and cry that follows the murderer. The cow and the pig are introduced as precious possessions of the peasant. The complaint of Pauperin Lindsay's "Satire of Thrie Estatis" that his three cows have been claimed by the Vicar (5) is echoed by Alcon in " A Looking-glass for London and England", a poor man whose only cow has been claimed as forfeit by the usurers. And it is not until they have reached their lowest straits that Goodman Seely and his Wife ~~H~~ Joan in "Thomas Lord Cromwell" are forced to pawn their

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(1) "John à Kent and John à Cumber."

(2) "A Knack to know a Knave."

(3) cf. Fletcher's sneer at what by 1609 had become an old-fashioned "property". (Preface to Faithful Shepherdess: "country hired shepherds in grey cloaks with curtall dogs")

(4) "A Knack to know an Honest man."

(5) cf. Story of priest claiming the poor man's only cow in " Ayenbite of Inwyt."

precious cow to pay their rent. The Vice in "Horestes" stirs up Rusticus to fight with Hodge by telling him that Hodge's dog has been seen worrying his pig, whereat Rusticus is furious :

" Ich had rather gyven vore stryke of corne
Then to had my hogge on this wyse forlorne."

The corn and the crops are seen as a source of much labour, anxiety, and profit. The filling of the barn and getting in of the hay and the corn is alluded to in " Selimus" and in the "Cobbler's Prophecy." Codrus in "Misogenus " tries to fix a date by reference to the fluctuations in the price of corn : " Where was corn then, Alison ? lets see how that will mount." In "Summer's last Will and Testament," Harvest is asked if it has been a good year for the crops, and he replies in detail :- " My oats grow like a cup of beer that makes the brewer rich ; my rye . . . hath a long stalk, a goodly husk, but nothing so great a kernel as it was wont. My barley was frostbitten in the blade, yet picked up his crumbs again afterwards . . . As for my peas and my vetches, they are famous, and not to be spoken of."

There is dealing and bartering in produce. Hob and Lob in " Cambises " ask each other of their store as they set out to market :

Lob. " But neighbour Hob, neighbour Hob, what have ye to zell ?
Hob : Bum troth, neighbour Lob, to you I chill tell ;
Chave two goslings, and a chine of good pork,
There is no vatter between this and York.
Chave a pot of strawberries and a calf's head.
A zennight zince tomorrow it hath been dead.
Lob : Chave a score of eggs and of butter a pound;
Yesterday a nest of goodly young rabbits I vound."

The Dramatists have also realised the concern of the rustic with the weather. Thomas in " Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", on his way to the fair, remarks : " If this weather hold, we shall have hay good cheap." Snatch and Catch, in the " Marriage of Wit and Wisdom ", seeking to dupe Idleness, pose as rustics, meeting from opposite corners of the stage, and giving one another the characteristic rustic greeting. Snatch - " Good-day, neighbour, good-day 'Tis a fair grey morning (1), God be blessed.

Catch: I, by Gis, 'twould be trim weather an 'twere not for this mist."

Agricultural labour is introduced. In John Heywood's " Witty and Witless" the labours of ploughing, sowing, and carting are described. In "Gentleness and Nobility" the Ploughman gives the Merchant and the Knight an account of the way in which his daily work provides the community with the necessaries of life. Tenacity (2), in a song where he and Prodigality state their rival claims for the possession of Money, strings together a list of his labours :-

" Whilst thou dost spend with friend and foe,
At home che hold the plough by th' tail;
She dig, che delve, che zet, che zow,
Che mow, che reap, che ply my flail " etc.

Hodge, in "Gammer Gurton's Needle, contrasts his work with that of the home-keeping women :-

"Cham fain abroad to dig and delve, in water, mire and clay,
Sossing and possing in the dirt still from day to day;
A hundred things that be abroad chain set to see them well
And four of you sit idle at home, and cannot keep a nee'le"

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(1) cf. the present "Evening red and morning grey
Will set the traveller on his way" etc.

(2) "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality."

The overseeing of a country estate is described with realistic particularity in " Apius and Virginia." Mansipulus the bailiff relates :-

" Hap did so happen that my lord and master
Stayed in the beholding and viewing the pasture .....
I came in the crossway on the nearside the Forlake ....
And at Simkin's side-ridge my lord stood talking,
And angerly to me quoth he : "Where hast thou been walking?
Out at bridge-meadow, and at Benol's lease (quoth I),
Your fatlings are feeding well, sir, the gods be praised
A goodly loume of beef on them is already raised."

Bullithrumble the shepherd in "Selimus" has "two ploughs going, two barns filling, and a great herd of beasts feeding." Hobs the tanner and his man Dudgeon are busy carting hides. The Prince in "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" describes how Margaret of Fressingfield, "in the milk-house ..... amongst her cream-bowls ---- turned her smock over her lily arms, And dived them in the milk to run her cheese."

Amongst these multifarious pictures of rustic life, there are certain instances of the employment of common themes, of stock rustic characters, rustic incidents, rustic "business," that were, amongst the regular properties of the dramatist. Certain accepted motives, which were either of old literary standing, or which soon hardened into conventions, lent themselves particularly well to treatment in a rustic setting, and are turned to account thus by the dramatists. The shrewish wife, a comic theme as old on the English stage as Noah's wife in the Mystery plays, appears in the play of " Tom Tyler and his Wife" To the same class belong Marian May-be-good in "Cambises", who swinges with her broom Hob and Lob and the Vice; Mansipula in " Apius and Virginia", who indulges in similar horseplay; and Zelota the wife of Ralph in the " Cobbler's Prophecy." The comic figure of the collier,

with his grimy countenance, is perhaps traceable to the man with blackened face of the old folk-festivals, (1) who reappears also as the May-day sweep or tinker. (2).
In "Like Will to Like, quod the Devil to the Collier" a similar association is again suggested for this popular form of disguising. The ignorant peasant, too, is a regular comic type, with his constant mistaking of words and his slowness of comprehension. Quarrels between rustics - generally illustrating their muddle-headedness - are a frequent comic motive; Hodge and Rusticus in " Horestes", Hob and Lob in "Cambises," like the shepherds of the first Townley play, fall out over supposed grievances, and make things up in the end. In John-à-Kent and John-à-Cumber", where the village choir, assembled to honour a wedding, elect their spokesman, occurs a lively scene of altercation between the rival candidates, Hugh the Sexton and Peter Turnop, the Hogheard, and their various supporters, ending in the triumph of Turnop by force of eloquence, bluff, and dog-Latin. Other opportunities for comic dialogue are afforded by rustic discussions on matters of state. Hob and Lob confer about the doings of the King; the beacon-keepers in the " Chronicle History of King Leir" discuss their situation ; rebels in " Jack Straw " and in " Edward IV" meet to decide upon their plans of action. Akin to this is the frequent introduction of the rustic giving evidence referred to above (3). Another stock comic device is the ~~clever cheat, and the duping of~~ juxtaposition of the rustic with the courtier or with the clever cheat, and the duping of the simple country swain. Cases of this occur in Peele's "Edward I", in " Promos and Cassandra" and in "Damon and

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(1) v. E.K. Chambers : Mediaeval Stage, Vol. I.p.125.

(2) v. ibid : p.125 Note 2 and p. 214.

(3) v. ante p: 18.

Pithias", and in the last two plays the same trick, that of picking the clown's pockets under cover of shaving him, is introduced. (1)

And, lastly, there are a certain number of literary romantic motives which are worked out in a rustic setting. The recognition motive is thus used in "Misogonus", escape in rustic disguise in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" and in the "Chronicle History of King Leir" (2), disguised wooing in "Mucedorus." The wooing of a maid of humble birth by one of the great of the land, as in "Faire Em," (3).is akin to ballad woocings ; the lord concealing his wealth and position from his ladylove, as does Lord Lacy from Margaret in " Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" recalls the Squire of the "Nutbrowne Mayde" who feigns himself a banished man. The theme of the forsaken rustic maiden following her lover in disguise, used in " Sir Clyomon and Sir Clyamydes", and later in the "Wise Woman of Hogsdon", in the "London Prodigall", the "Fair Maid of the West", and the "Poor Man's Comfort", is still more directly attributable to a ballad source. (4) The visits of the King in disguise to test the loyalty of his humble subjects or to observe their mode of life, treated in "George-à-Greene" and in the story of the tanner of Tamworth, are also of ballad origin, and reproduced a motive which had already appeared in the "Lytel Geste" of Robin Hood.(5).

These things are clearly a part of the stock upon which the dramatist could draw,- devices obvious enough for awakening the interest or the mirth of the public, - recipes for certain ways of dealing with rustic material, But it is not in these forms that the bulk of that material is found. They are

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(1) This trick (played on a citizen not a rustic) reappears later as one of the pranks of Cockledemay in the "Dutch Courtezan". A Variant of the same motive is introduced as typical of old-fashioned farce in the play "The Cheater and the Clown" performed by country players before Simon the Tanner in the "Mayor of Queenborough" (which only survives in Post - Restoration form, but probably dates from about 1596-7).
(2) Also later in the " Two Lamentable Tragedies."
(3) cf. the story of King Cophetua and the beggarmaid, known to the dramatists of this period.
(4) cf. ballad quoted below p: , one evidently akin to that of "Burd Ellen and Child Waters."
(5) Also in The Romances. e.g. Rauf Coilyear.

incidental rather than essential to the introduction of rustic life on the Elizabethan stage. In them is illustrated the continuity of the English drama: the Shepherd Corin and his dog (1) are descendants of Trowle and Dottinoule (2): the churlish and tight-fisted Harry Grudgen (3) is akin to Cain of the Townley plays; the rustic is still noted for being a "huge feeder" who scolds at but enjoys his food, and Hob and Lob (4) quarrel as did the shepherds in the Prima Pastorum. And yet these figures, dating back as they do at least to the fourteenth century (5) have not hardened into stage types. The tradition of drawing material direct from the life around, established by the writers of the York and Townley plays, is preserved and enlarged. Not stereotyped, not stock, and not to be obtained except from first hand knowledge, is the intimate and realistic portrayal of the life and affairs of the countryfolk. of their surroundings and their social intercourse, of their recreations and their daily toil, - given with freedom and with fulness in the dramas of this period.

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(1) " Sir Clymon and Sir Clamydes."

(2) Chester plays.

(3) " Edward IV "

(4)"Cambises."

(5) The Shrewsbury Shepherd play fragments (reprinted in J. Manly's " Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama"), the earliest extant Mystery-play text, belong to the early fifteenth century.

3. General treatment of Rustic 1595 to 1616.

For some ten years after 1595 the continuity of the type was unbroken. The background of contemporary England continues to be seen in glimpses behind the drama. Joan, Mother of Merlin, (1) is Suffolk bred, and lives at Hockley-in-the-hole and Leighton Buzzard. The Bishop of Ely (2) captured in countryman's disguise in Sherwood Forest, professes to be on his way to Mansfield market. Tom Stroud of Harling in Norfolk (3) talks of the sale of cowhides at Lynmarte (4) and of pease and barley at Thetford, and alludes to the feats of tumblers at Wyndham fair. The scene of "Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants" varies between Harwich, the Tarlton Inn at Colchester, The Rangers Lodge at Maldon, and the London road. The "Fair maid of the West" resides at the Castle Tavern at Plymouth, then at the Windmill Tavern, Foy (5) . The scene of the greater part of the Lovesick King "is Newcastle, of the "Honest Lawyer" Bedfordshire, of the second part of "If you know not Me, you know nobody", Deptford. Chough the Cornishman in "A Fair Quarrel" alludes to many places of note in his own part of the country: Sir John of Wrotham collects Tithes from : "Barham downe, Chobham Down, Gadshill, Wrotham Hill, Blackheath, Cock's Heath, and Birchenwood". Of the villages around London , in which the scene of many plays is laid, more will be said later.

Diversity of rustic names continues. "Hodge" still occasionally appears (6) and the name of "Chough" the Cornishman (7) also betokens his rusticity.

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(1) "Birth of Merlin".

(2) "Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon".

(3) "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green".

(4) i.e. Lynn market.

(5) i.e. Fowey (near Plymouth)

(6) e. g. in "Two Angry women of Abingdon", "Shoemaker's Holiday" etc.

(7) "A Fair Quarrel".

"Poverty" (1) and "Plain Speaking" (2) are relics of the morality. Amongst descriptive appellations are "Goodman Flail and Bartlemew Pitchfork, Tobie Turfe and John Clay, Cicely Milkpail and Roger Brickbat; whilst among the regular surnames are those of Bess Bridges, Goodwife Thompson, the Northumberland pedlar Thornton and Tom Stroud of Harling.

Pictures of the country household are given with much fulness of detail. In the "Tale of a Tub" the household of Tobie Turfe is in a ferment of bustle, preparing for Audrey's wedding. A similar domestic scene is given in the "Coxcomb". "Wily Beguiled" affords pleasant glimpses into the home life of Mother Midnight, Nurse Marget, and Peg. The familiar characters of the village continue to appear. There are the Host and the carrier, the village smith and the Miller, the Squire and the Bailey, the Pedlar and the village minstrel, priest and sexton, justice and constable, crier and parish Clerk. Another figure frequently introduced for comic effect (both with and without a rustic setting) in this period, is that of the schoolmaster (3) instructing his class of boys in Latin; amongst the most interesting of these, as having rural as well as academic interests, is Sir David in the "Faery Pastorall", who enters "with a nest of throssells in his hand held" which he promises to " him best sayeth his lesson", who teaches the ladies how to tame the squirrel they have caught, and tells the story of how Cock and Hen went a nutting. Several of the village characters mentioned or already sketched in the preceding period are described in full detail in these plays. The Lancashire Carrier of "Sir John Oldcastle" is a filling out

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(1) "Histriomastix".

(2) "Whore of Babylon".

(3) In "Cupid's Whirligig", "A Fairy Pastorall", "How a man may choose a good wife from a bad", "Return from Parnassus", "Two Noble Kinsmen", "What you Will" cf. Shakespeare's use of the same theme in "Love's Labour Lost" and the "Merry Wives of Windsor" and Sidney's allusion to this comic figure "the self-wise seeming Schoolmaster" (Apologie for Poetrie p.56.ed: Shuckburgh.)

of earlier sketches ; Blague the Host in the "Merry Devil of Edmonton" (akin both to the Host of the Canterbury Tales and to him of the "Merry Wives of Windsor") is drawn with much fulness and interest. The figure of the village constable, always a favourite character, is one of the most important in the "Tale of a Tub" where the conflict between the constabulary and the paternal duties ~~the~~ of Tobie Turfe forms one of the leading comic motives. In the "Weakest Goth to the Wall" both priest and sexton are drawn. Sir Nicholas describes his estate :-

" I have little coin,
My benefice doth bring me in no more,
But what will hold bare buckle and thong together,
And now and then to play a game at bowls,
And drink a pot of ale among good fellows". (1)

And Bunch enumerates his qualifications for the post of Sexton : "I can say Amen without book, chime two bells at once, whip a dog with both hands, know the difference of the strokes in tolling for men and women, grease the bellropes, turn the clappers, sweep the church, help the Vicar on with his surplice."

To one other local character a special word must be given. The wise woman of the village continues to figure in plays of this period, and has not yet assumed the evil character which was shortly afterwards to be assigned to her. One instance of the persecution of a woman by an Incubus, and of the birth of a "mooncalf" child, is found in the "Birth of Merlin" (1597 - 1607) but this is exceptional ; and even in this case Joan is not the village crone of the regular witch-drama. There are Witches of a purely imaginative order; the witch who creates the dragon to destroy Caradoc in the "Valiant Welshman" is an enchantress from the world of romance. The name of Mother

(1) cf. Sir John in the "Merry devil of Edmonton" & Sir John of Wrotham in "Sir John Oldcastle".

Maudlin (1) suggests a more homely type, but her magic girdle and imprisonment of Earine in a tree show her to be nearer akin to Sycorax than to Mother Sawyer. The devil-ridden hag of the Witch-drama, a type resulting from the panic against witchcraft under which many an ill-fortuned villager suffered, belongs to the period after 1616. As yet the drama presents only fairytale witches and the harmless fortune telling "Mothers" of the Village". Of these the "Wise Woman of Hogsdon" enumerates several : "You have heard of Mother Nottingham, who for her time was pretty well skilled...., and after her, Mother Bomby ; and then there is one Hatfield in Pepper Alley, he doth pretty well for a thing that is lost. There's another in Coleharbour that's skilled in the planets. Mother Sturton, in Golden Lane is for fore-speaking ; Mother Phillips of the Bankside, for the Weakness of the back ; and then there's a very reverend matron on Clerkenwell Green, good at many things. Mistress Mary on the Bankside is for 'recting a figure ; and one (what do you call her?) in Westminster, that practiseth the book and the key, and the sieve and the shears".

Apart from the Witch question, many rustic superstitions and observances are still introduced. The wedding planned in the "Tale of a Tub" depended upon the fact that John and Audrey had drawn each other's names on St. Valentine's day. In "Two Angry Women of Abingdon" allusion is made to the throwing of an old shoe for luck. Murley the brewer in "Sir John Oldcastle" is averse to arranging a meeting for a Friday. Dreams are told in "Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants", and Joan in the Entertainment to Queen Elizabeth at Harefield claims to have had premonition of the Queen's coming in a dream of green rushes. In "A Warning for Faire Women" the catastrophe is anticipated by the dreams & forebodings of Joan, and by the stumbling of John Beane's horse as he sets out in the morning. Rustic terror of the

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(1) "Sad Shepherd".

supernatural is used with comic effect in "Grim the Collier of Croydon" in the "Merry Devil of Edmonton" and in the "Tale of a Tub".

Fairies appear more frequently in Masques and Entertainments than in the regular drama, and are used for decorative effect rather than with any particularly rustic association. In one case, however, in the "Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll", it is a "Peasant mounted upon a Jade" who comes unawares at the foot of a green hill upon a company of fairies at a banquet, and who, when a "fine little dapper fellow" offers him drink in a golden goblet, runs away with the enchanted cup. Robin Goodfellow, himself a more rustic fairy, plays a large part in "Grim the Collier of Croydon" and his pranks, familiar to the modern reader from "Midsummer Night's Dream" are described here, and in the "Fairy Pastorall", in, "If you know not Me, you know nobody", and in "The Devil is an ass".

Popular heroes of story and ballad are still alluded to, and many songs and ballads are quoted. Sir John Oldcastle's servant Harpole, hearing order given for the burning of his master's books, prays that his own may not share their fate; "I have there English books, my Lord, that Ile not part with for your Bishopricke : Bevis of Hampton, Owleglasse, the Frier and the Boy, Ellenor Rumming, Robin Hood, and other such godly stories". Robin Hood and his merry men are the main characters of Munday's two plays: "The Downfall and Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon", and of Ben Jonson's Rustic play , the "Sad Shepherd" ; they are introduced also in some entertainments for picturesque effect. (1) In the "Honest Lawyer" Valentine comments on his fight with Curfew; "Robin Hood and the Pinner of Wakefield had not a stiffer bout", and Curfew calls Vaster" my brave Clim o' the Clough". Part of a ballad on a popular heroine, alluded to in other plays, is quoted in "Cupid's Whirligig" :-

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(1) e.g. Cawsome House Entertainment, and Munday's "Metropolis Coronata".

" They marched out mainly by three and by three,
And the foremost in battle was Mary Hanbrie," (1)

In "The Weakest Goth to the Wall" is a fragment of another ballad:

"John Dorrie bought him an ambling nag to Paris
for to ride -a"

and also a full verse of a crusading song :-

"King Richard's gone to Walsingham to the holy land,
To Kill Turk and Saracen that the truth do withstand,
Christ his Cross be his good speed, Christ his foes to quell,
Send him help in time of need, and to come home well". (2)

The repertory of ballad snatches of old Merrythought in the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" is well known. Familiar ballad lines quoted in other plays are a verse in "Bonduca" :-

"She set the sword unto her breast,
Great Pity it was to see,
That three drops of her life warm blood
Run trickling down her knee".

in "Monsieur Thomas"

"If this be true, thou little tiny page, (3)
This tale thou tell'st to me -"

and in "Two Noble Kinsmen"

"I'le cut my green coat a foot above my knee,
And ile clip my yellow locks an inch below my eie,
And ile go seek him through the world that is so wide
Hey nonny, nonny, nonny".

The same play contains a Willow song, a pirate ballad :

"The George-a-low came from the South,
From the coast of Barbary, a,
And there he met with brave gallants of war
By one, by two, by three-a" ... etc.

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(1) "Mary Ambrée" is the more usual spelling.

(2) The forms in line 3 suggest a version previous to the silencing of the e. "Cristëes cross" etc.

(3) (Lady Barnard and little Musgrave).

and a folk-song still current in a variant form :

"There was three fools fell out about an howlet;
The one sed it was an owle
The other he sed nay,
The third he sed it was a hawke
And her bells were cut away."

Beaumont and Fletcher, preeminently among the dramatists, cared for these things, but there are fragments also outside their work. Besides those quoted from "The Weakest Goth to the Wall", there are "Gentle Butler Bellamy" (1) and one belonging to the old "aube" motive :-

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy"

in the "Lovesick King"; "Troll the bowl" and "O the month of May" in the "Shoemaker's Holiday", and a Man-in-the-Moon (3) song in "When you see me, you know me" The songs also of Mopso and Frisco in the "Maydes Metamorphosis" are clearly much older than the play :-

Mopso : " Terlitelo, Terlitelo, terlitelee, terlo,
So merrily this shepheards boy,
His horne that he can blow,
Early in a morning, late, late in an evening,
And ever sat this little boy,
So merrily piping (4)"

Frisco: " Can you blow the little horne?
Weell, weell, and very weell,
And can you blow the little horne
Amongst the leaves greene ?" (5)

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(1) cf. Chambers & Sidgwick : Early English Lyrics : cxxxI.

(2) Found also in Merry-thought's repertoire.

(3) cf. "Man in the mone stond and strit" etc. in MS. Harl:2253

(4) cf. Chorus of song at end of Coventry Taylors' and Shearmen's Pageant:-

"They sang terli terlow,
So merrily the shepperds their pipes can blow"

(5) Here again in the fourth line the "e" of "Leavës" must be sounded to make the metre correct. This may have been preserved as a poetic license - cf. "Midsummer Night's Dream" moonës sphere".

Allusion to country games and sports, to dancing and to rural festivals, is more abundant than in the earlier plays. The love of "pastime with good company" of the Tudor sovereigns had permeated the life of the people. Bowls are a rural pastime in "Two Angry women of Abingdon" and in "The Weakest Goth to the Wall". Football is alluded to in the "~~Blind-Beggar~~ "Lovesick King" and in the "Whore of Babylon"; and in the "Blind Beggar of Bednall Green", Tom Stroud of Harling boasts "I'll play a gole at Campball (1) or wrassel a fall a the hip, or the hin turn with ere a Courtnoll of ye all" Wrestling is also a favourite pastime of Chough the Cornishman in a "Fair Quarrel" who attempts, besides, swimming with the help of bladders. Wrestling and running are amongst the May sports in which Arcite wins the garland in "Two Noble Kinsmen", and in this play appear the Maypole and the morris dance, and allusion is made to the game of "barley-break" & to the hobby horse, who appears here, as in the later "Witch of Edmonton", to be no longer "forgot". Similar dances and disguisings appear in the "Thracian Wonder" and the calfskin suit of Robin Goodfellow in "Wily Beguiled" belongs to the same class of festivity, though this time a Christmas one. Singing and morris dancing are introduced in "Jack Drum's Entertainment"; and in "A Woman killed with kindness" the servants (Cicely Milkpail, Roger Brickbat,

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(1) Strutt, in his "Sports and Pastimes" mentions "Campball" as another name for football; Cox who in 1808 edited Strutt, adds a note to the effect that "campball" is a game played in the Eastern Counties and is distinct from football.

etc, who are country bred) (1), choose their dances from a whole series of popular measures : "Rogero", "The Beginning of the World", " John come kiss me now", "Cushion dance", " Tom Tyler", "The Hunting of the Fox". " Put on your Smock a Monday", " The Hay ", and " Sellinger's round." (2)

In "Grim the Collier" the people of Croydon go nutting on Holyrood Day. In the " Coxcomb " Nan describes to Viola the pleasures of country life :

" We live as merrily, and dance o' good days,
After evensong, Our wake shall be on Sunday;
Do you know what a wake is ? We have mighty cheer then,
And such a coil 'twould bless ye".

Fairs are referred to in several plays. Tom Stroud in " the Blind Beggar of Bednal Green" speaks of the feats of tumblers at Wyndham Fair : Stourbridge Fair is mentioned in " If you know not me, you know nobody," and Ben Jonson's detailed picture of the life of Bartholomew Fair throws light on rustic as well as city follies and amusements.

And lastly as regards the daily toil and life business of the rustic, there is plenty of evidence forthcoming from these ten years. Rustic diet is alluded to in " Timon " and in " Northward Hoe" and Tom Stroud enumerates some favourite Norfolk dishes : his offers of hospitality include " a barley froyes" and the best of Dumplings; and he promises Bess that if she will become his Wife, his mother shall teach her to make " butters and flapjacks, fritters, pancakes, I, and the rarest fools, - all the ladies in the land know not how to turn their hand to them. "

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(1) v. stage direction: " Nicholas whilst dancing speaks stately and scurvily, the rest after the country fashion."

(2) cf. the revel in " Misogonus". Misogonus calls for dancing: "What countrye dances do you now here dayly frequent ? Dances suggested are " The Vicar of St. Fool's " etc.

The live stock of the farm and the cottage are still in evidence. Shepherds appear in " A Valiant Welshman"; the grazing of a pig in the churchyard is one of the assets of the Sexton in the " Weakest Goth to the Wall". Lollio the rustic clown in " Timon" talks in his drunken sleep of remedies for diseases of dogs and swine. The care of the poultry plays an important part in " Fortune by Land and Sea." Murley the brewer in "Sir John Oldcastle" sees to the right disposing of his horses and carters. And there is frequent allusion to the labour of the country,-dairywork,(1) ploughing,(2) haymaking,(3), harvesting,(4), etc.

Sale and bartering of produce is still a common theme. In " Histriomastix " is given a realistic glimpse of the market during the reign of Plenty: " Enter Countrimen, to them, Clarke of the Market: hee wrings a bell, and drawes a curtaine ; whereunder is a market set about a Crosse .... Corne-buyer : " What's a quarter of Corne ?

Seller : Two and sixpence.

Corne b. Ty't up, ' tis mine.

Merchants wife : Ha'y ' any Potatoes ?

Seller: Th' aboundance will not quite-cost the bringing.

Wife : What's your cock-sparrowes a dozen ?

Seller : A penny, Mistresse.

Wife : Ther's for a dozen ; hold."

Eggs carried to market appear as a badge of the countryman in "Robert Earl of Huntingdon", in " Sir Thomas Wyatt" and in "Jack Drum's Entertainment". Tom Stroud (5) does not share his father's interest in " how they sell a score of cowhides

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(1) " If you know not Me, You know Nobody"; the "Coxcomb" etc.

(2) " Timon ; " Fortune by Land and Sea "

(3) Entertainment at Harefield.

(4) " Return from Parnassus."

(5) " Blind Beggar of Bednal Green."

at Lynmarte, and what price pease and barley bears at Thetford market", and Philip in " Two Angry Women of Abingdon" quotes in ridicule of a rustic suitor his one topic of conversation (1):

" The russet youth..... who went to woo a wench,
And, being full stuffed up with fallow wit,
And meadow-matter, asked the pretty maid,
How they sold corn last marketday with them.
Saying, "Indeed, 'twas very dear with us."

Talk of the weather is again introduced as a sign of rusticity. Hodge in " Two Angry Women of Abingdon" comes upon the stage, drunk, with :

" O here's a blessed moonshine, God be thanked !
Boy, is not this goodly weather for barley ? "

and his namesake in the "Shoemakers' Holiday" is laughed at by his fellow 'prentices: "Master, I am dry as dust to hear my fellow Roger talk of fair weather ; let us pray for good leather, and let clowns and ploughboys and those that work in the fields pray for brave days. We work in a dry shop ; what care I if it rain ? " And Jonson's " Tale of a Tub" which sets out to demonstrate,

" what different things.

The cotes of clowns are from the courts of kings" opens fittingly with a comment on the weather :-

" Now on my faith, old Bishop Valentine,
You have brought us nipping weather - "Febructe
Doth cut and shear" - your day and diocese
Are very cold."

Despite this continued depiction in full of rustic scenes and types, there is during this period, as has been said, a change in the attitude of the dramatists treating rustic stuff, who are ever more and more exclusively attached to London and to the Court and gentry, and less interested in

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(1) cf. "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", where Margaret chides Thomas for talking of the price of butter and cheese on fair day.

the mere agricultural labourer. The "homespun country stuff" presented by the players in " Histriomastix" in the house of Mavortius " brings little liking to the curious eare" of his Italian guest; and it is the taste of the latter which gradually prevails in London. The same band of players complain later that

" the gentlemen see into our trade.
We cannot gull them with brown paper stuff", and though " Sir Oliver Owlat's men enrol themselves as "townsmen all," the drama which replaces their stock-in-trade is more strictly the work of townsmen writing for townsmen. The change of attitude shows itself in a variety of ways. In the first place, although there are plays of this period in which the scene is laid as far distant from London as Newcastle, Harwich and Plymouth respectively, yet those in which there is most exhibition of local knowledge, and in which the scene is described with the greatest particularity are the ones concerned with the villages around London. Croydon, the scene of Grim Collier's encounter with Robin Goodfellow, was a favourite summer resort of the youth of London, Bednal Green and Hogsdon give their names each to a play. In " Sir John Oldcastle" the rebel Army is

" Dispersed in sundry villages about
Some here with us in Highgate, some at Finchley,
Totnam, Enfield, Edmonton, Newington,
Islington, Hogsdon, Pancredge, Kensington,
Some neerer Thames, Ratcliffe, Blackwall, Bow."

In the " Merry Devil of Edmonton" figure Smug the Smith of Edmonton and Banks the Miller of Waltham, and the Miller's house and the George at Waltham are scenes of meetings between these merry companions, Blague the host, and Sir John the priest, whilst their deer-stealing expedition ends in Enfield Churchyard. In a " Tale of a Tub" the villages represented are Pancras, Totten-court, Maribone, Kentishtown, Kilborn, Islington, Hamstead, Belsize, and Chalcot, and the scene of the play is

Finsbury Hundred. The " cotes of clowns" here depicted are suburban village houses; the rusticity represented is a suburban rusticity. Again, the new attitude of the playwright to the rustic is manifested not only in the dropping of the old peasant type, but also in the introduction of new types of rustics. As town life develops, the country begins to mark itself off in other ways from the town, and the country gentry, especially the lower rank of "squires", begin to form a class apart, and to become representatives of rusticity to the town dramatist and audience. More plentiful use of figures and scenes from this class is characteristic of the drama of these years. A new character to appear here is the rich country suitor (generally unsuccessful); Peter Plodall and Tom Stroud are rejected farmer wooers; Oliver the Devonshire clothier in the "London Prodigall", Sir John Pennydub in the "Puritan", and Sir Timothy Shallow in the "Wizard" are wealthy suitors from the country. The formalities of country wooing are alluded to in "The Hog hath lost his Pearl", by Haddit, the spendthrift; "Tis not with us as 'tis with you in the country, not to be had without father's and mother's goodwill", and in "Every Woman in her Humour" Flavia mocks at her tedious country suitor, who "brings letters of commendation from the Constable of the Parish, or the Churchwarden, of his good behaviour and bringing up : how he could write and read written hand: further desiring that his Father would request my Father that his Father's son might marry my Father's daughter, and he'll make her a joynter of a hundred a year."

The wealthy and miserly farmer also appears; Old Plodall in "Wily Beguiled" is of this order, also Sordido in "Every Man out of his Humour", Harding in "Fortune by land and Sea", and Fitz-dottrell in the "Devil is an Ass." There is also the new comic motive of the rich fool from the country aping the manners

of the city gentry. "The Gentleman which might in countrie keepe A plenteous boorde, and feed the fatherlesse" but who instead

" Will break up house, and dwell in market townes
A loytring life, and like an Epicure." (1)

had been satirised by Gascoigne, but the growing attractions of London had clearly made the evil more conspicuous (2). "Ben Jonson makes a thoroughgoing attack on it in " Every Man out of his Humour", where Sogliardo receives his instructions from Carlo Buffone;(3) "First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants ; when at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel ...." etc. And there is the tragic motive, especially prominent in "Michaelmas Term", of the spoiling of the country maid or man by contact with city manners.

Again in the depiction of the country life itself, the attention is now given less to the very poor, more to the rich or comfortable middle classes. Something of the grotesque element has gone, the country scene is no longer necessarily associated with the "Uplandish" dialect or with boorish awkwardness. The gentry are seen in the country, retired thither to escape the cares of court and city, and to enjoy the "harmless sports our country life affords" (4); hunting scenes are frequent (5), and a hawking match is the occasion of the action in one play (6).

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(1) "Steele Glas" Ed: Arber, English Reprints p: 61.

(2) cf. Hall: Satires IV. 2.
"Old driveling Lolio drudges all he can
To make his eldest sonne a gentleman."
and sends him "to learn law and courtly carriage
To make amends for his mean parentage ...
Where he, unknown and ruffling as he can
Goes currant each where for a gentleman"

(3) Act I Sc. 1.

(4) " Honest Man's Fortune".

(5) e.g. "Two Angry Women of Abingdon". "Shoemakers' Holiday" "Merry Devil of Edmonton" "Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants" "Fairy Masterall", " Sad Shepherd" etc.

(6) Sub-plot of " Woman killed with kindness."

The characters of "Two Angry Women of Abingdon" and the "Merry Devil of Edmonton" live in comfortable circumstances and speak good verse. A prosperous farm is the scene of much of "Fortune by land and Sea". The Country house to which Mistress Frankford retires maintains quite a retinue of servants; that described in the "Coxcomb" bespeaks some degree of affluence. Here the Mother of the courtier Mercury makes preparations for a visit from her son :

"Take care my house be handsome,
And the new stools set out, and boughs and rushes,
And flowers for the windows, and the Turkey carpet,
And the great parcel salt, Fan, with the cruets;
And prithee, Alexander, go to the cook
And bid him spare for nothing, my son's come home."

After about 1605, as has been said, genuine rustic material becomes extremely scanty. Such introduction of country life as there is is of a pastoral character. To the period 1605 to 1616 belong a large number of pastoral dramas, some definitely on the foreign model, such as Daniel's "Queen's Arcadia" and "Hymen's Triumph" or Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess", some utilizing pastoral motives in conjunction with other material, such as " Two Noble Kinsmen" or the "Poor Man's Comfort", probably also Jonson's attempt at naturalising the pastoral in England. Considered simply as a property, the rural scene was too valuable to be abandoned. But whereas it had hitherto been chiefly used for the achievement of grotesque effect, in farcical ~~chiefly~~ rustic scenes, appealing to the more popular audience, it was now mainly used (in a manner not wholly unattempted in the earlier period) to afford picturesque costume and background to delight the masque-loving courtly spectator. And for this purpose the Italian pastoral already served. English writers of pastoral drama did not follow the lead of Greene, but fetched their material from Italy and Sicily rather than from Fressingfield, and in so doing, lost touch with reality, and

failed to naturalise the pastoral (1). Phoebe and Audrey remain distinct (2).

Except as a property, dramatic depiction of rustic life had ceased to be of significance for courtly dramatist and audience. There had always been moral theorists to uphold the Horatian ideal of rural felicity, and the expression of this philosophy is not absent from the drama. " O base yet happy boors" is the burden of a Chorus in the "Misfortunes of Arthur", the thought of which is the same as that of Henry V's soliloquy on the cares of royalty (3). Corcut in "Selimus" speaks of the "sweet content that country life affords". Eyden in the "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York" soliloquises in the same strain. The song of Babulo in Dekker's "Patient Grissill" (4) sums up such of the sentiment therein expressed, and echoes of this sentiment are found in the "Trial of Chivalry" and the "Thracian Wonder", in Marston's "Sophonisba", and in several plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.(5-6). But the simple life was not a characteristic Elizabethan ideal. Sturdy independence of courtly luxury such as is expressed by Grim Collier in " Damon and Pithias" :-

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(1) Ben Jonson left his attempt to reconcile Maid Marian and Earine unfinished.

(2) Mr. W.W.Greg, in his "Pastoral Poetry and Drama" p.296 speaks of the "constitutional indifference on the part of the London public to the loves and sorrows of imaginary swains and nymphs" and of the "difficulty of reconciling the pastoral with the temper of the English stage."

(3) "O base yet happy boors! O gifts of Gods
Scant yet perceived ! When powd'red ermine robes
With secret sighs, mistrusting their extremes,
In baleful breast forcast their foultring fates,
And stir, and strive, and storm, and all in vain;
Behold the peasant poor with tattered coat,
Whose eyes a meaner fortune feeds with sleep,
How safe and sound the careless snudge doth snore."

(4) "Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers ?" etc ...

(5) e.g. "Philaster" :
"O that I had been nourished in these woods
With milk of goats and acorns, and not known
The rights of crowns" etc.
cf. Viola ("Coxcomb") "What true contented happiness dwells
More than in cities" (here

(6) cf. Duchess in "Honest Man's Fortune", and Shamont in "Nice Valour".

(6) cf. song in Campion's Second Book of Airs (1613) "Jack and Joan they think no ill" etc suggested by Virgil's Georgic ii. 458 "O fortunates nimium, sua si bona nôrint,agricolas."

" Ich may say in counsel tho' all day I moil in dirt
Chill not change lives with any in Dionysius' court,"

or as is shown by Thomas of Woodstock, retaining his lowly garb of frieze, or by old Stroud in the Blind Beggar of Bednal Green", the rural pride and sense of well-being of the country-folk of " George-à-Greene" and of " Friar Bacon", act as illustrations rather of the self respecting spirit of the English yeoman than of the advantages of his manner of life, and are to be attributed rather to patriotism than to philosophy (1). For all the sympathy and interest with which the rustic and his surroundings are presented on the early Elizabethan stage, the theoretical attitude of the Elizabethan writer (dramatist or other) to rusticity consists in a combination of poetic delight in the " golden world " of Arcadia, and in its princely shepherds and shepherdesses, with an open contempt for the " loutish clown", for the Damoetas, Miso, and Mopsa of real life. The idealised life of forest or pastoral down they paise praise is as remote,

" From villages replete with ragg'd and sweating clowns"
as "from the loathsome airs of smoky-citied towns" (2)

In the " Return from Parnassus" Studioso and Philomusus hope at the end of their troubles to find content in the shepherd's life, without being troubled by the recollection that in their experience of real country life, the one as a tutor, the other as a sexton, they had agreed in the conclusion that

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(1) These, moreover, are all early : James's reign can furnish no idyllic pictures of English rustic life to compare with those in " Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay." or in " Wily Beguiled."

(2) Drayton : " Polyolbion" : Song XIII.

" The country mosse no true content here yields". The dramatist of the second decade of the century was almost as completely out of touch with real rusticity as the Citizens' wives he depicts in the crowd in " A King and no King" (1611):

1st Cit. wife: " My husband's cousin would have had me gone into the country last year. Wert thou ever there ?

2nd Cit. wife: Ay, poor souls, I was amongst 'em once.

1st And what kind of creatures are they, for love of God ?

2nd. Very good people, God help 'em.

1st. Wilt thou go with me down this summer ?

2nd. Alas, 'tis no place for us.

1st. Why, prithee ?

2nd. Why, you can have nothing there; there's nobody cries brooms .... or milk .... they are fain to milk themselves.

1st. Good lord " !

4. Presentation of the Rustic type.

A study of the conception of the rustic character, attributes, and appearance as given on the Elizabethan stage illustrates the same development that has been indicated in tracing the general treatment of the rustic; it also throws light on the manners and social conditions, and has a special interest in suggesting some of the stage conventions of the time.

In the first place, it was natural that the stage rustic should be mainly a comic figure. In the literature of the centuries preparatory to the rise of the English drama, four chief types of rustic character besides the boor or clown (1) are traceable. There are rustics drawn mainly with political or social interest, representatives of the oppressed labouring class in its complaints against State abuses, grinding taxation, and unjust exactions. Such is the husbandman of Wright's Political Songs (2) who, in his hopeless struggle to- cope with rents, tithes and taxes, feels that " ase god is swynden anon as so for to swynke". Such also is the "Vox Populi" who pleads to King and Protector of his grievances in a poem in Hazlitt's Popular Poetry. (3) There are rustics also exemplifying a simple practical religious faith, introduced at first simply as examples of the "playne true man" working with his own hands and setting a good example to all classes (4) Langland gives this figure the dignity of mystic significence when he describes One riding into Jerusalem on an ass

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(1) e,g. of Latin tales and anecdotes such as those in the collection in Percy Society Publications: Vol: I Nos.xxvii, Lxxix, xcix, cii, etc. c.f. The Bauer of the German "Schwänke". The same attitude to the rustic is seen in writers such as the authors of the "Satire on the men of Stockton" or the poem "Des Vilains" in Wright's Anecdota Literaria.

(2) "Ich herde men upo mold make much mon
How he beth itened of here tilyynge" etc.

(3) Vol: III Pg. 267. Here the rustic is the "labouring man ... the playne true man .... the good yeman", etc. who are
"The bodye and the staye
Of your graces realme allwaye".

(4) cf. Plowman of the Canterbury Tales.

as like to Piers Plowman, and the exaltation of the poor in the Christian teaching (e.g. in Rolle of Hampole) and the rustic setting of the birth scenes in the Mystery plays must have given more dignified associations to the presentation of country scenes and figures. The same Piers Plowman later stands for a sturdy English Protestantism as against Popish subtleties and superstitions, - witness John Bon's debate with Master Parson. (1) Again there is the rustic famous for his shrewdness. John Bon himself boasts that "thoughe I have no learning, yet I know chese from chalke". An example of the shrewd rustic occurs in the story of "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury"(2) where the riddles set by the King to the Abbot are solved by the homely mother-wit of a poor shepherd. And lastly, there are the shepherds and the farmer Cain of the Mystery plays. All four types give suggestions to the drama. The husbandman of Wright's Political songs is in some measure a predecessor of "People" in "Respublica", of "Small Hability" in "Cambises" and of Dunstan the poor farmer in "A Knack to know a Knave". The Plowman in "Gentleness and Nobility" is descended from Peter the Plowman; The spirit of John Bon is that of the English commoner in "If you know not Me, you know Nobody". The theme of the outwitting of the wise and prudent by the shrewd wit of the yeoman recurs in "George-à-Greene" and in "Robert Earl of Huntingdon". But, as was natural, it is the dramatic presentation of rustic life in the Shepherd (and to a less extent in the Cain) scenes of the Mystery plays that has most in common with the later treatment on the stage. Here the comic aspect is predominant. The shepherds who quarrel grumble, complain of their wives, jest on the heavenly music, are overthrown in wrestling or robbed by their thievish neighbour, are not indeed mere farcical butts for the laughter of

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(1) Hazlitt's Popular Poetry Vol: IV.

(2) Percy's Reliques : Vol. II.

the audience,- far from it, - a genuine knowledge of and interest in their affairs is shown by the York, Townley, and Chester playwrights, - but they are humorous figures; and it is mainly as a humorous figure that the rustic appears on the Elizabethan stage. His name came to be significant of this aspect, and the word "clown", suggestive originally of the boorishness of the country lout, came to be used indifferently both for this figure and for that of the regular Court jester in his garb of motley. Despite the efforts of such etymologists of the time as the worthy constable and his scribe in the "Tale of a Tub" (1) to attach to the word a more dignified meaning, it retained this double sense, a fact proved by its employment in "As you like it" to designate both the "motley fool" Touchstone and the country clown William.

But the rustic type in these plays is not merely a comic one. The depiction of the character of the rustic is no more open to charge of being stereotyped than is the depiction of his life and surroundings. Although certain generalisations can be made concerning the rustic character as seen in these plays, none is without exception true, and there is plenty of deviation from the more usual type.

The rustic of these plays is characterised in general by a love of honesty and plain-dealing, by a sturdy

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(1)
Medlay: "Do you call your son-in-law clown, an't please your worship?
Turfe: Yes, and vor worship too, my neighbour Medlay,
A Middlesex clown, and one of Finsbury.
They were the first Colons of the kingdom here,
The primitory colons, my Diogenes says, Where's Diogenes, my writer, now? What were those
You told me, ~~Where's~~ D'ogenes, were the first colons
Of the country, that the Romans brought in here?
Scriben: The "coloni" sir; colonus is an inhabitant,
A clown original: as you'd say, a farmer,
A tiller of the earth, e'er since the Romans
Planted their colony first, which was in Middlesex.
Turfe: Why so! I thank you heartily, good Diogenes,
You ha' zertified me. I had rather be
An ancient colon, (as they say) a clown of Middlesex,
A Good rich farmer, or high constable" .. .. etc.

independence and honest pride.

"Plain downright honesty is all the beauty
And elegancy of life found amongst shepherds".

says Shamont in "Nice Valour". Vaster, in the "Honest Lawyer" takes upon himself, to dupe his victims, "the russet shape of a plain-dealing yeoman". Attention has already been called to the rustic's habit of appealing to his own reputation for uprightness of life (1) and he is more than once introduced as a man of intregrity, shocked at the discovery of craft and guile. (2) Occasionally, especially in the later plays, and artificial pastoral idea of"the innocence, truth and simplicity Of country damsels" (3) takes the place of the older and more robust country honesty. But it is this latter which combines with the independence and self-respect of the English commoner to produce the rustic type, characterised by what is clearly regarded as a certain countrybred sturdiness of temperament. This character of independence and honest pride is shewn by the Plowman in "Gentleness and Nobility", by Grim Collier in "Damon and Pithias" and Hobs the tanner in "Edward IV"[by Thomas-à-Woodstock,] and by George-à-Greene the Pinner of Wakefield. Thornton the Pedlar of Northumberland in the "Lovesick King" who enters Newcastle almost destitute and acquires there untold wealth, exhibits at a banquet, in memory of his former poor estate, the tile on which he had written on entering the city:

"Here did Thornton enter in
With hope, a halfpenny, and a lambskin".

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(1) v. ante p.15.

(2) e.g. "Michaelmas Term". "Warning for Faire Women".

(3) "Amphrissa".

cf. Countrymen in "Croesus" :

"Our poverty to us is no reproach
Which innocent integrity adorns".

Sturdy equanimity and self-respect permeate the whole story of Tom Stroud of Harling and his dealings with the Blind Beggar of Bednal Green. (1) Tom, despite his grumbling on being obliged by his father to change his courtly suit for a more homely garb, flames out when asked by the King of his origin: "I am not ashamed of my name; I am one Tom Stroud of Harling" and challenges "ere a courtnoll of ye all" to beat him at wrestling or at Campball. He defends the blind beggar against his enemies like a "Norfolk yeoman right" and takes his rejection by Bess with unabated self-confidence : "Why, farewell, forty pence: I ha'fisht fair, and caught a frog; well, Mother,(2) though I am no gentleman, I co'd ha' brought you to more land than a score on them ... but I'll take my leave on you with an "oh godnight, landlady, the moon is up".

The Rustic is generally represented as kindly, goodnatured, and hospitable (3). In "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" and in the "Trial of Chivalry" wounded Knights, found by rustics, are nursed back to health. Bullithrumble in "Selimus" offers strangers a share in his work. The countrywoman in "Robert Earl of Huntingdon" is moved with pity towards the outcast Warman till she learns he is a traitor and no genuine distressed poor man. The rustics in "Every man out of his Humour" forgive and forget their wrongs when Sordido repents. Nan and Madge in the "Coxcomb" find a home for the forlorn Viola.

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(1) cf. Barnabie Bunch the Botcher in the "Weakest Goth to the Wall", when asked by Lodovick not to betray him: "Why, what do ye think of me ?.... a vermine to spoile ye ? or a moathe to eate through ye? no, I am Barnabie Bunch the Botcher, that nere spent any mans good but mine owne, Ile labour for my meate ... Ile not charge ye a penny, Ile keep your councel."

(2) This applies to Bess. The word, generally spelt "mawther" is still used in Norfolk and Suffolk to denote an unmarried girl. It is used in the same sense by Dick Bowyer in the "Trial of Chivalry" a character resembling Tom Stroud in many respects. cf. : also Stump in "Larum for London".

(3) v. ante p: 31. 14.

There is, however, some association of thrifty niggardliness with the countryman. The figure chosen to typify "Tenacity" in the "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality" is a tightfisted countryman, whose first application to Fortune for Money is rejected because he would only bribe her favourite Vanity with the miserable sum of three-halfpence. The Country Gentleman in the "Cobbler's Prophecy" is one who makes money by sharpness in business and by niggardliness in hospitality and expenditure; he refuses to go to the one-and-sixpenny ordinary on the grounds that it is too expensive. Plodall in "Wily Beguiled" is a typical grasping churl.

Another feature of the Elizabthan stage rustic is a tendency to grumble and to quarrel, - a feature inherited from the rustic of the Mystery plays. Codrus in "Misogonus" enters bewailing his misfortunes : "There's ne'er a one in our end o' the' town, I'm sure, hath worse hap". Trotter in "Faire Em" is an inveterate grumbler. Corin in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" enters complaining of his lazy dog. Club and Kate in "Sir John Oldcastle" arrive at the Inn grumbling at its disorder and at the cold. "Impatient Poverty" the title of one morality, is in some measure characteristic. Quarrelling as a comic rustic motive, frequently with the use of fisticuffs has already been alluded to;(1) a large number of plays contain examples of this. But the grumbling and quarrelling, as with the Mystery shepherds, are not very serious. Gaffer Club's complaints cease with the cheery greeting of his Host. Trotter is easily pacified with promises. Grim and Shorthose sit down amicably in Joan's kitchen to a dish of cream.

A further attribute is caution. Respublica brings before "People" Avarice, Adulation, Insolence, and Oppression who in the guise of policy, Honesty, Authority and Reformation promise him redress. "People" is mistrustful: "When I'se find it, chil believe it." Akin to this cautiousness is the

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(1) v. ante p:31

non-committal manner of acceptance still heard among rustics, found in Peg's answer to Will Cricket's proposal of marriage: "I care not greatly if I do".(1) Of the same character is the rustic's tendency to fall back upon a proverb when nonplussed. "People", (2) scorned and rebuffed by the courtiers, consoles himself with grumbling "Thought is free" and "A cat may look at a King". Tom Stroud (3) has always ready a proverb, if no other answer for his opponents. (4) The same tendency to rely on the wisdom of former generations shows itself in a certain rustic conservatism and ceremoniousness. Rustic insistence on formalities of wooing has already been alluded to (6); in the preparations for the wedding of Audrey in the "Tale of a Tub" the same respect for "country precedents" is seen. In the "Return from Parnassus" Perceval comes to Philomusus (temporarily sexton) to give order for the burial of his father, and describes his requirements in detail : "I pray you, goodman Sexton, make him a good large grave ... I will see him as well as I can brought to his grave honestlie; he shall have a fair coverlet over him & lie in a good flaxen sheete, and youe and the reste of my neighbours shall have brede and cheese enoughe... I coulde be contente to be at coste to burie him in the churche, but that I will not bring up new customs ; he shall lie with his posteritie in the churchyarde".

But most prominent among the features which charactise the rustic of these plays are his obtuseness and lack of power of expression. The stolidity of his outlook upon life often contrasts with the quick wit of page or courtier.

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(1) "Wily Beguiled".
(2) "Respublica".
(3) "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green".
(4) cf. Millamant's rustic lover in "Way of the world" IV.4. falling back upon proverbs when at a loss - "spare to speak and spare to speed, as they say" etc.
(5) v. ante p.46.

"We have no time to muse of vain conceits" say the hardworking countrymen of "Croesus" and the rustic is for the most part "the cause that wit is in other men". In the "Whore of Babylon" Plain-speaking meets a company of lawyers bound for a football match (1) against some country fellows:" "And who do you think shall win? said I " Oh said he, the gowns, the gowns!" The stupidity of Hodge in the "Gammer Gurton's Needle" and of Codrus in "Misogonus", of Hodge and Rusticus on "Horestes" and of Hob and Lob in "Cambises" reappears in "Lollio (2) in Club, (3) in Peter Plodall, (4) and many others. "Ignorance" as a morality character appears in the garb of a rustic, speaking the stage rustic dialect, and the leader of the rustic company in "Thomas à Woodstock" who are fleeced by the favourites of Richard II is their Baily Master Ignorance. Bashful timidity when out of his element represents one aspect of this rustic boorishness, John Clay, (6) "begot in bashfulness, brought up in shamefacedness" forsakes his bride when trouble threatens as readily as William in "As you like it" quits the field before his court-bred rival. The superstitious fears of the rustics, already alluded to(7) belong here. The intellectual disability of the rustic is specially shown in his difficulty in expressing himself. (8) Codrus in "Misogonus" fails so miserably in the attempt to tell his story that he has to send for his wife to help him out :

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(1) The whole play is allegorical; Truth and Plainspeaking investigate abuses in court, city and country.
(2) "Timon".
(3) "Sir John Oldcastle."
(4) "Wily Beguiled."
(5) "Marriage of Wit and Science."
(6) "Tale of a Tub"
(7) v. ante p:19.
(8) cf. "John of the Town's end being asked what was his opinion of a dewe worme, he sayd he was a Thing -" ("Fairy Pastorall")

"She ha' wit enough to tell you : 'her capidossity is better than mine". Antimon in "A Knack to know an Honest Man" has a similar difficulty in telling a plain tale. To aid him in his struggles the rustic resorts to expletives and tag phrases (1). In the "see now" passage in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" (Lv.2.) this habit is caricatured. The constant repetition in this way of some stock phrases becomes a regular comic device in the "Fie paltrie, paltrie, in and out, to and fro, upon occasion" with which Murley the brewer unlocks his word-hoard in "Sir John Oldcastle", or the "Ahem! Grasse and Hay! we are all mortall" of Sir John the Priest in the "Merry Devil of Edmonton". (2) Musonius and Philenius in "Club Law", "Gentlemen citizens" of Cambridge University, laugh at the manner-isms of Cipher and other "hoyden citizens" :

Muso: (re Cipher) "Oh, hee is a notable asse, and hee will saye nothing all the day but yea: indeed: it is even so: by all means: or by no means: true: right: good: well.

Phil: And hot-spurd Romford, hee begins every speech with well said: breake their cragge: stricke their teeth into their throats: deale ha' my saul: wack her wele.

Muso: And Nifle, hele doe any thing as hee is Nicholas Nifle; and all his fellow - brethren are Asses; wee ragtailes".

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(1) cf. Mopsa's tale in Arcadia, Book II:

"So one day ..... and so..... Now, forsooth .....and so..... etc.

(2) used also, not in a rustic connection, in the persons of Josselin in"Edward IV" who breaks off nearly every speech with "and so forth".

A similar comic device is the stuttering of Madge Care in "Misogonus" or Hugh Sexton in "John-à-Kent and John-à-Cumber" (1), a trick run to death (though no longer in a rustic connection) in the person of Redcap the jailor's son in "Look about you." (2). More realistic illustrations of the rustic filling out of a story are the "marke what I saye" of Rusticus in " Horestes", "Harkye, Sir" in "John a Kent and John a Cumber", "che vore ye" in several plays (3). "sen ye" (4) in the "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green," and Antimon's "an't please your honours .... let me see... forsooth" in " A Knack to Know an Honest Man". Other features of the rustic's speech arising out of this same characteristic inarticulateness are his plentiful use of oaths (often of a homely or old-fashioned kind), and his fondness for the use of proverbs. (5).

Most of the rustics of these plays intersperse rustic oaths in their conversation; especially prominent in its grotesque effect is the swearing of Hob and Lob in "Cambises", of Grimball in " Promos and Cassandra" and of Corin in " Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes", who can hardly get one sentence out without an oath to help it : (" Gos bones ..... jesu .... by my cursen zowle ... bones of my zowle ..... good Lord ..... " etc.(6). In the later plays this, together with other grotesque features in the pictures of the rustic, becomes less prominent.(7). Proverbs are quoted constantly,

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(1) In the case of Hance in "Like Will to like" this is the result of drink.
(2) cf. the deafness of Mother Croote in " All for Money " and of the old countrywoman in the "Woman Hater".
(3) e.g. by Tenacity in "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality". The phrase is dialectal. = "I warn you" ; cf. Edgar's use of it in King Lear IV. 6.
(4) Midland plural in-en" = " Do you see ?"
(5) cf. ante p:58.
(6) cf. old Gobbo in Merchant of Venice: " by god's sonties". "Lord worshipped might he be" etc.
(7) v. ante.p. 47.

e.g. Tom Stroud's (1) "Never lose a hog for a ha'porth of tar", or Oliver's (2) good wishes:" God give you joy, as the old zaid proverb is, and zome zorrow among." The " Tale of a Tub " fulfils its promise of providing mirth by means of " antique proverbs .... country precedents and old wives' tales." And in the " Two Angry women of Abingdon" the rustic habits of s swearing and speaking ~~of~~ in proverbs have each become a definite "humour" (3), exemplified in the persons of Coomes and Nicholas, two country serving-men. Coomes, with his swaggering reiteration of " 'sblood", " 'swounds," "by God's dines" etc, calls forth Frank's exclamation: " Why, what a swearing keeps this drunken ass ! Canst thou not say but swear at every word ?" and Philip amuses his father with a description of Nicholas:

"The formal fool your man speaks nought but proverbs,
And speak men what they can to him, he'le answer
With some rhyme-rotten sentence or old saying,
Such spokes as th' ancient of the parish use " etc.

which description Nicholas proceeds to verify on his entry with: "O master Philip, forbear ; you must not leap over the stile before you come at it; haste makes waste; soft fire makes sweet malt; not too fast for falling; there's no haste to hang true man."

In general, the characteristics described above may be regarded as the most prominent in the pictures of the rustic in these plays. But they are not the only ones, nor are they invariably present. The dramatist was drawing from life, and he does not standardize the results of his observation. Not every rustic portrayed is simple and honest. Crackstone in "Two Italian Gentlemen" cheats in the sale of his produce. Walter the farmer in " A Knack to know a Knave" learns from his

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(1) " Blind Beggar of Bednal Green."
(2) " London Prodigall."
(3) The word is applied to both in the play.

father to mix sand with his wool to make it weigh heavier. The one thought of the peasant confronted by the fairy in the "Wisdom of Dr. Dodypell" is to secure the golden cup. In the "Three Ladies of London", Dissimulation is clad as a farmer, and in the companion play the same character asserts; " I was banished out of London by Nemo; to the country I went amongst my old friends, and never better loved than amongst the russet-coats." The plowman in "Gentleness and Nobility" confesses that plowmen as well as others are often knaves, and Security in "Eastward Hoe" says: "Let not master courtier think he carries all the knavery on his shoulders; I have known poor Hob in the country, that has worn hob-nails on's shoes, have as much villainy in's head as he that wears golden buttons in's cap." With the homeliness the dramatists give also the grossness of country manners. Corin in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" talks significantly of "country matters", Margery in "Locrine" and Joan in the "Birth of Merlin" bear witness to the looseness of country morals : Audrey in the "Tale of a Tub" catches at every gross allusion. Against the grumbling Hodge and Codrus stand the contented Grim and Eyden (1); against the cautious "People" the unwary Hohn-à-Droynes (2). There is hardly one characteristic whose counterpart is not somewhere exhibited.

8. Such, then, being the character of the rustic as the Elizabethan dramatists conceived it, it remains on the stage to note with what external trappings it was accompanied on the stage. Here the comic side of the type naturally comes into prominence, and in the earlier plays especially there is much of the grotesque about the figure of the rustic. It has already been observed (3) that with the change in the dramatists' attitude towards the rustic which took place in the last years of the century much of the grotesque element disappears, and although the figure of the

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(1) "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York".
(2) " Promos and Cassandra".
(3) v. ante p:47.

countryman must always have been distinct enough in garb and manner, the more marked signs of his calling (such as his muddy clothes and his attendant dog) no longer appear. The stage trappings of the rustic were of two kinds; those which appealed to the eye, and those which appealed to the ear. Of the former the reader of today has to fill in much from imagination, though some few particulars can be gleaned from stage directions and from allusions in the text. The first entry of the rustic upon the stage has as a rule something characteristic. Hodge in "Gammer Gurton's Needle" enters grumbling at his torn and muddied clothes:

"See, so cham arrayed with dabbling in the dirt,
Gogs bones, this vilthy glay has dress'd me too bad,
Gogs soul, see how this stuff tears" etc.

In like manner opens a scene in Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes:
Enter Corin a Shepherd.

"Gos bones, turn in that sheep there, and you be good fellows,
Jesu, how cham beraide,
Chave a cur here, an a were my vellow,
cha must him conswade " etc.

Again, Codrus in " Misogonus" enters with
" Po, po, po (1) come Jacke, come Jacke, heave slowe, heave slowe
How now, my masters, did none of you see my sondid sowe ?" (2)
and calls to the "rent hens" which he brings to "leave your cackling." The conversation on the entrance of Tenacity in the "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality" suggests his appearance: " Enter Tenacity.

" By Gogs bores, these old stumps are stark tired
. . . . . cham tired clean"

Vanity: More shame for you to keep your ass so lean ....

Host : Who is that thou pratest there withal ?
(from window above)

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(1) The exclamations suggest apicture of the heavy farmer panting and wiping his brow.
(2) The carter's call to his horse (Yks: 'hauve' Dialect Dictionary).

Postilion : Look forth and see : a lubber, fat, great, and tall
Upon a tired ass, bare, short, and small "

Food is sometimes introduced to afford comic business for the rustic. Bullithrumble in " Selimus" draws bread and meat from his pocket, and sits down on the stage to eat it. Grimball in "Promos and Cassandra" bears a basket containing a pudding, which Dalia wheedles from him (1). Some evidence as to the appearance of the same Grimball is afforded by the fact that Dalia refuses to grant him a kiss till he shall have washed and shaved. The ladies in the " Wizard " make fun of Sir Timothy Shallow for his boorish habits, e.g. his biting of his nails. Occasional stage directions give one or two other particulars. In " Three Ladies of London" enters "Dissimulation, having on a farmer's long coat and a cap, then Simplicity like a miller, all mealy, with a wand in his hand". Thomas of Woodstock's homely garb of frieze causes him to be taken for a groom. Tom Stroud has at his father's bidding to clothe himself in "sheeps russets gray", and the "country hired shepherds" that Fletcher's audience was supposed to expect in a pastoral were such as wore grey cloaks, and led "curtailed dogs in strings." Nicholas in " Two Angry Women of Abingdon" is something of a country dandy :

" A spruce slave; I warrant ye, he will have
His cruel garters cross about the knee,
His woollen hose as white as th'driven snow,
His shoes dry leather neat and tied with red ribbons (2)
A nosegay bound with laces in his hat -
Bride-laces, sir, and his hat all green,
Green coverlet for such a grass-green wit."

More evidence is forthcoming for the rendering of the rustic manner of speech on the stage. Differences in mode of speech were early used on the stage to indicate difference

(1) cf. Earle's description of the "plaine country fellow" as a "terrible fastner on a piece of Beefe".
(2) Sic. (omit "and" ?)

of character or rank and for comic effect. (1). Rustic speech was used by the Elizabethan dramatist for this double purpose. In " A Woman Killed with Kindness" there is a stage direction to the effect that the servants are to speak " after the country fashion". In the "Wizard" old Sir Timothy Shallow is laughed at for his broadness of speech. The burlesque possibilities of rustic language are already fully developed in "Gammer Gurton's Needle." For the rendering of this broad and rustic manner of speech the dramatists have several accepted devices. In the earlier plays the effect required is in part secured by the use of a doggerel metre for the rustic characters where the other dramatis personae use more regular forms. Such a change of metre for the speech of a comic character had been used in the Moralities,(1) and that it was indeed already something of a dramatic convention appears from Skelton's "Magnificence", where Counterfeit Countenance, who has been engaged in conversation with the serious characters of the piece, announces on their departure :

" Now will I that they be gone
In bastard ryme after the doggrell gyse
Tell you " ..... etc. and breaks into Short Skelton-
ics.

The rustics do not speak after this Skeltonic " doggrelgyse" The metre which is more especially associated with them in these early plays is a long line containing, roughly speaking, four main beats, and a varying number of unaccented syllables; the effect is often anapaestic, but sometimes the lines are so irregular as hardly to admit of scansion. The "ponderous lolloping doggerel of the early sixteenth century drama " (2) tends later in the century to conform to some definite norm ;

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(1) e.g. in "Mankind", Mercy etc. speak in stanzas of eight lines of a dignified rhythm, rhymed ababbcbc; Nought, New Gyse etc., the comic characters, use a shorter line and a variant of rime couée rhyme-scheme.

(2) Saintsbury - Hist of Prosody I. Bk. 3. p. 214.

instances are given by Prof. Saintsbury (1) of doggerel approximating to a decasyllabic, an Alexandrine, and a fourteener norm, respectively in these plays. In those where rustics are introduced, the more dignified characters use the norm chosen by the dramatist with more or less regularity, while in the rustic scences the metre lapses into chaotic doggerel. In "Misogonus" the rustics follow the same rhyme scheme as the other characters - (the staple is a fourteener quatrain with alternate rhyme) - but the line they use exhibits that "huddling of many syllables together round the main pivots of the verse"(2) which renders it both longer and rougher than that used by Philogonus and his friends. As examples of the verse of Codrus may be quoted the following :-

" Loe, here she is now, Sir, simple
though she be, for the faut of a better,
She is not bookish, but she'll place her words
as 'screetly as some of those that be".

or " God's blessing of thy swete harte Alison,
now Ile say th'art a good wench,
Ile bestow a peny in aperne strings on the
next market for this geare."

In the same scene Philogonus, though far from regular in his use of the fourteener, is always nearer than this to the norm, and occasionally attains to such regular syllabic measure as :-

"There never was poor mariner amids the surging seas
Catching a glimering of a port whereunto he would saile,
So much distract 'twixt hope of health and fear his life to lease,
As I even now with hope do hange and eke with fear do faile"

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(1) ibid: Bk: Iv. p.342.

(2) Saintsbury, Hist: of Prosody Vol. I. p. 338.

The staple metre of "Apius & Virginia" is the fourteener, but Mansipulus and his wife, retaining the couplet rhyme, use a four-accented anapaestic measure with much license as to length; e.g."Hap did so happen that my lord & master

Stayed in beholding and viewing the pasture

Which when I perceived, what excuse did I make?

I came in the crossway on the nearside the Forslake ..etc.

Again in "Horestes" the characters of the main plot use a loose form of the heroic couplet, but Rusticus & Hodge use the rustic metre:

"Chill be no frendes,, chad rather be hanged

Tyll iche have that oulde karle wel and thryftely banged"

"My rye and my otes, my beans & my pease

They have eaten up quyght, but small for my ease".

In "Sir Clyomon & Sir Clamydes" the prevailing metre is again the fourteener couplet, but the lines used by Corin the shepherd are of abnormal length and of great roughness. But this unwieldy rustic metre does not continue to be used for long. In the eighties and early nineties rustic subjects were for a time less frequently treated, and after "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" there is no further example of this metre in the plays which have come down. When the use of rustic material again becomes prominent, something of the old grotesqueness has gone from the figures of labourer and shepherds. In "John à Kent and John à Cumber" (1594-5) the rustics speak in prose, and from henceforth, except where the rustic adopts the metre of the rest of the play, he resembles the characters of low life in general in using prose as his medium.

A second means of making the rustic speech distinctive and at the same humorous (1(is the ascription to the rustic of malaprop words and phrases. Long words were used in the

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(1) some comic features if rustic speech have been alluded to ante pp. 60-2.

drama for several comic purposes :- as a sign of foolish pedantry; as a means employed by the rogue to overawe the simple man; (1) and in their misuse by the clown or the boor to make the character generally ludicrous. This last use in particular enters into the presentment of the rustic.

The malaprop speech of Brecknock the outgoing Cambridge burgomaster in "Club Law" is aimed at giving this effect. Mistaking of words, and confusion of Latin prefixes and suffixes is regularly attributed to the rustic as a mark of his ignorance. Old Mother Croote in "All for Money" who is constantly mistaking her prefixes, gives her rustic origin as her excuse:-

Mother Croote : "Chill conclare the cause of my coming hether"

Sin: Declare, you should say, Mother".

Mother Croote: "Chav, you may see, be brought up amongst swyne and kyne".

This habit of mistaking the prefix is shared by Tenacity in "Liberality and Prodigality" ("conquired" for "inquired" etc) and by Corin in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" ("Conswade" for "persuade", etc) Corin also invents words on the Latin model, such as "marvellation". This faculty of invention characterises particularly Codrus in"Misogonus" who uses "semblation" "rejoynce" "circumlance" "capidossity" etc; and who constantly omits the Latin prefix where it belongs, and adds it where it is not necessary. e.g. "'lected" (for elected) "'scretion(for discretion) but "excommunication" (for communication) and "extrumpery"(for trumpery) Many of these mistakes were probably recognised vulgarisms, and the device is used with genuine dramatic purpose to give the rustic effect. (2) It becomes however, often merely a comic device to show the wit of the playwright, as for instance in the rustic inquest scene in the Valiant

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(1) cf. the "roaring" scenes of later plays, notably those of the election of Peter Turnop in "John-à-Kent" and of Simon in "The Mayor of Queenborough".

(2) cf. the use of "familiarity" as an adjective in "John-a-Kent and John-a-Cumber" and by Mrs Quickly in 2 Henry IV.II. 1.96.

Welshman." (1)

The third, and most important of the dramatist's means of differentiating the speech of the rustic from that of other characters, is the use of dialect. (2) The frequency with which dialect is employed in these plays is striking: in at least thirty-two plays some use of dialectal forms is found, and in at least twenty of these it is a prominent feature. It is used, moreover, in plays of all kinds; not only in a play so designedly rustic & local as "Gammer Gurton's Needle" but also in Moralities such as "Respublica" and "Liberality and Prodigality", in plays founded on classical story, such as "Horestes" or "Damon & Pithias", in chivalric plays like "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" in plays whose scene is laid in Bohemia or in Italy, such as "Promus and Cassandra" and "Two Lamentable Tragedies", in English chronicle plays like "Sir John Oldcastle" or the "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green" in City plays like the "London Prodigall" or "Bartholomew Fair".

This free use of dialect in the drama seems to be largely native to England. Local dialect is said to be first used in Italian drama in the comedies of Angelo Beolco (3) (c.1530) and in the "Comedy of Masks" which followed upon his work, but it is alluded to as a feature of this particular type of play. In France the use of dialect in a play was known, but of the "Porteur d'Eau", in which it occurs, the fact is noted by Petit de Julleville as unusual: "Ici on remarque le Solécisme populaire, très rare dans nos farces". No exhaustive study of the use of dialect in these plays is possible within the compass of this thesis, but one or two characteristic points may be indicated which bear on the general conception of the rustic.

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(1) a scene full of reminiscence of the Grave-diggers scene in Hamlet. "Did he make a Will?
No, he died detestable" etc.

(2) N.B. James I in his "Rules and Cautelis" for poesy, advises poets: "Gif your purpose be of landwart effairis, to use corruptit & uplandis words."

(3) Garnett : History of Italian Literature pg. 232.

The dialect most generally used as the stage rustic dialect is a kind of South-Western, characterised mainly by the use of initial "v" and "z" for "f" and "s", and by the employment of the Southern "ich" (che) for "I" with the contracted forms which the use of this pronoun gave rise to when combined with the auxiliaries ("chave" "Cham" "chill" "chould" etc) These are the chief characteristics of the rustic dialect as employed by Ben Jonson in his careful study in the "Tale of a Tub" and in a multitude of other plays by various writers from the beginning of the period in question.[1] That this dialect is a conventional one, representing a stage tradition of the language of rusticity, is shown by the fact that it is used for rustics of any locality indiscriminately, and even when the scene of the play is laid in Italy, as in "Two Lamentable Tragedies" and also in that its regular characteristics (the "ch", "v" & "z") are combined in ee some cases with more particular and more correct local dialecticisms - e.g. with the language of Yorkshire in "Misogonus" or that of Norfolk in "The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green" Sometimes the degree of rusticity or of grotesqueness to be suggested in the scene is indicated by the degree to which this badge of rusticity is employed. In "Misogonus" or in "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" the rustic is a very churl, and can hardly speak a word of plain English; in"Grim the Collier of Croydon" the character of the rustic is treated with sympathy, & his language is less abnormal; in the "Rare Triumphs of Love & Fortune" there is little attempt to make the hermit's boy grotesque, and he employs dialectal forms only very occasionally And in Ben Jonson's "Tale of a Tub" the rustic dialect is employed in a greater degree by the greater clown and in a less degree by the more educated of the rustics. Here also a few other characteristic South Western dialect forms occur.

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(1) Attention is drawn to this in R.W.Bond's edition of "Misogonus" in his "Early Plays from the Italian" p. 168.

The use of "'un" or "hun" for "him" is frequent, and occasionally "u" is found for "i" e.g. "zur" for "sir", "wull" for "will", "wusse" for "iwisse". An occasional "u" for "i" is found in other plays e.g. "cusse" for "kiss" amd "mustress" for "mistress" in the "Contention between Liberality and Prodigality". This stock South-Western dialect is not, however, the only one used. In four plays, "The Conflict of Conscience" "Club Law", "The Sad Shepherd" and "Bartholomew Fair", Northern dialect is introduced. (1) In these cases it is ~~not~~ used not merely as a stage rustic dialect, but with some special significance. In the "Conflict of Conscience" (1560) Northern dialect of a grotesque kind is put into the mouth of an ignorant Roman Catholic Priest, who rails against the "new-sprang arataics" (heretics) and denounces Philologus as a Protestant. Northern dialect was appropriate to such a character, as the North was the last part of the country to adopt the reformed faith. In "Club Law" "hot-spurd (2) Rumford" a "Northern Tieke" is one of the "hobbenoles" or "hoyden Athenians"(3) against whom the"gentle Athenians" of Cambridge rise in revolt. The language of this Northerner, of a Welshman and of a Frenchman, affords sport for the "gentle Athenians". By Ben Jonson, as might be expected dialect is suited to locality. The witch Maudlin (4) and her son Lorel, who dwell in Sherwood forest, speak a dialect in which Northern forms prevail, One of the scenes of "Bartholomew Fair" contains a little battle in dialect between

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(1) Also a phrase or two in the "Return from Parnassus" e.g. "ways mee for yee, gud ladd" "hundreth" etc.
(2) Rumford is the typical"hotspurd" Scot, and is therefore fittingly given Northern dialect.
(3) representative of "town" as against "gown"
(4) "Sad Shepherd".

"Northern", "Puppy, a Western man", and an Irishman, each of whom speaks his own appropriate dialect. The main features of the Northern dialect used in these ~~or~~ four plays are "ai, a" (as in "hally" for "holy") "ui, u" (as in "gude" for "good") "k" (as in "kirk") confusion of "qu" and "wh"; certain Northern forms such as "whilk" for "which", "ilkwhare" etc; words such as "gar"; and inflexional forms such as "-es" throught the present indicative of the verb, and "-and" in the present participle. Rustic effect is sometimes also enhanced by the use of local words. This is a notable feature of the language of Tom Stroud of Norfolk in the "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green". (1) The vocabularies of Codrus and his fellow rustics in "Misogonus" (2) and of Oliver the Devonshire clothier in the "London Prodigall" (3) are also interesting. Dialect was a recognised comic device, in whose employment the dramatists found much scope for individuality. Its use flourished under Elizabeth, and Ben Johnson's scholarly interest in dialectal differences carries it on into the next reign, but apart from his work, the dramatists who wrote under James (4) have lost interest in dialect as in other features of rusticity.

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(1) e.g. Tom talks of a "tough ashen gibbet" (not understood by his hearers) or an "ashen plant" (i.e. cudgel) calls Bess "Mother" (v.note ante p.) and alludes to articles of Norfolk diet such as "temes bread" or " Barley froyes" "fritters pancakes" "flapjacks" & "fools".

(2) Here the dialect is Yorkshire, v. R.W.Bond: "Early Plays from the Italian"
e.g. "maunde" (=basket) "kivinge" (= brewing) "bruckle-faste" (= black-faced) "breame of" (= eager for) etc. (v. Dialect Dictionary and N.E.Dict:)

(3) "vang" (= take) "chy vor thee (= I warn you) "veze" (-strike?) etc. ~~for~~ Some are probably technical terms of the Clothier's trade: e.g. "Vlouten cloth",
"ydoussed as white cloth in a tocking mill" etc.

(4) Excepting the Author of "Club Law" where the interest is again scholarly; dialect is also used in one later play, the "Honest Lawyer" 1615.

5. The Rustic as a member of Society.

The Rustic also appears on the Elizabethan stage in a political capacity, as member of one of the Estates of Society, and again detailed consideration of this aspect yields evidence as to the development of the drama and as to contemporary social conditions. This evidence may be gathered from four sources, from Moralities in which the wrongs of the peasantry are allegorically treated, from plays containing social satire directed against abuses both of town and country, from the chronicle plays, and from significant details or incidental allusions scattered throughout plays of all kinds.

Allegorical treatment of the wrongs and plaints of the poorer classes belongs to the earliest period of the sixteenth century English drama, and is to some extent a survival from the Middle Ages. The rise of a drama more artistic and less didactic in purpose was to banish from the stage such figures as "People" "Poverty", "Commualte", "Commons Cry"; except for "Poverty" in "Histriomastix", (1) these allegorical characters are not found in the drama after 1595, whilst their main popularity belongs to the years before 1570. The victims of oppression were not, of course, always rustic, but for long Piers Plowman had stood as the type of the honest poor man, and it is through a representative peasant figure (2) that the Tudor ~~entusas~~ enthusiast for social, political, or religious reform most frequently voices his sentiments. The drama was regarded by these men as a weapon for controversy. An early English

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(1) (Before 1599)

(2) "People" in Respublica, one of the most fully-drawn of these pleaders, speaks the characteristic rustic dialect and pleads his cause with the "small hability" and honest straightforwardness which are regarded as typical rustic features.

example is found in John Bale's " King John ", in which Communalte (wronged by Clergy), is introduced. But most of the English moralities which treat of the grievances of the peasant are seemingly indebted to a Scotch, not an English model (1) : Lyndsay's "Ane Satire of Thrie Estatis"(2), in which he makes "the commonweill right pitouslie complaine." The Satire sums up many of the abuses against which the people's representatives in the later drama plead. John the Commonweill complains to the King of the wrongs put upon him by Temporality and Spirituality, and instances the racking of rents, the avaricious exaction of tithes, the laying of field to field by the rich, and the evil wrought by thieves and beggars, by corrupt lawyers and false justices, by begging friars, covetous clergy, and wicked Bishops ; whilst Pauper in the Interlude gives a concrete instance of wrong in the forfeiture of his three cows to the rapacity of the Vicar. The evils rampant in the kingdom are depicted as the work of evil Counsellors, - Flattery, Falsehood, and Deceit, - whose plausible lies have seduced Temporality and Spirituality. The King is the final court of appeal for the poor man ; with the help of Good Counsel and Correction reforms are instituted, and the false Counsellors are hanged.

A small group of English moralities of similar character has come down to us, - survivors probably of a

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(1) Mr. E. K. Chambers (Mediaeval Stage. Vol. II) notes the indebtedness, especially of " Republica " and "Somebody, Avarice and Minister", also, in part, of Bale, to the " Satire."

(2) The Satire itself possibly owes something to Skelton's " Magnificence."

larger number. One of these, " Somebody, Avarice, and Minister" is a translation from a French Protestant morality, " La Vérité Cachée, and other French moralities of the kind exist (2). Complaints in the English moralities are directed sometimes against the temporality as in " Cambises", sometimes against the spirituality, as in the " Conflict of Conscience", sometimes against both as in "Respublica" (3). The course of the allegory generally follows that of Lyndsay's " Satire ", the final verdict being given in favour of the Complainant (4). Another feature which the Moralities have in common with the " Satire " is the introduction as cause of the mischief of evil Counsellors to the King, sometimes

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(1) v. Cambridge History of Literature Vol. V. p. 394 Petit de Julleville : (Répertoire du Théâtre Comique en France au moyen âge) dates this morality c. 1550. and describes it as follows :-

"Moralité protestante. Vérité descend sur la terre pour prêcher l'Evangile. Aucun .... accueille Vérité avec transport. Mais le Prêtre, Avarice, et Simonie s' entendent pour jeter Vérité dans un puits et Simonie monte en chaire à sa place. Aucun découvre l'imposture et délivre Vérité."

(2) e.g. " L'Église, Noblesse, et Pauvreté qui font la lessive", (1541); " Excellence, Science, Paris, et Peuple"; " Le Ministre de L'Église, Noblesse, Labeur, et le Commun (154 -), - " Où les griefs et les rancunes du peuple contre la Noblesse et le Clergé se soient librement donné cours" ; cf. also "Le Petit, le Grand, Justice, Counseil, Paris", where "Le Petit et le Grand" sont deux bergers qui figurent la nation opprimée," and Paris," promet de faire droit a leurs griefs". v. Petit de Julleville : " Répertoire du Théâtre Comique au moyen âge."

(3) In the scene of reconciliation at the close of this play appear the " Four daughters of God" (Ps: 85 vv. 10-11) a link with earlier literature.

(4) In the French moralities it is generally the other way. e.g. in one " Pauvreté gémit et maudit, mais à demi-voix, et sans oser désobeir" ; in another " le Peuple ..... souffre et se lamente, mais ils n'osent parler trop haut"; in a third " Commun voudrait bien se fâcher ; Labeur l'en dissuade. A quoibon ? "

vices masquerading as virtues. This is already found in Skelton's " Magnificence", where Courtly Abusion, Cloked Collusion, Counterfeit Countenance and Crafty Conveyance insinuate themselves into the king's confidence as Lusty Pleasure, Sober Sadness, Good Demeynaunce, and Surveyaunce. In " Respublica" Avarice, Insolence, Oppression, and Adulation pass as virtues corresponding in some measure to their characters ; in " Somebody, Avarice, and Minister", Simony is disguised as the true Verity; in the " Conflict of Conscience" the names of Zeal and Careful Provision are used as a cloak for Tyranny and Avarice ; and in the " Tide Tarrieth No Man", Hurting-helpe, Paynted-Profite, Feyned-Furtherance, and We-Good-Neighbourhood all agree to discard the first part of their names.

In "Cambises" the culprit is Sisammes the unjust judge, set up to rule in the absence of the King. Before him Small Hability pleads in vain the poor man's cause, so that when the King returns he is greeted by Commons' Cry and Commons' Complaint; the King hears their appeal, and sends Sisammes to execution (1).

In "Cambises" the allegorical figures of Small Hability and Commons' Cry are already mingled with individual, here pseudo-historical personages : the allegory proper was ~~dying~~ being ousted from the stage, and the social satire which in part carried on its themes used them with a difference.

The manner of " A Knack to Know a Knave", of "Nobody and Somebody", and of the " Cobbler's Prophecy", is less that of the mediaeval fabler, more that of the Elizabethan pamphleteer. Though the mediaeval figure of Piers Plowman is introduced, and though points of similarity with the allegorical moralities just considered occur,

(1) But later in the play the King is himself guilty of tyrannical behaviour, and the resemblance to the "Satire" ends with the removal of Sisammes.

and the same abuses are attacked (" mediators" of royal justice are indicted in " Promos and Cassandra" and in "Three Ladies of London" as in " Magnificence" and p- "Respublica"). still the problem of the oppression of the poor is a different one, or is at least looked at from a different point of view. It is no longer a question of injury to a class by an unjust working of the social system - injury that endangers the common weal, - but rather of the misuse by individuals of opportunities to draw profit from the labours of others. It is, in fact, not so much as the champion of oppressed Communalte as as a satirist of the greedy landlord that these dramatists write. In " A Knack to Know a Knave", the doings of Walter Would-have-more, "one" (says Honesty" " that feeds upon the poor commons, and makes poor Piers Plowman wear a threadbare coat", are exposed. He mixes sand with his wool to make it weigh heavier; He sues a poor farmer Dunstan on the plea that a horse has broken into his cornfield. Above all, he is a traitor to the interests of the commonwealth in selling his corn abroad for the sake of profit instead of keeping it at home for the benefit of his own Country (1). Through the Counsels of Honesty, his wicked dealings are brought to the notice of the King, and he is publicly accused and disgraced, whilst the pleading of Piers Plowman to the King is successful. In "Nobody and Somebody" the tyrant Archigallo, of whose injustice to the poor the opening scenes give an instance, is deposed, and Somebody, who grinds the faces of the poor, always contriving that the blame shall be laid upon the beneficent Nobody, is shown up in his true colours. In the "Cobbler's Prophecy" the Country Gentleman, who boasts of his tyranny over his poor tenants Piers and Plaine is in the

(1) Cf. Stubbes : Anatomy of Abuses. II. i. " There is great store of corne - but thorowe the insatiable greediness of a few covetous cormorants, who for their own private commoditie transport over seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometimes very scarse.

end himself made to suffer by being pressed for personal service and for money towards the war. In " The Tide Tarrieth No Man" the " Tenant Tormented" is seen suffering under the oppression of his landlord Greediness. Other contemporary abuses are attacked in " A Looking-Glass for London and England", where the poor man Alcon is robbed of his cow by usurers, and fails to obtain justice because the lawyers are bribed. In " Promos and Cassandra" and the " Three Ladies of London" "mediators" of the royal justice are again at the root of the mischief. Phallax, Gripax, and Rapax in " Promos and Cassandra" oppress the poor, and Phallax, of whom complaint is made to the King, is turned out of office. A poor man, coming with a petition to the King, and finding it readily received, marvels, for he has applied to the Lords before, and they have never consented to do him justice. The plea of Artifex in the " Three Ladies of London" is deferred by the servants of Lucre (1). In these plays the sympathy of the dramatist is with the poor peasant and against his oppressor. But the complaint is, as has been suggested, often couched rather in terms of individual wrong than of abuse remediable by social reform. It is not the general working of the social system that is blamed; not every judge is an Archigallo, not every farmer a farmer Walter, though the satire in " Nobody and Somebody" is wider in its accusations, " for they say that Nobody racks no rents .. and empties his garners to the poor."

But this definite expression of sympathy with the lot of the oppressed rustic was not to continue. After

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(1) In the "Poor Man's Comfort" a romantic play of Fletcherian type, the same motive is used (probably as a courtly compliment). Gisbert, the "poor man", whose daughter the nobleman Lucius has wronged, seeks in vain for justice from courtiers, nobles and senators, and learns at last that the King himself is alone the "poor man's comfort."

"A Knack to Know a Knave", " Nobody and Somebody" and the "Cobbler's Prophecy" all dating from about 1592-3, no play concerns itself mainly, or even to a large extent, with the woes of the peasant. Individual portraits, based on the types here satirised, still occur: Sordido in " Every Man out of his Humour" is, like Walter Would-have-more, a traitor to the commonwealth in respect of the sale of corn, and Peter Plod-all in "Wily Beguiled" follows the practice of Somebody and the Country Gentleman in rent-racking, but in the depiction of these the interest of the dramatist is still more clearly focussed upon the rich oppressor rather than upon his victim, and the dramatists of James's reign care less to investigate the social condition of the rustic than to laugh at his boorish manners or to paint ideal pictures of a glorified pastoral life. The enthusiasm for social reform of "Respublica" has vanished from the drama; Commons' Cry and Commons' Complaint are either not heard by the dramatist or not heeded.

The chronicle histories which afford material for this study belong to the decade 1595 to 1605. As might be expected, these plays exhibit neither the interest in the social problem of the well-being of the Commonalte of the earlier morality writers, nor the indifference to the social condition of the rustic of the later romantic Court dramatists. Rustic material was often adopted by the dramatist rather from the necessities of his subject than from especial sympathy with the affairs of the peasant, but the rustic society which he depicts is a real, and not an artificial one. In many of the plays professing to deal with historical material, especially in the more romantic and less historical of these, the treatment of the rustic throws little light on his social and political status. He is often introduced mainly for comic effect, in scenes calculated to break the

monotony of dignified court ceremony or of intrigue. (1). Again, in some plays pictures of country life are involved in changes of fortune of the hero, as in the "Lovesick King", " A Shoemaker a Gentleman" or "Robert Earl of Huntingdon". In "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" the picture is idyllic in character. In "George a Greene", "Thomas Cromwell", the "Blind Beggar of Bednal Green", the interest is rather in a person than in a class. In the first part of " If You Know Not Me, you know Nobody", the devotion of the countryfolk to their Queen is a set piece of compliment. In all these plays there is little to indicate the dramatist's attitude towards the peasant class as a part of the social and political whole. In plays where this attitude is made clear two points of view are represented. There is condemnation of political agitation; there is also sympathy with the peasant's grievances. The inability of the rustic to grasp political matters is recognised; it is much the same to Hobs the tanner whether he serves King Henry or King Edward, though he cherishes some lurking preference for the deposed monarch. The country people in " Sir Thomas Wyatt", stopped on their way to market and bidden say " God save the Queen" obey, but confess they do not know which Queen is meant. And the bands of rebels who figure in the plays are generally represented as not only unjustified in their rebellion, but ludicrous also in themselves. The rebels of " Jack Straw" of the "Contention between the two famous Houses of Lancaster and York", of "Edward IV", and of "Sir John Oldcastle", are either worthless rascals, discontented and quarrelsome artisans, or tradespeople fired by some petty or childish ambition. The Archbishop's description in " Jack Straw " of the

" Multitude, a beast of many heads,
Of misconceiving and misconstruing minds"

is echoed in many a drama depicting rebellion.

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(1) e.g. the farmer cheated at play in "Edward I", the beacon-keepers in "King Leir", the rustic inquest in " A Valiant Welshman", scenes with Simon the tanner in the "Mayor of Queenborough", and with Hobs the tanner in "Edward IV".

But there is another side to the picture. Despite the dramatists' angry contempt for anything of the nature of a popular rising, as endangering the unity and prosperity of the country,- a sentiment crystallized by Shakespeare in the words of Menenius : "Rome and her rats are at the point of battle; the one side must have bale". (1) -sympathy with the complaints and grievances of law-abiding peasants is frequently evinced. Even in Jack Straw "the writer presents not without sympathy the point of view of John Ball, who laments the state of England, "where rich men triumph to see the poor beg at their gate", and looks back to the days when

"Merrily with the world it went
When men ate berries of the hawthorn tree".

and Jack Straw only slays the King's officer after being insulted and struck by one whom he accuses, probably with justice, of "abusing the poor people of the country".
In the "Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York", Peter Thump brings lawful complaints from his district to the Protector, and it is the traitor Suffolk who refuses to listen to the peasants.
In "Thomas à Woodstock" the sympathy is with the wronged rustics of Dunstable, against the Court favourites of Richard II who fleece them. And later Heywood (whose sympathies are always popular) , in his "If you know not Me, you know Nobody" (1604-5) makes Hobson the London Merchant

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(1) Coriolanus I.i.
cf. Sidney's attitude in Arcadia Bk.IV. in passage re "rustical rabble" of rebels. cf. also Faery Queene Bk. V. Canto 2. stanzas 33 and 51 to end, passage re"rascal rout".

speak feelingly of the " toil and travail of the country " (1) whereby the impoverished Tawneycoat obtains a scanty living. Whilst mocking at the efforts of the peasantry to redress their grievances themselves, the dramatists have not yet become so aristocratic in their sympathies as to despise the peasant or to shut their eyes to social distress.

References to topics of the day are found in dramas whose scenes and date is anything from Niveveh (1) to the England of Elizabeth. From plays of many kinds can be gleaned, in allusion and descriptive touches, something of the special points of view of the rustic which had assumed importance enough to impress themselves upon the dramatist. A suggestion of the attitude of the peasant to the changes brought about by the Reformation is given in a dialogue between master and man in " Misogonus." This shows the peasant as somewhat behind his master in the abandonment of the old usages, holding on to his prayers for the dead with the conservatism of a son of the soil. (2). The same conversatism is shown by the peasant's wife in the " Pedlar's Prophecy," who keeps a " paire of beades " under her apron, and, showing the Pedlar " certain images which she did keepe,", " Iwisse", quoth she, I love these better than the new Gospel. "

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1). Hobson : " I see the toil and travail of the country,
And quiet gain of cities' blessedness."

(2) " A Looking glass for London and England."

(3) Codrus and Alison tell Philogonus they both pray daily for the soul of their lady.

Phil: " Pray for her no more, but rather give God praise,
Your prayers are but superstitious, and she, I hope, is at rest,
You love her, it seems, so did I, and shall do all my days,
But now to pray for ourselves here while we live I count it best

God: " Lo you, Alison our Master is o'the' new larninge"-

The "rising 'rection in the North" to which Codrus alludes later is probably the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which the Northern counties showed their adherence to the older forms of faith.

The sufferings of the peasant from the maladministration of justice (1) and especially from the prevalence of bribery (2) are often alluded to. He was affected also by abuses connected with trade ; by usury(3), by the debasement of the coinage (4) by the competition of aliens (5) - notably the Flemings, who bring down the standard of wages and " live ten houses in one " (6). In the " Pedlar's Prophecy" the interest of the peasant in this last grievance is especially stated:

Father: " I and mine ancestors were Englishmen borne,
And though my I be but a simple man,
To marry my daughter to an Alien I think scorn.

Mother: Yea, either they, be Aliens, or Aliant sonnes indeed,
Who through marriage of English women of late,
Hath altered the true English blood and seed,
And therewithal English plaine manners and good state,
All the naughtie fashions in the world at this day
Are by some meanes brought into England,
If by some meanes they be not commanded away,
Within a while they will us all withstand,
For here they do not only devour and spend,
As they be most devourers truly,
But our commodities away they do send,
Rob and steale from Englishmen daily ". etc.

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(1) e.g. complaint of " Mediators in Alexander & Creesus".

(2) e.g. in " A Looking glass for London and England", and in "All for Money" (whose title sums up the principles of the Judge in the play).

(3) " A Looking glass for London and England".

(4) " Respublica."

(5) " Jack Straw", " Sir Thomas More ", etc.

(6) " Three Ladies of London."

More immediate grievances were the engrossing of corn (1) and the enclosure of lands,(2), well-known Tudor difficulties (3). Of the same nature is the cutting down of woods, one of the wrongs instanced in " Respublica". Racking of rents is also an old established grievance; in " The Tide Tarrieth No Man " a tenant complains of his Landlord; in the " Pedlar's Prophecy" Artificer and Landlord discuss the point at issue; " Nobody" racks no rents, but Somebody does it in his name; Peter Plodall in " Wily Beguiled" empowers Churms the lawyer to rack-rent old Cricket. The welfare of the tenant seems to have depended very largely on the individual character of his master. A state of bondage almost as abject as feudal serfdom is depicted in the " Cobbler's Prophecy", where the Country Gentleman boasts of the position of servitude in which his tenants stand :

" Nay, my life excelleth all. I in the Country live a King. My tenants (as vassals) are at my will commanded; fearfuller, I know, they are to displease me, than divers of you courtiers to offend the Duke. Come there any taskes to be levied, I touch not mine own store, for on them I take it, and I must say to you, with some surplusage; my wood they bring me home, my hay and corn in harvest; their cattle, servants, sons, and selves are at my command ..... At my list I can rack them to what I please. If I build, they be my labourers; if bargain, on them I build; and for my good look they are content to endure any travell." But this indictment of the Country gentleman is exceptional, and there is no reflection

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(1) " A Knack to Known a Knave" ; " Nobody and Somebody" " Every man out of his Humour".

(2) Contention between the two famous houses of Lancaster and York" " Mayor of Queenborough."

(3) For all these grievances of: Stubbes : Anatomy of Abuses II part i.

in the drama as a whole of such conditions. Tom Tyler though " a simple man of my degree" is " well rewarded for my pain" and " would desire no better life." In "Misogonus" the relationship between Codrus and his master is one of great friendliness and good feeling (1). The servants at the Country house of Master Frankford(2) live in contentment and well-being. The general impression of the country population suggested by the drama is of a blunt but solid yeoman class, independent and selfrespecting, whose typical representatives are such figures as Hobs the tanner, George-à-Greene, or Tom Stroud. Even the railing satirist of the "Pedlar's Prophecy" admits the " English plaine manners and good state", and this view is corroborated by Bacon, who, maintaining that " the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men, and that this object is defeated when the " common subject" becomes a " peasant, and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer", goes on to show that the " middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not" and that because the English subject is bred " in convenient plenty and inno servile condition".

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(1) Codrus does his best to help his master recover his lost son, and rejoices with him over his success : " I am as glad for you as 'twere either for my Robin or Tom ".

(2) " A Woman killed with Kindness".

III. The Citizen.

1. Introduction.

The study of the Citizen (1) throws less light on the traditional and literary associations of the drama, and more on the connection of the drama with the sympathies of the audience than does that of the rustic. Belonging to a later stage of theatrical development, this figure is manipulated with more skill, with less grotesque exaggeration, and with fewer conventional devices. (2) Appearing, moreover, as it does, when dramatists were beginning to delineate idiosyncrasies of character with more particularity, and having no such defined traditional outline as the rustic, making also a special and diverse appeal to dramatists catering for Court and City, the type comes in for closer scrutiny than the rustic, and more varieties of it are produced. The citizen figures as largely in the Elizabethan drama as the rustic, but the plays in which he appears are less diverse in character and less scattered in date. The rustic may be met with in plays of almost every description, the citizen belongs to comedy, and neither tragedy nor romance finds a place for him. Apart from the chronicle histories in which the citizen's share in the life of the Commonwealth is depicted, the type is confined mainly to satiric comedy, where it is frankly and genially treated in the earlier period, harshly and sardonically later, but moves ever in the provinces of the sock and not of the buskin. The City, according to Hobbes, is the appropriate theme of "Scommatique" poetry. (3)

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(1) i.e. the London citizen. Citizens of Bristol etc. are not numerous enough to give any suggestion of a provincial type. and citizends of Antwerp, Venice, Rome, etc. are modelled (if at all realistic) on the Londoner.
(2) e.g. the rustic's dog or dialect.
(3) v. note p:92.

And whilst the popularity of the rustic as a stage figure dates from the very beginnings of the drama, the citizen is not an important figure until the last decade of the century, and the majority of the plays dealing with citizen life fall after 1600. On the other hand there are greater variations in the mood in which the dramatist deals with the citizen than in the case with the rustic. The citizen is in turns an object of glorification, of defence, and of attack. From the beginnings of the regular drama up to about 1600 the attitude of the drama to the city is definitely sympathetic, and this despite the fact that hostility of the City authorities to the player and his function was finding constant expression in edicts and respressive measures. In the "Three Lords and Three Ladies of London" (1585) much is said in praise of "this honourable City," whose "worthy citizens

Do carry minds so frank and bountiful
As for their honour they will spare no cost."

In "Edward IV" and the "Four Prentices of London" (both (1594) the gallant deeds of London 'prentices are held up to honour. In the "Shoemakers' Holiday" (1597-9) the "gentle craft" is portrayed in a spirit of genial sympathy; as late as the "Merry Devil of Edmonton" (1600) the talk is still of the "frank and merry London 'prentices".

In the plays of the first lustre of the seventeenth century, both attack and defence of the city are found. For the attack there are several causes. In the first place, class feeling has begun to affect the drama, and the treatment of the citizen is beginning to exhibit something of the partizan spirit which was to prevail later. Shakespeare in Henry IV Part I had represented Hotspur as referring with aristocratic scorn to the "velvet guards and Sunday citizens" who walk out to take their pleasure in Finsbury Playing Fields. (1) In "Satiromastix" (1602) Horace asks why he is abused, and is answered "because

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(1) III. v. 249-53.
(2) Sic.

thou cryest Ptrooh at worshipful citizens, and callest them Hat-caps (1) cuckolds and bankrupts." Besides this aristocratic scorn of the citizen there is manifested the artistic scorn of the playwright for the "barren spectators ...." capable of nothing but inexplicable dumbshows & noise" on whom literary excellence in a play is wasted. Haddit in "The Hog hath lost his Pearl" is impatient at being obliged through want of money to employ his pen in supplying to the players stuff that shall be "ravishing to the ears of shopkeepers", and the grocer's wife in the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" with her incapacity to comprehend the plot and development of the play, illustrates one of the playwright's grievances against the citizen. In this same play (1607-8) the grocer himself complains "These seven years you have still girds at citizens", and this dating of the manner back to the opening of the century suggests that it is part of the general menifestation of the satiric tendency in the drama as in other literature at that time. Justiniano in "Westward Hoe" sets forth upon his adventures with "Have among you, city dames, you that are indeed the fittest and most proper persons for a comedy", but that it was not the city alone that was attacked is evident from other references. Several prefaces allude to what was already by 1606 "the ordinary and overworn trade of jesting at lords and courtiers and citizens", (2) and the desire to see "vice anatomiz'd and abuse let blood in the master vaine" (3) was a phase of contemporary literary taste. (4) But for the time being the city held its ground. To these five years belong Heywood's "if you know not Me, you know Nobody" with its glorification of

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(1) Sic.

(2) "Woman Hater"

(3) Induction to Day's "Ile of Gulls".

(4) cf. Satires of Hall, Marston, etc. published within a few years of the turn of the century.

Gresham, the London merchant, & his fellow-worthies, and "Eastward Hoe" where Golding the industrious 'prentice is promised a place in history (& on the stage (1)) amongst the famous benefactors of the city. (2) And "Westward Hoe" and "Northward Hoe," despite the fact that much of the shady side of ~~the~~ city life is exposed in them, both conclude with the triumph of the citizens and their wives. In the former, the wives, pursued by the enraged husbands Westward Hoe to Brentford, whither they have resorted with a gallant apiece, finally outwit the presuming gallants in a fashion reminiscent of Mistress Page and Mistress Ford and boast; "They shall know that citizens' wives have wit enough to outstrip twenty such gulls; though we are merry, let's not be mad". And similarly the gentleman's sons who have come Northward Hoe to Ware hoping to get the laugh of trustful citizens, are themselves caught in the snare; "There's ne'er a gentleman of them all", boasts one of the servants, "shall gull a citizen & go scot free".

After 1605, however, the respect of the dramatists for the worthiness of citizens rapidly declines. Satire against abuses of city life becomes harsh and bitter, and allusions to the failings and absurdities of the citizen and his wife take on

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(1) "and thy deeds played i 'thy lifetime by the best company of actors, and be called their Get-penny".

(2) The fact that Part II of the "Honest Whore" is of a much later date than Part I. should perhaps exclude the defence of the city flat-cap in Act I sc. III from mention here, but Part I of this play belongs rightly to this period, and the continuation carries on its spirit.

Candido: "Gentlemen, I pray, neither contemn
Nor yet deride a civil ornament;
I could build so much in the round cap's praise.
It is a citizen's badge & first was worn
By th' Romans ..." etc.

a scornful and contemptuous tone. The gulling of citizens by their wives is a more prominent theme than ever, and is not redeemed by a saving retreat upon honesty as in "Westward Hoe"(1) The faithful citizen's wife of Seville in "Match mee in London" is such as that city could not furnish, and "A Chaste Maid in Cheapside" is similarly exceptional. "I will be a citizen" cries the jealous knight in Cupid's Whirligig (1606) " and so be a subject for poets and a slave to my own wife". Grocers and dyers with their city shows are scoffed at in the "Insatiate Countess". And there is a touch of caricature in the portrayal in "Green's Tu Quoque" of the city merchant who, like Gresham & Golding, has risen by honest trade to the rank of knighthood. The complaint made by the Citizen in the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" of the decay of the old city subjects, is evidence that the change in the attitude of the stage to the citizen had excited contemporary attention: "Why could you not be content with the legend of Whittington?" he asks, "and present something notably in honour of the Commons of the City?." In the induction scene to Day's "Ile of Gulls" the question is asked: "Are Lawyers fees and Citizens (2) wives laid open in it?" and in "A Woman is a Weathercock" (1611) Kate emphasizes the now general scorn of the city by the drama, when, challenging her husband to wipe out the stain upon her name, she warns him that if he proves a coward she will think

> "As abjectly of thee as any mongrel
> Bred in the city; such a citizen
> As the plays flout still, and is made the subject
> Of all the stages".

But flouting of the citizen, too, went of fashion.

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(1) e.g. in "A mad world of Masters". etc.

(2) Preface to the "Woman Hater" (1606).

Of the "three regions of mankind, Court, city and country" in which "the Poets have lodg'd themselves", (1) one, the country, was forsaken by dramatists in the gravitation of the drama towards London and the court early in James's reign; the second - the city, though in some measure still frequented, had come to the end of its main period of popularity before the publication of Ben Jonson's folio; the court alone retained the favour of theatre audiences until the drama, already decadent, was submerged by the triumph of that Puritanism which it had so often & scathingly satirised.

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(1) Hobbes : (answer to Davenant's Preface to Gondibert).

"As Philosophers have divided the universe, their subject, into three regions, Celestiall, Aeriall, and Terrestriall, so the Poets ..... have lodg'd themselves in the three Regions of mankind, Court, City, and Country, correspondent in some proportion to those three regions of the world ..... From hence have proceeded three sorts of poetry, Heroique, Scommatique, and Pastorall".

2. The Citizen in drama up to 1600.

The London citizen, the " honest householder", as representative of a class makes, as has been said, a comparatively late entry on the Elizabethan stage. But London had early been used as a typical background for scenes of low-life revelry. City life is first introduced into the drama in the form of scenes of vice and riot in the Moralities. The Vices (Sensuality, Freewill, Imagination, Folly, Riot, etc.) who as boon companions lead astray the young protagonist, testify to their London origin by allusions to city topography. Tyburn, Newgate and St. Thomas-a-Waterings are amongst their most familiar haunts, and the taverns and brothels to which Youth and his fellows are decoyed are in Eastcheap, or on the Bankside, Southwark. The fact that these scenes often surpass in dramatic quality the rest of the play in which they occur. (e.g. the dicing scene in " Nice Wanton " and the scene of revelry in " Misogonus") shows that the drama had here struck a vein of real life ; and its working proved profitable later. In the early stage representation of London low life the material that is inherited from the Morality is fused with material ~~that is inherited~~ found in the contemporary rogue-literature, and lives on, (as so many of the properties of the early Elizabethan drama did) to be used in the more definitely satiric plays of London life of the ~~early~~ opening of the seventeenth century. There is therefore in the City plays plentiful representation of this aspect of London life. Prominent in such plays are characters who cannot properly be ranked as citizens :- the city gallants, young spend-thrifts who sow their wild oats among the city's taverns and spend their inheritance upon the luxuries it trades in; and the sharking "companions" at the other end of the social scale, who prey alike upon gallant and citizen. The Elizabethan public, which received with equal relish the "scogginly" rogueries of Poele and his like and the death bed repentances of the same, continued to demand from the dramatist a diversity of low-life scenes, and the plays abound with comic scenes of city/ conycatching and kindred sport, many of them consisting of traditional comic

business re-fashioned. There are scenes of pure mischief-loving roguery, such as the pranks of Cockledemoy in the "Dutch Courtesan" (1), or the shifts of Eyeboard in the " Puritan" Brazen faced theft and highway robbery are combined with much genial humour in scenes of a Falstaffian character, such as those in which Sir John the merry priest of Wrotham figures. (2) A third class, and one of which examples are perhaps the most frequent of any, comprises the tavern or brothel scenes in which the young gallant is depicted as sowing his wild oats, and the prison scenes or scenes of street arrests in which he pays the penalty. (3) Lastly, there are scenes in which a more serious mood is traceable, unsparing and thorough exposures of the evil of the city, as in the " Honest Whore", and the "Roaring Girl," In these scenes of low life is contained a mass of detail throwing light on the London of the day, its topography and customs, but they do not afford material for the study of the Citizen proper. This stratum of revelry and roguery, of extravagance and penury lies immediately below the middle-class citizen life, as the glittering court-life lies immediately above it. Both affect at times the life of the citizen, but his own department is distinct from these; the London found in the plays of those dramatists who were in closest touch with the subject is neither the glorified Troianova of the "pageanter" nor the sink of iniquity denounced by Puritan pamphleteers, but

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(1) The device of Cockledemoy for obtaining a golden bowl in exchange for a fish, and again recovering the fish, is taken from Scogan's jest book; the same device (but with a hare instead of a fish) appears in " Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants" (1601). Marston though writing later, evidently goes back to Scogan direct and not to the earlier play, as his version of the story is nearer the original.

(2) " Sir John Oldcastle".

(3) e.g. in the "London Prodigal", "Green's Tu Quoque", etc.

the normal middleclass world of practical business life. In the "Apologie for London" appended to Stow's "Survey", this fact is established in the passage dealing with the vices of the city; "Covetousnesse, that other Syre of sedition, possesses the miserable and needy sort, and such as be naughty packes, unthrifts, which although it cannot be chosen, but that in a frequent City as London is, there shall be found ~~some~~ many, yet beare they not any great sway, seeing the multitude and most part thereis of a competent wealth and earnestly bent to honest labour".

As has already been said, the drama up to about 1600 presents the life of the London citizen from a sympathetic standpoint. The city and its worthy and industrious inhabitants are a source of honest pride to the dramatist - not yet a jesting-stock nor a theme for satire; even that figure of fun the Constable, the Dogberry of so many later plays, is in "Three Lords and Three Ladies of London" no clown, but an honest yeoman, "Serviceable Diligence", whose name implies his worth. The especial representatives of this sympathetic attitude in the drama of higher quality are Heywood and Dekker, whose work, though falling in part beyond the close of the century (1) belongs in spirit to the earlier mood. In them culminates that interest in London, which, manifesting itself in the last decade of the sixteenth century, appears as a local form of the patriotism called forth all over the country by the Armada. Heywood and Dekker, and with them a number of lesser dramatists who wrote, as they did, for the popular stage, use as material for dramatic treatment city history, the lives of city dignitaries and public benefactors, the commercial enterprise for which London was growing famous, and the normal daily life of the London craftsman and artizan.

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(1) 1595 to 1605 covers the bulk of their work on City subjects.

The roystering scenes of the Moralities set apart, the London citizen first makes his entry upon the stage in the early chronicle plays dealing with English history. Within the year or two leading up to, and the decade following upon, the defeat of the Armada, patriotic feeling ran high, and strongly affected the drama. A number of plays were written dealing with national history, glorifying England and her kings, inculcating loyalty, and where possible, (as in Peele's Edward I) also defaming Spain and all things Spanish. (1) and in these plays London and London citizens are seen as representatives of national loyalty. In the " Three Lords and Three Ladies of London", a belated morality of about 1588, a nearly contemporary picture is drawn of the reception in London of the news of the Armada's coming. Service-able Diligence, the constable, brings to the three Lords (London's Pomp, London's Pleasure, London's Policy) news of the stratagems Spain has been preparing; Policy, taking the lead, bids Diligence "go get in readiness Men and Munitions", and counsels Pomp and Pleasure,

" To carry, as it were, acareless regard
Of these Castilians and their accustomed bravado",

"Shows and solemn feasts" are to proceed as usual. Pleasure is to "see that plays be published,

" May-games and Masques, with mirth and minstrelsy,
Pageants and schoolfeasts, bears and puppet plays"

to show ~~th~~ "John the Spaniard" that

" we respect our sport more than his spite."

The Spanish lords arrive in magnificent array, boasting that they are come to conquer

" This nutshell isle, that little England hight,
With London, that proud paltry market town."

They are ignominiously put to flight by the lords of London. To about the same date belongs the "Famous Victories of Henry V"

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(1) The remorseless blackening of the fair character of Eleanor of Castile in this drama is sufficient testimony to the bitterness of the anti-Spanish feeling.

another play in glorification of the men of arms of the "molehill isle" lying its scene mainly in London. "Jack Straw" (c. 1587) depicts London as a stronghold of loyalty, attacked by the rebels of Kent and Essex and defended by the Mayor and citizens. Knighthood is bestowed upon Walworth, the Mayor, and his successors, and the dagger wherewith he slew the rebel Straw is added to the arms of the City of London. In "Sir Thomas More" a riot of London craftsmen against alien competitors is appeased by the wisdom of "Sheriff More." In the "First part of the Contention between the 2 famous houses of Lancaster and York" the city is defended by the Mayor and leading citizens against Jack Cade and his band of rebels. In "Sir John Oldcastle" again there is defence of the city against rebels by Mayor and shrieves.

The spirit which inspired the treatment of London in these chronicle plays finds fullest expression in Heywood's Edward IV (c. 1599 ?) where the defence ~~by Gre~~ of the City against the rebel Falconbridge and his troops by Crosby the Mayor, Urswick the Recorder, Josselin, Matthew Shore and other citizens, and bands of sturdy 'prentices is given at some length and with much vigour. The Mayor and other city dignitaries "in velvet coats and gorgets, and leading staves", parley with the rebels: They are backed by hosts of 'prentices, ready to "Die ere ye lose fair London's liberty". The rebels jeer at this company of "frosty-bearded citizens" and "flatcaps".

> "Flatcaps, thou callst us, We scorn not the name,
> And shortly by the virtue of our swords
> We'll make your cap so fit unto your crown,
> As sconce and cap and all shall kiss the ground.
> The Chronicles of England can report
> What memorable actions we have done,
> To which this day's achievement shall be knit."

After "a very severe assault on all sides, in which the apprentices do great service", and a subsequent sally by the Mayor and his company, the rebels are routed. Crosby, Josselin and Urswick are knighted by the King, but Shore, when the same honour is offered him, humbly declines :

> " Far be it from the thought of Matthew Shore
> That he should be advanced with Aldermen,
> With our Lord Mayor and our right grave Recorder"

This sense of the dignity of the City authorities, of the civic loyalty of the citizens, and of the sturdy valour of the London 'prentice, is not to be found in the drama of James's reign.

A second aspect of this pride of the Londoner in his city is also represented in Heywood's work. This is an interest in its antiquities, in its public buildings and their founders, in benefactions bestowed upon it, in its topography and nomenclature. Already in chronicle plays of a biographical order attention had been drawn to benefits conferred by the hero on the public. Sir Thomas More's good rule and preservation of the city peace occupies one dramatist; Sir Thomas Cromwell's open house and private generosity another. Foundations of Edward I (1) are alluded to in Peele's play, where the erection of Charing Cross is also celebrated (2). All the popular dramatists of Charing-handle similar matter. Dekker in the "Shoemakers' Holiday" describes the opening of Leadenhall; the great new hall in Gracechurch Street corner", and the feasting in it on Pancake day of the London 'prentices. In the "Honest Whore" the same dramatist describes two of the City's most famous institutions, Bedlam and Bridewell, of which last the history is also given. But here again Heywood gives the fullest pictures. In "Edward IV" he refers frequently to places of interest in the city, to Leadenhall, the Mint, Westminster Hall, Cheapside, the Counter, etc, alludes to the antiquity of the Tower, and gives the legend of its building, explains the name of Shoreditch, and traces the history of John Crosby, reared as a foundling at Christ's Hospital through 'prenticeship and mastership to the Mayoralty, closing with an account of his bequests to the Hospital and his foundation of a poorhouse.

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(1) Or his return from Palestine the King asserts:
" One of my mansion houses I will give
To be a College for my maimed men,
Where every one shall have an hundred marks
Of yearly pension to his maintenance."

(2) "A rich and stately carved cross" is erected over the burial place of Queen Eleanor.
In "Westward Hoe" later, allusion is made to the falling down of old Charing Cross, and general decrepitude of city monuments.

In " A Fair Maid of the Exchange" (1) that "beauteous and gallant Walk" is the object of high admiration on the part of visitors to the City; and in " If you know not me, you know nobody" (Part II) the whole history of its first origin, of its planning and execution, of its opening and its naming by Queen Elizabeth is dramatized (2). Gresham, the "royal citizen", a merchant venturer of the highest order, emulous of foreign facilities for conference of merchants, undertakes to erect a Burse at his own charges wherein London merchants may meet; the City provides a site, the Exchange is built, and the Queen bestows upon it a name. Lords travelled in foreign parts, compare it with similar buildings in Antwerp, Venice, etc., and conclude that " all the world has not his fellow" (3). Other benefactions to the City are also recorded. Gresham escorts seiences ~~which I have founded~~ his guests to visit "my school Of the seven learned lib'ral sciences Which I have founded here near Bishopsgate" and which he intends to make

" An University within itself"

Doctor Nowell, the good Dean of St. Paul's, entertaining Gresham and Sir Thomas Ramsey, conducts them through a gallery containing pictures of " charitable citizens", Sir John Philpot, William Walworth, Richard Whittington, John Allen, etc., describing the benefits conferred by each on the city; Lady Ramsey notes among them two pictures of women, whose deeds she is inspired to emulate. The whole scene and many parts of the London history embodied in the play, are taken almost verbally

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(1) If this be, as is conjectured, the work of Heywood

(2) From Stow's Survey of London . v. Appendix.

(3) It was to have been adorned with statues of English sovereigns "from Brute to Queen Elizabeth, Drawn in white marble", but these were lost at Sea.

from Stow's Survey of London (1) (1598 - 1603). It is of interest to note how clearly allied in spirit were works such as Stow's Survey and the dramatised chronicles. The same outburst of patriotic feeling was the occasion of both; resemblances in spirit and in subject matter are not confined to Heywood. The stories of city defence against rebels dramatised in the chronicle plays are those recorded by Stow; the public institutions and benefactions alluded to in the drama are the ones he commemorates, Lord Mayors and royal citizens', city monuments and charities are his theme; and much of the dramatic material used by Dekker, Heywood and the Chronicle-writers might be described as "matter of Stow". In Yar-ington's "Two Lamentable Tragedies" (1599) Homicide complains :

" I have in vaine past through each stately streete
And blindfold turning of this happie towne
For wealth, for peace, and goodlie government,
Yet can I not find out a mind, a heart
For blood and causeless death to harbour in;
They are all bent with vertuous gainefull trade,
To get their needmentes for this mortall life".

Of these inhabitants of London, bent upon "vertuous gainefull trade", Stow distinguishes three classes:- Merchants, Handicraftsmen, and Labourers: the first class he divides again into Merchants proper (i.e. those who deal in foreign ventures), and Retaylers, (i.e. those who either disperse goods from the City throughout the country, or keep an "retayling or standing shop".

Of these three classes the third (labourers) figures little in the drama, Watermen are introduced (2) or a porter appears (3) but the life of the labourer is not dramatically treated.

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(1) v. Appendix.
(2) e.g. in "Warning for Faire Women", "Chaste Maid in Cheapside", "Two Maids of Moreclacke", etc.
(3) e.g. in " Fair Maid of the Exchange".

Exceptional in this respect, and noteworthy as being a survival of an older mood of interest, is "Three Lords and Ladies of London" in which are drawn from the life of Simplicity, a ballad seller, and his wife, Painful Penury, who reckon out their paltry gains at the close of the day, keep of necessity many fast-days, and lose all their small savings through the trickeries of Fraud. Simplicity's plea to the three Lords of London for the abolition of three city trades, which he regards as dangerous to the commonwealth (1) is an example of that interest in social problems of the day shown in the moralties, to which attention has been drawn in connection with the grievances of the rustic (2).

In the late eighties and early nineties there seems to have been a special vogue of interest in those fraudulent practices which were the enemies of honest traffic. In the "Three Lords and Ladies of London" Fraud is a character, who successfully perpetrates many deceits, but is finally caught. In The same play Conscience complains of the petty cheating rife in all trades, enumerating the brewer, the tanner, the weaver, the baker, the chandler, and the alehousekeeper. In the "Cobbler's Prophecy" ----------

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(1) " They be not three what-lack-ye's ? as What do ye lack ? fine lockram, fine canvas, or fine Holland Cloth, - or what lack ye ? fine ballads, fine sonnets, or what lack ye ? a purse or a glass of a pair of fine knives ? but they be three have-ye-any's ?... have ye any old iron, old mail, or old harness ? have ye any ends of gold and silver? and have ye any wood to cleave ?" (He explains the danger to the city of these investigations as to where its gold, its armour, and its wood supplies, are stored).

(2) Ante p: 74 sqq.

Ralph sees in his visions a cheating Butcher, Baker, & Brewer. In "A Knack to Know a Knave" the practices of "Cuthbert Coneycatcher" are exposed. In "A Lookingglass for London and England" the fate of Nineveh is held up as a warning to London, (1) legal injustice, & oppression, & usury being the main objects of attack. All these plays were written within a few years of one another, (2) and synchronise with the production of many prose coneycatching pamphlets. Petty frauds and coneycatching devices recur in many later plays (e.g. Dutch Courtezan" or "Roaring Girl") but nowhere are they so definitely the object of attack as in the plays of these few years.

These exposures of Coneycatching stand somewhat apart from the general depiction of London trade. The evils with which the London merchant had to contend were of a larger order than these petty thefts & larcenies. Foremost among them are Usury, that perpetual bugbear of needy Elizabethans. The usurer is an object of attack from the earliest dramas on every day themes; in the group of plays just mentioned, usury is one of the chief grievances. By the close of the century the figure of the usurer,- often a Jew,- has become a stock property; In "Jack Drum's Entertainment" (1599) the list of Dramatis Personae includes "Mammon the usurer, with a great nose";- hardly a city play was without a usurer. Other snares that beset the merchant in connection with large money transactions appear in the later dramas; e.g. the taking up of bonds, with the tricks of the moneylender or broker to obtain forfeiture; or the not yet forgotten device of making up the full sum of a loan with "commodity" Some of the trouble of the merchant entangled in money difficulties are seen in the play of "Thomas Cromwell" where Banister, a London merchant falls into the hands of "Bagot, a

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(1) cf. "A Larum for London" (later) in which the sack of Antwerp is dramatised with similar purpose.
(2) "Three Lords and Ladies of London" c. 1588; "Lookingglass for London & England" 1589; "Knack to know a Knave" 1592; Cobbler's Prophecy" before 1593.

cruel and covetous broker", and is released by the generosity of the wealthy Florentine merchant Friscobalde. In additon to the money troubles to which the merchant was liable, were the ordinary risks of trade. The merchant might expect any day that his cargoes would fall a prey to "land thieves and water thieves" or that an unlucky gale would "robe the roaring waters" in his silks. In Heywood's"Fortune by Land and Sea" a merchant vessel is attacked by pirates. In several palys occur meetings in the Exchange of Merchants discussing the fate of their cargoes, e.g. in "Fair Maid of the Exchange" or in "Englishmen for my Money". Here one merchant, Towerson, rejoices that a favourable southwest wind has brought his ships safely to Plymouth; a post brings news that the Fortune, the Adventurer, and the Good Luck of London have been set upon by Spanish Galleys and are believed to be lost; Pisaro, owner of the Goodluck, is reassured by Alvaro, whose factor writes him she has come ashore safely in Candy.

Gresham, the prince of Merchants (1) suffers a loss of £60,000 on a venture in Barbary sugar, dependent upon a patent from the King of Barbary, by whose death it was left unsealed. One of the first catastrophes that suggests itself to Gallipot (2) on finding his wife in tears is "Is the "Jonas" sunk"? And amongst the Madmen in Bedlam in Part I. of the "Honest Whore" is one who was once a grave and wealthy citizen, fishing with a net for five ships lost at sea, always inquiring where the wind lies, and eager to attack the strangers as Turkish pirates. But the profits of these vast ventures were great in proportion to their risks. Gresham is able to receive with perfect equanimity the news of this sixty thousand pound loss. And he is but one, (though the extreme example) of the large number of London merchants whose wealth rose in Elizabeth's reign to huge proportions through

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(1) If you know not me, etc. Part II.

(2) "Roaring Girl".

speculations in foreign trade. The prosperity won by Hobson the Mercer in this same play enables him to bestow without grudging loans upon the Queen and acts of generosity on his fellow-citizens. Sanders the merchant in "A Warning for Faire Women", takes in the course of his ordinary business the discharge of a bond he has incurred for £1500. The story of the fabulous wealth acquired by Thornton of Northumberland (1) through the discovery that his cargoes of supposed coal are in reality gold ore & pearls has more of ~~romans~~ romance than vraisemblance; but that of Simon Eyre's sudden enrichment (2) through traffic with a Dutch Skipper over cargoes of almonds, civet, sugar, cambric, and other commodities is not an improbable one. It is noteworthy that many of the city benefactors mentioned by Stow are men of humble origin, whom success in trade had raised to Mayoralty or knighthood.

But although "in wealth merchants, and some of the chief Retaylers have the first place; the most part of Retaylers and all artificers, the second or meane place; & Hyrelings the lowest room, "yet in number they of the middle place be first, and doe farre exceede both the rest." (3) The artisans and smaller tradespeople of the City, in whom a Guild system of long duration had produced self-consciousness and a certain unity of feeling and interest, were by this fact and by their numbers rendered a most influential and powerful body in the state politic. The point of view of this class is expressed most fully in the drama by Dekker, in part also by Heywood, and in lesser measure by a few minor writers. Treatment of the citizen from his own standpoint did not survive, except in these two men, the turn of the century. The citizen's tastes found expression later in shows & pageants such as "Troia Nova Triumphans" or the civic "Triumphs" of ~~the~~ Munday; and occasionally perhaps

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(1) Lovesick King.

(2) "Shoemakers' Holiday".

(3) "Apologie of the Cittie of London" appended to Stow's Survey.

in plays written for themselves and performed by themselves.(1) but they no longer appeared in the national drama. The "Knight of the Burning Pestle" shows clearly enough that the drama in 1607 - 8 regarded the citizen from without, and no longer from his own standpoint.

Actualy glorification of prentices amd craftspeople in the drama belongs laregly to the nineties. Already in "Thee Lords and Three Ladies of London" the case for trade was stated. Simplicity admonishes the boy Wealth who idles round the balladsellers stall, "Hadst thou not better serve a freeman of the city, and learn a trade to live another day, and then be a servingboy in thy youth, and to have no occupation in thy age?" The sturdy defence by the "flatcap" of the honour of his own calling in Edward IV has already been cited. (2) In the "Four Prentices of London" (1594?) the same theme is fully developed. The four sons of the old Earl,of Boulogne are apprenticed to four City trades, and the general attitude of father (3) and sons to trade is express by Godfrey, the eldest,

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(1) In the Dedication (to the Lord Mayor) of the"Hector of Germaine" (1613)the Author says of his play; "being made for citizens, who acted it well, I deem it fit to be patronized by a citizen" and alludes to a former play "The Freeman's Honour" written in honour of the Merchant Taylors. The Prologue states :-

"If you should ask us, being men of trade,
Wherefore the player's facultie we invade,
Our answer is, No ambition to compare
With any in that quality held rare" etc.

These seem to be attempts of the citizen, no longer catered for by the regular drama, to cater for himself.

(2) ante p:97.

(3) cf. the Old Earl later :

"Think not, sons,
The name of Prentice can discourage ye,
.....Even Kings themselves have of these trades been free".

"I praise that city which made princes trademen,
Where that man, noble or ignoble born,
That would not practise some mechanic skill
----------should die ----------
I hold it no disparage to my birth,
Though I be born an Earl, to have the skill
And the full knowledge of the Mercer's trade,
And were I now to be create anew,
It should not grieve me to have spent my time
The secrets of so rich a trade to know,
By which advantage and great profits grow."

In their frequent fights with robbers and Saracens, the four heroes testify again to the valour of the London 'prentice :

Eustace: "O that I had with me
As many good lads, honest prentices,
From East Cheap, Canwick Street & London Stone,
To end this battle, as could wish themselves
Under my conduct if they knew me here."

Charles: "O for some Cheapside boys for Charles to lead,
They would stick to it, when ~~the~~ these outlaws fail".

These plays present the "Puritanism" imaginings of the London Citizens ; for the normal daily life of prentice and master the main sources of evidence are the city plays of Dekker and Heywood and a few domestic tragedies. Of the domestic tragedies, the most interesting as depicting citizen life are "Warning for Faire Women" (1598) and one of the two plots of "Two Lamentable Tragedies" (1599) The former deals with the murder of George Sanders, a London Merchant by George Browne, a young gallant who has corrupted his wife Anne. The daily life of the merchant is sympathetically presented; his setting off in the morning to the Exchange, leaving instructions for the day with his man; his wife's vexation at finding herself unable to pay for goods the draper brings to the door; the master's business journey to the country and his kindly reception there. The general atmosphere of the tragedy dealing with

the murder of Maister Beech a Chandler in Thames Street, done by Thomas Merry, is more sombre ; Merry's envy clouds the sky early, and the details of the hiding of portions of the murdered body about the city and of their rediscovery and the bringing home of the guilt are of a gruesome character. But here the general kindness and good-feeling of the neighbours afford some relief, and the worthy grocer's "neighbour Lorey", called up in the night by the news of foul play ate the shop next door, and murmuring half awake " What, would you have some mustard ?" is a pleasing figure.

Many pictures of the business of shop and workshop (then in part identical) are given by Heywood and Dekker. In " Edward IV " there are scenes in the shop of Shore the goldsmith ; 'prentices come at six o'clock and set out the wares ; Jane appears, despatches them on errands, and sits to mind the shop herself. In the " Fair Maid of the Exchange " business is in full swing at many shops on that"gallant walk" ; Phillis, the fair daughter of Master Flower the merchant, scolds her father's 'prentice for wasting his time; she sits in the shop, and offers to customers lawns, cambrics, ruffs, shirts, bands, waistcoats, etc. The Cripple of Fenchurch, a " drawer " sits in his shop near by, and is commissioned by Phillis to design an embroidered handkerchief which shall express her love. In the " Wise Woman of Hogsdon", Luce, the goldsmith's daughter, sits before her father's shop, at work on a lace handkerchief in converse with the 'prentice. The scene at Jane the Seamster's shop in the " Shoemaker's Holiday " is of a similar character (1). In another type of scene the masculine element predominates. The scenes at the shop of Hobson the mercer in " If you know not Me, you know Nobody", are full of the stir and bustleof a thriving trade. The shop

(1) cf. scenes from "Roaring Girl" quoted below p:129.

opens in the morning ; two of the 'prentices run out on errands of their own, and are soundly rated by the master on their return. The business of the day begins. In the rush of a busy hour the 'prentices fail to obtain the name of a customer who has taken five pounds' worth of ware, and accounts do not balance at the end of the day. In Dekker's Honest Whore (1) a similar busy scene is presented, Candido the linen draper (a very Grissall of shopkeepers), calms by his invincible urbanity all disturbances caused by the impetuosity of his 'prentices and the rudeness of customers; one customer insists on buying a pennyworth of lawn cut from the very middle of one of Candido's best pieces, and the 'Prentices are furious; conversation across the counter and behind the counter are given, and all the little technical details are treated with living interest. But chief among all the pictures of the cheerful industry of the citizen are the scenes in Simon Eyre's work shop in the " Shoemakers' Holiday ". Here the relations between master and man are specially free and easy ; so much so that when the 'prentices take a fancy to the merry journeyman Hans, they threaten all to leave their master unless he takes Hans into his employ, and good Simon Eyre yields with a fair grace, calling for two cans of beer to appease them. There is plenty of work done, accompanied by much cheerful talk and singing ; off duty the workmen exhibit the same "free and merry thoughts"; and their loyal support in all difficulties of their fellows Hans and Ralph is not only staunch but effective. The whole of this play of busy life and sturdy prentice valour is characterised by rough, fresh almost boisterous vitality; the follies and vanities, the

(1) Scene in Italy, but Candido is clearly a London linen draper, as Bedlam and Bridewell scenes testify.

the uncouthness-es and incongruities of manner of Sim Eyre and his jolly prentices are made purely laughable, never lamentable, and are ever redeemed by fundamental soundness of heart. Dekker represents the citizen from the citizen's own point of view; he is the poet of "Sweet content" and "honest labour" that " bears a lovely face ". It is left for later men to see the picture from its other side, to sneer at the simplicity and gullibility of the honest citizen, and to emphasize his inferiority in wit and agility of intellect, as also in speech and manners, to the polished gallant reared in the sophistication of the court of James.

3. The Citizen in the drama 1600 - 16. (1)

About the turn of the century a certain change comes over the spirit of the drama, and comedy, - that section of the drama to which the citizen properly belongs, - enters upon a new phase. Fresh literary aims and ambitions in the playwright coincide with fresh moods in the public to make the new fashion. Up to about the close of the century the playgoing public had delighted in " histories " i.e. in plays, whether avowedly romantic or pseudo-historical in theme, in which the story was the leading interest; and the playwright had bent his endeavours towards the representation in dramatic form of a good story. This taste is of course permanent. Romance never dies, and the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, beginning at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, resume the romantic fashion. But with the new century a taste arose for a more introspective and analytic type of writing, - for depiction of character, dissection of " humours ", satire upon contemporary manners; the interest was transferred from the story to the actors in it. The same taste which produced the " Characters" of Hall and Overbury and the satires of Hall, Donne, Marston, etc, showed itself upon the stage in a vogue of satiric comedy. This change of mood is clearly seen in the depiction of London life in the drama. One of the spectators in the Induction scene to Day's " Ile of Gulls" (1605) asks of the play: " Are lawyers' fees and Citizens' wives laid open in it ?" - a demand not made of the drama by the spectator e.g. of the early nineties. The life history of a famous citizen, the chronicle of the events of some stirring period of national history, the romantic experiences of some semi-legendary city hero, no longer

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(1). (excluding in the main the works of Heywood and Dekker which have already been treated.)

satisfy the London audience. The playgoer of the early years of James's reign expects to see "vice anatomiz'd, and abuse let bloud in the master vaine". (1) and this demand is met by realistic and satiric pictures of London bourgeois life from the pens of Jonson, Chapman, Marston, Middleton, Dekker and the rest. " To show virtue her own feature, vice his own image, and the very body of the time his form and pressure" might servce as a motto for such a play as " Eastward Hoe". For the first ten years of the century, in the midst of Shakespeare's tragic period, and mingled with tragedies and sardonic comedies (2) by these and other writers, Ben Jonson's comedy of humours and Middleton's comedy of manners hold the stage, replacing the older romantic comedy. And though in the next decade romance, as has been said, comes to its own again in the work (especially) of Beaumont and Fletcher, satiric comedy continues by its side from henceforth to the closing of the theatres.

In this satiric treatment of contemporary citizen life, as in the earlier humorous treatment of rustic life, (3) the writers make use of old and new motives. Mostly, perhaps, the old properties of the satiric writer are tricked out in the fashion of the day, but here and there the conditions of Jacobean London life offer the dramatist an original type or a novel situation. Of the inherited motives one of the most important is the Prodigal Son. Popular from the moralities and the early education-drama, the theme of the Prodigal re-appears in the new century in

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(1). Induction to " Ile of Gulls."

(2). The Fawn (1604) Volpone (1605) Honest Whore (1604) Woman killed with kindness (1605) Revenger's Tragedy (1607) etc.

Silent Woman 1609. Alchemist 1610 E'Pi Fair 1614

(3). cf. ante p:8.

city setting, and affords the groundwork for many pictures of contemporary London manners. The London prodigal appears as a spendthrift youth - in character anything from a merry and attractive scapegrace (e.g. young John Gresham (1) or Philip Bellamont (2)) to a heartless and unprincipled scoundrel (e.g. young Flowerdale (3), or Scarborow (4)) who spends his inheritance on silks and satins, on dicing and gaming, in tavern and brothel, runs into debt in all directions, and arrives at last at beggary or imprisonment, to be rescued by forgiving parent or kindhearted friend, or by some stroke of unexpected luck. He has often more connection with the city than the fact that London is the far country where he wastes his substance in riotous living and eventually eats husks among swine. In " How a Man may choose a good wife from a Bad", in " Northward Hoe" and in the " London Prodigall " he is the son of a wealthy citizen. In the " Wise Woman of "Hogsdon" he woos a citizen's daughter. And in " Eastward Hoe", " If you know not me, you Know Nobody", and " Green's Tu Quoque" he is himself a city prentice. Pictures of citizen life are therefore naturally found in the London prodigal dramas. In " How a Man man choose a good Wife from a Bad" the prodigal's father and his friends meet and talk on the Exchange; in the " London Prodigall" Flowerdale in his extremity begs of citizens and their wives in London Streets. In " The Wise Woman of Hogsdon" young Chartley woos the goldsmith's daughter Luce as she sits outside her father's shop to mind the wares, and brings her trinkets from the " gaudy-shops" in the Exchange. In " Eastward Hoe " and " Green's Tu Quoque" a large part of the action takes place at the shop in which the scapegrace 'prentice serves.

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(1). " If You know not Me, You know Nobody."

(2). " Northward Hoe."

(3). " London Prodigall."

(4) " Miseries of enforced Marriage."

The plots of these last two plays illustrate the way in which this citizen material was employed to give a new setting to the old story. The Prodigal Son, who to the humanists was " Lust and Liking" or "Lusty Juventus", to the earlier Elizabethans " Misogonus", heir to a large country estate, and who is later to appear in Goldsmith and Sheridan as a member of polite town circles, is for these years the London 'prentice, shirking his tankard-bearing (1), neglecting his master's shop for his game of tennis or his tavern appointments, pawning his master's silks to pay his dicing-debts, and finally expiating his folly in the "hole" (2) of the Counter in Wood Street or the Poultry, where, reduced to the lowest extremity, he scrambles with the poorest wretches for scraps from the alms-basket.

The chase after wealth, an old theme of satiric literature, affords several motives, worked out by these dramatists in a contemporary citizen setting. The pursuit of a rich match, often a widow, is a favourite motive. Some intricate plots deal with the scheming of various personages, lawyers, brokers, moneylenders, etc, to obtain possession of the fortune of a young and gullible landed heir. Another motive several times repeated is that of the winning of the hoard of a rich churl by the clever knavery of a young scapegrace (3). The working out of these motives entails some depiction of the Citizen class. City traders hunt wealthy matches to repair their broken fortunes e.g. Mallicorn the sharking merchant in " An Honest Man's Fortune", who has "broke thrice, and fourteen times compounded for two shillings in the pound" - is one of the unsuccessful suitors of the lady Lamia. And the sharp practices of this class are among the dangers to which improvident young heirs are exposed. In " Michaelmas Term " the young

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(1). The fetching of water from the city conduits was one of the most menial of the 'prentices' duties.
(2) There were four divisions in the Counter: the Master's Ward (where the prisoners fared best), the Knight's Ward, the twopenny ward, and the Hole, to which prisoners who could pay nothing were relegated.
(3) e.g. The Hog hath lost his pearl.

landed heir Master Easy is entangled in money difficulties by Quomodo the woollen-draper. And in " If it be not good, the Divell is in it ", the tricks of Bartervile the city merchant to get a hold over the fortunes of his victims are laid open. Two or three motives of this class are often combined in one play, e.g. in " Ram Alley " and in " A Trick to catch the Old one " (1).

But it was in dealing with the time-honoured theme of the satirist, - Woman, - that the Jacobean writer of satiric comedy found his aptest type in Citizen circles. The city wife is one of the most popular and hackneyed of themes. A host of plays deal with her relation to her husband, who is either henpecked and patient like Candido (2), inordinately jealous like Kitely (3), or the cuckold, already for centuries the butt of satire against the middle classes.

The extravagance and self-assurance of the City wife, and her ambition to rise in the social scale, are constantly satirised.

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(1). which furnished the plot also for Massinger's " A new way to pay old debts."

(2). " Honest Whore", cf. Cornutus in "Every Woman in her Humour".

(3). " Every Man in his Humour", cf. the jealous knight in " Cupid's Whirligig, and Harebrain in " A Mad World, my Masters ".

(4). Seduction of the City Wife, attempted or carried out, forms a motive in "Westward Hoe", "Eastward Hoe," "Northward Hoe", " The Phoenix", " Your Five Gallants." " The family of Love," " Roaring Girl", " Match Mee in London," " Women beware Women," " Bartholomew Fair."

In the " Whore of Babylon", Truth, inquiring into the doings of the age, asks of Plain-speaking: " What in the City saw you ?" and receives the reply : " I see that .... citizens' fines wives undo their husbands (by their pride) within a yeare after they are married; and within half a yeare after they be widdowes, knights undo them; they'll give a hundred pounds to be dub'd ladies and to ride in a coach when they have scarce another hundred pounds left to keep the horses." Like the Wyf of Bath her prototype, with her coverchiefs of ten pounds weight, the Jacobean citizen's wife loves to adorn her person with extravagant attire, and "sing the note of every new fashion at first sight" (1). The wives of the gentry complain that "the daughter of some cloves & cinnamon" goes " as sumptuously adorned With Jewels, chains, and richest ornaments As wee". The modest city maiden in " Eastward Hoe", who contents herself with an une pretentious and economical wedding, is scoffed at by her fine sister with much scorn, as " Mistress What-lack-ye ? ..... married in a taffeta hat". (2) And the citizen's wife (3) who, receiving a pair of fine gloves on attending a wedding, decides to put them into the shop and sell them, taking out a plain pair in exchange, is Grace Seldom, the wonder of her husband and of the city. In luxury of living, Birdlime, the city bawd, maintains " there is equality enough between a lady and a city dame. They have as pure linen, as choice painting, love green-geese in spring, mallard and teal in the fall, and woodcock in winter (4).

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(1). " Blurt Master Constable."

(2). taffeta seems to be regarded in some cases as typical citizen wear, cf. Laxton in " Roaring Girl" : (to coachman) " May we safely take the upper hand of any coached velvet-cap or tuf-taffity jacket ? for they keep a vile swaggering in coaches nowadays " cf. also the courtesans in " Your Five Gallants", complaining of the Citizen's wife: " Shall we suffer a changeable forepart to out-tongue us ?"

(3). "Amends for Ladies". (4). " Westward Hoe."

In self-assurance and in power of winning her own way, the city dame can even give points to her betters. The authority last quoted states: " Your citizen's wife learns nothing but fopperies of your lady; but your lady or justice-o'-peace madam carries high wit from the city, namely, to receive all and pay all, to awe their husbands, to check their husbands, to control their husbands". Again like the city wife of mediaeval satire, she is a stickler for her social dues. The wives of the comfit-maker and the 'pothecary in " A Chaste Maid in Cheapside" revive the old struggle for the precedence on the way to the christening (1).

With these traditional characteristics the Elizabethan city wife has some which seem the product of Eliabethan comditions, and testify the growing importance of the Citizen class, and the consequent rivalry between the Burgesses and the lesser Gentry (2). The social ambitions of the city wife are often stuff for satire. She is eager to claim for herself some connection with the gentry. The jeweller's Wife in the " Phoenix" prides herself that "simply though I stand here a citizen's wife, I am a justice of peace's daughter." Mrs. Openwork in the "Roaring Girl" boasts that she came to her husband "a gentlewoman born". And Mrs. Mulligrub in the " Dutch Courtezan" congratulates herself that " though my husband be a citizen, and's cap's made of wool, yet I ha' wit, and can see my good as soon as another. ..... I was a gentlewoman by my sister's side."

Failing this, she aspires to attain through marriage to

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(1). cf. Wyf of Bath :

"In al the parisshe wif ne was there noon,
That to the offrynge bifore hire sholde goon;
And if ther dide, certeyn so wrooth was she,
That she was out of alle charitee."

The same motive had been the turning-point of a tragic story in the strife of Kriemhild and Brunhild at the church porch of Wurms.

(2). cf. p: 115, 134-5.

to high society. The one thought of Girtred, the fine daughter of Touchstone the goldsmith in " Eastward Hoe " is to wed a knight with a country estate, who shall " carry me out of the scent of Newcastle coal and the hearing of Bowbell". Mistress Yellowhammer (1) chides her daughter Moll for her slackness in angling for knights. And the witty page's advice to the " civil chitty matron" in " Blurt Master Constable" is, " for her daughters, to " marry them by no means to chittizens, but choose for them some smooth-chinned, curled-headed gentleman", and for herself; " to make your husband go to the herald for arms, and have a fair and comely crest." The portrayal of this much satirised type is full of realistic touches. Not only are the surroundings of the City wife suggested, her parlour (2), her bedchamber (3) her "wainscot carved" seat" in the shop, her cushioned bay-window (4); not only is there frequent allusion to her clothing and little accessories, (she must "wear black patches, get good poking-sticks for ruffs, play with a fan, have a dog and a muff" (5) etc,) but her manner of conversation is often reproduced. Characteristic features of the city wife's speech were the "sarce-net oaths" scorned of Hotspur, a whole string of which marks (6) the entrance of the Citizens' wives to the Wise Woman of Hogsdon, and the terms of endearment so plentifully employed

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(1). " Chaste Maid in Cheapside."

(2). " Dutch Courtezan "

(3). " Amends for Ladies."

(4) " e.g. Ram Alley"

(5) " Blurt Master Constable."

(6) Verily ... forsooth ... indeed ... as they say .. etc.
cf. Poetaster: " your city-mannerly word "forsooth".

by the citizen and his wife in the " Knight of the Burning Pestle" (1). Mistress Gallipot in the "Roaring Girl" chides her husband for his fond language ("duck, mouse, pigsnie" etc): "Pray, be not so fond of me, leave your city humours." An affectation of overfine language is among the social vanities of the Citizen's wife in a "Chaste Maid in Cheapside." Yellowhammer the Goldsmith chides his wife for affecting words more elegant serv then the "plain, sufficient, subsidy words" that should serve a citizen. She has been " telling your daughter Mary of her errors".

Yell: " Errors ? Nay, the city cannot hold you, wife,
But you must needs fetch words from Westminster,
Has no attorney's clerk been here o' late
To bring the word in fashion for her faults
Or cracks in duty and obedience ?
Term 'em even so, sweet wife."

Side by side with these satiric themes connected with the City, drawn from old literary stock and furbished up to fit the time, there is one, Puritanism, which is native and original, derived from observation of contemporary manners. Puritanism was especially associated with the citizen class. The terms "citizen" and "puritan "are used as parallel in the " Two Maids of Moreclacke", and in the "Honest Whore" the Puritan waeys of Candido, whose religious beliefs are not specified, are sufficiently explained by the fact that he is a typical City tradesman. The whole spirit of this "sort of sober, scurvy, pr precise neighbours,

That scarce have smiled twice since the king came in (2)

was antagonistic to that of the actor or playwright;" as different as Puritans and players" is a comparison used in "The Hog hath lost his Pearl". In the "Mayor of Queenborough" Oliver the puritan weaver is forced against his will to

(1). cony, mouse, chicken, lamb, duckling, bird, sweetheart, honeysuckle, etc. cf: Crispinella in "Dutch Courtezan"; "Prithee call him not love, 'tis the drab's phrase ; nor sweet honey, nor my coney, nor dear duckling, they are citizens' terms."
(2). " Alchemist."

watch a play, and is only prevented from swooning by the threat of aqua-vitae. Similarly, Nicholas St. Antlings in the " Puritan" is shocked at the very mention of players. Jaques in the " Woman's Prize" speaks of

" full as many prayers
As the most zealous puritan conceives
Out of the meditation of fat veal,
Or birds of prey, cramm'd capons,
against players."

And Zeal-in-the-Land Busy (1), rushing in upon Leatherhead's puppetshow with cries of " Down with Dagon", rails against the "stage players, rimérs, and morrice dancers who have walked hand in hand in contempt of the brethren and the cause". One of the conditions of admission into the "Family of Love" is that " you must never frequent taverns nor tap-houses, no masques nor mummeries, no pastimes nor playhouses." The hostility of the players on their side is clear enough. One of the most hopeless inmates of Bedlam in the " Honest Whore " is a puritan: " There's no hope of him, unless he may pull down the steeple and hang himself in the bell-ropes ". Security in " Eastward Hoe" maintains: " Your only smooth skin to make fine vellum is your Puritan's: they be the smoothest and sleekest knaves in a country". In " Ram Alley" the braggart Face is forced to a country".do tricks like a baboon: " What can you do for the great Turk ? What can you do for the Pope of Rome ? What can you do for the town of Geneva ? He holds up his hands instead of praying - 'Sure this baboon is a great Puritan'."

The points brought against the Puritans by the

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(1). " Bartholomew Fair."

by the dramatists are those generally are these made by the "wits" against the "Saints". (1) They are accused of hypocrisy, of using godliness as a cloke for vicious or self-interested purposes. The Courtezan and her mother in " A Mad World, my Masters", compare notes as to the efficacy of their practice of assuming a godly exterior in obtaining introductions into households of strict rule, such as that of the citizen Harebrain, whose wife they corrupt. In the "Family of Love" Middleton satirises a sect whose evening meetings are a cover for wanton behaviour. Similarly, Languebeau Snuffe (2), Belforest's Puritan Chaplain, who is full of admonitions against " carnall kisses", etc, is eventually discovered in a house of ill repute, and, despite a Falstaffian defence (3) meets his due condemnation. Fuller in " How a Man may choose a good wife from a Bad" tells of his wooing of a Puritan wench. After several rebuffs, he tries a new dodge,- clothes himself in Puritan fashion and enters with " Peace to this house and those within." He finds her reading a chapter.

" I spake divinely, and I call'd her sister ...
By yea and nay, I will, quoth I, and kissed her."
Each further advance he prefaces with
" in sooth" or " in troth, I will"
" Swear you in troth, quoth she ?
" had you not sworn,
I had not done't, but took it in full scorn".
" Then you will come", quoth I ? " Though I be loth,
I'll come, " quoth she, "be't but to keep your oath" (4).

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(1) The tradition are here established is carried on by Butler & the Restoration Drama, by Fielding & Smollett & Dickens. In Scotch literature, Allan Ramsay in his laughter at the Kirk picks up the anti-Puritan tradition and hands it on to Burns.
(2) " Atheist's Tragedy".
(3) " I grant you. The place is full of impuritie. So much the more neede of instruction and reformation. The purpose that carried me thither was with the spirit of conversion to purify their uncleannesse " etc.
(4) cf: Languebeau Snuffe the Puritan in the "Atheist's Tragedy" is offered a ring as a bribe; at first he refuses:
D'Amville : " By -- you will make me swear
Lang : O : by no means. Prophane not your lippes with the foulnesse of that sinne. I will rather take it. To save your oath you shall lose your ring. "

The Puritan preacher has succeeded the Friar of the mediaeval satirist in the art of beguiling women with his oily tongue. (1). The innkeeper's wife in the " Whimsies of Señor Hidalgo" is enamoured of a parson " of the fraternity of nonconformists, who preaches three hours together extempore, and makes the sisterhood to weep at his powerful doctrine" (2) And, like his mediæval prototype, and the Evangelical minister of the Victorian School, he cultivates a well-to-do clientèle and is a connoisseur of good living. Chaucer's Friar preferred to deal "all with riche and sellers of vitaille"; similarly the "puritan nose ... can smell an edifying capon five Streets off." (3). Few can equal his appetite. Master Fulbellie, the preacher whose house the servants of the "Puritan Widow" frequent, has been known to " eate up a whole Pigge, and afterward falle to the pettitoes", and Rabbi Busy, when sought for to give Counsel, is found " fast by the teeth in the cold turkey pie in the cupboard, with a great white loaf on his left hand, and a glass of malmsey on his right." Special traits of the Puritans, such as their fondness for sermons, are given. " Talk and make a noise" says Mrs. Honeysuckle in " Westward Hoe", "no matter to what purpose. I have learned that with going to Puritan lectures". Merry the godly tradesman (4) "would not loase a sermon for a pound." And the husband of the Widow of Watling Street would even forsake his guests at a meal and " rize from the table to get a good seate at an afternoon sermon". " Inspired graces, able to starve a wicked man (5) with length" are a feature of their feasts.

Some genuine, if unfriendly criticism is found

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(1). The name " Languebeau" is significant.

(2). cf. later development of the type in Dickens: e.g. Chadband, Stiggins, etc, or Thackeray: e.g. Rev. Charles Honeyman in the "Newcomes", with his flowery sermons and his popularity with the ladies.

(3) " Ram Alley."

(4) " Two Lamentable Tragedies."

(5) " Family of love". cf. Chadband.

intermingled with much caricature. Their condemnation in the name of religion of the " cakes and ale " they " have no mind to" is wittily suggested in Mrs. Mulligrub's outcry against tobacco (1): "Perfume this parlour; does so smell of profane tobacco. I could never endure this ungodly tobacco, since one of our elders assured me, upon his knowledge, tobacco was not used in the family of love."

Their hostility to certain ecclesiastical customs and details of ritual is ridiculed, and stress is laid on the suggestion that they are exclusively concerned with the trivial externals of religion - shibboleths and red rags. Mistress Allwit's (2) gossips congratulate her that her child has been

" well kursen'd i' the right way,
Without idolatry or superstition,
After the pure manner of Amsterdam".

At a lottery the Puritan Florila (3) draws a " paire of holy beades with a crucifix " and greets them with " O 'bommination idole, Ile none of thee". Gruessa's spiritual adviser (4) "has not the conscience to-reade common prayer." " Sincere Puritans", says Mistress Correction (5), "cannot abide to wear a surplesse". Mistress Purge (6), alert to the least suggestion of Popery, hopes her body has no " organs". Justice Overdo (7) quotes Latin in the stocks, and Rabbi Busy declares he can hold no converse, with one who talks such "rags of Rome, and

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(1). " Dutch Courtezan."
(2). " Chaste Maid in Cheapside."
(3). " Humerous Day's Mirth."
(4). " Whimsies of Senor Hidalgo."
(5) " Cupid's Whirligig."
(6). " Family of Love."
(7). " Bartholomew Fair."

patches of Popery". Dryfat (1) boasts that he keeps " no holy-days or feasts, but eat most flesh a' Fridays of all days i' the week." Ananias (2) is unaffected by the nefarious sentiments of Subtle, but flames out at mention of Christmas ("Christ tide, I pray you "), and tradition ("I hate traditions... they are Popish all.)" The serving-men of the Puritan Widow are not to be moved from keeping the strict letter of the law, but are willing to commit any knavery not literally mentioned therein." "We may lie, but we must not sweare" says Simon St. Mary Overies. And Nicholas St. Antlings (3), who will not steal, - " That's the word, the literall, thou shalt not steale," - is willing enough to " nim " his master's gold chain to help his soldier cousin. The position is summed up by Dryfat, who claims admission to the Family of Love on the grounds that " I do hate the red letter more than I follow the written verity." Even deeper criticism is involved in the representation of the falling away of men whose strictness, as far as it goes, is represented as sincere (4). The inefficacy of formality to preserve in cases of real temptation is exposed in the stories of Timothy Thinbeard, factor of Gresham (5) and of Merry the murderer in " Two Lamentable Tragedies ". Timothy is a " brother of the faith" who " seems so pure of life " says his master " I durst have trusted him with all I had ", but is convicted of cheating his master of the sum of Five hundred pounds. Yet he is not a pure hypocrite, and his repentance is sincere.

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(1) " Family of Love."
(2) " Alchemist."
(3) " A new morning prayer and lecture, after Geneva fashion was established at St. Antholin's, Budge Row, in 1559".
(4) cf. v. Notes to Heywood (Pearson's Reprints).
(4) cf. Angelo.
(5) " If you know not Me, you know Nobody."

Merry has lived an honest enough life until temptation comes upon him at the sight of Beech's gold; his fall provokes the astonished comment " Is this the fruit of saint-like Puritans?"

But the note of ridicule is dominant. A good deal of fun is made out of their manner of speech, their catch-words, " the spirit," "the sisters", " grace,", "purity," "edify", " sanctify", their scraps of Scriptural quotation, their fondness for Biblical names. Rabbi Busy in the Fair warns his companions to " turn neither to the right hand nor to the left" - Timothy Thinbeard quotes " The labourer is worthy of his hire", indulges in ejactulations such as " I thank my spiritual maker," and warns young John Gresham that he must " suffer the tares of the affections to be burnt." Languebeau Snuffe says of his accuser " Verily, his tongue is an unsanctified member. " Florilã the Puritan claims that " grace's measure is not so filled up nor so prest down in everyone as me " ..... " for it is written, we must passe to perfection through all temptation. - Abacucke the fourth." (1) Dryfat in the " Family of Love " boasts " I have Aminadabs and Abrahams to my godsons", and another Puritan fashion in names is ridiculed in such titles as " Tribulation Wholesome " and " Win-the-fight Littlewit." The unctuous delivery of the Puritan preacher is mimicked in several plays. The widow in " Amends for ladies" asks of her supposed waiting-woman: " Precise and learned Princox, dost thou not go to Blackfriars" (2) And the answer runs : " Most frequently, madam, unworthy vessel that I am to partake or retain any of the delicious dew that is there distilled." The speeches of Zeal-in-the Land Busy in " Bartholomew Fair" are a continuous distilling of this " delicious dew", and much of it appears in the conversation of Languebeau Snuffe in the Atheist's Tragedy, of Florila in " A Humerous Day's Mirth", and of the Puritans in the " Family of Love". As might be expected, the clearest

(1). (Habakkuk has 3 chapters only).

(2). v. ~~note~~ p: 128.

delineation of the different satiric types is found in the work of Ben Jonson. Tribulation Wholesome, Ananias, and Rabbi Busy are clearly differentiated studies of the pure hypocrite, the pure fanatic, and the combination of the two.

Although these plays are clearly intended to present to the audience a realistic picture of actual life, the absence of scenery made the material background of the action less important to the writer, and no elaborate stage-directions (1) help us to reconstruct the Jacobean London setting. They are, however, naturally sprinkled with incidental allusions to common features, sights and sounds, of the life without doors and within. The perpetual pageant of the streets is suggested in the frequent allusion to bay-windows, where cushioned seats command a view of the traffic. Mrs. Allwit in "A Chaste Maid in Cheapside" decides, on loss of her source of income, to let out lodgings in the Strand, being plentifully provided with "cloth of tissue cushions to furnish out bay-windows", Of the dramatic use of these bay-windows, scenes in"Ram Alley" , where Mistress Taffata drops her handkerchief to arrest the attention of a passing gallant, and in the "Miseries of Inforct Marriage" where an appointed meeting beneath a bay - window is spied from above, afford examples. Traffic in that "gallant and beauteous walk" Gresham's Burse or the Royal Exchange, is often depicted (2) and the busy life of the middle aisle of St. Paul's is shown (3) Here the pillars are hung with bills and notices; here servants are hired; business is transacted, and pickpockets do a lively trade. The darkness of the streets at night is suggested by a passage in "Westward Hoe": "The cobbler in the night time walks with his lantern, the merchant and the lawyer with his link, the courtier with his torch". In the"Family of Love" a boy with a link conducts the apothecary's wife to her

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(1) such as those of modern plays (e.g. of G.B.Shaw.)
(2) e.g. in "Faire Maid of the Exchange" "How to choose a good wife from a bad" etc.
(3) e.g. in "Westward Hoe" "Every man out of his humour" "Your Five Gallants" etc.
Cf. Earle on "Pauls Walke".

evening meeting; the city watch in "When you see Me you know ME" includes "one Prichall a cobbler, bearing a lantern." The "noise at London Bridge" is referred to in one play, and the cries of street sellers had already attracted attention. (1) A song entitled "The Cries of Rome" (2) attached to Heywood's "Rape of Lucrece" includes a variety e.g. "Will you buy any milk today?" "Hot fine oat-cakes, hot" "Salt,-salt, - white Wor-stershire salt" and the cry of the prisoners (also heard across the way by passers-by in the "Putitan":-) "Bread-and-meat-bread-and-meat, for the ten-der-mercy of God, to the poor prisoners of Newgate, four-score and-ten-poor-prisoners" The complexity of the City geography is suggested by the Page in "Sir Giles Goosecap" who complains:- "I can never hit of theis same English city houses, though I were born there; if I were in any city in France, I could find any house there at midnight." In the "Puritan" there is a map of London hanging in a Gentleman's hall. Many references indicate the appearance of the shops, with the sign overhead,(3) and sometimes the"politic penthouse" (4) referred to by Justiniano, and with open stall or window-board, beside which is the "wainscoat-carved seat" where (5) the merchant's wife or daughter sits to mind the wares. Mention is made of city monuments, famous conduits, Cheap Cross,

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(1) There is a French farce (1548) "Les cris de Paris" concerning which Petit de Julleville notes: "De petits recueils des Cris populaires de Paris avaient au Moyen Age un grand succès". For later interest in the same topic, cf. essays on the Cries of London ~~was Rom-vile~~ by Addison and Steele.

(2) The cant term for London was "Rom-vile".

(3) John Goodfellow in "If you know not Me, you know Nobody" finds his way to Hobson's shop by the signs hung out in the lane.

(4) "Westward Hoe" cf. Stubbs: Anatomie of Abuses: "they have their shops and places where they sell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpose todeceive the buyers"cf. Ayenbite of Inwyt (1340)" Þise zelleres of cloþ, þet chieseþ þe þyestre stedes huer hi zelleþ here cloþ."

~~(5)~~

(5) "Dutch courtezan". cf. Note to "Miseries of Inforct Marriage" (in Dodsley's old Plays 1825 ed.)

Charing Cross, etc; the falling into decay and final demolition of Charing Cross is alluded to in "Westward Hoe". Another graphic touch to the picture of London is a mention of a knave's head on London Bridge. The more famous of the London taverns, The Mitre in Bread Street, the Dagger and the Boar's Head in Cheap, the Three Cranes in the Vintry, etc. are introduced or alluded to; a fairly full list of London taverns might be made from these plays. A map of contemporary London could almost be filled in from the plays e.g. of Ben Jonson or of Middleton.

The River is a marked feature of London topography. The titles of "Westward Hoe" "Eastward Hoe", "Northward Hoe" are taken from the cries of the watermen who plied to and fro upon the Thames, and in all these plays the River figures.

Watermen (1) and river journeys (2) occur frequently. Hodge (3) is giving the ordinary experience of the Londoner accustomed to use this waterway when he complains of his stormy crossing of the Channel: "I had thought it had been no such matter to a gone by water; for at Putnaie Ile go you to Parish-garden, sitte as stille as may be..... in a little boat too." The Elizabethan Londoner was weather-wise and knew the signs of the stormy tides. In "Eastward Hoe" passengers are warned that the river will be unsafe, for a porpoise has been seen at London Bridge! The stormy night which follows forms a background to the scene where, disregarding this warning, and embarking at Billingsgate, they are wrecked and washed up, one at Wapping, one at St. Katherine's, one at Cuckoldshaven. Slitgut, the butcher's boy, climbs a tree at Cuckoldshaven to set up his master's sign, a pair of ox-horns, in honour of St. Luke's day (4), and from his post of vantage watches the

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(1) e.g. in "Two Maids of Moreclacke", "Chaste Maid in Cheapside " etc.
(2) e.g. in "Warning for Faire Women" "Roaring Girl" etc.
(3) "Thomas Lord Cromwell"
(4) v. Dyce's note to "Northward Hoe" where the custom is described.

effects of the storm: "Heaven and St. Luke bless me, that I be not blown into the Thames as I climb with this furious tempest.... Lord, what a coil the Thames keeps! she bears some unjust burden, I believe, that she kicks and curvets thus to cast it..... the bit is out of her mouth, I see.... it runs against London Bridge (as it were) even full-but" (1) With this scattered material for the reconstruction of the pictorial setting there is much fuller information as to the occupations of the citizens, their customs and fashions in work and play. The pictures of Elizabethan life given in Stubbes' "Anatomy of Abuses" and Harrison's "Description of England" are corroborated by allusions in plays of the period. (2) We learn that the Elizabethan customer chaffered for his bargain in the primitive fashion still prevailing in the East:- "You come to buy wares in the city, bid money for it; your mercer or goldsmith says: "Truly and I cannot take it" lets his customer pass his stall, next, nay perhaps two or three; but if he finds he is not prone to return of himself, he calls you back and takes his money." (3) Different trades were distributed in different localities(4) druggists in Bucklersbury,(3) Goldsmiths in Cheapside (5) feather-makers (many of whom were Puritans) in Blackfriars (6). In "Northward Hoe" there seems to be an allusion to some female trade-guild. Featherstone, duped into marrying a penniless wench, is advised by Bellamont "There is a new trade come up for cast gentlewomen, of peri-wig-making; let your wife set up i' the Strand; and yet I doubt whether she may or no, for they say the women have got it to be a corporation."

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(1) cf. John Beane in a "Warning for Faire Women" coming up from Woolwich:
"I cannot go by water, for it ebbs,
The wind 's at West, and both are strong against me"
(2) v. also Histories of London dealing with the period e,g. History of London by H. Douglas-Irvine. Ch: XIII (Elizabethan) and Ch: XIV (Puritan London)
(3) "Westward Hoe"
(4) cf. Stow's Survey of London.
(5) "Chaste Maid in Cheapside" cf."Four Prentices of London"
(6) Allusions in "Westward Hoe" "Cupid's Whirligig" "Alchemist" "Bartholomew Fair" "Amends for Ladies".

In the "Roaring Girl" the regular business of the day is seen. Act I. sc: III opens with "Three shops open in a rank; the first an Apothecary's shop, the next a Feather-shop, the third a Sempster's shop; Mistress Gallipot in the first, Mistress Tiltyard in the second, Openwork and Mistress Openwork in the third." Gallants enter, to buy and talk. Mrs. Gallipot fills them pipes of tobacco and they loiter and discuss its merits. Jack Dapper chaffers with Mrs. Tiltyard for a spangled feather. Moll the "Roaring Girl" runs in and out, asks the price of the tobacco, passes the time of day with Mrs. Tiltyard, and asks for a good ruff at the sempster's. Finally the bell rings, the gallants disperse to neighbouring ordinaries, and Gallipot, Tiltyard, & Openwork bid their wives hasten to shut up shop, and prepare to go off to Hogsdon, with water-spaniels and a duck" to see the bravest sport at Parlous pond."(1) also p. 107

Of the many sports and pastimes mentioned by Harrison, Stubbes, and Stow, and later-enumerated by Strutt, several are alluded to in the plays: e.g. "Stoole-ball" in "Cupid's Whirligig", tennis in "Eastward Hoe" and "If you know not Me, you know Nobody", bowls in several plays, cards, e.g. in "A Woman killed with Kindness" chess in Middleton's political allegory. The eagerness of the Londoner "to see some pageant or sight go by" or to witness exhibitions of giants, (2) monsters, (3) performing baboons (4) etc. is several times evinced; Mrs. Gazer and Mrs. Fond (5) eager to miss no spectacle of the streets, are typical figures. The liking of the Citizen for dramatic entertainments, from "one of Cokely's motions" (6) to the "Play with a fool and a devil (7) in it" is copiously illustrated. "Masques and mummeries, pastimes and playhouses" are all alike recreations

(1) "Ducking" is also alluded to in the "Family of Love"
(2) Allusions in "Dutch Courtezan" "Knight of the Burning Pestle" etc.
(3) Allusions in "Bartholomew Fair" etc.
(4) Allusions in "Alchemist" "Ram Alley" etc.
(5) "Eastward Hoe".
(6) "Bartholomew Fair".
(7) "Knight of the Burning Pestle".

to be forsworn by the candidate for admission to the "Family of Love" City Pageants and Festivities are often alluded to. The Butchers' Feast in honour of St. Luke's day appears several times. (1) St. George's feast is mentioned in "Northward Hoe". The Lord Mayor's feast in the Guildhall on St. Simon and St. Jude's day (2) is frequently referred to. "Men & Women are born and come into the world as fast as coaches into Cheapside on St. Simon's and St. Jude's day" says H Justiniano, (3) and one pessimist bulwarks his statements with "as sure as 'twill rain upon St. Simon's and St. Jude's day next". Pancake day in the "Shoemaker's Holiday" has already been alluded to (4). "The Feast of the City water-bearers" and the games on May day, are mentioned in "If it be not good, the Devil is in it". The Grocer and his Wife in the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" call for Ralph to "come out on May-day in the morning, and speak upon a conduit, with all his scarfs about him, and his feathers, and his rings, and his knacks." Country outings were a favourite recreation of Londoners. In the "Merry Devil of Edmonton" there is allusion to the

> "frank and merry London'prentices
> That come for cream and lusty country cheer".

and one of the Quomodo the linen-draper's happiest day-dreams is to attain to a country estate whither he may make "a fine journey in the Whitsun holidays, i'faith, to ride down with a number of citizens and their wives, some upon pillions, some upon side-saddles, I and little Thomasine a'th ' middle, our son and heir, Sim Quomodo, in a peach colour taffeta jacket, some horse-length or a long yard before me" etc. (5)

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(1) "Westward Hoe", Eastward Hoe " etc.

(2) St. Simon and St. Jude's day is Oct. 28th., under the new reckoning Lord Mayor's day falls on Nov. 9th.

(3) "Westward Hoe"

(4) v. ante p.98.

(5) cf. John Gilpin.

Stow describes the laying out and draining of certainw waste lands, (Moorfields, Finsbury etc) in the suburbs, for the citizens to take their pleasure in walks there, and for the young men of the city to practice archery. (1) Sword-and-buckler play took place also in these fields; two Prentices in "Sir Thomas More" challenge one another to about with the sword in Moorfields, and Luce's father in the "Wise Woman of Hogsdon" recalls how

> "when I was young,
> I had my wards, and foins, and quarter blows,
> And knew the way into St. George's Fields,
> Twice in a morning, Tuttle, Finsbury,
> I knew them all".

The life of Elizabethan London portrayed in these dramas is mainly outdoor, social, and masculine. The Citizen and his wife are seen in the shop or at the ducking-pond, in St. Paul's or on the way to Brentford, rarely at home, "en famille". Domestic tragedies, such as "A Woman killed with Kindness" or a "Warning for Faire Women" afford a few scenes of indoor life, but the bulk of citizen drama takes place in tavern, street, or shop. Children are rarely introduced, and the feminine point of view is absent. Social life and business relationships are freely depicted, but the more intimate life about the hearthstone is untouched. Jacobean comedy is concerned rather with the "business" than the "bosoms" of men.

Between twenty and thirty different writers are engaged upon this city material. Several plays: "How to choose a good Wife from a bad" "The Miseries of Inforct Marriage," "Ram Alley" etc. are of uncertain authorship; two, the "London Prodigall" and the "Puritan" are amongst those once attributed to Shakespeare. Minor writers through - out the period contribute one or two plays apiece. Rowley in 1604 introduced city scenes into "When you see me, you know me"; Sharpham contributes two farcical plays on the

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(1) cf. also a tract (1607) by R. Johnson entitled "The Pleasant Walkes of Moorfields" (in Collier's Illustrations of Popular Literature).

regular city themes in 1606, at the height of the satiric vogue. Armin in 1608 produces "The Two Maids of Moreclacke". Cooke a years or two later, gives a full picture of the city life in his " Green's Tu Quogue, or the City gallant". In 1611 appear Field's two plays, "A Woman is a Weathercock", & "Amends for Ladies", in which several city characters mingle with the more courtly heroes and heroines. Of the more important dramatists, the share of Heywood has been already dealt with in connection with the earlier attitude towards citizen life ;(1) that of Beaumont and Fletcher, except for the "Knight of the Burning Pestle" is small; their citizen pictures occur mainly in crowd scenes in the romantic "histories". Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, whose common interest in the dramatic presentation of City life shows itself in their collaboration upon "Eastward Hoe", exhibit the same interest in other plays: Jonson in the "Alchemist" & "Bartholomew Fair", Chapman in "A Humerous Day's Mirth", Marston in the "Dutch Courtezan". In this, as in all he takes up, Jonson is laboriously exact and exhaustive. His picture of Bartholomew Fair is as crowded as a canvas of Hogarth. He aims at giving an"image of the times" and his plays are"crammed with observation". Few plays give a fuller picture of certain aspects of citizen life than "Every Man in his Humour", the "Alchemist", and "Bartholomew Fair" though it is in the lower stratum of London society that Jonson chiefly works, touching on the life of the more respectable tradespeople in satiric mood in connection with this. But the two main representatives of the City drama are Dekker and Middleton. Of the two, Dekker represents an earlier mood; never, even in the darker years on James's reign does he lose the "first fine careless rapture" of the Elizabethans. He is one of those fertile

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(1) v. ante p. 97 sqq.

Elizabethan playwrights who adapted themselves readily to the demands of the public and offered, as occasion required, "tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable or poem umlimited". Middleton is rather Jacobean than Elizabethan; his range is more limited; and his manner has more "wormewood and copperas"(1) in it. Dekker, who had already shown his acquaintance with the lower life of London in the merry 'prentice scenes of the "Shoemaker's Holiday" (here grafted upon a romantic story) adapts himself at the turn of the century to the new satiric mood, (2) and in "Westward Hoe", "Northward Hoe" and the "Honest Whore" makes his contribution to the picture of the City Wife, whilst in "If it be not good, the Divell is in it" he has his say against the Puritans. He does ~~he~~ not scruple to expose the seamy side of London life, and the scenes he depicts involve often a great deal of coarseness, but his plots turn more upon folly than vice, and his portraits of London are never as harsh as Middleton's. The city wives of "Westward Hoe" though they make merry over their husbands, and entertain gallants, are "as pure about the heart as if we dwelt among 'em in Blackfriars". (3) Justiniano's suspicions of his wife prove to be unfounded. The gallants' claim against the Wife of Mayberry in "Northward Hoe" is a trumped up charge. This is not so with Middleton. With less perhaps of general coarseness, with a politer tone and a more refined satiric touch, his sympathies are less with the honesthearted man than with the clever rogue. His delight is in the cleverness of the tricks by which a husband, a rich miser, a young gull is duped, or in the unravelling of a whole tangle of complicated fraud and roguery. In "A Mad World, my Masters" the

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(1) Preface to "Ile of Gulls"
(2) His knowledge of London ~~names and~~ manners & knavery had already been turned to account in his satiric tracts.
(3) A Puritan haunt.

repentance of the faithless wife, brought about through a supernatural intervention, is drawn with less interest than her temptation and the ruse whereby her husband is duped; it is not the repentance of Bellafront, Dekker's heroine. In a "Trick to catch an old one" it is the smartness of plot upon plot that absorbs the interest; young Witgood's final happy fortune does not correspond with any desert on his part. "Your five Gallants" is a long exposure of five different branches of petty villainy, unrelieved by any examples of mormal, honest behaviour, and in "A Chaste Maid of Cheapside" Middleton touches a depth of sordid vice unsounded by Dekker. In the "Roaring Girl" both probably collaborated; and the result is good. Middleton's more polished medium, more skilful plotdrawing, and infusion of sentiment is combined with some of Dekker's faith in that "soul of goodness in things evil" which relieves the darkness of the picture. The character of Moll Cutpurse, honest, generous, and pure amongst the gang of thieves and knaves that people the London taverns, is one which some of the best of Dekker's genius must have gone to create; the story of young Wengrave's escape from his father's irksome plans and winning of his own true love by Moll's help is one of Middleton's best. And the shopkeepers of the city, Openwork, Gallipot, Tiltyard and their wives, are drawn with a felicity and a fulness of detail, both dramatists could at their best command. The "Roaring Girl" though full of contemporary allusions, many of which are not patent to the modern reader, is one of the City plays which gives best to future times an idea of the London known to Dekker and Middleton.

More clearly in Middleton than in Dekker, and more clearly in the drama as a whole as the years went on, a cleavage was becoming ~~between~~ apparent between the drama & the city. The drama was growing more and more polite, and attaching itself more and more to the Court, and envy between the city and the Court gradually found more open

expression. In "Histriomastix" the lords of the Court complain of the merchants, and their ladies of the merchants' wives; whilst merchants' and lawyers' wives in their turn murmur at the way each "lady jetts and swoopes along in Persian royalty". In Day's "Ile of Gulls" Manasses tells how he "could fashion the bodie of my discourse fit to the eares of my auditorie" and had " paraphrasticall admonitions..... some against the pride of the Court, and that honies the ear of the Citizen; some against the fraud of the Citie, and that's Cake and Cheese to the Countrie" etc. In "Match Me in London" is a dialogue between a clown and a Coxcomb, who scoff at each other; it is ~~ginif~~ significant that the "Clown" now is not the Countryman, but the Citizen, Bilbo, who maintains the cause of the Citizen class against the court, whose corruptions and arrogance he reviles. The Courtier responds in high disdain: "You are to us of the Court but Animals.. ... you of the city are the flatten milke of the kingdome, & we of the court are the Creame". In the antagonism between Court and city, the feeling of the latter is enlisted against the drama. One charge brought against the Puritans in the "Alchemist" is that they

"rail against plays to please the Alderman
Whose daily custard you devour."

Puritan and Citizen drew together against court & drama, and when at last in matters of state the cleavage widened to Civil war, and London became a Roundhead stronghold, the drama was banished from London with the Court, and the theatres were closed.

IV. Conclusion.

This study lies mainly in the by-ways of the drama. The material used is found in the plays of minor writers, or in the more obscure parts of the work of writers best known for other things. Much of it is conventional and hackneyed, a great deal is poor in dramatic value. Little is here seen of the drama in its strength, in its representation of the universal thoughts and passions of men, in its inner and enduring significance; the stuff here used gives rather the externals and accidentals of the life known to the dramatist, The great monuments of Elizabethan drama, tragical, comical, historical or pastoral, do not come under consideration. Its greatest representative made few transcripts from the life around him. Costard and Nathaniel, William and Audrey, Master Ford, and Justice Shallow, [Falstaff] and Mistress Quickly, are sufficient evidence that he was neither indifferent to nor oblivious of it, but to him to whom all the world was a stage and all the men and women merely players, the minor social and local distinctions of contemporarylife, the varieties of "the town fool and the country fool", of the Dappers and Kestrels, were insignificant. Lesser men develop in some measure the possibilities of dramatic treatment of topical material, most writers give it a modicum of attention, but it does not form in itself the main "matter" of Elizabethan drama.

Nevertheless, the study of these types serves to throw light on that drama and its development. It is illustrative of that which gives to the Elizabethan drama its character as a true expression of life. Abundant material for the annotation of works of Elizabethan England such as Harrison's "Description of England" or Stubbs' "Anatomy of Abuses" could be supplied from the drama. The antiquarian Strutt availed himself of this storehouse of information for his "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England". That intimate participation of the Elizabethan dramatist

in the life of his country and nation which shows itself in the portrayal of the life of Dunstable and Tamworth, Wakefield, and Tottenham, and of London street and shop, in pictures of the mode of living of labourer and country gentleman, 'prentice and merchant, is the safeguard of his romanticism. The drama has its root in the actual, and so is able in its most ideal achievement to remain living and human, sublime without disproportion, and romantic without unreality.

The study of these types gives also detailed and particular evidence with regard to the development of the drama. The fortunes of Rustic and Citizen follow step by step the movements of its general development. The closer connection of the Elizabethan with the early native drama, and its relation to other earlier forms of native literature are illustrated in the figure of the rustic, who not only brings with him his farcical accessories from the Mysteries and Moralities, but suggests also the moral and social associations of earlier types such as the Husbandman of Wright's Political songs, John Bon, Piers Plowman, and George-à-Greene; Again, the change that came over the drama with the development of Lyly's court drama and the advent of the first of the University wits, with their turning to more exalted themes, is illustrated by the temporary falling into abeyance of the rustic type in this period. The waning of this courtly influence and the coming to maturity of the national drama, which was in part a result of that awakening of national consciousness (1) which took place about the time of the defeat of the Armada, is seen in the coming in of the Citizen class upon the stage; in the depiction of middle-class country life, and in the disappearance of the old boorish type together with other relics of the earlier stages of the drama. With the greater technical accomplishment of the playwrights, and closer association of the drama with

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(1) cf. Feuillerat re Lyly.

London, the old farcical rustic scenes disappeared, just as the older theatres made way for newer and more commodious buildings. In the treatment of the Citizen is reflected also that turning to critical and satiric writing which marks the opening of the seventeenth century, and the increasing affluence of the merchant class and consequent jealousy of the court, with which the drama was becoming ever more closely associated. And finally the disappearance of both Rustic and Citizen from the stage foreshadows the closing of the Theatres by ~~being~~ bearing witness to the denationalisation of the drama.

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(1.) Investigation of the dates of individual plays being impossible within the limits of this study, the dates given in the List of Plays at the close of Schellings work have been adopted throughout.

(2.) This list is by no means exhaustive.

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Appendix.

Parallel passages from Stow's "Survey of London" and Heywood's "If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody," showing Heywood's borrowing from Stow.

Stow (ed: Kingsford)

pp. 107-116

"In the yeare 1378 John Filpot sometime Mayor, hired with his own money 1000 soldiers, and defended the Realme from incursions of the enemy .... In the year 1380, Thomas of Woodstock, Thomas Percie, Hugh Calverley, Robert Knowles, and others, being sent with a great power to ayde the Duke of Brytaine, the said John Filpot hyred ships for them of his owne charges, and released the Armour, which the soldiers had pawned for their vittailes .... In the yeare 1381, William Walworth then Maior, a most provident, valiant, and learned Citizen, did by his arrest of Wat Tyler,. deliver the king and kingdom from the danger of most wicked Traytors, and was for his service knighted in the field ... John Filpot ... (etc.) were then for their services likewise knighted. This most noble citizen ... deceased in Anno 1384, after that hee had assured lands to the Citie for the relief of 13 poore for ever.

Heywood (ed: J.P.Collier for Shakespeare Society)

pp. 94-96

"This was the picture of Sir
John Philpot, sometime Mayor;
This man at one time, at his own charge,
Levied ten thousand soldiers, guarded the realm
From the incursions of our enemies,
And in the year a thousand three hundred and eighty,
When Thomas of Woodstock, Thomas Percy, with other noblemen,
Were sent to aid the Duke of Brittany,
This said John Philpot furnish'd out four ships
At his own charges, and did release the armour
That the poor soldiers had for victuals pawned.
This man did live when Walworth was Lord Mayor,
That provident, valiant, and learned citizen,
That both attach'd and killed the traitor Tyler;
For which good service, Walworth, the Lord Mayor,
This Philpot, and four other Aldermen,
Were knighted in the field.
Thus did he live, and yet, before he died,
Assur'd relief for thirteen poor for ever.

Richard Whittington, mercer, three times Mayor, in the year 1421 began the library of the gray friars in London ... his executors with his goods founded and builded Whittington College, with almshouses for 13 poore men ... repaired St.Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield ... bare some charges to the glasing and paving of the Guildhall ... and builded the west gate of London, of oldetime call'd Newgate.

...This Sir Richard Whittington, three times Mayor,
Son to a knight, and 'prentice to a mercer,
Began the library of Grayfriars in London,
And his executors after him did build
Whittington College, thirteen almshouses for poor men,
Repair'd St.Bartholomew's, in Smithfield,
Glaz'd the Guildhall, & built Newgate

Stow	Heywood
Sir John Allen, Maior of London, and of counsaile to king Henry the 8th...gave to the city of London a rich collar of golde, to bee worne by the Mayor, which was first worn by Sir W.Laxton.	This Sir John Allen, mercer, and Mayor of London, A man so grave of life that he was made A Privy Counsellor to King Henry the Eighth. He gave this city a rich collar of gold That by the Mayor succeeding should be worn; Of which Sir William Laxton was the first...
...And now of some women: Citizens wives, deserving memory, for example to posterity shall bee## noted: Dame Agnes Foster, widdow, sometime wife to Stephan Foster, Fishmonger, Mayor 1455, having inlarged the prison of Ludgate... procured.. certayne articles to be established, for the ease, comfort and reliefe of poore Prisoners there...	(women) Two that have deserved a memory Worthy the note of our posterity, This, Agnes Forster, wife to Sir A.Forster, That, freed a beggar at the grate of Ludgate, Was after Mayor of this most famous city And builded the South side of Ludgate up, Upon which wall these verses I have read:
(pp.39-40) .. as by certaine verses grauven in Copper, and fixed on the saide quadrant, I have read in forme following: "Devout soules that passe this way, for Stephen Forster, late Maior, heartily pray, And Dame Agnes his spouse, to God consecrate, that of pitie this house made for Londoners in Ludgate, So that for lodging and water prisoners here nought pay, As their keepers shall all answereat dreadful doomes day." (... some..had fabled him to bee a Mercer, and to have begged there at Ludgate.)...	"Devout souls, that pass this way, For M.Foster, late Mayor, honestly pray, And Agnes his wife, to God consecrate, That of pity this house made for Londoners in Lud-gate; So that for lodging and water here nothing they pay, As their keepers shall answer at drea ful Doomesday."
~~P~~LL= (p.116) Avice Gibson, wife unto Nicholas Gibson Grocer, one of the Sheriffes 1539, by license of her husband, founded a Free schoole at Radclyfe neare unto London, appointing to the same for the instruction of 60 poore mens children, a Schoolmaster, and Usher, with 50 poundes; shee also builded almshouses for Xiiii poore aged persons, each of them to receive quarterly vi.s. viii.d. the peece for ever.	... This, Ave Gibson, who in her husband's life, Being a grocer and a Sheriff of London, Founded a free school at Ratcliff, There to instruct three score poor children; x Built fourteen almshouses (for fourteen poor, (x Leaving for tutors fifty pounds a year, And quarterly for every one a noble. (x These two lines have evidently been transposed).

Stow

p.115 Thus much for famous Cittizens, have I noted their charitable actions, for the most part done by them in theyr life time. The residue left in trust to their Executors: I have knowne some of them hardly (or never) performed, wherefore I wish men to make their owne hands their Executors, and their eyes their Overseers, not forgetting the olde Proverbe:

"Women be forgettfull, Children be unkind,
Executors be covetous, and take what they find."

(p.192-3)

Then next is the Royall Exchange, erected in the yeare 1566, after this order, vz. certaine houses upon Cornehill .. containing in all fourscore housholds: were first purchased by the Citizens of London, for more than 3532 pound, and were solde for 478 pound, to such persons as should take them downe and carrie them thence, also the ground or plot was made plaine at the charges of the Citie, and then possession thereof was by certaine Aldermen, in name of the whole Citizens, given to Sir Thomas Gresham, knight... thereupon to build a Bursse, or place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: and hee on the seventh of June laying the first stone of the foundation, being Bricke, accompanied with some Aldermen, every of them laid a piece of Golde, which the workemen tooke up, and forthwith followed upon the same... (etc.) .....

Heywood

Begin, then, whilst you live, lest, being dead,
The good you give in charge be never done.
Make your own hands your executors, your eyes overseers,
And have this saying ever in your mind:-
"Women be forgetful, children be unkind,
Executors be covetous, and take what they find."

(p.107)

Ramsey: We have determin'd of a place for you
In Cornhill, the delightful of this city,
Where you shall raise your frame. The city at their charge
Hath bought the houses and the ground,
And paid for both three thousand, five hundred, three and twenty pound.
Order is given the houses shall be sold
To any man will buy them & remove them.
Sheriff: Which is already done, being four score households,
Were sold at four hundred, three score and eighteen pounds.
The plot is also planed at the city's charges,
And we, in name of the whole citizens,
Do come to give you full possession
Of this, our purchase, whereon to build a Burse,
A place for merchants to assemble in
At your own charges. .....
Gresham: This seventh of June, we the first stone will lay
Of our new Burse. Give us some bricks.
Here's a brick, here's a fair sovereign.
Thus I begin; be it hereafter told,
I laid the first stone with a piece of gold.
He that loves Gresham follow him in this:
The gold we lay due to the workmen is.

Stow	Heywood
In the yeare 1570, on the 23 of Januarie, the Queenes Maiestie, attended with her Nobilitie, came from her house at the Strand called Somerset House, and entered the citie by Temple Barre, through Fleetstreete, Cheape, and so by the North side of the Bursse through threadneedle streete, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate streete, where she dined. After dinner, her Maiestie returning through Cornehill, entered the Bursse on the south side, and after that she had viewed every part thereof... shee caused the same Bursse by an Herauld and a Trumpet, to be proclamed the Royal Exchange, & so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise."	She comes along the Strand from Somerset House, Through Temple Bar, down Fleet Street and the Cheap, The north side of the Burse to Bishopsgate, And dines at Master Gresham's; andappoints To return on the South side, through Cornhill: And there, when she hath view'd the rooms above And walks below, she'll give name to the Burse." .... Queen: A herald, and a trumpet! .. Proclaim through every high street of this city This place to be no longer call'd a Burse, But, since the building's stately, fair, and strange, Be it for ever call'd the Royal Exchange."