REALISM IN THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CITIZEN COMEDY.

Thesis presented for the degree of Ph. D.

by

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REALISM IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA,

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REALISM IN THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CITIZEN COMEDY.

A. INTRODUCTORY.

The unceasing flow of a great river presents to the imagination a wealth of interest and speculation. The river comes into being born of many mountain springs or quiet tarns from which the streamlets flow somewhat precipitously at first to join one another on their journey to the plains beneath. There, increased in size, and consequently in importance as each new rivulet contributes its share of water, it meanders with quiet, almost mature, dignity, all the component parts so well commingled that no one can hope by drawing out a bucketful of water to analyse it in such a way as to ascertain in what proportions that bucketful is made up of the waters of each tributary stream. What will be the future history of that river? Will it flow on peacefully and undisturbed to the sea? Will it come to steep places, and fume and fret till it hollows out a way for itself among the rocks and boulders? Or, will it reach a broad, stony bed, where it will diffuse itself into
many small and comparatively insignificant rivulets, each in turn assuming temporarily greater importance than its sister-streams, until it becomes blended again in the one main river? Or, will it journey on till it reaches a desert and loses itself in the sands, perchance to reappear many miles away with greater, or diminished power? Again, may not the contemplation of the river lead people of a different temperament to philosophize on the nature of moisture and evaporation, and the subsequent change from cloud and mist to rain which swells the river and feeds its many sources. To such people the existence of the river is a particular illustration of the working of the natural law of evaporation.

The history of any literary form affords an interesting parallel. Given the form, people speculate regarding the origin and growth, each person adopting the method which seems to him best. Some go back from a certain well-defined period of its history to find its source. Of these, one will follow up one small rivulet, a second will choose another, believing that in that particular stream alone lies the secret of the power of the literary form at the given time, (and sometimes, in doing so, the researcher becomes so badly bogged that he loses himself and his stream). Again, when many literary historians have
mapped out the course of the tributaries with comparative ease, others will select particular specimens of the form and seek to prove by their analysis of them that here can be found indubitable traces of the characteristics of this or the other stream. Similarly there are others who devote themselves to an investigation of the special characteristics of a special branch of the form at such a time as the main stream has become temporarily subdivided. And yet another class of literary historian seeks a psychological cause for everything and traces this form, too, to some natural, and probably subconscious, aesthetic impulse on the part of the human race. But enough of this figure and its possible application, though sufficient has been said to illustrate (if the figure hold good) the extremely speculative results of a search for the origins of literary form - in our study it will be the drama - and perhaps even the folly of assigning to one source more than to any other the greater motive power. No analogy, however, can be complete, and perhaps just because of that, it may chance that investigations carried on in the old ways have at least a greater chance of success than the idler speculations of a traveller by the river's brink. The river is in a constant state of flux. Elizabethan drama has attained the permanence of any work of art.
Nothing can alter it now, although the discoveries of those engaged in research may possibly modify from time to time the accepted theories regarding its growth and development.

At first glance it seems a work of supererogation to add anything to the tremendous amount of material that has already been written on the subject of Elizabethan drama. But so much of the research work that has been done is either of the nature of an historical survey of the whole field, or a study of the life and works of a particular dramatist, that an essay which deals with a particular aspect of the drama of those days - its realism - and a more detailed study of a particular form through which it passed - citizen comedy - is not a mere réchauffé of the works of innumerable predecessors and contemporaries, and has proved profitable at least to the undertaker of the research.

When reading many characteristically Elizabethan plays the present writer became aware, inter alia, of two things; first, that the majority of the plays fall into a well-defined class according to the plot and manner of handling it, such as, revenge tragedy, quasic-classical tragedy,

1. Elizabethan Drama: - The term Elizabethan is used throughout in its widest signification, and covers the literary period 1560 (c) - 1642 (c).
romantic comedy of disguises, comedy of gulling, humour comedy, satirical comedy, pastoral, chronicle-history, tragi-comedy and the like; (this is very obvious;) And secondly, that in almost all of these plays no matter how fantastic the subject, how unreal the plot, how rambling the construction, there is an element of realism which manifests itself in different ways, and which succeeds in vitalizing the play and giving it a peculiarly Elizabethan tang. In view of the latter it seemed possible to reconstruct from illustrations taken from the drama alone at least some features of the many-sided life of the Elizabethan times. This would naturally have been corroborated by appeals to other passages in the contemporary literature. Such a prospect was alluring, but the task was overwhelming and had to be abandoned. At the same time it became evident that there was a particular type of drama to which the majority of historians had given only a few interesting but inexhaustive paragraphs in their survey of the whole field, which demanded a fuller study than had previously been given to it. This type deals chiefly with the life of the citizens of London as merchants and craftsmen. To this some writers have given the name bourgeois comedy, but I prefer the title citizen
1. comedy because the epithet bourgeois seems to preclude the smaller and poorer craftsmen from their due, while citizen is a term which includes rich and poor alike. Consequently it seemed desirable that a monograph on citizen comedy should be undertaken. After some time, however, it became evident that citizen plays had sometimes the habit of developing romantic plots, and conversely that romantic comedies, or for that matter, histories and tragedies too, not infrequently had citizen life in subplots. Consequently, in view of so much interpenetration of plot and motive, a hard-and-fast classification became impossible, or if possible, so arbitrary as to be of little use. It seemed better, therefore, to undertake a study of the realistic element in Elizabethan drama with special reference to citizen comedy. The results of this will best be seen if the subject is considered under two main divisions, 1, a historical account of realism in Elizabethan drama, and 2, its nature and scope. In neither case can the writer hope to treat the subject completely, but indications will be given of the various developments, and whenever possible reference will be made to the evidence afforded by contemporary texts and documents.

1. "Citizen Comedy" is the term used in the translation of Creizenach: The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (4 Chap. 3.) "Realistic Comedy" is used by C.F. Tucker Brooke; The Tudor Drama, Chap. 11. "Domestic Comedy" is used in Cambridge History of Literature, Vols. 5 & 6.
During the past century the terms realism, realistic, also romance, romanticism, and romantic, have taken on a specialized, and consequently somewhat restricted meaning when applied to the world of art and letters. Obviously it would be an anachronism to apply them in their modern, acquired meaning to the literature of Shakespeare's days and consequently in the following pages I shall make use of them in the widest sense. To my mind they represent opposite tendencies in viewing the spectacle of life, and in subsequently transferring what is seen and observed into a work of art, which is always to some extent life at second hand. Generally speaking by realism I mean that motive-power which makes an author describe people and customs as he believes them actually to be, often taking great pleasure in revealing their gauntness, and, it may be, their squalor and baseness. Romanticism has a specific signification in relation to certain literary movements at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Romance is technically "any fictitious or wonderful tale, &c." When using the term romance, however, I use it in a slightly different sense. By romance I mean that ability to see people and circumstances shorn of their meanness and endowed with all the beautiful qualities which make them ideal.
In this state they are above the petty concerns of mundane existence, above the ordinary conventions and laws. Consequently, while realism frequently leads to an emphasis on the life of the middle classes and the lower orders and the portrayal of the same with the exactness and the cruelty of a photograph, romance tends to give an imaginary picture of an ideal existence in a realm where the rose trees ever bloom and all the year is spring, and where the power of the villain can always be overthrown. In this investigation I am not using romantic as opposed to classic, but always with such a signification as I have just indicated.

1. AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF REALISM IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

In studying the presence of realism in Elizabethan Drama there are two kinds of evidence both of which ought to be carefully considered before one can reach any definite conclusions regarding its history and value. There are, first, the evidence of contemporary authors or documents, and, second, that afforded by the theories of later scholars and literary historians. In each kind the items of evidence adduced are of varying weight and importance, and it is necessary to take all together before one can reach the whole truth regarding realism in
Elizabethan drama.

Let us, then, examine the evidence in detail, beginning with that afforded by contemporary documents.

Contemporary evidence is scarce for two reasons. In the first place, the literary criticism of those days centered almost entirely round the work of the classical and post-classical periods of European literature, while the out-put of that age was almost invariably neglected, or, at best, suffered in comparison, and of all the literary kinds drama was considered the least worthy of particular attention and study. In the second place there was an idea prevalent in some classes of the community (notably among the straiter divines and their large following) that the drama was scarcely reputable, that it was, to quote an extreme view, "profanation", and that "in pleading for it" one "pleaded for Baal...........".

Consequently such evidence as has survived is for the most part of a casual or a business origin. As this is true of the whole field of Elizabethan drama a great

1. Ben Jonson: Bartholomew Fair. V. Also Vide, Stubbes: Anatomie of Abuses (P.164 edition Pickering, London MDCCCLXVI) "Of commedies the matter and the ground is love, bawdrie, cosenage, flatterie,whordom, adultrie: the persons or agentes, whores, queanes, bawdes, scullions,knaves, curtizans, lecherous olde men, amorous young men, with such like of infinite varieties. If, I say, there were nothing else but this, it were sufficient to withdraw a good Christian from using them........"
Deal of sifting has to be done ere we reach that residue which applies only to the realistic elements. Fortunately some play-lists (mostly of a business origin) have survived, and they form a suitable basis from which to begin our investigation. What, then, are the sources of contemporary play-lists, and what would they lead us to deduce concerning the place of realism in Elizabethan drama?

The sources include Henslowe's Diary, Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book when he was Master of the Revels, and the Stationers' Register; of these only the Stationers' Register covers the whole period under review. Each has its significance and to each the same general word of warning applies. It is not always possible to gauge from the title what the scope of a play is, and hence any classification of non-extant plays, except in cases where we have left to us some account of the plot, is purely conjectural. Again, owing to the prevailing laxity in regard to the exact titles of the plays, it is often difficult to tell whether the entry of a similar title marks a really new play or merely an old one under a variant form of title. At the same time, it is hardly likely that despite these handicaps to accuracy the main conclusions will be seriously affected.
The entries in Henslowe's *Diary* cover the period 19th February 1592 to 1st January 1604. The *Diary* gives a list of the plays performed during those years and of many which were then being written (though they may never have reached completion) to the authors of which Henslowe found it profitable to advance a loan of money. Of course, a proportion of the plays acted during that period were such as had held the stage for many years previously, but in many instances Henslowe distinguishes between the old and the new by placing the sign "w" before those which were produced for the first time. If, then, we eliminate the other plays from those marked "w" we can have a fair idea of the trend of taste in matters dramatic during ten or eleven years. Henslowe's orthography is so illogical and so idiosyncratic that it is difficult in many instances to identify the entry with the title of a known play. Naturally this has led to confusion and controversy. My conclusions are based on Mr. Greg's interpretation of the text. Henslowe was such a shrewd man of business that we can safely believe that he would only produce such plays as were likely to make a profitable return for his outlay, and that his selection of plays and of authors to write them, would all be made with a view to the prevalent

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taste: in other words, the lists contained in the Diary provide a fairly accurate barometer showing the preference of the audience for certain types of plays. Public preference with regard to matters literary and dramatic was a more important factor in determining the continuation and exploitation of certain forms and types than it is today. To begin with, the reading public was limited in numbers, therefore, to make successful sales the publisher had, in accepting work, to be influenced by the prevalent public taste. This naturally reflected on the author, his subject-matter and form. In the same manner public taste influenced the type of play produced in the theatres to which there were in those days few counter attractions (only cock-fighting and bear-baiting) in comparison to the number at the present day. Now the picture house and music-hall satisfy the requirements of the less literary members of the community. In the Elizabethan age, however, the plays produced had to appeal to large, varied audiences, consequently dramatists who desired to retain popularity or to achieve success were influenced by any marked change in public taste in drama. Thus both author and playwright had to satisfy the requirements of popular tastes. It is from this aspect that a careful study was made of the
The result of this investigation and of an attempt to classify the plays yields the following table:

1. **REVIVALS**: (Only one entry of each play recognised.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Tragedy</th>
<th>Morality</th>
<th>Domestic Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596-00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Romantic Comedy</th>
<th>Tragi-Comedy</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596-00</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **NEW PLAYS**: (Only one entry recognised.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Tragedy</th>
<th>Morality</th>
<th>Domestic Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596-00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-04</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8?</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Romantic Comedy</th>
<th>Tragi-Comedy</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596-00</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-04</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. **TOTALS IN PERIOD.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Morality</th>
<th>Domestic Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revivals</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Romantic Comedy</th>
<th>Tragi-Com.</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revivals</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of performances is yet a further indication of the trend of popular taste.

4. **PERFORMANCES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Morality</th>
<th>Domestic Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>108) 136)</td>
<td>37 0</td>
<td>0 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595-97</td>
<td>20) 29)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Romantic Comedy</th>
<th>Tragi-Com.</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592-95</td>
<td>82) 189)</td>
<td>4) 29)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1505-97</td>
<td>6) 7)</td>
<td>65) 80)</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The lower figures for each date represent the totals together with the conjectural classification of non-extant plays.)
After 1597 we have notes of contracts with playwrights for new plays or the revamping of old ones; this naturally gives us no clue to the number of performances. It should be noted that both in the case of tragedy and of romantic comedy there is a larger number of old plays revived than in the case of domestic comedy or even history (which would appear to have been written fresh for the occasion) and that, to judge at least from the above tables, domestic comedy and history are tending to become as popular as tragedy and romantic comedy.

1. Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book affords evidence of a different nature. Extending from May 10th 1623 to January 6th 1642, it contains, relatively, entrances of far fewer plays. Again, it gives not only a list of such plays, both new and old, as were licensed for production or publication within those dates by the Master of the Revels, but a further list, somewhat haphazard and irregularly kept - some years have no entries - of the plays and masques presented at court during the same time. Thus we no longer have a gauge for public opinion on


N.B. The years excluded in the second list are those in which there are no records in the Office-Book.
matters dramatic, but we can easily discover what was the predominant taste of king and courtier, while we are left in comparative obscurity regarding the plays which pleased the "groundlings" except when we can discover this from the licensing lists. Subjecting the Office-Book to the same scrutiny as the Diary we have the following results:-

1. **PLAYS LICENSED.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Tragedy</th>
<th>Morality</th>
<th>Domestic Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Old New</td>
<td>Old New</td>
<td>Old New</td>
<td>Old New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622-25</td>
<td>3 : 8 or 10</td>
<td>0 : 2</td>
<td>1 : 1 (set)</td>
<td>13 : 5 or 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626-30</td>
<td>0 : 3</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 2 or 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631-35</td>
<td>0 : 5</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 36 or 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636-40</td>
<td>0 : 4 or 5</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-42</td>
<td>0 : 2 or 3</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Rom. Comedy</th>
<th>Tragi-Com.</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Masque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Old New</td>
<td>Old New</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622-25</td>
<td>1 or 2 : 6</td>
<td>1 : 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626-30</td>
<td>0 : 5</td>
<td>0 : 4</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631-35</td>
<td>1 : 5</td>
<td>0 : 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636-40</td>
<td>0 : 4</td>
<td>0 : 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-42</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>0 : 0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 5 are comedies of manners.
2. **PLAYS AND MASQUES AT COURT** (including repetitions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Domestic Morality</th>
<th>Comedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1622-24</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7 (&amp; 4 Sub-Plots.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633-35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (&amp; 1 manners)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636-38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 (&amp; 2 Sub-Plots.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (Manners)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Rom. Comedy.</th>
<th>Tragi-Com.</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Masque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1622-24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3 (&amp; 2 Sub-Plots)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1633-35</td>
<td>6 + (3 Sub-Plots)</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1636-38</td>
<td>18 or 19</td>
<td>12 (&amp; 4 Sub-plots)</td>
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<td>1640-42</td>
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The Stationers' Register presents much greater difficulty. To begin with, as it purports to be a register of all the works entered for publication, and often does not indicate in any way what is the nature of the work entered, it is frequently a matter of mere conjecture to classify a certain "copie" as a play, a pamphlet, or a ballad unless corroborative evidence is to hand. For

this reason alone the results from the investigation are subject to considerable inaccuracy. Again, the dates are less significant, because the play may have been entered for printing many years after its original production. The dates are, therefore, indicative of a desire on the part of the lettered public to read what has been acted successfully rather than of the then prevalent taste of the theatre-going public, or of the catering for public taste practised by a shrewd publisher. And yet again, as we know, many plays were zealously guarded from printing, so that the number of plays entered on the Register can be relatively only a small proportion of the plays produced. The evidence afforded by it must consequently lack fulness. In this instance the tabular results have on account of their bulk been held over to an appendix.

In a footnote to Collier’s *English Dramatic Poetry* II. p.92, we find this additional contemporary play-list. Its existence is due to the rivalry between the companies and theatres and is virtually the assertion that the following plays belong to that special Company playing at that special theatre alone:—

"Whereas William Bieston, Gent. Governor, &c. of the King’s and Queen’s young Company of Players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, hath represented unto His Majesty, that the several plays hereafter mentioned

This list gives the following result:---

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<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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which is the proportion of the various kinds of drama in the repertory of the King's and Queen's Company in the year 1639. I do not consider that we are justified in drawing any other conclusions in this connection.

The conclusions which we must draw from the evidence afforded by these lists is that realistic (or domestic) drama is quite an important feature of the Elizabethan period, and that it is by no means dwarfed by romantic drama. In addition, it is noticeable that realistic drama flourished more particularly at certain times.
approximately 1597 to 1614, and again between 1630 and 1642.

But with all this investigation the evidence is still very scrappy, and there are great lacunae. In order to fill these out we must have recourse to the work of modern scholars as to the dating of the plays of individual dramatists and of anonymous plays, and to the general course of dramatic history. Should we find many playwrights whose works undergo the same change in subject and manner at almost the same time, we should, I think, be justified in assuming that such a change was not solely due to the development of the genius of the individual but to a change which was affecting popular taste at that time. In the same manner the large number of anonymous plays that have survived will help us to draw the necessary conclusions.

The play-lists have not given indication of much realistic drama before 1590 at earliest. Our knowledge of the works of the dramatists who flourished before that date confirms this. Marlowe, for instance, shows no tendency in this direction, nor do Peele or Greene or Lyly in their plays. It is probable that Lodge and Nashe collaborated in *A Lookinge Glass for London and England*, mentioned in Henslowe 8th Marche 1591, that is, N.S. 1592, and between them they produced a kind of morality with some
contemporary allusions that are of a realistic order. But the realism, such as it is, is fragmentary and not sustained. Our conclusion is that we reach the period when Shakespeare and his contemporaries flourished before realism had a noticeably independent place in the drama.

If Shakespeare's works are examined from this point of view, we find that those plays that contain prominently a realistic element are I. Henry IV, and II. Henry IV (1596/7) Merry Wives of Windsor (before 1600), A Mid-Summer Night's Dream (1599), Julius Caesar (1600), Antony and Cleopatra (1607), Coriolanus (1609(c)) and Troilus and Cressida (1603) which cover approximately the period 1597-1603 and a little later. It is notable that at this time Ben Jonson whom in 1598, Meres mentions as one of "our best in tragedy" was beginning his remarkable series of humour plays, having apparently discarded the writing of the romantic tragedies for which he was already known. Although Richard Crockback is mentioned in Henslowe on June 22nd 1602, and The Case is Altered is romantic in tone, almost all his plays from the time of Every Man in His Humour (1598) onwards are of a realistic order. It is significant that in the second edition of that play, published in 1616, not only is the scene changed from Italy to the London of Ben's own day, but also the dramatis personae are now no longer Englishmen masquerading as Italians, but real London
citizens, - a still further concession to his delight in realism.

But Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, while the most outstanding dramatists of the age, are not unique in passing through a similar phase. In the case of Middleton we find that his earlier work, such as *Blurt, Master Constable* (1599), *The Mayor of Queenborough* (1599), *The Old Law*, *The Phoenix* (1599) and (1600), is romantic in theme and treatment. Only the subplots are realistic, and may have been rendered more so by subsequent revisions. This is notably the case with *The Mayor of Queenborough*, where the inter-craft rivalry disputes have been subject to later interpolations about Cromwell.

But in *The Phoenix*, as well as in *The Mayor of Queenborough* we find Middleton temporising with those motifs which were later to form almost the sole subject of his dramas, - the triangle of citizen, wife, and knight; highway robbery; various modes of cheating, and the like, - in such plays as *Michaelmas Term* (1607), *Your five Gallants* (1608), *The Family of Love* (1607), *A Mad World, my Masters* (1608)

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1. Dates of composition of Middleton's works are difficult to ascertain. For the most part dates of entry in Stationers' Register are given. Neither A. H. Bullen nor Professor Herford are much more specific regarding dates of composition.

2. Dates of Entry in Stationers' Register.
The Roaring Girl (1611 edition), A Chaste Maid in Cheapside (1611-13). Then comes a phase when romantic comedy and tragic-comedy and tragedy seem to occupy all Middleton's attention, and realism is almost excluded. No Wit, No Help like a Woman's (1613), The Spanish Gypsy (1623-4), The Changeling (1621-3), More Dissemblers Besides Women (1622) belong to this period. In the last stage romanticism is again brushed aside, and Middleton turns to life as he actually found it, though now on a higher plane, and so he commits the indiscretion of A Game of Chess (1624) in which play the form veils the import. His subsequent energies are devoted to masque and entertainments suitable for the Lord Mayor's pageants, and containing sundry topical and realistic allusions. The realistic period of Middleton's career is 1600 to 1614, with a slight recrudescence from 1623 onwards.

Marston's first plays of importance are Antonio and Mellida and Antonio's Revenge (1602), both written under strong Shakespearian influence; one is a tragic-comedy of the As You Like It type, and the other is a Senecan tragedy of revenge. But his later works such as, The Fawn (1605), his share in Eastward Hoe! (1605) and The Dutch Courtesan (1607) are satiric and realistic even

1. Date of Composition, see Bullen.
while the plot may be of a romantic character.

Dekker in 1599 produced *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, one of the most delightful of all citizen comedies. His dramatic development is difficult to follow, because he combines so many different kinds of drama in one short play. But while in some instances the plot is romantic, there are realistic features in all. To mention some examples: *Old Fortunatus* (1596 onwards) Match me in London (1612-13), the citizen and booth scenes even *The Whore of Babylon*, in Plain-dealing's account of life at ordinaries; *If this Be Not A Good Play, The Devil Is In It* (1611), where Barterville holds two gentlemen's mortgages, &c. Whereas *Northward Hoe!* (1605/6(c)), *Westward Hoe!* (1604 acted) and *The Honest Whore* (1604) are definitely realistic in subject and treatment.

Heywood presents somewhat of a problem, because there is so little certainty regarding the authenticity of the works attributed to him at various times, and regarding their dates. He appears to have tried all varieties of Elizabethan drama, and among them, naturally, realistic drama generally and citizen comedy. Taking the dates given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* we find that

   (Columbia University Press, New York 1911.)
until 1602 he was engaged on slight domestic (?) comedies with catch phrases as titles such as \textit{War Without Blows} (1598), \textit{Joan as Good as my Lady} (1599), \textit{The Blind eat many a Fly} (1602), \textit{Like quits Like} (1602), &c. These plays are mostly lost and their theme is consequently a matter for conjecture. Of the plays which remain, the majority of those written between 1600 and 1607 are realistic and contain a fair amount of citizen comedy. They include \textit{A Woman Killed with Kindness}, (acted in 1603), \textit{The Fair Maid of the Exchange} (published 1607), \textit{Edward IV}, two parts (editions in 1600), and \textit{If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody} or \textit{The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth's Reign} (1605). \textit{A Woman Killed with Kindness} is a tragedy, but written in the citizen spirit. \textit{The Fair Maid} is a real citizen comedy. In \textit{Edward IV}, the position of the subjects, and in particular the citizens of London, forms an important part of the plot. The first part of \textit{If You Know Not Me, &c.} is chaotic but the second part, to which the title \textit{With the Building of the Royal Exchange} is added, is almost wholly concerned with the citizens and their ventures. Then follows a period when realism is in very small proportion and romance strongly predominates, as in \textit{The Fair Maid of the West}, or \textit{A Girl Worth Gold} (1617), &c. Still later, realism has a temporary recovery in \textit{A Maidenhead Well lost} (1634) and
The Wise Woman of Hogsden (1638). Heywood's two realistic periods are, therefore, 1597 to 1607 and 1630 (c) to 1640 (c).

And what shall we say of the whole host of minor dramatists - the Days, the Porters, the Cookes, the Wentworth Smiths, the Haughtons, the Chettles and the Rowleys? The titles of their dramas alone are indicative of the fact that realistic drama was not disregarded by them. The example of Ben Jonson may have been a potent influence, for while many of them wrote romantic comedies in 1597-98 (see Henslowe's Diary) by 1599 they had already produced and continued for some time to produce realistic drama with a citizen flavour.

The anonymous plays of the same date point in the same direction. Many of them are well known and excellent examples of their kind. Those which have realistic and citizen tendencies in marked degree are The Yorkshire Tragedy (1608), Arden of Feversham (1594), The Puritan, or The Widow of Watling Street (1607 published)

1. Everyman in his Humour, dated 1598; Everyman out of his Humour, 1599. Tucker Brooke makes the influence of Ben Jonson paramount. In reference to the changes of scene in Everyman in his Humour: - "Realistic comedy became an independent type when it restricted itself to the neighbourhood of contemporary London and thus defeated the impulse to romantic contamination." pp.406-7.

* Ben did in Everyman in his Humour 2nd edition.
also *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypol* (1600), *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1601), *The London Prodigal* (1603), *Wily Beguiled* (edition 1606), *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609) and *the Honest Lawyer* (1616).

The later history of the drama should also be considered. It is usual to regard the appearance of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher as a turning point in the history of English drama, and to a certain extent this is the case. For just about the time that they began to write for the stage a change in theme and treatment of plays is noticeable. The gaiety of the early Elizabethan drama is irretrievably lost, the fire and gloom of the tragedies of the first few years of the century have spent themselves, the calm detachment which had produced citizen comedy had run its course, and now a change was necessary. Beaumont and Fletcher were among the first to adopt a change of theme and treatment, and consequently, they are regarded, rightly or wrongly, as the authors thereof.

The career of Beaumont and Fletcher and their work both conjointly and individually have likewise been the subject of much investigation. To their influence has been traced, with a certain amount of justice, the growing popularity of hectic romance and tragi-comedy. Of undiluted realism they have nothing except in satire, as in *The
Knight of the Burning Pestle (1613); but even in heightened romance realism finds a place. The citizen and gipsy element in Beggars' Bush (1622) illustrate this, and examples might easily be multiplied. Wit Without Money (1614) indicates a direction in which comedy might develop, and ultimately did do so, - the comedy of manners.

Some of Massinger's comedies show that, just as when the sun undergoes an eclipse its power is not extinguished, so too realism temporarily eclipsed by romance, had still considerable force. A New Way to Pay old Debts (acted before 1626, printed 1633) and the City Madam (1632) hark back to the older type of realistic comedy, and particularly the latter play to citizen comedy. His other work, such as The Virgin Martyr (1622) or earlier) The Duke of Milan (1623 quarto), The Bondman (performed on 3rd December 1623), The Renegado (performed on 17th April 1624) &c. which is mostly comedy or tragi-comedy is predominantly romantic, tempered by an ethical bias.

Shirley also shows that realism had not died out, for although his earlier works from 1625 to 1631 are mostly of the romantic comedy or tragi-comedy type - to mention a few examples, The Maid's Revenge (1626), The Wedding (1626), The Brothers (1626) Love's Cruelty (1631). The Comedies of his middle period (1632-1635 approximately) are mostly of the comedy of manners type, to which realism,
which is not necessarily equivalent to low-life, though the two often go together and are consequently confused is essential. Such are Hyde Park (1632), The Gamester (1633), and The Lady of Pleasure (1635).

Brome, Glaphthorne, Shackerly Marmion, Nabbes, and others who flourished principally from 1629 to 1642 all prove by the type of play they composed that there was a marked recrudescence of realism in the drama within that period. Often comedies were noticeably citizen in character and, if not, they were realistic comedies of intrigue where "gulling" plays an important part.

What then is the conclusion of the matter so far as


2. Of Glaphthorne's nine plays two are citizen comedies: The Hollander (written 1625) and Wit in a Constable (written 1639).

3. Shackerly Marmion wrote four plays three of which have come down to us. They are all realistic dramas of the citizen comedy type - Holland's Leaguer (1632) A Fine Companion (1633) and The Antiquary (acted before 12th May 1636) The Crafty Merchant, or The Soul'die'd Citizen was destroyed by Warburton's book, but its title would lead one to conjecture that it, too, was a citizen comedy with an admixture of "gulling".
a study of the play lists and the written work of the
dramatists can give us one? There are two strongly
marked periods of realism in Elizabethan drama in which
not a few of the examples are citizen comedy in character.
These periods are approximately from 1598 to 1610 (or
even 1614) and from 1629 to 1642, though there are many
examples outside these dates, a fact which would almost
lead us to conclude that realism the Elizabethan dramatists
had always with them, although on certain occasions they
took a peculiar delight in exploiting it.

It is now fitting to discuss the probable reasons
for so much activity in realism, so far as the drama is
concerned. Is it an isolated development or has it a
parallel in the history of other literary kinds? Once
more the Stationers' Register as well as the authentic
dates of all the works of well known authors gives us an
answer. We call the following from the Stationers' Register:-

4. Thomas Nabbes has left behind five plays, of
which Covent Garden (acted January 1633) and
Totenham Court (acted 1633) are realistic.

* Romantic comedy. A proportion
   of 4 romantic comedies to 11 others.
(4. 23.)
Bunjke Satires;" on "27 Maij Metemorphesis, Pigmalion's Image and Satyres (Marston); on "8 Septembris Scourge of Vilany, (three books of satyres) ..."; on "15 Septembris", - all in 1598 - "Epigrams and satyres"; on "14 Augustij 1601, The whippinge of the Satyres" and on "6 Novembris 1601 The whipper of the Satyres his penaunce..."

Between 1593 and 1599 Donne, Lodge, Hall, Marston, as we know from histories of their life and work, were all engaged in writing satires which were, for the most part, collected and published during the same period. These show a rebound from the medieval, idealistic way of writing about types of people. While, no doubt, some of the writers, notably Donne, found a strong inspiration in the classics, yet their work in the main is not mere imitation, but demonstrates with almost photographic exactitude the pretensions and foibles of the individual Elizabethan courtier, poet, lawyer, and court lady, thereby giving another manifestation of the Elizabethan genius for realism. In 1599 by order of Whitgift existing satires were burned and none after were to be published. We know that Withers began to write satires on Whitgift's death in 1613.

That satire did not die out we have proof from The Stationers

1. See, Ph, Sheavyn: The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age. P. 49.
Register. For instance there are the following entries:

"2 4 maij (1608) ... Epigrams and Satyres (R. Dyddleton)"
and "8 octobris 1610 .... The Scourage of Folly ...." and again, "8 maij 1621 New Epigrams having in their Company a mad Satire (Joseph Martin) ...." Thus there are two periods when satire was frequently practised, 1593-1599 and the second which is less clearly defined, but it is, roughly speaking, from 1608-1621.

Not only do the satirists show this realistic turn, but also the "coney-catching" pamphlets of Greene and Nashe (1591-1592), and the continuation of the same type of literature by Dekker and others (1607 c.-1610 c.) illustrate a strongly marked interest in the shifts and wiles practised by the lower orders and their betters in rank. To mention a few examples, In 1591 was published "A Notable Discovery of Coosenage now daily practised by sundry lewd persons called Connie Catchers and Crossebiters", also "The Second Part of Conny-catching containying the discovery of certaine wondrous coosenages either super- ficially past over or utterlie untaught in the first". In 1592 we have "The Third and last Part of Connie-catch- ing, with the new devised knavish Act of Foorle-taking", and other two pamphlets of a similar kind. These are all written by Greene, and provoked, in addition to a gang of
people thirsting for his life, some written replies, as "the Defence of Conye Catchings" mentioned in the Stationers' Register on 21st. April 1592. At a later date Dekker's prose takes up the same theme, "The Belman of London", bringing to light the most notorious villainies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Households and all sorts of servants, to marke, and delightful for all men to Reade. Lege, Perlege, Relege ... 1608". Lanthorne and Candlelight, (or the Bellman's second Nights walke) is entered in the Stationers' Register on 25th. October 1598, and an answer to it Martyn Marke All 1 His Defence is entered under date 31st. March 1610; This was a feature of the life of the times which exercised a peculiar fascination for Middleton who makes use of his knowledge in this direction in several of his plays, for instance, Your Five Gallants (licensed for printing on 22nd March 1608) gives an account of part of the career of five different kinds of cheaters; Michaelmas Term gives the history of the gulling of the simple countryman; and the Roaring Girl, or Moll Cut-Purse, by "T. Middleton and T. Dekkar" of which there is an edition in 1611, gives, besides cheats and wiles, a great deal of the cant terms

1. cf. Also Dekkar: The Guls Horn-Booke.
employed by the vagabonds of the age.

Differing in kind, but in some instances none the less, markedly realistic, are the essays of the character writers, Hall, Overbury, Breton, Earle, and others between 1608 (c.) and 1628 (c.). They give short analytical studies of the various types, the raw young preachers, the milkmaids, &c. Although by some writers undue attention was paid to style so that neat, antithetic statements were eagerly sought after even at the expense of truth, yet, with sharp, clear strokes of the pen as in an etching, the characters stand out realistically before us. This is a somewhat later development than that of satire or pamphlet, but it helps to show that not only did drama, but other literary forms as well, pass through periods


2. Thomas Overbury: "Wife now the widow of Sir Thomas Overbury, being a most exquisite and singular poem of the Choice of a Wife, whereunto are added many witty characters" 1614. 3rd impression contained "addition of sundry other new characters ..." 4th impression (1614, 4 to.) contained thirty characters.

3. Nicholas Breton: The Good and the Bad. (editions 1614 or 1616) arranged parallelly with an example of the good and the bad type alternately. e.g. "A Worthy King", "An Unworthy King"; "A Nobleman", "An Unnobleman"; "A Worthy Bishop, and Unworthy Bishop"

of realism, and that these periods roughly coincide with, or merge into each other.

What is the reason for this prevalence of realism throughout Elizabethan drama? And what can account for its especial predominance in many branches of literature at certain clearly defined periods? These are the questions which we must set ourselves to answer. As in the biological world one looks to heredity and environment to afford the explanation of a phenomenon, so, here too we take up the same line of investigation, and seek the causes in the previous history of the drama and in the circumstances which surrounded its florescence in drama and in Elizabethan literature generally. In tracing the history of English drama we shall not be giving any new theory, but merely emphasising that which seems from our reading of the plays to be the truest interpretation of the case.

1

English drama begins with the miracle plays which developed out of the liturgical service of the Church. They gradually became secularized, and control of their production, and probably the composition of the text - for questions of authorship are largely matters of conjecture -

1. For this sketch Gayley's Representative English Comedies, and Tucker Brooke's The Tudor Drama proved exceedingly helpful.
passed from the clergy to the trade guilds. If we are to judge from such specimens of the miracles as have survived we find that not only have we the sentimental, pathetic and idealistic note as in the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, the dramatic version of the *Holy Innocents*, and the *Mary* plays, but also that humour and realism are in evidence as in some versions of the *Noah's Ark* story, *The Second Shepherd's Play*, the *Mary Magdalene*, and the treatment of Herod generally. The simple scriptural, or apocryphal story became embroidered with details drawn from daily life - details which because of their realism rendered the piquancy of the scene more intense, and the homely moral more emphatic. There is, for example, no scriptural warrant for the *Noah's wife* episode, yet dramatically considered her presence gives movement and spirit to the miracle. She presages the translation of the stock figure of medieval literature, the shrewish wife, into drama, and is the fore-runner of the Mistress Merrythoughts, the Margery Eyres, the Chloes and the Mistress Frugals of Elizabethan drama. Similarly the Herod plays represent Herod as a swagger, a ranter and a bully - a second favourite Elizabethan type. Thersites, Ralph Roister Doister, Bobadil and Tucca come to mind immediately, as well as numerous paler imitations.
What is true of the miracle plays is equally true of the moralities though, in the very nature of the case, realism here is a less important feature, at least in the early stages. The morality sought to teach a lesson by the presentation of figures representing abstractions such as Mankind, or Diligence, or Freewill, and as each personification encountered his or her counterpart, realistic scenes were almost impossible in these spiritual combats in which all worldly considerations were removed. Moralities are to the modern mind more tedious than miracle plays, and it is only as the former become less wholly abstract and take on some of the fun and humour of the interlude (now, that is, from about 1500 onwards, coming into its own,) that we find realistic scenes once more. These are mostly tavern scenes and the like, but they play quite an important part in the temporary revival of the morality in 1560 (c.) - 1570 (c.) seen in such works as Misogonos, The Disobedient Child, Nice Wanton &c. These plays are mostly a revamping of the prodigal son motif, in which, though we never lose sight of the didactic purpose, there is an evident artistic delight in emphasising the realistic tavern scenes, perhaps for their very coarseness.

Interludes show a breaking away from the stories of
the Bible, or of the lives of saints and from a treatment of moral abstractions. They continue, in many instances, the tradition of realism. Johan Johan (to which the date 1533/4 has been given) for instance, gives us a typical Elizabethan - and for that matter medieval and modern - situation in the treatment of the hen-pecked husband by the shrewish wife. (Noah and his wife again!) Interludes and moralities, died a slow death, lingering on until the days when Shakespeare was beginning to write his plays, and it is often difficult to say definitely whether a certain play is an attenuated survival of the morality, or a comedy in which the didactic element is too pronounced. This difficulty is found, for instance, in classifying The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (possibly written 1588) and A Lookinge Glass for London and England (1592).

Thus we see that from the early drama we have already many suggestions for an appropriate and artistic use of realism giving foretastes of favorite scenes - dicing or drinking in ordinaries, and the like - and foreshadowing characters, such as the henpecked husband, the shrewish wife, the rake who later reforms, etc., of which the Elizabethan dramatists when writing in the realistic vein will certainly make use.

1. Cambridge History of English Literature, V.
With the renewed interest in the classics in the sixteenth century came an interest in the plays of the old writers, and many schools produced the works of Seneca, or Plautus and Terence in the original Latin or in translation. In short in learned circles from 1560 (C) the old Latin writers of drama served as a model for parallel experiments in English. And these experiments gradually permeated through to all ranks of society. What then, are the characteristics of Latin Comedy which left a permanent mark on Elizabethan comedy? The plot usually consisted of the outwitting of elderly parents by the youthful lovers and their nimbler witted servants. Such, for instance, is the plot of The Bugbears (1564 or 1565). In short, gulling was the main theme as it is of many Elizabethan comedies. No attempt was made to make the affair too romantic - the Latin writers specialized on the realistic elements of the case, emphasising the humour of the outwitted parents and clever servants rather than the romance of the lovers. The characters became stereotyped, and can be aptly summed up.

1. In the Stationers' Register we find the following results:-

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<tr>
<td>81-85</td>
<td>3 : 3</td>
<td>6 or 10</td>
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"Several"

The first column under tragedy &c. indicates all mentions - the second Latin plays only. Similarly with comedy.

39.
"Ardentes juvenes, raptasque in amore puellas,
Elusosque senes, agilesque per omnia servos."

Thus paraphrased by Ward:-

"Young men in love the livelong day;
Young girls with whom they run away;
With guardians or parents old,
Of tricks with victims manifold;
And slaves for ever on the wing,
Who deftly manage everything." 1.

Now all this was easy to transfer to English comedy. Ralph Roister Doister already indicates how these features could be assimilated. The future course of Elizabethan comedy is a development along the line of approximating the distinguishing features of the early popular drama to those that are characteristic of Latin comedy. There are however two exceptions to this generalization. From 1580 (c.) - 1595 and even 1598 Italian romances furnished exciting stories of which the University Wits made use in their dramas and Shakespeare also in his early period. In plays of this period sympathy is concentrated on the lovers and there is but little place for criticism and satire. The second exception is during the period 1610 (c.) - 1620 when there is a notable revival of romantic drama. Early native drama, and Latin comedy were by no means irreconcilable. In consequence it becomes increasingly difficult, and ultimately impossible, to distinguish what is due to

the one from what is due to the other source.

The presence of realism is thus accounted for by its origin, but its prevalence is not so easily explained. Here we touch on the psychological side. Our study becomes an investigation of the law of cause and effect, of sensation and reaction as it applies to drama, the author and the audience, and, in the various other branches of literature, to the genre, the author, and the reader.

Romantic drama had not infinite variety, and so both age and custom staled it. It had its vogue from 1580 to 1595 (approximately), and then people turned with interest to diet of an opposite kind. Realistic drama, as an alternative fare, became popular until the audiences were satisfied with that, likewise, and turned again to romance, or to tragedy of blood, as a welcome relief from the monotony of the plainer fare. And so on, in cyclic development, at least until the end of the period under investigation.

This affected author as well as audience. Similarly with the next factor which we are to consider. The faults inherent in romantic drama, inobtrusive as they were in the best examples, were so flagrant in those which are less praiseworthy, that the reasoning faculty was offended and the imagination overstrained. Sidney speaks of this at length in An Apologie for Poetrie:-
"Where you shall have Asia of the one side, and Affrick of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or els the tale will not be conceiued? Now ye shall have three ladies walke to gather flowers and then we must beleue the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we hear newes of shipwrecke in the same place, and then wee are to blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Upon the backe of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke and then the miserable beholders are bounde to take it for a Caeue. While in the meantime two Armies flye in, represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then what harde heart will not receive it for a pitched fielde? Now, of time they are much more liberall, for ordinary it is that two young Princes fall in loue. After many trauerces, she is got with childe, delivered of a faire boy; he is lost, growth a man, falls in loue, and is ready to get another child; and all this in two hours space;"

Ben Jonson was not uttering a mere personal cry when he wrote the Prologue to Every Man in his Humour (second edition):-

".......... The ill customs of the age, .......
To make a child now swaddled, to proceed
Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,
Past threescore years, or, with three rusty swords,
And help of some few foot and half foot words,
Fight over York and Lancastre's long jars,
And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scars.
He rather prays you will be pleased to see
One such, to-day as other plays should be;
Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,
Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please;
Nor nimble squib is seen to make afeard
The gentlewomen; nor roll'd bullet heard
To say, it thunders; nor temptuous drum
Rumbles, to tell you when the storm doth come; ...."

The desire to give accurate portraiture and to depict life

such as it really was, shorn of the tinsel trappings of romance, was strongly felt, and the realistic drama began to command the stage. To quote Ben Jonson again:

"Deeds, and language, such as men do use,
And persons such as comedy would choose,
When she would shew an image of the times,
And sport with human follies, not with crimes.
Except we make them such, by loving still
Our popular errors, when we know they're ill,
I mean such errors as you'll all confess
By laughing at them .........." - (ibidem).

Another result of this attempt to look beneath the surface of life was a strongly marked moral purpose on the part of the dramatists. Sidney believes in the didactic end of comedy.

"Comedy is an imitation of the common errors of our life, which here representeth in the most ridiculous and scornful sort that may be, so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one. Now, as in Geometry the oblique must bee knowne as well as the right, and in Arithmetick the odds as well as the even, so in the actions of our life who seeth not the filthines of euil wanteth a great foile to perceive the beauty of virtue. This doth the Comedy handle so in our primate and domestical matters, as with hearing it we get as it were an experience, what is to be looked for in a nigardly Demea, of a crafty Dauns, of a flattering Gnatho, of a vaine glorious Thraso, and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the Comedian. ... Nothing can more open his eyes then to finde his own actions contemptibly set forth." 1.

While the scenes of the dramatists are often coarse, they do not delight in the presentation of coarseness for

its own sake so much as for the warning such scenes provide. Marston's purpose in *The Dutch Courtesan* demonstrates this. "Fabulae Argumentum: The difference betwixt the love of a courtesan and a wife is the full scope of the play which intermixed with the deceits of a witty city jester fills up the comedy." With the moral end in view it was but natural that the dramatists should select one of the easy methods of exposing pretensions and vice, namely satire. It is the open and avowed method of many, and Ben Jonson makes reference to it in his numerous prologues:—

"...With an armed and resolved hand,  
I'll strip the ragged follies of the time  
Naked as at their birth.............  
..... They shall see the time's deformity  
Anatomised in every nerve, and sinew,  
With constant courage, and contempt of fear....  
..... My strict hand  
Was made to seize on vice, and with a grope  
Squeeze out the humour of such spongy souls,  
As lick up every idle vanity...........l.

and again:—

"..............Though this pen  
Did never aim to grieve, but better men;  
Howe'er the age he lives in doth endure  
The vices that she breeds, above their cure.  
But when the wholesome remedies are sweet,  
And when the working gain and profit meet;  
He hopes to find no spirit so much diseased,  
But will with such fair correctives be pleased:  
For here he doth not fear who can apply.

l. Ben Jonson: *Every Man out of his Humour.*  
Induction.
If there by any that will sit so nigh
Unto the stream, to look what it doth run,
They shall find things they'd think or wish were done;
They are so natural follies, but so shewn,
As even the doers may see, and yet not own:"

Realism is obviously the proper sphere for satire, for if satire were found in the realm of romance it would mean the showing up of all the incongruities and impossibilities of which we have hitherto been unaware. Satire applies the test of reason; in romance we should judge by the imagination alone.

Now in all the best and most typically English writers in our literature we find that realism and romance are never far asunder. Chaucer, for instance, illustrates this, in his manner of endowing the most general suggestions derived from medieval romance with concreteness, which gives to his works greater vividness and dramatic force than they would otherwise have possessed. The medieval convention was to describe persons by the qualities which they possessed, or in some ideal way, taking no note, as it were, of the moles on the cheek. But along side the generalizations Chaucer will place particular details, as in the following instances:

"But though this mayde tendre were of age,
Yet in the brest of hire virginitee
Their was enclosed rype and sad corage
And in great reverence and charitee
Hir olde, poure fader fostered shee; (This is general)
A fewe, Shepe, spynnynge, on feeld she kepeth
She wolde noght been ydel til she slepte. (General again)

And when she homward cam she wolde brynge
Wortes, or other herbes tymes ofte,
The whiche she shredde and seeth for hir lyvyng,
(General)
And made hir bed ful harde and no thyng softe; . . . .
(The particular)

And again in the following description of the "great
Emetreus":-

"A mantlelet upon his shulder hangynge,
Brat-ful of rubyes rede, as fyr sparklynge;
His crispe heer, lyk rynges was y-ronne,
And that was yelow, and glytered as the sonne,
His nose was heigh, his eyen bright citryn;
His lippes rounde, his colour was sangwyn; (All General)
A fewe frakenes" in his face y-spreyned,
Bitwixen yelow and somdel black y-meynd, (Particular)
And as a leoun he his lookyng caste....." 3.

Similarly with Shakespearto. Even in those plays where he
is most romantic he cannot entirely escape the claims of
the living, work-a-day world, and to this fact we attribute
part of the charm of his works. Take, for instance, A
Midsummer Night's Dream where the realism of Bottom and
the other "rude mechanicals" gives vitality to the airy
tale of the fairies and the romantic plot which presents
the uneven course of true love.

2. Freckles.
These considerations which we have just been discussing apply equally to the general sphere of literature. People, tired of the Euphuistic school, and the Arcadians, and romantic lovers generally sought other themes, and found them in descriptions of low life, of cheating and roguery, as did the pamphleteers, or they assumed the gown of the moralist and scourged the vices of the times, as did the satirists.

Thus we see that investigation of Elizabethan drama along the line of heredity shows that realism was a quality belonging to both parents, early native drama and Latin comedy. It is but natural, therefore, that in the child, that was to excel both parents in such an astonishing degree, realism should be quite an important feature. Again, we have shown that by the natural, psychological law of reaction applied to the literary sphere, realism was bound to have a period of development when romance was temporarily undergoing an eclipse. Moreover, the moral and satiric purpose of the dramatists made them seize on the opportunities for teaching and ridiculing afforded by a realistic representation of life. (This aspect will be dealt with in greater detail at a later stage, p. 44 ff.) And, once again, from the point of view of racial heredity, realism in our national literature
was no new development. As it is not, therefore, counter to the genius of the land, it may well be expected to flourish.

What then is the development of the realistic element in Elizabethan drama? When satire and the objective portrayal of the life of the lower orders had run their course under the practice and guidance of Ben Jonson and Middleton (1596-1614, approximately), there was little fresh material which could be treated satisfactorily, and consequently we have both of these repeated in various forms and combinations. The satire was usually directed against the foibles and pretensions of those who would be other than they really were. This naturally enough developed into an emphasis on manners. This style was adopted by Beaumont and Fletcher in some of their works, and more especially by Shirley in his realistic period. The manners of the courtiers, and court ladies, and those who would be regarded as such, as treated by Shirley in *The Gamester* (1633), *The Ball* (1632 ascribed to George Chapman and James Shirley in edition of 1639), *Hyde Park* (1632), and *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635), and the like, led by a very natural transition to the comedy of manners as we have it in Vanbrugh, Etheredge, and the other dramatists of the Restoration. On the other hand, the plays
of Middleton and his followers with their emphasis on trickery, the outwitting of the stupid dramatis personae, developed into a type of drama in which the importance of the "gulling" element was paramount. When the possibilities of the cheating of slow-witted country heirs were exhausted, the plot in which the youthful lovers successfully gull the elderly parents and lascivious old suitors assumed more importance. Gulling of this kind developed more and more into an exploitation of sex, (cf. The Parson's Wedding by Killigrew, 1632) which became one of the main, indeed almost the sole theme of Restoration comedy. In many ways, then, Restoration comedy is but the natural development of Elizabethan comedy with but a slight shifting of the emphasis. While, to judge from the strictly moral point of view, The Parson's Wedding is one of the most objectionable plays in the whole range of Elizabethan drama, and illustrates a tendency in that period which was then mostly kept within limits, and subordinated to some other interest, in the Restoration drama such a play would not have been abnormal for then the emphasis on sex was all-important. This brief sketch shows that realism became mannered and conventional. The repetition of the same types and the same plot grew monotonous. The Indian summer of
realistic comedy, though of long duration, cannot be accredited with any remarkably fine fruit. (though many are of fair proportion), and with none that has the freshness and originality of the products of its spring and early summer. Yet the crop is by no means negligible. Realistic drama, to change the metaphor, can hold its own throughout the closing years of the Elizabethan era. It was to its manifestations in gulling and city life that Restoration drama was to turn for some of its inspiration. Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia (1689) is very much akin to an Elizabethan of gulling comedy. The same dramatic personae occur. "...Eldest son, a country gull...a rascal in Whitefriars, who helps to undo young heirs...a decoy...a hypocritical fellow supplying heirs with money;...a block-headed bully; &c." This feature will be dealt with more adequately at a later stage. It is true that The Squire of Alsatia is not very like some other Restoration comedies that tend more to the comedy of manners. But had not they fore-runners also in Shirley's The Ball, and Hyde Park, &c., and other comedies of manners and gulling? In short it is apparent that from the realistic element in the later Elizabethan comedy came the germinal seed of at least some of the forms of Restoration drama.

1. cf. p. 34-141.
Thus far we have shown that in the Elizabethan period the drama was like a river midway on its course to the sea. It had tributary sources of considerable importance. Moreover it spread itself over so much territory that it can be seen as many smaller branches of which citizen comedy is one, which from time to time assumes greater importance in proportion to the other branches. In addition we have indicated what was to be the probable nature of its immediately future history. At another time we have investigated the phenomenon, not in such manner as to analyse its ingredients, so to say, but in order to seek some underlying cause for its existence. This we have found in the psychological law of reaction and in the general principles of heredity as applied to literary forms.
II. THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE
REALISTIC ELEMENT IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

A. THE NATURE OF THE REALISTIC ELEMENT.

As is already apparent from the previous section, romance and realism jostle close on each other's heels, and it is often quite impossible for the one to shake off the other completely, or, to change the metaphor, to prevent it from making excursions into those realms where it is literally trespassing. Consequently we find that the realistic element is diffused in varying degrees throughout all the drama of that age, in romances and tragedies as well as in those plays whose setting and plot are definitely realistic. In short the element is of two distinct kinds, first, that of "peaceful penetration", if we may use the term, where it plays a less important part and one which varies in significance, and second, that of complete predominance. Both of these will be investigated in turn.

In most instances of the first kind realism is introduced for the sake of vividness and concreteness. One or
two examples will illustrate sufficiently what is meant. Some are mere hints in passing, as is this passage from Antony and Cleopatra (v. ii 11. 207 ff.):-

Cleo: ........ Now Iras what thinkst thou? Thou an Egyptian puppet, shalt be shown In Rome, as well as I: mechanic slaves With greasy aprons, rules, and hammers, shall Uplift us to the view; in their thick breaths, Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclosed, And forced to drink their vapour.

Iras: The Gods forbid!

Cleo: Nay, 'tis most certain, Iras: saucy lictors Will catch at us, like strumpets; and scald rhymers Ballad us out o' tune: the quick comedians, Extemporally will stage us, and present Our Alexandrian revels; Antony Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness I' the posture of a whore ........ "

Shakespeare's crowd, whatever its supposed nationality, is in reality always composed of some London artificers such as he saw in his own day. In Coriolanus, and perhaps more obviously in Julius Ceasar, we have illustrations of this in his treatment of the crowds of citizens or commoners.

"Enter Flavius, Marullus, and certain Commoners.

Flav: Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home: Is this a holiday? what! know you not, Being mechanical, you ought not walk Upon a labouring day without the sign of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou.
First Com: Why, sir, a carpenter.

Mar: Where is thy leather apron and thy rule? What dost thou with thy best apparel on? You, sir, what trade are you?

Sec. Com: Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler.

Mar: But what trade art thou? Answer me directly.

Sec. Com: A trade, sir, that, I hope, I may use with a safe conscience; which is, indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles.

Mar: What trade, thou knave? thou naughty knave, what trade?

Sec. Com: Nay I beseech you, sir, be not out with me: yet, if you be out, sir, I can mend you.

Mar: What meanest thou by that? mend me, thou saucy fellow!

Sec. Com: Why, sir, cobble you.

Flav: Thou are a cobbler, art thou?

Sec. Com: Truly, sir, all that I live by is with the awl: I meddle with no tradesman's matters, nor women's matters, but with awl. I am indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes; when they are in great danger, I recover them. As proper men as ever tred neat's leather have gone upon my handiwork.

Flav: But wherefore art thou not in thy shop today? Why dost thou lead these men about the streets?

Sec. Com: Truly, sir, to wear out their shoes, to get myself into more work. But indeed, sir, we make holiday to see Caesar rejoice in his triumph ........." 1.

Again we remember that in the later history plays, notably in Henry IV. Parts I and II., Shakespeare developed the realistic side to such an extent, that is, the tavern and subsequent country life scenes with Falstaff, Nym, Bardolf, Justice Shallow and the recruits, Mistress Quickly, and Doll Tearsheet, that this element almost ousted the purely historical part of the play, even as regards the number of scenes, let alone the interest with which an audience would view them. In short, the subplot tended to become more important than the main one.

In proof of this statement it is only necessary to state that while in Part I. the dignified historical scenes are to the comic, realistic scenes in the proportion of two to one, in Part II. they are almost in equal proportion. In Shakespeare, then, we find that realism encroaches on the romantic, or other ground, now by mere passing allusions (as in the Antony and Cleopatra passages just quoted) which are arresting vivid by reason of their concreteness, now by the presence of a fickle mob bearing the characteristics of the London citizens (as in Julius Caesar or Coriolanus) and again, by the existence of whole subplots which have

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1. Henry IV. Part I. Historical scenes: - I. i, iii; II. ii; III. i ii; IV. i, iii, iv; V. i, ii, iii, iv. Realistic: - II. i, ii, iv (citizen) III. iii; IV. ii i. c. a proportion of 12 : 5.

Henry IV. Part II. Historical Scenes: - I. i, iii, II. III; III. i; IV. i, ii, iv, v; V. ii. Realistic: - I. ii (London); II. I. ii, iv; III. i, (Country) III. iii, iv. i.e. 9 : 8.
an extraordinary vitality, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, or *Henry IV.*, while *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is mostly realistic with romantic subplots.

Shakespeare is not alone in allowing his romantic plays to be penetrated peacefully by realism. Middleton, Dekker, Heywood, Beaumont and Fletcher, Brome, and others, to mention only a few instances, afford similar illustrations. And early drama abounds in plays which are a curious blending of the romantic with the realistic. In *The Phoenix*, one of Middleton's earliest works, although the main plot is romantic in character, the other parts of the story are almost all realistic, revealing many of the vices of the age in a kind of panoramic view. In consequence of this in the conclusion of the play we have not only the happy restoration of the Phoenix, the heir apparent, to his father, but also a vivid account of the miseries of a patient, tried wife, at the hands of her hot-tempered husband, the law's corruptions and delays, the infidelity of the jeweller's wife, and some kinds of highway robbery. So, too, in *The Spanish Gipsy* (1623-4, quarto 1653) which is a romantic tale of love and disguisings and happy discoveries, the use of cant terms and the slight sketch of gipsy life give a certain realistic turn to the setting of the whole play. In this respect Middleton's *Spanish Gipsy* bears a strong resemblance to
Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush* (1622) and Brome's *The Merry Beggars*, or *A Jovial Crew* (acted 1641, published 1652). *Beggars' Bush* is a typical, hectic romantic comedy bordering on tragi-comedy, presenting tyrannic usurpers, separated lovers, disguises and subsequent identifications. In this heavy, sultry atmosphere we have a happy beggars' camp where the members of the gang show themselves beggars by reason of their cheats as well as by their cant, and in addition we have the picture of happy and for the most part prosperous citizen's life (that is, merchant's life) which although centred in Bruges is obviously drawn from certain prototypes in London. *A Jovial Crew* has not nearly so many complications and gives us more of the real atmosphere which is found in the open and in fresh country lanes.

What is true of romantic comedy is also, though in less measure, true of tragedy. The cynical courtier who acts almost as a chorus in explaining the motives of other courtiers and decrying the weaknesses of women, is the realistic satirist of the piece. This is true, for instance, of Felice in *Antonio and Mellida* whose biting comments form a welcome artistic relief from the dreadful atmosphere of revenge and blood. Again, the nurse scenes in *'Tis Pity* (1633, printed) and *The Broken Heart*
(printed 1633), though no doubt a convention, provide the realistic and less edifying side of the picture. The _Two Lamentable Tragedies_ (1599) is a further rather curious example. It would appear as if the author, Robert Yarrington, could not decide that the Italian story of the orphans tragedy could stand alone - a story which is in many ways parallel to the fable of the Babes in The Wood - and so he coupled it with a plot which is domestic and crude, the tragedy of Thomas Merry, in which we have at the same time an accurate description of London life. These examples prove that realism penetrates tragedy. It is scarcely apposite to consider, though it is an undoubted factor in the case, the possible psychological value of such scenes in tragedy, and the artistic relief afforded by such scenes as the grave-digger scene in _Hamlet_ or the porter scene in _Macbeth_. Their traditional and continued vogue from the days of the miracle play and morality is sufficient proof of their being palatable to the public. And classical criticism had not been sufficient to oust them.

When we come to examine those dramas which are fully impregnated with the realistic element we find that these can be divided into certain types. There are, for instance, the citizen comedy class proper, the country

1. "Two Lamentable Tragedies - The one of the murther of Maister Beech, a chaundler in Thames-streets, and his boye, done by Thomas Merry. The other of a young childe murthered in a Wood by two Ruffins."
realism class, the class dealing with contemporary events which includes domestic tragedy, the type modelled for the greater part on Latin comedy, and that which makes a great deal of cheating and gulling. Here we must guard against a certain difficulty. Plays do not necessarily belong to one of these subdivisions solely, but may be a subtle mixture of two or more. Citizen comedy itself usually includes one or two motifs from the other classes.

The Merry Wives of Windsor (1598), The Shoemaker's Holiday (1599), Michaelmas Term (1599), Every Man in his Humour (1498) and many of Ben Jonson's comedies, Eastward Hoe! (1605), The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street, (1607), The Fair Maid of the Exchange, (1607), The City Madam (1632), The City Wit, (1633), The Sparagus Garden, (1635), are all citizen comedies, with many others, and to these we might also add The Second Part of If you Know not Me you Know Nobody, with the Building of the Royall Exchange (1605) and (1606) for the historical portion here is of minor importance. What is it that these have in common whereby to justify them being classed together? In general, they deal with the successful outcome of the

with the consent of his Uncle - of Tudor Facsimile Texts.

The Tragedie of Merrye by Haughton & Day; The Orphanes Tragedy by Chettle entered in Henslowe 1599. It may have been expedient to lengthen one or the other, and hence the blending of the two. But the fact of their blending is significant. Also note the blending of realism and romance in Patient Grisell (Chettle, Haughton & Dekker. 19th Dec, 1599 - so Henslowe)
citizen's business venture, the ambitions of his wife for herself and her children, the ambition or otherwise of the citizen's daughter in regard to marriage, the relations of the citizen class to the impecunious courtiers, to slow-witted country heirs, to 'prentices, and (superficially) their attitude to astrology and kindred pseudo-sciences and religion. The plays treat these questions with a certain austere dignity and quiet nobility such as is in keeping with the prosperity of the citizen himself. At a later stage we shall discuss how far this account of the citizen's life and of the characters which cross the stage give an accurate picture of the life of the times, and how far it is merely typical and conventional.

Similar in tone and style is the country realism class. Here the scene shifts from London to the country and, while we lose (naturally) all the problems of business and inter-class relationships, we have the compensation of the freshness of the country air. The examples are not numerous, but *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (1596-8), *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (acted 1603), *A New Way to Pay old Debts* (1626), *A Jovial Crew* (printed 1653) are notable, and would be outstanding in whatever class they were placed. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1604, or earlier) is too near akin to romance to be placed here, and, indeed, most Elizabethans found it difficult to
dissociate country life from romance. In this group the characteristics are much more divergent, and almost the sole features which the plays have in common are their local habitation, the restrained, dignified style in which they are written and the quiet, moral tone which obviously actuates the authors. It is a classification of convenience - negative rather than positive in signification - because the plays enumerated above, while definitely realistic in character, do not lend themselves to classification under any of the other headings which we have made.

The plays that deal with individual contemporary events, (that is, actual happenings, as opposed to typical pictures of contemporary life) are mostly tragedies. Certainly this is true of those which are extant. Ballads and pamphlets on "a certain unnatural murder, &c." entered in The Stationers' Register anything from a few days to a few months after the event were exceedingly popular, and ran through many modifications. The following extracts will illustrate:-

"xxviiij Junij (1592)

JOHN KYDDE Entered for his copy by warrant from master WATKINS a little books of The Judgement and execucion of John Parker, goldsmithe, and Anne Bruen for poysoning her late husband John Bruen goldsmith.......................... vjd.
primo die Julij

ABELL JEFFES Entered for his copie a ballad intituled the Lamentation of Agnes Bruen, &c.... vjd

There are further ballads on the same theme on July 10th and July 15th. Or again:

"29 Augusti (1594)

THOMAS MILLINGTON Entered for their Copie under THOMAS GOSSON Th(e h) hands of the Wardens a ballad entituled THOMAS DAWSON B(e)eches his ghosts complaininge on ye wefull murder committed on him and Thomas Winchester his servant.... vjd"

This murder was committed on August 23rd 1594, and there are further ballads on September 3rd, 7th, (2) and 9th. Many ballads of this kind were dramatized somewhat later. To this class belong the Tragedy of Merry or Thomas Merry Beech's Tragedy (21st November 1599), Arden of Feversham (1594), and A Yorkshire Tragedy, not so new as Lamentable and True (1608), also a Warning for Fayre Women (1599), "the most tragic and lamentable murther of Master George Sanders of London, Merchant, night Shooters' Hill; consented unto by his owne wife, and acted by Mr. Brown, Mrs. Drewry and Trusty Roger, Agents therein; with

1. Cf.p58. The two Lamentable Tragedies, and footnotes.
2. Murder committed 23rd April 1605. A pamphlet appeared on June 12th 1605, and a ballad in July of the same year.
their several Ends". These are sufficiently typical of this class, and indicate its nature and scope.

Of the class which modelled itself more particularly on the general plot afforded by Latin comedy, as has already been indicated on page 4, we have numerous examples:

1. A Woman will have her Will, or Englishmen for my Money (1598),
2. Greene's Tu Quoque, or the City Wit (1590),
3. The Wit of a Woman (published 1604),
4. Wily Beguiled (published 1606),
5. Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks (prior to 1611),
6. A Chaste Maid in Cheapside (1611 or 1613),
7. A Match at Midnight (1633),
8. A Fine Companion (1633),
9. Wit in a Constable (1639),
&c. are typical. In this group the main theme is some modification of the following. The parents have chosen an elderly, wealthy, but otherwise undesirable suitor for their daughter, or daughters. The daughters have other ideas on the subject, consequently there follows a large amount of intriguing and disguising until the youthful lovers are safely married, and subsequently invoke their parent's blessing, and sometimes a gift of money from the outwitted elderly suitor. It is, in effect, a revamping of the Jasper - Luce plot of The Knight of the Burning Pestle (1613). In all plays in this class the intrigue

is more important than the characterisation, and the emphasis is on the intrigue.

Similarly in the last class which calls for examination the emphasis is on plot rather than character. The motif here is taken from the "Coney-catching" pamphlet, and we have before our eyes practical demonstrations of cheating and gulling. Here Middleton is in his element, as well as the writers of some anonymous plays, and later in the century, Brome. The plays which exemplify what is meant by this classification are Your Five Gallants (entered for printing in 1608), parts of The Mayor of Quernborough (1599) A Mad World, my Master, (1608), The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street (1607 or earlier), The Honest Lawyer, (1616), Bartholomew Fair, (1614), The Court Beggar, (1632), The Wits, (1634), The Sparagus Garden (1635), The City Match (1639), The Ordinary (1651) &c. The central idea of all these plays is either the gulling of some poor unfortunate country heir ignorant of the ways of London in such a way that by losing money at cards and dice, to those who profess to teach him deportment as practiced by gallants he is ultimately rendered

penniless and forced to mortgage his lands to a usurious citizen who has had this end in view from the beginning. Or, it is an account of the actual snatching of articles, picking of pockets, and robbing by the highway while the victim's attention is directed to something else, or someone else by the decoy. Cleverness and ingenuity (misdirected though they be) prompted all those cheats in actual life and won their meed of admiration from the dramatists who gave lively presentations of them in their works. Nor did Shakespeare despise such a convenient dramatic motif. Autolycus in The Winter's Tale is an unforgettable example, bringing with him the salt of realism into that otherwise over-spiced romantic tragi-comedy. It is, therefore, but natural that this class of play should attain considerable popularity.

We have already referred (of Part 1. pp. 44) to the purpose of many of the different dramatists in writing realistic drama. Now, satire and didacticism as practised by the different exponents of realistic drama led to different results. In the case of Ben Jonson with his specialization on "humours" and pretensions generally, the satiric purpose manifested itself in a display of

1. e.g. The Sparagus Garden. Michaelmas Term, &c.
2. e.g. Your Five Gallants. The Puritan.

Bartholomew Fair, &c.
humours much exaggerated by moral and intellectual earnestness. This often leads the reader to conclude that Ben’s attitude is one of great superiority towards his one-sided and exaggerated dramatis personae. With him stupidity draws on its punishment. Middleton, on the other hand, was not so often satiric as didactic. (The Family of Love is satiric, but the method here, too, is that of the photographer, not that of the caricaturist.) His end is achieved not by over-emphasis but by the objective portrayal of characters and events, and though he does not condone the crime, we feel that the cleverness of the criminal has impressed him, and that he takes intellectual pleasure in the tricks wrought by his characters. On the whole Middleton’s morals are good, but in No Wit, No Help like a Woman’s (written 1613 (c), so Bullen) they are “wobbly”, thus foreshadowing the future history of this type of play. Those who followed Ben Jonson in depicting humours tended to fall into the fault of exaggeration. Brome, for instance, undoubtedly does so in The Antipodes (1638) in which we have a study of humours which became almost caricatures – Joyless displaying the jealousy humour, Letoy the love of display and of the drama, and Perigrine apparently crazed by a thwarted desire for travel. On the other hand, those who imitated Middleton in portraying
"gulling" were apt to be carried away by the trickery of the criminals to such an extent as almost to reverse the moral standards. An example will be found in William Cartwright's *New Ordinary* where the cheaters either get their desires (not their deserts), or else join in the hue and cry against themselves and are thus able to escape to America.

**B. THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE OF CITIZEN COMEDY.**

The majority of plays in which the realistic element predominates have a certain similarity and parallelism in the *dramatis personae*. We usually find a "Merchant" or a "Citizen", a "Gentleman" - usually the hero, a "decayed knight", a "country gull", prentices, the merchant's (or citizen's) wife and daughters, with frequently a "usurer", or a "lawyer", or a "doctor" in addition. How far do these in combination and individually give a true picture of the life of the times and of the people against whom one might have jostled in the narrow London streets had one lived in the days of Elizabeth or the first two Stuarts? Naturally the *metiers* represented in the lists
suggest a treatment of the relationships in which they are placed one to another. To begin with, the citizen (merchant or craftsman, whichever it may be) is the dominant personality and the play deals with the way he affects others and others affect him. The citizen as a rule belongs to one of two distinct classes, the honest and the dishonest. The dishonest class contains the more picturesque and more varied figures, and on that account we shall deal with it first.

The dishonest citizen is ready to take advantage of the ignorance of the young country heir, trying by fair means or foul - and he does not scruple to adopt foul means - to get access to his wealth. The following passage from one of the plays spoken by one of the dramatis personae describes the process very succinctly:

"Went; Nay, honest Frank, hast thou found a trick for him" (that is, the young heir) "if thou hast not, looke heres a line to direct thee. First draw him into bands for money, then to dice for it: Then take up stuffe at the Mercers, straight to a punke with it: Then mortgage his Lands, and be drunke with that: so with them and the rest, from an Ancient Gentleman, make him a young beggar." 1

1. See The Miseries of Inforst Mariage (Tudor Fasimile Texts) C Recto.
The dishonest citizen finds the temptation to get the better of a young country heir almost irresistible, and his 'prentices are usually in league with him. The goal for which the citizen strives is the possession of the gull's estate so that he may have land in the country to hand down to his heirs. Consequently by every means in the citizen's power the country gull is inveigled into losing money, first by gaming, next by borrowing, and finally by putting his hand to a bond, which when the day comes round he is unable to face, and he has to mortgage his land to the citizen, a situation for which the citizen has worked throughout. Such is the case of Quomodo and Easy in Michaelmas Term, Quomodo's myrmidons who frequent Paul's Walk see Easy and Quomodo marks him as his quarry. He is, in the first place, taken into an ordinary and induced to play dice at which he ultimately loses. The supposed Master Blastfield kindly lends him money (as it would not look well for Easy to appear to lack funds), but, having little loose money about him he has to send his boy to get a supply from Master Quomodo. Later Blastfield and Easy go to Quomodo's house to obtain more money. Quomodo has none with which he can furnish

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2. II. i. 1.72.
3. II. i. 11.73 ff.
them at the moment, and rather than that "he should be altogether destitute ....... he shall take up a commodity of cloth of me .......", To pay for this commodity Quomodo manipulates the situation so that Easy also is a partner to Blastfield's bond which is to be redeemed in a month's time. The cloth does not nearly realise the sum that Quomodo suggested that it should, and by the end of the month Blastfield has disappeared and Easy is arrested at Quomodo's suit. He is thus entrapped by the bond which he had signed "only for fashion's sake", and his estate virtually becomes Quomodo's. But Quomodo overreaches himself and in the end is gulled. The whole story is presented clearly, in great detail, and with evident appreciation of the tricks and cheats practised. Nor is this an isolated example. In one of the sections of Dekker's *If This is not a Good Play the Devil is in it* we are shown how Barterville has succeeded in having two gentlemen mortgage their lands to him. In the early stages of *The City Madam* (Massinger) Sir John Frugal is about to foreclose and obtain the lands of some impoverished creditors. Brome's *The Sparagus Garden* deals with a similar motif.

1. II, iii, 11.131 ff.
2. II, iii, 11.262 ff.
3. III, iii.
But there are other means whereby the dishonest citizen may come by the money of a wealthy country heir. The citizen is in many instances provided with a daughter, and without taking her feelings into consideration, he decides to make this desirable (if considered from the pecuniary point of view) match a reality, and is frequently all but successful. This, for instance, is the aim of Sir Lionel Rash in Greene's *Tu Quoque*, or *The City Gallant*, of Pisaro in *Englishmen for Money*, of the four fathers of the four girls in *The Wit of a Woman*, of Alderman Covet in *Wit in a Constable*, and there are similar plays.

While a citizen is thus scheming to line his own pockets, and to acquire an estate for his posterity, he has less time to watch all the customers to his booth, or visitors to his house, and in consequence, he is not infrequently made unhappy by the intrigues, or jealous of the supposed intrigues, of the "decayed knight" with his wife and daughter. This is true of Quomodo in *Michaelmas Term*, for his wife, on his supposed death, marries Easy, the former country gull, whom her husband had cheated. In general the husband is suspicious of the knight, and the knight, having spent all his money to obtain his knighthood - a great asset to him when he lives on his
wits — considers the citizen's money highly desirable. The atmosphere is one of mutual distrust.

And yet this is an over-statement; for many of the most notable characters in these plays are citizens, who proud of their business and their own integrity, despise pretensions in others, and aim at encouraging thrift and modesty in all those who come into contact with them, as do Touchstone in *Eastward Hoe!* and Frugal in *The City Madam* (1625). They are so well respected that as a rule their word is sufficient bond — though there may be exceptions — even when their business enterprises are exceedingly venturesome, as is the case with Sir Thomas Gresham in *The Building of the Royal Exchange*, Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*, and Florez in *The Beggars' Bush*.

Not only are worthy citizens represented for their business acumen but also for their moral integrity. They are, moreover, proud of their city, keenly interested in its government, positions of trust and honour in its government being considered a well-merited award of duties fulfilled. Simon Eyre, the jovial hero of *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, is a case in point. Both his wife and his
'prentices, as well as Simon himself, consider his elevation to the rank of Sheriff a great honour, the award of a just providence.

"Ralph: ....... I rejoice
To hear that God hath blest my master so
Since my departure.

Margery: Yea, truly Ralph, I thank my Maker....." (III.iv, 1291 ff.)

Similarly Touchstone is delighted at the promotion of his onetime 'prentice's rapid rise to be Master-Deputy.

(Loquitur Touchstone)

"...Tane into the livery of his company the first day of his freedom! Now (not a weeke maried), chosen commoner and aldermens deputie in a day!
Note but the reward of a thrifty course! ......."

1. In Dekker's Honest Whore Candido, the patient husband, is sorely tried by his shrewish wife. She has his cloak and hat removed so that he will either have to give up attendance at the meeting at which he is expected, or lose his temper, which she would fain have happen. In point of fact he does neither, but goes off to the meeting dressed as he is rather than not be present at the civic conclave.

In Brome's The City Wit the contrast between the honest and dishonest citizen is clearly shown by the

1. Eastward Hoe!, IV.ii. 11.62 ff.
presentation of the two extremes in the persons of Crasy and Linsey-Wolsey. Crasy has been honest and has failed in business. Linsey-Wolsey, on the other hand, has adopted the stock devices of an Elizabethan citizen—a dark shop, and a constant scarcity of money when people wish to borrow from him, which necessitates him either paying in commodities, or borrowing from a hypothetical friend of his, in such a manner that in either instance he will make very large gains. Pyannet, who is a shrew, says what is very germane to the matter we are discussing:

"Honest man! Who the Devil wish'd thee to be an honest man? ... Mr. Sneakup and I are come to live i' the City, and here we have lyen these three years; and what? for honesty? Honesty! what should we do with honesty; when 'tis enough to undo a whole Corporation? Why are your wares gumm'd; your shops dark; Your prizes writ in strange characters? What, for honesty, Honesty? Why is hard waxe called Merchants waxe; and is said sel'dome or never to be rip'd off, but it plucks the skin of a Lordship with it? what! for honesty? ....Dost thou think that our neighbour Master Linsey-Wolsey here, from the sonne of a Tripe-wife and a Rope-maker, could aspire to be an Alderman's Deputy; to be Worshipfull Master Linsey-Wolsey; venerable Master Linsey-Wolsey; to wear sattin sleeves and whip Beggars? And what? by honesty? ..... No, we look'd that thy Ware-house should have eaten up Castles, and that they for narrow walke, in a Jewellers' shop, a whole countrey should not have suffic'd theed".1.

There are indeed the two sides to the medal, the one nobly embossed by honesty and many other good qualities, the other debased by self-seeking and all forms of dishonesty. Were one side alone represented we should be

justified in saying that the dramatists have given us a very narrow, and even prejudiced picture of the citizen, but with both of them before our eyes, the one amplifying and correcting the other, we have a fairly clear picture of the citizen's life. The bustle of the booth scenes, the intercourse between master and 'prentice, (as in Eastward Hoe! and The Shoemaker's Holiday) the lively tavern, and ordinary scenes with games of cards and dice, (as in Michaelmas Term,) and the busy throng in Paul's Walk (as represented, for example, in Your Five Gallants,) have all the impress of reality, as if copied direct from contemporary life.

2. THE CITIZEN'S WIFE.

What is the dramatist's opinion of the citizen's wife so far as we can judge from the drama? Generally speaking, the wives are less significant than their husbands, and yet in some dramas they play an important part, not so much by virtue of their individuality as by the rôles they perform in the plot and subplot. It will be of considerable help in drawing our conclusions if we study the citizen's wives according to the type to which they belong; and a convenient basis for classification is the goodness and honesty as opposed to the ambition and subsequent dishonesty.
of the women. As is the case with the citizen, the examplars of the dishonest class are essentially more picturesque than those of the honest class. Once again we shall examine the dishonest division first.

The citizen, it will be remembered, was dishonest because thereby he could realise his ambitions to wealth and a country estate more easily. Ambition, likewise, was the besetting sin of the citizen's wife. At this time the relations between the court and the city were closer than they had ever been previously. Wealthy citizens were knighted, and as a result their wives became ladies and the envy of many a less fortunate (considered from the worldly point of view) citizen's wife. The latter not infrequently aped the manners of the court, and might to this end encourage the attentions of an adventurer knight, sometimes in quite a harmless way, and at other times with no good purpose in view. In all these cases the love of display was a guiding principle. If they themselves might not be received at court, then they could dress in the court fashion, and ride in coaches, and have gentlemen-ushers as their personal servants. This subject seemed to recommend itself to the dramatists and we have in consequence many examples of the ambitious wife. Mistress Touchstone and Lady Frugal are ambitious for their daughters rather
than for themselves, but the former had evidently wished her husband had been knighted in addition to having a "lady daughter". Following on Sir Petronel Flash's assertion that he is a knight, she says; "I, that he is a knight and so might you" (that is, her husband) "have been to, if you had beene ought else than an asse, as well as some of your neighbours. And I thought you would not ha beene knighted, as I am an honest woman, I would ha dub'd you myself. I praise God I have where withall". Both Mistress Touchstone and Lady Frugal encourage their daughters to aim high matrimonially, and to make demands in regard to coaches and servants.

Ben Jonson gives us several ambitious citizen's wives, Fallace the wife of Deliro, in *Every Man out of His Humour* is unduly interested in Fastidious Brisk, "merely because he is a courtier" and, as Ben puts it, "only wants the face to be dishonest". The Poetaster affords a second example in Chloe whose great desire is to be present at court. She seeks instructions of Cytheris, a court lady, "And how must one behave herself amongst 'em? You know all". Consequently she must have her muff and her dog, her fan and her mask too. Then when she is invited to court she is overjoyed. "Are we invited to court, sir?"
Tib: You are, lady, by the great princess Julia; who longs to greet you with any favours that may worthily make you an often courtier.

Chloe: In sincerity, I thank her, sir; you have a coach have you not?

Tib: The princess hath sent her own, lady.

Chloe: O Venus: that's well, I do long to ride in a coach most vehemently ..." 1.

Again, Pinnacia Stuff *(The New Inn)* is equally ambitious, although she does not long to go to court.

Her desires lead her to wear the new dresses made for the court-ladies by her husband. She is, of course, discovered doing so and, as a result, is greatly despised.

Ambition, when misdirected, ultimately leads to vice. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the morals of those who have allowed their ambition to master them, are slack and questionable. Fallace and Chloe are not above reproof in this respect. Middleton provides many examples of this type of frail and ambitious wife. In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* Mistress Allwit is the mistress of Sir Walter Whorehound, with the knowledge of her husband who enjoys the proceeds of this ill-gotten gain. Again, in *The Phoenix* we have another example. A jeweller's wife


2. No name is given either to her or the knight; evidently the name of the class to which each belongs is sufficient.
is quite willing to be played with by a knight; in fact, she takes him to her father's house as her brother-in-law. Still another example is to be found in Your Five Gallants. Mistress Newcut is the type of woman who delights to entertain strangers during her husband's absence. Brome also supplies us with an example in A Mad Couple Well-Matched. Alicia Saleware is a "light woman", as well as a scold, and has questionable dealings with both knights and lords.

A strong desire to have things done one's own way, and to "manage" people produced the type known as the scold. She is frequently met with in citizen comedy. At the beginning of The Shoemaker's Holiday, Dame Margery, Eyre's wife, appears to be somewhat given to this fault, but she is much harder on the journeyman than on her husband of whose success she is exceedingly proud. In the inner plot of The Knight of the Burning Pestle, Mistress Merrythought is undoubtedly a scold. Her husband's inconstant way of singing at all times exasperates her, and she usually plans to do the contrary to what he has done. She goes off to Waltham Forest with her favorite son, Michael, but the adventures there are none too pleasant, and they return to London. Then she tries to bully her husband into taking them back again, but he receives them with shut doors and a song. The situation is highly amusing.

79.
A somewhat parallel case occurs in Middleton's *Anything for a Quiet Life* where Mistress Water-Camlet, a perfect virago, leaves her husband partly because she suspects his faithfulness. Her suspicions are groundless, and she is finally brought back to him by George, his apprentice, only when he assures her that his master is about to marry again, and she feels her right to scold is in danger! Candido's wife (*The Honest Whore*) has already been mentioned, (see P. 143) so there is no need to go into detail. She should, however, be remembered in this connection. Ben Jonson gives a small, but none-the-less striking picture of a scold in *The Silent Woman*. Otter, Daw and La-Foole are indulging in a drinking-bout when Otter gives vent to the following utterance:—

"Otter: A wife is a scurvy clogdogdo, an unlucky thing, a very foresaid bear whelp, without any good fashion or breeding, mala bestia.

Re-enter Truewit behind with Mrs. Otter." They remain unseen while Otter describes how his wife's beauty is in reality all artificial, until she can suffer it no longer.

"Mrs. Ott. (falls upon him and beats him) No, sir, I'll do you right with my quarters, with my quarters.

Ott. O, hold, good princess .......

Mrs. Ott. You notorious stinkardly bearward, does my breath smell?

80.
Ott. Under correction, dear princess. Look to my bear and my horse, gentlemen.

Mrs. Ott. Do I want teeth, and eyebrows, thou bull-dog?

Ott. No, I protest, under correction.

Mrs. Ott. Ay, now you are under correction you protest; but you did not protest before correction, sir. Thou Judas, to offer to betray thy princess! I'll make thee an example. (Beats him)"

On the other hand, there are citizen's wives whose innocence and dutifulness is in striking contrast to the failings of the less worthy members of the class. In all the instances that we are about to discuss the virtues are intrinsic and not adopted for mere expediency, and the virtues are not necessarily encouraged by their husbands. Celia in Volpone is a notable example. Corvino, her husband, is so keen to become heir to Volpone's great wealth that with this end in view he is quite ready to sacrifice his wife's honour. She, with calmness and dignity, refuses to be a partner in such a shameful transaction, and remains proof against the many intrigues that are made against her. In Middleton's plays we find some noble representatives of the class. Castiza, as her name implies, is the chaste wife, who has the misfortune...


81.
to be married to a captain of uncertain tongue and habits. It is not surprising that a courtier, Proditor by name, should try to undermine her loyalty, but he meets with no success. Again, in *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's Mistresses Low-water*, despite the grinding poverty against which she and her husband are labouring, remains irreproachable. She uses her cleverness to try and retrieve their fallen fortunes, and is successful. Similarly in the works of other dramatists the chaste wife is frequently found. In *The Honest Lawyer*, for instance, Vaster's wife follows her husband in his poverty and wanderings, even although he does not wish her presence. And when actually given by him to the owner of a house of ill-repute she retains her innocence, and warns the patrons against the consequence of their sin. Grace Seldom in *Amends for Ladies* is a slighter figure, merely suggested by Nathaniel Field. It is her beauty which brings so many gallants to Seldom's booth, a fact which he recognises, but his confidence in her virtue is not misplaced. A slight variant from the above examples is supplied in *The Building of the Royal Exchange*. There Lady Ramsey is interested in her husband's business and distressed by the long suit between him and Gresham which has begun to eat

away their resources. She makes the first attempt at a reconciliation, and, with the help of Nowell, Dean of Paul's, she is successful.

We do not find many references to the citizens' wives as housekeepers, but those that there are prove that they were excessively tidy and even house-proud. Two illustrations will suffice. In The Family of Love (Middleton) Geraldine enters to Mistress Glister in the guise of a porter.

"Mrs. G. ... Sirrah, you're a rascal to come thus boldly into my house with your dirty start ups; get you without doors, like a filthy fellow as you are; a place more fit for you.

Ger. O, good words, mistress! ....

Mrs. G. And what's your business here?

Ger. I have a letter, an't please you, to master doctor.

Mrs. G. From whence? (Taking the letter) ....... Leave your scraping, sirrah. Fie, how rank the knave smells of grease and taps-droppings! (Gerardine coughs and spits). What you are rheumatic too, with a vengeance!

Ger. Yes, indeed, mistress; though I be but a poor man, I have a spice of the gentleman in me; master doctor could smell it quickly, because he's a gentleman himself: I must to the diet, and that is tobacco at the ale-house; I use n'other physic for it.

* Start ups are clumsy shoes with high tops, worn by peasants.
Mrs. G. Did ever such a peasant defile my floor, or breathe near me! ..... What an imprudent rogue is this! Sirrah, begone, I say; I would be rid o' you.


Mistress Newcut by virtue of her pride in her house alone may be noticed in this connection. She likes to entertain gallants when her husband is at sea. She also lays great store by the correctness of her table appointments. The scene is a room in Mistress Newcut's house: Marmaduke laying the cloth for dinner. "Enter Mistress Newcut.

Mrs. N. Why, how now, sirrah? upon twelve of the clock, and not the cloth laid yet? Must we needs keep Exchange time still?

Marm. I am about it, forsooth.

Mrs. N. You're about it forsooth? you're still about many things, but you ne'er do one well.

Enter Bungler and Goldstone disguised, they are welcomed by Mistress Newcut, "Pray, gentlemen, sit awhile; your dinner shall come presently. (Exit) ... 

Gol. .... What a pretty jest I thought upon already to entertain time before dinner!

Bun. Prithee, coz. what is't? I love a jest a' life, i' faith.

Gol. You know my cousin will wonder when she comes in to see the cloth laid, and ne'er a salt upon the board.
Bun.  That's true, i' faith.

Gol.  Now will I stand a while out of sight with it, and give her humour play a little .... (Exit Goldstone with the saltcellar). .... (Re-enter Mistress Newcut).

Mrs. N.  I make you stay long for a bad dinner here, cousin: if master Goldstone were come, the meat's e'en ready.

Bun.  Some great business detains him, cousin; but he'll not be long now.

Mrs. N.  Why how now? cuds my life:-

Bun.  Why -

Mrs. N.  Was ever a mistress so plagued with a shuttle-headed servant - why Marmaduke! (Re-enter Marmaduke).

Marm.  I come, forsooth.

Mrs. N.  Able to shame me from generation to generation!

Marm.  Did you call, forsooth.

Mrs. N.  Come hither, forsooth; did you lay me this cloth?

Marm.  Yes forsooth.

Mrs. N.  Do you use to lay a cloth without, a salt, a salt, a salt, a salt, a salt, a salt!

Marm.  How many salts would you have? I'm sure I set the best' th' house upon the board.

Bun.  How cousin? (Sings) Cousin, cousin, did call, coz.?

Mrs. N.  Did you see a salt upon the board when you came in?

Bun.  Pooch!

85.
Mrs. N. Come, come, I thought as much: beshrew your fingers, where is't now? ....... O my bell-salt, O my great bell-salt!

(Re-enter Goldstone in his own dress.)

Bun. ....... O, here comes master Goldstone now, cousin: he may tell us some news on him. Did you not meet a fellow about door with a great silver salt under his arm?

Gol. No, sure; I met none such.

Mrs. N. Pardon me, sir, I forgot all this while to bid you welcome. I shall loathe this room for ever. Take hence the cloth, you unlucky maple-faced rascal. - Come you shall dine in my chamber."

(Your Five Gallants IV. vii.)

To conclude. While the dramatists give us a vital and robust citizen, they do not always impart the same vitality to his wife who may be a somewhat shadowy figure. One feels somehow that the noble wives are too inobtrusive, too slightly drawn, playing a necessary part rather than having a separate existence of their own. In some instances - the statement is extreme, but it is justifiable - such as Grace Seldom, or Castiza, they seem to be the personification of qualities rather than living beings. On the other hand, the scolds and ambitious wives have vigour and assertiveness, but their bitter tongue and
their aping of the court fashion are usually treated as "humours", that is something to be displayed, and either ridiculed or set on pillory. It is difficult to imagine their individual existence outside the plays. In short, in the drama the citizens' wives, though they have markedly Elizabethan traits, are on the whole less real persons than are the citizens.

3. **THE CITIZEN'S DAUGHTER(S).**

Along with his wife the citizen's daughter or daughters usually finds a place in the *dramatis personae* of citizen comedy, and she frequently plays an important part in the plot. On that account it is desirable that we should discuss the citizen's daughter as she appears in the drama. As is the case with the wives, so with the daughters it is easy to group the examples into various divisions - the ambitious, the dutiful, and (here the division has no parallel amongst the wives) the resourceful.

Ambitious daughters desire and seek by all the means in their power to obtain a wealthy husband who will be able to supply their numerous wants, which include coaches, servants, fans, dress, and all the supposed
necessities of a lady's ménage and wardrobe. Examples may be found very easily, as, for instance, in The City Madam, Eastward Hoe!, and The Puritan, or The Widow of Watling Street. In The City Madam we note how Anne and Mary Frugal, at the instigation of their mother and Stargaze, the astrologer, make excessive demands of their suitors, and they have to learn wisdom and humility by the hard way of suffering. Similarly in Eastward Hoe! Gertrude's desire to be "ladyfied" is her only thought, consequently Touchstone is moved to reprove her:—

"Touch. Fie! with more modestie.

Ger. Modestie: why, I am no citizen now, — modestie! Am I not to bee married? y'ere best to keepe me modest, now I am to be a ladie .... &c". 1.

She would fain get away from her humble origin, and, as that is impossible, she pours contempt on her father, and impresses her mother with her position. The following extracts will serve as illustrations.

"Touch. .... Ambition consumes itself with the very show, Worske upon that now. (Exeunt Touchstone, Golding and Mildred.)

Ger. Let him goe, let him goe, for Gods sake! let him make his 'prentise his sonne, for Gods sake! give away his daughter, for Gods sake, let's laugh at their good husbandry for Gods sake...." 2.

1. Eastward Hoe! I. ii. 11.87 ff.
2. " " III.iii. 11.171-179.
Gertrude exhibits here an hysterical temperament which she can seldom keep in control.) The following passage occurs earlier:-

"Ger. I, mother, I must bee a ladie tomorrow; and by your leave, mother (I speake it not without my dutie, but onely in the right of my husband), I must take the place of you, mother.

Mistress T. That you shall, lady-daughter, and shall have a coach as well as I too.

Ger. Yes, mother. But by your leave, mother, (I speake it not without my dutie, but onely in my husbands right), my coach-horses must take the wall of your coach-horses.

Touch. Come, come, the day growes low: ..., and, sir, respect my daughter; shee has refus'd for you wealthy and honest matches, knowne good men, well monied, better traded, best reputed.

Ger. Boddy a truth; chittizens, chittizens! Sweet knight, as soone as ever we are married, take me to thy mercie out of this miserable chittic; presently carry mee out of the sent of New-castle coale, and the hearing of Boe-bell; I beseech thee down with me for Gods sake!"

In The Puritan the desire of Moll, the foolish daughter, to be married is positively ludicrous.

On the other hand dutiful daughters are those who seek by obedience to parents' desires and by the practice of meekness and the gentler virtues to lead a quiet

2. "They give the wall as the place of honour" - of Paul Hentzner Travels in England 1598. (Rye) quoted in Life in Shakespeare's England (J.D.Wilson) P.4 - Cambridge Univ. Press 1911.
existence. They are usually either prigs or rather anaemic creatures with little individuality of their own. In *Eastward Hoe!* for example, Mildred, Touchstone's second daughter is at first a prig, and later a more lovable being. Her unpretentiousness and contentment are rewarded by marriage with a citizen (once her father's apprentice) like-minded with herself. At the beginning of the play she is seen as a prig when she warns her sister against being too highly elated with her match with Sir Petronel Flash. Later in the play, however, we see her in a better light when she tries to persuade her father to have sympathy with Gertrude in her adversity, and to release Sir Petronel and the other offenders from the Counter. In Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* Phillis plays the title role. She is quite a simple girl whom everyone likes. Moreover, she has definite employment for she is apprenticed to a sempstress on the Exchange.

We now come to examine that class which at the outset we labelled conveniently "the resourceful". In some ways it is the largest class, and it is composed of those daughters whose fathers are elderly and have decided upon the husband they wish their daughters to marry without first taking their youth and natural predilections into
consideration. The girls desire to fend for themselves and are usually successful. In some instances, as for example, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and the Jasper-Luce plot of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the fathers are temporarily in the ascendent, and the young lovers have to resort to drastic methods of gulling, such as mock-funerals. In others, the old men have not even a short-lived triumph, and the gulling goes on apace. The gulling most frequently takes the form of disguising, and the girl elopes apparently with her father's choice, but in reality with her lover. After the marriage they return for his blessing which he always gives, and not infrequently the young couple obtain money (by another cheating device) from the old knight, or usurer, who was the father's original choice. Strange to say the daughters frequently go in groups of two, or three, or even four. In *Wit in a Constable*, written by Glapthorne in 1639, there are two girls, Clare and Grace, the niece and daughter of Alderman Covet. They are bold, fearless creatures (of the Fletcherian type), and not only do they gull Sir Timothy Shallowit and Jeremy Holdfast, but they also play tricks on their lovers Thorogood and Valentine, so that they too have to resort to gulling with the aid of Busy, the constable, before the usual happy dénouement ensues.
Greene's Tu Quoque; or The City Gallant gives us another brace of girls provided with suitors by their fathers and able to choose for themselves. The gulling of the unwanted suitors eventually brings to pass the desired marriages. A Women Will have her Will, or Englishmen for my Money, is an example where three sisters are in love with three different Englishmen, while Pisaro, their father wishes them to marry three foreign merchants. As is usually the case the girls are not slow to mark their disapproval of Pisaro's choice and the subsequent gulling is in the style of the domestic comedy of intrigue. The Wit of a Woman is in the same vein. The play gives us four girls, not sisters, but linked together because they are attending the same dame's school. Naturally there are four young lovers to correspond, each of them a brother to one of the girls. To make the symmetry complete the rich elderly suitors are the four fathers of the same sons and daughters. The girls are quick-witted enough to encourage the advances of the young (supposed) doctor, and (supposed) drawing, writing and dancing tutors, and at the same time to persuade the old men to aid and abet various secret marriages. The end is yet another of these happy dénouements.
What are we justified in concluding regarding the picture of citizens' daughters with which the dramatists provide us? The daughters are usually somewhat pale imitations of the citizen's wife. On the one hand their ambition does not drive them to such extremes of conduct as it does the older women, for however excessive the demands they make of their suitors they are not as a rule willing to achieve their ends by immoral means. And on the other hand, they are not so sorely driven and tempted as are the meek, patient wives, and consequently their goodness and virtue is by contrast less notable. This, however, does not apply to those daughters who take the management of their own affairs into their own hands. They possess the kind of spirit that overcomes all obstacles, a spirit which is not necessarily typical of citizens' daughters only; it belongs to the heroine of tragedy, or of romantic comedy also, only the application of the spirit varies. It would appear to be the case that where young women of resolution are required in drama, it is an accident of birth whether they are the daughters of a knight or of a citizen. When self-effacing or ambitious women are demanded by the plot, then of necessity they must be citizens' daughters; but such women are not given much individuality, and are
frequently mere "humour" studies.

4. 'PRENTICES.

Citizens with their wife, daughter(s), son(s), and 'prentices complete the citizen ménage. The sons may be summarily dismissed at this point because they readily fall into two other main divisions which will be discussed later - gallants, or gulls. The 'prentices, however, demand fuller treatment. As in other cases which we have examined grouping is a comparatively simple process. 'Prentices may be divided into three classes - the faithful, the ambitious and those who gull.

In The Shoemaker's Holiday we have a number of honest journeymen, lazy perhaps, but, none the less, careful workers. The journeymen are on terms of considerable equality with their master and mistress, so much so is this the case that they are usually successful in getting their own way. One of their number, Ralph, is pressed for service, and later returns from the wars lame and in distress about his wife of whom he can get no trace at first. But it is Roger and Firk, those who stay behind, who have the greater vitality, and who, together with Hans, the supposed Dutch journeyman, further Eyre's prosperity.
George, and the other 'prentices in The Honest Whore are very helpful servants, for they use their wits to prevent what may happen and speak saucily to those people who come to gull their master.

Ralph of The Knight of the Burning Pestle is another faithful attendant, but we do not see him at the discharge of his proper duty the crying "What d'ye lack"? at the grocer's booth. He is manifestly obedient, but not noticeably quick-witted.

There is also the class of ambitious 'prentices, who try to imitate the dress and behaviour of the swaggering gallant. In The City Madam Frugal's men, Goldwire and Tradewell, reveal to Luke, who worms their indiscretions out of them, their desire to live a gay life. He suggests to them how it may be done:

"Luke: .... Make bold with your Master's. As, for example, when his ships come home, And you take your receipts, as 'tis the fashion. For fifty bales of silk you may write forty; Or for so many pieces of cloth of bodkin, Tissue, gold, silver, velvets, satine, taffetas, A piece of each deducted from the gross Will ne'er be miss'd, a dash of a pen will do it."

Trade: Ay, but our fathers' bonds that lie in pawn For our honesteries, must pay for it.

Luke: A mere bugbear, Invented to fright children! ...." (II.i.)
This is the usual method by which 'prentices gain sufficient money to enable them to play the gallant, and to lend money to impecunious gamesters.

The New Academy, or The New Exchange (Brome) provides us with an example which is near akin to what we have just noticed in The City Madam. Cash is an ambitious 'prentice, roistering on the proceeds of his master's, Mitchil's money. Mitchil's half-brother, Strigood is aware of this, and so Cash is in his power, just as Goldwire and Tradewell are in Luke's. But from this point onwards the similarity ceases, and Cash of The New Academy takes on some of the characteristics of Jeremy in The City Wit. He watches carefully over the fortune of Joyce and Gabriella, his master's daughter and adopted daughter, interfering at the proper moment and helping them in every way, exactly as Jeremy does for his master.

Greene's Tu Quoqua, or The City Gallant gives a slight variant. Sir Lionel Rash has been successful in business, and can, in consequence, afford to purchase a knighthood and to retire from active work. He leaves the supervision of affairs to Spendall, who has been his 'prentice and journeyman. This is just such an opportunity as Spendall desires. He becomes prodigal in his expenditure, questionable in his conduct, and finally is
arrested for debt. Then he becomes a sadder and wiser man.

In *Eastward Hoe!* we have a striking contrast between a faithful and an ambitious 'prentice. Golding is the good servant who conscientiously fulfils his duty. A gay life has no attractions for him, and when his fellow-prentice, Quicksilver, passes him on his way to have what in modern slang we should call "a good time", or when he is drunk on the morning after Gertrude's wedding, Golding is not slow to reproach him with such transgressions of a 'prentice's duty. The result is that Golding is considered trustworthy by everyone. Touchstone gives him his freedom, and in a remarkably short space of time thereafter he becomes Master Deputy. The irony of fate is that he should have to sit in judgment on his one-time fellow-prentice, Quicksilver, whose gay ways lead him ultimately to the Counter. The following passage brings out clearly the contrasting tempers of the two 'prentices. Touchstone has just left the scene with this remark, "Goulding, my utmost care's for thee, and onely trust is in thee; looke to the shoppe. As for you, Maister Quicksilver, thinke of huskes, for thy course is running directly to the prodigalls hogs trough: husks, sra! Worke upon that now."
"Quick: Marry fough, goodman flat-cap! sfoot! tho I am a prentice, I can give armes; and my father's a justice a peace by discretion, and zbloud -

Gold: Fye, how you sweare!

Quick: Sfoote, I am a gentleman, and sweare by my pedegree. Gods my life! Sirrah Goulding, wilt be ruled by a foole? Turne good fellow, turn swaggers gallant, and let the welkin roare, and Erebus also" (and more play tags)...."lets be no longer fooles to this flat-cap, Touchstone.........

Gold: What would yee ha me doe?

Quick: Why, do nothing, be like a gentleman, be idle; the curse of man is labour..... wilt thou crie, "What ist you lack?" stand with a bare pate and drooping nose, under a wooden pent-house, and art a gentleman? (Then follow some opprobrious terms.)

Gold: Goe, ye are a prodigall coxcombe! I a cow-heards sonne, because I turne not drunken..... like thyself!" (A struggle ensues)..........
"Alas I behold thee with pity, not anger; thou common shot-clog, gull of all companies; mee thinkes I see thee already walking in Moores-fields without a cloake.....

Quick: Nay, slife! take this and take all; as I am a gentleman borne, Ile be drunke, grow valient, and beate thee.

Gold: Goe, thou most madly vaie, whom nothing can recover but that which reclaims atheists, and makes great persons sometimes religious calamite. As for my place and life, thus have I read:-

What ere some vainer youth may terme disgrace,
The gaine of honest pains is never base,
From trades, from artes, from valor, honor springs,
These three are founts of gentry, yea of kings:]

1. Eastward Hoe! 1.1 11. 121 ff.

98.
It is impossible to confine the third class, those who participate in gulling, to 'prentices, strictly so-called. Here those "agiles per omnia servos", a residuum from Latin comedy, play an important part. As a result the 'prentices, "men" and "boys", take on the characteristics of their double origin. Michaelmas Term gives us two "men", Shortyard and Falselight, the servants of Quomodo the woollen-draper, who assist him to gull Easy. First of all, one of them assumes the disguise of a supposed kinsman, Blastfield, whom Easy meets at a tavern, where he is inveigled into playing at cards and dice, and where he loses large sums of money. And so from one guise to another, such as, "substantial citizens", till the poor victim is entirely in Quomodo's clutches. The skill with which Shortyard and Falselight play their different roles is a characteristic which they have in common with all members of this class.

Middleton seems to be particularly happy in his sketches of such "men" - they are fearless and prepared for every emergency. Savour-wit in No Wit, No Help like a Woman's is exceedingly effective in that scene where Sir Oliver Twilight has begun to suspect the truth of his son's statements regarding the death of Lady Twilight, and the identity of Jane. He asks Savourwit for an explanation,
and the latter immediately rises to the occasion, talking to the child left by the Dutch seaman in gibberish, supposed to be Dutch, and interpreting the answers as he sees best. His success is such that Sir Oliver believes that the Dutchman is subject to temporary fits of madness, and is quite prepared to be undeceived again.

Falso, the false justice, in The Phoenix keeps three servants, Latronello, Fucato, and Furtiven who commit theft and high-way robbery. If they are caught red-handed it is an easy matter for him to conduct the trial in such a way that they can be acquitted.

Ben Jonson, also, portrays those clever parasites. Brainworm in Every Man in His Humour is a good example, for he makes use of many disguises, and meets with phenomenal success in all. Similarly, Mosca, in Volpone is always ready to help Volpone to gull his victims, and Mosca's quickness and adaptability greatly favour the prosecution of these devices. Ben's characters have a distinctly classical aura about them, while Middleton's have much more genuinely English traits.

An example of a different kind is found in The City Wit. In this play Jeremy is given his freedom by his master Crasy, the bankrupt goldsmith, because the latter is not able to keep a 'prentice any longer. Jeremy, however, belongs to the good and faithful class as well as to the
quick witted class, and by disguise and such like gulling devices, he helps his old master to obtain payment for what is really due to him, and then to become a substantial citizen again. To what conclusion, then, can we come regarding the picture of 'prentice life with which the dramatists present us? The faithful, "what-d'ye-lack" type of 'prentice, though he contributes only very slightly to the general progress of the plot, makes the scenes in which he occurs lifelike, giving them the stamp of reality. The ambitious 'prentices are still more vividly drawn, and their performances are not repeated so frequently as to make either them or their doings monotonous. The third class has many fewer definitely Elizabethan traits, owing to its origin in Latin comedy. In short, the picture is now very true to life, and now conventional, according to the nature of the plot as a whole and the inclination of the individual dramatist.

5. KNIGHTS AND GALLANTS.

The term a "decay'd knight" occurs so frequently among the "dramatis personae" of Elizabethan realistic comedy that it is fitting we should investigate the type of knight which the drama depicts. It should be noted at the very outset that in citizen comedy in particular it is not the
knight quä knight that is depicted, but the knight in his relations to the citizen and his household. We shall consequently confine ourselves to this aspect of the question. It is further noteworthy that it is, for the most part, the less reputable members of the class that tread the stage of citizen comedy. They are usually either penniless, or old and licentious, and they may be both.

Penniless knights are those who have spent all their ready money in becoming knights - (the purchase of knight-hoods under James I. was notorious) - and who try to retrieve their fallen fortunes by obtaining money from citizens. This can be brought about easily by courting the citizen's daughter. Sir Petronel Flash in Eastward Hoe! affords an example. He is one of James's "thirty pound knights" and a wooer of Gertrude's wealth as well. "One that married a daughter of mine, ladefield her, turned two-thousand pounds worth of good land of hers into cash within the first weeke, bought her a new gowne and coach, sent her to seeke her fortune by lande, whilst himselfe prepared for his fortune by sea..." His plans were frustrated.

Again, Sir Philip Lucklesse in The Northerne Lasse thirsts for money. He, however, does not seek it from the marriage-jointure of a rich citizen's daughter, but from a rich citizen's widow. And he openly avows his plan.
Middleton gives us numerous examples of knights who are old and licentious. They are uniformly despicable characters, whether they attempt to court a rich citizen's daughter in more or less honorable fashion, or whether they seek to undermine the fidelity of the citizen's wife. Of the former kind Sir Walter Whorehound (A Chaste Maid in Cheapside) is an example. He courts Moll Yellow-hammer with the approval of her parents, while at the same time he keeps Mistress Allwit (a citizen's wife) and a Welsh girl.

Sir Gilbert Lambstone of No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's belongs to the second class. He pursues Mistress Lowwater, hoping that on account of her poverty she will stoop to sin. At the same time he pays suit to Lady Goldenfleece, a rich widow.

In The Phoenix we have a double example, Proditor, a nobleman, assails Castiza but without success. On the other hand, the "knight" receives every encouragement from the "jeweller's wife".

Other dramatists do not draw quite such an unfavourable picture of the old knight as does Middleton. With them the knight's licentiousness is not so much a moral failing as a "humour", and in consequence we have only a single relationship recounted, not a double one as is the case in the last two examples. For instance, Sir Ferdinand in
The Court Beggar (Brome) is described as "a knight distracted for love of Lady Strangelove". His distraction amounts to madness, but in the end he recovers his emotional balance and marries Lady Strangelove. Or again there is the case of Sir Oliver Smallshanks in Ram Alley. He is depicted as a timid, dottering old man, who is easily outfaced, and just as easily gulled, when courting Widow Taffeta.

In realistic comedy there occur several examples of knights who are not much involved by any entanglements with the citizen class. Of these we may have both reputable and disreputable examples. Some, for instance are proud of their possessions, and exceedingly hospitable, as is Sir Bounteous Progress in *A Mad World*, my Masters. (Loquitur Sir Bounteous Progress): "You must pardon, my lord, hasty cates; your honour has had e'en a hunting-meal on't; and now I'm like to bring your lordship to as mean a lodging; a hard down bed, i' faith my lord, poor cambric sheets, and a cloth a' tissue canopy; the curtains indeed were wrought in Venice, with the story of the Prodigal Child in silk and gold; only the swine are left out, my Lord, for spoiling of the curtains........."1. He is thus described by his grandson, "He keeps a house like his name, bounteous, open for all comers"...... He stands much

upon the glory of his compliment, variety of entertainment together with the largeness of his kitchen, longitude of his buttery, and fecundity of his larder; and thinks himself never happier than when some stiff lord, or great countess alights to make light of his dishes," This is a genial portrait. On the other hand Ben Jonson is not nearly so kindly in his picture of Sir Epicure Mammon, whose motives are cupidity and sensuousness. In other plays by Ben we have knights anxious to show off their knowledge of politics or of other countries, such as Sir Politic-Would-Be in Volpone, or Sir Glorious Tiptoe, a self-considered authority on Spain. Sir Politic-would-be is extraordinarily interested in plots and supposed plots, consequently, if any piece of news is reported to him he construes it as a deep-laid scheme, never sifting the evidence first to see whether it be true or false. Sir Glorious Tiptoe is thus described:— "A Knight, and Colonel, hath the luck to think well of himself, without a rival, talks gloriously of anything, but very seldom is in the right...." According to him everything should be of the Spanish fashion, and when this is applied to trivial matters, it makes his "humour" ridiculous.

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1. A Mad World, my Masters, I.i. 11.65 ff.
2. The Alchemist.
3. The New Inn. (Dram. Pers.)
Tip: I like the plot of your militia well. It is a fine militia, and well order'd, And the division's neat: 'twill be desired Only, the expressions were a little more Spanish; For there's the best militia of the world. To call them tertias — tertia of the kitchen, Tertia of the cellar, tertia of the chamber, And tertia of the stables........ As in the tertia of the kitchen, yourself, Being a person elegant in sauces, There to command, as prime maestro del campo, Chief master of the palate, for that tertia, Or the cook under you............"

What has been noted in connection with knights is almost equally applicable to the class of gallants. Gallants, naturally, have not required to invest money in a knighthood, but they are none-the-less frequently impecunious. They are as a rule youthful, and bring to their problems all the gay insouciance of youth. They are not wicked or depraved as are some of Middleton's knights, but they are mischievous, and sometimes cruel withal. Their dupes may be foolish young heirs and their own fathers, as well as citizens and their daughters. The gallants who seek to gull citizens form a class in some ways parallel to the class of citizens' daughters who outwit their parents. Such gallants are wooers of clever, wilful daughters, and have no very definite characteristics save an ability to bring their plans to a successful issue. Of this type are Harvey, Heigham, and Walgrave, the Englishmen of A Woman will have her Will or Englishmen for my Money, and the four youths of The Wit of a Woman.
So far the parallelism is complete, but the matter does not rest here. There are also gallants who seek to dupe both the citizen and his daughters merely seeking the marriage settlement. In most instances of this kind the daughter inherits the stupidity of her father, and fails to see that she is being imposed on. The gallant has, therefore, an easy road to success. The London Prodigal provides us with an example of this type of gallant in Flowerdale. By various devices he succeeds in marrying Luce, the daughter of Sir Launcelot; they are both deceived by him. When married he squanders Luce's money, and spurns her. In the end he is imprisoned for debt, after which follows the prodigal's repentance, and the usual reconciliation.

On the other, there is a very numerous class of gallants who set themselves out to gull those foolish young heirs who come up to town with their parent's money jingling in their pockets, and a desire to acquire the bearing of a gentleman and a courtier. To take a definite example, Moneylacks of The Sparagus Garden is a "promoter". He superintends the training of Tim Hoyden in the accomplishments that pertain to a gentleman. The means adopted, namely, "roaring", complimenting, bleeding and
dieting, with a visit to the garden, make Tim Hoyden even more foolish than he was originally, and Moneylacks has his money! Staines in Greene's Tu quoque, &c., is a somewhat different type. He is poor. His one-time servant, Bubble, has a fortune left him, and he behaves in the same fantastic manner as the usual country gull. Bubble is Staine's easy dupe, and the latter is thus (by card play and the process of "Italianating") able to win back his mortgaged estate.

According to the dramatists the knights and gallants are on the whole rather depraved. This is particularly the case with the knights who are for the most part treated satirically, having their "humours" and their faults exposed. Up to a certain point this holds true of the gallants, but they are more frequently regarded sympathetically by the dramatists. They are young; and their faults are due to the high spirits of youth not to evil natures, and consequently they are to be condoned. In the case of both knights and gallants, however, the dramatist wastes neither time nor energy in building out their characters, but makes use of them merely as tools necessary to the development of his plot, by way either of providing a contrast to some character or characters, or of carrying out some part of the intrigue or the gulling.
Once again, therefore, the dramatis personae tend to be treated conventionally.

6. **THE GULLS.**

In striking contrast to the knights and gallants, those who practise cheating, are the "gulls", the passive victims of those who gull. The latter form a fairly large proportion of the young men of citizen comedy. As, however, the dramatist's sympathy is almost always with youth as opposed to age, it is necessary to have some other factor besides mere youthful inexperience to make us laugh at them, and in consequence, the gull is frequently an heir just arrived in London from his home in the country, or the son of a citizen. In the first instance the dramatist counted on the fact that the London audience considered themselves vastly superior to a mere countryman, and in the second the citizen's son is endowed with less brains and more vanity than his father, a combination which the dramatist knew could not fail to make the audience laugh.

The young heirs are for the most part wealthy either in lands or money, or both, and on that account prove an irresistible attraction to the dishonest citizen *(vide supra Pp.69ff)* onto the gallant, who is at the same time
a cheater. The gull's desire is to know and to learn all that pertains to a gentleman and a courtier, and, in his ignorance, he is easily impressed by the suave manners of the gallants who seek to undo him. Once again the subdivision of the gulls into one or two classes (not necessarily mutually exclusive) will prove helpful in our investigations. There are, for instance, gulls who are merely ridiculous, there are others who are deprived of their money and lands, and still others whose wooing is unsuccessful and who are tricked into marrying someone quite different from their original choice, the latter usually being someone of little worth.

We are introduced to the first class of gull in Ben Jonson's Every Man in His Humour, although, probably, it would be more true to say that the type is a survival of the Latin influence on English comedy through Ralph Roister Doister. Stephen is the gull who must needs know everything about hawking, or duelling, and all that pertains to a gentleman. Mathew, on the other hand, is interested in art and poetry. A large part of the play is concerned with the ludicrous results which are the outcome of these interests and of their manner of acquiring each new vogue from the worst kind of instructor. Another example is that of Sogliardo who is thus described
in "The Characters of the Persons" prefaced to Every Man Out of his Humour":— "An essential clown, brother to Sordido, yet so enamoured of the name of gentleman, that he will have it though he buys it. He comes up every term to learn to take tobacco, and see new motions. He is in his Kingdom when in company where he may be well laughed at." Or again, in Bartholomew Fair there is Bartholomew Cokes, the simpleton, whose simplicity virtually invites disaster to attend it. In consequence, he is easily robbed of his purse by Edgeworth, while inviting to, and acquitting of guilt the very thief himself. Or yet another example may be found in Your Five Gallants. In that play Bungler becomes the easy prey of Goldston as we have already seen, though in a different connection (vide supra p. 84-6). While Bungler as a person in the play appears to be introduced with the idea of showing up the ingenuity of the cheaters, Timothy Seathrift in The City Match seems to be used by the dramatist to demonstrate just how stupid and foolish a gull — in this instance he is a citizen's son — can be.

Of the second class there are several examples, and the sympathy of the author is on occasion bestowed on the gull, although, as a general rule, this does not happen. In Michaelmas Term our sympathies lie with Easy, who
eventually gulls his guller. The plot has already been summarized from the point of view of the usurious citizen, consequently there is no need to enlarge on the situation. In the plays written between 1630 and 1640, however, the sympathy is not with the gull as against the usurer, but with the cheaters. Tim Hoyden (The Sparagus Garden) comes to London. He is anxious to be a gentleman before he calls on his uncle in town, and to that end he allows himself to be initiated into gentlemanly deportment by Moneylacks and his crew. The method which they adopt is to "bleed" and diet him, and so reduce him that it is easy to obtain his money, after which they teach him how to compliment.

To take a different example. Mun Clotpol of Covent Garden Weeded (Brome), "a foolish gull" desires to become a member of the brotherhood of "the blade and the batoon". He gives money to learn the manners of the "brothers", who are really cheaters, and is particularly interested in their vocabulary, which he inserts into a notebook specially reserved for this purpose. At one of the London taverns he is installed a member of the brotherhood, after which the "brothers" are successful in escaping from the tavern before Clotpol is aware, and consequently he has to pay the full reckoning.
Of the third class there are many examples, Henry Glapthorne provides us with one in Sconce, a "gallant naturaliz'd Dutchman" (Vide *The Hollander*, 1635). He comes a-courting, and at the same time he is anxious to have a wound-proof elixir, or weapon-salve, which Urinal, the doctor's "man" purports to give him. The cheaters are for the most part "Knights of Twibill" who initiate him into their mysteries by receiving his money and ultimately his garments, after which they depart leaving Sconce in a ridiculous plight. Sconce believes that he has gone through a marriage ceremony with a man, but "he" turns out to be Martha, a chambermaid, in disguise. He is thus cheated of both clothes and lover. In *The Northerne Lasse* Master Widgine is a Cockney gentleman, but very stupid. He is exceedingly elated because his sister has become a lady. And he is likewise easily imposed on by an undesirable woman with whom he goes through a marriage ceremony. In the play, *Wit in a Constable* (Glapthorne, 1639) we have both Sir Timothy Shallow and Jeremy Holdfast outwitted. Jeremy Holdfast is a stupid student who is gulled by his cousin and others. By his cousin's insinuations as to what should be done, he is induced to give himself airs, and hence even Alderman Covet, who should have supported his suit, suspects him. Sir Timothy
is a feeble-minded country knight and a suitable companion for Jeremy. In the intriguing which takes place they both suppose that they have married the woman of their choice, Clare and Grace respectively, but in reality they have married two maids of inferior station. Chough is a Cornish gentleman drawn by Middleton in *A Fair Quarrel*. He is attended by his servant, Trimtram, who imitates his master in everything, thus making his actions still more ridiculous. His attempts at "roaring" are exceedingly ludicrous. He, too, is foiled in his courting.

Shirley's *The Witty Fair One* provides us with an additional example in Sir Nicholas Tweedle "a foolish knight", who hopes to marry Violetta, the daughter of Sir George Richley. She encourages him to believe that she desires this, while really using him as her tool. Her attendant, Brains, is consequently attacked by Sir Tweedle and his tutor, and Sensible, the maid, takes Violetta's place and is married to Sir Nicholas.

To conclude concerning gulls. They frequently occur in realistic comedy, and are apt to become wearisome and monotonous by reason of their unfailing stupidity. On the part of the dramatist there is little attempt at characterisation, except in the case of Ben Jonson, and to a much less degree of his disciple, Richard Brome.
Ben makes a study of the gull from the point of view of his "humours" as also does Brome. But in the main, Elizabethan playwrights introduce the gull as a foil to the clever cheaters. The author develops the intrigues and the subject devices at great length, and at the expense of the gull's individuality. In consequence the gull is almost invariably treated conventionally. He is a stock figure, drawn to a much used pattern.

7. THE CHEATERS.

The members of the lists of *dramatis personae* who most naturally fall to be discussed at this point are those who assist to undo the "gull", and who have not been noticed hitherto under the heading citizens, 'prentices, or gallants. They are the cheaters, "roarers", and "high-flyers", a somewhat motley crew of depraved characters, who are frequently blustering bullies and at the same time arrant knaves. The "cheaters" almost defy classification, but we shall attempt to examine them by taking some convenient, if arbitrary lines of demarcation between one cheater and his fellow. There are, for instance, those who haunt ordinaries, and who either cheat the gull at cards, dice, or bowling, or with their behaviour impress the ignoramus with their prowess, at the
wars, or with the grandeur of their acquaintance until he is inveigled into a rowdy quarrel from which the pseudo-soldiers have the wit to extricate themselves. Again, there are those who perform their cheats out-of-doors, or in a crowded market, such as the gipsies, the foot-pads, the pickpockets (both nimmers and foisters).

Examples of all the foregoing varieties are to be found in Middleton. It is only necessary to recall the duping of Easy in Michaelmas Term to realise how Quomodo's two "men", Blastfield and Shortyard, entice Easy to play at dice and cards, arranging that one or the other of them will eventually win.

The (soldiers and) pseudo-soldiers make quite a formidable array. There is, for instance, Quarterfield in The City Wit who objects to pay for his keep at the ordinary; he is, however, only too willing to help in "foxing" Timothy and exhibiting him to the credulous mob. The soldiers are mostly braggadocios and cowards, such as are Trapdoor and Tearcat in The Roaring Girl, where, in addition to using cant terms, they appear as wounded soldiers begging by the wayside. Captain Face in Ram Alley, a suitor to Widow Taffeta, is a great blustering, overmastering swaggerer. Bobadill and Tucca are memorable examples of the swaggering soldier. Bobadill tells such picturesque tales of his (supposed) experience at the wars that Stephen and Matthew, the two gulls, are
both tremendously impressed. But how ingenious is his method of avoiding a duel, and how unsoldierlike his complaint before justice Clement! "Faith, sir... this gentleman and myself have been most uncivilly wrong'd and beaten by one Downright, a course fellow, about the town here; and for mine own part, I protest, being a man in no sort given to this filthy humour of quarrelling, he hath assaulted me in the way of my peace, despoiled me of mine honour, disarmed me of my weapons, and rudely laid me along in the open streets, when I not so much as once offered to resist him." Tucca is an artist in vocabulary, concealing his cowardice and inaction in a flood of words. "Pass on, my good scoundrel, pass on, I honour thee: (Exeunt Lietors) But that I hate to have action with such base rogues as these, you should have seen me unrip their noses now, and have sent them to the next barber's for stitching: For do you see - I am a man of humour, and I do love the varlets, the honest varlets, they have wit and valour, and are indeed good, profitable, errant rogues, as any live in an empire....." But how quickly he loses his bravery!

1. Every Man in His Humour. V. i p.619.
"Tuc: Gods and fiends! I'll blow him into air when
I meet him next: he dares not fight with a
puck-fist.

(Horace passes over the stage)

Eyr: Master, he comes!

Tuc: Where? Jupiter save thee, my good poet, my
noble prophet, my little fat Horace. I scorn
to beat the rogue in the court; and I saluted
his thus fair, because he should suspect nothing,
the rascal..."

Then there are those pseudo-soldiers of the "Knights
of Twibill" class (Vide The Hollander), who train a gull
in all the new fashions, fleece him of money and clothes,
and then leave him to pay the reckoning. Such are Fort-
tresse and Captayne Picke, both of them choleric individu-
als.

At this point it is desirable to digress for a moment.
The soldiers described so far have belonged to the class
of cheaters, but we should do the dramatists an injustice
did we not note in passing that some of the soldiers who
tread the Elizabethan stage are not of this worthless
character. On the contrary, we have the blustering
soldier, bold and honest, "jealous in honour, sudden and
quick in quarrel". Of this type are the Colonel and
Captain Ager of A Fair Quarrel, Captain Ironside of The
Magnetic Lady, and Ancient Young of A Match at Midnight.

1. The Poetaster, IV. v p.278.
Captain Ironside's outspokenness leads him into a quarrel with Sir Diaphonous Silkworm, and into other catastrophes. The scathing remarks of Ancient Young on "tavern rats" are very germane to the matter under discussion:

"..........................You are but
The worms of worth, the sons of shame and baseness,
That in a tavern dare outsit the sun,
You pawn your souls for a superfluous cup,
Tho' you cast it into the reckoning.
The true soldier is all o'er a history of man,
Noble and valiant: wisdom is the mould
In which he casts his actions. Such a discreet
Temperance
Doth daily deck his doings, that by his modesty
He's guessed the son of merit, and by his mildness
Is believed valiant. Go, and build no more
These airy castles of hatch'd fame, which fools
Only admire and fear you for...."

(II. ii, A Match at Midnight).

The members of the gipsy gang are a picturesque crowd. Gipsies, technically so-called, do not occur in the drama. On the other hand there are either aristocrats masquerading under the guise of gipsies previous to a series of identifications and reconciliations, such as the aristocrats of The Spanish Gipsy and Beggars' Bush, or nomadic beggars using their own cant terms and cheating devices. Examples of this second type occur in The Merry Beggars, or A Jovial Crew, and in Beggars' Bush. The kinds of tricks that they play are shewn in a scene in Beggars' Bush which does not seriously contribute to the development of the plot, but is wonderfully
vigorous and instinct with life. To two or three "Boors" seated outside a tavern there enters Higgen, a beggar "in the guise of a sow-gelder", who sings songs, and wins their applause and some money. (Il. 1 - 60). The "boors" are now in a good humour. Then there enter "Prig disguised as a juggler" and Ferret as his "man". Prig asks for money with which to perform his tricks (l. 61), pretends to get back balls from their noses (l. 76), so that in pulling them Ferret is given an opportunity to pick their pockets and remove their cloaks. Then after more palaver Prig tells them that their money is gone (as they then discover, l. 92) and, while requested to look at a certain button, Higgen and Ferret put counters in their pockets. The "boors" are satisfied with the jingle. "A blind Aquavitae man enters with a boy singing a song" (Il. 114 ff.), and in trying to give him the returned money, the boy shews them to have given only counters. (l.124) Then "re-enter Higgen as a gold-end man" who makes them feel their losses more acutely. As he goes out Prig reenters "disguised as an old-clothes man" crying "Have ye any old cloaks to sell? Have ye any old cloaks to sell?" and then he makes his exit, a circumstance which makes them notice the loss of several of their cloaks. The whole passage of one hundred and
forty lines is packed with cheating.

Highway robbery also has its place in the drama. The famous attempt at Gadshill will recur to mind immediately, and in the non-Shakespearean drama we have footpads as doughty (and chicken-hearted) as Falstaff and his crew. Middleton is, as usual, helpful to our investigation, notably in two plays, *The Phoenix* and *The Widow*. In *The Phoenix* Latronella, Fucato, and Furtivo are the minions of Falso, a corrupt justice of the peace. They take part in all kinds of cheating and in highway robbery. When they are apprehended Falso is able to treat the case in such a manner that they are acquitted. In *The Widow* there are further accounts of highway robbery in two scenes, III. i and IV. ii. *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* provides us with an additional account of this kind of robbery, though this time it is of a somewhat dastardly nature. Those attacked are first the fair maid and Ursula who are taking ruffs to a lady outside the town; the cripple comes to their rescue. Secondly the three are attacked from behind, but are finally relieved by Frank Golding.

We now come to consider that picture of the pickpockets of the Elizabethan Age that is given by the dramatists. *Foisters* and *nimmers* occur fairly frequently, notably
in the works of Middleton. Now the extracting of money from pocket or purse is not an easy matter - the attention of the victim has to be diverted by someone or something else - and in consequence, the cutpurses usually go about with a boy or partner in crime. This is true of Your Five Gallants, The Mayor of Queenborough, A Mad World, My Masters, and The Widow. In Your Five Gallants we are shewn on the stage an unsuccessful attempt at picking a pocket and later we hear the victim's account of such a misfortune. In this connection Bullen supposes that a part of the scene in which the happening occurs is left out. The method adopted is (as in all other cases) to get the gull off his guard. Pursenet attempts this by merely accosting Pyanet in Paul's as an old friend and then excusing himself for mistaking him. Meantime the boy watches for an opportunity to abstract from Pyanet's pocket, but is foiled because Pyanet keeps his hand in that pocket all the while. (IV.iv.) But on the second occasion a faint on the part of Pursenet gives the boy his opportunity - "no less than £40 in fair gold at one lift". (IV. vii). The devices of The Mayor of Queenborough and A Mad World, My Masters have a certain element in common; the cheating in each is done by means of a play to help towards the production of which
the unsuspecting victims kindly lend properties which the actors appropriate. In The Widow, on the contrary, the pickpockets assume the guise of supposed dentists, or administrators of eye-salve - a device which is eminently successful, for while the victim is recovering from the physical shock and the pain inflicted, the cheaters have time to make good their escape with the booty. Bartholomew Fair provides us with a device which we have not noticed as yet, a device of which Shakespeare had already made use in A Winter's Tale, namely that of the ballad-singer and his attendant. Edgeworth watches his opportunity, for as "Nightingale sings, Edgeworth gets up to Cokes and tickles him in the ear with a straw twice to draw his hand out of his pocket."... Follows the moral of the ballad, and the selling of the same... "As Nightingale reaches out the ballad, Edgeworth slips the purse into his hand"... Then comes Coke's discovery of his loss.

"Edg: Are you sure you have lost it, sir?
Cokes: O Lord! Yes; as I am an honest man, I had it but e'en now at Youth, Youth.
Night: I hope you suspect not me, sir?
Edg: Thee! That were a jest indeed! dost thou think the gentleman is foolish? Where hast thou hands, I pray thee? Away, ass, away! (Exit Nightingale). 1.

It is noticeable that in all the foregoing examples the cheaters have, on the whole, been given very few characteristics apart from their ability to cheat. As is usual in Elizabethan drama no deep psychological analysis is made of the motives leading up to the crimes. It is the cheat itself that is all-important, and the cheaters are introduced merely to perpetrate the same.

8. USURERS.

The explanatory note "an old usurer" occurs from time to time in the list of *dramatis personae*, and when this happens it means that the author regards the character in question as more despicable than the ordinary money-grabbing citizen. Generally speaking, he is but slightly sketched, and no sympathy is wasted in the doing. The methods adopted by the usurer to bleed the young heirs of their money and estate have been explained at sufficient length under the heading "dishonest citizens". The Usurer in *A Looking Glass for London and England* is an evil character who adopts the typical Elizabethan method of lending money by means of commodities which do not nearly realise the amount of ready money which the usurer claims that they will. *The Honest Lawyer* provides us

1. Psychological, that is, in the modern scientific sense.
with an example of a most despicable usurer, Gripe by name. He demands payment to the uttermost farthing, and to the very minute; should a client come after his hour Gripe declares the bond forfeited. To provide against redemp-
tions at the fifty-ninth minute, he keeps his clock pur-
posefully fast. In most other instances in citizen comedy "usurers", though so nominated in the lists, are not sketched qua usurers, but in their human relationships, particularly those with their sons and daughters. In such instances, the usurer is always cozened. The fol-
lowing are some examples:— Gripe in A Pleasant Comedy Called Wily Beguild, Bloodhound in A Match at Midnight, Vermin in The Demoiselle, or The New Ordinary, Earthworm, an old niggard, in The Old Couple (by Thomas May) — in this play the cozening has a strongly moral purpose — and Littlegood in A Fine Companion. An instance of a some-
what different kind is "Mammon, the usurer with a great
nose" in Jack Drum's Entertainment. Sir John Ellis
desires his daughter, Katherine, to marry Mammon, because of his money, but she will have nothing to do with such a plan, and, in consequence, she slights Mammon. In revenge for this, and because he can neither marry nor seduce her, Mammon squirts some poison at her, marring her beauty. Hearing later that all his ventures have
miscarried, he raves so madly that he is placed in Bedlam. Jack Drum's Entertainment is an early play (October 1600) - so is The Stationers' Register - and I surmise from the tone of the work that the date of its composition is considerably earlier. In this instance the dramatist attached the most opprobrious professional description of which he knew to this hateful creature. (As a matter of fact, the character is not very convincing, in the sense of seeming real).

We are now in a position to form our conclusions regarding the picture of the usurer as drawn by the Elizabethan dramatist.

The question of the usurer in Elizabethan drama is, of course, a more all-embracing one than seems to be the case from this short sketch. The brief notice has referred to realistic drama only, but the usurer finds a place in other types of drama, and a very short digression may be necessary to show more clearly the manner in which realistic playwrights handle a character common to all forms of drama. In earlier Elizabethan drama, for example, the (Jewish) usurer is primarily intended as a comic character, except in the case of Barabas (Marlowe: The Jew of Malta) who is a grim, tragic figure. But under Shakespeare's handling in The Merchant of Venice,
whatever Shakespeare's intentions may have been, (and Marlowe's) the sympathy of the modern audience and of the modern reader tends to be with the (Jewish) usurer and not with his victims who become his tormentors. All Elizabethans regarded the usurer with loathing, and consequently, he became in the drama a convenient butt for ridicule, an ideal "gull" for young, high-spirited gallants. Hence the realistic dramatist is quite in line with the general Elizabethan practice when he always treats the usurer unsympathetically, and shows him to be a despicable creature. He is not given any distinguishing characteristics, only those which mark him as conforming to the usurer type. Consequently we are forced to admit that the usurer, too, is depicted conventionally.

9. PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.
(a) Students.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the dramatists' picture of the trades and crafts of citizen life, and not with the profession classes, strictly so-called. In as much as it happens not infrequently that a "student," a "doctor of physic", a "lawyer", or a "divine", occurs among the descriptions of the dramatis personae it behoves
us now to examine some of the examples with which the playwrights present us. By so-doing we may be able to form an opinion regarding their power to draw vital characters of the professional type, and in general their attitude to these classes. As the proportion in which these professional characters occur is small compared with the other differing _dramatis personae_, it will be quite in keeping to make the examination correspondingly brief.

First of all let us consider the case for the student. In the main, the playwrights depict him as clever in quoting Latin tags and forming syllogisms, but when face to face with every-day affairs he is found to be stupid, lacking in common sense and, consequently, easily gulled. One of the examples which will come to mind most readily is Fungoso in _Every Man Out of His Humour_, and, as is not infrequently the case with Ben's works, it is somewhat out of "the beaten way". Fungoso seeks to follow the fashions, but is always one behind. On the other hand, Tim Yellowhammer in _A Chaste Maid in Cheapside_ conforms more to the usual type. We have him first presented to us disputing with his tutor. His style is pompous. Proficient in such things, in the matter of matrimony he is easily imposed on, and marries Sir Walter Whorehound's
cast-off mistress, supposing her to be a rich Welsh heiress. A similar instance is found in Wit in a Constable (already referred to under the heading of "gulls", vide p.113). Jeremy Holdfast is imposed on by his cousin, Thorogood, who deprives him of Clare whom he had set out to woo. It is worthy of note in passing that when Thorogood impersonates the student to Alderman Covet, he talks in words of at least three syllables and of foreign origin. Almost an exception to the rule is Sophos of Wily Beguild who, at first failing — here he conforms to the normal — ultimately succeeds in winning Lelia, Gripe's daughter, as his wife. A further note should be added. Fitzgrave takes advantage of the prevalent belief in the stupidity of the student, and in the disguise of "Bowser", a supposed student, he is able, without arousing any suspicion, to investigate all the cheats of the cheaters of Your Five Gallants.

From this it will be seen that the dramatists regard the student as an easily worked part of their dramatic machinery. Someone has to be gulled. It will be more amusing if someone who is supposed to be clever is foiled. A student is an obvious scapegoat. The dramatists make no attempt at subtle interpretations of motive and delineation of character. In short, the
(b) **Doctors.**

Regarding doctors, medieval ideas concerning their profession and their method of curing their patients were prevalent. It is, therefore, not surprising that dramatists adhere to the medieval as opposed to the modern views. It is convenient for our purpose to classify doctors under four heads:—first, supposed dealers in magic potions; second, malpractisers; third, quacks; and fourth, healers. Of these we shall take a very brief survey.

Of the dealers in magic one of the least desirable is Dr. Dodypol (vide, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypol*, 1600 (c.)). He is a Frenchman and a somewhat questionable character. His love potions, when administered, have the effect of making people mad, a misfortune that befalls Alberdure. Dr. Glieter of *The Family of Love* uses his reputation as a mixer of love-potions for his own amusement, and gulls Lipsalve and Gudgeon in a boisterous manner. As a motif the giving of a love-potion is used in this connection only for amusement; it is episodic rather than intrinsically necessary to the development of the plot. When Dekker utilizes this
motif, however, it has a vital connection with the plot. In both instances - The Honest Whore, Part I and Match me in London - the doctor is asked to give a poisonous draught which will cause death. He, however, only pretends to give a fatal draught, administering instead a sleeping potion. The doctor is thus a somewhat nobler character in Dekker's handling than he is under other treatment.

Malpractising does not call for any detailed consideration, but two cases should be noticed. The first instance leads on from what we have been investigating. Dr. Artlesse in The Hollander claims to be endowed with magic powers, and to have discovered an elixir which makes the possessor thereof wound-proof. This leads to some amusing gulling. At the same time he keeps patients in his house to help cure them, but this part of his professional work is not altogether above suspicion. The Physician of A Fair Quarrel has a distinctly evil nature. Summoned to give Jane professional assistance he uses this opportunity to make a trial of Jane's honesty, and failing, tries to wreck her fortune by informing against her.

Quackery in medicine, rather than the quack doctor is represented on the Elizabethan stage. We recall 131.
how in accounts of various methods of cheating the supposed medical attendance was made a cloak for robbery. But Ben Jonson uses the device of a supposed seller of quack medicines for another purpose, when, Volpone tries to seduce Celia. (vide, Volpone, II. i.)

To counter-balance those cases where the supposed medical services rendered are really a device for stealing, there occur in Elizabethan drama one or two instances of healing actually performed in full view on the stage. Of these the first to be considered is that of Rut in The Magnetic Lady, who cures Sir Moth Interest of an apoplectic fit by giving air and water and by pinching.

"Enter Rut, Palate, and Bias, bringing out Sir Moth Interest in a chair; Item and Polish following.

Rut: Come, bring him out into the air a little; There, set him down. Bow him, yet bow him more, Dash that same glass of water on his face; Now tweek him by the nose - hard, harder yet: If it but call the blood up from the heart. I ask no more. See, what a fear can do! Pinch him in the nape of the neck now; nip him, nip him." 1

A further instance is that of Hughball in The Antipodes. He cures by a species of "suggestion". His treatment of Perigrie will explain. Hughball tries to understand the patient's idée fixe, and then to so satiate him with that, that the patient craves something

different to bring him relief, and so the cure is effected. Peregrine is obsessed to such a degree by the desire to travel that he is crazed. Hughball cures him by presenting before his gaze all manner of queer people and happenings, encouraging him to believe that he is really travelling to see them. Peregrine's mental balance is thus restored.

In general, we find that the dramatists have not a lofty idea of the doctor or of his profession. They are quick to seize on the potentialities for cheating or for evil which a doctor's practice affords. Having achieved a certain means to produce a desired effect in the development of the plot, they do not waste time in characterization. Hence the doctor is always one of a type rather than an individual or living being.

(c) Lawyers.

We now pass to that profession which received fuller treatment at the hands of the dramatists. It is, however, doubtful whether lawyers are treated in a more sympathetic manner than that applied to students and doctors. On the Elizabethan stage the lawyer is almost always a contemptible creature doing mean actions, though Bartholomew, who himself is The Honest Lawyer, is
a notable exception, for which, however, we can partly account. To begin with, he is not depicted so much qua lawyer as qua homo. In the second place, he is shown in opposition to his father, Gripe, the usurer, for whose profession all Elizabethans had the utmost loathing and contempt. (For law and the power of the lawyer many Elizabethans had a profound respect). The exemplars of the legal profession that we find represented in citizen comedy are of two kinds, first practicing lawyers and, second, justices.

Lawyers may be subjected to the following subdivisions: those who are heard using Latin terms and quibbling, those who are in league with usurious citizens, and those who gull their clients to obtain money. Let us now examine these in order.

There is an amusing instance of the use of Latin terms in The Silent Woman. Cutbeard is disguised as a lawyer engaged to bring about Morose's divorce. He quotes Latin tags successfully and quibbles with the supposed divine to Morose's intense vexation and the amusement of the others present. There are other examples, however, where in the pursuit of his calling the lawyer quotes Latin or quibbles to the undoing, if possible, of the unlearned unfortunates who are beholden
to him for advice. For instance, Tangle in The Phoenix quotes ad nauseam assuming the cloak of professional learning, whereas he is really ignorant and only a self-seeker. Further in The Old Law (I.i. and I.iv.) we see how easy it is for a lawyer to twist the meaning to suit his own ends. Voltore in The Fox is an extreme instance of this kind. He takes up a case which he knows to be invalid and pleads so ably for it that the innocent Celia appears to be guilty.

Of the second subdivision Churms in Wily Beguild is an example. Gripe, the usurer, has plans for the marriage of his daughter Lelia, to a rich country bumpkin. To further the match, as he thinks, he takes Churms into his confidence, but the latter uses the knowledge thus obtained for his own ends, cozening the usurer of his money and of his daughter as well, although in this he is less successful personally than he had hoped to be.

Throat in Ram Alley is an instance of the third type. He quotes statutes, etc., and gulls his clients in such a way as to obtain their money for himself. He is not, however, so astute as to avoid being gulled himself.

So far our investigation has concerned the common lawyer only; it is now time to consider the dramatists'
picture of the executors of the law, the justices. In the main, justices can also be subdivided according to their most striking characteristics into those who are credulous old fools, and those who are corrupt. (Perhaps at this point it would be well to repeat the warning that divisions of this kind are not necessarily mutually exclusive).

Of the stupid, credulous, fussy old justice, we have a plethora in Brome, but in this respect he had forerunners from whom to copy - Ben Jonson and Middleton. Justice Overdo's inefficacious officiousness in Bartholomew Fair will be remembered. Trying to investigate for himself the irregularities of the fair, he is made a laughing stock by reason of his misinterpretation of people's characters. Again, in The Widow Middleton portrays Brandino, who is easily imposed on first by Francesca, who had evil intentions towards Brandino's wife, and later by the cheaters, who when applying an eyecup to his eye, pick his pockets. Brome's fussy old justices frequently go in pairs. For example, in The Northern Lasse Sir Paul Squelch is partial and fickle, and Bulfinch is wordy; in The Sparagus Garden Touchwood and Striker are splenetic old fools and rivals to boot. They are depicted more in their daily intercourse than
in the pursuit of their calling. In The Merry Beggars or A Jovial Crew, Justice Clack is verbal and precise, and a miserly host. In point of fact, Brome seems to find pleasure in tacking on the title "justice" to any wordy old man who is tending towards imbecility of intellect.

The moral aspect of the justice's calling naturally appealed more strongly to the earlier writers of citizen comedy than it did to their less incisive followers. Hence we have examples of the corrupt justice both in Ben Jonson's and in Middleton's plays. In The Devil is an Ass, Sir Paul Eitherside is obviously biassed; he makes up his mind before hearing the whole case. "Do not conclude against us ere you hear us:

Sir Paul: I will not hear you yet I will conclude Out of the circumstances......." 1.

Of course he is wrong in his judgment. Or again, in The Tale of a Tub Justice Preamble gets up a fake case to suit his own ends. Middleton emphasizes a different aspect. While Ben shows their corrupt practices, Middleton shows how corruptible justices are. For instance, in The Phoenix we have Falso who gives his judgments in accordance with the size of the bribe given to him (I.iv).

Generally speaking, the dramatist's attitude to the

1. Ben Jonson: The Devil is an Ass. V.i.p.344.
lawyers and to the law is one of uncompromising hostility. The lawyer's love of money gained at the expense of his clients, his corruptibility, his ability to turn on a flow (if the metaphor may be used) of Latin tags or statutes, his extraordinary ingenuity in quibbling, his stupidity in other affairs are the traits that are emphasized. There is seldom much real life-blood about the dramatists' lawyers; they are puppets trained to do their parts; types and objectionable types, too, not living characters.

The "divines" should in the natural course be examined at this point, but the dramatists' portraits of Churchmen and Puritans are so much a part of their attitude to religion, that they can conveniently be held over until we come to discuss the attitude of the dramatists to the larger questions of the day, such as the development of science, and the problems of government and religion. Whatever type of portrait the dramatists give in this connection cannot invalidate to any extent the main conclusions regarding the general picture of the citizen and his milieu which is drawn in the drama.

What, then, are the conclusions which we are justified in drawing from the foregoing examination?
Citizen comedy and realistic drama did not profess to do more than give a picture of the every day life of the citizens and those with whom they came into contact, and such a purpose is amply fulfilled. We have a very clear idea of the vitality and robustness of life in those times, and the touches of local colour as in the customs at marriages¹ and the like, give a concreteness and piquancy of which we would not willingly be deprived. While living, blustering citizens stride before us on the stage, such as Simon Eyre, William Touchstone, Sir Thomas Gresham, &c., we are bound to admit that many of the characters which are repeated throughout nearly the whole series of citizen comedies develop into mere types, and are not real creations of genius, or even people drawn from close observation. Such for instance are the usurers, the country gulls, the cheaters, and in many instances the citizen's wife or daughter; they fulfil the same purpose in the different plays and are distinguished from others of their class at times by little more than by name. This tendency to fall into types is due to various causes, one of these is the lack of

¹ Cf. Dekker: Satiro-Mastix where we find details regarding the spraying of flowers, the placing of the company, the marriage feast (dancing etc.) and the rising of the bride.

139.
originality on the part of the dramatists, for they seem unable to create fresh situations, and consequently the dramatis personae are bound to become somewhat stereotyped. This will be referred to more at a later stage, vide p.187-194. Another reason for the tendency to fall into types is the nature of the survivals from older forms of drama - the morality and Latin comedy, and even to survivals from medieval fabliaux and general tradition. For instance to the morality we may easily trace the reformed rake, always the dramatists' fondling and, as has already been indicated more than once, the tavern scenes and the frequenters of the same. To Latin comedy we owe the dotard father, the suitor of extreme age, and the quick-witted youthful lovers. While to medieval fabliaux and general tradition we may trace the characters of the shrew or scold and the jealous husband, and their opposites, whom we find so often among the minor characters in this kind of drama. We might notice in passing that most of the dramatis personae that have developed into mere types, whether the original is assignable to any previous form of literature or not, play a set rôle in the plays. They are either minor characters introduced to fill out scenes and provide the necessary

Also in Ben Jonson: Tale of a Tub we find the assembling of groomsmen and maids, the wedding dinner preparations, and details as to flowers - rosemary and day. (I.i).
motives and complete necessary action, or, when more important, they occur in such plays as have the emphasis on plot rather than character, and hence are little more than pawns necessary to the dramatists' game.

In the realistic drama we have from time to time a passing glimpse of the attitude of the citizens to the various questions of the day, such as the development of science, together with the new geographical discoveries, and the problems of government and of religion. Casual allusions are frequent, but it is our object to deal only with passages of greater length and significance.

The mentality of the average citizen is usually shown as astute in regard to business concerns, in other things credulous and superstitious.

We know that the belief in astrology died a very slow death, lingering on even into the eighteenth century, and it is not in the very least surprising that the citizens in the reign of Elizabeth and James did not question its validity. It is not, however, their belief in this which interests the dramatists but their attitude of mind towards these pseudo-sciences. The credulity of the citizens in this respect gives an excellent opportunity for gulling on which the realistic
dramatist (whatever his own view) is ready to seize. The cheaters in *The Puritan* trade on this to gull both Sir Godfrey, the widow and her daughters. Again, in *The City Madam* we find that Mistress Frugal employs Stargaze (the name is significant of his profession) to report on her daughters' future in matrimony. Ben Jonson has satirized the popular belief in alchemy in *The Alchemist*, and again in one of the devices used by Volpone in *The Fox*.

It is worthy of note that the dramatists themselves have no delusions regarding the power of the astrologer, the magician and the fortune-teller. They believe that all those who practise such arts are quacks, and hence they make practices of this kind nothing more significant from the intellectual point of view than the devices of cheaters. From the point of view of the development of plot, however, they are important. It is noticeable that in instances of the use of such a device the citizen himself is not necessarily immune from imposture, being just as easily gulled as the foolish heir. This feature is equally applicable to the question next to be discussed, the attitude to the new geographical discoveries.

Interest in the news from foreign lands was a form
of sensationalism indulged in. It was apparently an unthinking curiosity which, so to say, swallowed whole whatever was catered, and did not digest the fare. In the Stationers' Register between the years 1622 and 1625 we find many entries of "News out of .......", and the places from which the news came were various. In addition to these news sheets there were also many "Currants of News". Ben Jonson ridicules the whole system, both the thirst for news and the type of news served up in The Staple of News, 1625. This curiosity in any new thing is sometimes made use of by the dramatists, as for instance in Jasper Mayne's The City Match 1639. In this play Frank Plotwell and Cypher gull Timothy. They take him to an ordinary where they ply him with drink ("fox" him) and then exhibit him at the entrance money of one shilling per head as a strange fish caught in the Indies. Citizens as well as their wives go to see the marvel.

In regard to matters political we have on the whole very few references in realistic drama. In romantic drama, on the other hand, we have some allusions, and a mild propaganda for the theory of the divine right of kings, (as in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, &c.), but as we are not dealing with romantic comedy this fact does
not contribute anything towards our conclusions. But when Middleton refers to actual political happenings he does so covertly under the guise of an allegory in *A Game of Chess*, a play which met with the greatest displeasure in high places. The censorship in such matters was strict, and consequently we cannot hope to find much that is illustrative of the point of view of the citizens, who tended more and more (as we know from histories of the time) to take side against the monarchy and its theory of the divine right.

When we turn to religion, on the other hand, we find that there is less reticence, for we have actual divines and Puritans strutting across the stage, and references to the then present state of affairs. Early in the period we have the Roman Catholic versus the religious settlement stage of the controversy referred to in *The Troublesome Raine of King John* and in Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*. *The Troublesome Raine &c.*, reflects that Roman Catholicism was regarded as the enemy of England; and the subject is treated very vigorously and with a great deal of local patriotism. The spirit by which Dekker's play is animated is shown in the "Letter to the Reader:— The Generall scope of this Drammaticall Poem, is to set forth (in Tropicall and shadowed colours) the Greatness, Magnanimitie, Constancy, Clemency, and other
the incomparable Heroical virtues of our late Queene And (on the contrary part) the inueterate Malice, Treasons, Machinations, Underminings, and continual bloydy stratagems of that Purple whore of Roome, to the takeing away of our Princes liues, and utter extirpation of their Kingdomes'. This letter is probably of later date than the composition of the play and may have been immediately inspired by the Gunpowder Plot. Dekker's If this be not a good Play the Devil is in it seems to be somewhat exceptional in treatment, for here we have a rather sympathetic treatment of life in the monastery such as we could not have found in the more strongly polemical play The Troublesome Raine of King John. The Sub-Prior is a determined ascetic, whose constancy we cannot but admire. Even in his handling of the other brothers Dekker is not too harshly satiric. In the final scene, however, his leanings are once more definitely Protestant, for Guy Fawkes and Ravaillac are both in Hell suffering the penalties of their misdeeds on earth.

Massinger presents rather a different problem. He is very sympathetic in his treatment of Roman Catholicism, but he shows it from a unique point of view. It is not the controversy of England and Protestantism versus Spain and Roman Catholicism which he depicts, but Roman
Catholicism versus paganism in The Virgin Martyr, and versus Mohammedanism in The Renegado. In both cases the great power of Christianity to convert others is shown clearly and with touching simplicity. Here, too, we are occasionally in the realm of miracle. Consequently, while Massinger gives us an exceedingly sympathetic picture of Roman Catholicism it is more the purity of the primitive Church which he is presenting than the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is difficult to ascertain the attitude of the dramatists to the Established Church, because it is scarcely ever referred to. This is no doubt due to the fact that it did not present any dramatic episode, nor did its practices lend themselves much to ridicule. But the officials of the church such as canons, parsons, divines, church wardens, and the like do figure in many cases in which it is necessary to have a marriage celebration on the stage. When they are introduced we usually have a satiric picture. They are shown either quoting Latin as does Otter "disguised as a divine" in The Silent Woman, or as gluttons as is Palate (significant name) in The Magnetic Lady, or interested in money as is
Canon Hugh, alias Captain Thums, in The Tale of a Tub, and the Chaplain in The Merry Beggars, or A Jovial Crew. In all those instances the morals of the divine are questionable. Again, Sir John in The Merry Devil of Edmonton is a performer of irregular marriages. In fact, he is everything but a "divine" in the strict sense of the term, and in himself he provides a large measure of the comic element of the play. The tendency to derive comedy out of the parson's office is of long life and may be found in modern drama. The "pale young curate" of The Sorcerer is but a single instance of what may frequently be found.

In The Returne from Parnassus, however, we come to a more serious charge against the clergy. In the other examples we have not noticed any saeva indignatio against clergymen for being such unworthy members of their class. At most we have had what may be termed academic displeasure, but now the case is altered. The author of The Returne from Parnassus is very bitter against the ignorance of the clergy, and the abuse of simony. Academico, the deserving graduate, is overlooked because he is not able to pay for his advancement while Stercutio is able to do so for his son, Immerito. The trilogy is a very terrible account of the evil state of affairs among the clergy at the time.
In striking contrast to this black picture, we have the attractive character of Dean Nowell of Paul's (The Building of the Royal Exchange). He is zealous, eager and devout, an ideal rather than a real being. But, although we have this noble exemplar of the clergy in the drama, such an instance is an exception rather than the rule; it is the irregular parson who struts across the stage.

In depicting Churchmen, or rather representatives of the established order the dramatist does not concern himself about their beliefs but about the possibilities of their office. On the other hand, when we turn to examine the Puritans in the drama we find that the author is very much concerned about the tenets, or, at least about such as may in any way alter their actions from the normal. Puritans are invariably satirized. In this connection we shall examine the evidence in considerable detail.

Ben Jonson gives us some very striking portraits both in The Alchemist and in Bartholomew Fair. In The Alchemist we have an account of Puritan cupidity shown in the portraits of two exponents of Puritanism. The first, Tribulation Wholesome, while still keeping his sanctimonious whine, is easily persuaded to compromise in order that the elixir may be his "for the good of the
brethren". The second, Ananias, is quite untractable. He will not give in to the ways of the world as exemplified by Subtle, and has frequently to be silenced by Tribulation Wholesome, the compromiser. During the course of the play we have the following Puritan tenets referred to:—

- their préciosité of speech,
- their distrust of certain means of beautifying,
- their disapproval of bravery in dress, particularly the ruff, and so on.

In *Bartholomew Fair* we see a different manifestation of the Puritan attitude to life. In this connection we are dealing with their attitude towards recreations. Mistress Win-the-Fight Littlewit is exceedingly anxious to go to the fair with her husband. To do so it is necessary to make the eating of pig in the fair "lawful", and in a matter of such weight it is essential to consult Rabbi Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, who is a brother and a prophet. Busy's language is scriptural, having all the flavour of the English of the Authorised Version, and his method of arguing is ingenious, thereby showing the hypocrisy of which the less reputable holders of the Puritan belief were capable. We learn that gluttony was apt to be a Puritan failing (III.i.) and that all toys and every kind of recreation, particularly the play, were anathema.

"Busy: So, walk on in the middle way, fore-right, turn
neither to the right hand nor to the left; let not your eyes be drawn aside with vanity, nor your ears with noises.... Look not toward them, hearken not; the place is Smithfield, or the field of smiths, the grove of hobby-horses and trinkets, the wares are the wares of the devils, and the whole Fair is the shop of Satan: they are hooks and baits, very baits, that are hung out on every side, to catch you, and to hold you, as it were, by the gills, and by the nostrils, as the fisher doth: therefore, you must not look nor turn toward them. The heathen man could stop his ears with wax against the harlot of the sea; do you the like with your fingers against the bells of the beast......" (Vide III.i.p.211.) Or this:─

"Busy:- I will remove Dagon there, I say, that idol, that heathenish idol, that remains, as I may say, a beam, a very beam,..... in the eye of the brethren; a very great beam, an exceeding great beam; such are your stage-players, rimers, and morrice-dancers, who have walked hand in hand, in contempt of the brethren, and the cause......" (Vide V. i. Pp.258 ff.)

All arguments against the drama are put in their most extreme form, so as to appear as foolish as possible. The Puritans are shown in anything but a sympathetic light.

In The Staple of News we have a much less sustained picture of an aspect of Puritanism, and consequently, it can be dismissed very briefly. Customers enter the office where the news is compiled to learn the news of the "Saints", for which they are, incidentally, none too willing to part with their money. The news served up to them provides an excellent satire of the use of quasi-biblical language which the Puritans affected to such an
Turning to the other dramatists of the day we find that Middleton is apparently much interested in the baser representatives of Puritanism. In one of his early plays *The Mayor of Queenborough* we have the character of Oliver introduced. He is the fustian-weaver, a foil to Simon, the glovemaker, and the successful candidate for the mayoralty. As in this instance the attack on the Puritans is not very good, but introduced crudely without any apparent motivation, it is almost certainly a later interpolation in a revision of the play. The Prefatory Letter which is of considerably later date than the composition of the play, and which is virtually an attack on Oliver Cromwell, Mayor of Huntingdon, lends colour to the above suggestion. Such as it is the attack reveals the customary Puritan disapproval of the players. In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* we find that Puritan gluttony, drunkenness, and sanctimoniousness are the chief butts of Middleton's satire. Mistress Allwit has a child and Puritan gossips are invited to the christening. One of them unctuously congratulates Allwit:

"Give you joy of your fine girl, sir; Grant that her education may be pure, And become one of the faithful!" (II.iii.11. 13.ff).

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Yet another play in which Middleton shows up the coarseness and baseness of one particular sect of the Puritans is \textit{The Family of Love}. The tenets of the Familists were by no means despicable; indeed, some shew a remarkably modern tendency. "There ought to be no Sabbath day, but all should be alike, for they allege that the Son of Man is Lord over the Sabbath". Again, "No man should be put to death for his opinion, and therefore they condemn Master Cranmer and Master Ridley for burning Joan of Kent."\textsuperscript{1} But even at the best there seems to have been a tendency to fall away from their high-toned tenets. From \textit{The Family of Love} which is really coarse and repulsive we feel certain that to Middleton's eyes the Puritans were "infected and stained with all manner of detestable wickedness." He shows their immorality at great length, and in addition, their hypocrisy in the way they excuse themselves for their immorality.

From all these instances it will be seen that the dramatists are quick to note those features of Puritanism which are undoubtedly among its defects - hypocrisy, gluttony, drunkenness, even the immorality of those who professed greater purity in their lives than did other people, and at the same time their strongly marked

\footnote{cf. Note in Bulgar's Edition.}
aversion to plays and players, to games and sports. The dramatists saw clearly the difference between the profession and the practice of many Puritans, and it is this aspect of the question which they emphasise. As dramatists they could scarcely be expected to take note of the far-reaching tendencies of the system whose individual representatives they satirized so mercilessly. Even if they personally had any faint idea of how the religious question was developing they did not show it in the drama. To them, indeed, the point of view of the Roundhead and of the Puritan was something abnormal - a "humour" - and therefore, it fell to be satirized, and not presented sympathetically. Hence the evils to which such an outlook on life was subject, the strictly literal interpretation of scripture given by the more stupid disciples of the system, and the subsequent hypocrisies of the weaker brethren fell under the lash.

What then, are we to say of the dramatists' attitude to the religious controversy as a whole? As a general rule they observe a strange reticence towards contemporary movements in religion. But while the controversy between the Anglicans and the Puritans itself, and the doctrines that lie behind it all have such a small place in the drama, we are shown the effects of such a controversy
and, in particular, the narrowing effect which the practice of Puritanism had on individual people.

Why is it that so little of the controversies in government and in religion was represented on the stage? At this period stage-censorship was liable to be imposed at any time, and the chief ends of the censorship were, at least primarily, to preserve the established government and the established church. The proclamation of May 16th. 1559 shows this:—

"And for instruction to every of the sayde officers, her majestie doth likewise charge every of them as they will answere: that they permyt none to be played wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commoweale shal be handled or treated; being no meete matters to be wrytten or treated upon, but by men of authorities, learning, and wisdome, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discrete persons." 1.

This was the chief care of the Master of the Revels until, virtually, the Long Parliament put an end to his administrations.

The effect of the Censorship is seen in those plays that deal with contemporary controversies. Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* is largely an allegory. "Titania the Fairie Queene: under whom is figured our late Queen Elizabeth"; "th'Empresse of Babylon: under whom is figured Rome...." while the names of the Jesuit plotters

1. Proclamation, May 16th. 1559.
are barely disguised, and no one can mistake the allusions to the Armada. Dekker, here, is on the side of authority and the established church. But with the Game of Chess we are face to face with a different problem. Middleton shadows contemporary, semi-religious politics under the guise of a game of chess. He is not in sympathy with James' desire to form an alliance with Spain and herein he voices the popular opinion. He does not give a flattering picture of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who complains of this attack to James, who in his turn interferes on behalf of the ambassador. Both Middleton and the actors were threatened with imprisonment. It was therefore not safe either for playwright or for players to bring a controversial subject on the stage unless they subscribed to the views held by the Sovereign. This perhaps accounts for the infrequency of allusions in contemporary drama to the religious problems of the day.

How, then, can we account for the fact that Puritanism became the subject of so much satire at the hands of the dramatists? It happens very largely because the Puritans were instrumental in making regulations in regard to the censorship of plays and to the travelling companies of players more strict than they had been hitherto - a tendency which became more pronounced as the seventeenth
century advanced. It was only natural that those who were regarded by the stricter sect as "vagabonds and sturdy beggars" should retaliate by ridiculing that sect on the stage. In this they were encouraged by the fact that the drift of Puritanism towards abolishing plays and amusements of all kinds was viewed with misgiving by a large section of the community and with displeasure by the monarchy. Hence in Elizabethan drama we have both constant allusions to the straitlacedness, gluttony and hypocrisy of that sect, and individual Puritans portrayed in every case in such manner as to make them the butt of the dramatists' satiric attacks, and the persons who occasion the merriment of the audience.

As a general rule in art it is a comparatively simple matter to caricature. Outward tricks of expression are easy to catch and eccentricities of manner lend themselves easily to representation, whereas it requires a great amount of insight and penetration, and a highly-specialized command of one's technique to reproduce with understanding and sympathy, the motives which underlie these eccentricities of manner. Puritanism by the very nature of the movement and by the temperament of its exponents is particularly difficult to treat from the artistic point of view. But the lapses of its adherents give the dramatist an

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opportunity for the picturesque portrayal of one aspect of life - a picturesque which would have been quite impossible had he restricted himself to the more stable, worthy and sober representatives of the movement. Consequently the treatment of the Puritan becomes almost a literary convention, which is, however, capable of development and modification.
Such is the picture drawn by the dramatist. How does it compare with the account given by writers in the other fields of literature? We shall find, I think, that the main characteristics are corroborated by the satirists, the pamphleteers, and the character-writers referred to at an earlier stage. These authors tended to emphasise the worst features and the worst motives, so that the idea of the vanity and self-seeking of city and court in these days is strongly borne out, while the reverse side but seldom appears. The author's motive largely accounts for this and satire naturally selects the baser elements in its victims. A few illustrative quotations will help to show that the dramatists presented a picture of Elizabethan life which was similar to that found in the works of the other authors.

The citizen is regarded by more than the dramatists as a deceiver of customers and an inveigler of young heirs. In The Honestie of this Age (1614) by Barnaby Rich there are the following passages:

"And he that robbes the realme of corne, and of all other commodities, transporting it beyond the seas, is he not an honest trading merchant, and what is he that dares call him theefe?"
"And how many tradesmen and shopkeepers are there, to vent their counterfeite stuffs, will not stick to lye, to sweare, and to use many other colusions whereby to deceive, yet who dares tell him that he is a common cosiner? ........

"These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes with dym and obscure lights, and deceive their ears with false flattering words, be they not Usurers? ...." (cf. P. 13 ff. of the 1614 edition).

This is very similar to what happens in citizen comedy, and bears considerable resemblance to Pyannet's outburst in The City Wit which we have cited previously (vide P. 74). Again, the merchants were accused of having lost the old English spirit of adventure and of having descended to an unworthy race for land in order to make their sons gentlemen.

"Lett merchant men goe sayle, for that is ther trwe waylle; for of one .C. ye have not ten that now be marchantes ventring men, that occupi grett in-awnderes forther then into flanderes, - flawnderes or into france - for fere of some myschance, but lyeth at home and standes by morgage and purchases of landes Owtt of all gentyll menes Handes, wiche should serue always your grace with horse and main chasse: wiche ys a grett dewowre Vnto youre regalli powre." 1

It will be remembered that Quomodo and many other citizen money-lenders who figure in the drama never have sufficient ready money by them (or say that they have not) and consequently they advance commodities on which the heir may realise money. To corroborate this we have found no actual citation from contemporary literature, but Mr. Aydelotte's conclusion on this topic is germane and may consequently be quoted. It occurs in a foot-note:-

"The custom of making part of a loan in commodities was common because of the lack of ready money. It was not necessarily dishonest, but it multiplied the opportunities for sharp dealing. Lutestring (luster, a kind of silk) and paper, which were often used were valuable and readily saleable articles." 1.

Earle has an unsympathetic picture of a shopkeeper. It suggests in "conceited" style that he is pushing in respect of his wares, a cheat regarding their value, dishonest, obsequious when customers pay, and a tyrant to them when they owe.2

Hitherto we have had rather unfavourable pictures of the citizen. The following passage from Stow, the chronographer, is gratifyingly optimistic regarding the benefit to the community contributed by the citizen class:-

"Now out of this, that the estate of London in the persons of the citizens is so friendly interlaced, and knit in league with the rest of the Realme, not onely at their beginning by birth 

1. Ibidem (i.e. Aydelotte): P. 79 (foot note).
2. Earle: Microcosmographie, 32.
and bold as I have shewed, but also verie commonly at their ending by the life and conversation (for than Marchantes and rich men being satisfied with gaine, doe for the most part marry theyr children into the countrey and conuey themselves after Ciceroes counsell, veluti ex portu in agros & possessiones): I doe inferre that there is not onely no danger towards the common quiet thereby, but also great occasion and cause of good loue and amitie." 1

Hence we may conclude that contemporary literature affords us a fairly full account of the citizen's life and doings and his place in the community. In some instances, and the proportion is, I think, higher than in the drama, the picture is quite unsympathetic, the author's motive being didactic and his method satirical.

When we turn to the picture of the citizens' wives which is to be found in contemporary literature outside the drama we find that many of those features are emphasised which we noticed in the portraits given by the dramatists. The following passages will illustrate:

"They go to market to buy what they like best to eat. They are well dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of the household matters and drudgery to their servants."

(Mistréss and Marmaduke, P. 85, is an instance of this.)

"They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by. In all banquets and feasts they are shewn the greatest honour. All the rest of their

(Reprint of 1603 edition).
time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term gossips) and their neighbours

(This is like the life of The Merry Wives of Windsor)

"and making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom." 2.

The foregoing citation is from the work of an Antwerp merchant, Emanuel Van Meteren, who was resident in London during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The following passages are of native origin:--

"Mistress Minx, a merchant's wife, that will eat no cherries, forsooth, but when they are at twenty shillings a pound, that looks as simpering as if she were besmeared, and jets it as gingerly as if she were dancing the canaries: she is so finical in her speech, as though she spake nothing but what she had first sewed over before in her samplers, and the puling accent of her voice is liked a feigned treble, or one's voice that interprets the puppets. What should I tell how squeamish she is in her diet, what toil she puts her poor servants unto, to make her looking-glasses in the pavements? How she will not go into the fields, to cower on the green grass, but she must have a coach for her convoy; and spends half a day in pranking herself if she be invited to any strange place? ...."

The first part of this has a distinct echo in Eastward Ho! where Gertrude thus gives vent to her longings:

"I like some humours of the Cittie dames well; to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good..."

(An angell is equal to ten shillings in modern money.) The second part recalls the careful house-wifery of Mistress Glister (Vide supra Pp. 83-84) and the latter part is reminiscent of Ben's pretentious dames. This further passage supplements and repeats what has been noted previously.

"But properly, Delicacie is the sinne of our London Dames. So delicate are they in their dyet, so dainty and puling fine in their speech, so typtoe-nyce in treading on the earth, as though they walkt vpon Snakes, and feard to treade hard, least they shoulde turne againe. Theyr houses so pickedly and neatly must be trickt vp and tapistred, as if (like Abraham or Lot) they were to receiue Angels; the floare vnder foote, glisteringly rubbed and glased, that a Jew (if he should behold it) would suspect it for holy ground.

"Nothing about them but is wealth boastingly and elaborately beautified onely theyr soules they keepe poore and beggarly .... Theyr Habitations they make so resplendent and pleasurable on earth, that they have no mind to goe to heauen. Into heauens' pleasures they cannot see, for their eyes are dazzled with terrestiall delights.......

In the drama the degenerate knighthood comes in for frequent attacks. In this connection a contemporary letter is very apposite.

"Ther wer a number of worthy and very choyce knightes made uppon that great day, but with them (Lyke cokle amongst good corne) a skumme of such

1. Mashe: Christes Teares over Ierusalem, (Mckerrow II. pp. 144-5.)
as it wolde make a man sycke to thinke of them. I have heard your countrie of Norfolke and Suffolke taxed, that ther war sheapreves, yomans sons knighted, I can asser you that ther ar other countrie ar not behynde them in that, and dyvers pedlers sons of London have receyved the same order, amongst the rest Thimblethorp the attorney, that was called Nimblechappes full of pox was knighted for seven pounde tenn shillings." 1.

And again in The Good and the Bad we have the following picture of an Unworthy Knight.

"An unworthie Knight is defect of Nature in the title of honour, when to maintain valor his spurreys have no rowels nor his sword a point. His apparell is of prooffe that may weare like his armour, or like an olde ensigne that hath his honour in ragges. It may be he is the taylor's trouble in fitting an ill shape, or a merceir's wonder in wearing of silke. In court he stands for a cipher and among ladies like an owle among birds. He is worshiped onely for his wealth, and if he be of the first head, hee shall be valued by his wit, when if his pride go beyond his purse his title will be a trouble to him. In summe he is a child of Folly, and a man of Gotham, the blinde man of Pride, and the foole of Imagination. But in the Court of Honour are no such apes and I hope that this kingdom will breed no such asses." 2.

Or there is this account of the origin of an "upstart countrey knight" in Earle's Microcosmographie: 3.

"His honour was somewhat preposterous, for hee bare the Kings sword before he had armes to weild it; yet being once laid ore the shoulder with a Kniighthood, he finds the Herauld his friend.

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2. Breton: The Good and the Bad, 15.
His father was a man of good stocke, though but a Tanner, or Vsuter; hee purchast the Land, and his son the Title. He has doff off the name of a Clowne, but the looke not so easie, and his face beares still a relish of Churne-milk. Hee is garde with more Gold Lace than all the Gentlemen o' the Countrie, but his bodie makes his clothes stil out of fashion .......

To knights and gallants dress was an all-important item. Of this we have an indication in Ben Jonson's "The Characters of the Persons" which is preaced to Every Man Out of His Humour.

"FASTIDIOUS BRISK, a neat, spruce, affecting courtier, one that wears clothes well in the fashion; practiseth by his glass how to salute; speaks good remnants, notwithstanding the base viol and tobacco; swears tersely, and with variety; cares not what lady's favour he belies, or great man's familiarity: a good property to perfume the boot of a coach ......

"FUNGOSO the son of Sordido, and a student; one that has revelled in his time, and follows the fashion afar off, like a spy. He makes it the whole bent of his endeavours to wring sufficient means from his wretched father to put him in the courtiers'cut; at which he earnestly aims, but so unluckily, that he still lights short a suit." 1

This is corroborated by Marston.


This fashion monger, each morn 'fore he rise,
Contemplates suit shapes, and once from out
his bed,
He hath them straight full lively portrayed.
All fashions since the first year of his queen,
May in his study, fairly drawn, be seen,
And all that shall be to his day of doom;
For not a fashion once dare show his face,
But from neat Piso once must take his grace:
The long fool's coat, the huge slop, the lugged
boot,
From mimic Piso all do claim their root ..... " 1.

Earle says,

"A Gallant is one that was born and shapt for his
Clothes; and if Adam had not falne, had liued to no
purpose. ... His first care is his dresse, the next
his bodie, and in the vniting of them two lies his
soule and its faculties. Heeobserues London truiler
than the Termers, and his businesseis the street:
the Stage the Court, and those places where a proper
man is best showede. If hee be qualified in gaming
extraordinary, he is so much the more gentle and
complete, and hee learned the beast (best) oathes
for the purpose. These are a great part of his dis-
course, and he is as curious in their newnesse as the
fashion .... " 2.

The foolishness of young heirs is a frequent motif
in citizen comedy, and it is also a theme in contemporary
literature. Here, however, the emphasis is not as much
on his ignorance and stupidity as on the waste of the
hard-earned savings of the father, and the futility of
the father's conduct, a feature which is also suggested
to us in the drama. The following is a typical instance:

1. Marston: The Scourge of Villainy, Satire XI.
2. Earle: Microcosmographie, 18.
"So whereas careful Fathers send theyr children to thys Cittie in all gentlemanlike qualities to be trayned vp, and stint them to a moderate allowance, sufficient (indifferently husbanded) to maintain their credits every way, and profite them in that they are sent hether for: what doe couetous Cittie Blood-suckers, but hyre Panders, and professed parasitical Epicures, to close in with them, and (like the Serpent) to alienate them from that ciuill course wherein they were settled? Tis ryot and mis-government that must deliver them ouer into theyr hands to be devoured ...

This extract from The Servingman's Comfort will provide a further illustration:

"And syr Henrie Hadland, yf he would well waygh and consider how many dayes, nay weekes, monthes, and yeares, his father spent in sore toyle and travayle, every hour and moment, day and nyght, carping and caring, how of patches to make a weareable garment, and, scrape some Crownes into his coffers, whereby he, with his posteritie might be more able to maynteine themselves in their trade and calling neighbourlike, would never so prodigally and carelessly spende, consume, and make hauocke in one winter of that which so many, yea and fruitefull summers before had yeelded. This prodigalitie procureth a double miserie, a miserable want in the ende to them that so carelessly consumes their patrimonie and meere miserie to the couetous cormorant ...."

The following passage emphasises the extraordinary thriftlessness of the citizen's heirs:

"I remember in Queen Elizabeth's time a wealthy citizen of London left his son a mighty estate in money: who imagining he should never be able to spend it, would usually make 'ducks and drakes' in the Thames with Twelvepences (5/- now), as boys do with tile shreds and oyster shells. And in the

1. Nashe: Christ's Teares over Ierusalem, (McKerrow, II. p.98).
end, he grew to that extreme want that he was fain to beg or borrow sixpence: having, many times, no more shoes to his feet, and sometimes "more feet than shoes" as the Beggar said in the Comedy ...

The cheaters are very numerous in the drama and there is quite a large section of the contemporary literature that deals with rogues. Mr. Frank Aydelotte, B.Litt., has written a monograph on this subject, entitled Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds. But before we refer to certain passages and quotations from this book we shall note some other passages, principally concerning the boastful soldier who has little place in Mr. Aydelotte's scheme. This was a theme on which the authors of the time delighted to expend their energy, and consequently references are somewhat elaborate. Bobadil's account of his prowess at the beleaguering of Strigonium is an example of this literary genre:

"... I tell you, gentlemen, it was the first, but the best leaguer that ever I beheld with these eyes, except the taking in of - What do you call it? last year, by the Genoways; but that of all other, was the most fatal and dangerous exploit that ever I was ranged in, since I first bore arms in the face of the enemy, as I am a gentleman and a soldier: ... Observe me judicially, sweet Sir; they had planted me three demi-culverins just in the mouth of the breach; now, sir, as were to give on, their master-gunner (a man of no mean skill and mark, you must think,) confronts me with his linstock, ready to

give fire: I, spying his intendment, discharged
my petronel in his bosom, and with these single
arms, my poor rapier, ran violently upon the Moore
that guarded the ordnance, and put them pell-mell
to the sword .......

The following passage occurs in The Guls Horn Book:-

"If you be a soldier talke how often you have
beene in action as the Portingale Voyage, Cailes voyage,
the lland voyage, besides some eight or nine employ-
ments in Ireland, and the Low Countries: then you
may discourse how honourably your Grave used you:
observe that you cal Count Maurice your Grave: how
often you have drunk with such a one, and such a
Count on your knees to you Graves health: and let
it be your virtue to give place neither to S. Kynoch
nor to any Dutchman whatever in the seventeen
provinces for that Souldiers complement of drinking.
And if you perceive that the untravellld company
about you take this down well, ply them with more
such stuffe, as how you have interpreted between the
French king and a great Lord of Barbary, when they
have been drinking healths together, and that will
be an excellent occasion to publish your languages,
if you have them: if not, get some fragments of
French, or some parcels of Italian to fling about
the table, but beware how you speak any Latine there:
your Ordinary most commonly hath no more to do with
Latine than a desperate towne of Garison hath."

We can easily find a parallel to Bodadil's passage
on the art of duelling:-

"Oh, come not within distance! Martius speaks,
Who ne'er discourseth but of fencing feats,
Of counter times, finctures, sly passatas,
Stranazones, resolute stoccatas,
Of the quick change with Wiping mundritta,
The carricade, with the embrocata.
"Oh, by Jesu, sir!" methinks I hear him cry,
"The honourable fencing mystery
Who doth not honour?" Then falls he in again
Jading our ears ................

In connection with highway robbery we have the following passages:—

"Afterwards his highness rode back again to Gravesend, the night being as dark as pitch, and the wind high and boisterous; he slept there that night. On the road, however, an Englishman, with a drawn sword in his hand, came upon us unawares, and ran after us as fast as he could; perhaps he expected to find other persons, for it is very probable that he had an ambush, as that part of the road is not the most safe."

'That part' happens to be Gad's Hill.

The passage just quoted occurs in "A True and Faithful Narrative of the Bathing Excursion, which his serene Highness Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, Count Mümppelgart, Knight of the Garter, made a few years ago to the far-famed Kingdom of England...." (Printed 1602). The following reference to picking of pockets at Bartholomew Fair also comes from a foreign source. In his Travels in England, Paul Hentzner notes this:— ".... While we were at this show, one of our company, Tobias Salander, Doctor of Physic, had his pocket picked of his purse, with nine crowns (écus du soleil), which without doubt was so cleverly taken from him by an Englishman who always kept very close to him, that the Doctor did not in the least perceive it."

To return to Mr. Aydelotte. In his thesis by bringing together the laws enacted against roguery in
its various manifestations, he demonstrates that the literature concerning rogues that sprang up had its basis in actual fact.

"This literature is not founded upon Spanish or German accounts of rogue tricks, but it is instead a trustworthy picture of the terrible social conditions of the early part of Elizabeth's reign. In the seventeenth century, when these conditions had been somewhat improved by legal administration, and still more by economic adjustment, rogue literature fell back upon traditions and imitations of earlier English works, sometimes of foreign ..... " (P. 118)

And in another place he writes:-

"It seems pretty clear that many of the rogue pamphlets are somewhat behind the times. The greatest vogue for these exposures followed the conny-catching series of Robert Greene published in 1591 and 1592, and continued for about twenty-five years. Most of these later works are made up of borrowings; they describe conditions more as they were in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth than as they were in the time of James I. ..... " (P. 78)

Some of the records cited by Mr. Aydelotte give information as to how the cheats are effected. This, for instance, comes from Chettle's Kind Harts Dreame and it immediately reminds us of the Autolycus episodes in A Winter's Tale or the Nightengale and Edgeworth passages in Bartholomew Fair:-

"Wher, yer (ere) a leAud songe was fully ended, some mist their knives, some their purses, some one things, some another ... however they sung it is like they shared; for it hath beenesaid, they them-
selves bragge, they gayned their twenty shillinges in a day .... " (Aydelotte, P. 49).

The next citation taken from a letter to Lord Burghley showing how cutpurses and pickpockets were trained to their crafts is in itself a proof that the rogue's life as it appears in the drama had a basis of fact:─

"... Amongst our travels this one matter tumbled owt by the way, that one Wotton, a gentilman borne, and some tyme a merchant man of good credyt, who falling by tyme into decay, kept an alehowse at Smart's Key, neere Byllingsgate, and after for some mysdemeanor being put downe, he reared up a new trade of lyfe and in the same howse he procured all the cutpurses abowte this citty to repaire to his same howse. There was a scholehowse sett up to learne young boyes to cutte purses. There were hung up two devyses, the one was a pocket, the other was a purse. The pocket had in it certain cownters, and was hung abowt with hawkes' bells, and over the tope did hang a little sacring bell; and he that could take out a counter without any noyse was allowed to be a publique fystyer, and he that could take a piece of syluer out of the purse, without noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged a judiciall nypper. Nota, that a fystyer is a pickpockett, and a nypper is termed pickpurse, or a cutpurse." 1.

Consequently the cunning persons of Middleton's plays and of Dekker's prose are literary adumbrations of a real existing class.

1. Aydelotte: Elizabethan Rogues & Vagabonds, p. 85
Nor is Elizabethan literature silent concerning the usurer. Wherever possible his cruelty and inhumanity are laid bare, and no alleviating circumstances are mentioned to redeem him. This passage comes from Lodge's *Wits Miserie*:

"If you come to borrow money, he will take no usury, no marry he will not; but if you require ten pound, you shall pay him forty shillings for an old cap, and the rest is yours in ready money: the man loves good dealing... Now sir, if a gentleman (on good assurance of land) request him of money, "Good sir", saith he, with a counterfeit sigh, "I would be glad to please your worship, but my good money is abroad, and that I have I dare not put in your hands."

The gentleman thinking this conscience, where it is subtility, and being beside that in some necessity, ventures on the cracked angels, some of which cannot fly for soldering, and pays double interest to the miser, under the cloak of honesty. If he fails his day, God forbid he should take the forfeiture, he will not thrive by other men’s curses, but because men must live, and we are infidels if we provide not for our families, he is content with this his own; only a leaf, a toy of this or that manor, worth both his principal and ten times the interest; this is easy for the gentleman to pay and reasonable in him to receive..." 1.

Nashe gives vent to his indignation at the practice of taking usury in *Christ's Teares over Ierusalem*:

"In London the Usurer snatches vp the Gentleman, gyves him Rattles and Babies for his overrun rent, and the Commons he tooke in, he makes him take out in commodities... Therefore it is that Courtiers hate Merchants more than any

men, for that being once in their bookes, they can neuer get out. Many of them carry the countenances of sheep - looke simple, goe plain, weare their haire short: but they are no Sheepe, but Sheepe-byters: their wooll, or their wealth they make no other use of but to snarle and enwrappe men with .......

We quote only one more passage in order to convince ourselves that the pictures of the usurer by the dramatist and the author of other types of literature respectively are virtually the same.

"Go but among the Usurers in their walk in MoorFields and see if you can borrow £100 of any of them, without a treble security with the use, one way or another doubled: and as yourself, so must your estate be particularly known ... " 1.

When we come to consider the position of the professional classes we find that here, too, the evidence now to be adduced corroborates the conclusion we have already derived from the drama. Some parts of this may be dismissed summarily, but it will repay us to go into detail in others. Earle tells us why the student is subject to continual ridicule, and then goes on to describe his awkwardness in conducting himself outside the "Hermitage of his Study",

".... The time has got a veine of making him ridiculous and men laugh at him by tradition, and no vnluckie absurdity, but is put upon his profession,  

and done like a Scholler. But his fault is only this, that his minde is somewhat taken vp with minde, and his thoughts not loaden with any carriage besides ... " 1.

In portraying doctors the dramatists were, I feel certain, giving embodiment to the older ideas of the doctor's professional attainments and activities. This has parallels in contemporary literature, but the latter advances on this position. Although Breton's sketch is purely an ideal one it shows that the profession was not necessarily regarded as degraded as we might imagine it to be if we confined ourselves solely to the drama.

"A worthy Physician", says Breton, "is the enemy of sickness, in purging nature from corruption. His action is most in the feeling of pulses, and his discourse chiefly of the natures of diseases. He is a searcher out of simples, and accordingly makes his composition. He persuades abstinence and patience for the benefit of health, while purging and bleeding are the chief courses of his counsaile ... " 2.

Lawyers and "the law's delays" are more than usually subject to abuse, a fact which seems to point to the possibility that the law was not equitably administered owing to the corruptibility of its administrators. This is a subject on which Stubbes waxes eloquent.

"Upon the other side, the lawyers they ruffle it out in their silkes, velvettes, and chaines of golde: they build gorgeous houses, sumptuous

1. Earle: Microcosmographie (A downe-right Scholler, 20.)
2. Breton: The Goode and the Badde. 82.
edifices, and statelie turretes. They keepe a porte like mighty potentates; they have their bandes and retinewes of men attendants upon them dailey; they purchase castelles and towers, landes and lordshippes, and what not: and all upon the polllyng and pillyng of the poore commons. They have so good consciences, that all is fishe that comes to the nette; they refuse nothyng that is offered, and what they doe for it in preferryng their poore clientes' causes, the Lord knoweth, and one day they shall finde it. If you have argent, or rather rubrum unguentum, I dare not saie gold, but red ointment, to grease them in the fist withall, then your sute shal want no futherance; but if this liquor bee wanting, then farewell clientes, he maie goe shoe the goose, for any good success he is like to have of his matter: without this, sheriffes and officers will returne writtes with a tarde venit, or with a non est inventus, smelly to the poore mannes profit. But so long as any of this ointement is propping, they will beare him in hand, his matter is good and iuste, and all to keep hym in ure till all be gone, and then will they tell him his matter is naught. And if one ask them why they tolde not their clientes so in the beginnyng? they will answer I knewe not so much at once: the fault is in hymself, he told me the best, but not the worste: he shewed me not this evidence and that evidence, this presidente and that presidente, turnyng all the fault upon the suggester, whereas the whole faulte in deede is in hymself, as his owne conscience can beare him witnesse .......

Again, we have this passage from Nashe's Terrors of the Night (1593),

"And finallie, o you Judges and Magistrates, if there bee anye amongst you, that doo wrest all the Lawe into their owne hands, by drawing and receyving euery mans money into their owne hands, and making the newe lawes of their owne, whom no Prince nor Parliament ever dreamed of; that looke as iust as Ieovah by daye, enthronizing grave zeale and religion on the elevated whites of the eyes, when by night corrupt gifts and rewards rush

in at their gates in whole Armies, like Northern Carriers comming to their inns; that in steede of their bookes turne over their bribes for the deciding of causes, adudging him the best right that brings the richest present vnto them. If anie such there be I say as in our Commonwealth I know none, but have read of in other States"

(the irony of this!)

"let them looke to have a number of unwelcome Clients of their owne accusing thoughts and imaginations, that will betray them in the night to every idle feare and illusion ...... "  

In Barnaby Rich's work, The Honestie of this Age, 1614, we have the following statements:-

"Who dares to take exceptions but to a meane magistrate, that is crept into an office perhaps by corruption? No, it is dangerous to looke into his abominations, but hee is sure to perish that will not open his lippes to speake his ill.

"And what a dangerous matter it would be to call such a lawyer a pickpurse, that will take upon him the defence of a matter that in his owne conscience he knoweth to be unjust, and yet he will send his clyent home foure times a yeare with an empty purse." 2.

A further example is to be found in Donne's Satyres, (V.):-

"Th' iron age that was, when justice was sold - now Injustice is sold dearer - did allow All claimed fees and duties. Gamesters, anon, The money which you sweat and swear for is gone Into other hands ......... If law be in the judge's heart, and he Have no heart to resist letter, or fee.


177.
Where wilt thou appeal? .......
Judges are gods; he who made and said them so,
Meant not men should be forced to them to go,
By means of Angels.\[a coin = 10/-\]
We send to God; to Dominations,
Powers, Cherubims, and all heaven's courts, if we
Should pay fees as here, daily bread would be
Scarce to kings; so 'tis ....... " 1.

The attitude of Elizabethan authors towards the
sciences and the new discoveries, now falls to be
considered. Nashe's works prove a fruitful field of
investigation in this respect. He is quite modern in
his views, regarding astrology and alchemy as humbugs,
indulged in only by those who wish to gull the credulous
public. In the Anatomie of Absurditie we have the
following passage:

"Another sort of men there are, who though
not addicted to such counterfet curiositie,
yet are they infected with a farther improba-
bilitie: challenging knowledge into the selues
of deeper misteries where with Thales Milesius
they see not what is vnder their feetes; search-
ing the more curiouslie into the secrets of
nature, whenas in respect of deeper knowledge,
ye see meere naturals; coveting with the
Phoenix to approche so nye to the sunne, that
they are scorcht with his beames and confounded
with his brightness. Who made them so privie
to the secrets of the Almightye that they should
foretell the tokens of his wealth, or terminate
the time of his vengeaunce? But lightly some
newes attends the ends of euery Tearme, some
Monsters are bockt, though not bred against
vacation times, who are straight waie diuersely

dispearst into euerie quarter, so that at length they become the Alehouse talke of euery Carter; yea, the Country Plowman feareth a Calabrian floodes in the midst of a furrowe, and the sillie Shepheardes committing his wandering sheepe to the custodie of his wappe, in his field naps dreameth of flying Dragons, which for feare least he should see in the losse of his sight, he falleth a sleepe; no star he seeth in the night but seemeth a Comet; hee lighteth no sooner on a quagmyre, but he thinketh this is the foretold Earthquake, whereof his boy hath the Ballet.

"Thus are the ignorant deluded, the simple misused, and the sacred Science of Astronomie discredited; and in truth what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money? ....... " 1.

The Stationers' Register bears witness to the fact that an enormous number of "almanacks" or "prognostications" were published each year. These were based frequently on astrological observations and calculations of a kind which Nashe ridicules more than once.

"A Wonderfull strange and miraculous Astrologi-call Prognostication for this year of our Lord God 1591. But Jupiter in his exaltation presenteth that diuers young Gentlemen shall creepe further into the Mercers Books in a Month then they can get out in a yeare; and that sundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keep Duke Humfrye company in Poulies, because they know not where to get their dinner abroad ..... " 2.

And again, in Pierce Penilesse his Svpplication to the Divell we have the following:-

"Gents, I am sure you have hearde of a ridiculous Asse that many yeares since solde lyes by the quarter, and wrote an absurd


179.
Astrollogically Discourse of the terrible conjunction of Saturne and Jupiter, wherin (as if hee had lately cast the Heauens water or beene at the anatomizing of the Skies intrailes in Surgeons hall) hee prophecetl of such strange wonders to ensue from the stars distemperature and the Vnusuall adulterie of Planets, as none but he that is bawd to these celestiall bodies could euere desory. What expectation there was of it both in towne and country, the amazement of those times may testify; and the rather, because he pawned his credit upon it, in these expresse tearmes: If these things fall not out in euery point as I haue wrote, let me for euer after loose the credit of my Astronomie. Well, so it happened, that he happened not to be a man of his word: his Astronomie broke his day with his creditors, and Saturne and Jupiter prou'd honester men than all the world take them for; Whereupon the poore Prognosticator was ready to runne himselfe through with his Jacobs Staffe and cast himselfe headlong from the top of a Globe (as a mountaine) and breake his neck .... " 1.

There are numerous passages concerning the religious question, and many whole books are devoted to the discussion of the controversy in its various aspects. These books, such as The Ecclesiastical Polity, and the like, go fully into the question and state the case for either side, according to the point of view of the writer, but the lighter literature of the period does not contribute anything constructive. On the other hand, it frequently uses destructive criticism and satire. It should be noted that none of the dogmas, whether they be those of the Anglicans or of the Puritans, find a place, whereas

1. Nashe: Pierce Penilesse his supplication to the Divell (1592). (I. pp. 196-7.)
those who profess these dogmas often fall under the satirist's lash. One or two examples taken more or less at random will serve to show what is meant. The first two come from Marston:-

"Who would imagine yonder sober man,
That same devout meal-mouthed precisian,
That cries, "Good brother", "Kind sister", makes a duck
After the antique grace, can always pluck
A sacred book out of his civil hose,
And at the op'ning, and at our stomach's close
Says with a turn'd up eye a solemn grace
Of half an hour; then with silken face
Smiles on the holy crew, and then doth cry
"O Manners! O Times of importunity!"
What that depaints a church reformed state,
To which the female tongues magnificate,
Because that Plato's odd opinion,
Of all things common hath strong motion
In their weak minds:— who thinks that this good man
Is a vile, sober, damned politician?
Not I, till with his bait of purity
He bit me sore in deepest usury.
No Jew, No Turk would use a Christian
So inhumanely as this Puritan." 1.

And again:-

"............ But thou, rank Puritan,
I'll make an ape as good a Christian;
I'll force him chatter, turning up his eye,
Look and go grave; demure civility
Shall seem to say, "Good Brother, sister dear!"
As for the rest, to snort in belly-cheer, (2)
To bite to gnaw, and boldly intermel
With sacred things in which thou dost excel,
Unforced he'll do, O take compassion
Even on your souls! Make not religion
A bawd to lewdness. Civil Socrates,
Clip not the youth Alcibiades
With unchaste arms. Disguised Messaline,
I'll tear thy mask, and bare thee to the eyn
Of hissing boys, if to the theatres
I find thee once more come for lecherers,
To satiate (nay, to tire) thee with the use
Of weak'ning lust. Ye feigners, leave t'abuse
Our better thoughts with your hypocrisy;
Or with the ever-living verity
I'll strip you nak'd, and whip you with my rhymes,
Causing your shame to live to after-times."  1.

Some sentences from Earle's A Shee-Precise Hypocrite
are apposite:-

"..... Her devotion at the Church is much in the
turning vp of her eye, and turning downe the leaf
in her Booke when shee heares nam'd Chapter and
Verse. When she comes home, shee commends the
Sermon for the Scripture, and two houres. She
loues Preaching better than praying, and of Preachers
Lecturers, and thinke the more Weekes Exercise farre more
edifying than the Sundaies .... Shee is one that
thinks shee performs all her duty to God in hearing,
and shewes the fruities of it in talking. Shee is
more fiery against the May-pole than her Husband,
and thinks he might doe a Phinehas his act to
break the pate of the Fiddler ....... "  2.

It will be seen that features similar to those
treated in the drama are selected for reproach and
ridicule. But there is mention of the good side of
Puritanism in some of the ephemeral literature of the age,
the side which is not touched on by the dramatists.
From the Interpreter and the part of that poem which is
headed A Puritan we learn that a Puritan is loyal, and
generous in spending money on the national cause to

2. Earle: Microcosmographie, 43.
advance Protestantism. And further,

"A Puritan is he that would not live
Upon the sins of office; nor give
Money for Office in the Church or State ......
A Puritan is he that thinks and says
He must account give of his works and ways:
And whatsoever calling he assumes
It is for others' good .......... A Puritan is he, that, twice a day
Doth, at the least, to God devoutly pray
And twice a Sabbath, he goes to Church to hear,
To pray, confess his sins, and praise God there
In open sight of all men . . . . . .
A Puritan is he that speaks his mind
In Parliament: not looking once behind
In other's danger; nor yet sideways leaning
To promised honour his direct true meaning.
But for the Laws and Truth doth firmly stand;
By which, he knows, Kings only do command;
And Tyrants otherwise. He crosseth not
This man, because a Courtier or a Scot.
Or that, because a Favourite, or soe;
But if the State's friend, none can be his foe!
But if the State's foe (be he what he will
Illustrious, wise, great, learned) he counts him ill.

His character abridged if you will have,
He's one that would a subject be, no slave!" 1.

What conclusions can we derive from the foregoing investigation regarding the light thrown on Elizabethan life and thought by the writers of contemporary literature other than drama? From the evidence already adduced it is clear that pamphleteers, satirists and character-writers are unanimous in depicting the same

1. "The Interpreter, wherein these principal Terms of State much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded. Qui vult decipi, decipiatur, Anno 1662." (Arber: English Garner.)
features of the Elizabethan age. They describe for us with almost tiresome monotony the cruel usurers, the hypocritical Puritans, the foolish young heirs, the pretentious gallants, the cunning cheaters, the ambitious and scolding wives. In fact, so much emphasis is laid on this side of life that one might almost imagine that it made up practically the whole of citizen life in those days. We must however remember that the majority of these authors were writing in the realistic vein, and that in so doing they were liable to stress the worst traits of character and the most sordid aspects of life. Hence they repeated those features which seemed to them most repellant, until the cruel usurers, the hypocritical Puritans, and all the others became stock figures, whose vitality becomes more and more impaired as the authors copy from each other's works instead of from life itself. To these figures the dramatists merely gave a certain concreteness. We see them in action instead of only being told about them. Even the records of the period—those bare bones of fact which the authors have clothed according to their inclinations without departing from the spirit of the age—show that the citizen life of the drama was something like what it was in actual fact.
The accounts of English life and customs as they appeared to the foreigners who visited this country during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., from whose works we have made several citations, support this statement. Events and characters in the drama and in literature have their prototypes in events that actually happened and in characters who were then alive. Even the most romantic careers of Quicksilver and of other dashing 'prentices have their foundation in fact. Mr. Hubert Hall's book, Society in the Elizabethan Age, devotes part of a chapter to sketching the life of George Stoddard, the one-time 'prentice of Mr. Thomas Lodge, alderman, through his early ventures to his final successes due to his possession of that which his master lacked - the business instinct. We remember, too, from Mr. Aydelotte's work on Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds how the rogue literature had its basis in the actual social conditions of the time just slightly previous to the florescence of that type of literature, and how it, too, gradually lost its hold on life and latterly took its inspiration from the previous pamphlets and not from life. This seems to be true of the drama and of all the dramatis personae of citizen comedy. At first the
majority of them are drawn from real life, they are vital characters repeating on the stage the actual citizen life of London. Then the types harden, and become, as it were, crystalized into stock figures and literary conventions. Hence the lack of variety and the monotony of the minor characters, and of many of the major characters as well. But in the first instance the picture presented is true to the life of the times.
IV. CONCLUSION.

THE SCOPE OF REALISM: THE TONE OF THE PLAYS.

To answer the question, What is the scope of Realism in Elizabethan drama? is virtually to summarize some of the observations already made.

During the whole of the Elizabethan era we find that realism is seldom far absent from even the most romantic dramas, a fact which gives vigour and vitality to plays otherwise most unhealthy. The presence of realism is of varying degrees and kinds. It may be no more than a reference spoken in passing, or it may depend for its existence on an individual character who has temporarily, or more or less permanently throughout the play, the gift of turning on the cold, critical light of realism to the romantic doings of the other characters, who are his peers. In tragicomedy and in tragedy there is frequently such a character whose raison d'être is not easily accounted for. Such are, for example, Jacques in As You Like It, and Felice "a shrewd, contemplative cynic", in Antonio and Mellida. Again, whole scenes may be introduced to relieve the high tension of emotions, as, for instance, the grave-digger scene in
Hamlet, the porter scene in *Macbeth*, or the gulling scene in *Beggar's Bush* (vide supra, P.120). In these we have no character belonging to the same stratum of society criticising the actions of his peers, but people of the lower orders (going wordily about their business) introduced by way of deliberate contrast. In the first case, that of Felice and Jacques, the criticism is incisive and cruel, in the second the contrast is achieved by way of parody or ridicule.

On the other hand, in such plays as are citizen comedies strictly so-called the realism is dependent for its existence neither on the bitter railings of a disillusioned philosopher of high life, nor on the deliberate cheats of a gang of the lower orders, though both of these may be present, it comes from an accurate description of the every day life of the citizens themselves. The light of realism is focussed chiefly on the middle classes and the lower orders, comparatively seldom on the court life and the life of the nobility. When an example of the latter type occurs, it is due to the dramatist's intention of satirizing or of caricaturing some of the less worthy incidents and specimens. Satire, like caricature, always distorts the picture. Hence in citizen comedy and in the other forms of domestic drama previously enumerated court
life has little place. It is only the less reputable members of the upper strata of society who would venture to embroil themselves in the every day affairs of the common citizen, and as such they are a very natural butt for the satirist, whether he be versifier, pamphleteer, or dramatist. The life of the citizens of London, however, is realistically treated - their over-the-counter trade in the booths\textsuperscript{1}, their business transacted on the Exchange\textsuperscript{2}. Now 'all this substantial respectability, into which there comes but little excitement save the occasional reward of virtue and conscientiousness in the advance of a citizen to be deputy alderman or Lord Mayor, is apt to be somewhat pale and uninteresting. It will be remembered that this good fortune befell Golding, the faithful, somewhat colourless 'prentice of William Touchstone, and also \textit{Simon Eyre}, the good, honest workman. Mere domesticity in plays, as in woman, though respected, does not attract; it is too uniform, too evenly good, too monotonous. Hence we find that into citizen comedy low-life is frequently introduced - low life with its capacity for the picturesque and the picaresque. The cheaters and rascals who haunt the taverns\textsuperscript{3} and Paul's Walk\textsuperscript{4} afford excellent

1. cf. \textit{Eastward Hoe!}
2. cf. \textit{The Building of the Royal Exchange.}
3. \textit{The Damoiselle, or The New Ordinary} (Brome).
4. \textit{Your Five Gallants.}
opportunity for realistic treatment, as do the foot-pads and the poachers, and all the members of the gipsy gang. Their daring by its very audacity, their mode of existence by its unusualness and coarseness exercise a peculiar fascination for the dramatists, who in their turn represent similar deeds and scenes with great minuteness and detail. Moreover these scenes because of their realistic accuracy were bound to be popular with an Elizabethan audience, (if not, how else can we account for the number of such passages still extant?). That such gullers and cheaters did exist is evident from Greene's biography. For when, with moral purpose, he undertook to reveal their cheats, and A Notable Discovery of Coosenage, &c., The Second Part of Connycatching, &c., and The Third and Last Part of Connie-catching, &c., were published, particularly the Third Part, he went for a time in danger of his life from those whose malpractices he had revealed. The realistic element, then, is comparatively restricted in scope, covering only two aspects of life - the somewhat humdrum existence of the citizen and his family and the picturesque uncertain life of the less respectable members of society, the vagabonds and the ruffians. The result is that by such restriction the realistic effect is much

1. Beggars Bush (cf. P. 120)
more easily achieved. If attempted in depicting the higher strata of society it would have been difficult to prevent romance from encroaching, or to keep out all manner of complimentary remarks and flattery. Within the restricted scope, however, the realism is very satisfactory in effect.

There is, however, a tendency which manifests itself noticeably later in the period with which we are dealing. It is marked by a departure from citizen comedy strictly so-called, and specializes either on the cheats of the lower order, or raises the rank of the dramatis personae very slightly above that of the citizens to that of knights and ladies, as in D'Avenant's The Wits, and some of the comedies of Fletcher and of Shirley. In the one case we have comedies of intrigue and of gulling. In the other we have a comedy of "humours" leading to a comedy of manners. In neither instance is the departure from the strict form of citizen comedy - if we may so speak of a type of drama which never had any definite rules, despite Ben Jonson's precepts - very appreciable to begin with, but the ultimate result is widely different from the original type. The Gamester and Hyde Park have, for instance, some features in common with The Silent Woman and The Alchemist but the former lead on by a very natural transition to The Plain Dealer
and *The Country Wife* which bear little resemblance to citizen comedy. Or again, *The Court Beggar* has a distinct likeness to *Michaelmas Term*, but in *The Squire of Alsatia* or *Bury Fair* the family features are not traced so easily to their origin.

The realism of these later plays gradually isolated itself from the life of the times from which it had at the outset drawn its inspiration. It became a mere repetition of what had gone before, and in consequence, unreality set in. The tentative beginnings of the accurate, unidealised description of ordinary middle-class life which were first seen in the citizen comedy seemed unable to develop any further in the drama of that period. The dramatists appeared incapable of imagining more than one or two sets of circumstances in connection with the citizen's life, and realism, in consequence, died through lack of the nutrition which should have been provided for it by the employment of fresh situations. Satirists tended to caricature, to emphasize the distorted features at the expense of truth: character-writers were apt to sacrifice reality for wit and conceit; and pamphleteers were liable to the errors of exaggeration of both satirists and character-writers. Consequently we must admit that in

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the drama more realism was present than there was in any other literary genre in the age of Elizabeth.

Realism which is the result, perhaps the unintentional result, neither of satire nor of an exploitation of the picaresque is found in the Elizabethan age only in the drama, and especially in that section of the drama which we have been investigating. Even in that restricted field the realistic strain, apparently, are long become exhausted. It is not till we come to the essays of Addison and Steele at the beginning of the eighteenth century that we find realism again, for the period immediately following on the Restoration was too much exercised by the "heroic" value of life to notice people and things as they really were. Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (1678 and later) is an exception. In that work we have, besides an allegory of the life of the soul, unqualified realism, particularly in the second part which gives an unadorned and truthful account of the ordinary life of an average middle-class family. The merit of the work (from this point of view) lies in the faithfulness of the portraiture. This unqualified realism of Bunyan and the essayists is foreshadowed in the stricter types of citizen comedy. In them the realism is restricted to the description of one or two sets of circumstances only, and by reason of
this limitation it became ultimately nothing more than the mere repetition of the work of the previous authors, and degenerated into a display of "humours", or an account of gulling. Beyond the fact that it still continued to draw upon the citizens and the lower orders for the *dramatis personae* it lost its contact with reality and depended for its success on the mere ingenuity of the cheats and intrigues which make up the plot.

There is still another aspect from which the subject may be viewed, namely the prevailing tone of the dramatists in the realistic plays. This also involves a review of what has already been written. The tone not unnaturally depends on the purpose (if any avowed purpose there be) that the author had in mind when he composed his play, and where there is no avowed purpose the tone is often influenced by that found in other similar plays. To begin with, the realistic element was introduced for dramatic effect in miracle plays, for didactic effect in moralities, and both these purposes persisted in Elizabethan drama. The dramatic purpose has an aesthetic value and cannot alter the moral tone, but the didactic purpose can affect the tone of the play. The earlier stages of citizen comedy when it had not completely shaken off the
cloak of allegory, as in The Three Lords and the Three Ladies of London (1587) and A Looking Glass for London (1593) &c., show unmistakably that the didactic purpose was uppermost in the dramatist's mind. The same is true of many of the survivals from the allegory and the interlude, or of the tentative beginnings in the direction of realistic drama during the decade 1590-1600, and even later. These would include Knack to Know a Knave 1591; How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad (published 1602)\(^2\), The Miseries of Inforst Marriage (published 1607), &c. In the case of these last mentioned plays the number of subsequent editions through which they passed in the course of a few years shows that there was great demand for the type of play with an avowedly moral purpose. How a Man May Choose A Good Wife from a Bad was first published in 1602 and ran through subsequent editions in 1605, 1608, 1614, 1621, 1630 and 1634.\(^1\). The Miseries of Inforst Marriage has editions in 1607 - the earliest known - 1611, 1629 and 1637.\(^1\). Nor is this tendency confined to these early years only. The Phoenix (1601), The London Prodigal (1603 or 1605),


2. Though not published until the early years of the seventeenth century the style and the matter suggest an earlier date of composition.
A Woman Killed with Kindness (1604), The Honest Whore Parts I and II (1604), The Dutch Courtesan (published 1605), The Honest Lawyer (published 1616), The Old Couple (1641) by Thomas May, and others, show that the didactic element was not easily omitted from such plays as brought to notice any of the problems of the age in anything more than a slightly superficial manner.

Didacticism, though frequently too obvious to satisfy the aesthetic canons, is seldom unkind or unpleasant; satire, on the other hand, may be both. Didacticism seeks to teach something positive; satire by its keen tooth, tries to remove something, and the result is soreness and a blank. There were so many blatant vices in the Elizabethan age (in which age are there not?) that all the dramatists who saw with the eye of the iconoclastic reformer set up these wrongs on pillory and ridiculed them. This, in reality, was one of the purposes of the use of "Humours". "Humours" may have developed out of an hyper-satirical view of life, or have led to it, but the connection is indubitably established. Hence both in the early and later phases of realistic drama we have the satiric purpose manifest in some plays in varying degrees of keenness. To mention only a few examples: Ben Jonson is satiric throughout practically all his plays.
Satire is manifest throughout the *Parnassus Trilogy*, in Marston's *The Fawn* and *What you Will*, and later we find it in Brome's *City Wit*, *The Northern Lass*, *The Antipodes*, &c.

The gulling plays proper and those whose plot is that of Latin comedy have no ostensible moral purpose. They are written solely to amuse, and the tone varies from a lighthearted easy morality, where vice in the end is usually exposed, the "guller" himself being gulled, as is the case in "Michaelmas Term" and *Your Five Gallants*, &c., to a condoning crime, an apparent delight in coarseness, and no attempt at even poetic justice. This is more particularly the case with those plays written during the last decade of the Elizabethan era, though its beginning is apparent as early as Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman* written about 1613. This subversal of the moral order is noticeable also in the works of Brome¹, Glapthorne², Shackerly Marmion³ and Killigrew. Except in the possible case of the last named author in his *The Parson's Wedding* we have no reason to believe that the uncertain moral tone was intentional, the author's purpose

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was merely to produce that kind of amusement which may be derived from gulling for gulling’s sake.  

In conclusion, the tone which pervades citizen drama strictly so called is healthy in citizen comedy of the best type, and usually in the later examples as well the moral tone is always high. In questions of inter-sex relations the sanctity of the marriage tie is always honoured, attempts to break it being foiled, while those who all but involve themselves in guilt both give voice to and act out their penitence. It sometimes happens that the repentance is a little sudden and almost unnatural, as in the case of Penitent Brothel in *A Mad World, My Masters*, or Francisco in *The Widow*. The fact, however, remains that the dramatist always recognises that the guilty parties ought not to succeed in their wicked schemes. To punish them by the overwhelming consequences of such guilt belongs to the sphere of tragedy, consequently, repentance before the perpetration of the deed is necessary in comedy. Such a repentance may not be well motivated, but it is essential, hence the apparent suddenness thereof.

This, however, is one aspect only, albeit an

1. Also Cartwright; *The Ordinary.*
important one, and there are other features to be taken into consideration before we can pronounce finally regarding the moral tone of citizen comedy. Citizen comedy has its limitations, but inside these we shall, I think, find that the tone is exceedingly healthy. The limitations are occasioned by the fact that the citizens do not live on an exalted plane, consequently, there is no place for deep passion. The characters are never roused to great heroic achievements, nor do they perpetrate crimes which overthrow all in ruin and death. Our emotions are not greatly stirred. Ambition and greed, dishonesty, and prodigality are the sins which most naturally beset the citizen and his family, and the dramatists deal with these in a general way. The virtues to be striven after are set forth in the plays. They are modesty, conscientiousness and thrift, which the dramatists reward in homely fashion, though always in a manner which is appreciated by the citizen. Devotion to one's duty and to one's city is always held up for reverence and praise, and the general atmosphere is that of quiet happiness and solemn, austere dignity. This is obviously true of The Shoemakers' Holiday, The City Madam, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Eastward Hoe!, The Fair Maid of The Exchange,
and others. The dramatists' moral point of view may be summed up most happily in Touchstone's epilogue:—

"Now London looke about
And in this morall see thy glasse runne out;
Behold the careful father, thrifty sonne,
The solemn deedes which each of us have done;
The usurer punisht, and from fall so steepe.
The Prodigall child reclaim'd, and the lost sheepe."

NOTE: References to Eastward Hoe!, The Michaelmas Term, The Shoemakers' Holiday and Your Five Gallants are exceedingly frequent, because these plays illustrate most clearly the outstanding features of this type of play.
**RESULTS FROM STATIONERS' REGISTER.**

**All Mentions.**

**Old Plays.**

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**New Plays Only.**

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**N.B.** Latin Tragedies are usually Senecan and may be reprints.
### All Mentions.

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N.B. (x) Tending towards.

(+1) or (+2) refers to the number of sub-plots only.

+ means that play is partly of this type.