

A CRITICAL EDITION OF WILLIAM HAUGHTON'S
ENGLISHMEN FOR MY MONEY; OR, A WOMAN WILL HAVE HER WILL

BY

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ABSTRACT

William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, published in three extant early modern editions in 1616, 1626 and 1631, began to receive the literary attention it deserves in the 1990s. Fuller contextual and bibliographical enquiries have yet to be offered, which this edition seeks to redress.

The Introduction begins by identifying Haughton's biographical details, before moving on to issues in dating *Englishmen's* composition. It then offers a survey of the play's generic, historical, and cultural contexts. A reconstruction of theatrical practices is provided. Provisional studies of the underlying manuscript, a hypothetical Q0, and Q1 are offered. Editorial methods are discussed, together with brief descriptions of Q2, Q3 and later editions.

The modern-spelling edited Text that follows conforms, with noted exceptions, to the guidelines of Arden Shakespeare Third Series. The Commentary provides glossing, discusses readings and textual cruces, and highlights Haughton's use of sources, proverbs, and literary, cultural and biblical allusions. Two appendices present information on Q1's running title descriptions and a census of extant copies for Q1–3. A DVD at the back of the second volume contains a digital facsimile of the base text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any editor of a critical edition owes a heavy debt to past editors of his or her playtext: in my case, this means a debt to the anonymous editor of the 1830 edition, as well as to W.C. Hazlitt, A.C. Baugh and Lloyd Edward Kermode. Several scholars who sent me draft articles, conference papers, or parts of forthcoming books have enriched my edition's Introduction; this list includes Tom Rutter, Diane Cady, Peter McCluskie, Ian Gadd, John Jowett and MacD. P. Jackson. Brian Vickers and Richard Proudfoot improved formative ideas that I presented in a paper of my own to the London Forum for Authorship Studies.

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Images of Dulwich College MS VII (Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe, 1592–1609) reproduced with kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

*	precedes Commentary notes involving emended readings
ed., eds	editor, editors
f., ff.	folio, folios
lit.	literally
om.	omitted
opp.	opposite (i.e. to the right of)
r /v	recto/verso
SD	stage direction
sig., sigs	signature, signatures (identifying the page of an early modern book)
SP	speech prefix
subst.	substantively (i.e. in substance but not in detail)
this edn	a reading adopted for the first time in this edition
TLN	Through Line Numbering
t.n.	Textual notes (at the back of the edition)
trans.	translated
vol., vols	volume, volumes
()	surrounding a Q1 reading in t.n. indicates original spelling

REFERENCES

EDITIONS OF *ENGLISHMEN*

Anon. 1830	Anon. ed., <i>Englishmen for my Money</i> , in <i>The Old English Drama</i> , vol. 1 (London: Thomas White, 1830)
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- Baugh *William Haughton's 'Englishmen for my Money; or, A Woman will have her will', ed. A.C. Baugh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1917)*
- Hazlitt *Englishmen for my Money, in A Select Collection of Old English Plays, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, 4th edn, vol. 10 (London: Reeves & Turner, 1875)*
- Kermode *Englishmen for my Money, in Three Renaissance Usury Plays, ed. Lloyd Edward Kermode, Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)*
- Q1 *English-men For my Money: or, A pleasant Comedy, called, A Woman will haue her Will (London: W[illiam] White, 1616; STC 12931)*
- Q2 *English-men for my money: or A pleasant comedy called, a Woman will haue her Will. As it hath beene diuers times acted with great applause (London: J[ohn] N[orton], 1626; STC 12932)*
- Q3 *A pleasant comedie called, A woman will haue her will. As it hath beene diverse times acted with great applause (London: A[ugustine] M[athews], 1631; STC 12933)*

OTHER WORKS BY AND PARTLY BY HAUGHTON

- Grim* *Grim the Collier of Croydon, in A Choice Ternary of English Plays: Gratiae Theatricales, ed. William M. Baillie, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 26 (New York: New York University Press, 1984)*
- Lust's Dominion* (With Thomas Dekker and John Day) *Lust's Dominion; or, the Lascivious Queen, in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 4, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61; 2009)*
- Patient Grissell* (With Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker) *Patient Grissell, in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 1, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61; 2009)*

OTHER WORKS CITED

References that conventionally use the scholar's name (or biblical chapter) in the Commentary notes are provided here, together with common abbreviations for periodicals and resources used throughout the thesis, if referenced twice or more. Other references in the Commentary should be clear from context; I provide an abbreviated reference that can be checked in the Bibliography. Place of publication is London unless otherwise noted.

Abbott	E.A. Abbott, <i>A Shakespearian Grammar</i> (Macmillan, 1869) (references are to numbered paragraphs)
<i>A&EB</i>	<i>Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography</i>
Arber	<i>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554–1640</i> , ed. Edward Arber (1875–94)
Bible	Quotations from the Bible are from the ‘Bishops’ Bible’ (Richard Jugge, 1568; STC 2099.2), with modernized spelling Dent
Dent	R.W. Dent, <i>Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495–1616</i> (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984)
Dent, <i>Proverbial</i>	R.W. Dent, <i>Shakespeare’s Proverbial Language: An Index</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981)
<i>EEBO</i>	Chadwyck-Healey, <i>EEBO: Early English Books Online</i> (2003–2010) < http://eebo.chadwyck.com/ >
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>ESTC</i>	The British Library Board, <i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> (2010) < http://estc.bl.uk/ >
GL	Guildhall Library, London
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>LION</i>	Chadwyck-Healey <i>LION: Literature Online</i> (1996–2010) < http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk/ >
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. Lawrence Goldman and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–2010) < http://www.oxforddnb.com >
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. John Simpson and others (2010) < http://dictionary.oed.com/ >
<i>PBSA</i>	<i>Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>

<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>STC</i>	Alfred W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640</i> , ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and Katherine F. Pantzer, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
<i>TEXT</i>	<i>Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship</i>
Tilley	Morris Palmer Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
Williams	Gordon Williams, <i>A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature</i> , 2nd edn, 3 vols (Athlone Press, 1997)
Wing	Donald Goddard Wing, <i>Short-title Catalogues of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700</i> , 2nd edn, 3 vols (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982–9)

Note on dates: I have modernized historical references to dates, such as in Henslowe's *Diary* and the Stationers' Register, to new style. (The older ecclesiastical calendar began the new year on Lady Day, 25 March.)

PREFACE

William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, written in 1598, represents an important moment in English history: a moment when difference – notably being Jewish or foreign – could be assimilated into the cultural ideologies of Englishness, and miscegenation began to be tolerated. As the first known play to explore these concerns in the topography and geography of London, *Englishmen* is the earliest London comedy, a subgenre that was then used repeatedly by Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton.

The play has been edited four times in modern critical editions: in 1830 (anonymously), 1875 (by W.C. Hazlitt), 1917 (by A.C. Baugh) and most recently in 2009 (by Lloyd Edward Kermode). Each of these editions has contributed to a greater knowledge and comprehension of the play, but they have also been dogged by limitations of page-count; thus, each provides a minimum level of bibliographical enquiry into Q1: information that represents a vital part of editing the play. Kermode's edition, as part of the Revels Plays Companion series, is the fullest in its Introduction and Commentary, but the collection's title, *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, says much about the nature of the enquiry: the emphasis is on *Englishmen*'s portrayal of usury. His edition conveys less about the play's other concerns.

I have started afresh, adopting conventions of literary and bibliographical enquiry that one would expect to find in a modern scholarly edition of a single play. I provide a modern-spelling edited Text, Commentary, and Textual notes that conforms to the guidelines of Arden Shakespeare Third Series. The Introduction is designed to suggest the relationship between aspects of the play's making – its background, Q1's setting and printing, and editorial procedures that I have adopted for my edition. A supporting DVD of images of the base text has been included at the back of the second volume.

– INTRODUCTION –

THE AUTHOR, DATE OF COMPOSITION

David Kathman's 2004 *ODNB* entry is the standard biographical account of William Haughton. Kathman's entry incorporates the work of his *DNB* predecessor, A.H. Bullen, and the impressive (but occasionally dated) research in A.C. Baugh's 1917 critical edition, and E.K. Chambers's biography of Haughton in *The Elizabethan Stage*. Perhaps most significantly, Kathman also identifies details of Haughton's marriage.¹

A knowledge of the plays Haughton wrote derives from the manuscript *Diary* of the theatre-financer Philip Henslowe, as well as from two items in the Edward Alleyn papers; further information, specifically about *Englishmen for My Money* (hereafter referred to simply as *Englishmen*), was identified by Edmond Malone in a now-lost 'bundle of loose papers', which detailed playhouse inventories.² Malone was the first scholar to evaluate Henslowe's notebook; he did so, following its discovery, in 1790.

¹ David Kathman, 'Haughton, William (d. 1605)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12617>> [accessed 27 March 2009]; A.H. Bullen, 'Haughton, William (fl. 1598), dramatist', *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, vol. 25 (London: 1891), 183; E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 334–6; William Haughton, *William Haughton's 'Englishmen for My Money; or, A Woman Will Have Her Will'*, ed. A.C. Baugh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1917), 13. A complete list of editions of *Englishmen* can be found under 'Editorial Methods'. The author page for *LION* has important links for critical work on Haughton but minimal biographical detail: see *LION*

<<http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/searchFullrec.do?id=992&area=authors&forward=author&trailId=124E81C2DE0>> [accessed 27 March 2009]. Mark Eccles's article on Renaissance authors only mentions Haughton in passing, under his entry for Wentworth Smith (Mark Eccles, 'Brief Lives: Tudor and Stuart Authors', *Studies in Philology* 79.4 (1982), 121–2).

² Dulwich College MS VII, *Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe, 1592–1609*; Dulwich College MS I, *Alleyn Papers: Alleyn's Letters/Papers on English Drama and Stage and Henslowe's and Alleyn's Letters and Papers as Joint Masters of the Royal Game of Bears, Bulls and Mastiff Dogs, 1598–1626* (articles 34 and 35); Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, vol. 1, part 2 (London, 1790), 289. To avoid confusion between editions, references to Henslowe's notebook are to modern manuscript foliation.

Malone's partial transcript – the commentary of which first identifies Haughton as the author of *Englishmen* – was published in 1821.³ W.W. Greg's editions of the *Diary* (text, 1904; commentary, 1908) and the *Henslowe Papers* (1907) remain the authoritative texts, although some of his transcriptions are corrected in R.A. Foakes's edition (second edition, 2002; first edition, edited with R.T. Rickert, 1961); further, Neil Carson's comprehensive analysis of Henslowe's finances in his *Companion* (1988) exceeds Greg's and is an important additional text.⁴

Payments made for *Englishmen* occur on ff. 44v and 45v of the *Diary*; the total payment of £2 amounts to much less than what Henslowe usually paid playwrights in the late 1590s, of £5 to £7.⁵ As I discuss under 'Date of Composition', scholars, including Greg and Carson, have made observations concerning Henslowe's payments for *Englishmen*. I evaluate their findings before supplementing it with my own analysis, teasing out and reassessing the limitations of the *Diary* that might be relevant to *Englishmen*. Before entering into these discussions, however, I address known and hitherto unsuspected details of Haughton's biography, careers and plays that he wrote or co-wrote; where possible, I use my discussion to further the historical contextualization of *Englishmen*. This section is therefore designed to consolidate, develop, and revise current knowledge of Haughton and *Englishmen*.

³ William Shakespeare, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators: Comprehending a Life of the Poet, and an Enlarged History of the Stage*, by E. Malone, ed. James Boswell, vol. 3 (London, 1821), 318.

⁴ Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W.W. Greg, 2 vols (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904–8); Henslowe, *Henslowe Papers: Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W.W. Greg (London: A.H. Bullen, 1907); Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R.A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁵ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 126–7.

THE AUTHOR

Beyond the details of Haughton's dramatic career, discussed below, details of his life are few. I provide here information, sometimes provisional, about Haughton's beginnings; marriage and living quarters; finances and non-literary career; employment in the theatre; and death. I then offer a brief discussion of Haughton's surviving plays as dramatic works under 'Extant Plays'.

Beginnings

The loss of London parochial records in various fires limits knowledge of Haughton's background: specifically, the records of his parents, birth and christening are apparently not extant.⁶ Nonetheless, speculations have been made about his origins and education; I account for these below.

Of Haughton's origins relatively little is known. In 1953, John Berryman made an implausible link between the playwright and the affluent and well-connected Lancashire Houghtons, arguing that John Weever's 1599 epigram to 'Gulielmm Houghton', the son of Thomas Houghton, of Houghton Tower, is about the dramatist.⁷ A recent editor of Berryman, John Haffenden, is right to dismiss Berryman's claim as filleting 'a red herring', for Berryman's argument is empty beyond the mere coincidence of names.⁸ Of Haughton's education there is no surviving record, which makes it unlikely that he

⁶ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 32; Kathman, 'Haughton, William', *ODNB*.

⁷ John Berryman, *Berryman's Shakespeare: Essays, Letters and Other Writings*, ed. John Haffenden (London: Tauris Parke, 2001), 268–9.

⁸ Berryman, *Berryman's Shakespeare*, ed. Haffenden, xlii–xliii.

attended university.⁹ Charles Cooper argued that the playwright was incorporated MA at Cambridge in 1604, but his claim was doubted by A.H. Bullen; it was eventually dismissed by Baugh as a misreading of ‘Langton’.¹⁰ The playwright does not make any direct reference to his education in his extant plays, although as Baugh suggests, Haughton’s favourable comments about Oxford, his knowledge of romantic languages and his use of Classics in *Englishmen*, may suggest that Haughton’s education was better than average.¹¹

Marriage and Living Quarters

A parish record of marriage, dated 22 March 1594, between ‘William Hawton’ and Alice (née Agar) at Saint Mary Abchurch, Candlewick ward, is taken by Kathman to refer to the playwright.¹² Kathman is probably correct, for Haughton’s will (of which a transcript is provided below) mentions an ‘Alice’ as ‘my wyffe’. An overlooked issue is the marriage date, which, as it was thirty-seven days into Lent, a forty-day moveable fast that, in 1594,

⁹ Haughton may be among the contemporary playwrights who left Oxford or Cambridge without a degree (George Chapman and Thomas Middleton at the former; John Day at the latter); however, matriculation records are extant for the Elizabethan period, and his name is not in these. On Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights who are known to have been educated (or in part educated) at Oxford or Cambridge see Wendy Griswold, *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576–1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 32–3. For a recent article summarizing Tudor schooling see Ursula Potter, ‘To School or Not to School: Tudor Views on Education in Drama and Literature’, *Parergon* 25.1 (2008), 103–21.

¹⁰ Charles Henry Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Deighton and Bell, 1861), 399–400; Bullen, ‘Haughton, William’, 183; Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 15.

¹¹ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 15.

¹² Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, GL MS 7666, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Births for Saint Mary Abchurch, 1558–1911: ‘William Hawton’, *International Genealogical Index* (2008)

<http://www.familysearch.org/eng/search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=igi/search_IGI.asp&clear_form=true> [accessed 20 January 2007]; Kathman, ‘Haughton, William’, *ODNB*.

fell between 13 February and 25 March,¹³ would have required a special licence.¹⁴

Something out of the ordinary seems to have therefore occurred. Also, it is probably significant that the marriage was near to the end of the religious period. One implication is that it was postponed for as long as possible. Perhaps, as with John Webster's Lent-time marriage in 1606, Haughton's partner was in the later stages of pregnancy.¹⁵ Haughton's will confirms that he had children (see 'Death'), but they are not named, which prevents an investigation into their ages. Certainly, a rushed marriage brought about by pregnancy would afford an interesting parallel between his own relationship and that of Mathea and Walgrave in *Englishmen*: at the end of the play, Walgrave and Mathea present Mathea's father, Pisaro, with evidence of their illegitimate child (14.284–6).

Baugh offers a plausible suggestion that the playwright is the 'W^m Houghton' who was taxed £3.8s. on 1 October 1599 in St. Botolph without Aldgate.¹⁶ If 'W^m Houghton' is indeed the playwright, then the implication is that, at least in 1599, Haughton was living in one of the easternmost wards in the City of London. By the time that Haughton made his will in 1605, however, he was living in Langbourn ward, a ward to the south-west of Aldgate. Both wards are over half a mile away from Henslowe's Southwark home, from which, as Carson and S.P. Cerasano argue, Henslowe paid playwrights for their work.¹⁷

¹³ Robert Westhawe, *An Almanac and Prognostication* [. . .] *MDXCIII* (London: Richard Watkins and James Roberts, 1594; STC 526), sigs A8r–v.

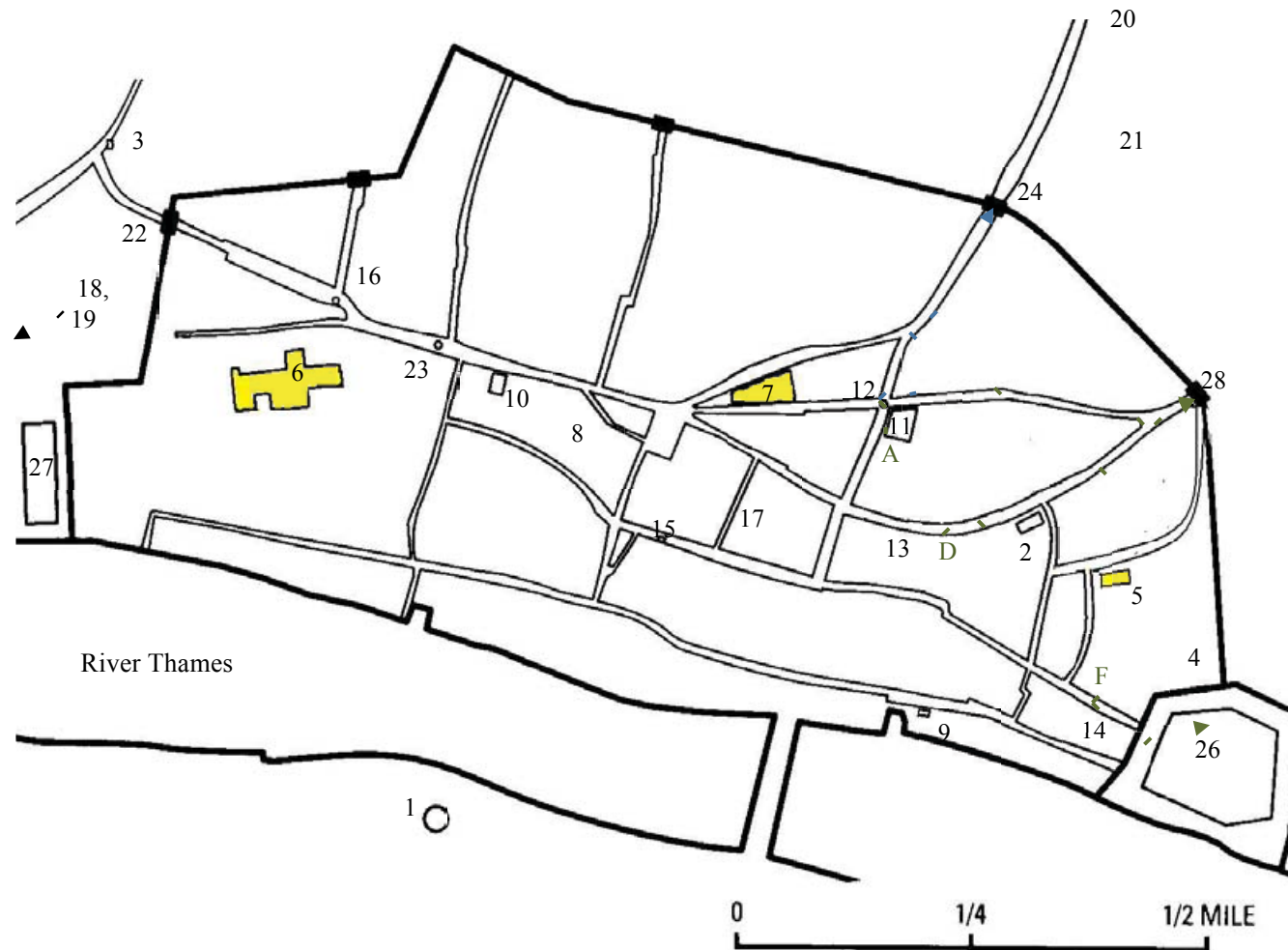
¹⁴ David Cressy, 'The Seasonality of Marriage in Old and New England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16.1 (1985), 1; John Cosin, *A Collection of Private Devotions* (London: R. Young, 1627; STC 5815.5), preface.

¹⁵ David Gunby, 'Webster, John (1578x80–1638?)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28943>> [accessed 14 December 2009].

¹⁶ 146/393 assessment of Aldersgate ward, St. Boltoph's Parish, 39 Eliz., in Baugh, ed., *Englishmen*, 23.

¹⁷ Carson, *Companion*, 29; S.P. Cerasano, 'The Geography of Henslowe's *Diary*', *SQ* 56.3 (2005), 343, 349.

- ► Heigham's suggested routes for Al Varo (A) if to the west of Leadenhall, De Lyon (D) and Frisco (F)
- ► Possible alternative route suggested by Heigham for Al Varo, if to the north of Leadenhall



Key (Highlighted buildings and streets are crucial to *Englishmen*. For details, see 'Historical and Cultural Influences', especially pp. 61, 74 –6.)

- 1 The Rose Theatre
- 2 All Hallows Staining (William Haughton's place of burial)
- 3 Cow Lane (William White's printing house, 1598–1617)
- 4 Tower Hill
- 5 Crutched Friars
- 6 St. Paul's Cathedral
- 7 The Royal Exchange
- 8 Bucklersbury
- 9 Barking (the Rose Tavern)
- 10 St Mary-le-Bow (Bow Bell)
- 11 Leadenhall
- 12 The Four Spouts
- 13 Fenchurch Street
- 14 Tower Street
- 15 Cannon Street (London Stone)
- 16 The little conduit by Paul's Churchyard (the Pissing Conduit)
- 17 Abchurch Lane (Mother Wall's pasties)
- 18 Ivy Bridge (the maypole)
- 19 Westminster
- 20 Shoreditch (the maypole)
- 21 The Spittle (the Blue Boar Tavern)
- 22 Newgate Prison
- 23 Cheap Street (the Cross)
- 24 Bishopsgate (the Sign of the Mouth Tavern)
- 25 Cornhill Street
- 26 The Tower of London
- 27 Bridewell Prison
- 28 Aldgate

Figure 1: Illustrative map (c. 1598) of London: places and landmarks mentioned in the thesis (numbers 1-3), *passim*, and *Englishmen* (numbers 4-28). Adapted from Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 350.

This might offer insight into the to-ing and fro-ing that Haughton made from his own home to Henslowe's and back, albeit various entries made on his behalf by four sharers in the Lord Admiral's Men – Robert Shaw (or Shaa) and Thomas Downton, William Rowley and William Birde (or Borne) – would suggest that Haughton expected the players to do most of the travelling.¹⁸ Such an attitude would have apparently been typical of the relationship between Henslowe, his playwrights and sharers. As Carson argues, in collecting the money the sharer 'tacitly approved the expenditure', preventing playwrights from claiming payment for scripts which they had not authorized.¹⁹

Finances and Non-literary Career

Henslowe's *Diary* records small loans to Haughton of 5s. on 2 February 1600 (f. 29r) and 4s. on 14 June 1601 (f. 69v). Henslowe also lent Robert Shaw 10s. to release Haughton 'owt of the clyncke', a debtors' prison, on 10 March 1600 (f. 69v). These details prompted Kathman to describe Haughton's finances as 'precarious', an assumption that might be confirmed by my investigation into the records of payment in Henslowe's *Diary*.²⁰

I tabulate Henslowe's record of payments made to Haughton in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 organizes payments into seasons, dated according to Carson's calculations in his *Companion*; this is out of recognition that Haughton worked in – and was therefore paid in – seasons.²¹ Table 2, however, organizes payments into a year-by-year account; while arbitrary, it provides a means by which his finances can be compared to the annual wages of the working class. Some substantive issues with Henslowe's *Diary* render my

¹⁸ Cerasano, 'Geography', 349.

¹⁹ Carson, *Companion*, 48.

²⁰ Kathman, 'Haughton, William', *ODNB*.

²¹ Carson, *Companion*, 103–16 (tables III.3b–III.15a).

assessment provisional: first, Haughton probably received a greater salary than Henslowe recorded (see ‘Date of Composition’). A further issue concerns the division of payments among co-writers, between whom payment at times does not divide evenly (for example 40s. between Haughton, Hathaway and Smith in one payment for ‘2 The Six Clothiers’, f. 94v; I divided this into 13s.2d. per dramatist). Elsewhere, Haughton was paid at the same time as other playwrights, which obscures how they then divided the payments internally. Carson argues that such payments indicate playwrights’ sharing parts – and therefore payment – equally; on this basis, I have divided the entries without bias to any particular playwright.²² In the tables, the figure under ‘No. of plays’ gives the number of new plays that Haughton was writing or co-writing; the figure in parentheses refers to a play that Haughton remained working on from one season or year to the next.

Lord Admiral’s Seasons	No. of plays	Paid (£. s. d.)
Autumn to winter (21 October to 8 March) 1597 to 1598	2	£1.10.00
Spring to summer (13 March–28 July) 1598	0 (1)	£1.00.00
Autumn to winter (30 July to 16 February) 1598 to 1599	0	0
Spring to summer (26 February to 9 June) 1599	0	0
Summer (21 June to 13 October) 1599	1	£1.10.00
Autumn to winter (14 October to 16 February) 1599 to 1600	5	£13.09.02
Spring to summer (17 February to 12 July) 1600	5	£11.10.00
Autumn to winter (6 September to 25 February) 1600 to 1601	2	£6.15.00
Spring to summer (8 March to 13 June) 1601	3 (4)	£8.05.02
Autumn to winter (28 June to 7 February) 1601 to 1602	5	£7.11.00
Autumn to winter (17 August to 12 March) 1602 to 1603	1	£2.10.00
TOTAL	24	£54.00.04

Table 1: Payments made in Philip Henslowe’s *Diary* for William Haughton’s plays. Listed by season.

²² Carson, *Companion*, 54.

Year	No. of plays	Paid (£. s. d.)
1597	1	£0.10.00
1598	1	£2.10.00
1599	5	£14.19.02
1600	7	£17.05.00
1601	8 (9)	£18.16.02
1602	1	£2.10.00
TOTAL	24	£54.00.04

Table 2: Payments made in Philip Henslowe's *Diary* for William Haughton's plays. Listed by year.

Table 1 shows that Haughton earned most (£13.09.02) in the autumn-winter season of 1599 to 1600. Chettle earned £18.15.00 at his busiest (spring 1598 to summer 1599), making him 'the most highly paid'; Day earned approximately £14 in the autumn 1602 to winter 1603 season.²³ This would seem to suggest that Haughton earned roughly the same amount as his peers did during their busiest seasons. The same can be noted the other way: Haughton's lowest recorded earnings were in the spring to summer 1598 season (£1); Chettle's lowest payment is recorded as less than £3 in the autumn 1597 to winter 1598 season, and Day £2 in summer 1598.²⁴ In short, Haughton's recorded earnings appear to have kept up with those of Chettle and Day.

Of course, a consistent salary never guaranteed substantial earnings. Table 2 shows that Haughton made only £3.01s.08d. by writing for Henslowe in 1597 and 1598, whereas at his peak, in 1600 and 1601, he earned £17.05s. and £18.16.02 respectively; in 1602, his earnings drop again. Haughton's maximum payments just exceeded £15 a year, which was the amount that a working-class labourer could expect to earn at the turn of the seventeenth century.²⁵ Payments made to Haughton in 1597 to 1598, and again in 1602, were therefore

²³ Carson, *Companion*, 61–2.

²⁴ Carson, *Companion*, 62.

²⁵ Carson, *Companion*, 66.

hardly enough to sustain him; and, for the autumn to winter 1598 to 1599 and spring to summer 1599 seasons Haughton in fact seems not to have worked at all for the Lord Admiral's Men. The implication is that Haughton either considered play writing for the Admiral's as a kind of secondary employment or supplementary income in these years; whereas in 1599 to 1601 it was his primary income. Imprisonment, together with loans in 1600 and 1601, suggest that Haughton's profits from play writing were insufficient to sustain him, even during his busiest seasons. Nevertheless, in this precariousness, Haughton is unexceptional: Thomas Dekker, George Chapman, Cyril Tourneur, Henry Chettle and Robert Daborn were also imprisoned for debt.²⁶ Thus, Baugh and William M. Baillie may be right to suggest that Haughton was writing plays as a freelance for other playing companies; making additional money by this means was normal.²⁷ Chettle, for example, wrote for both the Lord Admiral's and Worcester's Men in the summer of 1602, despite signing a bond of exclusivity with the former company.²⁸ However, no record of Haughton writing for anyone else survives.

Confirmation of Haughton's unsatisfactory earnings as a dramatist might be found in evidence of a non-literary job. Details are provided in Samuel Rowley's letter to Henslowe, dated on or around 6 June 1601.²⁹ I provide my own transcription, which I have checked against Greg and Foakes:

²⁶ William H. Sherman, 'Patents and Prisons: Simon Sturtevant and the Death of the Renaissance Inventor', *HLQ* 72.2 (2009), 246. Chettle, in particular, seems to have been heavily in debt: in 1601 the Exchequer attempted to recover the vast sum of £40 from him, and Henslowe made numerous small loans to him (Eccles, 'Brief Lives', 22–3).

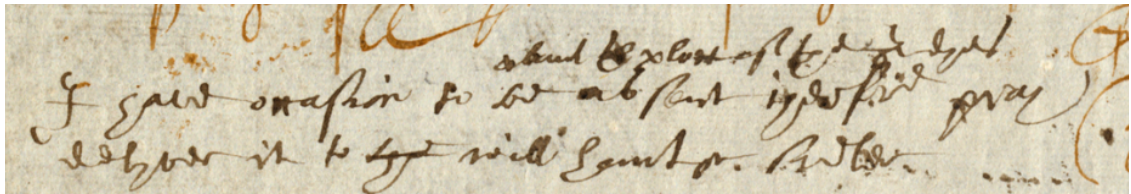
²⁷ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 19–20; William M. Baillie, ed., *A Choice Ternary of English Plays: Gratiae Theatrales (1662)*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 26 (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 174.

²⁸ Emma Smith, 'Chettle, Henry (d. 1603x7)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5245>> [accessed 22 Dec 2009].

²⁹ Dulwich College MS I, Alleyn Papers, f. 49r.

about the plott of the Indyes
I haue occasion to be absent therfore pray
delyver it to ~~the~~ will hauton. sadler.

By consensus, the ‘plott of the Indyes’ refers to ‘The Conquest of the West Indies’, which Haughton co-wrote with Day and Smith from 4 April to 1 September 1601.³⁰ There is an issue with the word ‘sadler’, which agrees with Greg’s transcription but not with that of Foakes, who provides ‘fidler’.³¹ Foakes finds his own interpretation ‘doubtful’, however, and I am inclined to agree.³² I provide a digital image before offering a discussion:



(Dulwich College MS I, f. 49r)

The letter is written in a facile secretary hand.³³ Evidence of this can be found in the elaborate ‘I’, the ‘h’ in ‘have’, ‘s’ in ‘occasion’ and ‘y’ in ‘pray’. This complicates the issue of whether the initial letter in ‘sadler/fidler’ is a long ‘s’ or an ‘f’. The next letter might either be ‘a’ or ‘i’. However, the first letter in ‘sadler/fidler’ looks similar to the long ‘s’ in ‘occasion’ and ‘absent’, whereas the ‘f’ in ‘therefore’ appears to have a crossbar. This would make the second letter an ‘a’ and raised above the imagined base line; this latter is not suspicious, however, for most of the letters in ‘therfore’ and ‘pray’ are also

³⁰ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 37; Chambers, *Stage*, vol. 3, 493; Kathman, ‘Haughton, William’, *ODNB*.

³¹ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 1, 300; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 295.

³² Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 295.

³³ For a comprehensive description of secretary hand see Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority and the Playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006), 80–6.

raised. ‘Sadler’ requires more questioning than ‘fidler’, for the latter would suggest that Haughton was a musician for a theatrical company, as were the player-musicians John Adson, Ambrose Beeland, Jeffery Collins and Thomas Goodwin.³⁴ ‘Sadler’, however, presents less immediate relevance to a theatrical company – but so does the job of fishmonger to the playwrights Lording Barry and Thomas Drew.³⁵ In such a respect, Haughton’s career path would have been non-exceptional: as well as Barry and Drew, the playwrights Jonson, Anthony Munday, and John Webster were all freemen of various Guilds.³⁶

Despite Kathman’s article on freemen and apprentices in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, Haughton as a member of the company of Saddlers has not been previously investigated. The Saddlers’ Company records were destroyed in 1666, so Haughton cannot be tracked there. Nonetheless, apprentices were indentured for at least seven years, and there was a City regulation to prohibit apprentices marrying. Had Haughton earned his freedom through apprenticeship, then it can be assumed that he had done so by 22 March 1594, when he married Alice Agar.³⁷ This would place Haughton’s indenture at a time before 1587, which in turn suggests that he was a saddler before he became a playwright. This might explain why Haughton wrote less between his first two seasons with the Admiral’s and nothing for the next two (see Table 1). If Haughton were busy as a saddler, then he need not have depended on a steady income from play writing.

It is possible to conclude that Haughton’s wage as a playwright did not allow him to live comfortably; his imprisonment and loans from Henslowe indicate that he at times

³⁴ David Kathman, ‘Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theatre’, *SQ* 55.1 (2004), 15, 17, 22, 28.

³⁵ Kathman, ‘Freemen and Apprentices’, 18, 25.

³⁶ Kathman, ‘Freemen and Apprentices’, 17.

³⁷ William Ingram, *The Business of Playmaking: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theatre in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 38.

failed to provide for himself and his family, despite a further career as a saddler. From a knowledge of the payment conditions of other playwrights, however, it can be seen that Haughton's predicament was unexceptional; as William Ingram has argued following his research into Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouse wages, 'some sort of poverty was a norm'.³⁸

Employment in the Theatre

Nothing is known about Haughton's employment history before 5 November 1597, the date his name is first recorded in the *Diary* (f. 37r; crossed out and re-written on f. 43v). Haughton and John Day are the only playwrights writing for the Admiral's Men in 1598 to be excluded from Francis Meres's list (dated September 1598) of active dramatists that constituted 'our best for tragedy' and 'the best for comedy'.³⁹ Day appears to have started writing plays in 1598, which implies that he may have been unknown to Meres; the same might be true of Haughton.⁴⁰ A more likely alternative, however, is simply that Meres did not think Haughton's plays 'best', and therefore that his exclusion of Haughton does not afford evidence that the dramatist began writing plays in 1598.

It might be possible to gain insight from the terminology of Henslowe's first entry for Haughton, which gives 'Lent vnto Robart shawe the 5 of novemb^r 1597 [10s.] to by a boocke of yonge Horton' (ff. 37r, 43v). '[Y]onge' is argued by Baugh, Kathman, and

³⁸ Ingram, *Playmaking*, 38.

³⁹ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London: P. Short, 1598; STC 17834); Ronald Bayne, 'Lesser Elizabethan Dramatists', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller, 344–73, vol 5 (New York: Putnam; Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1907–21), 347. The playwrights included are Drayton, Dekker, Jonson (for tragedy); Heywood, Munday, Porter, Wilson, Hathaway and Chettle (for comedy); Chapman appears in both lists.

⁴⁰ Anthony Parr, 'Day, John (1573/4–1638?)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7368>> [accessed 5 January 2010].

Kermode to refer to Haughton's youth; however, Grace Ioppolo makes a valid argument that Henslowe placed 'yonge' against 'occasional and unknown writers'.⁴¹ The implication of Ioppolo's argument, hitherto unexamined in relation to Haughton, is that the playwright was experienced in writing plays, albeit unknown to Henslowe before November 1597. This would suggest that Haughton wrote plays for another company before writing plays for Henslowe. If so, Haughton's likeliest employer would be the Lord Pembroke's Men, who began to play at the Rose with the Lord Admiral's Men on 11 October 1597 (f. 27v). The switch to the Admiral's is certainly possible – Jonson made it – but Haughton's case cannot be proved.⁴²

From 5 November 1597, sharers in the Lord Admiral's Men commissioned Haughton to write for them on a per-play basis.⁴³ Until Henslowe's last record for him on 8 September 1602 (f. 107v), Haughton was one of ten or so playwrights who, between the playwrights, wrote a play a fortnight, or twenty new plays per year.⁴⁴ Haughton continued to write plays for the Admiral's after November 1600, when the company relocated from

⁴¹ Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 16.

⁴² Ian Donaldson, 'Jonson, Benjamin (1572–1637)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15116?>> [accessed 6 January 2010]. Following this, it is possible that a christening certificate for a 'William Howgheton' on 28 October 1565 in All Hallows the Less, London, is a reference to the playwright. This parish, in the east of the city, is the side of London that Haughton lived in, according to extant records (see 'Marriage and Living Quarters'), and would make him about thirty-three by the time that he started working for the Admiral's Company. More research is needed before the link can be confirmed or refuted, however. (For the record, see Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, GL MS 5160/1-2, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Births for All Hallows the Less, 1558–1890, 'William Howgheton', *International Genealogical Index* (2008) <http://www.familysearch.org/eng/search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=igi/search_IGI.asp&clear_form=true> [accessed 18 January 2008].)

⁴³ On the relationship between dramatist and playing company see Carol Chillington Rutter, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, rev. edn (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 27.

⁴⁴ Rutter, *Documents*, 17, 28; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 112.

the Rose to the Fortune theatre, a playhouse managed by Henslowe and his son-in-law, Edward Alleyn.⁴⁵

When the Rose was occupied by the Earl of Worcester's Men, from 17 August 1602 (f. 115r), Henslowe began recording theatrical business for this second company. Extant evidence of his accounts suggest that sharers in the Worcester's Men commissioned active dramatists otherwise working for the Lord Admiral's: Dekker was apparently the first to write for them (f. 115r, 17 August 1602), followed by Chettle (f. 116r), Heywood (f. 116v), Smith (f. 116v), Middleton (116v), Webster (f. 117r), Hathaway (f. 118r) and Day (f. 118v). These eight dramatists wrote for both companies, perhaps, as Rutter argues, because the Admiral's Men were seen as 'conservative' and Worcester's as 'experimental' and 'vital'; however, writing for two companies increased the amount of plays that might be accepted per season, and so it seems more likely that the dramatists simply viewed the additional company as a means to augment their wages.⁴⁶ Whatever the reason, loyalties shifted for most of the playwrights once associated with the Admiral's.

The Worcester's Men, however, appear not to have commissioned Haughton.⁴⁷ It is doubtful that the sharers did not like his work; by August 1602, Haughton is recorded as writing little: he wrote only the play of 'William Cartwright' (f. 107v) during this season, and probably never completed it. This indicates that Haughton viewed writing plays as a secondary income in 1602 (see 'Finances and Non-literary Career'), which in turn suggests that Haughton made a decision to write only for the Admiral's Men. Henslowe stopped

⁴⁵ It is unknown exactly when the Fortune opened, but a payment was made to Alleyn for 'the firste weckes playe' (f. 70v) between 11 November and 14 December 1600. See Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 215.

⁴⁶ Rutter, *Documents*, 26.

⁴⁷ Carson, *Companion*, 116.

using his *Diary* as a theatrical account book on 9 May 1603 (f. 121r), meaning that there is no knowledge of Haughton's career from this date.

It is possible to identify three sets of criteria, all potentially valid, by which to evaluate Haughton's literary activity. The first set of criteria was established by Baugh, who divided that activity into 'four rather distinct periods'.⁴⁸ He defines these periods as follows: from 5 November 1597 to between 2 and 6 May 1598 (unnamed play to *Englishmen*); 20 August 1599 to 27 May 1600 ('Paradise' to 'Judas'); 20 December 1600 to 8 November 1601 ('Pen'orths' to '2 Clothiers'); and 8 September 1602 ('Cartwright'). The three gaps in between these dates (consisting of one year three months, approximately seven months and approximately eleven months), have yet to be explained, although the gaps span the times that I suggest (under 'Finances and Non-literary Career') Haughton to have considered saddlery as his primary trade. A second set of criteria is provided by the performance seasons kept by the Lord Admiral's Men. This separates his literary career with the Admiral's into ten seasons.⁴⁹ A third set of criteria is in the syndicates for which Haughton

⁴⁸ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 17–18.

⁴⁹ (*At the Rose theatre*) Season one (autumn to winter (21 October to 8 March) 1597–8): an untitled book by Haughton; first recorded payment for *Englishmen*. Season two (spring to summer (13 March to 28 July) 1598: final recorded payment for *Englishmen*. Season three (summer (21 June to 13 October) 1599): 'The Poor Man's Paradise'. Season four (autumn to winter (14 October to 16 February) 1599–1600): 'Cox of Collumpton' with John Day; 'Thomas Merry' with Day; 'The Arcadian Virgin' with Henry Chettle; *Patient Grissel* with Dekker and Day; *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* with Dekker and Day. Season five (spring to summer (17 February to 12 July) 1600: 'The Seven Wise Masters' with Dekker, Chettle and Day; 'Ferrex and Porrex'; 'The English Fugitives'; *Grim the Collier of Croyden*; or, *The Devil and His Dame*; 'Strange News out of Poland' with Mr Pett; 'Judas'. (*At the Fortune theatre*) Season six: (autumn to winter (6 September to 25 February) 1600 to 1601): 'Robin Hood's Pen'orths'; first recorded payment for '2 The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green' with Day. Season seven (spring to summer (8 March to 13 June) 1601): last recorded payment for '2 The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green' with Day; first recorded payment for 'The Conquest of the West Indies' with Day and Wentworth Smith; 'The Six Yeomen of the West' with Day; '3 The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green' with Day. Season nine (autumn to winter (28 June to 7 February) 1601 to 1602): final recorded payment for 'Conquest of the West Indies' with Day and Smith; 'Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of

appears to have written; this divides his activity into three periods, which I discuss. Three important patterns can be identified, all of which are typical of the playwrights whose names are entered into Henslowe's *Diary*: a significant number of plays are now lost; plays Haughton co-wrote were more likely to have been completed; and Haughton worked in syndicates. All three features have a bearing on *Englishmen*.

Twenty of the twenty-four plays (84 per cent) written or co-written by Haughton are now lost (for the four surviving plays see 'Extant Plays'). F.G. Fleay argued 217 out of 280 plays (i.e. 77.5 per cent) recorded in the *Diary* are now lost; Greg points out that a few might be extant but renamed and therefore difficult to identify, but otherwise agrees with Fleay; Carson, from his own analysis, concludes that 'fully 90 per cent of the works [entered in Henslowe's *Diary*] have perished'.⁵⁰ Between 77.5 and 90 per cent of plays entered in Henslowe's *Diary* are now lost; the number of lost plays written or co-written by Haughton is therefore typical.

Haughton appears to have been a member of collaborative groups, or syndicates.⁵¹ One possible implication is that the playwrights working for Henslowe recognized the likelihood that a syndicate was more successful at seeing a play through to completion than a single author. Evidence for syndicates can be found in the patterns of playwrights who collaborated: in autumn to winter 1599–1600, Haughton worked with Day, Chettle and

Antwerp' with Day (later mended by Chettle); '2 Tom Dough' with Day; '1 The Six Clothiers' with Richard Hathaway and Smith; '2 The Six Clothiers' with Hathaway and Smith. Season ten (autumn to winter (17 August to 12 March) 1602 to 1603): 'William Cartwright'. There was an actor called William Cartwright who performed for the Admiral's Men (Foakes, ed., *Diary*, 330–2), and the *Diary* entry, which gives 'A playe called of w^m cartwryght' (f. 107v), might indicate that Haughton was writing a play for Cartwright (and by extension that 'William Cartwright' was not the name of the play); it still, however, seems to be a separate play to Haughton's other projects.

⁵⁰ F.G. Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559–1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1890), 414; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol 2, 146–7; Carson, *Companion*, 67–8.

⁵¹ Carson, *Companion*, 59.

Dekker; spring to summer 1600 with Day, Chettle, Dekker and ‘Mr. Pett’;⁵² autumn to winter 1600 to 1601 with Day; spring to summer 1601 with Day and Smith; and autumn-winter 1601 1602 with Day, Hathaway and Smith. Recurring names might indicate that Haughton wrote in three syndicates, one after the other: the first group consisted of Haughton, Day, Chettle, Dekker, and ‘Mr. Pett’ (autumn to winter 1599 to 1600 to spring to summer 1600); the second group of Haughton, Day and Smith (autumn to winter 1600 to 1601 to spring to summer 1601); and the third group of Haughton, Day, Hathaway and Smith (autumn to winter 1601–2). That Haughton is not recorded as co-writing all his plays with all the playwrights in a given syndicate implies fluidity within the writing groups, however; further, the similarities between the second and third group suggests one syndicate, with Hathaway joining the writing team at a later date. Given the provisional nature of my conclusions, I propose that Haughton’s involvement in syndicates requires additional research.

The survival of *Englishmen* as a playtext is a testament to play’s popularity in performance. But if Haughton worked in syndicates, might Haughton have written *Englishmen* with another playwright? The *Diary* is of little help in answering this question: only two out of ten plays written in the first season that Haughton writes *Englishmen* (autumn to winter 1597–8; see ‘Henslowe’s Loans before 13 March 1598’) were recorded as collaborative, but from the figures in ‘Date of Composition’ I conclude that a number of off-record payments were made to playwrights for this season; further, numerous entries seem to suggest that authors who co-wrote a play often received fees without naming co-writers; thus, the record is too incomplete at this time to be able to conclude with

⁵² ‘Mr. Pett’ only appears once in the *Diary*; Baugh thinks that he might have been the Pett who died of smallpox on 21 June 1600 (Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 77-8), and Carson suggests him to have been Haughton’s protégé (Carson, *Companion*, 60).

confidence that at least a few plays were not collaborative.⁵³ An additional issue is that Haughton is recorded as receiving £2 for *Englishmen*, which is between £3 and £5 less than usual for plays written for the Lord Admiral's Men in the 1590s. Under 'Date of Composition' I argue that the shortfall can be explained in other ways, but the possibility of collaboration cannot be ignored; certainly, Collier and Kermode have respectively argued for Chapman and Dekker as co-writers.⁵⁴ However, while an investigation into a second hand in *Englishmen* is relevant to this study, such an analysis requires extensive specialist knowledge that would affect its commitment to other, equally important, analyses. Nonetheless, a preliminary survey, using computer-aided stylometry and checking the consistency in unstressed hypermetrical lines in *Englishmen*, did not detect any stylometric variation, suggesting that Haughton wrote the play alone.⁵⁵ The argument

⁵³ Carson, *Companion*, 104. The two plays recorded as collaborative projects are 'Mother Redcap' by Dekker and Munday (f. 43v), and '2 Robin Hood' by Chettle and Munday (f. 44v).

⁵⁴ Philip Henslowe, *The Diary of Philip Henslowe from 1591 to 1609*, ed. J. Payne Collier, (London: Shakespeare Society, 1845), 123–5; Lloyd Edward Kermode, ed., *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 41–2.

⁵⁵ Natalie Aldred, 'The Authorship of *Englishmen for My Money*' (paper presented at the London Forum for Authorship Studies, University of London, 15 February 2007), 1–18. For a published study which comprehensively details attribution methods see Brian Vickers, 'Identifying Co-Authors', in *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 44–134. Certainly, Collier's suggestion that *Englishmen* was co-written with Chapman can be dismissed. Collier's argument is based upon his understanding of a smudged entry in the *Diary*, dated 15 June 1598, which gives 'Wylle of A Womon' (f. 46v). Collier interprets the smudge as a 'W' (i.e. 'Wylle'), and from this concludes that it is 'unlikely that two plays, so resembling in title [i.e. 'Wylle of a Womon' and 'A Woman Will Have Her Will'], would have been produced at the same time' (Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Collier, 123–5). Greg, however, argues that the title 'is not, as it has always been quoted, the *Will of a Woman*, but probably the *Isle of Women*', and adds that there 'can be little doubt that it is the same as the *Fount of New Fashions*' on f. 51v, a view which now has scholarly assent (Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 194; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 91; Carson, *Companion*, 83, 106). Kermode's argument, based upon the possibility of 'unrecorded payments' to other playwrights, is less difficult to counter, but David Lake's stylometric tables show various important discriminants between the work of Haughton (*Englishmen*) and Dekker (*The*

that Haughton wrote the play unaided is strengthened by knowledge of two recorded payments (see 'Date of Composition').

Death

Charles Wallace identified Haughton's will in 1915 while researching in the London archives on behalf of Baugh; the standard transcription, provided below, is that of E.A.J. Honigmann and Susan Brock.⁵⁶ The will is confirmed as the playwright's by a witness, 'wentworth Smith', by consensus a reference to Haughton's occasional collaborator.⁵⁷

Shoemaker's Holiday, Orestes Fures, Satiromastix, 2 The Honest Whore, The Whore of Babylon, If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil is in it and Match Me in London) (Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 41–2; David J. Lake, *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays: Internal Evidence for the Major Issues of Authorship* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), table I.1 (between pp. 252–3)). Specifically, Lake records Haughton as using 'by'r Lady' six times and Dekker not at all; Haughton as using 'has' (as opposed to 'hath') nowhere, which Dekker uses frequently (respective to the order of plays parenthesised above: two, twenty, thirty-seven, forty-five, fourteen, thirty-eight and thirty-two times); and Haughton as nowhere using 'th'art', which Dekker uses in every play recorded by Lake (seven, five, eleven, nine, three, eleven and eight times respectively). Although Haughton's other unaided play, *Grim the Collier* (see 'Extant Plays', below), might usefully have been added to Lake's list in order to strengthen his figures, we nonetheless are able to discriminate between Haughton and Dekker by important function words; this gives a preliminary indication that the two playwrights did not co-write *Englishmen*.

⁵⁶ GL MS 9172 / 22d no. 43, Will of William Houghton, transcribed in E.A.J. Honigmann and Susan Brock, eds, *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in the London Theatre* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993), 75–6. Originally printed on p. 22 of Baugh's edition.

⁵⁷ Consensus is reached by scholars including David Kathman, 'Smith, Wentworth (*bap.* 1571)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25919>> [accessed 22 December 2009]; Eccles, 'Brief Lives', 22–3; Honigmann and Brock, eds, *Playhouse Wills*, 76; Chambers, *Stage*, vol. 3, 493–4.

Houghton⁵⁸

Memorandum that on the vjth daie of June 1605 William Houghton of the parish of Allhallowes Stayninges London made his last will nuncupatiue in manner and forme {or in effect} followinge {Thatt is to saye} The saide William Houghton beinge Demanded to whom he would giue his goodes, he answered {in these words or like in effect (*videlicet*)} I Doe giue all my goodes chattells & debtes, whatsoeuer vnto Alice Houghton my wyffe towards the payment of my debtes, and the bringinge vp of my Children And I doe nominate & appointe the said Alice my wyffe my sole executrix Theis beinge wittnesses wentworth Smith [and] Elizabeth Lewes and dyuers others /

The identity of the witness ‘Elizabeth Lewes’ is unknown. A will ‘nuncupative in manner’ means that it was an affidavit, drawn up after the death of the subject.⁵⁹ The will is consistent with a hitherto unidentified burial receipt for 11s.10*d.*, which gives a ‘Mr Hawton’ as buried in All Hallows Staining on 10 June 1605 (see Figure 1 for the location).⁶⁰ I provide a digital image and transcription:



(GL MS 4956 / 2, f. 9r)

June 1605 i0 Received for the buriall of M^r Hawton _____ 00 ii i0⁶¹

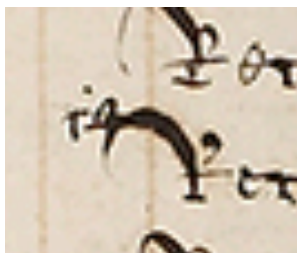
In this image, the 10 might look as if it were a 14 or 19; for clarity, I have magnified the figure:

⁵⁸ In the following, [] = material deleted from the MS; { } = material inserted in the MS; () = parentheses in the MS (taken from Honigmann and Brock, *Playhouse Wills*, 76).

⁵⁹ Honigmann and Brock, eds, *Playhouse Wills*, 10.

⁶⁰ GL MS 4956 / 2 f. 9r, Churchwarden's Accounts for All Hallows Staining, 'Mr Hawton'.

⁶¹ It should be noted that the use of 'i' for '1' is a scribal confusion as Jacobean Londoners began to replace Roman numerals for their Arabic counterparts, and does not imply that the fee of '00 ii i0' should be read as £00.2*s.*1*d.* (or even as £00.2*s.*10*d.*).



Here, it is clear that the flared stalk of the letter ‘R’ has interfered with the ‘O’ in ‘10’.

Haughton’s will was proved by his widow at the Commissary Court of London on 20 July 1605; his inventory of moveable property was valued at £19.1s., approximately £1,900 in 2010 sterling.⁶² This apparently meagre amount might further suggest that the playwright was impoverished, but Haughton was notably wealthier than Dekker, whose widow had to renounce her administration of his estate, probably as a result of Dekker’s debts.⁶³ Following death, Haughton’s name appears to have become quickly obscure: Dekker, despite co-writing several plays with Haughton, does not commemorate him in his *A Knights Conjuring* (1607), in which deceased poets – including his peers Christopher Marlowe and Henry Chettle – are listed as in Elysium.⁶⁴

Extant Plays

Four of the plays that Haughton wrote or co-wrote survive as early printed books. A list of them, in order of *Diary* entries, is as follows: *Englishmen* (entered 18 February to between

⁶² GL MS 9168 / 16 f. 10v, Probate Act Book of the Bishop of London, ‘William hawgeton’; National Archives, ‘Currency Converter’, *The National Archives* (2003) <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>> [accessed 8 January 2010].

⁶³ The will is linked to the probate record by the subscribed Latin: ‘Probatum [. . .] Vicesimo die mensis Julij Anno Domini 1605 [Probate [. . .] the twentieth day of the month of July in the Year of Our Lord 1605]’ (see Honigmann and Brock, eds, *Playhouse Wills*, 76); John Twyning, ‘Dekker, Thomas (c. 1572–1632)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7428>> [accessed 14 December 2009].

⁶⁴ Thomas Dekker, *A Knights Conjuring* (London: T[homas] C[reede], 1607; STC 6508), sigs L1r–v.

2 and 6 May 1598, published in 1616); *Patient Grissel* (entered between 13 and 17 December 1599, published in 1603); *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, re-titled as *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen* (entered 13 February 1600, published in 1657); and *Grim the Collier of Croydon; or, The Devil and his Dame: with the Devil and St. Dunstan* (entered 6 December 1600, published 1662).⁶⁵ Haughton was probably the sole author of *Englishmen* and *Grim*.⁶⁶ His share in *Patient Grissel* – as writer of the two subplots – has been defined with reasonable clarity.⁶⁷ While it is evident that he contributed to *Lust's Dominion*, the extent of his contribution has yet to be established; Charles Cathcart has used a series of internal stylistic tests to argue that each scene was written collaboratively.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ William Haughton, *English-men for my Money: or, A pleasant Comedy, called, a Woman will have her Will* (London: W[illiam] W[hite], 1616; STC 12931); Haughton, Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissel, as it hath been Sundry Times Lately Plaid by the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham (Lord High Admiral) his Servants* (London: E[dward] Allde, 1603; STC 6518); Haughton, Dekker and John Day, *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen: A Tragedy. Written by Christopher Marlowe, Gent.* (London, 1657; Wing L3504AB); Haughton, *Grim the Collier of Croyden; or, The Devil and His Dame: with the Devil and St. Dunstan*, in Anon. ed., *Gratiae Theatrales, or A Choice Ternary of English Plays* (London, 1662; Wing G1580).

⁶⁶ Attribution studies: H. Dugdale Sykes, 'The Authorship of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*', *Modern Language Review* 14 (1919), 245–53; Baillie, 'Authorship of *Grim*' 179–84; Baillie, ed., *Choice Ternary*, 175–80.

⁶⁷ Attribution studies: F.G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of English Drama, 1559–1642*, vol. 1 (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), 271; Harold Jenkins, *The Life and Work of Henry Chettle* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1934), 153–87; Baugh, ed., *Englishmen*, 61–7; W.L. Halstead, 'Collaboration on *The Patient Grissill*', *PQ* 18 (1939), 381–94; D. M. Greene, 'The Welsh Characters in *Patient Grissel*', *Boston University Studies in English* 4 (1960), 171–80; Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 132–3.

⁶⁸ Attribution studies: J.P. Collier, ed., preface to *Edward II* in Dodsley's *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, 3rd edn, vol. 2 (London: S. Prowett, 1825–7), 311. The play-title's ascription of the play to Marlowe was reputed by Collier in this edition, noting that 1.3 is based upon a pamphlet, *A Brief and True Declaration of the Sickness, Last Words and Death of the King of Spain*, which was not published in England until 1599, six years after Marlowe's death (Collier, ed., preface to *Edward II*, 311). For other attribution studies see H. Dugdale Sykes, 'The Spanish More's Tragedy; or, Lust's Dominion', *N&Q* 1.5 (1916),

The particulars of plot are largely irrelevant to this study; a basic outline of each can be found in Kathman's *ODNB* article. Of more immediate importance is a recurrence of themes in Haughton's extant plays, which might indicate that the dramatist capitalized on apparently winning formulas. The clearest connection between the extant plays is a preoccupation with female perfidy. Andrew Gurr argues that 'Henslowe's writers seem to have dithered a little in the 1590s over the choice between young love and parental authority, before they plumped for parental authority', and several of Haughton's extant plays suggest the validity of Gurr's assertion; certainly, as I now discuss, female agency in marriage is a preoccupation in *Englishmen*, *Patient Grissel* and *Grim*.⁶⁹

In *Englishmen*, Pisaro's three daughters reject three foreign suitors – favoured by their father – in favour of three young Englishmen. Harold Jenkins observes a refashioning of this theme in one of the two sub-plots in *Patient Grissel*, in which Gwalther rejects three foreign suitors out of a preference for the single life.⁷⁰ In *Grim*, Morgan, the politic Earl of London, devises a trick to marry his daughter, Honorea, against her wishes to her unwanted pursuer, Earl Lacy, instead of to a young gentleman, Musgrave, or to a further unwanted pursuer, Castilano, a devil disguised as a Spaniard. To do this, Morgan tricks Honorea into thinking that he is acting on her behalf; he convinces Morgan's waiting maid, Mariana, to pose as Honorea and sleep with Castilano. Arguing to Honorea that Castilano

Swears that his int'rest he will ne'er resign;
Therefore we must by policy deceive him.
He shall suppose he lieth this night with thee,

81–4, reprinted in *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 99–107; Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 67–70; K. Gustav Cross, 'The Authorship of *Lust's Dominion*', *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958), 39–61; Charles Cathcart, 'Lust's Dominion; or, the Lascivious Queen: Authorship, Date, and Revision', *RES* 52.207 (2001), 360–75.

⁶⁹ Andrew Gurr, 'Intertextuality at Windsor', *SQ* 38.2 (1987), 195.

⁷⁰ Jenkins, *Henry Chettle*, 166.

But Mariana shall supply thy room;
And thou with Musgrave in another chamber
Shall secretly be lodg'd. When this is done,
'Twill be too late to call that back again:
(2.1.213-19)⁷¹

On the night, however, he substitutes Musgrave for Lacy, causing his daughter to have sex unwittingly with the former, and forcing her into marriage; Mariana is forced to marry Castilano (3.2.20). Eventually, Mariana cuckolds Castilano three times before poisoning him, thus sending him back to hell (4.1.95). Of interest in *Grim*, then, is that the plotting father gets his way. However, women are still given agency there in marriage: as Mariana argues, a maiden may flirt but 'durst not venture on the main', while 'a wife a fault may hide' (3.3.23-5).

A further important parallel between *Englishmen* and *Grim* is in the perception of women as sexual commodities (a theme typical of London comedies, in which Houghton plays a key role: see 'Generic, Historical and Cultural Contexts'). Of *Englishmen*, Harvey argues that Pisaro's daughters, as their 'market', will be 'spoiled and marred' by Pisaro's scheme to marry his daughters to foreigners (6.77); in *Grim*, Captain Clinton is concerned that his 'market', Mariana, is 'near marred' by Morgan's own marriage schemes (1.3.24). In *Englishmen* and *Grim*, such metaphorical language is contrasted to the notion of female agency. Both plays use a variant of the proverb 'A woman will have her will' to accept or reject the notion of female agency, with 'will' punningly referring to the male genitalia and carnal desire. In *Englishmen*, Mathea is 'resolved to have her will' (1.124) even as Pisaro questions 'what will you have?' (1.132). In *Grim*, Robin Goodfellow suggests that a man 'who keeps a shrew against her will, had better let her go' (2.1.312), Morgan argues of his daughter that 'young girls must have their will restrained' (2.1.183), and Clinton puns

⁷¹ Lineation is taken from Houghton, *Grim*, in *Choice Ternary*, ed. Baillie.

extensively on 'will': 'For, doubt not, women will have means enough, / If they be willing, as I hope she will' (2.1.395–6). Female agency through marriage might be further demonstrated by the rejection of foreigners as suitors: in *Englishmen*, Mathea states to Walgrave (whom she mistakes for De Lyon) that 'I have so much English by the mother, / That no base, slaving French shall make me stoop' (1.1.45–6); in *Grim*, Honorea rejects the advances of Castilano in similar terms:

Base alien, mercenary fugitive,
Presumptuous Spaniard, that with shameless pride
Dar'st ask an English lady for thy wife.
(1.4.104–6)

Both plays use bed-tricks, disguise, scheming; and both contain a domineering father; both explore female agency. It therefore seems reasonable to assert that *Grim* demonstrates a revisiting of the central themes deployed in *Englishmen*.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Prima facie evidence for the date of the composition of *Englishmen* is from Henslowe's record of payments, which, as I go on to discuss, gives the first date as 18 February 1598. Payment is not recorded as 'in full', i.e. as a complete payment, which Henslowe otherwise records against playbooks with regularity.⁷² This prevents more accurate knowledge about the date of completion; however, Carson identifies an upward limit in a now-lost and undated inventory of playbooks, '*A Note of all suche bookes as belong to the Stocke, and such as I have bought since the 3d of March 1598*', in which 'A Woman will have her will'

⁷² Carson, *Companion*, 50.

is included.⁷³ By consensus, the inventory names the titles of playbooks that the Admiral's Men bought (i.e. their '*Stocke*') from 3 March 1598 to the unspecified date that the list was written; Greg uses evidence in the *Diary* to argue that the list was written 'c. Sept. 1598', and Foakes 'not earlier than August 1598, and probably not much later than this'.⁷⁴ Further, Ioppolo argues that the term 'book' referred to a 'complete, finished or a whole text', which suggests that the inventory lists completed play manuscripts bought by the Admiral's Men, probably on or just after August 1598; because *Englishmen* was included in the inventory, it is possible to assume that Haughton had completed the play and sold it to the Admiral's Men by this time.⁷⁵ (That the play was a 'book' and owned by the Lord Admiral's Men has a hitherto unrecognized implication for the printer's copy, which I discuss under 'Establishing the Text').

The above gives a potential anterior date of 18 February 1598 and an upper range of August to September 1598. Nevertheless, the payment history for *Englishmen* is incomplete, and has yet to be given a full evaluation. I begin the following discussion by providing the recorded payments made for *Englishmen* in the *Diary*; I then analyze Henslowe's *Diary* in relation to *Englishmen*. My discussion is separated into three parts: first, determining if leaves are missing around the dates that *Englishmen* was entered and whether they possibly affect the record of payment; second, accounting for the likelihood that excisions in the manuscript affect recorded payment history; third, evaluating the

⁷³ Carson, *Companion*, 57; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 316. Scholars argue '1598' to here follow the Elizabethan civil calendar, not ecclesiastical, so the date should not be modernized to 1599.

⁷⁴ Henslowe, *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, 113; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 316.

⁷⁵ Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 19.

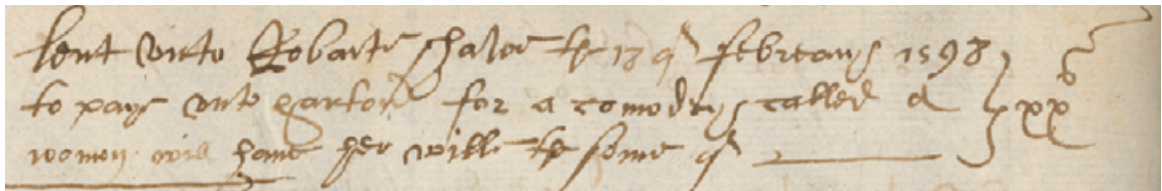
nascent financial relationship between Henslowe and the Admiral's Men at the time that *Englishmen* was first entered in the *Diary*.⁷⁶

Recorded Payments

Henslowe lent the Lord Admiral's Men £1 to pay Houghton for 'a comodey called A womon will haue her wille' on 18 February 1598 (f. 44v); a further payment of £1 was made between the dates 2 and 6 May 1598 (f. 45v). Carson is therefore wrong to write that

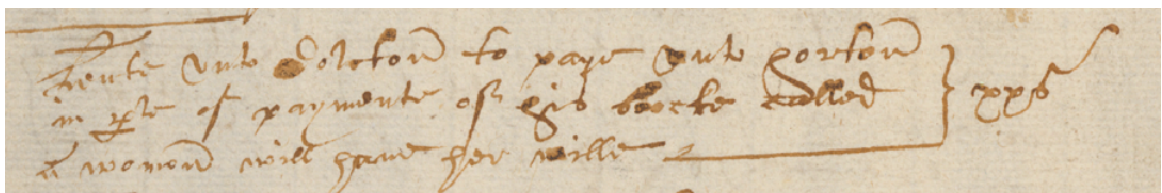
⁷⁶ The assumption that partial payments on record might indicate an incomplete manuscript has been discredited. Historically, Henslowe's notebook has been defined by scholars as a theatrical account book or 'Diary'. From this classification, we can expect the *Diary* to be complete in its account-keeping; the manuscript, however, is not (as we have seen), and has therefore been identified as inadequate. The problem, as Cerasano argues, is that the *Diary* attends to more than just theatrical business; this suggests that the manuscript functioned in a variety of ways, and questions the likelihood that Henslowe intended it to be a formal ledger (Cerasano, 'Henslowe's "Curious" Diary', 72–85). Among examples of non-theatrical affairs recorded in the *Diary* may be listed medications (ff. 16v, 17v, 18r, 136v), memoranda (ff. 2r, 24v, 11v), rent (f. 43r) and pawn accounts (ff. 55r–61r, 73r–81r and 133r–6r); Carson importantly identifies these accounts as evidence that the *Diary* worked as a book of 'memoranda' and 'notations', but nonetheless concluded from his brief study that Henslowe kept a separate ledger 'in which he would have recorded his transactions with individuals' (Carson, *Companion*, 5, 13). Cerasano disagrees, arguing that the notion of a separate account book serves to perpetuate the idea that the *Diary* should somehow be more complete than it actually is, noting that Carson uses condensed and incomplete accounts to continue to point to the 'manuscript's inadequacy' (Cerasano, 'Henslowe's "Curious" Diary', 72). Instead, Cerasano usefully recontextualizes the manuscript as a 'memorandum book', arguing from her extensive analysis of contemporary manuscript notebooks that the *Diary* was not inadequate for Henslowe's purposes, and 'should not be judged by the standards of professional account books of the early modern period' (Cerasano, 'Henslowe's "Curious" Diary', 72–85). This is important, for, in re-defining the *Diary* as a memorandum book, we are provided with the analytical tools by which to argue that Henslowe did not intend his manuscript to be systematic and complete; according to Cerasano, incomplete accounts should not be regarded with surprise. By extension, plays not recorded by Henslowe as paid for in full are perhaps not suspicious, but might instead be used as evidence of Henslowe's uneven records. An important demonstration of this concerns the plays that Henslowe marked as only in part paid for while still lending the company the money required for their production; this implies, as both Chambers and Carson have argued, that such plays were performed (Chambers, *Stage*, vol. 3, 23; Carson, *Companion*, 50).

Haughton ‘was paid only £1.00.0 for the piece’.⁷⁷ For clarification, I have included the digital images below. I have checked my transcriptions against those made by Greg and Foakes:



(Dulwich College MS VII, f. 44v)

lent vnto Robarte shawe the 18 of February 1598^a
to paye vnto harton for a comodey called A xx^s
womon will haue her wille the some of _____



(Dulwich College MS VII, f. 45v)

Lente vnto dowlton to paye vnto horton^a
in pte [i.e. ‘parte’] of paymente of his booke called xx^s
A woman will haue her wille _____

The images help clarify that Haughton received £2 for *Englishmen*.

The two payments on ff. 44v and 45v are the second and third entries for Haughton in Henslowe’s *Diary*. Greg argues that the previous entry, which gives 10s. ‘to by a boocke’ of Haughton on 5 November 1597 (f. 43v), is ‘so small that it seems probable that

⁷⁷ Carson, *Companion*, 50, 57.

it was really in earnest of his [Haughton's] *Woman will have her Will*'.⁷⁸ Baugh and Kermode accept Greg's assumption, but I find it doubtful.⁷⁹ Samuel Hickson argued that the first entry appeared to be distinct from the payment's for Haughton's *Englishmen* play, noting that playwrights seem to have been paid small sums by Henslowe for their first play; Carson independently made the same argument in his *Companion*.⁸⁰ Further, as Greg admits, 'the form of the entry suggests an old play'; elsewhere, when discussing an entry for Dekker's *The Gentle Craft* which gives 'to by', he takes that term to mean 'that this was the last payment'.⁸¹ I argue that the terminology of the entry on f. 43v implies final payment for a completed manuscript; I have therefore excluded it from my discussion about Henslowe's entries for *Englishmen*. My conclusion acts as a separate suggestion that Haughton wrote his first known play before he was commissioned by the Lord Admiral's company (see 'Employment in the Theatre').

Missing Leaves

There are two leaves missing from Henslowe's *Diary* shortly after the last recorded entry for *Englishmen*; however, continuity in the dates to either side of these leaves establishes that they were missing before Henslowe started using that part of the notebook.⁸²

⁷⁸ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 188. This supposition is rehearsed in his edition (William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money 1616*, ed. W.W. Greg, The Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913 for 1912), vi–vii).

⁷⁹ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 25; Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 40.

⁸⁰ Samuel Hickson, 'Chapman's Plays Mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary*', *N&Q* 6.159 (1852), 453; Carson, *Companion*, 56.

⁸¹ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 369; Greg, review of Fredson Bowers' edition of *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, *RES* 5. 24 (1954), 415.

⁸² We know that pages have been lost because of the frequent differences in pagination between the manuscript's first owner, Philip Henslowe's brother, John, and the modern foliation supplied by George Warner. Upon inheriting the manuscript from his brother, Henslowe did not follow John's system; instead, he turned the book around and wrote from what to John was not only the back but also upside down. The manuscript was then re-

An investigation into missing leaves which might affect payment for *Englishmen* begins with Greg, who identifies sixty-nine or seventy leaves that have been removed from Henslowe's notebook; he also conducts a preliminary investigation to eliminate several leaves (thirteen in total) that were probably non-theatrical.⁸³ I have limited my study to the missing leaves among the theatrical payments made in 1598, thus ignoring those for 1597 and 1599.⁸⁴ This process of elimination concludes with two missing leaves that might have held payments for *Englishmen*, one between ff. 45 and 46 (ff. 20056 and 20054) and a second between ff. 48 and 49 (ff. 20052 and 20050). Using Philip Henslowe's chronology, the first missing leaf occurs immediately after Henslowe's last record of payment for *Englishmen* (f. 45v); the second occurs three leaves afterwards.

Dates of payment on f. 45v conclude on 16 May 1598; payments to the other side of the missing leaf begin with Downton's entry for 'King Arthur' on 'the xith of Aprill' (f.

numbered in the nineteenth century by Warner according to Henslowe's use (George F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (London: Longmans and Green, 1881), 1). The result is that the modern foliation increases as John Henslowe's numbering decreases, and a verso page to John was a recto page to Philip. John's original foliation is important: because most bibliographic detail was lost in the rebinding of the manuscript in its later life, it is the only means by which we can tell that there are gaps in foliation (Greg, ed., *Diary*, vol. 1, xvii). As an example, Warner's numbering ff. 104–5 is inconsistent with John's ff. 10078–10074; this indicates that three leaves have been lost at some point between foliation by John Henslowe and Warner.

⁸³ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 1, xvi–xvii; see also Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, xvi. Cerasano states that in George Warner's description of the manuscript the 'original 242 leaves diminished to 238' (S.P. Cerasano, 'Henslowe's "Curious Diary"', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 17 (2004), 75). This correctly notes what Warner recorded but ignores Greg's later statement that Warner 'omits four blank folios in the middle of the volume (between 125 and 126), though it includes casual blanks elsewhere'; thus, the manuscript had not diminished but had here been incorrectly described by Warner. (See Warner, *Catalogue*, 157–63; Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 1, xv.)

⁸⁴ There are no missing leaves among the run of payments made from 5 November (i.e. the first entry for Haughton, f. 37r) to 31 December 1597 (f. 43v), and Haughton does not appear to have written plays for the autumn to winter 1598–9 and spring to summer 1599 seasons (see Table 1); further, an investigation into missing leaves in 1599 assumes that Haughton was writing *Englishmen* for at least seven months, a lengthy period of time that is unheard of in his recording dealings with the Lord Admiral's Men.

46r). The odd shift in dates is not disturbing: the entry immediately following Downton's gives 22 May 1598, and the first entry on f. 45v is for 11 April; the next entry on f. 45v records full payment for 'King Arthur'. The implication is that Downton recorded the payment on the wrong folio; Henslowe realized, switched back to f. 45v (recording the payment as in full), and then proceeded to record payments until the foot of this folio. When he reached f. 46r, he began entries below that of Downton. The first proper entry on f. 46r is therefore Henslowe's, dated 22 May 1598. This gives a week between the last entry on f. 45v (16 May 1598) and f. 46r (22 May 1598), a gap that appears to be typical: another week-long gap occurs between the third and fourth entries on f. 46r (23 to 30 May 1598). Thus, Henslowe's *Diary* spans the gap between ff. 45v–46r apparently without omissions, strongly suggesting that the dividing leaf was lost before Henslowe used that part of the notebook.⁸⁵

A similar conclusion can be made about the leaf missing between ff. 48 and 49. The argument here, however, is more complicated. A description of records on ff. 48 and 49 is as follows: on f. 48r Henslowe recorded payments for mostly unnamed plays between the dates of 25 and 28 July 1598. There then occurs a list: 'Here I Begyne to ~~th~~ Receue the whole gallereys frome this daye beinge the 29 of July 1598'. This list, which continues onto f. 48v, gives a final date of 13 October 1599; it concludes just before the foot of the page, leaving 1 ½ inches of blank paper. F. 49r then begins with the date of 30 July 1598. Neither Greg nor Carson comment on the organization of the entries; however, a reconstruction of events is possible: Henslowe recorded payments on f. 48v before then listing money brought in from performances. Aware that the list might be long, he left blank the remainder of that page and the whole of the next, re-starting his payments to

⁸⁵ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 1, xvii.

playwrights on f. 49r. Henslowe then filled the blank space as performance takings came in, but they stopped just short of the length of f. 48v, therefore leaving a small blank section on the paper. From my analysis it can be seen that Henslowe's performance takings do not affect the sequence of dates for payments that he made to authors. In removing Henslowe's performance takings from consideration, it is possible to see a continuity in dates: the final date of 28 July 1598 on f. 48r is two days before the first date (i.e. 30 July 1598), on f. 49r. The implication is that the leaf between ff. 48 and 49 was lost before Philip Henslowe used that part of the notebook.

Excisions

Various excisions were made in the manuscript following its discovery in 1790, but it is unlikely that any contained any entries for *Englishmen*.

Greg records thirty-seven excisions in the manuscript, of which twenty-six are unaccounted; Foakes records the same number, so no additional excisions have subsequently been identified.⁸⁶ Foakes, in his edition, lists the five major fragments which have been accounted for (ff. 15r, 66r twice, fragment from a leaf missing between ff. 29 and 32, and f. 19r), none of which mentions Haughton.⁸⁷ The additional six fragments omitted from Foakes's edition are autographs, and again, Haughton's name is not among them.⁸⁸ Of the eleven excisions, then, none is relevant to my study. Further, no excisions were made to the folio entries of 1598, suggesting that the missing fragments are irrelevant.

⁸⁶ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 1, xvii–xviii; Foakes, ed., *Diary*, xvii–xviii.

⁸⁷ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 265–9.

⁸⁸ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 265.

Henslowe's Loans before 13 March 1598

Haughton started writing *Englishmen* before Henslowe loaned money to the Admiral's Men on a regular basis; in fact, evidence suggests that payments to playwrights were frequently made directly by the company. It is therefore probable that the Admiral's Men made direct payments to Haughton for the first of the two seasons (autumn to winter 1597 to 1598; spring to summer 1598) in which the playwright is entered in the *Diary* for *Englishmen*. Of Henslowe's transactions with the Admiral's company, Greg argues that their partial nature suggests that some payments were 'made to authors by the company without the appearance of Henslowe as intermediary'.⁸⁹ This is a significant conclusion, but Greg goes into little detail; as I go on to discuss, Carson's fuller analysis, which I use extensively in the following discussion, seems to confirm Greg's supposition.

Henslowe does not record any loans to the players of the Admiral's Men for the two years between when the company started performing at the Rose in June 1594 (f. 9r) to Henslowe's recorded loan to Alleyn on 1 May 1596 (f. 71v). Carson argues that this is an indication of how, between these dates, the company paid their literary and production expenses from money taken from the galleries.⁹⁰ He strengthens his argument by observing that this was the practice of the Queen's Men, and that gallery-funded expenses might explain why the re-formed Pembroke's Men, when playing at the Rose, required limited loaned money from Henslowe, money for the first two days of performances only (f. 69v); the implication is that only they required loaned money during their initial set-up period.⁹¹ Identifying the Admiral's as initially self-financing is important to interpreting the gradual increase in Henslowe's loans to the company. Carson observes that the Lord Admiral's

⁸⁹ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. 2, 125.

⁹⁰ Carson, *Companion*, 43.

⁹¹ Carson, *Companion*, 46–7.

Men generally increased their total borrowing from Henslowe across the six performance seasons starting spring to summer 1596 and ending autumn to winter 1598 to 1599; however, borrowing increased significantly from the spring to summer 1598 season (borrowing is recorded at £46.07*s.03d.* for the season before; £120.00*s.04d.* for the spring to summer 1598 season).⁹² On the basis of these statistics, Carson argues that the Admiral's Men funded the majority of their literary and production expenses before and including the autumn to winter 1597 to 1598 season; by comparison, the loans for the spring to summer 1598 and autumn to winter 1598 to 1599 seasons demonstrate an 'increased reliance' on Henslowe as a banker, for 'Beginning with the Spring-Summer season of 1598, Henslowe seems to have provided most of the money spent on playbooks, costumes, and properties by the Admiral's Men'.⁹³

Henslowe stopped recording daily takings from performances on 5 November 1597, but the detailed accounts before this date strengthen the evidence that support a direct relationship between the Admiral's Men's performance takings and their ability to self-finance. Carson notes that the Easter week of the spring to summer 1596 season 'netted Henslowe only £8.08.0 (compared to £15.06.0 in the previous year), and the next two weeks brought in only £13.07.0 (compared to £20.10.0 in 1595)'; this would suggest that income from performances was slowly declining, and that the company resorted to

⁹² Carson, *Companion*, 103–116 (tables III.3b–III.15a). Henslowe records lending the Admiral's company £32.03*s.04d.* for the spring to summer (12 April to 28 July) 1596 season; £35.15*s.* for the autumn to winter (14 October to 12 February) 1596 to 1597 season; and £14.05*s.* for the spring to summer (3 March to 30 July) 1597 season. This amount increased to £46.07*s.03d.* for the autumn to winter (21 October to 8 March) 1597 to 1598 season. The amount loaned again increased to £120.00*s.04d.* for the spring to summer (13 March to 28 July) 1598 season, and again, to £314.03*s.*, for the autumn to winter (30 July to 16 February) 1598 to 1599 season.

⁹³ Carson, *Companion*, 25, 27.

Henslowe's finances as an alternative means to pay literary and production expenses.⁹⁴

Carson's analysis seems secure, and perhaps explains why Henslowe records performance takings for four plays in the autumn to winter 1596 to 1597 season ('Nebuchadnezzar', 'That Will Be Shall Be', 'Alexander and Lodowick' and 'A Woman Hard to Please', ff. 25v–26v) without recording loans to the company; presumably, they were able to acquire their stage scripts and perform their plays without the need for financial assistance from Henslowe.⁹⁵ In short, there is evidence that the Admiral's Men became self-sufficient in the short-term, but returned to Henslowe in bad times; a relationship that arose as a consequence of takings from the galleries. Such a relationship seems to have begun to solidify in the spring to summer season of 1598, when Henslowe's loans to the company increased.

My conclusion has implications for any play first entered into the *Diary* before the spring to summer 1598 season. Carson's analysis suggests that a play recorded as only partially paid for before this season probably had additional payments directly funded by the Admiral's Men. It is only from the spring to summer 1598 season, when borrowing dramatically increased, that it is possible to say with some confidence that the accounts are fuller (although still by no means complete; see below), and are therefore more likely to be a fuller record of all such payments. It is therefore probable that the absence of a fuller record of payments for *Englishmen* can be partially explained by payments being made in person to Haughton for the first of the two seasons in which he wrote *Englishmen*.

⁹⁴ Carson, *Companion*, 43

⁹⁵ Carson, *Companion*, 46, 97–9.

CONCLUSIONS

Scholars including Greg and Carson have already argued that payments made to Haughton for *Englishmen* were significantly lower than might be expected. To this can now be added the knowledge that none of the excisions made to Henslowe's *Diary* appear to have affected the record of payment made for *Englishmen*. Specifically, the two missing leaves for the 1598 entries, between ff. 45 to ff. 46 (ff. 20056 to 20054) and ff. 48 to 49 (ff. 20052 to 20050), appear to have been omitted before Philip Henslowe used that part of the notebook. Further, none of the excisions made to Henslowe's notebook are likely to have included payment for *Englishmen*. The result of my investigations, which supplements others' research on *Englishmen*, indicates that only two entries record payment for *Englishmen*. Greg is probably correct in suggesting that payments were made off record to Haughton, a suggestion strengthened by Carson's analysis of the partial accounts of the autumn to spring 1597 to 1598 season. Additional unrecorded payments were doubtless made for *Englishmen*; by consensus, however, Haughton's comedy was finished by 1598.⁹⁶ The now-lost inventory of 'bookes' made in approximately August 1598 suggests that the play was performed either late in the spring to summer (13 March to 28 July) 1598 season or early in the autumn to winter (30 July to 16 February) 1598 to 1599 season.

⁹⁶ See Chambers, *Stage*, vol. 3, 334; Alfred Harbage, rev. by Sylvia Wagonheim, *Annals of English Drama, 975–1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed by Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, etc*, 3rd edn, rev. edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 70.

GENERIC, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

My analysis in the previous section provides a sense of Haughton as a dramatist, together with knowledge of the dates that he was composing *Englishmen*. I now turn to his generic, historical and cultural influences. Without identifying these reference points, *Englishmen* might wrongly be perceived as detachable from the various interlocking narratives and ideologies which governed Haughton's perceptions as a resident of London. It is by placing the play within its framework, transparent to Haughton's original audiences but perhaps opaque to subsequent generations, that it will best be clarified.

GENRE

Englishmen might be considered as the first in a specific subgenre of dramatic works: London comedy.⁹⁷ Wendy Griswold and Gail Kern Paster, among others, have discussed the subgenre's principal tenets as a London setting, the depiction of non-noble figures, the recovery of money and the negotiation of non-natives in the topography and geography of

⁹⁷ Studies which consider *Englishmen* to be the first extant London comedy include Alexander Leggatt, *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 7; Theodore B. Leinwand, *The City Staged: Jacobean City Comedy, 1603-13* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1986), 7; Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 177; Harry Levin, 'Notes Towards a Definition of City Comedy', in *Renaissance Revivals: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), 128; and Jean E. Howard, *Theatre of a City: The Places of London City Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 38. Significant studies which omit *Englishmen* from their discussion of London comedy include L.C. Knights, *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson*, 3rd edn (London: Chatto and Windus, 1977); Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy* (London: Methuen, 1980); and Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

the City.⁹⁸ Further divisions within London comedy can be identified as the subgenre was used increasingly as a vehicle for satire (such as Thomas Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, written c. 1605, and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, written c. 1610), but the fundamental concepts remained unchanged until it was shelved in the 1640s.⁹⁹ Howard has discussed the fact that dramatic genres were not immutable kinds of writing; rather, 'in the early modern theatre, generic differences emerged relationally and were performed into being'.¹⁰⁰ Howard's statement is important to bear in mind, for, as I now discuss, Haughton's comedy is partially a construction and reconstruction of earlier plays and narratives. Two 1590s plays contributed outstandingly to what Christopher Ricks has usefully termed aspects of the making (narrative) and meaning (genre) of the play: these are Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, written in either 1589 or 1590, and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, written c. 1595.¹⁰¹ Haughton would have reacted to both as popular and topical dramas, the first dealing with anti-Semitism, and the second with a woman marrying whom she wants. A further device of the play – the basket device in scene 11 – can only be evaluated in by its analogues.

The play's chief source was Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*.¹⁰² Borrowings from Marlowe's plays, as Tom Rutter has argued, are to be expected, for 'Henslowe's *Diary* shows that Marlowe's plays were central to the repertory of the reconstituted version of the

⁹⁸ Wendy Griswold, *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in the London Theatre, 1576–1989* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 14–23; Paster, *Idea of the City*, 176–9.

⁹⁹ Howard, *Theatre*, 20.

¹⁰⁰ Howard, *Theatre*, 20.

¹⁰¹ Christopher Ricks, *Allusion to the Poets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6, 57. On dating see Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. N. Bawcutt, *Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 12; William Shakespeare, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, with John Jowett and William Montgomery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 119.

¹⁰² Lineation is taken from Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Bawcutt.

company that moved to the Rose in 1594': of *The Jew of Malta* alone, Henslowe records thirty-six performances between February 1592 and June 1596 (ff. 7r–21v), and allusions to the play can be found in other early modern dramatic works.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, precise details of how Haughton knew about the play remain unclear: the first extant edition was printed in 1633 (STC 17412), but it has been argued that a now-lost quarto was printed earlier.¹⁰⁴ Alternatively, Haughton might have attended a performance: Henslowe's nearest record of performance is on 21 June 1596 (f. 21v), eight months before Haughton received his first recorded payment from Henslowe for *Englishmen*.

Gurr has already briefly argued that the making of *Englishmen* was influenced by *The Jew of Malta*; specifically, he has argued that Haughton modelled the character of Pisaro on Barabas.¹⁰⁵ I have identified two principal means by which Haughton conveyed this modelling to his audiences. First, the original players for both characters appear to have worn large false noses, a physiological means by which anti-Semitic stereotypes were mobilized onstage.¹⁰⁶ It is known that the original player for Barabas wore a large false

¹⁰³ Tom Rutter, 'Marlovian Echoes in the Admiral's Men Repertory: *Alcazar*, *Stukeley*, *Patient Grissil*', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009), 28. Apart from *Englishmen*, allusions to *The Jew of Malta* are found in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (written 1596–7), Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (written 1602), and Jonson's *Volpone* (written c. 1605): see Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Bawcutt, 2, 50–1.

¹⁰⁴ The likelihood of a lost Q0 is in part prompted by the fact that the play was entered to Nicholas Ling and Thomas Millington on 17 May 1594 (Arber, 2, 649). It was re-entered to Nicholas Vavasour on 20 November 1632 (Arber, 4, 288); he went on to publish the extant edition of 1633. The *ESTC* provides the note 'the first surviving edition, but not the first printed'.

¹⁰⁵ Gurr, 'Intertextuality', 195.

¹⁰⁶ The stage Jew was often described as large-nosed, typically as a means to physically represent the anti-Semitic perception that Jews were different to the English. For more recent studies which discuss the anti-Semitic representation of Jews as possessing large noses see Frank Felsenstein, 'Jews and Devils: Anti-Semitic Stereotypes of Late Medieval and Renaissance England', *Journal of Literature and Theology* 4.1 (1990), 17–18; Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York; London: Routledge, 1991), 169–93; Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 128; Gilman, 'By a Nose: on the

nose as a result of William Rowley's pamphlet *A Search for Money* (1609), in which a usurer's face is likened to 'the artificiall Jewe of Maltae's nose'.¹⁰⁷ Barabas's large nose is underscored at several points in the play by Barabas's servant, Ithamore, who claims to 'worship your nose' (2.3.175); Ithamore also calls Barabas a 'bottle-nosed knave' (3.3.10) and once directly addresses his nose, as 'God-a-mercy, nose' (4.1.23). Pisaro is subjected to comparable abuse: Walgrave claims that Pisaro's 'snout' is 'Able to shadow Paul's, it is so great' (2.15–16), Frisco describes Pisaro's nose as 'the best nose at smelling out a pinfold that I know' (14.103) and Harvey calls him 'Signor Bottlenose' (9.1): an allusion to *The Jew of Malta* in 3.3.10. Although there is no surviving evidence to indicate that the original player of Pisaro wore a large false nose, such a prop would justify the comments, and would serve to solidify the relationship between Barabas and Pisaro.

The second means by which an Elizabethan audience would have understood that Pisaro's character was modelled on Barabas is by incontrovertible verbal parallels.¹⁰⁸

Construction of "Foreign Bodies", *Social Epistemology* 13.1 (1999), 49–58, especially pp.51–3; Dean Phillip Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World* (Lanham; Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 69–85.

¹⁰⁷ William Rowley, *A Search for Money*, Percy Society Publications (London, 1840), 19.

¹⁰⁸ The criteria for identifying echoes, allusions and references might here be defined. William Harmon (*A Handbook to Literature*, 12th edn (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2011), 158, 13 and 398 respectively) defines an echo as 'a complex, subtle, and multifarious acoustic phenomenon involving a faint but perceptible repetition inside a work or between works'. An allusion is defined as 'a figure of speech that makes a brief reference to a historical or literary figure, event, or object. [. . .] Strictly speaking, allusion is always indirect. It seeks, by tapping the knowledge and memory of the reader, to secure a resonant emotional effect from the associations already existing in the reader's mind'. A reference, by comparison, is always direct, such as a quotation, or the mention of a text or person by title or name. In order to further identify an echo, I used the criteria set out by MacD. P. Jackson, in which he identified *LION* (accessed 10–15 January 2010) as a useful resource by which to perform Boolean searches on key words. Following Jackson, phrases and collocations that occur three or less times in the 134 other extant plays first performed between 1589 (i.e. *The Jew of Malta*) and 1598 (i.e. *Englishmen*) were considered significant, and might be referred to as 'echoes'. I performed the same search with the seventy other extant plays first performed between 1595 (i.e. *Romeo and Juliet*) and 1598 (i.e. *Englishmen*). See MacD. P. Jackson, 'Shakespeare and the Quarrel Scene in Arden of

Specifically, Barabas's opening soliloquy (1.1.1–48) was the foundation for that of Pisaro (1.1–28). In Marlowe's *Jew*, Barabas talks of his 'Persian ships' (1.1.2) that bring back, among other commodities, 'Spanish oils' (1.1.5), and observes that the wind stands 'east and by south' (1.1.41). In *Englishmen*, Pisaro talks about his 'laden ships' that bring back commodities from 'fertile Spain' (1.4), and notes that his ships are driven by a 'south-west wind' (1.3). (Barabas needs a south-east wind because he abides in Malta; Pisaro a south-west wind because he lives in England, the direction being up the English Channel.) The idea that Jews were dispersed among other nations is also parodied: Barabas mentions that 'They say we are a scattered nation' (1.1.120); the consequence of which, as Pisaro says, is that 'every soil to me is natural' (1.10). Kermode has observed a further parallel in their tricks, particularly in feigning emotions and attitudes that are intended to deceive (as examples: Barabas, 1.1.150–2 and 2.3.57–61; Pisaro, 4.74–6). In addition, there is a parallel in both characters' duplicitous promises to their daughters' hated suitors, as in the following:

Thou know'st, and heaven can witness it true,
That I intend my daughter shall be thine.
(*The Jew of Malta*, 2.3.255–6)

What should you fear? And as I have vowed before,
So now again: my daughters shall be yours.
(*Englishmen*, 3.217–18)

Faversham', *SQ* 57.3 (2006), 258. While 'echo' and 'allusion' are often used interchangeably by scholars (such as, for example, by Rutter in his 'Marlovian Echoes', 27), Harmon (and, to a degree, Jackson) provide a workable set of criteria by which to identify echo, allusion, and reference; I have used this criteria throughout the thesis.

In using these two aspects of Barabas's character, Haughton creates an immediate link between Pisaro and Barabas. In Pisaro the audience is intended to identify Barabas's usurious ways and – above everything else – his Jewish descent.

The Jew of Malta also had a substantial impact on the play's meaning. Haughton perhaps based Pisaro's character on Barabas to mobilize a scapegoat: the complex anti-Semitic stereotype of Jews as outsiders – Christ-haters, murderers, crucifiers of young children, anything which might justify the Christian's expulsion of Jews from civilized society. It has been argued that Marlowe uses the stereotype of the Jew to uncover the scapegoat mechanism of Renaissance tragedy.¹⁰⁹ This might support the play's generic ambiguity: the play moves from a tragedy in the first two acts to melodrama in the last three as Marlowe draws increasingly on the notion of the character of the Vice. By portraying Barabas as the Vice, Barabas utterly and ironically becomes the embodiment of the evil Jew.¹¹⁰ Marlowe renegotiates this stereotype of the Jew, pointing to the fundamental lack of differentiation between socially instituted categories: if Jews are evil, then so might Christians be seen. As Troni Y. Grande has argued, Ferneze's hypocrisy at the end of the play shows that Malta remains sin-infested: 'despite attempts to externalize

¹⁰⁹ Critics include Stephen Greenblatt, 'Marlowe, Marx and Anti-Semitism', *Critical Enquiry* 5 (1978), 291–307; James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 2nd edn (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 5–8, 14–17, 134–5; Troni Y. Grande, *Marlovian Tragedy: The Play of Dilation* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 140, 154.

¹¹⁰ On important studies that detail Barabas as the Vice see M.C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 158; Bernard Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: The History of a Metaphor in Relation to His Major Villains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 348; Clifford Leech, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage*, ed. Anne Lancashire (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 49–85.

and detach it, evil remains within Ferneze and his society'.¹¹¹ Thus, Marlowe's play refuses the model, used in earlier Renaissance tragedies, of the *de casibus* ending (i.e. 'on the fall(s) of great men'), when a retributive ending seeks to contain and condemn the subversive elements, here represented by the regenerating Jew. Further, the notion of Jewish otherness is already becoming comical: black comedy, Rick Bowers argues, is used to bypass generic conventions and highlight 'theatrical effects, effects that suggests the provisional, contingent and performative nature of reality'.¹¹² Marlowe's exploration of genre at once underlines the stereotype of the Jew, and introduces the possibility of reversal and change. This use of a *comic* mobilization of the stereotype of the Jew is important if the character of Pisaro in *Englishmen* is to be understood: Haughton's play takes on board these issues of Jewish otherness, as well as their being externalized; yet, written almost a decade later, when ideas of otherness had begun to be assimilated into Englishness, Haughton uses the medium of comedy to explore possibilities of acceptance.

Haughton's second principal source was Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

Shakespeare's play, as Gurr has argued, was an inexorable source for Haughton, for 'Juliet was singular in the 1590s as a stage heroine who disobeyed her parents in marrying for

¹¹¹ Grande, *Dilation*, 142. See also Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, ed. Bawcutt, 36; Lloyd Edward Kermode, "'Marlowe's Second City": The Jew as Critic at the Rose in 1592', *Studies in English Literature: 1500–1900* 35.2 (1995), 226.

¹¹² Rick Bowers, *Radical Comedy in Early Modern England: Contexts, Cultures, Performances* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 35. Critics see humour, for example, in the conversation between Barabas and his servant, Ithamore, as each tries to outdo the evil of the other (2.3.169–219); in the pot of poisoned porridge for the nunnery, which is displayed onstage alongside a large ladle to emphasize Ithamore's rehearsal of the proverb 'He that eats with the devil had need of a long spoon' (3.4.58–9); and in Barabas's comment, 'What, all alone? Well fare, sleepy drink!' (5.1.61), after being thrown outside the city walls, supposedly dead. For discussions of Marlowe's use of humour in *The Jew of Malta* see, as examples, T.S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*, repr. (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), 173; Nicholas Brooke, 'Marlowe the Dramatist', *Stratford-upon-Avon Studies* 9 (1966), 89–90; Leech, *Poet for the Stage*, 159–74; Bowers, *Radical Comedy*, 21–35.

love'; *Romeo and Juliet* appeared to have become stock repertory in the plays performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men from 1595, and allusions to language and plot devices can be identified in numerous plays written from 1598.¹¹³ Limited but important evidence suggests that Haughton either consulted a copy of the first quarto, printed in 1597, or attended a performance closer to the first quarto.¹¹⁴ Three allusions to phrases or single-line speeches in *Romeo and Juliet* can only be found in the first quarto: these are 'Now, before God, my heart is passing light' (16.40) when the second quarto reads 'My heart is wondrous light' (4.2.45);¹¹⁵ 'Defer embracements till some fitter time' (9.22) when the line is not in the second quarto (and in fact this scene differs almost completely in the second quarto);¹¹⁶ and 'an open et cetera' (5.38) when the second quarto reads 'open, or'.¹¹⁷ I provisionally argue, then, that Haughton was aware of the first quarto's version of *Romeo and Juliet*; for this reason I refer to this quarto's lineation below, as well as in the Commentary.

¹¹³ Gurr, 'Intertextuality', 195. G. Blakemore Evans, in his edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, has observed that there was a 'sudden rash' of allusions in four plays written in 1598: these are Henry Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, Haughton's *Englishmen*, and Munday and Chettle's *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, updated edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2). Mary Bly observes allusions in the later plays of Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (written 1600), Dekker's *Blurt, Master Constable* (written 1607), and Edward Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig* (written 1607). (Mary Bly, 'Bawdy Puns and Lustful Virgins: The Legacy of Juliet's Desire in Comedies of the Early 1600s', SS 49 (1996), 97.)

¹¹⁴ William Shakespeare, *An Excellent Conceited Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet* (London: John Danter [and Edward Allde?], 1597; STC 22322). All Q1 line references are to William Shakespeare, *The First Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet'*, ed. Lukas Erne, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁵ Q2 line references are taken from Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. Evans. *Englishmen* reads 'Now, afore God, my heart is passing light' (12.4).

¹¹⁶ *Englishmen* reads 'Defer this business till some fitter time' (5.104).

¹¹⁷ *Englishmen* reads 'the French et cetera' (4.98).

The making of *Englishmen* was in part indebted to *Romeo and Juliet*. There Haughton found the narrative content for his outline plot, as well as portrayals of Pisaro's three daughters – as desirous virgins who use ribald puns only when out of earshot of their father or lovers – and the balcony device.¹¹⁸ The plot similarities are worth mentioning: in both, an overbearing father (Capulet/Pisaro) wishes to marry his female offspring (Juliet/Pisaro's three daughters) to a suitor of his choice (Paris/the three foreigners), but his progeny has other ideas, preferring instead the advances of someone hated by the father (Romeo/the Englishmen); in both plays, the woman has her will, covertly marrying without her father's consent.

Verbal parallels, for example, are remarkably close, as in the following description of the stars in *Englishmen*:

Night's candles burn obscure.
(Pisaro in a soliloquy, 7.3)

compared to the original in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*:

Night's candles are burnt out.
(Romeo to Juliet, 14.9)

In both *Englishmen* and *Romeo and Juliet*, night and its significance are used in relation to the sexual encounters that it will bring. However, in *Romeo and Juliet* the loss of 'Night's candles', as an indication of dawn, marks the separation of the eponymous characters; in *Englishmen*, Haughton transformed the line to further Pisaro's plot: the stars' obscurity deepens the night, making it less likely that Pisaro's daughters will detect that they are speaking to their foreign wooers (although Pisaro is wrong: see 11.96–209). In a similar

¹¹⁸ See Bly, 'Bawdy Puns', 97–109, especially pp. 98–9.

vein, the Nurse's fearful warning to Juliet that 'the day is broke' (14.56) following Juliet and Romeo's consummation of their marriage is gleefully used by Anthony, who, because 'the day is broke', is confident that Mathea and Ned 'are so surely linked together' (14.1–2): the Nurse's fear of the discovery of her ward's sexual actions and its consequences is transformed into Anthony's wish for his own ward's activities to be discovered.

Juliet's balcony scene is parodied in *Englishmen*, once ironically with Van Dal, and then again with the three Englishmen. The first occasion is in scene 11, when Van Dal visits Laurentia under the cover of darkness disguised as her English suitor, Heigham. He calls to Laurentia from below her balcony:

Zal Ik climb up tot you? Zal Ik fly up tot you? Zal Ik? Wat zeg dee?
(11.137)

Van Dal's use of flight as a means to access the room of his love should be compared to Romeo's speech:

With love's light wings did I o'erperch these walls,
For stony limits cannot hold love out.
(5.104–5)

Romeo's 'light wings' are transformed into the Dutchman's jarring prose; Van Dal inadvertently neutralizes the poetry of love. The balcony device is further rehearsed a scene later, this time between Pisaro's daughters and their English suitors (11.126–200) in a multiplication of the love scenario set up in *Romeo and Juliet*. Yet Houghton makes a significant change: in Shakespeare's play, Romeo goes to Juliet; in *Englishmen*, the daughters command their English wooers to 'Prepare your arms', for 'thus *we fly to you*' (11.199, my emphasis). In this change can be seen an additional (physical) mobilizing of the disobedient daughter marrying for love.

Allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* help to solidify *Englishmen*'s meaning: here, as in its predecessor, a woman who prosecutes her will against her father's wishes must surely be punished by death. Darker moments in the play serve to sustain a sense of impending catastrophe: Pisaro's daughters suffer (11.91–4); Al Varo promises to poison Harvey (14.99–101); Harvey himself appears to be dying (11.282–299; 14.19–23 etc.) only to come back (14.156–8); and Pisaro's daughters talk very seriously about hanging Van Dal (11.123–4) but attempt instead to 'starve him to death this frosty night' (11.125). Yet Haughton's departure from *Romeo and Juliet*'s ending is significant: Pisaro's daughters are allowed to rebel by marrying the Englishmen because, in doing so, they reinforce chauvinistic ideas about English purity. Marrying Englishmen prevents Anglo-foreign sexual relations and asserts a notion of nationhood that would be acceptable to contemporary audiences, albeit significantly blurred: the daughters are themselves the product of an English mother and a Portuguese father. Their marriage, as Howard has argued, 'halts the flow of resources out of the nation, concentrating wealth in the hands of the native born': a notion that should be supported by a comic ending.¹¹⁹

No source has been identified for the basket device of scene 11, in which Laurentia, with the help of her two sisters, lures Van Dal – who at the time is imitating Heigham – into a basket before suspending him halfway to the balcony. As Baugh argues, the device is mentioned in so many texts that it 'make[s] pointless any attempt to fix with definiteness the source from which Haughton derived it'.¹²⁰ The principal stories that circulated during the Renaissance were the supposed suspensions of Socrates, Hippocrates, Virgil and Ovid from Classical times; Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* from the medieval era; and a variety of

¹¹⁹ Howard, *Theatre*, 44.

¹²⁰ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 35.

Renaissance texts.¹²¹ Spargo, Baugh and Richard Levin argue that one story, more than others, influenced Haughton: the medieval story of Virgil's love for Febilla.¹²² The story was first translated into English in an edition printed and published by John Doesborck in Antwerp, c. 1518, as *The Life of Virgilius*.¹²³ In the story, Febilla asks Virgil to visit her tower at midnight:

Virgilius came to the tower and the gentlewoman was there waiting. And as she saw him there stand she let down the basket at the window, and, when it was done, Virgilius went in. And when he was there, she pulled him up until he came halfway, and there she let him hang and made the cord fast. Then the gentlewoman spake: 'ye be deceived, and I shall let you hang still tomorrow, for it is market day, that all the folk may wonder of you and your dishonesty'.¹²⁴

The similarities between the plights of Virgil and Van Dal are undeniable: both women realize that they are being seduced by their wooer and, consequently, both draw their lover in a basket to a point halfway to their window/balcony; both then jeer and mock their

¹²¹ John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in Virgilian Legends* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934), 193–7. As Renaissance examples, the device was used in the now-lost play 'The Three Sisters of Mantua', performed at Court by Lord Warwick's Men on 26 December 1578, and requiring 'a rope, a pulley, as [?]and] basket' (Peter Cunningham, ed., *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: 1842), 125; J. Lawrence, 'Englishmen for my Money: A Possible Prototype', *RES* 1.2 (1950), 216). In Anon., *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg of Westminster* (entered in the Stationers' Register in 1590; first extant publication is 1620; STC 17782.5), Meg beats a miller and then pulls him up in a sack, leaving him suspended, and in Thomas Deloney's *Thomas of Reading* (written c. 1598; first extant publication is in 1612; STC 6569) an innkeeper returns unexpectedly and uses a basket to hoist his wife's lover into the rafters.

¹²² Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, 193; Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 34; Richard Levin, 'A Source of William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*', *N&Q* 53.1 (2006), 58.

¹²³ Anon., *The Life of Virgilius and of His Death and Many Miracles that He Did in His Lifetime by Witchcraft* (Antwerp: John Doesborock, c. 1518; STC 24828). A reprint was issued by William Copland in c. 1562 (London; STC 24829). English re-tellings of the story appeared in Stephen Hawes's *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1509; STC 12948. Reprinted in 1517 (STC 12929) and 1555 (STC 12930)) and John Rolland's *The Court of Venus* (1575; STC 21258).

¹²⁴ Anon., *Virgilius*, sig. B6r. Spelling and punctuation has been modernized because the original is difficult to follow.

wooer. Nonetheless, Richard Levin's argument that Haughton 'followed this story [of Virgil] very closely' is perhaps too strong.¹²⁵ Whether Haughton used the suspension of Virgil as his source, it is demonstrable that he was able to consult a close approximation, in an English translation, to Van Dal's suspension.¹²⁶

If it is possible to look back at several sources and analogues, how was Haughton's work innovative? Answering this question depends on a knotty central issue: that of the direction of influence – the chronology of so-called 'London' plays.¹²⁷ Crystal Bartolovich, for example, has argued that Haughton was the first to dramatize a number of specifically named London spaces, such as the Exchange, old Saint Paul's, and various streets.¹²⁸ This statement is less than straightforward, however, since it depends upon a limited understanding of the date and composition of *Sir Thomas More*, a London-based play never performed or printed in the early modern period, but extant in a dramatic

¹²⁵ Levin, 'Source', 58.

¹²⁶ A further story, that of Falstaff's plight in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, has also been cited by scholars as an influence: see Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), 10; Gurr, 'Intertextuality', 196; William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. Nick de Somogyi, *The Shakespeare Folios* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2008), xxvii. However, later in this section I discuss (and provisionally agree with) the scholarly suggestion that *Merry Wives* was written between 1599 and 1602. Using this theory, we might reverse the direction of influence: Haughton's use of the basket may have suggested the idea to Shakespeare. But even were *Merry Wives* written before *Englishmen*, I still think the suggestion unlikely. In *Merry Wives*, Mistress Page conveys Falstaff into 'a buck-basket' (3.5.77–9) before he is rammed 'in with foul shirts and smocks' (3.5.82) and 'thrown into the Thames' (3.5.110–11). Van Dal, however, is not removed to the Thames or another site of private humiliation; in fact, the point in *Englishman* is that Van Dal is publically fixed in place in order to be mocked by passers-by (which he is: see 12.278–306).

¹²⁷ I have elsewhere detailed that Haughton received his first payment for *Englishmen* on 18 February 1598, although I have proposed that it is probable he received payments from the Admiral's company before this date (see 'Date of Composition'); his last recorded payment was in May 1598, and he had probably finished writing it by August of that year.

¹²⁸ Crystal Bartolovich, 'London's the Thing: Alienation, the Market, and *Englishmen for My Money*', *HLQ* 71.1 (2008), 137. See also Howard, *Theatre*, 32–3.

manuscript.¹²⁹ Conventionally, the manuscript is divided into two parts: the basic manuscript is a fair copy made by Anthony Munday, probably in collaboration with Henry Chettle,¹³⁰ either between autumn 1592 and mid-1595, or c. 1600 (I return to this point below); the manuscript was then annotated by Sir Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels from 1579 to 1610.¹³¹ To this was added a heavy series of alterations and additions, possibly written by Chettle, Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Shakespeare, and a professional theatrical scribe, in c. 1603–4.¹³²

The scholarly consensus, once firmly set on an original date of composition of 1592–5, has begun to move away from this suggestion. The earlier date was proposed on account of the topicality of the May Day riots, together with a possible mis-reading of the date on a manuscript of Munday's *John a Kent*, which is generally agreed to have been written before he wrote the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript: in 1955 I.A. Shapiro thought it read '1590'.¹³³ This dating was recently questioned: Jackson reinterpreted the handwriting to read '1596', which, if correct, pushes the writing of the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript to

¹²⁹ There are other plays written before or around the time of Haughton's *Englishmen* which have at least a few scenes set in London. The chief example is Shakespeare's *King Henry IV Part 1*, written c. 1596–7, which mentions 'Eastcheap' (1.2.105), a district of the City of London and the setting for the tavern scenes in 2.4 and 3.3. However, Shakespeare's play is more concerned with spaces outside of London: the Palace (1.1, 1.3, 3.2), as well as camps near Rochester (2.1), Gadshill (2.2), Bangor in Wales (3.1), Shrewsbury (4.1, 4.3, 5.1), Coventry (4.2) and York (4.4), meaning that the play does not dramatize London's streets; nor does it base activity in London's buildings. *Sir Thomas More*, with its disputed dating, is the only extant play to contend with *Englishmen* for the spot of the first known play to consistently dramatize London spaces. (Lineation taken from William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV Part 1*, ed. David Scott Kastan, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: The Arden Shakespeare and Thomson Learning, 2002).)

¹³⁰ See John Jowett, 'Henry Chettle and the Original Text of *Sir Thomas More*', in - *Shakespeare and 'Sir Thomas More': Essays on the Play and its Shakespearian Interest*, ed. T.H. Howard-Hill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 131–49.

¹³¹ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 109–34.

¹³² Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 124–5.

¹³³ I.A. Shapiro, 'The Significance of a Date', *SS* 8 (1955), 102.

a later date.¹³⁴ John Jowett has used comprehensive criteria by which to date the original manuscript.¹³⁵ He argues that a suspicious absence of entries for Munday and Chettle in Henslowe's *Diary* in 1600 to 1601 might be explained by their writing for another company, during which time the *More* manuscript could conceivably have been written. Further, Munday and Chettle are not recorded as collaborating before 1598, which casts a shadow over the suggestion that they worked together as early as 1592–5. Internal evidence might also point to this later date: Surrey's allusion to peace in France in 10.27–9 makes sense if it is related to France making peace with Spain in 1598; and in 14.46–52 there are possible allusions to *Julius Caesar*, written in 1599. To this might be added the work of Jackson, who, by conducting a series of stylometric tests, identified that the original manuscript's oaths, exclamations and contractions argue in favour of a 1600 dating.¹³⁶ If this later date is accepted, then *Englishmen* comes sharply into focus as original in its representation and dramatization of London's citizens, places and streets.

Whether *Englishmen* is original in other aspects of London comedy (in the depiction of non-noble figures, the recovery of money, and the negotiation of non-natives in the topography and geography of a city) depends on the dates that Shakespeare was composing *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: a play concerned with similar tenets. Tradition has it that Shakespeare wrote *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in fourteen days (which might serve to explain peculiarities of its form and style), and that Queen Elizabeth requested a court performance of Falstaff in love; further, in 5.5.48–65 the Queen of Fairies discusses

¹³⁴ MacD. P. Jackson, 'Deciphering a Date and Determining a Date: Anthony Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* and the Original Version of *Sir Thomas More*', forthcoming.

¹³⁵ References are to Munday et al, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, Appendix 4, forthcoming.

¹³⁶ Jackson, 'Deciphering'.

the Garter Chapel.¹³⁷ With this in mind, Leslie Hotson and David Crane suggest that the play was written in time for the Order of the Garter, specifically, the Garter feast of 23 April 1597.¹³⁸ But as Wells and Taylor have argued, there is no solid evidence for such a conjecture, and nothing to argue against the play recollecting, rather than anticipating, the Garter ceremonies of spring 1597.¹³⁹ Instead, Wells and Taylor – who had reservations not against the theory but about the dating – argued that the play could have anticipated ‘a later court performance [for] that Whitehall season (on 26 February [1598])’.¹⁴⁰ However, Elizabeth Schafer has effectively challenged the main arguments for the 1597–8 dating, and Giorgio Melchiori suggests that the comedy of *Merry Wives* was written in 1599, with the Garter speech, as well as the Herne’s oak fairy gambols in 5.5.37–102, ‘conceived as an independent masque, part of an entertainment offered to the Queen on some particular occasion’, possibly ‘the hypothetical entertainment of 1597’.¹⁴¹ Yet Melchiori’s argument is perhaps too hypothetical.¹⁴² MacD. P. Jackson’s firmer grounding of linguistic tests strongly correlates the play to the date of *Troilus and Cressida*, written in 1602.¹⁴³ Although scholars therefore disagree in the actual dating of the play’s composition, the

¹³⁷ This tradition first appears in John Dennis’s dedication of his adaptation of *Merry Wives* as *The Comical Gallant; or, The Amours of Sir John Falstaff* (London: A. Baldwin, 1702).

¹³⁸ Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare Versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931), 111–22; Crane, ed., *Merry Wives*, 1.

¹³⁹ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 120.

¹⁴⁰ Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion*, 120.

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth Schafer, ‘The Dating of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, A Caveat’, *N&Q* 236 (1991), 57–60; Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, ed. Melchiori, 18, 22.

¹⁴² Not everyone would agree that it is. Katherine Duncan-Jones has been convinced by Melchiori’s argument: in her updated edition of *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from His Life* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001), Duncan-Jones argued that ‘Giorgio Melchiori has convinced me that I was wrong about the dating and evolution of the play, not written as a whole until 1598/9’. See *Shakespeare: an Ungentle Life*, updated and rev. edn (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), xviii.

¹⁴³ MacD. P. Jackson, ‘Pause Patterns in Shakespeare’s Verse: Canon and Chronology’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17.1 (2002), 41–2.

more recent consensus is that *Merry Wives* was written later than 1598, i.e. after Haughton's *Englishmen* play.

If *Sir Thomas More* and *Merry Wives* were indeed written later than *Englishmen*, then this gives the play greater primacy in the development of the genre of London comedy than previously ascribed by scholars. Although aspects of the play's meaning and making are traceable to sources, and at least one parallel can be identified in an analogue, the tenets of London comedy were formulated by Haughton. This clarifies Haughton's position as chief in influencing later dramatists writing in the London comedy genre, including Dekker, Middleton and Jonson. However, it is in a discussion of *Englishmen*'s influence on other plays that Ricks's careful separation between meaning and making becomes most significant. For although it might be argued that the play was chief in the *meaning* of later London comedies, little in the play can be identified in their *making*. Echoes From *Englishmen* can be found in references to Mother Wall's pasties (10.43), later used in Dekker and Webster's London comedy, *Westward Ho!* (1603–4),¹⁴⁴ and in the Bellman's song (10.61–2), later used in the comedies of *May Day* (c. 1601–2) by Chapman, and *The Dutch Courtesan* (c. 1604) by John Marston.¹⁴⁵ The problem of allusion is in part because of the doubly proverbial nature of the title as printed in 1616.¹⁴⁶ Baugh plausibly suggests that two of Thomas Heywood's plays allude to *Englishmen*. *How A Man May Choose a*

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Dekker, *Westward Ho!* in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 2nd edn, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4.3.83–4.

¹⁴⁵ George Chapman, *May Day*, in *Representative English Comedies*, ed. C.M. Gayley and A. Thaler, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, 1913), 2.4; John Marston. *The Dutch Courtesan*, ed. David Crane, New Mermaids Series (London: A & C Black; New York: W. Norton, 1997), 4.5.72–5. Dekker also used the Bellman's song in his *Villanies discovered by Lanthorn and Candlelight* (London: [William Stansby], 1616; STC 6488), sig. A1v.

¹⁴⁶ 'Englishmen for my money' and 'a woman will have her will' appear as proverbs M1040 and W723 in R. Dent's *Proverbial Language Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495–1616: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

Good Wife From a Bad (written c. 1601) seems to parody deliberately Haughton's suggestion that a woman can have her will:

Mary. Not have my will? Yes, I will have my will.
Shall I not go abroad but when you please?
[. . .]
Why, you Jack sauce, you cuckold, you what not.
What, am I not of age sufficient
To go and come still when my pleasure serves?
But must I have you, sir, to question me?
Not have my will? Yes, I will have my will.
[. . .]
Barabo. Not have her will? Sir, she shall have her will.
She says she will.
(5.1.4–18)¹⁴⁷

In *2 If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* (written c. 1604) there is printed the passage 'And yet of all and all, the Englishman / Shall go for me [. . .]. *John*. Why, then, the Englishman for thy money' (1.1.210–15),¹⁴⁸ thus recalling *Englishmen*'s title. These could be references to *Englishmen*, but the play's titular proverbs were presumably commonplace, and *2 If You Know not Me*'s playful use of women and their wills is closer to Haughton's *Grim the Collier* in 2.1.395–6.¹⁴⁹ Echoes from *Englishmen*, then, rarely

¹⁴⁷ Lineation is taken from Thomas Heywood, *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife From a Bad*, ed. John Stephen Farmer, *Old English Drama: Students' Facsimile Edition* ([Amersham?], 1912).

¹⁴⁸ Lineation is taken from Thomas Heywood, *2 If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, ed. J. Payne Collier, vol. 4 (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1851).

¹⁴⁹ For the quotation see 'Extant Plays'. This selective use of *Englishmen* persists in a discussion of the play's afterlife. *Englishmen* was printed in three extant editions between 1616 and 1636: only a little over a quarter of playbooks printed from 1576 to 1625 reached three extant editions by 1660, which would suggest that the play was popular with readers (Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited', *SQ* 56.1 (2005), 23). *A Woman Will Have Her Will* (the title of Q3) was advertised as for sale in the back pages of *The Careless Shepherdess* (1656), *An Exposition of All Saint Paul's Epistles* (1659), *Tom Tyler* (1661) and *Nicomede* (1671), which suggests that, by 1656, only the third extant edition of *Englishmen* was in circulation (Anon., *The Careless Shepherdess* (London: Richard Rogers and William Ley, 1656; Wing G1005), sig. M2v; David

appear in extant plays. This obscurity might be as a result of the play's involvement in a closed and specific historical moment: that of late 1590s London.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

Englishmen can be read as a *fin-de-siècle* work, exploring the disillusionment of troubled times. Two issues might be of particular relevance. The first concerns the anti-Semitic representation of Jews in literature and on stage, and how such representations could affect the understanding and treatment of Pisaro, a Portuguese usurer who might be regarded as a Jew in everything but name; the second concerns the play's representation of foreigners in the contexts of 1590s literature and contemporary attitudes.

Law, Jewry, and the Play of 'Englishmen'

Criticism of *Englishmen* has primarily focused on Pisaro's concealed ethnic status: is he, or is he not, a Sephardic Jew? In this section I will discuss the scholarly debates relevant to *Englishmen* that are historically linked to Jewry in England: conversos and marranos, the anti-Semitic characterization of a Jew, their ability to manoeuvre Spanish trade embargos and their links to usury.¹⁵⁰

Dickson, *An Exposition of All Saint Paul's Epistles Together* (London, 1659; Wing D1403), sig. 253v; Anon., *Tom Tyler and His Wife* (London: [?Francis Kirkman], 1661; Wing T1792A), sig. L3r; Pierre Corneille, *Nicomede*, trans. John Dancer (London, 1671; Wing C6316), sig. M1v).

¹⁵⁰ I note here that I offer contemporary documents which propagate – and secondary analysis which assesses – an *opinion*: that of the Jew/usurer as the antithesis of good and holy, a devil. That is not to propose that all English Christians regarded Christianity and Judaism in such binary terms: Kermode, for example, has demonstrated that Christian usurers could exceed their Jewish counterparts in the rates that they charged, and that this understanding was acknowledged – if not universally accepted – by contemporaries (Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 18). In the miracle drama the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament* (written c. 1461) the characterization of a Jew and a Christian is one of similitude: it deals on an equal footing with their misdeeds, and describes without bias their sinning,

Jews were prohibited from practising their religion in England during the sixteenth century; Edward I expelled them in 1290. From 1494, under the reign of Henry VIII, restricted numbers of Spanish and Portuguese conversos (Jewish New Christians) were admitted to England: a Jewish converso diaspora appears to have settled in the east of London, around Tower Ward and Aldgate, in a state-subsidized ‘*Domus Conversorum* [House of the Converts]’.¹⁵¹ A number of apparent conversos, however, while avowing Christianity, covertly continued to live as Jews, or marranos.¹⁵² There are indications that attitudes to these conversos/marranos varied between different sections of society. The converso Dunstan Ames of Crutched Friars, for example, died in April 1594 with several achievements to his name: he was Freeman of the Grocer Company, then purveyor and merchant for the Queen Majesty’s Grocery, and finally, from 1568, gentleman (i.e. a successful applicant for a coat of arms).¹⁵³ Yet there is also evidence of apparently arbitrary punishment: in 1562 the Privy Council reported that a Doctor Arnande was ‘esteemed to be a Jew and judged to ride through the streets in a cart’, and in 1572 a memorandum in Ipswich recorded the payment of sixpence for the ‘whipping of a Jewish man’.¹⁵⁴ The most notorious trial of a supposed Portuguese marrano in Elizabethan England was that of Doctor Roderigo Lopez. Lopez had resided in England from 1559; he

repentance and confession, as well as their pardoning in their respective communities (Osborn Waterhouse, ed., *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays, together with the Croxton ‘Play of the Sacrament’ and ‘The Pride of Life’* (London: Oxford University Press, 1909)). Yet it is precisely the opinion of the devilish Jew/usurer with which *Englishmen* engages.

¹⁵¹ Jonathan Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 81; Edgar Samuel, ‘London’s Portuguese Jewish Community, 1540–1753’, in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 239–46.

¹⁵² Peter Berek, ‘The Jew as Renaissance Man’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51.1 (1998), 132.

¹⁵³ Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 70.

¹⁵⁴ Cited in Shapiro, ‘Jews’, 73.

became the Queen's physician in 1586 but was tried for treason in the autumn of 1593 and hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 7 June 1594.¹⁵⁵ His apparent crime – an alleged plot to poison Queen Elizabeth – was tied with his ethnic status as a Jew.¹⁵⁶

Yet, even as a converso Jew's legal status was in constant revision in England, at once recognized and suppressed, stereotypes were used in times of crisis or for reasons of political expediency.¹⁵⁷ Biblical interpretation was often cited in anti-Semitic discourses: for example, Jesus said in a prophecy to the Jews 'you are of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your fathers ye will do' (John 8.44).¹⁵⁸ Further, the Jews, when accepting responsibility for the Death of Christ, cried 'His blood be on us, and on our children' (Matthew 27.25): the Geneva Bible adds the gloss, 'and as they wished, so this curse taketh place to this day'.¹⁵⁹ Jews could be depicted as murderers; it was claimed that they crucified Christian children and poisoned wells: a creed that originated in the medieval era when Jews were rounded up in times of plague in the belief that they were the source (the '*foetor judaicus* [Jewish stink]').¹⁶⁰ Such anti-Semitic stereotyping of devilry and poison

¹⁵⁵ Claire Hilton, 'St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and its Jewish Connections', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 30 (1987–88), 23–5; David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 49–106.

¹⁵⁶ Katz, *Jews*, 67; Harris, *Social Pathology*, 81–2.

¹⁵⁷ Felsenstein, 'Jews and Devils', 18.

¹⁵⁸ Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from the Bible are from the 'Bishops' Bible' (London: Richard Jugge, 1568; STC 2099.2), with modernized spelling.

¹⁵⁹ 'Geneva Bible' (London: Christopher Barker, 1586; STC 2887), spelling modernized.

¹⁶⁰ Texts which either reported or propagated anti-Semitism in gross detail include Raphael Holinshed, *The Laste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577; STC 13568), particularly sig. A7r; William Biddulph, *The Travels of Certain Englishmen* (London: Th[omas] Haveland, 1609; STC 3051), sig. M4v; John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 8, 31, 113, 203, 220–2, and 271. (For an analysis of this last text, see Anthony Bale, 'Stow's Medievalism and Antique Judaism in Early Modern England', in *John Stow (1525–1605) and the Making of the English Past*, ed. Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie, 69–80 (London: British Library, 2004).) On the *foetor judaicus* and the anti-Semitic association with devilry see Ruth Samson Luborsky, 'The Pictorial Image

experts persists in Elizabethan drama. Poisoning is mentioned in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, where Barabas claims that 'sometimes I go about and poison wells' (2.3.178), as well as poisoning the nuns' porridge; Zadoch, a Jew in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), threatens to amputate his own leg, which contains a sore, and 'from a fount of corruption extract a venom worse than a serpent's';¹⁶¹ and in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–7) Launcelot argues that 'certainly the Jew is the very Devil incarnation' (2.2.25–6).¹⁶²

Englishmen does not explicitly mention Pisaro's religion; thus, the ethnic status of the play's central character must be evaluated with caution. Yet the text offers various clues: foremost is that his character is modelled on Barabas, the Jew of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (see 'Genre'). Pisaro's Portuguese nationality may have been tantamount to Jewry,¹⁶³ and Crutched Friars, the place of Pisaro's house in the far east of the City of London, was probably a Jewish neighbourhood.¹⁶⁴ Pisaro also refers to himself as 'Judas-like' (1.28), and the play engages in associations with devilry: Walgrave and Anthony call him the Devil (in 11.209 and 11.273), and Harvey describes his house as in 'hell [. . .] down in the deep' (2.7–8). Pisaro does not do any poisoning, but he keenly encourages Al Varo's aborted promise to poison Harvey (14.135–7), a promise that interplays with

of the Jew in Elizabethan Secular Books', *SQ* 46.4 (1995), 452; Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, 9, 82.

¹⁶¹ Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R.B. McKerrow, rev. F.P. Wilson, 2nd edn, vol. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), 311.

¹⁶² Lincation is taken from William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. John Russell Brown, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series, reprint (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001).

¹⁶³ Edmund Valentine Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *Early Literary History* 69.3 (2002), 610; 'Renaissance Man', 157.

¹⁶⁴ Campos, 'Portingales', 610.

another stereotype, that of the Italian's expertise in poisons and their morbid uses.¹⁶⁵ The notion of the *foetor judaicus* is present in Heigham's suggestion to De Lyon that he could reach Crutched Friars by 'follow[ing] your nose' (9.95), for by doing so De Lyon would presumably be able to pick up Pisaro's (Jewish) scent; and Harvey's mocking attribution, 'Signor Bottlenose' (9.1), together with Walgrave's suggestion that Pisaro's 'snout' is 'Able to shadow Paul's, it is so great' (2.15–16), engages with the anti-Semitic portrayal of the stage Jew as having a large nose.¹⁶⁶ That the audience has to construct Pisaro's Jewishness from clues in the play might be a testament to – or perhaps a reflection of – the silent methods by which marranos had to go about their lives in Elizabethan England. In this light, Kermode appears right to suggest that De Lyon's delight at the thought of going to Pisaro's and eating the latter's 'bacon' (3.21) is a slip on the Frenchman's part, painful to Pisaro, comical to the audience;¹⁶⁷ further, Pisaro's use of Christian blasphemies ('by'r Lady' in 3.8, 11.390, 13.43 and 14.90) is heard of in other theatrical representations of Jewishness: Barabas, for example, swears '*corpo di Dio* [by God's body]' (1.2.91).¹⁶⁸

Jean E. Howard was the first critic to relate Pisaro's Jewish status to his other role as a mercenary, who, armed with 'Thirty-two ships' (1.8), partially trades with 'fertile Spain' (1.4).¹⁶⁹ Howard builds on the work of C.J. Sisson, James Shapiro, Edmund Valentine Campos and Alan Stewart, who have argued for the unique position that

¹⁶⁵ Lloyd Edward Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 41.

¹⁶⁶ Lloyd Edward Kermode, 'After Shylock: The "Judaizer" in England', *Renaissance and Reformation* 20, (1996), 13, rehearsed in *Usury Plays*, 19–20 and *Aliens and Englishness*, 130.

¹⁶⁷ This might be compared to Launcelot's comment in *The Merchant of Venice*: 'this making of Christians [i.e. Jewish conversos] will raise the price of hogs – if we grow to all be pork-eaters, we shall not shortly have a rasher on the coals for money' (3.5.21–3). (Lineation taken from Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Brown.)

¹⁶⁸ Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 122.

¹⁶⁹ Howard, *Theatre*, 46.

Portuguese Jews had in mercantile trade with Spain.¹⁷⁰ This, they argue, is because of a historical imperative: in 1580, King Philip II of Spain succeeded the elderly Cardinal-king Henry of Portugal, to rule Portugal as King Philip I. Frustrated by Elizabeth's support of the Dutch rebellion against Catholicism, Philip imposed a trade embargo with England in 1585.¹⁷¹ Elizabeth's response was war with Spain, together with a counter-embargo. Trade suffered: by 1586 the Spanish Company for the trade in wool, for example, had ceased to function because of the embargo.¹⁷² But there was a curious loophole: were the merchant a Portuguese-born, English-denizen Jewish converso, then trade was still possible.¹⁷³ Principally, the loophole was for communication: as Sisson remarks, 'Portuguese refugees to England, permitted to reside there as conforming to the religion of the State, were used by Elizabeth as sources of intelligence in Spanish and Portuguese affairs'.¹⁷⁴ Yet equally,

The peculiar position which made such service possible also made these Portuguese Jews apt for carrying on trade with Spain. [. . .] A cargo, therefore, which would be confiscated at Lisbon if it belonged to an English owner, or at London if to a Portuguese owner, could pass the customs freely if it were proved to belong to a Portuguese or an English subject respectively.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ C.J. Sisson, 'A Colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London', *Essays and Studies* 23 (1937), 38–51; Shapiro, *The Jews*, 72–3; Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales', 611–12; Alan Stewart, 'Portingale Women and Politics in Late Elizabethan London', in *Women and Politics in Late Elizabethan London, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 85–7.

¹⁷¹ Stewart, 'Portingale Women', 85.

¹⁷² Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales', 608.

¹⁷³ Stewart, 'Portingale Women', 85; Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 292.

¹⁷⁴ Sisson, 'Colony', 40.

¹⁷⁵ Sisson, 'Colony', 40. The strength of the loophole can perhaps be seen in the reports of ambassadors: in August 1609, the Venetian ambassador in London wrote home, noting that 'many Portuguese merchants in this city have been discovered to be living secretly as Jews'; a more conservative report was sent by the Tuscan ambassador: 'There are many Portuguese here who are trading [. . .] Some of them have been accused of Judaism' (cited in Sisson, 'Colony', 40–1).

Howard remarks that *Englishmen* ‘seems to register the centrality of Jewish, or formerly Jewish, merchants to international trading networks’.¹⁷⁶ Thus, Pisaro’s status as an English denizen, together with his Portuguese nationality, and his links to Spanish trade, suggest that his ethnicity is Jewish.¹⁷⁷

Further testament to Pisaro’s Jewishness is his status as a usurer (1.17– 19). Under the Usury Statute of 1571 interest in England was capped at 10 per cent; punishment if caught was triple forfeiture of the principal.¹⁷⁸ The association between Jewry and usury was partially propagated by biblical interpretation: Christians should ‘not exact interest from the poor’ (Exodus 22.25) and should ‘take in your poor brother and do not abuse him with interest on loans’ (Leviticus 25.36). Although Jews were also forbidden to charge at usurious rates – the Talmud and the Midrash in fact condemn it – usury was historically one of the only means by which they were permitted to earn a living in medieval England.¹⁷⁹ By the Elizabethan period, literature indicates that Jewry and usury could be

¹⁷⁶ Howard, *Theatre*, 46.

¹⁷⁷ Studies on denization in *Englishmen* include Alan Stewart, “‘Euery Soylle to Mee is Naturall’: Figuring Denization in William Haughton’s *English-men for my Money*’, *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006), 55–81; Peter McCluskie, ‘*Englishmen for My Money* and The Sublimation of Anti-Immigrant Satire’ (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Miami, March 23-5 2007), 5; Emma Smith, “‘So much English by the Mother’’: Gender, Foreigners, and the Mother Tongue in William Haughton’s *Englishmen for my Money*’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 13 (2000), 173–5; Howard, *Theatre*, 44–5. For general studies into denization see Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 78; Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 15–16; Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 132–40; Gillian Brennan, ‘The Cheese and the Welsh: Foreigners in Elizabethan Literature’, *Renaissance Studies* 8.1 (1994), 40–64.

¹⁷⁸ Norman L. Jones, *God and the Money Lenders: Usury and the Law in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 48. In *Englishmen*, Walgrave gripes that Pisaro charges interest at 20 per cent (11.227), a figure that Pisaro later modifies to 22 per cent (14.33).

¹⁷⁹ Felsenstein, ‘Jews and Devils’, 21.

conflated: Francis Bacon, in his essay ‘Of Usury’, wrote that ‘*Usurers* should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Judaize*’, and the anonymous author of *The Death of Usury* defended the English legal rate of 10 per cent interest by arguing that the Jews ‘tooke after 60.70.80. in the 100 [. . .] it is plaine that brokers and Jewes are of like quality’.¹⁸⁰ The association also had dramatic currency: in Robert Wilson’s *Three Ladies of London* (1581) the character Gerontus is a Jewish usurer, and Usury was born to Jewish parents; in Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* Barabas is described as having been a usurer in the past (2.3.193–201); and Mamon in Marston’s *Jack Drum’s Entertainment* (c. 1600) is a Jew-devil-usurer.

How did Haughton intend his audience to respond to Pisaro? As a usurer to whom can be ascribed Jewish traits, Pisaro is, by implication, a devil twice over; he is greedy, miserly, a deceiver, a threat to English wealth and an exploiter of English customs. But there is more to Pisaro’s characterization than this: unlike the play’s foreigners, Pisaro speaks fluent English, which, as Shapiro has remarked, ‘demands that he be understood in a different framework’, for, in the play, ‘fluency signifies a certain degree of integration’.¹⁸¹ But as Shapiro has also stated, Pisaro’s role as a merchant qualifies him for further integration.¹⁸² In his opening soliloquy, Pisaro remarks that his ships’ freight ‘do make Pisaro rich’ (1.9); here, Pisaro underlines his role as a merchant, which, as Rutter has argued, provides an important distinction to his other role as a usurer:

Usurers were accused of earning their bread through others’ labor, breaking [, according to Francis Bacon,] ‘the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the

¹⁸⁰ Francis Bacon, *The Essays, or, Councels, Civil and Moral, of Francis Bacon*, ed. Samuel Harvey Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 124–5; Anon., *The Death of Usury, or, The Disgrace of Usurers* (Cambridge: John Legatt, [1594]; STC 6443.5), sig. B4v.

¹⁸¹ Campos, ‘Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales’, 612.

¹⁸² Campos, ‘Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales’, 612.

Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultus tui comedes Panem tuum* [in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread]; Not, *In sudore Vultus alieni* [in the sweat of another's brow]'.¹⁸³

Further legitimization can be found in Pisaro's trading specifically as a Merchant Adventurer, a possibility which can be extracted from his exportation of cloth to Stade:

shall I have these cloths?
For I would ship them straight away for Stade.
(3.82–3)

The Merchant Adventurers controlled the exportation of cloth – specifically broadcloth – in exchange for foreign goods, which they then imported to London; Stade, near Hamburg, was a Merchant Adventurer outpost from 1554.¹⁸⁴ As a Merchant Adventurer, Pisaro would have been a part of the only trade controlled by England; in January 1598 the foreign competitor – the Hanseatic Merchants – was banished from London, and its London Steelyard closed in early August 1598.¹⁸⁵ It must therefore be understood that Pisaro is involved in English trade networks.

Pisaro is not Shylock, summoned to court to answer accusations of wanting, as a Jew, his pound of flesh, found guilty of inciting murder and therefore stripped of his house and wealth; nor is he Barabas, who dies in a cauldron, fittingly prepared by his own hands, for the death of another character, Calymath. Although Pisaro's motives are questioned by other characters in the play (see in particular Walgrave: 'We can complain: extortion, simony. / Newgate hath room, there's law enough in England', 11.228–29), the threat of

¹⁸³ Tom Rutter, '*Englishmen for my Money: Work and Social Conflict?*' (forthcoming). Also see Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 38.

¹⁸⁴ William E. Lingelbach, *The Merchant Adventurers of England: Their Laws and Ordinances with Other Documents* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971), 37.

¹⁸⁵ T.H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 292–362; George Burton Hotchkiss, ed., *A Treatise of Commerce by John Wheeler* (New York: New York University Press, 1931), 416–17.

imprisonment and reform is never realized. Critics have argued that, instead of rejecting Pisaro's Jewish status by death, *Englishmen* assimilates his Jewishness into Englishness. Howard argues that Pisaro's 'Jewish difference [is] eroded by his decision to marry and settle on English soil and seemingly effaced by his daughters' marriage choices'.¹⁸⁶ Kermode argues that, at the play's conclusion, Pisaro is 'finally the accepting father of comedy': a vital point, for, were Pisaro not, then the play would have funnelled into a tragic catastrophe, and not a comic denouement.¹⁸⁷ An implied resistance to Jewish assimilation and acceptance in earlier drama is revised by the vehicle of later 1590s comedy: in *Englishmen* at least, assimilation is inevitable, if not openly celebrated.

Mapping Cultural Identity

The play's reception and treatment of foreigners has provoked a variety of critical responses.¹⁸⁸ In the 1970s and 80s, when interest in the play became pronounced, critics perceived *Englishmen* to be 'uninterested in either the conflict, or the sources of the conflict, that pitted one status group against another', as Theodore Leinwand put it; and G.K. Hunter suggested that 'foreignness is no part of the moral structure, but is only an intriguing local colour'.¹⁸⁹ Since 1990, however, when Elizabeth Schafer, in her response to Hunter, argued that the play 'demonstrates an interest in language as a subject for joking

¹⁸⁶ Howard, *Theatre*, 48.

¹⁸⁷ Kermode, 'After Shylock', 12.

¹⁸⁸ I note here that 'stranger' and 'alien' were used interchangeably in the early modern period. The terms could mean an English outsider to a town or city (such as London), or a non-native to the country: see *OED* 'stranger', *n.* 1a and 2a; 'alien', *n.* 1a. For the purposes of the following section I exchange 'stranger' and 'alien' for the modern-day word 'foreigner', unless discussing 'merchant-strangers' or the term is given in primary and secondary materials from which I quote.

¹⁸⁹ Leinwand, *The City Staged*, 7; G.K. Hunter, *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition: Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 16.

which goes beyond the mere evocation of “local colour”, critics have increasingly perceived foreignness in the play as an aspect of its depth.¹⁹⁰ It is within this more involved frame that *Englishmen* might most usefully be contextualized.

Critics including Smith, Howard and Kermode argue that the persistent use (and abuse) of foreign merchants in *Englishmen* is linked to patterns of immigration in London during the 1560s and early 1570s, together with the subsequent demographics of the City.¹⁹¹ Records provide us with evidence of a surge of Dutch (about 75 per cent) and French (about 15 per cent) Huguenots immigrating to England after their extradition in the 1560s.¹⁹² Only about 6.5 per cent of foreigners came from the Mediterranean, despite the Italians’ history of court-level connections in England; approximately 3.5 per cent came from other regions.¹⁹³ Yet according to extant records, the number of foreigners in London was small, probably somewhere between 5 and 10 per cent of the entire City of London’s

¹⁹⁰ Elizabeth Schafer, ‘William Haughton’s *Englishmen for My Money*: A Critical Note’, *RES* 41.164 (1990), 538. See also A.J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1992), 53–5; Smith, ‘Mother Tongue’, 178; Howard, *Theatre*, 41.

¹⁹¹ Smith, ‘Mother Tongue’, 166; Howard, *Theatre*, 27; Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 61. On the foreign communities and their churches see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*; Charles Littleton, ‘The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions’, in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 177–91.

¹⁹² Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 160; Raymond Fagel, ‘Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England’, in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 41–56; Raymond Fagel, ‘The Netherlandish Presence in England before the Coming of Stranger Churches, 1480–1560’, in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1570*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 9.

¹⁹³ Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: a Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 138, 144–8; Alan Haynes, ‘Italian Immigrants in England, 1550–1603’, *History Today* 27.8 (1977), 526–34.

population.¹⁹⁴ Their visibility was perhaps made pronounced by evidence of foreigners' *en-masse* movements, clustering into communities in small areas (notably the parishes of St Olave and St George in the east of London and St Thomas Apostle in the centre), and their passage in and out of England; both factors might have given the false impression of a heavy influx.¹⁹⁵

By 1580 Anglo-immigrant hostility voiced economic concerns including unemployment levels, inflation and trade deficits.¹⁹⁶ Records in 1593 indicate that the number of foreigners employed in the mercenary trade (201 foreigners) was second only to cloth making (351 foreigners).¹⁹⁷ The Flemish, French and especially the Italians handled much of England's import and export trade, receiving privileges from the Crown that exempted them from many customs duties while ensuring their monopoly over traffic in specific goods.¹⁹⁸ Acts of xenophobia in the early to mid 1590s imply that foreigner immigration and subsequent trade influence were perceived as a threat.¹⁹⁹ Resentment, for example, found a partial voice in complaints about the foreigners attempting to trade at

¹⁹⁴ Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 61.

¹⁹⁵ Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London 1500–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 90, 126–7; Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 61.

¹⁹⁶ Luu, *Immigrants*, 156–60.

¹⁹⁷ Irene Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority* (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1985), 81.

¹⁹⁸ Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1, 50–1; G.D. Ramsey, 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony in Sixteenth-century London', in *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann*, ed. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), 22–49.

¹⁹⁹ Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 11–17; Mark T. Burnett, 'Apprentice Literature and the "Crisis" of the 1590s', *The Yearbook of English Studies: Politics, Patronage and Literature in England 1558–1658* 21 (1991), 27–38.

Paul's Cross without the permission of the livery companies.²⁰⁰ At the time, the livery companies controlled and regulated all forms of financial exchange in the City of London. In early May 1593 a libellous poem was affixed to the wall of a foreign Protestant church in London, which suggested immigrants should 'Conceit it well for savegard your lyves / Your goods, your children, & your dearest wives' (3–4).²⁰¹ It focussed on the foreign merchant:

The Marchant doth ingross all kind of wares
 Forestall's the markets, whereso 'ere he goe's
 Sends forth his wares, by Pedlars to the faires,
 Retayl's at home, & with his horrible shows:
 In Baskets your wares trott up & downe
(9–13)

The libel's argument that the foreign merchant 'Retayl's at home' was apparently not unfounded. In 1594, Sir Thomas Mildmay presented a suit to the queen's Privy Council requesting them to start an Office keeping an annual register of the occupation and whereabouts of foreigners in London. Mildmay argued that 'Many, having gotten into their Hands great Riches and Treasure by engrossing our Commodities', have 'suddenly departed the Realm; and many times stole away with other Mens Goods, without any Notice given thereof'.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ David Scott Kastan, 'Workshop and/as Playhouse', in *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, ed. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (New York: Routledge, 1991), 51–63; John Schofield, 'The Topography and Buildings of London', in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 304.

²⁰¹ The libel was discovered by Arthur Freeman and transcribed and discussed in his article 'Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel', *English Literary Renaissance* 3.1 (1973), 44–52. Quotations are taken from Freeman's transcription.

²⁰² John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, new edn, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1824), 136. The situation did not clear up, however, and in June 1595 Thomas Deloney, a balladeer and weaver, co-wrote with

The late 1590s witnessed calming in domestic and international affairs. The anti-immigrant disturbances of the mid-1590s had quietened, and the Netherlands, France and Spain, although still in a tense political relationship with England, were considered to be diminished ideological and cultural threats to Englishness.²⁰³ At the time, foreign immigrants – notably members of the Dutch Republic – also departed for their original homes.²⁰⁴ Of the immigrants who remained in London, evidence such as wills suggests that foreigners were progressively integrated into English society. Andrew Pettegree argues that ‘a higher proportion of its more affluent members had developed fruitful contracts with their English neighbours’, and, even among the less well-off, ‘the growing number of children born in England suggested that the process of peaceful assimilation would quicken as time went on’.²⁰⁵

Englishmen, as Hoenselaars and Kermode have observed, marks a shift from the heated resentment of the mid-1590s to a more relaxed relationship.²⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the play stages a London which is still negotiating its relationship with otherness. This bedrock of uncertainty can be observed in the play’s rehearsal of the effect of foreign merchants on English trades. Andrew Fleck notes that Laurentia, when speaking to her two sisters about

fourteen other silk-workers a complaint against immigrant silk weavers infringing upon the rights of native workers (GL, Weevers’ Company MS 4647, 125–8, ‘Complaint of the Yeomen Weavers Against the Immigrant Weavers’, cited in Frances Consitt, *The London Weavers’ Company*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 312–16). Deloney and his colleagues were particularly concerned about the fact that the immigrants ‘have opened and discovered the secret of our occupacon to their worke Maisters’: in other words, that trade secrets were being identified, copied and taken to other countries (Consitt, *Weaver’s Company*, 313–14).

²⁰³ Richard Helgersen, ‘Before National Literary History’, *Modern Language Quarterly* 64 (2003), 171–2.

²⁰⁴ Luu, *Immigrants*, 142.

²⁰⁵ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 137.

²⁰⁶ Hoenselaars, *Englishmen and Foreigners*, 57; Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 124.

her foreign suitor Van Dal, reports his attempts to woo her using the language of commerce:²⁰⁷

He tells me cloth is dear at Antwerp, and the men
Of Amsterdam have lately made a law
That none but Dutch as he may traffic there.
(6.6–8)

Van Dal is bragging; Antwerp was a closed door to the English. In 1598, the Spanish controlled the port, and Elizabeth demanded an embargo on Spanish trade in 1585. By extension, it was illegal for English citizens to trade with Antwerp until 1604.²⁰⁸ Later in the play, Heigham, Walgrave, and Harvey attempt to waylay the foreigners by pretending to live at Pisaro's address; Heigham intimates that he is a glass maker. In duping De Lyon, he couples De Lyon's presence to his feigned trade:

'Twere a good deed, sirrah, to see who you are:
You come hither to steal my glasses,
And then counterfeit you are going to your queans.
(9.88–90)

This is a double entendre, dealing both with De Lyon sleeping with whores ('queans'), and very firmly with the foreign counterfeiting of English goods and trades, 'engrossing our Commodities, [and] suddenly depart[ing] the Realm', as Mildmay claimed in his petition.

Although issues of immigrant trade are fleetingly rehearsed in *Englishmen*, primacy is given to the means by which these immigrants might be expelled from, or contained within, the geography and topography of Elizabethan London. Maps and mapping give shape to the world of *Englishmen* by three means: (1) a knowledge of London's geography

²⁰⁷ Andrew Fleck, 'Marking Difference and National Identity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 46.2 (2006), 349.

²⁰⁸ Jonathan Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 65.

is used by the Englishmen in an attempt to eject the foreigners from the City walls; (2) London's topography (the Exchange and St Paul's) controls the perceived threat of the foreigners; (3) the foreign consumption of Pisaro's daughters, who might be seen to serve as the body politic, is prevented by marriage to the play's three English wooers. As I discuss, these three aspects of the play might suggest it to be militantly xenophobic; such a reading, however, is eventually undermined.

London's geography is used by the Englishmen to disorient the foreigners and, ultimately, to prevent them from interfering in the Englishmen's plans to marry Pisaro's daughters. In scene 9, De Lyon, Al Varo and Frisco (disguised as Van Dal) travel to Pisaro's house in Crutched Friars in the hope of having sex with Pisaro's daughters. The Englishmen hear of the plan, and so wait outside Pisaro's house, intercepting the three characters one by one. The first to arrive is the Italian Al Varo, who is told by Heigham that he is in Leadenhall, and so instructed to find Pisaro's house by going 'along until you come to the pump, and then turn on your right hand' (9.61–2). In fact, were Al Varo in Leadenhall and to follow these instructions, he would find himself leaving the city by Aldgate (if he was to the west of Leadenhall) or Bishopsgate (if he was to the north of Leadenhall).²⁰⁹ The second foreigner, the Frenchman De Lyon, is told by Heigham that 'this is Fenchurch Street, and the best way to Crutched is to follow your nose' (9.94–5); yet, following his nose would mean that De Lyon would leave the city by Aldgate.²¹⁰ Finally, Heigham tells Frisco (as Van Dal) that he is in Tower Street, and instructs him to get to Crutched Friars by going 'along on your left hand, and be hanged' (9.135), but to reach Crutched Friars from Tower Street Frisco would have to pass or cross Tower Hill,

²⁰⁹ See Figure 1 for a diagrammatic representation of this and subsequent routes that Heigham asks characters to take.

²¹⁰ Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 130.

the site of the gallows – where he could literally ‘be hanged’.²¹¹ This confusion is duplicated in scene 10, when Frisco pretends to lead Al Varo and De Lyon to Crutched Friars via Westminster (10.49) and Shoreditch (10.53): areas outside the City walls.²¹²

Yet while the map of London is as fixed for the Englishmen as it is disorienting for the foreigners, the play uses two London buildings – the Exchange and old Saint Paul’s – that Bartolovich describes as ‘insecure, subject to slippage, always shot through with the alien as well as materially inflected by the elsewhere’.²¹³ The Royal Exchange and St. Paul’s were the principal public sites in London associated with foreign influence, commercial enterprise and, to a degree, control: ‘reference points’, as Chris Kyle writes, ‘by which the city was navigated and consumed’.²¹⁴ The Royal Exchange, built in 1566 by Sir Thomas Gresham, was foreign even in its architecture: a copy of Antwerp’s Nieuwe Beurs, it was designed by Hendrick van Paesschen of the same city, a place where most builders and materials were also brought in.²¹⁵ Howard describes a concern that the Exchange could become ‘a port of entry for alien difference to permeate the city’, a concern which is voiced in Nashe’s *Pierce Penniless*, when the eponymous narrator comments on the ‘confusion of languages’ in the Exchange.²¹⁶ As Hoenselaars has pointed

²¹¹ Angela Stock, ‘Stow’s Survey and the London Playwrights’, in *John Stow (1525–1605) and the Making of the English Past*, ed. Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: The British Library, 2004), 93.

²¹² Diane Cady, ‘Linguistic Dis-ease: Foreign Language as Sexual Disease in Early Modern England’, in *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kevin Siena (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 177.

²¹³ Bartolovich, ‘Alienation’, 154.

²¹⁴ Chris R. Kyle, ‘Afterword: Remapping London’, *HLQ* 71.1 (2008), 246.

²¹⁵ Schofield, ‘Topography’, 317–18. On the history of the Royal Exchange see Ann Saunders, ed., *The Royal Exchange* (London: London Topographical Society, 1997); Lawrence Stone, ‘Inigo Jones and the New Exchange’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 9 (1957), 105–21.

²¹⁶ Howard, *Theatre*, 46; Nashe, *Thomas Nashe*, ed. McKerrow, vol. 1, 162.

out, this Babel confusion of languages is acted out in *Englishmen*.²¹⁷ In the play, Pisaro goes to the Exchange because he is confident that he will find Van Dal, De Lyon and Al Varo there (1.221–3). While at the Exchange, Pisaro is warned that pirates overcame his ships; this warning elicits an ‘explicit association with Babel’, for he berates the merchant Towerson for having ‘a prating, wrangling tongue’, whose ‘ceaseless and incessant babbling’ sees the world turn ‘topsy-turvy with me’ (3.133–5). Although the foreigners are eventually invited outside the Exchange and into Pisaro’s house, in his confusion, Pisaro also invites the Englishmen; Pisaro’s successive attempts to couple his daughters with the foreigners in scene 4 can therefore be overseen – and controlled (4.56–8) – by the Englishmen.

The travel accounts of Richard Hakluyt and William Parry compare St Paul’s steeple to the biblical tower of Babel.²¹⁸ John Earle, in his *Micro-Cosmographie* (1628), notes that the Cathedral ‘is the whoole world’s map [. . .] a heape of stones and men, with a vast confusion of Languages, and were the Steeple not sanctified, nothing liker [i.e. ‘more like’] Babel’.²¹⁹ Earle’s description engages with Saint Paul’s as itself a map; by extension, the ‘confusion of languages’ suggests implicitly that languages can heard there. Paul’s Nave, or the Middle Walk, was particularly associated with foreigners, as it was a place for

²¹⁷ A.J. Hoenselaars, ‘Reconstructing Babel in English Renaissance Drama: William Haughton’s *Englishmen for my Money* and John Marston’s *Antonio and Mellida*’, *Neophilologus* 76 (1992), 470–2. For a useful survey on Babel and language issues see Magreta de Grazia, ‘Shakespeare’s View of Language: An Historical Perspective’, *SQ* 29 (1978), 374–88.

²¹⁸ One of the most detailed accounts of Old Saint Paul’s remains William Benham’s *Old St. Paul’s Cathedral* (London: Seeley; New York, Macmillan, 1902). Saint Paul’s steeple is compared to Babel in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: [Thomas Dawson], 1589; STC 12624), sigs S5v–6r; William Parry, *A New and Large Discourse on the Travels of Sir Anthony Shirley, Knight* (London, 1601; STC 19343), sig. C2r.

²¹⁹ John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie. Or, a Piece of the World Discovered; in Essayes and Character* (London: 1628; STC 7440.2). sigs I4v–K1r.

merchants and tutors to peddle their skills; it is for this reason that, in *Englishmen*, Frisco is sent to Paul's Middle Walk to find a French tutor for Pisaro's daughters (2.64).²²⁰ As Hoenselaars remarks, Frisco's concern that his trip to Paul's will create a 'litter of languages' (2.104–5) goes unrealized; instead, Frisco meets Anthony – the sacked English tutor of Pisaro's daughters – in the guise of a French tutor, Monsieur le Mouché, whom Frisco hires after testing his language skills. Thus, Hoenselaars argues, 'the Babylonian threat associated with the Paul's location is contained by a patriotic, monolingual Englishman'.²²¹ In limiting mercantile power in the Exchange and blocking foreign influence through the use of Anthony in St. Paul's, the play enacts a fantasy, in which the extent of foreign linguistic and commercial power can be vetted, controlled and even replaced.

A further, metaphorical, type of map is also explored through Pisaro's three daughters, whose physical bodies serve as socio-political signifiers: the body politic that must be freed from foreign cultural and economic invasion.²²² Haughton's use of a *Englishmen* as representing the body politic has a literary and historical grounding. George Peele's pageant for the Lord Mayor's investiture in 1585 describes London as 'This lovely Lady rich and beautiful', and in Wilson's *The Three Lords and Ladies of London* (1590) the Prologue is 'A Lady very richly attyred, representing London'.²²³ As Peter Stallybrass

²²⁰ See also Thomas Dekker, *The Dead Term* (1607), in his discussion of Paul's Middle Walk: 'such humming (euery mans lippes making a noise, yet not a word to be vnderstood), I verily beleeeue that I am the Tower of Babell newly to be builded vp, but presently despaire of euer being finished, because there is in me such a confusion of languages' (Thomas Dekker, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. A.B. Grosart, vol. 4 (London, 1885), 51).

²²¹ Hoenselaars, 'Reconstructing Babel', 473.

²²² Smith, 'Mother Tongue', 176–8; Cady, 'Dis-ease', 197–80; Howard, *Theatre*, 46; Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 128–9.

²²³ George Peele, *The Device of the Pageant Borne Before Wolstan Dixi*, in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, ed. Charles Tyler Prouty, vol 1 (New Haven; London: Yale

has argued, the normative ‘woman’ could become ‘the emblem of the perfect and impermeable container, and hence a map of the integrity of the state. The state, like the virgin, was a *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed garden walled off from enemies’.²²⁴ Pisaro’s daughters are also a *hortus conclusus*; in *Englishmen*, their integrity is threatened by the play’s foreigners. Frequently, they are described as commodities to be sexually consumed: Pisaro asks his daughters’ foreign suitors to return to his house so that they can ‘take in worth such viands as I have’ (3.13) and De Lyon presents the daughters at the end of a list of consumables: ‘me sall go home to your house, sall eat your bacon, sall eat your beef, and shall tack de wench, de fine damoiselle-a’ (3.21–2). The female body becomes a scaffold for particular ideological strategies; here, it represents assimilation into Englishness through and by sexual consumption. Cady has argued for the prominence of a connection between disease, pollution and foreigners in the infiltration of the politic body in *Englishmen*, suggesting that the play ‘presents pollution in somatic terms, thus evoking the image of a vulnerable body politic’.²²⁵ This is a useful means by which Mathea’s use of a *portrait macabre* might be interpreted to signify her relationship with the play’s foreigners.²²⁶

The world is scant when so many jackdaws
Hover about one corpse with greedy paws.

University Press, 1952), 45–7; Robert Wilson, *The Three Lords and Ladies of London* (London: R. Jhones, 1590; STC 25783), sig. A2v.

²²⁴ Peter Stallybrass, ‘Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed’, in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 129. See also Harris, *Social Pathology*, and Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

²²⁵ Cady, ‘Dis-ease’, 180.

²²⁶ On the *portrait macabre* in Elizabethan drama see Carol Chillington Rutter, *Enter the Body: Women and Representation on Shakespeare’s Stage* (London: Routledge, 2001), 10–11.

If needs you'll have me stay till I am dead,
 Carrion for crows, Mathea for her Ned.
 And so, farewell; we sisters do agree
 To have our wills, but ne'er to have you three.
 (6.180–5)

Images of foreign consumption here intermingle with disease and death, 'jackdaws' waiting for the daughters to die and ready to seize 'with greedy paws'. Elsewhere in the play, Mathea is concerned that her marriage to De Lyon would instigate rumours that 'the French' – i.e. the French pox of venereal disease – has 'infected me' (4.98). The body politic must be kept pure from such diseases, and it is in such terms of cleanliness and disease that scene 11 can be read. In this scene, Van Dal is winched halfway up to Laurentia's chamber upon the promise of sex, and there left suspended. Discussing beforehand that 'we have never a sign at the door' (11.119–20), Pisaro's daughters threaten to kill him if he raises the alarm (11.165–6). In silencing Van Dal and presenting him as a sign, Pisaro's daughters symbolically determine Van Dal's function: an advertisement for the purity of the marketable commodities inside Pisaro's house by preclusion of the diseased foreigner.²²⁷ Van Dal as boundary-transgressor becomes sexually and linguistically impotent, resting by the side of – but never in – the space of Pisaro's daughters.

In the play's final scene, the plans of the foreigners and Pisaro are thwarted; thus, the perceived threat of foreign invasion, in the play at least, is prevented. Or is it? Haughton adds a series of twists that prevent any obvious and precise conclusions. Pisaro's daughters simultaneously represent purity (the body politic) and the hybrid (an English mother and a Portuguese father); as Campos suggests, the 'positive portrayal of the three

²²⁷ For a discussion about early modern boundaries (particularly the domestic space) linked to national purity see Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories', 123–42; see also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), 54–9.

daughters' encourages 'a carefully constructed notion of miscegenation' between Pisaro and his English wife.²²⁸ Thus, as Smith argues, 'the feminized symbol of the city is always and inescapably hybridized' as London 'simultaneously asserts an idea of the native while registering the complex diversity of the populace'.²²⁹ Pisaro's daughters become the site at which purity and the hybrid meet. The body is re-negotiated and re-mapped as culturally diverse, an accepted English-foreign hybrid, or, as Kermode writes, 'the embodiment of the alien within Englishness'.²³⁰ Thus, a recorded assimilation of foreigners in later 1590s London might be linked to acceptance of the foreign 'other' in the London of Haughton's play.

CONCLUSIONS

It is doubtful that Haughton used generic templates for his London comedy, particularly if *Sir Thomas More* and *Merry Wives* were written after *Englishmen*. Nonetheless, Haughton was aware that his audiences attended his play with expectations; modelling Pisaro on Barabas, as a Jew and a usurer – an other – provides the foundation of the play's exploration of otherness and its assimilation into English society. Parodying *Romeo and Juliet* might also suggest a dramatic catastrophe. But Haughton did not write his play in the early to mid-1590s, when historical records indicate a lower tolerance in London for Jewish/foreign difference. Instead, Haughton's play of 1598 represents a gradual increase in the level of acceptance and assimilation of Jews and foreigners in London, at a point in time, as Kermode argues, when 'the English political and social infrastructure could

²²⁸ Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portugales', 612–13.

²²⁹ Smith, 'Mother Tongue', 178.

²³⁰ Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 128. See also Scott Oldenburg, "'Outlandish Love': Marriage and Immigration in City Comedies', *Literature Compass* 7.1 (2010), 28.

withstand such shocks to the ego-system'.²³¹ Comedy might promote these changes, but an undercurrent of tragedy – looking back at earlier 1590s drama – reminds Haughton's audiences of the basis for exploration, and demonstrates an ever-present wariness of outsiders.

²³¹ Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, 124.

THE PLAY IN THE THEATRE

Attention to Haughton's generic, historical and cultural environment aids in the comprehension of *Englishmen*'s influences. Another important aspect to the play that would have had a bearing on Haughton is theatrical: the play's casting needs, music and stagecraft; the play might also be evaluated in relation to a recent reading.

CASTING

Under 'Employment in the Theatre' and 'Recorded Payments' I discuss the likelihood of Haughton writing plays before 1598, when he is entered in Henslowe's *Diary* for *Englishmen*. Had he, then Haughton may have used his knowledge of casting to determine in advance how many adult and boy actors would perform in *Englishmen*; this knowledge would have contributed to the development of his methods of dramatic construction. Establishing the anticipated casting of a play, then, is a means by which the amount of traffic a playwright expected onstage at any one time might be looked at closely, the size of the cast, and the number of adult and boy players.²³²

In 1991 David Bradley argued that *Englishmen*'s twenty or so parts required a minimum of '16+' players to perform the play: sixteen players, with extras for the unspecified number of 'other Marchants' in scene 3.²³³ Doubling parts in the first few performances of *Englishmen* is feasible, as there is strong evidence of the doubling of

²³² It can be safely assumed that every line of *Englishmen* was performed. Lukas Erne suggests that a play of 2,450 lines is of a length that is easily compatible with two to two-and-a-half hours' traffic on the stage; according to Q1, the play is 2,685 lines in length (Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 131–3).

²³³ David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 41, 342.

minor parts in the Admiral's Men repertoire in the 1590s.²³⁴ However, an equally attractive possibility is that *Englishmen* was first performed without the doubling of parts; a theory made possible by the known size of the Lord Admiral's Men in 1598. I will now discuss this second possibility.

Q1's twelve main roles (in order of appearance: Pisaro, Laurentia, Marina, Mathea, Anthony, Frisco, Harvey, Heigham, Walgrave, De Lyon, Van Dal and Al Varo) would have been distributed between a cast of nine principal adult players and three boys, together speaking 94 per cent of the play's lines.²³⁵ Extras (for, in order of appearance, an undisclosed number of merchant-strangers; as well as Moore, Towerson, Brown, Post, Balsaro and Bellman) would have been needed for the lesser speaking parts. These roles could have been divided among the twenty-two adults and six boys known to have made up the Admiral's Men in 1598.²³⁶ There is also strong evidence for theatres employing

²³⁴ Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 151.

²³⁵ I have not created a casting chart for the play. This is due to the large percentage of the play's lines being spoken by principal actors and boys who would not have doubled parts, and the fact that the remaining roles can be arbitrarily distributed among available players.

²³⁶ Gurr (*Shakespeare's Opposites*, 274–88) details thirteen sharers, nine hired men (i.e. non-sharers playing adult male roles) and six boys that made up the Admiral's Men in 1598. The distinction between sharers and hired men is not always clear; William Cartwright (snr.), for example, may fall in either group. I have included Cartwright among the hired men because his career with the Admiral's began early in 1598; according to Rutter's analysis of the company (*Documents*, 129), hired men graduated to sharer status after two or three years of service. In 1598, the sharers were: Edward Juby, Thomas Downton, Edward Dutton, Richard Jones, Charles Massey, John Singer, William Bird (or Borne), Robert Shaa (or Shaw), Richard Cowley, Thomas Towne, Humphrey Jeffes, Anthony Jeffes, and Gabriel Spenser. (The sharer Gabriel Spenser has been included in my count; however, as he was killed in a duel by Ben Jonson in September 1598, he may have been dead by the time that *Englishmen* was performed (Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 106)). The hired men were: Richard Alleyn, Samuel Rowley, Thomas Hearne, Richard Bradshaw, William Kendall, Thomas Heywood, William Cartwright (snr.), William Pavy, and Thomas Hunt. The boys were: John Pigge (Edward Alleyn's apprentice), Thomas Parsons (Downton's apprentice); James Bristow (Henslowe's apprentice), 'Dick' (Dutton's apprentice), 'Black Dick' (an Admiral's Men apprentice; apparently a different 'Dick' to Dutton's boy), and 'Dob' (possibly apprenticed to the Admiral's Men).

non-actors, such as gatherers – the men and women who collected admission money at the playhouse doors – as mutes to swell scenes; it may have been a gatherer who performed the part of Moore’s mute servant.²³⁷ While the possibility of doubling cannot be dismissed, there is, therefore, no obvious need for doubling in the first few performances of Haughton’s play (and below I discuss one dismissed possibility for conceptual casting). As for roles, I am reluctant to speculate beyond the fact that John Singer, who is linked with the role of the clown by Dekker and Rowlands, appears to be the natural choice to have played the part of Frisco.²³⁸

The permissive entrance direction for scene 3, which calls for an unspecified number of ‘*other Marchants*’, left the determination of exact numbers to be resolved by the Admiral’s Men (a number which has remained unspecified in the edited Text). The possibility of conceptual casting must here be raised and dismissed. In scene 3, the play’s three boy players, performing the parts of Pisaro’s daughters, might have conceptually doubled for the parts of the merchant-strangers: on the one hand, the boy players are performing the roles of marketable commodities (i.e. the daughters); on the other hand, they are the commodity-buyers (i.e. the merchant-strangers).²³⁹ Perhaps the link can be

²³⁷ As Rutter notes, the ‘plot’ of *Frederick and Basilea*, written on 3 June 1597, specifies gatherers to have walk-on parts in the most crowded scenes (Rutter, *Documents*, 111). In *Englishmen*, the maximum number of players on stage at any one time is 15. Maximum numbers per scene are as follows: scene 1, 6; scene 2, 6; scene 3, 12 plus extras for merchant-strangers; scene 4, 10; scene 5, 2; scene 6, 11; scene 7; scene 8, 2; scene 9, 6; scene 10, 4; scene 11, 13; scene 12, 4; scene 13, 4; and scene 14, 15. It is therefore doubtful that gatherers were needed to stage the first few performances of the play (but, if required, would probably have been available).

²³⁸ Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 2, 63; Herbert Berry, ‘Singer, John (fl. 1583–1603)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25639>> [accessed 1 October 2009].

²³⁹ On conceptual casting see Alan C. Dessen, ‘Conceptual Casting in the Age of Shakespeare: Evidence from *Mucedorus*’, *SQ* 43.1 (1992), 67–70, especially p. 68; see also John C. Meagher, *Shakespeare’s Shakespeare: How the Plays Were Made* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 103–4.

established further: as merchant-strangers, they are associated with (and indeed, introduced at the same time as) the play's principal merchant-strangers, Van Dal, De Lyon and Al Varo, who, throughout the play, wish to marry the commodities/daughters. In this way, the two roles provide minor symmetry, and the daughters become a part of the fabric that they resist. However, this would mean that the boy players are last off the stage in scene 2 and among the first on stage in scene 3, with no time in between to change out of elaborate female dresses and into the clothes of merchants. Timing prevents such a change to occur, which means that the possibility of conceptual casting in scene 3, while attractive, is unlikely. Scene 3 also requires twelve actors, excluding the merchant-strangers (Pisaro, Towerson, Post, Harvey, Heigham, Walgrave, De Lyon, Van Dal, Moore, Brown, Balsaro and Al Varo), therefore only using twelve of a possible twenty-one adult actors; meaning that there were a large number of unused players who could have played the merchant-strangers.²⁴⁰

MUSIC

I now consider the play's music. No setting of music from *Englishmen* has directly survived. The Bellman's lines in 10.61–2 ('Maids in your smocks, look well to your locks, / Your fire and your light, and God bid you goodnight') was probably sung to a tune.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ The need for players to have time to change costumes between roles is discussed in Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, "'Your Sum of Parts': Doubling in Hamlet', in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, ed. Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 117.

²⁴¹ The first known composer to attempt to transform the Bellman's song into concert music was Richard Dering in 1599 (the setting, which survives in manuscript only, is held in Christ Church, Oxford (Music MS 56–60)): see Philip Brett, ed., *Concert Songs*, vol. 22 of *Musica Britannica* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), 112, 117, 119, 147. Bruce R. Smith has argued that Dering's composition was adapted from pre-existing London cries; however, the tune has not survived (Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern*

Laurentia's line in 1.109 ('Why was I made a maid, but for a man?') might have been sung to the tune of a ballad which survives only in later, substantially altered, variants.²⁴²

A single, more promising, connection between the play and extant music is in 6.251–3, when Van Dal bursts into joyful song after hearing Pisaro describe a means for him and his foreign friends to gain sexual access to Pisaro's daughters. The lyrics are as follows:

*Slaet up den trommele van Ik zal come,
Up to de kamer ken van my new wiveken,
Slaet up den trommele van Ik zal come.*
(6.251–3)

A.E.H. Swaen identified Van Dal's song as 'een geheel andere redactie dan die van het bekende lied [an entirely different redaction than that of the known song]', namely M. Arent Dircxzoon Vos's 'Chanson des Gueux [Song of the Beggars]', which dates from approximately 1566.²⁴³ The song survives in two melodies; I provide an image of the lyrics and music notation to the first verse:

England: Attending to the O-Factor (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 94–5).

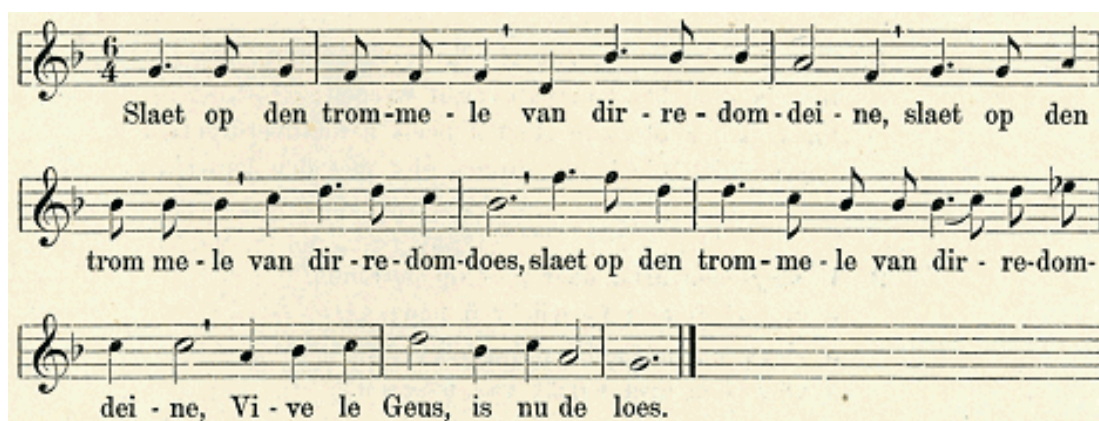
²⁴² Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. A.C. Baugh, 220; C.F. Main, 'A New Version of a Ballad in the Roxburghe Collection', *N&Q* 3.4 (1956), 140–2. Two later versions of a ballad are extant: *The Maid's Comfort; or, The Kind Young Man, who, as Many have Said, Sweet Comfort Did Yield to a Comfortless Maid* (London, 1628–9; STC 17187) and 'A New Court Song of the Marigold and Rose; or, a Maidenhead Won with a Riddle', Harvard MS. Eng. 68, written c. 1629.

²⁴³ A.E.H. Swaen, 'Nederlandsche liederen in Engeland', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 9.4 (1914), 233. A collection of adaptations can be found on the Marteens Instituut's *Dutch Song Database* (2009)

<<http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=18465&lan=en>> [accessed 18 October 2009].



(Melody one: ‘Bedroefde herteken, wat moet ghy lijden [Broken heart, what must you suffer]’)



(Melody two: ‘Op de wijze: “bedruckte hertekens” [To the wise: broken hearts]’)

Figure 2: ‘Slaet op den Trommele’, first and second melodies, in Florimond van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1908), 1599 (song numbers 949 and 950).²⁴⁴ The translation is ‘beat on the drums of dirredomdeine [onomatopoeic], beat on the drums of dirredomdoes; Long live the Gueux! That’s the slogan’.

It is doubtful that the song was accompanied instrumentals in *Englishmen*. When sang by the *geuzen* it was accompanied by a drum (hence the title: see the translation to Figure 2); and Van Dal’s spontaneous singing might be better inferred without the implied refinery and grandeur of instruments.

²⁴⁴ Van Duyse’s source was Anon., *Een nieu geusen lieden boecxken* (Antwerp, 1581), sig. 96r (van Duyse, *Nederlandsche lied*, 1601).

As Swaen stated, the notation of the ‘Song of the Beggars’ does not work for the version in *Englishmen*. There are three separate implications: (1) the actual variant used by Haughton is no longer extant; (2) Haughton adapted the song beyond recognition; (3) Haughton fitted his song around the beats in the tune (‘come’ is perhaps two beats). Whichever of the three is correct, Haughton’s interest in the song is obscure. The ‘Song of the Beggars’ is about a confederacy of Calvinist Dutch nobles (nicknamed the Geuzen, or ‘Beggars’), who, from 1566, opposed the Inquisition conducted by the Catholic King, Philip II of Spain in the Netherlands; by 1581 they had reclaimed enough land in northern Holland to form the Dutch Republic. Haughton perhaps heard the song from soldiers returning from the English military’s engagement in the Netherlands.²⁴⁵ Alternatively, he might have heard it from the Watergeuzen (‘Sea Beggars’), a sea-borne branch of the Geuzen, who, until 1572, were allowed by Queen Elizabeth to stay in English harbours while they were replenishing their stores.²⁴⁶ Haughton used the song as a battle cry used by Van Dal, not to beat the enemy but to have sex with the woman he intends to marry; thus, a patriotically Dutch Protestant call to arms is given an ironic application.

STAGECRAFT

Englishmen was written for Henslowe’s Rose theatre.²⁴⁷ References in the play – such as to pillars and darkness, costume and a sick chair – situate the play within firmly early modern

²⁴⁵ Nick de Somogyi, *Shakespeare’s Theatre of War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 261–3.

²⁴⁶ Anna E.C. Simoni, *Printing as Resistance* (Leiden, 1990), especially pp. 15–21.

²⁴⁷ The Rose theatre was improved and enlarged in 1592. Knowledge of the playhouse’s architecture advanced significantly after the discovery of its remains in 1989. Soon after, the site was partially excavated; a further, more comprehensive, excavation project was instigated in 2008 (see The Rose Theatre Trust, *Rose Theatre* (2008) <<http://www.rosetheatre.org.uk/about/index.php>> [accessed 12 February 2010]; see also Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare’s Bankside, Southwark* (Museum of London: Monograph 48: London, 2009). For

theatrical conventions. This is not to reduce the play's modern theatrical potential; rather, I wish to stress that the play requires acknowledgement of Haughton's use of formal staging techniques and the Rose theatre's architecture.²⁴⁸

Englishmen requires such standard properties as letters (1.28.2, 3.26.1, 3.88.1 and 3.236.1), gloves (1.28.1), a purse (1.28.1), weapons (3.192), a cushion (11.132.2) and a chair (14.69.1). It is dark in the fiction of the play from scenes seven to fourteen; in an open-air daylight playhouse such as the Rose, darkness had to be acted out (8.1–8 and 11.205–16) and/or signalled by torchlight (10.60.1, 11.90.1, 11.121 and 11.302.1), a fact which prompted Alan C. Dessen to remark that ““night” scenes may have been *better* lit than “day” scenes’.²⁴⁹ The play requires full use of the stage, including the stage proper and doors (*passim*) and the balcony (11.96.1, 11.126.1, 11.271.1 and 11.391.1). On several occasions knocking sounds are produced off-stage, and twice a city bell rings (the Exchange Bell in 3.272 and Bow Bell in 7.12). Andrew Gurr has remarked that the play's frequent references to posts (8.2–3, 10.47, 10.51–2 and 11.2–3), particularly in pairs (such as Van Dal's ‘*Ik go and hit my nose op dit post*’ and ‘*Ik go and hit my nose op d’andere* [i.e. ‘t’other’] post’, 11.92–3), presumably indicates that various characters interact with the refurbished Rose's two front pillars.²⁵⁰ Following Gurr's interpretation, Pisaro's need

background information on the Rose theatre see Julian M.C. Bowsher, ‘The Rose and its Stages’, *SS* 60 (2007), 38; Christine Eccles, *The Rose Theatre* (London: Hern, 1990), 7–21.

²⁴⁸ For studies into Elizabethan theatrical conventions see Jeremy Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially pp. 35–55; and Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁴⁹ Alan C. Dessen, ‘Elizabethan Audiences and the Open Stage: Recovering Lost Conventions’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 10 (1980), 3.

²⁵⁰ Andrew Gurr, ‘The Bare Island’, *SS* 47 (1994), 35–6, rehearsed in *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 132–4. The use of pillars in this way is also discussed in C. Walter Hodges, *Enter the Whole Army: A Pictorial Study of Shakespearean Staging, 1576–1616* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28–9, and Kermode, ‘After Shylock’, 14.

for cover in scene 1 (29–124), when he covertly listens in to his daughters' conversation with Anthony, might sensibly be interpreted as use of one of the posts.²⁵¹ The implication is that scenery is minimal; the audience is expected to understand time and place by costume, playhouse architecture, sounds, props and – perhaps most importantly – dialogue.

A single scene in *Englishmen* presents significant staging problems. In scene 11, Pisaro's three daughters entice Van Dal to climb into a basket, after which he is winched up and left suspended approximately seven feet above the stage. This is technologically demanding, as it requires at least one rope, a pulley, a basket, and a hoisting device strong enough to support the weight of a player (who is meant to be portly: see 9.100) for about 350 lines of speech, or approximately twenty minutes of playing time. The same pulley system would also have needed to support the player's weight when the basket was lowered, to prevent him from being lowered too fast, or dropped. Irwin Smith argued that the lifting was probably done by 'stage hands in huts' (a theory since revised to 'hut').²⁵² Basing his argument on the fact that Van Dal's basket must 'turn' in the way that Frisco describes (11.356), Smith suggests that

If the basket were actually suspended by a rope which passed over the window-sill, it would have been tied throughout the night snug against the lower wall of the window-stage, and its contact with the wall would have kept it from turning as the text says it did. Only a free-hanging basket could turn, and therefore the supposition must be that it was hoisted and suspended by means of a rope which descended from the huts. Possibly another rope came from the huts to the hands of the girls in the window, so that they might pull on it and seem to be exercising the force that lifted Vandalle into the air.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Gurr, *Admiral's Company*, 133.

²⁵² Irwin Smith, with an introduction by James McManaway, *Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse: A Modern Reconstruction in Text and Scale Drawings*, 2nd edn (London, P. Owen, 1963), 149. On the revision of the theory of 'huts' to a single 'hut' see Eccles, *Rose Theatre*, 106; Hodges, *Whole Army*, 24.

²⁵³ Smith, *Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse*, 149.

I agree in the main with Smith's argument, although I would revise his suggestion that 'another rope came from the huts to the hands of the girls in the window' to a rope which the daughters have attached to the basket before lowering it to Van Dal. A similar piece of stage business was proposed by Richard Hosley for a scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.15), with the supplementary suggestion that the hoisting device was a harness, which was then attached to the object in which the character was winched up.²⁵⁴ Despite the presumably greater sophistication of the 1599 Globe's construction, the drawing by C. Walter Hodges (see Figure 3) incorporates Hosley's remarks, and is a useful means by which to imagine the action at the earlier Rose.

Attending a play at the Rose would have been an intimate experience, for the audience would have sat and stood to the three sides and in front of the stage. Their proximity to the players might explain Frisco's address, 'sirrah', when *solus* (5.1 and 9.101): perhaps Haughton intended the original player to isolate an audience member and address him directly. On display would have been a variety of costumes, denoting class, station, location, disguise, the character's disposition towards the fashions and so on.²⁵⁵ However, it is difficult for a reader to imagine the colours and significance of such costume, having to harvest details as and when they are provided in the text. For this reason, I have provided notes on dress and its significance, when possible, in the Commentary to 'The Actors' Names'.

²⁵⁴ Richard Hosley, 'The Staging of the Monument Scenes in *Antony and Cleopatra*', *Library Chronicle* 30 (1964), 62–71.

²⁵⁵ On Elizabethan dress codes see Stella Mary Newton, *Renaissance Theatre Costume and the Sense of the Historic Past* (London: Rapp and Whiting, 1975); Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

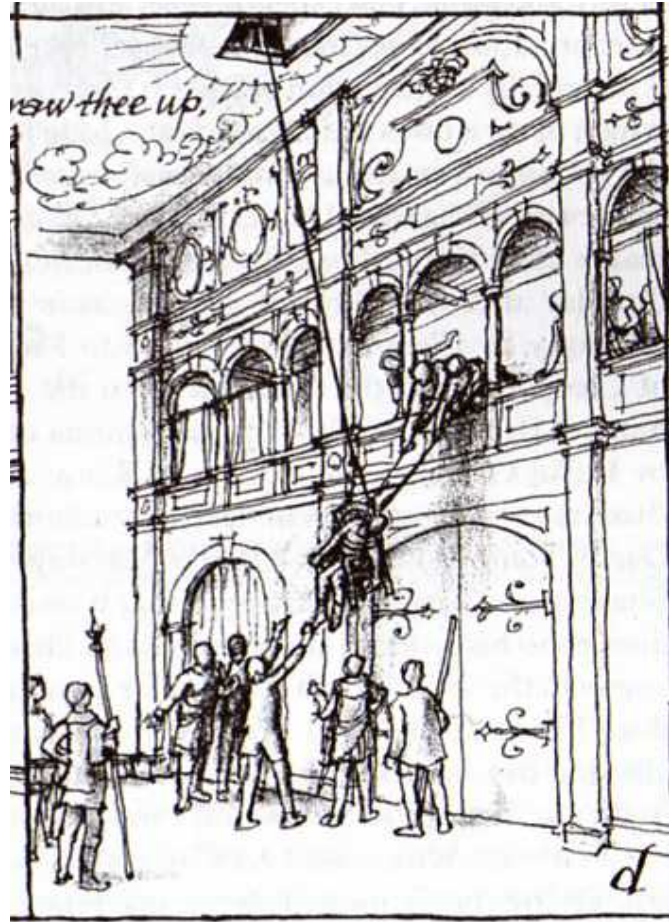


Figure 3: Comparable technology to scene 11 of *Englishmen*. How a rope, pulley and harness might have been used to winch Antony up to the balcony in early performances of *Antony and Cleopatra*, 4.15. Drawing by C. Walter Hodges, in *Enter the Whole Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 86.

PERFORMANCE HISTORY

Haughton's play was probably performed either late in the spring to summer (13 March to 28 July) 1598 season or early in the autumn to winter (30 July to 16 February) 1598 to 1599 season, although there is no surviving direct evidence of this (see 'Date of Composition'). The only extant authoritative text of the play is Q1, which under 'Establishing the Text' I conclude to be of authorial, not theatrical, origin. Echoes of performances are few and far between: the title-page to Q2 relates '*as it hath beene diuers times acted, to great applause*', but, because Q2 was set from Q1, the locution appears to

have been an advertising ruse.²⁵⁶ William Burling suggests that a performance of *Englishmen Will Have Her Will* at Drury Lane theatre on 24 February 1713, with music by John Eccles, was perhaps based on Haughton's play, although this cannot be verified: the text of the play was apparently never published.²⁵⁷

The only recorded 'staging' of *Englishmen* was, in fact, a reading on 5 November 1995. The reading formed part of the second series of The Globe Education Project's 'Read not Dead' events, co-ordinated by Ros King.²⁵⁸ A particularly useful interpretation of the text occurs in the Globe's reading of 3.100–10, where a lack of stage directions in Q1 allows for the possibility that Pisaro reads from either one or two letters. I have followed Hazlitt and interpreted a typographical break in Pisaro's prose ('you shall command, sir, you shall command sir' in 3.105–6 in Q1 is on a separate type line) as Pisaro breaking off from the first letter, to mimic the sender's style of writing, before he then turns to a second letter. In the Globe's reading, however, Nicholas Day read Pisaro's 'You shall command, sir' as if he were skipping over a useless part; in the reading, Pisaro then picks up at the point the letter again becomes informative. Day's response was entirely legitimate, and

²⁵⁶ For a general survey of playtexts in an earlier setting see Gabriel Egan, "'As it was, is, or will be played": Title-pages and the Theatre Industry to 1610', in *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 92–110.

²⁵⁷ William J. Burling, *A Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700–1737* (London: The Associated University Presses, 1993), 55.

²⁵⁸ The archives keep a mono cassette tape recording of the reading and copies of the programme. Unfortunately, Globe Education has not routinely archived photos or reviews of its 'Read not Dead' series. The text used as prompt copy was Greg's Malone Society reprint; an original marked-up copy was apparently not retained. The actors' frequent blunders with the long s and f, the interchanging of 'then' and 'than', and hyphenation would suggest the text to have undergone little editing, although the modernizing of 'fraughts' to 'freights' in 1.9, as well as the emending of 'a murrain' to 'a plague' in 4.51 and 'batter' to 'better' in 4.116 implies a basic preparation of the text for a modern audience.

posited an interesting way by which an implied stage direction embedded in the text might be interpreted.

Overall, however, the reading was, as Kermode has stated before me, a relative failure, and demonstrated the attention that the play demands from a director if it is to succeed in performance.²⁵⁹ A number of the cuts made in scene 11 were detrimental to sense.²⁶⁰ A cut at 11.212–63 confused Nick Hutchison (playing the role of Anthony) into thinking that he should be speaking with a French accent, as the disguised Monsieur le Mouché; the cut at 11.259–87 removed a biting speech made by Anthony to Harvey that Pisaro nonetheless went on to congratulate, causing a perplexed pause from Day after his first line before he moved on. The cut to 11.282–301 meant that Day became lost in the script; consequently, 11.303 was repeated and there was obvious page turning from him and other members of the cast until Day realized that he had in fact read out the right line. With a full awareness that cuts were needed to be made and that the possibility of alterations would be ironed out in play rehearsals, the only extant reading of the play descended, by scene 11, into the actors laughing their way around an inadequate script.

CONCLUSIONS

The investigations set out in this section have a bearing on reading and watching the play. Haughton may have not intended actors to double parts in *Englishmen*, and the one possible call for conceptual casting can be dismissed. No musical scores for the play are known to have survived; however, Van Dal's song in scene 6 is probably a different

²⁵⁹ Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 61.

²⁶⁰ In total, ten cuts, to twenty or so lines at a time, were made to the 'Read not Dead' reading. Using my edition's lineation, they were made to scenes 6 (305–19; 321–69), 9 (128–47), 10 (65–82, beginning 'But I pray thee') and 11 (95–114; 164–198; 212–63; 241–63; 259–87; 281–302).

redaction to that of Vos's 'Chanson des Gueux'. If this is indeed Haughton's source, then it is possible to better understand the meaning of Van Dal's song: a Dutch call to arms is trivialized by Van Dal, who uses it to proclaim his wish to have sex with Laurentia. Props in *Englishmen* are generally commonplace, although the basket in scene 11 is technologically demanding. One possible way that Van Dal was suspended in early performances was by a rope and pulley, away from the balcony's side; this makes sense of Frisco's comment that the basket turns freely. Theatrical productions or readings can transform the play, but not always for the better: the Globe's reading demonstrates the importance of cutting the play in such a way as to streamline it in a performance without sacrificing its carefully wrought comedy.

ESTABLISHING THE TEXT

In 1601 the printer-publisher William White bought the rights to printing *Englishmen*.²⁶¹ The first extant quarto, Q1, was printed by White in 1616; Q2 was printed by John Norton in 1626; and Q3 was printed by Augustine Mathews (or Mathewes) in 1631. In what follows, I analyse the relationship between extant editions before concluding that Q1 is the sole authoritative text. I then offer six provisional accounts of Q1: the quarto of 1616 (Q1) itself; the printer's copy underlying Q1; a compositorial study; casting-off; the order of formes; and textual variants.²⁶² I have adopted this order so that it is possible to reconstruct the sequences of printing-shop events: from underlying manuscript copy, to composition, to presswork. This investigation is the first full-length bibliographic study of Q1: previous analyses, by Greg, Baugh and Kermode, are important but limited; I discuss, augment and – at one point – dispute their claims.

²⁶¹ It is unknown whether White acquired his copy from Haughton or a representative of the Lord Admiral's Men. Harold Love, in his discussion of Thomas Middleton's manuscripts in print, argues that the absence of a dedication or an acknowledgement (such as in *Englishmen*) may be more typical of a play manuscript sold by the acting company; but as Love also points out, an author might deliberately leave a play unacknowledged and undedicated. (Harold Love, 'Thomas Middleton: Oral Culture and the Manuscript Economy', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, eds Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 108). Under 'Manuscript Provenance' I aim to identify the manuscript that White bought, which in part is achieved by a process of elimination; however, because of my conclusion – that the underlying manuscript was authorial – neither the Admiral's Men nor White can be dismissed as the manuscript's vendor.

²⁶² In order to clarify the points that I make in this section I have included a DVD of images of the base text (i.e. the British Library copy), which can be found at the back of the second volume of the thesis. In the following section I have, where possible, provided signature numbers, together with scene and line numbers. This is to allow the reader to be able to refer to both the DVD of images and the edited Text. For a number of the following investigations, however (such as 'The Order of Formes'), I am concerned with physical aspects of Q1 that have not been duplicated in my edition; for these sections I refer only to signatures. The number following a signature reference (e.g. the '2' in 'G4v, 2') corresponds to the number of type lines down the page a quoted word or line can be found.

TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION, Q1–3

The relationship between the three extant editions has been previously demonstrated by Baugh, who observes that, while Q2 is not a page-for-page reprint of Q1, there is a repetition in Q2 of distinctive spelling variants in Q1 which cumulatively occur beyond coincidence: as examples, ‘middest’ for ‘midst’ in C3v, 4 (3.258), ‘nows’ for ‘*nous*’ in E2v, 7 (6.187), ‘God’ for ‘Good’ in D4v, 10 (6.60) and H1v, 28 (11.210), ‘objure’ for ‘abjure’ in I2r, 20 (11.152) and ‘Am’ for ‘I’m’ in 14.256 (K3v, 33).²⁶³ Further, informal names used as speech prefixes in Q2 can be found at the same points in Q1: Marina is twice given as ‘*Mall.*’ in C2v, 17 (3.203) and C2v, 20 (3.206), Mathea is twice given as ‘*Matt.*’ in F1v, 32 (7.58) and H1v, 12 (11.195), and the descriptive name ‘Merchant-stranger’ is given as ‘*Stra.*’ in H1v, 22 (11.205) and ‘*March.*’ in K3r, 21 (14.210). That Q2 was set from Q1 is further indicated by the fact that Q2 is faithful to Q1’s setting of verse as prose and vice versa.

Baugh also notes that Q3 is a page-for-page reprint of Q2 (however, as Baugh has also described, five lines were erroneously omitted from Q3; see the discussion on Q3 under ‘The Edited Text’).²⁶⁴ I have further observed that various words omitted in Q2 are also omitted in Q3, such as ‘away’ in C1r, 1 (3.83), ‘*dit*’ in E2v, 9 (6.189), ‘me’ in E2v, 16 (6.193), ‘*dat*’ in G2v, 4 (11.1), ‘you’ in H4v, 9 (11.380), ‘grief’ in I1v, 30 (12.38) and ‘but’ in K2r, 3 (14.127); the same pattern is found with words added (‘for’ in D3r, 12 (5.14) and ‘I’ in F4v, 4 (6.55), in the inclusion of two necessary stage directions (‘*Exit*’ in E4r, 28 (6.299) and an entrance direction in F1r, 14 (7.10)) and in an emended speech prefix (‘*Alua.*’ in Q1, ‘*Laur.*’ in Q2, H1r, 3 (11.158)): this indicates that Q3 was set from Q2. A separation in words and sophistications of spellings between quartos suggests the

²⁶³ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 90.

²⁶⁴ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 90.

introduction of compositorial error: ‘who’s lord’>>‘who’s is lord’>>‘who’s the lord’ in D2v, 2 (4.119–20); ‘ic weit’>>‘it we it’>>‘it wee it’ in G2v, 4 (11.91); ‘de voer’>>‘do voer’>>‘doer voer’ in F3r, 34 (11.149–60); ‘thou’rt’>>‘thou’art’>>‘thou art’ in H1r, 8 (11.160); ‘mated’>>‘mared’>>‘marred’ in H4v, 15 (11.323); and ‘canuast’ (i.e. ‘canvassed’) >>‘canuest’>>‘conuerst’ in 14.261 (K4r, 3). The least complicated means of explaining this common phenomenon is progressive compositorial corruption (the compositor of Q2 misunderstands or misreads Q1; the compositor of Q3 misunderstands or misreads Q2). On two occasions Q3 adopts the reading of Q1 (‘your’ >>‘you’>>‘your’ in H4r, 5 (9.95); ‘shake’>>‘shafe’>>‘shake’ in K3v, 14 (14.237)), yet, as Baugh notes, the readings are minor enough to be ‘ascribed to chance’, and are not beyond the corrections of a thinking compositor.²⁶⁵

Q2 occasionally revises the profane allusions to Christ’s crucifixion that are present in Q1: ‘Sblood’ in B1v, 5 (2.13), B1v, 11 (2.19), and E1r, 19 (6.101) and ‘Swounds’ in C4r, 16 (3.303) and F2v, 15 (9.12). This is a process that is far from complete, as Q2 is not purged of ‘Sblood’ in C1v, 31 (3.145) and H2r, 16 (11.231); ‘Swounds’ remains in C1v, 24 (3.138), G4v, 30 (11.154), and H2v, 4 (11.247). The substitution seems to have had little to do with the ‘Act to Restrain Abuses of Players’, passed by Parliament on 27 May 1606, for, as E.K. Chambers reminds us, the Act ‘related only to words spoken on the stage, and not to words put into print’.²⁶⁶ This might argue for Q2 being set from a manuscript derived from a theatrical revival – much in the way of the 1616 B-text of Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* – but for its demonstrable linear relationship with

²⁶⁵ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 92.

²⁶⁶ E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 329.

Q1.²⁶⁷ Further, Gary Taylor, in his study of profanity in Shakespeare's extant plays, argues of the First Folio that the publishers were responsible for the expurgation of profane allusions to Christ's crucifixion.²⁶⁸ He concludes that these expurgations suggest a 'restricted degree of editorial interference' that 'originated in the printing-house', an argument to which I subscribe.²⁶⁹ The expurgations in Q2 indicate that the text was subjected to limited and intermittent editorial bowdlerizing; consequently, Q2 is not of independent authority to Q1. A responsible modern edition must therefore be based on Q1, and for this reason the following investigations are into this quarto.

THE QUARTO OF 1616 (Q1)

'A woman Will haue her Will' was entered in the Stationers' Register by William White – a trade printer, printer-publisher and bookseller – on 3 August 1601.²⁷⁰ I provide a facsimile of the entry together with a transcription, checked against that of Edward Arber:²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ On the expurgation of oaths in later editions with printer's copy of theatrical revivals see Janet Clare, *Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority: Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Authority*, Revels Companion Series, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 119–72.

²⁶⁸ Gary Taylor and John Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped, 1606–1623* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 76.

²⁶⁹ Taylor and Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped*, 76. See also W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 152; E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearian Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), 80.

²⁷⁰ For a summary of White's background see R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1910), 288.

²⁷¹ Robin Myers, ed., *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1554–1920*, reel 2 (Cambridge; Teaneck, NJ: Chadwyck-Healey, 1987), reel position 0115; Arber, 3, 190.

A descriptive bibliography of Q1 is as follows:²⁷⁴

Catalogue References

STC 12931

Greg I, 336(a)

Typography

Body 82. Face 80 x 1.8: 2.9 (Pica roman). The normal type page consists of thirty-five lines (see 'Casting-off Copy'). A drop-cap 'H' appears on A2r, to the depth of two-and-a-half type lines; the first four type lines on A2r are indented to accommodate it.

Collation

A–K4v, [80] pp; 4°.

Contents

A1r title-page; A1v 'The Actors names.'; A2r headpiece of a cherub's face with various ornaments [91 x 16mm];²⁷⁵ A2r–K4v text in verse and prose; K4v 'FINIS'.

Speech prefixes and stage directions are italicized and indented; proper nouns are also italicized. K4v is printed on, a feature found in over half of the extant playbooks

1989), 269; David L. Gants, 'A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618', *SB* 55 (2002), 192.

²⁷⁴ This descriptive bibliography expands the outline usefully provided by Greg in his *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 355.

²⁷⁵ Not identified in McKerrow, *Printers*, or J.A. Lavin's 'Additions to McKerrow's *Devices*', *The Library*, 5th ser., 23.5 (1968), 191–205.

printed by White and in all four of those that he published or part-published.²⁷⁶ The practice appears to have been atypical from 1565 to 1640, for a blank page offered the playbook some protection from dirt and damage.²⁷⁷ White's printing on the last verso page suggests economy, both in the amount of paper used, and, if compositors were paid by the edition sheet or forme, in the amount of labour expected from a compositor before he was paid.²⁷⁸

Title-page

ENGLISH-MEN | For my Money : | OR, | A pleasant Comedy, | called, | A Woman will haue her Will. | [Woodcut, 80 x 60mm, woman holding a fan]²⁷⁹ | Imprinted at London by W. White, | dwelling in Cow-lane. 1616.

²⁷⁶ White printed, part-printed or printed and published twenty extant playbooks. The final verso pages in playbooks printed by White (based upon Greg's *Bibliography*, vol. 1) are: Greg nos. 150a, 110d, 110e, 145f, 191d, 234b; those printed and published by White are 112b, 110c, 110g and 336a. Final verso page blank are 138b, 151b, 141d/d(*), 151c, 151d, 249b. White shared the printing (in which he did not print the final sheet) for 163c, 284a, 284b and 110f. (On shared printing for Jonson's *Every Man* (Greg 163c) see Helen Ostovich, ed., *Every Man Out of His Humour*, Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 204; on Shakespeare's *Pericles* (Greg 284a/b), see Adrian Weiss, 'Identifying Printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books', *SB* 44 (1991), 227; on Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (Greg 110f), see W.W. Greg, 'The Spanish Tragedy – A Leading Case?', *The Library*, 4th ser., 6.1 (1925), 54–5).

²⁷⁷ Henry R. Woudhuysen, 'Early Play Texts: Forms and Formes', in *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare*, ed. Ann Thompson and Gordon McMullan (London: Thomson Learning, 2003), 57.

²⁷⁸ Scholars who argue that compositors were paid by the forme include D.F. McKenzie in his *The Cambridge University Press 1696–1712: A Bibliographical Study*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 72; and Philip Gaskell in his *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Saint Paul's Bibliographies, Winchester; Oak Knoll Press, New Castle: Delaware, 1995), 54–5. Peter Blayney differs, arguing that the compositor was paid per 1,000 ens (Peter W.M. Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 406–7).

²⁷⁹ Not identified in McKerrow, *Printers*, or Lavin's 'Additions'; it is, however, discussed in R.A. Foakes's *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580–1642* (London: Scholar Press, 1985), 166.

Running Titles

English-men for my Money: or, / A Woman will haue her will. (With numerous variations: see ‘Running Titles’.)

Catchwords

A2r: *Laur*] ~.

A4r: ges,] ~?

A4v: *Hntho.*] *Antho.*

C1r: Roring] Roaring

C2r: *Haruie*] *Haru.*

C4r: *Aluar.*] *Alua.*

E4r: *Marin.*] *Mari.*

H1r: New-] Newgate

K4r: *Moore.*] *Moor.*

THE PRINTER’S COPY FOR Q1

Manuscript Provenance

The manuscript that lies behind the original quarto of *Englishmen* has not survived; manuscript copy – excluding the page on which authority to publish and licence to print were recorded – was probably discarded after the edition was printed.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority and the Playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 93; Peter W.M. Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 392. Peter Beal’s comprehensive *Index of Literary Manuscripts. Volume 1: 1450–1625* (London: Mansell, 1980) does not contain any references to Haughton’s literary manuscripts.

Scholarly conjecture about non-extant printer's copy for playbooks has historically followed R.B. McKerrow's New Bibliographical argument for a distinction between manuscripts which derive from the author (either 'foul papers' made by himself, or 'fair copy' made by himself or a scribe); and manuscripts which show evidence of theatrical use (i.e. the prompt book, submitted to, and endorsed by, the Master of the Revels).²⁸¹ This presumed distinction between 'foul' and 'fair', 'authorial' and 'prompt', has been much scrutinized by revisionists under the aegis of poststructuralist theories of criticism, who have convincingly questioned the nature of the manuscripts used by the New Bibliographers. Paul Werstine has pointed out that features thought typical of 'foul' texts can be identified in extant prompt books, and Tiffany Stern has argued that backstage plots sometimes contained theatrical material so that books did not have to be marked up.²⁸² Further, Stern has pointed out that the one known reference to 'foul' papers is to a plot, not a play at all.²⁸³ Crucially, this indicates that the New Bibliographers' clear-cut distinction between manuscripts is not supported by the available evidence; in Jowett's phrase, and as seen in the work of numerous scholars such as Werstine and Stern, 'there are no stable

²⁸¹ R.B. McKerrow, 'The Elizabethan Printer and Dramatic Manuscripts', *The Library*, 4th ser., 12 (1931–2), 253–75; McKerrow, 'A Suggestion Regarding Shakespeare's Manuscripts', *RES* 11 (1935), 459–65. Alfred W. Pollard made the first major attempt to categorize manuscripts in his *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays 1594–1685* (London: Methuen, 1909) and *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems with the Transmission of his Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); McKerrow consolidated and revised Pollard's argument.

²⁸² Werstine and Stern discuss the weaknesses of the New Bibliographers' binary distinctions in manuscripts in Paul Werstine, "'Foul Papers" and "Prompt Books": Printer's Copy for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*', *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988), 234–46; Werstine, 'McKerrow's "Suggestion" and Twentieth-century Shakespeare Textual Criticism', *Renaissance Drama* 19 (1988), 151; Werstine, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad Quartos"', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.1 (1990), 65–86, especially pp. 69–72; Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18–21, 219–31.

²⁸³ Stern, *Documents of Performance*, 230–1. The one known reference to foul papers is found in a scribal copy of John Fletcher's *Bonduca*.

points of reference upon which to plot a categorization that can be applied to the lost copy for printed plays'.²⁸⁴ For this reason, my analysis of Q1 attempts to be nuanced and cautious of dogmatic approaches to manuscript categorization.

My provisional discussion is divided into two parts. The first part uses internal and external evidence to reject the notion that the play's underlying manuscript was the allowed book.²⁸⁵ With this in mind, the second part of my discussion uses internal evidence to suggest that the underlying manuscript was authorial. In the spirit of Werstine and Stern's work, however, I do not use the term 'foul papers', and I discuss sections of the text that might be explained in other ways, such as compositorial misunderstanding, as well as the absence of features considered typical of authorial papers. I have, therefore, retained terminology used by the New Bibliographers, but with the acknowledgement that early modern printed plays do not conform to strict models of categorization.

Scholars have previously argued that a theatrical manuscript served as printer's copy for Q1 *Englishmen*. Baugh argued from two stage directions ('*Knock within*' in D1r, 31 (4.48); '*Knock*' in F1r, 17 (7.12)) that printer's copy was 'a stage version', but concedes that 'the evidence is hardly sufficient to establish the point'.²⁸⁶ Kermode's summarizes his findings as follows:

²⁸⁴ Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text*, 104.

²⁸⁵ A separate question concerns the manuscript version used to make the players' parts. Despite the apparent legitimacy of the allowed book, the original players may have copied their parts from an earlier version of *Englishmen*, such as Haughton's authorial manuscript. As Stern (*Documents*, 237) points out, with 'a limited time period for writing out and memorizing lines, every effort was made to get texts to actors as soon as possible – and that effort, in the early modern period and later, often preceded the acquisition of official sanction for the playbook'; ultimately, the 'approved manuscript 'book', though it may become the prompter's book and run performances, need not [. . .] be the same text as the source for the actors' parts'.

²⁸⁶ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 91.

Q1 has a better sense of (comic) foreign pronunciation [than Q2 and Q3] and seems to be printed from a stage-smart copy, perhaps an authorial revision or an unclearly marked-up prompt copy. I say unclearly because there is apparently some doubling of words or metrical stresses, where one should have been deleted, but both have been left in the printing. There are also a number of erroneous entries, exits, and speech prefixes.²⁸⁷

Yet the case that the underlying manuscript was unmarked by a book-keeper is much stronger. As I go on to discuss, a book-keeper's copy might be correct in exits, entrances, speech prefixes and so forth. Yet in Q1, necessary exits, such as those for Mathea and Marina opposite G3r, 8 (11.38), Frisco opposite E4r, 29 (6.299) and K1v, 23 (14.112), Pisaro opposite I3v, 31 (13.100) and Anthony opposite I4r, 19 (14.13), are omitted.²⁸⁸ End-of-scene exits which clear the stage are missing from scenes 7 (F2r, 17), 10 (G2v, 2) and 13 (I4r, 4). An exit and entrance enabling Mathea and Marina to retrieve props are not provided opposite G3r, 8 (11.38) and after G3r, 11 (11.42–1), and in scene 11, Q1 does not provide an exit and entrance so that Laurentia, Mathea and Marina to move from balcony to stage (H1v, 16 (11.199) and H1v, 21 (11.204.1)).

Entrances, too, can be incorrect. An entrance stage direction in B3v, 12 (3.0.1) gives Al Varo as entering, yet his absence is marked by Pisaro's wish that 'my third Sonne sweete *Aluaro*' were 'heere' in B4r, 5 (3.24), and in a later (correct) entry direction, Al Varo enters (in C3r, 17 (3.236.1)): the implication is that Haughton intended Al Varo to enter earlier, but then changed his mind, and did not go back to alter the direction or missed it on a reread. In H3r, 29 (11.302.1) Q1's version has Van Dal enter with his companions, despite being suspended above the stage. In C1r, 9–10 (3.88–9) a Post is given an entry direction and a line of speech; in C1v, 32 (3.147) he is given another entry

²⁸⁷ Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 64.

²⁸⁸ Contemporary penned-in exit directions were frequently added in to a performance-marked copy of printed playbook titled *The Two Merry Milkmaids* (1620; STC 4281), discussed in Thomson's 'Marked for Performance', p. 184.

direction, despite no intervening exit direction and no reason to leave the stage. The Post's greetings are similar ('God bless your worship' in C1r, 10 (3.89); 'God save your worship' in C1v, 32 (3.147), which may suggest that Houghton had in mind the speech that he was going to give the Post, but had forgotten that the character was already onstage.

Other entry directions are missing. In F1r, 6 (7.1.0) Pisaro enters the stage solo, yet by his speech ('Where be these Girles here? what, to bed, to bed') it is apparent that Laurentia, Marina and Mathea are onstage by F1r, 15 (7.10). In the same scene Anthony is not given an entry direction, yet speaks in F1v, 30 (7.56). Other features which are absent in Q1 but might be found in a quarto set from the licensed copy (as outlined by Taylor and Jowett) are the specification of essential properties, actors' names in speech prefixes and advanced warnings for certain actors on stage.²⁸⁹ There is, therefore, no evidence in the text of use in the theatre.

However, an absence of book-keeper annotations might only suggest that the manuscript was left unmarked out of preference for a marked-up plot, as Stern argues occasionally happened in the early modern period; not all surviving allowed books have book-keeper annotations.²⁹⁰ External evidence, however, points to White using an unlicensed manuscript. Gary Taylor and John Jowett have argued that the licensed prompt book was rarely if ever released to supply direct copy for Shakespeare's folio compositors.²⁹¹ The same conclusion might be reached for the Henslowe's inventory of books that '*belonge to the Stocke, and such that I have bought since the 3d of March 1598*', in which *Englishmen* is listed.²⁹² Neil Carson argues that the plays in the March

²⁸⁹ Taylor and Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped*, 65.

²⁹⁰ Stern, *Documents*, 230–1. As an example, Stern points out that the manuscript of Philip Massinger's *Believe as You List* is an allowed book without prompt markings.

²⁹¹ Taylor and Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped*, 3–50.

²⁹² Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 316

1598 inventory were owned by the company.²⁹³ According to scholars including McKerrow, Greg and Gurr, the Admiral's therefore had exclusive rights to the selling of company-owned manuscripts to the printer.²⁹⁴ Gurr argues that printer's copy would not have been the licensed prompt book used by the Admiral's Men, for it would have been 'far too valuable'; the manuscript instead would have another manuscript: perhaps authorial, or scribal.²⁹⁵

Indeed, certain evidence in Q1, such as indisputable authorial revisions, might indicate that the underlying manuscript was authorial. Authorial revision in the underlying manuscript is in evidence at points in Q1 where compositorial misinterpretation is demonstrable. In A3v, 5 (1.102) 'young' is placed four lines a speech of Marina's (see the image below). However, the apparent end-rhyme ('it'/'it') and the iambic pentameter otherwise present in Marina's speech would suggest that 'young' has been incorrectly placed. The word has by consensus (starting with Q2) since been placed a further two lines down, after 'I love it being', thus continuing the end-rhyme. The most sensible interpretation of the textual crux is that Haughton wrote a word which rhymed with 'nun' (perhaps 'sung', or 'done'), changed his mind, crossed it out (or marked the cut with a vertical line in the margin next to the text)²⁹⁶ and then wrote 'young' above it and on the same line as 'Marina [. . .] it'; the compositor then misread 'young' as the terminal word for the line, and set it as such. The fact that the compositor did not perceive the error may

²⁹³ Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 316.

²⁹⁴ McKerrow, 'Dramatic Manuscripts', 253–75; W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 93; Andrew Gurr, 'Did Shakespeare Own His Own Playbooks?' *Review of English Studies* 60.244 (2009), 206.

²⁹⁵ Gurr, 'Playbooks', 206. See also McKerrow, 'Dramatic Manuscripts', 253–75; Greg, *First Folio*, 93–4, 107, Honigmann, *Texts of 'Othello'*, 150; Blayney, 'Publication', 392.

²⁹⁶ Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 79.

suggest that this was one of many revisions that he had to negotiate. Indeed, a few lines down on the same page (A3v, 24; 1.120)) Mathea's speech falls short of an iambic

Matr. Haue done, haue done; what need'st thou more
 When long ere this I stoop'd to that faire lure:
 Thy euer louing *Hæmie* I delight it:
Mari euer louing shall requite it young.
 Teach vs *Philosophy*? Ile be no *Nunne*;
 Age scornes Delight, I loue it being:
 There's not a word of this, not a words part,
 But shall be stamp'd, seal'd, printed on my heart;
 On this Ile read, on this my senses ply:
 All Arts being vaine, but this *Philosophy*.
Laur. Why was I made a Mayde, but for a Man?
 And why *Laurentia*, but for *Ferdinand*?
 The chastest Soule these Angels could intice?
 Much more him selfe, an Angell of more price:
 were't thy selfe present, as my heart could wish,
 Such vsage thou should'st haue, as I giue this.
Anth. Then you would kisse him?
Laur. If I did, how then?
Anth. Nay I say nothing to it, but *Amen*.
Pisa. The Clarke must haue his fees, Ile pay you them.
Matr. Good God, how abiekt is this singie life,
 Ile not abide it; Father, Friends, nor Kin,
 Shall once dissuade me from affecting:
 A man, a man, and yet a man!

(A3v, 2–24; 1.00–120)

pentameter and does not rhyme with the previous line, despite the obvious end-rhyme otherwise present in Mathea's speech (see the last two lines of the previous image). This line should by consensus (again starting with Q2) end with 'him'. The source of the error is less clear: it may have been compositorial eye-skip, or the manuscript page might have been particularly untidy.

A further error is in the printing of Walgrave's name in C4r, 18 (3.304):

Walgr. Nay prethee *Ned Walg.* lets bethinke our selues,
 There's no such haste, we may come time enough:

(C4r, 18–19; 3.304–5)

‘*Walg.*’ is here abbreviated to prevent a turn-over (and is not, therefore, recognition of scansion). As the text stands, a hypermetrical pentameter with reverse stress at the point of the caesura is used; although the stress pattern is acceptable elsewhere in the text, here it interrupts the flow of the regular iambic pentameter otherwise present in the speeches of the Englishmen. As Baugh argued, it would appear that ‘Ned’ was written on the manuscript, badly crossed out in the text or marked for deletion by a line in the margin, and there replaced with ‘Walgrave’; alternatively, ‘Ned Walgrave’ was written in full, and ‘Ned’ was then crossed out: the compositor, however, read ‘Ned Walgrave’ and set both names.²⁹⁷

Verse lines can be crowded into prose on the page, which might indicate a compositor setting from a manuscript in which verse lines had not been properly delineated; however, at times they can be attributed to inaccurate casting-off (see ‘Casting-off Copy’).²⁹⁸ Other verse lines (such as in D1r, 22 (4.39), spelling modernized: ‘And that methinks, sir, not without need’, and I4v, 35(14.62), ‘Where’s Mouché? What, is he gone, or no?’) are short, and seem to be missing words (in the first example given, the line might read (with the added word square bracketed): ‘And that methinks, sir, not without [a] need’; the second example might read ‘Where’s Mouché [now]? What, is he gone, or no?’); lost words might be evidence of an unrevised or untidy manuscript. Speech prefixes are mis-assigned on four occasions.²⁹⁹ In F3r, 22 (9.49) a speech of Walgrave’s is attributed to Heigham; in F4v, 9 (9.126) a speech is attributed to Harvey instead of Heigham; a speech

²⁹⁷ Houghton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 256.

²⁹⁸ Paul Werstine argues for verse lines crammed into prose as evidence of authorial papers in ‘Line Division in Shakespeare’s Dramatic Verse: An Editorial Problem’, *A&EB* 8 (1984), 101, as does Ioppolo in *Dramatists*, 90.

²⁹⁹ On the significance of this point see William Shakespeare, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, ed. H.R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001), 314–17.

made by Heigham is attributed to Walgrave in G4v, 12 (11.138), and in H1r, 4 (11.158) a speech of Laurentia's is attributed to Al Varo, who at the time is not even onstage. The first three mis-assignments might be an indication of the author's improper lining-up of marginal speech prefixes to the related text, to be then misinterpreted by the compositor, or perhaps the faults were caused by to compositorial eye-skip; but the fourth speech prefix issue indicates a manuscript that had not been carefully reread by Haughton.

Textual inconsistencies indicate that sections of the text went unrevised by Haughton. The principal inconsistency in *Englishmen* involves time references in scene 6, and concerns Pisaro's duping of his daughters by switching the anticipated arrival of the Englishmen, late at night, with that of the foreign suitors. To Pisaro, Frisco reports 'ten a clocke at night' (E2v, 29; 6.203–4), yet later in the scene Pisaro gives 'midnight' (E3r, 24; 6.234); later still, Frisco is commanded to go to Van Dal's house at 'eleuen' (E3v, 22; 6.267). Other textual inconsistencies can be found in Pisaro's command that Mathea should keep his friend's daughter, Susan, company at night (F1v, 1–4; 7.32) when he had previously planned De Lyon to have sex with Mathea (E3r, 14–30; 6.239); and Frisco appearing to Heigham disguised as Van Dal the Dutchman (as in F4r, 13–19; 9.100.1–47), when he was meant to be imitating Heigham. This last, however, works dramatically if Frisco is seen to forget whom he was meant to be imitating: certainly, Frisco is portrayed as forgetful, for Heigham manages to convince Frisco that he is drunk 'and know not ont' (F4v, 23–24; 9.140) and that Frisco has forgotten the way 'quite and cleane' to Pisaro's house (F4v, 32; 9.147); Heigham would presumably have been instantly suspicious had a character imitated him. The error in time and double use of Mathea, however, are definite

problems, and suggest that Haughton had not made local revisions to plot or device on a rereading of the manuscript.³⁰⁰

Vagaries and inaccuracies in the stage directions in scene 3 suggest another cluster of unresolved issues.³⁰¹ I have mentioned the premature entry of Al Varo in B3v, 13 (3.0.1) and the double entry of the Post in C1r, 9 (3.8.1) and C1v, 32 (3.147). In addition, the elaborate direction in B3v, 13 (3.0.2) is permissive, giving ‘*other Marchants*’; later (in C4r, 8 (3.295)), an exit stage direction gives ‘*Exit [. . .] Strangers, & Marchant*’.³⁰² This introduces inconsistency in both the title(s) of the extras (are they strangers, merchants, or merchant-strangers?) and in the ‘specification of supernumeraries’ (‘*other Marchants*’ in the entry stage direction, yet ‘*Marchant*’ and ‘*Strangers*’ in the exit).³⁰³ Further, the number of respondents and the assignment of speeches is left vague in ‘*Strang.*’, B3v, 15 (3.1), ‘*Stra.*’, C2v, 17 (3.206) and ‘*March.*’, C2v, 20 (3.206); and in B4v, 32 (3.80) Brown enters with ‘God save you, gentlemen’; the corresponding speech prefix gives ‘*Gent.*’ (B4v, 33; 3.81), thus complicating both who Brown addresses, and who responds.³⁰⁴

Q1 therefore shows evidence of authorial practice in the underlying manuscript, but no evidence of theatrical use or concern for theatrical convenience. The previous scholarly view – that the play was set from a theatrical manuscript such as the prompt book – is thus

³⁰⁰ On the relevance of plot inconsistencies to authorial revision see Robert K. Turner, ‘Act-End Notations in Some Elizabethan Plays’, *Modern Philology* 72. 3 (1975), 247.

³⁰¹ On this point see Turner, ‘Act-End Notations’, 246–7; Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 95–6.

³⁰² As Greg (*First Folio*, 142) explains, ‘permissive’ phrasing is typical of an author’s stage direction, in that it leaves the determination of exact numbers or speakers to be resolved later by the theatre company.

³⁰³ Turner, ‘Act-End Notations’, 248.

³⁰⁴ Another common feature of extant authorial papers is the use of ‘et cetera’ and ‘and so forth’, which, it has been argued, exemplifies areas of a manuscript that an author intended to revisit (Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 95). Such terms are used in Q1, but in each instance, a more satisfactory explanation is that the use denotes characterization. For example, Mathea’s ‘*French (et-cetera)*’ in D2r, 13 is a means to discuss indelicate matters.

probably incorrect. With this evaluation in mind, we must now turn to the first edition of *Englishmen*, and the question of whether it has survived.

A Hypothetical Q0

I have already mentioned above the gap of fifteen years between the entry in the Stationers' Register and the printing of Q1 *Englishmen*. Greg, in his *Bibliography*, regards the delay with suspicion, writing that 'No earlier edition [of Q1] is known, but it seems unlikely that White should have printed the copy for the first time fifteen years after entrance'.³⁰⁵ Greg's surmise is lent support by the more recent study of Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, who identified that 91 per cent of extant playbooks entered into the Register from 1576 to 1640 were printed within a year of entrance; thus, Greg's suggestion warrants a fuller investigation.³⁰⁶ In this section I outline two arguments: the first argument is based on my quantitative analysis of trends in White's known printing-house practices, of which my conclusions support an argument for a lost Q0; the counter-argument, advanced by Lukas Erne and Peter Blayney, is that London publishers routinely delayed the printing of playbooks acquired in 1601.³⁰⁷ I begin with three related investigations into trends in White's printing-house practices.

³⁰⁵ W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 482.

³⁰⁶ Farmer and Lesser, 'Playbooks Revisited', 29.

³⁰⁷ It should be noted that there is no extant record of delayed publication for legal reasons. This should be compared to Shakespeare's plays, in which one of the last plays written for the Chamberlain's Men, *Troilus and Cressida*, was entered on 7 February 1603 but remained unprinted until 1609 (Arber, 3, 336; STC 22331); this, as Lukas Erne reminds us, was because the play could not 'legally have been printed', for the publisher, John Roberts, apparently never got sufficient authority (Lukas Erne, 'Shakespeare and the Publication of his Plays', *SQ* 53.1 (2002), 10–11. See also E.A.J. Honigmann, 'The Date and Revision of *Troilus and Cressida*', in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 38–54; and David

(1) The delay of fifteen years between entry of Q1 and print is exceptional in the known history of White's activities as printer-publisher. From 1598 to 1616 twenty-one extant items printed by White were entered by (or assigned to) him. Of these items, nineteen were printed the same year as entry;³⁰⁸ a further item – Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – was apparently first printed between three and four years after entry.³⁰⁹ This last, however, might relate to the unusual wording of the entry, which requests that White print 'one Impression onely and no moo [i.e. 'more']'; this argues for a text which the Stationers' Company allowed to be printed under certain circumstances.³¹⁰ The Company's control of the item possibly indicates that the gap separating entry and print was caused by a temporary suspension of authority to print.³¹¹

Bevington, ed., *Troilus and Cressida*, Arden Third Series (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 11).

³⁰⁸ Details of these nineteen items are as follows: STC 12734, entered 24 April 1598 (Arber, 3, 113); STC 17140, entered 15 May 1598 (Arber, 3, 115); STC 7268, entered 15 January 1599 (Arber, 3, 135); STC 15088, assigned 13 August 1599 (Arber, 3, 146); STC 19536, assigned 13 August 1599 (Arber, 3, 146); STC 5346.5, entered 22 November 1602 (Arber, 3, 222); STC 21400, entered 15 September 1602 (Arber, 3, 216); STC 11314, entered 15 July 1603 (Arber, 3, 242); STC 5958, entered 28 November 1604 (Arber, 3, 227); STC 21385, entered 29 January 1605 (Arber, 3, 281); STC 12580, entered 28 April 1606 (Arber, 3, 320); STC 5336, entered 4 April 1609 (Arber, 3, 404); STC 17149.5, entered 16 November 1609 (Arber, 3, 424); STC 142979.3, entered 24 November 1610 (Arber, 3, 449); STC 3851.5, entered 12 September 1612 (Arber, 3, 496); STC 3870, entered 12 September 1612 (Arber, 3, 496); STC 12975, entered 10 May 1613 (Arber, 3, 523); STC 12214, entered 2 February 1615 (Arber, 3, 562); STC 19831, entered 5 September 1615 (Arber, 3, 572).

³⁰⁹ STC 18961, entered 3 March 1600 (Arber, 3, 157), printed 1603.

³¹⁰ Arber, 3, 157. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* formed part of the English stock, a collection of Company-controlled works which were distributed among the poorer printers (Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), 66). The copy was 'yielded' by Henry Denham upon his death 'for the reliefe of ye poore' of the Company, on 8 January 1584 (Arber, 2, 786, 789).

³¹¹ I find it doubtful that White would have been able to flout the Company's rules by printing two impressions (i.e. one now lost, printed in 1600, and one extant, printed in 1603). This is because White would have been given the paper by the Company and not paid for his work until 'the number of copies and the waste overrun sheets were added together and found to equal the paper he had been issued' (William A. Jackson, ed.,

Among the items White is known to have published and printed, then, Q1 *Englishmen* is the only one with a gap of more than a year that does not have an entry in the Register explaining the anomaly.

(2) White's printing-house was underproductive, probably to the point of impoverishment; this makes it difficult to comprehend why White apparently delayed the printing of *Englishmen*. David L. Gants has established that the printing-house of William White and his son, John, had the lowest output of all (twenty-two) London printing-houses from 1614 to 1618, at 253 extant sheets; the next highest printing-house – that of Thomas Dawson – almost doubled the sum, at 430 sheets; at the top end, Adam Islip printed 3,751 edition sheets and the King's Printing House printed 6,069 extant edition sheets.³¹² To this can be added the results from my own investigation, which establishes that White printed 1,274.15 edition sheets over nineteen years, from 1598 to 1617; an average per annum of 67 edition sheets. In 1601, when White entered *Englishmen*, only 64 edition sheets – averaging under 3 formes per six-day week – are extant. This might be compared to the printing-house of John Windet and William Stansby, which in 1609 produced 840 sheets per annum, or more than 33 formes per six-day week.³¹³ The implication is that White print-published, or was commissioned to print, considerably fewer edition sheets per annum. Admittedly, my investigation does not consider the fact that various titles might be extant while not naming him on the title-pages or colophons, or that a lower rate of edition sheets per annum might indicate that White relied on higher-volume print runs.³¹⁴ Nor have I identified White's loss rate; as one of five printers granted a monopoly over the printing

Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602–1640 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1957), x).

³¹² Gants, 'Quantitative Analysis', 195.

³¹³ Mark Bland, 'William Stansby and the Production of the *Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, 1615–16', *The Library*, 6th ser., 20.1 (1998), 4.

³¹⁴ Blayney, 'Publication', 383.

of ballads from 6 April 1612, White's printing of ephemeral literature is certainly higher than surviving records indicate.³¹⁵

These three issues might collectively suggest that White's finances were healthy enough to afford a delay in the printing of *Englishmen* of several years. Extant evidence suggests otherwise, however, for White's position as a poorer Stationer can be confirmed by his need for occasional charity from his Company. White was lent six pounds by the Stationers' Company over a period of three years and a day from 18 June 1605 to 1608.³¹⁶ The printing of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1603, as part of the English stock, would only have been assigned to White by the Company were he in need of poor relief (see (1)); and from 1605 to 1614 the Company assigned White a share in the printing of almanacs, an apparently standard response to needier printers who did not have a regular stock of work.³¹⁷ Further, White received money – probably around ten shillings – from the Poor Fund of the English Stock in the final quarter of 1611.³¹⁸ Evidence therefore indicates that White could not financially afford to suspend the printing of *Englishmen* for over fifteen years. The charge that there is no cost to sitting on a manuscript might be countered by the fact that White had by this point paid expensive initial publishing costs (for the manuscript, authority and licence); his poorer status makes it economically unlikely that White would have paid the down costs and then left the play unprinted for so long.

³¹⁵ Jackson, *Records*, 53–4, 133. The other printers were Edward Allde, George Eld, Simon Stafford and Raffe Blore. The order was not voided until 1620 (Jackson, ed., *Records*, 133). On the high loss rates associated with ephemeral literature see Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'Structures of Popularity in the Early Modern Book Trade', *SQ* 56.2 (2005), 212; John Barnard, 'The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers' Stock, 1660–1700', *The Library*, 6th ser., 21.2 (1999), 150.

³¹⁶ W. Craig Ferguson, *The Loan Book of the Stationers' Company With a List of Transactions, 1592–1692* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1989), 34.

³¹⁷ Blayney, *Texts*, 51. The Stationers' Company acquired the sole right to print almanacs on 29 October 1603 (Greg, *Companion*, 50).

³¹⁸ W. Craig Ferguson, 'The Stationers' Company Poor Book, 1608–1700', *The Library*, 5th ser., 31.1 (1974), 37, 50.

(3) There is strong evidence of compensation for inaccurate casting-off in Q1 (see ‘Casting-off Copy’).³¹⁹ This is most typical of playbooks set from manuscript copy, rather than from a pre-existing quarto, for in reprints the compositor is more likely to iron out such issues; certainly, in other playbooks with a hypothetical Q0, such as Q1 *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, evidence of compensation for inaccurate casting-off has been cited as proof of the quarto being set from manuscript copy.³²⁰ The argument for Q1’s original status can be countered on two grounds: first, that Q1 had little room to resolve the issue, for K4v is printed on, a feature atypical of printed playbooks from 1565 to 1640 (see ‘The Quarto of 1616 (Q1)’). The Q1 compositor would not have been able to correct errors in inaccurate casting-off in Q0 without printing at least one page on a new sheet; thus, almost an entire

³¹⁹ In the following short study I did not use Paul Werstine’s investigation into the spelling habits of the compositors who were at work in White’s printing-house from 1598 to 1600 (Paul Werstine, ‘The Editorial Usefulness of Printing House and Compositor Studies’, in *Play-Texts in Old Spelling: Papers from the Glendon Conference*, ed. G.B. Shand with Raymond C. Shady (New York: AMS Press, 1984), 35–64). This is principally because I would have needed to analyze the spellings of all of White’s extant texts printed around 1616 in order for the study to be fully parallel and comparable with that of Werstine’s; however, this would have taken me away from my primary study of *Englishmen*, and so was not attempted. A provisional comparison of Q1 *Englishmen*’s spellings with Werstine’s study on earlier books identifies a few differences: Werstine analyzes a number of uniform and variant spellings in a variety of extant texts (but focusing on *Love’s Labour’s Lost*) in order to argue that compositors in White’s shop ‘demonstrated nearly absolute constancy in maintaining their preferences for the spellings in a number of common words whenever they worked from manuscript copy. Only when they were faced with printed copy did their constancy waver as they transferred from earlier printed books spellings that they almost never used in setting from manuscript’ (Werstine, ‘Editorial Usefulness’, 54–5). In my compositorial study of Q1 *Englishmen* (see below) I identified a uniformity of spellings in some words and a diversity in others. Differences in spellings do not cluster in significant ways, and can be found across formes and signatures. There is, therefore, no clear distinction between compositorial spelling preferences and compositors keeping to copy spellings. Unlike Werstine, I was therefore unable to identify compositorial stints (see Werstine, ‘Editorial Usefulness’, 37), an identification which he then used as a basis for determining the nature of copy. In short, a study of spellings proved inconclusive in determining the nature of copy for Q1 *Englishmen*, but a much larger contextual investigation, which looks at other extant texts printed by White in at least 1616, needs to be done before firm conclusions can be made.

³²⁰ George R. Price, ‘The Printing of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1598)’, *PBSA* 72 (1978), 434.

sheet per copy (or half a sheet, if the unaffected half could be used for half-sheet broadsides) would have been wasted.

The argument might further be countered by White's occasional setting of playbook reprints as page-for-page, a decision which Blayney has argued did not generally rest with the publisher, but was left 'to the printer's professional judgement'.³²¹ The playbooks printed by White fall fairly evenly between items which were (or were very closely) page-for-page reprints (six);³²² items which were partial page-for-page reprints (four);³²³ and items which were not (five).³²⁴ For the three extant reprints for which White was printer and publisher the editions were not set page-for-page; nonetheless, there is a link between Q5 of *King Henry the Fourth Part One*, printed in 1613, and Q4 of Heywood's *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife From a Bad*, printed in 1614. Both are page-for-page reprints except for the bottom right-hand quartile of the outer forme of sheets, in which the compositor, upon seeing that the foot of the page contained prose, apparently decided to run the prose over to the next quartile. This minor pattern is, however, disrupted by the setting of Q2 *Wily Beguiled* (1614) and Q7 *The Spanish Tragedy* (1615), of which the first is only occasionally a page-for-page reprint, and the second never. Despite an apparently

³²¹ Blayney, 'Publication', 405. Certainly, Q1 as a reprint of Q0 would have made financial sense. A later edition, as Bland has argued, 'is what interested the book trade', for most costs (the price of the manuscript, authority, licence, and registration) are associated with the production of a first edition (Mark Bland, 'The London Book Trade in 1600', in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan (Oxford; Blackwell, 1999), 463). If it proved a popular text, then profit was to be found in second-plus editions (Blayney, 'Publication', 412). On the popularity of *Englishmen* see 'Generic, Historical and Cultural Contexts'.

³²² STCs 15089a, 15090, 18233, 14769, 22284 and 5597. In this count I have not included four playbooks for which White shared the printing (STCs 1476a, 22334, 22335 and 15090); this is because one might expect the printing of a text distributed between different printers to follow copy faithfully in order to ensure that parts of the text are neither duplicated nor omitted.

³²³ STCs 15089, 18231, 22310, 25819.

³²⁴ STCs 15088, 15091a/b, 18232, 19536 and 25636. In this count I have not included STC 21006a: a quarto which was set up from an octavo.

random decision as whether to set reprints page-for-page, the decision is nonetheless demonstrable, meaning that the setting of Q1 *Englishmen* as a page-for-page reprint of a hypothetical Q0, despite the occurrence of compensation for inaccurate casting-off, cannot be ruled out.

A different argument is presented by a known glut in the book-trade market for plays in 1601. Lukas Erne argues that ‘No fewer than twenty-seven plays had been entered into the Stationers’ Register between May 1600 and October 1601’; as the supply would temporarily exceed the demand, ‘some publishers may have delayed the printing of their plays for several years’.³²⁵ Blayney observes that, of the thirty-three playbooks entered into the Register from December 1593 to May 1595, and again from May 1600 to October 1601, ‘Only thirty (56 per cent) were printed before the end of the following December (1595 and 1601 respectively)’.³²⁶ Blayney further notes that, shortly after each period, there was a ‘brief but noticeable slump’, for ‘in 1596 no plays were registered and only two were printed; in 1603 only one was registered and two printed’.³²⁷ This strongly suggests a general increase in the delayed publication of playbooks from 1601. However, while Blayney’s figures are compelling, it should be noted that there is bias. From 1585 to 1592, 1596 to 1599, and again from 1602 to the project’s date of termination in 1604, the figures are annual; the dates that Blayney concerns himself with apply to lengthier periods of eighteen months, or thirty-six months in total, a whole year’s worth of additional titles. This makes Blayney’s findings a little difficult to work with: had the division remained as years, then how would the figures fall? Equally, if the division of figures into years is arbitrary, then why do this at all? A slight bias in results, however, does not weaken

³²⁵ Erne, ‘Publication of his Plays’, 16.

³²⁶ Blayney, ‘Publication’, 385

³²⁷ Blayney, ‘Publication’, 385–6.

Blayney's empirical demonstration that, in general, the printing of playbooks in London print houses was delayed in 1601.

In the absence of the sudden discovery of a copy of Q0, conclusions are a little hard to draw. Without conclusive evidence, a hypothetical Q0 can neither be proved nor dismissed. The possibility has had an effect upon the treatment of the subsection 'Casting-off'. Had Q1 been a page-for-page reprint, then the evidence of compositorial compensation for inaccurate casting-off in Q1 may be evidence of compensation in Q0, which has simply been copied by the Q1 compositor; I am, therefore, cautious of attributing casting-off errors to the setting of Q1. The likelihood and possible extent of influence on an earlier edition as printer's copy on White's reprints needs to be established. To do this, further investigations need to be done on compositorial preferences in his printing-house around the date of 1616. Because such analysis has yet to be fulfilled, the sub-section 'Casting-off' refers to 'the original quarto', in recognition of the fact that the 'original' could be either Q1 or a hypothetical Q0.

Post-authorial Revision?

A single passage in Q1 has led to a debate over possible revision after the accession of James I in 1603. The contention is over Frisco's opinion that a Frenchman is a 'clipper of the Kings English':

but lickes them cleane with kisses; a clipper of the Kings
English: and to conclude, an eternall enemy to all good
Language.

(B2v, 6–8; 2.79–80)

Written in 1598, five years before Queen Elizabeth's death, did this originally read 'Queens [*sic*] English'? Greg thinks that it did, and that the revision was made at the level of the compositor; Kermode agrees, thinking it 'an obvious alteration in the 1616 Q from "Queen's" in the original 1598 version'.³²⁸ The *OED* might confirm this argument, for it defines 'Queen's English' as 'the English language regarded as under the guardianship of the Queen of England' ('queen', *n.* C3). However, 'to clip the King's English' was proverbial, and 'King's English' was still in use during Elizabeth's reign, as H.C. Hart demonstrated in his edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.³²⁹ I do not think the notion of revision demonstrable, and have dismissed the claim accordingly.

COMPOSITORIAL ANALYSIS

Various types of evidence (principally the em-count,³³⁰ spelling³³¹ and the regularization and abbreviation of speech prefixes³³²) in an early modern printed playbook are cited by

³²⁸ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Greg, vii; Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 180.

³²⁹ Dent, *Proverbial Language Exclusive of Shakespeare*, K75; William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. H.C. Hart (London: Methuen, 1904), 24, 46. *Merry Wives* was set in the time of a king, but Hart argued that use of the set phrase 'the King's English' persisted during Elizabeth's reign.

³³⁰ On the em-count see Fredson Bowers, 'Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure', *SB* 2 (1949–50), 155–6; W. Craig Ferguson, 'Compositor Identification in *Romeo* Q1 and *Troilus*', *SB* 42 (1989), 211–18; D.F. McKenzie, "'Indenting the Stick" in the First Quarto of *King Lear* (1608)', in *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 87; Gaskell, *Introduction to Bibliography*, 46. The em-count has two uses. Because compositors set their composing sticks to preferential lengths, the study can determine whether different compositors set different parts of the item; the study can also determine interruptions in the composing of the text.

³³¹ On spelling see Charlton Hinman, 'Principles Governing the Use of Variant Spellings as Evidence of Alternate Setting by Two Compositors', *The Library*, 4th ser., 21 (1940), as well as Hinman's *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 181. Hinman's methods have since been improved in a series of articles, including those by S.W. Reid, 'Justification and Spelling in Jaggard's Compositor B', *SB* 27 (1974), 91–111; Thomas L. Berger, 'The Printing of *Henry V*, Q1',

scholars as a means to determine compositorial stints.³³³ In my investigation into Q1 I did not find any discernible patterns that might be used to distinguish between compositors. In the composing of Q1, the compositor's stick was uniformly set to twenty ems and one en (86 to 87 mm).³³⁴ Speech prefixes (763 in all) are typically indented to one em.³³⁵ The persistent spelling of many words occurs across formes ('so', 'doe', 'shall', 'will', 'goe', 'be', 'no', 'maister', 'asse', 'sonnes', 'woe' for 'woo'; medial 'aun' for 'an' (e.g. 'graunde', 'commaunde'));³³⁶ variant spellings ('mee'/'me', 'heere'/'here', 'he'/'hee',

The Library, 6th ser., 1 (1979); G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Treatment of Typesetting and Presswork in Bibliographical Description', *SB* 52 (1999), 15.

³³² On speech prefixes see Paul L. Cantrell and George Walton Williams, 'The Printing of the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1599)', *SB* 9 (1957), 109–14; Hermah Doh, 'Compositorial Responsibility in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, 1655', *The Library*, 5th ser., 29 (1974), 379, 381–2; MacD. P. Jackson, 'Webster and Heywood in *Appius and Virginia*', *SB* 38 (1985), 223–4.

³³³ A further common compositorial study was into the spacing quads used around punctuation marks in short lines (see T.H. Howard-Hill, 'The Compositors of Shakespeare's Folio Comedies', *SB* 26 (1973), 61–196; MacD. P. Jackson, 'Two Shakespeare Quartos: *Richard III* (1597) and *I Henry IV* (1598)', *SB* 35 (1982), 173–90). McKenzie, however, in his study of the seventeenth-century Cambridge compositors' use of spaced-out punctuation compared to their recorded work schedules, identified that distinct, plausible patterns in spacing did not in fact identify compositorial stints (D.F. McKenzie, 'Stretching a Point; Or, The Case of the Spaced-out Comps', in *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 99; see also Tanselle, 'Typesetting', 16–17).

³³⁴ The exception is D2r, which, for the first five lines, was set to seventeen ems (71 mm). This might indicate that the compositor had come from setting a smaller-format item and forgotten to adjust the length of his measure: see McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', 17–18.

³³⁵ Indentation deviates sixteen times, once caused by compression ('*Ha.*' on C2r, 33). On three occasions, speech prefixes are indented to one en in order to justify the text: the second speech prefix for the Post in C3v, 31, Pisaro in H4v, 2, and Walgrave in I3v, 1. The other eleven times (B3v, 8 and 14; B4v, 10; C3r, 4; D1v, 1; D2r, 9; G2r, 23; G3r, 4 and 12, G4v, 12; and I2r, 16), also indented to one en, might have been caused by a shortage of correct spaces (D.F. McKenzie, "'Indenting'", 87); alternatively, the em and en quads were taken from the same box in a case, and so the em quad may have been confused with the en (Gaskell, *Introduction to Bibliography*, 46).

³³⁶ Variants are in 'do' and 'be': 'do' is spelt 'doe' eighty three times and 'do' four times (once in the outer forme of sheet D, twice in the outer forme of sheet F and once in the inner forme of sheet G). 'Be' is spelt 'be' fifty-five times and 'bee' four times (twice in the inner forme of sheet A, once in the outer forme of sheet I and once in the inner forme of

‘shee’/‘she’; as well as the substitution of ‘y’ for ‘ie’ in word endings (e.g. ‘nautie’ for naughty), ‘i’ with ‘y’ (e.g. ‘soyle’, ‘damoysella’) and medial ‘u’ for ‘w’ (e.g. ‘Lawrentia’, ‘Powles’)) occur across formes and do not cluster in significant ways. Speech prefixes are typically set to five letters for De Lyon and Heigham, but otherwise are set to four letters, a pattern found across the formes.³³⁷ Analysing various features of the text as a means to distinguish between compositorial stints is not, therefore, fruitful in the study of Q1; for this reason, I refer below to ‘the compositor(s)’.

CASTING-OFF COPY

I have compressed the following study into a summary. This is because Q1 does not present any significant textual issues, meaning that my conclusions – based on previous scholarly analyses of playbooks printed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods – agree with surviving evidence.³³⁸

The compositor(s) of the original quarto was presented with a marked-up manuscript that White, or a trusted compositor, had cast off. Casting-off was the process by which the number of sheets that would be needed for an item were estimated, and much had to be kept in mind: format, type size, the length of measure, number and size of

sheet I). There is no discernible pattern in the distribution of variant spelling, indicating that it is insignificant.

³³⁷ The only inconsistencies are ‘Frisco’, which is abbreviated to ‘*Frisc.*’ eighty-two times and ‘*Fris.*’ twelve times, and ‘Anthony’, which is abbreviated to ‘*Antho.*’ forty-three times and ‘*Anth.*’ sixteen times; however, alternating between the lengths can occur on the same page, with no evidence for the need to justify (see I1v as an example), suggesting that the variation is insignificant.

³³⁸ See, as examples, Charlton Hinman, ‘Cast-off Copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare’, *SQ* 6 (1955): 259–73; Hinman, *Proof-reading*; John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 53–5; McKenzie, ‘Formes’, 1–13.

ornaments, and the number and length of stage directions.³³⁹ Inaccurate casting-off occurred either when manuscript lines were counted, or the equations used to convert manuscript to type were too fixed.³⁴⁰ At times, then, the compositor(s) of the original quarto found himself with greater or fewer lines than fitted onto the leaf, and so he used a variety of means to compensate.³⁴¹ Compensation in Q1 *Englishmen* is in evidence in variation in page depth,³⁴² the compression of text to save lines,³⁴³ inconsistent spacing around stage directions,³⁴⁴ continuous printing³⁴⁵ and the setting of verse as prose.³⁴⁶

³³⁹ Eric Rasmussen, 'The Relevance of Cast-off Copy in Determining the Nature of Omissions: Q2 *Hamlet*', *SB* 39 (1986), 133.

³⁴⁰ My study could not be supplemented by the successful use of a snake light in order to determine the imposition and perfecting of formes: the sheets that make up the base text copy appear to have been pressed flat, either deliberately by White, or perhaps over time. (For details and use of the Martin Lamp – of which the snake lamp is a more ergonomic form – see Kenneth Povey, 'The Optical Identification of First Formes', *SB* 13 (1960), 189–90.)

³⁴¹ Because compensation for casting-off involves the wasting or saving of space, a few forms of unambiguous textual interference, which do not affect the number of type lines set, have been discounted from my investigation. The text of Q1 demonstrates an occasional compositorial preference for lines to be divided at a change of topic (G1v, 18–19), at a change of address (G1r, 26–7; G2r, 34–5; and H3r, 34–5), at the question mark (F3r, 29–30; G2v, 16–17; and G4v, 31–2), at the full-stop (G1r, 26–7), at the comma (G3v, 8–9; G4v, 14–15; and H1r, 24–5), at the colon (D3r, 34–5; H3v, 24–5; and K2v, 21–2) and at the semi-colon (F4v, 12–13). On eight occasions the original compositor either set verse as prose (on A4r, 14–16; C2v, 23–5; E3r, 7–10 and 14–16; and H4r, 24–5) or prose as verse (on D2v, 4–5; and F3r, 11–12 and 24–5) without altering the number of type lines set; such mislineation is probably evidence that the compositor of the original quarto misinterpreted Haughton's conservation of space in the manuscript by running lines on, or had his own ideas about the style in which characters should be speaking. My conclusions do not deviate from Werstine's article, 'Line Division', 73–125.

³⁴² The normal page depth in Q1 is thirty-five lines (sheets B, D, E to H, and the outer forme of sheet C); sheet K is thirty-five lines except for 4v (i.e. the final page when the copies were made up). Sheet A has a page depth of thirty-six lines; the inner forme of sheet C was set to thirty-six lines except for 3v, which was set to thirty-five lines; and sheet I was also set to thirty-six lines, except for 4v, which was set to thirty-five.

³⁴³ Compression occurs at the foot of C2r, 33–6, saving two lines; C3r, 28–35, saving three lines; D2r, 30–5, saving one line; and H3r, 25–35, saving two lines.

³⁴⁴ Q1 has sixty-six centred stage directions. Of these, thirty-four are set with one line of white space above it and no white space below, twenty-nine are set with no white space either above or below it, and three are set with white space above and below. Q1 also has thirty-eight stage directions for exits and stage sounds (such as knocks) set flush to the

Stage directions (chiefly centred, but also set flush to the right-hand margin) were the principal way of removing or adding lines without misrepresenting copy in Q1.³⁴⁷ As examples, spacing was added above and below a centred stage direction in A2v to force the text into thirty-six lines; it was removed from A4r to help reduce the text to a page depth of thirty-six lines. Similar conclusions can be reached throughout the playtext. Given the apparent use of stage directions, it is probably telling that, with signatures that have a page depth one line below that which is otherwise used in a sheet, on C3v, E2r and I4v, there are no stage directions on the page: the implication is that the compositor(s) had no easy method of wasting space to increase the page depth.

Compression, setting verse as prose and continuous printing generally occur on pages without stage directions (C1v and 2r, G1v and 3r; H3r and 4r). Again, the implication is that stage directions were the principal means of altering page depth; other methods were employed as a secondary measure to compensate for inaccurate casting-off. On two pages (A4r and B4r) both stage directions and a form of compression occurs: both times, the compositor(s) did not set any blank lines above or below the direction, which suggests that the compositor(s) was aware of the fact that reducing spacing around stage

right-hand margin. Of these, twenty-eight are set on the same type line as the conclusion of the corresponding speech. A further ten are set on the next type line; of these, it was necessary for seven: the length of the direction, and/or the length of the line of speech to which it belongs, was long enough to necessitate dropping the direction to the next type line. On occasion (I1r, 23), the compositor's dropping a stage direction to the next type line was unnecessary; on two further occasions (C4r, 8; and E3v, 29), dropping the direction was necessary, but the blank type line below it was not.

³⁴⁵ Continuous printing occurs six times in Q1. Twice, stage directions are printed continuously (C1v, 32; and C2r, 7); the other four occasions are continuous printings of single-line speeches (A4r, 4; A4v, 9; C2r, 30; and G3r, 31).

³⁴⁶ The setting of verse as prose reduces the number of type lines on four occasions, on B4r, 10–11; C1v, 17–18; C3r, 33–4; and H3r, 27–8. On each occasion a single type line is saved.

³⁴⁷ My conclusion agrees with that reached by Hinman in his study of the First Folio (*Proof-reading*, vol. 2, 505).

directions alone was not enough to compensate for inaccurate casting off. On one further occasion (C3r), the compositor(s) both left a blank line above a centred stage direction, and saved himself type lines; the implication is that he underestimated the remaining number of type lines that he needed for the page (towards the foot of the page, evidence of various types of compression suggest that he needed to save himself three type lines).

There might be some evidence of setting by formes in sheet C. As with the formes immediately above and below it, the outer forme of sheet C is set to a page depth of thirty-five lines. Three of the quartiles in the inner forme, however, are set to thirty-six lines. Significantly, signatures 1v and 2r mark the only occasions in the text in which stage directions are set continuously; a speech is also set continuously on 2r, and both pages use a form of compression. This abrupt increase in White's deficient estimation might indicate that White had not cast off the entire manuscript in advance, but had cast off enough copy to fill a quire. The movement from a page depth of thirty-five lines in the inner forme to thirty-six in the outer is also better explained in terms of the compositor(s) setting by formes: had the compositor(s) been setting *seriatim*, then the order would have been 1r (35), 1v (36), 2r (36), 2v (35), 3r (35), 3v (35), 4r (36), 4v (35); using this model, the crushing of text on 1v and 2r would have been better placed at 3v, 4r and 4v. At 4r, the unnecessary expansion of the text to thirty-six lines, through use of a blank line below an exit direction, is also better explained in terms of setting by forms: the compositor(s) might have wished for uniformity in the page depth of the outer forme.

For sheets A and I the page depth increases to thirty-six lines, except for I4r (discussed below), which is set to thirty-five lines. In these two sheets there is an absence of compression and setting of prose as verse, suggesting that the compositor(s) was not concerned about reducing the depth to thirty-five lines. There is also a wasting of single

lines in stage directions on A2v, I1r, I2v and I3r; thus the page depth of these four pages was artificially increased to thirty-six lines. Further, the use of continuous printing on A4v and A4r appears to have been a means to reduce the text to this standard. The implication is that sheets A and I were set to a standard page depth of thirty-six (not thirty-five) lines; at I4r there are no stage directions, and so no easy method to increase page depth. There is no easy method to explain the increase, other than a change in compositors; the increase might have been for uniformity across the two formes.

ORDER OF FORMES

The following subsection presents an analysis of the order of formes through running titles and recurring type, the first investigation of its kind into Q1.

As I go on to discuss, because a distinct new set of running titles in sheets G and I indicate concurrent printing, I will briefly outline the scant knowledge of the number of presses that White had. White was recorded as allowed one press on 19 June 1612, yet his house may have had two.³⁴⁸ The evidence for two is somewhat slight, but nonetheless important. The principal evidence is in a record for the successor to the house, Augustine Mathews, for – despite being assessed as allowed only one press on 4 July 1623 – he is recorded as having two only four days later:

It is ordered that Augustine Mathewes shall take downe one of his presses and bring it into the hall and then the table will Consider further of this peticōn to be a Master printer.³⁴⁹

The implication is that Mathews had a second, unlicensed, press; this press may have already been in White's printing-house by 1616. Further, Stationers' Company records

³⁴⁸ Jackson, ed., *Records*, 75.

³⁴⁹ Jackson, ed., *Records*, 158–9.

indicate that Mathews rented the premises and business from John White; one possibility is that Mathews did not own the presses, but rented them from White.³⁵⁰ Other evidence is somewhat minor or contradictory: White was brought before the Stationers' Company on a charge of printing 'contrary to the decrees of the Star Chamber' on 11 September 1598, a reference to the ruling made on 23 June 1586 that printers could only have a certain number of presses.³⁵¹ This may imply that White had more than his prescribed number of presses, although the ruling was crossed out with no explanation. In 1586 the Stationers' Company recorded the then-owner of the premises, Richard Jones, as only having a single press; however, it is possible that a second press came from the merging of his business with that of William Hill.³⁵² A second press would have allowed White to have at least proofed or perfected sheets without interrupting the flow of printing on the main press.³⁵³

*Running Titles*³⁵⁴

The running titles used throughout Q1 read '*English-men for my Money; or,*' on the verso pages and '*A Woman will haue her will.*' on the recto pages. One exception runs across

³⁵⁰ John White rented out the business to Mathews in 1620 (McKerrow, ed., *Printers*, 188).

³⁵¹ Aber, 3, 693; Greg, *Companion*, 131.

³⁵² Peter Blayney and Ian Gadd, eds, *Liber A* (London: The Bibliographical Society, forthcoming), f. 51r; Arber, 3, 703–5.

³⁵³ For a discussion on second presses see Blayney, *Texts*, 41; on specific printers see Adrian Weiss, 'Shared Printing, Printer's Copy, and the Text(s) of Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, SB 45 (1992), 87; Blayney, *Texts*, 57; Bland, 'Stansby', 2–3.

³⁵⁴ The methods used in this study to determine the order of running titles follow those described by Fredson Bowers in his *Essays in Bibliography, Text, and Editing*, who argues that the bibliographer should look for 'Variations in spelling, or punctuation, or capitalization; [as well as] variation in the fount, such as swash forms; [and] actual broken or bent letters (and I say 'actual' because bad inking can be very deceptive)' (Fredson Bowers, *Essays in Bibliography, Text, and Editing* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), 201). Tanselle writes that skeleton formes may further be identified by distinctive spacing within the title, between its ends, and the left and right type-page margins, as well as impressions from materials not meant to print (Tanselle, 'Typesetting and Presswork', 19).

three pages: the spelling ‘*Monoy*’ on G3v, G4v and I1v. An examination of the running titles established eight sets; between them, the sets exist in fifteen different states.

The findings have been summarized in the attached table (see over), which has been adapted from Blayney’s model in his *Texts*.³⁵⁵ The table’s first column is organized into the order of quires (A through K), and each quire is divided in the table into outer (o) and inner (i) formes. The second to fifth columns present the skeleton formes as they appear in the printed forme, running counter-clockwise from the top-left quartile (outer forme: 1r, 2v, 3r, 4v; inner forme: 1v, 2r, 3v, 4r). The occurrence of a particular running title is signified by its designated group number: the numbers (1–4.2) represent verso pages, whereas the letters (a.1–d) represent recto pages (see Appendix 1 for facsimiles and descriptions of each running title). Three signatures in the forme mates of quire A – one a title-page, one with a printer’s device, and one with the actor’s names – do not have running titles and so have been left blank.

From this table, a few preliminary observations can be made. Q1 was set using two-skeleton imposition, with some internal rearrangement and resetting. Broadly, the first skeleton set is B(i/o) through F(i/o), H(i), K(i/o) and A(i/o); forme G(i/o) uses the second set, and formes H(o) and I(o/i) mix running titles from both sets. The use of identical running titles across forme-mates in formes A through F, H and K is only possible if one forme has been stripped of type before the setting of the next. The implication is that White did not have the available type for more than one complete forme at a time; this theory might be confirmed by shortages of type that occurred in formes G and H, caused by an apparent need to print concurrently (see ‘Type Shortages’). Redistributing type

³⁵⁵ Blayney, *Texts*, 540–1.

immediately after printing appears to have been typical in smaller printing-houses.³⁵⁶ It would have meant that the compositor(s) was idle as each forme was being printed, but he spent time making stop press corrections to Q1 (see below) and he might have been engaged in setting other items using spare type.³⁵⁷

	1r/v	2v/r	3r/v	4v/r
A(o)		1	a.1	2
A(i)			1	a.2
B(o)	a.3	3.1	b.1	2
B(i)	3.1	a.3	2	b.1
C(o)	a.3	3.1	b.1	2
C(i)	3.2	a.3	2	b.1
D(o)	a.3	3.2	b.1	2
D(i)	3.2	a.3	2	b.2
E(o)	a.3	3.2	b.1	2
E(i)	3.2	a.3	2	b.1
F(o)	a.3	3.2	b.1	2
F(i)	3.2	a.3	2	b.1
G(o)	c	1	d	4.1
G(i)	1	c	4.1	d
H(o)	a.4/a.5	1	b.1	2
H(i)	3.2	a.5	2	b.1
I(o)	c	4.2	d	3.1
I(i)	4.1	c	3.1	d
K(o)	b.1	1	a.2	2
K(i)	1	b.1	2	a.2

Table 3: A breakdown of running titles per forme for Q1.

³⁵⁶ A. Slavin, 'Printing and Publishing in the Tudor Age', in *William Shakespeare: His World, His Work, His Influence*, ed. John F. Andrews (New York: Scribner, 1985), 132.

³⁵⁷ McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind', 17–18.

Table 3 also provides additional confirmation of setting by formes: first, the reuse of running titles across both formes is impossible in *seriatim* printing; in the pattern of running titles in B(i/o), for example, the compositor(s) would only be able to set B1r (using running title a.2) and B1v (using running title 3.1) before needing to reuse running title a.2 for B2r. Second, the suggested order of formes (B → K, A, with the inner formes of I and A set before outer, and the outer forme of sheet H set before inner) means that the sheets were printed out of sequence.

The following analysis offers a possible reconstruction of events. The compositor(s) began by setting the forme mates for sheet B and the outer forme of sheet C. He readjusted the spacing around one of the verso skeletons (running title 3.1 → 3.2) when composing the inner forme of sheet C. The compositor(s) then set either the inner forme of sheet D before changing the position of the full-stop in the outer forme (b.1 → b.2), or he adjusted the full-stop to print the outer forme, only for the full-stop to again slip below the x-line in the process of composing the outer forme; the use of b.1 (not b.2) in sheets E, F, H and K allows for either of these possibilities. The outer and inner formes of sheet E and F were then set, apparently without any further hitches.

Sheet G presents a fresh set of running titles. This is unexpected, given the reoccurrence of the same running titles in the previous ten formes. The implication is that the compositor(s) had to create a new set of running titles to continue with his task; in other words, that composition was ahead of presswork, and the formes for sheet F were still waiting to be stripped. Two possible theories are linked to the creation of new running titles: the first, which can be rejected, is that the composition and presswork of sheet G was assigned to another printer. The problem with this theory is that three of the running titles in G(o/i) were also used in I(o/i); the one running title not used in I(o/i), running title 1,

was replaced by running title 3, which was also used from B(i/o) to C(o) as 3.1, and C(i) to F(o/i) as 3.2. This links sheet I to the printing of most of the preceding sheets; in turn, the running titles shared by sheets I and G doubtless came from the same printing-house: that of White. The second theory is that sheets F and G were printed concurrently (see above for a discussion on White's presses). If presswork were behind, then at least two formes were waiting to be printed. In turn, this would have an impact on the amount of available type: it may, therefore, explain a shortage of type in the inner and outer formes of sheet G (see 'Type Shortages').

A variant in the running title for the outer forme of H(1r) indicates a stop-press correction (see Appendix 1, running titles a.4 and a.5). For some reason, a compositor changed the spacing between the two *ls* in the first '*will*' (running title a.4) which lead to a crushing of the text further along, especially between the '*r*' and '*w*' in '*her will*'. In the later state, a compositor has corrected the spacing between the two *ls*, but has not increased the length of the running title or rearranged type; this means that the spacing between the *r* and *w* (running title a.5) has not changed. The variant allows for a reconstruction of the order of formes: running title a.4/a.5 was used in H(o), and a.5 was used in H(i), which suggests that the outer forme of sheet H was set before the inner. As a final comment on H(o/i), the outer forme uses running title 1, which has last been used in G(o/i); this implies that, by the point of composing sheet I, the type in the last forme of sheet G to be printed had been unlocked and redistributed.

Three of the running titles used in I(o/i) had been transferred from G(o/i). Headline 1, also used in G(o/i), was replaced in I(o/i) with 3.1. This may indicate that running title 1 was still locked up in forme H(o). One possible implication – both of the re-use of the running title set, and of the apparent printing of forme H(o) – is that composition was again

(or perhaps still) ahead of presswork. I(o/i) may therefore have been printed concurrently with H(o/i). I can also make as to the order of formes: the running title with the word ‘*monoy*’ (running title 4.1) was used in the inner forme of sheet I. The same running title was used in the inner forme, but with the correction to ‘*money*’. This would imply that I(i) was set before I(o).

Forme K(o/i) was set up from the running titles used in forme H(o). The variant, running title a.2 → a.4/a.5, indicates an internal reshuffling of letters to accommodate for the proximity of the *r* and *w* in ‘*her will*’. That the running titles used in forme K(o/i) reoccur in sheet A(o/i) is best explained in terms of the latter formes being written last. Further, in the outer forme of sheet A, the letter ‘A’ in running title a.2 has been moved closer to the rest of the text (running title a.1); given that the running title state used in the inner forme of sheet A agrees with the other appearances of the running title in the playtext, the suggestion is that the inner forme was set first, with the outer forme demonstrating the change. The last forme to be composed was therefore A(o), i.e. the forme containing the title-page.

Type Shortages

Type shortages in the letter ‘W’ occurred in G(o/i) and H(i), meaning that the letter had to be substituted with ‘VV’. As I go on to discuss, the pattern may supplement the discussion of setting by formes; it also furthers the argument that sheet G was set concurrently (see ‘Running Titles’).³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ For a discussion on the letter ‘W’/‘VV’ in an analysis of setting by formes see George Walton Williams, ‘Setting by Formes in Quarto Printing’, *SB* 11 (1957), 39–53.

The following table presents type shortages and the use of ‘W’ around the four formes for sheets G and H. The corresponding symbols show where ‘VV’ is used on relevant pages.

				Signature				
Sheet G	1r	2v	3r	4v	1v	2r	3v	4r
No. of ‘W’	7	5	4	4	3	3	2	1
No. of ‘VV’	-	-	-	4*	1#	-	-	-
Sheet H								
No. of ‘W’	2	2	7	4	6	3	4	1
No. of ‘VV’	-	-	-	-	-	-	4+	7†

Table 4: Type shortages in Q1.

Key to symbols

* = ‘W’ and ‘VV’ are interspersed; however, ‘VV’ is used only if the first letter of the first word in a line.

= ‘W’ and ‘VV’ are interspersed; both ‘VV’ and ‘W’ are used as the first letter of the first word in a line.

+ = ‘W’ used up to and including the 21st line; from line 22 ‘VV’ is used.

† = ‘VV’ used on all occasions, both as first letter in first word and internally. Single instance of ‘W’ is also the last occasion for a capital w on the page.

Under ‘Running Titles’ I argued that the forme mates for sheet G may have been printed concurrently with the forme mates for sheet F. The type shortage in sheet G may confirm this: with the final forme of sheet F waiting to be stripped, the compositor(s) would have been compelled to improvise by using the double ‘V’. Part of the letter ‘W’ was still in his case, however, and so he could afford to choose where he used the ‘VV’ and where he used the ‘W’. Sheet G was probably printed concurrently with sheet F, and so the compositor(s) would probably have been aware that a type shortage was imminent in sheet H. He may have therefore begun to introduce the ‘VV’ before there was a pressing need.

This may explain the unusual use of ‘VV’ across the signatures of sheet G, for the two signatures are not conjugate. Perhaps the outer forme of sheet G was set first; the compositor(s) anticipated the need for ‘VV’ based on the number of the letter ‘W’ that he had set in that forme. He may have begun the first quartile for the next forme (i.e. 1v) under the same impression, but perhaps then scouted ahead in his copy and found significantly less need for the use of ‘W’ in that forme.

The issue of type shortage in sheet H is perhaps unsurprising, given the need of the compositor(s) to improvise in sheet G. The compositor(s) had no need to improvise in the outer forme of sheet H, yet did in the inner forme; because the outer forme to sheet H had been set first (see ‘Running Titles’), this may suggest that the compositor’s case had been restocked by the time he set H(o). By the time he set H(i), he may have known that sheet I was to be printed concurrently, and so thought ahead by conserving ‘W’; he might also have known that the problem would have partially been relieved by the redistribution of type from in outer forme of sheet H.

PRESS VARIANTS

Stop-press corrections are found in six of the ten sheets of the text, and eight of the twenty formes (in B(o), C(o), F(o), F(i), G(i), H(o), K(o) and K(i)). Greg identified variants in three formes of the British Library copy (F(o), K(o) and K(i)) and in one forme of the Bodleian copy (B(o)); Baugh identified corrections in three formes of the Houghton Library copy (B(o), F(o) and K(o)) and two formes of the Boston copy (F(i) and G(i)). My own investigation, which examined all known copies, identified a much higher rate: I provide these, together with those of Greg and Baugh, in my list of variants (see over).

As sheets were bound out of the order of printing, the number of corrected and uncorrected sheets in a copy is random. The proportion of corrected sheets in copies is 62 per cent of the known sample or more, except for the copy held at Houghton Library, which is largely made up from uncorrected sheets. A high number of corrected sheets implies that press corrections were made early in the press-run for each forme, although the slightly higher number of uncorrected formes in B(o) and H(o) might indicate that these two formes were corrected at a later stage in the press-run. The results for variants have been recorded using a system adapted from Millard T. Jones's 'Press-Variants and Proofreading'.³⁵⁹ In the list, the reading before the bracket is that of the corrected state of the forme; for abbreviations see Appendix 2:

SHEET B(o)

Corrected: Bod., F, H, HL

Uncorrected: B, BL, WOR

Sig. B2v

French-man ?] ~:

Sig. B3r

obey.] ~,

Sig. B4v

Heighan] *Heighun*

Walg.] Walsg.

SHEET C(o)

Corrected: B, BL, Bod., F, WOR

Uncorrected: H, HL

Sig. C3r

North,] ~.

SHEET F(o)

Corrected: B, BL, H, HL, F, WOR

Uncorrected: Bod.

Sig. F1r

obscure] *buscure*

you] *yo*

³⁵⁹ Millard T. Jones, 'Press-Variants and Proofreading in the First Quarto of *Othello* (1622)', *SB* 27 (1974), 178–81.

sir ?] ~,
 Sig. F2v
 thost] tho u
 Sig. F4v
 I] [I] [i.e. turned 'I']

SHEET F(i)
Corrected: B, BL, Bod., F, H, WOR
Uncorrected: HL
 Sig. F4r
 soft] sost

SHEET G(i)
Corrected: B, H, WOR, Bod., BL, F
Uncorrected: HL
 Sig. G1v
 soft] sost
 Sig. G3v
 light,] ~.

SHEET H(o)
Corrected: F, H, HL
Uncorrected: B, BL, Bod., WOR
 Sig. H1r
A Woman will haue her will.] A Woman wil l haue her will.

SHEET K(o)
Corrected: B, BL, F, H, HL, WOR
Uncorrected: Bod.
 Sig. K3r
 sing] fing

SHEET K(i)
 [WOR lacks sig. K4; K3v is corrected]
First corrected state: BL, Bod., F
 Sig. K3v
 before] defore
Second corrected state: B
Uncorrected: H, HL
 Sig. K3v
 before] defore
 Sig. K4r
 here?] ~:

From this list, it is possible to determine that the Q1 compositor(s) made two types of correction: (1) the correction of literal errors, such as foul case ligature 'st' (G(o)), foul

case ligature ‘si’ (K(o)) and turned letter ‘I’ (F(o)); and (2) the correction of punctuation.

This second type of correction is more frequent, which indicates, as James P.

Hammersmith argues of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, that punctuation was ‘up to the compositor’.³⁶⁰ Press correction in extant sheets occurred only once in each corrected

forme, except K(o), which was corrected twice: the sheet was first printed with the errors

‘defore’ for ‘before’ and ‘here:’ for ‘here?’ (Houghton Library, Huntington Library); in a

few copies ‘defore’ has been corrected (Bodleian, British Library, Folger) before the

printing of one further extant copy (the error ‘here:’) was noticed and corrected (Boston).

The outer forme of sheet F shows an interesting correction: halfway along a line of prose,

the error ‘thost’ was corrected to ‘tho u’, the blank type piece suggesting that a compositor

identified the error, but preferred to replace the ‘s’ with a spacing quad and the ‘t’ with a

‘u’, instead of resetting the second half of the line.

In comparison to the limited evidence of compositorial correction, the number of literals that remain uncorrected in all extant copies is high. My list of compositorial errors is not exhaustive; even so, it identifies error on every forme (note: ‘SP’ = speech prefix; [] = turned type):

Error	Specific error	Q1 spelling	Signature
Foul Case	Foul case full-stop	<i>Frisco</i> ,	B3r, 2
	Foul case ‘f’	sinde	C2r, 9
	Foul case full-stop	<i>Walgr</i> , (SP)	C2v, 7
	Foul case full-stop	<i>Haru</i> , (SP)	D1v, 5
	Foul case ligature ‘fl’	sloutes	F2v, 30
	Foul case ‘E’	<i>Fnter</i>	F4r, 13
	Foul case ‘a’	<i>Laurnetios</i>	F4r, 34
	Foul case full-stop	<i>Heigh</i> , (SP)	H2r, 19

³⁶⁰ James P. Hammersmith, ‘The Proof-reading of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647’, *PBSA* 82.1 (1988), 195. See also Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare*, 177–8; Anthony Graham-White, *Punctuation and its Dramatic Value in Shakespearean Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Press, 1995), 95.

	Foul case ‘i’	<i>Pesa.</i> (SP)	I4v, 17
Dropped type	Dropped ‘o’	<i>Philosophy</i>	A3v, 6
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Tower</i> (SP)	C1v, 5
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Delio</i> (SP)	D1r, 4
	Dropped ‘i’	<i>Frsc.</i> (SP)	D3v, 3
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Antho</i> (SP)	E4r, 8
	Dropped spacing	itmade	E4r, 24
	Dropped ‘e’	hers	F2r, 22
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Laur</i> (SP)	G3r, 28
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Har u</i> (SP)	H1v, 28
	Dropped full-stop	<i>Haru</i> (SP)	K2r, 31
Turned type	Turned ‘u’	Danghters	A1v, 3
	Turned ‘m’	<i>Dutch-wan</i>	A4v, 16-17
	Turned full-stop	again[.]	C3v, 34
	Turned question mark	you[?]	D1v, 7
	Turned ‘n’	<i>Euter</i>	D2v, 29
	Turned full-stop	<i>Frisc</i> [.] (SP)	E1r, 35
	Turned question mark	talke[?]	E2r, 27
	Turned full-stop	<i>Vand</i> [.]	G3r, 12
	Turned question mark	ye[?]	G3v, 21
	Turned ‘s’	<i>Diogene</i> [s]	H4v, 30
Wrong Case	Wrong case ‘i’	<i>Extt</i>	C4r, 3
	Wrong case ‘i’	<i>Pesa.</i> (SP)	I4v, 17
Transposed letter	Transposed ‘g’ and ‘u’	Rouge	G4r, 32
	Transposed space and ‘t’	Bu tas	E1r, 10
Added letter	Added letter ‘e’	<i>Marinae</i> [s]	H3r, 9
	Added letter ‘e’	<i>Al Varoes</i>	K1v, 14

Table 5: Forms of literal compositorial error in Q1.

This table indicates a regular incidence of compositorial error, uncorrected in the extant copies. The implication is that the compositor(s) cast a cursory glance over the formes while they were at the press, correcting blatant errors.

CONCLUSIONS

Establishing the nature of Q1 proved instrumental in various matters which affected my treatment of the text. By concluding that the original quarto was set from non-theatrical papers, it is possible to better understand the source of error and how the text might best be emended. The manuscript was not prepared for the stage, which gives some freedom in the editorial insertion of stage directions, to disambiguate vagaries in entrances and missing entrance and exit directions. My compositorial analysis, although fruitless in identifying compositorial stints, nonetheless proved important in editorial decisions relating to the modernizing of spelling, particularly in relation to the spelling of foreign and broken English; further, my analysis of press variants demonstrates that punctuation was in the realm of the compositor. Establishing that a number of textual cruces were the result of inaccurate casting-off and compositorial re-lining of the original quarto provides a basis by which to justify the emendation of lineation.

EDITORIAL METHODS

The following section offers statements of editorial methods. This study is the first to pay detailed attention to the issues related to editing *Englishmen*; of the closer work done before, Baugh analysed the editorial implications of evidence of an untidy manuscript used as original printer's copy, and Kermode summarized the problems of editing the languages in Q1, both discussed below.

Because of its attention to detail I have used Arden Shakespeare's 'Third Series: Editorial Guidelines' for the layout of the edited Text, as well as for the content and conventions used in the Commentary and Textual notes; I have also followed Arden in the publisher's general conventions including capitalization, hyphenation, italic type and spelling.³⁶¹ This section focuses on a discussion of Q1–3 and later editions, and current editorial theory as adapted to the specific textual requirements of Q1, following on from the bibliographical study under 'Establishing the Text'. In addition, I have buttressed my discussion about the edited Text with brief sub-sections on the preparatory methods and layout, as well as the Commentary and Textual notes. I have made every attempt to be comprehensive in my coverage of the issues related to editing Q1; nonetheless, limitations of space have meant that I have had to be selective and representative.

³⁶¹ The Arden Shakespeare, 'Third Series: Editorial Guidelines' (unpublished, April 2004). A similar set of guidelines, often *verbatim*, are used for the Revels Plays, 'Notes for the Use of Editors' (unpublished, 2008). Key parts of the Arden's policy can be found in the General Editors' Preface at the beginning of each Arden Shakespeare third series volume; I have flagged at various points the areas in which I differ.

In the preparation of the edited Text I decided not to use the online type facsimile created by *LION* in 1994, for I identified various emendations, sometimes made silently, to the base text used (for example the re-assignment of the speech beginning ‘The cloud breaks up’ (2.110 my edition) from Harvey to Laurentia).³⁶² The online transcription by *EEBO* is a faithful reproduction of its base text and used sophisticated optical character recognition (OCR) software, but was made available after I had produced the edited Text in 2006.³⁶³ Instead, I scanned a facsimile of the base text, held at the British Library (see ‘Q1–3’), into Microsoft Word; I used the medium of OCR software, ABBYY FineReader 8.0 Professional, to convert the scan into machine-readable and modifiable text.³⁶⁴ Problem areas of the converted text were usefully highlighted in turquoise, although there were remaining issues. These included such common scanning problems as the software’s confusion of ‘e’ and ‘c’, ‘h’ and ‘b’, the long ‘s’ for ‘f’ or ‘l’, and its occasional conversion of ‘d’ into ‘cl’, and ‘b’ into ‘lo’. Since then, I have several times proofread the edited Text against the base text.

To collate the various copies of early modern editions used in the thesis (see ‘Textual Transmission’), the base text was photocopied onto transparencies. I then

³⁶² Chadwyck-Healey, ‘Haughton, William, d. 1605: *English-men for my Money* (1616)’, *Literature Online* (1994) <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:Drama:Z000084814:0> [accessed December 2006 to February 2007].

³⁶³ ‘Haughton, William, d. 1605: *English-men for my Money: or, A pleasant comedy, called, A Woman will haue her will*’, *Eearly English Books Online* (2007) <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998417580000&WARN=N&SIZE=182&FILE=../session/1263994487_21714&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&ECCO=default> [accessed March 2007 to August 2009].

³⁶⁴ David Yang, founder, ABBYY (2003) <<http://finereader.abbyy.com/?gclid=CNCLuczr0pwCFd4B4wodpFG-LA>> [accessed 10 October 2006].

inspected the copies kept in institutes in the UK and compared them by overlaying the transparencies. Variants were seen as a blur. For American copies, I used facsimiles; the Folger's microfilm I reproduced as a facsimile and compared as above. This method is one of several that I might have used to collate copies and editions (such as an optical collator), but any method is subject to issues and criticism.³⁶⁵ All methods eventually depend on the editor's ability to discriminate.

There are a few differences between the layout of Arden Third Series and my edition. These differences do not affect the meaning of the text, but are obvious when compared side-by-side. In terms of *mise-en-page*, my edited Text, Commentary and Textual notes are presented as separate parts, as if going to a publisher. The practice is not to everyone's taste, but it prevents concerns about the Commentary being cut off in the process of printing (text boxes can extend beyond the print margin).³⁶⁶ I have followed Arden and placed line numbers at the top of each page, but because the thesis is not printed in duplex, I have only presented line numbering for the first line on each page (in Arden, the line numbering on the recto gives the last line on the page). Because the page width for my edition is wider than that of Arden, I have made three interconnected alterations to layout: while Arden indents the edited Text three spaces from the left margin, I have indented by twelve spaces; prose lines are also longer (an average of thirteen words in my edition to ten words in Arden) and the column for line numbers is further to the right of the text. Finally,

³⁶⁵ Discussions on the limitations of collation methods include David Scott Kastan, 'The Mechanics of Culture: Editing Shakespeare Today', *SS* 24 (1996), 33; Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'Staging Shakespeare's Drama in Print Editions', in *Textual Performances: the Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, ed. Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 161.

³⁶⁶ For a few more recent articles and books advocating the footnote or commentary on the same page as text see Patricia S. White, 'Black and White and Read all Over: A Meditation on Footnotes', *TEXT* 5 (1991), 81–90; Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1997); Chuck Zerby, *The Devil's Details: A History of Footnotes* (Montpelier, Vt.: Invisible Cities Press, 2002).

I have not followed Arden's policy in using the en-dash (–) in changes of address, interpolations and a character breaking off in the midst of speech, because I think that this can cause confusion. Instead, I have used the em-dash (—) when a character changes address; I use the en-dash for changes of address and a character breaking off mid-speech.

THE EDITED TEXT

*Q1–3*³⁶⁷

Q1 (STC 12931, Greg I, 336(a)) collates 4^o: A–K4, [80]p; it is analysed under 'Establishing the Text'. The base text is the single copy held at the British Library (C.34.c.40), which I chose because it was complete, as well as the most accessible copy to consult in person; however, all seven of the known extant copies of Q1 have been collated (see 'Preparatory Methods and Layout').³⁶⁸

Q2 (STC 12932; Greg I, 336(b)) collates 4^o: A–K4, [80]p; K4 is blank.³⁶⁹ Collated copies are held at the Bodleian (Mal. 916 (3)) and the British Library (C.34.b.58 and 161.a.28). Q2 was printed in 1626 as *English-men for my money: or A pleasant comedy called, A VVoman will haue her VVill. As it hath beene diuers times acted with great applause*. The title-page states that the playbook was 'printed by I. N.', universally regarded as the initials of John Norton junior (date of freedom 08/06/1616, *d. c.* 1640), the

³⁶⁷ A census of copies, fuller than Greg's *Bibliography* and the *ESTC* but presumably incomplete, can be found in Appendix 2.

³⁶⁸ The *ESTC* reports an eighth, supposedly held at the University of Chicago, which is no longer traceable; records of lost copies of early modern items are no longer kept by the library, so it is possible that it was once in possession of a copy (Julia Gardner, email message to author, 12 and 17 June 2009).

³⁶⁹ Greg, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 482.

nephew of the eminent bookseller John Norton senior.³⁷⁰ Q2 provides a number of useful emendations in sense (as examples 3.111, 4.116, 5.10, 6.38, 6.144, 11.158 and 11.415) and metre (6.118 and 7.78), particularly apropos the textual cruces in 1.101–2 and 1.120 (for an analysis see ‘Verse’); on two occasions Q2 inserts necessary stage directions (6.299 and 7.11). Occasionally Q2 offers emendations that are conjectural in sense (as examples 4.62, 5.14, 6.142, 6.290 and 9.49) and metre (as examples 3.312 and 6.55); it omits a single stage direction which clears the stage (3.335). I have collated but otherwise disregarded the expurgations in Q2 (see ‘Textual Transmission, Q1–3’).

Q3 (STC 12933; Greg I, 336(c)) collates 4^o: A–K4, [80]p; K4 is blank.³⁷¹ Collated copies are held at Cambridge University Library (Syn.7.63.33), the Bodleian (Douce HH 214) and the University of Oxford’s Worcester College Library (Plays 4.56). Q3 was printed in 1631 under the shorter title, *A pleasant comedie called, A woman will haue her will. As it hath beene diverse times acted with great applause*. However, the running titles on B(o), C–K have ‘*English-men for my Money: or, | A VVoman will haue her will*’.³⁷² (A–B(i) have ‘*A VVoman will haue her will*’ across both pages, except B2r, which has ‘[. . .] *their will*.’; A4v has ‘[. . .] *Will*.’). The edition was printed and published by ‘A. M.’, identified as Augustine Mathews, (date of freedom 09/05/1615; *fl.* until 1638), who, from 1620 to 1627, was printing at White’s Cow Lane premises.³⁷³ Q3 modernized much of the spelling and punctuation of Q2, but was not always carefully set: it erroneously attributes a speech of Harvey to Heigham (2.86), and on five occasions eye-skip has caused whole lines to be omitted (11.253, 11.106, 11.111, 11.123 and 14.17; see Textual notes). The

³⁷⁰ Arber, 3, 319; I. Gadd, ‘Norton, John (1556/7–1612)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20347>> [accessed 7 September 2009].

³⁷¹ Greg, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 483.

³⁷² Greg, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 483.

³⁷³ McKerrow, ed., *Dictionary*, 188.

edition also omits single words (6.30 and 11.166) and transposes words (13.43), suggesting that it was set at speed. At times, it offers its own emendations (2.41 and 7.61), but rarely are they sensible: as an example, Q3 conjecturally emends ‘give *him* de *ting*’ (14.150) – a reference to a bottle of poison – to ‘give *me* de *ring*’ (my emphasis both times).

No record of the transfer of rights between the three publishers is known, and there is no known connection between John White (William White’s son) and Norton junior.³⁷⁴ As Baugh has argued, one possibility is that the material of William White passed from his son to Augustine Mathews, who then claimed rights to the printing of Q2, using Norton as publisher.³⁷⁵ There is some extant evidence: in 1622, the printer’s device used as a frontispiece for Q2 appears to have passed from John White to Mathews, not Norton.³⁷⁶ Further, Mathews and Norton appear to have been working in partnership at the Cow Lane premises – sharing rights and apprentices – from 1624 to 1626.³⁷⁷

Later Editions Collated

Englishmen was first presented in *The Old English Drama*, a modern-spelling critical edition with textual annotations, by an unidentified editor in 1830.³⁷⁸ The play formed part of William Hazlitt’s modern-spelling and annotated critical edition in *A Select Collection*

³⁷⁴ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Greg, v, vi.

³⁷⁵ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 92. Such a transfer in White’s printing-house has already been argued in separate articles by Greg and Johnson for the printing of Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* (Greg, ‘A Leading Case?’ 46; Gerald D. Johnson, ‘Thomas Pavier, Publisher, 1600–25’, *The Library*, 6th ser., 14.1 (1992), 27).

³⁷⁶ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers’ and Publishers’ Devices in England and Scotland 1485–1640*, 2nd edn (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1949), 91 (no. 238β).

³⁷⁷ *STC*, vol. 3, 127; McKerrow, *Dictionary*, 288; Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh, 92; Jackson, ed., *Records*, 200.

³⁷⁸ Anon ed., *Englishmen for my Money*, in *The Old English Drama*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas White, 1830).

of *Old English Plays*, published in 1875.³⁷⁹ John Stephen Farmer prepared and edited a photographic facsimile in 1911, published separately as *Tudor Facsimiles* and *Students' Facsimiles*; the former was reprinted in 1970.³⁸⁰ Greg prepared and edited a type facsimile in 1912 for 1913.³⁸¹ Baugh presented a critical old-spelling edition as part of his American PhD in 1917.³⁸² A modern-spelling critical edition, as part of *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, was edited by Lloyd Edward Kermode in 2009.³⁸³

I collated Q2–3, the anonymous 1830 edition, Hazlitt's, Baugh's and Kermode's editions against Q1. This is for two principal reasons: first, to indicate the origins of emendation from Q1; and second, to give a sense of the process of emendation between Q1 and my edition. Although Q2–3 are not collateral texts, they are a useful means by which to identify and correct compositorial error in Q1; all six editions are also important historical witnesses to the play as it is or has been read. Further, the edition edited anonymously in 1830 is useful for its re-lineation; Hazlitt for stage directions. Baugh – editing an old-spelling edition – only emended according to Q2–3 and the 1830 editor; his edition does not, therefore, appear in the collation line, but a number of his endnotes are thoughtful and informative. Kermode's edition was the first to provide extensive commentary notes; for this reason, I cite Kermode most frequently. His proposed emendations in lineation, sense and metre are largely useful and sensible (noteworthy examples are in 1.95, 11.163 and 11.322). However, I disagree with his treatment of

³⁷⁹ William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money*, in *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, 4th edn, vol. 10 (London: Reeves & Turner, 1875).

³⁸⁰ William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money, or, A Woman will have her will, by William Haughton*, ed. John Stephen Farmer, *Tudor Facsimile Texts* (London, AMS Press, 1911, 1970); William Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money, or, A Woman will have her will, by William Haughton*, ed. John Stephen Farmer, *Old English Drama: Students' Facsimile Edition*, ([Amersham?], 1911).

³⁸¹ Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Greg (publisher details are as above).

³⁸² Haughton, *Englishmen*, ed. Baugh (publisher details are as above).

³⁸³ Haughton, *Englishmen*, in *Usury Plays*, ed. Kermode (publisher details are as above).

broken English and foreign words (see ‘Spellings’). We also differ in the character and vocabulary of editorial stage directions: Kermode’s directions can be literary, whereas mine are theatrical. Consider as an example Kermode’s ‘*The sisters appear at the door, peer through the darkness, looking to embrace*’ to my ‘*Enter Laurentia, Mathea and Marina*’ (11.204.1): Kermode recognizes that the sisters need an entry direction, but it is marked with ‘*appear*’. The fact that the sisters ‘*peer through the darkness*’ suggests real, not imagined, darkness.³⁸⁴

Modernization and Emendation

Modernizing is the process of altering a text’s ‘accidentals’³⁸⁵ – incidental features of the text such as spelling and punctuation – ‘to accord with modern usage’, but leaving intact obsolete words, idioms and inflections.³⁸⁶ Modernizing early modern playbooks arose from the different sets of criteria used when presenting an edition to students and the general reader.³⁸⁷ Critics of modernizing can principally be found in the New Bibliographers of the 1950s and 60s, who argue that modernizing can be unscholarly, inauthentic, and mask clues for pronunciation in spelling.³⁸⁸ The practice of modernizing was defended, not least by Wells, in the 1980s. The process is based on five caveats: first, that modernizing is possible if an edition, such as Q1, does not carry deliberately archaic spellings – which

³⁸⁴ On theatrical darkness see Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions*, 71.

³⁸⁵ See W.W. Greg, ‘The Rationale of Copy-Text’, *SB* 3 (1950–51), 22.

³⁸⁶ Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text*, 198.

³⁸⁷ Michael Hunter, *Editing Early Modern Texts: An Introduction to Principles and Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 86.

³⁸⁸ See as examples W.W. Greg, ‘Rationale’, 20–21; Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), li; Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare*, 155, 157; A.C. Partridge, *Orthography in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: A Study of Colloquial Contractions, Elision, Prosody and Punctuation* (London: Edwin Arnold, 1964), 123.

arguably would need to be retained – as do the works of Edmund Spenser.³⁸⁹ Second, that the process of modernizing is ongoing, and does not begin with a modern editor, but with the corrector and the compositor: compositors are well-documented as changing the spelling, punctuation, words, and lineation of their copy.³⁹⁰ Third, that various press variants between copies of extant playbooks indicate that editions were corrected in the printing-house, and should not, therefore, be regarded as perfected, finalized and completed (for Q1, these have been identified under ‘Establishing the Text’). Fourth, Elizabethan and Jacobean orthography did not necessarily reflect pronunciation; the medial ‘ea’, for example, was pronounced as what would today be a short ‘e’ sound: ‘increasing’, therefore, would rhyme with ‘blessing’ (as ‘inccessing’).³⁹¹ And fifth, because the semi-colon and the comma came into use in the sixteenth century, punctuation was often confused until the mid-seventeenth century: N.F. Blake remarks that, given the newness of the two marks, ‘there is no doubt that their uses overlapped’.³⁹² The implication is that an edition which reproduces these features from the base text frequently replicates errors and meaningless differences (however, see ‘Spellings’ and ‘Punctuation’).

³⁸⁹ David Bevington, ‘Modern Spelling: The Hard Choices’, in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare’s Drama*, ed. Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 144.

³⁹⁰ Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, 2nd edn (New York: Dover, 1978), 192; J.K. Moore, *Primary Materials Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1992); W.W. Greg, ‘An Elizabethan Printer and His Copy’, *The Library*, 4th ser., 4.2 (1923), 118; Richard Proudfoot, *Shakespeare: Text, Stage and Canon* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001), 16.

³⁹¹ Helge Kökeritz, *Shakespeare’s Pronunciation* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 202.

³⁹² N.F. Blake, *A Grammar of Shakespeare’s Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 24. Elizabethan and Jacobean punctuation also fell uncomfortably between two systems, the older based on performative breath, and the newer on syntactic principles (Bruce R. Smith, ‘Prickly Characters’, in *Reading and Writing in Shakespeare*, ed. David M. Bergeron (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 24, 30. See also W.J. Ong, ‘The Historical Backgrounds of Elizabethan and Jacobean Punctuation Theory’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 59 (1944), 349–60).

A number of modernizations I have made silently. This includes the expansion of ampersands to ‘and’, as well as ‘M.’ to ‘Master’, except twice: once when the abbreviation is in the speech of Van Dal, the Dutchman (11.95), when I have expanded to ‘Meester’. The second time is in ‘you might have an “M” under your girdle’ (10.71); here, the abbreviation is part of a proverb (although as ‘M’ is not used at the beginning of an address (such as ‘Master Pisaro’) it appears in the edited Text as ‘m’). I have silently standardized the compositorial preference for ‘Yf’ over ‘If’ when at the beginning of a verse line. I have also modernized historical contractions, such as ‘w’are’ to ‘we’re’ (2.1) and ‘’am’ to ‘I’m’ (14.256); these, however, I have recorded in the Textual notes. For a variety of language-specific modernizations, refer to ‘Spellings’.

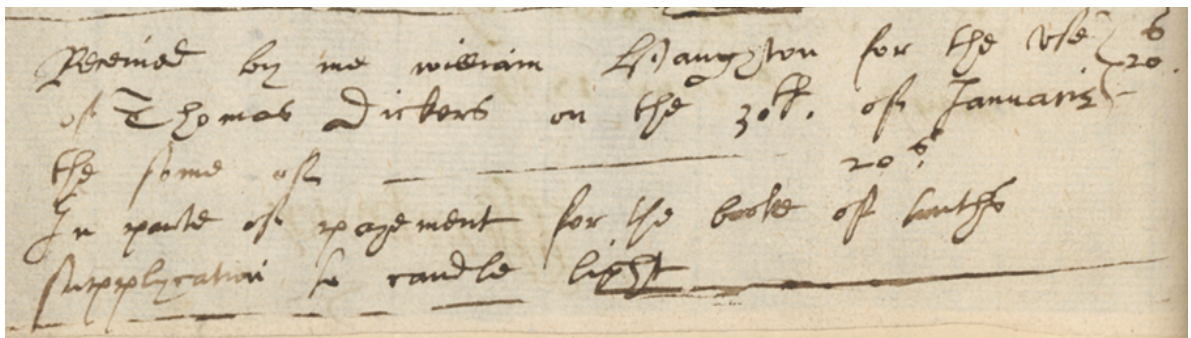
Emendation is made to a text’s ‘substantives’ – words, re-lining of verse and adding to, or substantially altering, stage directions – and frequently needs to be justified (for the emendations made to the base text, see the Textual notes).³⁹³ Emending editors assume that, at times, the base text makes significant errors; they will therefore depart from the original reading.³⁹⁴ Such emendations can be conjectural (see for an example Kermode’s emendation of Van Dal’s ‘vn’ in Q1 to ‘een’ (4.17, my edition)), and have been noted as such in the Textual notes. While most emendations from Q2 onwards are made to lineation (see the Textual notes), a few have been made to words. Such emendations were apparently made on the understanding (or assumption) that the compositor of the original quarto encountered difficulties in deciphering the handwriting of the person who wrote the manuscript. Under ‘Establishing the Text’ I argue that this hand was Haughton’s own; as well as identifying the types of apparent compositorial misreading, my analysis below may

³⁹³ Greg, ‘Rationale’, 22.

³⁹⁴ On the reasons for emendation see W.W. Greg, ‘Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare’, in *Aspects of Shakespeare: Being British Academy Lectures*, ed. J.W. Mackail (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 128–210.

therefore act as separate confirmation that the manuscript used as printer's copy was Haughton's authorial papers.

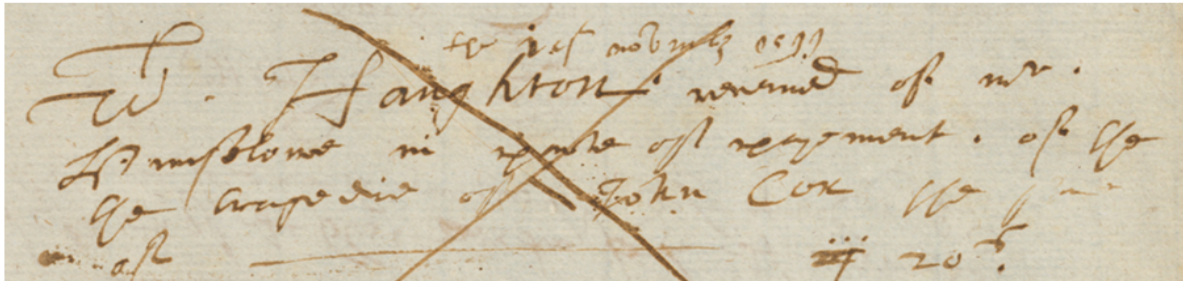
From the twenty-five or so surviving lines of Haughton's handwriting, written as entries in Henslowe's *Diary* in 1599 and 1600, it is possible to determine that he wrote in a facile secretary hand; this is useful in identifying a number of features common to the writing style.³⁹⁵ For clarity, I provide two images, together with my own transcriptions, checked against those of Greg and Foakes:



(Dulwich College, MS VII, f. 30v)

Received by me William Haughton for the vse^a
of Thomas Dickers on the 30th. of Januarie 20^s.
the some of _____ 20^s.
In parte of payement for the booke of truths
supplycation to candle light

³⁹⁵ Dulwich College MS No. VII, Henslowe's *Diary and Account Book*, ff. 29r, 30v, 31r, 68v; f. 69v bears an autograph only. For digital images see Grace Ioppolo, *Henslowe-Alleyn Digitization Project* (2005) <<http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/index.html>> [accessed 20 December 2009 to 30 January 2110]. On secretarial hand and compositorial misreading in playtexts see John Dover Wilson, 'Spellings and Misprints in the Second Quarto of *Hamlet*', in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 36–60; Honigsmann, *Texts of 'Othello'*, 82–91; T.W. Craik, ed., *King Henry V*, The Arden Third Series (London: Routledge, 1995), 103–4; Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 80–6.



(Dulwich College, MS VII, f. 31r)

W^[m]. Haughton .³⁹⁶ receiued of m^r.
Hunselowe in parte of payement. of the
the tragedie of John Cox the some
of _____ iij 20^s.

These examples present several features that, according to the separate studies of John Dover Wilson, E.A.J. Honigmann and Grace Ioppolo on Elizabethan handwriting, are typical of facile secretary hand. First, words consisting mainly of minuscule letters with connections between them – such as ‘receiued’ and ‘some’ (f. 31r) – begin coherently, but, by the middle of the word, can become vaguely shaped squiggles.³⁹⁷ Second, abbreviations might in certain contexts carry multiple interpretations (there is no ambiguity in the above, but a typical example is ‘s^f.’, which could read as ‘sir’, ‘sister’ or ‘signore’).³⁹⁸ Third, ‘e’

³⁹⁶ The writing style of these first two words is so utterly different to that remaining that one wonders if it is in Haughton’s hand, despite Greg’s assertion that it is (Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Greg, 224; reiterated in Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. Foakes, 64, n. 6). Of particular note is the form of the ‘H’ in ‘Haughton’ (f. 31r, first line) compared to the ‘H’ in ‘Hunselowe’ (f. 31r, second line) and the ‘H’ in ‘Haughton’ on an earlier page (f. 30v, first line). There is also a dot placed in the centre of the gap created by a downward swoop of the ‘H’ (an idiosyncrasy?) which is also absent in the ‘H’ in ‘Haughton’, f. 31r. I propose that one writer (perhaps Henslowe) began to write the entry, before asking Haughton to complete it.

³⁹⁷ Honigmann, *Texts of ‘Othello’*, 87–8.

³⁹⁸ Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 82–3.

can look like an ‘a’ and vice-versa (e.g. the ‘a’ and ‘e’ in ‘payement’, f. 31r second line).³⁹⁹

Haughton does not use secretary minims in the above (short vertical lines sometimes unconnected by horizontal strokes, typically the letters m, n, u, i, c, r, and w); however, this may be the point at which a quasi-legal document (i.e. the *Diary*) stops being a useful means by which to comment on other forms of manuscript (such as authorial papers).

Features identified above are also found in Q1; a fact which might aid in distinguishing original printer’s copy from the markedly neater and more formal secretary or italic hand used by scribes in their transcriptions.⁴⁰⁰ In the following, Q1 is cited first, then the emendation; for the source of emendation refer to the Textual notes. I note here that this study is provisional; for a more complete sense of the source of compositorial misreadings, a fuller investigation needs to be conducted.

Many variants between Q1 and editions from Q2 onwards disagree in only one or two letters: consider, as examples distinct:distained (1.86); sekerlin:*seker kind* (4.17); soiat:*soiata* (4.81); batter:barter (4.116); celestura:Celestina (6.27); her:him (6.38); lot:*tot* (6.95); sell: feel (6.117); stristen:stricken (6.311); Certenemento:*Certemento* (9.59); tol:*tot* (10.50, 11.106, 11.401 etc); danden:*d’andere* (11.93, the apostrophe was probably not in the manuscript); dut:*dit* (11.94); sister:sisters (11.141); *lassera:laisserai* (11.151); seest:sayest (11.415); and Sushaunce:Sust’nance (13.12). These errors in Q1 generally occur from the middle to the end of the word and are substitutions of graphically similar letters. This matches the points at which facile secretary handwriting is most untidy; further, misreading in graphically alike letters – particularly, but not exclusively, minims – is typical in manuscripts written in a fast secretary hand.⁴⁰¹ Another misreading, consistent

³⁹⁹ Wilson, ‘Misprints’, 40; Honigmann, *Texts of ‘Othello’*, 83.

⁴⁰⁰ Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 82.

⁴⁰¹ Honigmann, *Texts of ‘Othello’*, 83.

with facile secretary hand, is between ‘o’ and ‘a’, which occurs in Anglois:*Anglais* (4.23).⁴⁰² Further, two erroneous apostrophes may have been caused by an untidy manuscript: call’s:calls (3.214), and love’s:loves (11.95). (On further evidence of an untidy manuscript see ‘Verse’.)

Scholars have argued that the distinction between ‘accidentals’ and ‘substantives’ is problematic, for although spelling and punctuation are typically incidental features of the text, a few might convey meaning. By the same token, altering meaningful accidentals must be recognized as an act of emendation. Examples from Q1 are ‘Rouge’ when ‘Rogue’ was intended (11.34), a simple transposition of the ‘g’ and ‘u’, but producing a different reading, and ‘Sbould’ when ‘Sbloud’ (i.e. ‘Sblood’) was intended (2.13). In response, Bowers posited the notion of ‘semi-substantives’.⁴⁰³ Arden’s guidelines recognize Bowers’s definition, and notes that borderline cases should be recorded in the Textual notes; I have followed this policy.

Spellings

English

My edition principally modernizes English in accordance with the definitions and methods proposed by Stanley Wells in ‘Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling’ and *Re-editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader*, supplemented by David Bevington’s essay, ‘Modern

⁴⁰² Honigmann, *Texts of ‘Othello’*, 83.

⁴⁰³ Fredson Bowers, ‘Greg’s “Rationale of Copy Text” Revisited’, *SB* 31 (1978), 159. See also Bowers’ ‘Notes on Editorial Apparatus’, in *Historical and Editorial Studies in Medieval and Early Modern English: For Johan Gerritsen*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn and Hanneke Wirtjes, with Hans Jansen (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1985), 152; and his ‘The Problem of Semi-substantive Variants: An Example from the Shakespeare-Fletcher *Henry VIII*’, *SB* 43 (1990), 80.

Spelling: The Hard Choices'.⁴⁰⁴ In 'Modernizing', Wells argues that the editor must use the *OED* to distinguish between 'semantically indifferent variants' and 'semantically distinct variants'.⁴⁰⁵ Wells defines semantically indifferent variants as those which 'do not possess a distinction in meaning', such as *shew* (= show); in these cases, Wells argues, 'it seems right in modernizing to use the standard rather than the archaic form'.⁴⁰⁶ I agree, but at times it is regrettable: in modernizing Q1 interesting archaic spellings, including 'vild' (= vile, 1.127), 'gibberidge' (= gibberish, 4.96), 'concept' (= conceit, 7.75) and 'liveless' (= lifeless, 14.185), are lost. The Riverside Shakespeare retains such spellings, arguing that they 'reflect, or may reflect, a distinctive contemporary pronunciation', but as Wells argues, the process is a '*reductio ad absurdum*', and Bevington suggests that 'A middle ground, of attempting to hold on to archaic spellings on a selective basis, is almost sure to produce inconsistencies and misrepresentation'.⁴⁰⁷ Instead, I have recorded spelling variants in Textual notes.

With semantically distinct variants, the editor should 'modernize or leave in archaic form depending on the dominant sense'.⁴⁰⁸ My edition applies the consensus over semantically distinct variants: as examples, 'anticke' has been modernized to 'antique' (3.115) and 'antic' (3.116, 11.171), depending on sense ('antic' is from the Italian *antico*, meaning incongruous and bizarre (*OED* 'antic', *a.* and *n.*); 'antique' is from the Latin

⁴⁰⁴ Stanley Wells, 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling', in *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling, with Three Studies in the Text of Henry V*, by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 33–40; Stanley Wells, *Re-editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader: Based on Lectures Given at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Bevington, 'Modern Spelling', 143–57.

⁴⁰⁵ Wells, 'Modernizing', 6, 10.

⁴⁰⁶ Wells, 'Modernizing', 10.

⁴⁰⁷ G. Blakemore Evans, ed., with J.J.M. Tobin, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd edn (Boston: Massachusetts, Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 67; Wells *Modernizing*, 19; Bevington, 'Modern Spelling', 157.

⁴⁰⁸ Wells, 'Modernizing', 10.

antiquus, *anticus*, meaning former, ancient (*OED* ‘antique’, *a.* and *n.*)). ‘Mo’ (1.134) should be modernized to ‘more’ because it had two distinct meanings in Early Modern English (when preceded by a limiter, such as ‘few’ and ‘group’, the word meant ‘more in number’; otherwise, the word was a reference to quantity), for ‘preservation in the old spelling cannot inform the modern reader of the old distinction’.⁴⁰⁹ However, the use in Q1 forms a couplet (‘But twelve year old? Nay, father, that’s not so: / Our sexton told me I was three years mo’, 1.133–4), and has been retained, with the meaning provided in a Commentary note.

Broken English

Excluding Pisaro (a Portuguese man) and Balsaro (a Spaniard), who speak clear English, Q1 presents three foreigners: a Frenchman (De Lyon), a Dutchman (Van Dal), and an Italian (Al Varo). The three foreigners speak in non-standard or broken English, slang ascribed to foreigners incorporating their own national vocabulary into standard English.⁴¹⁰

The studies that deal with broken English in early modern dramatic playtexts conclude that its rendering is inconsistent.⁴¹¹ The implication for editing is that each playbook presents unique problems in the modernizing of broken English; it is difficult,

⁴⁰⁹ Wells, ‘Modernizing’, 13.

⁴¹⁰ Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London: Routledge, 1996), 41–3.

⁴¹¹ These studies are: Wilson O. Clough, ‘The Broken English of Foreign Characters of the Elizabethan Stage’, *PQ* 12 (1933), 256; Emma Smith, ‘Sifting Strangers: Some Aspects of the Representation of the European Foreigner in the English Drama, 1580–1617’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997), 144; Hoenselaars, *Englishmen and Foreigners*, 56; N.F. Blake, ‘Standardizing Shakespeare’s Non-Standard Language’, in *Standardizing English: Essays in the History of Language Change*, ed. Joseph B. Trahern (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 81; Blank, *Broken English*, 43; Gary Taylor, ‘Three Studies in the Text of *Henry V*’, in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling: With Three Studies in the Text of ‘Henry V’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 39–164.

therefore, to edit according to editorial decisions for other plays. In terms of Q1, Kermode has modernized and standardized inconsistently. In his introduction, Kermode defends his position on the treatment of foreign languages; his statement, however, can also be applied to broken English:

Leaving uncorrected some of the mispronunciations and apparent linguistic mistakes in the foreign languages without doubt introduces some inconsistency to the text, but it is an inconsistency that is in character with the text itself.⁴¹²

While at times I have agreed with Kermode that various words are in broken English, I, unlike Kermode, have dropped letters that do not sound when spoken out loud, such as ‘dincke’ >> ‘dink’ (4.131), ‘somesinge’ >> ‘somesing’ (6.95), ‘tincke’ >> ‘tink’ (6.170), ‘ende’ >> ‘end’ (6.246), and ‘kash’ >> ‘cash’ (11.381). I have standardized ‘sal’ to ‘sall’ (i.e. ‘shall’ in broken English) in the speeches of De Lyon and Al Varo (but not Van Dal, because ‘sal’ was the Early Modern Dutch spelling for *zal*; see ‘Foreign and Latin Words’). I have also exchanged ‘dan’ and ‘den’ (i.e. ‘than’ and ‘then’, see as examples 4.121 and 10.1) in the same way that an editor of early modern texts exchanges the two words in proper English. Finally, many spellings that Kermode takes to represent broken English I have modernized to English: as examples, ‘wen’ >> ‘when’ (4.110), ‘stande’ >> ‘stand’ (4.110), ‘*Mawdlyn*’ >> ‘Maudlin’ (4.134), ‘prey’ >> ‘pray’ (6.221), ‘hed’ >> ‘head’ (9.59) and ‘wey’ >> ‘way’ (9.59).

Foreign and Latin Words

Following the Arden guidelines, words spoken in Latin and stage French, Dutch, Italian

⁴¹² Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 66.

and Spanish have been modernized and italicized. Italicizing foreign and Latin words is a useful way to distinguish between broken English and proper foreign and Classical words. However, I have not italicized titles (e.g. ‘Monsieur’, ‘Signor’), the schwa (-a) in foreign words with that ending (as an example, ‘*damoiselle-a*’, 3.22) and foreign and Latin words integrated into the English language (see ‘nil’, 1.39; ‘adieu’, 2.70; ‘manikin’, 6.264; ‘corrival’, 9.8; ‘skelm’, 11.91 etc; ‘lief’, 11.106). Further, I have not modernized and italicized instances of foreign or Latin words when it is clear that a character is ignorant of the language (see as an example Frisco’s attempt at Latin, 5.10–11, “‘so-lame-men, misers, housewives,’ and so forth’, i.e. *solamen miseris socias habuisse dolores*). In the Commentary, a foreigner borrowing a word from the national vocabulary of his two foreign friends is noted in parentheses.

The modernizing of foreign languages involved two steps. The first was to compare compositorial preferences with the spellings of foreign words:

Modernized spelling	Language	Line number	Q1 spelling	Q1 Preference shown
<i>grande</i>	French and Italian	3.20/4.82	graunde	Medial ‘au’
<i>demande</i>	French	5.84	demaunde	" "
<i>parfaitement</i>	French	4.35	perfoytement	‘y’ for ‘i’
<i>zien</i>	Dutch	11.94	syen	" "
<i>maison</i>	French	9.70	mayson	" "
<i>foi</i>	French	6.165	foy	" "
<i>Moi/moi</i>	French	10.23/6.20	Moy/e	" "
<i>Oui</i>	French	10.88	Ouy	" "

Table 6: Spellings in foreign languages, Q1.

This table indicates that compositorial preferences for certain spellings (such as the medial ‘au’ and ‘y’ for ‘i’) is prevalent in the foreign languages in Q1; with proper Latin (for example ‘*cuius contrarium*’, 6.83), the compositor appears either to have had an awareness of the language, or else kept to copy spellings. Further, an occasional attachment of one

word to another implies compositorial misunderstanding, which, when mixed with early modern spelling, gives the appearance of authorial neologisms: ‘epurce’ (= *Et pour ce*, 6.95–6), ‘depeteta’ (= *de petite-a*, 4.23), ‘darvor’ (= *daar voor*, 9.37) and ‘segdy’ (= *zeg dee*, 11.137).

The second step in the modernizing of foreign languages was to check whether spellings that cannot be ascribed to the compositor were consistent with Early Modern Italian, Dutch and French (in Spanish there are only two words: ‘*Spaniolă*’, 3.251, and *noches* in ‘*bonos noches*’, 14.101). For this I used *LEME*, a searchable database of lexicons including John Florio’s *World of Words* (1598) and John Palsgrave’s *Les Clarissement de la Langue François* (1530).⁴¹³ Early Modern Dutch was under-represented in the database, and so in addition I consulted Marten le Mayre’s *The Dutch Schoolmaster* (1606).⁴¹⁴ This search established, for example, an Early Modern Italian preference for medial ‘u’ over ‘o’, such as ‘piculo’ (= *piccolo*, 3.247, 4.131, 6.247), ‘perriculo’ (= *pericolo*, 6.136, 6.138), *secunda* (= *seconda*, 4.21) and ‘dulce’ (= *dolce*, 4.33, 6.137, 6.139, 6.166). Other spellings include ‘che’ (= *ciò*, 14.153) and ‘longo’ (= *lungo*, 14.153). Q1 also exemplifies spellings in Early Modern Dutch, such as ‘ghy’ (= *gij*, 6.124) and ‘daer’ (= *daar*, 8.4, 9.37, 11.149 etc).⁴¹⁵ Early Modern Dutch frequently used ‘s’ for ‘z’ in initial and terminal fricatives, again found in Q1; as examples ‘syen’ (= *zien*, 4.18), ‘sin’ (= *zijn*, 6.143), ‘see’ (i.e. ‘sea’, = *zee*, 11.133), ‘seete’ (= *zoete*, 11.143) and ‘sal’ (= *zal*, *passim*).⁴¹⁶ Of the few differences between the Early Modern French in Q1 and modern French, diacritics are not used in Q1,

⁴¹³ Ian Lancashire, ed., *LEME: Lexicons of Early Modern English* (2010) <<http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/>> [accessed 12 September 2008 to 16 January 2010]; John Florio, *A World of Words; Or, Most Copious and Exact Dictionary in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598; STC 11098); John Palsgrave, *Les Clarissement de la Langue Francois* (London, [Richard Pynson], 1530; STC 19166).

⁴¹⁴ Marten le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoolmaster* (London: George Eld, 1606; STC 15453.7).

⁴¹⁵ Mayre, *Schoolmaster*, sigs D4r, C6r–v.

⁴¹⁶ Mayre, *Schoolmaster*, sigs A4r, B3r–v, D1v.

possibly because White did not have the type pieces in his printing-house or the pieces were unavailable at the time; and Q1 exemplifies the Early Modern French use of a superfluous ‘s’ immediately before a ‘t’, for example ‘esties’ (= *étiez*, 6.97) and ‘estes’ (= *êtes*, 6.79). This two-step system established that Q1 presents few problems in the modernizing of foreign words.

A final note is required on similar spellings in a foreign language (mainly Dutch) and English. In my edition, a word in Q1 has been modernized to its foreign-language equivalent only if there appears to be an attempt at a foreign spelling (a rule which is subjective). As an example, consider one of Van Dal’s speeches:

Van d. Hort ye Daughter, hort ye gods se ker kin? will ye no let me come tot you? ick bid you let me come tot you watt sal ick don, ick woud neit vor vn hundred pounde Aluaro & Delion, should seeme ope dit maner, well wat sal ick don, ick mout neit cal: vor de Wenshes wil cut de rope and breake my necke; ick sal here bleauen til de morning, & dan ick sal cal to mester Pifaro, & make him shafe & shite his daunctors: Oh de skellum Frisco, Oh des cruell Hores.

(11.174–90)

Some words already appear as Dutch (se ker = *seker*, tot, woud, dit). I have modernized ‘Hort’ (= *Hoort*), ‘kin’ (= *kind*), ‘watt’ (= *wat*), ‘sal’ (= *zal*), ‘ick’ (= *ik*), ‘don’ (= *doen*), ‘neit’ (= *niet*), ‘ope’ (= *op*), ‘mout’ (= *moet*), ‘vor’ (= *voor*), ‘bleauen’ (= *blijven*), ‘mester’ (= *Meester*) and ‘des’ (= *deze*). All other words are modernized as English, despite their potential as Dutch words (‘maner’ = *manier*, ‘here’ = *hier*, ‘make’ = *maak*). I note, however, that there are a few words that, in special cases, fall outside this rule; this includes the word ‘mine’ in 6.147, said by Van Dal. ‘Mine’ does not fit into the grammar rule – otherwise exercised in Q1 – that ‘my’ as ‘mine’ only precedes a word beginning with a vowel (‘mine advice’, 3.8, 13.36, 14.83; ‘mine own’, 11.214, 14.32, 14.37; ‘mine

uncivil', 5.18), for in this instance Van Dal is soliloquizing over 'mine wife'. Despite the English spelling, 'mine' does seem to be an anglicized spelling of the Dutch, *mijn*; the edited Text therefore presents the latter.

Proper Nouns

I have followed my predecessors in modernizing English proper nouns (such as 'Canning streete' = Cannon Street, 11.413). However, I take issue with their apparent reluctance to modernize foreign proper nouns, for, as Wells argues, early modern anglicizations are 'clearly an attempt to transliterate a foreign pronunciation', and should therefore not be followed.⁴¹⁷ In *Englishmen*, moving from Wells's principals can be an exercise in pragmatism, not dogmatism: a primary example is the use of the names 'Vandalle' (= Van Dal), 'Delion' (= De Lyon) and 'Aluaro' (= Al Varo). In part, these three surnames provide information which politically, culturally and geographically affiliates the foreigners with their place of origin: 'Van Dal' is Dutch for 'of the dale'; 'De Lyon' is French for 'of Lyon'; and 'Al Varo' is Italian for 'of Varo' (a river in the region of Lombardy, Italy); this information is almost obscured in the retention of Q1 spellings. (For the names' other meanings see my Commentary for 'The Actors' Names'.) Names of people are often taken from topography and I do not find convincing previous editors' rationale of retaining Q1 spellings. One of the consequences of my decision is a disruption, at an orthographic level, of 'dandelion', said mockingly of De Lyon in 11.137 and 11.140 (and which at first would seem easier to comprehend if Q1's spelling 'Delion' was retained), yet retention of Q1 spelling or semi-modernization (such as the form 'De Lion') should not be made for the sake of a few jokes, especially when these jokes can be explained in the Commentary; and

⁴¹⁷ Wells, 'Modernizing', 30. See also Jürgen Schäfer, 'The Orthography of Proper Names in Modern-spelling Editions of Shakespeare', *SB* 23 (1970), 1–19.

in speech ‘dandelion’ and ‘De Lyon’ might both be pronounced with a French accent: one of a number of considerations that a director would sort out as they wanted to. However, full modernization (as ‘van Dal’, ‘de Lyon’ and ‘al Varo’) would create forms which are unusable in the playtext; what my modernizations provide is a model that is imperfect but workable, and importantly stresses the link between name and origin.

One notable exception to modernization requires a careful explanation. For the street name ‘Crutched Friars’ Q1 variously gives ‘*Crouched*’, ‘*Crodched*’, ‘*Crotched*’, ‘*Croche*’ and ‘*Croshe*’ (spelling variants in ‘Friars’ are here unimportant). These spelling variants divide into two groups: variants in the speeches of the English speakers (‘*Crouched*’, ‘*Crodched*’ and ‘*Crotched*’) and variants in the speeches of the foreigners (‘*Croche*’ and ‘*Croshe*’). Both groups of spelling forms arise from ‘crutched’, which formerly was spelt ‘crouched’ (*OED* ‘crutched’ *ppl. a.*¹); however, my editorial policy for the two was markedly different. *Crodched* I modernized to Crutched without issue. *Crotched* (9.95) I have also modernized to Crutched; the *OED* does not give Crotched as a spelling variant, but gives ‘crotch’ as a variant of ‘crutch’ (*OED* ‘crutch’ *n.*), which I think justifies the modernization. *Crodched* (9.131) is not a spelling variant of either crutched or crutch; however, I see in Q1 no apparent reason why the spelling should be retained, and so I have emended to Crutched. The variants ‘*Croche*’ (9.60, 9.93, 9.97 etc) and ‘*Croshe*’ (10.29, 11.94, 11.308 etc) in the speeches of the foreigners appears to be a recognition of the form ‘crouched’, minus the ‘-ed’ ending. With the variant ‘*Croche*’ I have modernized to ‘Crutch’. ‘*Crushe*’ is not a spelling variant of ‘crutch’ in the *OED*, and so I have retained the ‘s’, and standardized: this variant takes the form of ‘Crush’ in my edited Text.

Punctuation

My edited Text presents modernized punctuation, with some recourse to that used in Q1 – and the emendations in Q2–3 and later editions – when sense demands it. The use of parentheses to mark interpolations in Q1 has been replaced with the modern use of the dash or comma to either side of the comment (for the other use of parentheses in Q1 see ‘Asides’). In Q1, emphasis capitals are used with nouns; most have been removed, although I have retained capitals when there is a sense of personification (as examples, ‘Sorrow’s semblance’, 1.54; ‘Age scorns delight’, 1.104).

There are common Jacobean punctuation practices, evident in Q1, which would be difficult for the modern reader to understand. Forms of address (such as ‘In baggages’ >> ‘In, baggages’, 11.240) are not marked off with a comma, and a change of address can be marked off with a colon (11.103–15 and 11.110–3); occasionally, a comma is enough to signify a change of address (as examples 3.86 and 11.240). Speeches can use fewer full-stops than in a modernized text (as an example Frisco’s speech at 1.153–60; Q1 uses two full-stops, my edition uses five). Passages can also be misleadingly punctuated, a problem particularly evident in rhetoric, as in the following passage said by Anthony (‘distinct’ in Q1 has been emended to ‘distained’, see ‘Modernization and Emendation’ for my reasons).

**And so the world
Say you should wed for Wealth, for to that scope
Your Fathers greedy disposition tendes,
The world would say, that you were had for Wealth,
And so faire Beawties honour quite distinct:
A masse of Wealth being powde vpon another,
Little augments the shew, although the summe;
But beeing lightly scattred by it felse,
It doubles what it seem'd, although but one:
The world is full of such, for wedded to the Rich,**

(1.83–90)

The issue of interpretation focuses on the line ‘And [. . .] distinct:’ for in modern usage the colon implies that the subsequent lines form a list; thus, that the ‘masse of wealth’ that ‘Little augments the shew’ is a metaphorical representation of what ‘faire Beawties honour’ would become.⁴¹⁸ In fact, the statement should link to the first three lines: that ‘Beawties honour’ would be ‘distinct’ (/‘distained’), were Pisaro’s daughters ‘had for Wealth’. I have modernized the colon to a full-stop.

There is no way of knowing if the extant copies of this sheet were later or earlier states. If earlier, then a later state may have altered the reading (if, that is, the punctuation was recognized as a fault). The compositor(s) did alter punctuation when proofing a forme. In the only press variant that affects the meaning of the base text (C3r, 3.248) the uncorrected sheets give ‘North,’ as follows:

Alua. Signor fi, how de Spaniola haue almost tacke de
 Ship dat go for Turkie; my Pader, harke you me on word,
 I haue receiue vn lettre from my Faetor de Yennise, dat after
 vn piculo battalion, for vn halfe howre de come a Winde
 fra de North, & de Sea go tumble here, & tumble dare, dat
 make de Gallies run away for feare be almost drownde.

(3.245–50)

The corrected sheets (including the base text) give ‘North.’ The passage in the uncorrected sheet contains only commas; this conveys a sense of rushed information. The full-stop after ‘North’ suggests that Al Varo is more poised and ready to present his information. I have re-punctuated, placing a full-stop after ‘Turkie/Turkey’ and using commas and semi-colons in the passage. I see the change to punctuation as an act of modernizing, not emending; however, my modernized punctuation does retain some sense of rushed information, present in the uncorrected sheets.

⁴¹⁸ Graham-White, *Punctuation*, 95.

Nonetheless, as McKerrow has remarked in his *Prolegomena*, ‘the subject of punctuation is one which bristles with difficulties’, a suggestion more recently echoed by Wells.⁴¹⁹ While care has been taken to record substantive changes to punctuation and to discuss these emendations and its effects in the Commentary, such changes are provisional and often arbitrary. Consider, as an example, the potential interchanging of ‘I’ and ‘ay’, and of the possible repunctuation in the passage below, after Al Varo has asked Frisco if he can ‘tesh [i.e. teach] de way’ (10.29) back to Pisaro’s house in Crutched Friars:

wey to Crofche-frier?
Frisco- How to Croched-friers? I, I fir, pafsing well if
you will follow mee. (tanks.

(10.30–1)

Using modern punctuation and word forms, is this ‘I? Ay, sir,’ (Frisco is checking that the speaker meant him), ‘Ay, ay, sir,’ (a double affirmation), or ‘I? I, sir?’ (Frisco is incredulous that the speaker would think otherwise). I have taken it to be a double affirmation, but the text as it is stands supports all three interpretations.

Scene Divisions

Q1’s version of the play was created without breaks of any kind. W.T. Jewkes and Gary Taylor separately argue that, according to extant evidence, there was a gradual transition in adult playing companies performing in acts from 1607; the implication for a play written for the popular theatre in 1598 is that the dramatist did not think in terms of acts.⁴²⁰ My

⁴¹⁹ R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 41; Wells ‘Modernizing’, 11.

⁴²⁰ W.T. Jewkes, *Act Division in Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays, 1583–1616* (Hamden, Connecticut: Shoe String Press, 1958), 98; Taylor and Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped*, 4, 12, 15. For a comparable study see W.W. Greg, ‘Act-Divisions in Shakespeare’, *RES* 4 (1928), 152–8, especially p. 158.

edition therefore breaks the play into scenes only, fourteen in total, and follows the Q1 sequence of scenes, numbering them sequentially with no reference to the divisions in later editions.⁴²¹ Three scenes (scenes 7, 10 and 14) are not given scene divisions in Q1. For two of these scenes (scenes 7 and 10) the need for a division is apparent by a change in location.

One decision relating to scene division in my edition requires an explanation. Kermode was the first to end scene 13 at Frisco's comment that "there's not a dog-kennel empty for a strange worm to breed in" (13.107). However, this is an ambiguous ending, for Pisaro's comment to Frisco to 'Look who's at door' (13.100) seems to be answered by the presence of Brown in 14.14. Yet numerous clues indicate that time in scene 14 has significantly moved on from scene 13 ("The day is broke", 1; "Six o'clock, say you? Trust me, forward days", 8), which might imply a scene break. This does mean that the knock at the door in scene 13 is unanswered, but it was perhaps a device by which Frisco could soliloquise about Pisaro's sexual admission of women as "Master Porter" (13.101), and was not intended to be significant.

Location of Scenes

Identifying location has become an increasingly troubled editorial act. Recent theory argues that 'place' ('a street in London') is often damagingly conflated with 'space' ('a

⁴²¹ For a few recent editions of early modern playtexts which have not divided the play into acts see Andrew Gurr, ed., *The First Quarto of 'King Henry V'*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Erne, ed., *The First Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet'*; various plays in Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, gen. eds, *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); and Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, gen. eds, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

stage'), particularly since eighteenth-century editors;⁴²² and that the dramatization of place is unsustainable, and thus went unrealized on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage.⁴²³ In Q1, however, description is a deliberate play on both the fixedness and indeterminacy of place.⁴²⁴ In an exchange between Heigham and Harvey at the beginning of scene 2, locale is determined:

*Enter Harvie, Heigham,
and Walgrane.*
*Heigh. Come Gentlemen, w'are almost at the house,
I promise you this walke ore Tower-hill,
Of all the places London can afforde,
Hath sweetest Ayre, and fitting our desires.*
*Harv. Good reason, so it leades to Croched-Fryers,
Where old Pisaro, and his Daughters dwell,*

(2.1–6)

Location moves out from the specific of Pisaro's 'house' (2.1), to the neighbouring 'Tower-hill' (2.2), to over-arching 'London' (2.3), before circling back and naming the street of their destination as 'Croched-Fryers' (2.5). The text even refers to the quality of the 'Ayre' (2.4) and firmly declares the house as one of the 'places' (2.3) that London can afford. Place, here, is fixed, solid, and integral to understanding.

⁴²² See in particular William Shakespeare, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*, ed. Edmond Malone, 11 vols (London, 1790).

⁴²³ Paul Menzer, 'Dislocating Shakespeare: Scene Locators and the Place of the Page', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 24.2 (2006), 16; Dessen, *Conventions*, 85–6.

⁴²⁴ Tiffany Stern, in her recent work on scene locators, explores the notion of early modern 'scene-boards' (text on a board hanging onstage), which she argues were used in a few performances of plays in order to inform audiences of scene locations: a reflection of the occasional practise of identifying scene locations in published plays. *Englishmen*, however, may not have used scene-boards in early performances, for frequent allusions to place in the speeches of characters indicates that location was conveyed in speech; defamiliarised places are also made clear from speech. (Tiffany Stern, 'Watching as Reading: the Audience and Written Text in the Early Modern Playhouse', *How to Do Things with Shakespeare*, ed. Laurie Maguire (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 136–59).

Elsewhere, the location of scenes is deliberately ambiguous and – as Tiffany Stern writes of a few locations in Shakespeare’s plays – is ‘carefully uncharacterized’.⁴²⁵ Thus, London at the beginning of scene 10 is defamiliarized:

Enter Alvaro.
Alva. I goe and turne, and dan I come to dis plashe, I
 can no tell waer, and fall doe I can no tell watt, turne by
 the Pumpe; I pumpelt faire.
Enter Delian.
Delia. Me aile, ende alle & can no come to Croche-friers.
Enter Frisco.
Frisco. Oh miserable Blacke-pudding, if I can tell which
 is the way to my Maisters house, I am a Red-herring, and
 no honest Gentleman.

(10.1–5)

Here, Al Varo ‘can no tell waer’ he is (10.1); De Lyon cannot find Crutched Friars (10.3); and even Frisco, a native, is lost. Later in the same scene, however, Frisco identifies the foreigners and offers to lead them to Pisaro’s house. Frisco discovers on their walk ‘London Stone’ in Cannon Street (10.42), ‘the maypole on Ivy Bridge going to Westminster’ (10.48–9) and ‘the furthest end of Shoreditch, for this is the maypole’ (10.53–4), in other words, opposite ends of London (middle, far west, and far north-east respectively: see Figure 1). Frisco clarifies in an aside that he is leading the foreigners ‘a jaunt’ (10.33), and so, on one level, the guide works as a gulling of the foreigners; Frisco may therefore be deliberately misidentifying streets. On another level, however, the play interacts with a distortion of space on the early modern stage: it is more than possible that Frisco was indeed – in terms of the play – moving the foreigners to the places that he

⁴²⁵ Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004), 93.

specifies.⁴²⁶ Both levels negotiate the literal fact that they are not in Cannon Street, or Ivy Bridge, or Shoreditch, but a space on the Rose stage; that Frisco is not identifying maypoles, but (presumably) the two columns of the stage. The editorial implication is that certain scenes in Q1 are fixed, while others are unlocalized. A headnote to each scene refers to scenes as fixed or unlocalized,

*Stage Directions*⁴²⁷

There is a paucity of stage directions in Q1, an issue which is typical of early modern English printed plays: it may imply that stage directions were oral texts, whether conveyed to the players by the dramatist or, as Kidnie suggests, ‘sorted out in a collaborative rehearsal space’.⁴²⁸ The implication is that much of the action Haughton anticipated has been lost; indeed, Hammond and Dessen separately argue that 90 per cent of an early modern performance is missing from the stage directions of any extant manuscript or printed text.⁴²⁹ For this reason, Wells suggests that the editor has a responsibility to ‘amplify the directions of the original texts’, and Foakes argues that editors should take

⁴²⁶ A comparable example can be found in the last scene of Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus* (5.6), when references in the text suggest that the action takes place in Antium and then moves to Corioli without a scene break (William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, ed. Lee Bliss, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 265).

⁴²⁷ For a useful analysis of the types of direction in early modern English plays see Anthony Hammond, ‘Encounters of the Third Kind in Stage-Directions in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama’, *Studies in Philology* 89.1 (1992), 71–99, especially 73–4. Action in my editorial stage directions is framed within the vocabulary presented in Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴²⁸ Kidnie, ‘Text, Performance, and the Editors’, 461.

⁴²⁹ Hammond, ‘Encounters’, 81; Alan C. Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare’s Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

‘more liberties in suggesting action’; Lukas Erne (among others) usefully describes this process as ‘enabling’ the reader to imagine the action of the play.⁴³⁰

Entrance and Exit Directions

I argue in ‘Establishing the Text’ that Q1’s entrance and exit directions are inadequate. I therefore follow Hazlitt (and occasionally Kermode) by inserting directions to clarify which characters are on the stage and when, so that the play is capable of being realized in performance: for example, see the entries in 4.5.1 and 11.231.1; see also the exit in 11.128.⁴³¹ I have followed Hazlitt by removing the second (unnecessary) occasion of the Post’s entrance direction in 3.147. A number of directions are incorrectly placed in Q1, perhaps because Haughton inserted them on rereading the text; in which case there may have been a lack of space on the correct line.⁴³² I move entrance directions up so that a character is on stage by the time of reference in 1.28.1, 6.42.1–2, 9.32.1, 11.272.1, 11.303.1 and 14.6.1. I move exits down a line to have a character’s departure succeeding

⁴³⁰ Wells, *Re-editing*, 63; R.A. Foakes, ‘Raw Flesh/Lion’s Flesh: A Cautionary Note onstage Directions’, in *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare: Essays in Honour of Richard Proudfoot*, ed. Ann Thompson and Gordon McMullan, 136; Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare’s Modern Collaborators* (London; New York: Continuum, 2008), 77. See also Alan C. Dessen, *Rescripting Shakespeare: The Text, the Director, and Modern Productions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165. For a counter-argument to the editorial insertion of stage directions in the text see John D. Cox, ‘Open Stage, Open Page? Editing Stage Directions in Early Dramatic Texts’, in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare’s Drama*, ed. Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 179. Cox’s methods were installed, as far as house style allowed, in his and Eric Rasmussen’s *3 Henry VI*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001).

⁴³¹ The consequences of not following through entrances and exits are discussed by Homer Swander in ‘No Exit for a Dead Body: What to Do with a Scripted Corpse’, *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 5.2 (1991), 139–52; see also Honigsmann, ‘Re-enter’, 118.

⁴³² Ioppolo, *Dramatists*, 89–90.

their last line of speech, or a line intended for them to hear, in 7.52, 9.149, 11.240, 11.300, 11.311, 11.387 and 14.274.

Directions for Action Implicit in Dialogue

The chief way of denoting action in Q1 is in deictic ‘gestic terms’ (including ‘this’, ‘there’, ‘here’, ‘yon’ and ‘thus’).⁴³³ They are problematic for four reasons: first, in determining the action; second, in knowing where the action occurs in the lines; third, in knowing who said/did what to whom; and fourth, in establishing where best to place a stage direction in an edited text. Consider as an example the use of gestic terms in the following passage, in which Anthony presents Laurentia, Mathea and Marina with gifts from their English suitors:

Pisar. A Tutor hath learn'd
Anth. No Gentlewomen, *Anthony* hath learn'd
To read a Lector of more pleasing worth.
Marina, read these lines, young *Harvie* sent them,
There euery line repugnes *Philosophy*:
Then loue him, for he hates the thing thou hates.
Laurentia, this is thine from *Ferdinande*:
Thinke euery golden circle that thou see'st,
The rich vnuallued circle of his worthe.
Mathea, with these Gloues thy *Ned* salutes thee,
As often as these, hide these from the Sunne,
As often as these, hide these from thy faire hand,

(1.66–75)

The first ‘these’ relates to a letter (‘lines’), the first ‘this’ to money (‘golden circle’); Mathea’s present is clearly ‘these gloues’. The line ‘As often as these, hide these from the Sunne’ is difficult, but seems to refer first to the gloves and then to Mathea’s hands (i.e. ‘as often as these *gloves* hide these *hands* from the sun’); the first comma is superfluous: the

⁴³³ Dessen, *Conventions*, 53.

sense is ‘Ned salutes you every time that you wear the gloves he bought’. While the action in the passage is obvious for the spectator, the reader needs editorial assistance. Wells suggests that ‘the editor may sometimes be able to provide information at a point equivalent to that at which its visual correlative would be apprehended in the theatre’.⁴³⁴ As Wells argues, however, the insertion of an editorial direction at this point does not necessarily work; as is shown below, implementation can break up the text (the text has been modernized):

Marina, read these [*giving a letter*] lines, young Harvey sent them:
 There every line repugns philosophy.
 Then love him, for he hates the thing thou hates. —
 Laurentia, this [*giving a purse*] is thine from Ferdinand:
 Think every golden circle that thou seest
 The rich unvalued circle of his worth. —
 Mathea, with these [*giving a pair of gloves*] gloves thy Ned salutes thee
 As often as these [*pointing to the gloves*] hide these [*pointing to her hands*] from
 the sun,

The use of two gestic terms in the last line means that the editorial insertion of stage directions after the terms is required. On all other occasions in this passage, such insertions are counter-intuitive, as they disrupt the flow of the text. In the edited Text, then, a single gestic term in a line has a corresponding editorial direction immediately after the next mark of punctuation, unless the speed of an exchange is such that placement of a stage direction after punctuation entirely divorces action from gestic term; on these rare occasions (see as examples 2.131 and 14.209), the direction is placed immediately after the relevant term.

⁴³⁴ Wells, *Re-editing*, 75–6.; see also Honigmann, ‘Re-enter’, 118.

Asides

I have followed my predecessors in adding asides at the point when the Q1 text uses parentheses to denote a character saying a comment not intended to be heard by others (as examples in 4.75, 13.35, 13.56, 14.78 and 14.13). The term ‘aside’ is used only once in Q1, and, even then, its precise point of relevance is ambiguous. This aside is said by Mathea, in response to Pisaro’s comment that Van Dal, De Lyon and Al Varo will be the husbands of her and her sisters:

* ~~And your husbands : therefore did them welcome.~~
Mathe. Nay by my troth, tis not the guyse of maydes,
To give a flauering Salute to men : *(aside)*
If these sweete youths haue not the witte to doe it,
Wee haue the honestie to let them stand.
Varo. Gods bickerlin. dare you fra meekin *Mathe.*

(13.13–16)

The first line is almost fully justified, which may suggest that the compositor set the aside on the second line because it was the first opportunity. The implication is that the aside could have been intended for the first two lines; alternatively, it may have been designed for the entire speech. The question is whether Mathea is using ‘sweete’ ironically (thus her entire speech would be an aside), or if she is bawdy enough to use the sexual connotations of ‘let them stand’ (i.e. do nothing to abate their erections) in front of her father (thus the first two lines would be said as an aside). My edition gives the whole passage as an aside, but the passage’s potential division as only a partial aside is noted in the Commentary.

Typically of contemporary playtexts, asides are not typographically represented in Q1 and therefore have to be inferred. This can most frequently be done without significant problems. However, a number of Frisco’s speeches may or may not have been said aloud. According to Honigmann:

When an editor adds ‘*Aside*’ he often implies that the speaker would not have dared to utter the same words openly; in short, he passes judgement on the relationship of two or more dramatic characters. Clearly if the situation includes an impudent speaker or an inattentive listener the case for an aside is weakened.⁴³⁵

Frisco is one such ‘impudent’ character. In 1.153–60 he speaks frankly to Pisaro on the matter of his daughters’ relationships with the Englishmen; in 1.191–5 he lectures Pisaro on the circumstances to which the latter has reduced Anthony; and he calls the Englishmen witless to their faces (2.83–5). Whether Frisco is speaking in an aside can typically be seen in his use of the second or third person:

your daughter.
Frisco. I vnderstand him partly ; yea, and partly nay :
Can you speake French? Content pore vous monsieur Madamo.

(5.25–6)

The use of ‘him’ denotes an aside, while the use of ‘you’ indicates direct address.

However, the decision as to whether Frisco elsewhere speaks in an aside sometimes borders on arbitrary (particularly in 1.150). On occasions of ambiguity I have made a brief justification for my decisions in the Commentary.

Scene 3

I determine under ‘Establishing the Text’ the various textual issues in scene 3, particularly in relation to the elaborate entrance direction in 3.0.1–0.2; here I provide a brief summary of each crux before detailing my editorial decisions.

⁴³⁵ Honigmann, ‘Re-enter’, 120.

In 3.0.1 (B3v) Q1 gives Al Varo as entering, though he does not in fact enter until 242.1 (C3r). In the edited Text, the direction for Al Varo in 3.0.1 has been removed, and the change collated.

In 3.0.1 Q1 gives '*other Marchants*', but later has '*Exit [. . .] Strangers, & Marchant*' (3.295, C4r). This raises the question as to whether the extras are strangers or merchant(s), or strangers *and* merchant(s). The terms 'merchant' and 'stranger' in the setting of the Exchange were not exclusive: the *OED* defines a stranger (*n.*, 1a) as 'One who belongs to another country a foreigner; chiefly [. . .] one who resides in or comes to a country to which he is a foreigner', and the Exchange in the Elizabethan period was a place of trade for the international merchant community.⁴³⁶ Thus, 'strangers' trading at the Exchange were also merchants; I have amalgamated the characters into the title of 'Merchant-strangers' in those relevant stage directions and 'MERCHANT-STRANGER' in speech prefixes that use '*Stra.*' and '*March.*' (but not '*Stran.*', see below).

In 3.0.2 Q1 gives the permissive direction '*other*' as a vague means to describe the presence of merchant-strangers onstage. I think it unsatisfactory to leave the direction as it stands, for readers wish to be able to visualize the number of players on stage and get a sense of the play's busy-ness. Nonetheless, under 'The Play in the Theatre' I stress that the number of merchant-strangers in the first few performances was doubtless dependant on the available players and non-actors at the time. In my edited Text I have therefore not specified merchant-strangers in a stage direction; the Commentary briefly notes how swollen the number of players might have become onstage in original performances.⁴³⁷ In

⁴³⁶ For a discussion of the significance of the Exchange in London merchant commerce, particularly in relation to *Englishmen*, see Howard, *Theatre of a City*, 33–8.

⁴³⁷ On leaving the text open to theatrically valid interpretations see Dessen, *Rescripting*, 234; Kastan, 'Open Page', 178; A.R. Braunmuller, 'On Not Looking Back: Sight and

modern performances, the number of merchant-strangers on stage might also be dependent on player numbers.

The abbreviation of various descriptive speech prefixes complicates the decision as to whether one or many characters are talking; further, these roles are variously given as ‘*Stra.*’ (and ‘*Stran.*’), ‘*March.*’ and ‘*Gent.*’ In 3.1 Pisaro greets ‘Strangers’, suggesting that more than one ‘*Stran.*’ responds; further, the fact that Pisaro continues by referring to these strangers as ‘loving friends’ (3.2) suggests that he is talking to Van Dal and De Lyon, and that it is these two characters who respond. This is perhaps an over-literal interpretation; however, scene 3 is the first time that the audience sees Van Dal and De Lyon, and so the address works as a means to distinguish them from the group of strangers onstage. In my edition I have therefore emended the speech prefix ‘*Stran.*’ to ‘VAN DAL, DE LYON.’ In 3.200 (C2v) Moore talks to a ‘Master Stranger’, which would indicate that Moore speaks to only one (from 3.18 Van Dal and De Lyon are identified in the speech prefixes of Q1, so it is unlikely to be a reference to them); thus, only one of them responds in 3.203. Further, the ‘*March.*’ in 3.206 continues the speech of the stranger of 3.203, and so is probably the same character; however, because the text is not precise, I have not made the connection in the edited Text (as ‘1. MERCHANT-STRANGER’ both times), but have recorded the likelihood in the relevant Commentary note. Brown’s ‘Gentlemen’ of 3.80 (B4v) and the corresponding speech prefix is difficult to decipher: if taken as an honorific, it would refer to Walgrave, Heigham and Harvey, who are the only ‘gentlemen’ onstage (see *OED* ‘gentleman’, 1a. and 4a.). However, Brown’s business is with Pisaro, not with the Englishmen, and so the title could be read as a polite reference to all characters onstage

Sound and Text’, in *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 148.

(see *OED* ‘gentleman’, 4b.). Given the multitude of possibilities I have left the speech prefix as ‘GENTLEMEN’, and provided a note in the Commentary.

Lineation

In what follows, I explore problems of lineation in Q1 via four tenets, before then analysing metrical tolerances and its implications; the basic tests for prose in Q1 and their implications; compositorial setting of elision and its implications; decisions relating to sounded word endings; and problems of lineation in short lines.

Q1 presents various problems of lineation. As I go on to discuss, there are cruces in scansion; the text can mediate unsuccessfully between apparent prose and verse; and there are issues concerning the metre of a number of passages lasting several lines. In order to clarify the types of problem, it is best to identify the strands:

(1) In ‘Establishing the Text’ I discuss the probability that the manuscript underlying the original quarto was Haughton’s authorial papers. Were this indeed the case, then the manuscript may at times have been untidy and confusing, and may not have perfected metre.

(2) Compositors contributed significantly towards the physical presentation of the text. In Q1 the compositor(s) altered the layout of the text for three principal reasons: he set verse as prose to compensate for inaccurate casting-off (or did a page-for-page reprint of a possible ‘Q0’: see ‘A Hypothetical Q0’ under ‘Establishing the Text’); reshuffled verse lines when he felt that the lines demanded it; and divided prose and verse speeches at address changes, subject changes, the question mark, the comma and the colon (see ‘Casting-off Copy’). Further, at times the compositor’s stick appears to have sometimes been set to a shorter length (see especially 4.118 and 120–1); a word might also have been

elided or expanded as per preference, and a compositor may simply have set passages without any regard to the lineation of his copy.⁴³⁸

(3) In the setting of a playtext, Jacobean compositors did not necessarily use identifying marks or methods to discriminate between verse and prose or between short and shared lines. Staggered lines were introduced into edited playtexts from the work of George Steevens in his Variorum edition of Shakespeare's plays in 1793.⁴³⁹ The system has its critics, as it attempts to regularize and neaten what may be deliberately ambiguous short lines.⁴⁴⁰ Following Arden, my edition has staggered shared lines; however, Q1 tolerates a number of iambic forms, which can make the metrical division of short lines in a series difficult to determine.

(4) Words today considered to be disyllabic were treated without preference as mono- or disyllabic at the time of Haughton. This is particularly true of disyllables that show an intervocalic *th*, *v*, or *r*, such as 'heavens' (2.147), 'giver' (4.50), 'father' (11.98), 'even' (1.91) and 'whether' (11.317).⁴⁴¹ To a lesser extent, the same can be said of trisyllabic words treated as disyllabic, including 'recover' (13.19) and 'another' (1.87); and disyllabic words often treated as monosyllabic such as 'hour' (2.34), 'years' (13.57), 'flower' (4.89), 'Being' (11.94) and 'Tower' (14.195). Poets and dramatists exploited the unfixed state of the English language: as Henry Peacham writes, words can be elided

⁴³⁸ Werstine, 'Line Division', 98.

⁴³⁹ William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. George Steevens, Samuel Johnson and Isaac Reed, 4th edn, 15 vols (London: T. Longman, B. Law and son [etc], 1793).

⁴⁴⁰ Paul Benjamin Bertram, *White Spaces in Shakespeare: The Development of the Modern Text* (Cleveland: Ohio, Bellflower Press, 198), 65; Fredson Bowers, 'Establishing Shakespeare's Text: Notes on Short Lines and the Problem of Verse Division', *SB* 33 (1980), 76.

⁴⁴¹ George Thaddeus Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 151–4

‘contrary to the true and usuall writing or speaking of these words, for necessity of number or meeter’.⁴⁴²

Verse

Principally, verse metre in Q1 is in the iambic pentameter, either regular or with a final unstressed hyperbeat. However, the text also tolerates regular and hypermetrical dimeters (e.g. 3.29, 6.300, 11.127 and 13.26), trimeters (e.g. 6.227 and 11.305), tetrameters (e.g. 3.65 and 7.32), hexameters (e.g. 3.67, 11.245, 13.35 and 14.12), and heptameters (e.g. 3.217, 6.83, 9.100 and 11.375). Q1 also supports an additional stressed foot at the beginning of a line (a head stress) in dimeters (e.g. 6.224 and 9.12), trimeters (e.g. 1.145), tetrameters (e.g. 3.60, 6.69 and 7.13), and pentameters (e.g. 3.31, 6.272 and 13.44). The text allows for a reverse in stress at the point of the caesura in hypermetrical lines (e.g. 3.91 11.349, 13.44 and 14.274). Further, a single verse line can shift between trochees and iambs (in, as examples, 2.20, 14.65 and 14.172). Shifts in metre between lines can be tightly controlled, as in a speech of Marina’s in 6.31–42; at other points the text moves freely between lengths of iambic metre, as in 3.65–77.⁴⁴³ At various points in the play short lines or metrical shifts within a single line may suggest pauses, such as at 1.147, 1.206, 6.56 and 6.227. The implication is twofold: first, that the text tolerates a variety of metrical forms; and second, that the text cannot be packaged into regular iambic pentameters, or – as Wells puts it on Shakespeare’s playtexts – crammed ‘into a metrical strait-jacket’.⁴⁴⁴

Metrical variation and excitement are part of the criteria by which the play might be

⁴⁴² Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson, 1577; STC 19497), sig. E1v.

⁴⁴³ For a similar record of Shakespeare’s metrical tolerances see Chambers’s *A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. 2, 400–5. Chambers’ work was revisited (and slightly revised) by Wright in *Metrical Art*, 292–3.

⁴⁴⁴ Wells, ‘Modernizing,’ 20.

evaluated: a conclusion that has strong implications in determining whether a word is elided.

Under 'Manuscript Provenance' I discuss textual cruces which imply an untidy authorial manuscript. Here I wish to discuss the editorial procedure for emendation. In Q1 'young' is placed at 1.102, four lines into Marina's speech, although the iambic pentameter otherwise present there would suggest that 'young' has been incorrectly placed. The word has by consensus (starting with Q2) since been placed a further two lines down, after 'I love it being', thus continuing the end-rhyme: I have followed Q2's emendation. At a slightly later point in the text, in 1.120, a line in Mathea's speech ('Shall once dissuade me from affecting') falls short of an iambic pentameter and does not rhyme with the previous line ('I'll not abide it. Father, friends, nor kin'), despite the end-rhyme otherwise present in Mathea's speech. This line should by consensus (again starting with Q2) end with 'him'. Mathea is talking about Walgrave in the third person at this point, and so I have followed Q2 in emending.

A further error in verse that might have been caused by an untidy manuscript is in the printing of Walgrave's name in 3.304 ('Nay, prithee, *NedWalgr.*, let's bethink ourselves'). Scansion requires the surname only. Baugh was the first to identify the setting of Walgrave's name as an error, but did not correct it; Kermode thinks Baugh's identification 'plausible', but retains the crux because 'Heigham and Harvey never call Ned by his last name alone'.⁴⁴⁵ However, the use of 'Walgrave' in Anthony's 'Hark, Master Walgrave, yours craves quick dispatch' (11.257) where (1) Anthony otherwise refers to Walgrave as 'Ned'; and (2) 'young Master Ned' might have been used, suggests a conscious decision at times to use Walgrave's surname alone (for other examples of

⁴⁴⁵ Baugh, ed., *Englishmen*, 223; Kermode, ed., *Usury Plays*, 196.

‘young Master’ + name, see 11.256, 14.26 and 14.92). Thus, I have emended to ‘Walgrave’.

Other errors in Q1, not discussed in ‘Establishing the Text’, are probably the result of dittography caused by compositorial inattention. The first occasion is in the repetition of ‘that smile’ after Anthony has presented the daughters with gifts from the Englishmen:

**You make them rich in Wealth, but more in beauty.
I need not plead that smile, that smile shewes hearts con-**

(1.95)

While an iambic heptameter may be possible in the play, the form is uncommon (see the beginning of this subsection). According to the text as it stands, Anthony’s ‘I need not plead’ refers to ‘that smile’. In fact, Anthony was pleading through the use of rhetorical speech (see his previous lines, 1.66–94); he breaks off as he realises that the daughters have already been won over. The repeated ‘that smile’ has therefore been removed, and the emendation collated.

A further instance of dittography, in 13.53–4, is less certain. The potential error is in the repetition of ‘how say you?’

**An auncient Man doth make a Mayde a Matron:
And is not that an Honour, how say you? how say you?
Yes forsooth.**

(13.52–4)

The line is arguably too long by a hypermetrical foot. However, I think the case too weak to be able to confidently remove the potential error. I have therefore followed Hazlitt and moved the repeated ‘how say you?’ down a line to restore some metrical balance.

Short and Shared Lines

If Bowers's identification and discussion of Shakespeare's use of short lines is adopted, it is possible to detect discernible patterns in Haughton's own use. Short lines are used in Q1 for six reasons: first, to divide a pentameter between two speakers (see below); second, to end a speech, often to signify a dramatic pause or allow for stage business (as examples 3.216, 4.80, 11.305 and 14.7); third, to begin a speech (as examples 6. 101 and 13.55); fourth, as a series, without metrical relationship 'either to each other or to what precedes or follows, and within otherwise regular iambic dialogue' (as examples 7.25, 11.127, 11.156 and 14.12); fifth, single short lines of what may be verse between prose lines (as an example 13.11); and sixth, short lines within regular verse (as examples, the iambic dimeter in 13.26 and the iambic tetrameter in 14.9).⁴⁴⁶

The remainder of this section discusses short lines shared – or potentially shared – between two or more speakers. Pairings between two characters can be identified through an echo in words and idioms, and between the completion of an iambic pentameter (as examples 3.27, 6.322, 7.51 and 9.19); twice, three characters share a line (11.159 and 11.111).

When short lines occur in a series their metrical pairing can be difficult to identify, if indeed such a standard of regularity was ever meant to apply. This is particularly true of lines that are 'amphibious', or can be linked in a variety of metrically convincing ways.⁴⁴⁷ Arden's policy is not to divide lines in instances where a variety of legitimate ways by which the text can be divided prevents any definitive metrical reading, and to set these lines as if prose in the edited Text; consequently, I have disregarded Kermode's linking of

⁴⁴⁶ Bowers, 'Short Lines', 75.

⁴⁴⁷ On amphibious lines see E.A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar: An Attempt to Illustrate Some of the Differences between Elizabethan and Modern English*, reprint of 3rd rev. edn (New York: Dover, 1966), 513.

lines in a series in 11.121–4.⁴⁴⁸ Possible divisions in lineation have been discussed in the Commentary. However, for reasons I now discuss, in 11.158–72 I have followed Kermode in metrically rearranging an amphibious line. The following set of lines provides a short exchange between Marina, Laurentia, Mathea, and Heigham (the attribution of Laurentia’s speech to ‘*Alua*.’ is erroneous, and has been emended in the edited Text, with the change collated):

Alua. Speake sister *Mat*, is not my true Love there?
Mat. Ned is.
Laur. Not maister *Heigham*?
Heigh. *Laurentia*, heere.
Laur. Yfayth thou’rt welcome.
Heigh. Better cannot Fall.
Mat. Sweete, so art thou.
Mar. As much to mine.
Laur. Nay Gentles, welcome all.

(11.158–72)

The passage falls into the iambic stress pattern, and Laurentia’s first speech (11.158) is a regular iambic pentameter. The later terminal words ‘Fall’ and ‘all’ would imply end-rhyme, suggesting ‘Yfayth [. . .] Fall’ and ‘As [. . .] all’ to be iambic pentameters. ‘Not [. . .] here’ also acts as a regular iambic pentameter. My edited Text therefore mainly follows Kermode in rearranging the passage in the following way:

LAURENTIA
 Speak, sister Mat, is not my true love there?
 MATHEA
 Ned is.
 LAURENTIA Not Master Heigham?
 HEIGHAM Laurentia, here.

⁴⁴⁸ There is a further reason why I wish to keep these short lines as prose, not verse. By dropping the first part an amphibiously split section, the incorrect impression is created that it is a full line in itself. I do not think that the first line should be treated differently from the others if at least one of them can alternatively be construed as the beginning of a verse-line.

LAURENTIA
I' faith, thou'rt welcome.

HEIGHAM
Better cannot fall.

MATHEA
Sweet, so art thou.

MARINA
As much to mine.

LAURENTIA
Nay, gentles, welcome all.

In Kermode's edition 'Ned is.' occupies a line of its own, but it forms part of an iambic pentameter if 'Heigham' and 'Laurentia' are elided. The arrangement uncomfortably leaves one short line mid-section ('Sweet, so art thou'). Bevington, in the textual analysis to his edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*, finds lines 'left dangling' to be unconvincing.⁴⁴⁹ However, such oddity is tolerated elsewhere in Q1 (see 13.26), which strengthens the argument here. Textually, the arrangement emphasizes the rhyme 'fall'/'all' and divides at the point of the caesura; dramatically, it enhances the evident rapid speech and promotes a sharing of joy.

Prose

Compositorial changes to the presentation of the text can often be identified in places where the text modulates back and forth between verse and prose. The perceived problem is modified by three interconnected principles: (1) named speakers of fluent English will communicate in blank verse unless a point needs to be emphasized, in which case they will speak in rhyming verse (however see (3) below); (2) foreigners and characters given a descriptive name ('Post', 'Bellman') speak in prose, unless giving a sing-song-like response (as at 3.1 and 10.88); (3) a verse speaker typically talks in prose when conversing

⁴⁴⁹ William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. David Bevington, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 268.

with a prose speaker; the verse speaker will begin a dialogue in verse; they will often end in verse when a resolution to the conversation is reached (see as examples 2.72–107, 3.172–98, 4.105–45, 5.1–46 and 11.91–62; but compare the partial verse in 11.334–83). As Orgel has argued before me, decisions over whether a passage is in prose or verse therefore relate both to metre and characterization.⁴⁵⁰

I have already mentioned that various issues in prose arise from the length of the compositor's stick, the division of type lines at punctuation changes and so forth. These compositorial changes have been emended, with the emendation recorded in the Textual notes. On two occasions (9.51–2 and 9.54–5) two type lines of prose are set as verse, probably because the speaker (in each case Heigham) is speaking in prose to a prose-speaking character at the time, and the compositor thought that he should be speaking in verse. Verse can also appear as closely resembling prose; one passage (9.72–90), in particular, needs detailed attention. Two speeches (lines ending 'heere, / Asse.' and the setting of the final four lines, said by Heigham to De Lyon) present textual problems:

Har. Harke Ned, there's thy substaunce
Wal. Nay by the Masse, the substantance's heere,
 The shaddow's but an Asse.
Heigh. What Maister *Pisaro*?
Logerhead, heere's none of your *Pisaros*?
Delio. Yes but dit is the hous of mester *Pisaro*.
Wal. Will not this monficur *Masley* take his answer?
 He goe and knocke the asse about the pate.
Har. Nay by yourleauue sir, but He hold your worship.
 This sturre we should haue had, had you stood there.
Wal. Why, would it not vexee one to heare the asse,
 Stand prating here of dit and dan, and den and dog?
Har. One of thy mettle Ned, would surely doe it:
 But peace, and harke to the rest.
Delio. Doe no de fine Gentlewoman matresse *Mashee*
 dwell in dit Plasse?
Heigh. No sir, here dwells none of your fine Gantle-wo-
 man: I were a good deed sirra, to see who you are;
 You come hither to steale my Glasse.
 And then counterfeite you are going to your *Quecans*.

(9.72–90)

⁴⁵⁰ Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare*, 38.

The rhyme between ‘Masse’ and ‘Asse’ implies that these two words should be end-rhymed; this rearranges the two lines, to produce (modernized) ‘Nay, by the mass, / The substance’s here, the shadow’s but an ass’ (‘substance’s’ is being treated as disyllabic). It is probable that it was written as one line in the manuscript, and then split arbitrarily by the compositor. The second textual problem occurs in the passage in Heigham’s final speech, which is set in a rather ugly fashion (the first two lines are set as if prose; the last two as if verse). As a consequence, editors have set the entire passage as prosaic. However, despite its prose appearance, the text divides in the following way (‘Twere’ is a head stress):

HEIGHAM

No, sir, here dwell none of your ‘fine gantlewoman’.
 ’Twere a good deed, sirrah, to see who you are:

This lineation also fits rule (3), above, as a verse resolution speech, for De Lyon exits the scene a few lines afterwards. I have therefore emended the apparent prose passage to verse.

Elision

Elision is occasionally conveyed in Q1 by the use of the terminal *t*, *'d* and *d* in the –ed suffix of verbs and past participle adjectives, and in *'st* or *st* in –est endings in superlatives. Elision is also used in the form of contraction (as examples: ‘t’other’, 9.32; ‘will’t’, 2.11; ‘heer’s’, 9.30; ‘sheele’, 6.161), including between contiguous vowels (‘th’Exchange’, 1.140, 3.292; ‘th’event’, 11.296). Q1 also uses syncopation (‘moistning’, 1.3; ‘fallne’, 11.420, ‘emboldned’, 3.2) and apheresis (‘twixt’, 3.117; ‘posed’ for ‘exposed’, 6.69). Based on the metrical balance that such elisions generate, it seems that the compositor(s) either reproduced their copy’s elisions, or used a house system that appears to have been accurate. Some typographic representations of elision in the unsounded past participle are

unnecessary, however, and it seems only right to remove them (as examples 3.188 and 4.112).

Much more problematic is the editorial proposal of additional elisions. As I have already remarked, many disyllabic words were treated monosyllabically during Haughton's lifetime; the decision as to whether elision was intended in terminal words with an intervocalic *th* was particularly troublesome, for such words may also form iambic pentameters with an unstressed hyperbeat, as in Marina's 'But say, came you to us, or came you rather / To pawn more lands for money to our father?' (2.121–2). Further, words apparently requiring syncope or the unstressed terminal '-ed' are not always marked in Q1 (as in 2.19 and 3.259). Many words were only contracted in writing after the beginning of the seventeenth century; thus, words may have been understood as needing to be contracted by the actor, but otherwise unmarked in the manuscript.⁴⁵¹ The understanding may be applied to verse lines which end in 'to it', 'do it' and 'of it', as in 3.232, 4.15, 6.241, 9.83, and 14.25; the use of 'do't' in 2.32 and 'to't' in 3.65 suggests, however, at least a partial record. While the temptation is to emend the text to 'to't', 'I've' etc where metre seems to demand it, as Wells argues on this issue, it is 'not the editor's responsibility' to decide which way the text should be read.⁴⁵² The possibility has instead been noted in the Commentary. Typographical representation of elision creates problems in the word 'past', which could either be 'past', or a signal that the -ed in 'passed' is unstressed: depending on sense, the word is occasionally retained as 'past' in the edited Text (as in 7.53); at other times, the word is expanded (as in 13.40 and 14.110).

⁴⁵¹ Honigmann, *The Texts of 'Othello'*, 112–15.

⁴⁵² Wells, 'Modernizing', 20.

COMMENTARY

The content and conventions used in the Commentary generally follows Arden Third Series's policy except in one crucial matter: where appropriate, my edition discusses, in the headnotes, textual cruces which affect the scene as a whole. (I note here that, following Arden, full-stops are only used at the end of a note if it succeeds a full sentence.)

TEXTUAL NOTES

The content and conventions used in the textual notes conforms to the guidelines set out by Arden Third Series. The only difference is in the high volume of spellings which I have collated as noteworthy. I define as 'noteworthy' a spelling variant in a foreigner's broken English which is not in the *OED*, as well as a variant, in the speech of any character, that may give some indication of pronunciation (such as 'gibberidge'; see 'Modernization').