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A CRITICAL EDITION OF SAMUEL ROWLEY'S  
*WHEN YOU SEE ME, YOU KNOW ME*

JOANNA NICOLA HOWE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of Bath Spa University  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Humanities and Cultural Industries, Bath Spa University

June 2015

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## Abstract

This edition presents a fully modernised and annotated text of Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*, first performed by Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune playhouse c. 1604. The earliest extant playtext to represent King Henry VIII as a character on the early modern stage, *When You See Me* dramatizes a number of key events in the Tudor king's reign including, as per the play's subtitle, 'the birth and virtuous life of Edward, Prince of Wales'. The play was first printed in 1605, with subsequent editions appearing in 1613, 1621 and 1632. Despite its apparent success on the Fortune stage, however, the play has become increasingly marginalized since the mid-seventeenth century, receiving only cursory critical attention. In addition to making the text of Rowley's play accessible to a modern readership, this edition aims to rehabilitate *When You See Me* as an important dramatization of the Henrician Reformation; it also seeks to draw attention to Rowley and his long and influential career in the early modern theatre.

The introduction to the edition is divided into two main parts, focusing respectively on the author and the play; the latter is subdivided to include separate critical, bibliographical and editorial introductions. The Critical Introduction provides information on the play's composition and performance history, including aspects of its performance on the Fortune stage and its position within the extant company repertory; the Bibliographical Introduction considers the play's entrance in the Stationers' Register and the manuscript used as printers' copy, as well as the physical manufacture of its first edition and the text's treatment in later and modern editions; and the Editorial Introduction provides comment on the specific methodologies employed in the production of the edition, with particular reference to the Arden Early Modern Drama editorial guidelines upon which the text is based.

The appendices provide useful supplementary information, including Rowley's likely source material; doubling charts; current locations of extant copies; bibliographical descriptions; press variants; and photographs of the copy-text.



For my grandparents, Winifred ('Freddie') and Norman Gilmour,  
both of whom offered encouragement and support in the early stages of this project,  
but neither of whom lived to see it complete.

I dedicate this to you, in the hope it would have made you proud.

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## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I'd like to thank my doctoral supervisors, Professor Ian Gadd and Dr Tracey Hill, without whose continual support and encouragement this project could never have come into being. Their expertise, good humour and, above all, patience have been instrumental in its completion, and I am grateful for their guidance every step of the way.

My research was also made possible by a generous doctoral scholarship awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in October 2010. Amongst other things, the award enabled me to spend five weeks in North America collating and examining copies of Rowley's *When You See Me*. A second research visit to North America was funded largely by a minor grant awarded by the Bibliographical Society, and it is with grateful thanks to the AHRC and Bibliographical Society that I can now claim to have seen in person all but one of the sixteen extant US copies of Rowley's play. The final copy, now at the Rare Books Library at the Ohio State University, was in private hands until very recently, and my thanks go to rare book collector Aaron Pratt and rare books curator Eric Johnson for providing detailed descriptions of this copy. A generous bursary from the Malone Society also allowed me to examine and collate the single copy of Rowley's play held at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Jena. Thanks are due to the Society for Renaissance Studies, the University of Birmingham and the Graduate School at Bath Spa University for their assistance in the form of conference and/or travel bursaries.

I have spent a great deal of time working in research libraries during the course of this project, and I wish to thank staff at the following institutions for their help and patience. In the UK, thanks go to the Bodleian Library; the British Library; Worcester College Library, Oxford; the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum; Eton College Library; the National Trust library at Petworth House in West Sussex; the Shakespeare Institute Library; the London Metropolitan Archives; The National Archives at Kew; and the Theatre Collection at Blythe House. In the US, thanks are due to staff at Boston Public Library; the Houghton Library at Harvard; the Beinecke Library at Yale; the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; the Newberry Library in

Chicago; the Huntington Library; the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library at UCLA; the Folger Shakespeare Library; the Pforzheimer Library at the Harry Ransom Center; and the Firestone Library at Princeton University. Finally, thanks go to staff at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Jena, Germany. Special thanks are due to Rachel Bond at Eton College Library, Andrew Loukes at Petworth House and Johanna Triebe in Jena for their time and effort in responding to my many and often detailed queries (in the case of Johanna, this also included battling with my poor grasp of the German language). I am grateful to Eileen Smith at the Beinecke and Stephen Ferguson at the Firestone Library for taking my findings on board and altering their catalogues accordingly.

There are a number of individuals who deserve mention here for their invaluable advice, support and expertise. Dr Martin Wiggins in particular stands out for his interest and enthusiasm in Rowley's *When You See Me*, and I am grateful to Dr Wiggins both for sharing material on the play before its publication in his *Catalogue* and for discussing his ideas regarding editorial practice and methodology. Moreover, it is due to Dr Wiggins that an earlier version of this edition was used as the basis for a play-reading at the Shakespeare Institute, after which students commented on the effectiveness and functionality of the text as a working script in performance. Dr Stephen Longstaffe shared ideas on the role of Will Summers in the play and on the possible relationship between *When You See Me* and the two lost Wolsey plays, and Dr Lucy Munro generously sent a copy of her unpublished work on the repertory of the Admiral's–Prince's–Palsgrave's Men. I am grateful to Professor Peter Blayney for sharing his expertise on the Stationers' Register and the use of printers' measures in the early modern printing house, and to Professors Gabriel Egan and David Vander Meulen for commenting on the likely patterns of headline recurrence in the first edition of Rowley's play. Thanks also go to Professor Alan H. Nelson for invaluable information on the use and significance of the London lay subsidy rolls, and to Professor Susan Cerasano for her insights into the role of Edward Alleyn in Prince Henry's Men around the time of *When You See Me*'s first performances. For comments on my ideas and/or early drafts of the thesis, I wish to thank Dr Natalie Aldred, Professor Joseph D. Candido, Professor David Carnegie, Dr Molly Hardy, Dr Brett Hirsch, Dr Eleanor Lowe, Professor Randall McLeod, Dr Rosemary O'Day, Professor Stephen Tabor,

Melissa Van Vuuren, Pip Wilcox, and staff at Rare Book School at the University of Virginia. Additionally, my work on William Poel's twentieth-century production of *When You See Me* was published in *Theatre Notebook* in March 2014 (68.1), and thanks must go to the editor, Trevor Griffiths, for his help and support in bringing the article to fruition.

For access to the unpublished editorial guidelines of the Arden Early Modern Drama series, Arden 3rd series and Revels series, thanks are due respectively to Professor John Jowett, Professor Henry Woodhuysen and Margaret Bartley, and Matthew Frost. For permission to reproduce images in the thesis, grateful thanks go to Colin Harris at the Bodleian Library; Dr Joanna Parker and the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College Library, Oxford; Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Shakespeare Library; Ms Calista Lucy, Keeper of the Archive at Dulwich College; Paul Johnson, Image Library Manager at The National Archives; and staff at the London Metropolitan Archives. I also owe a huge debt of gratitude to James Allan at the Bodleian's Imaging Department, who worked tirelessly in the weeks leading up to my first US trip to provide transparency reproductions of each of the four editions of *When You See Me* held at the Bodleian Library.

I am, as any editor, indebted to the work of previous editors, in this case Karl Elze, F. P. Wilson and J. A. B. Somerset, whose treatment of and approach to the text of Rowley's *When You See Me* has influenced and informed my own on many occasions. I am particularly grateful to Professor Somerset for his encouragement when, back in 2010, I got in contact to introduce myself and my initial thoughts and ideas. We have been in touch several times since and his kindness and enthusiasm have never waned.

Finally, I'd like to thank my partner, David, and my family and friends for their unwavering support over the last four years. Things were, on occasion, far from straightforward, and it is only due to their continual understanding and motivation that I was able to see this through.

## List of abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations used throughout Parts 1 and 2 of the thesis: the Introduction to Samuel Rowley and the Introduction to the Play. For abbreviations used specifically in the commentary to the Edited Text, see pp. 196–202.

### For editions of *When You See Me, You Know Me*

Q1	Rowley, Samuel, <i>When you see me, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of king Henry the eight, with the birth and vertuous life of Edward Prince of Wales</i> (London: printed [by Humphrey Lownes and others] for Nathaniel Butter, 1605)
Q2	Rowley, Samuel, <i>WHEN YOY SEE ME, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of king Henrie the Eight, with the birth and vertuous life of EDWARD Prince of Wales</i> (London: printed [by Thomas Purfoot II] for Nathaniel Butter, 1613)
Q3	Rowley, Samuel, <i>WHEN YOY SEE ME, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle History of king Henrie the Eight, with the birth and vertuous life of EDWARD Prince of Wales</i> (London: printed [by Thomas Purfoot II] for Nathaniel Butter, 1621)
Q4 the	Rowley, Samuel, <i>WHEN YOY SEE ME, You know mee. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of King HENRY the Eight, with the birth and vertuous Life of EDWARD Prince of Wales</i> (London: printed by B[ernard] A[lsop] and T[homas] F[awcett] for Nathaniel Butter, 1632)
Elze	Elze, Karl (ed.), <i>When You See Me, You Know Me</i> (London and Dessau: Williams & Norgate, 1874)
Farmer	Farmer, John S. (ed.), <i>When You See Me, You Know Me</i> (Amersham: issued for subscribers by the editor of the Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1913; rpt New York: AMS Press, 1970)
Wilson	Wilson, F. P. (ed.), <i>When You See Me, You Know Me</i> , Malone Society Reprints edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952)
Somerset	Somerset, J. A. B., ‘An edition of Samuel Rowley’s <i>When you see me you know me</i> ’, unpublished MA thesis, University of Birmingham (1964)

### For reference works and periodicals

AEB	<i>Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography</i>
Arber, <i>Transcript</i>	Arber, Edward, <i>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554–1640 AD</i> , 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875–94)



Chambers, <i>ES</i>	Chambers, E. K., <i>The Elizabethan Stage</i> , 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923)
Bentley, <i>JCS</i>	Bentley, G. E., <i>The Jacobean and Caroline Stage</i> , 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941–68)
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>EMLS</i>	<i>Early Modern Literary Studies</i>
Greg, <i>Bibliography</i>	Greg, W. W., <i>A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration</i> , 4 vols. (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1939–59)
Greg, <i>Dramatic Documents</i>	Greg, W. W., <i>Dramatic Document from the Elizabethan Playhouses: Stage Plots, Actors' Parts, Prompt Books</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931)
Harbage, <i>Annals</i>	Harbage, Alfred, <i>Annals of English Drama, 975–1700: An analytical record of all plays, extant or lost, chronologically arranged and indexed by authors, titles, dramatic companies, &amp;c.</i> , revised by S. Schoenbaum (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1964)
<i>Henslowe's Diary</i>	Henslowe, Philip, <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> , ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>The Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MRDE</i>	<i>Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England</i>
<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes &amp; Queries</i>
Nungezer, <i>Dictionary</i>	Nungezer, Edwin, <i>A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com/">http://www.oxforddnb.com/</a> >
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> < <a href="http://www.oed.com">http://www.oed.com</a> >
<i>PBSA</i>	<i>Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
Plomer	Plomer, H. R., <i>Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557–1775</i> (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907–32; rpt Yorkshire: Grove Press Ltd, 1977)
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
<i>REED</i>	<i>Records of Early English Drama</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>ROMRD</i>	<i>Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama</i>
<i>RORD</i>	<i>Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>

<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>SSt</i>	<i>Shakespeare Studies</i>
<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1475–1640</i> , first compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edn, rev. and enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
Wiggins, <i>Catalogue</i>	Wiggins, Martin, in association with Catherine Richardson, <i>British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue</i> , 10 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011–)
Wing	Wing, Donald (compiler), <i>Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700</i> , 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945–51)

#### For non-works

BL	British Library
<i>DEEP</i>	<i>Database of Early English Playbooks</i> , ed. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser (2007) < <a href="http://deep.sas.upenn.edu">http://deep.sas.upenn.edu</a> >
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> < <a href="http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home">http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home</a> >
<i>LION</i>	<i>Literature Online</i> < <a href="http://literature.proquest.com">http://literature.proquest.com</a> >
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MSR	Malone Society Reprints
n.s.	new series
PRO	Public Record Office
ThULB	Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Jena
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London

#### A note on the text

Quotations from *When You See Me, You Know Me* are keyed to this edition. Works from Shakespeare are cited from the most recent Arden editions.

Although old spellings are maintained in some citations, I have silently modernised the long ‘s’ and altered ‘vv’ to ‘w’; contractions are also expanded throughout with the conjectured letters italicised. The start of the year has been taken as 1 January.

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION TO  
SAMUEL ROWLEY

## Background to Samuel Rowley

Samuel Rowley was an important individual in the early modern theatre. An actor, playwright and sharer in the Admiral's Men, he maintained a significant and authoritative position in the company for perhaps as many as thirty years. Yet his role has been sorely overlooked, both in relation to the company's more better-known actors and dramatists, and in relation to others known to have occupied a tripartite role in the theatre – William Shakespeare, in particular. The biography provided in this section aims to redress this imbalance. Considering the various elements of Rowley's career, it serves to position *When You See Me, You Know Me* in the context of Rowley's wider canon and of his theatrical career as a whole. It also seeks to combine evidence from official documents and parish registers with Rowley's known movements in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to develop a fuller account of the playwright's life than has hitherto been attempted. For practicality, elements of Rowley's non- and extra-theatrical life are considered apart from his theatrical career – itself a complex and controversial puzzle, as detailed below. However, a general timeline, covering both strands of Rowley's biography, is provided in Appendix 1.

The earliest known record of Samuel Rowley is the entrance of his marriage to Alice Coley in the parish register of St Michael, Crooked Lane in Candlewick Ward on 7 April 1594.<sup>1</sup> F. P. Wilson, in the introduction to his edition of *When You See Me*, was reluctant to associate the entry with the dramatist, but the more recent discovery of Rowley's will in the 1960s confirms the association, since in it Rowley

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<sup>1</sup> The entry was first noted by Mark Eccles in 'Jonson's Marriage', *RES*, 12.47 (1936), 257–72 (p. 261); the parish register is now located at the LMA (P69/MIC3/A/001/MS11367). See also Bentley, *JCS*, II.555.

bequeathed '[a]ll the rest of my goodes debtes, and Chattelles not geuen, nor bequeathed ... vnto my louing wife Alice Rowley'.<sup>2</sup>

As J. A. B. Somerset suggests, '[o]nly conjecture, supported by circumstantial evidence', can give any clue as to Rowley's birth or parentage.<sup>3</sup> He does, however, draw attention to two register entries that may shed light on the latter: the marriage of one Robert Rowley to Mary Tye at Trinity Church, Ely in 1560; and the marriage of Mary Tye's sister, Ellen, to Robert White, the current 'informer choristarum' at the Cathedral Church of Ely, in 1564.<sup>4</sup> Somerset interprets these records to suggest a possible family connection between Samuel Rowley and Dr Christopher Tye, Robert White's predecessor as organist and choirmaster at Ely and the man dramatized so effectively as Prince Edward's music tutor in *When You See Me*.<sup>5</sup> Significantly, Nigel Davison provides further evidence to back up this early conjecture, namely the will of Ellen White nee Tye, which confirms that Christopher was her father.<sup>6</sup> This in turn suggests that Samuel Rowley may have been the grandson of Dr Christopher Tye. Not only would this indicate that Rowley was born into a family of higher social status than a number of his fellow actors and playwrights, but it would also explain the reasoning behind Rowley's full and seemingly unprecedented depiction of Tye on the early modern London stage.

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<sup>2</sup> The will, dated 23 July and proved on 4 December 1624, was discovered by J. A. B. Somerset; it is now housed at the LMA (former GL MS 9172/34). The will was transcribed by Somerset in 'New facts concerning Samuel Rowley', *RES*, 17.67 (1966), 293–7, and more recently in E. A. J. Honigmann and Susan Brock (eds.), *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An edition of wills by Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the London theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 138–40. All citations are taken from Honigmann and Brock's transcription, with which my own reading accords.

<sup>3</sup> Somerset, p. xx. John H. Astington provides a possible birth date of c. 1575 for Rowley, but there is no evidence to back this up. See *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Somerset, p. xx.

<sup>5</sup> Somerset, p. xx.

<sup>6</sup> Nigel Davison, 'Tye, Christopher (c. 1505–1571x3)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27931>> [accessed 15 October 2012].

Very little is known about Rowley's early life. If, as suggested below, he first came to London to act and write for the Queen's Men in the early to mid-1580s, it is likely that he lived for some years prior to this with his family in Cambridgeshire, perhaps near Trinity Church, Ely, where Mary and Robert Rowley married in the 1560s. One possible reference to Rowley's education exists in Francis Meres' *Palladis tamia*, in which it is noted that a 'Maister Rowley', one of 'the best for Comedy' in the present age, was once 'a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge'.<sup>7</sup> Since, as discussed in greater detail below, Rowley seems to have had a hand in a number of Queen's Men's plays before joining the Admiral's in the 1590s, it is likely that he first gained a reputation for comedy with this company. The man in question is unlikely to be actor and playwright William Rowley, since William's theatrical career seems to have commenced at a much later date.<sup>8</sup>

Evidence from Samuel Rowley's will (*Fig. 1*) also strengthens the likelihood that he was the brother of William Rowley, himself an actor with the King's Men at the time of Samuel's death: 'Item I giue and bequeath vnto my Brother William Rowley All my Bookes'. Another brother, Thomas Rowley, received forty shillings. Quite possibly, this is the same Thomas Rowley whose name appears with Samuel's in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*, revived by the Admiral's Men at the Fortune in 1602.<sup>9</sup> Rowley also makes reference in his will to a daughter, Jane Adams; a son-in-law, Richard Adams who, along with Alice Rowley, acted as executor; a nephew,

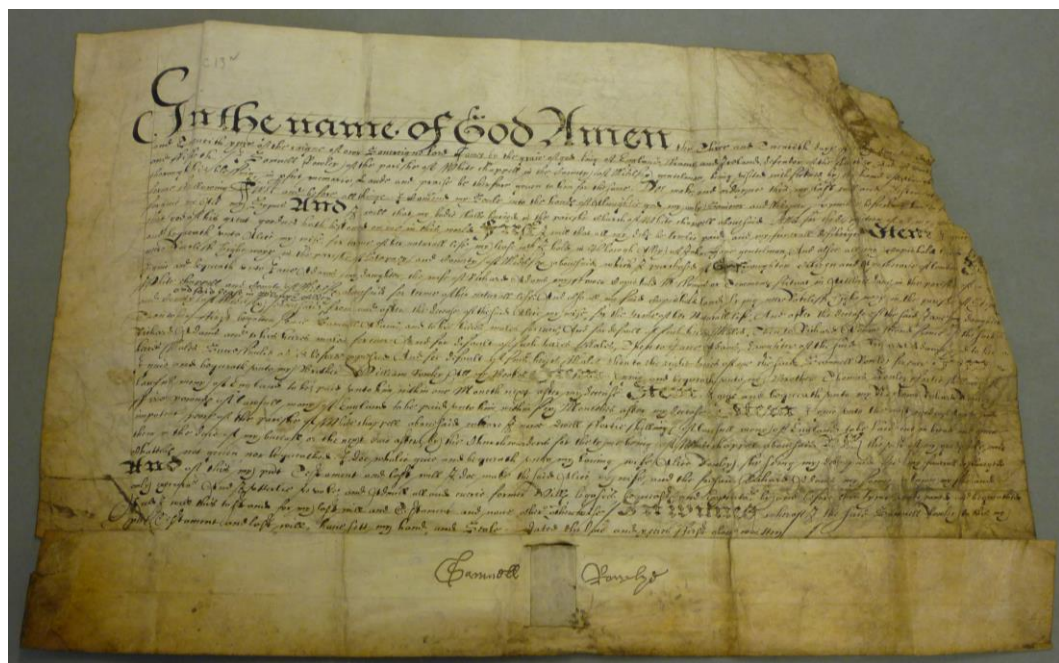
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<sup>7</sup> Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia: Wits treasury being the second part of Wits common wealth*. (London: printed by P[eter] Short for Cuthbert Burbie, 1598), *STC* 17834, p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> William Rowley's name does not appear in theatrical records until 1607; his first mention as an actor is in May 1609, when he appears as a member of the newly formed Duke of York's Men. See David Gunby, 'Rowley, William (1585?-1626)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, September 2013 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24227>> [accessed 10 April 2014].

<sup>9</sup> A transcription and facsimile of the plot can be found in Greg's *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 2, no. 7. See also *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 332-3.

Richard Rowley; and a grandson, Samuel Adams.<sup>10</sup> Four entries in the parish register of St Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel may refer to members of Rowley's family. A 'daughter of Samuella Rowly', Mary, was baptised at the church on 5 March 1602 (f. 46<sup>v</sup>), but was subsequently buried on 24 July 1603 (f. 51<sup>v</sup>); she may, as Somerset suggests, have died of the plague.<sup>11</sup> On 24 May 1607, another 'Marye daughter of Samuella Rowley' was baptised at St Mary's Church (f. 58<sup>v</sup>), but just three months later, on 28 July, she too was buried (f. 60<sup>r</sup>). If these entries refer to the same Samuel Rowley, as would appear to be the case, then they confirm that Samuel and Alice were resident in Whitechapel by 1601. Given that Rowley's burial is also recorded in the registers of St Mary Matfelon (f. 150<sup>r</sup>) and that a Samuel Rowley performed a number of civic duties in Whitechapel, it seems reasonable to assume that the couple remained in the parish for the duration of their married life.



**Figure 1:** Rowley's original will, former GL MS 9172/34. Image reproduced by kind permission of the London Metropolitan Archives.

<sup>10</sup> The record in the parish register of St Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel (London County Record Office: P93/MRY/1/1) of the marriage of 'Rich: Adams et Iane Rowley' on 20 May 1616 almost certainly refers to Rowley's daughter (f. 77<sup>v</sup>), though there does not appear to be any reference to her baptism.

<sup>11</sup> Somerset, p. xxxiv.



Some of Rowley's civic duties were bound up with his role as a member of Prince Henry's Men or, as he is styled on the title-page of *When You See Me*, as a 'servant to the Prince'. On 15 March 1604, for example, Rowley – along with a number of other players from the three royal acting companies – was granted four yards of red cloth for livery to wear as he marched as part of the king's royal entrance into the City of London. Eight and a half years later, Rowley was again granted cloth for livery, this time in his capacity as a Groom of the Chamber for the young Prince Henry's funeral in 1612.<sup>12</sup> The majority of Rowley's civic responsibilities, however, were more specific to Whitechapel. On 12 October 1610, for instance, a 'Samuel Rowlie' acted as surety with Edward Hide for two yeomen of Whitechapel, Hugh Evans and Robert Wakefield, who had been arrested 'for committinge a verie foule Riott with some others'.<sup>13</sup> Rowley and Hide, both named as gentlemen in the record, paid the Lieutenant of the Tower Sir William Waad forty pounds to bail them out. The name appears again in the records when Rowley acted as a member of the Middlesex jury panel, once in 1610 and again in 1611; by 1 September 1624, just six weeks before the playwright's death, Rowley was named as foreman of the jury.<sup>14</sup> Finally, when several men were bound over in 1618, the accompanying notes in the records read: 'Samuell Rowley Constable of Whitechappell to proue it'.<sup>15</sup>

Although there is no concrete evidence to connect this Samuel Rowley to the playwright, both the location of the records and the frequency with which this name appears in parish and other official registers and documents of the time allows for a

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<sup>12</sup> Information from documents PRO LC 2/4/5 and PRO LC 2/4/6, both housed at TNA.

<sup>13</sup> LMA, Roll 495/223, Reg. I, 318; cited in Mark Eccles, 'Brief Lives: Tudor and Stuart Authors', *SP*, 79.4 (Autumn, 1982), 1–135 (p. 116).

<sup>14</sup> See Eccles, 'Brief Lives', p. 116.

<sup>15</sup> LMA, Roll 566/119–21; cited in Eccles, 'Brief Lives', p. 116.

fairly positive identification.<sup>16</sup> That such records halt in late 1624, at the time of the playwright's death, further strengthens the possibility. Another Samuel Rowley, a merchant tailor, is known to have been alive during the first two decades of the seventeenth century; the entry of his burial in the parish registers of St Giles, Cripplegate was recorded by G. E. Bentley in 1929.<sup>17</sup> This Samuel Rowley, however, is not known to have had any connections with Whitechapel. Moreover, the Samuel Rowley noted as foreman of the jury in the Whitechapel records performed this role in September 1624, nearly four years after the merchant tailor's burial in November 1620. Of the two men, only the playwright could have taken on the responsibility at this time.

Another possible reference to Rowley can be found in the London lay subsidy rolls (1593–1600), many of which have been transcribed and digitized by Alan H. Nelson.<sup>18</sup> The rolls are a useful means of isolating individuals 'of sufficient wealth to be taxed' – individuals, Nelson suggests, of 'lower middle class and above' and worth upwards of three pounds at the time of assessment. 'Samuel Rowley' appears in Middlesex Subsidy Roll 234, dated 1 October 1600, under the section headed 'Whitechappell adhuc' (*Fig. 2*).<sup>19</sup> Once again, both the location and date of the record accord with Rowley's known movements.

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<sup>16</sup> Indeed, S. P. Cerasano states unquestioningly that Rowley 'served in local government'. See 'Rowley, Samuel (*d.* 1624)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn September 2010 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24226>> [accessed 4 March 2014].

<sup>17</sup> G. E. Bentley, 'Records of Players in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate', *PMLA*, 44.3 (September, 1929), 789–826 (pp. 817–18).

<sup>18</sup> See Alan H. Nelson, 'Lay Subsidy Returns' <<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SUBSIDY/subs.html>> [accessed 3 February 2014].

<sup>19</sup> Document PRO E179/142/234 (Osulston K3 79) at TNA. Nelson provides the following information: '3rd Subsidy granted 1597, assessment date 1 October 1600'. Alan H. Nelson, 'Middlesex Subsidy Roll 234' <<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SUBSIDY/M234.html>> [accessed 3 February 2014].



**Figure 2:** Detail from the Middlesex Subsidy Roll 234, 1 October 1600. Rowley's name appears halfway down the image. Credit: The National Archives, ref. E179/142/234.

Not only does this show that Rowley was sufficiently wealthy to occasion a mention in the rolls (a sum of three pounds is recorded alongside his name), it also confirms that he was resident in Whitechapel in the very early 1600s, and certainly before the entry of his daughter Mary's baptism in March 1602 – the earliest known reference to Rowley's parish of residency. Significantly, Rowley's name is absent in the earlier Middlesex Roll 239, dated 1 October 1598.<sup>20</sup> This may indicate a rise in wealth over the two-year period from 1598 to 1600, perhaps concurrent with Rowley's acquisition of sharer status at the Rose (see below). It may also suggest that Samuel and Alice lived elsewhere prior to the 1600 assessment. It is tempting to think that the couple's move to Whitechapel coincided with the company's move to the Fortune in 1600, but in the absence of further evidence this must remain a matter for conjecture. As S. P. Cerasano notes,

<sup>20</sup> Document E179/142/239 (Osulston K3 31) at TNA. See Alan H. Nelson, 'Middlesex Subsidy Roll 239' <<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/SUBSIDY/M239.html>> [accessed 3 February 2014].

‘some of the players in the Admiral’s–Prince’s–Palsgrave’s Men who began their careers at the Rose Playhouse in Southwark ... probably maintained property in both locales’.<sup>21</sup> This might have been true of Rowley, though the list of leases, tenements and properties mentioned in Rowley’s will includes only residencies north of the Thames.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, there are no extant records to suggest that Rowley ever held property on Bankside.

A further possible reference to Rowley can be found in a letter to Edward Alleyn dated 1 April 1620 from one of his lessees, Haris Jones, in which an agent, ‘m<sup>r</sup> Rowly’, is named as Alleyn’s rent collector (*Fig. 3*). W. W. Greg, in his edition of the *Henslowe Papers*, was unwilling to assign the role to Samuel, stating simply: ‘Whether Samuel Rowley, the Palsgrave’s man, or William, Prince Charles’ man, was intended does not appear: probably one or the other’.<sup>23</sup> However, Samuel’s longstanding career alongside Alleyn, first at the Rose and then at the Fortune, would suggest him as the more likely candidate in this instance. Although it is difficult to determine precisely when he retired as an actor from the Palsgrave’s Men (see below), it is generally supposed that Rowley stepped down from this position some time in the late 1610s. It is possible, therefore, to view this responsibility as an indirect continuation of Rowley’s theatrical career, through which, although not actively involved at the Fortune, he was still able to maintain links with its personnel.<sup>24</sup>

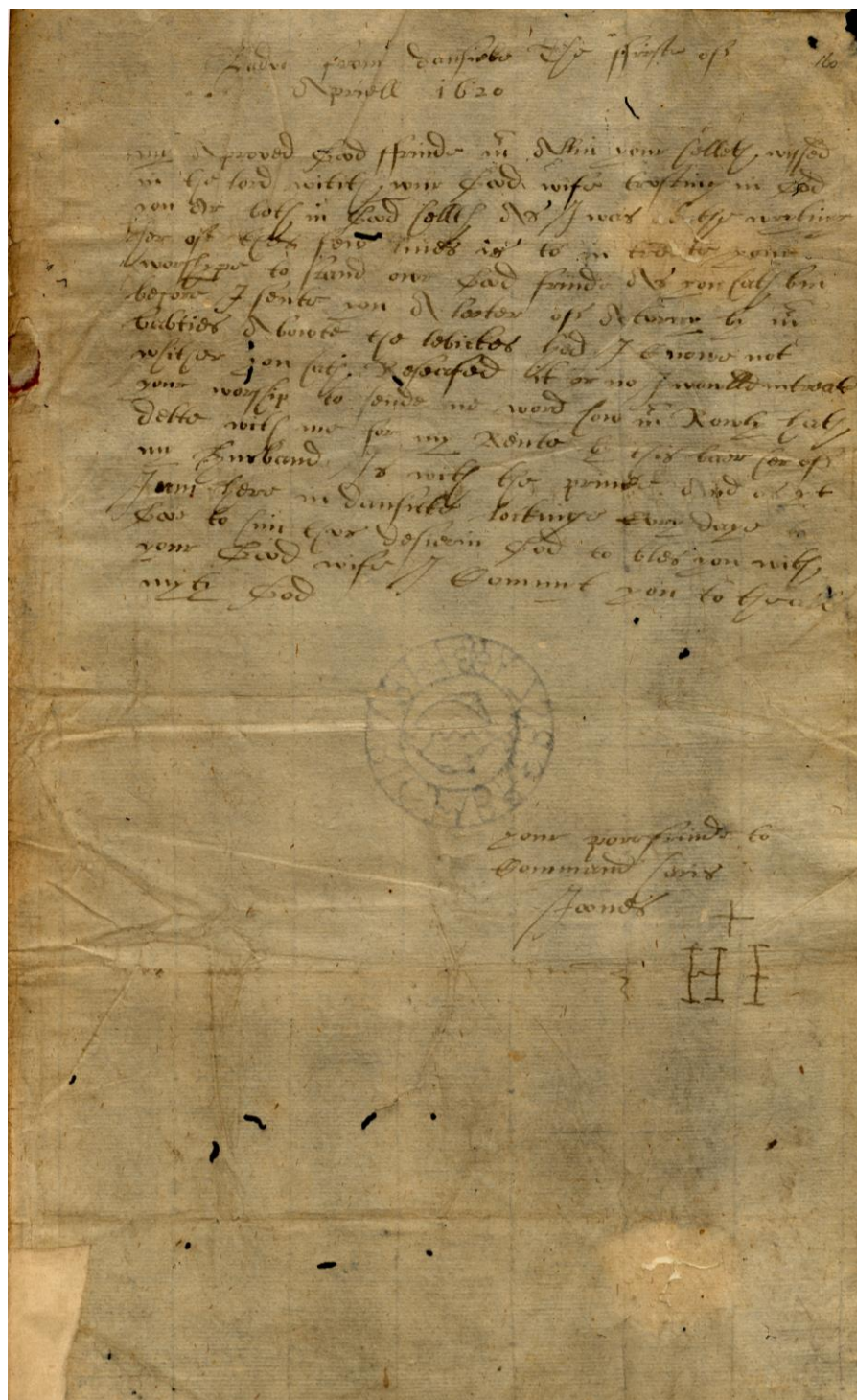
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<sup>21</sup> S. P. Cerasano, ‘New Renaissance Players’ Wills’, *Modern Philology*, 82.3 (February, 1985), 299–304 (p. 299).

<sup>22</sup> A further reference to Rowley’s property may be found in document PRO, C54/2515, 71 at TNA, which makes reference to ‘the copyhold tenements of Samuel Rowley’. The citation is taken from the modernised version of the deed in Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry and William Ingram (eds.), *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 491.

<sup>23</sup> Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe Papers*, ed. W. W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1907; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1975), p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> It is possible that Rowley continued to write for the company even after he ceased acting (see below).



**Figure 3:** MSS 1, Article 112 at Dulwich College: letter from Haris Joones (Jones) to Edward Alleyn dated 1 April 1620. Reproduced with kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

A second, undated letter sent by Haris Jones's husband some time prior to Philip Henslowe's death in 1616 confirms the lease detailed in Haris's letter as the

Leopard's Head public house in Shoreditch.<sup>25</sup> Based on the existence of these two letters, Rowley's involvement at the Leopard's Head, and the lease mentioned in Samuel's will – a property in Plough Alley owned by a 'Iohn Hope, gentleman' – Somerset suggests that Rowley became a publican between 1613 and 1618: 'No evidence disallows the speculation that Rowley retired from the stage ... to look after Mrs Haris Jones's establishment, and later acquired the lease to a tavern of his own'.<sup>26</sup> While this is certainly possible, there is not enough evidence to confirm Somerset's supposition.

Rowley was buried in the parish of St Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel on 20 October 1624. By the time of his death, he had come to style himself 'gentleman' and his will stipulated that he was to be buried 'in the parishe Church'. Somerset suggests that Rowley's request was intended to serve as a statement of his wealth, though whether Rowley wished to be buried '*in* the parish church', as Somerset supposes, or simply within its grounds is unclear.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, Rowley did not die poor: he held considerable property; gave generous bequests of five pounds to his nephew, Richard and forty shillings to his brother, Thomas; and left his numerous books and 'Chattelles' to his brother, William and wife, Alice, respectively. Moreover, an additional bequest of forty shillings 'vnto the most needie, Aged and impotent poore of the parishe of White chappell ... to be laide owt in bread and giuen them in the daie of my buriall' indicates Rowley's confidence that the goods, properties and monies already stipulated in the will would be more than sufficient to support his wife and family at the time of his death.<sup>28</sup> Since neither the death of his

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<sup>25</sup> Document MSS 1, Article 111 at Dulwich College. A full transcription can be found in Greg (ed.), *Henslowe Papers*, p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> Somerset, p. xlv.

<sup>27</sup> Somerset, 'New facts', p. 297.

<sup>28</sup> A separate inventory of Rowley's possessions, now in the Probate Act Book at the LMA (former GL MS 9168/17 f. 181v), was valued at £32 8s. Few of the entries included in Honigmann and

wife nor the baptism of his grandson, Samuel Adams, are recorded in the parish registers of St Mary Matfelon, it is likely that the family moved away from Whitechapel soon after Rowley's death.

### Rowley's theatrical career

Rowley's theatrical career was both long and successful. By the turn of the seventeenth century and certainly by 1604, at which time *When You See Me* was composed, Rowley's position in the early modern theatre was one of great influence and authority. Not only was he a leading actor in the Admiral's and later the Prince's Men, he was also a company shareholder and playwright. While other names may appear more frequently in the company stage plots or as authorising figures or paid playwrights within the pages of *Henslowe's Diary*, it is fair to say that Rowley's tripartite role at the Rose and then at the Fortune marks him out as a key player in both the formation and the success of Prince Henry's Men, the company under whose auspices *When You See Me* was first performed. Furthermore it is likely, as discussed below, that Rowley's play was the one with which the newly named company publicly launched themselves after the King's royal entrance into London in March 1604.

Given Rowley's position, it is surprising his theatrical career has attracted so little critical attention. His writing style and playwrighting career have certainly been considered, but typically only in negative terms and nearly always in relation to the styles and careers of his better-known contemporaries. The relationship between Rowley's *When You See Me* and Shakespeare and Fletcher's *King Henry VIII* is

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Brock's *Playhouse Wills* include such a valuation, making it difficult to contextualise the extent of Rowley's wealth. Useful comparisons, however, may be drawn between Rowley and the playwright William Haughton (*d.* 1605), whose possessions valued £19 1s (pp. 75–6), and the boy actor John Clarke (*d.* 1624), whose possessions valued £8 6s 3d (pp. 132–4).

perhaps the most obvious example. That the majority of his playtexts for the company no longer survive has also contributed to Rowley's continued marginalization. Moreover, while a number of plays from other companies have been attributed – either in whole or in part – to Rowley based on stylistic evidence (see below), such analyses rarely develop to consider the implications for Rowley's career as a whole.

#### Early career at the Rose and the acquisition of sharer status

*Henslowe's Diary* is a particularly useful tool in tracing Rowley's movements during his first few years at the Rose, though his specific status within the company is often more difficult to pinpoint. Quite when Rowley joined the Admiral's Men and in what capacity is also open to debate. The first definite mention of Rowley's name is on 3 August 1597, when he acted as one of five witnesses to Henslowe's loan to 'John Helle the clowne'.<sup>29</sup> However, another possible and much earlier mention can be found between entries dated 14 December 1594 and 14 January 1595, in what Carol Chillington Rutter describes as 'the earliest record of the personnel of the Admiral's Men'.<sup>30</sup> Down the left-hand side of the main list, which includes the names of eight players, can be found the names 'same', 'Charles' and 'alen' – possibly, as Rutter suggests, Samuel Rowley, Charles Massey and Richard Alleyn, respectively.<sup>31</sup> Since his name is set apart from the main list, it may perhaps be supposed that Rowley, although a principal player in the company, was only a

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<sup>29</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 239.

<sup>30</sup> Carol Chillington Rutter (ed.), *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 89.

<sup>31</sup> Greg's initial misreading of the left-hand column led him to believe that it referred to a single man: 'lame Charles alen'. W. W. Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary, Part II: Commentary* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1908), pp. 99–100 and 237. See Foakes's account of the error – and Greg's ensuing arguments about the make-up of the Lord Admiral's Men – in his introduction to *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xl.



hired man at this time. Presumably this is what Christine Eccles meant when she suggested that, by 1594, Rowley, Massey and Alleyn were among the men '[m]aking up the numbers' at the Rose.<sup>32</sup>

Certainly, Rowley was acting for the company by 3 June 1597, at which time he played Heraclius in *Frederick and Basilea*.<sup>33</sup> Yet, significantly, he was not included in the list of company members compiled on 11 October 1597.<sup>34</sup> Neither was he included in the reduced company list of 14 October 1596, in which only four sharers were named: Edward Alleyn, Martin Slater, James Donstone and Edward Juby. As R. A. Foakes notes, this shorter list was compiled during the period in which 'Jones and Downton had left to form what was to be Pembroke's Men at the Swan Theatre', and when Towne and Singer were missing for a time from company records; it was also written at a time when, as evidenced in the *Diary*, Henslowe seems to have made a concerted effort 'to attract new actors or sharers to join the company'.<sup>35</sup> Possibly, Rowley was one of the men recruited during this period, though his absence from the company list of October 1597 would appear to suggest otherwise.

A later personnel list of 8 March 1598, in which members of the Lord Admiral's Men acknowledged their indebtedness to Henslowe, contains Rowley's autograph signature, suggesting that he held a more prominent position in the company at this time.<sup>36</sup> Once again, as in the 1594–5 entry, Rowley's name (along with Massey's) appears to one side of the main list, leading Greg to speculate that the two names were added at a later date.<sup>37</sup> Foakes suggests instead that the players' names may have been set to one side because, although important members of the

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<sup>32</sup> Christine Eccles, *The Rose Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> The stage plot is held at the British Library; a transcription and facsimile are provided in Greg's *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 2. See also *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 328–9.

<sup>34</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xli. The company list can be found on p. 50.

<sup>36</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 87.

<sup>37</sup> See Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, p. 101.

company at this time, Rowley and Massey were not yet sharers in the Lord Admiral's Men – certainly the more plausible of the two interpretations. By 10 July 1600, at which time two separate personnel lists were drawn up, both names were incorporated amongst those of the company's prominent shareholders.<sup>38</sup>

On 16 November 1598, Rowley, along with Massey, bound himself as Henslowe's 'covenante Servant'; until Shrovetide 1600, the two men were to perform at 'no other howsse' but the Rose.<sup>39</sup> Quite possibly, this contract marked the beginning of Rowley's sharer status. Such an argument certainly finds support in his increasing involvement in the company's financial dealings from late 1598 onwards. In fact, Rowley's first appointment in this capacity came just four weeks later, on 12 December 1598, when he was granted twenty-four shillings 'to bye divers thinges for to macke cottess for gyantes in brvtte'. By February the following year, he was responsible for buying in new plays for the company; the first of these was recorded on 10 February 1598/9, when Henslowe gave Rowley and Downton five pounds and ten shillings 'to bye A boocke called fryer fox & gyllen of branforde'.<sup>40</sup> The establishment of the contract thus marked a significant change in both the level and manner of Rowley's involvement in the Lord Admiral's Men.<sup>41</sup>

As Greg and Foakes both note, however, even these increased responsibilities are not necessarily indicative of full sharer status. Greg, for example,

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<sup>38</sup> See *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 136 and 198. On the significance of sharer status, see S. P. Cerasano, 'The "Business" of Shareholding, the Fortune Playhouses, and Francis Grace's Will', *MRDE*, 2 (1985), 231–51 and Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 103–4.

<sup>39</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 241–2. Based on their joint contractual agreement and the appearance of both names – often alongside one another – in the extant company stage plots, Greg termed Rowley and Massey 'the inseparable pair'. See Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, p. 101. However, such a pairing, prevalent in early mentions of the two men, does not endure: Rowley became far more involved in the company finances than Massey and seems to have had more influence in choosing and/or rejecting new plays to complement the company repertory.

<sup>40</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 102 and 104, respectively.

<sup>41</sup> Given the evident increase in Rowley's responsibilities in late 1598, Rutter's suggestion that Rowley had acquired sharer status by 1597 is difficult to substantiate. See *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, p. 129

initially saw the agreement as a more temporary measure, suggesting that Rowley and Massey became sharers only after Shrovetide 1600.<sup>42</sup> Foakes, too, tempered the significance of Rowley's managerial role throughout this period to argue simply that he and Massey became sharers 'by 1600, when their names are incorporated in the company lists'.<sup>43</sup> Foakes also noted the particular form and wording employed by Henslowe in his contractual agreements with players between 1597 and 1598: while those in 1597 bound the players only to perform at Henslowe's theatre, those in 1598 bound the players to Henslowe himself, as 'hired' or 'covenant servants'. Thus while Jones, Shaa, Bird and Downton became full sharers at the time of their contractual agreements, it is possible that Richard Alleyn, Thomas Heywood, Rowley and Massey did not. Rather, the four players may have occupied a position between that of sharer and hired man, working, in Foakes's words, as 'master actors' and thus enjoying some but not all of the privileges associated with sharer status.<sup>44</sup>

The issue is further complicated by the use of the prefix 'Mr', typically assumed to denote sharer status, in the extant company stage plots. That the honorific is absent from Rowley's name in the 1597 stage plot for *Frederick and Basilea* has previously – and probably correctly – been taken to indicate that he was not a sharer in the Lord Admiral's Men at this time.<sup>45</sup> Rowley is named 'Mr Sam' in the stage plots of *The Battle of Alcazar* (dated variously between 1598 and 1602) and *I Tamar Cam* (c. 1602), but since the date of the former is so uncertain, no further light can be shed on the matter on the basis of this evidence.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, in

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<sup>42</sup> Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, p. 101. By the 1930s, however, Greg altered his argument to suggest that the three 1598 contracts marked 'the inception of sharership'. See Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> See *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>44</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xliii. The eight binding contracts fall on ff. 232<sup>v</sup>–230<sup>v</sup> of the account book, where entries were made with the book reversed. See *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 239–42.

<sup>45</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 331.

<sup>46</sup> The plot, held at the British Library, is transcribed in Greg's *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 2 (no. 6). While Greg dates the plot to late 1598 (*Dramatic Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 38–9 and 146), Foakes

the fragmentary plot of 2 *Fortune's Tennis* (typically dated 1602–3), only the clown John Singer is afforded the title. As Cerasano suggests, it is likely that ‘Mr’ was used variably by Henslowe at different times to denote either sharers or players of high capability.<sup>47</sup> The descriptor ‘Mr Sam’ cannot, therefore, accurately be used as a means of gauging Rowley’s status within the company.

Despite the variant wording of Rowley and Massey’s contractual agreement with Henslowe, Rowley’s prominence in the *Diary* from December 1598 onwards is difficult to overlook. Neil Carson even goes so far as to single Rowley out as one of the three ‘leading sharers’ and policy-makers responsible for ‘the stricter supervision of literary expenditures’ following the company’s reorganisation in 1599; the others were Thomas Downton and Robert Shaa.<sup>48</sup> Significantly, Carson identified three discrete periods of literary management in the company’s accounts: December 1598–June 1600, when all three men were active in the role, but Downton and Shaa – the two ‘senior men’ – were most prominent; December 1600–January 1602, when Downton’s name all but disappeared from the *Diary* and Rowley and Shaa made most of the authorisations; and April 1602–March 1603, when Downton once again became principal manager after Shaa’s departure from the company around Lent 1602.<sup>49</sup> While Rowley was clearly most active in the second period, approving a total of thirteen new plays, he approved eight in the first period alone, and six of these within the first nine months. Aside from Shaa and Downton, no other company member – and certainly no non-sharer – had as much of an input as Rowley in the

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favours the later date of 1600–1 (*Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 329–30). Other late estimates include 1600 (Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare’s Time*, p. 127) and 1601–2 (Nunzezer, *Dictionary*, p. 378).

<sup>47</sup> Cerasano, ‘The “Business” of Shareholding’, p. 235.

<sup>48</sup> Neil Carson, ‘Literary Management in the Lord Admiral’s Company, 1596–1603’, *Theatre Research International*, 2.3 (1977), 186–97 (p. 191). See also Carson’s *A Companion to Henslowe’s Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 35–50.

<sup>49</sup> Carson, ‘Literary Management’, p. 193.

acquisition of new company playtexts. Thus, although bound as Henslowe's 'covenante Servant' until early 1600, it would appear that Rowley was afforded the position and authority of a sharer from the commencement of the contract in November 1598.

In addition to the numerous *Diary* entries, Rowley's influence in the Lord Admiral's Men can be seen in four short letters written to Henslowe between April and June 1601, in which he typically acted either to prompt Henslowe to buy a new play or to pay money owing to the dramatists for work already in the company's possession (*Figs. 4–7*). The first of these letters (*Fig. 4*: MSS 1, Article 32 at Dulwich College), written *c.* 4 April 1601, is perhaps the most revealing, in that it shows the process behind the company's decision to commission a new play. In it, Rowley notes that he has 'harde fyue shetes of a playe of the Conqueste of the Indes' and, doubting not 'but It wyll be a verye good playe', encourages Henslowe to pay the dramatists forty shillings 'In earnest of It'. A note at the bottom of the letter in Henslowe's hand, and a corresponding entry in the *Diary*, indicate Rowley's success in this endeavour. Article 33 (*Fig. 5*) shows how, on another occasion, the company made the decision to return a script to its author: 'M<sup>r</sup> hynchlo I praye ye let M<sup>r</sup> hathwaye haue his papers agayne of the playe of John a gante'. In another undated note (*Fig. 8*), Rowley prompted Henslowe to pay thirty shillings to John Day for the third part of *Tom Strowde*.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Initially thought to have been an Ireland forgery, this note is now recognised as genuine. See Greg (ed.), *Henslowe Papers*, p. 127 and *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 315. As Greg notes, the thirty-shilling sum does not match any surviving entry in the *Diary*.





M<sup>r</sup> Henslowe I praye yo shal be payed for 20 s. of y<sup>e</sup> play  
 that I made w<sup>th</sup> Haughton and is payed but the p<sup>er</sup>soned ten  
 shillings ab to deliver from y<sup>e</sup> next shillings more &  
 take there payment  
 20 to comende  
 Rowley Henslowe

**Figure 6:** MSS 1, Article 34 at Dulwich College: undated letter from Rowley to Henslowe about John Day and William Haughton. Reproduced with kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

M<sup>r</sup> Henslowe I praye yo deliver the p<sup>er</sup> of the  
 money to John Day & w<sup>th</sup> Haughton down to y<sup>e</sup> next  
 of the p<sup>er</sup> y<sup>e</sup> men of the w<sup>th</sup>  
 I praye on y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>er</sup> to be ab<sup>le</sup> to paye y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>er</sup> of the  
 deliver it to y<sup>e</sup> next shillings. Rowley  
 be w<sup>th</sup> John Day

**Figure 7:** MSS 1, Article 35 at Dulwich College: undated letter from Rowley to Henslowe about John Day, William Haughton and the plays *Six Yeomen*[?] of the West and *The Conquest of the Indies*. Reproduced with kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

M<sup>r</sup> Henslowe I praye yo deliver to John Day & w<sup>th</sup>  
 Haughton w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> next shillings of the p<sup>er</sup> of the  
 45-2-00  
 Rowley Henslowe  
 To be payed to y<sup>e</sup> next shillings  
 Rowley Henslowe

**Figure 8:** Rowley's note to Henslowe regarding the third part of *Tom Strowde* appears at the top of this manuscript fragment, now a part of the manuscript collection at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC (MS. X.d.261). Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Thus, while some of the details of Rowley's status in the Lord Admiral's Men in the mid- to late 1590s remain unclear, his influence and authority were evidently at their highest at the turn of the seventeenth century, around the time of the company's move north of the Thames. It was also at this time that Rowley started writing for the company, as detailed below.

### Rowley as actor

The only tangible evidence of Rowley's acting career exists in the company's extant stage plots. Of the seven plots, two of which survive only as fragments, Rowley's name appears in four: *Frederick and Basilea*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, *2 Fortune's Tennis* (fragment), and *1 Tamar Cam*.<sup>51</sup> From the plots alone it is difficult to ascertain the types of role that Rowley typically performed within the company, since these are known only by the characters' names: Heraclius in *Frederick and Basilea*; Pisano, the Moor's ambassador, and Death in *The Battle of Alcazar*; and Ascalon and Crymm in *1 Tamar Cam*.<sup>52</sup> However, the plots do at least allow some insight into the size and importance of the various roles, based on the number of exits and entrances Rowley was required to make.

The casting tables in T. J. King's influential *Casting Shakespeare's Plays* are particularly useful in this respect, exemplifying Rowley's movements in each play and

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<sup>51</sup> On the likely date and attribution of these plays, including a summary of Greg's and Chambers's arguments on the matter, see *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 327 and 329. Greg suggested that the names 'b samme' and 'sam' in the plot of *The Dead Man's Fortune* may also refer to Rowley (*Dramatic Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 48–9). However, Rowley is not known to have been a member of the Admiral's or Strange's Men at this time, and if the 'b' of 'b samme' refers to a boy actor, and Rowley was already writing plays in the mid- to late 1580s (see below), there is little to substantiate Greg's argument.

<sup>52</sup> While Rowley presumably acted in *2 Fortune's Tennis*, the severely mutilated fragment indicates only a more practical, backstage role: 'A Table brought in / tts Sam and Ch[ar][es]'. It is also possible, as Eleanor Lowe suggests, that the character 'Monsieur Rowle(e)' in Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth* (first performed in 1597) was written with Rowley in mind. However, in the absence of further evidence, this can only remain speculative. See Eleanor Lowe, 'A critical edition of George Chapman's "The Comedy of Humours"', later printed as "An Humorous Day's Mirth", unpublished doctoral thesis, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham (2005), p. 166.



clarifying which roles he played in each scene.<sup>53</sup> From these, it is possible to ascertain that the role of Heraclius in *Frederick and Basilea* may have been the largest, since Rowley was required on stage for seven of a total eighteen scenes, in addition to the prologue and epilogue. That *Frederick and Basilea* is the earliest of the four plots in which Rowley is named stands as testament to his influence in the Lord Admiral's Men prior to his acquisition of sharer status. In *The Battle of Alcazar*, performed between one and four years later, Rowley played only three seemingly minor roles, perhaps suggesting that while heavily involved in the financial and literary management of the company he focused his efforts accordingly. By the time of the Admiral's revival of *I Tamar Cam*, when Downton was once more in control of the company's expenditures, it seems Rowley had resumed a more prominent position on stage.<sup>54</sup>

Regrettably, only one of these plays exists in fuller form: George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, printed in quarto in 1594. Since the plot, as noted above, refers to a revival c. 1598–1602, it is difficult to know to what extent it reflects the version of the play preserved in the printed playtext. On comparing the two, King observed that the stage plot corresponds only to the first four acts of the quarto edition. Andrew Gurr further noted that the plot adds in some 'gory dumbshows', cuts one scene, and amends others so as to make the play performable by sixteen adults and ten boys.<sup>55</sup> Since he performed only minor roles in this play, the existence of the printed playtext sheds little light on Rowley's character types or likely acting style. From the evidence of the printed text, it seems he may have spoken as few as eleven lines in this play in his role as the Moor's captain, Pisano; both the Moor's ambassador and Death, only the first of which appears in the quarto playtext, were likely mute roles.

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<sup>53</sup> See T. J. King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and their Roles, 1590–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), tables 6, 7 and 8 (pp. 99, 102 and 103), respectively.

<sup>54</sup> Appearing in six separate scenes, Ascalon seems, like Heraclius, to have been a principal role.

<sup>55</sup> King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 31; Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company, 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 146.

### Rowley as playwright

As Cerasano notes, 'Rowley's career as a playwright is fraught with questions'.<sup>56</sup> There are two main reasons for this: first, of the six plays Rowley is known to have written, either in whole or in part, only *When You See Me* survives; and second, while a number of other early modern playtexts have been attributed to Rowley on the basis of stylistic analyses, no external evidence can be found in support of these assertions. Moreover, the possible detection of Rowley's hand in these other playtexts raises a number of questions regarding the playwright's movements prior to his employment at the Rose. That the date and company attribution of these texts are in many cases uncertain further complicates the matter. Of the lost plays, the titles of which are found either in the pages of *Henslowe's Diary* or in the records of Sir Henry Herbert's office book, very little is known, though the titles themselves, as detailed below, do at least afford some insight into the types of play Rowley was writing at different times in his theatrical career.

Rowley is first mentioned as a playwright in *Henslowe's Diary* in December 1601, at which time he and William Borne (alias Bird) were paid five pounds for a play called *Judas*, possibly the same play as that first seen in connection with the playwright William Haughton.<sup>57</sup> Nine months later, on 27 September 1602, Henslowe recorded a sum of seven pounds in full payment to Rowley 'for his playe of Jhosua'.<sup>58</sup> Both plays, as Martin Wiggins points out, seem to have contributed to

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<sup>56</sup> Cerasano, 'Rowley, Samuel (d. 1624)' [accessed 16 March 2014].

<sup>57</sup> The first payment to Rowley and Bird indicates that *Judas* was a new play: 'pd vnto w<sup>m</sup> Borne ... the 20 of desember 1601 Jn earnest of a Boocke called Judas w<sup>ch</sup> samewell Rowly & he is a writtinge' (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 185). Four days later, the 'fulle payment' of five pounds was given over. On 27 May 1600, however, Haughton was paid ten shillings 'in earneste of a Boocke called Judas'; his autograph signature after the entry confirms the attribution (p. 135). Either the company commissioned two plays of the same name or, more likely, Haughton did not complete the play and writing passed over to Rowley and Bird. Since they were paid the full price of five pounds, it is possible that Haughton never began work on *Judas*.

<sup>58</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 205.

the influx of biblical plays commissioned for performance by the Lord Admiral's Men around 1602, 'when evidently they were briefly in fashion'.<sup>59</sup> However, while Wiggins suggests that *Judas* stands out as one of just two New Testament plays recorded around the turn of the century, it is equally likely, as Michael O'Connell notes, that the apocryphal story of Judas Maccabeus formed the narrative focus of Rowley and Bird's play.<sup>60</sup> Thus *Judas* and *Joshua* and the biblical characters they portrayed might have stood together with other Old Testament plays, favoured by the Admiral's Men, which foregrounded the value of bold, spiritual leadership and unyielding martial valour.<sup>61</sup> The anonymous biblical play *Samson*, first recorded in *Henslowe's Diary* on 29 July 1602, has also been attributed in part to Rowley, based on the somewhat ambiguous wording of its entry: 'Lent vnto ... Samwell Rowley & edwarde Jewbe to paye for the Boocke of Samson ... vj<sup>li</sup>'.<sup>62</sup> Since the attribution cannot be substantiated, however, and since Juby is not known to have written for the company at any other time, *Samson* has not been included in the timeline of Rowley's life and work (Appendix 1); rather, I regard this entry as a record of Rowley and Juby's payment to another unnamed dramatist.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, Rowley was, as Louis B. Wright attests, 'an important playwright in Henslowe's series of

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<sup>59</sup> Martin Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 20–1.

<sup>60</sup> Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time*, pp. 20–1; Michael O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye: Iconoclasm and Theater in Early-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 111.

<sup>61</sup> See Annaliese Connolly, 'Peele's *David and Bethsabe*: Reconsidering Biblical Drama of the Long 1590s', *EMLS*, Special Issue 16 (October, 2007): 9.1–20 <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-16/connpeel.htm>> [accessed 21 February 2014], paragraph 18.

<sup>62</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 204. See, for example, Louis B. Wright, 'The Scriptures and the Elizabethan Stage', *Modern Philology*, 26.1 (August, 1928), 47–56 (p. 52).

<sup>63</sup> Murray Roston also attributed to Rowley and Juby a play called *Absalom*, on the evidence of the following brief *Diary* entry: 'pd for poleyas & worckmanshipp for to hange absolome . . . xiiij d' (p. 217). The attribution, however, is unsubstantiated: Rowley and Juby's names are absent, thus undermining the case for their involvement, and as Foakes suggests (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 338), the entry itself might not even refer to the title of a play, but simply to a named character in another play. See Roston's *Biblical Drama in England: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 118.

scriptural plays', both in his capacity as playwright and in the authorisation of payments to other dramatists.<sup>64</sup>

Significantly, O'Connell suggests that the so-called 'Foxean' plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that took much of their subject matter from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* were an extension of Henslowe's biblical enterprise: 'The overlapping list of playwrights and the coinciding dates may suggest not two projects, but two parts to a single project'.<sup>65</sup> Plays such as *When You See Me* were thus, in O'Connell's eyes, designed to expand the company's biblical material. While this may be true of earlier histories such as Munday, Drayton, Wilson and Hathaway's two-part *Sir John Oldcastle* (1599), however, the company's later 'Foxean' plays were influenced largely by the company's new patron, Prince Henry, and were in many ways tailored specifically to endorse elements of the young prince's character. It is inaccurate, therefore, to view *When You See Me* purely as an extension of Rowley's earlier work: Rowley and Bird's *Judas* and Rowley's *Joshua* followed in the wake of other biblical drama; Rowley's *When You See Me* set a new precedent for the playwright in its reference and relevance to the company's royal patron.

The Admiral's apparent desire to extend the existing repertory following their move to the Fortune in the autumn of 1600 was perhaps the motivation behind Rowley's decision to write new plays. As noted above, Rowley had played a leading role in the acquisition of scripts from mid-1600 and was undoubtedly aware of the company's aesthetic philosophy at this time. *Judas* and *Joshua* presumably exemplified this philosophy, playing not only on the success of the biblical plays of the 1590s, but also on the particular strengths and

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<sup>64</sup> Wright, 'The Scriptures and the Elizabethan Stage', p. 52.

<sup>65</sup> O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye*, p. 113.

capabilities of Rowley's fellow actors. While it is likely, as discussed below, that Rowley had a hand in several plays prior to his move to the Rose in the mid-1590s, Henslowe's entry of *Judas* in the *Diary* effectively marked the beginning of Rowley's tripartite career with the Lord Admiral's Men: the moment at which he expanded his existing role as actor–sharer in the company and began offering his own dramatic compositions for performance.

Another important aspect of Rowley's early playwriting career at the Fortune is his extension or revision of other dramatists' work. Perhaps the most debated of the references to Rowley in *Henslowe's Diary* concerns the 'adicyones' in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1588–1592), for which Rowley and Bird were paid four pounds on 22 November 1602.<sup>66</sup> While the authenticity of the entry in the *Diary* is not disputed, what remains a matter for debate is the extent to which these 'adicyones' survive in the extant printed editions of the play. While there is clearly a close link between the A- and B-texts (printed in 1604 and 1616, respectively) in much of the play's tragic action, the vastly augmented comic scenes of the latter have led a number of critics to the conclusion that these additional passages constitute the Rowley–Bird additions.<sup>67</sup> Stylistic analyses, too, have confirmed the presence of post-1600 revisions in the B-text and, based on a comparison with the text of *When You See Me*, identified particular features characteristic of Rowley's style (see below).<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the very nature of this additional material, with its penchant for

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<sup>66</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 206.

<sup>67</sup> See in particular Fredson Bowers, 'Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*: The 1602 Additions', *SB*, 26 (1973), 1–18; David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (eds.), *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616): Christopher Marlowe and His Collaborator and Revisers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); and Michael H. Keefer, 'The A and B Texts of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* Revisited', *PBSA*, 100.2 (2006), 227–57.

<sup>68</sup> See D. J. Lake, 'Three Seventeenth-Century Revisions: *Thomas of Woodstock*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Faustus B*', *N&Q*, 30.2 (April, 1983), 133–43 (p. 143) and H. Dugdale Sykes, *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama: A series of studies dealing with the authorship of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924; rpt 1966), pp. 49–78, respectively.

stage spectacle and its pervasive anti-papal spirit, not only provides links with the subject matter of *When You See Me*, as noted by Leslie M. Oliver, but also points to adaptation for performance on the Fortune stage.<sup>69</sup> Greg's account, in which the B-text is seen to predate the A-text and in which Rowley is named as Marlowe's original collaborator, is no longer widely accepted.<sup>70</sup>

Rowley's comedic additions to the text of *Doctor Faustus* may thus represent the dramatist's only surviving work for the company prior to the composition of *When You See Me* just two years later, and it may well be that the popularity of the additional B-text scenes on the Fortune stage led Rowley to attribute such a large proportion of the action and spoken lines of *When You See Me* to Will Summers, thus capitalising on the success of his earlier work. Significantly, the *Faustus* B-text is the only extant playtext for which there exists any external evidence to support the stylistic and circumstantial evidence by which Rowley's authorship is typically inferred (see below). Moreover, since Bird's share of the additions seem largely to have been confined to the final act of the play, with Rowley taking on the larger, more elaborate scenes in the third and fourth acts, it is possible to deduce the likely nature of Rowley and Bird's collaborative practice.<sup>71</sup> This in turn may give some indication of the way in which the two men set to work on the lost play *Judas* in December the previous year.

Since company records largely cease after 1602/3, it is impossible to know whether Rowley wrote additional plays for the company throughout the course of Prince Henry's patronage; certainly, no other extant playtext bears his name. In the

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<sup>69</sup> Leslie M. Oliver, 'Rowley, Foxe, and the *Faustus* Additions', *MLN*, 60.6 (June, 1945), 391–4. On adaptation for the new performance venue, see in particular Bevington and Rasmussen (eds.), *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts*, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> W. W. Greg, *Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, 1604–1606: Parallel Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 29, n.1. A sound criticism of Greg's arguments can be found in Constance B. Kuriyama, 'Dr Greg and *Doctor Faustus*: The Supposed Originality of the 1616 Text', *ELR*, 5.2 (1975), 171–97.

<sup>71</sup> For each man's likely share, see Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 66 and Keefer, 'The A and B Texts', p. 228.

1620s, however, three of Rowley's plays were recorded in the office book of Sir Henry Herbert: *Richard the Third, or the English Profit* (perhaps more correctly 'Prophet') 'with the Reformation', licensed on 27 July 1623; a 'new Comedy' called *Hard Shift for Husbands, or Bilbo's the Best Blade*, licensed on 29 October 1623; and a second 'new Comedy', *A Match or No Match*, licensed on 6 April 1624.<sup>72</sup> Joseph Quincy Adams, in his edition of Herbert's office book, also tentatively assigned a fourth play to Rowley: *Hymen's Holiday or Cupid's Vagaries*, licensed on 15 August 1633.<sup>73</sup> The text is described by Herbert as 'an ould play of Rowleys', and while the record does not specify which Rowley – Samuel or William – wrote the play, William is the more likely author in this instance.<sup>74</sup> Admittedly, Herbert's record for *A Match or No Match* also fails to specify which of the two Rowleys was responsible for the play, stating simply: 'Written by Mr. Rowleye'. That the entry begins 'For the Fortune', however, points clearly to Samuel's authorship.

It is uncertain whether these were new plays, written by Rowley to enhance the company repertory after the Fortune fire in December 1621, or older plays, reconstructed either by Rowley or by other members of the Palsgrave's Men for performance after this date.<sup>75</sup> MacDonald P. Jackson favours the former scenario,

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<sup>72</sup> *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623–1673*, ed. Joseph Quincy Adams (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 24, 26 and 27, respectively. N. W. Bawcutt supplies a variant title for the second of the three plays, *Hardship for Husbands*, based on the form given in the nineteenth-century scholar Jacob Henry Burn's recently discovered notes from the office book. See Bawcutt (ed.), *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 146.

<sup>73</sup> *The Dramatic Records*, p. 53.

<sup>74</sup> The play was first recorded on 24 February 1612 when the following entry was made in the Revels Accounts: 'By the Duck [*sic*] of yorks Players. Shroue: munday: A Play Called Himens Haliday'. Since William Rowley was a sharer in the Duke of York's Men, he is by far the more likely candidate for the play's authorship. See W. R. Streitberger (ed.), *Collections Volume XIII: Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts, 1603–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 48–9 and Bentley, *JCS*, V.1023.

<sup>75</sup> For a contemporary account of the Fortune fire, see N. E. McClure (ed.), *John Chamberlain, Letters*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), vol. 2, p. 415. On the fire's likely impact on the company, see Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 19. Implications for the likely date of Rowley's retirement are discussed below.

noting that Rowley was ‘foremost among those who laboured to provide a new repertoire’; Bentley, on the other hand, suggests simply that these were memorial reconstructions of older plays, written before Rowley’s retirement.<sup>76</sup> Certainly, Herbert’s use of the word ‘new’ would appear to indicate the former, though it may also suggest that the plays had been recently revived or expanded, perhaps in a manner similar to *Doctor Faustus*. On the basis of the plays’ titles, *Hard Shift for Husbands* and *A Match or No Match* appear to have been marriage comedies. Rowley’s play on Richard III, however, is more likely to have been a history play, perhaps, as Fleay suggests, a revival or reworking of Ben Jonson’s *Richard Crookback*, recorded in *Henslowe’s Diary* on 22 June 1602.<sup>77</sup> The ‘reformation’ alluded to in Herbert’s entry may thus refer to the company’s recent rewrites of the play, rather than to any specific aspect of its content. Alternatively, the word may have been used by Herbert – as it was by George Buc on the manuscript of *The Second Maiden’s Tragedy* (1611) – with reference to the censored portions of the text.<sup>78</sup>

Another later play frequently attributed either in whole or in part to Rowley is *The Noble Soldier; Or, A Contract Broken, Justly Revenged*, first printed in 1634.<sup>79</sup> Evidence in support of Rowley’s authorship, however, is slim, and rests wholly on the title-page attribution of the play to one ‘S. R.’. Aside from this dubious attribution, there is further reason to doubt Rowley’s authorship. In the Stationers’ Register, two separate entries name Thomas Dekker as the play’s author, and indeed much of the evidence, both internal and external, points to this

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<sup>76</sup> MacDonald P. Jackson, ‘Shakespeare’s *Richard II* and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*’, *MRDE*, 14 (2001), 17–65 (p. 49) and Bentley, *JCS*, V.1011.

<sup>77</sup> F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1599–1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), vol. 2, p. 171; *Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 203.

<sup>78</sup> See Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 203 and plate 10.

<sup>79</sup> The *STC* labels *The Noble Soldier* as a product of Rowley’s sole authorship (vol. 2, p. 290). See also Cerasano’s *ODNB* entry on Rowley, in which she claims that he ‘collaborated with Thomas Dekker (and perhaps John Day)’.



conclusion.<sup>80</sup> Not only have elements of Dekker's style been detected in the text of *The Noble Soldier*, including, as Tirthankar Bose points out, a number of characteristic witticisms and allusions, much of the content of the play was reproduced in Dekker's *The Welsh Ambassador* (c. 1623).<sup>81</sup> The Latin motto included on the title-page of *The Noble Soldier* further strengthens the case, since similar mottos appear on the title-pages of texts confidently attributed to Dekker. To account for this, a number of early critics proposed that Rowley took charge of the play after Dekker's death.<sup>82</sup> The more recent discovery of Rowley's will, however, has shown that Dekker outlived Rowley by nearly eight years.

On the basis of external evidence no further material can be credited to Rowley. Stylistic analyses, however, have resulted in the attribution to Rowley of five additional early modern playtexts, some placing him with companies other than the Admiral's Men in the 1580s and early 1590s and thus perhaps allowing some insight into Rowley's pre-Rose theatrical career. Foremost amongst these is H. Dugdale Sykes's influential *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* in which, in addition to the extra B-text material in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, he makes a strong case for Rowley's authorship of *The Famous Victories of Henry V* (first printed in 1598 though likely performed before mid-1587) and part-authorship of *The Taming of a Shrew* (printed in 1594). Other texts mentioned in Sykes's analyses include the 1594 quarto edition of Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, for which Rowley is credited with the addition of comic material, and the anonymous

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<sup>80</sup> 'The noble Spanish Souldier' was entered to John Jackman on 16 May 1631 and to Nicholas Vavasour on 9 December 1633. See Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 4, pp. 253 and 310, respectively.

<sup>81</sup> Tirthankar Bose, *The Gentle Craft of Revision in Dekker's Last Plays* (Salzburg: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 1979), p. 15. On the relationship between *The Noble Soldier* and *The Welsh Ambassador*, see Bertram Lloyd, 'The Noble Soldier and The Welsh Ambassador', *RES*, 3.11 (July, 1927), 306–7.

<sup>82</sup> See, for example, Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle*, vol. 1, p. 128 and S. R. Golding, 'The Parliament of Bees', *RES*, 3.11 (July, 1927), 280–304 (p. 285).

*Wily Beguiled*, printed in 1606 but probably written several years earlier, which Rowley is thought to have written in collaboration with another dramatist.<sup>83</sup>

In particular, Sykes noted the close connection between a number of Will Summers's lines in Rowley's *When You See Me* and the speeches of the plays' respective clown characters.<sup>84</sup> A persuasive parallel is drawn, for example, between Summers's lines 'an thou wert the devil himself, he'll conjure thee, I warrant thee. I would not have such a conjuring for twenty crowns' (1.4.188–90) and Dick's lines in the *Faustus* B-text: 'an my master come he'll conjure you, 'faith'; '[a]n he follow us, I'll so conjure him as he was never conjured in his life, I warrant him' (2.3.14–15; 3.3.4–5). Sykes also points to the similarities between these passages and Dericke's speech in *The Famous Victories* which ends with the words: 'Ile tel thee Iohn, O Iohn, / I would not haue done it for twentie shillings' (B4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>85</sup> Moreover, in a number of the plays' verse passages Sykes noted both a tendency towards dactylic line-endings and a 'compositional trick' of placing polysyllabic adjectives ending in *-al* after the nouns that they qualify ('pomp pontifical', 'blessing apostolical', 'treason capital', etc.).<sup>86</sup> While he may in some cases have overstated the relationship between certain passages or the individuality of specific words or phrases that he labels 'Rowleyan', a number of Sykes's arguments and observations are upheld by later scholars. Constance B. Kuriyama in particular highlights the infrequency with which such expressions as 'as it

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<sup>83</sup> Sykes suggests that the co-author of *Wily Beguiled* may have been the same dramatist with whom Rowley collaborated on the text of *A Shrew*. See *Sidelights*, p. 69.

<sup>84</sup> Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 61.

<sup>85</sup> See Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 63. Examples of shorter, characteristically 'Rowleyan' phrases include: 'O brave', 'hard at hand', 'I warrant you', 'you had best' and 'as it passeth'. Citations are from Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus B-Text* in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; rpt 2008); and Anon., *The famous victories of Henry the fifth* (London: printed by Thomas Creede, 1598), *STC* 13072.

<sup>86</sup> Sykes, *Sidelights*, pp. 63–4.

passeth' appear in the drama of Rowley's contemporaries and thus confirms them as 'stylistic fingerprints' in the case for Rowley's authorship.<sup>87</sup>

Sykes was well aware that his analyses would have important implications for the study of Rowley's theatrical career and he stated outright the significance of the attribution of 'this fresh work' to Rowley: 'It dates the commencement of his dramatic authorship back to a period certainly eight, possibly twelve or thirteen, years before we find any mention of him as a playwright'.<sup>88</sup> Yet he says relatively little about the company attribution of these plays and what this in turn may reveal about Rowley's movements during this period. If Rowley did indeed have a hand in the composition of *The Famous Victories*, as indicated by the abovementioned stylistic evidence, then this suggests that he may have begun both his acting and playwriting career with the Queen's Men. The attribution to Rowley of this play, often regarded as 'the earliest of extant English history plays among the professional companies', also makes an important statement about the playwright's potential influence in the theatre several years prior to his first official mention in the theatrical records.<sup>89</sup> The play – and the characterisation and action of the play's clown Dericke in particular – may give some indication of Rowley's early work, thus affording opportunity for comparison with *When You See Me*, composed almost twenty years later. Moreover, Rowley's possible affiliation with Richard Tarlton might have influenced elements of Will Summers's character in *When You See Me*, and the portrayal of the fool's extemporising rhyming games may perhaps reflect a desire on Rowley's part to recreate certain of Tarlton's antics.

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<sup>87</sup> See Kuriyama, 'Dr Greg and *Doctor Faustus*', pp. 191–4.

<sup>88</sup> Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 74.

<sup>89</sup> Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 89.

While Greene's *Orlando Furioso* likewise belonged to the Queen's Men, as stated on the play's printed title-page, the author is also said to have sold a copy of *Orlando* to the Admiral's Men; indeed, in February 1591/2 Henslowe recorded a performance of the play by the combined Strange's–Admiral's Men at the Rose.<sup>90</sup> Since it is unclear (despite the title-page attribution) from which of the acting companies the printed playtext derives, it is difficult to place Rowley's possible contribution to this text within the playwright's wider canon. That the version of the play preserved in the quarto includes, as Greg notes, a number of scenes of 'rough clownage and horseplay' absent in the separate manuscript of Alleyn's part for *Orlando* may indicate that Rowley was employed as a reviser of plays at the Rose several years prior to his work on the *Faustus* B-text.<sup>91</sup> If this is indeed the case, as Sykes attests, then the comic additions in *Orlando Furioso* may constitute Rowley's earliest work for performance by the Admiral's Men.<sup>92</sup> Equally, though, the clowning scenes attributed to Rowley may derive from an earlier performance by the Queen's Men, perhaps written around the same time as *The Famous Victories*.

Rowley's potential input in *The Taming of a Shrew* would also appear to place him with the Earl of Pembroke's Men (named on the play's printed title-page) some time prior to the text's entrance in the Stationers' Register in May 1594. Quite possibly, Rowley left the Queen's Men in the early 1590s and spent some years writing and acting as a hired man in both Pembroke's and the Admiral's Men before turning more assuredly to Henslowe after the controversial *Isle of Dogs* incident and the subsequent return of a number of actors from Pembroke's Men to the Rose in the

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<sup>90</sup> On Greene's reselling of the play, see *The defence of conny catching* (London: printed by A. J[effes] for Thomas Gubbins, 1592), STC 5656, C3<sup>r-v</sup>; for the record of performance, see *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 16.

<sup>91</sup> W. W. Greg, *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar & Orlando Furioso* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 133–4.

<sup>92</sup> See Sykes, *Sidelights*, pp. 75–6.

summer of 1597.<sup>93</sup> Alternatively, *The Taming of a Shrew* may originally have belonged to the Queen's Men, as suggested by its association with Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, and it may be that Rowley wrote his share of the text while still a member of that company in the late 1580s.<sup>94</sup>

Since both the date and company attribution of *Wily Beguiled* are unknown, the text sheds no further light on Rowley's possible movements in the years prior to his composition of *When You See Me*. On the basis that the epilogue specifies performance in 'a circled round', Gurr argues that the Fortune could not have been the play's intended venue and thus that Rowley could not have been the play's author.<sup>95</sup> This argument, however, rests on the assumption that the play was composed c. 1602. Had the composition of *Wily Beguiled* predated the Admiral's move to the Fortune or even Rowley's involvement with that company, then the reference to performance in a 'circled round' poses no real problem to Sykes's argument and the case for Rowley's part-authorship of the play remains valid.

The more recent analyses of Lake and Jackson add another possible play to Rowley's canon: the anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*, which survives today in manuscript form.<sup>96</sup> The extent of Rowley's input in this play, however, is a matter of contention: while Lake, who – on the basis of handwriting and linguistic evidence – dates the manuscript to 1604–10, argues that Rowley revised an earlier version of the play, Jackson argues instead that the play was written in the seventeenth century and

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<sup>93</sup> See *Henslowe's Diary*, p. xli.

<sup>94</sup> Four of the nine extant Queen's Men's plays were subsequently turned into six Shakespearean plays, suggesting that Shakespeare may once have worked with the Queen's Men. This in turn may explain the relationship between the two *Shrew* plays: possibly, a now lost version of the play survived which Shakespeare and Rowley (plus an unknown collaborator) reconstructed as *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*, respectively. McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, p. xv.

<sup>95</sup> Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 273.

<sup>96</sup> It is held at the British Library (MS Egerton 1994). See Lake, 'Three Seventeenth-Century Revisions', pp. 135–8; Jackson, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*', *passim*; and MacDonald P. Jackson, 'The Date and Authorship of *Thomas of Woodstock*: Evidence and its Interpretation', *ROMRD*, 26 (2007), 67–100.

thus that Rowley was its original author. In 2007, however, Michael Egan published a scathing rebuttal of Jackson's claims, reaffirming an earlier date of composition for *Woodstock* (c. 1590–5) and arguing the case for Shakespeare's authorship.<sup>97</sup> While much of Egan's argument is clearly governed by his notion of Shakespeare as the superior dramatist ('*When You See Me* evinces nothing of the careful blueprinting, grand historical sweep, [or] biting political concerns ... as revealed by the author of *Woodstock*'), he does point persuasively to a number of lines in the manuscript that reflect topical debates of the 1590s and thus pose 'considerable difficulties for any Jacobean attribution'.<sup>98</sup> It is problematic, therefore, to accept Rowley's role as primary author. If, as Jackson suggests, the play were written by Rowley post-1604, *Woodstock* would first have been performed by Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune and would presumably have shared certain characteristics with *When You See Me* regarding casting and staging. As it stands, *Woodstock* bears little resemblance to Rowley's play and, as Janet Clare suggests, seems to have been written with 'an altogether different agenda'.<sup>99</sup> That the marks of Rowley's authorship (as laid out in Lake and Jackson's articles and revisited in the Bibliographical Introduction, below) are present in the manuscript suggests only that Rowley contributed to the play at some point in its textual history. Thus, while Rowley's revision of the manuscript is included in Appendix 1, his authorship of the play is not.

One unfortunate consequence of Sykes's research in particular was the tendency amongst scholars to attribute other anonymous or lost plays to Rowley, often with little or no recourse to stylistic or circumstantial evidence; indeed, Egan recently commented on the way in which Rowley kept 'popping up' throughout the

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<sup>97</sup> Michael Egan, 'Did Samuel Rowley write *Thomas of Woodstock*?', *The Oxfordian*, 10 (2007), 37–54.

<sup>98</sup> Egan, 'Did Samuel Rowley write *Thomas of Woodstock*?', pp. 35 and 42, respectively.

<sup>99</sup> Janet Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 63.

twentieth century as ‘everyone’s favourite author of anonymous plays’.<sup>100</sup> Soon after the publication of Sykes’s work, for example, E. H. C. Oliphant considered Rowley’s contribution to the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (c. 1592) and Greg put forward the suggestion that Rowley was likely the man responsible for the latter acts of Thomas Nashe’s ‘seditious’ *Isle of Dogs* (c. 1597).<sup>101</sup> This in turn had the effect of diminishing Sykes’s observations. While F. P. Wilson is undoubtedly correct to point out that ‘[s]peculation on Rowley’s style seems the more hazardous if it be remembered that *When you See me* [*sic*] is the only certain example of his work that has survived’, informed stylistic analyses are nonetheless a useful means of establishing possibilities: without such analyses, Rowley’s theatrical career ostensibly begins and ends with the Admiral’s–Prince’s–Palsgrave’s Men; using stylistic evidence, it is possible not only to date the conceivable beginning of Rowley’s career back several years before his name appears in the pages of *Henslowe’s Diary*, but also to associate him with the Queen’s and possibly Pembroke’s Men prior to his engagement at the Rose.<sup>102</sup> Such possibilities (highlighted as such) are incorporated in Appendix 1.

### Later theatrical career

Company records diminish radically after 1602/3, making it difficult to ascertain Rowley’s later involvement in the Lord Admiral’s–Prince’s–Palsgrave’s Men, either in his role as sharer or in his capacity as playwright. Since Rowley is named in the official licences, household lists and patents of 1604, 1606, 1610 and 1612/13, respectively (see ‘Actors and casting’, below), and since he was present at Prince

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<sup>100</sup> Egan, ‘Did Samuel Rowley write *Thomas of Woodstock*?’, p. 50, n.3.

<sup>101</sup> See E. H. C. Oliphant, ‘Marlowe’s Hand in “Arden of Faversham”’, A Problem for Critics’, *The New Criterion*, 4.1 (January, 1926), 76–93 (p. 77) and Greg, *Henslowe’s Diary, Part II*, p. 88, respectively.

<sup>102</sup> Wilson, p. ix.

Henry's funeral, it is clear he was still a member of the company at the commencement of the Elector Palatine's patronage. That three of his plays were licensed by Sir Henry Herbert in the early 1620s may, as discussed above, indicate that he was still active – at least as a playwright – just months before his death.

The paucity of evidence regarding the company's personnel after January 1613, when members of the Palsgrave's Men were granted a licence to perform at the Fortune and elsewhere, largely hinders any attempt to determine the year of Rowley's retirement. Bentley suggests that he retired from the stage soon after the issuance of the licence in 1613 and that he left London for Germany – a suggestion for which there exists no evidence.<sup>103</sup> Somerset, too, notes that Rowley likely retired eleven years before his death, and certainly 'by 31 October 1618', at which time his name was absent from 'a complete list of players'.<sup>104</sup> In fact, as Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry and William Ingram point out, the document in question was not a full company list, but rather a record of the names of ten players to whom Edward Alleyn leased the Fortune playhouse after inheriting Henslowe's share some time after the latter's death in 1616.<sup>105</sup> That Rowley's name is not included is not in itself proof of retirement and may suggest only that Rowley chose to perform a lesser role in the business in his later years.

The more recent discovery of a Cambridgeshire legal document confirms that Rowley was still an active member of the Palsgrave's Men on 25 March 1616, when the company, evidently on tour, were commanded to leave Cambridge University: 'Dounton et Iubey were Charged themselves & all the rest of their companye presently to departe the vniversitye & playe noe moore at any tyme

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<sup>103</sup> Bentley, *JCS*, V.1011. In an earlier volume, Bentley offered the more practical suggestion that Rowley gave up acting in 1613 to become a contracted writer for the company (*JCS*, II.555).

<sup>104</sup> See Somerset, 'New facts', p. 297 and Somerset, p. xxxvii, respectively.

<sup>105</sup> The lease is transcribed in Greg's edition of *The Henslowe Papers*, pp. 27–8 and modernised in Wickham, Berry and Ingram's *English Professional Theatre*, pp. 544–5, document 425.



hereafter either in Cambridge or the Compasse of five myles'.<sup>106</sup> The name 'Sam Rowle' is included here along with the names of eight other players. Quite what sparked the order is unknown, and the document provides no further information regarding either the company's transgression or the occasion of their visit. It does, however, prove Rowley's continued involvement in the Palsgrave's Men throughout the mid-1610s, and thus extends his known theatrical career beyond that recorded in the official licensing documents at TNA.

Although the official end of Rowley's theatrical career is unknown, it is possible to conclude that he spent at very least nineteen years with the Admiral's–Prince's–Palsgrave's Men and, if the three plays licensed in the 1620s were indeed new at the time of their entrance in Henry Herbert's account book, possibly as many as thirty.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, for the majority of his career Rowley maintained an important, tripartite position within the company, which saw him not only acting and managing the company finances but also extending the repertory, both by commissioning plays by others and by writing them himself. Rowley's *When You See Me* was composed at the height of this long and prosperous career and, importantly, right at the start of the period of the young Prince Henry's patronage.

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<sup>106</sup> Alan H. Nelson (ed.). *REED: Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 553–4.

<sup>107</sup> Other members, too, spent a great many years with the company; as Gurr observes, '[t]he durability of the major names is a remarkable record of company loyalty' (*Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 34).

## PART 2

### INTRODUCTION TO THE PLAY

## *Critical Introduction*

## Rowley's composition of *When You See Me*

In *The English Chronicle Play*, Felix Schelling put forward the suggestion that Rowley's *When You See Me* may contain the text of the two lost Cardinal Wolsey plays 'in a later revised form'.<sup>108</sup> He took as evidence both Rowley's perceived role in the initial stages of the plays' production and a series of payments in *Henslowe's Diary* for the procurement of extravagant costumes and stage properties for use in their performance. Certainly, a lot of money changed hands in the acquisition of materials for the two plays: the total output of just under forty pounds marked an investment larger than that recorded in the *Diary* for any other single or two-part play.<sup>109</sup> In utilising much of the text of the earlier plays and thereby portraying many of the same characters and events on stage, Schelling argued, Rowley could make further use of Henslowe's earlier purchases.<sup>110</sup>

While Schelling's hypothesis is at first appealing, there are a number of reasons to doubt his arguments. First, the composition of the Wolsey plays, as evidenced in an intricate series of payments between June and October 1601, was particularly complex, leading Schelling to misinterpret Rowley's role in their production: '*The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*', he claimed 'was the production of Chettle and Samuel Rowley'.<sup>111</sup> In fact, Rowley was only responsible for authorising payment to Chettle; no evidence exists in support of his own part-authorship of the

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<sup>108</sup> Felix Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play: A Study in the Popular Historical Literature Environing Shakespeare* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 219.

<sup>109</sup> Jean MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play*, p. 219.

<sup>111</sup> On 5 June 1601, an initial payment of twenty shillings was made to Henry Chettle 'for writtinge the Boocke of carnalle wolseye lyfe'; a further twenty shillings was paid on 28 June 'for the altrynge of the boocke' and forty shillings was given over for the finished play on 4 July (*Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 171, 175 and 176, respectively). On 24 August, however, a payment of twenty shillings was made to Chettle for a second play 'called j pt of carnall wollsey', soon followed on 10 October by a payment of forty shillings to Chettle, Michael Drayton, Anthony Munday and Wentworth Smith for 'A Boocke called the Rissenge of carnowlle wolsey' (p. 183). The latter play, *The Rising*, thus became part one of the two-part play. See *The English Chronicle Play*, p. 219 for Schelling's misinterpretation of these records.

play. Moreover, the reuse of company costumes and stage properties is likely to have taken place regardless of whether or not Rowley built upon the text of the two Wolsey plays in his composition of *When You See Me*; as Cerasano notes, ‘apparel was used and reused as long as it was in reasonable condition’.<sup>112</sup> Henslowe’s extravagant purchases cannot therefore be taken as evidence in support of textual revision.

Perhaps most fundamentally, the argument for revision is dependent upon the assumption that King Henry VIII was depicted on stage as a character in the lost Wolsey plays, a belief fuelled by the inclusion of a ‘hary ye viii gowne’ in the second of two inventories of theatrical apparel drawn up respectively in the late 1590s and early 1600s.<sup>113</sup> The presence of the ‘hary ye viii gowne’, as well as the inclusion of a ‘cardinalls gowne’ and ‘will somers cote’, has led scholars to date the inventory to 1601–2, to coincide with the company’s first performances of the Wolsey plays.<sup>114</sup> Significantly, though, Henslowe’s acquisition of the Wolsey playtexts marks only the *lower* date limit of the inventory: the list could conceivably have been written any time between the composition of the Wolsey plays and Rowley’s completion of *When You See Me*, at which time King Henry’s gown was required for performance. Thus while the ‘cardinalls gowne’ and ‘will somers cote’ were in all probability procured for the production of the Wolsey plays, the ‘hary ye viii gowne’ might not have been purchased until early 1604.<sup>115</sup> This in turn suggests a later date of origin for Alleyn’s inventory than is typically supposed and it is possible, therefore, that the

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<sup>112</sup> S. P. Cerasano, ‘An Inventory of Theatrical Apparel (c. 1601/2): MSS 1, Article 30 (001-03-01r)’, *The Henslowe–Alleyn Digitisation Project* <<http://henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/costumelist.html>> [accessed 14 May 2014].

<sup>113</sup> Both are reprinted in *Henslowe’s Diary* (pp. 317–25 and 291–4, respectively).

<sup>114</sup> See Cerasano, ‘An Inventory of Theatrical Apparel’ [accessed 14 May 2014].

<sup>115</sup> The ‘will somers cote’ included in Alleyn’s list is presumably that for which the company paid three pounds in May 1602 (*Henslowe’s Diary*, p. 201). A ‘Will. Sommers sewtte’ had also appeared in Henslowe’s 1598 inventory, confirming (along with the text of Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament*, c. 1592), that the presence of Summers on stage did not necessitate the presence of King Henry.

list was drawn up not for the Lord Admiral's Men but for Prince Henry's Men, soon after the commencement of the young prince's patronage.

This finds support in the fact that the company is unlikely to have represented King Henry VIII as a character on stage while his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, was still on the throne. Rather, the Wolsey plays presumably followed the model of other Elizabethan plays about the Reformation in which the King's presence was felt only through the words and actions of others. In *Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, for example, references are made only to 'the King' or 'my Soueraigne King' and the King's intentions are vocalised and put into action by other characters, thus shifting responsibility for Cromwell's demise: 'O God a little speede had saued his life, / Here is a kinde repriue come from the king, / To bring him straight vnto his maiestie' (G3<sup>r</sup>). Similarly 'the king' of *Sir Thomas More*, receiving notice of the insurrection, sends Shrewsbury, Surrey, Palmer and others to act in his name (scene 5, lines 27–34).<sup>116</sup> Assuming such caution to have been the norm during Elizabeth's reign, very little of the subject matter of Rowley's *When You See Me* could have been performed before March 1603 and as such the play is unlikely to have derived from the company's earlier material.

Moreover, as Somerset points out, although Wolsey is an important character in *When You See Me*, 'much of the play does not concern him at all, and probably would not have been treated in two plays centred upon his rising and life'.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, much of Rowley's play covers aspects of King Henry's reign that fall outside of Wolsey's lifetime, including the accusation of Queen Katherine Parr and, perhaps

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<sup>116</sup> Citations from W. S., *The true chronicle historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* ([London: printed by R. Read] for William Jones, 1602), STC 21532 and Anthony Munday and others, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett, Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2011).

<sup>117</sup> Somerset, p. lii.

most importantly, the birth and early life of the young Prince Edward – the subject of the play's subtitle. Furthermore, Rowley's anachronistic handling of source material (discussed at length below) allows him to implicate Wolsey even in historical events that occurred long after his death. Clearly, such aspects of the play could only have been borrowed from the lost Wolsey plays if these exhibited an equally anachronistic depiction of the Cardinal's life.

There is little to suggest, therefore, that Rowley drew upon the text of the Wolsey plays in his composition of *When You See Me*; indeed, on the strength of available evidence it is possible to conclude that Rowley began work on a new play in 1603–4. Composed in the wake of Queen Elizabeth's death, Rowley's *When You See Me* was written with a very different purpose to the two lost Wolsey plays, whose aim, like that of *Thomas*, *Lord Cromwell* and *Sir Thomas More*, was presumably to bring to the fore the rising, the life and, in all probability, the fall of an important player in the Tudor court, with only cursory and indirect reference to the role of the monarch. Rowley's play, in contrast, had the freedom to explore the Tudor monarchy much more thoroughly and directly and did so to great effect by placing King Henry VIII at the centre of the ongoing religious and socio-political debate.

#### Date of composition

Since, as noted above, Rowley is unlikely to have written a play about the reign of King Henry VIII while his daughter Elizabeth was still on the throne, the lower date limit of composition is set at 24 March 1603. The entrance of the play in the Stationers' Register on 12 February 1605 (see Bibliographical Introduction, below) marks the upper date limit, though it is likely that Rowley composed the play earlier than 1605, not least so that the company could take advantage of the

play's great topicality in the more immediate aftermath of Queen Elizabeth's death. Quite possibly, as Gurr suggests, *When You See Me* was the very first play performed by Prince Henry's Men upon the reopening of the Fortune playhouse on Monday 9 April 1604, after the eventual passing of a long outbreak of plague that had rendered the theatres inoperable for upwards of six months.<sup>118</sup> If indeed this was the case, then the date of composition can be narrowed down to the period between March 1603 and March 1604.

Scott James Schofield argues for a later date of composition, based on the assumption that much of the rhetoric employed by Queen Katherine Parr and the Catholic bishops in *When You See Me* consciously reflected that of the speakers at the Hampton Court Conference, held on 14, 16 and 18 January 1604: 'Katherine Parr's commitment to defending a reformed theology, and the subsequent troubles she faces as a result of her conviction, echo the commitment and experiences of the puritan delegates'.<sup>119</sup> He points specifically to the account of events presented by William Barlow in *The summe and substance of the conference* (STC 1456.5), entered in the Stationers' Register on 22 May 1604 and printed in August that year, suggesting in turn that Rowley based much of the structure and dialogue of act 5, scene 1 of his play on this material.<sup>120</sup> Despite similarities in the content of *When You See Me* and Barlow's *Svmme and svbstance*, however, Schofield's argument falls down in the absence of any specific parallels in the *language* of the two texts. As discussed below, Rowley's depiction of Queen Katherine in act 5, scenes 1 and 4 is in fact taken almost

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<sup>118</sup> Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 37.

<sup>119</sup> Scott James Schofield, 'Staging Tudor Royalty: Religious Politics in Stuart Historical Drama (1603–1607)', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto (2010), p. 84. On the format and purpose of the Hampton Court Conference, see Mark H. Curtis, 'Hampton Court Conference and its Aftermath', *History*, 46 (1961), 1–16 and Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I', *Journal of British Studies*, 24.2 (April, 1985), 169–207.

<sup>120</sup> Schofield, 'Staging Tudor Royalty', p. 84.



verbatim from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and is not therefore reliant on Barlow's – or any other – account of the Hampton Court Conference in circulation in 1604.

That is not to say that the ongoing religious debates that characterised the first year of King James's reign did not prompt Rowley to make the accusations levelled against Queen Katherine Parr one of the main focal points of his play. Indeed, debates regarding James's supremacy and the extent of religious diversity in the Church probably governed Rowley's selection of source material and aided him in his organisation of such – the question posed by Queen Katherine to Bonner and Gardiner concerning the bishops' allegiance to the King ('How are ye faithful subjects to the King / When first ye serve the Pope, then after him?' (5.1.121–2)) in particular highlighted the issue of religious versus monarchical authority. After the drafting of the Millenary Petition in April 1603, many of the ministers' grievances became common knowledge and Rowley was presumably well aware of the issues and debates that greeted King James in his first few months on the English throne. It is possible, therefore, that the composition of *When You See Me* was intended not to reflect on the Hampton Court Conference, but rather to coincide with or perhaps even to pre-empt it.

### Source material and the structure of *When You See Me*

As Wilson notes, 'Rowley flouts chronology with a freedom unusual even in the chronicle plays of his age'.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps the most striking example of this can be evidenced in the character of Cardinal Wolsey, whose life Rowley prolonged for over sixteen years in order to have his corruption publicly exposed in front of the Holy Roman Emperor at the play's conclusion. The extension of Wolsey's life also

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<sup>121</sup> Wilson, p. x.

allowed Rowley to implicate him directly in such events as Anne Boleyn's execution (1.3.32–3). On occasion, such tampering with chronology leads to confusion on Rowley's part, for example when Wolsey welcomes ambassadors 'from Francis the Most Christian King of France' (1.1.2) before the death of King Louis, which is announced at 2.3.148.<sup>122</sup> Yet on the whole, the play is carefully crafted to present a series of important events in the reign of the Tudor king which simultaneously shed new light on the character of King Henry, glorify the actions of Prince Edward and reveal the escalating power and dishonesty of the deceitful Cardinal Wolsey, whose timely fall marks also the beginning of an amicable alliance between the English monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire.

Rowley evidently made use of a great number and variety of contemporary sources in his composition of *When You See Me*, drawing upon a range of apocryphal material, such as folktales, ballads and poems, as well as upon many of the more in-depth historical chronicles of Edward Hall, Richard Grafton, John Stow, John Foxe and Raphael Holinshed. Of course, the very nature of these texts, with their continual reuse and rehashing of the work of previous authors, makes the task of identifying various passages as sources of influence on Rowley's play all the more complex, but it is nonetheless possible to draw certain inferences, both with regard to the types of source material Rowley visited for particular scenes and to the way in which he arranged this material into a coherent and workable script, apposite for performance on the Fortune stage.

Before considering some of the more prominent sources for *When You See Me*, it is important to draw attention to the episodic structure of the play, not least

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<sup>122</sup> While it is, of course, possible that the play was written in collaboration with another dramatist, Rowley's sole authorship is assumed here on the basis that there is no discernible discrepancy in style between the various scenes of the play. As noted in the Bibliographical Introduction below, there is also reason to believe that the manuscript used as printers' copy for Q1 was written throughout in Rowley's hand.

since it seems to have governed the selection of source material on several notable occasions. The organisation of this material has also defined the nature of much critical attention and many have come to view the text's structure as an inherent weakness in Rowley's compositional practice. Joseph Candido, for example, comments negatively on the play's 'rambling and episodic' nature and Somerset labels the text 'disunified'.<sup>123</sup> John H. Wasson even goes so far as to suggest that Rowley's *When You See Me* is 'a patchwork of innocuous scenes, or a play mutilated by cutting', though this can hardly be the case given the play's uncommon length (see below).<sup>124</sup> Significantly, such critics overlook the overall effect and purpose of Rowley's play. *When You See Me* is episodic by design, and while the text does play around with chronology, it does so deliberately in order to emphasise and accentuate certain events and individuals and their relationships to one another. It also, by means of introducing the narratives of folktales and ballads, offers a different view of King Henry: at once historical, in the sense that the events and characters depicted on stage were from a past era, but also accessible and familiar, thus bridging the gap between the represented past and the present performance.

Counter to Somerset's suggestion that Rowley 'may have read the chronicles hurriedly, culling what he wanted from them, and relying on his memory while actually writing his play', it would seem that he both read and wrote with a clear purpose in mind, extracting from the various sources the information he needed and organising the material in such a way as to realise his intentions for the play.<sup>125</sup> In consequence, the script presented for performance at the Fortune was not structured

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<sup>123</sup> Joseph Candido, 'Fashioning Henry VIII: What Shakespeare saw in *When You See Me You Know Me*', *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 23 (1983), 47–59 (p. 47) and Somerset, p. lxxi.

<sup>124</sup> John H. Wasson, 'The English History Play: Its Types and Dramatic Techniques', unpublished doctoral thesis, Stanford University (1959), p. 326.

<sup>125</sup> Somerset, p. lix.

chronologically but rather thematically, moving in and out of the English court to branch into other aspects of royal life. As Wiggins observes:

The play's overall point about the power of the crown [...] is not made through a single developing action but through variegated repetition in a series of episodes whose apparent disconnectedness also emphasizes the range of different spheres in which royal authority must operate.<sup>126</sup>

The narrative does not therefore adhere to accounts of King Henry VIII's reign in either the historical chronicles or the apocryphal material, but rather mingles aspects of each in order to create a new history of the Tudor king with an emphasis not only on his public actions, but also on the more personal image of Henry as husband, father and common man.<sup>127</sup>

Rowley accordingly utilised and arranged the source material in a very precise way, relying most heavily on the historical chronicles in acts 1, 3 and 5, which take as their focus the intrigue and proceedings of the English court, and turning either to apocryphal sources or using his own dramatic licence for acts 2 and 4, the two most developed comic episodes of the play: King Henry's night-walk into the City of London and the scene of the young Prince Edward's tuition. Rowley also interspersed his use of the historical chronicles with other material in certain of the court-based scenes, including, perhaps most notably, the portrayal of Jane Seymour's death (1.2), as detailed below. Moreover, the introduction of the fool Will Summers at least once in each of these sections served to break up the more serious historical matter of the play and no doubt provided the audience with some much-needed comic relief.

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<sup>126</sup> Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time*, p. 86.

<sup>127</sup> Clare suggests that in linking high state affairs with anecdote and jest-book literature Rowley revived 'features of the Queen's Men's dramaturgy with its medley style' (*Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, p. 257). If Rowley had indeed been a member of the Queen's Men before joining the Admiral's Men, it is hardly surprising that elements of the Queen's repertory found their way into the playwright's later work.

As Wiggins suggests, *When You See Me* is ‘a well-made episodic play’, formed of a series of discrete incidents with ‘neatly layered transitions between them’.<sup>128</sup> Even Somerset concedes that the structure of the play is not entirely unsystematic: ‘one could not, for example, juggle the sections of the play into reverse order and expect the same movement and effect’.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, the effect of Rowley’s organisation of source material is powerfully climactic, building up to Wolsey’s dramatic fall and the triumph of Will Summers as he reveals to the King the whereabouts of the Cardinal’s hidden treasure. The episodic structure also helps to smooth the temporal transition between act 1, scene 2 of the play, in which Prince Edward is born, and act 4, in which he is represented as a young schoolboy some seven or eight years old. The compression and distortion of time elsewhere in *When You See Me* allows Rowley to make such temporal leaps without detriment to the wider narrative, thus providing a paradoxically uninterrupted sense of continuity to the action of the play as a whole despite the thirty-year timeframe that it spans.

#### Notable sources

In his discussion of source material, Somerset noted that while Rowley relied primarily upon Holinshed for the ‘narrative details and historical allusions’ of *When You See Me*, he drew both ‘the purpose and design of his work’ from Foxe.<sup>130</sup> He thus suggested that the two sources were used in different ways: Holinshed’s chronicle for the bare historical facts of Henry’s reign (the names, dates and locations that give credence to Rowley’s dramatic representation); and Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* for the particular interpretation of these individuals

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<sup>128</sup> Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time*, p. 85.

<sup>129</sup> Somerset, p. lxxiv.

<sup>130</sup> Somerset, pp. lv and lix, respectively.

and events that Rowley presents throughout the play.<sup>131</sup> Certainly, there are precise narrative details – the visit of the French ambassadors in act 1, scene 1, for example – that appear only in Holinshed, and must therefore derive from this source. Yet Somerset's proposition is difficult to substantiate on a wider scale when one considers that most of the narrative details of Rowley's play can be found in both works. Perhaps more significantly, Somerset's assertion that Rowley took both the design and purpose of his play from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* has the effect of reducing *When You See Me* to a rather crude and unsophisticated portrayal of stock religious types, in turn overlooking the issues that arise from the specific circumstances of the play's production, such as the position of the company's royal patron in relation to Rowley's protagonists, and other complexities associated with the play's dual historicity.<sup>132</sup> That is not to say that certain characters are *not* drawn in the Foxean tradition (the character of Wolsey providing a case in point) but that the play offers a rather more nuanced representation of the source material than Somerset would seem to suggest.

Act 5, scenes 1–4 of Rowley's play in particular owe a great deal to Foxe's account of the accusation of heresy levelled against Queen Katherine Parr (see Appendix 2); the Queen's words in 5.1, for example, are repeated almost verbatim. Yet despite Rowley's precise use of this material in the dialogue of the play, the outcome presented in *When You See Me* is viewed almost entirely as the result of Prince Edward's intervention, pleading with his father to hear the Queen speak (5.4.8–9) and using his position as Prince of Wales to convince the King of

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<sup>131</sup> I cite from the most recent version of each work available at the time of the play's composition: the 1587 edition of Holinshed (sixth volume) and the 1597 edition of Foxe (second volume).

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Judith Doolin Spikes's observation that Rowley 'charts his course between extremes', acknowledging that the Lutheran reformists of Henry VIII's time were as much a threat as the play's Roman Catholics. 'The Jacobean History Play and the Myth of the Elect Nation', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 8 (1977), 117–49 (p. 129).

Katherine's innocence (5.4.49–50). Foxe conversely presents the King's forgiveness as a sign of divine providence, proclaiming triumphantly: 'But see what the Lorde God ... did for his poore handmaiden' (p. 1133). Here as elsewhere in the play Rowley moves away from Foxe's providential account to focus on the actions and intentions of individuals. Thus, although much of the dialogue of the play is taken from Foxe's account, the overall purpose of *When You See Me* is very different.

It is also important to note that a number of passages in the play find their origin neither in Foxe nor in Holinshed, but in other historical chronicles. A clear example can be found in act 5, scene 1, where Bonner and Gardiner speak with King Henry regarding the books and letters sent to the English court by Martin Luther. While Foxe and Holinshed touch only very briefly on this subject, Richard Grafton's *An abridgement of the chronicles of England* (1562) provides a far more detailed account:

At this tyme Luther by the counsell of dyuers, wrote vnto king Hēry the .viii. submitting himselfe, and beyng hartely sorye that he had written so sharpely against the king. But [...] the kyng in his aunswere blamed Luther much, and noted him of lightnes and inconstancy.<sup>133</sup>

Comparison with the following passage from Rowley's *When You See Me* reveals a strong resemblance between the two accounts, even down to the level of individual word choice:

BONNER

We hear that Luther out of Germany  
Hath writ a book unto your majesty,  
Wherein he much repents his former deeds,  
Craving your highness' pardon, and withal  
Submits himself unto your grace's pleasure.

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<sup>133</sup> Richard Grafton, *An abridgement of the chronicles of England* ([London]: In aedibus Richardi Tottyll. Cum priuilegio, [1562]), *STC* 12148, f. 126<sup>b</sup>. Further references appear in parentheses in the main body of the text.

KING

Bonner, 'tis true, and we have answered it,  
Blaming at first his haughty insolence  
And now his lightness and inconstancy,  
That writ he knew not what so childishly.

(5.1.79–87)

Grafton's account can also be seen to inform subsequent episodes in the play, particularly that in which King Henry reads aloud a portion of one of Luther's letters (5.1.227–34). Here, Grafton's words are repeated almost verbatim: 'Luther then repented him of his submission, and wrote agayne that he was deceaued when he thought to fynde John Baptist in the courtes of princes, and among them that are clothed in purple' (f. 126<sup>b</sup>).

Additionally, certain aspects of act 5, scene 5, including the Emperor Charles V's arrival in England, can be seen to take their origin in Grafton's account:

And shortly after the Emperour landed at Douer, and so came to London, where he was honourably receaued by the Mayor, Aldermen, and commons of the Citie, the king himselfe accompanying him. From thence he went to Windesor and sate in the stalle of the Garter (f. 125<sup>a</sup>).

Of course, it is possible that Rowley did not use Grafton's *Abridgement* directly as source material for these episodes: a large portion of Grafton's account is replicated in John Stow's *Summarie of Englyshe chronicles* (1565) and it may well be, as Somerset supposes, that Rowley accessed this version instead.<sup>134</sup> Either way, it is clear that he read beyond Foxe and Holinshed to supplement his own historical narrative.

It also seems, as Wilson points out, that Rowley may have used 'a source or sources as yet unidentified', since the name John de Mazo, which he attaches to the

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<sup>134</sup> John Stow, *A summarie of Englyshe chronicles* ([London]: In aedibus Thomae Marshi, [1565]), *STC* 23319, ff. 180<sup>a-b</sup> and ff. 117<sup>b</sup>–78<sup>a</sup>. See also Somerset, p. liii.



Bishop of Paris (1.2.49), appears in none of the abovementioned histories.<sup>135</sup> Somerset additionally speculates that a hint from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, which existed only in manuscript at the time of the play's composition, may have formed the basis of the scene in which Brandon is threatened with death for marrying Lady Mary (3.2.173–99).<sup>136</sup> However, since there is no suggestion of King Henry's threat in Cavendish's holograph, and no mention at all of the marriage in *The negotiations of Thomas Woolsey* (the earliest edition of Cavendish's work, printed in 1641), it is reasonable to speculate that the death threat uttered by King Henry in this scene was of Rowley's own invention, perhaps intended to demonstrate the detrimental yet unavoidable intermingling of state and family politics.<sup>137</sup>

As noted above, in addition to the historical chronicles Rowley drew upon a range of other source material in his composition of *When You See Me*, particularly in those scenes set away from court. Perhaps the most obvious example occurs in act 2 of the play, in which King Henry embarks on his night-walk into London to examine the impact and efficiency of the City watch. The only possible mention of the King's furtive activity in the chronicles is recorded in Holinshed – 'On Midsummer night, the king came priuilie into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard' (p. 806) – and repeated in Stow's *The chronicles of England* (1580), though in neither case is there any indication of either the purpose or the outcome of the expedition.<sup>138</sup> Elements of this episode may derive from other contemporary playtexts: parallels with Shakespeare's *Henry V*, for instance, in which the King mingles anonymously with soldiers in the field on the eve of the Battle of Agincourt are difficult to miss, and

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<sup>135</sup> Wilson, p. x.

<sup>136</sup> Somerset, p. liii.

<sup>137</sup> The most detailed accounts of the marriage can be found in Holinshed, pp. 835–6; Hall, ff. lvi<sup>a-b</sup>; and Stow (1592), p. 830. Holinshed's account, the fullest of the three, is included in Appendix 2.

<sup>138</sup> John Stow, *The chronicles of England from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ. 1580*. (London: printed by [Henry Bynneman for] Ralph Newbery, [1580]), STC 23333, p. 894.

Rowley almost certainly draws upon Shakespeare's portrayal of Dogberry, Verges and the watch in *Much Ado About Nothing*.<sup>139</sup> Greatest inspiration for this episode, however, seems to have been taken from the chapbook *The pleasant and delightful history of King Henry 8th. and a cobbler*.<sup>140</sup> The first section of the chapbook, 'How King Henry the 8th. used to visit the Watches in the City, and how he came acquainted with a merry and a Jovial Cobbler', is of particular relevance: 'It was the Custome of King Henry the Eighth, to Walk late in the Night into the City Disguised, to take notice how the Constables [*sic*] and Watch performed their duty'.<sup>141</sup> Notably, in *When You See Me* it is the villain Black Will rather than the cobbler Prickawl who becomes acquainted with the disguised King, leading in turn to a sequence of witty banter regarding the identity of the two men, an on-stage swordfight and the arrest of both offending parties.<sup>142</sup>

The scene of Prince Edward's tuition (4.1), the second of the two episodes set outside the King's court, is also significant in its turn away from the chronicles. Unlike act 2, however, in which there is a clear narrative source for the action of the play, act 4 seems largely of Rowley's own invention. In fact, the only reference to Edward's schooling is that in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, where it is observed that 'in the midst of all his play and recreation, hee woulde alwaies obserue and keepe his houre appointed to his studie' (p. 1179). The view of Edward offered in *When*

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<sup>139</sup> Other playtexts that might have served as inspiration for Rowley's incorporation of the disguised ruler motif include Peele's *Edward I*, Heywood's *I Edward IV* and Greene's *George a Greene*, as well as the near contemporary *Measure for Measure* and *The Phoenix*. Together, these formed a part of what Kevin A. Quarmby has termed 'a disguised ruler phenomenon' that flourished around the turn of the century. *The Disguised Ruler in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 105.

<sup>140</sup> The earliest extant edition of the folktale was printed in 1670 (Wing P2530); however, it is clear that the tale had been in print before this date, since, as the title-page attests, 'The cobler's song' was added in this edition. It is likely that the tale – or versions of it – was well known orally, as well as in print.

<sup>141</sup> Anon., *King Henry 8th. and a cobbler*, A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> On the effect of Rowley's substitution of Black Will for the cobbler, see Rochelle Smith, 'King-Commoner Encounters in the Popular Ballad, Elizabethan Drama, and Shakespeare', *SEL*, 50.2 (Spring, 2010), 301–36 (p. 324).

*You See Me* thus runs counter to this description and the poor whipping-boy, Ned Browne, is seen to suffer for the Prince's neglect (4.1.14). Very likely, as observed elsewhere in this introduction, this episode was composed with the young Prince Henry in mind, who, like Prince Edward in Rowley's play, was frequently admonished for neglecting his studies.<sup>143</sup>

Significantly, much of the humour of this scene is provided by Will Summers, whose witty retorts and rejoinders are designed both to frustrate Edward's tutors and to delight the playhouse audience. Elsewhere in the play, Summers is seen to challenge and belittle key players in the English court, and once again it seems Rowley looked well beyond the confines of the historical chronicles in his depiction of the King's fool. One work on which Rowley's characterisation may have been based is Robert Armin's *Fool Upon Fool* (1600), in which Summers is one of six natural 'sots' whose stories are relayed to the reader by means of humorous anecdotes. Of this 'merry foole', 'the Kings natural Iester', Armin describes how:

[...] in all the Court,  
Few men were more belou'd [...]  
When he was sad, the King and he would rime,  
Thus Will exiled sadnes many a time.<sup>144</sup>

Armin's description may thus inform act 1, scene 4 of *When You See Me*, in which Brandon implores Summers to help rid King Henry of his foul mood: 'Now, Will, or never, make the King but smile, / And with thy mirthful toys allay his spleen' (1.4.151–2). It may also inform those scenes of the play in which Summers and the King engage in rhyming contests, even though the rhymes themselves do not derive from this source.

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<sup>143</sup> See Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p. 15.

<sup>144</sup> Robert Armin, *Foole Vpon Foole, or Six sortes of Sottes* (London: printed [by E. Allde] for William Ferbrand, 1600), *STC* 772.3, E1<sup>v</sup>. All further references appear in parentheses in the main text.

In addition, Armin tells how Will was ‘a poore mans friend’ (E2<sup>r</sup>), eager to encourage the King to spend his wealth on those who truly need it. In Rowley’s play, Summers similarly stands up for the poor in putting their prayers above those of the Pope (3.2.80–2). Armin also has much to say on the antagonistic relationship between Summers and Wolsey (see, for example, the jest entitled ‘How Will Sommers ... borrowed ten pounds of Cardinall Wolsey, to pay where the Cardinall owed it’, beginning on E4<sup>r</sup>) and it may well be that Armin’s depiction of Summers in *Fool Upon Fool* inspired Rowley to use the character throughout *When You See Me* as a mouthpiece, voicing concerns over the Cardinal’s movements both at home and abroad. That Summers is also responsible in the play for effecting Wolsey’s ‘heavy fall’ further supports this interpretation.

Another episode in *When You See Me* which presumably finds its origin in folktales and ballads is Rowley’s depiction of Prince Edward’s birth, and the decision King Henry is asked to make regarding the life of Jane Seymour:

[...] Then, good my liege,  
Resolve it quickly: if the Queen shall live,  
The child must die; or if it life receives,  
You must your hapless queen of life bereave.  
(1.2.219–22)

Foxe is particularly brief on this subject, stating only that ‘[i]n the month of October, the same yeare following, was borne Prince Edward. Shortlie after whose birth, Queene Iane ... died in childbed’ (pp. 992–3). Holinshed’s account of the incident, based on Hall and Foxe, does go one step further by speaking of King Henry’s sorrow: ‘the king hir husband tooke it most grieuouslie of all other, who remoouing to Westminster, there kept himselfe close a great while after’ (p. 944), but once again there is no hint of any personal intervention on King Henry’s part in the scene of Edward’s birth. While it is clear that Rowley had read the version of events

presented in these chronicles, carefully integrating the Latin verses from Foxe and Holinshed into the action of the play (1.2.334–5), it is evident that he turned elsewhere for the more minute narrative details of this scene, most likely basing his dramatization upon versions of the tale in circulation – either orally or in print – at the time of the play’s composition.

The sequence of events presented in *When You See Me* may be based, for example, on the lost broadside ballad ‘The Lamentation of Queen Jane’, entered in the Stationers’ Register on 30 November 1560, only a month or so after the entrance of a similarly titled ‘ballett’ named ‘the lady Jane’.<sup>145</sup> It is possible, too, that ‘The Lamentation’ represented an early form of ‘The Death of Queen Jane’, recorded as Ballad 170 in Francis J. Child’s *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.<sup>146</sup> Of the nine different versions recorded by Child, Rowley’s dramatization most closely resembles version A in which, in response to Queen Jane’s plea ‘O women, O women, as women ye be, / Rip open my two sides, and save my baby!’ (lines 3–4), King Henry gives the reply ‘O royal Queen Jane, that thing will not do; / If I lose your fair body, I’ll lose your baby too’ (lines 11–12). In none of the versions recorded by Child, however, does Henry actively seek to save the life of Queen Jane over that of his baby. Contrary to the various versions of this ballad, Rowley also places King Henry’s dilemma at the centre of the action as he agonises at length over the vital decision he has been asked to make.

There is also a strong resemblance between the text of this scene and a ballad entitled ‘The wofull death of Queene Iane’, printed in Richard Johnson’s collection *A crowne garland* in 1612.<sup>147</sup> The fifth stanza is particularly relevant:

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<sup>145</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 1, pp. 152 and 151, respectively.

<sup>146</sup> Francis J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. (New York: Folklore Press and Pageant Book Co., 1956). Ballad 170 is printed in its various forms in volumes 3 (pp. 372–6) and 5 (pp. 245–6).

<sup>147</sup> Richard Johnson, *A crowne garland of goulden roses Gathered out of Englands royall garden* (London: printed by G[eorge] Eld for John Wright, 1612), STC 14672, C2<sup>v</sup>–C4<sup>r</sup>.

Being thus perplex in greefe and care,  
 a Lady to him did repaire:  
 And said oh king shew vs thy will,  
 thy Queenes sweet life to saue or spill.  
 If she cannot deliuered be,  
 yet saue the flower if not the tree.  
 Oh mourne, mourne, mourne, faire Ladies,  
 Iane your Queene, the flower of England dies.  
 [C3<sup>r-v</sup>]

Later stanzas also bear resemblance to Rowley's depiction, including, for example, the effect Prince Edward's survival has upon his grief-stricken father: 'This babe so borne much comfort brought, / and cheard his fathers drooping thought' (C3<sup>v</sup>). While the title-page of *A crowne garland* claims that the contents of the book were 'neuer before imprinted', that is not to say that the individual ballads had never seen print. Moreover, the ballad was likely to have been in transmission orally several years prior to the printing of Johnson's collection, and could easily have been known to Rowley at the time of his composition.

The dramatization in *When You See Me* of the King's dilemma and his initial decision to preserve the life of Queen Jane over that of his unborn child can thus be viewed as a significant and deliberate deviation from the sources on Rowley's part. The importance Rowley attaches to the King's response is vital to his portrayal of Henry in his domestic role as husband and father, and the intention of this scene may well have been to counter more traditional views of the King as a harsh and prudent ruler, interested only in furthering the Tudor line. Certainly, this is the view of Kim H. Noling, who suggests that 'the trajectory of the episode appears calculated to reveal Henry as innocent of any ruthless patriarchal compulsion for a male heir'.<sup>148</sup> The playhouse audience thus encountered an altogether more human king than the chronicles typically allow, swayed continually

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<sup>148</sup> Kim H. Noling, 'Woman's Wit and Woman's Will in *When You See Me, You Know Me*', *SEL*, 33 (1993), 327–42 (p. 330).

by the evil machinations of Cardinal Wolsey and his Catholic followers in matters of state policy, but resolute and steadfast in his love and loyalty to Queen Jane and devoted to Prince Edward in her memory.

Rowley's use of sources in *When You See Me* is thus comprehensive and diverse, ranging from the near verbatim borrowing of the words of official letters and documents to the adaptation of apocryphal folktales and ballads. His own probable invention of the extended scene of Prince Edward's schooling and his development of the character of Will Summers also contribute a great deal to the overall effect and humour of the play. The result is a play at once appealing and engaging, in which the trials and triumphs of King Henry VIII's reign – both official and personal – were performed on the public stage for what appears to have been the very first time. The number and frequency of printed editions of *When You See Me* to materialise over the next two and a half decades can only be seen to bear witness to the play's popularity on the early modern stage.

### The play in performance

While, as Alan Dessen suggests, the stage directions in extant playtexts preserve only a small fraction of the staging techniques utilised in the early modern theatre, it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct certain elements of *When You See Me*'s first performances by combining information afforded in the play's printed editions with evidence from other contemporary sources.<sup>149</sup> The playtext alongside company personnel lists, for example, can reveal information about the likely cast of Rowley's play, as well as the need and potential for doubling in particular scenes;

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<sup>149</sup> Alan C. Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 6.

further information in this regard can be gleaned from the extant company stage plots. Knowledge about the size and structure of the Fortune playhouse in particular opens up a range of interpretive possibilities and Henslowe's inventories of theatrical apparel are of use in considering the various stage properties and musical instruments that might have been used in the play's earliest performances.<sup>150</sup>

### Length of text and duration of performance

Standing at 3,095 lines in its earliest printed edition, Rowley's *When You See Me* is not only one of the longest extant playtexts presented for performance by the Lord Admiral's–Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune, but one of the longest plays of the early modern period.<sup>151</sup> As the work of Alfred Hart and more recently Lukas Erne has shown, only about ten per cent of extant playtexts from the period 1590–1616 exceeded 3,000 lines; moreover, fewer than a quarter of these were written by dramatists other than Shakespeare and Jonson.<sup>152</sup> While this importantly marks *When You See Me* out as the fullest dramatic representation of the early Tudor dynasty, the question arises as to whether the play could have been performed in its entirety at the Fortune or whether, as is often supposed, plays that exceeded 2,500 lines were cut in preparation for performance.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> My own approach in this respect runs counter to Dessen's statement that any attempt to deal with the plays' original staging must 'build almost exclusively upon the evidence within the plays themselves'. See Dessen's *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 19.

<sup>151</sup> The line count for *When You See Me* is taken from Wilson's MSR edition. The only extant company playtext to rival Rowley's in terms of length is Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl*, which stands at just over 3,100 lines; the two parts of *The Honest Whore* each come in at just under 3,000. In each case I use the TLN system, which includes the texts' stage directions in addition to their dialogue.

<sup>152</sup> See Alfred Hart, 'The Number of Lines in Shakespeare's Plays', *RES*, 8.29 (January, 1932), 19–28 and Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 139–40.

<sup>153</sup> See Alfred Hart, 'Time Allotted for Representation of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays', *RES*, 8.32 (October, 1932), 395–413 (p. 407). Erne suggests a slightly higher limit of 2,800 lines (*Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, p. 173).



This belief stems from two interrelated and, as I will argue, unsubstantiated assumptions about the nature of early modern performance: that theatrical cutting was undertaken primarily as a means of reducing authorial playtexts to a performable length, and that the typical duration of a play was just over two hours.<sup>154</sup> Theatrical cutting did of course take place, but the length of the play in question was not necessarily the determining factor. Greg's work on the First Folio, for instance, reveals that cuts tended to make 'no great impression on the length of the play', appearing on many occasions to have been made 'on what may be called local grounds, to remove offence or obscurity' rather than to shorten performance time.<sup>155</sup> Michael Hirrel points also to the manuscript prompt copy of *Thomas of Woodstock*, which contains as many as 2,910 lines even after a number of incidental cuts and revisions.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, theatrical abridgements were likely to have been necessitated by more immediate concerns such as the number of men available for a particular performance rather than the number of lines given over to each actor. The 1623 title-page of John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, which speaks of 'diuerse things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beare in the Presentment', may not therefore indicate that the play was too long for performance, but rather that it contained too many roles. Since there is no indication of any systematic attempt on the part of theatrical personnel to reduce plays to a standard length, there is nothing to suggest that Rowley's *When You See Me* could not have been performed in its entirety.

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<sup>154</sup> See, for example, Gurr's 'Maximal and Minimal Texts', in which he uses the evidence of abridgement in extant playbooks to suggest that the full-length or 'maximal' playscripts handed over by the dramatist(s) were necessarily 'trimmed and modified, in varying degrees of substantiality' to allow for performance within a predetermined two-hour timeframe. Andrew Gurr, 'Maximal and Minimal Texts: Shakespeare v. the Globe', *SS* 52 (1999), 68–87 (pp. 70 and 68, respectively).

<sup>155</sup> W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 146.

<sup>156</sup> Michael Hirrel, 'Duration of Performances and the Length of Plays: How Shall We Beguile the Lazy Time?', *SQ*, 61.2 (2010), 159–82 (p. 172).

The supposed two-hour performance timeframe, usually noted with reference to the ‘two hours’ traffic’ declared in the Prologue to Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* (line 12) or other such allusions, is also unsustainable. It is possible, for instance, to draw upon the evidence of a number of contemporary playtexts which specify a playing time greater than two hours. The scrivener (on behalf of the author) in Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* appeals to audience members to sit quietly ‘for the space of two hours and an half and somewhat more’ (59–60), while the Epilogue in Dekker’s *If It Be Not Good* speaks of the play’s ‘three hours of mirth’ (line 5).<sup>157</sup> Reference to time is also made in *The Tempest*, where Prospero says: ‘What is the time o’th’ day? ... At least two glasses. The time ’twixt six and now / Must by us both be spent most preciously’ (1.2.239–41). The performance of a single play, it seems, could last anything between two and four hours, and with the addition of pre- and post-play entertainments, as well as the possibility of improvisation within the play itself, the overall theatrical experience could perhaps have lasted for as many as five hours.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, of those plays identified at the time as taking two hours to perform, the shortest (Robert Taylor’s *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*) and the longest (Jonson’s *The Alchemist*) stand respectively at 1,951 and 3,066 lines, thus demonstrating the mutability of the professed timeframe.<sup>159</sup> That Rowley’s *When You See Me* exceeds 3,000 lines does not therefore pose a problem in this respect.

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<sup>157</sup> References to Jonson’s and Dekker’s plays (here and elsewhere in the introduction) are from *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, Gen. Eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and *The Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61), respectively.

<sup>158</sup> On the nature and likely length of ancillary entertainments, see Hirrel, ‘Duration of Performances’, p. 160 and Richard Preiss, *Clowning and Authorship in Early Modern Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 34–5.

<sup>159</sup> As Steven Urkowitz notes, the ‘two hours’ traffic’ of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* is in fact repeated in the far longer second quarto, even though the title-page boasts that the play is ‘[n]ewly corrected, augmented, and amended’. Steven Urkowitz, ‘Did Shakespeare’s Company Cut Long Plays Down to Two Hours Playing Time?’, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 30.3 (2012), 239–62 (p. 248).

Clearly, given the potential for improvisation in the theatre, the practice of using line counts to determine duration of performance is problematic; as Richard Preiss suggests, a 'substantial part' of each performance consisted 'not of the play at all, but of the dilatory performance of its own reception', as well, of course, as the various non-scripted elements of performance such as music, dumbshows and other related stage business.<sup>160</sup> In addition to the 3,095 printed lines of *When You See Me*, the play's stage directions call for three separate musical performances and an on-stage fight between Black Will and the disguised King Henry. The episode in which Patch creeps up behind the King (1.4) is also likely to have interrupted the flow of the scripted dialogue, and a number of grand entrance directions (in the final scene in particular) indicate further areas for protraction and perhaps improvisation on the part of the players. Himself an actor, Rowley was no doubt aware of the amount of time given over to stage business and is unlikely to have incorporated such elements if performance restrictions did not allow for their inclusion.

Significantly, it seems that many of the traditionally incidental aspects of performance – musical interludes, singing, clowning, extemporal rhyming – are written into the play as part of the central narrative. Will Summers, for example, is not ancillary to the action of the play, but rather, as Alexander Leggatt suggests, 'an essential part of the occasion'.<sup>161</sup> This may perhaps be explained by the potential absence of the clown John Singer from the cast of *When You See Me* (see 'Actors and casting'): the witty rhyming contests between Summers and a number of the play's other principal characters are purposely reminiscent of those performed by

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<sup>160</sup> Preiss, *Clowning and Authorship*, p. 35.

<sup>161</sup> Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre*, p. 105.

Singer in the years prior to the play's first performances.<sup>162</sup> Alternatively, the uncommon length of *When You See Me* and the fullness of its extra-theatrical entertainments may indicate the company's desire to return to the stage with renewed vigour after the devastation of the plague, and to showcase their abilities as members of the newly named Prince Henry's Men. Either way, the undertaking demonstrates a great level of confidence on Rowley's part, both in the subject matter of his play and the reception it would accordingly receive, and in the acting space at the Fortune for which the play was purposefully written. Such confidence can also be evidenced in the large number of actors required to perform *When You See Me* and in the splendour of the play's musical performances, as discussed in the sections that follow.

### Actors and casting

Using *Henslowe's Diary* and Greg's *Dramatic Documents* alongside the evidence of contemporary patents and licences, it is possible to identify twelve adult company members who are likely to have acted in the first public performances of *When You See Me*: Thomas Downton, Anthony and Humphrey Jeffes, William Borne (alias Bird), Thomas Towne, Charles Massey, Edward Juby, William Parr, William Cartwright (the elder), William Kendall, John Shank and Rowley himself.<sup>163</sup> Of course, not all the actors in the company necessarily acted in every play, making it impossible to state with certainty the precise number of men available for any given

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<sup>162</sup> Before joining the Admiral's Men, Singer worked alongside Tarlton as a member of the Queen's Men and had, as Preiss suggests, inherited 'Tarlton's mould' (*Clowning and Authorship*, p. 73). He was also one of a number of comic actors to whom Heywood paid homage in *An apology for actors* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612), STC 13309, E2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> Biographies for each of these men can be found in Astington, *Actors and Acting*, pp. 188–224; Nungezer, *Dictionary*; and Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, pp. 274–88.

performance.<sup>164</sup> Nonetheless, it is likely that, if not all, then at least a significant proportion of these actors would have taken part. Since, as Cerasano notes, Edward Alleyn seems to have ‘given up a central role in the company’ in February 1604, his name has not been included in the list of possible actors.<sup>165</sup> It is important to note, however, that the part of King Henry VIII may have been written with Alleyn in mind (see below).

It is not possible to identify boy actors with the same degree of confidence. The names of at least fifteen boys are included collectively in the stage plots for *Frederick and Basilea*, *The Battle of Alcazar* and *I Tamar Cam*, in addition to the more non-specific references to ‘mr Townes boy’, ‘mr Allens boy’, ‘gils his boy’ and ‘Dengtens little boy’.<sup>166</sup> How long the boys continued to perform for the company after their appearances in these plays is not known: some may have ceased performing – certainly in female or child roles – when their voices broke, while others may have continued on the stage for some time, allowing for the possibility that at least some of those who acted in *The Battle of Alcazar* and *I Tamar Cam* may also have acted in Rowley’s *When You See Me*.<sup>167</sup> Quite possibly, Prince Henry’s Men also took on a number of new boys to coincide with the reopening of the Fortune in April 1604, and may have taken on boy actors as and when needed in performance, much in the way of hired men.

Of the adult actors mentioned above, the first seven (Downton, the two Jeffes, Bird, Towne, Massey and Juby) appear respectively in each of three official

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<sup>164</sup> See Cerasano, ‘The “Business” of Shareholding’, p. 235.

<sup>165</sup> S. P. Cerasano, ‘Edward Alleyn’s “Retirement”, 1597–1600’, *MRDE*, 10 (1998), 98–112 (p. 100). Gurr suggests a slightly earlier date of retirement, ‘some time in 1603’. See *Shakespeare’s Opposites*, pp. 170–1.

<sup>166</sup> The plots are all reprinted, with facsimiles and tables, in Greg’s *Dramatic Documents*, vol. 2. The distinction between boy and adult actors here follows that in *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 326–33.

<sup>167</sup> Four of the boys who acted in *The Battle of Alcazar* (James, Dick Juby, Thomas Parsons and George Somerset) also acted in *I Tamar Cam* the following year, perhaps suggesting a more active, long-term involvement in the company.

documents listing the personnel of Prince Henry's Men: a manuscript naming the members of the three royal playing companies who were to march as part of King James's grand entrance into London (15 March 1604); a licence for Prince Henry's Men, allowing the company to 'vse and exercise the arte and facultie of playing ... within theire nowe vsuall house called the ffortune' and elsewhere (30 April 1606); and a list of company members granted livery for Prince Henry's funeral (8 November 1612).<sup>168</sup> This, combined with the personnel lists included in *Henslowe's Diary*, confirms their active involvement in the Admiral's–Prince's Men both before and after the company's move to the Fortune in 1600 and well into the seventeenth century.

The remaining four actors (Parr, Cartwright, Kendall and Shank) are more difficult to place. William Parr does not appear in the 1604 personnel list or the 1606 licence, but his name can be found in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*, performed at the Fortune in 1602, and in the Prince's Household lists of 1610, suggesting his continued participation in the company under the patronage of the young prince.<sup>169</sup> Similarly, William Cartwright's name is absent from the earlier lists and licences, but he too is mentioned in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam* and again in a royal patent dated 11 January 1613, licensing the Palsgrave's Men to perform at the Fortune and elsewhere. Whether the absence of these two men in the 1604 and 1606 documents indicates a hiatus in their involvement in the company remains uncertain, though it is probable they continued to act as hired men as and when needed. If this is the case, the considerable number of actors required to perform Rowley's play, as discussed below, would suggest that they may have

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<sup>168</sup> The documents, held at TNA, are transcribed in E. K. Chambers and W. W. Greg (eds.), 'Dramatic Records from the Patent Rolls', *Malone Society Collections 1*, part 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 260–84.

<sup>169</sup> The Prince's Household lists are transcribed in the appendix to Thomas Birch's *Life of Henry, Prince of Wales* (Dublin: printed for A. Millar, 1760). See p. 455 for the reference to Parr.

been called upon to participate in the performance. William Kendall, likewise, may have been paid to perform in *When You See Me*; a hired man in late 1597, he performed in the revival of *The Battle of Alcazar* around 1601 and is known to have been active in this capacity at least until 1614.<sup>170</sup>

Of all the actors mentioned above, John Shank's involvement in the company at this time is the most contentious. Although absent from the 1604 personnel list and 1606 licence, Shank's name appears in the Prince's Household lists of 1610 and it is possible, as Gurr and Preiss suggest, that he joined the company c. 1603 (presumably as a hired man) to replace John Singer as company clown after the latter's apparent departure from the stage earlier the same year.<sup>171</sup> Singer's name disappears from theatrical records after 13 January 1602/3, at which time Henslowe paid five pounds for the 'playe called Syngers vallentarey', often thought to have been Singer's last public performance as a member of the then Lord Admiral's Men.<sup>172</sup> It is possible that he left the stage after this time to become an ordinary Groom of the Chamber in the Queen's household, a position, as Herbert Berry points out, 'he is found occupying at the time of Elizabeth's funeral'.<sup>173</sup> Whether or not Singer died in 1603, his absence from the 1604 personnel list is telling, given his prominence in previous lists, and it is likely that the Admiral's—Prince's Men would have been keen to find a replacement for their comic actor as soon as possible.<sup>174</sup> Thus although there is nothing to confirm the precise moment at

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<sup>170</sup> Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, pp. 282–3.

<sup>171</sup> See Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 286 and Preiss, *Clowning and Authorship*, p. 185.

<sup>172</sup> See, for example, Chambers, *ES*, II.177: 'I take "vallentary" to mean "valediction"'. The entry in question can be found on p. 208 of *Henslowe's Diary*.

<sup>173</sup> Herbert Berry, 'Singer, John (fl. 1583–1603)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25639>> [accessed 30 May 2014]. On the issue of Singer's death, Berry suggests only that he had died 'by 1608'.

<sup>174</sup> Preiss points to similar instances of companies working to replace comic actors immediately after their departure from the stage. He cites, for instance, the 'urgency' with which the Lord Chamberlain's Men replaced Kemp with Armin, and the subsequent replacement of Kemp with Thomas Greene upon Worcester's Men's becoming Queen Anne's Men. See *Clowning and Authorship*, p. 185.

which Shank joined the company, both the absence of Singer and the consequent need for a new company clown can be taken as evidence in support of his involvement at this time. Possibly, then, Shank played Will Summers in the company's first performances of *When You See Me*.<sup>175</sup>

It is also worth considering which of these actors might have played King Henry, who was required to speak (in this edition) a remarkable 1,003 lines: more than one third of the play's total. Based on a comparison with the fifty-three playtexts examined in King's *Casting Shakespeare's Plays*, in terms of the number of lines assigned to a single character, Rowley's King Henry is surpassed only by four other roles: Hamlet (1,338 lines in Q2; 1,240 lines in F); the King in *Richard III* (1,062 lines in Q1; 1,116 lines in F); the King in *Henry V* (1,056 lines in F); and Iago in *Othello* (1,032 lines in Q1; 1,098 lines in F). To this list, Scott McMillin added the roles of Barabas in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1,138 lines in Q1) and Hieronimo in the enlarged version of Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1,018 lines in Q4).<sup>176</sup> Since McMillin's line count for the role of King Henry VIII in *When You See Me* is based on Wilson's edition, itself based on Q1, he noted a total of 1,018 lines: the same as Kyd's Hieronimo. Given the larger paper and type size of my own edition, McMillin's positioning of Rowley's King Henry provides a fairer comparison with the playtexts listed above.

An even more accurate assessment of role size can be gained by looking at the actual number of words spoken by each of the abovementioned characters. Thus while Hamlet, who speaks an extraordinary 11,121 words in Q2, remains at the top of the list, the number of words spoken by Marlowe's Barabas (8,740) actually

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<sup>175</sup> Gurr suggests that Rowley may have written the part of Summers for himself, but he provides no evidence to support this supposition, other than the fact that Rowley is known to have written comic plays for the Palsgrave's Men. See *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 190.

<sup>176</sup> Scott McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre and The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 61.



exceeds the number spoken by Shakespeare's Iago (8,379). The part of King Henry in Rowley's *When You See Me* contains 8,038 words, placing it below that of Iago, but only by a matter of a few hundred words.<sup>177</sup> Significantly, this confirms that of all the extant dramatic texts listed in Harbage's *Annals of English Drama* from 1580 to 1610 inclusive (the parameters of McMillin's study), Rowley's Henry VIII was either the fifth or the sixth largest role, depending on whether role size is determined by line or word count.<sup>178</sup>

It is well known that playwrights often had specific actors in mind when they wrote particular parts, and this was especially true of Rowley, who not only knew the character types of the performers but who, as the company stage plots testify, had also acted alongside them on numerous occasions prior to the composition of *When You See Me*.<sup>179</sup> As noted above, it is likely that the part of King Henry VIII was written for Edward Alleyn but that, given the actor's apparent retirement from the stage in February 1604, the role fell to another member of the company to perform.<sup>180</sup> Alleyn was, as Cerasano observes, 'a man of exceptional physical stature, with a strong voice to match his size', and it is clear from the manner and variety of roles he is known to have performed that playwrights exploited his abilities to the full.<sup>181</sup> Significantly, as McMillin notes, no extant playtext written for the Admiral's Men between 1597 and 1600, during Alleyn's

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<sup>177</sup> Word counts here were established using full-text digital transcriptions available via *EEBO* or, in the case of Q2 *Hamlet*, the *Shakespeare Quartos Archive* <<http://www.quartos.org/>> [accessed 12 February 2014]. For *When You See Me* I used this edition.

<sup>178</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 61.

<sup>179</sup> Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern note that playwrights created lines 'that explicitly matched an actor's size, vocal range, and mannerisms'. *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 41.

<sup>180</sup> Cerasano alternatively suggests that the role of Cardinal Wolsey might have been written for Alleyn, given Alleyn's likely performance in the two lost Wolsey plays. Private correspondence, 10 September 2014. I am grateful to Professor Cerasano for taking the time to respond to my queries.

<sup>181</sup> S. P. Cerasano, 'Alleyn, Edward (1566–1626)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan. 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/398>> [accessed 21 May 2014].

temporary break from the stage, contains a role larger than 600 lines.<sup>182</sup> Thus it seems the role of King Henry, at upwards of 1,000 lines, was tailored specifically both to highlight the importance of the play's royal protagonist and to showcase Alleyn's theatrical skill.<sup>183</sup>

The success of the company did not depend upon Alleyn's ability, however. In *Actors and Acting*, John H. Astington notes that Thomas Downton, who had joined the Admiral's Men in 1597 as a hired man, quickly rose in the company 'to take on parts formerly played by the temporarily absent Alleyn' and it is possible, therefore, that Downton came to assume the role of lead actor after Alleyn's more permanent departure from the stage.<sup>184</sup> Support for this may be found in subsequent personnel lists for the company: in the 1606 licence and indeed in all later references to the Prince's–Palsgrave's Men, Downton's name appears at the head of the list, and while, as Greg points out, the actors' respective positions cannot necessarily be taken to indicate their relative seniority within the company, it is nonetheless significant that Downton's name retains its prominent position.<sup>185</sup> In Alleyn's absence, then, it is possible that Downton came to take on the role of King Henry VIII.

As it stands in Q1, Rowley's *When You See Me* contains a total of forty-one speaking parts and at least an additional fifty-three mute parts. My own editorial emendation at 3.2.142, which assigns the line 'My royal lord —' to the messenger rather than to Rooksby, puts the total number of speaking parts at forty-two. Adopting King's definition of a 'principal role' – twenty-five or more lines

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<sup>182</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 61.

<sup>183</sup> McMillin believed not only that the role of King Henry VIII was written for Alleyn but that Alleyn actually performed it. He thus describes *When You See Me* as a 'star vehicle', thrusting Alleyn back into his leading position at the Fortune. See *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 84.

<sup>184</sup> Astington, *Actors and Acting*, p. 196.

<sup>185</sup> Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, p. 102.

for adults and ten or more for boys – and adhering to the practices observed in the extant company stage plots, whereby men only play adult roles and boys typically play female roles or children, the speaking parts of Rowley’s play can be divided into sixteen principal and sixteen minor adult roles, and five principal and five minor boys’ roles. Of the play’s total 2,874 lines in this edition, 2,746 (95.5 per cent) are spoken by the play’s principal characters: a finding largely consistent with King’s averages.<sup>186</sup>

Of course, although he does consider plays outside of the repertory of the Lord Chamberlain’s–King’s Men, King’s focus, as his title attests, is on the plays written by Shakespeare and others predominantly for performance at the Globe. More useful in the case of Rowley’s *When You See Me* is McMillin’s study of minimum casting requirements in the plays written specifically for performance by Prince Henry’s Men at the Fortune.<sup>187</sup> Using the earliest printed texts of *When You See Me*, *1 and 2 Honest Whore*, *The Whore of Babylon* and *The Roaring Girl*, McMillin noted that ‘they all reduce to virtually the same minimum cast for speaking roles and to virtually the same division between roles for boy actors and roles for adults’.<sup>188</sup> On average, he observed, the plays required a minimum cast of seventeen to cover all speaking parts, twelve adult actors and five boys, and he devised a casting chart to show one possible way in which all speaking roles in Rowley’s *When You See Me* could be covered by these seventeen performers.<sup>189</sup> Notably, McMillin’s chart includes thirty-nine speaking parts – three fewer than in this edition. The discrepancy

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<sup>186</sup> For the purpose of calculating character line-counts, portions of shared verse lines have been treated as complete lines; similarly, in the case of lines spoken by more than one character, such as 1.4.262, one line is attributed to each of the speakers.

<sup>187</sup> McMillin’s purpose here was to highlight similarities in the casting requirements of the Fortune plays and the revised *Sir Thomas More* so as to support his suggestion that the latter was revised specifically for performance by Prince Henry’s Men. See McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 85. Two plays not considered in the study are Middleton’s *No Wit/Help Like a Woman’s* and R.A.’s *The Valiant Welshman*.

<sup>188</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 85.

<sup>189</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 85.

is easily accounted for: McMillin retains the line ‘My royal lord —’ as part of Rooksby’s speech (see above), conflates the parts of ‘Servant’ and ‘1 Servant’ (4.1 and 5.2), and overlooks the guardsman’s lines in act 5, scene 4. Although the discrepancy is small, it nonetheless has a bearing on the distribution of speaking parts between actors and it has thus been necessary to create a new minimum casting chart for *When You See Me* that takes into account these additional roles (Appendix 3a). Actors here are numbered 1–12 (adults) and 13–17 (boys) and listed in each case according to the total number of spoken lines, from the highest down to the lowest.

In both McMillin’s table and my own, the actor playing King Henry VIII performs just the one role, in accordance with what seems to have been the company’s standard practice.<sup>190</sup> However, while McMillin assigns only a single role to the actors playing Wolsey, Will Summers, Compton, Brandon and Seymour, all except Compton double in the revised chart. Not only does this straighten out some peculiarities, such as McMillin’s decision to assign Seymour as a single role despite the fact that the character speaks only seventeen lines, it also opens up some interesting doubling possibilities, such as the pairing of Will Summers and Black Will – the only two characters in the play with whom the King can freely converse on matters outside the realm of state politics. Moreover, the shortest change-over between roles in the revised chart is a space of twenty-four lines, between Dudley, Seymour and Campeius in act 1, scene 4 and their respective doubled roles, 2 Watch, Dormouse and the Constable at the start of act 2; the shortest change-over in McMillin’s chart is only fourteen lines.

Since twelve adult actors are required to cover all speaking parts in Rowley’s play, it is tempting to assume that the abovementioned actors took on the majority of

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<sup>190</sup> In the company’s extant stage plots, for instance, Alleyn only ever appears on stage in the lead role. See King, *Casting Shakespeare’s Plays*, p. 20.

these roles. The problem with minimum casting charts, however, is that they only take into consideration the dialogue of each play: they do not incorporate the numerous mute roles identified in the text's stage directions. Thus while twelve adults and five boys are sufficient to cover the speaking parts of *When You See Me*, this number is insufficient to realise the play in its entirety. In order to work out how many actors were required to perform Rowley's play in full, I have adopted a method similar to that used by McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean in their work on the constitution and repertory of the Queen's Men, which focuses on a play's largest grouping of characters – both speaking and mute – to determine 'the number of actors the play cannot do without'.<sup>191</sup> As McMillin and MacLean point out, this does not indicate the actual size of the company, but rather 'the economic ground-level of the company – a limit below which the company cannot perform the play as it stands'.<sup>192</sup> In the case of *When You See Me*, this involves turning to act 5, scene 5. The action here requires the presence of five boys to play the roles of Prince Edward, Queen Katherine, Lady Mary and the mute 'ladies attending', and the presence of at least eighteen men to play the five speaking roles of the Emperor, Wolsey, Brandon, King Henry and Will Summers, as well as the numerous mute roles of attendants, guardsmen, lords, gentlemen, and so on, many of whom exit the stage at line 42 and subsequently re-enter as part of the King's grand procession moments later. By way of doubling, it was possible for these five boys and eighteen men to cover all forty-two speaking parts and fifty-three mute parts.<sup>193</sup>

A second doubling chart has therefore been constructed for *When You See Me* which demonstrates how all roles in the play, both speaking and non-speaking,

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<sup>191</sup> McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, p. 99.

<sup>192</sup> McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, p. 99.

<sup>193</sup> This is consistent with McMillin and MacLean's observation that the number of players on stage in these 'largest groupings' can fill all the roles in the play. *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, p. 103.

might feasibly have been covered by these twenty-three performers (Appendix 3b). The chart also includes the number of lines spoken in each role and thus gives an indication not only of the size of each individual part but of each actor's overall contribution to the play. I have included the trumpeters' parts in the doubling chart as there is evidence to suggest that the actors themselves performed these roles: the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*, for example, includes an entrance note in scene 11 for 'a Trompett: W. Parr', suggesting in turn that William Parr might have performed one of the two trumpeters' roles in *When You See Me*. I have not, however, included the various singers' and instrumentalists' parts required for act 4 since, although the company evidently possessed the means to take on these roles themselves (see below), the possibility remains that extra musicians were hired for the performance.

Since there are five principal boys' roles in the play (Prince Edward, Queen Katherine, Lady Mary, Queen Jane and young Browne), and since five boys are required on stage in act 5, scene 5, one principal part has been assigned to each actor and the five minor and nine mute roles divided between them. The sixteen principal adult roles have been divided between eleven men: four (the actors playing the King, Will Summers, Wolsey and Compton) perform only a single role; the others either double in lesser roles or assume mute supernumerary roles elsewhere in the play. The seven adult actors not already occupied take on the remaining forty minor and mute roles, each speaking a total of between twelve and thirty-one lines. One of these men takes on eight roles – an unusual though not unprecedented scenario, as evidenced in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*.

In the majority of plays included in his study, King noted that it was usual for an actor 'who doubles in lesser principal roles' to have an interval of at least

one scene offstage per individual costume change.<sup>194</sup> While I have tried throughout to adhere to this general rule, it has been necessary to make one exception: the actors playing Bonner and Bonnivet in act 1, scene 3 have each been assigned a non-speaking role as a trumpeter in the following scene before entering respectively as the Constable and the Cobbler in act 2, scene 1. This is perfectly feasible, however, given that, after their departure at the end of act 1, scene 3, neither actor is required on stage for a space of at least 275 lines. Providing the trumpeters' costumes were relatively straightforward, or could be quickly adapted into the Constable and Cobbler's outfits by means of an additional robe, beard or hand-held stage property, the thirty-four lines between the actors' exit in act 1, scene 4 and entrance in act 2, scene 1 would have provided time enough to effect the change. Indeed, as McMillin observes, the extant repertories of both the Queen's and Admiral's–Prince's Men afford 'numerous examples of costume changes covered by fewer than twenty-five lines of dialogue' and actors, it seems, could change from one role into another in a remarkably short space of time.<sup>195</sup>

Since only twelve possible actors were identified above, it is likely that the remaining six men required to perform Rowley's *When You See Me* would have been hired specifically for the performance. It is also possible that backstage tiring-house men or other theatre personnel may have been called upon to provide additional bodies for the final scene if the eighteen men already on stage at this point were deemed insufficient in number. It should also be noted here that whereas the extant company stage plots typically assign three men to each indiscriminate group of 'lords', 'attendants', 'gentlemen', and so on, I have

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<sup>194</sup> King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 13.

<sup>195</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 78.

only assigned two, in accordance with the practices of William Ringler, David Bradley and McMillin and MacLean; as the latter note, ‘two seems to be the most economical way of representing a plural call for extras’.<sup>196</sup> The only exceptions to this rule occur in act 2, scene 3, where ‘prisoners’ at 34 SD1 has been taken to indicate two speaking parts plus another mute role (see commentary); in act 5, scene 4, where the action requires at least two guardsmen in addition to the speaking role 1 Guard; and in act 5, scene 5, where three ‘gentlemen’ have been appointed on the basis that these men exit and then subsequently double as the lords in the Prince’s procession. Since the non-specific label ‘lords’ is used variously throughout the play to indicate Brandon, Dudley, Seymour and Grey, and since Brandon is already on stage in this scene, I have taken ‘lords’ here to mean that Dudley, Seymour and Grey make a final silent appearance, and have thus assigned the mute lords’ roles to the three actors who had previously played them. If Rowley had intended three men in *each* of the indeterminate roles in this scene, however, an additional five actors (four men and one boy) would have been required on stage, making a total possible cast of twenty-two men and six boys – a total, though large, fully in keeping with that in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*, in which twenty-seven or twenty-eight different performers are named.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> See William Ringler, ‘The Number of Actors in Shakespeare’s Early Plays’, in *The Seventeenth-Century Stage: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. G. E. Bentley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 110–34 (p. 115); David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 18; and McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen’s Men and their Plays*, p. 100. On the distribution of supernumerary roles in the extant stage plots, see King, *Casting Shakespeare’s Plays*, p. 20.

<sup>197</sup> See *Henslowe’s Diary*, pp. 332–3 for a breakdown of the cast of *I Tamar Cam*. The name ‘Jeames’ (James) appears twice in the plot and it is uncertain whether there were two boy actors of the same name or whether the same boy made two distinct appearances. Foakes lists the names separately.



### Use of stage space

The existence of the Fortune contract, drawn up between Edward Alleyn and Peter Street in January 1599/1600, allows some insight into the ways in which various elements of *When You See Me* might have been performed on the public stage. The Fortune theatre was square, unlike the Rose and Globe, and measured eighty feet square on the outside and fifty-five feet square on the inside, with three storeys of galleries. According to the contract, the stage itself was to be forty-three feet long, extending to ‘the middle of the yarde’; this in turn allowed for a playing space of approximately forty-three feet by twenty-seven feet and six inches.<sup>198</sup> Although the method of construction was largely to follow that of the Globe, ‘with suchelike steares, conveyances, & divisions withoute & within’, the main physical difference between the two playhouses – excluding the overall shape of the buildings – was in their internal appearance, particularly with reference to the decoration of the *frons scenae* and the shape and position of the theatres’ stage posts.<sup>199</sup> As the contract stipulated:

all the princypall and maine postes of the saide Frame and Stadge forward shalbe square and wroughte palasterwise, with carved proporcions called Satiers to be placed & sett on the top of every of the same postes.<sup>200</sup>

This large, rectilinear playing area, then, and the square, inset posts that held in place the cover over the stage, could be utilised and exploited in performance to a far greater extent than those at the Rose.

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<sup>198</sup> R. A. Foakes, ‘The Contract for the Fortune Playhouse (1600): Muniment 22r (mun-01-022-01r)’, *The Henslowe–Alleyn Digitisation Project* <<http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/index.html>> [accessed 14 May 2014].

<sup>199</sup> Fortune contract, f. 1<sup>r</sup>. For a detailed examination of the theatre’s construction and the timescale of Street’s work, see John Orrell, ‘Building the Fortune’, *SQ*, 44.2 (1993), 127–44.

<sup>200</sup> Fortune contract, f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Actors' use of stage posts at the Rose was undoubtedly imaginative, as evidenced for example in Haughton's *Englishmen For My Money*, where the posts act as geographical markers, or in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, in which verses are hung 'on the trees', but the physical position of the posts at the edge of the stage remained a limiting factor in performance.<sup>201</sup> As Gurr observes, 'the archaeological evidence [puts] them too near the edge of the stage to allow any player to hide behind them'.<sup>202</sup> The Rose's posts could not, therefore, be used for concealment, as they were in Rowley's play: 'I'll stand behind the post here, and thou shalt go softly stealing behind him' (1.4.178–9). The stage layout at the Fortune thus allowed actors to hide themselves from other characters while remaining visible to the vast majority of audience members. This, combined with the larger performance space, amplified the opportunity both for comedy and for dramatic irony in the new Admiral's–Prince's Men's plays and Rowley, who had performed at the Fortune on numerous occasions, evidently made shrewd use of the stage in his composition of *When You See Me*.

The play seems, for example, to have incorporated what McMillin terms a 'divided-stage technique' whereby, in the scenes set in the King's royal residence, the stage was divided into two specific acting areas: 'a broad expanse' that stood for the royal presence chamber and an adjacent focal area that represented 'the furnished private room of the King'.<sup>203</sup> Certainly this offers one explanation for the stage direction at 1.4.25, where King Henry is directed to enter 'within'. Moreover, the staggered entrances in this scene, which allow Brandon, Dudley, Grey, Seymour

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<sup>201</sup> See William Haughton, *Englishmen For My Money*, in *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, ed. Lloyd Edward Kermode (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 3.3.49–55 and Robert Greene, *The historie of Orlando Furioso* (London: printed by John Danter for Cuthbert Burbie, 1594), *STC* 12265, D1<sup>r</sup>, respectively.

<sup>202</sup> Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, p. 133.

<sup>203</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 106.

and Compton to remark upon Wolsey's actions as he enters with Summers and Patch, suggest the use of a further stage space within the presence chamber, perhaps indicating an even more complex division than that described by McMillin. Dividing the stage in this way towards the beginning of the play may also, as McMillin suggests, have affected the audience's interpretation of later scenes. When in act 2, scene 3 the actor playing the King is instructed to enter 'in prison', for example, it is possible that he would have entered into the same physical playing space that had previously served as the King's private room at court. Thus, when he notifies the Constable that he has 'made the Counter this night the royal court of England's King' (2.3.14–15), Henry can be seen to comment upon the performance space as much as upon the action of the play. The scenes concerning Katherine Parr might also have made effective use of the public and private performance areas: the former for her open debate with Bonner and Gardiner, and the latter for her private conference with the Prince and Sir William Compton in the aftermath of the bishops' accusations.

The larger performance space at the Fortune presumably also afforded greater opportunity for spectacle and special effects than the smaller, more restrictive stage space at the Rose. Both the stage plot for the company's revival of Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* and the additions in the *Faustus* B-text bear witness to the various ways in which existing plays were altered for performance on the Fortune stage. Written specifically for performance at the Fortune, Rowley's *When You See Me*, like Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, made the most of this large space by filling it with action, music and spectacle. The complex stage business of act 5, scene 5 of *When You See Me* in particular, in which at least twenty-three actors move across the stage in spectacular, staggered procession, confirms the playwright's confidence

in and exploitation of the company's new acting space. Leggatt's description of this scene as a 'stage-filling climax' in which 'waves of spectacle sweep over the stage' clearly demonstrates the intended dramatic effect of the procession in performance.<sup>204</sup> The complex musical interludes that form a fundamental part of Prince Edward's tuition, as detailed below, further contribute to the overall spectacle of the play.

### Music

It is often supposed that songs and musical interludes were incidental aspects of performance in the early modern theatre, existing in a number of cases independently of the scripted playtext and having little overall effect on the main action of the play. Tiffany Stern, for example, suggests that the omission of such elements in performance 'would not alter the narrative of the play or put out actors performing from parts'.<sup>205</sup> In Rowley's *When You See Me*, however, this is manifestly not the case: the instrumental and vocal performances in act 4 of the play constitute an integral part of the play's action. Moreover, the musical performances in this scene are accompanied by what Nan Cooke Carpenter describes as 'one of the most remarkable examples of musical dialogue' in the drama of the period.<sup>206</sup> Doctor Tye devotes twenty-two lines of uninterrupted verse to the praise of music and its divine capabilities (4.1.237–59) and Prince Edward draws upon Tye's expertise to highlight and thus refute objections to the use of music in church services (4.1.234–6). Upon hearing the instruments play, Edward also makes reference to the Pythagorean principles of *musica mundi* and *musica*

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<sup>204</sup> Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre*, p. 64.

<sup>205</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 145.

<sup>206</sup> Nan Cooke Carpenter, 'Christopher Tye and the Musical Dialogue in Samuel Rowley's "When You See Me, You Know Me"', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 8.2 (Autumn, 1960), 85–90 (p. 85).

*humana*, which related the harmony of effective musical practice to the wider harmony of human existence in the created world.<sup>207</sup> The instrumental and vocal performances that intersperse and accompany the dialogue, as detailed below, thus serve to highlight aspects of the characters' speech while simultaneously providing the playhouse audience with a rare insight into the religious, philosophical and musical instruction of the young prince.

It is clear, as Carpenter suggests, that 'the musical parts' of *When You See Me* are 'most integral to the general tone, structure, and plot' of the play as a whole.<sup>208</sup> The intricacy of the musical performances called for in this scene is also significant, in that they seem to reflect the commencement of an increasing level of boldness in the players' theatrical endeavours. In her thesis on the functions of music in the extant repertory of the Admiral's Men, Elizabeth Ketterer observed that the company's Fortune plays are more 'musically complex' than their Rose counterparts, and that Rowley's *When You See Me* and the masque performance in Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* 'ask more of the company musically than their usual fare'.<sup>209</sup> In particular she speaks of Prince Edward's musical tuition in *When You See Me* as 'one of the most complex musical performances evidenced by the repertory'.<sup>210</sup> While the stage directions supplied for these performances remain vague, further information can be gleaned from the dialogue, as well as from our knowledge of the instruments in the possession of Prince Henry's Men at this time.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> See Gretchen L. Finney, 'Music: A Book of Knowledge in Renaissance England', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 6 (1959), 36–63 (p. 37 in particular).

<sup>208</sup> Carpenter, 'Christopher Tye and the Musical Dialogue', p. 90.

<sup>209</sup> Elizabeth Ketterer, "'Govern'd by stops, aw'd by dividing notes": The functions of music in the extant repertory of the Admiral's Men, 1594–1621', unpublished doctoral thesis, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham (2009), p. 275.

<sup>210</sup> Ketterer, "'Govern'd by stops...'", pp. 279 and 283, respectively.

<sup>211</sup> On the vagueness and in many cases omission of musical interludes in stage directions, see Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Music on the Jacobean Stage', in *Thomas Middleton in Context*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 184–94.

As the stage directions indicate, three separate musical performances are conducted in this scene. The first direction calls for ‘loud music’, usually indicative, as John H. Long suggests, of a broken consort of woodwind instruments comprising any combination of flutes, recorders, sackbuts and shawms.<sup>212</sup> This is corroborated in the dialogue of the play when Tye instructs the musicians to ‘[g]ive breath to [their] loud-tuned instruments’ (4.1.264). When the music finishes, Edward continues his speech by linking the stages of musical composition and performance to the various stages of human existence. The second musical performance is ‘soft’ and, as evidenced in the Prince’s reference to ‘these many strings’, is likely to have been played by a broken consort of viols, lutes, citterns and bandores.<sup>213</sup> The softness of the strings allows Edward to speak over the music, and thus permits him to pass comment on the wider implications of discord and dissonance within an otherwise harmonious social group:

Yet ’mongst these many strings be one untuned,  
Or jarreth low or higher than his course,  
Not keeping steady mean amongst the rest,  
Corrupts them all: so doth bad men the best.  
(4.1.275–8)

The consort is silenced by Tye’s command: ‘Enough. – / Let voices now delight his princely ear’ (lines 279–80), after which follows ‘a song’. No more of the ‘song’ is known, and the dialogue affords no extra clues. The voices are likely to have split into parts, however, in view of Edward’s previous speech and Tye’s attested ‘skill in music’s harmony’ (line 286), and it is just possible that appropriate verses from the historical Tye’s *Actes of the Apostles* (1553) – presented to the young

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<sup>212</sup> John H. Long, *Shakespeare’s Use of Music: A Study of the Music and its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), p. 29.

<sup>213</sup> Long, *Shakespeare’s Use of Music* (1961), p. 29.

Prince Edward in the play for patronage, but dedicated to him as King in actuality – may have supplied the words and music for this particular performance.<sup>214</sup>

Having identified the likely nature of these three musical performances, it remains to consider whether such performances were within the scope of the actors' musical abilities, or whether Rowley's play would have entailed the engagement of professional musicians from outside the company. Long suggests that, from 1590 onwards, 'public players seem to have restricted their talents to acting, and, though they still frequently sang songs, they turned to the professional musicians for their instrumental music'.<sup>215</sup> While this might have been true in certain circumstances, the hiring of large numbers of professional musicians would have increased production costs and Rowley, a sharer in Prince Henry's Men, was unlikely to have overlooked this. Furthermore, it is evident that the whole musical episode depicted in this scene was carefully choreographed, particularly at lines 273–8 where Edward's words complement the musical performance and vice versa, suggesting that quite some time must have been given over to its rehearsal. Presumably, then, it would have been more prudent to tailor the musical action of the play to the abilities of Rowley's fellow players than to rely on external professionals. This is supported by Ketterer's observation that the practice of 'reaching outside for musical support was the exception, rather than the rule' for the Admiral's–Prince's Men.<sup>216</sup>

There are, in addition, a number of references in *Henslowe's Diary* to the procurement of musical instruments. Some of these, such as a loan of thirty shillings to Thomas Downton on 13 July 1599 'to bye enstrumentes for the company', remain

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<sup>214</sup> The music is printed for voices in four-part harmony and the singers, as suggested on the title-page to the work (STC 2985), may have been accompanied by a lute.

<sup>215</sup> Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music* (1961), p. 31.

<sup>216</sup> Ketterer, "'Govern'd by stops...'", p. 50.

vague, while others are more specific.<sup>217</sup> On 10 November 1598, for example, a loan of forty shillings was recorded to pay for ‘a sackbute of marke antoney’ and on 22 December that year a further forty shillings bought the company ‘a basse viall & other enstrementes’. On 7 February 1599 Robert Shaw purchased two trumpets for the sum of twenty-two shillings.<sup>218</sup> Moreover, the inventory of theatrical apparel drawn up by Henslowe in March 1598 includes a list of instruments already in the company’s possession: ‘iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a basse viall, a bandore, a sytteren’ and, further down the list, ‘j chyme of belles’ and ‘j sackbute’.<sup>219</sup> The company thus owned a considerable number and range of instruments, more than capable of producing the ‘loud’ and ‘soft’ music designated in the stage directions of Rowley’s play.

It is known, too, that certain members of Prince Henry’s Men had a background in musicianship. Edward Alleyn in particular, although perhaps no longer active in the company at the time of *When You See Me*’s first public performances, is likely to have passed on a certain level of musical knowledge to his fellow actors, particularly with regard to the style and quality of music performed at court.<sup>220</sup> The actor Thomas Towne was also noted for his musical abilities and court connections, and William Parr, as noted above, was named as a trumpeter in the stage plot for *I Tamar Cam*. Moreover, Thomas Downton was named as a ‘musysyon’ in the record of his son Christopher’s baptism in 1592, suggesting that he, too, enjoyed a background in music before assuming a permanent role within the company.<sup>221</sup> This, combined with the great number of instruments procured by the Lord Admiral’s Men

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<sup>217</sup> Henslowe’s *Diary*, p. 122.

<sup>218</sup> Henslowe’s *Diary*, pp. 101, 102 and 130, respectively.

<sup>219</sup> Henslowe’s *Diary*, pp. 318–19.

<sup>220</sup> See Ketterer, “Govern’d by stops...”, pp. 50–1.

<sup>221</sup> Ketterer, “Govern’d by stops...”, p. 50. The baptism record of Christopher Downton is cited in Chambers, *ES*, II.313.



in the lead-up to the company's move to the Fortune, fully supports the notion that the actors took on the musicians' roles in Rowley's *When You See Me*.

This in turn would have had a significant impact upon the allocation and doubling of actors' parts. The possible doubling chart included in Appendix 3b indicates that ten different adult actors were required for performance in act 4, thus leaving eight actors available to play or sing. Furthermore, only three out of the five boy actors had a role to play in this scene, thereby permitting a total of ten players (eight adults and two boys) to perform the musical entertainments. That said, during the specific part of the scene that deals with Edward's musical tuition, only Tye, Cranmer and Prince Edward are required on stage, thus freeing up more actors for performance. Assuming each consort consisted of three or four players, and that the song was sung in three- or four-part harmony, there are a number of ways in which this could have been staged. Quite possibly, the eight adult players without any further role in this scene performed the 'loud' and 'soft' music, while a combination of boy and adult actors, with their corresponding and complementary vocal ranges, performed the 'song'. It is also likely that the musicians came on to the stage at Tye's behest, despite Long's observation that musicians tended to remain hidden offstage or set apart in a designated music room on the stage balcony.<sup>222</sup> Since the dialogue clearly suggests that the musicians and singers perform in full view of Prince Edward, it seems only fitting that they should appear and perform in full view of the playhouse audience also. Such a performance would have greatly boosted the dramatic impact of this scene and given the spectators an uncommon glimpse into the life and education of an esteemed royal prince.

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<sup>222</sup> Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music* (1961), p. 42.

Far from incidental interludes, then, these performances form an integral part of Rowley's depiction of Prince Edward and his royal upbringing in *When You See Me*. In simulating the music of the Tudor court, Rowley not only exploited the musical knowledge and abilities of Prince Henry's Men but also treated the audience to a rare musical experience. This, as noted elsewhere, demonstrates a great level of confidence in the acting company as a whole, and perhaps suggests that the first few years at the Fortune theatre, quickly followed by the commencement of the young Prince Henry's patronage, marked a particularly prosperous period in the company's history, reflected, at least in part, in the scale and grandeur of their bold new plays.

#### *When You See Me* as part of the company repertory

In her unpublished essay 'Plays, Politics and Patronage', Lucy Munro made a strong case for studying the 'Fortune plays' as a distinct group: a collection of plays upon which the specific ideological positions of the company's respective patrons, Prince Henry and the Elector Palatine, have 'left a discernible mark'.<sup>223</sup> Both patrons, as Munro points out, were associated with a militant brand of pan-European Protestantism and thus seem to have been 'perfect candidates for a[n] ideologically-inflected repertory'.<sup>224</sup> To view those plays written specifically for performance by Prince Henry's Men as distinct from those performed under the patronage of the Elector Palatine further reveals the ways in which certain of the company's dramatists played upon the public image and persona of the young prince. It also becomes clear that the most overtly political plays in this respect were written in response to noteworthy religious and/or socio-political events – defining moments in

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<sup>223</sup> Lucy Munro, 'Plays, Politics and Patronage: The Fortune Repertory, 1603–1625', unpublished essay (2004), p. 1. I am grateful to Dr Munro for sharing this with me.

<sup>224</sup> Munro, 'Plays, Politics and Patronage', p. 2.

Prince Henry's life that influenced not only how the prince was perceived as heir to the throne, but also the responsibility with which he was subsequently imbued.

In addition to Rowley's *When You See Me*, six playtexts survive from the repertory of Prince Henry's Men: Dekker and Middleton's *I Honest Whore* (1604), Dekker's *2 Honest Whore* (c. 1605), Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (c. 1606), Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (c. 1611), Middleton's *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's* (almost certainly the same play as that performed at court as *The Almanac* in December 1611), and R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* (c. 1611).<sup>225</sup> Although Dekker's *If It Be Not Good* (c. 1611) was originally written for the Prince's Men, it is not included in this list on the basis that the play was actually performed by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull.<sup>226</sup> Significantly, the seven plays listed above can be further divided into two groups: those with a specific political agenda concerning the company's royal patron (*When You See Me*, *The Whore of Babylon* and *The Valiant Welshman*) and those, although perhaps written in response to current concerns or events, with no direct reference or relevance to Prince Henry (the two parts of *The Honest Whore*, *The Roaring Girl* and *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's*).

Those in the second of the two groups, all written by Middleton and/or Dekker, fall broadly into the category of city comedy. While Dekker's *2 Honest Whore* was clearly intended as a sequel to *I Honest Whore*, John Jowett has also drawn attention to the similarities between *The Roaring Girl* and Middleton's *No Wit/Help*, suggesting that the latter can be viewed as 'something approaching a

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<sup>225</sup> The dates given here are those of the plays' likely first performances. For information on the association of Middleton's *No Wit/Help* and *The Almanac*, see Mark Eccles, 'Middleton's Comedy *The Almanac*, or *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*', *N&Q*, n.s. 34.3 (September, 1987), 296–7 and John Jowett, 'Middleton's *No Wit* at the Fortune', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 22 (1991), 191–208.

<sup>226</sup> The Prince's Men seemingly rejected this play, as evidenced in Dekker's dedication to Queen Anne's Men.

companion-piece' to the earlier play.<sup>227</sup> Both Dekker and Middleton had written for the company before they became Prince Henry's Men and it seems these plays were written largely with the actors' specific skills and the tastes of the playhouse audience in mind, rather than the particular ideological position of the company's young patron.

Rowley's *When You See Me*, Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* and R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman*, however, bore relevance to Prince Henry in several ways. Rowley's play, as noted elsewhere, was particularly important in that it marked the accession of King James and the subsequent commencement of Prince Henry's patronage. Through the character of Prince Edward, Rowley made shrewd reference to the company's patron and the religious and moral vigour with which he was expected to conduct himself as the new heir to the English throne. It is also relevant that the first of these 'ideologically-inflected' plays derived not from Dekker, Middleton, or any of the other well-established playwrights whose names appear regularly throughout the pages of *Henslowe's Diary*, but from Rowley: a resident-dramatist and, as styled on the title-page of *When You See Me*, a 'servant to the prince'. Clearly Rowley made the most of this opportunity to highlight the company's new profile as Prince Henry's Men and the action of *When You See Me*, as discussed in the following section, regularly plays out prevailing hopes and aspirations for the young Protestant prince.

Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* was performed roughly two years after Rowley's *When You See Me*, in the aftermath of the treasonous Gunpowder Plot of November 1605. The play stands apart from Dekker's other extant plays for the company in its reference to contemporary religio-political events, and it can perhaps

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<sup>227</sup> Jowett, 'Middleton's *No Wit*', p. 198.

more usefully be read in conjunction with political pamphlets such as *The Double PP* (1606), in which Dekker pitted the threat of the Pope against the humility and sanctity of the single 'P': 'Protestantism'.<sup>228</sup> Taking as its subject the protection and preservation of the true Protestant faith, *The Whore of Babylon*'s allegorical account of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (Titania) covered a number of assassination attempts by members of the Roman Catholic Church, each under the direction of their symbolic leader, the 'Purple whore of Roome' (Lectori, line 9); the elaborate 'sea fight' at the play's conclusion portrayed the monarch's defeat of the Spanish Armada. *The Whore of Babylon*'s anti-Spanish stance may, as Susan Krantz suggests, have been prompted in part by Prince Henry's recent refusal to marry the Spanish Infanta.<sup>229</sup> The play can also be seen to undermine the pacifism that typified King James's foreign policy by presenting Titania as a warlike queen whose brave and chivalrous leadership influenced England's victory over the Armada: 'Me thinkes it best becomes / A Prince to march thus, betweene guns and drummes' (5.6.10–11). Thus, while the allusion to King James is made apparent in Dekker's reference to a 'second Phoenix' (3.1.235), it is to Prince Henry and his fervent militarism that the playwright seems to have looked to 'shake all *Babilon*' (3.1.244) – a sentiment zealously reiterated in R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* four to five years later.

On the basis of the initials 'R. A', printed on the title-page of the text's first edition (1615), *The Valiant Welshman* has been speculatively attributed to Robert Armin; however, its author, as Tristan Marshall suggests, is more likely to have been Robert Alleyne (or Allyne), whose *Funerall Elegies* and *Teares of Joy* were published

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<sup>228</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The Double PP* (London: Imprinted by T[homas] C[reede] and are to be sold by John Hodgets, 1606), STC 6498.

<sup>229</sup> Susan E. Krantz, 'Thomas Dekker's Political Commentary in *The Whore of Babylon*', *SEL*, 35.2 (1995), 271–91 (p. 277).

under the same initials in 1613.<sup>230</sup> Like Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, *The Valiant Welshman* emphasised the value of active leadership in the pursuit of military victory, but qualified martial heroism by promoting also a need for sagacity and selflessness. The play, it seems, was written in response to Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales on 4 June 1610, an event that raised the profile of the company's patron still further. As Marisa R. Cull explains, the investiture marked the 're-invigoration of a title that had remained dormant during a long period of dynastic uncertainty': the title had not in fact been formally bestowed upon an heir to the English throne since Arthur Tudor's investiture in 1489.<sup>231</sup> The playwright's frequent reference to the protagonist Caradoc as 'Prince of Wales' was thus a sure nod towards Prince Henry and the potential under his leadership for a strong and unified Britain.

Clearly, as Cull suggests, Prince Henry's Men were 'participatory in the image-building of their patron', but it would be inaccurate to suggest that all of their plays embraced this potential.<sup>232</sup> Whether *When You See Me*, *The Whore of Babylon* and *The Valiant Welshman* were unusual in this respect, or whether these were just three of a number of ideologically-charged plays that became staples of the repertory under Prince Henry's patronage is difficult to say. That the three surviving plays can all be seen to respond to a particular political event might suggest that the company only emphasised their status as Prince Henry's Men at times when the prince's position was particularly prominent. Either way, the fact that all three of these plays

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<sup>230</sup> Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages under James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 105. The case for Armin's authorship is made by John P. Feather in 'Robert Armin and the Chamberlain's Men', *N&Q*, 19 (December, 1972), 448–50. Armin's name is also tentatively given in *STC* (vol. 1, p. 1), along with that of satirical writer Robert Anton.

<sup>231</sup> Marisa R. Cull, 'Contextualizing 1610: *Cymbeline*, *The Valiant Welshman*, and the Prince of Wales', in *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 127–42 (p. 127, n.2). Henry Tudor was named Prince of Wales after his brother's death in 1502; although Prince Edward acquired the title by right of birth, he was never formally invested.

<sup>232</sup> Marisa R. Cull, *Shakespeare's Princes of Wales: English Identity and the Welsh Connection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 137.

were published, despite the apparent failure of Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* on the Fortune stage, indicates an interest in their subject matter beyond the specific moment of performance and thus highlights their enduring value not only as playtexts, but as historical and socio-political documents.<sup>233</sup>

### Performance at court

In late 1604 and early 1605, a number of plays were performed at court in front of Prince Henry. The first relevant entry in the accounts of the Revels records a payment of £17 13s 4d to Edward Juby 'for himselfe and the rest of his Companie for presentinge twoe pliaes [*sic*] one before the Queenes Matie ... and the other before the Prince the 24th of November'; the second records payment

for presentinge sixe Interludes or plaies before the Prince at the Courte these severall nightes viz on the 14th and 19th December 1604 the 15th and 22nd January and the 5th and 19th of February nexte followinge after the rate of vjli. xiijs. iiijd. for every plaie.<sup>234</sup>

Any one of these eight plays or interludes, perhaps excluding that performed before Queen Anne, could have been Rowley's *When You See Me*.

Although Rowley's play is not mentioned by name in the accounts, there are a number of reasons to suggest that it would have been selected for performance at court. Perhaps most significant is the fact that the play was produced under the patronage of the young Prince Henry and was, if not the first, then one of the earliest plays to be performed by the company in their capacity as Prince Henry's Men. Moreover, as Mark Rankin observes:

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<sup>233</sup> On Dekker's complaint regarding the actors' performance, see *The Whore of Babylon*, Lectori, lines 20–43. The disagreement over this play might in part have prompted Dekker to take his *If It Be Not Good* elsewhere.

<sup>234</sup> Cited in Peter Cunningham (ed.), *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1842), pp. xxxvii and xxxiv, respectively.

*When You See Me* was a new play, so it would likely have been offered, especially since the company's repertoire may have consisted of as few as nine plays during this period.<sup>235</sup>

The number of extant Fortune plays is indeed slight in comparison with the number and frequency of new plays performed at the Rose. Cerasano suggests that between 1603 and 1608 as few as eleven new plays can be identified, though as she points out, 'whether this signals a falling off in purchases or a paucity of evidence is open to question'.<sup>236</sup> Nonetheless, if the Fortune initially started life as 'something of a revival house', as McMillin suggests, and as indicated in *Henslowe's Diary*, then it is likely that *When You See Me* was one of the newest and – based on its subject matter – arguably one of the most relevant plays to be considered by the company for performance at court.<sup>237</sup>

The subject matter of the play is particularly significant in its focus on 'the birth and vertuous life of Edward Prince of Wales', as noted on the title-page of the play's first printed edition. At the time of the earliest performances of *When You See Me*, Prince Henry would have been just ten years old – only slightly older than Prince Edward in his first appearance on stage as a young boy in act 4 of Rowley's play. As Mark H. Lawhorn suggests, however, the correspondence between Edward and Henry is emphasised not by any direct reference to the princes' respective ages, but 'by situations that depict the intellectual and spiritual evolution desired in a royal male heir'.<sup>238</sup> So it is, then, that Prince Edward, like Prince Henry, is responsible for welcoming foreign ambassadors to England ahead of his father (5.5.17–18), and just

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<sup>235</sup> Mark Rankin, 'Henry VIII, Shakespeare, and the Jacobean Royal Court', *SEL*, 51.2 (Spring, 2011), 349–66 (p. 350).

<sup>236</sup> S. P. Cerasano, *Re-locating the Fortune Theatre: A New History* (London: Globe Education, 2007), p. 23.

<sup>237</sup> McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, p. 82.

<sup>238</sup> Mark H. Lawhorn, 'Taking Pains for the Prince: Age, Patronage, and Penal Surrogacy in Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*', in *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150–1650*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 131–50 (p. 147).



as Edward plays the role of domestic peacemaker in the play between the King and Katherine Parr, so Prince Henry was apparently required to act as mediator in his parents' frequent disputes.<sup>239</sup> Henry was thus, in the words of J. W. Williamson, an 'astonishing embodiment of adult purpose', and many of his qualities are exemplified in Rowley's depiction of Prince Edward.<sup>240</sup>

In addition to their princely duties and virtues, another parallel can be drawn between the two young princes in their respective disinclination to study – 'a frequent source of dissention', Roy Strong suggests, 'between [Prince Henry] and his father'.<sup>241</sup> While in reality Henry was frequently admonished for his negligence, however, Prince Edward in the play escapes punishment by fooling the King into thinking he is hard at work: 'God-a-mercy, Ned. Ay, at your book so hard? 'Tis well, 'tis well' (4.1.88). Will Summers's unfailing ability to undermine Cranmer's teachings with a few well-placed, witty remarks further adds to the appeal of this episode. Thus, although undoubtedly entertaining for the audience at the Fortune, the scene of Prince Edward's tuition in particular seems tailored to reflect the interests and concerns of the company's young patron.

Teresa Grant's argument that *When You See Me* was 'a play written primarily for Prince Henry', however, is limited, in that it overlooks both the importance and appeal of the play to the playhouse audience and its wider significance to consumers of the play's printed editions.<sup>242</sup> While particular aspects may have appealed to Prince

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<sup>239</sup> See Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Last Renaissance* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p. 16.

<sup>240</sup> J. W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart. A Study of 17th-Century Personation* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), p. 33.

<sup>241</sup> Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, pp. 14–15. Strong cites a letter written by the Venetian Ambassador in 1607: 'He studies, not with much delight, and chiefly under his father's spur, not of his own desire' (from *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian 1603–7).

<sup>242</sup> Teresa Grant, 'History in the Making: The Case of Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me You Know Me*', in *English Historical Drama, 1500–1660: Forms Outside the Canon*, ed. Teresa Grant and Barbara Ravelhofer (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 125–57 (p. 130).

Henry, thereby increasing opportunity for performance at court, *When You See Me* was, it seems, designed largely to further the prince's cause by drawing attention to the role and reputation of the heir apparent on the public stage. As Schofield suggests, 'in the many dedications and panegyrics for Prince Henry printed in 1603/4, we encounter the foundations of the rhetoric of hope so common in later celebrations of the Prince', and it would appear that Rowley's play formed an important part of these foundations.<sup>243</sup> Thus King Henry's plea to Jane Seymour, 'Be but the mother to a Prince of Wales, / Add a ninth Henry to the English crown, / And thou mak'st full my hopes' (1.2.119–21), can be seen as a forward glance towards Prince Henry, depicting him as King Henry VIII's own figurative offspring and expressing the expectations and hopes that had been placed in him from the moment of James's accession to the English throne. This sense of anticipation is again picked up in act 3, scene 2: 'I tell thee, Cranmer, he is all our hopes, / That what our age shall leave unfinished / In his fair reign shall be accomplished' (30–2). Here, the King's words can be seen to reflect the hope amongst militant Protestants that Prince Henry would lead the country to realise the full and, in the words of Patrick Collinson, 'natural potential of the English Reformation'.<sup>244</sup> Rowley's *When You See Me* thus fed into Prince Henry's public image much in the way of contemporary portraits and panegyrics, and appealed not only to the young prince, but to all who eagerly anticipated his reign.

Considering the series of court performances recorded in the accounts of the Revels, and taking into account the relevance of Rowley's play to the company's royal patron, it is reasonable to assume that Prince Henry witnessed a performance

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<sup>243</sup> Schofield, 'Staging Tudor Royalty', p. 115. See also J. R. Mulryne's argument that Rowley's play 'takes its place among the documents of expectant anticipation' which Protestant writers addressed to Prince Henry at the beginning of James's reign. J. R. Mulryne, 'Introduction', in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1–28 (p. 18).

<sup>244</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 131.

of *When You See Me* some time in the three-month period from November 1604 to January 1605. Certainly the grandeur of the play's royal processions, the complexity of its musical entertainments and the unceasing rhetoric of praise for the heir apparent would all have played well at court. The success of Rowley's play at the Fortune, however, does not seem to have relied upon Prince Henry's endorsement and, despite Greg Walker's claim that the play was 'very much a product of its historical moment', *When You See Me* appears to have enjoyed enduring popularity on the Fortune stage even after Prince Henry's death.<sup>245</sup> The following section, which considers the potential revival of *When You See Me* alongside the publication of the play's second, third and fourth editions, bears witness to this enduring appeal.

#### Revival on the early modern stage

Given the evident popularity and continuing topicality of the play, it seems likely that *When You See Me* would have been revived at least once on the Fortune stage. After its initial publication in 1605, the play, as discussed in the Bibliographical Introduction below, went through three subsequent editions, printed in 1613, 1621 and 1632, respectively. Any one of these could have been prompted by a revival in performance.

It is important to note how apposite much of the subject matter of *When You See Me* is to the wider political events of the years in which these editions were printed. The 1613 edition followed very closely after the death of Prince Henry in November 1612, and the third and fourth editions were both printed during years in which the actions of the Stuarts left many in doubt over the political and religious loyalties of the English monarchy. In March 1621, only a few years after the outset

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<sup>245</sup> Greg Walker, 'The Magisterial Hero?: Performing Royal Masculinity in Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me* (1604–5)', in *Selfhood on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Pauline Blanc (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 164–81 (p. 168).

of the Thirty Years' War and in the immediate aftermath of the death of King Philip III of Spain, James was engaging in negotiations with Catholic Spain in an attempt to marry Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta – an action which succeeded only in accelerating the mounting schism between king and parliament.<sup>246</sup> After the death of his father, and under the king's personal rule, Charles's own actions during the Thirty Years' War were equally misguided: English foreign policy was largely ineffectual and religious and political factions continued to develop at an alarming rate. Gerald M. Pinciss notes additionally that the fourth edition of *When You See Me* 'came off the presses at the time that Laud was consolidating his power to enforce conformity in religious practices' and it is likely, therefore, that the extensive religious dialogue of Rowley's play found renewed resonance at this time.<sup>247</sup> The year 1632 also marked the death of the Elector Palatine, the company's patron in their most recent incarnation as the Palsgrave's Men.

It is possible, then, that the second, third and fourth editions of *When You See Me* were produced in response to growing public fears and anxieties regarding these wider political events. Somerset even goes so far as to suggest that Butter published each edition as a form of political tract, whereby, instead of giving support to the Stuarts as rightful successors to the English throne (a sentiment established in the play by associating Prince Henry with the Tudor Prince Edward), the text now afforded 'a disparaging comparison between the Stuarts and Henry VIII'.<sup>248</sup> Whether Butter viewed *When You See Me* as a political tract is uncertain, although his increasing interest in the publication of controversial news-books and other topical material goes some way towards supporting Somerset's claim. Indeed, as

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<sup>246</sup> See Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 21.

<sup>247</sup> Gerald M. Pinciss, *Forbidden Matter: Religion in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), p. 75.

<sup>248</sup> Somerset, p. ci.

Sabrina A. Baron observes, ‘it was Butter’s role as a pioneering publisher of news in the 1620s that brought him greatest success and fame’.<sup>249</sup> Either way, he evidently considered publication at these times a worthwhile and profitable undertaking. In the years 1613 and 1632, Butter also published new editions of Thomas Heywood’s *I If You Know Not Me*, in which the gentle humility of the young Princess Elizabeth is offset by the cruelty of Queen Mary and the monarch’s Catholic supporters. The plays, with their focus on religious faction and the use and abuse of monarchical power, were seemingly printed when their subject matter was at its most relevant, and it is likely that the impetus for revival on stage would have been guided by much the same principles.

The year 1613 also saw the publication of the second edition of W. S.’s *Thomas, Lord Cromwell* and the first public performances of Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *King Henry VIII*, suggesting a sudden increase in interest in material on the Tudor dynasty. The death of the young Prince Henry in 1612 and thus the loss of an apparently fit and healthy Protestant male heir may well have been the cause of this, as issues of the royal succession once again came to the fore. A revived performance of *When You See Me* in particular at this time would have served as a fitting tribute to the life of the company’s late patron. It is also possible that Rowley’s play was revived as part of the marriage celebrations of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine and Elizabeth Stuart, King James’s eldest daughter, on 14 February 1613, often thought to have been the occasion for the performance of Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *King Henry VIII*.<sup>250</sup> That the former Prince Henry’s Men were licensed by royal letters patent to act under the patronage of the Elector Palatine on

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<sup>249</sup> See Sabrina A. Baron, ‘Butter, Nathaniel (bap. 1583, d. 1664)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4224>> [accessed 24 May 2014].

<sup>250</sup> Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 4 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), pp. 436–7.

4 January 1613 further strengthens the case that the company may have performed *When You See Me* around the time of his marriage, though whether this would have taken place at court or on the public stage is uncertain.

Evidence for a 1613 revival at the Fortune, however, may be found in the prologue to *King Henry VIII*, which sets Shakespeare and Fletcher's play in opposition to a 'merry bawdy play' in performance at a playhouse other than the Globe. Since *When You See Me* is the only other extant playtext to deal with the subject of King Henry's reign, and given that it had first been staged in 1604, almost ten years before the performance of *King Henry VIII*, it is reasonable to assume that the prologue here refers to a revived version of Rowley's play, only recently out of production.<sup>251</sup> If indeed this is the case, and the play was staged in celebration of the marriage of the company's new patron, it can be assumed that *When You See Me* was revived at the Fortune by the Palsgrave's Men some time between February and June 1613, at which time Shakespeare and Fletcher's *King Henry VIII* had been performed 'not passing 2 or 3 times before'.<sup>252</sup> This in turn may have prompted Butter's publication of the second edition of Rowley's play.

Whether the third and fourth editions of *When You See Me* were also published in response to a revival is unknown. After the devastation of the Fortune fire in December 1621, it is possible that the company no longer possessed the means to stage such a complex and demanding play; certainly, if the 'hary ye viiii gowne' perished in the fire, the Palsgrave's Men might not have considered it worth their while to purchase or fashion another. Thus, while a 1613 performance of Rowley's play can be largely substantiated by external evidence, it is perhaps more

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<sup>251</sup> The relationship between the two plays was the subject of my paper 'A "merry bawdy play": Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me*, *You Know Me* and Shakespeare/Fletcher's *King Henry VIII*', delivered at *BritGrad* at the Shakespeare Institute in June 2013.

<sup>252</sup> Eyewitness account of the burning of the Globe, Somerset Record Office (DD/SF 3066); cited in full in Maija Jansson Cole, 'A New Account of the Burning of the Globe', *SQ*, 32.3 (Autumn, 1981), p. 352.

likely that the 1621 edition and in particular the 1632 edition of *When You See Me* were prompted by the topicality of the play's subject matter, rather than by any subsequent revival at the Fortune.

#### Another possible performance

On Friday 11 May 1632, a Warrington alehouse-keeper, Gregory Harison, made a series of depositions in the presence of a local Justice of the Peace, accusing a group of young men of acting out a play in the loft space over his alehouse the previous Sunday. He admitted them to the loft, he claimed, 'not thinkeinge that they would haue stayed any Longer then ffor the drinking of a Cann: or tow of alle'.<sup>253</sup> After a couple of hours, however, the young men were arrested and subsequently tried for acting a play on the Sabbath.<sup>254</sup> The play in question was called 'Henery the Eaight'.<sup>255</sup>

Whether this was Rowley's *When You See Me*, Shakespeare and Fletcher's *King Henry VIII*, or another as yet unidentified play on King Henry is uncertain. However, it is tempting, as Wiggins suggests, to suppose that it was Rowley's play: the Shakespeare and Fletcher play, never printed in quarto, would only have been available in either the First or Second Shakespeare Folios (printed in 1623 and 1632, respectively) – both weighty and expensive books from which to attempt a subsequent performance.<sup>256</sup> Moreover, the fact that Harison suspected no furtive activity on the part of the young men suggests that they were not carrying a large folio volume upon entering the alehouse. As Wiggins points out, the alehouse-keeper's ignorance also gives some indication of the type of performance the actors

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<sup>253</sup> 'Examinations of Gregory Harison, Alehousekeeper, and Others', LRO QSB 1/106/72 (11 May), cited in *REED: Lancashire*, ed. David George (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 95–7.

<sup>254</sup> 'Quarter Sessions Orders', LRO QSR 29 1632, membrane 33 (16 July), cited in *REED: Lancashire*, p. 97.

<sup>255</sup> 'Examinations of Gregory Harrison', p. 97.

<sup>256</sup> Martin Wiggins, 'Enter Delinquents, Aloft', *Around the Globe*, 53 (Spring, 2013), 40–1 (p. 41).

are likely to have carried out: 'This cannot have been a full-scale performance, but a convivial play-reading with, no doubt, exceptionally heavy doubling up of parts'.<sup>257</sup>

Indeed, only nine men were held responsible for the performance.

That *When You See Me* seems to have been chosen for performance at this time is indicative of its enduring appeal not only in London, but also in the provinces. Interest in Rowley's play may have been sparked by an earlier performance by the Prince's or Palgrave's Men on tour in Lancashire. Alternatively, copies of the printed editions might have circulated widely, or one of the actors could have obtained a copy of *When You See Me* while in London. However 'Henery the Eaight' came to be performed, the record of its performance and the subsequent consequences for its players indicates both a sustained interest in the history of the Tudor dynasty and, significantly for Rowley's play, the lengths such men were prepared to go in order to experience it.

After this date, the play is not known to have been performed until the early twentieth century, at which time, as detailed below, its religious subject matter came to find new and heightened resonance.

#### A twentieth-century performance<sup>258</sup>

On Sunday 10 July 1927, *When You See Me* was performed at the Holborn Empire in London under the auspices of William Poel's Elizabethan Stage Circle. The intention of the association was to perform the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries much in the manner that they were staged in the early modern London theatres. Plays were thus presented on a thrust platform stage that extended

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<sup>257</sup> Wiggins, 'Enter Delinquents', p. 41.

<sup>258</sup> A more detailed account of this performance is provided in my article 'William Poel's 1927 Production of Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*', *Theatre Notebook*, 68.1 (March, 2014), 19–38.



beyond the proscenium arch and out into the space usually occupied by the stalls.<sup>259</sup> Rowley's *When You See Me* marked the first of the Elizabethan Stage Circle's platform-stage productions.

Contemporary reviews reveal a number of stage-tactics employed in the production, while information on casting, music and the cost of the platform-stage set-up can be found in the collection of production materials at Blythe House, London.<sup>260</sup> Greatest insight into the production, however, can be gained from Poel's promptbook: a copy of Elze's 1874 edition of *When You See Me*, onto which he marked a remarkable number of cuts, alterations and insertions.<sup>261</sup> In addition to a number of local edits, Poel juxtaposed scenes from the beginning of the play with scenes from the end and vice versa, thus creating a play far removed from Rowley's original as it stands in the early modern printed editions. He also cut a considerable number of Will Summers's lines, almost to the point of removing him from the play altogether.

In a circular entitled 'A Protestant Play' (14 June 1927), Poel disclosed the reason for his decision to revive *When You See Me* at this time: 'I am reviving the Tudor drama', he declared, 'mainly as my contribution towards the present religious discussion'. The 'religious discussion' in question was the Prayer Book controversy of 1927–8, which saw an attempt to revise the 1662 liturgy and thus widen the latitude of acceptable religious practices within the Anglican Church.<sup>262</sup> Rowley's *When You See Me*, with its overt dramatization of religious debate, was certainly a fitting choice for revival.

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<sup>259</sup> Robert Speaight, *William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival* (London: Heinemann, 1954), p. 285.

<sup>260</sup> V&A Enthoven Theatre Collection, Blythe House, London. Shelfmark THM/40/1/11.

<sup>261</sup> Enthoven Theatre Collection, S.1218-1983.

<sup>262</sup> The overall intention, as John Maiden attests, was to 'set in stone the limits of Anglican ritual'. *National Religion and the Prayer Book Controversy, 1927–1928* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 11.

When viewed in conjunction with the controversy, Poel's cuts and edits appear less arbitrary, if no less radical. The intention, it seems, was to prioritise the play's religious debates and diminish its subplots so as to reduce Rowley's play to a single narrative thread. It is notable, therefore, that the only lines belonging to Summers that Poel retained in the play are those in which the fool dismisses the role of authority in the protection and preservation of the 'true' religion (see, for example, 1.4.310–12 in this edition). Moreover, Poel made comparatively slight alterations to the text in those scenes that draw attention to the opposition between the Lutheran Queen Katherine Parr and the Catholic bishops Bonner and Gardiner. In heightening both the speed and the injustice of Henry's treatment of Katherine (achieved, as revealed in the promptbook, by running parts of three separate scenes concurrently in different acting spaces), Poel emphasised one of the central issues of the contemporary controversy: namely, the extent to which an individual should be forced to alter his or her own religious beliefs in order to conform to those sanctioned by the state.

Poel's treatment of the text of *When You See Me* was not uncharacteristic; even in some of his Shakespearean productions he was criticised for cutting and/or altering the narrative structure of his copy.<sup>263</sup> While in a well-known play Poel's directorial cuts and transpositions were easily recognised, however, in a play such as Rowley's, completely unknown to the audience at the Holborn Empire, his numerous large-scale edits went unnoticed. Reviewers thus passed negative comment on 'Rowley's play', when in fact what they were viewing and judging was Poel's own radical adaptation.

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<sup>263</sup> See Claris Glick, 'William Poel: His Theories and Influence', *SQ*, 15.1 (1964), 15–25 (p. 17) and Lucy Munro, 'Coriolanus and the (In)authenticities of William Poel's Platform Stage', in *Shakespeare in Stages: New Theatre Histories*, ed. Christine Dymkowski and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 37–56 (p. 42).

In seeking to create a single, unified narrative on the benefits and dangers of individual religious freedom, Poel instead seems to have created a disjointed and incoherent account based only loosely on Rowley's early history, but upon which Rowley and his playwriting abilities have subsequently been judged. The production was clearly a success in terms of its experimental staging techniques, but it did little to rehabilitate *When You See Me* and seems only to have contributed to the play's marginalization.

## *Bibliographical Introduction*

### Entrance in the Stationers' Register and the title of Rowley's play

On 12 February 1605, the following entry was made in the Register of the Stationers' Company:

12<sup>o</sup> ffebruarij [1605]

Nathanaell Butter	yf he gett good allowance for the enterlude of <i>King HENRY the 8<sup>th</sup></i> before he begyn to print it. And then procure the wardens handes to yt for the entrance of yt: He is to haue the same for his copy . . . . . [no sum stated] <sup>264</sup>
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While there is no concrete evidence to connect this entry to Rowley's *When You See Me*, both its association with the publisher Nathaniel Butter, for whom the first edition of Rowley's play was printed, and its temporal proximity to the printing of this first edition increase the likelihood that 'the enterlude of King Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>' and *When You See Me* are one and the same play. Certainly, there is no other extant text to which this entry could belong.

Significantly, the statement made in the Stationers' Register does not in itself constitute the actual entrance of 'the enterlude', for Butter was still required to 'procure the wardens handes to yt for the entrance of yt'.<sup>265</sup> Rather, this statement acted as a placeholder for a later entry: a provisional note to indicate Butter's intention to publish the play and presumably also to protect his right to do so. Provisional entries can be found elsewhere in the Stationers' Register. The entrance of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, for example, on 7 February 1603 would have become effective only if the publisher James Roberts had 'gotten sufficient

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<sup>264</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 3, p. 283. On 21 May 1639 the rights of *When You See Me* transferred to Miles Flesher, though no edition is known to have been printed under his name. Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 4, p. 466.

<sup>265</sup> Peter Blayney usefully clarifies the meaning of the terms authority (or allowance), licence and entrance: respectively, 'the approval of a text by a representative of either the church or the state'; 'the Company's permission to print'; and the official entrance of that permission into the Stationers' Register. It is important to note, however, that the word 'entrance' in the above citation does not refer to the text's entrance in the Register, but to its official licensing by the Company; as Blayney points out, '[b]y the turn of the century *entrance* and *license* had become interchangeable'. See Blayney's 'The Publication of Playbooks', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 383–422 (citations from pp. 396, 400 and 492).

authority for yt'. No edition subsequently emerged in this instance, and the play was re-entered in 1609 under the names of Richard Bonian and Henry Walley.<sup>266</sup> Peter Blayney suggests that Roberts may have had 'something of a habit of entering plays provisionally, selling them, and leaving the buyers to obtain the necessary authority'.<sup>267</sup> Butter, however, does not appear to have shared Roberts's reputation for entering titles in this provisional manner, and this in turn suggests some other motivation or reason for the appearance of this isolated placeholder entry.

It is also significant that, although the above example represents only a provisional entry and Roberts was still required to seek further 'aucthority' before printing could begin, a sum of sixpence was nonetheless recorded, suggesting that the wardens had agreed to license the text for publication. Conversely, no sum was recorded for Butter's entry of 'the enterlude of King Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>'. In the years 1600–1610, only three other provisional entrances in the Register were recorded without an accompanying sum of money, all in the year 1605.<sup>268</sup> Of these, the one closest to the 'enterlude' in terms of status – for neither represents the actual entrance of the text – is that of 17 June, where it states:

yf he [John Trundell] get sufficient Aucthoritie. for. *The copy of A letter sent from a gent[leman] of the report of the Late bloody fight at sea betwene the Spaniardes and the Hollanders before Dover.* And shewe his aucthority to the wardens Then yt is to be entred for his copy.

The entry goes on to stress that 'yf any other bringe the Aucthority, yet it is to be the said John Trundelles copy', and it seems therefore that Trundell made this move in order to help ensure his future right to publish the text.<sup>269</sup> Butter, too, seems to

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<sup>266</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 3, pp. 226 and 400.

<sup>267</sup> Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991), p. 21. Other provisional entries under Roberts's name were made on 29 March 1599, 27 May 1600 and 29 May 1600. See Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 3, pp. 141 and 161.

<sup>268</sup> See Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 3, pp. 289, 293 and 301, respectively.

<sup>269</sup> As Blayney notes, 'it was problems of infringement, rather than of censorship, that the Company's license was intended to regulate'. 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 399.

have used the placeholder entry as a means of laying claim to his ownership of ‘the enterlude’ prior to the official authorisation and licensing of the text, thus preventing others from entering it as their own in the interim. Such an action would have been all the more prudent if the text in question were particularly popular on the early modern stage, as Rowley’s *When You See Me* – judging by the play’s topicality and the frequency of subsequent editions – seems to have been.<sup>270</sup>

The fact that ‘the enterlude’ is not mentioned again in the Stationers’ Register should not necessarily be taken to indicate that Butter failed to ‘procure the wardens hands to yt’ for, as John Jowett has stressed,

If a play was published without entry ... it was not necessarily a surreptitious publication. A book apparently could be and occasionally was issued with a license on the manuscript itself without entry in the Register, which would save the stationer from paying the separate fee that was required for entry.<sup>271</sup>

Blayney, too, seeks to clarify this common misunderstanding by emphasising the fact that ‘entrance was voluntary’, and further, that ‘its absence is *never* sufficient reason for suspecting anything furtive, dishonest, or illegal’.<sup>272</sup> It is probable, then, that Butter did indeed obtain the Company’s permission for the publication of this play, but that this permission was recorded only in the form of the wardens’ signatures on the manuscript from which the first edition of the text was to be printed.<sup>273</sup> It seems less likely, given his efforts to ensure ‘the enterlude’ was mentioned in the Register in the first place, that Butter would subsequently have

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<sup>270</sup> My thanks go to Professor Blayney for his help and advice on this matter. Blayney referred to Butter’s entry of ‘the enterlude’ as ‘a genuine “staying entry”’ (private correspondence, 23 August 2011) with ‘a few parallels including one outside of the Registers’. Authority, or ‘good allowance’, was presumably required in this instance due to the play’s topicality.

<sup>271</sup> John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 51.

<sup>272</sup> Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, p. 404.

<sup>273</sup> As Blayney makes clear, it was the wardens’ signatures that constituted the stationer’s licence, not the text’s subsequent registration. ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, p. 400.

let his claim to publish the text lapse.<sup>274</sup> Having already laid claim to the text in the Stationers' Register, and having presumably already paid fourpence to the clerk for the privilege of the placeholder entry, it perhaps seemed an unnecessary expense to have the text re-registered once the relevant authority was obtained. Rather, it seems, Butter paid only the requisite sixpence for the wardens' approval and then proceeded to pass the manuscript on to the text's printers.<sup>275</sup>

There is also the issue of how 'the enterlude' came to be printed as *When You See Me, You Know Me*. Significant in this respect is the similarity between the title of Rowley's play and that of Heywood's two-part *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, entered in the Stationers' Register under this title to Butter on 5 July 1605.<sup>276</sup> Both plays stand out for their boldness in depicting the Tudor monarchy on stage very early in James I's reign, and it is possible that Butter sought to market Rowley's play and *If You Know Not Me, Part I* as a pair (the second part of Heywood's play was printed the following year). This in turn would suggest that Butter was responsible for the title given to Rowley's play and that he altered it from *The Interlude of King Henry VIII* to *When You See Me, You Know Me* subsequent to its placeholder entry in the Stationers' Register. It would also indicate that the title of Rowley's play derives from the title of Heywood's and not the other way round, as the earlier entrance of 'the enterlude' in the Stationers' Register might otherwise suggest. Such a sequence of events finds corroboration in

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<sup>274</sup> The 'enterlude of King Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>' was one of Butter's very earliest publications, and only his second play publication. Given Butter's inexperience in early 1605, it is even more unlikely that he would have acted surreptitiously; indeed, he seems to have gone to great lengths to ensure that everything was undertaken lawfully and correctly.

<sup>275</sup> On the various costs associated with the acquisition, authority, licensing, registration and printing of playtexts, see Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 409.

<sup>276</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 3, p. 295. Heywood referred to *If You Know Not Me* only as 'The Play of Queene Elizabeth', suggesting that Butter may also have been responsible for its title. See Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's* (London: printed for R. H[earne], 1637), *STC* 13358, p. 249.



Blayney's observation that 'the wording of the title would often, perhaps usually, be decided by the publisher'.<sup>277</sup>

Butter may have taken the titles of Rowley's and Heywood's plays from a turn of phrase common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the use of which drew attention to the plays' well-known and much celebrated protagonists. A similar expression can be found, for example, in Robert Wilson's *Three Lords and Ladies of London* (1590; *STC* 25783), in which the character Simplicity has a picture of the famous clown Tarlton for sale, declaring: 'if thou knewest not him, thou knewest nobody' (C1<sup>v</sup>). Morris Palmer Tilley also draws attention to the anonymous play *Mucedorus* (1598; *STC* 18230), in which the Clown remarks to Segasto: 'Why then you know no bodie, and you knowe not mee' (B1<sup>v</sup>), as well as the interchange between John Hobs and King Edward in Heywood's *I Edward IV* (1599; *STC* 13341): 'Dost thou not know mee? – No. – Then thou knowest no bodie' (C4<sup>v</sup>).<sup>278</sup> Additionally, Butter may have drawn upon Rowley's reworking of the familiar folktale 'The King and the Cobbler', in which personal identity and the recognition of such are brought humorously to the fore.

A number of other possible explanations have been offered for the provenance of the title *When You See Me, You Know Me*. Somerset, for example, speaks of the metaphorical 'unmasking' of King Henry as the play progresses, by which deceit and pretence are revealed to him through the actions of others. The constant message of the play, he suggests, is that 'once the king has "seen" the facts of any situation, he is able to judge correctly, and defend the right'.<sup>279</sup> Grant, on the other hand, speaks of the 'tricksiness' of the title and suggests that it refers, not to the specific contents of

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<sup>277</sup> Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 421, n.50.

<sup>278</sup> Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), K174.

<sup>279</sup> Somerset, p. lxix.

Rowley's play, but rather to the thinly veiled parody of contemporary royalty in the characters of King Henry and Prince Edward: 'the historical characters in the play are ciphers for current political figures and the title warns an audience that looking and seeing are not the same thing'.<sup>280</sup> Significantly, though, each of these suggestions works under the assumption that Rowley was the source of the play's title rather than Butter. Certainly, Grant's theory relies on the notion that Rowley's play was performed as *When You See Me, You Know Me*, since she speaks of the way in which the title was intended to guide the audience in their understanding of the play.<sup>281</sup> That Rowley would have drawn attention so explicitly in the title to any comment passed upon the Stuart dynasty, however, is doubtful, and presumably the audience would have identified parallels with or without such prompting on Rowley's part. Moreover, the play's alternative title, *The Interlude of King Henry VIII*, is far more in keeping with the titles of other Admiral's–Prince's Men plays performed around this time, many of which simply comprised the name of their main protagonist and perhaps an indication of the play's scope: *The Downfall* and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Rising* and *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, and so on. The title *When You See Me* is in contrast far more enigmatic and given the significance of Rowley's play in 1604, it is unlikely the company would have passed up an opportunity to advertise its topical subject matter.

It would seem, then, that Rowley's play may not originally have been performed under the title by which it has since come to be recognised: entered in the Stationers' Register and in all likelihood performed as *The Interlude of King Henry VIII*, *When You See Me* received its more familiar title only when Butter passed the licensed manuscript on to the text's printers in 1605.

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<sup>280</sup> Grant, 'History in the Making', p. 130.

<sup>281</sup> Grant, 'History in the Making', p. 130.

### The manuscript used as printers' copy for Q1

As Paul Werstine remarks, there are 'an array of possibilities for printer's copy: authorial MS, MS by a theatrical scribe, or MS by a non-theatrical scribe, whether literary or not'.<sup>282</sup> There are also, as Blayney points out, a number of ways in which such manuscripts might have found their way into the hands of the London printers.<sup>283</sup> Naturally, this raises questions regarding both the type of manuscript that is likely to have served as copy for the printers of Q1 *When You See Me* and the method by which it came to be in Butter's possession. Did the manuscript derive from Rowley's own drafts of the play, from a scribal copy, or from a different source entirely? Did Rowley and/or Prince Henry's Men freely hand over the manuscript for publication, or did Butter obtain it by some other means? The answers to these questions are important as they affect not only our notion of the text's authority, but also our understanding of the company's relationship with print more generally.

Butter's hasty provisional entrance of the manuscript in the Stationers' Register, and the subsequent speed with which the play seems to have been printed, has attracted a great deal of critical attention, especially amongst the text's previous editors. Wilson in particular argues that Butter must have come by the manuscript surreptitiously, since the players 'were not likely to countenance the publication of a play so recently added to their repertory'.<sup>284</sup> Such an argument, however, embraces the now largely outdated belief that actors were instinctively hostile towards the publication of their playtexts. On the contrary, as Blayney demonstrates, there is no evidence to suggest that players ever feared that the consumers and readers of

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<sup>282</sup> Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; rpt 2013), p. 231.

<sup>283</sup> See Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', pp. 392–3.

<sup>284</sup> Wilson, p. viii.

playtexts ‘would consequently lose interest in seeing [the plays] performed’.<sup>285</sup> Rather, the two modes of transmission – performance and print – could operate side by side, the success of one in many cases feeding off the success of the other. There is nothing to suggest, therefore, that Butter’s actions were indicative of anything other than a desire to capitalise upon the popularity of Rowley’s play. Furthermore, the length and lucidity of the text as printed in Q1 negates any possibility that the manuscript was produced by means of stenography or memorial reconstruction – a charge frequently levelled against playtexts thought to have been obtained without a company’s full consent.<sup>286</sup>

Since *When You See Me* is the only definite surviving example of Rowley’s work, its transmission into print cannot be viewed alongside that of the dramatist’s other playtexts. It can, however, be viewed alongside the other Admiral’s–Prince’s plays performed at the Fortune around the same time. This in turn allows for comparison regarding the interval between the plays’ first performances and their subsequent appearance in print, and gives some idea of the typical practices of the company as a whole. As Gurr notes, ‘[o]nce Prince Henry’s Men were back on stage at the Fortune after the long plague closure the few plays they sold to the press seem to have been got there very quickly’.<sup>287</sup> Indeed, both Dekker and Middleton’s *I Honest Whore* (1604) and *The Roaring Girl* (1611) were composed, performed and printed within the space of a single year, and Dekker’s *Whore of Babylon*, performed c. 1606, was printed in 1607.<sup>288</sup> All of these playtexts reached the printing house much faster than the typical two-year interim noted by Stern, and so it

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<sup>285</sup> Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, p. 386.

<sup>286</sup> On forms of transmission typically associated with such texts, see Laurie E. Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The ‘Bad’ Quartos and Their Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>287</sup> Gurr, *Shakespeare’s Opposites*, p. 110.

<sup>288</sup> The dates of composition and performance for these plays are taken from Gurr’s Appendix 1 in *Shakespeare’s Opposites*, pp. 269–70.

would be wrong to view Rowley's play as unique in its rapid progression into print.<sup>289</sup> Rather, *When You See Me* stands as witness to the company's close and sustained engagement with print over the course of Prince Henry's patronage.<sup>290</sup> Far from implying that the Prince's Men were hostile to the notion of publication, this gives the impression of a company not only tolerant of print but at ease with it, and perhaps even seeking to use it to their advantage.

Wilson's arguments also downplay the importance of Rowley's tripartite role within the company. He speaks, for example, of 'the players' as if their attitudes were largely at odds with the playwright's, thus overlooking the fact that Rowley was himself a leading actor and shareholder in Prince Henry's Men. It is likely, therefore, that Rowley had far more control over the fate of his plays, both in terms of the manner and frequency of their performances and the decision about whether or not to put them into print, than other, non-resident playwrights writing for the company at this time.<sup>291</sup> Moreover, as a prominent member of the company, Rowley presumably had access not only to his own manuscript of *When You See Me* but to the promptbook and any other versions of the playtext owned by Prince Henry's Men.<sup>292</sup> To pass one of these manuscript versions on to Butter would not have come at any great cost to the company. Rowley's status as sharer also indicates that he is likely to have played an important part in any decision-making processes that were liable to

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<sup>289</sup> See Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 124.

<sup>290</sup> A number of plays performed at the Rose under the patronage of the Earl of Nottingham were also printed well within the two-year timeframe, many (including *The Shoemaker's Holiday* and *I Sir John Oldcastle*) within the space of a single year.

<sup>291</sup> Dekker, for example, voiced concern in the prefatory material to *The Whore of Babylon* over the ways in which Prince Henry's Men were likely to have marred the play in his absence; he subsequently justified his decision to put the text into print by claiming that the players, despite his initial care and attention in its composition, failed to do the play justice in performance (Lectori, lines 20–43).

<sup>292</sup> In *Making Shakespeare*, Stern argued that '[n]either actor nor instructor generally had access to the full play, for the prompter kept it locked away' (p. 79). Although this might have been true of other company actors, Rowley occupied an important position within Prince Henry's Men and may have enjoyed certain privileges as a result.

affect the company's reputation and/or financial success. No doubt keen to take advantage of the topicality of the play's subject matter while the death of Queen Elizabeth was still firmly in the minds of its spectators, it is likely that Rowley – if not the company as a whole – approved of the text's publication at this time, hopeful, perhaps, that the popularity of the play in one medium might fuel its success in another and that this, in turn, might reignite its success upon the Fortune stage.

Having established that Rowley and Prince Henry's Men were likely in support of Butter's actions in early 1605, it remains to determine the nature of the manuscript that served as printers' copy for Q1. Both Wilson and Somerset, working under the assumption that the text in question came into Butter's hands against the company's express wishes, categorise the manuscript as a rough, authorial draft, full of contradictions and ambiguities. Wilson, for instance, writes: '[Butter's] manuscript can hardly have come to him from the theatre, for entrances and exits are most imperfectly marked, and the quarto bears every sign of having been printed from Rowley's "foul papers"'.<sup>293</sup> Somerset likewise remarks: 'there is evidence to suggest that his play was in a hastily written and unrevised version when it came to Nathaniel Butter's hands', and he points in particular to the presentation of speech prefixes and stage directions, characterising them as 'chaotic in the extreme'.<sup>294</sup> Somerset also describes the quarto's directions as 'literary' rather than 'theatrical' in nature, and argues that Rowley left them 'to be finalised and any confusions in his hurried manuscript to be resolved in the preparation of the prompt-copy, or in actual

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<sup>293</sup> Wilson, p. viii.

<sup>294</sup> Somerset, p. vii. Inconsistent and ambiguous speech prefixes and stage directions in particular are seen to indicate the use of authorial 'foul papers' as printers' copy. See, for example, Jowett's discussion of Q2 *Romeo and Juliet* (1599), in which the role of Lady Capulet is described severally as 'Capulets Wife', 'his wife', 'Mother', 'Lady', and 'Lady of the house'. *Shakespeare and Text*, p. 99.

performance'.<sup>295</sup> While Wilson and Somerset's descriptions of the textual features of Q1 are mostly sound (if overstated at times), the conclusion they draw regarding the provenance of the underlying manuscript requires revision both in light of new research on the topic of textual categorisation and with an awareness of Rowley's particular position within the company from which that manuscript derived.

Significantly, a number of recent studies have emphasised the shortcomings of grouping manuscripts into rigid and preconceived textual categories. Werstine in particular highlights the problematic nature of Greg's distinction between 'foul papers' and 'promptbooks', noting that the two categories fail to find support in empirical evidence.<sup>296</sup> He describes, for example, the many ways in which bookkeepers could create manuscripts with 'foul paper' characteristics, such as by making well-informed cuts in the dialogue but subsequently failing to register these cuts in stage directions.<sup>297</sup> Moreover, Werstine's study – an examination of nineteen playhouse manuscripts and three annotated quartos – demonstrates that some of the texts produced by bookkeepers for use in the theatre were actually more chaotic and inconsistent than many of the extant autograph manuscripts traditionally classified as 'foul papers'. As Gabriel Egan suggests, such categorisation might in the past have provided editors with a straightforward rule for determining 'which kind of manuscript was used as copy for a particular early print edition', but in reality it marks a significant oversimplification of the processes and practices of textual transmission.<sup>298</sup> For an actor-playwright such as Rowley, the supposed distinction between the theatrical and the authorial is blurred still further. Rowley's early

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<sup>295</sup> Somerset, p. viii.

<sup>296</sup> Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts*, pp. 48–9.

<sup>297</sup> Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts*, p. 161.

<sup>298</sup> Gabriel Egan, 'Precision, Consistency and Completeness in Early-Modern Playbook Manuscripts: The Evidence from *Thomas of Woodstock* and *John a Kent* and *John a Cumber*', *The Library*, 7th ser., 12.4 (December, 2011), 376–91 (p. 377).

manuscript could, for instance, have been used in the theatre: knowing both the size and capabilities of the company, as well as the practicalities of performance on the Fortune stage, it is unlikely Rowley's drafts needed much revision and this perhaps negated the need for a scribal transcription at the early stages of the play's preparation. Indeed, if the playwright's own manuscript served much in the way of a scribal 'fair copy' or promptbook then the subsequent classification of the text as either authorial *or* theatrical is not only unhelpful but inherently misleading.

Clearly, in the absence of textual categories, it becomes far more difficult to identify the nature of printers' copy. As Egan observes, 'where there are no manifest impossibilities in a script ... authorial papers cannot easily be distinguished from papers used to run a performance', and so additional evidence is required to confirm identification.<sup>299</sup> Rowley does not seem to have made any comment regarding the transmission of his work, and so far as publication is concerned there is, as noted above, no evidence to indicate any animosity on the part of the players of Prince Henry's Men. Since the company is just as likely to have handed over a later authorial or scribal transcription of Rowley's *When You See Me* as it is the author's early drafts of the play, all evidence concerning the nature of printers' copy in this instance must necessarily rely upon the internal features of the text's first printed edition.

That Q1 *When You See Me* was a product of shared printing (see following section) is beneficial in this respect, for whenever unusual spelling patterns or other accidental features are traceable throughout the text and not just in a particular forme or gathering, it is likely that these forms resemble those of the compositors' copy. Coupled with this is the evidence we have of Rowley's handwriting and spelling

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<sup>299</sup> Egan, 'Precision, Consistency and Completeness', p. 390.



preferences, as demonstrated in five brief letters to Henslowe regarding the procurement of and/or payment for new company playtexts (see *Figs. 4–8*, above). The first of these is transcribed here in full in order to highlight some of the letters' more striking orthographic features:

Mr Hinchloe I haue harde fyue shetes of a playe of the Conqueste of the Indes & I dow not doute but It wyll be a verye good playe therefore I praye ye delyuer them fortye shylynges In earneste of yt & take the papers Into yor one hands & on easter eue thaye promyse to make an ende of all the Reste.

The somewhat irregular and archaic spelling preferences on display in these letters have led Jackson to the conclusion that 'Rowley's orthography was almost as eccentric as that of Henslowe himself'.<sup>300</sup> Certainly, a preference for archaic spellings can be traced across multiple gatherings of Q1 *When You See Me*, perhaps indicating the presence of Rowley's hand in the underlying manuscript.

Stronger evidence of Rowley's hand, however, is afforded in a peculiar feature of the playwright's handwriting: the use of an upper case 'I' for words such as 'it', 'in' and 'is' in the middle of lines or sentences. The above letter to Henslowe alone contains three examples. Significantly, this tendency – initially noted by Jackson in his discussion of the extant *Woodstock* manuscript – is evident throughout the printed text of Q1 *When You See Me*.<sup>301</sup> Some of the examples are perhaps a little ambiguous, such as that at 3.2.102, occurring on F2<sup>v</sup> of the first quarto edition: 'O syr, you're welcome, Is your name *Kookesbie*? [*sic*]'. Possibly in this instance the comma after 'welcome' was set in error in place of a full stop and the upper case 'I' was intended. Other examples are more clear-cut, such as Patch's 'I care not for comming Ins sight againe' (3.1.19–20; E4<sup>r</sup>), the King's 'How Is your

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<sup>300</sup> Jackson, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*', p. 51.

<sup>301</sup> Jackson, 'The Date and Authorship of *Thomas of Woodstock*', p. 73. Jackson did not note the reoccurrence of this tendency in the text of *When You See Me*. See 'Rowley as playwright', above, for information on Jackson's attribution of *Woodstock* to Rowley.

counsels...?’ (5.1.241; H4<sup>r</sup>), and the double occurrence of upper case ‘It’ in Will Summers’s impassioned defence at 3.2.57–9 (F2<sup>r</sup> in Q1): ‘Give me it againe, It shall nere be seene more I assure ye: and I had knowne tad come for that purpose, It should nere have bin brought for *Will* I warrant yee’. Examples in other sections of the printed text include Will Summers’s ‘I, In any case’ at 1.2.191 (B2<sup>r</sup>), King Henry’s ‘O thou art deceived Ned, It is too certaine’ at 5.4.20 (I3<sup>v</sup>), and Queen Katherine Parr’s ‘O my good Lord, If it have traytors blood’ at 5.4.64 (I4<sup>r</sup>). The peculiarity occurs in both verse and prose passages, in the speech of a number of different characters and across four separate gatherings set by at least three different compositors. Together with the existence of a number of archaic forms in the printed text of *When You See Me*, this significantly strengthens the case that the manuscript in question was penned by the author’s own hand.

Whether the manuscript used as printers’ copy represented an early draft of the play or derived from a later transcription in the playwright’s hand remains uncertain, but the fact that the manuscript seems to have stemmed directly from Rowley lends authority to the text presented in Q1. Not only is the text workable and largely performable as it stands, it also bears witness to Rowley’s insightful knowledge of the size and capabilities of Prince Henry’s Men at the time of the play’s earliest performances. That Rowley may have scripted this manuscript *after* the initial performance took place, perhaps specifically for the purposes of publication, highlights the sheer interconnectedness of playwriting and performance in this instance, and further blurs the distinction between the authorial and the theatrical that previous editors have so fervently sought to enforce.

### The first edition (Q1)

The first edition of *When You See Me* was printed in 1605. From the large mask ornament on the title-page and initial on the half-title, it can be inferred that the playtext was printed by Humphrey Lownes the elder although, as discussed below, it is unlikely that the whole text came from Lownes's press. The quarto contains forty-two leaves and is made up of twenty-one formes, printed on ten and a half sheets of paper, signed A–L. The half-sheet L that concludes the play was likely printed by means of the work and turn method of half-sheet imposition (see below), whereby all four of the sheet's type-pages were locked into a single forme on the press-bed and used to print both sides of the paper. Two copies of this edition exist, with variants evident in four different formes: the outer forme of gathering B, the inner forme of gathering C, and both formes of gathering I (see Appendices 4–6).

Writing in 1955, John Crow described the first quarto of Rowley's *When You See Me* as 'a hideously printed play'.<sup>302</sup> Somerset went one step further, arguing that Crow's assertion was, 'if anything, not strong enough', adding: '*When You See Me* was badly served by Butter and the printer or printers who produced it for him'.<sup>303</sup> While it is plain to see those aspects of the text upon which these judgements have been based – confusing speech prefixes, loose locking of the type, and poorly justified lines to name just a few – it should be noted that these imperfections do not appear regularly throughout the text; rather, they occur only in particular gatherings or sections and were introduced only at particular stages of the text's production. Moreover, it should be noted that the layout of the text is at times sensitive to and thus aware of the needs of an early modern readership, suggesting at

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<sup>302</sup> John Crow, 'Editing and Emending', in *Essays and Studies*, ed. D. M. Low (London: John Murray, 1955), pp. 1–20 (p. 11).

<sup>303</sup> Somerset, p. x.

least some forethought on the part of individual compositors.<sup>304</sup> To argue that the text is ‘hideously printed’ in its entirety is therefore a misleading exaggeration, not least because it obscures significant information about the physical handling of the manuscript at the time of the playbook’s manufacture.

Besides his enthusiastic entrance of *When You See Me* in the Stationers’ Register, Butter seems to have further speeded up the process of production by splitting the manuscript prior to typesetting and dividing it between several printers to work on simultaneously – a practice widely known as shared printing.<sup>305</sup> Accordingly, Q1 can be divided into five sections: gatherings A–C; gatherings D–F; gathering G; gatherings H–I; and gatherings K–L. In addition to displaying differing sets of running titles (see Appendices 5 and 7), which may simply point to a different compositor at work at the same press or a temporary hiatus in production, each of the five sections, as detailed below, exhibits a number of impositional and typographical features that corroborate the division and thus strengthen the case for shared printing.

The relative division of labour between printers allows further insight into the circumstances of the strategy’s employment. While, as Adrian Weiss explains, even sharing sections indicate the adoption of a pre-planned, time-saving strategy, unequal or asymmetrical sections tend instead to indicate interruption in the process of seriatim printing.<sup>306</sup> In the case of Q1 *When You See Me*, the text seems

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<sup>304</sup> Additionally, some of the features that led Crow and Somerset to describe the text as poorly printed, such as a lack of indentation before speech prefixes, may be indicative of compositorial practice rather than of shoddy workmanship, perhaps explaining why such features are more prevalent in some formes and/or gatherings than in others.

<sup>305</sup> Indeed, the printer of Q1 is identified in *STC* as ‘Lownes and others’ (vol. 2, p. 290). On the common and frequent use of this method of production, see in particular Peter Blayney, ‘The prevalence of shared printing in the early seventeenth century’, *PBSA*, 67 (1973), 437–42.

<sup>306</sup> See Adrian Weiss, ‘Casting, Compositors, Foul Cases and Skeletons: Printing in Middleton’s Age’, in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to The Collected Works*, Gen. Eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 195–225 (p. 223).

to have been divided into broadly equal sections of three sheets each, plus an additional smaller section of one and a half sheets, made up of gathering K and the half-sheet L. The only real anomaly is gathering G, which seems to have been set in isolation, and which presumably points to some form of disruption during the printing of the central gatherings. It is likely, therefore, that sections three and four of the text – gathering G, and gatherings H and I, respectively – were initially intended to form a single work unit, roughly equal in size to those that had preceded it.<sup>307</sup> Some interruption or difficulty ensuing, the last two-thirds of this section were evidently passed on to another printer to complete.

That it was primarily the publisher's rather than the printers' decision to split the manuscript of *When You See Me* is also supported by the fact that paper from the same stock is used both in early and in later sharing sections. Watermarks visible in section one of the text, for instance, can be found again in later sheets of the playbook, alternating throughout between versions of a three- and a four-fingered hand.<sup>308</sup> This suggests that Butter may have been responsible for providing the paper on which the play was to be printed. Had Butter supplied the paper but the sharing strategy been initiated by Lownes, it is possible that the paper would have remained in Lownes's possession and that only the manuscript copy would have been passed on to the sharing partner(s).

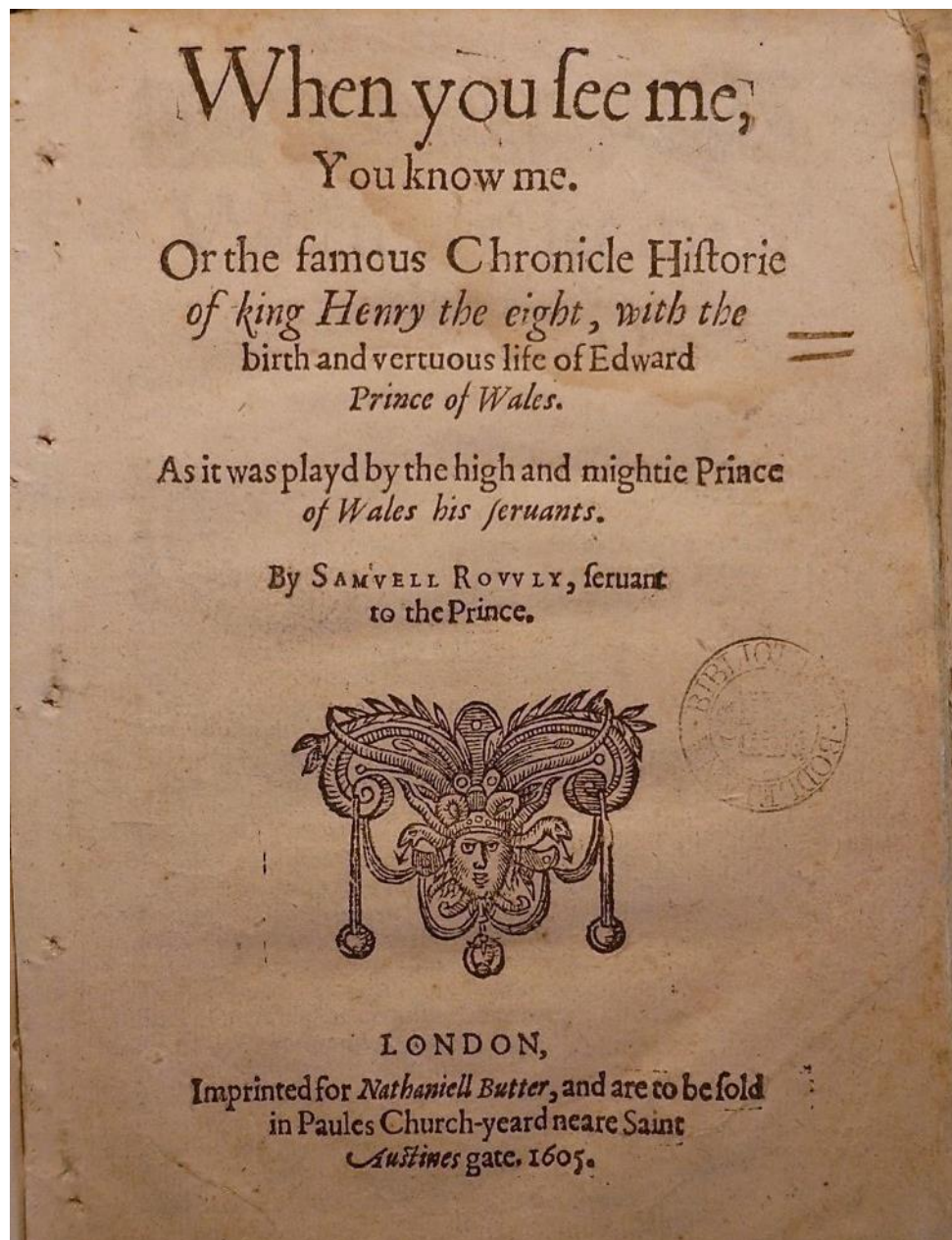
While significant features of each of the sections are discussed in turn below, by far the largest discussion is reserved for section one, which sheds light on a number of printing-house methods employed in the text's production and goes some

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<sup>307</sup> Out of a total 3,095 lines, 906 are printed in section one; 886 in section two; 909 (assuming gatherings G, H and I were intended to form a single work unit) in section three; and 394 in the final section. Line counts are based on the TLN system employed in Wilson's edition.

<sup>308</sup> Patterns of watermark recurrence vary in the two extant copies of the edition. No watermarks are visible at all in sheets C, E and L of the Bodleian copy or in sheets A, C, I and L of the copy at Boston Public Library.

way towards explaining the negative criticisms of Crow and Somerset in their respective comments upon the text. In particular, this opening section provides an intriguing case-study in its use of variant measures that not only draws attention to an important aspect of compositorial practice, but also demonstrates the need for editors to remain alert to all elements of typographical arrangement.



**Figure 9:** First edition of Rowley's *When You See Me*, Bodleian copy, title-page. Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

### Section one: sheets A–C

In sheets A–C alone are roman numerals used for signatures, with one example evident per gathering: ‘Aij’, ‘Biii’ and ‘Cij’.<sup>309</sup> The number of lines per page in this section vary from forty to forty-four, and measurements from the top of the running heads down to the bottom of the signatures and catchwords vary from 154 to 167 mm, depending on how many lines of text are printed per page.

Notably, this opening section is printed in small pica type instead of pica, as per the remainder of the edition. Rather than a matter of preference on the part of Lownes’s compositor(s), however, small pica seems to have been used in this instance as a matter of necessity in order to fit the requisite amount of text into the available space.<sup>310</sup> Significantly, it appears that Butter – or whoever physically divided the manuscript – did not take into consideration the space required for the title-page and half-title at the beginning of the printed text: indeed, the number of text lines set in these opening three gatherings was twenty higher than in the following three-gathering section (see footnote 307, above). In order successfully to offset the space taken up by the title-page, its blank verso, and the half-title – roughly two and a half out of eight type-pages – this section should have included no more than seventy per cent of the total number of text lines printed in section two.<sup>311</sup> The considerable number of lines allocated to Lownes’s compositors may thus explain some of the more erratic impositional and compositorial features on display in this section.

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<sup>309</sup> Several other works originating from Lownes’s press exhibit the same feature, including William Covell’s *A modest and reasonable examination* (STC 5882) and Thomas Becon’s *The sicke mans salue* (STC 1768), both printed within a year of Q1 *When You See Me*.

<sup>310</sup> This is corroborated by W. Craig Ferguson’s observation that Lownes ‘preferred larger’ typefaces. See *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 28. The small pica used in this section has a twenty-line measurement of roughly 71 mm, as opposed to the 81–3 mm of pica.

<sup>311</sup> In order to set gatherings A–C in pica type, this 906-line section should only have contained about 635 lines. If this had been the case, the half-sheet L that concludes the text would have been replaced with a whole sheet, thus creating a playbook comprising eleven full sheets of paper, collating A–L<sup>4</sup>.

Throughout these three gatherings, only speech prefixes immediately preceded by a stage direction tend to be indented; others are presented as the main body of the text, with a flush left-hand margin.<sup>312</sup> Combined with the compositors' use of a small pica typeface, this makes the opening pages of the playbook appear rather dense.<sup>313</sup> In addition, there is a noticeable attempt in the first two and a half gatherings to save space, with the introduction of numerous contractions and the frequent omission of spacing type after commas and, on occasion, between words. The final words of long verse lines are also often turned up or down to the end of preceding or succeeding lines to avoid taking up additional room on the type-page (although, as discussed below, this may have something to do with the use of variant measures). As noted in the Editorial Introduction, stage directions, particularly entrance and exit points, are often lacking, and Somerset has speculated whether this deficiency may have been a deliberate space-saving strategy on the part of the compositor(s).<sup>314</sup> While this is feasible for the first few gatherings, however, Somerset's hypothesis fails to explain why stage directions are equally deficient in later gatherings of the text where space was not such a pressing issue. Since exit directions are lacking more than entrance directions, and since these could be positioned at the ends of verse lines with no bearing upon the number of text lines printed per page, it can be assumed that these were absent in the compositors' copy.

Variant measures are also frequently employed in gatherings A–C. While evident in later gatherings of Q1 and in later editions of the text, the compositors' use of a variant measure is most apparent in this opening section and little if any attempt

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<sup>312</sup> The only exceptions are A2<sup>r</sup>, A3<sup>v</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup> and B2<sup>v</sup>, where speech prefixes are habitually indented, perhaps signalling the work of a different compositor.

<sup>313</sup> On B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup> and occasionally on C2<sup>v</sup>, the compositor broke the flush left-hand margin by creating hanging prose lines. There are only a few examples of this, though, and since the majority of lines in these gatherings are set in verse, the practice does little to increase the accessibility of the text.

<sup>314</sup> Somerset, p. x.



has been made to disguise its employment.<sup>315</sup> Two distinct measures were used: a shorter measure of 79 mm and a longer measure of 96 mm. Bearing in mind D. M. McKenzie's observation that compositors did not set their sticks to mm-lengths but rather to em-measurements, it is perhaps more accurate in this instance to say that type was justified respectively to line-lengths of 24- and 29-ems.<sup>316</sup> The shorter 24-em measure was typically used for verse and the longer 29-em measure for prose.<sup>317</sup> This in turn accounts for the numerous turn-downs and turn-ups at the ends of longer verse lines, and for the frequent introduction of contractions and ampersands.

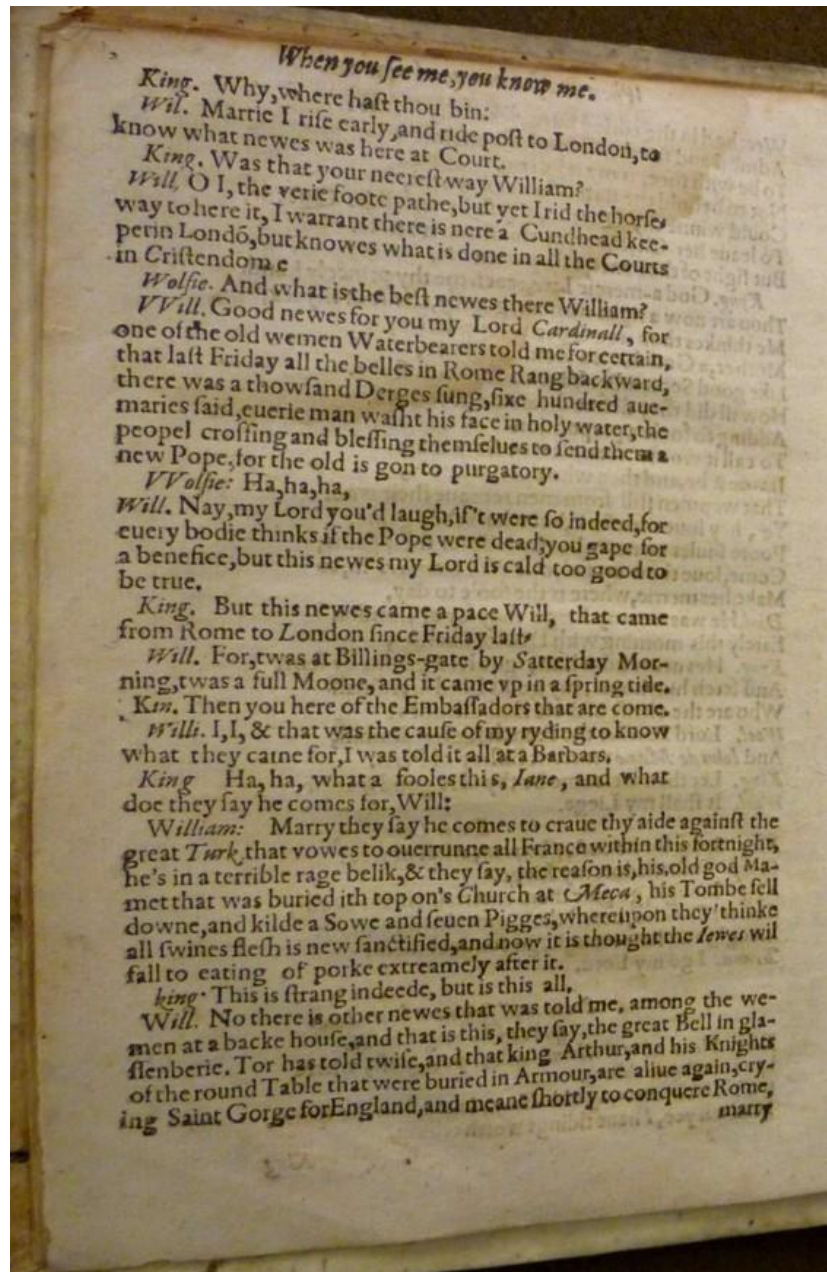
There are, however, a number of anomalous instances where the shorter measure was used for prose passages. The first occurs on A4<sup>v</sup>, with the use of both 24- and 29-em measures resulting in a rather strange arrangement whereby prose is justified at two distinct points across the page (see *Fig. 10*). Tracing the use of the shorter measure back to A4<sup>r</sup>, it seems that the compositor, setting verse for the first three-quarters of the page, failed to notice when the text switched back to prose at Will Summers's entrance (after 1.2.56 in this edition). Thus he continued to make use of the shorter measure until he, or someone else, noticed the error and the longer measure was re-introduced two-thirds the way down the following page (at 1.2.87). Not only does this highlight oversight in the compositor's work, especially considering the space-saving strategies at work elsewhere in this gathering, it also reveals that the opening section of Q1 was set seriatim rather than by formes, since the use of the two measures – and the switching back and forth between them – progresses sequentially through the text.

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<sup>315</sup> The use of variant measures was certainly not unique in Rowley's *When You See Me*, though its use was usually better disguised.

<sup>316</sup> D. M. McKenzie, "'Indenting the Stick" in the First Quarto of *King Lear* (1608)', *PBSA*, 67 (1973), 125–30 (p. 126).

<sup>317</sup> This corresponds with Fredson Bowers's findings about the use of variant measures. See 'Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure', *SB*, 2 (1949–50), 153–68 (p. 154 in particular).



**Figure 10:** First edition of Rowley's *When You See Me, you know me*, Bodleian copy, A4<sup>r</sup>, demonstrating the use of variant measures. Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

B1<sup>r</sup> also sees the use of two different measures. The longer measure is used for the opening eight lines and the final prose line of the type-page, while the shorter measure is used at its centre. Although better disguised than in the previous example, the compositor's use of the 24-em measure (hinted at by the use of a turn-down and contractions in the verse lines) becomes evident at Summers's prose passage

(1.2.136–7 in this edition), justified to a point several millimetres short of the full width of the type-page. Text in the isolated last line of the page, set to the 29-em measure, is then continued over onto B1<sup>v</sup>, once again suggesting that the text was set in *seriatim* order. It seems also, from this instance, that the precise location of page-breaks was not predetermined, and that the final line of B1<sup>r</sup>, set together with the remainder of the prose speech, was only placed in its current position once the surrounding text was complete.<sup>318</sup> A similar method seems to have been employed at the bottom of C2<sup>v</sup>, where the last line of text, set in the longer measure, stands in isolation while the rest of the type-page is justified to the shorter 24-em measure; the speech concludes in the longer measure at the top of the following page.<sup>319</sup>

Significantly, the shorter measure seems to have been employed more and more throughout gathering C as the compositor(s) became increasingly aware that there was not enough text left to neatly fill the sheet. This results in a rather untidy attempt in the final two pages to space out the remaining lines by the irregular insertion of large or multiple pieces of spacing type between words and punctuation marks. The effect is particularly evident on C4<sup>v</sup>, where the words ‘rare’, ‘not’ and the second part of the hyphenated ‘com-ming’ unnecessarily take up a whole new line of text to themselves.<sup>320</sup> Moreover, both the recto and verso of leaf C4 contain only forty lines of text, while the average number of lines per page for this section is forty-two. The additional white space surrounding these two pages becomes all the

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<sup>318</sup> This accords with W. Speed Hill’s observation that, ‘[f]aced with irregular copy or a major miscalculation, the compositor had but two choices: he could expand (or crowd) the type on a single page [...], or he could, in imposition, shift lines from one page to another.’ See ‘Casting Off Copy and the Compositors of Hooker’s Book V’, *SB*, 33 (1980), 144–61 (pp. 154–5). Lownes’s compositors seem to have made use of both of these techniques.

<sup>319</sup> The only difference in this case is that it cannot prove *seriatim* setting, since C3<sup>r</sup> would have followed C2<sup>v</sup> even if the section were set by *formes*.

<sup>320</sup> While, as noted above, speech prefixes in this section are rarely indented, it is significant that the speech prefix ‘*kynge*’ is heavily indented in order to push the word ‘not’ down onto the following line in this way.

more noticeable when viewed in conjunction with the cramped and overcrowded leaves of the section's previous gatherings.

While it appears that two distinct composing sticks were used in the setting of this opening section, it is important to point out that Lownes's compositors are more likely to have made use of an indented stick for sections set in the shorter 24-em measure. In other words, rather than make use of a shorter composing stick, the longer stick, measuring 29-ems, was used throughout the composition process, but was indented for verse passages with large quads or 'quotations'.<sup>321</sup> The benefits of using an indented stick over two separate sticks or a single adjustable stick were considerable. As McKenzie points out, 'it is a nuisance to change measures to this extent within the same book, let alone the same sheet, forme, or page'.<sup>322</sup> Moreover, the repeated substitution of one stick for another, or indeed the continual lengthening and shortening of an adjustable stick, would inevitably have complicated matters when it came to imposition:

Simply removing the shorter lines from the stick and resetting the measure as the longer ones occur is to be avoided at all costs, for the inevitable inequalities make side-locking of the page difficult and the risk of loose type dropping from slightly short lines is intolerable. Nor is there any joy to be had in handling the longer lines in a galley or on the stone when they are not an integral part of a properly justified type area.<sup>323</sup>

The main advantage of this practice, then, was that it required no interference with the furniture during imposition. While the visible type was constrained, the type-pages themselves remained justified to the full width of the longer measure, and thus longer lines were neatly accommodated as part of the larger imposed structure. The use of an indented stick would also have saved valuable spacing quads, no doubt

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<sup>321</sup> The process is described in detail by McKenzie in "Indenting the Stick". A brief description is also provided in Weiss, 'Casting, Compositors, Foul Cases and Skeletons', p. 213.

<sup>322</sup> McKenzie, "Indenting the Stick", p. 126.

<sup>323</sup> McKenzie, "Indenting the Stick", p. 126.

used by Lownes's compositor(s) to justify shorter verse lines within the 24-em measure once the indenting quotations were set in place.<sup>324</sup>

As Blayney points out, these quotations seem to have come in a standard size, measuring approximately 13 x 17 mm.<sup>325</sup> That the 24-em measure is precisely 5-ems or 17 mm shorter than the 29-em measure points to the conclusion that the verse passages of section one – and a number of its prose passages – were set in a 29-em stick indented with a quotation lying on its long side. The quotations in turn would have occupied a space in the composing stick approximately 13 mm deep, thus allowing Lownes's compositor(s) to set roughly three consecutive type-lines before either a second quotation was added to the stick or the type-lines were transferred to the page-galley. Assuming the text was set in seriatim order, as suggested above, the position of page-breaks would have been of little concern in the opening two gatherings; if a blank area happened not to coincide with a whole number of quotation quads when the page was imposed, the empty fraction could be filled with smaller spacing type from the text fount.<sup>326</sup> Thus single lines could be shifted from one page to another as necessary. Only when the compositors reached the final portion of their copy might the position of page-breaks become a real cause for concern, as seems to have been the case in the latter half of sheet C.

While there is no direct evidence of indentation in this section, such as offset or unintentional inking from the raised edge of a quotation quad, its use is detectable

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<sup>324</sup> McKenzie suggests that a lack of 12-point pica quads may have led Okes to indent his stick in this way. See ““Indenting the Stick””, pp. 126–7.

<sup>325</sup> Private correspondence, 23 August 2011.

<sup>326</sup> It is also possible, as McKenzie points out, that quotation quads were cast to match a particular em-measurement (““Indenting the Stick””, p. 128). He cites the following passage in Moxon: ‘when the *Compositor* Indents any Number of Lines, he may have *Quadrats* so exactly *Cast* that he shall not need to *Justifie* them either with *Spaces* or other helps’. *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 349.

in other ways.<sup>327</sup> As McKenzie suggests, the use of an indented stick ‘creates in effect a long, vertical and virtually independent column of type up the right-hand side of the page, aligned but not always interlocked with the type area set within the reduced line length’.<sup>328</sup> Thus, if the type-pages were not locked tightly in position, or if the quads were not all equal in size, longer lines could appear misaligned, set either slightly above or below lines justified to the shorter measure.<sup>329</sup> At least two examples of such misalignment are evident in this section of Q1.<sup>330</sup> The first occurs on B4<sup>r</sup> at Wolsey’s line ‘My Lords of Fraunce you haue had small cheere with vs’ (1.3.1 in this edition), where the words ‘with vs’ are positioned visibly lower than the rest of the line. Another example, though a little different in its application, can be found on A2<sup>r</sup> in the opening stage direction. Here, the first two words of the first line (‘*Enter the*’) and first word of the second line (‘*royaltie*’) are positioned 2 mm below the rest of the type-line (see *Fig. 11*). Significantly, these lower portions of the line take up a space of precisely 13 mm, suggesting that a quotation quad – this time lying on its short side – may have been used at the opposite end of the composing stick to fill up some of the white space between the half-title and initial ‘G’. On this type-page, then, indenting quotations were likely used at both sides of the justified type area: at its right, as imposed, at the top of the page, and at its left further down.<sup>331</sup>

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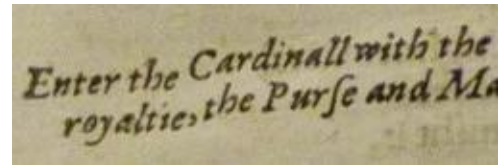
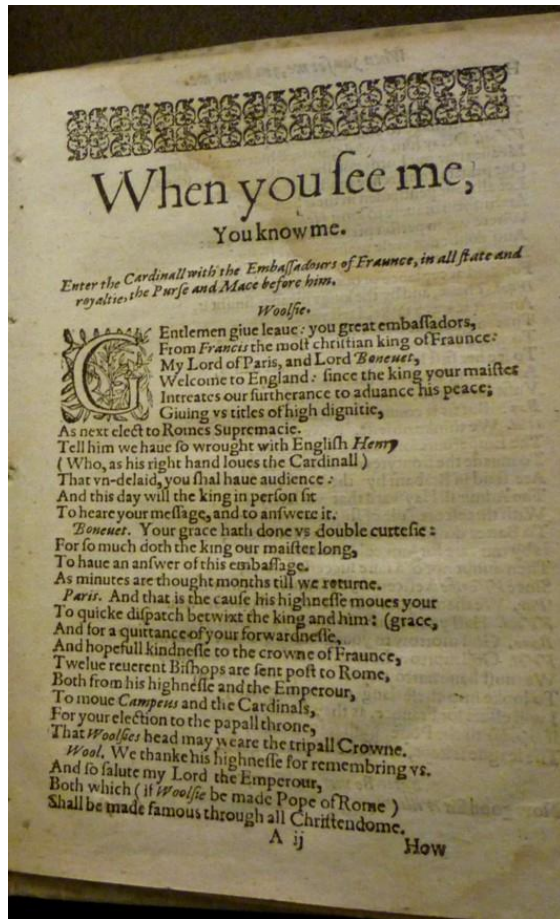
<sup>327</sup> Such evidence may exist in Q2 *Romeo and Juliet*, printed by Thomas Creede (1599), on G1<sup>v</sup> and H4<sup>v</sup>, respectively. See McKenzie, “‘Indenting the Stick’”, p. 129, n.6.

<sup>328</sup> McKenzie, “‘Indenting the Stick’”, p. 128.

<sup>329</sup> McKenzie finds numerous examples of such misalignment in Okes’s *King Lear* (1608). “‘Indenting the Stick’”, p. 129.

<sup>330</sup> Misalignment may also be observable in other type-pages of Q1 *When You See Me*, particularly at the bottom of B1<sup>r</sup> and C2<sup>v</sup>, with their long, isolated last lines of prose. However, these examples are not as prominent, and might simply be indicative of poor justification or loose locking of the type.

<sup>331</sup> The compositor’s use of an indented stick for the lengthy verse passage on this type-page can be evidenced by the turn-down ‘grace,’ roughly two-thirds the way down the page.



**Figure 11:** First edition of Rowley's *When You See Me*, Bodleian copy, A2<sup>r</sup>, with evidence of misalignment in the opening stage direction. Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

Combined with the use of a small pica typeface, an inaccessible flush left-hand margin, and numerous other condensing – and, in the case of leaf C4, expanding – techniques, the visible use of variant measures makes the text of this opening section appear rather rushed and poorly produced, no doubt fuelling Crow's assertion that the text of Q1 *When You See Me* was 'hideously printed'. However, Crow's evaluation is only really true of this one section: the other sections of the text are printed in a larger pica typeface; speech prefixes are regularly indented; and while condensing and expanding methods are still applied, including the use of variant measures in gatherings D–F, such features rarely encroach upon the overall appearance or accessibility of the text.

## Section two: sheets D–F

Section two differs most obviously from section one in its use of a more conventional pica roman typeface. The number of lines per page varies from thirty-six (D1<sup>v</sup>) to thirty-nine (E2<sup>r</sup>) and the distance from the top of the running heads down to the bottom of the signatures and catchwords is 165 mm; the only exceptions are D3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup> and F2<sup>v</sup>, which measure 160 mm. In this section alone can be seen the anomalous running title ‘*When you see me, you shall know me*’, used once in each of the three gatherings (see Appendix 5).

Variant measures of 91 mm (23-ems) and 75 mm (19-ems) respectively are evident in this section of the text.<sup>332</sup> Unlike in section one, however, the two measures are employed both consistently and systematically: prose passages are habitually set to the longer measure and verse passages to the shorter measure, regardless of the length of the verse lines in question.<sup>333</sup> On occasion, this makes the use of variant measures rather obvious, such as on E2<sup>r</sup>, where the word ‘so.’, slightly too long to fit into the 19-em measure, is raised up to the end of the previous verse line. The most noticeable examples can be found on F4<sup>v</sup>, where the words ‘there?’, ‘mind’, ‘away.’ and ‘straite’ are all either turned up or down to the preceding or succeeding text lines. These turn-ups/downs are made all the more evident by the use of the full 23-em measure at the very bottom of the page, which seems in this case to have been employed out of necessity in order to squeeze in the final words of Cranmer’s speech before the next printer took over the text at the start of gathering G. The compositor subsequently tried to disguise this strategic manoeuvre by altering

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<sup>332</sup> The difference between the two measures here is 16 mm, suggesting that, as in section one, the compositor made use of a hollow quotation lying on its long side.

<sup>333</sup> There are only two exceptions: on D1<sup>r</sup> and D1<sup>v</sup>, respectively. In both cases, the compositor seems to have been unsure whether to set as verse or as prose: the longer measure is employed, as if for prose, but the final words of the line are turned down, as if for verse; in each case the subsequent text lines are set two line spaces below, thus leaving a gap between text lines.



the final lines of the speech (4.1.16–18 in this edition) to prose. The lineation shifts suddenly back to verse at the top of G1<sup>r</sup>.

Gatherings D–F are also characterised by the frequent use of an italic upper case ‘*T*’ in place of its roman counterpart. While evident in other sections of the text, with seven examples in section one and two in section three, its use is far more prominent here: of a total 137 occurrences in Q1, 128 can be found in these three gatherings, spread evenly between the inner and outer formes. Moreover, fifteen italic upper case ‘*T*’s, four italic upper case ‘*F*’s, three italic upper case ‘*H*’s and two italic upper case ‘*P*’s are used in place of roman capitals, suggesting that the printer responsible for section two was running short of at least five different sorts at the time of the text’s production. There are, however, alternative explanations for the frequent substitution of italic upper case letters in these three sheets. It is possible, for instance, that at some point prior to the production of Q1 *When You See Me* the printer in question intentionally supplemented the contents of particular sort boxes by adding italic pieces of type, which would explain why the italic ‘*T*’ appears so regularly and consistently from one type-page to the next. Another possible explanation is that someone accidentally put italic type into the type-case, such as an inexperienced compositor responsible for cleaning and distributing the wrought-off formes. In neither scenario is italic type used out of necessity because of a depleted fount; on the contrary, the sort boxes in question may have been full when the compositor came to set his portion of Rowley’s play. Thus these appearances may actually reflect what Weiss calls ‘substitutions in the absence of sort-pressure’ rather than a deliberate strategy to counteract type shortage.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Weiss, ‘Casting, Compositors, Foul Cases and Skeletons’, p. 218.

If type shortage *was* an issue and the compositor did in fact substitute these letterforms intentionally, the equal distribution of italic capitals may suggest that the text of section two was set by formes. Thus type from one forme could be washed and distributed before work on the perfecting forme began. If, however, type was substituted because of a prior distribution error, or because the compositor was using type from a supplemented sort box, the regular distribution of italic upper case ‘I’ could have come about regardless of the number of formes set and imposed at any one time.<sup>335</sup> That more than one set of four headlines was produced for use in this section is significant, as it suggests that more than four type-pages may have been made ready for the press simultaneously (see Appendix 7): if only one forme was set and imposed, the compositor is unlikely to have wasted time and effort creating additional sets of headlines. It is probable, therefore, that the frequent substitution of italic type in this section reflects not a depletion of sorts but rather a muddling of sorts in the type-case.

This does not in turn suggest that the text of section two was not set by formes, but simply that more than one forme was likely to have been set before type was distributed back into the compositor’s type-case. Indeed, some of the spacing issues evident in these three gatherings are fully indicative of the practice of setting by formes, as the compositor seems on several occasions to have spaced out or condensed the text of his copy in order to get back to text already set in type. The compositor’s attempt to save space is perhaps most obvious on E2<sup>r</sup> where Black Will’s short line ‘My bloods vp still’ is printed adjacent to the final words of the previous speech rather than on a new line. The decision to take the last word of the

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<sup>335</sup> Only a detailed type analysis could reveal whether or not individual pieces of type recur in consecutive formes. Given that Q1 *When You See Me* was unlikely to have been the only text in production at this time, however, it is doubtful – even if set by formes – whether type would have recurred in both formes of a single sheet.

following speech, ‘hands’, up to the end of the same text line further reveals a need to save space. It is also worth noting that there are thirty-nine lines of text on this page rather than the average thirty-eight; the final text line is positioned level with the catchword and signature. Very likely, the crowding evident on this type-page is indicative of faulty casting off.<sup>336</sup> If the outer formes of each sheet were set before the inner formes, the following type-page (E2<sup>v</sup>) would already have been locked up in the chase, allowing no room for manoeuvre on the part of the compositor.<sup>337</sup> He could conceivably have gone back to the previous page (E1<sup>v</sup>) to try and rectify the problem (the Porter’s exit direction, for instance, set on a line of its own, could easily have been moved up to the end of the previous line). However, this would have involved the disruption of type already imposed, and the compositor presumably found it less of an inconvenience simply to squash in the final lines of E2<sup>r</sup>.<sup>338</sup>

Other spacing issues are apparent on D1<sup>v</sup> and D2<sup>r</sup>. While text on D1<sup>v</sup> is visibly spaced out, with two empty type-lines after the initial stage direction and line spaces either side of the right-aligned ‘Exit’ at the bottom of the page, text on D2<sup>r</sup> is condensed, with numerous turn-ups and turn-downs at the ends of lines. Moreover, while D1<sup>v</sup> contains only thirty-six lines of type, D2<sup>r</sup> contains thirty-eight. The discrepancy between the two pages is perhaps more unusual in that both D1<sup>v</sup> and D2<sup>r</sup> form part of the inner forme of the sheet. Possibly, the text of this forme was set out of sequential order, or perhaps, as with the above example, copy was poorly cast off from the start and the compositor, loath to disturb type already

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<sup>336</sup> Jowett, for instance, notes that whenever copy was cast off incorrectly ‘it is common to find inconsistent spacing round stage directions, stretching or squeezing of text to waste or save a type-line, or pages with one more or less line of type than was regular’. *Shakespeare and Text*, p. 54.

<sup>337</sup> While in his study on pressmen’s practice Kenneth Povey noted a tendency to print the inner formes of sheets before the corresponding outer formes, he found that preference for the inner forme was ‘much less evident in the first half of the seventeenth century than in the second’. See ‘Working to Rule, 1600–1800: A Study of Pressmen’s Practice’, *The Library*, 5th ser., 20.1 (March, 1965), 13–54 (p. 15).

<sup>338</sup> This accords with Speed Hill’s observation that compositors tended to alter the spacing in and around text lines rather than the text lines themselves. See ‘Casting Off Copy’, pp. 154–5.

set, simply continued crowding the text until he reached the end of his quota for that particular type-page.

#### Sections three and four: sheet G and sheets H–I

As noted above, it is likely that the printer of sheet G intended also to print sheets H and I as part of a single, three-gathering work unit. For some reason, however, he seems to have stopped work after the first sheet and handed the remainder of his copy over to another printer to complete.<sup>339</sup> While it is possible that the break between gatherings G and H indicates only a temporary disruption in the production process and that sheets H and I were in fact set at a later date in the same printing house as sheet G, there are a number of differences between the two sections that suggest otherwise including, as Wilson points out, ‘differences in type which cannot be attributed to a mere change of compositor’.<sup>340</sup> Although similarities do exist between the two sections, such as the compositors’ use of a 22-em (87–89 mm) measure and a shared average of thirty-eight type-lines per printed page, it should be noted that such features, taken in isolation, can prove nothing about either when or where these sheets were set.<sup>341</sup> Likewise, the fact that sheets G and H are both fully signed cannot be taken to suggest that they were set by the same compositor, since playtexts originating from at least three different printing houses in 1605 demonstrate the same practice.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> It is not uncommon to find texts in which a single sheet was produced by a different printer. See, for example, Chiaki Hanabusa, ‘The Printer of Sheet G in Robert Greene’s *Orlando Furioso* Q1 (1594)’, *The Library*, 6th ser., 19 (1997), 145–50.

<sup>340</sup> Wilson, p. v.

<sup>341</sup> The measure used in sheet I (89 mm) is slightly longer than that used in sheets G and H (87 mm), seemingly connecting G and H more closely than H and I. However, it is important to bear in mind Bowers’s observation that ‘sticks were likely to vary among themselves by as much as two millimetres’. ‘Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer’s Measure’, p. 154.

<sup>342</sup> As Weiss notes, from 1603–6, both George Eld and Thomas Purfoot [I]’s compositors consistently signed all four leaves in printed play quartos. Adrian Weiss, ‘Bibliographical Methods for Identifying Unknown Printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books’, *SB*, 44 (1991), 183–228 (p. 190). Simon Stafford is

The two sections are differentiated in a number of ways. Text in section three, for example, is characterised by the frequent use of a distinctive upper case roman ‘P’, evident in this sheet alone, to head the speech prefixes ‘Pr.’ and ‘Prince’. As in section two, this may indicate a deficiency or muddling of sorts at the time of the text’s production. Further evidence of type shortage or supplementation may be detectable in the frequent use of an italic upper case ‘T’, again, as in section two, evident in both the inner and outer forme of the gathering.<sup>343</sup> Type used in sheet G is also noteworthy for a number of reasons. While all other sections of the text exhibit only an expanded lower case ‘k’, the fount used for sheet G includes both a condensed and an expanded letterform. Similarly, sheet G displays two different forms of upper case roman ‘M’, the first akin to W. Craig Ferguson’s ‘M1’ (‘no upper-right serif, splayed’) and the second akin to Ferguson’s ‘M2’ (‘normal serifs, upright’).<sup>344</sup> Only in sections two and three of the text are the two ‘M’ forms seen together. In general, the roman capitals on display in sheet G are far heavier in appearance than those in sheets H and I; the italic upper case ‘W’ and the long italic ‘f’ used in the running heads throughout gathering G are also different to those in H and I. In gathering G alone the name ‘Cranmer’ is consistently spelt ‘Cranmar’, and only in this gathering (on G4<sup>r</sup> and G4<sup>v</sup>) can be seen the occasional use of an initial ‘j’. While spelling variants such as these are not in themselves evidence of a different printing house, they do at least point to the work of a different compositor and, combined with other features of the text in this section, lend further weight to the argument that sections three and four were printed as discrete textual units.

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also known to have engaged in this practice. See, for example, *The history of the tryall of cheualry* (1605), STC 13527.

<sup>343</sup> Section three contains thirteen of the twenty-eight examples of italic upper case ‘T’; the others, as mentioned above, can be found in section two.

<sup>344</sup> The differences between the various sorts are described by Ferguson in *Pica Roman Type*, pp. 4–5.

The divergent running-title text of sections three and four is also noteworthy. The running titles in sheets H and I follow the conventional pattern established earlier on in the playbook, ‘*When you fee me, you know me.*’, while those in sheet G are split across openings. Thus while the opening spanning sections two and three (F4<sup>v</sup>–G1<sup>r</sup>) reads ‘*When you fee me, you know me. | you know me.*’, that spanning sections three and four (G4<sup>v</sup>–H1<sup>r</sup>) reads ‘*When you fee me, | When you fee me, you know me.*’. Possibly, the compositor of sheet G expected others to adopt a similar practice; alternatively, he may simply have been following a particular personal or printing-house convention with little concern for the text’s overall consistency. Either way, such incongruity sets sheet G apart from sheets H and I and suggests locational as well as temporal disruption in its production. The failure of the final catchword in gathering G to catch may also be indicative of this disruption, though in this instance the fault clearly lies with the compositor of H1<sup>r</sup>, who omitted the requisite speech prefix ‘*Prince*’ at the start of the page.

As demonstrated in the headline analysis in Appendix 7, one set of four headlines was used to print both the inner and outer formes of sheet G. Similarly, one set of four headlines was used to print the whole of sheet H, and another the whole of sheet I. In terms of their patterns of reuse, sheets G and I are actually more closely connected than sheets H and I, since in both cases the four headlines appear in the same relative positions in the forme; in sheet H, two of the headlines switch positions and appear in the opposite quadrants. One difference between sheets G and I, however, is that G may have been printed using a single skeleton forme. This cannot have been the case with sheet I, as the spacing either side of the running-title text alters from one forme to the other. In this instance, headlines were picked out the wrought-off forme and placed one by one around

new letterpress. Thus although the method of imposition appears the same for both sheets, the processes may have been dissimilar.<sup>345</sup> That the anomaly here is sheet H, not sheet G, further highlights the dangers of viewing such features of the text in isolation.

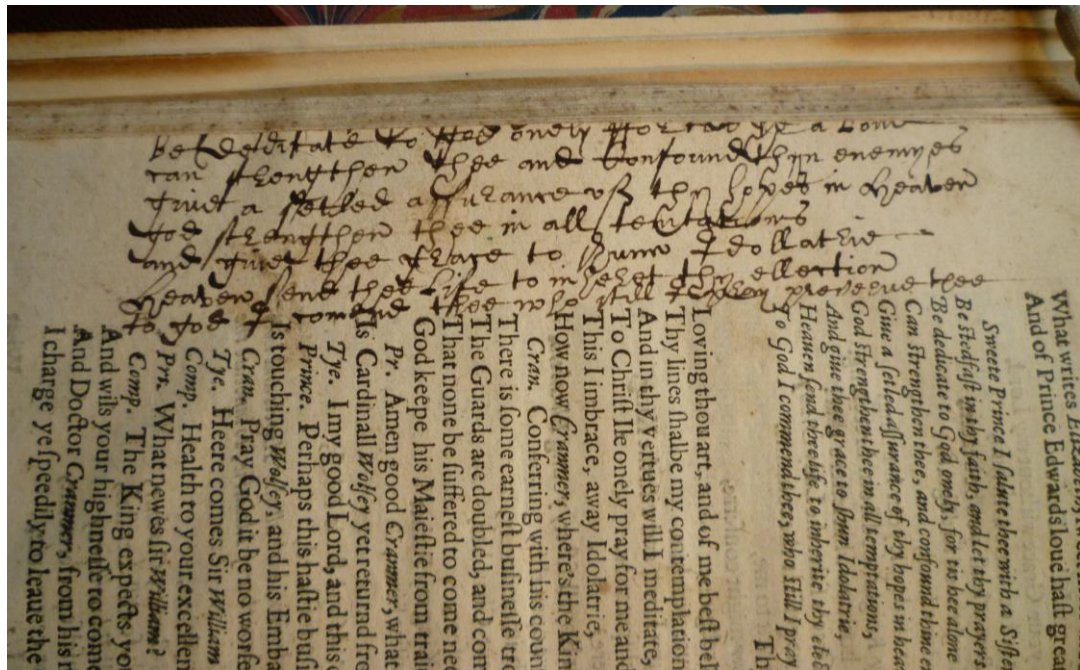
Both sections three and four are carefully set and printed, with largely consistent spacing and justification throughout. There are some minor spacing issues in gathering G, such as at the bottom of G1<sup>v</sup>, where the compositor seems to have spaced out the text and deliberately set only thirty-seven lines instead of the more usual thirty-eight, but the required alterations are minimal. This sheet does contain a number of turn-ups at the ends of long lines, which may be indicative of faulty casting off. However, in each case the lineation of the line is ambiguous and it is uncertain whether the compositor intended to set these lines as verse or prose. If variant measures were employed in sheet G, their use is undetectable.

Sheets H and I are even better thought out and contain no visible padding or space-saving techniques. The compositor seems even to have been aware of Rowley's often idiosyncratic lineation and rarely misinterpreted the distinction between verse and prose (see Editorial Introduction, below). The presentation of the letters Prince Edward receives from his sisters is also carefully thought out, simulating the likely appearance of the letters themselves: the text, set entirely in italic type, is indented from the left-hand margin and, in the case of Elizabeth's letter, contains a right-aligned roman signature at the end (I1<sup>v</sup>). Possibly, the layout reflected that of the manuscript serving as printers' copy. It is also possible that the compositor himself, thinking both about the content of the play and the potential readership of the text, resolved to present the letters in this way. As Linda McJannet suggests, a printed

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<sup>345</sup> I am grateful to Professors Gabriel Egan and David Vander Meulen for discussing the likely significance of headline recurrence in these sections of Rowley's play.

playtext could imitate in its layout ‘the form of documents read aloud’ so as to aid the reader in his or her approach to the text, and it was perhaps the attractiveness of this mimetic layout that led a seventeenth-century reader to copy Elizabeth’s letter word for word alongside the relevant passage in the Worcester College copy of the play’s second edition (*Fig. 12*).<sup>346</sup>



**Figure 12:** Marginalia in the second edition of Rowley’s *When You See Me*, Worcester College Library copy, 12<sup>v</sup>. Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford.

There is a great deal of evidence, therefore, to substantiate the work of two different printers in sections three and four: compositorial tendencies in sheet G differ from those in sheets H and I; the layout of running titles in gathering G is incongruous with that in earlier and later gatherings of the text; the methods of imposition, based on the recurrence of headlines, differ in each of the three sheets; and most significantly, the type used in the two sections is not alike. Many

<sup>346</sup> Linda McJannet, *The Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions: The Evolution of a Theatrical Code* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), p. 71. McJannet points to this passage as a key example. Q2 reproduces the layout of Q1 in all aspects other than its indentation of the letters from the left-hand margin.



individual letterforms are unique to sheet G and even without conducting a detailed type analysis it is possible to isolate distinctive features of the founts used in each section. Such differences are unlikely to have come about simply as a result of disruption within a single printing house.

#### Section five: sheets K–L

The final section of Q1 is made up of gathering K and the half-sheet L. Each page in this section, excepting that at the very end of the play, contains thirty-eight lines of text, and each type-page, from the top of the running title down to the bottom of the signatures and/or catchwords, measures a uniform 165 mm. On each page it seems a single measure of 81 mm (20-ems) was used to set the text.

Section five is characterised by consistent use of the medial ‘v’, seen only very occasionally in earlier gatherings. In gatherings K and L can also be seen use (although not exclusive use) of a smaller italic upper case ‘*K*’ for the speech prefix ‘*King*’ and the name ‘*Kate*’. Throughout these two gatherings the names ‘Brandon’ and ‘Sommers’ – as they appear elsewhere in the playtext – are set continually as ‘Branden’ and ‘Summers’, and all speech prefixes are presented in a consistent manner whereby only abbreviated names are stopped with a full point or colon.<sup>347</sup> The indentation of speech prefixes and the amount of space between these and the spoken text is also far more uniform than in previous sections of Q1, perhaps suggesting the work of a more experienced compositor, or a compositor following a stricter printing-house style. The comparative orderliness of this section may also be due to the fact that the compositor did not have to worry about how much space the text would occupy, having no set point at which to conclude

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<sup>347</sup> As noted below, this provides important information about the compositor responsible for this section of the text and may aid in identifying its printer.

gathering L other, of course, than the end of the text itself. That the verso of the final leaf (L2) is blank further highlights the compositor's freedom in this respect.

Although difficult to substantiate, it is likely that the work and turn method of half-sheet imposition was used in this section. As Kenneth Povey notes, when determining the employment of this method, '[t]he physical evidence is often inconclusive, and it is necessary to consider circumstantial evidence in order to reach a decision based on probabilities'.<sup>348</sup> There are a number of issues hindering its detection in this case, the most fundamental of which being the scarcity of extant witnesses: only two copies of the first edition survive, and of these, one is severely cropped at the head.<sup>349</sup> From the Bodleian copy, it is clear that no material was duplicated between the headlines of inner and outer L (such a configuration would have verified that the half-sheet L had been worked together with another half-sheet). Since only one headline from sheet K was transferred for reuse onto the half-sheet L, it cannot be determined whether the four type-pages of the half-sheet were constructed as part of a single forme or shared between two separate formes. The absence of watermarks in both copies is also unhelpful, for had the work and turn method been employed, half the copies would have had a visible watermark and half would not. Moreover, the pages in both copies have been beaten too flat to allow for accurate determination of first-forme impressions.<sup>350</sup> It is impossible, therefore, to conclude with certainty that the work and turn method was employed for the half-sheet L. However, given the economical nature

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<sup>348</sup> Kenneth Povey, 'On the Diagnosis of Half-Sheet Imposition', *The Library*, 5th ser., 11 (1956), 268–72 (p. 268).

<sup>349</sup> For the ways in which headline configurations can help to identify methods of imposition, see Fredson Bowers, 'Running-Title Evidence for Determining Half-Sheet Imposition', *SB*, 1 (1948–9), 199–202.

<sup>350</sup> Had one copy been printed inner forme first and the other outer forme first, this would have confirmed the employment of the work and turn method. See Povey's 'The Optical Identification of First Formes', *SB*, 13 (1960), 189–90.

of the method and given that Rowley's text begins with a full sheet rather than a half-sheet of prelims, its use would appear the more likely.

Although it was not uncommon to end a playtext with a half-sheet (as a glance through Greg's *Bibliography* reveals), what stands out in the case of Q1 *When You See Me* is the disjunction between the relaxed and straightforward setting of the play's final section and the cramped and relatively inaccessible layout of its opening. This highlights the potentially problematic nature of the sharing strategy and further emphasises Butter's initial miscalculation.

### The printers of Q1 *When You See Me*

As noted above, the printer of section one can be identified as Humphrey Lownes the elder, active in London from 1587–1630.<sup>351</sup> In his study on playbook production, Blayney described Lownes as one of 'the few printers in London with fairly high standards of craftsmanship' and it is significant, therefore, that text in the opening three gatherings of Q1 should be so erratically and inconsistently presented.<sup>352</sup> Given the large amount of text Lownes was required to fit into these three sheets it is perhaps unsurprising that his compositor(s) encountered difficulties; certainly, this accounts for the use of a small pica typeface. Yet many of the text's other features, including the frequently loose locking of the type and the unusually visible use of variant measures, suggest error and/or oversight, and cannot simply be explained with reference to the relative size of Lownes's allotted portion.

While Lownes, who did not start work as a printer until 1604 (when he married the widow of Peter Short), was relatively inexperienced at the time of Q1's

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<sup>351</sup> The mask ornament that appears on the title-page of Q1 *When You See me* can be found in numerous other texts printed by Lownes in 1605. In each case, the printer's name is given in the imprint.

<sup>352</sup> Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 405.

production, the same cannot be said of his compositors, many of whom presumably continued in their positions after Short's death.<sup>353</sup> It is also worth noting that, although Rowley's *When You See Me* was feasibly the first playtext Lownes printed, he was not new to the practice of shared printing and had in fact been responsible for a portion of at least two shared texts prior to the production of Rowley's play: Gervase Babington's *Comfortable notes* (STC 1088) and Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment* (STC 6510).<sup>354</sup> Since neither of these texts displays any of the inelegancies or oversights inherent in Q1, despite both having been set from manuscript copy, it can be assumed that the handling of text in Rowley's *When You See Me* was atypical of Lownes's – and thus of his compositors' – workmanship.

One explanation for this might be that the majority of this section was set by an apprentice in Lownes's printing house. If the apprentice's movements were supervised by a more experienced worker, it is likely that the overseer would have looked primarily to catch textual errors or omissions rather than issues of spacing, and indeed many of the shortcomings of these three gatherings relate not to the accuracy of the text's content but to its layout on the printed page. Quite possibly, it was the overseer who shifted lines of type from one type-page to another (see 'Section one', above) in an attempt to even out the compositor's work. The same man may also have been responsible for the decision to use an indented stick consistently throughout the final pages of gathering C.<sup>355</sup>

Three apprentices were likely to have been active in Lownes's shop around the time of Q1's production: Richard Badger, John Spurryer and Humphrey Lownes

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<sup>353</sup> Plomer, vol. 1, pp. 178–9.

<sup>354</sup> Heywood's two-part *Edward IV* (STC 13343), also printed in 1605, may have preceded Q1 *When You See Me*, but this was set from printed rather than manuscript copy.

<sup>355</sup> The situation here was perhaps similar to that encountered during the production of the Shakespeare First Folio, whereby 'Compositor B' was forced to oversee and in many cases correct the work of the apprentice 'Compositor E'. See Charlton K. Hinman, 'The Prentice Hand in the Tragedies of the Shakespeare First Folio: Compositor E', *SB*, 9 (1957), 3–20 and Blayney, *The First Folio*, pp. 11–15.

the younger. Badger, the eldest of the three, was bound to Short on 12 April 1602 and freed by Lownes on 7 May 1610.<sup>356</sup> Spurryer was bound to Lownes on 25 June 1605 and freed on 1 August 1614.<sup>357</sup> Since we cannot know the exact month in which the text of Rowley's *When You See Me* left the press, it is difficult to ascertain whether Spurryer would have been present at the time of its production. However, even if Q1 were printed in the latter months of 1605, it is perhaps unlikely that Spurryer would have engaged in compositorial work at such an early stage in his apprenticeship. Finally, Lownes's son, a journeyman printer, was freed by patrimony on 7 July 1612.<sup>358</sup> This suggests that he was fourteen in 1605 and it is just possible that he was in training in his father's shop at this time. Like Spurryer, though, it is uncertain whether he would have been given such a responsibility at this stage in his career. On the available evidence, Richard Badger was the most likely of the three apprentices to have been typesetting in 1605 and it is possible that some of his earliest compositorial work for Lownes exists in the opening gatherings of Rowley's *When You See Me*.

Four other printers were involved in the production of Q1 – three from the start and one, as explained above, who was called upon to complete gatherings H–I. Lownes is known to have worked alongside at least six different printers around the time that *When You See Me* was first printed: Edward Allde, Thomas Creede, George Eld, Thomas Purfoot the elder, Valentine Simmes and Simon Stafford. In Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment*, for example, he worked with Allde, Creede and Stafford, as well as a fourth as yet unidentified printer.<sup>359</sup> That each of these

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<sup>356</sup> D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices, Volume 1: 1605–1640* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), as printed in *SB*, 13 (1960), 109–41 (p. 127, no. 353).

<sup>357</sup> McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices, Volume 1*, p. 127, no. 361.

<sup>358</sup> McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices, Volume 1*, p. 127, no. 360.

<sup>359</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to The Collected Works*, Gen. Eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 498–506 (p. 500).

six printers is known to have worked on playtexts in the years surrounding the publication of *When You See Me* further strengthens the case for their involvement in its production; Eld in particular printed a considerable number of first-edition playtexts in 1605.<sup>360</sup> Moreover, Stafford, Purfoot and Creede all printed playtexts for Butter in 1605. While there were presumably several other such partnerships that have yet to come to light, looking to established sharing patterns is nonetheless, as Weiss observes, a useful and often productive means of narrowing down the range of possibilities in the long and complex search for an unknown sharing printer.<sup>361</sup>

Although there is not space here to conduct a full type analysis, it has nevertheless been possible to highlight certain features of the text in order to provide clues for the future identification of its printers. Many of these clues concern the appearance of type in each section and for the descriptions of some of the letterforms I have referred to Ferguson's *Pica Roman Type*. I have, however (given the negative reviews Ferguson's study received in the two to three years following its publication), supplemented these descriptions wherever possible with what Weiss calls the 'gross features' of the font, such as mixed capitals or foul case cluster, as well as with the more noteworthy characteristics of each printer's share.<sup>362</sup> Section five of the text, in which certain features point determinedly to the work of one of Valentine Simmes's compositors, is discussed separately and in greater detail below.

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<sup>360</sup> A search on *DEEP* for first editions of single playbooks reveals that Eld was responsible for a third of those printed in 1605 [accessed 10 November 2014].

<sup>361</sup> Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods', p. 228, n.25.

<sup>362</sup> Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods', p. 185. For reviews of Ferguson's study, see Adrian Weiss, 'W. Craig Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (Book Review)', *PBSA*, 83 (1989), 539–46 and John A. Lane, 'Identifying Typefaces: Review of W. Craig Ferguson's *Pica Roman Type*', *The Library*, 6th ser., 14.4 (1992), 357–65.

<i>Section (sheets)</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Description/comment</i>
<i>Section 2 (D–F)</i>	Letterforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High ‘i’ dot</li> <li>• Mix of ‘M1’ (no upper-right serif, splayed) and ‘M2’ (normal serifs, upright)</li> <li>• Large bowl ‘p’</li> <li>• Large lower counter ‘g’</li> <li>• Expanded ‘k’</li> </ul>
	Composition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Measures: 91 mm and 75 mm</li> </ul>
	Other features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frequent use of italic upper case ‘<i>I</i>’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘<i>T</i>’, ‘<i>F</i>’, ‘<i>H</i>’ and ‘<i>P</i>’ may suggest mixture of sorts in particular sort boxes</li> </ul>
<i>Section 3 (G)</i>	Letterforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mixed ‘i’s (some dots centre, some high)</li> <li>• Mix of ‘M1’ and ‘M2’</li> <li>• Small bowl ‘p’</li> <li>• Mixed ‘k’s (both condensed and expanded)</li> <li>• Heavy capitals and distinctive upper case ‘P’</li> </ul>
	Foul case	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foul case ‘e’ in word ‘Lorde’ on first speech line of G2<sup>r</sup></li> </ul>
	Composition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Measure: 87 mm</li> <li>• Use of initial ‘j’</li> </ul>
	Imposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Split running titles</li> <li>• Possible use of a single skeleton forme to print the whole sheet</li> </ul>
<i>Section 4 (H–I)</i>	Letterforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Central ‘i’ dot</li> <li>• ‘M1’ only</li> <li>• Expanded ‘k’</li> </ul>
	Composition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Measure: 87–9 mm</li> </ul>

Of these three sections, the third (sheet G) is the most distinctive, particularly in its mix of different letterforms. Simon Stafford is a possible printer for this section, since he is known to have used a pica roman fount that was ‘very much a jumble’.<sup>363</sup> Stafford also split running titles in playtexts, as evidenced in *The Trial of Chivalry*

<sup>363</sup> Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type*, p. 31.

(*STC* 13527) and *King Leir* (*STC* 15343), both printed in 1605. George Eld is another possible candidate. As Weiss notes, Eld owned a mixture of Hautlin and Lyon (c) in 1605 and often used both founts in the same book.<sup>364</sup> While he did not habitually split playtext running titles (the only extant example from 1605 is Daniel's *Philotas*, printed alongside his *Certain Small Poems*; *STC* 6239), Eld did tend to sign all four sheets in quarto playbooks; Stafford engaged in this practice only in *The Trial of Chivalry*.<sup>365</sup> Clearly, the foul case 'e' on G2<sup>r</sup> is the strongest evidence for printer identification in section three and its reappearance in the canon of either Stafford or Eld would significantly strengthen the case for their involvement. Section two is also distinctive in its combination of 'M' forms and its inclusion of the high 'i' dot, features which, once again, may point to either Stafford or Eld as possible printers. Section four is the least distinctive and on the present evidence no attempt can be made to identify its printer. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the information provided here will act as a starting point for further investigation into the text's sharing printers.

Stronger evidence can be found in support of Valentine Simmes as the printer responsible for the fifth and final section of Q1. This bears witness not only to some of the sharing patterns evident in the years immediately preceding the printing of Rowley's play, but also to the detailed analyses of Simmes's compositors carried out respectively by Ferguson and Alan E. Craven. Specifically, Ferguson identified a number of features associated with one of Simmes's compositors, 'Compositor A', that can be traced throughout Q1's sheet K and the half-sheet L. By far the most distinctive feature of this compositor's work, observable throughout Q1's section five, was the tendency to stop only abbreviated speech prefixes, either with a full point or, later, with a colon. From 1599–1601, Ferguson found only four

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<sup>364</sup> Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods', p. 210.

<sup>365</sup> Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods', p. 190.



isolated examples of this practice in the work of printers other than Simmes.<sup>366</sup> Other features of Compositor A's work around this time, including the use of an upper case 'e' for exit directions and the presentation of character and place names in italic type, are similarly evident in section five.<sup>367</sup>

In addition to the more specific features of Compositor A's work, there is evidence to connect this section of Q1 with Simmes more generally. The 81 mm measure used in section five, for example, was one of the most common employed by Simmes in quarto format.<sup>368</sup> Moreover, the printers' flowers that adorn the blank space on L2<sup>r</sup> are the same as those identified by Ferguson as Simmes's 'flower 1': 'This was Simmes's most popular flower, and was used for borders, rules, and title-page ornaments in almost half his books'.<sup>369</sup> The flowers were used many times by Simmes in 1605, including in Drayton's *Poems* (STC 7216), Henry Smith's *Two Sermons* (STC 22766) and Heywood's *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (STC 5595).<sup>370</sup> Section five also bears witness to Ferguson's observation that Simmes's signatures (and Compositor A's signatures in particular) follow a regular format – a roman capital letter and Arabic numeral, unstopped, with 'a narrow quad between letter and number' – though, given that numerals were not included on the first leaves of each gathering and that the final leaves were left unsigned, such conformity is discernible only on leaves K2 and K3.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> W. Craig Ferguson, 'The Compositors of *Henry IV, Part 2*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, and *The First Part of the Contention*', *SB*, 13 (1960), 19–29 (p. 19).

<sup>367</sup> Such practices, absent in Compositor A's earlier work, are observable in Q3 *I Henry IV* and Simmes's section of Q1 *I Honest Whore*, both printed in 1604. See Alan E. Craven, 'Two Valentine Simmes Compositors', *PBSA*, 67 (1973), 161–71 (p. 168) and 'The Reliability of Simmes's Compositor A', *SB*, 32 (1979), 186–97 (p. 187).

<sup>368</sup> W. Craig Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1968), pp. 83–4.

<sup>369</sup> Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes*, pp. 49 and 53.

<sup>370</sup> While not unique to Simmes, the flower was used more frequently by Simmes than by his contemporaries.

<sup>371</sup> Ferguson, 'The Compositors', p. 21.

The evidence for Compositor A's involvement in the text, and thus for identifying Simmes as the printer of section five, is compelling; as Craven attests, 'evidence from the speech-prefixes alone is virtually conclusive'.<sup>372</sup> Certain features of the type also point strongly in this direction. Throughout sheet K and the half-sheet L, the vast majority of 'i' dots are positioned significantly to the left of the central stem; the remaining few are positioned directly above it. This accords with Ferguson's description of Simmes's Lyon (b): 'Its "i" dot was very much to the left ... Some centre-dot "i" appeared in 1604'.<sup>373</sup> The exclusive use of Ferguson's 'M1' in this section, as well as the large counter of each lower case 'g', further strengthens the case for Simmes's involvement.

If indeed section five was the work of Simmes's compositor, it is important to highlight Craven's observation that Compositor A was especially 'prone to alter copy-readings', with one substantive alteration occurring on average in his work once every seventeen lines.<sup>374</sup> Craven also noted that the compositor's modifications often falsified the text 'in an especially damaging way since the corrupted lines almost always make sense and seldom reveal that they have suffered corruption'.<sup>375</sup> With no copy for comparison, it is impossible to ascertain the extent of the compositor's interference in the text of Rowley's *When You See Me* – certainly, there are no palpable errors or omissions in this section of the play. It should nevertheless be borne in mind that the text of section five (beginning at 5.4.130 in this edition) may be slightly further removed from Rowley's manuscript than text presented elsewhere in Q1.

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<sup>372</sup> Alan E. Craven, 'Simmes' Compositor A and Five Shakespeare Quartos', *SB*, 26 (1973), 37–60 (p. 37).

<sup>373</sup> Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type*, p. 31.

<sup>374</sup> Craven, 'Simmes's Compositor A', p. 49. He takes as evidence Compositor A's work on Q2 *Richard II*, for which the compositor's copy, Q1, exists for comparison (see p. 54).

<sup>375</sup> Alan E. Craven, 'Proofreading in the Shop of Valentine Simmes', *PBSA*, 68 (1974), 361–72 (p. 371).

### Subsequent early modern editions of *When You See Me*

Only the first edition of Rowley's *When You See Me* is substantive: the three subsequent editions, printed in 1613, 1621 and 1632, respectively, are derivative in nature and each was evidently printed from its immediate predecessor. Although Q1 is clearly the most authoritative of the four early modern editions, there is a clear attempt on the part of the compositors of later editions to correct and improve upon the text of their copy. A number of readings from Qs 2–4 are therefore adopted in the present edition, as recorded in the textual notes and as summarised below.

#### The second edition (Q2)

Q2 was printed by Thomas Purfoot the younger for Nathaniel Butter in 1613. The edition contains forty-four leaves and thus comprises twenty-two formes printed on eleven full sheets of paper, signed A–L. Seven copies of Q2 are known to exist although, as noted in Appendix 4, the seventh copy cannot currently be located. This edition exists in three different states, with single stop-press variants evident in the outer formes of gatherings H and K (see Appendix 6). Given the nature of Q1's variants (all either palpable errors or accidents at press), it is impossible to know whether Q2 was set from a copy of Q1 with corrected or uncorrected sheets B, C and I.

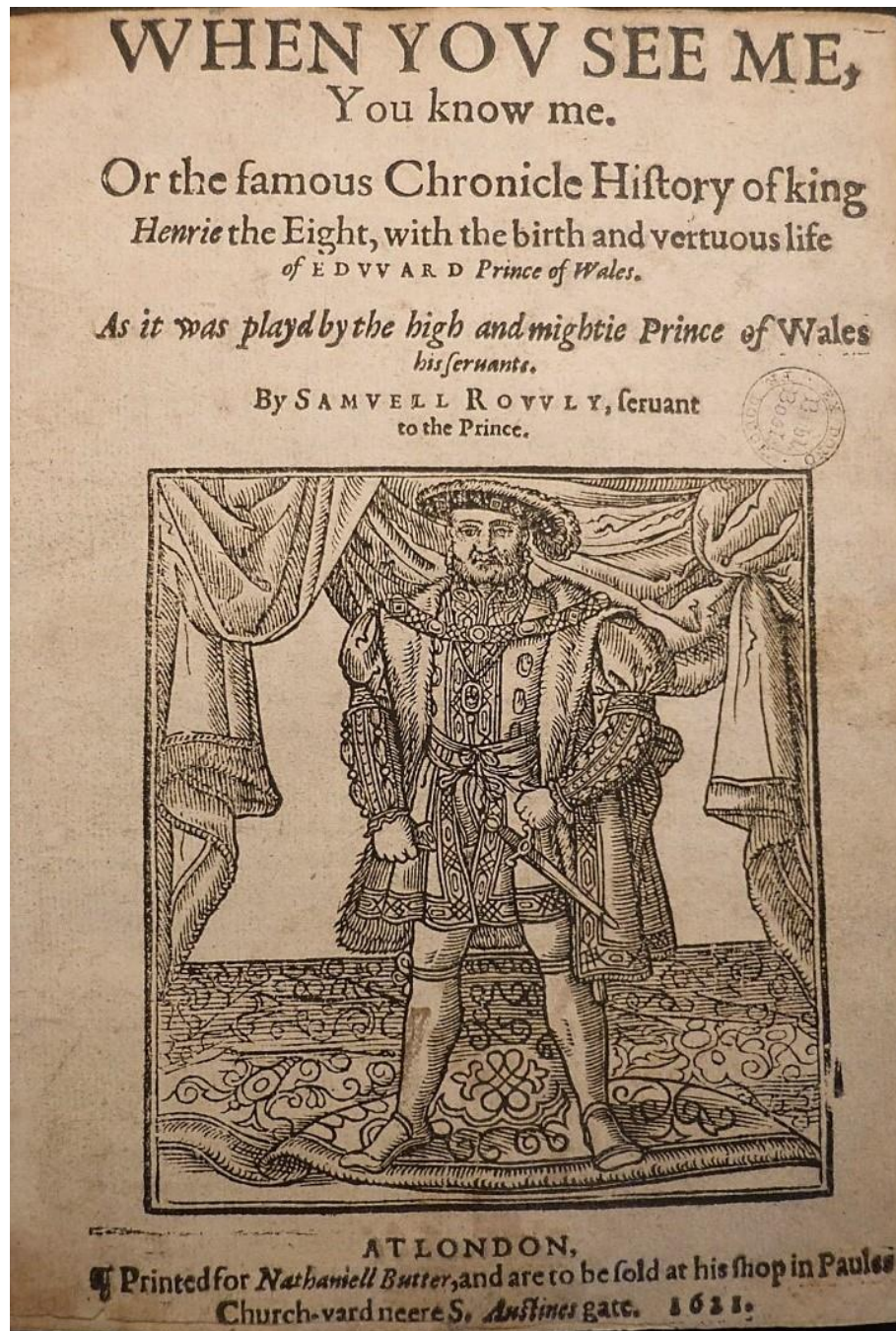
The compositor of Q2 was confronted with a more difficult task than usual for a play set from printed copy. Typically in this situation, as evidenced in Qs 3 and 4, compositors would reproduce the layout of an earlier printed edition so as to save time that would otherwise be spent casting off copy from scratch. Since the first three gatherings of Q1 were printed in a small pica typeface, however, the layout of Q1

could not be replicated in Q2 and the compositor had to cast off the text of *When You See Me* for a second time. The switch from a longer 104 mm to a shorter 95 mm measure at the start of gathering E may indicate either a change of compositor or a break in the printing of the text between gatherings D and E; alternatively, the use of a longer measure at the start of this edition may have been calculated to compensate for the densely packed type-pages of Q1's section one. The alterations made in this edition also suggest that the copy may have been marked for correction in certain gatherings prior to typesetting, though there is nothing to suggest Rowley's involvement in this process.

In terms of its treatment of the text, Q2 begins to standardise particular features, such as the use of italic type for proper nouns. It also displays distinctive compositorial practices, such as the tendency to end words with 'ie' rather than 'y', and the substitution of 'j' for 'i' in both initial and medial positions. Significantly, this edition corrects a number of errors and makes several important substantive alterations to the text of the first edition. It corrects the erroneous speech prefixes in gathering C of its copy, for instance, where three times Q1's compositor had set the prefix 'Patch' as 'Page', or abbreviated equivalents (1.4.186, 192 and 194 in this edition), and restores the speech prefix 'Prince', missing in Q1 at the top of H1<sup>r</sup>. It also seeks on many occasions to clarify the layout of its copy, for example by setting the name 'Campeus' in full and thus resolving the ambiguity of Q1's 'Campe.' (C3<sup>v</sup>), where the name appears as a speech prefix rather than as a continuation of Wolsey's speech.

The edition does, however, retain several of Q1's errors and introduce a number of its own. More serious, substantive errors occur in later sheets of Q2, such as on K2<sup>v</sup>, where the line 'Is landed in our faire Dominion' (5.4.141 in this edition)

is omitted altogether, presumably due to eye-skip on the part of the compositor. Another example can be found on Q2's G2<sup>r</sup> (4.1.12), where the speech prefix 'Brow.' is assigned in place of 'Cran.', so that Browne is seen to call for his own punishment at the hands of the Master of the Children. Both are addressed in Q3.



**Figure 13:** Third edition of Rowley's *When You See Me*, Bodleian copy (Douce), title-page. This striking image of Henry VIII (based, it seems, on the famous portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger) was printed also on the title-page of Q2. Photograph by Joanna Howe, courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

### The third edition (Q3)

Q3 (*Fig. 13*) was printed by Thomas Purfoot [II] for Nathaniel Butter in 1621; like Q2, it comprises eleven full sheets of paper, signed A–L. The lineation and page-breaks of this edition follow those of Q2 throughout, with very few exceptions. Across the ten extant copies of this edition there exist numerous states, with variants evident in four different formes: outer B, outer E, inner G and outer L (see Appendix 6). The compositors clearly based their edition on a copy of Q2 with an uncorrected sheet K, for the word ‘hand’, missing in the uncorrected state of outer K, is absent in Q3.

The compositors of this edition regularly worked to clarify the text, for example by inserting apostrophes whenever letters were missing from a word. There is also a marked attempt to regularise speech prefixes and character names and to distinguish proper nouns more consistently in the main body of the text. Importantly, a number of Q2’s errors are addressed, including the omission (mentioned above) of the line ‘Is landed in our faire Dominion’. This error in particular is carefully handled in Q3 by the insertion of the words ‘Is come’ before ‘To see’: ‘Our Nephew, and the hope of Christendome / Is come to see his Vncle and the English Court’. Although this affects the metre of the verse, it rectifies the damage done in Q2 to the sense of King Henry’s lines and it is clear that either the compositors themselves, or someone marking up the copy from which the compositors were to work, gave careful thought to the content of the text as well as to its layout. This is further demonstrated in a number of small-scale substantive revisions, evident in particular across the first two gatherings of Q3. Only some of these revisions constitute actual corrections; the others, such as the alteration of ‘stands’ to ‘which stands’ and ‘laffing’ to ‘now laffing’ (both 1.4.200 in this edition),

simply provide alternative readings. That the words were altered at all, however, highlights not only a desire to correct the text of Rowley's play, but also an intention to improve upon it.

#### The fourth edition (Q4)

The final early modern edition, printed in 1632 by Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcett for Nathaniel Butter, comprises the same number of pages, formes and sheets as Qs 2 and 3, and its lineation and page-breaks are largely consistent with those of its copy (the only discrepancies occur in gathering A). Thirteen copies of Q4 survive, and these exist in numerous states, with variants evident in the outer formes of gatherings B and H, the inner formes of gatherings E and F, and both formes of gathering K. However, as clarified in Appendix 6, only those variants in gatherings B, H and F constitute conscious stop-press corrections; the others simply reflect accidents at press, such as slipping catchwords (inner E and outer K) or minute variants in spacing between individual pieces of type (inner K). Q4 was clearly set from a copy of Q3 with corrected sheets E and L, for the substantive revisions introduced in these sheets are reproduced in the text of the later edition.

Q4 aims throughout for greater consistency of capitalisation and italicisation than its copy. From the evidence of spellings, typographical preferences, such as use of ligatures, and treatment of copy (i.e. how closely the compositor followed the text in front of him), it is possible to ascertain that at least two, maybe three, different compositors worked on this edition, typically alternating between formes. In addition to a number of substantive alterations – 'happie' to 'prosperous' (1.2.130), 'for' to 'by' (1.2.150), etc. – the compositors made a number of important changes to the lineation of the play, some of which are adopted in the present edition (see, for

example, the presentation of Will Summers's Skeltonic lines at 1.2.205–10). Significantly, the changes here seem to have been planned carefully and in advance of typesetting, for the layout further up the page is altered in order to accommodate the extra lines. Q4 also frequently clarifies the layout of its copy, for example on B3<sup>v</sup> (1.2.257–8), where the combined stage direction and speech prefix 'Enter Compton' is separated out. Such alterations seem largely to have been made in order to improve the accessibility of the text for its readers.

It should be pointed out, though, that a number of substantive variants in this edition, particularly in later gatherings, introduce incorrect readings into the text. One such example is the assignment of a number of Prince Edward's lines to Cranmer (4.1.189–93 in this edition). Evidently the person responsible for marking up the copy thought that Edward's address to Cranmer as 'Tutor' at line 194 marked the beginning of the Prince's speech rather than a continuation of it and altered the text accordingly. Given Edward and Cranmer's respective positions, though, it is unlikely that Cranmer spoke line 189 – 'God giue ye truth that you may giue it me' – and the earlier reading is therefore retained in this instance.

The types of changes introduced in these three editions offer important information about the process of transmission in the play's early textual history and demonstrate a continued interest in the text of Rowley's *When You See Me* three decades after its initial composition. Each edition was clearly created with the intention of improving upon the text of its copy and indeed a number of substantive alterations made in the later editions mark important changes, smoothing over inconsistencies and clarifying the layout of the text. Other alterations, however, are ill-advised and can only be seen to introduce further ambiguities. That the changes made in each edition are non-authorial is evident, given the often failed attempt of



compositors to compensate for or correct errors introduced into the text of their copy. No recourse seems to have been made to Rowley's manuscript in later editions, nor to the text of earlier printed editions, and each successive edition is thus one step further removed from the playwright's intended text. This not only reaffirms the authority of Q1, but also draws attention to certain of the decisions behind the play's nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions.

### Later editions of *When You See Me*

#### Karl Elze (1874)

Elze's was the first edition of *When You See Me* to appear in over two hundred years and its publication thus marked an important stage in the transmission of Rowley's play. Regrettably, the introduction revolves largely around the play's likely relationship to Shakespeare and Fletcher's *King Henry VIII* and little is said either about the importance of *When You See Me* or about Elze's own editorial principles and methodologies. Elze was clearly aware that the play existed in four early modern editions – indeed, he supplied title-page transcriptions for each – yet he based his own version of the text on Qs 2 and 4, using a transcription of Q2 as his copy-text and introducing what he described as 'a number of welcome corrections' from Q4 whenever the earlier text was considered deficient.<sup>376</sup> In bypassing Q1, Elze overlooked a number of important early readings, and in excluding Q3 from his collations he wrongly attributed a number of textual corrections to Q4, thus providing both an imperfect and incomplete account of the play's textual history. Before the discovery of Rowley's will in the 1960s, it was typically supposed that the playwright

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<sup>376</sup> Elze, p. xvii.

lived into the 1630s and it could perhaps be argued that Elze placed such emphasis on Q4 because it represented, to the best of his knowledge, the latest text in which Rowley could feasibly have played a part.<sup>377</sup> This does not, however, explain his decision to use Q2 rather than Q1 as copy-text, despite the clear line of transmission from one edition to the next, and it is far more likely in this instance that Elze focused on Qs 2 and 4 simply as a matter of convenience: copies of both were available for examination at the British Museum.

Elze provides a clear-text edition of *When You See Me* in which the copy-text's spellings and punctuation are silently modernised; lineation is also frequently altered in accordance with the editor's preferences. Despite Elze's caveat that the edition proposes remedies that 'conservative critics will think rather bold', many of his alterations are in fact judicious and sensitive to Rowley's idiosyncrasies.<sup>378</sup> The problem is not so much the *extent* of Elze's emendations, but rather his failure to document them. Some records of emendations and substantive variants are included at the back of the edition under the general heading 'Notes', but these are inconsistent and frequently combined with literary and historical commentary, making them difficult to navigate. Moreover, Elze makes a number of errors in his collations and often suggests that he is the source of an emendation, when in reality his own reading follows that of Q4 (the rendering of Summers's lines as verse at 1.2.205–10 provides one such example).

Clearly Elze's edition was important in making the text of Rowley's play accessible to a far greater readership.<sup>379</sup> The text it presents is for the most part sound and, as noted above, Poel's use of the edition for his 1927 production of *When You*

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<sup>377</sup> Elze believed Rowley died 'between 1632 and 1634' (p. iii).

<sup>378</sup> Elze, p. xvii.

<sup>379</sup> Published by Williams & Norgate, Elze's edition was available for sale in both London and Dessau, Germany.

*See Me* indicates a renewed, if temporary, interest in the play's content as a direct result of Elze's work. The reliability of the textual apparatus, however, is another matter: collations are incomplete, inaccurate and, importantly, overlook the only substantive witness to the text of Rowley's play (Q1). Elze's edition is very much a product of its time and it is perhaps unfair to judge it by twenty-first-century standards. Nonetheless, its shortcomings demonstrate the dangers of Elze's selective approach and highlight the need for a new critical edition of the play.

#### J. S. Farmer (1913)

Prepared as part of the Tudor Facsimile Texts series, Farmer's facsimile reprint edition of *When You See Me* reproduces the British Library's copy of Q2. Again, convenience and ease of access seem to have been the reasoning behind the editor's decision to reproduce this particular copy, though there is no indication of this in the edition itself. In accordance with the series' practice, there is no introduction to the text or to its author; Farmer simply provides a short note at the start of the text: 'All that is known of the author is narrated by Sir Sidney Lee in the "Dictionary of National Biography"'.<sup>380</sup> The edition was reprinted by AMS Press in 1970.

#### F. P. Wilson (1952)

Wilson's type facsimile edition was prepared for the Malone Society Reprints series and thus follows the conventions laid out by the series editors. It provides a useful introduction to the text of *When You See Me* and offers an insight into the production of Q1, covering such aspects as watermarks, headlines and printers' measures. It also considers the date of composition, Rowley's use of source material and the

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<sup>380</sup> Farmer, p. iii.

manuscript used as printers' copy, though as noted elsewhere, Wilson's discussion of the latter revolves around the assumption that Butter came by the manuscript surreptitiously.

The text of this edition, as Wilson states, was 'set up from photostats of the Barton copy of the quarto of 1605', located at Boston Public Library.<sup>381</sup> This copy was collated with that at the Bodleian and the four variants were recorded. Wilson's edition does indicate another variant on C3<sup>r</sup>, where the facsimile reads 'footeball' instead of 'footebal'. However, both copies of the edition read 'footebal' and the fact that Wilson does not include this variant in his list suggests that this was a typographical error introduced during the production of the type facsimile rather than an error of collation. Readings from Qs 2–4 and Elze's modernised edition are recorded 'only when they present an acceptable or possible acceptable correction to the text of 1605'.<sup>382</sup> A number of 'doubtful' and 'irregular' readings from the first edition supplement the list of variant readings and a useful character list with brief explanatory notes is appended at the start of the text.

While Wilson's type facsimile indicates the change from small pica to pica at gathering D and aims to demonstrate distinctive features of Q1, such as the compositors' frequent use of a variant measure in sections one and two, it does not draw attention to issues associated with the spacing of various lines; as Wilson explains, 'wherever possible', the printers have been given 'the benefit of the doubt'.<sup>383</sup> Similarly, the reproduction ignores such features as the prolific substitution of italic for roman letters in section two and, in accordance with the Society's practice, single wrong-fount letters, such as the foul case 'e' on G2<sup>r</sup>, are replaced in

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<sup>381</sup> Wilson, p. xii.

<sup>382</sup> Wilson, p. xiii.

<sup>383</sup> Wilson, p. xiii.

this edition without notice. This in turn obscures useful information about the production of Q1 and highlights the importance of returning to the original copies.

J. A. B. Somerset (1964)

Somerset's edition, produced as part of his MA thesis for the University of Birmingham, provides a modernised and annotated text of *When You See Me* based on a photostat of the Bodleian copy of Q1. Somerset collated his copy-text in full against the Boston copy of the same edition and against the Bodleian's copy of Q2; the V&A copy of Q3 and the Huntington copy of Q4 were collated for substantive variants only. Elze's 1874 edition was also collated for substantive variants, but its readings were noted only in those places where Somerset adopted them. While Somerset's emendations regarding the wording of the copy-text are recorded at the foot of each page, his alteration of the play's lineation is documented only in an appendix. Variant readings in the later quartos are likewise consigned to the appendices. Commentary on the text is printed at the end of the edition but, unlike Elze's, is easily navigable.

Despite presenting a modernised edition, Somerset occasionally retains old spellings from the copy-text without comment. He also overlooks a small number of variants from Qs 2–4. Throughout the edition, words are elided or expanded to fit a regular metrical pattern, and Somerset aids the reader by using grave accents to indicate a sounded '-ed' (a practice adopted in the present edition). Punctuation is typically light, but emendations are recorded wherever modernisation is seen to involve 'the resolution of ambiguities inherent in the punctuation of Q1'.<sup>384</sup> Although

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<sup>384</sup> Somerset, p. vi.

at times heavily influenced by Elze, Somerset's alterations to the text are consistently well-judged and several of his emendations are adopted in this edition.

Somerset never intended to publish his thesis and his edition of *When You See Me* exists only in a single copy at the Shakespeare Institute Library in Stratford-upon-Avon; it is not widely available and thus its impact is limited.<sup>385</sup> Nonetheless, the research conducted by Somerset into *When You See Me* and its author offered a significant and valuable contribution to knowledge. The discovery of Rowley's will in particular revealed that Rowley had died eight years prior to the production of Q4 – information unavailable to the text's previous editors.

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<sup>385</sup> Private correspondence, 9 November 2010.

## *Editorial Introduction*

## General editorial principles

This edition presents a fully modernised and annotated text of Rowley's *When You See Me*, which takes the 1605 edition of the play as its copy-text. Not only does Q1 provide the most authoritative version of *When You See Me*, but there is also evidence, as discussed above, to suggest that the manuscript used as printers' copy for Q1 was written in Rowley's own hand. Q1 is therefore both the earliest extant witness to the text of Rowley's play and the one most likely to reflect the author's intentions. Since Rowley was a leading actor and sharer in Prince Henry's Men at the time of his composition of *When You See Me*, the notion of constructing either the play as written or the play as performed is rather unhelpful in this instance; as with the labelling of printers' copy, the intention to reconstruct either one or other type of text creates a binary distinction between the authorial and the theatrical that is unlikely to have existed in the case of Rowley and Prince Henry's Men. Q1 may in fact represent the play both as written *and* as performed, and it is thus the text of *When You See Me* as presented by Rowley for performance at the Fortune that this edition seeks to present.

The underlying text of the edition derives from *EEBO*'s full-text transcription of the Bodleian copy of Q1, which was checked several times against the original; all variants between this and the Boston copy were then recorded. A full historical collation of Qs 1–4 was conducted and a list of variants, both substantive and accidental, drawn up. Using transparency reproductions of each of the four early modern editions I was then able to collate multiple copies in order to identify press variants. Finally, Elze and Somerset's editions were collated for substantive variants. Only once this information was synthesised and substantive emendations made did I begin to modernise the text of Rowley's play.



This edition of *When You See Me* has been prepared in accordance with the Arden Early Modern Drama (AEMD) editorial guidelines, modelled on those of the Arden Shakespeare Third Series.<sup>386</sup> Not only are the AEMD guidelines comprehensive, covering numerous possibilities and situations, they are also designed to deal specifically with non-Shakespearean drama. While The Revels series is similarly known for its editions of non-Shakespearean playtexts, the publisher's 'Notes for the use of editors' take much from the Arden guidelines, sometimes citing them verbatim.<sup>387</sup> Moreover, the 'Notes' in question are far less detailed than their Arden counterparts, particularly on such matters as the elision and expansion of copy-text forms and the distinction between verse and prose. The AEMD editorial guidelines are therefore used for the layout and appearance of the edited text in this edition, as well as for the presentation and content of the textual notes and commentary.

The edition deviates from the AEMD guidelines in just three ways. First, the text is laid out as if in a published volume and does not therefore adhere to the guidelines' specific formatting instructions, such as the three-space indentation of edited text from the left-hand margin, or the use of a fifty-four-character column width for prose passages. Second, I have adopted the Revels and Complete Oxford Shakespeare practice – applied also in Somerset's edition – of using the grave accent to indicate sounded '-ed' in verse lines. During an organised play-reading of *When You See Me*, which dramatized an earlier version of the edited text, it was found that readers, while comfortably eliding polysyllabic words to fit the metre of the verse,

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<sup>386</sup> Arden Early Modern Drama, 'Editorial Guidelines' (unpublished, October 2008). I am grateful to Professor John Jowett for sharing these with me.

<sup>387</sup> The Revels Plays, 'Notes for the use of editors' (unpublished, 2008). Thanks go to Matthew Frost for passing these on.

frequently stumbled over ‘-ed’ endings.<sup>388</sup> The intended pronunciation of sounded ‘-ed’ is therefore indicated in the text rather than in the commentary.<sup>389</sup> Finally, as an extension of the previous point, other sounded syllables typically unsounded in modern speech are indicated in the edited text, such as disyllabic ‘-ience’ or ‘-ion’, frequently used at line-endings or as part of rhyming couplets. Only in those cases where pronunciation is ambiguous is further comment provided. For the benefit of readers, photographs of the copy-text are provided in Appendix 8.

### Modernisation

The practice of textual modernisation and the value of such an undertaking has been the subject of much scholarly debate, particularly throughout the mid- to late twentieth century when the New Bibliographers were engaged in the process of setting out principles for the construction of reliable, old-spelling critical editions.<sup>390</sup> The main argument against modernisation tends to centre on what Arthur Brown describes as a ‘lack of principles’ and the apparent unwillingness of editors to formulate ‘consistent ones’.<sup>391</sup> Fredson Bowers, too, voiced concerns over the practices of nineteenth-century modernising editors who emended and adapted the texts of their authors without recourse to the original editions and with little or no comment on the extent or significance of their intervention in the text.<sup>392</sup> Since the

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<sup>388</sup> This took place at the Shakespeare Institute in October 2013. Thanks go to Dr Wiggins for arranging the reading, and to the numerous participants who commented on the edited text.

<sup>389</sup> In cases where this also marks an expansion of the copy-text reading, however, I follow the guidelines in providing a textual note (see, for instance, ‘hinderèd’ at 3.1.3).

<sup>390</sup> See in particular W. W. Greg, ‘The Rationale of Copy-Text’, *SB*, 3 (1950–1), 19–36; Fredson Bowers, ‘Greg’s “Rationale of Copy-Text” Revisited’, *SB*, 31 (1978), 90–162; and G. Thomas Tanselle, ‘The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention’, *SB*, 29 (1976), 167–211 and ‘Editing Without a Copy-Text’, *SB*, 47 (1994), 1–22.

<sup>391</sup> Arthur Brown, ‘The Rationale of Old-spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Rejoinder’, *SB*, 13 (1960), 69–76 (p. 76).

<sup>392</sup> Fredson Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 1955), p. 155.

development of scholarly editorial guidelines, however, and with them the publication of influential texts that deal specifically with the issues involved in modernising early modern playtexts (see ‘Spellings’), the principles of modernisation and the rigorousness and consistency with which they are carried out need no longer be such cause for concern. That is not to say that modernisation is straightforward – on the contrary, it is often a very complex and sensitive task, and each text naturally presents its own specific set of problems and challenges – but rather that it should be recognised as both a valuable and scholarly undertaking that extends rather than undermines the work of old-spelling editors.<sup>393</sup>

Other arguments typically levelled against modernisation concern the language of the original playtexts, and the sense that something is lost in the introduction of modern orthography. Greg, for instance, maintained that ‘the language of an Elizabethan author is better represented by his own spelling than by ours’, and A. C. Partridge made the case that old spellings offer an insight into the intended pronunciation of particular words.<sup>394</sup> As John Russell Brown points out, however, “‘Old-Spelling” was neither old nor odd nor distinctive’ to contemporary authors and readers, and ‘the so-called “Elizabethan flavour” of an old-spelling text’ is a modern phenomenon.<sup>395</sup> Moreover, Helge Kökeritz and Stanley Wells have separately argued that Elizabethan and Jacobean spellings do not necessarily reflect contemporary pronunciation and should not be retained on

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<sup>393</sup> See Stanley Wells’s *Re-editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), in which he suggests that the preparation of a modern-spelling edition ‘is likely to result in a fuller exploration of the text, and so in a more thorough work of scholarship, than the preparation of an old-spelling edition’ (p. 16).

<sup>394</sup> W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. lii and A. C. Partridge, *Orthography in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964), p. 123.

<sup>395</sup> John Russell Brown, ‘The Rationale of Old-Spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries’, *SB*, 13 (1960), 49–67 (pp. 60–1).

this basis.<sup>396</sup> That composers introduced so many changes of their own, sometimes simply to enable better justification, further highlights the problem of retaining copy-text spellings on the basis that these might be meaning-bearing.

Unlike Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, in which the author deliberately preserved a number of archaic spellings and forms, and for which modernisation would be at direct odds with the author's intentions, Rowley's *When You See Me* was written in contemporary Jacobean English. That is not to say that different types of speech are not represented in the play (Will Summers, Black Will, the watchmen and the prisoners, for example, speak in a more colloquial manner than the text's other characters), but that such elements are not conveyed by means of spelling; rather, they are indicated by the use of particular expressions and character-specific idiosyncrasies – all of which are retained in the present edition (see 'Spellings'). Modernisation does not obscure these important features; if anything, it draws attention to them.

The aim of this edition, like all editions in the AEMD series, has been to make the text of the play as accessible and intelligible as possible. The sections that follow offer further insight into some of the more specific challenges encountered in the preparation and modernisation of Rowley's *When You See Me*.

### Spellings

Copy-text spellings have been modernised throughout in accordance with the AEMD editorial guidelines, with reference to the *OED*, and with recourse to the following three texts, which not only explicate the practice of modernisation, but also propose

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<sup>396</sup> See Helge Kökeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), *passim* and Stanley Wells, 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling', in *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling, with Three Studies in the Text of Henry V*, by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 3–36 (pp. 8–9).

ways in which to deal with some of its complexities: Wells's 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling', Wells's *Re-editing Shakespeare for the Modern Reader*, and David Bevington's 'Modern spelling: the hard choices'.

An argument frequently levelled against modern-spelling critical editions, and one I have been careful to take into account in my own edition, is the seemingly arbitrary way in which some editors decide which words to modernise and which to preserve in old spelling. In many cases the result is a strange hybrid, producing, in Bowers's words, 'a fake Elizabethan English' in which language is only partially modernised.<sup>397</sup> G. Blakemore Evans's *Riverside Shakespeare*, for example, retains a 'selection of Elizabethan spelling forms' on the basis that these may provide clues to contemporary pronunciation.<sup>398</sup> As Wells notes, such a policy – evident to some extent in Somerset's edition of *When You See Me* – serves only to add 'phonetic confusion to orthographical inconsistency' and neither aids nor informs the reader in his or her approach to the text.<sup>399</sup>

Wells's 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling' is particularly useful in highlighting the inconsistency of the *OED* in distinguishing between variant spellings and variant forms: 'Many editors follow the rule of thumb that the existence of a separate entry in *OED* for a variant warrants considering that spelling as a distinct form; but in fact *OED* makes no clear distinction'.<sup>400</sup> The practice of retaining certain copy-text spellings on the basis that they are afforded an individual entry in the *OED* is thus flawed and may in part account for the proliferation of archaic spellings in scholarly critical editions. Wells instead makes the case for

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<sup>397</sup> Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955; rpt 1966), p. 133.

<sup>398</sup> G. Blakemore Evans (Gen. Ed.), *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd rev. edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), p. 67.

<sup>399</sup> Wells, 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling', p. 8.

<sup>400</sup> Wells, 'Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling', p. 7.

revision of copy-text forms whenever these are deemed ‘semantically indifferent’ to the modern-spelling equivalents.<sup>401</sup> There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule, such as when old-spelling forms are used to emphasise rhymes or clarify wordplay (Wells gives the example of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*: ‘This lanthorn doth the hornèd moon present’ (5.1.231)). Nonetheless, Wells’s guidance provides a much stronger and more consistent foundation upon which to base a modernised edition than the policies of selective retention advocated by editors of the Riverside Shakespeare.

In this edition, then, copy-text forms thought to be semantically indifferent to modern-spelling forms are not retained, even if the alteration results in a change in pronunciation. The archaic forms ‘vild’ (3.2.149) and ‘vildest’ (5.1.144 and 5.4.122), for instance, are presented as ‘vile’ and ‘vilest’ respectively and the change is in each case recorded in the textual notes. On occasion, the modernisation of copy-text forms can be seen to alter syllabification as well as pronunciation. In the case of prose passages, this is of little significance and the change is recorded only in the textual notes; the alteration of ‘throughly’ to ‘thoroughly’ at 5.1.78, for example, adds an extra syllable but does not affect an established rhythm or metre. When such changes fall in verse lines, however, the effect is more substantial. An example can be found in act 1, scene 1, where the alteration of the copy-text’s ‘Shrieue’ to ‘sheriff’ disrupts the rhythm of the line (125). In this instance a note is added in the commentary to indicate the likely elision.

Wells’s second category, ‘semantically significant variants’, is more complex, and variants typically fall into one of two groups: words which were used indiscriminately in Elizabethan and Jacobean English for variant senses that are still

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<sup>401</sup> Wells, ‘Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling’, p. 10.

current, such as ‘courtesy’ (used for both ‘courtesy’ and ‘curtsy’); and instances where, in Wells’s words, ‘modern spelling distinguishes senses which were orthographically indistinct’, such as ‘wrack’ (used for senses now shared between ‘wrack’ and ‘wreck’).<sup>402</sup> In the case of *When You See Me*, Rowley’s text contains very few words of double meaning in early modern usage. The word ‘travail’, for instance, which could mean either ‘travail’ or ‘travel’ (or in some cases both, in a deliberate play on words) appears only once in the text, and its intended meaning is apparent from the sense of the line in question: ‘Poor souls no more but travail for their pain’ (1.2.40). The copy-text form is thus retained and little is lost in the act of modernisation. Similarly, the copy-text’s ‘metall’ at 2.3.123 is easily identified as ‘mettle’ in modern usage: ‘I perceive there’s some mettle in thee’, and the alteration is recorded in the textual notes. The possible pun on ‘metal’ in this instance is discussed in the commentary.

Since the speech of Will Summers and Black Will is characterised in the play by use of the distinctive form ‘an’ or ‘and’ to mean ‘if’, the traditional copy-text form is retained in this edition. Given, as Wells suggests, that ‘an’ ‘alerts the reader to the difference in meaning’ in a way that ‘and’ does not, all instances of ‘and’ in the copy-text are altered to ‘an’ whenever this is the intended meaning.<sup>403</sup> Clipped words, such as ‘a’ for non-emphatic ‘he’, are also characteristic of Summers’s speech and are therefore retained, as at 3.2.51–2: ‘An any had said so but thou, Harry, I’d have told him ’a lied’. The spelling ‘eth(e)’, used in the copy-text predominantly in the speech of the watchmen and prisoners, is replaced in this edition by the more common form ‘i’t’h’. However, since the copy-text spelling in this instance may indicate a particular

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<sup>402</sup> Wells, ‘Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling’, pp. 10–11.

<sup>403</sup> See Wells, ‘Modernizing Shakespeare’s Spelling’, p. 16. All such changes are recorded in the textual notes.

dialect or mode of speech, the modernisation is in each case recorded in the textual notes and a note added in the commentary to this effect.

Modernisation in this edition extends also to proper names. As Jürgen Schäfer suggests, to leave character and place names in their Elizabethan or Jacobean forms demonstrates an ‘incomplete application of modern editorial principles’.<sup>404</sup> Proper names are therefore regularised throughout in accordance with modern standard usage. Original copy-text spellings are recorded in the textual notes and a note is added in the commentary whenever modernisation is liable also to affect pronunciation, metre or rhyme. (See also ‘Speech prefixes and character names’, below.)

### Punctuation

As R. B. McKerrow suggests, ‘the subject of punctuation is one which bristles with difficulties’.<sup>405</sup> While spellings are typically either seen as ‘old’ or ‘modern’, with some notable exceptions, punctuation can have many subtle variations and is thus particularly subject to individual preference and interpretation. Moreover, unlike spelling, punctuation is seen by many to be more than just an accidental or ‘surface feature’ of the text. Indeed, it was the significance of certain punctuation variants that led Bowers to develop Greg’s ‘Rationale of Copy-Text’ to include the sub-category ‘semi-substantives’.<sup>406</sup>

John Dover Wilson in particular speaks of punctuation as being of ‘the highest dramatic importance’:

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<sup>404</sup> Jürgen Schäfer, ‘The Orthography of Proper Names in Modern-spelling Editions of Shakespeare’, *SB*, 23 (1970), 1–19 (pp. 1–2).

<sup>405</sup> R. B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 41.

<sup>406</sup> See Bowers, ‘Greg’s “Rationale of Copy-Text” Revisited’, p. 125 in particular. The expression ‘surface features’ is taken from Greg’s ‘The Rationale of Copy-Text’, p. 21.



The stops, brackets, and capital letters in the Folio and Quartos are in fact stage-directions, in shorthand. They tell the actor when to pause and for how long, they guide his intonation, they indicate the emphatic word, often enough they denote 'stage-business'.<sup>407</sup>

Percy Simpson put forward a similar theory, based on the premise that different marks of punctuation correspond with different pause-lengths in performance.<sup>408</sup>

Certainly, there is evidence to support this supposition. George Puttenham's *The arte of English poesie*, for example, clearly set down the distinction between the comma, the colon and the '*periodus*' and their respective pause values in spoken language, while Heywood's *Apology for actors* referred to commas, colons and points as an actor's respective 'parentheses', 'breathing spaces' and 'distinctions'.<sup>409</sup>

It follows, then, that the punctuation of an early printed playtext may contain clues as to its intended method and style of performance that the act of re-punctuation (inadvertently) obliterates in favour of a more grammatical text.<sup>410</sup>

Such a theory, however, is reliant on the assumption that the marks of punctuation found in early playtexts are those of the author, or those relating to a specific performance of the play in question. Significantly, it overlooks the important and often considerable role played by compositors in the plays' transmission from manuscript to print. As Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* demonstrates, compositors were encouraged to 'discern and amend' the spelling and pointing of their copy, particularly in the case of poor punctuation.<sup>411</sup> That it is

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<sup>407</sup> John Dover Wilson, 'Textual Introduction' to William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

<sup>408</sup> Percy Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 24–6 and 67–71.

<sup>409</sup> Heywood, *An apology for actors*, C3<sup>v</sup> and George Puttenham, *The arte of English poesie* (London: printed by Richard Field, 1589), STC 20519.5, Book II, p. 61. See also M. B. Parkes's *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), *passim*.

<sup>410</sup> See in particular Michael J. Warren's 'Repunctuation as Interpretation in Editions of Shakespeare', *ELR*, 7 (1977), 155–69, in which he argues that alteration of copy-text punctuation creates 'a radical change in the nature of the text' (p. 156).

<sup>411</sup> Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 192.

possible to discern individual compositorial preferences in this respect further undermines the retention of copy-text punctuation on the assumption that it represents the authors' intended pointing. McKenzie's call for 'a more cautious reappraisal' of playtexts' residual punctuation is thus of particular relevance to the text of Q1 *When You See Me*, which – set in five different printing houses – embodies the habits and preferences of at least five different men, some of whom presumably strayed further than others from the punctuation of their copy.<sup>412</sup> The use of punctuation in Q1 cannot therefore be relied upon to indicate Rowley's intentions for the play in performance.

Total retention of copy-text punctuation is also at odds with the production of a modernised critical edition in which, as the AEMD guidelines affirm, '[t]he provision of consistent and intelligible punctuation for the modern reader is paramount'.<sup>413</sup> That is not to say that the punctuation of the copy-text is of no authority or significance; on the contrary, it should form the basis of any modern interpretation. The purpose of this edition is not therefore to re-punctuate the text of *When You See Me* from scratch, but rather to re-punctuate in a way that clarifies the sense and effect of the copy-text's original pointing. Punctuation is thus more consistent than that in the copy-text and it avoids overuse of the exclamation mark, as favoured in Elze's nineteenth-century edition. The punctuation of this edition also seeks to avoid obscuring the rhythm of the text – a concern elucidated by both N. F. Blake and Anthony Graham-White.<sup>414</sup>

Although individual punctuation changes are not recorded, care has been taken to identify and record all substantive changes to copy-text punctuation and,

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<sup>412</sup> D. F. McKenzie, 'Shakespearean Punctuation – A New Beginning', *RES*, 10 (1959), 361–70 (p. 370). See also the information on Simmes's Compositor A, above (p. 151).

<sup>413</sup> AEMD guidelines, p. 14, 2i.

<sup>414</sup> See N. F. Blake, *Shakespeare's Language: An Introduction* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983), p. 46 and Anthony Graham-White, *Punctuation and its Dramatic Value in Shakespearean Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), p. 17.

where relevant, to discuss these emendations and their effects in the commentary. Substantive punctuation variants in later editions of *When You See Me* not adopted in this edition are also recorded in the textual notes. In terms of editorial punctuation, this edition uses the en-dash (‘—’) throughout to signify a change of address within a single speech, with an added stage direction for clarification where necessary. It also uses the em-dash (‘—’) at the end of a line to signify either that the speaker has been interrupted, as at 3.2.142, or that he or she has broken off mid-sentence, as, for example, at 5.2.32, where Prince Edward reads only a part of his sister Mary’s letter. Finally, interpolations marked by parentheses in the copy-text are marked by commas in this edition.<sup>415</sup>

#### Global modification of the copy-text

A number of silent modifications have been made to the copy-text throughout. These include the expansion of ‘&’ to ‘and’, the rectification of turned letters, the use of roman rather than italic type for proper names, and the normalisation of spacing. In addition, and in accordance with the practice of modernisation, the copy-text’s ligatures are not reproduced, the long ‘s’ is standardised throughout, digraphs which represent diphthongs in words of classical origin are normalised, and tildes representing contractions are expanded. All other modifications that go beyond the modernisation of spelling and punctuation are recorded in the textual notes. These include, for example, the expansion of abbreviations such as ‘L.’, ‘M.’ and ‘La.’ to ‘Lord’, ‘Master’ and ‘Lady’, respectively.

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<sup>415</sup> While Partridge suggests that parentheses were sometimes used ‘to indicate a drop or change in the voice’, the examples in Q1 seem largely to have been used for syntactical purposes, introducing such interpolations as ‘my gentle sister’ (1.2.211) or ‘quoth she’ (1.2.275); the single possible exception (occurring at 1.2.230) is noted in the commentary. See Partridge, *Orthography in Shakespeare*, p. 135.

Additional modifications involve the expansion of elided forms in the copy-text. The AEMD guidelines suggest that polysyllabic adjectives and participles should be given in their fullest form, irrespective of metre in verse passages and regardless of their appearance in the copy-text; the rule extends in this edition to all present participles of three or more syllables.<sup>416</sup> The copy-text's 'remembering' at 1.1.26, for example, is presented as 'remembering' in this edition, even though the word in context is clearly meant to be elided: 'We thank his highness for remembering us'. Similarly, the copy-text's 'Bordring' at 5.5.70 becomes 'Bordering', despite its intended disyllabic pronunciation. In all such cases, the expansion is recorded as a modernisation and a note in the commentary informs the reader of the desired pronunciation. This edition also modernises historical contractions: 'th'art' becomes 'thou'rt', 'h'as' becomes 'he's', 'y'are' becomes 'you're', and so on. The only exception to this general rule occurs at 5.5.211, where the verb 'are' is emphatic: 'y'are too hard for all'.

Other global changes include the alteration of verb forms to correspond with modern grammatical practice (see, for example, the alteration of 'traitors creeps' to 'traitors creep' at 5.4.4) and the translation of theatre Latin into English, such as the modification of '*Manit, Wil, and Patch. / Exit omnes.*' to '*Exeunt all but Will Summers and Patch.*' (3.1.74); the more anglicised directions '*Exit*', '*Exeunt*' and '*Exeunt omnes*' are retained in this edition. In those places where the copy-text reads '*Exit*' for multiple departures, '*Exeunt*' has been substituted and the change recorded as a modernisation in the textual notes. Since the word '*Exit*' alone is used in this edition to indicate the departure of the last-named speaking character, copy-text readings are modified whenever a character

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<sup>416</sup> AEMD guidelines, p. 22, 7h.

name is supplied unnecessarily; once again, the change is recorded as a modernisation. Some changes to stage directions, however, remain silent, and these include their layout on the printed page (how many lines they take up and where line breaks occur) and the way in which characters are named: in entrance directions, the names of all speaking characters appear in small capitals and the names of all non-speaking characters appear in lower case with an initial capital. Only when substantively emended, supplemented or moved are these directions recorded in the textual notes.

### Speech prefixes and character names

It is widely thought, even amongst editors of old-spelling texts, that the labelling of speech prefixes and by extension the appearance of character names in stage directions should remain consistent throughout an edition.<sup>417</sup> It is also common practice to abandon abbreviated speech prefixes – in all their various manifestations – in favour of complete forms, not least to avoid the confusion that ensues from the abbreviation of two names that begin with the same letters. In act 1, scene 1 of *When You See Me*, for example, both Bonner and Bonnivet appear as ‘*Bon.*’ in Q1’s speech prefixes, and in act 5, scene 4 there is confusion between Gardiner and the guard, both of whom are designated ‘*Gard*’ in the copy-text. Wells in particular argues against the retention of abbreviated forms, viewing the practice as ‘an indefensible barbarism in anything other than a diplomatic edition’.<sup>418</sup>

As McKerrow suggests, a sensible approach in any type of edition, either old- or modern-spelling, is to treat speech prefixes ‘as labels and to make the

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<sup>417</sup> See, for example, Fredson Bowers, ‘Regularization and Normalization in Modern Critical Texts’, *SB*, 42 (1989), 79–102.

<sup>418</sup> Wells, *Re-editing Shakespeare*, p. 65.

labels uniform'.<sup>419</sup> It is this sense of uniformity that lies behind the decision to expand and regularise speech prefixes throughout the text of *When You See Me*. In each case, I have assigned the shortest names that can be used without ambiguity or confusion. Thus while King Henry is simply designated 'King', as he is in the copy-text, his two queens Jane and Katherine, each designated '*Queene*' in Q1, are named in full so as to clarify which of the two characters is intended. Similarly, Will Summers's name is printed in full throughout in order to avoid confusion with the villain Black Will.

The character name for Cardinal Wolsey presents more of a challenge. While in the stage directions of the copy-text 'the Cardinal' appears far more frequently than 'Wolsey', the copy-text's speech prefixes refer consistently to '*Wol.*' or '*Wools.*'; only once is the prefix '*Car.*' assigned instead (3.2.165). Thus, with preference split in the copy-text, it is necessary to select the most appropriate form for the edition and to use it consistently throughout. In this instance, the name 'Wolsey' is preferred over 'Cardinal' for several reasons. First, of all the characters active in King Henry's court, only members of the royal family are named according to their status; others are typically referred to only by surname.<sup>420</sup> Second, the copy-text's speech prefixes are more abundant than its stage directions, thus swaying overall usage in Q1 towards this particular form. Finally, and most importantly, this action calls for minimum intervention in the copy-text: all speech prefixes are retained and simply expanded as necessary (the single alteration of '*Car.*' is recorded in the textual notes) and stage directions require only simple supplementation ('*Enter Cardinal [WOLSEY]*').

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<sup>419</sup> McKerrow, *Prolegomena*, p. 57.

<sup>420</sup> The few exceptions to this general rule, including the Countess of Salisbury and the Marquess of Dorset, are designated such only because their names are not provided in the text of the play.

To correspond with the accepted modern spelling, Gardiner's name, a combination of 'Gardner' and 'Gardiner' in the copy-text, is spelt consistently with an 'i' in this edition. This in turn has implications for the way in which the name is spoken. In a number of verse lines 'Gardiner' is clearly intended to be spoken with two rather than three syllables: 'Gardiner 'tis true, so was the rumour spread' (1.3.32); on other occasions, the metre demands trisyllabic pronunciation: 'Now, Gardiner, what think'st thou of these times?' (1.3.21). The variant readings in the copy-text, 'Gardner' and 'Gardiner', do not conform to any set metrical pattern and it can perhaps be inferred that actors were expected to elide and expand the name as necessary in performance.<sup>421</sup> A commentary note in this edition indicates when disyllabic pronunciation is intended. Since the modified spelling of Gardiner's name occurs throughout the edition, the copy-text spellings have not been recorded as modernisations in the textual notes. Rather, a commentary note in the List of Roles at the beginning of the play draws attention to the global change.

In a similar manner, the names 'Campeus', 'Gray', 'Bonevet' and 'Rookesby' (as they appear consistently in the stage directions and dialogue of the copy-text) are altered in this edition to 'Campeius', 'Grey', 'Bonnivet' and 'Rooksby', respectively, so as to conform to accepted modern spellings. 'Prichall' is also altered to 'Prickawl' to highlight Rowley's pun on the character's profession as cobbler.<sup>422</sup> Unlike Gardner–Gardiner, though, these modifications have no impact on syllabification (the 'e' in 'Rookesby' is unsounded in verse passages) and thus

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<sup>421</sup> The different spellings in Q1 can largely be attributed to the text's compositors.

<sup>422</sup> The same alteration is made by Wiggins in his *Catalogue*, vol. 5, entry 1441, p. 146. In Q1, the names Prickawl and Capcase are assigned respectively to the Cobbler and 1 Watch, the first in the opening stage direction of 2.1 and the latter only in the dialogue of that scene. In both cases, I follow AEMD policy in retaining the role form of identification most frequently used in speech prefixes and stage directions (p. 20, 7b).

no effect on the metre of the text. Once again, a brief commentary note on each in the List of Roles draws attention to the change.

### Stage directions

In *Re-editing Shakespeare*, Wells states that ‘the editor of a critical edition has a responsibility to amplify the directions of his original texts’.<sup>423</sup> The nature and extent of such amplification, however, is open to debate. While only two categories of stage direction, exits and entrances, are truly necessary (as Wells notes, ‘[c]haracters must be got on to the stage, and off it’), the more involved action of a play may sometimes call for further clarification.<sup>424</sup> The level of editorial intervention necessary to elucidate stage business is thus determined both by the quantity and comprehensiveness of stage directions in the early modern editions of the play and the perceived complexity or ambiguity of the play’s action. In the case of Rowley’s *When You See Me*, much of the action is guided and clarified by the spoken text, rendering amplification redundant on a number of occasions. However, it has sometimes been necessary to supplement Q1’s existing directions, either to highlight characters’ likely movements on stage or, more commonly, to clarify who is speaking to whom when a number of characters appear on stage at the same time. In accordance with the AEMD guidelines, the copy-text’s directions have been preserved as far as possible and all substantive alterations are recorded in the textual notes; emendations are also printed within square brackets so as to draw attention to the editorial process.

Perhaps most fundamentally, the text of Q1 is lacking in entrance and exit directions and these have therefore been supplied in the most logical positions in relation to the action and dialogue of the play. The wording of a number of entrance

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<sup>423</sup> Wells, *Re-editing Shakespeare*, p. 63.

<sup>424</sup> Wells, *Re-editing Shakespeare*, p. 71.



directions in particular has been supplemented in order to clarify who enters when and, where possible, how many people enter at a given moment. The main textual alteration thus involves the naming of speaking parts where these remain vague in the copy-text, such as in act 1, scene 2, where ‘*Enter [BRANDON and GREY with BONNIVET and PARIS]*’ replaces Q1’s indiscriminate ‘*Enter Lords and Embassadors*’ (143 SD2). It has also been necessary to alter the position of several of the text’s original entrance and exit directions to correspond with the action on stage. Exit directions, for example, have frequently been moved down a line so that the character’s departure does not precede a line of speech intended for them to hear. Whenever stage directions have been moved but not substantively altered, they are treated as emendations rather than editorial insertions and do not appear in the text in square brackets. Their movement, though, is duly recorded in the textual notes, where the original positions of the stage directions are made explicit.

Directions are also frequently added in order to clarify the intended auditors of lines when these are not immediately apparent, particularly in cases where successive lines within a single speech are directed to a number of different characters (see, for example, 4.1.114–22). Asides are similarly explicated in this edition. There were, as Manfred Pfister suggests, three different types of aside that dramatists could employ: the ‘conventionalised monological aside’, in which a character speaks aloud to himself/herself; the ‘dialogical aside’, spoken to another character or characters, but not to all characters on stage; and the ‘*ad spectatores* aside’, usually reserved for comedic effect, in which the actor directly addressed the audience.<sup>425</sup> In this edition, the word ‘*aside*’ alone is used to indicate Pfister’s ‘conventionalised monological aside’, though it is possible that

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<sup>425</sup> Manfred Pfister, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*, trans. John Halliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 139–40.

some of these lines may have been spoken to the audience (see 2.1.116 as a likely example); in the case of ‘dialogical asides’, the names of specific characters are added to indicate the speakers’ intended auditors. On occasion, as at 1.4.12–16 and 5.1.61–3, it has been more prudent to condense the stage direction by writing ‘*aside to the other lords*’, rather than listing each of the lords’ names in turn. To avoid ambiguity, however, the directions are clarified in the commentary. Significantly, the different types of aside in *When You See Me* are not always as clear-cut as Pfister suggests. In the last of the examples given above, for instance, where Dudley, Seymour and Grey each speak ‘*aside to the other lords*’ (5.1.61–3), the conspiratorial nature of their dialogue is undermined when the King notices their private conversation and questions: ‘Ha! What’s that ye talk there?’. It is unclear whether the King is supposed to have overheard the lords’ conversation, or whether he is only meant to have seen them talking together, but either way this episode can be seen to challenge the conventional notion of the ‘dialogical aside’.

Occasionally, directions are introduced in this edition to clarify a character’s action on stage, such as at 1.4.192 where Patch ‘*Creeps up behind the King*’, or at 5.1.222 where the King ‘*Reads the letter*’. Directions are also added when stage properties are involved, for example when money changes hands, or when papers are carried, read or torn in two (see in particular 5.4.177–8). However, prescriptive directions such as these are included only when actions can be inferred with reasonable certainty; in cases where movements on stage are unclear, or where there exist a variety of performance options, a note is instead provided in the commentary. Thus, while editors such as John D. Cox call for the complete elimination of editorial directions, perhaps in turn neglecting the responsibility

with which Wells tasks any editor (see above), this edition seeks to achieve some sense of balance.<sup>426</sup>

### Lineation

In addition to lacking a number of important stage directions, the first edition of *When You See Me* also confuses verse and prose passages in the play, often blurring the distinction between the two. Somerset suggests that '[m]ost of the anomalous lineation in the first quarto is the result of the compositors having changed prose into verse' and while this is frequently the case, more often it is rather the ambiguous arrangement of text in Q1 that raises doubts over Rowley's intended lineation.<sup>427</sup> The diverse habits of the text's compositors can go some way towards explaining these ambiguities. The frequent and in many cases inconsistent use in gatherings A–C of an indented stick (see Bibliographical Introduction) repeatedly complicates the identification of verse and prose in the copy-text, since both are often justified to the same measure; the arbitrary use of upper case letters in this section at the beginning of type-lines further obscures the distinction. Moreover, while the compositor of section one made regular use of the turn-up and turn-under for long verse lines, the compositor of gatherings K–L tended instead to split such lines over two separate type-lines; the compositors of the central gatherings employed a combination of these variant methods. Q1 thus reflects a range of different approaches to the interpretation of Rowley's lineation and the text presumably varies section by section in its faithfulness to copy.<sup>428</sup> It has therefore been necessary to re-examine the lineation of the copy-text throughout.

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<sup>426</sup> John D. Cox, 'Open stage, open page? Editing stage directions in early dramatic texts', in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, ed. Lukas Erne and Margaret J. Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 178–93 (p. 178).

<sup>427</sup> Somerset, Appendix II, p. 316.

<sup>428</sup> On the nature, extent and source of mislineation in printed playtexts, see Paul Werstine, 'Line Division in Shakespeare's Dramatic Verse: An Editorial Problem', *AEB*, 8 (1984), 73–125.

Since verse passages in *When You See Me* rarely adhere to a strict metrical code, the distinction between verse and prose is far from straightforward. Rowley's text embodies a variety of metrical forms and its verse passages, although typically written in iambic pentameter, regularly move away from this conventional rhythm and structure. Rowley's tendency to shift between iambic and trochaic rhythms also breaks up the natural flow of the verse and can be seen to suggest prose as the more suitable medium on a number of occasions. Such metrical irregularity, however, should not be taken as evidence of corrupted verse; neither does it suggest that the line or lines in question should be printed as prose. Rather, metre needs to be examined in conjunction with a number of other factors, both bibliographical and literary.

Lineation in *When You See Me* is in many cases determined by who is speaking or, more specifically, by who is speaking to whom at any given moment. Typically, as in other contemporary playtexts, the higher status characters speak in verse while the lower status characters converse in prose; however, there are a number of important exceptions to this general rule. Perhaps the most obvious example is Will Summers's frequent shift into Skeltonic verse whenever he engages in battles of extemporal rhyming with the other characters. In each case, despite Q1's habitual setting of these passages as prose, the fool's challenger adopts the same Skeltonic metre. In addition, the King almost always speaks in prose when conversing with Summers or when speaking to his queens on an intimate or personal level (see, for example, King Henry's heartfelt apology to Queen Katherine at 5.4.108–18), and he intentionally adapts his speech when in disguise so as to further conceal his true identity; only when the King is left alone to contemplate the night's events does his speech revert to verse (2.3.14–34). Whenever Henry acts as King and

ruler, then, he speaks in verse, but when he acts as husband, father or associate, prose is the more common medium. Lineation is not therefore simply a matter of status in *When You See Me*; it is determined also by the relationships between different characters and by the subject matter and mood of the scene or episode in question.

It is also common in *When You See Me* to find passages that combine verse and prose within a single speech. Although this practice does not seem to have been widely adopted in other plays of the period, the tendency has been noted in a number of Middleton's works. Jackson, for example, draws attention to the practice in his textual introduction to *The Revenger's Tragedy*:

Middleton's abrupt transitions from verse to prose and back again, even within a single speech, his tendency at times to nudge either medium towards the other, and his liking for hypermetrical exclamations and short phrases that interrupt the basic iambic pentameter appear to have perplexed the compositors on several occasions and can make it hard to determine the most appropriate setting-out.<sup>429</sup>

Similarly, the compositors of Q1 *When You See Me* appear to have been somewhat confused by Rowley's verse–prose transitions, setting these speeches predominantly as verse, sometimes as prose, and only occasionally (as, for example, at 2.3.100–7) as the author seems to have intended: as an amalgamation of the two.

This combination of verse and prose is used in a number of different ways throughout the text, and is typically determined by the abovementioned factors – character relationships, subject matter and tone – as well as by the action on stage. Once again, it is often King Henry who speaks these hybrid lines. A useful example, in which the King switches twice between the two mediums, can be found at 5.1.227–34, where the action and dialogue of the play is centred on Luther's letter.

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<sup>429</sup> MacDonald P. Jackson, 'The Revenger's Tragedy', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to The Collected Works*, Gen. Eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 548–61 (p. 549).

While the opening five lines – the King’s initial response to the letter – are spoken in verse, the following three lines switch to prose as the King invites Gardiner to share in its contents: ‘Gardiner, look here, he was deceived, he says ...’. The final line of the speech then returns to verse as the King’s anger is roused a second time by Luther’s audacity. A second example, at 5.4.178–83, also centres on a stage property, though in this instance it is the King’s action on stage (the dramatic ripping of the paper in two) that prompts the change in lineation rather than the dramatized reading of its contents.

Rowley also frequently adapts the length of verse lines in *When You See Me*, incorporating, in addition to a large number of hexameter lines, all five categories of short verse line identified by Abigail Rokison: final, internal, initial, single and shared.<sup>430</sup> Short verse lines are most commonly used for greetings (‘How now, Bonner?’), parting lines (‘I take my leave.’), pleas (‘I beseech your grace.’) and words of general agreement or acquiescence (‘Yes, my liege.’, ‘We will, my lord.’). Frequently, such lines are used to begin or end a passage of otherwise regular verse, such as at 3.2.29: ‘We thank thee. / I tell thee, Cranmer, he is all our hopes ...’. In some cases, as in the example cited above, short verse lines were identified as such by the text’s compositors and set accordingly. Elsewhere, though, both in the case of initial and internal short lines, the distinction is not made in Q1 and short verse lines are commonly found tacked on to the beginning or end of surrounding lines. On occasion, Somerset identified the mislineation and emended the text of his edition, as, for example, at 5.4.165, where the King angrily questions Bonner and Gardiner ‘Call you her traitor?’ before

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<sup>430</sup> Abigail Rokison, *Shakespearean Verse Speaking: Text and Theatre Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 18.

concluding his impassioned speech in iambic pentameter. On other occasions, this edition is the source of the emendation.

In certain cases, the decision has been made not to separate out a longer verse line into a short line and a pentameter. King Henry's characteristic exclamation 'Ha!', for example, frequently extends the metre of the text beyond the pentameter of surrounding verse lines but, since 'Ha!' does not in itself constitute an individual text line, the exclamation is treated as a hypermetrical interjection and left to stand as per its position in the copy-text (see, for example, 1.4.102). The same is true of the word 'Ay' at the beginning of Gardiner's line at 5.1.147. Thus whenever the additional syllables in a long verse line in Q1 are an inherent part of the line in question, or a characteristic outburst as opposed to meaningful dialogue, the lineation of the copy-text is retained; only when the hypermetrical words are meaning-bearing in isolation, mark a change of address or subject matter (as at 1.4.114 and 4.1.279), or are clearly differentiated in some way from the remainder of the line is an emendation made in this edition.

In the case of split verse lines, in which regular verse lines are divided between two or more different characters, this edition follows the modern practice of indenting the second part-line and placing it on the same line as the second speech prefix. I have, however, been careful throughout to maintain an awareness of alternative methods of lineation and to divide a line only when the copy-text itself seems to lend itself to this arrangement. Thus, whenever Q1 presents a series of short lines with no obvious metrical pairings (as at 5.5.43–5, where the second of the three lines could feasibly be paired with either the first or the third), the verse has not been divided and each line is left to stand on its own; as Taylor notes, it is preferable in the case of such 'amphibious part-lines' to 'submit to the fluidity of the medium' by

setting each short line as a single unit.<sup>431</sup> This in turn prevents the edited text from imposing on the copy-text a fixed metrical structure that may not have been intended by Rowley. As George T. Wright suggests, playwrights ‘may have meant us to hear the ambiguity, to hear one line mounted, as it were, on another’.<sup>432</sup> To pair one line off with another would therefore be to diminish intentional ambiguity in the text. It would also be to deny the possibility that these lines were intended as prose.

This edition emends the lineation of Q1 on numerous occasions, in many cases following the decisions of the text’s previous editors. Whenever the copy-text reading differs from my own, the change – as well as the source of the emendation – is recorded in the textual notes. Particularly complex or ambiguous examples are also discussed in the commentary, where the reasoning behind the emendation (or, in some cases, retention) of copy-text lineation is made explicit.

### Act and scene division

Q1 *When You See Me* does not contain act or scene divisions and no such breaks were introduced in later seventeenth-century editions of the play. As Taylor and W. T. Jewkes point out, adult playing companies do not seem to have begun performing in acts in outdoor playhouses until at least 1607, when the transition to five-act performance began to take place.<sup>433</sup> To introduce act divisions in plays composed prior to 1607 would thus, in many cases, be to enforce a particular structure upon the

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<sup>431</sup> See Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett and William Montgomery, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987; rpt 1997), p. 638. This accords with Bevington’s editorial policy, as stated in the ‘Textual Analysis’ to his New Cambridge Shakespeare edition of *Antony & Cleopatra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; updated edn, 2005), pp. 271–80 (pp. 276–80 in particular).

<sup>432</sup> George T. Wright, *Shakespeare’s Metrical Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 103. Wright refers to these ambiguous short lines as ‘squinting lines’.

<sup>433</sup> See Gary Taylor, ‘The Structure of Performance: Act-Intervals in the London Theatres, 1576–1642’ in *Shakespeare Reshaped, 1606–1623*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Jowett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 3–50 (p. 4) and W. T. Jewkes, *Act Division in Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays, 1583–1616* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1958), p. 98.



play that is unlikely to have been intended on the early modern stage. In the case of Rowley's *When You See Me*, however, the play, with its manifestly episodic structure, lends itself to internal division. Moreover, the various episodes of the play, typically differentiated in terms of their location, timeframe, subject matter and source material, can be seen to fall into five discrete sections (see 'Source material and the structure of *When You See Me*', above). The act breaks introduced in this edition do not therefore create unwelcome disunity, but serve only to highlight elements of the play's original composition.<sup>434</sup>

The scene divisions of this edition correspond throughout with those in Wilson's MSR edition and represent natural breaks in the action where all characters make their exit from the stage. Often such breaks are self-evident, marked in the copy-text by the inclusion of the word '*Exeunt*' (or sometimes just '*Exit*'); elsewhere, due to the deficiency of exit and entrance directions, the mass exit is inferred and confirmed implicitly in the text by means of a perceptible change in mood, location or subject matter. One such example can be found at the end of act 4, scene 1 where, after Prince Edward takes his leave 'to be a little idle', Cranmer and Doctor Tye remain on stage to discuss their hopes for the Prince's future. No exit direction prompts their departure in Qs 1–4; however, given that Bonner and Gardiner then enter to discuss '[h]eretical and damnèd heresies', it can be inferred that Cranmer and Tye leave the stage prior to the bishops' entrance. The scene (and act) break is further corroborated by the change in subject matter, as the action turns once more to focus on the intrigue and corruption of the King's court.

While Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa suggest that '[a] break between Shakespearean scenes generally begins with the exit of all characters' and that '[a]

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<sup>434</sup> In accordance with AEMD policy, act and scene breaks are marked in the text within square brackets. Scene locations, where these can be inferred, are provided in the commentary.

new scene opens with the entrance of *other* characters' (my emphasis), it is often the case in Rowley's *When You See Me* that a scene break can be identified when a character already on stage is named in a separate entrance direction.<sup>435</sup> Either the character was intended to depart the stage earlier on in the scene so that he or she could subsequently re-enter (as with Bonner at 1.1.78), thus suggesting the continuation of a single scene, or – more commonly – the final '*Exeunt*' is lacking in Q1 and the second entrance marks the beginning of a new scene. A useful example is provided at the end of act 1, scene 1. Neither Wolsey nor Bonner are directed to leave the stage (although Wolsey's 'haste after me' at line 126 does indicate their imminent departure), yet Wolsey is then seen entering as part of King Henry's grand procession. Bonner is not a part of this procession, and since he does not appear at all in the next scene, it can only be assumed that he is meant to leave the stage along with Wolsey after the latter's rhyming couplet (lines 126–7).

The only real ambiguity in the identification of scene breaks occurs partway through act 5, scene 5, where a further division suggests itself at the elaborate stage direction after line 42 (SD2). This direction sees the entrance of a stately procession as the King, Queen Katherine, Wolsey and numerous others journey to meet the Holy Roman Emperor. While such an elaborate direction typically signifies the start of a new scene, however, the action in this instance requires that a number of characters remain on stage throughout. Just before the entrance of the royal train, Prince Edward says: 'Go, all of you attend his royal person, / Whilst we observe the Emperor's majesty' (lines 41–2). At least some of the characters on stage at this point must leave in order to obey the Prince's command, and since Wolsey, a herald and the guard then enter with King Henry as part of the procession, it can be

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<sup>435</sup> Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 91.

inferred that it is to them Edward directs his order; the Lord Mayor and lords presumably remain on stage with the Prince and Emperor as the train enters. This is corroborated by the fact that only ten lines later Prince Edward entreats the Emperor to meet the King: if this had been a scene break proper, and the Prince and Emperor had left the stage prior to the royal procession, there would have been no viable point at which they could have re-entered without interrupting the action of the play. The scene has not therefore been divided and the editorial direction '*Trumpets sound as the train moves towards the Prince and Emperor.*' is added after line 51 to clarify this decision.

### Commentary and textual notes

The commentary draws attention to biblical, classical and literary allusions in the text and highlights puns, proverbs and the relationship between the text and Rowley's likely source material. It also provides simple glosses of the play's more complex words and phrases and discusses staging possibilities when these are not given in the text as editorial directions. In addition, the commentary draws attention to substantive emendation of the copy-text whenever further clarification is thought necessary and offers explanation of difficult or ambivalent modernisations including, where relevant, a guide to the likely pronunciation and/or elision of modernised words in verse passages.

Although, as noted in the AEMD guidelines, the amplitude of annotation is 'one of the principal attractions of the series', it is nonetheless important that the annotations do not dominate the edited text upon which they provide comment; as Philip Edwards suggests, '[t]he vices of over-annotation are as bad as the vices of

under-annotation’ and the solution must be one of balance.<sup>436</sup> Bowers’s distinction between the ‘required’, the ‘useful’ and the ‘superfluous’ (drawn initially in his discussion on editorial stage directions) has therefore been of use in determining what should and, importantly, should not be included.<sup>437</sup> The commentary in this edition thus aims to clarify, explain and justify all that is necessary to the reader, as well as that which he or she may find useful when approaching the text for the first time; it does not aim to gloss every speech and, in line with AEMD policy, avoids glossorial notes whenever the information in question is available in a standard concise dictionary. Moreover, in cases where an unusual or archaic word is repeated several times throughout the text, a gloss is provided only on its first appearance, with reference to later occurrences where appropriate.

The textual notes draw attention to the following four features: substantive emendations of the copy-text, including punctuation marks and other typically ‘accidental’ aspects when these affect meaning; substantive variants in other editions of the text; complex or significant modernisations; and all differences in lineation, including the position of stage directions. Significant modernisations, such as those that affect scansion and/or pronunciation, are recorded as follows, with the copy-text reading in italicised parentheses: ‘346 Calais] (Cales)’; this form of textual note is also used to record the expansion of copy-text forms, such as ‘M.’ for ‘Master’. When a word appears more than once in a line, a superscript arabic numeral is prefixed to indicate to which appearance of the word the textual note refers. Stage directions are not numbered separately and therefore take the number of

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<sup>436</sup> AEMD editorial guidelines, p. 38, 11b; Philip Edwards, ‘The Function of Commentary’, in *Play-Texts in Old-Spelling: Papers from the Glendon Conference*, ed. G. B. Shand and Raymond C. Shady (New York: AMS Press, 1984), pp. 97–104 (p. 110).

<sup>437</sup> Fredson Bowers, ‘Readability and Regularization in Old-Spelling Texts of Shakespeare’, *HLQ*, 50 (1987), 199–227 (p. 205).

the line in or after which they occur; if a stage direction occupies more than one line in the edited text, an internal line number is supplied for clarification.

In accordance with the AEMD guidelines, readings from the copy-text and other seventeenth-century editions of the text retain the i/j and u/v conventions of the originals, but do not retain the long ‘s’, ligatures, or ‘vv’ for ‘w’. The sigla for the four early modern editions of *When You See Me* appear in the textual notes as *Q1*, *Q2*, *Q3* and *Q4* and the letters *a* and *b* are added where necessary to signify respectively the uncorrected and corrected states of the relevant forme in each edition. Modern critical editions of the play are referred to simply by editor surname: *Elze* and *Somerset*.

PART 3

EDITED TEXT

## Abbreviations used in the commentary and textual notes

As noted in the Editorial Introduction, the sigla *Q1*, *Q2*, *Q3*, *Q4*, *Elze* and *Somerset* refer to the four early modern editions of *When You See Me* and the more recent critical editions of Karl Elze and J. A. B. Somerset; ‘Wilson’ refers to the introduction to F. P. Wilson’s Malone Society Reprints edition of the play. Full details of each edition can be found on p. xi. A reference to *this edn* indicates a reading adopted or proposed for the first time in this edition.

All biblical quotations are from the Geneva Bible (1599); *OED* and *ODNB* references are from *OED*<sup>2</sup> and *ODNB* online. References to ‘Wiggins’ are to Martin Wiggins’s *Catalogue*, which appears in the List of Abbreviations on p. xiii. Citations from Holinshed and Foxe are from the most recent version of each work available at the time of Rowley’s composition: the 1587 edition (sixth volume) and 1597 edition (second volume), respectively. Works by Shakespeare are cited from the most recent Arden editions.

The titles of plays by dramatists other than Shakespeare are given here in full, along with *STC*/Wing numbers and brief details of the editions cited; full details can be found in the Bibliography. Other primary texts mentioned but not cited in the commentary are listed only in the Bibliography.

## General abbreviations

*	precedes a commentary note which involves a reading substantively altered from the copy-text
( )	italic parentheses are used in textual notes to highlight noteworthy copy-text readings and to record modernisations
<i>after</i>	used in textual notes to indicate that a stage direction is positioned either after a particular word in a line of text or on a line of its own: in the first instance, the relevant word is given; in the second, the line number of the preceding text-line
<i>conj.</i>	a conjectured reading, proposed but not adopted by the named scholar
LR	List of Roles
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MSR	Malone Society Reprints edition
n.	commentary note
<i>opp.</i>	used in textual notes to indicate that a stage direction is positioned to the right of (i.e. <i>opposite</i> ) a line of text
SD(D)	stage direction(s)
SP(P)	speech prefix(es)
<i>subst.</i>	substantially
TLN	Through Line Number, used when citing from MSR editions
t.n.	textual note
<i>trans.</i>	translated by

### Short titles for works by (and partly by) Shakespeare

<i>AW</i>	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>
<i>Cym</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>
<i>Ham</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
<i>1H4</i>	<i>King Henry IV, Part 1</i>
<i>2H4</i>	<i>King Henry IV, Part 2</i>
<i>H5</i>	<i>King Henry V</i>
<i>1H6</i>	<i>King Henry VI, Part 1</i>
<i>2H6</i>	<i>King Henry VI, Part 2</i>
<i>3H6</i>	<i>King Henry VI, Part 3</i>
<i>H8</i>	<i>King Henry VIII</i>
<i>KJ</i>	<i>King John</i>
<i>KL</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
<i>LLL</i>	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Measure for Measure</i>
<i>MND</i>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>
<i>MV</i>	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
<i>Oth</i>	<i>Othello</i>
<i>R2</i>	<i>King Richard II</i>
<i>R3</i>	<i>King Richard III</i>
<i>RJ</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>STM</i>	<i>Sir Thomas More</i>
<i>TC</i>	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
<i>Tem</i>	<i>The Tempest</i>
<i>TGV</i>	<i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>
<i>Tim</i>	<i>Timon of Athens</i>
<i>TN</i>	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>TNK</i>	<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>
<i>WT</i>	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>

### Short titles for other plays

<i>A Shoemaker</i>	Rowley, William, <i>A Shoemaker, A Gentleman</i> , STC 21422 (1638 Q)
<i>A Shrew</i>	Anon., <i>The Taming of a Shrew</i> , STC 23667, MSR edn (1998)
<i>Alchemist</i>	Jonson, Ben, <i>The Alchemist</i> , STC 14755, ed. Holland and Sherman, in <i>The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson</i> (2012)
<i>All Fools</i>	Chapman, George, <i>All Fools</i> , STC 4963 (1605 Q)
<i>All's Lost</i>	Rowley, William, <i>All's Lost by Lust</i> , STC 21425 (1633 Q)



<i>Arden of Faversham</i>	Anon., <i>Arden of Faversham</i> , STC 733, MSR edn (1939–40)
<i>Blind Beggar</i>	Chapman, George, <i>The Blind Beggar of Alexandria</i> , STC 4965, MSR edn (1928)
<i>Caesar &amp; Pompey</i>	Anon., <i>The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey; or, Caesar's Revenge</i> , STC 4340, MSR edn (1911)
<i>Campaspe</i>	Lyly, John, <i>Campaspe</i> , STC 17047.5, ed. Hunter, Revels edn (1991)
<i>Cobbler's Prophecy</i>	Wilson, Robert, <i>The Cobbler's Prophecy</i> , STC 25781 (1594 Q)
<i>Cromwell</i>	S., W., Thomas, <i>Lord Cromwell</i> , STC 21532 (1602 Q)
<i>Cupid's Whirligig</i>	Sharpham, Edward, <i>Cupid's Whirligig</i> , STC 22380 (1607 Q)
<i>Cynthia's Revels</i>	Jonson, Ben, <i>Cynthia's Revels; or, The Fountain of Self-Love</i> , STC 14773, ed. Rasmussen and Steggle, in <i>The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson</i> (2012)
<i>Duchess of Suffolk</i>	Drue, Thomas, <i>The Duchess of Suffolk</i> , STC 7242 (1631 Q)
<i>Edward II</i>	Marlowe, Christopher, <i>The Troublesome Reign and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second, King of England</i> , STC 17437, ed. Bevington and Rasmussen, in <i>Doctor Faustus and Other Plays</i> (2008)
<i>1 Edward IV</i>	Heywood, Thomas, <i>The First Part of King Edward IV</i> , STC 13341, ed. Rowland, Revels edn (2005)
<i>2 Edward IV</i>	Heywood, Thomas, <i>The Second Part of King Edward IV</i> , STC 13341, ed. Rowland, Revels edn (2005)
<i>Endymion</i>	Lyly, John, <i>Endymion</i> , STC 17050, ed. Bevington, Revels edn (1996)
<i>Evening's Love</i>	Dryden, John, <i>An evening's love, or, The mock-astrologer</i> , Wing D2275 (1675 Q)
<i>Every Man Out</i>	Jonson, Ben, <i>Every Man Out of His Humour</i> , STC 14767, ed. Martin, in <i>The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson</i> (2012)
<i>Faithful Friends</i>	Fletcher, John, <i>The Faithful Friends</i> , MS play, MSR edn (1970)
<i>Famous Victories</i>	Anon., <i>The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth</i> , STC 13072, MSR edn (2006)
<i>Faustus (B-text)</i>	Marlowe, Christopher, <i>The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus</i> , STC 17432, ed. Bevington and Rasmussen, in <i>Doctor Faustus and Other Plays</i> (2008)
<i>1 Honest Whore</i>	Dekker, Thomas and Thomas Middleton, <i>The Patient Man and the Honest Whore</i> , STC 6501, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 2 (1955)
<i>1 If You Know Not Me</i>	Heywood, Thomas, <i>If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part 1</i> , STC 13328, MSR edn (1934)
<i>2 If You Know Not Me</i>	Heywood, Thomas, <i>If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part 2</i> , STC 13336, MSR edn (1934–5)
<i>King Leir</i>	Anon., <i>The History of King Leir</i> , STC 15343, MSR edn (1907)
<i>Knack to Know</i>	Anon., <i>A Knack to Know A Knave</i> , STC 15027, MSR edn (1963)

<i>Late Lancashire Witches</i>	Heywood, Thomas and Richard Brome, <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i> , STC 13373 (1634 Q)
<i>Lochrine</i>	S., W., <i>The Lamentable Tragedy of Lochrine</i> , STC 21528 (1595 Q)
<i>Look About You</i>	Anon., <i>Look About You</i> , STC 16799, MSR edn (1913)
<i>Mahomet</i>	Percy, William, <i>Mahomet and his Heaven</i> , MS play, ed. Dimmock (2006)
<i>Noah</i>	Anon., <i>Noah</i> , ed. Rose, in <i>The Wakefield Mystery Plays</i> (1961)
<i>Old Fortunatus</i>	Dekker, Thomas, <i>Old Fortunatus</i> , STC 6517, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 1 (1953)
<i>Patient Grissil</i>	Dekker, Thomas, <i>Patient Grissil</i> , STC 6518, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 1 (1953)
<i>Phoenix</i>	Middleton, Thomas, <i>The Phoenix</i> , STC 17892, ed. Danson and Kamps, in <i>Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works</i> (2007)
<i>Richard the Third</i>	Anon., <i>Richard the Third</i> , STC 21009 (1594 Q)
<i>Scornful Lady</i>	Beaumont, Francis, <i>The Scornful Lady</i> , STC 1686, ed. Hoy, in <i>The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon</i> , vol. 2 (1970)
<i>Shoemaker's Holiday</i>	Dekker, Thomas, <i>The Shoemaker's Holiday; or, The Gentle Craft</i> , STC 6523, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 1 (1953)
<i>Silver Age</i>	Heywood, Thomas, <i>The Silver Age</i> , STC 13365 (1613 Q)
<i>I Sir John Oldcastle</i>	Munday, Anthony, Michael Drayton, Richard Hathaway and Robert Wilson, <i>The First Part of the True and Honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle</i> , STC 18795, MSR edn (1908)
<i>Sir Thomas Wyatt</i>	Dekker, Thomas and John Webster, <i>The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt</i> , STC 6537, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 1 (1953)
<i>Summer's Last Will</i>	Nashe, Thomas, <i>Summer's Last Will and Testament</i> , STC 18376, ed. McKerrow, in <i>The Works of Thomas Nashe</i> , vol. 3 (1905)
<i>I Tamburlaine</i>	Marlowe, Christopher, <i>Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1</i> , STC 17425, ed. Bevington and Rasmussen, in <i>Doctor Faustus and Other Plays</i> (2008)
<i>The Night-Walker</i>	Fletcher, John, <i>The Night-Walker; or, The Little Thief</i> , STC 11072 (1640 Q)
<i>Three Ladies</i>	Wilson, Robert, <i>The Three Ladies of London</i> , STC 25784 (1584 Q)
<i>Two Angry Women</i>	Porter, Henry, <i>The Two Angry Women of Abingdon</i> , STC 20121.5, MSR edn (1912)
<i>Two Lamentable Tragedies</i>	Yarlington, Robert, <i>Two Lamentable Tragedies</i> , STC 26076, MSR edn (2013)
<i>Valiant Welshman</i>	A., R., <i>The Valiant Welshman</i> , STC 16 (1615 Q)

<i>Whore of Babylon</i>	Dekker, Thomas, <i>The Whore of Babylon</i> , STC 6532, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 2 (1955)
<i>Wily Beguiled</i>	Anon., <i>Wily Beguiled</i> , STC 25818 (1606 Q)
<i>Witch of Edmonton</i>	Dekker, Thomas, William Rowley and John Ford, <i>The Witch of Edmonton</i> , Wing R2097, ed. Bowers, in <i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker</i> , vol. 3 (1958)

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<i>A Pleasant History</i>	Anon., <i>A pleasant history of the life and death of Will Summers</i> , Wing P2551 (1676)
Aquinas, Commentary	Aquinas, Thomas, <i>Exposition of Aristotle's Treatise On the Heavens (De caelo)</i> , trans. Larcher and Conway, 2 vols. (1964), e-text <dhspriority.org/thomas/DeCoelo.htm> [accessed 24 June 2014]
Aristotle, <i>Parts of Animals</i>	Aristotle, <i>De Partibus Animalium</i> , trans. Ogle, in <i>The Works of Aristotle</i> , vol. 5 (1912)
Barrough	Barrough, Philip, <i>The method of physick containing the causes, signes, and cures of inward diseases in mans body from the head to the foote</i> , STC 1510 (1596)
Calvin, <i>Institution of Christian Religion</i>	Calvin, Jean, <i>The institution of Christian religion, wrytten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin, and translated into Englysh according to the authors last edition</i> , STC 4415 (1561)
<i>Common Whore</i>	Taylor, John, <i>A common whore with all these graces grac'd</i> , STC 23742 (1622)
<i>Compter's Commonwealth</i>	Fennor, William, <i>The compters common-wealth, or A voiage made to an infernall iland</i> , STC 10781 (1617)
<i>De Officiis</i>	Cicero, Marcus Tullius, <i>De Officiis</i> , trans. Miller (1913)
<i>Duties of Constables</i>	Lambarde, William, <i>The duties of constables, borsholders, tythingmen, and such other lowe ministers of the peace</i> , STC 15146 (1582)
<i>Fool Upon Fool</i>	Armin, Robert, <i>Foole Vpon Foole, or Six sortes of Sottes</i> , STC 772.3 (1600)
Fuller	Fuller, Thomas, <i>The church-history of Britain</i> , Wing F2416 (1655)
<i>Good News &amp; Bad News</i>	Rowlands, Samuel, <i>Good Newes and Bad Newes</i> , STC 21382 (1622)
Grafton (1562)	Grafton, Richard, <i>An abridgement of the chronicles of England</i> , STC 12148 (1562)
Grafton (1569)	Grafton, Richard, <i>A chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of Englande and kinges of the same</i> , STC 12147 (1569)
Hall	Hall, Edward, <i>The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke</i> , STC 12722 (1548)

Hardyng	Hardyng, John, finished by Richard Grafton, <i>The chronicle of Ihon Hardyng from the firste begynnyng of Englande, vnto the reigne of kyng Edward the fourth wher he made an end of his chronicle</i> , STC 12767 (1543)
Heywood, <i>Epigrams</i>	Heywood, John, <i>An hundred epigrammes</i> , STC 13294.5 (1550)
<i>King and Cobbler</i>	Anon., <i>The pleasant and delightful history of King Henry 8th. and a cobbler</i> , Wing P2530 (1670?)
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	<i>Ovid's Metamorphoses: the Arthur Golding translation</i> , 1567, ed. Nims (1965)
Puttenham	Puttenham, George, <i>The arte of English poesie. Contriuied into three bookes: the first of poets and poesie, the second of proportion, the third of ornament</i> , STC 20519.5 (1589)
<i>Singing Simpkin</i>	Kemp, Will[?], <i>Singing Simpkin</i> , printed in Richard Cox, <i>Acteon &amp; Diana</i> , Wing C6711 (1656)
Stow	Stow, John, <i>A summarie of Englyshe chronicles</i> , STC 23319 (1565)
<i>Tarlton's News</i>	Tarlton, Richard, <i>Tarltons newes out of purgatorie</i> , STC 23685 (1590)
Varthema, <i>Itinerario</i>	Varthema, Ludovico de, <i>Itinerario</i> (1510), trans. Jones, in <i>Travelers in Disguise</i> (1963)

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Brewer, <i>Dictionary</i>	<i>Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable</i> , 19th rev. edn (London: Chambers, 2012)
Collier, <i>Collection</i>	Collier, John Payne, with Robert Dodsley, Isaac Reed and Octavius Gilchrist, <i>A Select Collection of Old Plays</i> , 12 vols. (London: Printed by H. Hughs for J. Dodsley, 1825–7)
Crow, 'Editing and Emending'	Crow, John, 'Editing and Emending', in <i>Essays and Studies</i> , ed. D. M. Low (London: John Murray, 1955), pp. 1–20
Dent	Dent, Robert William, <i>Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index</i> (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981)
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WHEN YOU SEE ME,  
YOU KNOW ME;

OR,

THE FAMOUS CHRONICLE HISTORY  
OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,  
WITH THE BIRTH AND VIRTUOUS LIFE OF  
EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES

## List of Roles

### THE ENGLISH COURT

KING Henry VIII	<i>of England</i>	
QUEEN JANE Seymour	<i>the King's wife and daughter to Lord Seymour</i>	
QUEEN KATHERINE Parr	<i>the King's wife, after the death of Queen Jane</i>	
Edward, PRINCE of Wales	<i>son to the King and Queen Jane</i>	
Cardinal WOLSEY	<i>Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor</i>	5
Edmund BONNER	<i>Wolsey's chaplain, later Bishop of London</i>	
Stephen GARDINER	<i>the King's secretary, later Bishop of Winchester</i>	
Sir William COMPTON	} <i>the King's counsellors</i>	10
Charles BRANDON, Duke of Suffolk		
Lord DUDLEY		
Lord SEYMOUR		
Lord GREY		
LADY MARY	<i>the King's sister, later Queen of France, later Brandon's wife</i>	
COUNTESS of Salisbury	<i>attendant on Queen Jane</i>	15
Thomas CRANMER	<i>Archbishop of Canterbury and tutor to the Prince</i>	
Doctor TYE	<i>tutor to the Prince</i>	
Edward BROWNE	<i>the Prince's schoolfellow and whipping-boy, later Sir Edward Browne</i>	
MARQUESS of Dorset	<i>the Prince's schoolfellow</i>	20
WILL SUMMERS	<i>the King's fool</i>	
PATCH	<i>Wolsey's fool</i>	
ROOKSBY	<i>a groom of the wardrobe</i>	
A MESSENGER		
LADIES	<i>attendant on Queen Jane</i>	25
PAGES	<i>attendant on the King</i>	
SERVANTS	<i>attendant on the Prince</i>	
GUARDS		

### FOREIGN VISITORS TO THE COURT

Lord BONNIVET	} <i>French ambassadors</i>	30
John de Mazo, Bishop of PARIS		
Cardinal CAMPEIUS	<i>a papal legate</i>	
EMPEROR Charles V	<i>of the Holy Roman Empire</i>	

## LONDONERS

A CONSTABLE <i>of the watch</i>	
Two men <i>of the</i> WATCH	
DORMOUSE	<i>a watchman</i> 35
Prickawl, <i>the</i> COBBLER	<i>lantern-bearer to the watch</i>
BLACK WILL	<i>a retired soldier, now a villain</i>
PRISONERS	
PORTER <i>of the Counter prison</i>	
Keeper <i>of the Counter prison</i>	40
Lord Mayor <i>of London</i>	

Lords, Legates, Gentlemen, Young Lords,  
A Purse-bearer, A Mace-bearer, Swordbearers,  
Heralds, Attendants, Trumpeters



**List of Roles** No list of roles is provided in *Q1-4*. Elze, Wilson and Somerset each provide a list, but differ in their presentation of such. While Elze and Somerset list male roles first, Wilson lists characters by order of appearance. The list of roles provided in *this edn* seeks to clarify particular groups of characters and their relationships to one another.

- 1 **KING** King Henry VIII (1491-1547) acceded to the throne in 1509. The most momentous occasions of King Henry's reign include his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, his break with the Roman Catholic Church and the subsequent foundation of the Church of England in 1534. While Rowley's account takes much from the historical chronicles, his portrayal of the King also borrows from the popular 'bluff King Harry' tradition.
- 2 **QUEEN JANE** Jane Seymour (c. 1508-1537) was the King's third wife; his second wife, Anne Boleyn, is mentioned only very briefly at 1.3.29-33 and his first wife, Katherine of Aragon, not at all. Queen Jane married the King in 1536 and gave birth to his only son, Edward, in October 1537; she died just days later.
- 3 **QUEEN KATHERINE** Katherine Parr (1512-1548) was King Henry's sixth wife; she outlived him by nearly two years. Her marriage to King Henry (first mentioned at 2.3.168-70) took place in 1543; his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, gets a brief mention at 2.3.171, but Catherine Howard, like Katherine of Aragon, is completely overlooked. Katherine Parr was accused of treason and heresy in 1546.
- 4 **PRINCE** Prince Edward (1537-1553) became King of England when he was just nine years old; he died six years later. As noted in the Critical Introduction, numerous parallels can be drawn in the play between the Protestant Prince Edward and the company's young patron, Prince Henry. The naming of the Prince on the title-page of *Q1* indicates the importance of Edward's role.
- 5 **WOLSEY** Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (c.1473-1530), Archbishop of York, became Lord Chancellor in 1515. His papal aspirations are well documented and may have been treated in the Admiral's two lost Wolsey plays (see pp. 41-4). The character appears also in *Cromwell*, as well as in *H8*, where he is drawn in a more ambivalent light. As noted elsewhere, Rowley extends Wolsey's life into the 1540s so as to position him as chief antagonist throughout the play.
- 6 **BONNER** Edmund Bonner (c.1500-1569), Bishop of London from 1539, became known during the reign of Mary I as 'Bloody Bonner' for his role in the persecution of heretics. As in the later *Duchess of Suffolk*, Rowley positions

Bonner alongside Gardiner throughout *When You See Me*; in reality, it was Gardiner and Lord Chancellor Wriothesley that were responsible for Queen Katherine's near-demise.

- 7 **GARDINER** Stephen Gardiner (c.1483-1555), secretary to King Henry, was made Bishop of Winchester in 1531. Like Bonner, his role in the Marian persecutions made him one of the most hated sixteenth-century Catholics and he frequently appears in playtexts as an antagonist and villain (see *Cromwell*, 1 *If You Know Not Me* and *H8*). The name is spelt consistently as 'Gardiner' in *this edn* (see p. 180); whenever metre requires elision, a note is added in the commentary to this effect.
- 8 **COMPTON** On King Henry's accession to the throne, Compton (c.1482-1528) became Groom of the Stool; he was knighted in 1513 and died of sweating sickness before the King's break from the Roman Catholic Church. Like Wolsey, his life is extended in the play by nearly twenty years; in 5.4, Compton takes on the role historically played by the physician Thomas Wendy.
- 9 **BRANDON** Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk (c.1484-1545) was an important and respected member of the King's household; he became Henry VIII's brother-in-law upon his marriage to Lady Mary in 1515 (see 3.2.174-216 and Appendix 2). He appears also in *H8*.
- 10 **DUDLEY** Most likely John Dudley, 1st Duke of Northumberland (1504-1553), who took part in Wolsey's diplomatic voyages in the 1520s; he was knighted by Brandon in 1523 and became a Knight of the Body in 1524. Dudley was an influential member of the government of King Edward VI and advocated Lady Jane Grey's accession to the throne after Edward's death.
- 11 **SEYMOUR** Sir John Seymour (1474-1536), a prominent courtier in the reigns of both Henry VII and Henry VIII; counter to Rowley's narrative, he died ten months before his daughter, Queen Jane. Either Rowley extends the life of Seymour much in the way of Wolsey and Compton, or he conflates the historical person of John Seymour with one (or perhaps both) of his sons, Thomas and Edward: the former married Katherine Parr after King Henry's death; the latter became Lord Protector of England during the minority of King Edward VI.
- 12 **GREY** Presumably Thomas Grey, 2nd Marquess of Dorset (1477-1530), an influential courtier under both Henry VII and VIII; Grey travelled with Brandon in 1514 to escort Mary Tudor to France to marry King Louis XII. The name, spelt 'Gray' in *Q1*, is regularised in *this edn*.

- 13 **LADY MARY** Mary Tudor (1496-1533) was the third daughter of King Henry VII; Rowley's naming of Lady Mary as the King's 'second sister' (1.2.157) may take into account the fact that the King's real second sister, Elizabeth, died in 1495, aged just three years old. Mary became the third wife of King Louis XII of France in 1514, marrying Brandon secretly upon King Louis's death.
- 15 **COUNTESS** Presumably Margaret Pole (1473-1541), 8th Countess of Salisbury, lady-in-waiting to Katherine of Aragon and later governess to Princess Mary. She was in and out of favour with the King and is not known to have served as waiting woman to Queen Jane at the time of Edward's birth.
- 16 **CRANMER** Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) was a key player in the English Reformation. He is not known to have tutored Prince Edward (who received a formal education under Richard Cox and John Cheke), having been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1532. Cranmer's accusation and trial (see 5.2.70-95 and 5.4.131-5) forms an important part of *H8*; Cranmer appears also in *Duchess of Suffolk* alongside Latimer and Ridley (see 3.1.69-70 and ns), with whom he perished during the Marian persecutions.
- 17 **TYE** Dr Christopher Tye (c. 1505-1571/3) was organist and choirmaster of Ely Cathedral from the early 1540s; there is no record of him having tutored Prince Edward, though his connection with Richard Cox (see 16n.) strengthens the possibility. As noted in the introduction (p. 3), there may have been a family connection between Rowley and Tye.
- 18 **BROWNE** The name Edward Browne does not appear in the chronicles. It does, however, appear (as 'Ned Browne') in the plot of *I Tamar Cam* to refer to an adult supernumerary (*Henslowe's Diary*, 333). Possibly, Rowley borrowed the name from this actor. Browne's historical counterpart was Barnaby Fitzpatrick (c.1535-1581), with whom, as Jordan attests, Edward 'spoke with an ease and informality suggesting a strong personal affection' (44).
- 20 **MARQUESS** Presumably, as Somerset notes, Henry Grey (1517-1546), 1st Duke of Suffolk, who became 3rd Marquess of Dorset in 1530 after the death of his father, Thomas (see 12n.); he was the father of Lady Jane Grey. Twenty years the Prince's senior, he is unlikely to have been Edward's schoolfellow.
- 21 **WILL SUMMERS** Summers came into Henry VIII's service c.1525 and remained in the royal household until the time of his death in 1559. The fool's closeness to the King is evidenced in his appearance in at least three family portraits, as well as in the King's personal psalter. In addition to the anecdotes recorded in *Fool Upon Fool* (see pp. 56-7), Summers appears as a character in *Summer's Last Will*; the inclusion of a 'Will. Sommers sewttle' and 'cote' in the company inventories demonstrates the character's repeated appearance on the early modern stage. The fool's absence in *H8* (and thus the play's divergence from Rowley's) is treated in the play's prologue.
- 22 **PATCH** A derogatory name given to a natural fool or dullard (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1), deriving from the appearance of the fool's motley; also the nickname of Wolsey's fool, Master Sexton (see Heywood's Epigram 44, B6f). Cavendish's biography of Wolsey indicates that he gave Patch, along with Hampton Court, to King Henry as a final attempt to make amends in 1529. The name appears, along with Summers's, in the prologue to *Thorney Abbey* (c.1615), as well as in a collection of papers at St John's College, Oxford (late 1610s), relating to a satire about the foundation of a college of fools (Wiggins, private correspondence).
- 23 **ROOKSBY** No such name exists in the chronicles; presumably the role was fabricated by Rowley so as to serve as a reminder of the King's promise to the Counter prisoners (2.3.100-4). The name, regularised throughout (see p. 180), may derive from the verb 'rook', meaning 'to cheat or swindle' (*OED*, v.<sup>2</sup>).
- 29 **BONNIVET** Guillaume Gouffier, seigneur de Bonnavet (c. 1488-1525) was a French soldier and, from 1515, High Admiral of France; in 1519 he travelled to England with the Bishop of Paris (30n.) as ambassador from King Francis I. The name, often spelt 'Bonevet' in *Q1*, is regularised in *this edn.*
- 30 **PARIS** As Wilson notes (xix), the Bishop of Paris associated with Lord Bonnavet in 1519 was Étienne de Poncher (1446-1524), not John de Mazo. The name was presumably invention on Rowley's part.
- 31 **CAMPEIUS** Lorenzo Campeius or Campeggio (1474-1539) was a cardinal and papal legate; he came to England as part of Pope Leo X's peace policy in 1518, at which time Wolsey was granted temporary legatine powers (see 5.4.260n.). Campeius appears in *H8*, in which he acts as co-judge with Wolsey in the matter of the legitimacy of the King's marriage, and in *Whore of Babylon*. The name, frequently spelt 'Campeus' in *Q1*, is regularised throughout *this edn.*
- 32 **EMPEROR** Charles V (1500-1558), Holy Roman Emperor from 1519, was nephew to Queen Katherine of Aragon; as evidenced in his lengthy style (see 5.5.59-62 and ns), he was a hugely influential figure on the Continent. The Emperor and King Henry fought over the

- latter's divorce, but joined as allies against France in the 1540s. The Emperor appears also in the *Faustus* B-text.
- 34 **Two ... WATCH** The first watchman is named at 2.1.15 as 'Capcase', meaning a travelling-case or bag (*OED*); possibly the name refers to a hand-held stage property associated with the actor who played him. I retain *Q1*'s SPP, which provide the role form of the name throughout.
- 35 **DORMOUSE** Perhaps a nickname deriving from the proverb 'As dull as (to sleep like) a Dormouse' (Tilley, D568); see 2.1.55-8.
- 36 **Prickawl ... COBBLER** The name Prickawl, altered from 'Prichall' in *Q1*, highlights the pun on the Cobbler's profession; a prick awl is an instrument used by shoemakers to pierce holes in leather. Unlike Elze, who adopts 'Prichall' in SPP, I retain the role form of the name in *this edn.* The emphasis on the Cobbler's trade is important, given the play's likely connection with the *King and Cobbler* chapbook; *Q1*'s SPP are also given consistently as 'Cob.'.
- 37 **BLACK WILL** A 'Black Will' appears also in *Arden of Faversham* as one of 'two desperat ruffins' (title-page) and in *Richard the Third* as one of a pair of 'murtherous villaines' (E4<sup>r</sup>); the name and character type may thus have been recognisable to members of the playhouse audience. This in turn increases the humour of the episode in which the King and Black Will fail to recognise one another (2.1.116-29).
- 38 **PRISONERS** At least three men are required in this role, two of whom have individual speaking parts (see 2.3.34 SD1n. and 2.3.84 SPn.); line 2.3.84 is presumably spoken by all prisoners present on stage. One of the prisoners may perhaps be identified with Hopkins, referenced at 3.2.106.
- 41 **Lord Mayor** At the time of the Emperor's visit to England in 1523, the Lord Mayor of London was Thomas Baldry (c. 1481-1524/5); this is not the same 'Mayor' referenced at 1.4.298 (see n.).

# WHEN YOU SEE ME, YOU KNOW ME

[1.1]

*Enter the Cardinal [WOLSEY] with [BONNIVET and PARIS,]  
the Ambassadors of France, in all state and royalty,  
[others bearing] the purse and mace before him.*

WOLSEY

Gentlemen, give leave. – [Exeunt the purse- and mace-bearers.]

[to Paris and Bonnivet] You great ambassadors

From Francis the Most Christian King of France,

My Lord of Paris and Lord Bonnivet,

Welcome to England. Since the king your master

Entreats our furtherance to advance his peace,

Giving us titles of high dignity,

As next elect to Rome's supremacy,

Tell him we have so wrought with English Henry,

Who, as his right hand, loves the Cardinal,

That undelayed you shall have audience,

And this day will the King in person sit

To hear your message and to answer it.

BONNIVET

Your grace hath done us double courtesy,

For so much doth the king our master long

To have an answer of this embassy,

As minutes are thought months till we return.

1.1 Location: either York House (Wolsey's residence, later Whitehall Palace) or a private room in Westminster (the King's main residence until 1530). As Somerset notes, Rowley in this scene conflates elements of three French embassies, which took place respectively in 1514, 1519 and 1524 (see Holinshed, 832, 847-8 and 894-5). Only in 1519 were the ambassadors named as Bonnivet and the Bishop of Paris; however, the purpose for which the ambassadors come in the play (see 40-1) matches that of the 1514 embassy. Henry's intervention in the Emperor's invasion of the Low Countries (see 51-3) was an outcome of the 1524 embassy.

0.3 **purse** an ornate cloth bag in which the Great Seal was carried; one of the official insignia of the Lord Chancellor

**mace** a sceptre or staff of office, resembling the metal-headed weapon of war

2 **Francis** King Francis I, who acceded to the French throne after the death of King Louis XII in 1515. Rowley's anachronistic handling of source material leads to some confusion in the chronology of events, as Louis is still alive at line 47.

**Most Christian King** the style of the King of France since 1469, when the title was conferred upon King Louis XI by Pope Paul II (*Brewer's Dictionary*, 'Christian')

8 **wrought with** persuaded, worked upon

9 **as ... hand** Cf. Tilley, H73: 'He is his right hand'. Wolsey here indicates his proximity to and thus power over the King. See also the note to Ephesians, 1.19-20: 'To be set on God's right hand, is to be partaker of the sovereignty which he hath over all creatures'.

15 **embassage** the message conveyed by an ambassador (*OED* n. 2)

PARIS

And that is the cause his highness moves your grace  
 To quick dispatch betwixt the King and him,  
 And for a quittance of your forwardness  
 And hopeful kindness to the crown of France, 20  
 Twelve reverend bishops are sent post to Rome,  
 Both from his highness and the Emperor,  
 To move Campeius and the cardinals  
 For your election to the papal throne,  
 That Wolsey's head may wear the triple crown. 25

WOLSEY

We thank his highness for remembering us,  
 And so salute my lord the Emperor,  
 Both which, if Wolsey be made Pope of Rome,  
 Shall be made famous through all Christendom. –

*Enter BONNER.*

How now, Bonner? 30

BONNER

Sir William Compton from his highness comes,  
 To do a message to your excellence.

WOLSEY

Delay him a while and tell him we are busy. – [Exit Bonner.]  
 Meantime, my lords, you shall withdraw yourselves;  
 Our private conference must not be known. 35  
 Let all your gentlemen in their best array  
 Attend you bravely to King Henry's court,  
 Where we in person presently will meet you,  
 And doubt not we'll prevail successfully.

BONNIVET

But hath your grace yet moved his highness' sister  
 For kind acceptance of our sovereign's love? 40

WOLSEY

I have, and by the King's means finished it.  
 And yet it was a task, I tell ye lords,  
 That might have been imposed to Hercules,  
 To win a lady of her spirit and years 45

17 **that is** elided, i.e. *that's*  
**moves** urges, incites (*OED* v. 31a); cf. 23  
 and 40

21 **reverend** rev'rend

22 **Emperor** 'The Emperor' here and at lines 27  
 and 109 refers to Maximilian I; the Emperor  
 referred to at 51, however, is Charles V, the  
 'Emperor' of the play (see LR 32n.).

25 **triple crown** the Pope's crown, later referred  
 to as the 'papal diadem'

26 **remembering** rememb'ring (see t.n.)

28-9 Possibly intended as a rhyming couplet, in  
 which case *Q1*'s spelling of 'Christendom'  
 may be of significance (see t.n.).

29 **Christendom** the Christian countries

31 **William** disyllabic

40 **his highness' sister** Lady Mary

41 **our sovereign's** i.e. King Louis's (see 2n.)

44 Cf. Dent, H436.1: 'To be one of Hercules'  
 labours'. Hyperbolic expression, indicating the  
 seeming impossibility of the task; cf. *1 Honest*  
*Whore*, 3.3.102.

21 reverend] (reverent) 26 remembering] (remembering)  
 33 SD] Somerset (conj. Elze)

29 Christendom] (Christendome) SD] Elze; after 30 *Q1*

To see her first love crowned with silver hairs  
As old King Louis is, that bed-rid lies:  
Unfit for love or worldly vanities.

BONNIVET

But 'tis his country's peace the king respects.

WOLSEY

We think no less, and we have fully wrought it. 50  
The Emperor's forces that were levied  
To invade the frontiers of Low Burgundy  
Are stayed in Brabant by the King's command.  
The Admiral Howard, that was lately sent  
With threescore sail of ships and pinnaces 55  
To batter down the towns in Normandy,  
Is by our care for him called home again.  
Then doubt not of a fair, successful end,  
Since Wolsey is esteemed your sovereign's friend.

PARIS

We thank your excellence and take our leaves. 60

WOLSEY

Haste ye to court; I'll meet ye presently.

BONNIVET

Good morrow to your grace.

WOLSEY

Good morrow, lords.

Go, call Sir William Compton in. – [Exeunt Paris and Bonnivet.]

We must have narrow eyes and quick conceit  
To look into these dangerous stratagems. 65  
I will effect for France as they for me:  
If Wolsey to the Pope's high state attain  
The league is kept, or else he'll break't again. –

47 **King ... lies** King Louis, who was fifty-two at the time of his marriage to Lady Mary; she was just eighteen. Grafton (1569) notes how people 'spake shamefully of this marriage, that a feble old and pocky man should marry so fayre a Lady' (1010). Rowley's spelling 'Lewes' (see t.n.) suggests that the name may have been pronounced 'Lewis'.

50 **wrought** accomplished

51-3 As Somerset notes, the reference is to the collapse of the agreement of 1525, by which the Emperor was to invade the Burgundian provinces through the Low Countries.

51 **the Emperor's** i.e. Charles V's (see 22n.)

**levied** enrolled, enlisted (*OED* v. 4)

52 **To invade** elided, as *t'invade*

53 **stayed** ceased, prevented from further action (*OED* stay v.<sup>2</sup> 1a)

**Brabant** an ancient duchy in the Netherlands

54 **\*Admiral Howard** Wilson (xix) is no doubt correct to identify *Q1*'s 'Admiral Hayward' as either Sir Edward Howard (1476/7-1513) or his brother Lord Thomas Howard (1511-1537), Earl of Surrey and later Duke of Norfolk, both of whom served under Henry VIII as Lord Admiral.

55 **pinnaces** small vessels used as attendant vessels to a larger ship

63 **William** disyllabic

64 **We ... eyes** 'we must keep our wits about us' **quick conceit** shrewdness, understanding

65 **dangerous** dang'rous

67 **state** office, rank

68 **league** a military or political compact made between parties for their mutual protection (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1a)

47 Louis] *this edn*; *Lewes Q1*; *Lewis Q4* 49 his] *Q2*; is *Q1* 53 stayed] (*staid*) 54 Howard] *Somerset (conj. Wilson)*; Hayward *Q1*  
61 Haste] (*Hast*) 62 <sup>1&2</sup>Good] (*God*); *God Somerset* 62-3] *Somerset*; *Q1 lines grace. / in, /* 63 SD] *this edn*; *Exeunt* | *after*  
*grace. 62 Q1*; *Exeunt Bonnivet and Paris. | after 62 Somerset* 65 into] *om. Somerset*

*Enter BONNER and COMPTON.*

[*to Compton*] Now, good Sir William.

COMPTON

The King, my lord, entreats your reverend grace, 70  
There may be had some private conference  
Betwixt his highness and your excellence  
Before he hear the French ambassadors,  
And wills you hasten your repair to him.

WOLSEY

We will attend his highness presently. – 75  
Bonner, see all our train be set in readiness,  
That in our state and pomp pontifical,  
We may pass on to grace King Henry's court. [Exit Bonner.]

COMPTON

I have a message from the Queen, my lord,  
Who much commends and humbly thanks your grace 80  
For your exceeding love and zealous prayers,  
By your directions through all England sent,  
To invoke for her sound, prosperous help,  
By heaven's fair hand in child-bed passions.

WOLSEY

We thank her highness that accepts our love. 85  
In all cathedral churches through the land  
Are masses, dirges and processions sung,  
With prayers to heaven to bless her majesty  
And send her joy and quick delivery.  
And so, Sir William, do my duty to her; 90  
Queen Jane was ever kind and courteous,  
And always of her subjects honoured.

COMPTON

I take my leave, my lord.

WOLSEY

Adieu, good knight, we'll follow presently. – *Exit Compton.*  
Now Wolsey, work thy wits like gads of steel 95

70 **reverend** rev'rend

74 **repair** journey

77 **pontifical** of or relating to the Pope

79 **the Queen** i.e. Queen Jane

83 **invoke** pray

84 **heaven's** hea'en's

**child-bed passions** the throes of labour

87 **masses** forms of liturgy used in celebration of  
the Eucharist

**dirges** The more well-known meaning of  
the word, i.e. the songs sung at burial, is in-

appropriate here (cf. 1.2.70); presumably the  
word was intended to signify evensong (*OED*  
dirge *n.* 1).

**processions** litanies or prayers sung in a  
religious procession (*OED* procession *n.* 4b).  
*Q2's* compositor likely mistook the long 's'  
for an 'f' (see t.n.).

88 **heaven** hea'en

89 **quick delivery** from her suffering, but also,  
more literally, from her pregnancy

95 **gads** sharp spikes of metal

69 SD] *this edn* William.] William? *Somerset* 70 reverend] (reverent) 78 SD] *this edn* 83 for her sound] her sound and *Q4*  
87 processions] (Prosessions); Professions *Qq2-4, Elze* 94 SD] *this edn*; after 93 *Q1*

And make them pliable to all impressions,  
 That King and Queen and all may honour thee.  
 So toiled not Caesar in the state of Rome  
 As Wolsey labours in the affairs of kings;  
 As Hannibal with oil did melt the Alps 100  
 To make a passage into Italy,  
 So must we bear our high-pitched eminence  
 To dig for glory in the hearts of men,  
 Till we have got the papal diadem.  
 And to this end have I composed this plot, 105  
 And made a league between the French and us,  
 And matched their agèd king in holy marriage  
 With Lady Mary, royal Henry's sister,  
 That he in peace complotting with the Emperor  
 May plead for us within the courts of Rome. 110  
 Wherefore was Alexander's fame so great,  
 But that he conquered and deposèd kings?  
 And where doth Wolsey fail to follow him,  
 That thus commandeth kings and emperors?  
 Great England's lord have I so won with words 115  
 That under colour of advising him  
 I overrule both council, court and king.  
 Let him command, but we will execute,  
 Making our glory to outshine his fame  
 Till we have purchased an eternal name. – 120

*Enter BONNER.*

Now, Bonner, are those proclamations sent,  
 As we directed to the sh'riffs of London,  
 Of certain new-devisèd articles  
 For ordering those brothels called the stews?

96 As Somerset suggests, the 'them' in this line likely refers to members of the King's court, while 'impressions' (= influences) marks an implicit reference to the use of sealing wax; Wolsey moulds those around him in accordance with his ambitions. Cf. Tilley, W138: 'To work upon one (anything) like wax' and 3H6: 'Have wrought the easy-melting King like wax' (2.1.171).

100-1 **Hannibal ... Italy** The story of Hannibal (247-183/1 BC) is recorded in both Appian and Livy (English translations of which were printed in 1578 and 1600, respectively), although, as Elze notes, it was acid or 'vinegar' rather than oil that was used to dissolve the Alps; Anthony Cope's *Historie* (1544) is another possible source.

102 **high-pitched** lofty, noble

104 **papal diadem** the Pope's crown (cf. 'triple crown' at 25)

109 **Emperor** See 22n.

111 **Wherefore** for what

**Alexander's** Alexander III of Macedon (356-323 BC), i.e. Alexander the Great

116 **under colour of** under pretext or pretence of

120 **purchased** obtained, gained possession of (*OED* purchase v. 4a)

121-4 In 1546 King Henry issued a proclamation to convert the stews (see 124n.) into respectable houses (Holinshed, 972); Wolsey, who died in 1530, had no input in its implementation. See *Common Whore*: 'The Stewes in England bore a beastly sway, / Till the eight Henry banish'd them away' (B3').

124 **the stews** brothel houses on Bankside



BONNER

They are ready, my lord, and the sheriff attends for them.

125

WOLSEY

Dispatch him quickly and haste after me;

We must attend the King's high majesty.

[*Exeunt.*]

[1.2]

*Sound trumpets. Enter KING Harry the Eighth, QUEEN JANE big with child, the Cardinal [WOLSEY], Charles BRANDON Duke of Suffolk, DUDLEY, GREY, COMPTON, the LADY MARY, [and] the COUNTESS of Salisbury attending on the Queen.*

KING

Charles Brandon, Dudley and my good Lord Grey,

Prepare yourselves and be in readiness

To entertain these French ambassadors.

Meet them before our royal palace gate,

And so conduct them to our majesty;

We mean this day to give them audience.

5

DUDLEY, GREY

We will, my lord.

BRANDON

Let one attend without,

And bring us word when they are coming on.

[*Exit Compton.*]

KING

How now, Queen Jane? Mother of God, my love,

Thou wilt never be able to sit half this time. –

Ladies, I fear she'll wake ye ere't be long;

Methinks she bears her burden very heavily. –

And yet, good sister, and my honoured lords,

If this fair hour exceed not her expect

And pass the calendar of her accounts,

She will hear this embassy. – Jane, wilt thou not?

10

15

125 Since lineation in *Q1* is ambiguous, it is difficult to know whether this is verse or prose. I follow *Elze* and *Somerset* in setting as verse: if spoken as a combination of anapaestic and iambic feet (with 'sheriff' elided to 'sh'riff'), the line maintains the pentameter of surrounding verse lines.

1.2 Location: presumably Hampton Court Palace, where Prince Edward was born. Although the action is continuous (Henry is preparing to meet Bonnavet and Paris), the historical action moves forward to 1537.

0.1 *Harry* often used in place of 'Henry', particularly by Will Summers  
*big with child* Perhaps effected by a bundle of rags inside the actor's costume; cf. *Blind Beggar* (TLN 1459) and *Witch of Edmonton* (1.1.0 SD).

3 **French ambassadors** i.e. Bonnavet and Paris  
 8 SD *Somerset* reads '*Exit Compton and Gray*', but only one character needs to leave the stage to carry out the King's request; since Compton enters alone at 51, he is the most likely candidate.

9 **Mother of God** one of King Henry's characteristic expressions in the play

10 **Thou wilt never** elided, as *thou'lt ne'er*

11 **\*ere't** before it

12 **heavily** sluggishly, laboriously; perhaps also with reference to her size

14-15 **exceed ... accounts** exceed computations on the length of her pregnancy

16 **She will** elided, as *she'll*  
**embassy** message, communication

125 sheriff] (Shrieue) 127 SD] *Somerset* 1.2] *this edn* 0.1 *Harry*] *HENRY Elze Eighth*] (*Eight*) 0.2 WOLSEY] *this edn*  
 0.3 and] *this edn* 7] *Elze; Q1 lines* Lord. / without. / 8 SD] *this edn; Exit Compton and Gray.* | *after 8 Somerset*  
 11 ere't] *Q4*; yer *Q1* 12 burden] (*burthen*)

## QUEEN JANE

Yes, my dear lord, I cannot leave your sight,  
 So long as life retains this mansion,  
 In whose sweet looks bright sovereignty's enthroned,  
 That makes all nations love and honour thee; 20  
 Within thy frame sits awful majesty,  
 Wreathed in the curlèd furrows of thy front,  
 Admired and feared even of thine enemies;  
 To be with thee is my felicity.  
 Not to behold the state of all the world 25  
 Could win thy queen, thy sick, unwieldy queen,  
 To leave her chamber in this mother's state,  
 But sight of thee, unequalled potentate.

## KING

God-a-mercy, Jane, reach me thy princely hand.  
 [*They hold hands.*] Thou art now a right woman, goodly chief of thy sex; 30  
 Methinks thou art a queen superlative.  
 Mother o' God, this is a woman's glory,  
 Like good September vines laden with fruit.  
 How ill did they define the name of woman,  
 Adding so foul a preposition 35  
 To call it woe to man? 'Tis woe from man,  
 If woe it be, and then who does not know  
 That women still from men receive their woe.  
 Yet they love men for it, but what's their gain?  
 Poor souls no more but travail for their pain. 40

18 **mansion** the human body (*OED* *n.* 1d)

18-19 Somerset notes that the 'change of thought here is abrupt' and plausibly suggests that a line may have been omitted between 18 and 19.

20 \***makes** altered from *QI*'s 'make', since the verb refers to the King's sovereignty

21 **frame** body, person

**awful** worthy of awe or respect

22 **curled furrows** wrinkles

**front** forehead. King Henry's frown was feared amongst his courtiers.

23 **even** e'en

24 **felicity** happiness, prosperity (*OED* *n.* 2, 3a)

26 **win** convince, persuade

**unwieldy** feeble, infirm (*OED* *unwildy adj.* 1a), or possibly, as per Somerset's reading, awkward, clumsy (*adj.* 2a). *QI*'s spelling (see t.n.) may reflect intended pronunciation.

27 **this mother's state** pregnancy

28 **potentate** monarch, ruler

29 **God-a-mercy** 'God have mercy'

30 With much elision this line can fit a pentameter metre or, if a predominantly iambic rhythm is maintained, it can be spoken as a hexameter; alternatively, it may be read as something app-

roaching prose, as is often the case when speech and action combine (cf. 5.1.227-34 and 5.4.178).

**right** upright, righteous (*OED adj.* 4); cf. *TNK*: 'You are a right woman, sister' (3.6.215-16)

\***goodly chief** The deletion of the comma (see t.n.) slightly alters the sense; whereas in *QI* Queen Jane is goodly (= comely, admirable) and chief (= foremost representative) of the female sex, here she is their 'goodly chief', i.e. a perfect example of womanhood.

31 **superlative** supreme, surpassing all others

33 **September** i.e. when fruit is at its ripest; a reference also to Queen Jane's pregnancy, as Prince Edward was born in October

**laden** *QI*'s spelling (see t.n.) may give some indication of Rowley's intended pronunciation.

34-40 With punning reference to the derivation of the word 'woman' and the well-known proverb: 'Woman is the woe of man' (Tilley, W656). King Henry thus challenges the traditional view of women, suggesting instead that women 'from men' receive their woe (38).

40 **travail** suffer, grow weary; perhaps also with reference to pain in labour

18 mansion] mansion! Somerset 19 enthroned] (in-Thronde) 20 makes] (*conj.* *Elze*); make *QI* 26 unwieldy] (*unwildy*)  
 27 mother's] Mother *Q4* 28 unequalled] *Elze*; vnequall *QI* 30 SD] *this edn* goodly chief] *this edn*; goodly, cheife *QI* 32 o'] (a)  
 33 laden] (loden); loaden *Elze*, Somerset 34 name] names *Qq3-4* woman] (*wemen*); women *Qq2-4* 40 travail] trauell *Q3*

Come, love, thou art sad. – [to Dudley] Call Will Summers in  
To make her merry; where's the fool today?

DUDLEY

He was met, my liege, they say at London,  
Early this morning with Doctor Skelton.

KING

He's never from him. Go, let a groom be sent  
And fetch him home. – [to Wolsey] My good Lord Cardinal,  
Who are the chief of these ambassadors? 45

WOLSEY

Lord Bonnavet, the French High Admiral,  
And John de Mazo, reverend Bishop of Paris.

KING

Let their welcome be thy care, good Wolsey. 50

WOLSEY

It shall, my liege.

KING

Spare for no cost. –

*Enter COMPTON.*

Compton, what news?

COMPTON

Ambassadors, my liege.

KING

Enough. – Go give them entertainment, lords. –  
Charles Brandon, hear'st thou? Give them courtesy  
Enough, and state enough. Go, conduct them. 55

BRANDON

I go, my lord. [Exeunt Brandon and Grey.]

*Enter WILL SUMMERS, booted and spurred, blowing a horn.*

KING How now, William? What? Post, post! Where have you been riding?

WILL SUMMERS Out of my way, old Harry, I am all on the spur, I can tell ye.

I have tidings worth telling.

KING Why, where hast thou been? 60

41-2 \*Lineation here follows that of *Q4* (see t.n.);  
the line scans best if 'thou art' is elided to  
'thou'rt' and the change of address marks a  
pause equal to a single unstressed beat.

42 \***where's** altered from *Q1*'s 'where is' to pre-  
vent stress falling on 'is'

44 **Doctor Skelton** John Skelton (c. 1463-1529),  
poet laureate and tutor to Henry during the  
reign of his father, King Henry VII.

45 **him** Like Somerset, I retain the copy-text's  
'him' over *Q2*'s 'thence'; thus the King  
comments on Summers's proximity to Skelton.  
The latter's distrust of Wolsey was well known  
(see 'Why come ye not to courte?') and it may

be that Rowley connected the two in their  
dislike of the Cardinal; that Summers frequently  
speaks in Skeltonic verse further suggests links  
between the two characters.

49 **reverend** rev'rend

**John de Mazo** See LR 30n.

56 SD1 Somerset provides the vague exit direction  
'Exeunt lords', but it is clear that only Brandon  
and Grey leave the stage; both Dudley and  
Compton speak later in the scene.

SD2 **booted and spurred** as if from riding a horse

57 **Post** 'hurry up'

58 **I ... spur** Cf. Dent, S789: 'He is (To be) all on  
the spur'.

41 SD] *this edn* 41-2] *Q4*; *Q1* lines in, to / to day, / 42 where's] *Elze*; where is *Q1* 45 him] thence *Qq2-4*, *Elze* groom] (grome)  
46 SD] *this edn* 49 reverend] (reverent) 50 Let] Now let (*conj. Elze*) 51 SD] Somerset; after liege. 51 *Q1* 51-2] *this edn*; *Q1* lines  
Liege. / newes? / Liege. / 52 Ambassadors] Th' ambassadors *Elze* 55 Go] go and *Elze* 56 SD1] *this edn*; Exeunt lords. | Somerset

- WILL SUMMERS Marry, I rose early and rode post to London to know what news was here at court.
- KING Was that your nearest way, William?
- WILL SUMMERS Oh ay, the very footpath, but yet I rode the horse-way to hear it. I warrant there is ne'er a conduit-head keeper in London but knows what is done in all the courts in Christendom. 65
- WOLSEY And what is the best news there, William?
- WILL SUMMERS Good news for you, my Lord Cardinal, for one of the old woman water-bearers told me for certain, that last Friday all the bells in Rome rang backward; there was a thousand dirges sung, six hundred Ave Maries said, every man washed his face in holy water, the people crossing and blessing themselves to send them a new Pope, for the old is gone to purgatory. 70
- WOLSEY Ha, ha, ha!
- WILL SUMMERS Nay, my lord, you'd laugh if 'twere so indeed, for everybody thinks, if the Pope were dead, you gape for a benefice; but this news, my lord, is called too good to be true. 75
- KING But this news came apace, Will, that came from Rome to London since Friday last.
- WILL SUMMERS For 'twas at Billingsgate by Saturday morning. 'Twas a full moon, and it came up in a spring tide. 80
- KING Then you hear of the ambassadors that are come?

61 \*As Somerset suggests, *Q1*'s 'rise' and 'ride' may stand here for the obsolete past tenses 'ris' and 'rid' (as at 64; see t.n.); the modern forms 'rose' and 'rode' clarify the sense of the passage. **post** quickly, without delay

61-2 This episode seems to have been used as source material for 'an Epigram, vpon a iest of Will Summers' in Rowlands' *Good News and Bad News*; the lines 'And therefore for a while, adue *White-hall*, / *Harry*, Ile bring thee newes home, lyes and all' (A3<sup>v</sup>) correspond with Rowley's line 176.

63 **nearest** most direct

64 **horse-way** bridle path

65 **it** i.e. the gossip, the 'tidings worth telling' (59) **conduit-head keeper** the official responsible for watching over the public conduit or fountain; one who sees all the comings and goings of the City. Summers similarly receives information from the City's water-bearers (69), barbers (84) and bakers (96). *Q1*'s 'Cundhead' (possibly an elision of *Q3*'s 'Cundid-head') may give some indication of pronunciation.

6 **water-bearers** people responsible for transporting water from the conduit-head, usually of ill repute; see *Summer's Last Will*: 'These Water-bearers will empty the conduit and a mans coffers at once' (TLN 1704-5)

69-70 **all ... backward** A peal of bells is typically rung out of order as a sign of distress or mourning; cf. *Late Lancashire Witches*: 'They ring backwards me thinks' (E3<sup>r</sup>).

70 **dirges** songs of mourning (cf. 1.1.87)

70-1 **Ave Maries** Hail Marys; salutations to the Virgin said or sung in the Roman Catholic Church (see Luke 1.28)

73 **purgatory** a place of spiritual cleansing in the Roman Catholic Church; figuratively, a place of temporary suffering or madness (*OED* n. 2)

76 **gape ... benefice** yearn for recompense or reward; proverbial (Tilley, B308)

76-7 **this ... true** Cf. Tilley, N156: 'This news is too good to be true'.

80 **For** Somerset's conjectured reading 'Foh' works well in context here; alternatively, he suggests 'For' may be a shortening of 'Fore God'.

**Billingsgate** a small ward in the south-east of the City of London, lying on the north bank of the Thames; the principal of the old water-gates. Boats (and with them, news) came upriver with the tide.

81 **spring tide** a tide occurring on the days shortly after the new and full moon, when the high-water level reaches its maximum (*OED* n. 2a)

61 rose] *Somerset*; rise *Q1* rode] *Somerset*; ride *Q1* 64 Oh ay] (O I) rode] (rid) 65 ne'er] (nere) conduit-head] (Cundhead); Cund-head *Q2*; Cundid-head *Q3-4* 69 woman] (wemen); women *Elze*, *Somerset* 70-1 Ave Maries] (aue-maries) 75 if 'twere] (if't were) 80 For] *Foh* (*conj. Somerset*) Billingsgate] (Billings-gate) 82 hear] heard *Elze*

- WILL SUMMERS     Ay, ay, and that was the cause of my riding: to know what they came for. I was told it all at a barber's.
- KING     Ha, ha! – What a fool's this, Jane? – And what do they say they come for, Will? 85
- WILL SUMMERS     Marry, they say they come to crave thy aid against the Great Turk that vows to overrun all France within this fortnight. He's in a terrible rage, belike, and they say the reason is, his old god Mu'mmad, that was buried i'th' top on's church at Mecca, his tomb fell down and killed a sow and seven pigs, whereupon they think all swine's flesh is new sanctified, and now it is thought the Jews will fall to eating of pork extremely after it. 90
- KING     This is strange indeed; but is this all?
- WILL SUMMERS     No, there is other news that was told me among the women at a bakehouse, and that is this: they say the great bell in Glastonbury Tower has tolled twice, and that King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table that were buried in armour are alive again, crying 'Saint George for England', and mean shortly to conquer Rome. Marry, this is thought to be but a moral. 100
- KING     The ambassadors are coming, and hear, William, see that you be silent when you see them here.

85 **\*they come** This *edn* follows *Somerset* in emending 'he comes', since 'they' refers to 'the ambassadors' at 82 (see also 87).

87-8 **Great ... fortnight** The 'Great Turk' refers to the Ottoman Sultan. This may, as *Somerset* suggests, be a reference to the embassy of 1519 'from the Pope for aid against the invaders of Rhodes' (Holinshed, 845; cf. 1.4.304-9).

89 **belike** in all likelihood  
**Mu'mmad** i.e. Muhammad (c. 570-632), the Arab prophet through whom the Qur'ān was revealed. *Q1*'s 'Mamet', an elided form of the name Mahomet (an archaic version of Muhammad), indicates Summers's pronunciation.

90 **Mecca** the holy city in Saudi Arabia, home of Muhammad; not, however, where Muhammad was buried: 'some who say that the body of Muhammad is suspended in the air at Mecca must be reproved ... I have seen his sepulchre in this city, Medina' (Varthema, *Itinerario in Travelers in Disguise*, 69; cited in *Somerset*).  
**his ... down** The tomb was said to have been suspended midway between heaven and earth (Tilley, M13); see also *Mahomet*, which includes the direction 'with a Tombe hanging over the doore' ('The Properties', line 3).

92 **sanctified** 'given the sanction of a religious body' (*Somerset*)

**Jews ... pork** i.e. since eating swine's flesh is no longer seen to go against Jewish laws (see Leviticus, 11.7)

93 **extremely** in or to an extreme degree

96 **bakehouse** a public bakery, probably pronounced 'backhouse' (see t.n.); alternatively, as per *Somerset*, Rowley may have intended 'back-house' (= back-shop, lying behind a street's main shops); cf. *Cobbler's Prophecy*: 'And some that dwelt in streetes were large and faire, / Kept backe shops to vtter their baddest ware' (TLN 181-2).

**Glastonbury Tower** I follow *Somerset* in emending *Q1*'s 'Tor' (perhaps 'To'r' in the underlying MS), since this seems to be a reference to St Michael's Tower on Glastonbury Tor; readings in *Qq2-4* and *Elze* represent increasing states of corruption, seemingly instigated by the erroneous full point in *Q1* (see t.n.).

96-9 **they ... Rome** a popular version of the legend whereby Arthur and his knights conquered Rome. Glastonbury is said to be the burial place of Arthur and Guinevere.

98-9 **\*'Saint ... England'** the 'common cry of the English soldiers in attacking an enemy' (Collier, *Collection*, IX.49; cited in *Somerset*)

100 **moral** No parallel use is recorded in *OED*; the meaning here seems to be 'myth', 'legend'.

83 Ay, ay] (I, I) 85, 87 they come] *Somerset*; he comes *Q1* 89 Mu'mmad] (Mamet) 96 bakehouse] (backe house); back house *Somerset* Glastonbury Tower] *Somerset*; glassenberie. Tor *Q1*; *Glassenberie*. For *Q2*; *Glassenberie*: For *Q3*; *Glassenberie*: For *Q4*; Glastonbury *Elze* 97 tolled] (told) 98-9 'Saint George for England'] *Somerset*; Saint Gorge for England *Q1* 98 George] (Gorge)

- WILL SUMMERS I'll be wise and say little, I warrant thee, and therefore till I  
see 'em come, I'll go talk with the Queen. – How dost thou, Jane, sirrah? –  
Harry, she looks very big upon me, but I care not an she bring thee a 105  
young prince. Will Summers may haps be his fool when you two are  
both dead and rotten.
- KING Go to, William. – How now, Jane, what groaning?  
God's me, thou hast an angry soldier's frown.
- WILL SUMMERS I think so, Harry, thou hast pressed her often; I am sure this 110  
two years she has served under thy standard.
- QUEEN JANE  
Good faith, my lord, I must entreat your grace  
That with your favour, I may leave the presence;  
I cannot stay to hear this embassy.
- KING  
God's holy mother! – Ladies, lead her to her chamber, 115  
Go bid the midwives and the nurses wait;  
Make wholesome fires and take her from the air. –  
Now, Jane, God bring me but a chopping boy,  
Be but the mother to a Prince of Wales,  
Add a ninth Henry to the English crown, 120

- 103 **I'll ... little** The sentiment of numerous proverbs; cf. Tilley, M606: 'Wise men silent, fools talk'; P145: 'He is wise that can hold his peace'; and F531: 'Fools are wise as long as silent'. See also Proverbs, 17.28: 'Even a fool (when he holdeth his peace) is counted wise'.  
**I warrant thee** I assure you; one of Summers's characteristic expressions and one of Rowley's 'stylistic fingerprints' (Kuriyama, 194; see p. 32).
- 104-5 **Jane ... Harry** Q2 alters the punctuation of these lines so that 'sirrah' is addressed to Henry rather than to Jane (see t.n.). It was not unknown, however, for women to be addressed as sirrah; cf. *I Honest Whore* (2.1.198).
- 105 **upon me** upon my word  
**an** if; altered from 'and' whenever this is the reading supplied in Q1 (as per t.ns)
- 105-6 **but ... fool** Punctuation in *Somerset* alters the sense of these lines (see t.n.); both readings are acceptable, though *this edn* places more emphasis on the importance of gender.
- 106 **haps** perhaps
- 107 **dead and rotten** Proverbial (Dent, D126.1).
- 108 **groaning** the action/sound of groaning, but also more closely related with labour and childbirth (see 'groaning-chair' in *OED*)
- 109 **God's me** contraction of 'God save me'  
**an ... frown** Cf. *Faithful Friends*: 'whose fearfull Soule, a Souldiers frowne would fright' (TLN 826).
- 110 **pressed** a bawdy pun (see Partridge, 215; Williams, 244-5). Cf. *A Shoemaker*: 'That very day my Brother was prest forth ... You prest her at night, did you?' (H1<sup>v</sup>).
- 111 **served ... standard** continuing the pun, whereby *standard* (as military ensign) = penis (Partridge, 248; Williams, 289). Cf. *LLL*: 'Advance your standards and upon them, lords!' (4.3.341).
- 114 **embassage** message, communication (see 16)
- 115 This line does not fit comfortably into any metrical pattern and, given its nature, may be spoken more as an impassioned outburst than to a strict rhythm.
- 117 Cf. *Oth*: 'O, bear him out o'th' air' (5.1.104). Possibly this was contemporary medical advice; Somerset cites Barrough: 'it profiteth to use hot infusions and evaporations, and to have the aire of the house inclining to heate' (III. 265).
- wholesome** conducive to well-being
- 118 **chopping** big, strapping (*OED adj.*<sup>2</sup>). Cf. *Silver Age*: 'Alcmena is deliuered, brought to bed / Of a fine chopping boy' (F2<sup>v</sup>).
- 119 **Prince of Wales** Thus linking Prince Edward with the company's patron, Prince Henry; see also 'ninth Henry' at 120 and pp. 90-2 on links with *Valiant Welshman*.
- 120 **Add** A more emphatic reading than Q2's 'And', in that it stresses the importance of Jane's role in furthering the Tudor line.

104 'em] them Qq2-4, Elze Jane, sirrah? – Harry] (lane, sirra. Harrie); lane? sirra Harrie Qq2-4, Elze 105 not] not; Somerset an] (and) 106 prince.] prince, Somerset 109] prose in Elze and Somerset thou hast] Elze; th'hast Q1 116 wait] (waight) 119 the] a Qq2-4, Elze 120 Add] (Ad); And Qq2-4, Elze

And thou mak'st full my hopes. Fair queen, adieu,  
And may heaven's helping hand our joys renew.

COMPTON

God make your majesty a happy mother.

DUDLEY

And help you in your weakest passions.  
With zealous prayer we all will invoke  
The powers divine for your delivery.

125

QUEEN JANE

We thank you all, and in fair interchange  
We'll pray for you. – [*to the King*] Now on my humble knees,  
I take my leave of your high majesty.  
God send your highness long and happy reign,  
And bless this kingdom and your subjects' lives,  
And to your gracious heart all joy restore;  
I fear I shall never behold you more.

130

KING

Do not think so, fair queen, go to thy bed,  
Let not my love be so discomforted.

135

WILL SUMMERS No, no, I warrant thee, Jane, make haste and dispatch this  
that thou mayst have another against next Christmas.

KING Ladies, attend her. Countess of Salisbury, sister Mary, who first brings  
word that Harry hath a son shall be rewarded well.

WILL SUMMERS Ay, I'll be his surety. But do you hear, wenches? She that  
brings the first tidings, howsoever it fall out, let her be sure to say the  
child's like the father, or else she shall have nothing.

140

[*Exeunt Queen Jane, Lady Mary and Countess.*]

*Enter [BRANDON and GREY with BONNIVET and PARIS].*

122 **heaven's** hea'ens

124 *Elze* conjectures that this line belongs to Compton. While the suggestion is attractive in adding balance to the lords' respective speech, the copy-text reading is retained on the basis that it is not necessarily incorrect.

**passions** pain, suffering (cf. 1.1.84)

125 **invoke** appeal to

126 **delivery** the safe delivery of her child, as well as the more general deliverance from suffering

127 **interchange** exchange

128 **Now ... knees** The wording indicates that the Queen kneels in front of King Henry; however, given her heavily pregnant state, this is perhaps unlikely. Possibly, the words were spoken figuratively, as an expression of the Queen's humility and respect.

130 **happy** *Q4*'s 'prosperous' was evidently an attempt on the part of a proofreader or

corrector to improve upon the text of their copy; *Q1*'s reading is no less effective.

135 **discomforted** disheartened, saddened, but also uncomfortable, uneasy

136 **dispatch this** i.e. give birth to this child

137 **against** before

138-9 \*I follow *Somerset* in setting Henry's lines as prose; the urgency of the action, as well as the change of address, strengthens the likelihood that Henry switched from verse to prose.

140-2 Cf. *H8*, in which the Old Lady is paid 'an hundred marks' after declaring of the baby Elizabeth: 'Tis as like you / As cherry is to cherry' (5.1.168-9).

141 **it fall out** it comes about; also perhaps with crude reference to the baby

142 *SD2 Q1*'s entrance direction here is vague (see t.n.); *this edn* takes '*Lords*' to mean Brandon and Grey, who left the stage after 56 to 'conduct' the ambassadors.

123 mother.] mother — *Somerset* 128 *SD*] *this edn* my] *Q2*; my my *Q1* 130 happy] prosperous *Q4* 133 shall never] never shall *Elze* 136 haste] (hast) 138-9] *Somerset*; *Q1* lines Mary / Son / well: / 140 *Ay*] (1) 142 the] his *Elze* *SD1*] *Somerset* subst. *SD2* BRANDON and GREY with BONNIVET and PARIS] *this edn*; *Lords and Embassadors Q1*

KING

Welcome, Lord Bonnivet; – welcome, Bishop. –  
What from our brother brings this embassy?

BONNIVET

Most fair commends, great and renowned Henry. 145  
We in the person of our lord and king  
Here of your highness do entreat a league,  
And to re-edify the former peace  
Held betwixt the realms of England and of France,  
Of late disordered for some petty wrongs; 150  
And pray your majesty to stay your powers  
Already levied in Low Burgundy,  
Which to maintain, our oaths shall be engaged,  
And to confirm it with more surety,  
He craves your fair consent unto his love, 155  
And give the Lady Mary for his queen,  
The second sister to your royal self;  
So may an heir springing from both your bloods  
Make both realms happy by a lasting league.

KING

We kindly do receive your master's love, 160  
And yet our grant stands strong unto his suit,  
If that no following censure feeble it,  
For we herein must take our council's aid;  
But howsoever our answer shall be swift.  
Meantime we grant you fair access to woo, 165  
And win her, if you can, to be his queen;  
Ourself will second you. Right welcome, both. –  
Lord Cardinal, these lords shall be your guests,  
But let our treasure waste to welcome them;  
Banquet them how they will, what cheer, what sport: 170  
Let them see Harry keeps a kingly court.

WOLSEY

I shall, my sovereign.

143 **Bishop** i.e. Paris144 **brother** i.e. King Louis XII; a familiar expression used by kings and princes to refer to one another (see *OED n.* 6)**embassage** the body of persons sent as a deputation to or from a sovereign (*OED n.* 4, earliest recorded use in 1626)145 **commends** greetings (*OED commend n.* 3)147 **league** See 1.1.68n.148 **re-edify** restore, re-establish149 **Held betwixt** anapaestic, i.e. the first stressed syllable is *–twixt*

150 Somerset notes that the peace was broken in 1518/9 due to Wolsey's grudge against France; see Holinshed, 839.

151–2 **stay ... Burgundy** Cf. 1.1.51–3.153 **engaged** offered as guarantee; *Somerset* alternatively reads 'in gage', where 'gage' = pledge, security154 **surety** certainty, conviction157 **second sister** See LR 13n.161 **yet** for the time being (Abbott, no.76)**our ... suit** i.e. we support his intention162 **feeble** enfeeble, weaken (*OED v.* 2)164 **howsoever** howsoe'er165 **access** permission, freedom**woo** likely pronounced 'woe' (see Kökeritz, 85); perhaps, as Somerset suggests, recalling 34–40167 **second** support169 **let ... waste** 'spare no expense'

145 commends] commend *Qq3–4* Henry] (Hen.) 150 for] by *Q4* 153 engaged] (ingadge); in gage *Somerset* 163 council's]  
(Counsels) 165 woo] (woe) 168 lords] *om. Qq2–4* 169 waste] (Wast)



KING

Withdraw a while, ourselves will follow ye. –

*Exeunt [all but the King and Will Summers].*

Now, Will, are you not deceived in this embassy?

You heard they came for aid against the Turk.

175

WILL SUMMERS Well then, now I see there is loud lies told in London. But all's one, for their coming's to as much purpose as the other.

KING And why, I pray?

WILL SUMMERS Why, dost thou think thy sister such a fool to marry such an old *dies Veneris*? He get her with prince? Ay, when either I or the Cardinal prove Pope, and that will never be, I hope.

180

KING How knowest thou him to be old? Thou never sawest him.

WILL SUMMERS No, nor he me, but I saw his picture with ne'er a tooth i'th' head on't, and all his beard as well favoured as a white frost. But it is no matter, if he have her: he will die shortly and then she may help to bury him.

185

*Enter [two] LADIES [in haste].*

1 LADY Run, run, good madam! Call the ladies in; call for more women's help. The Queen is sick!

2 LADY For God's love, go back again and warm more clothes. O let the wine be well burned, I charge ye.

*[Exeunt Ladies.]*

190

WILL SUMMERS Ay, in any case, or I cannot drink it. – Dost thou hear, Harry, what a coil they keep? I warrant these women will drink thee up more wine with their gossiping than was spent in all the conduits at thy coronation.

*Enter LADY MARY and the COUNTESS of Salisbury.*

KING 'Tis no matter, Will. – How now, ladies?

195

175 Referring back to their conversation at 87–8.

176 **loud** flagrant, barefaced177 **all's one** it matters not. Cf. Dent, *Exclusive*, A123.11: 'All comes to one'.180 *dies Veneris* Latin, translated as *day of Venus* (Friday). Since Venus is the Roman goddess of love, this is no doubt a sarcastic reference to King Louis's age and probable infertility.180–1 **Ay ... hope** Although 'Pope' and 'hope' rhyme here, the lines are unlike the Skeltonic verse spoken elsewhere in the play (e.g. 205–10); thus, while the rhyme was perhaps intended to bring home Summers's point, I retain *Q1*'s lineation on this occasion.181 **prove** become184 **i'th'** *Q1*'s spelling 'ethe' may indicate Summers's pronunciation; cf. the watchmen's language in 2.1 (see t.ns).**\*on't** I follow *Q4* in emending *Q1*'s 'out' (probably 'ont' with upturned 'n'); however, *Somerset* retains 'out' on the basis that it may mean protruding or visible.**as well ... frost** Possibly a vague reference to the proverb 'as white as snow' (Tilley, F768).187–90 \*I follow *Elze* in setting these lines as prose; both the haste and urgency with which the ladies enter suggests faster speech than is achievable with blank verse.190 **burned** heated over fire. *Somerset* cites Barr-ough: 'If sore trauell in child-birth be caused of adstriction, and binding ... you must helpe it ... by powring in largely sweet wine and hote' (III.265).192 **coil** noisy disturbance, turmoil (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1); cf. Tilley, C505: 'To keep a (foul) coil'. See also *Alchemist*, 5.4.14–15 and *Mahomet*, 4.5.1

173 will] weele *Qq2-3*; we'l *Q4*; we'll *Elze* SD] *this edn*; Ex. Wools: | opp. 172 *Q1*; *Exeunt Wolsey and Ambassadors*. | *Elze*, *Somerset* 177 one] *Q3*; on *Q1* 180 He] to *Elze* Ay] (I) 180–1 He ... hope.] *Q4* and *Somerset* line Prince? / Pope, / hope. / 183 ne'er a] (ner-a) 184 i'th'] (ethe) on't] *Q4*; out *Q1* 186 SD two] *Somerset* subst. in haste] *this edn* 187–8] *Elze*; *Q1* lines in. / sicke. / 189–90] *Elze*; *Q1* lines clothes: / yee. / 190 O] and *Elze* SD] *this edn* 191 Ay] (I) 193 than] (then)

- LADY MARY I beseech your grace, command the fool forth of the presence.  
 KING Away, William, you must be gone; here's women's matters in hand.  
 WILL SUMMERS Let them speak low, then. I'll not out of the room, sure.  
 COUNTESS Come, come, let's thrust him out; he'll not stir else.  
 WILL SUMMERS Thrust me? Nay, an ye go to thrusting, I'll thrust some of 200  
 you down, I warrant ye.  
 KING Nay, go, good William.  
 WILL SUMMERS I'll out of their company, Harry. They will scratch worse than  
 cats if they catch me; therefore I'll hence and leave them. – Goodbye, ladies.  
 [to Lady Mary] Do you hear, madam Mary, 205  
 You had need to be wary,  
 My news is worth a white-cake;  
 You must play at tennis  
 With old Saint Denis,  
 And your maidenhead must lie at the stake. *Exit.* 210  
 KING Ha, ha! The fool tells you true, my gentle sister.  
 But to our business: how fares my queen?  
 How fares my Jane? Has she a son for me  
 To raise again our kingdom's sovereignty?  
 LADY MARY  
 That yet rests doubtful, O my princely lord. 215  
 Your poor distressed queen lies weak and sick,  
 And be it son or daughter, dear she buys it,  
 Even with her dearest life, for one must die;  
 All women's help is past. Then, good my liege,  
 Resolve it quickly: if the Queen shall live, 220  
 The child must die; or if it life receives,  
 You must your hapless queen of life bereave.  
 KING  
 You pierce me with your news. Run, send for help,  
 Spend the revènués of my crown for aid  
 To save the life of my belovèd queen. 225

196 **the presence** the presence chamber, where the King receives his visitors

200-1 **I'll ... ye** with implicit sexual reference (see Partridge, 261 and Williams, 307-8: 'thrust'). Cf. *RJ*: 'women, being the weaker vessels, are ever thrust to the wall' (1.1.14-15).

204 **hence** depart

207 **white-cake** fine, white bread

208-10 As Somerset notes, the connection of maidenhead with tennis appears proverbial, though it is not recorded in Tilley or Dent; cf. *Two Angry Women*: 'maiden head / Stands like a game at tennis, if the ball / Hit into the hole or hazard, fare well all' (TLN 841).

209 **Saint Denis** Third-century Bishop of Paris and patron saint of France; here, a reference to King Louis, married to Lady Mary on St Denis's feast day (9 October) 1514 (Hall, *Xlviii*<sup>a-b</sup>). 'Denis' is pronounced 'Dennis'.

210 **maidenhead** virginity

**lie ... stake** Cf. Dent, S813.2: 'To have one's honour (reputation, fame) at the stake'; cf. *AW*, 2.3.149 and *Ham*, 4.4.55. Somerset suggests a double pun: either 'your virginity must be the stakes in the game' or 'your first-fruits must be yielded at his stake' (see also Partridge, 246 and Williams, 288: 'stake').

211-14 The change of tone here prompts the King's return to verse at 212.

212 **business** either trisyllabic, or disyllabic with a pause at the caesura

**dear ... it** she pays a high price

218 **Even** e'en

220-56 See pp. 58-60 on Rowley's possible source material for this episode.

222 **hapless** destitute of or lacking good fortune

223 **pierce** to affect keenly or deeply with emotion (*OED* v. 5)

197 here's] (her's) 200 to] on *Elze* 204 them] *om.* *Qq2-4, Elze* Goodbye] (God boy); God boy *Somerset* 205-10] *Q4*; prose in *Q1* 209 Denis] (*Dennis*) 210 SD] *Q4*; after 210 *Q1* 221 receives] receive *Elze*

How haps she is so ill attended on  
That we are put to this extremity,  
To save the mother or the child to die?

COUNTESS

I beseech your grace, resolve immediately.

KING

Immediately, say'st thou. O, 'tis no quick resolve 230  
Can give good verdict in so sad a choice.  
To lose my queen, that is my sum of bliss,  
More virtuous than a thousand kingdoms be;  
And should I lose my son, if son it be,  
That all my subjects so desire to see, 235  
I lose the hope of this great monarchy.  
What shall I do?

LADY MARY Remember the Queen, my lord.

KING

I not forget her, sister. O, poor soul!  
But I forget thy pain and misery.  
Go, let the child die, let the mother live; 240  
Heaven's powerful hand may more children give.  
Away, and comfort her with our reply,  
Harry will have his queen, though thousands die.

*Exeunt Lady Mary [and Countess].*

I know no issue of her princely womb:  
Why then should I prefer't before her life, 245  
Whose death ends all my hopeful joys on earth?  
God's will be done, for sure it is His will,  
For secret reasons to Himself best known.  
Perhaps He did mould forth a son for me  
And seeing, that sees all, in His creation 250  
To be some impotent and coward spirit,  
Unlike the figure of his royal father,  
Has thus decreed, lest he should blur our fame,  
As whilom did the sixth king of my name  
Lose all his father, the fifth Henry, won; 255

226 **How haps** how come

**ill** inadequately, unsatisfactorily

230 **say'st thou** hypermetrical, i.e. the line scans well in the absence of these words. Perhaps spoken in a different register to the rest of the line, as the words were set in parentheses in *Q1*.  
**resolve** decision, determination

232 **my ... bliss** the source of all my happiness

233 **a thousand kingdoms** hyperbolic expression; cf. *Blind Beggar*: 'A thousand kingdomes shall not saue his life' (TLN 1366)

241 **more** possibly disyllabic (Abbott, no.480), in which case 'Heaven's' is monosyllabic and 'powerful' is disyllabic

244 **issue** offspring

247 **God's ... done** Perhaps with reference to the Lord's Prayer (Matthew, 6.10).

250 *Elze* provides a different reading of this line (see t.n.); whereas in *Q1* (in which 'that sees all' is given in parentheses) 'creation' refers to the baby, in *Elze* it refers to God's creation more generally.

253 **blur** sully, befoul (*OED* v. 2)

254 **whilom** some time ago

254-5 A reference to the loss of France during the reign of King Henry VI; see *H5*, Epilogue, 9-12.

255 \***fifth** *Q1*'s 'first' was clearly an error, presumably resulting from a misreading of the underlying MS.

226 haps] *Somerset*; hap't *Q1*; happed *Elze* 231 verdict] (verdit) 232 lose] (loose) sum] (some) 236 lose] (loose) 237] *Elze*; *Q1* lines doe? / Lord: / 243 SD] *this edn*; *Exit. La.* | *opp.* 245 *Q1*; *Exeunt ladies.* | *Elze, Somerset* 250 that sees all, in His creation] (that sees all in his creation) *Elze* 253 lest] (least) 255 Lose] (*Loose*) fifth] *Elze*; first *Q1*; *om. Q4*

I'll thank the heavens for taking such a son. –  
Who's within there?

*Enter COMPTON.*

COMPTON

My lord?

KING

Go, Compton, bid Lord Seymour come to me,  
The honoured father of my woeful queen. –

[*Exit Compton.*] 260

[*Enter LADY MARY and Ladies.*]

How now, what news?

LADY MARY

We did deliver what your highness willed,  
Which was no sooner by her grace received  
But with the sad report she seemed as dead,  
Which caused us stay. After recovery, 265  
She sent us back t'entreat your majesty,  
As ever you did take delight in her,  
As you prefer the quiet of her soul  
That now is ready to forsake this life,  
As you desire to have the life of one 270  
She doth entreat your grace that she may die,  
Lest both doth perish in this agony;  
For to behold the infant suffer death  
Were endless tortures made to stop her breath.  
Then to my lord, quoth she, thus gently say, 275  
The child is fair, the mother earth and clay.

KING

Sad messenger of woe. – O my poor queen!  
Canst thou so soon consent to leave this life,  
So precious to our soul, so dear to all,  
To yield the hopeful issue of thy loins, 280  
To raise our second comfort? Well, be it so;  
Ill, be it so. – Stay, I revoke my word,  
But that you say helps not, for she must die.

256 **heavens** hea'ens

260 SD2 *Somerset* names the Countess in this SD, but since she later enters with the baby it can be inferred that she remains off stage to attend to Queen Jane.

265 **stay** pause

**recovery** i.e. of consciousness (*Somerset*)

271-2 Likely intended as a rhyming couplet, as 273-4 and 275-6.

276 **earth and clay** a reminder of the Queen's mortality. Jane seemingly recalls the message

of Genesis, 3.19: 'thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou return' (see also Job, 10.9).

279 **soul** *Q4*'s 'life' seems to have come about as a result of eye-skip or poor memory on the part of the compositor (see end of line 278).

280 **hopeful** hoped for

281 **raise** bring into existence

**comfort** specifically, the comfort a child's life affords; cf. *WT*: 'You have an unspeakable comfort of your young prince' (1.1.33-4)

257 SD] *Q4*; given as 258 SP in *Q1* 258 SP] *Q4*; not in *Q1* 260 SD1] *Elze* SD2] *Elze* subst.; *Enter Lady Mary and the Countess of Salisbury*. | *Somerset* 261 How now] *Elze*; Now now *Q1* 262 willed] (wild) 266 t'entreat] (tintreate); to entreat *Elze* 272 Lest] (Least) doth] doe *Qq3-4*; do *Elze* 277 O] (oh) 279 soul] life *Q4*

Yet if ye can save both, I'll give my crown,  
 Nay, all I have, and enter bonds for more, 285  
 Which with my conquering sword with fury bent  
 I'll purchase in the farthest continent.  
 Use all your chiefest skill, make haste, away,  
 Whilst we for your success devoutly pray. [*Exeunt Lady Mary and Ladies.*]

*Enter [COMPTON with] Lord SEYMOUR.*

SEYMOUR  
 All joy and happiness betide my sovereign. 290  
 KING  
 Joy be it, good Lord Seymour, noble father?  
 Or joy or grief, thou hast a part in it.  
 Thou com'st to greet us in a doubtful hour:  
 Thy daughter and my queen lies now in pain,  
 And if I lose, Seymour, thou canst not gain. 295  
 SEYMOUR  
 Yet comfort, good my liege, this woman's woe,  
 Why 'tis as certain to her as her death,  
 Both given her in her first creation.  
 It is a sour to sweet, given them at first,  
 By their first mother. Then put sorrow hence; 300  
 Your grace ere long shall see a gallant prince.  
 KING  
 Be thou a prophet, Seymour, in thy words,  
 Thy love some comfort to our hopes affords. –

*Enter [COUNTESS holding a baby, and another Lady].*

How now?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>285 <b>enter bonds</b> promise, pledge (<i>OED</i> bond <i>n.</i><sup>1</sup> 8c)<br/>         286 <b>conquering</b> conqu'ring<br/>         287 <b>purchase</b> endeavour, strive to attain a goal (<i>OED</i> v. 3a)<br/>         289 SD2 Compton speaks at 338 and so must enter at some point prior to this; since Henry sent Compton to fetch Seymour at 259-60, it seems fitting that the two men enter together.<br/>         292 <sup>1</sup><b>Or</b> whether it be, either<br/>         293 <b>doubtful</b> uncertain<br/>         296 <b>woman's woe</b> suffering in childbirth (see 300n.)<br/>         298 <b>given</b> gi'en</p> | <p>299 <b>sour to sweet</b> i.e. the pain of delivery (the sour) follows the joy of conception (the sweet). Cf. Dent, S1034.1: 'after sweet the sour comes'.<br/> <b>given</b> gi'en<br/>         300 <b>their first mother</b> Eve; recalling God's punishment for Eve's disobedience: 'In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children' (Genesis, 3.16)<br/>         303 <b>hopes</b> expectations<br/> <b>affords</b> provides; intended to rhyme with 'words' (see t.n.)<br/>         303 SD <b>a baby</b> Presumably just a bundle of cloth or rags; perhaps the same as that used at 0.1 to indicate that Jane was 'big with child'.</p> |
|--|--|

288 haste] (hast) 289 SD1] *Elze subst.* SD2 COMPTON with] *this edn* 291 father?] *this edn*; father, *Q1*; father! *Elze*; father. *Somerset* 295 lose] (loose) 296 Yet] Get *Elze* this] 'tis *Elze* 302 Seymour, in] Seymour! In *Elze* 303 affords] (affoords) SD] *this edn*; Enter two Ladies. | after 304 *Q1*; Enter COUNTESS OF SALISBURY with another lady. | *Elze*; Enter the Countess of Salisbury and another lady. | after 304 *Somerset*

COUNTESS

My gracious lord, here I present to you 305  
A goodly son; see here your flesh, your bone.  
Look here, royal lord, I warrant 'tis your own.

SEYMOUR

See here, my liege, by the rood, a gallant prince.

KING

Ha! Little cake-bread; 'fore God, a chopping boy!  
Even now I wept with sorrow, now with joy. – 310  
[*to the Countess*] Take that [*handing her money*] for thy good news. How  
fares my queen?

*Enter LADY MARY and one Lady.*

COUNTESS

O my good lord, the woeful —

KING

Tell no more of woe. Speak, doth she live?  
What, weep ye all? Nay, then my heart misgives. –  
[*to Lady Mary*] Resolve me, sister, is the news worth hearing? 315

LADY MARY

Nor worth the telling, royal sovereign.

KING

Now by my crown, thou dimm'st my royalty,  
And with thy cloudy looks eclipse my joys.  
Thy silent eye bewrays a ruthful sound,  
Stopped in the organs of thy troubled spirit. 320  
Say, is she dead?

LADY MARY

Without offence, she is.

KING

Without offence, say'st thou, heaven take my soul!  
What can be more offensive to my life  
Than sad remembrance of my fair queen's death? –

306 **goodly** fair, comely (see also 30n., *goodly chief*)

308 **by the rood** a mild oath, with reference to the holy cross upon which Jesus was crucified

309 \**This edn* follows *Elze* in assigning the line to King Henry; not only does it contain the King's characteristic 'Ha!', but it also reiterates the King's words at 118 and forms a rhyming couplet with 310, suggesting that 309-10 were spoken by the same person.

**cake-bread** of the finer, daintier quality of cake (*OED n. a*); possibly used by King Henry with reference to the baby's delicate features  
**chopping** See 118n.

310 **Even** E'en

311 **Take ... news** See 140-2n.

314 **misgives** is filled with apprehension, foreboding

315-16 **is ... telling** Cf. Tilley, H300: 'It is worth the hearing' and N34: 'Not worth the naming'.

318 \***eclipse** cast a shadow upon (*OED v. 3a*); playing on the use of the words 'dimm'st' and 'cloudy'. I alter from past to present tense (see t.n.).

319 Although silent, Lady Mary's eyes bewray (= reveal) her sad tidings. See Tilley, E231: 'The eye is the window of the heart/mind'.

**ruthful** full of compassion or pity

320 **Stopped ...organs** another reference to silence; organs = of speech

**thy** *Qq3-4* read 'my', but since Henry is making reference to his sister's silence, 'thy' is the more plausible reading.

322 **heaven** hea'en

306 <sup>2</sup>your] and *Elze* 307 here] *om. Elze* 309] *Elze; spoken by Seymour in Q1* 311 SD1, 2] *this edn* 313 Tell] Tell me *Elze*  
315 SD] *this edn* 316 Nor] Not *Elze* 318 eclipse] *this edn; eclipt Q1* 319 eye] tongue (*conj. Elze*) 320 thy] my *Qq3-4*  
321] *Elze; Q1 lines dead. / is. /* 324 Than] (Then)

[to *Seymour*] Thou woeful man, that cam'st to comfort me, 325  
 How shall I ease thy heart's calamity  
 That cannot help myself? How one sad minute  
 Hath raised a fount of sorrows in his eyes  
 And bleared his agèd cheeks! Yet, *Seymour*, see, [*indicating the baby*]  
 She hath left part of herself, a son, to me; 330  
 To thee a grandchild, unto the land a prince,  
 The perfect substance of his royal mother,  
 In whom her memory shall ever live.  
*Phoenix Jana obiit nato Phoenixe;*  
*Dolendum secula phoenices nulla tulisse duas:* 335  
 One phoenix, dying, gives another life;  
 Thus must we flatter our extremest grief. –  
 [*to Compton*] What day is this?  
 COMPTON Saint Edward's even, my lord.  
 KING  
 Prepare for christening; Edward shall be his name. [*Exeunt.*]

## [1.3]

*Enter the Cardinal* [WOLSEY], *Ambassadors* [PARIS and BONNIVET],  
 [*and*] BONNER and GARDINER.

WOLSEY [*to Paris and Bonnivet*]

My lords of France, you have had small cheer with us,  
 But you must pardon us; the times are sad,  
 And sorts not now for mirth and banqueting.  
 Therefore, I pray, make your swift return,  
 Commend me to your king, and kindly tell him, 5  
 The English cardinal will remain his friend.  
 The Lady Mary shall be forthwith sent,

326-7 \**This edn* follows the pointing of *Elze* and adopts *Q3*'s 'myself' in place of 'thy selfe' (see t.n.); the sense of Henry's line is that, in struggling to contain his own grief, he is uncertain how to comfort *Seymour* in his.

328 a ... sorrows tears

332 substance likeness

334-5 'The Phoenix Jane has died having given birth to a phoenix; it is a cause for sorrow that no age gives rise to two phoenixes' (Latin, *trans.* Somerset). The epitaph is found in *Foxe* (993) and *Holinshed* (944); in both, the word *obiit* (has died) is given as *iacet* (lies dead). *Elze*'s lineation matches that in the chronicles (see t.n.).

336 Cf. phoenix imagery in *H8*, 5.5.39-47 and *Whore of Babylon*, 3.1.235. Jane *Seymour*'s

emblem depicted a phoenix rising from a castle between Tudor roses.

337 flatter inspire with hope (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 7a)

extremest existing in the utmost possible degree

338 Saint Edward's even 13 October (1537); 'even' is pronounced 'e'en'

339 christening Possibly elided, as *christ'ning* (see t.n.), or spoken as a trisyllable if the line is intended as a hexameter.

1.3 Location: either York House or a private room in Westminster.

1 you have elided, as *you've*

small cheer little entertainment, due to the passing of Queen Jane. In reality, the league between King Henry and King Louis was effected twenty-three years before Jane's death.

3 sorts conditions, circumstances

325 SD] *this edn* 326 calamity] *Elze*; calamitie? *Q1* 327 myself?] *Q3*; thy selfe, *Q1* 329 SD] *this edn* 330 She hath] She's *Elze* 331 grandchild] (graund-child) unto] to *Elze* 334 obiit] (obit) 334-5] *Elze* lines | *dolendum*, / *duas*. / 338 SD] *this edn* 338] *Elze*; *Q1* lines this. / Lord. / 339 christening] (christning) SD] *Elze* subst. 1.3] *this edn* 0.1 WOLSEY] *this edn* PARIS and BONNIVET] *this edn* 0.2 and] *this edn* 1 SD] *this edn* 4 pray] pray you *Elze*

And overtake ye ere you reach to Dover,  
 And for the business that concerns the league,  
 Urge it no more, but leave it to my care. 10

BONNIVET

We thank your grace, my good Lord Cardinal,  
 And so with thankfulness we take our leaves.

WOLSEY

Happily speed, my honourable lords,  
 My heart, I swear, still keeps you company,  
 Farewell to both; pray your king remember 15  
 My suit betwixt him and the Emperor.  
 We shall be thankful if they think on us.

PARIS

We will be earnest in your cause, my lord,  
 So of your grace we once more take our leaves.

WOLSEY

Again, farewell. – Bonner, conduct them forth. – 20

[*Exeunt Bonner, Paris and Bonnivet.*]

Now, Gardiner, what think'st thou of these times?

GARDINER

Well, that the league's confirmed, my gracious lord;  
 Ill, that I fear the death of good Queen Jane  
 Will cause new troubles in our state again.

WOLSEY

Why think'st thou so? 25

GARDINER

I fear false Luther's doctrine's spread so far,  
 Lest that his highness, now unmarried,  
 Should match amongst that sect of Lutherans.  
 You saw how soon his majesty was won  
 To scorn the Pope and Rome's religion 30  
 When Queen Anne Boleyn wore the diadem.

8 **overtake** catch up with (*OED* v. 2a)  
**reach to** arrive at

9 **the business** Rowley appears once again to combine elements from the first and second embassies (see 1.1.1n.); 'the business' here likely refers to King Francis I's reclamation of Tournai – the purpose of Bonnivet and the Bishop of Paris's visit to England in 1519 (Holinshed, 848).  
**league** See 1.1.68n.

10 **Urge** advocate, demand pressingly (*OED* v. 2a)

13 **Happily speed** 'Godspeed'

16 **Emperor** The title here refers to Maximilian I rather than Charles V (see 1.1.22n.).

**suit** arrangement, agreement

18 **be earnest** work with passion, conviction

26 **false** deceitful, treacherous (*OED* adj. 10a)

**Luther's** i.e. Martin Luther, a German theologian and seminal figure of the Protestant Reformation

27 **Lest** The usual meaning of the word does not fit the context here. Possibly, 'least' was intended (see t.n.), perhaps as an elision of the expression 'not least'; however, there are no comparable examples in the drama of Rowley's contemporaries. Alternatively, a line of text may be missing in *Q1* between lines 26 and 27.

28 **match amongst** marry into

29 **won** won over

30 **scorn** despise; possibly also deride, ridicule (*OED* v. 3a, 2)

31 **Anne Boleyn** King Henry's second wife, mother to the future Queen Elizabeth I. It was due to Henry's marriage to Anne that the King was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church. Rowley seems to have intended the pronunciation 'Bullen' (see t.n.).

**diadem** crown

13 Happily speed] Speed happily (*conj. Elze*) 15 pray] and pray *Elze* 20 SD] *Somerset subst.* 24 troubles] trouble *Elze*  
 27 Lest] (Least) 31 Anne Boleyn] (*Anne Bullen*); Ann Bullen *Somerset*



WOLSEY

Gardiner, 'tis true, so was the rumour spread,  
 But Wolsey wrought such means she lost her head.  
 Tush, fear not thou; whilst Harry's life doth stand,  
 He shall be king, but we will rule the land. –

35

[*Re-enter* BONNER.]

Bonner, come hither, you are our trusty friend.  
 See that the treasure we have gatherèd,  
 The copes, the vestments, and the chalices,  
 The smoke-pence, and the tributary fees  
 That English chimneys pay the Church of Rome,  
 Be barrelled close within the inner cellar.  
 We'll send it over shortly to prepare  
 Our swift advancement to Saint Peter's chair.  
 Be trusty, and be sure of honours speedily:  
 The King hath promised at the next election,  
 Bonner shall have the bishopric of London.

40

45

BONNER

I humbly thank your grace.

WOLSEY

And Gardiner shall be Lord of Winchester.  
 Had we our hopes, what shall you not be then,  
 When we have got the papal diadem?

*Exeunt.* 50

[1.4]

*Enter* BRANDON, DUDLEY, GREY, SEYMOUR, [*and*] COMPTON.

BRANDON

How now, Sir William Compton, where's the King?

32 **Gardiner** Gard'ner

33 Fabrication on Rowley's part: Anne Boleyn was beheaded in 1536; Wolsey died in 1530.

36 **trusty** trustworthy38 **copes** outdoor cloaks worn by monks or friars  
**chalices** cups used to hold the wine during the Eucharist39-40 **smoke-pence** money paid annually by householders to the Pope in the name of Saint Peter (see 43n.), also known as Peter- or Peter's pence (see 5.4.236); the amount varied depending on the number of chimneys in each house (typically one penny was paid per chimney; see Foxe, 960). The practice was abolished in 1534.41 **barrelled close** stored secretly in barrels (*OED* *close* *adj.* 4a: 'shut up from observation'); the cellar in question is the Cardinal's wine-cellar (see 5.4.217-38)42 **send it over** to Rome, presumably as a bribe43 **Saint Peter's chair** Saint Peter, founder (with St Paul) of the see of Rome, was the first Pope of the Roman Catholic Church; to sit in Saint Peter's chair was to occupy the position of Pope.44 **Be trusty** have confidence, faith  
**honours** rewards, promotions45 **election** Bishops, as Somerset notes, 'were elected by the chapter of the Cathedral, but in practice the King selected the only candidate, and recommended him to the Pope' (see Foxe, 960).

46 Bonner become Bishop of London in 1539 and Gardiner Bishop of Winchester in 1531; neither were created bishops during Wolsey's lifetime.

48 **Gardiner** Gard'ner50 **papal diadem** the Pope's crown; also the 'triple crown' (see 1.1.25)

1.4 Location: Westminster, where the King 'kept himselfe close a great while' after Queen Jane's death (Holinshed, 944).

1 **William** disyllabic

COMPTON

His grace is walking in the gallery,  
As sad and passionate as e'er he was.

DUDLEY

[*to Brandon*] 'Twere good your grace went in to comfort him.

BRANDON

Not I, Lord Dudley, by my George, I swear,  
Unless his highness first had sent for me,  
I will not put my head in such a hazard:  
I know his anger and his spleen too well.

5

GREY

'Tis strange; this humour hath his highness held  
Ever since the death of good Queen Jane,  
That none dares venture to confer with him.

10

*Enter* Cardinal [WOLSEY], [WILL] SUMMERS, *and* PATCH.

DUDLEY [*aside to the other lords*] Here comes the Cardinal.

BRANDON [*aside to the other lords*] Ay, and two fools after him; his lordship  
is well attended still.

SEYMOUR [*aside to the other lords*]

Let's win this prelate to salute the King;  
It may perhaps work his disgrace with him.

15

WOLSEY How now, William? What, are you here too?

WILL SUMMERS Ay, my lord, all the fools follow you. I come to bid my  
cousin Patch welcome to the court, and when I come to York House, he'll  
do as much for me. – Will ye not, Patch?

20

PATCH Yes, cousin. ([*He*] *sing[s]*.) Hey, da, tere, dedell, dey, day.

WOLSEY What, are you singing, sirrah?

WILL SUMMERS I'll make him cry as fast anon, I hold a penny.

DUDLEY [*to Wolsey*]

Good morrow to your grace, my good Lord Cardinal.

WOLSEY

We thank your honour.

25

3 **passionate** sorrowful (*OED adj.* 5b); also with  
sense 2b: 'easily moved to, or prone to, anger'

5 **George** a representation of St George; part of  
the insignia of the Order of the Garter

7 **in ... hazard** in such danger, at such risk

8 **spleen** temper; akin to 'humour' in the next line

10 **Ever** E'er

12–16 The lords referred to in these directions are  
those named at 0 SD.

15 **win** convince, persuade

**prelate** a cleric of high rank and authority.  
Wolsey was Archbishop of York.

**salute** greet, hail

16 **work ... him** place him lower in the King's  
estimation

19 **cousin** a term of familiarity or friendship; not  
necessarily indicative of kinsmanship

**York House** Cardinal Wolsey's residence in  
London, seized by King Henry in 1530 and  
renamed Whitehall Palace.

21 **Hey ... day** It is uncertain whether Patch  
sang a particular song here, or whether  
*Q1*'s '*sing*' was simply a direction for im-  
provisation. I retain the copy-text spellings on  
the basis that these might provide some  
indication of the particular sounds made by  
Patch; *Elze*'s emendation (see t.n.) is overly  
prescriptive.

23 **anon** at once, instantly (*OED adv.* 4a)

**I ... penny** I'll bet you; cf. *TS*, 3.2.80

3 e'er] (ere) 4 SD] *this edn* 10 Ever] For ever (*conj. Elze*) 11 SD WOLSEY] *this edn* WILL] *this edn* 12, 13 SDD] *this edn*  
13 Ay] (I) 15 SD] *this edn* 18 Ay] (I) 21 SD] *this edn*; *sing.* | after 21 *Q1* Hey, da, tere, dedell, dey, day.] Hey day, tiri  
diddle, hey day! *Elze* 24 SD] *this edn* <sup>1</sup>Good] God *Somerset*

*Enter KING within.*

KING [*Calls from within.*] What, Compton! Carew!

BRANDON [*to Wolsey and the other lords*] Hark, the King calls.

KING [*Calls from within.*] Mother of God, how are we attended on! Who waits without?

BRANDON [*to Compton*]

Go in, Sir William, and if you find his grace  
In any milder temper than he was last night,  
Let us have word, and we will visit him. 30

COMPTON

I will, my lord. *Exit.*

WOLSEY

What is the occasion that the King's so moved?

BRANDON

His grace hath taken such an inward grief, 35  
With sad remembrance of the Queen that's dead,  
That much his highness wrongs his state and person.  
Besides in Ireland do the Burkes rebel,  
And stout Percy, that disclosed the plot,  
Was by the Earl of Kildare late put to death; 40  
And Martin Luther out of Germany  
Has writ a book against his majesty  
For taking part with proud Pope Julius,  
Which being spread by him through Christendom  
Hath thus incensed his royal majesty. 45

25 SD1 **within** Possibly meaning from within the backstage tiring-house; alternatively, the King enters into the stage space representing his private antechamber (see p. 79), seen by the audience but unseen by other characters on stage.

26 **Carew** Perhaps a reference, as Somerset suggests, to Sir Peter Carew, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber from 1530, or, as Wilson suggests (xix), to Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse from 1522; the name is not mentioned again in the play and may indicate revision or haste on Rowley's part.

**milder** lesser

34 **the occasion** elided, as *th'occasion*

37 **state** position

38 **in ... rebel** No reference to this incident can be found in the chronicles. It is likely that Rowley had in mind the Burkes (or Bourkes), an Anglo-Norman Irish clan 'famous for treachery around 1600-03' (*Somerset*).

39 Perhaps spoken with a pause at the beginning of the line or after the caesura.

**stout** haughty, arrogant (*OED adj.* 1a)

**Percy** Again, not in the chronicles; the Percy family was one of the most powerful in northern England under the Tudors.

40 **Earl of Kildare** Gerard FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1524  
**late** recently

41 **Martin Luther** See 1.3.26n.

42 **a book** This was Luther's *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* (1522), written in response to Henry's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (1521); see 274n.

43 **taking part with** siding with

**proud** arrogant, haughty

**Pope Julius** Julius II, Pope from 1503 until his death in 1513; he was succeeded by Leo X.

45 **incensed** angered, exasperated (*OED* incense v.<sup>2</sup> 3b)

26 SD] *this edn*; *Call within.* | *opp.* 26 Q1 27, 28 SDD] *this edn* 28] *single verse line in Elze* waits] (waights) 30 SD] *this edn* and] *om.* (*conj. Elze*) 31 than] (then) 33 SD] *Exit Compton.* | *after 34 Somerset* 34 that] *om.* Qq2-4, *Elze* 39 Percy] (*Pearse*); Earl Percy (*conj. Elze*) disclosed] (*disclod*) 40 late] *om. Elze*

WOLSEY

Tush! I have news, my lord, to salve that sore,  
 And make the King more feared through Christendom  
 Than ever was his famous ancestors.  
 Nor can base Luther with his heresies,  
 Backed by the proudest German potentate, 50  
 Heretically blur King Henry's fame  
 For honour that he did Pope Julius,  
 Who in high favour of his majesty  
 Hath sent Campeius with a bull from Rome,  
 To add unto his title this high style: 55  
 That he, and his fair posterity,  
 Proclaimed defenders of the faith shall be;  
 For which intent the holy cardinals come  
 As legates from the imperial court of Rome.

GREY

This news, my lord, may something ease his mind; 60  
 'Twere good your grace would go and visit him.

WOLSEY

I will, and doubt not but to please him well. [Exit.]

SEYMOUR So, I am glad he's in; an the King be no better pleased than he  
 was at our last parting, he'll make him repent his sauciness.

BRANDON [to Will Summers] How now, old William? How chance you go 65  
 not to the King and comfort him?

WILL SUMMERS No, by'r lady, my lord, I was with him too lately already;  
 his fist is too heavy for a fool to stand under. I went to him last night after  
 you had left him, seeing him chafe so at Charles here, to make him merry,  
 and he gave me such a box on the ear that struck me clean through three 70

46 **Tush!** an expression of ridicule or contempt  
 to ... **sore** i.e. to appease the King's anger. Cf.  
 Tilley, S84: 'There is a salve for every sore'.

49 **base** despicable, ignoble (*OED adj.* 10b)  
**his heresies** i.e. against the Roman Catholic  
 Church. Since Rowley plays freely with  
 chronology, it is difficult to pinpoint the King's  
 religious beliefs at any given moment. From  
 1534, Henry was a founder member of the  
 Church of England; while Pope Julius II was  
 alive, however, he was still a Roman Catholic.

50 **proudest** See 43n., *proud*.

51 **blur** See 1.2.253n.

52 **Pope Julius** It was Pope Leo X, not Julius II,  
 who sent Campeius to England in 1518.

54 **bull** a papal bull, an episcopal edict or mandate  
 from the Pope. The purpose of Campeius's  
 visit was to make Wolsey a papal legate;  
 Henry was not granted the title Defender of the  
 Faith until 1521 (Holinshed, 872; Foxe, 901-2).

55 **style** the ceremonial designation of a sovereign,  
 including his various titles

56 Spoken with a pause after the caesura (see also  
 82).

**posterity** descendants

57 **defenders ... faith** a reference to the title  
 'Defender of the Faith' (see 292n.)

58 **cardinals** card'nals; *Elze* alters to 'cardinal's',  
 but the plural is correct since Campeius arrives  
 with others (see 263 SD2)

59 **legates** deputies sent to represent the Pope  
**imperial** of senses relating to an empire or  
 sovereign state; exalted, majestic (*OED n.* 1, 2a  
 and 5a). Elided (*th'imperial*) and trisyllabic.

64 **sauciness** boldness, insolence

65 **How chance** how come (Abbott, no. 37)

67 **by'r lady** by our lady, i.e. the Virgin Mary

69 **chafe** shout, scold (*OED v.* 6a)

**Charles** Summers's switch from the second to  
 the third person is strange here; however,  
*Elze*'s suggestion that 'Charles' refers to Patch  
 rather than Brandon is unfounded, not least as  
 the episode concerning Patch has not yet taken  
 place (see 168-97).

48 Than] (Then) 50 German] (germaine) 56 his] all his *Elze* 58 cardinals] cardinal's *Elze* 59 legates] legate *Elze*  
 imperial] (Emperiall) 62 SD] *Somerset subst.; after 61 Elze* 63 he's] he is *Qq3-4* an] (and) than] (then) 65 SD] *this edn*  
 67 by'r lady] (birlady) 70 struck] (stroke); stroke *Somerset*

chambers, down four pairs of stairs; I fell o'er five barrels in the bottom of the cellar, and if I had not well liquored myself there, I had never lived after it.

BRANDON Faith, Will, I'll give thee a velvet coat, an thou canst but make him merry. 75

WILL SUMMERS Will ye, my lord? And I'll venture another box on the ear, but I'll do it.

*Enter COMPTON.*

COMPTON

Clear the presence there, the King is coming.

God's me, my lords, what meant the Cardinal

So unexpected thus to trouble him? 80

GREY

Is the King moved at it?

*Enter the KING and WOLSEY.*

COMPTON [*to Grey*]

Judge by his countenance; see, he comes.

BRANDON [*to the lords*]

I'll not endure the storm.

DUDLEY [*to the lords*] Nor I.

WILL SUMMERS [*to Patch*] Run, fool; your master will be felled else.

KING [*to Wolsey*]

Did we not charge that none should trouble us? 85

Presumptuous priest, proud prelate as thou art,

How comes it you are grown so saucy, sir,

Thus to presume upon our patience,

And cross our royal thought, disturbed and vexed,

By all your negligence in our estate, 90

Of us and of our country's happiness?

WOLSEY

My gracious lord —

KING Fawning beast, stand back,

Or by my crown, I'll foot thee to the earth! — [*Wolsey kneels in submission.*]

71 **four pairs** i.e. four flights; the number four is likely used here simply to denote an indefinite number (see Elze, *Notes*, 227-9 and cf. *forty* at 2.1.28)

\**in Q1* reads 'into', but it is more likely that the barrels themselves were in the cellar, rather than that Summers fell over them and then into the cellar (see also 1.3.41).

72 **liquored** oiled, greased, i.e. with wine

76 **venture** risk

78 **the presence** the presence chamber

81 **moved** angered

83 SD 1&2 **lords** See 12-16n.

84 **your master** i.e. Wolsey

**felled** knocked or struck down

89 **cross** thwart (*OED* v. 14a), in this sense also disturb

90 Somerset convincingly argues that a line of text may accidentally have been left out between this and 91.

92 **Fawning** cringing, flattering (*OED* adj. 2)

93 **foot** strike with the foot, kick (*OED* v. 5a)

71 pairs] (pair) I] *Elze*; not in *Q1* o'er] (ore) in] *Q3*; into *Q1* 72 cellar] (seller) liquored] (lickard) 74 an] (and) 76 venture] (venter) 82 SD] *this edn* 83 SD1, 2] *this edn* 83] *this edn*; *Q1* lines storme. / I. / 84, 85 SDD] *this edn* 92] *Elze*; *Q1* lines Lord. / backe: / Fawning] Thou fawning *Elze* 93 SD] *this edn*

- Where's Brandon, Surrey, Seymour, Grey?  
 Where is your counsel now? – [*to the lords*] Oh, now ye crouch 95  
 And stand like pictures at our presence door. –  
 Call in our guard, and bear them to the Tower.  
 Mother of God, I'll have the traitors' heads;  
 Go, hale them to the block. – [*to Wolsey*] Up, up, stand up,  
 I'll make you know your duties to our state. 100  
 Am I a cipher? Is my sight grown stale?  
 Am I not Harry? Am I not England's king? Ha!  
 WILL SUMMERS [*to Patch*] So la, now the watchword's given. Nay, an he  
 once cry 'ha!', ne'er a man in the court dare for his head speak again. Lie  
 close, cousin Patch. 105  
 PATCH I'll not come near him, cousin; he's almost killed me with his  
 countenance.  
 KING [*to Wolsey*]  
 We have been too familiar, now I see,  
 And you may dally with our majesty. –  
 Where are my pages, there? 110

*Enter* PAGES.

- 1 PAGE My lord?  
 KING  
 Truss, sirrah! None to put my garter on? –  
 Give me some wine! – [*Exit Compton.*]  
 Here, stuff a'th' tother side. –  
 Proud Cardinal,  
 Who followed our affairs in Italy, 115

- 94 **Surrey** No character in the play bears this name; possibly, as Elze suggests, 'Dudley' was intended here. Cf. 'Carew' at 26.  
 95 **your counsel** *Elze's* conjectured reading 'our council' is also plausible, though the emendation is unnecessary.  
 95 SD **lords** See 12-16n.  
**crouch** cower; possibly pronounced 'crooch' (see t.n.)  
 96 **like pictures** completely still, like portraits  
 97-9 **Call ... block** Seemingly spoken out loud as if to a waiting attendant outside the presence chamber.  
 97 **the Tower** i.e. the Tower of London  
 99 **hale** drag  
**block** the piece of wood on which the condemned were beheaded  
 99 SD It is possible that this instruction was intended for the lords, who continue to cower at the door; however, it is more likely, given the continuation of the King's speech at 108-10, that Henry here turns his attention back to Wolsey, who kneels in submission at the King's threats (see 93 SD).  
 101 **cipher** a person who fills a place but is of no importance, a nonentity (*OED n.* 2a)  
**my sight** i.e. the sight of me, my image  
**stale** diminished in attractiveness, youth or vigour (*OED adj.* 1 4a)  
 103 **la** an exclamation used for emphasis  
**watchword's** signal's, password's; Henry's watchword is 'ha!'  
 108 **familiar** inappropriately informal  
 109 **dally** to trifle with a person or thing, under the guise of serious action (*OED v.* 3a)  
 112 **Truss** tie the points or laces with which the hose were fastened to the doublet  
**garter** Possibly the ceremonial garter, worn below the left knee (see 5.4.245n.).  
 113 SD In order to enter again at 127, Compton must at some point leave the stage; since his later entrance is 'with wine', it is reasonable to assume that it is Compton who responds to the King's demand.  
 113 **Here ... side** Likely, as Somerset suggests, an instruction to the page to stuff (= tuck in) the excess stocking material inside the doublet.  
 114-15 \*See pp. 187-8 on short verse lines.

95 your] our (*conj. Elze*) counsel] (counsell); council *Elze* Oh] (O) crouch] (crooch) SD] *this edn* 97 our] the *Elze*  
 99, 103 SDD] *this edn* 103 an] (and) 104 'ha!'] *this edn*; ha *Q1* ne'er] (neare) 106 he's] (has) 108 SD] *this edn*  
 110 SD] *Elze; opp.* 111 *Q1* 111 SP] (*Page.*) 113 Here] here's *Elze* a'th' tother] (a the tother) SD] *this edn* 114-15]  
*this edn*; single line in *Q1*

That we that honoured so Pope Julius,  
 By dedicating books at thy request  
 Against that upstart sect of Lutherans,  
 Should by that heretic be bandied thus?  
 But by my George, I swear, if Henry live, 120  
 I'll hunt base Luther through all Germany  
 And pull those seven electors on their knees,  
 If they but back him against our dignities. –  
 [to I Page] Base slave, tie soft, thou hurt'st my leg. –  
 And now in Ireland the Burkes rebel, 125  
 And with their stubborn kerns make hourly roads  
 To burn the borders of the English Pale;  
 And which of all your counsels helps us now?

*Enter COMPTON with wine.*

COMPTON

Here's wine, my lord.

KING

Drink and be damned! I cry thee mercy, Compton, 130  
 What the devil meant'st thou to come behind me so?  
 I did mistake, I'll make thee amends for it.  
 By holy Paul, I am so crossed and vexed,  
 I knew not what I did; and here at home, 135  
 Such careful statesmen do attend us,  
 And look so wisely to our commonweal,  
 That we have Ill May Days and riots made,  
 For lawless rebels do disturb our state:  
 Twelve times this term have we in person sat,  
 Both in the Star Chamber and Chancery courts, 140  
 To hear our subjects' suits determinèd. –

118 **upstart** characteristic of upstarts, i.e. those who have newly or suddenly risen in position or importance

119 **\*bandied** tossed from side to side (*OED* bandy v. 3). This seems to have been the intended meaning of *Q1*'s 'banded'.

120 **George** See 5n.

122 **seven electors** i.e. of the Holy Roman Empire (see 5.5.57n.); 'seven' is pronounced 'se'en'

124 **Base** menial, of low rank (as opposed to despicable; cf. 121)

125 **Ireland** trisyllabic

**the Burkes** See 38 and n.

126 **kerns** light-armed Irish foot-soldiers

**roads** inroads; cf. *H5*: 'to defend / Against the Scot, who will make road upon us' (1.2.137-8)

127 **the English Pale** part of the eastern coast of Ireland over which English jurisdiction was established

133 **holy Paul** Paul the Apostle, who taught the gospel of Christ to the first-century world

**crossed** Cf. 'cross' at 89 (and see n.).

136 **commonweal** common wellbeing (*OED* n. 1); perhaps 'commonwealth' (*Somerset*)

137 **Ill May Days** The riots that took place between 28 April and 1 May 1517, directed against the resident 'aliens & strangers' who 'eat the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the artificers' (Holinshed, 841); see the opening scenes of *STM*.

139-41 As Elze notes, while the author of the riots, John Lincoln, was executed in Cheapside, King Henry sat in judgement in Westminster Hall to hear the petitions or 'suits' of over 400 men and women.

140 **Star Chamber** a room in Westminster Palace in which the King's council sat to exercise jurisdiction; so called because of its decorated ceiling

**Chancery** chanc'ry; the court headed by the Lord Chancellor of England (i.e. Wolsey), the highest court in the realm

119 bandied] *Elze*; banded *Q1* 123 dignities] dignity *Elze*, *Somerset* 124 SD] *this edn*; *To the page*. | *opp.* 124 *Elze* 126 their] *Elze*; his *Q1* make] *Elze*; makes *Q1* 136 look] *Elze*; looks *Q1* 137 Ill May Days] (ill May-days)

Yet 'tis your office, Wolsey, but all of you  
May make a packhorse of King Henry now.  
Well, what would ye say?

WOLSEY

Nothing that might displease your majesty;  
I have a message from the Pope to you.

145

KING

Then keep it still, we will not hear it yet. –  
Get all of you away, avoid our presence;  
We cannot yet command our patience. –  
[to 1 Page] Reach me a chair.

150

[Exeunt all but the King, Brandon,  
Will Summers and Patch.]

BRANDON [aside to Will Summers]

Now, Will, or never, make the King but smile,  
And with thy mirthful toys allay his spleen  
That we, his council, may confer with him,  
And by my honour, I'll reward thee well.  
To him, good Will.

155

WILL SUMMERS [aside to Brandon]

Not too fast, I pray, lest Will Summers  
ne'er be seen again. I know his qualities as well as the best on ye, for ever  
when he's angry and nobody dare speak to him, ye thrust me in by the head  
and shoulders, and then we fall to buffets, but I know who has the worst  
on't. But go, my lord, stand aside and stir not till I call ye. Let my cousin  
Patch and I alone; an he go to boxing, we'll fall both upon him, that's  
certain. But an the worst come, be sure the Cardinal's fool shall pay for't.

160

BRANDON [aside to Will Summers]

Use your best skill, good William,  
I'll not be seen unless I see him smile.

[Exit.]

WILL SUMMERS [to Patch]

Where art thou, cousin? – Alas, poor fool, he's  
crept under the table. – Up, cousin, fear nothing; the storm's past, I warrant  
thee.

165

PATCH Is the King gone, cousin?

WILL SUMMERS

No, no, yonder he sits; we are all friends now. The lords  
are gone to dinner, and thou and I must wait at the King's table.

170

143 **packhorse** one employed in 'mean, servile or distasteful work, a drudge' (*OED n.* 2); cf. *R3*: 'I was a packhorse in his great affairs' (1.3.121)

148 **avoid** depart

150 Presumably the King takes the chair and sits at the edge or back of the stage, with his back to the other characters; this in turn permits Patch to creep up behind him (see 192). Lines 165–91 are thus spoken out of earshot of the King.

151 **Now ... or never** Proverbial (Tilley, N351); cf. *2H6*: 'Now, York, or never' (3.1.330).

152 **toys** jests, antics

**allay** calm, appease (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 5a)

**spleen** temper

158–9 **thrust ... shoulders** Proverbial (see Tilley, H274).

159 **fall to** resort to

**buffets** fisticuffs, blows (*OED buffet n.*<sup>1</sup> a)

161 **he** King Henry

**boxing** i.e. boxing their ears

166 **crept ... table** Suggestive of Patch's movements on stage during the King's impulsive outburst.

143 Henry] Harry Elze 150 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *this edn*; Exeunt Wolsey, lords &c. | after 149 Elze; Exeunt Wolsey, Lords, etc. | Somerset 151 SD] *this edn* 153 council] (counsell) 156 SD] *this edn* lest] (least) 157 ne'er] (nere) on] Q3; an Q1 160 on't] Q3; ant Q1; an't Somerset 161 an] (and) to boxing] boxing Q2; a boxing Qq3–4; a-boxing Elze 162 an] (and) sure the] sure that the Qq2–4, Elze 163 SD] *this edn* 163–4] Elze; Q1 lines seene, / smile.; prose in Qq2–4, Somerset 164 SD] Elze subst. 165 SD] *this edn*



- PATCH Not I, by'r lady, I would not wait upon such a lord for all the livings  
in the land. I thought he would have killed my Lord Cardinal, he looked so  
terribly.
- WILL SUMMERS Foh, he did but jest with him. But I'll tell thee, cousin, the  
rarest trick to be revenged as't passes, and I'll give thee this fine silk point 175  
an thou'lt do it.
- PATCH O, brave! O, brave! Give me it, cousin, and I'll do whatsoe'er 'tis.
- WILL SUMMERS I'll stand behind the post here, and thou shalt go softly  
stealing behind him as he sits reading yonder, and when thou comest close  
to him, cry 'boo', and we'll scare him so, he shall not tell where to rest him. 180
- PATCH But will he not be angry?
- WILL SUMMERS No, no, for then I'll show myself, and after he sees who  
'tis, he'll laugh and be as merry as a magpie, and thou'lt be a made man  
by it, for all the house shall see him hug thee in his arms, and dandle thee  
up and down with hand and foot an thou wert a football. 185
- PATCH O, fine! Come, cousin, give me the point first, and I'll roar so loud  
that I'll make him believe that the devil's come.
- WILL SUMMERS So do, and fear nothing. – [*aside*] For an thou wert the  
devil himself, he'll conjure thee, I warrant thee; I would not have such a  
conjuring for twenty crowns! But when he has made way, I'll make him 190  
merry enough, I doubt it not. – So, so now, cousin, look to your coxcomb.
- PATCH [*Creeps up behind the King.*] Boo!
- KING Mother of God, what's that?
- PATCH Boo!
- KING  
Out ass, take that [*striking him*], and tumble at my feet, 195  
For thus I'll spurn thee up and down the house.
- PATCH [*to Will Summers*] Help, cousin, help!
- WILL SUMMERS No, cousin; now he's conjuring, I dare not come near him.

172-3 **I ... terribly** Cf. *H8*: 'He parted frowning  
from me, as if ruin / Leaped from his eyes'  
(3.2.205-6).

174 **Foh** an exclamation of reproach

175 **rarest** of uncommon excellence or merit  
(*OED* rare, *adj.*<sup>1</sup> 5a)

**point** a tagged piece of ribbon or cord used  
for attaching hose to a doublet

**as't passes** as it happens; another of  
Rowley's 'stylistic fingerprints' (Kuriyama,  
194)

177 **brave** excellent, fine

178 **I'll ... post** Presumably a reference to one of  
the Fortune's stage posts (see p. 79).

179 **stealing** creeping

**reading yonder** Somerset suggests that  
Henry is reading a copy of Luther's book; see  
42n.

180 **cry 'boo'** As Elze notes, this seems to have  
been a popular trick amongst domestic fools;  
cf. *Wily Beguiled*: 'Ile rather put on my

flashing red nose ... and crie bo' (D1<sup>v</sup>). 'Boo'  
is likely pronounced 'bo' (see t.n.).

183 **merry ... magpie** Proverbial (Tilley, P281).

**a made man** i.e. a well-favoured, successful  
man; cf. *Faustus* (B-text): 'Now am I a made  
man for ever' (4.4.19-20)

184 **dandle** move up and down playfully in the  
hand (*OED* v. 1b)

185 **an** as if

186 **O, fine** Cf. 'O, brave' (177).

189 **conjure** influence or overpower, as if by casting  
a spell

189-90 **I would ... crowns** See p. 31 for links  
between this and passages in *Faustus* (B-text)  
and *Famous Victories*.

190 **crowns** coins valued at roughly 5s each

191 **coxcomb** the cap worn by a professional fool

196 **spurn** strike with the foot, kick (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2a). Cf.  
*CE*: 'Am I so round with you, as you with me, /  
That like a football you do spurn me thus?'  
(2.1.82-3) and see Summers's words at 184-5.

171 by'r lady] (birlady) 174 Foh] (Foe) 176 an] (and) 179 comest] (comst) 180 'boo'] *this edn*; boh *Q1* 183 laugh] (lafe)  
thou'lt] (thow't) 185 an] as *Q4*, *Elze* 186 SP] *Q2*; Page. *Q1* point] (pynt) 188 SD] *Somerset* 191 So, so now, cousin] so  
now, cousin *Elze*; So, so. Now cousin *Somerset* 192 SP] *Q2*; Page. *Q1* SD] *this edn* Boo!] (Boe) 193 of] a *Qq3-4* 194 SP] *Q2*;  
Page. *Q1* Boo!] (Boe) 195 take that] *om. Qq2-4*, *Elze* SD] *this edn* 196 and] *Q2*; an *Q1* 197 SD] *this edn*

KING

Who set this natural here to trouble me?  
 Who's that stands laughing there? The fool? Ha, ha! 200  
 Where's Compton?

[Enter COMPTON.]

Mother o' God, I have found his drift; 'tis the craftiest old villain in  
 Christendom! – [to Compton] Mark, good Sir William: because the fool  
 durst not come near himself, seeing our anger, he sent this silly ass, that we  
 might wreak our royal spleen on him, whilst he stands laughing to behold 205  
 the jest. By th' blessed lady, Compton, I'll not leave the fool to gain a  
 million, he contents me so. – Come hither, Will.

WILL SUMMERS I'll know whether ye have done knocking, first; my cousin  
 Patch looks pitifully. Ye had best be friends with us, I can tell you; we'll  
 scare ye out of your skin else. 210

KING Alas, poor Patch. Hold, sirrah; [handing him money] there's an angel  
 to buy you points.

WILL SUMMERS La, cousin, did not I say he'll make much on ye?

PATCH Ay, cousin, but he's made such a singing in my head I cannot see  
 where I am. 215

WILL SUMMERS All the better, cousin; an your head fall a-singing, your  
 feet may fall a-dancing, and so save charges to the piper.

KING Will Summers, prithee tell me, why didst thou send him first?

WILL SUMMERS Because I'll have him have the first fruits of thy fury. I  
 know how the matter stood with the next that disturbed thee, therefore 220  
 I kept i'th' rearward, that if the battle grew too hot, I might run presently.

KING But wherefore came ye?

WILL SUMMERS To make thee leave thy melancholy and turn merry man  
 again. Thou hast made all the court in such a pitiful case as passes: the

199–207 Another speech in which King Henry  
 switches from verse to prose, this time prompt-  
 ed by Compton's entrance.

199 **natural** i.e. Patch; a derisory term for a person  
 with a low learning ability (*OED* *n.*<sup>1</sup> 7a; see  
 also 'natural fool', *n.*)

202 **drift** scheme, intention

203 **durst** past tense of 'dare'

205 **wreak** give vent or expression to (*OED* *v.* 3a)

206 **blessed lady** the Virgin Mary

206 **to ... million** Cf. Dent, *Exclusive*, M963.11:  
 'Not for a million' and cf. *Cynthia's Revels*: 'I  
 will not depart withal, whosoever would give  
 me a million' (1.4.152).

208 **knocking** beating

210 **scare ... skin** Cf. Tilley, S507: 'He is ready to  
 leap out of his skin'.

211 **Hold** hold still

**angel** abbreviated form of angel-noble, an old  
 English gold coin worth approximately 7s 6d;

so called because of its depiction of the arch-  
 angel Michael

212 **points** See 175n, *point*.

213 **La** an exclamation of surprise or admiration  
**on** i.e. of

214 **such ... head** Cf. *All Fools*: 'Ile swears I had /  
 A singing in my head a whole weeke after' (II').

217 **save ... piper** Possibly based on the proverb  
 'To pay the piper' (Tilley, P349), first re-  
 corded in 1638.

219 **first fruits** the first agricultural produce of the  
 harvest; in context, the first blows of the King's  
 rage

221 **rearward** the part of an army stationed behind  
 the main body

**hot** characterized by intense suffering, dis-  
 comfort or danger (*OED* *adj.* 9a)

**presently** immediately

222 **wherefore** for what purpose

224 **as passes** See 175n., *as't passes*.

199 natural] (nat'ral) 199–201] *Elze* lines me? / then sets as prose; prose in *Somerset* 200 stands laughing] which stands now laffing *Q4*  
 201 SD] *Somerset*; *En, Comp*: | before Who's that 200 *Q1*; after 199 *Elze* 202 o'] (a) 203 SD] *this edn* 204 he] *Elze*; *om. Q1*  
 206 By th'] (bith) lady, Compton.] (La. *Cōpton*) 208 I'll] I'd *Elze* 211 SD] *this edn* 213 La] (Law) 214 Ay] (I) he's] (has);  
 has *Somerset* 216 an] (and) a-singing] (a singing) 217 a-dancing] (a dauncing) 219 I'll] I'd *Elze* thy] my *Q4* 220 know]  
 knew *Elze*

- lords have attended here this four days, and none dares speak to thee, but  
 thou art ready to chop off their heads for't; and now I, seeing what a  
 fretting fury thou continuest in, and everyone said 'twould kill thee if thou  
 keepest it, pulled e'en up my heart, and vowed to lose my head, but I'd  
 make thee leave it. 225
- KING Well, William, I am beholden to ye; ye shall have a new coat and cap 230  
 for this.
- WILL SUMMERS Nay, then I shall have two new coats and caps, for Charles  
 Brandon promised me one before, to perform this enterprise.
- KING  
 He shall keep his word, Will; go, call him in.  
 Call in the lords; tell them our spleen is calmed. – [Exit Will Summers.] 235  
 Mother o' God, we must give way to wrath  
 That chafes our royal blood with anger thus,  
 And use some mirth, I see, to comfort us. –
- [Re-enter WILL SUMMERS with WOLSEY,  
 BRANDON, DUDLEY, GREY and SEYMOUR.]
- Draw near us, lords. – Charles Brandon, list to me:  
 Will Summers here must have a coat of you, 240  
 But Patch has earned it dearest. Where's the fool?
- WILL SUMMERS He's e'en creeping as near the door as he can; he'll fain  
 be gone, I see, an he could get out. – Wouldst thou not, cousin?
- PATCH Yes, cousin Will, I'd fain be walking. I am afraid I am not as I  
 should be. 245
- WILL SUMMERS Come, I'll help thee out then. – [Exit Patch.]  
 [to Wolsey] Dost thou hear, my Lord Cardinal? Your fool is in a pitiful  
 taking; he smells terribly.
- WOLSEY You are too crafty for him, William.
- KING So is he, Wolsey, credit me. 250
- WILL SUMMERS I think so, my lord; as long as Will lives, the Cardinal's fool  
 must give way to the King's fool.
- KING  
 Well, sir, be quiet. – And, my reverend lords,  
 I thank you for your patient suffering.

225 **four days** Perhaps intended literally, but possibly just meaning an indefinite period of time (see 71n., *four pairs*).  
 228 **pulled ... heart** 'plucked up my courage'  
 230 **beholden** obliged, indebted (see t.n. for possible pronunciation)  
 232-3 A reference to Brandon's promise at 74.  
 233 **enterprise** bold or momentous undertaking  
 237 **chafes** vexes, irritates (*OED* chafe, v. 5)  
 239 **list** listen  
 242 **fain** gladly, under the circumstances

247 **taking** state, condition (*OED* n. 4a)  
 248 **he smells terribly** Somerset suggests this means 'he is not good at smelling out my schemes'. However, this seems rather to be an allusion to the notion that being beaten makes you break wind; cf. *Singing Simpkin*: 'And beat you till you stink' (13) and *Noah*: 'For beaten shalt thou be ... till thou stink' (line 381).  
 250 **credit** believe  
 253 **reverend** rev'rend

225 have] (has) 226 off] (of) 227 continuest] continuedst *Elze* 'twould] (twol'd) 228 keepest] (keepst) lose] (loose) I'd] *Q3*; ile *Q1*; I'll *Somerset* 230 beholden] (beholding) 230-1] *Elze*; *Q1* lines 'ye. / this. / 231 cap] *Q4*; a cap *Q1* 235 SD] *this edn* 236 o'] (a) 238 SD] *this edn*; Enter BRANDON and other LORDS. *Elze*; Enter the Lords. | *Somerset* 242-3] *Elze*; *Q1* lines can, / out, / cosin? / 242 near] (nere) he'll] he'd *Elze* 243 an] (and) Wouldst] (Wouldest) 246 SD] *this edn* (conj. *Somerset*) 247 SD] *this edn* 248 smells] smelleth *Q3-4* 251 lives] *Q2*; live *Q1* 253 reverend] (reverent)

We were disturbèd in our thoughts, we swear; 255  
We now entreat you speak, and we will hear.

WOLSEY

Then may it please your sacred majesty,  
Campeius, legate to his Holiness,  
Attends with letters from the court of Rome.

KING

Let him draw near; we'll give him audience. – 260  
Dudley and Grey, attend the Cardinal,  
And bring Campeius to our presence here.

DUDLEY, GREY

We go, my lord. [Exeunt Dudley and Grey with Wolsey.]

[Re-enter DUDLEY, GREY and WOLSEY  
with CAMPEIUS, other Legates and Attendants.]

KING

Brandon and Seymour, place yourselves by us  
To hear this message from his Holiness. – 265  
[to Campeius and the Legates] You reverend princes, pillars of the Church,  
Legates apóstolic, how fares the Pope?

CAMPEIUS

In health, great king, and from his sacred lips  
I bring a blessing apostolical  
To English Henry and his subjects all. 270  
And more to manifest his love to thee,  
The prop and pillar of the Church's peace,  
And gratify thy love made plain to him  
In learnèd books 'gainst Luther's heresy,  
He sends me thus to greet thy majesty 275  
With style and titles of high dignity. –  
Command the heralds and the trumpets forth.

SEYMOUR Gentlemen, dispatch and call them in. [Exeunt Attendants.]

[Re-enter Attendants with Heralds and Trumpeters.]

WILL SUMMERS Lord bless us, what's here to do now?

CAMPEIUS

Receive this bull, sent from his Holiness, 280  
For confirmation of this dignity  
To thee, and to thy fair posterity.

258 **his Holiness** the Pope

266 **reverend** rev'rend

**pillars** sources of support and stability

267 **apostolic** of or pertaining to the Apostles; see  
also 'apostolical' at 269

271 **manifest** reveal, demonstrate

273 **gratify** reward, requite

274 **In learned books** Probably Henry's *Assertio*

*Septem Sacramentorum (Defence of the Seven Sacraments)*, published in 1521, which defended the supremacy of the Pope against Luther's attacks.

279 **what's ... do** what's going on

280 **bull** See 54n.

281 **dignity** title, position

282 **posterity** offspring

258 Campeius] (*Campe.*) 263 SD1] *Somerset subst.*; *Exeunt.* | *Elze* SD2] *Somerset subst.*; *Enter Lords and Legats: Q1*; *Enter CAMPEIUS with the other Legates, and Lords.* | *Elze* 266 SD] *this edn* reverend] (*reverent*) 278 Gentlemen] *Go, gentlemen* (*conj. Elze*) SD1, 2] *this edn* 281 *this*] *Elze*; his *Q1*

- WILL SUMMERS 'Tis well the King's a widower; an ye had put forth your  
bull with his horns forward, I'd have marred your message, I can tell ye.
- KING Peace, Will. – Heralds, attend him. 285
- CAMPEIUS  
Trumpets, prepare, whilst we aloud pronounce  
This sacred message from his Holiness,  
And in his reverend name, I here proclaim,  
Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God,  
King of England, France and Ireland, 290  
And to this title from the Pope we give  
Defender of the Faith, in peace to live.
- WOLSEY  
Sound, trumpets, and God save the King. [*Trumpets sound.*]
- KING  
We thank his Holiness for this princely favour,  
Receiving it with thanks and reverence, 295  
In which, whilst we have life, his grace shall see  
Our sword defender of the faith shall be. –  
[*to the lords*] Go, one of you salute the Mayor of London;  
Bid him with heralds and with trumpets' sound  
Proclaim our titles through his government. – 300  
Go, Grey, see it done. – Attend him, fellows.
- GREY  
I go, my lord. – Trumpets, follow me.  
[*Exeunt Grey, Trumpeters and Heralds.*]
- KING [*to Campeius*]  
What more, lord legate, doth his Holiness will?
- CAMPEIUS  
That Henry, joining with the Christian Kings  
Of France and Spain, Denmark and Portugal, 305  
Would send an army to assail the Turk

283 \*ye altered from *Q1*'s 'he', since Summers is talking directly to Campeius

283-4 **an ... forward** Summers puns on the double meaning of 'bull', possibly with reference to the proverb 'Take the bull by the horns' (Dent, *Exclusive*, B715.11); probably also intended as an image of cuckoldry.

284 **marred** ruined, interrupted

286-93 Cf. Foxe: 'the bull was againe published, the trumpets blew, the shawmes and sackbuts played in honor of the kings new stile' (902).

288 **reverend** rev'rend

290 **Ireland** trisyllabic; while Henry was Lord of Ireland, he did not assume kingship until 1541 (see 5.5.54-5n.)

292 **Defender ... Faith** A title conferred by Pope Leo X in October 1521, in response to King Henry's defence of papal supremacy (see 274n.); see Grafton (1562): 'king Henry y<sup>e</sup> viii wrote a boke agaynst Luther, & therfore the

Bishop of Rome, named him defendor of y<sup>e</sup> faith' (f. 124<sup>b</sup>).

295 **reverence** deep respect

298 SD **lords** i.e. those named in the entrance direction at 238

298 **Mayor** At the time of Campeius's visit, the Lord Mayor of London was Thomas Exmewe; as Wiggins notes (5.147), this is not the same 'Mayor of London' who appears as a mute character in 5.5 (see LR 41n.).

300 **his government** the territory over which the Lord Mayor has jurisdiction: the City of London

301 **fellows** Presumably the heralds and trumpeters who exit with Grey at 302.

303 **will** intend

304-9 Rowley's source here was probably Holinshed: 'This yeare came to Calis ... Laurence Campeius ... to require the king of aid against the Turke' (844-5).

306 **assail** attack, assault

283 King's a] King is a *Qq3-4*, *Elze* an] (and) ye] *Q2*; he *Q1* 286 aloud] (allowd) 288 reverend] (reverent) 289 Eighth] (Eight) 293, 298 SDD] *this edn* 301 see] and see *Elze* 302 SD] *this edn*; *Exit: Q1* 303 SD] *this edn* 305 Portugal] (Portugale)

- That now invades with war the isle of Rhodes,  
Or send twelve thousand pounds to be disposed  
As his Holiness thinks best for their relief.
- WILL SUMMERS I thought so; I knew 'twould be a money matter, when all's done. Now thou'rt Defender of the Faith, the Pope will have thee defend everything, himself and all. 310
- KING [*to the lords and attendants*] Take hence the fool.
- WILL SUMMERS Ay, when? Can ye tell? Dost thou think any o'th' lords will take the fool? None here, I warrant, except the cardinals. 315
- KING What a knavish fool's this? – [*to Campeius and the Legates*] Lords, you must bear with him. – Come hither, Will, what sayest thou to this new title given us by the Pope? Speak, is't not rare?
- WILL SUMMERS I know not how rare it is, but I know how dear 'twill be, for I perceive 'twill cost thee twelve thousand pounds at least, besides the cardinals' cost in coming. 320
- KING All that's nothing; the title of Defender of the Faith is worth, yea, twice as much. Say, is it not?
- WILL SUMMERS No, by my troth. Dost hear, old Harry? I am sure the true faith is able to defend itself without thee, and as for the Pope's faith, good faith! 'Tis not worth a farthing, and therefore give him not a penny. 325
- KING Go to, sirrah. Meddle not you with the Pope's matters.
- WILL SUMMERS Let him not meddle with thy matters then, for an he meddle with thee, I'll meddle with him, that's certain; and so farewell. I'll go and meet my little young master Prince Edward; they say he comes to court tonight. I'll to horseback. Prithee Harry, send one to hold my stirrup. Shall I tell the Prince what the Pope has done? 330
- KING Ay, an thou wilt, Will. He shall be Defender of the Faith too, one day.

308 **disposed** distributed

310-11 **when all's done** Cf. Dent, A211.1: 'When all is (said and) done'.

313 SD **lords** See 298 SDn.

314 **when ... tell?** Proverbial (Tilley, T88); 'a cant phrase of mockery' (*Somerset*).

315 **None ... cardinals** Summers suggests that the only fools among the present company (himself included) are the cardinals, i.e. Campeius and the visiting legates. It is also possible that 'cardinals' here should read 'Cardinal's', thus indicating Patch; alternatively, Summers suggests that King Henry is the fool for being won over by the cardinals' message, thus turning the King's words around, much like Feste in *TN*: 'OLIVIA Take the fool away. / FESTE Do you not hear, fellows? Take away the lady' (1.5.35-6).

316 **knavish** vulgar, unrefined. Cf. Dent, F509.1: 'To play the knavish fool or the foolish knave'.

318 **rare** See 175n., *rarest*.

322 **worth, yea, twice** As *Somerset* suggests, this seems to be the intended meaning of *Q1* (see t.n.).

324 **by my troth** an emphatic, positive affirmation

324-5 **the true ... thee** Summers pits 'the true faith' (i.e. Protestantism) directly against 'the Pope's faith'; Rowley's anachronistic narrative is problematic in this respect, as in 1521 King Henry was still Roman Catholic. Cf. Fuller, *Church History*, for which Rowley's play may have been a source: '*O good Harry* (quoth the Fool) *let Thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend it self*' (V.168).

325-6 **good faith!** akin to 'good lord!'

326 **not ... farthing** Proverbial (Tilley, F71); a farthing was worth quarter of a penny.

329 **meddle** interfere, as at 327, but also with sense 'to engage in conflict, to contend or fight' (*OED* v. 1c); cf. *TN*: 'for meddle you must, that's certain' (3.4.245)

330 **my ... Edward** It is uncertain how old Prince Edward is meant to be at this point in the narrative; he is at least old enough to understand Summers's news (see 332-3).

308 pounds] (pound) 310-11 matter, when all's done.] matter. When all's done, *Somerset* 311 thou'rt] (thart) 313 SD] *this edn*  
314 Ay] (I) when? Can ye tell?] *Elze*; when can ye tel? *Q1* 316 SD] *this edn* 317 sayest] (saist) 318 is't] (ist); is it *Elze*  
321 cardinals?] (*Cardynals*); cardinal's *Elze* 322 worth, yea, twice] *Somerset*; worth yee, twice *Q1* 325-6 good faith! 'Tis] *Elze*;  
(good faith's) *Q1*; (good faith) it's *Somerset* 328 an] (and) 329 meddle] (middle) 333 Ay] (I) an] (and)

WILL SUMMERS No, an he and I can defend ourselves, we care not, for we are  
sure the faith can. *Exit.* 335

KING [*to Campeius*]

Lord legate, so we reverence Rome and you,  
As nothing you demand shall be denied:  
The Turk will we expel from Christendom,  
Sending stout soldiers to his Holiness,  
And money to relieve distressed Rhodes. 340  
So, if you please, pass in to banqueting. –  
Go, lords, attend them. – Brandon and Compton, stay,  
We have some business to confer upon.

CAMPEIUS

We take our leave.

KING

Most hearty welcome to my reverend lords. – 345  
[*Exeunt all but the King, Brandon and Compton.*]  
So, now to our business. – Brandon, say,  
Hear ye no tidings from our sister Mary  
Since her arrival in the realm of France?

BRANDON

Thus much we heard, my lord: at Calais met her  
The youthful dauphin and the peers of France, 350  
And bravely brought her to the king at Tours,  
Where he both married her and crowned her queen.

KING

'Tis well. – But Brandon and Compton, list to me,  
I must employ your aid and secrecy:  
This night we mean in some disguisèd shape 355  
To visit London and to walk the round,  
Pass through their watches and observe the care  
And special diligence to keep our peace.  
They say night-walkers hourly pass the streets,  
Committing theft and hated sacrilege, 360  
And slightly pass unstayed or unpunishèd. –

336 **reverence** rev'rence; respect, honour

338 Deviance from the source material on Rowley's part, since Holinshed reports that Campeius had 'no toward answer' to his request for aid (845).

339 **stout** valiant, brave (*OED adj.* 3a)

340 **distressed** besieged

344 \*SP *Q1* appears to assign this speech to Compton (see t.n.), but this was evidently just an error of typesetting.

345 **reverend** rev'rend

346 As at 301, the change of address signifies a pause equivalent to a single unstressed metrical beat.

349 **Calais** elided; *Q1*'s spelling (see t.n.) may give some indication of the word's pronunciation. According to Holinshed (832), Lady Mary was

actually landed at Boulogne and married King Louis in Abbéville (not Tours, as at 351).

350 **dauphin** the heir to the French throne, whose crest was a dolphin (hence *Q1*'s spelling; see t.n.)

351 **the king** King Louis XII of France

**Tours** See 349n.; *Q1*'s spelling 'Towres' may be indicative of pronunciation.

355-8 Cf. *King and Cobbler* (Appendix 2).

356 **walk the round** walk a circuit of the City, as the watchmen on their rounds (see *OED* round, n.<sup>1</sup> 23a)

359 **night-walkers** nocturnal thieves or miscreants, as per the title of Fletcher's *The Night-Walker; or, The Little Thief*

360 **sacrilege** the desecration of sacred objects

361 **slightly** easily

**unstayed** unhindered, unimpeded

334 an] (and) 336 SD] *this edn* 344 SP] *Elze; Comp. Q1* 345 reverend] (reverent) SD] *this edn*; *Exit.* | after 344 *Q1* 349 SP] (*Bron.*) Calais] (*Cales*); *Calice Qq3-4* 350 dauphin] (*Dolphin*); *Dolphin Somerset* 351 Tours] (*Towers*) 353 But] *om. Elze*

Go, Compton, go and get me some disguise,  
 This night we'll see our city's government. –  
 Brandon, do you attend at Baynard's Castle;  
 Compton shall go disguised along with me. 365  
 Our swords and bucklers shall conduct us safe,  
 But if we catch a knock to quit our pain  
 We'll put it up, and hie us home again. *Exeunt.*

## [2.1]

*Enter the CONSTABLE and [two men of the] WATCH, Prickawl the COBBLER,  
 being one bearing a lantern, [and DORMOUSE].*

## CONSTABLE

Come, neighbours, we have a strait command;  
 Our watches be severely looked into.  
 Much theft and murder was committed lately:  
 There are two strangers, merchants of the Steelyard,  
 Cruelly slain, found floating on the Thames, 5  
 And greatly are the stews had in suspect  
 As places fitting for no better use.  
 Therefore be careful and examine all;  
 Perhaps we may attach the murderer.

1 WATCH Nay, I assure ye, Master Constable, those stew-houses are places 10  
 of much slaughter and redemption, and many cruel deeds of equity and  
 wickedness are committed there, for diverse good men lose both their  
 money and their computation by them, I abjure ye. – How say you, neighbour  
 Prickawl?

COBBLER Neighbour Capcase, I know you're a man of courage, and for the 15  
 merry cobbler of Lime Street, though I sit as low as Saint Faith's, I can  
 look as high as Paul's. I have in my days walked to the stews as well as my

364 **Baynard's Castle** a palace belonging to the  
 King, situated on the Thames riverfront; it was  
 destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666

366 **bucklers** small round shields

367 **catch a knock** sustain an injury

**quit our pain** 'repay us for our labours' (*Somerset*)

368 **put it up** Somerset suggests 'endure it, say no  
 more about it'; more likely, the King means  
 'put [the wound] up' with plasters or bandages  
 (see 2.3.119–20).

**hie** hasten, speed (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2a)

2.1 Location: City of London. Likely sources  
 include *King and Cobbler* (see Appendix 2),  
 as well as other disguised king plays, such as  
*H5*, in which the soldiers experience '[a] little  
 touch of Harry in the night' (4.0.47). Lines  
 concerning the watchmen may also derive from  
*MA* (3.3) and *King Leir* (scene 27; TLN 2434).

1 **strait** strict, rigorous; severely regulated (*OED*  
*adj.* 5a, 5b; 8b)

4–5 An event from 1534, related in Holinshed (937).

4 **strangers** foreigners

**Steelyard** the main trading base of the Hanse  
 merchants in London, situated on the north bank  
 of the Thames

6 **the stews** See 1.1.121–4 and n.

9 **attach** arrest, lay hold of

10–14 As Somerset notes, the speeches of the watch-  
 men are full of 'Doggyberryisms': long words,  
 mistakenly used. Cf. *MA*, 3.3 and see 11–13n.

11–13 **redemption ... equity ... computation ...**  
**abjure** Somerset plausibly suggests that the  
 watchman has in mind the words 'damnation',  
 'iniquity', 'reputation' and 'assure'.

16 **Lime Street** a residential street for London  
 merchants (*Somerset*)

16–17 **Saint Faith's ... Paul's** 'As high as Paul's  
 (steeple)' was proverbial (see Dent, *Exclusive*,  
 P118.11); the church of Saint Faith's was  
 located in the crypt of Saint Paul's Cathedral,  
 under the choir.

368 SD] *after* 368 *Exeunt*] (*Exit.*) 2.1] *this edn* 0.1 *two men of the*] *this edn* 0.2 *lantern*] (*Lant-horne*) *and* DORMOUSE] *this edn*  
 1 *strait*] (*straight*) 3 *lately*] *late* Qq3–4 4 *Steelyard*] (*Stillyard*); *Stillyard Somerset* 5 *Thames*] (*Temmes*) 6 *the*] Q2; *not in* Q1  
 12 *diverse*] (*diuers*) *lose*] (*loose*) 16 *Lime Street*] (*Limestreete*); *Limestreet Somerset* 17 *Paul's*] *Saint Paul's* Qq3–4, *Elze*



- neighbours, but if the mad wenches fall to murdering once, and cast men into the Thames, I have done with them; there's no dealing, if they carry fire in one hand and water i'th' tother. 20
- CONSTABLE Well, masters, we are now placed about the King's business, and I know ye all sufficient in the knowledge of it, I need not to repeat your charge again.
- Good neighbours, use your greatest care, I pray,  
And if unruly persons trouble ye, 25  
Call and I'll come. So, sirs, goodnight. *Exit.*
- 1 WATCH God ye goodnight and twenty, sir. I warrant ye, ye need not reconcile to our charge, for some on us has discharged the place this forty year, I am sure. – Neighbours, what think you best to be done?
- COBBLER Every man according to his calling, neighbour. If the enemy 30  
come, here lies my town of garrison. I set on him as I set on a patch: if he tread on this side, I underlay him on this side, or prick him through both sides; I yerk him and trick him, pare him and piece him, then hang him up by th' heels till Sunday.
- 1 WATCH How say ye? By my faith, neighbour Prickawl, ye speak to the 35  
purpose, for indeed, neighbours, every sensible watchman is to seek the best reformation to his own destruction.
- 2 WATCH But what think ye, neighbours, if every man take a nap now, i'th' forehand o'th' night, and go to bed afterward?
- COBBLER That were not amiss neither, but an you'll take but every man 40  
his pot first, you'll sleep like the man i'th' moon, i'faith.

18 **mad wenches** Cf. Dent, W274.1: 'To be mad wenches'.

19–20 **carry ... tother** Proverbial (Tilley, F267); also punning on fire as a symbol of sexual desire (Partridge, 135; Williams, 125). The women lure men with their sexual advances (fire) and then drown them in the Thames (water).

21–6 Although set entirely as prose in *Q1*, the Constable's speech appears to be a combination of prose and verse. While Somerset also acknowledged the shift, he made the transition into verse slightly earlier than in *this edn* (see t.n.).

23 **charge** duty, responsibility; see *MA*: 'This is your charge: you shall comprehend all vagrom men. You are to bid any man stand, in the prince's name' (3.3.24–6).

27 **God ye goodnight** contraction of 'God give you goodnight' (as at 156); a form of farewell **and twenty** used here as an intensive; cf. *MW*: 'Good even and twenty, good Master Page' (2.1.177–8).

28 **reconcile** Possibly another 'Dogberryism'; Somerset suggests 'counsel' is intended.  
**some on** some of (Abbott, no.180)  
**discharged the place** i.e. performed this duty  
**forty** Likely used to denote an indefinite number of years; see Elze, *Notes*, 230–2.

30 **calling** trade, occupation

31 **garrison** defence, protection (*OED* n. 2)

**patch** a scrap of leather used to repair shoes

31–4 **if ... Sunday** an extended simile describing the Cobbler's plan of attack, based on everyday tasks carried out in his work; perhaps accompanied by appropriate actions and gestures

32 **underlay** to furnish a shoe with soling-pieces or heel-plates

33 **yerk** bind tightly with cords; cf. *Shoemaker's Holiday*: 'yarke and seame' (2.3.82)

**trick** adorn; adjust (*OED* v. 5a, 6)

**pare** trim to size

**piece** patch up

34 **by th'** *Q1*'s spelling may give some sense of pronunciation (see this and later t.ns).

36 **sensible** *Qq3–4* and *Elze* read 'senseless', possibly to maintain parallels with *MA*: 'You are thought here to be the most senseless and fit man for the constable of the watch' (3.3.22–3); in this context, though, 'sensible' is the more appropriate reading.

37 **reformation ... destruction** Possibly both 'Dogberryisms', as Somerset notes (see 10–14n.).

38–9 **i'th' ... night** i.e. before midnight

41 **pot** i.e. of alcohol

**the ... moon** a common legend (see 45n. and 46n.) that forms the subtitle of Lyly's *Endymion*

21–3] *this edn*; *Q1* lines *businessse*, / it, / againe: /; *prose in Somerset until 22* (it), *then lines again*. / 21 placed] *Elze*; *plac'st Q1*  
22 ye all] all ye are *Qq3–4* 26 SD] *Elze*; *Exit Constable*. | *after 26 Q1* 27 God ye goodnight] (Godyegodnight); Godyegodnight  
*Somerset* 28 some] some one *Elze* 34 by th'] (beth) 36–8 neighbours, ... neighbours.] *om. Elze (added in corrigenda)*  
36 sensible] *senceles Qq3–4*; *senseless Elze* 38 i'th'] (eth) 39 o'th'] (eth) 40 an] (and) 41 i'th'] (eth)

- 2 WATCH Do ye think, neighbour, there is a man i'th' moon?  
 1 WATCH I assure ye, in a clear day I have seen't at midnight.  
 2 WATCH Of what occupation is he, trow?  
 COBBLER Some thinks he's a shepherd, because on's dog; some says he's a 45  
 baker going to heat his oven with a bavin at's back. But the plain truth is, I  
 think he is a cobbler, for ye know what the song says:  
 I see a man i'th' moon,  
 Fie, man, fie,  
 I see a man i'th' moon, 50  
 Clouting Saint Peter's shoon,  
 and so, by this reason, he should be a cobbler.  
 1 WATCH By my feckins, he saith true. Alas, alas, goodman Dormouse hath  
 even given up the ghost already; 'tis an honest, quiet soul, I warrant ye.  
 COBBLER It behoves us all to be so. – How do ye, neighbour Dormouse? 55  
 DORMOUSE God speed ye, God speed ye; nay, an ye go a God's name, I have  
 nothing to say to ye.  
 2 WATCH La ye, his mind's on's business, though he be ne'er so sleepy.  
 COBBLER Come, let's all join with him and steal a nap. Every man, masters, 60  
 to his several stall.  
 2 WATCH Agreed. Goodnight, good neighbours.  
 COBBLER Nay, let's take no leave. I'll but wink a while and see you again.

*Enter KING [in disguise], and COMPTON, with bills on his back.*

- KING  
 Come, Sir William,  
 We may now stand upon our guard, you see,  
 The watch has given us leave to arm ourselves; 65

44 **trow** do you suppose (*OED* v. 4c)

45 **on's** of his (see Abbott, no. 180)

**dog** included in typical representations of the man in the moon. According to folk legend, the man disregarded Sabbath regulations by collecting firewood on a Sunday; he and his dog were thus banished. See the representation of Moonshine in *MND* (5.1.231–49) and Stephano's conversation with Caliban in *Tem* (2.2.135–8).

46 **bavin** a bundle of wood, such as is used in bakers' ovens; here representing the firewood collected by the man in the moon (see prev. n.)

48–51 Taken from the ballad 'Martin said to his Man' (see Appendix 2). It is uncertain whether the Cobbler speaks or sings these words.

51 **Clouting** patching up with leather (*OED* clout, v. 1a)

**Saint Peter's** See 1.3.43n.

**shoon** archaic form of 'shoes', retained here for its rhyme

53 **By my feckins** distortion of 'by my faith' or 'by my fegs' (*OED* fegs, n. 1)

**goodman** ranking one lower than a gentleman; more generally, a respectful form of address

**given ... ghost** in this sense, nearly asleep

55 **behoves** befits, benefits

56 **a God's name** in God's name

58 **La ye** an exclamation used to introduce or accompany a conventional phrase or address

60 **several stall** individual post

62 **wink** to close one's eyes. Cf. *Campaspe*: 'though I wink I sleep not' (5.4.4).

62 SD **in disguise** Holinshed notes that 'the king came priuilie into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard' (806), perhaps indicating the form of the King's disguise.

**bills** military weapons, typically a simple concave blade with a long wooden handle; used by constables of the watch until the eighteenth century (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 2)

**his back** *Elze* reads 'their backs', suggesting that both the King and Compton carry weapons; King Henry's words at 67, though, suggest otherwise.

65 **given** gi'en

42 SP] (2) i'th'] (eth) 47 is] *Elze*; was *Q1* 48–51] *Elze*; prose in *Q1* 48 i'th'] (eth) 50 i'th'] (eth) 56 an] (and) 58 SP] (2) La] (Lawe) on's] (ons); on *Elze* ne'er] (nere) 59 masters] my masters *Qq2–4*, *Elze* 61 SP] (2) Goodnight] (Godnight); Godnight *Somerset* 62 SD *in disguise*] *this edn* *his back*] *their backs* | *Elze*

They fear no danger, for they sleep secure.  
 Go, carry those bills we took to Baynard's Castle  
 And bid Charles Brandon to disguise himself,  
 And meet me presently at Gracechurch Corner.  
 We will attempt to pass through all the watches,  
 And so I take't 'twill be an easy task;  
 Therefore make haste.

70

COMPTON I will, my liege.

KING

The watchword, if I chance to send to ye,  
 Is 'the great stag of Baydon', so my name shall be.

COMPTON

Enough, we'll think on it.

Exit. 75

KING

So, now we'll forward. Soft, yonder's light,  
 Ay and a watch, and all asleep, by'r lady.  
 These are good, peaceable subjects; here's none  
 Beckons to any, all may pass in peace. –  
 Ho, sirrah!

80

COBBLER Stand! Who goes there?

KING A good fellow. Stand's a heinous word i'th' King's highway; you  
 have been at noddy, I see.

COBBLER Ay, and the first card comes to my hand's a knave.

KING I am a coat-card indeed.

85

COBBLER Then thou must needs be a knave, for thou art neither king nor  
 queen, I am sure. But whither goest thou?

KING About a little business that I have in hand.

COBBLER Then goodnight. Prithee trouble me no longer. [*Returns to his stall.*]

66 **secure** without fear or apprehension; cf. *King Lear*: 'Th'inhabitants of this mistrustfull place, / Are dead asleep, as men that are secure' (scene 28; TLN 2469–70)

67 **Baynard's Castle** See 1.4.364n.

69 **Gracechurch Corner** the Church of Saint Bennet, at the corner of Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street (*Somerset*)

73 **watchword** password

74 **'the ... Baydon'** of uncertain provenance. Baydon, as *Somerset* notes, is a Wiltshire village about twenty miles from Wolf Hall, where King Henry married Jane Seymour.

76 Spoken with a pause at the mid-line caesura.

**Soft** to move unobtrusively, without noise (*OED adv.* 3a)

80 **Ho** a call to cease what one is doing; in this instance, to wake the Cobbler

81 **Stand** a command to halt (*OED v.* 4b); also a highwayman's order to his victim (as in 'stand and deliver'), hence the pun in the following line

82 **good fellow** perhaps a comic reference to Robin Hood/Goodfellow. As Quarmby notes (43), 'good fellow' was a slang term for a pursetaker; see *Knack to Know*: 'good fellows be purse-takers now a daies' (TLN 97) and *1 Edward IV*: 'good fellows be thieves' (11.90).

83 **been at noddy** Cf. Tilley, N199: 'to play at noddy'. This meant either to play cards, or to fall asleep; the second sense is implied here, but the latter is intended at 84 (see n.).

84 **knave** continuing the pun, since the 'knave' or 'jack' in a deck of cards was also called the 'noddy' (*OED noddy*, n.<sup>2</sup> 2)

85 **coat-card** picture card or 'court-card' (see t.n.); with humorous reference to the King's own game of disguise

89 SD This presumably is not an exit, since the Cobbler is on stage at 178; rather it seems the Cobbler returns to his stall and goes back to sleep.

69 Gracechurch] (*Grace Church*); Grace-church *Somerset* 72] *this edn*; Q1 lines haste. / Liege. / 74 'the] *this edn*; the Q1 Baydon] *this edn*; Baydon Q1 76 light] a light *Elze* 77 Ay] (I) by'r lady] (*burlady*) 78–80] *Elze*; Q1 lines none / sirra. /; prose in *Somerset* 82 Stand's] (*Stands*); 'Stand' is *Elze* i'th'] (*ethe*) 84 Ay] (I) hand's] hand is *Elze* 85 coat-card] Courtcard Qq3–4; court-card *Elze* 87 whither] (*whether*) 89 SD] *this edn*

KING

Why, this is easy enough; here's passage at pleasure. 90  
 What wretch so wicked would not give fair words  
 After the foulest fact of villainy,  
 That may escape unseen so easily?  
 Or what should let him, that is so resolved  
 To murder, rapine, theft or sacrilege, 95  
 To do it, and pass thus examinèd?  
 I see the City are the sleepy-heads.  
 Fond, heedless men, what boots it for a king  
 To toil himself in his high state affairs,  
 To summon parliaments and call together 100  
 The wisest heads of all his provinces,  
 Making statutes for his subjects' peace,  
 That thus neglecting them, their woes increase?  
 Well, we'll further on. –

*Enter BLACK WILL.*[*aside*] Soft, here comes one;

I'll stay and see how he escapes the watch. 105

BLACK WILL So, now I am got within the City, I am as safe as in a  
 sanctuary. It is a hard world when Black Will, for a venture of five pounds,  
 must commit such petty robberies at Mile End; but the plain truth is, the  
 stewards from whence I had my quarterage is now grown too hot for me:  
 there's some suspicion of a murder lately done upon two merchants of 110  
 the Steelyard, which indeed, as far as some five or six stabs comes to, I  
 confess I had a hand in. But mumbudget, all the dogs in the town must not  
 bark at it. I must withdraw a while till the heat be o'er, remove my  
 lodging and live upon dark nights and misty mornings. Now, let me then  
 see the strongest watch in London intercept my passage. 115

90 **passage** movement, without interception92 **fact** deed, act94 **let** prevent, stand in the way of (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 1a)95 **rapine** pillage, plunder**sacrilege** See 1.4.360n.

96–7 \*I follow *Somerset* in transposing these two  
 lines, since the 'it' of 96 seems to refer to the  
 acts described at 95. Somerset acknowledges  
 his debt here to Crow, who noted that the two  
 lines (one at the bottom of D2<sup>v</sup>, the other at the  
 top of D3<sup>v</sup>) could have become disordered  
 when the forme was made up ('Editing and  
 Emending', 11).

96 \***examined** Altered from *Q1*'s 'unexamined'  
 since the King is referring to the Cobbler's  
 inadequate line of questioning, rather than to  
 his total inattention.

97 **the City** by extension, the watchmen who are  
 employed to protect it

98 **fond** easily taken in (*OED* *adj.* 2)

**what boots it** what use is it99 **toil** trouble; exhaust (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 5a, 5b)

104 SD1 \**This edn* moves *Q1*'s SD so as to prompt  
 the King's observation 'here comes one'; the  
 King speaks as if watching Black Will enter.

105 The King presumably steps behind one of the  
 stage posts to conceal himself from Black  
 Will, who thus speaks 106–15 as a soliloquy.

107 **It ... world** Proverbial (Dent, W877.1).  
**venture** chance

108 **Mile End** a hamlet one mile east of London

109 **quarterage** abode or lodging, paid for on a  
 quarterly basis

**hot** dangerous, hazardous. See also 'heat' at  
 113.

110–11 **a murder ... Steelyard** See 4–7.

112 **mumbudget** See Tilley, M1311; meaning to  
 keep silent. See also Tilley, M1310: 'Mum is  
 counsel (the word)'.

112–13 **all ... it** See Tilley, D526: 'All dogs bark not  
 at him' and cf. *Three Ladies*: 'all the dogges in  
 the towne shall not barke at your doings' (E1').

96 examined] *Q2*; vnexamined *Q1* 96–7] *Somerset*; transposed in *Q1* 99 his high] *Q2*; this high *Q1*; highest *Elze* 102 Making] For making *Elze* 104 we'll] we will *Elze* SD1] *this edn*; after 105 *Q1* SD2] *this edn* 107 pounds] (pound) 108 Mile End] (*Mile-ende*) 110 suspicion] (susppection) murder] (murther) 111 Steelyard] (*Stilliard*); Still-yard *Somerset* 113 o'er] (ore)

- KING [*aside*]  
Such a fellow would I fain meet withal. –  
[*to Black Will*] Well overtaken, sir.
- BLACK WILL 'Sblood! Come before me, sir. What a devil art thou?
- KING A man at least.
- BLACK WILL And art thou valiant? 120
- KING I carry a sword and a buckler, ye see.
- BLACK WILL A sword and a buckler, and know not me? Not Black Will?
- KING No, trust me.
- BLACK WILL Slave, then thou art neither traveller nor purse-taker, for I tell thee, Black Will is known and feared through the Seventeen Provinces: 125  
there's not a sword-and-buckler man in England nor Europe, but has had a taste of my manhood. I am toll-free in all cities, and the suburbs about them; this is my sconce, my castle, my citadel, and but King Harry, God bless his majesty, I fear not the proudest.
- KING Oh yes, some of his guard. 130
- BLACK WILL Let his guard eat's beef and be thankful. Give me a man will cover himself with his buckler, and not budge an the devil come.
- KING Methinks thou wert better live at court, as I do. King Harry loves a man, I can tell ye.
- BLACK WILL Would thou and all the men he keeps were hanged, and ye 135  
love not him then. But I will not change my revenues for all his guards' wages.
- KING Hast thou such store of living?
- BLACK WILL Art thou a good fellow? May I speak freely, and wilt not tell 140  
the King on't?

- 118 **'Sblood** euphemistic shortening of 'God's blood', used as an oath
- 120 **valiant** brave, courageous; showing boldness in a fight or on the battlefield
- 121-3 Although spoken as prose, the rhymes of these three lines were perhaps intentional.
- 122 **know not me** Playing both on the title of the play and Black Will's own inability to see through the King's disguise. Cf. Tilley, K174 and the title of Heywood's play: 'If you know not me, you know nobody'.
- 124 **purse-taker** pickpocket
- 125 **the Seventeen Provinces** the Imperial states of the Habsburg Netherlands, roughly corresponding to those of the Low Countries. The reference here indicates that Black Will is a returned soldier, now a vagabond.
- 126 **a sword-and-buckler man** Cf. *Two Angry Women*: 'a man, a tall man and a good sword and buckler man' (TLN 1342-3) and *IH4*: 'that same sword-and-buckler Prince of Wales' (1.3.228).

- 127 **manhood** courage, valour; in this instance, swordsmanship
- 128 **sconce** a small fort, built to defend a ford or pass  
**citadel** a stronghold or fortified area within a city  
**but** excluding
- 131 **Let ... beef** A reference to the guardsmen's standard of living but also, it seems, to their dim-wittedness; see Dent, B215.1: 'To be beef-witted' and *TN*: 'I am a great eater of beef, and I believe that does harm to my wit' (1.3.83-4).
- 132 **cover** shield, protect  
**budge** winch, flinch (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 1b); probably pronounced 'boodge' (see t.n.). Cf. *MV*: 'well, my conscience says, "Lancelot, budge not." "Budge," says the fiend. "Budge not," says my conscience.'" (2.2.16-18).  
**an the devil come** Cf. *TC*, 1.2.202-3.
- 133 **King ... man** Cf. Tilley, K92: 'King Harry loved a man'.
- 136 **revenues** income, profit, i.e. from his dishonest trade
- 138 **store** abundant or plentiful supply

116 SD] *Elze* 116-7] *prose in Somerset* 117 SD] *this edn* 118] *Elze*; *Q1* lines syr: / thou? / a devil] the devil *Elze* 121 <sup>2</sup>a] *om. Qq2-4, Elze* 122] *Elze*; *Q1* lines me, / Will? / a] *om. Elze* 125 through] *Q2*; though *Q1* 126 had] *om. Q4* 130 Oh] (O) 131 eat's] (eats); eat his *Elze*; eat *Somerset* 132 budge] (booge); booge *Somerset* an] (and) 135 <sup>2</sup>and] an *Elze* 139-40] *Elze*; *Q1* lines fellow? / ont? /

- KING Keep thine own counsel and fear not, for of my faith, the King shall know no more for me than thou tellest him.
- BLACK WILL An I tell him anything, let him hang me. But for thyself, I think if a fat purse come i'th' way, thou wouldst not refuse it. Therefore leave the court and shark with me. I tell thee, I am chief commander of all the stews; there's not a whore shifts a smock but by my privilege, nor opens her shop before I have my weekly tribute. And to assure thee my valour carries credit with it, do but walk with me through the streets of London, and let me see the proudest watch disturb us. 145
- KING I shall be glad of your conduct, sir. 150
- BLACK WILL Follow me, then, and I'll tell thee more.
- 1 WATCH Stand, who goes there?
- BLACK WILL A good fellow. – [*to the King*] Come close, regard them not.
- 2 WATCH How shall we know thee to be a good fellow?
- BLACK WILL My name's Black Will. 155
- 1 WATCH Oh, God give ye goodnight, good Master Black William.
- 2 WATCH Goodbye, sir, goodbye. – [*to 1 Watch*] I am glad we are so well rid on him.
- BLACK WILL [*to the King*] La, sir, you see here's egress enough. Now follow me, and you shall see we'll have regress back again. 160
- 1 WATCH Who comes there?
- COBBLER Come afore the Constable.
- BLACK WILL What, have ye forgot me so soon? 'Tis I.
- 2 WATCH Oh, 'tis Master Black William. God bless ye sir, God bless ye.
- BLACK WILL [*to the King*] How likest thou now? 165
- KING Faith, excellent. But priethee tell me, dost thou face the world with thy manhood that thus they fear thee, or art thou truly valiant?
- BLACK WILL 'Sfoot! Dost thou doubt of my manhood? Nay, then defend yourself; I'll give you a trial presently. Betake ye to your tools, sir; I'll teach ye to stand upon inter'gatories. 170

141 **Keep ... counsel** 'keep your own secrets' (*Somerset*); cf. Tilley, C694: 'Keep counsel first thyself / Keep your own counsel'

141-2 **the King ... him** Dramatic irony; playing on the success of the King's disguise.

145 **shark** practise deception or fraud

145-7 **I am ... tribute** Cf. *Arden of Faversham*: 'The bawdie houses haue paid me tribute, / There durst not a whore set vp, vnlesse she haue agreed / with me first, for opning her shoppe windowes' (TLN 2015-17). *Somerset* persuasively argues: 'The parallel is close enough to suggest that Rowley may have borrowed the name, and some of the characteristics of Black Will' from the earlier play.

146 **smock** a woman's undergarment

**privilege** say-so, agreement

147 **tribute** money's worth

148 **credit** reputation

152-3 Cf. 81-2 and see 82n; reminiscent of the King and Sir John's interchange in *1 Sir John Oldcastle* (TLN 1364-72).

159 **egress** liberty to leave, i.e. to pass the watch; cf. 'regress' (= liberty to return) at 160

168 **'Sfoot** a shortened form of the oath 'Christ's foot'

169 **give ... trial** put you to the test

**tools** weapons, i.e. his sword and buckler

170 **inter'gatories** a syncopated form of 'interrogatories', i.e. questioning, interrogation under oath. Cf. *MV*: 'Let us go in, / And charge us there upon inter'gatories' (5.1.297-8). The clipped form is similarly used in a prose passage in *AW* (4.3.178).

142 tellest] (telst) 143 An] (And) 144 wouldst] (wouldest) 153 SD] *this edn* 157-8] *Elze*; *Q1* lines boye, / him. / 157 Goodbye, sir, goodbye] (God boye sir, God boye); Godboy sir, Godboy *Somerset* 157, 159 SDD] *this edn* 159-60] *Elze*; *Q1* lines enough, / againe. / 159 La] (Law) here's] and here's *Elze* 164] *Elze*; *Q1* lines William, / ye. / Oh] (O) Master] (M.) 165 SD] *this edn* likest] (likst) 167 thee] *om. Q4* 168 dost] (doest) 170 inter'gatories] interrogatories *Elze*

- KING I am for ye. There's ne'er a man the King keeps shall refuse ye. But  
tell me: wilt thou keep the King's act for fighting?
- BLACK WILL As ye please, sir; yet because thou'rt his man, I'll observe it,  
and neither thrust nor strike beneath the knee.
- KING I am pleased. Have at you, sir. *They fight.* 175
- 1 WATCH Help, neighbours! O take ye to your brown bills; call up the Constable.  
Here's a piece of chance-meddle ready to be committed. – [*to the Cobbler*]  
Set on, goodman Prickawl.
- COBBLER I'll firk them a' both sides. – Lie close, neighbour Dormouse. –  
[*to Black Will and the King*] Keep the King's peace, I charge ye. – Help, Master 180  
Constable!

*Enter the CONSTABLE.*

- CONSTABLE Keep the peace, or strike them down.
- BLACK WILL Zounds, I am hurt. Hold, I say!
- 2 WATCH Let them not pass, neighbours. Here's [*indicating his wound*]  
bloodshed drawn upon one of the King's officers. 185
- CONSTABLE Take away their weapons. – [*to Black Will and the King*] And since  
you are so hot, I'll set you where you shall be cool enough.
- BLACK WILL Zounds, the moon's a waning harlot; with the glimpse of her light  
I lost his point and mistook my ward. He'd ne'er broached my blood else.
- CONSTABLE [*to the King*] Pray sir, what are you? 190
- KING  
I am the King's man, sir, and of his guard.
- CONSTABLE  
More shame you should so much forget yourself,  
For, as I take't, 'tis parcel of your oath  
As well to keep his peace as guard his person,  
And if a constable be not present by, 195  
You may as well as he his place supply;  
And seeing ye so neglect your oath and duty, –

172 **King's ... fighting** No known act or proclamation exists with this title, hence the lower case 'a'; as Somerset suggests, 'the King's act' probably just means King Henry's method of fighting (see 174n.).

174 **neither ... knee** To aim beneath the knee was considered bad form in broadsword fighting due to the small size of the shield.

176 **brown bills** a kind of halberd used by foot-soldiers and watchmen (*OED*). Different types of bill (see 62 SDn.) were painted different colours.

177 **chance-meddle** i.e. 'chance-medley', the name properly applied to the act of killing in self-defence (see Tomlins, *Law Dictionary*). I retain *QI*'s spelling on the basis that the mispronunciation is typical of the watchmen's speech.

178 **Set on** Either set upon them, i.e. break up the fight, or set about your task, i.e. call the Constable.

**goodman** See 53n.

179 **firk** beat, trounce (*OED* v. 4a); cf. *H5*: 'I'll fer him, and firk him, and ferret him' (4.4.28-9)

183 **Zounds** an abbreviation of the oath 'by God's wounds'

185 **one ... officers** i.e. himself (see 200)

187 **hot** agitated, angry; playing upon the coolness (and relative calm) of the Counter prison (see 2.3). Cf. *Fool Upon Fool*: 'nay saies the King, are yee so hot, clap him fast' (F1<sup>r</sup>).

**I'll ... enough** Cf. Tilley, H391: 'To cool one's heels'.

188 **harlot** rogue, rascal; strumpet

189 **point** i.e. of the sword

**mistook my ward** struck the wrong defensive position (*OED* ward, n.<sup>2</sup> 8a)

**broached my blood** drawn blood, by piercing the flesh (*OED* broach v.<sup>1</sup> 4c)

190 Cf. 118.

171 ne'er] (neere) 173 thou'rt] (th'art) 175 pleased] pleas'd sir *Qq3-4*; pleased, sir *Elze* 177 SD] *this edn* 178 Prickawl] *this edn*; *Sprichall Q1*; Prichall *Elze* 179 a'] (*a*); on *Elze* 180 SD] *this edn* Master] (*M.*) 183 Zounds] (Sownes); 'Swoons *Elze*; Sownes *Somerset* 184, 186 SDD] *this edn* 188 Zounds] (Sownes); 'Swoons *Elze*; Sownes *Somerset* 189 He'd] (*had*); *Had Somerset* ne'er] (neere) broached] (*brocht*) 190 SD] *this edn*

- [*to the men of the Watch*] Go bear them to the Counter presently. –  
There shall ye answer for these misdemeanours.
- 2 WATCH He's broke my head, sir, and furthermore it bleeds. 200
- CONSTABLE Away with them both. They shall pay thee well ere they come forth, I warrant thee.
- BLACK WILL I beseech ye, sir.
- KING Never entreat, man; we shall have bail, I doubt it not. – But, Master Constable, I hope you'll do me this favour: to let one of your watchmen go of an errand for me, if I pay him? 205
- CONSTABLE With all my heart, sir; [*indicating the Cobbler*] here's one shall go.
- KING [*to the Cobbler*] Hold thee, good fellow, [*handing him money*] here's an angel for thee. Go thy way to Baynard's Castle and ask for one Brandon, he serves the Duke of Suffolk; and tell him his bedfellow, or the great stag of Baydon, this night is clapped i'th' Counter, and bid him come speak with me. – Come, Constable, let's go. – [*to the Cobbler*] Sirrah, make haste. 210
- [*Exeunt all but the Cobbler.*]
- COBBLER I warrant you, sir, an this be all, I'd have done it for half the money. Well, I must enquire for one Brandon, and tell him the great stag of Baydon is i'th' Counter. By'r lady, I doubt they be both crafty knaves, and this is some watchword between them. By th' mass, I doubt he ne'er came well by his money, he's so liberal. Well, I'll forward. [*Exit.*] 215

## [2.2]

*Enter BRANDON and COMPTON.*

- BRANDON Sir William, are you sure it was at Gracechurch his majesty appointed we should meet him? We have been there and missed him. What think ye, sir?
- COMPTON  
Good faith, I know not.  
His highness is too venturous bold, my lord; 5  
I know he will forsake himself in this,  
Opposing still against a world of odds.

- 198 **the Counter** the Wood Street Counter in Cheapside; a debtors' prison which dealt also with small-scale public misdemeanours
- 201-2 **They ... thee** See *Duties of Constables*: 'if any such officer, or other person comming on his [the constable's] part, doe take hurt, he shal haue good remedie by action against him that did the hurt' (15; cited in *Somerset*).
- 209 **angel** See 1.4.211n.  
**Baynard's Castle** See 1.4.364n.
- 210 **he ... Suffolk** a ploy to disguise Brandon's true identity, since Brandon was himself the Duke of Suffolk  
**bedfellow** close friend, intimate
- 211 **clapped** imprisoned; cf. 2H6: 'let them be clapped up close' (1.4.50)
- 215 **doubt** suspect (see also 216)  
**they** Brandon and the (disguised) King
- 216 **watchword** See 73n.  
**By th' mass** a mild oath. See t.n. for probable pronunciation of 'by th'.'
- 217 **liberal** free in giving, generous (*OED adj.* 1a)
- 2.2 Location: City of London, perhaps near Gracechurch Corner or Baynard's Castle.
- 5 **venturous** vent'rous; willing to take risks, disposed to dangerous activity
- 6 **forsake himself** i.e. 'to shed his dignity as a king' (*Somerset*)
- 7 **a ... odds** Cf. 1H6: 'While he, renowned noble gentleman, / Yield up his life unto a world of odds' (4.3.78).

198 SD] *this edn* 200 He's] (Has); Has *Somerset* 206 errand] (arrant) 207 SD] *this edn* 208 SD1, 2] *this edn* 211 i'th'] (eth) 212 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *Somerset subst.*; *Exit. Q1* 213 an] (and) 215 i'th'] (eth) By'r lady] (burlady) 216 them. By th' mass] them both: mass *Elze* By th'] (beth) ne'er] (nere) came] *Q2*; come *Q1* 217 SD] *Somerset subst.* | after 217 2.2] *this edn* 1-3] *Somerset*; *Q1 lines* | *Graces-Church* / him? / syr? / 1 SP] (Bron.) Gracechurch] (*Graces-Church*); *Graces-church Somerset*



[Enter COBBLER.]

BRANDON

Good faith, 'tis true. But soft, here comes one. –

How now, good fellow, whither goest thou?

COBBLER It lies in my authority, sir, to ask you that question, for I am one  
of the King's watch, I can tell ye. 10

COMPTON Then perhaps thou canst tell us some tidings. Didst thou not see a  
good, lusty, tall, big-set man pass through your watch tonight?

COBBLER Yes, sir, there was such a man came to our watch tonight, but  
none that passed through, for he behaved himself so that he was laid hold  
on quickly, and now he is forthcoming in the Counter. 15

BRANDON And whither art thou going?

COBBLER Faith, sir, he's given me an angel to do an errand for him at  
Baynard's Castle, to one Brandon that serves the Duke of Suffolk. He says  
he is his bedfellow, and I must tell him the great stag of Baydon is i'th'  
Counter. 20

BRANDON If thine errand be to Brandon, I can save thee a labour, for I am  
the man thou lookest for; we have been seeking him almost all this night.  
Hold thee, [*handing him money*] there's an angel for thy news. I'll bail him,  
I warrant thee. 25

*Exeunt [Brandon and Compton].*

COBBLER I thank you, sir, but he's not so soon bailed as you think, for  
there's two of the King's watch has their heads broke, and that must be  
answered for. But all's one to me; let them shuffle as they will. The angels  
have flown about tonight, and two gulls are light into my hands, and these  
I'll keep. Let him get out as he can. *Exit.* 30

## [2.3]

*Enter the KING [in disguise, and the PORTER] in prison.*

KING Ho, porter! Who's without there?

PORTER What's the matter now? Will ye not go to bed tonight?

8 **soft** See 2.1.76n.

13 **good ... man** Perhaps with reference to Hans  
Holbein the Younger's portrait of King  
Henry; the woodcut that adorns the title-  
pages of *Qq2-4* is based on this image (see  
*Fig. 13*).

**lusty** strong, vigorous (*OED adj.* 5a), or  
perhaps corpulent, massively built (*adj.* 10); if  
the latter, this predates the earliest recorded use  
in *OED* by 172 years

27-8 **that ... for** See 2.1.201-2 and n.

28 **all's one** See 1.2.177.

**shuffle** get out of a tricky situation, typically in  
an underhand manner (*OED v.* 6a)

28-9 **angels have flown** Punning on both the name  
of the coin and the ease with which the money  
has come into his hands.

29 **gulls** Continuing the pun by hinting at the sea  
birds, but more likely referring to Brandon and  
the (disguised) King as gulls (= fools).

**light** quickly, easily; with little effort (*OED adv.*<sup>1</sup>)  
**these** the coins

2.3 Location: inside the Counter prison (see 0 SD).

1 **without** outside, in another part of the prison

7 SD] *Somerset* 9 whither] (whether) 10-11] *Elze*; *Q1* lines sir, / question. / ye. / 12-13] *Elze*; *Q1* lines tydings: / passe / to night? /  
13 big-set] (bigge set); big *Elze* watch] watches *Elze* 14 tonight] *Q2*; to to night *Q1* 15 hold] *om. Elze* 17 whither] (whether)  
18 he's] (has); has *Somerset* errand] (arrande) 20 i'th'] (eth) 23 lookest] (lookst) 24 SD] *this edn* 25 SD *Exeunt*] (*Exit.*)  
*Brandon and Compton*] *Somerset* 28 one] (won) 29 have] (has) 2.3] *this edn* 0 SD *in disguise, and the PORTER*] *this edn*

KING [*aside*]

No, trust me, 'twill be morning presently,  
And I have hope I shall be bailed ere then.

[*to the Porter*] I prithee, if thou canst, entreat some of the prisoners to keep  
me company a pair of hours or so, and we'll spend them i'th' rouse of healths,  
and all shall be my cost. Say, wilt thou pleasure me? 5

PORTER If that will pleasure ye, sir, ye shall not want for company. Here's  
enough that can tend it; they have hunger and ease enough at all times.

KING There's a couple of gentlemen in the next room. I prithee let them  
come in, [*handing him money*] and there's a Harry sovereign for thee. 10

PORTER I thank you, sir. I am as much beholden to you as to King Harry  
for it. *Exit.*

KING Ay, I assure thee thou art. Well, Master Constable, you have made the  
Counter this night the royal court of England's King, and by my crown, I swear,  
I would not for a thousand pounds 'twere otherwise. 15

The officers in cities, now I see,  
Are like an orchard set with several trees,  
Where one must cherish one, rebuke the other.  
And in this wretchèd Counter I perceive 20  
Money plays fast and loose, purchases favour,  
And without that, naught but misery.

A poor gentleman hath made complaint to me:  
'I am undone,' quoth he, 'and kept in prison,  
For one of your fellows that serves the King, 25  
Being bound for him, and he neglecting me,  
Hath brought me to this woe and misery.'

Another citizen there is complains  
Of one belonging to the Cardinal,  
That in his master's name hath taken up 30  
Commodities valued at a thousand pounds;

3-7 An example of Rowley's verse/prose hybridity (see pp. 186-7); in this instance, to distinguish King Henry's aside. See also 14-35, where the transition marks the point at which King Henry speaks as ruler rather than commoner.

6 i'th' ... healths in drinking and toasting

7 pleasure satisfy

9 enough plenty (i.e. of prisoners); see t.n. for likely pronunciation

tend it see to it

hunger and ease Cf. Tilley, D521: 'A dog's life, hunger and ease', where ease = idleness.

11 Harry sovereign a gold coin first minted in England during Henry VII's reign, originally worth 22s 6d

14-15 Well ... King See pp. 79-80 and McMillin (106) on the possible (re-)use of stage space.

16 a thousand pounds Proverbial (Dent, T248.1).

19 i.e. not all can be favoured at any one time  
rebuke check, repress

21 money ... loose i.e. changes hands quickly and for dishonest purposes; see Tilley, P401: 'to play fast and loose'. Cf. *Every Man Out*: 'they play fast and loose with a poor gentleman's fortunes to get their own' (1.2.96-7).

25 For because of

one ... King Possibly, this is Rooksby (see 3.2.101-63), in which case the 'poor gentleman' at 23 may be Hopkins (3.2.106).

26 bound bonded, as surety for debt

30-1 taken up commodities a common abuse used by moneylenders to escape the usury laws (*Somerset*). A commodity was an article purchased on credit from a moneylender.

3, 5 SDD] *this edn* 6 i'th'] (ethe) 9 enough] (Inow); j now *Qq2-4*; enow *Somerset* 11 SD] *this edn* a] an *Somerset*  
12 beholden] (beholding) 13 SD] *after 13* 14-16] *this edn*; *Q1* lines art. / Counter / King: / for / otherwise. / 14 Ay] (I)  
Master] (M.) 16 pounds] (pound) 18 an] the *Elze* 20 Counter] *Somerset*; Counters *Q1* 22 naught] (nought) 24 'I] *Elze*;  
I *Q1* undone,'] *this edn*; undone *Q1* 'and] *this edn*; and *Q1* 27 misery.'] *Elze*; miserie. *Q1* 31 pounds] (pound)

The payment being deferred hath caused him break,  
And so is quite undone. Thus kings and lords, I see,  
Are oft abused by servants' treachery.

*Enter the [Keeper and PORTER with BLACK WILL and] PRISONERS.*

[*aside*] But whist a while, here come my fellow prisoners. 35

1 PRISONER Where's this bully grig, this lad of life, that will scour the Counter  
with right Rhenish tonight? O sir, you are welcome.

KING I thank ye, sir. Nay, we'll be as great as our word, I assure ye. – Here,  
porter, [*handing him money*] there's money; fetch wine, I prithee. –  
Gentlemen, you cannot be merry in this melancholy place; but here's a lad 40  
has his heart as light as his purse. – [*to 1 Prisoner*] Sirrah, thou art some  
mad slave, I think, a regular companion: one that uses to walk o' nights, or so.  
Art thou not?

1 PRISONER Hark i'thine ear. Thou'rt a good fellow?

KING I am right born, I assure thee. 45

1 PRISONER King Harry loves a man, and thou a woman. Shall I teach thee  
some wit? And tell thee why I met thee here? I went and set my lime-  
twigs, and I think I got some hundred pound by a crooked measure at  
Coombe Park; and now, seeing there was watch laid, and much search for  
suspicious persons, I got one as honest as myself to arrest me by a 50  
contrary name, and lay me i'th' Counter, and here I know they'll ne'er seek me.  
And so, when the heat's o'er, I am at liberty, and mean to spend my crowns  
lustily. How likest thou this, my bully?

32 **break** to become bankrupt

33 **undone** ruined, destroyed

34 **abused** taken advantage of

34 SD1 **PRISONERS** It seems at least three men  
enter here: the two men designated 1 and 2  
Prisoner in SPs and another mute character (or  
characters), to whom (along with 2 Prisoner)  
King Henry addresses 100-7.

35 Perhaps spoken as prose rather than verse as the  
King prepares to get back into character.  
**whist** hush

36 **bully** jolly, admirable (*OED adj.*<sup>1</sup> 1; earliest  
recorded use of this sense in 1689)

**grig** possibly a cricket or grasshopper (*OED n.*<sup>1</sup>  
4), as in the phrase 'as merry as a grig', or  
possibly a dwarf (*n.*<sup>1</sup> 1), i.e. an ironic joke, given  
King Henry's stature

**scour** refresh

37 **right** good, wholesome; Somerset suggests un-  
diluted, in this context

**Rhenish** wine produced in the Rhine region

38 **as great ... word** Cf. Dent, W773.1: 'to be as  
good as one's word'.

41 **has ... purse** cares little about the consequences  
of his actions. Perhaps a corruption of the  
proverbs 'a heavy purse makes a light heart' and  
'a light purse makes a heavy heart' (Tilley, P655  
and P659).

42 **regular** perfect (*Somerset*)

**companion** i.e. in trade, lifestyle

**one ... nights** See 1.4.359n, *night-walkers*.

**or so** or the like

44 **Hark i'thine ear** listen closely; 'i'thine' poss-  
ibly pronounced 'ethen' (see t.n.)

**good fellow** See 2.1.82n.

46 **King ... man** See 2.1.133n.

47 **wit** piece of trickery

47-8 **lime-twigs** twigs smeared with birdlime for  
catching birds; used figuratively here to mean  
traps, snares. Cf. *Sir Thomas Wyatt*: 'Catch Fooles  
with Lime-twigs dipt with pardons' (4.1.50).

49 **Coombe Park** about a mile away from Kingston-  
on-Thames in Surrey; the scene of numerous  
highway robberies (Sugden)

**watch** ambush

51 **contrary name** false or fabricated name; or  
possibly the name of another

**lay ... seek me** As Somerset notes, this was  
common practice; see *Compter's Common-  
wealth*: 'if the *hews* and *Cries* come too hotly  
after them, [they] instantly [get] themselves  
arrested into one of the Compters, and lie there  
while the matter cooles' (58).

52 **heat's** See 'heat' at 2.1.113.

53 **lustily** vigorously, energetically (*OED adv.* 2);  
in pleasurable pursuits

34 SD1] *after 35 in Elze, Somerset* Keeper and PORTER with BLACK WILL and] *this edn* SD2] *this edn* 35 come] (comes)  
39, 41 SDD] *this edn* 42 one] (won) that] *om. Qq2-4* o'] (a) 44 i'thine] (ethen) thou'rt] (thart) fellow?] *Somerset*;  
fellow. Q1 46-53] *Elze*; Q1 lines woman: / wit? / here? / thinke / pound, / Parke: / layde, / persons: / me, / counter, / me, /  
libertie, / lustily: / Bullie? / 47 met] meet Qq3-4, *Elze* 49 there was] there Q3a; ther's Qq3b-4 50 one] (won) me] my  
*Somerset* 51 i'th'] (eth); in the *Elze* ne'er] (nere) 52 o'er] (ore) 53 likest] (likst)

- KING An excellent policy.
- 1 PRISONER But mum, no words; use it for yourself, or so. 55
- KING O sir, fear it not. – Be merry, gentlemen. Is not this wine come yet?  
 God's me, forget our chief guest! Where's my sword-and-buckler man?  
 Where's Black Will? – [*to Black Will*] How now, man, melancholy? Let not  
 a little wipe make us enemies. [*Offers his hand.*] Clap hands, and be friends.
- BLACK WILL My blood's up still. 60
- KING When 'tis at highest, 'twill fall again. Come; hands, hands.  
 [*They shake hands.*]
- BLACK WILL I'll shake hands with thee because thou carriest a sword and  
 buckler, yet thou'rt not right cavalier: thou knowest not how to use them;  
 thou'st a heavy arm.
- KING Ay, a good, smart stroke. 65
- BLACK WILL Thou cuttest my head indeed, but 'twas no play; thou layest  
 open enough, I could have entered at my pleasure.
- KING Nay, I have stout guard, I assure ye.
- BLACK WILL Childish to a man of valour. When thou shouldst have borne  
 thy buckler here, thou lettest it fall to thy knee; thou gavest me a wipe, but 70  
 'twas mere chance. But had we not been parted, I had taught ye a little  
 school-play, I warrant ye.
- BRANDON [*Knocks and calls from within.*] What ho, porter! Who keeps the gates  
 there?
- PORTER Who knocks so fast? 75

*Enter BRANDON and COMPTON hastily.*

- COMPTON Stand by, sirrah.
- PORTER Keep back, I say. Whither will ye press amongst the prisoners?
- BRANDON Sirrah, to the court, and we must in.
- PORTER Why, sir, the court's not kept i'th' Counter today.
- BRANDON Yes, [*pointing to the King*] when the King is there. – 80  
 All happiness betide our sovereign.

55 **mum, no words** Cf. 'mumbudget' (2.1.112 and n.). See also Tilley, W767: 'no word but mum'.

57 **forget**, i.e. 'I forget'. On the common omission of 'I' after oaths, see Abbott, no. 400.

59 **wipe** blow  
**Clap hands** shake hands to call a truce; cf. *H5*: 'clap hands and a bargain' (5.2.130-1)

60 **My blood's up** to be in a state of anger

61 **fall** either subside or gush, as from a wound

63 **cavalier** a gentleman trained to arms (*n.*); or gallant, valiant (*adj.*)

65 **smart** neat, precise; causing pain

68 **stout** undaunted, vigorous (*OED adj.* 3a)  
**guard** posture of defence

70 **here** Perhaps accompanied by appropriate action.

72 **school-play** swordsmanship as learned in a fencing academy (*Somerset*)

73 SD **within** i.e. off stage, from within the backstage tiring-house. *Q3*'s 'without' was presumably intended to mean 'from outside of the prison cell'; the emendation does little to clarify the action.

75 Cf. *RJ*: 'Who knocks so hard?' (3.3.79).  
**fast** earnestly, urgently (*OED adv.* 1c)

77 **press** barge or push in

80-2 Cf. *King and Cobbler*: 'When of a sudden several of the Nobles came into the Celler ... presently he [the cobbler] knew him to be the King' (B2<sup>v</sup>).

56 it] *om.* *Q4* 58, 59, 61 SDD] *this edn* 63 thou'rt] (thart) 'not] no *Elze* cavalier] (Caelere) knowest] (knowst) 64 thou'st] (thaste); thou hast *Elze* 65 Ay] (I) 66 cuttest] (cutst) 73 SD] *this edn*; *Brandon speaks within*. | *opp.* 72 *Q1*; *Brandon speaks without*. | *opp.* 72 *Qq3-4* 78 i'th'] (eth) 80 SD] *this edn* 81] *prose in Somerset*



- KING  
Where's Black Will? – Nay, come nearer man; 110  
I came nearer you, though ye misliked my play.
- BLACK WILL By th' Lord, your majesty's the best sword-and-buckler man in  
Europe; ye lie as close to your wards, carry your point as fair, that no  
fencer comes near ye for gallant fence-play.
- KING Nay, now ye flatter me. 115
- BLACK WILL 'Fore God, ye broke my head most gallantly.
- KING Ay, but 'twas by chance, ye know. But now your head's broke, you  
look for a plaster, I am sure.
- BLACK WILL An your grace will give me leave, I'll put it up and go my  
ways presently. 120
- KING Nay, soft, sir; the keeper will deny ye that privilege. Come hither,  
sirrah. Because ye shall know King Harry loves a man, and I perceive  
there's some mettle in thee, [*handing him money*] there's twenty angels for  
thee. Marry, it shall be to keep ye in prison still, till we have further use  
for ye. If ye can break through watches with egress and regress so 125  
valiantly, ye shall do't amongst your country's enemies.
- BLACK WILL The wars, sweet king! 'Tis my delight, my desire, my chair of  
state; create me but a tattered corporal, and give me some pre-eminence  
over the vulgar hotshots. An I beat them not forward to as brave  
attempts, and march myself i'th' vanguard, as e'er careered against a castle 130  
wall, break my head in two places more and consume me with the mouth of  
a double culverin. I'll live and die with thee, sweet king.
- KING  
'Twill be your best course, sir. – Go, take him in.  
When we have need of men, we'll send for him.
- BLACK WILL God bless your majesty; I'll go drink to your health. 135

111 **play** i.e. sword-play

113 **wards** See 2.1.189n., *mistook my ward*.

114 **gallant** chivalrous, brave

117-18 **But now ... plaster** Cf. Tilley, H269: 'to break one's head and give him a plaster'.

119 **put it up** i.e. dress the wound

121 **soft** hold on, slow down (*OED* v. 6)

122 **King ... man** See 2.1.133n.

123 **mettle** spirit, courage; perhaps with a pun on 'metal', with reference to Black Will's expertise with sword and buckler

125 **egress and regress** See 2.1.159-60 and 159n.

127-32 Black Will here demonstrates the kind of militarism Henry VIII (and, importantly, Prince Henry) admired and advocated.

127-8 **chair of state** usually used to refer to the monarch's throne; here, a most highly-valued and sought-after proposition

128 **corporal** a non-commissioned military officer ranking below sergeant, but with some authority over common ranks (the 'vulgar hotshots' referred to at 129); 'tattered' pre-

sumably indicates Black Will's dishevelled appearance.

129 **hotshots** reckless people who act before they think

**beat** drive, force

130 **vanguard** the foremost division of an army  
**careered** attacked or charged at full speed. The misreading of 'carierd' as 'carried' in *Qq2-3a* led the corrector of *Q3* to alter the word to 'cannon'. While this finds resonance in the double culverin reference at 132 (see n.), *Q1*'s initial reading is retained in *this edn*.

131 **consume** destroy; with added pun (where consume = ingest) in conjunction with 'mouth'

132 **double culverin** a double-sized cannon, firing cannonballs approximately 7in. in diameter

133-4 **Go ... him** It is uncertain to whom this order is addressed: the Porter exited the stage after line 98, and the Keeper clearly does not escort Black Will off stage, as he is addressed at line 137. Possibly, the Porter, after leading 1 Prisoner off stage, waits at the door for further instruction.

110-11] *prose in Elze, Somerset* 111 misliked] (mislikte); mislike *Qq3-4* 112 By th'] (Beth) 117 Ay] (I) by] *Q2*; but by *Q1*  
119 An] (And) 123 mettle] (mettall) SD] *this edn* 129 An] (and) 130 e'er] (ere) careered] (carierd); carried *Qq2-3a*;  
cannon *Qq3b-4, Elze*

KING Be gone, sir. – *Exit [Black Will].*  
 Keeper, I thank you for our lodging; nay, indeed I do. I know, had ye known us, it had been better. Pray tell the constable that brought us hither we thank him, and commend his faithful service. – [*to Brandon and Compton*]  
 Gentlemen, let's hear from you. – And so, good morrow, keeper. 140  
 [*Hands him money.*] There's for my fees; discharge the officers,  
 And give them charge that none discover us  
 Till we are past the City. In this disguise we came,  
 We'll keep us still and so depart again.  
 Once more, good morrow; you may now report 145  
 Your Counter was one night King Henry's court.  
 Away, and leave us. – *Exeunt [Keeper and Prisoners].*  
 Brandon, what further news?  
 BRANDON  
 The old King of France is dead, my liege,  
 And left your sister Mary a young widow.  
 KING  
 God forbid, man! What, not so soon, I hope! 150  
 She has not yet been married forty days.  
 Is this news certain?  
 BRANDON Most true, my lord.  
 KING  
 Alas, poor Mary, so soon a widow,  
 Before thy wedding robes be half worn out;  
 We must then prepare black funeral garments too. 155  
 Well, we will have her home; the league is broke,  
 And we'll not trust her safety with the French.  
 Charles Brandon, you shall go to France for her;  
 See that your train be richly furnishèd,  
 And if the daring French brave thee in attempts 160

136-47 \*Again, it appears the King switches from prose to verse as he moves from a conversational tone of gratitude to one of leadership and authority.

142 **discover us** reveal our identities

148 **The ... France** i.e. King Louis XII. This dates the scene to soon after January 1515.

151 **forty days** The marriage in fact lasted eighty-two days (Holinshed, 835).

156 **we ... home** According to Holinshed (836), the King let Lady Mary decide whether or not to return to England; Brandon (among others) was sent to conduct her home at her own request. Here, Rowley's narrative follows more closely that of Stow: 'king Henry sent agayne for his syster' (174<sup>b</sup>).

\***we will** I follow *Elze* in expanding *Q1*'s 'weele' for better scansion of the verse. Since the word 'weele' was used also in the following line, it is likely the elision was a result of eye-skip on the part of the compositor.

**the ... broke** Although the league was initially set up on the occasion of Lady Mary's marriage, King Louis's death did not mark its end; a new league was set up with King Francis almost immediately (Holinshed, 836). This league was not broken until 1519, at which time Bonnivet and Paris travelled to London (as in 1.1). Compression of time on Rowley's part complicates the historical narrative.

159 **furnished** equipped; lavishly dressed

160 **brave** challenge

136-40] *this edn*; *Q1* lines lodging, / better, / hither, / service. / morrow, /; *prose in Somerset*, except Pray ... service, split as *Q1* 136 SD] *this edn*; *Exit*. | *after 135 Q1* 137 our] your *Qq3-4*, *Elze* 139, 141 SDD] *this edn* 141 officers] *Elze*; offices *Q1* 145 good] God *Somerset* 147 SD] *this edn*; *Exit*. | *opp. 147 Q1*; *Exit Keeper*. | *Elze*; *Exeunt Keeper, Porter, & prisoners*. | *after 147 Somerset* 148-9] *prose in Somerset* 152] *Elze*; *Q1* lines certaine? / Lord. / 156 we will] *Elze*; weele *Q1* 157 with] to *Elze*

Of honour, barriers, tilt and tournament,  
 So to retain her, bear thee like thyself,  
 An Englishman, dreadless of the proudest,  
 And highly scorning lowly hardiness.

BRANDON

I shall, my sovereign, and in her honour  
 I'll cast a challenge through all the court,  
 And dare the proudest peer in France for her.

165

KING

Commend me to the Lady Katherine Parr;  
 Give her this ring, tell her on Sunday next  
 She shall be queen, and crowned at Westminster,  
 And Anne of Cleves shall be sent home again. –  
 Come, sirs, we'll leave the City and the Counter now;  
 The day begins to break, let's hie to court,  
 And once a quarter we desire such sport.

170

*Exeunt.*

[3.1]

*Enter the Cardinal [WOLSEY] reading a letter,  
 [and] BONNER [and GARDINER] in their bishops' robes.*

WOLSEY [*to Bonner*]

My reverend Lord of London,  
 Our trusty friend the King of France is dead,  
 And in his death our hopes are hinderèd.  
 The Emperor, too, mislikes his praises,  
 But we shall cross him for't, I doubt it not,  
 And tread upon his pomp imperial  
 That thus hath wronged the English cardinal.

5

161 **barriers** a martial exercise, so named after the barriers enclosing the ground where the tournament was held

**tilt** combat between two armed men on horseback; a type of jousting

**tournament** originally a martial exercise in which combatants, mounted and in armour, fought with blunted weapons; later, simply a meeting at an appointed time and place for knightly sports and exercises (*OED* *n.* 1a). Together, the barriers, tilt and tournament represent the 'attempts of honour' (160-1).

163 **dreadless** fearless

164 **hardiness** daring, audacity

165 **sovereign** sov'reign

167 **dare** fight, challenge

168 **Katherine Parr** *QI*'s 'Catherine Parry' may indicate Rowley's intended pronunciation, though 'Parr' scans better in the majority of verse lines.

170 **She ... Westminster** Queen Katherine's coronation actually took place at Hampton Court (Holinshead, 960).

171 **Anne of Cleves** King Henry's fourth wife, whose marriage to the King was annulled six months after the event. Henry's fifth wife, Catherine Howard, is overlooked entirely in Rowley's narrative.

173 **hie** See 1.4.368n.

3.1 Location: York House (suggested at lines 16-17).

0.2 **bishops' robes** That both Bonner and Gardiner are bishops indicates a jump in time from 1.3, when such titles were only promised to them.

1 **reverend** rev'rend

2 **King of France** King Louis XII (see 2.3.148)

3 **our hopes** Wolsey's papal ambitions

4 **mislikes his praises** is not swayed by flattery

5 **cross** thwart, oppose (*OED* *v.* 14a)

163 Englishman] (*English* man) 168 Katherine Parr] (*Catherine* Parry) 171 Anne of Cleves] (*Anne* of *Cleau*e); Ann of Cleve Somerset 174 SD] after 174 *Exeunt*] (*Exit.*) 3.1] *this edn* 0.1 WOLSEY] *this edn* 0.2 <sup>1</sup>and] *this edn* and GARDINER] Somerset *their*] *this edn*; *his QI*; *om. Somerset* 1 SD] *this edn* reverend] (*reuerent*) 3 hinderèd] Somerset; hindred *QI* 4-5] *Elze* lines but / not, / 5 for't] (*fort*); for it *Elze*



BONNER

Your grace's letters, by Campeius sent,  
I doubt not but shall work your full content.

WOLSEY

Ay, that must be our safest way to work; 10  
Money will make us men, when men stand out.  
The bastard Frederick, to attain the place,  
Hath made an offer to the cardinals  
Of threescore thousand pounds, which we will pay  
Three times thrice double ere we lose the day. 15

*Enter WILL SUMMERS and PATCH.*

PATCH Come, cousin William, I'll bring ye to my Lord Cardinal presently.

WILL SUMMERS I thank ye, cousin, and when you come to the court, I'll  
bring you to the King again. Ye know, cousin, he gave ye an angel.

PATCH Ay, but he gave me such a blow o'th' ear for it, as I care not for  
coming in's sight again while I live. 20

WOLSEY How now, Patch, who have you got there? What, Will Summers? –  
Welcome, good William.

WILL SUMMERS I thank your grace. I heard say your lordship had made two  
new lords here, and so the two old fools are come to wait on them.

BONNER We thank ye, William. 25

PATCH Your lordship will be well guarded an we follow ye, the King's  
fool and the Cardinal's, and we are no small fools, I assure ye.

WILL SUMMERS No, indeed. My cousin Patch here is something too square  
to be set on your shoe; marry, an you'll wear him on your shoulder, the fool  
shall ride ye. 30

WOLSEY A shrewd fool, Bonner. – Come hither, William, I have a quarrel  
to you since our last rhyming.

WILL SUMMERS About your fair leman at Charlton, my lord? I remember.

BONNER You speak plain, William.

WILL SUMMERS Ye never knew fool a flatterer, I warrant ye. 35

8 **letters** Rowley's source here may have been Foxe: 'the Cardinall ... sought all means to displease the Emperour wryting very sharply vnto him many menacing letters' (901).

9 **content** intention

11 **Money ... men** Cf. Tilley, M1076: 'money makes the man'.

12 **Frederick** Fred'rick. There is no evidence of this name in the chronicles; as Somerset notes, 'the name is very probably Rowley's invention'.

16 **presently** immediately

23-4 **two new lords** i.e. Bonner and Gardiner, the newly created bishops

27 **we ... fools** Cf. Dent, *Exclusive*, F506.11: 'To be (think oneself) no small fool'. 'Small' here means inconsiderable, though Summers puns

on the alternative meaning (= of little size) in the following line.

28 **square** stoutly and strongly built (*OED adj.* 4)

29 **set ... shoe** Probably a pun on the name 'Patch' (see 2.1.31).

29-30 **the ... ye** 'your folly will master you' (*Somerset*). Cf. *Cupid's Whirligig*: 'I thinke the Foole rides you' (H1<sup>v</sup>) and *Tim*: 'There's the fool hangs on your back already' (2.2.55-6).

33 **leman** lover. Wolsey is thought to have had numerous mistresses; cf. *H8*: 'I'll startle you / Worse than the sacring-bell when the brown wench / Lay kissing in your arms, lord Cardinal' (3.2.294-6).

**Charlton** an area of south-east London

34 **plain** to the point (*OED adv.*<sup>1</sup> 3)

10 Ay] (I) 14 pounds] (pound) 19 Ay] (I) 23 heard] (hard) 26 an] (&) 29 an] (and) 32 our] your *Qq*3-4

- WOLSEY Well, Will, I'll try your rhyming wits once more: what say you  
to this?  
The bells hang high,  
And loud they cry;  
What do they speak? 40
- WILL SUMMERS  
If you should die,  
There's none would cry,  
Though your neck should break.
- WOLSEY You are something bitter, William. But come on, once more I  
am for ye: 45  
A rod in school,  
A whip for a fool,  
Is always in season.
- WILL SUMMERS  
A halter and a rope,  
For him that would be Pope, 50  
Against all right and reason.
- WOLSEY He's too hard for me still; I'll give him over. – Come, tell me, Will,  
what's the news at court?
- WILL SUMMERS Marry, my lord, they say the King must be married this  
morning. 55
- WOLSEY Married, Will? To whom, I prithee?
- WILL SUMMERS Why, to my Lady Katherine Parr. I was once by when he  
was wooing on her, and then I doubted they would go together shortly.
- WOLSEY  
Holy Saint Peter, shield his majesty,  
She is the hope of Luther's heresy; 60  
If she be queen, the Protestants will swell  
And Cranmer, tutor to the Prince of Wales,  
Will boldly speak 'gainst Rome's religiön. –  
[to Bonner and Gardiner] But bishops, we'll to court immediately,  
And plot the downfall of these Lutherans. 65  
You two are tutors to the Princess Mary;  
Still ply her to the Pope's obedience  
And make her hate the name of Protestant.  
I do suspect that Latimer and Ridley,

46-8 Proverbial; reprinted (along with 49-51) in A  
*Pleasant History* (C1<sup>v</sup>). Rowley's is the earliest  
recorded version of the proverb (see Tilley, W305).

46 **rod** cane

49 **halter** noose

52 **hard** quick, skilful

58 **doubted** suspected

59 **Saint Peter** See 1.3.43n.

61 **swell** increase in number and power

66 **tutors ... Mary** Unhistorical; presumably intended  
to highlight their extreme religious positions.

67 **ply** urge, counsel; 'to convince of the correct-  
ness' of a particular opinion or position (*OED*  
v.<sup>2</sup> 5a)

69 **Latimer** Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester  
before the Reformation and later chaplain to  
King Edward VI; burned at the stake during  
Queen Mary's reign.

**Ridley** Nicholas Ridley, who became Bishop  
of London after Bonner. Like Latimer, Ridley  
was burned at the stake during the Marian  
persecutions.

36-7] *Elze*; *Q1* lines more, / this? / 38-40] *Elze*; single verse line in *Q1* 41-3] *Elze*; single verse line in *Q1* 46-8] *Elze*;  
prose in *Q1* 49-51] *Elze*; *Q1* lines pope, / reason. / 52-3] *Else* lines over; / court? / 52 He's] He is *Elze* 57 Katherine  
Parr] (*Catherin Parry*) 64 SD] *this edn*

- Chief teachers of the fair Elizabeth, 70  
 Are not sound Catholics, nor friends to Rome;  
 If it be so, we'll soon remove them all:  
 'Tis better they should die, than thousands fall.  
 Come, follow us. [*Exeunt all but Will Summers and Patch.*]  
 WILL SUMMERS Your lord's mad, till he be at the wedding; 'twas marvel 75  
 the King stole it so secretly and ne'er told him on't. But all's one; if he be  
 married, let him play with his queen tonight, and then tomorrow he'll call  
 for me. There's no fool to th' wilful still. What shall we do, cousin?  
 PATCH I'll go get the key of the wine-cellar, and thou and I'll keep a passage 80  
 there tonight.  
 WILL SUMMERS We have but a little wit between us already cousin, and so  
 we should have none at all.  
 PATCH When our wits be gone, we'll sleep i'th' cellar, and lie without our  
 wits for one night.  
 WILL SUMMERS Content, and then i'th' morning we'll but whet them with 85  
 another cup more, and they'll shave like a razor all day after. Come close,  
 good coz, let nobody go with us lest they be drunk before us, for fools are  
 innocents, and must be accessory to no man's overthrow. *Exeunt.*

## [3.2]

*Sound trumpets.**Enter* KING, QUEEN KATHERINE, Cardinal [WOLSEY],SEYMOUR, DUDLEY, [*and*] GREY.*Enter* COMPTON, *crying* 'hautboys!'.

KING

Welcome, Queen Katherine, seat thee by our side;

Thy sight, fair queen, by us thus dignified. –

- 70 **Chief teachers** Neither Latimer nor Ridley are known to have taught Elizabeth; the names are likely included to set up a greater binary opposition between the religious positions of the two princesses.  
 71 **Catholics** trisyllabic  
 75 **till ... wedding** 'until he is able to indulge in the wedding feast' (*Somerset*)  
**marvel** marvellous, miraculous  
 76 **stole it** i.e. kept his marriage secret; cf. *OED* steal, v.<sup>1</sup> 5d: 'to steal a marriage'  
**all's one** See 1.2.177n.  
 77 **play** with obvious sexual reference; see Part-ridge, 210 and Williams, 238-9  
 78 **There's ... still** 'no fool can amuse someone who is intent on doing something else' (*Somerset*). Probably with a pun on the words 'Will' and 'fool'; the likely source of *Q3*'s reading (see t.n.). See also Tilley, F506: 'There is no fool to/like the old fool'.  
 79 **keep a passage** spend some time  
 81 **wit** intelligence. Alcohol was widely considered to dull the wit; cf. *Two Lamentable Tragedies*:  
 'Now fill two cans of your ould strongest beare: / That make so manie loose their little wits' (A3<sup>v</sup>; TLN 144-5).  
 85 **Content** 'I am content', 'agreed'. The abbreviated form is used also in *TS* (5.2.71) and *IH6* (3.1.147).  
**whet** While *Elze*'s retention of *Q1*'s 'wet' works well as an alternative reading, 'whet' (= sharpen) creates a more effective pun with 'razor' in the following line.  
 86 **shave ... razor** Cf. Tilley, R36: 'as sharp as a razor' and Dent, T401.1: 'to have a tongue like a razor'.  
 87 **coz** abbreviated form of 'cousin'  
 88 **innocents** simple, guileless people  
**accessory ... overthrow** Ironic, given Summers's role in Wolsey's downfall (see 5.4 and 5.5).  
 3.2 Location: Westminster.  
 0.4 **crying 'hautboys!'** As clarified in *Elze*, Compton commands the hautboys to play at the King and Queen's entrance, presumably after the trumpets have ceased.  
 1 **Katherine** Kath'rine

73 than] (then) 74 SD] (*Manit, Wil, and Patch. / Exit omnes.*) | opp. and after 74 76 ne'er] (nere) 78 to th'] (toth); to the *Q3*, *Elze*; to thee *Q4* wilful still] *Will. foole still Qq3-4* 79 wine-cellar] (wine-seller) I'll] I will *Elze* 83 i'th'] (eth) cellar] (sellor) 85 i'th'] (eth) whet] (wet); wet *Elze* 87 lest] (least) 88 SD] after 88 *Exeunt*] (*Exit.*) 3.2] *this edn* 0.2 WOLSEY] *this edn* 0.3 and] *this edn* 0.4 'hautboys!'] *Elze subst.; Hoboyes | Q1*

Earls, barons, knights and gentlemen,  
 Against ye all we'll be chief challenger,  
 To fight at barriers, tilt and tournament, 5  
 In honour of the fair Queen Katherine.

QUEEN KATHERINE

We thank your highness and beseech your grace,  
 Forbear such hazard of your royal person;  
 Without such honours is your handmaid pleased  
 Obediently to yield all love and duty 10  
 That may beseech your sacred majesty.

KING

God-a-mercy, but where are our children,  
 Prince Edward, Mary and Elizabeth,  
 The royal issue of three famous queens?  
 How haps we have not seen them here today? 15

DUDLEY

They all, my liege, attend your majesty  
 And your fair queen, so within the presence here.

KING

'Tis well, Dudley. – Call Cranmer in,  
 He is chief tutor to our princely son  
 For precepts that concern divinity. 20

*Enter CRANMER.*

And here he comes. – Cranmer, you must ply the Prince;  
 Let his waste hours be spent in getting learning,  
 And let those linguists for choice languages  
 Be careful for him in their best endeavours.  
 Bid Doctor Tye ply him to music hard; 25  
 He's apt to learn, therefore be diligent:  
 He may requite your love when we are gone.

CRANMER

Our care and duty shall be had, my lord.

KING

We thank ye.  
 I tell thee, Cranmer, he is all our hopes, 30  
 That what our age shall leave unfinished

4 **barriers ... tournament** See 2.3.161n.

8 **Forbear** dispense with (*OED* v. 4a)

**hazard of** danger to

9 **handmaid** female attendant or servant; an expression of Queen Katherine's subservience

10 **yield** give as due or right

14 **three famous queens** Jane Seymour, Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, respectively.

18 *Somerset*, focussing on the punctuation of *Q1* (see t.n.), offers a different interpretation of the line, whereby Dudley is the one asked to fetch Cranmer; however, the task could have fallen

to any character on stage and would not necessarily have required an exit on their part.

19 **chief tutor** unhistorical; see LR 16n.

20 **precepts** instruction, guidance

21 **ply** urge, compel (to study hard)

22 **waste** spare

24 **careful** full of care

26 **apt** fit, prepared

30-2 Cf. Hardyng, in which hope is expressed that Edward 'maie finishe and maintegne that whiche his noble father ... hath moste graciously begonne' (f. Cxlv<sup>a</sup>).

12 God-a-mercy] (God a mercie); God ha' mercy *Elze* 17 so] *om. Elze* 18 well, Dudley. – Call] *this edn*; well, *Dudlie* call *Q1*; well. Dudley, call *Somerset* 22 waste] (wast)

In his fair reign shall be accomplished.  
Go and attend him. –

[*Exit Cranmer.*]

*Enter WILL SUMMERS [with petitions].*

- How now, Will Summers, what's the news with you?
- WILL SUMMERS I come to bid thee and thy new queen good morrow. – 35  
Look to him, Kate, lest he cozen thee; provide civil oranges enough, or  
he'll have a leman shortly.
- QUEEN KATHERINE God-a-mercy, Will, thou'lt tell me then, wilt thou not?
- WILL SUMMERS Ay, and watch him too, or let him ne'er trust me. – But dost 40  
hear, Harry, because I'd have thee have the poor's prayers, I have brought  
thee some petitions. The friars and priests pray, too, but I think 'tis as  
children say grace, more for fashion than devotion; therefore the poor's  
prayers ought to be soonest heard, because they beg for God's sake.  
Therefore, I prithee, dispatch them.
- KING Read them, Seymour. 45
- SEYMOUR [*Takes the petitions and reads.*] *The humble petition of the Lady Seaton  
for her distressed son, that in his own defence, unhappily hath slain a man.*
- KING  
The Lady Seaton, God's holy mother,  
Her son has had our pardon twice already  
For two stout subjects that his hand hath slain. 50
- WILL SUMMERS An any had said so but thou, Harry, I'd have told him 'a  
lied: he ne'er killed but one; thou killedst the tother, for an thou hadst hanged  
him for the first, the two last had been alive still.
- KING  
The fool tells true: they wrong our majesty  
That seek our pardon for such cruelty. 55  
Away with it.
- WILL SUMMERS Give me it again; it shall ne'er be seen more, I assure ye.  
An I had known 't had come for that purpose, it should ne'er have been  
brought for Will, I warrant ye.

33 SD2 *petitions* entreaties, pleas

36 **cozen** cheat, deceive

**civil oranges** Punning on 'Seville oranges'; cf. *MA*: 'but civil count, civil as an orange, and something of that jealous complexion' (2.1.270–1). As Madelaine notes (491), 'the association between oranges and love or lust appears to have had some emblematic currency'; see also Williams, 222.

37 **leman** See 3.1.33n. Punning on the juxtaposition of 'oranges' and 'leman'; cf. *All's Lost*: 'Now a fine Orange for her crest, with Ciuillity / Written round about it would speake wondrous well, / Then a Capon in a Scutchen ... Riding vpon a Leman' (C1').

42 **fashion** tradition; appearance

46 **Lady Seaton** The name does not appear in the chronicles.

47 **in ... defence** Cf. 'chance-meddle' at 2.1.177 (and see n.).

50 **stout** valiant, brave (*OED* *adj.* 3a)

51 **'a** colloquial form of 'he'

54 **The ... true** Cf. Tilley, F469: 'a fool may sometimes give a wise man counsel' and Dent, *Exclusive*, F530.12: 'fools are honest (speak truth)'.

57 **Give ... again** Possibly Summers swipes the offending paper out of Seymour's hand; however, the King's 'give them me' (61) may indicate otherwise.

33–4] *Elze*; single prose line in *Q1* 33 SD2] *Elze*; after 34 *Q1* with petitions] *this edn* 35 good morrow] *Godmorrow Somerset*  
36 lest] (least) 37 leman] (lemmon) 38 God-a-mercy] (Godamercie); God ha' mercy *Elze* 39 Ay] (I) ne'er] (nere) 42 than]  
(then) 46 SD] *this edn* 47 in] hath in *Qq2–4, Elze* hath] *om. Qq3–4, Elze* 51 An] (And) 'a] (a); he *Elze* 52 ne'er] (nere)  
killedst] (kildst) an] (and) 57 ne'er] (nere) 58 an] (and) ne'er] (nere)

- SEYMOUR This other comes from two poor prisoners i'th' Counter. 60  
 KING  
 We know the inside, then; come, [*taking the petitions*] give them me. –  
 Lord Cardinal, [*handing him a petition*] here's one is dedicated to you. How!  
 Read it. Who's there? – Compton, enquire for Rooksby, a groom of the  
 wardrobe\$, and bring him hither.  
 COMPTON I will. [*Exit.*] 65  
 KING Cardinal, what find ye written there?  
 WOLSEY Mine own discredit, and the undoing of an honest citizen by a  
 false servant.  
 WILL SUMMERS 'Tis not your fool, my lord, I warrant ye.  
 WOLSEY No, Will. 70  
 WILL SUMMERS I thought so; I knew 'twas one of your knaves, for your  
 fools are harmless.  
 QUEEN KATHERINE Well said, Will. Thou lovest thy master's credit, I know.  
 WILL SUMMERS Ay, Kate, as well as any courtier he keeps. I had rather he  
 should have the poor's prayers than the Pope's. 75  
 QUEEN KATHERINE Faith, I am of thy mind, Will. I think so too.  
 KING  
 Take heed what ye say, Kate. What, a Lutheran?  
 WOLSEY  
 'Tis heresy, fair queen, to think such thoughts.  
 QUEEN KATHERINE  
 And much uncharity to wrong the poor.  
 WILL SUMMERS Well, and when the Pope is at best, he is but Saint Peter's 80  
 deputy, but the poor present Christ and therefore should be something better  
 regarded.  
 KING Go to, fool.  
 WOLSEY [*to Will Summers*] Sirrah, you'll be whipped for this.  
 WILL SUMMERS Would the King would whip thee and all the Pope's whelps 85  
 out of England once, for between ye, ye have racked and pulled it so, we

60 **two ... Counter** Possibly these are the same two men mentioned at 2.3.23-33.  
 61-4 Another example of Rowley's verse-prose hybridity, prompted in this instance by the action concerning the petitions.  
 61 **the inside** i.e. the contents  
 62 **dedicated** addressed  
**How!** an exclamation to attract attention. *Q2*'s 'hold' also works in context, but the emendation is unnecessary.  
 63 **Who's there?** who is named?  
**groom ... wardrobe** an attendant charged with the care of the monarch's apparel  
 67-8 **the undoing ... servant** Likely the second of the two prisoners referred to by the King in 2.3 (see 2.3.28-33).  
 70 \**This edn* follows *Elze* in altering *Q1*'s question mark to a full point; thus Wolsey answers Summers's question rather than poses another. The

exclamation mark in *Somerset* has the same effect.

71-2 **I knew ... harmless** Perhaps a corruption of Tilley, F446: 'better be a fool than a knave'.

73 **credit** honour, reputation

80-1 **when ... Christ** Rowley contrasts the Roman Catholic and Protestant views regarding the position of the clergy; Summers propounds the Lutheran doctrine that any man may represent Christ's priesthood.

81 **present** represent

**something** somewhat

85 **whelps** a term applied depreciatingly to the offspring of a noxious creature

86 **racked** inflicted with suffering. Also with reference to the rack, an instrument of torture on which victims were stretched; the pun continues with 'pulled', itself perhaps a pun on 'polled' (= cheated, robbed; *OED* poll v. 5a).

60 i'th'] (eth) 61, 62 SDD] *this edn* 62 Lord ... you.] *this edn*; single verse line in *Q1* 62 How!] Hold, *Qq2-4*, *Elze* 62-4 How! ... hither.] *Elze* lines Rokesby, / hither. / 65 SD] *Somerset* subst. 67-8] *Elze* lines of / servant. / 70 Will.] *Elze*; will? *Q1*; Will! *Somerset* 71 so] no *Somerset* 74 Ay] (I) 74-5] *Elze*; *Q1* lines keeps: / Popes. / 75 than] (then) 79 poor.] *Elze*; poor? *Q1*; poor! *Somerset* 84 SD] *this edn*

shall be all poor shortly. You have had four hundred threescore pounds within this three year for smoke-pence; you have smoked it i' faith. – Dost hear, Harry? Next time they gather them, let them take the chimneys and leave the coin behind them: we have clay enough to make brick, though 90 we want silver mines to make money.

KING

Well, William, your tongue is privileged.

WOLSEY [*to the King*]

But my good liege, I fear there's shrewder heads,

Although kept close, have set this fool a-work

Thus to extirp against his Holiness. 95

WILL SUMMERS Do not you think so, my lord, nor stomach nobody about it.

Ye know what the old proverb says, therefore be patient:

Great quarrellers small credit wins,

When fools set stools and wise men break their shins.

Therefore think not on it. – For I'll sit down by thee, Kate, and say nothing, 100 for here comes one to be examined.

*Enter COMPTON and ROOKSBY.*

KING O sir, you're welcome. Is your name Rooksby?

ROOKSBY Your poor servant is so called, my lord.

KING Our servant we guess ye by the cloth ye wear, but for your poverty 'tis doubtful, your credit is so good. Let's see, what's the man's name? 105

[*Looks at the petition.*] Ha! Hopkins. Do you know the man?

ROOKSBY Hopkins? No, my lord.

KING Had you never no dealings with such a man?

ROOKSBY No, if it like your majesty.

KING No, if it like our majesty? Saucy varlet! 110

It likes not our majesty, thou shouldst say no;

87 **four hundred threescore** twenty-four thousand

88 **smoke-pence** See 1.3.39–40n.

**smoked** squandered, wasted (*OED* smoke v. 13), with an obvious pun on 'smoke-pence'

91 **want** lack

**silver ... money** Presumably a topical allusion to King James's payments throughout 1604 to search for gold and silver (*Somerset*).

92 **your ... privileged** Summers is 'protected by the customary licence given the tongue of a fool' (Hotson, 64).

93 **shrewder** more malevolent; *Q1*'s spelling (see t.n.) may give some indication of pronunciation

95 **extirp** speak abusively against (*OED* v. 4). A non-standard definition in *OED*, 'perhaps arising from a misunderstanding of the phrase "the extirping of the Bishop of Rome"'.

**his Holiness** the Pope. It is unclear whether Clement VII or Paul III is intended; possibly 'his Holiness' is intended simply to refer to the

figurehead of the Roman Catholic Church rather than to any specific individual.

96 **stomach** incite, anger (*OED* v. 4)

98–9 Only the second of these two lines is recorded in Tilley and Dent (F543), where *When You See Me* is named as the source of the proverb.

104 **cloth** livery

105 **credit** reputation, position

106 **Hopkins** Presumably a name fabricated by Rowley.

109 **like** please

110–14 Lineation in *Q1* is uncertain here; *this edn* sets the King's opening line as prose, but 111–14 as verse. This is in keeping with other examples in the play where speech shifts into verse at times when King Henry's authority comes to the fore.

110 **varlet** menial, groom; knave, rogue (*OED* v. 1a, 2a)

87 pounds] (pound) 89–90 let ... behind them] *om. Elze* 93 SD] *this edn* shrewder] (shroder) 94 have] (has) a-work] (a work) 98–9] *Elze*; line 98 is prose in *Q1*; *Somerset* lines wins, / stools / shins. / 102 Rooksby] (*Kookesbie*) 106 SD] *this edn*

- It likes us not thou liest, for that we know.  
 You know him not, but he too well knows you,  
 And lies imprisoned, slave, for what's thy due.  
 ROOKSBY Sure some envious man hath misinformed. 115  
 KING  
 Durst thou deny it still, outfacing knave?  
 Mother o' God, I'll hang thee presently!  
 Sirrah, ye lie, and though ye wear the King's cloth,  
 Yet we dare tell ye so before the King.  
 Slave, thou dost know him! 120  
 He here complains he is undone by thee,  
 And the King's man hath caused his misery.  
 Yet you'll outface it still, deny, forswear  
 And lie, sir? Ha!  
 WILL SUMMERS Not a word more, if thou lovest thy life, unless thou'lt confess 125  
 all, and speak fair.  
 ROOKSBY I do beseech your grace.  
 KING  
 Out, perjured knave! What, dost thou serve the King,  
 And durst thou thus abuse our majesty  
 And wrong my subjects by thy treachery? 130  
 Think'st thou, false thief, thou shalt be privileged,  
 Because thou art my man, to hurt my people?  
 Villain, those that guard me shall regard mine honour.  
 Put off that coat of proof, that strong security  
 Under which ye march, like a halberdier 135  
 Passing through purgatory, and none dare strike;  
 A sergeant's mace must not presume to touch  
 Your sacred shoulders with the King's own writ.  
 God's dear lady, does the cloth ye wear  
 Such privilege and strong prevention bear? 140  
 Ha! Is't, Rooksby?

*Enter a MESSENGER in haste.*

- 115 **envious** malicious, spiteful (*OED adj.* 2)  
**misinformed** imparted misleading information  
 116 **outfacing** fearless, shameless  
 117 **presently** immediately  
 123-4 **outface ... deny ... forswear ... lie** The words  
 are all synonymous here.  
 125-6 Cf. 1.4.103-4: 'now ... again'.  
 128 **perjured** guilty of having committed perjury,  
 i.e. the act of swearing the truth of a statement  
 which one knows to be false  
 132 **\*thou art** The metre here demands expansion  
 of *Q1*'s 'thart'.  
 133 Either 'Villain' is hypermetrical or this line,  
 like 134, is a hexameter.  
 134 **coat of proof** the livery or 'cloth' (118) which  
 acts also as Rooksby's security  
 135 **halberdier** a soldier or civic guard armed with  
 a halberd (a weapon combining the properties  
 of spear and battle-axe)  
 136 **purgatory** the place of purification in Roman  
 Catholic theology; more generally, prison: 'a place  
 of temporary suffering' (*OED n.* 2). Rooksby, like  
 a prison guard, is afforded a certain protection.  
 137-8 **A ... shoulders** Arrest, as Somerset notes,  
 was formally effected by touching the shoulder  
 of the criminal with hand or mace; see the  
 'shoulder-clapper' reference in *CE* (4.2.37-8).  
 137 **mace** a heavy staff or club  
 138 **writ** i.e. the writ of privilege; the authority to  
 deliver a privileged person from custody (*OED*  
*n.* 3c (b))  
 140 **prevention** protection from punishment

115 Sure] Surely *Elze* 116 Durst] (Darst) 117 o'] (a) 120 dost] (doest) 123-4] *Somerset*; single verse line in *Q1*  
 128 dost] (doest) 129 durst] (darste) 132 thou art] *Elze*; thart *Q1* 133 mine] my *Qq2-4, Elze* 135 halberdier] (halbertere)  
 137 sergeant's] (Seriants) 141 Is't] (ist); is it *Elze* SD] *Elze*; after 142 *Q1*



- MESSENGER My royal lord —
- KING Take that [*striking him*], and know your time to tell your message. Sirrah,  
I am busy. [*Exit messenger.*]
- WILL SUMMERS So, there's one served. I think you would take two more with 145  
all your heart, so you were well rid on him.
- ROOKSBY [*to the King*] Your pardon, good my liege.
- KING Ha! Pardon thee? I tell thee, did it touch thy life in aught more than  
mine own displeasure, not the world should purchase it. Vile caitiff, hadst  
thou neglected this thy duty to our person's danger, hadst thou thyself against 150  
me aught attempted,  
I might be sooner won to pardon thee  
Than for a subject's hateful injury.
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
Let me entreat your grace to pardon him.
- KING  
Away, Kate, speak not for him; 155  
Out of my lenity I let him live. —  
Discharge him from my cloth and countenance  
To the Counter to redeem his creditor,  
Where he shall satisfy the utmost mite  
Of any debt, default or hindrance. 160  
I'll keep no man to blur my credit so;  
My cloth shall not pay what my servants owe.  
Away with him. — *Exeunt [Rooksby and Compton].*  
Now, my Lord Cardinal, speaks not your paper so?
- WOLSEY Yes, my good lord, your grace hath shown a pattern to draw forth 165  
mine by. I assure your highness,  
The punishment inflicted on your man  
Is meant for my servants that bear such minds;  
Their masters thus but serve them in their kinds.

142 \*SP I follow *Elze* in assigning this line to the messenger rather than to Rooksby. The address seems a likely prompt for King Henry's impulsive action and the wording at 143 suggests that the messenger had indeed begun to 'tell [his] message'.

145 **served** struck; dealt with

148-53 The intended lineation of this passage is difficult to gauge. While *this edn* follows *Q1* in setting the speech (minus the final couplet) as prose, it is possible that verse was intended, with the King's 'Ha! Pardon thee?' forming a shared verse line with Rooksby's plea at 147.

148 **touch** affect

149 **purchase** gain, acquire (i.e. the King's pardon)  
**Vile** The modern form of *Q1*'s archaic 'vild'; cf. 'vilest' at 5.1.144.

**caitiff** wretch, villain

156 **lenity** mercifulness

157 **countenance** sight, presence; maintenance (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 11)

158 **redeem** deliver, in both a literal and moral sense

159 **satisfy** pay off

**mite** any insignificant amount (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1b)

160 **default** absence or lack, in this case of money

**hindrance** injury, damage; probably pronounced 'hinderance' to fit the metre

161 **blur** Cf. 1.2.253 and see n.

162 **cloth** employment in King Henry's name

16 SD \**and Compton* *Q1*'s 'Exit' only indicates that Rooksby should leave at this point, but it is perhaps more likely that he exits accompanied by another. Since Compton does not speak again in this scene, and since Compton was the one tasked with fetching Rooksby, he is the most likely candidate.

165-9 A rare occasion where Wolsey's speech moves from prose to verse, much in the manner of King Henry's.

165 **shown a pattern** set an example

166 **mine** i.e. Wolsey's man, as named in the petition

169 **serve ... kinds** 'treat them as they treat others'

142 SP] *Elze*; *Rookes. Q1* 143, 144, 147 SDD] *this edn* 148-51] *Elze lines* touch / displeasure, / caitiff: / danger, / attempted, / 148 aught] (ought) than] (then) 149 not] Not all *Elze* Vile] (vilde) 151 aught] (ought) 152-3] *Elze*; *prose in Q1* 153 Than] (then) 163 SD *Exeunt*] (*Exit.*) *Rooksby and Compton*] *this edn* 165 SP] (*Car.*) 165-6] *Elze lines* pattern / highness. / 168 meant for my servants] for my servants meant *Elze* my] (mine) bear] (bears) 169 serve] (serves)

KING [*to Will Summers*] Where's this fellow now that brings this news? 170

WILL SUMMERS He is gone with a flea in his ear, but he's left his message  
behind with my Lord Dudley, here.

KING [*to Dudley*]

And what's the news?

DUDLEY

Duke Brandon, my liege —

KING Oh, he's returned from France;

And who comes with him?

DUDLEY His royal wife, my lord. 175

KING

Ha! Royal wife? Who's that?

DUDLEY

Your highness' sister, the late Queen of France.

KING

Our sister queen, his wife? Who gave him her?

GREY

'Tis said they were married at Dover, my liege.

KING

'Twere better he had never seen the town. 180

Dares any subject mix his blood with ours

Without our leave?

*Enter BRANDON and [LADY] MARY.*

DUDLEY

He comes himself, my liege, to answer it.

BRANDON

Health to my sovereign.

KING

And our brother king:

Your message is before ye, sir. — Off with his head! 185

BRANDON

I beseech your grace, give me leave.

KING

Nay, you have taken leave. — Away with him.

Bid the captain of our guard convey him to the Tower.

170 **this fellow** i.e. the messenger (see 141-4)

171 **He ... ear** Cf. Tilley, F354: 'To send one (To go) away with a flea in his ear'.

173-6 \*Although *Q1* does not habitually indicate shared verse lines, the King's words at 174-5 are split over two lines. Shared lines in *this edn* are allocated accordingly.

178 **Who ... her?** King Henry was in fact aware of Brandon's desire to marry Lady Mary and granted permission on condition that 'the duke should bring hir into England vnmarried,

and ... marrie hir in England' (Holinshed, 836).

179 **they ... Dover** The couple were actually wed in secret in Paris.

184 **sovereign** sov'reign

186 **leave** permission and thus forgiveness. The King plays on the fact that Brandon has already 'taken leave'.

188 Likely spoken as prose. While 187 is altered to verse in *this edn*, the metrical regularity breaks down in the second line of the King's speech.

170 SD] *this edn* Where's] Where is *Elze* <sup>2</sup>this] us *Elze* 171 he's] (has); has *Somerset* 172 behind] behind him *Elze* 173 SD] *this edn* 173-6] *this edn*; *Q1* lines newes? / Liege. / France: / him? / Lord. / that? / 174 my] good my *Elze* 177 Queen] (Q.) 178 queen] (Q.) 179 they were married at Dover, my liege] my liege, they were married at Dover *Elze* 180 never] *Elze*; nere *Q1* 181-2] *Elze*; prose in *Q1* 182 SD LADY MARY] (*Mary.*) 184-5] *Elze*; *Q1* lines Soueraigne. / sir: / head. /; *Somerset* lines Sovereign — / then prose 187-8] *Elze*; prose in *Q1*

BRANDON

Hear me, my lord.

KING

Audacious Brandon, think'st thou excuse shall serve?

190

LADY MARY

Right gracious lord —

KING

Go to, your prayers will scarce save yourself.

Durst ye contract yourself without our knowledge? —

Hence with that hare-brain duke to the Tower, I say,

And bear our careless sister to the Fleet. —

195

[*to Brandon*] I know, sir, you broke a lance for her,

And bravely did unhorse the challengers;

Yet was there no such prize set on her head

That you, without our leave, should marry her.

QUEEN KATHERINE

O my lord, let me entreat for them.

KING

Tut, Kate,

200

Though thus I seem a while to threaten them,

I mean not to disgrace my sister so. —

Away with them. — What say ye, lords:

Is he not worthy of death for his misdeed?

DUDLEY, GREY

Unless your grace shall please to pardon him.

205

KING

He deserves it then?

DUDLEY, GREY

He does, my liege.

KING

You are knaves and fools, and ye flatter me.

God's holy mother,

I'll not have him hurt for all your heads. —

190 **excuse** apology192 **prayers** pleas**scarce** scarcely (possibly the intended reading, given that the line is metrically short)193 **contract** bind in marriage194 **hare-brain** used as an adjective, i.e. hare-brained (= reckless, heedless)195 **careless** thoughtless, negligent; perhaps also carefree**the Fleet** a prison by the side of the River Fleet in London; typically a place of reception for prisoners committed by the Star Chamber196 **broke a lance** 'entered into competition' (*OED* break v. 3). Cf. *IH6*: 'Break a lance / And run a-tilt at death' (3.2.49-50).197 **unhorse** throw from a horse in battle; in a more general sense, outwit200 **let ... them** This highlights the extent of Rowley's anachronistic narrative: Henry married Queen Katherine nearly thirty years after the marriage of Brandon and Lady Mary.**Tut** an expression of impatience or dissatisfaction202 **disgrace** put out of royal favour (*OED* v. 3)205 \*SP While *Q1* assigns this line (and the second part of 206) to Bonner and Gardiner, *this edn* assigns these lines to Dudley and Grey. Not only are Bonner and Gardiner absent in this scene, but the epithet 'lords' (see 203) is used elsewhere to indicate Dudley and Grey.207 **knaves and fools** Cf. Dent, F506.1: 'to be both fool and knave'.

190 SP] *Q2*; not in *Q1* 192 to] (too) 194 that] the *Elze* hare-brain] hare-brained *Elze* duke] duke: *Elze* 196 SD] *this edn* you] that you *Elze* 200 O] (Oh) my] good my *Elze* Tut, Kate] *Elze* adds SD ([*Aside.*]) after SP 200-1] *this edn*; *Q1* lines them. / seeme / them, /; *Elze* lines them. / Kate! / them, /; *Somerset* lines them. / them, / 203 lords] reverend lords *Elze* 204 of] *Q2*; not in *Q1* 205 SP] *this edn*; Bon. & Gar. *Q1* 206] *this edn*; *Q1* lines then? / Liege. / SP2] *this edn*; Bon & Gar. *Q1* 207-9] *this edn*; *Q1* lines me: / heads: /; prose in *Somerset*

Dear Brandon, I embrace thee in mine arms. – 210  
 [to Lady Mary] Kind sister, I love you both so well,  
 I cannot dart another angry frown  
 To gain a kingdom. Here, take him, Mary,  
 I hold thee happier in this English choice  
 Than to be Queen of France. – [to Brandon] Charles, love her well. 215  
 And tell on, Brandon, what's the news in France?

BRANDON

The league is broke betwixt the Emperor  
 And the young King of France; forces are mustering  
 On either part, my lord, for horse and foot.  
 Hot variance is expected speedily; 220  
 The Emperor is marching now to Landersey,  
 There to invade the towns of Burgundy.

KING

God and Saint George, we'll meet his majesty,  
 And strike a league of Christian amity. –  
 [to Wolsey] Lord Cardinal, you shall to France with speed, 225  
 And in our name salute the Emperor;  
 We'll give direction for your embassy.  
 The next fair wind shall make us France to greet,  
 Where Charles the Emperor and King shall meet. *Exeunt omnes.*

[4.1]

*Enter CRANMER [and] Doctor TYE, [followed by] young BROWNE,  
 [who] meets them with the Prince's cloak and hat.*

CRANMER How now, young Browne, what have you there?  
 BROWNE The Prince's cloak and hat, my lord.  
 CRANMER Where is his grace?  
 BROWNE At tennis, with the Marquess Dorset.

- 210 **I ... arms** Possibly a cue for action, though perhaps just a figure of speech.  
 213 **To ... kingdom** Perhaps a corruption of the proverb 'for a kingdom any law may be broken' (Tilley, K90); cf. *The Scornful Lady*: 'I would not kisse thee of a month to gaine / A Kingdome' (5.2.110-11).  
 214 **happier** disyllabic  
 217-22 King Henry sided with the Emperor in war against France three times: in 1518 (when Maximilian I was Emperor) and in 1525 and 1543-4 (when Charles V was Emperor); as Somerset notes, Rowley conflates aspects of all three wars in this passage (see Holinshed, 839, 891 and 960).  
 218 **the ... France** Francis I  
**mustering** must'ring; assembling in readiness for action

- 219 **either part** both sides  
 220 **Hot** characterized by intense activity or danger (*OED adj.* 9a)  
**variance** disyllabic; conflict, change  
 221 **Landersey** a French town, north-east of Paris  
 223 **his majesty** Emperor Charles V  
 224 **strike** set up  
 225-7 A reference to Wolsey's journey to Calais in 1522 to make peace between King Francis and the Emperor (see Holinshed, 870).  
 228-9 This suggests, unhistorically, that King Henry, too, travelled to France to meet the Emperor. Presumably 'King' here does not mean Henry personally but rather his representative in the person of Wolsey.  
 4.1 Location: the King's residence or the Prince's lodging (referenced at 5.1.30). On the musical performances of this scene, see pp. 83-4.

211 SD] *this edn* I] I do *Elze* 215 Than] (Then) SD] *this edn* 216 And] Now *Elze* 218 mustering] (mustring) 219 lord, for horse and foot.] lord; for horse and foot, *Somerset* 225 SD] *this edn* 227 your] our *Qq3-4* 229 King] the king *Elze* SD] after 229 *Exeunt*] (*Exit*) 4.1] *this edn* 0.1 and] *this edn* followed by] *this edn* 0.2 who] *this edn*

CRANMER

You and the Marquess draw the Prince's mind  
 To follow pleasure and neglect his book,  
 For which the King blames us. But credit me,  
 You shall be soundly paid immediately.

5

BROWNE I pray ye, good my lord, I'll go call the Prince away.

CRANMER Nay, now ye shall not. – Who's within there, ho?

10

[Enter SERVANT.]

SERVANT My lord?

CRANMER

Go bear this youngster to the chapel, straight,  
 And bid the Master of the Children whip him well. –  
 [to Browne] The Prince will not learn, sir, and you shall smart for it.

BROWNE O good my lord, I'll make him ply his book tomorrow.

15

CRANMER

That shall not serve your turn. Away, I say. –

*Exeunt [Browne and Servant].*

[to Tye] So, sir, this policy was well devised:  
 Since he was whipped thus for the Prince's faults,  
 His grace hath got more knowledge in a month  
 Than he attained in a year before;  
 For still the fearful boy, to save his breech,  
 Doth hourly haunt him wheresoe'er he goes.

20

TYE

'Tis true, my lord, and now the Prince perceives it,  
 As loath to see him punished for his faults,  
 Plies it of purpose to redeem the boy.  
 But pray, my lord, let's stand aside awhile  
 And note the greeting 'twixt the Prince and him.

25

[Enter BROWNE, crying, and WILL SUMMERS.]

CRANMER

[aside to Tye] See where the boy comes, and the King's fool with him;  
 Let's not be seen, but list their conference.

7 **credit** believe8 **soundly** thoroughly, severely (*OED adv.* 3b)  
**paid** punished, dealt with; Somerset highlights  
 the pun with 'credit'12 **straight** straight away13 **Master ... Children** the man responsible for  
 the musical tuition of the Children of the  
 Chapel14 Perhaps spoken as prose rather than as a hex-  
 ameter line.  
**smart** suffer in a general sense, but here 'sting'  
 (from the whip's lashes)15 **ply** apply oneself to (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 1a)16 **serve your turn** make recompense17 **this policy** i.e. of punishing Browne for the  
 Prince's neglect21 **the fearful boy** Browne  
**breech** buttocks22 **haunt** follow, shadow25 **\*Plies** *Q1*'s reading 'plays' makes less sense in  
 context; it is possible that the MS here read  
 'ply(e)s'.29 **Let's ... seen** Possibly making use of the  
 Fortune's stage posts to conceal themselves.  
*Elze* directs Tye and Cranmer to leave the stage  
 here (see t.n.), but the indication is rather that  
 they remain visible to the audience.**list** eavesdrop

9] *Elze* lines call / away. / lord] (L.) go] go and *Elze* 10 SD] *Elze* 14 SD] *this edn* The Prince will not learn, sir] The prince,  
 sir, will not learn *Elze* 15] single verse line in *Elze* 16 SD] *Somerset; Exit. | opp. 16 Q1* 17 SD] *this edn* 17-18] *Elze; prose*  
 in *Q1* 25 Plies] *Q2; Plays Q1* 27 SD] *this edn; Re-enter young BROWNE and WILL SUMMERS. | after 29 Elze* 28 SD] *this edn*  
 29] *Elze adds SD ([Exeunt.]) after 29*

- WILL SUMMERS [to Browne] Nay, boy, an ye cry you'll spoil your eyesight. 30  
 Come, come, truss up your hose,  
 You must hold fast your wind,  
 Both before and behind,  
 And blow your nose.
- BROWNE For what, fool? 35
- WILL SUMMERS Why, for the mote in thine eye, is there not one in't?  
 Wherefore dost thou cry else?
- BROWNE I prithee, Will, go call the Prince from the tennis court.
- WILL SUMMERS Dost thou cry for that? Nay, then I smell a rat: the Prince  
 has played the truant today, and his tutors have drawn blood of thy buttocks 40  
 for't. Why, boy, 'tis honourable to be whipped for a prince.
- BROWNE I would he would either leave the tennis court and ply his book,  
 or give me leave to be no courtier.
- WILL SUMMERS Ay, for I'll be sworn thy breech lies i'th' hazard about it.  
 But look, little Ned; yonder he comes. 45

*Enter the PRINCE and the young MARQUESS with their rackets,  
 [a SERVANT and] diverse attending.*

- MARQUESS [to the Servant] Some rubbers for the Prince.
- SERVANT Here, my good lord.
- PRINCE  
 One take our rackets and reach me my cloak. –  
 By my faith, Marquess, you are too hard for me.
- MARQUESS  
 Your grace will say so, though ye overmatch me. 50
- PRINCE Why, how now, Browne, what's the matter?
- BROWNE Your grace loiters, and will not ply your book, and your tutors  
 have whipped me for it.

- 31 **truss** tie up
- 32 **hold fast** keep from getting away
- 33 **before and behind** i.e. in front (by talking) and behind (by breaking wind). Cf. *CE*: 'A man may break a word with you, sir, and words are but wind; / Ay, and break it in your face, so he break it not behind' (3.1.75-6).
- 36 **mote** speck of dust. Cf. *KJ*: 'there were but a mote in yours, / A grain, a dust, a gnat, a wandering hair' (4.1.91-2).
- 39 **I ... rat** Proverbial (Tilley, R31).
- 44 **hazard** each of the winning segments of a tennis-court (*OED* *n.* 6); here, as Somerset suggests, 'the pun plays upon the strokes which are driven at the hazard'. Cf. *H5*: 'We will ... play a set / Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard' (1.2.263-4).
- 45 SD The entrance here may be simultaneous with Summers's line 45; possibly the Prince and Marquess enter at the words 'But look', followed by the servant and attendants at the end of Summers's line. Alternatively, Summers responds
- to an offstage noise, such as the boys' voices, allowing him to pre-empt the Prince's entrance.
- 45.2 **diverse** A permissive SD that could indicate any number of men. Since in *this edn* the speaking role of the servant is listed separately, I have (for the purposes of the doubling chart in Appendix 3b) assumed the presence of another two attendants; however, several other actors would have been available at this point in the scene should the company have required more men.
- 46 **rubbers** *OED* suggests that 'rubber' in this context applies to a final decisive game (*n.*<sup>2</sup> 1b); however, this does not appear to be Rowley's intended meaning. Rather, 'rubbers' appears to suggest 'towels' or some other form of stage property that the servant hands to the Prince at 47. See *OED* *n.*<sup>1</sup> 2b.
- 48 Prince Edward's words govern the action here. The cloak is presumably that brought on stage by Browne at the scene's opening.
- 49 **hard** skilled, talented. Cf. 3.1.52.
- 50 **overmatch** o'ermatch; surpass, outshine

30 SD] *this edn* an] (and) 31-4] *Somerset; prose in Q1* 36 one] (won) 40 have] (has) 44 Ay] (I) i'th'] in the *Elze*  
 45.1 *their*] *om. Q4* 45.2 *a SERVANT and*] *this edn* *diverse*] (*diuers*) 46 SD] *this edn* 48 me my] *Q1*  
 48-9] *prose in Somerset* 53 have] (has)

- PRINCE      Alas, poor Ned, I am sorry for it; I'll take the more pains, and  
entreat my tutors for thee. Yet in truth, the lectures they read me last night  
out of Virgil and Ovid I am perfect in; only I confess I am something behind  
in my Greek authors. 55
- WILL SUMMERS  
And for that speech,  
They have declined it  
Upon his breech. 60
- PRINCE [*to Browne*]      And for my logic, thou shalt witness thyself I am perfect,  
for now will I prove, that though thou wert whipped for me, yet this whipping  
was good for thee.
- MARQUESS      I'll hardly believe you, my lord, though Ramus himself should  
prove it. Well, *proba*. 65
- PRINCE      Mark my problem:  
                 *Bona virga facit bonum puerum;*  
                 *Bonum est, te esse bonum puerum:*  
                 *Ergo, bona virga res bona est.*  
And that's this, Ned: a good rod makes a good boy; 'tis good that thou  
shouldst be a good boy: *ergo*, therefore, a good rod is good. 70
- WILL SUMMERS      Nay, by'r lady, the better the rod is, it's the worse for him,  
that's certain. – [*to Browne*] But dost hear me, boy? Since he can prove a  
rod to be so good, let him take't himself next time.
- PRINCE [*to Browne*]      In truth, I pity thee, and inwardly I feel the stripes thou  
bearest, and for thy sake, Ned, I'll ply my book the faster. In the meantime,  
thou shalt not say, but the Prince of Wales will honourably reward thy service.  
Come, Browne, kneel down. [*Browne kneels.*] 75
- WILL SUMMERS      What, wilt thou knight him, Ned?
- PRINCE      I will. My father has knighted many a one that never shed drop of  
blood for him, but he has often for me. 80

54 **take ... pains** work harder  
55 **lectures** lessons  
56 **Virgil and Ovid** Roman poets, known respectively for the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*  
59 **declined** As Somerset notes, '[t]here is no literal sense recorded in *OED* which fits the context'. Possibly, Summers puns on the process of declension (or 'declining') in Latin grammar: the inflection of nouns, adjectives and pronouns though their different cases.  
64 **Ramus** Petrus Ramus (1515-1572), an influential French humanist, logician and educational reformer, whose works circulated in nine English and six Latin editions.  
65 ***proba*** Latin, 'to prove'  
66 **problem** '[t]he question ... involved in a syllogism, of which the conclusion is the solution' (*OED* n. 2b)  
67-9 Latin, translated by the Prince at 70-1; Somerset notes only one mistranslation in

the final line ('a good rod is a good thing'). Although not strictly verse, *Q1*'s lineation is retained to highlight the structure and process of the Prince's argument; see also 164-6 (a deviation from the layout of *Q1*) and 212-14.  
70-1 Perhaps a version of the proverb 'spare the rod and spoil the child' (Tilley, R155).  
75 **stripes** from the whip's lashes  
79 **Ned** Prince Edward. Only Summers and the King refer to the Prince as Ned; the name is usually reserved for young Browne.  
80 **I will** It is clear that Browne kneels at the Prince's request (78), but uncertain how Prince Edward knights him. The King presumably replicates Edward's action (using his sword) at 120.  
**My ... one** Possibly a disparaging allusion to James I who, as Somerset notes, 'created over 300 knights during the journey to his coronation alone'.

55 truth] (troth) lectures] (lectors) 58-60] Somerset; prose in *Q1*  
70 And that's this, Ned:] this edn; part of 69 in *Q1* 71 ergo] om. Elze  
74 next] the next *Qq2-4*, Elze 75, 78 SDD] this edn 81 has] (ha's)

61 SD] this edn 65 proba] (probe) 67-9] prose in Elze  
72 by'r lady] (berladie) it's] 'tis *Q4*, Elze 73 SD] this edn

WILL SUMMERS O, brave! He looks like the mirror of knighthood already.

*Enter* COMPTON.

COMPTON Clear the presence, gentlemen. The King is coming.

PRINCE The King? – [*to the Servant*] God's me, reach me my book; call my  
tutors in. – Come, Browne, I'll confirm thy knighthood afore the King. 85

MARQUESS Here be your tutors, my lord, and yonder the King comes.

*Enter the* KING [*and Attendants*].

PRINCE Health to your majesty.

KING God-a-mercy, Ned. Ay, at your book so hard? 'Tis well, 'tis well. –  
Now, Bishop Cranmer and good Doctor Tye, I was going to the gallery,  
and thought to have had your scholar with me; but seeing you're so busy, 90  
I'll not trouble him. – Come on, Will, come; go you along with me. What  
make you among the scholars here?

WILL SUMMERS

I come to learn my *qui quae quod*  
To keep me from the rod.

Marry, here's one was whipped in pudding time, for he has gotten a 95  
knighthood about it. Look, old Harry, does he not look more furious than he  
was wont?

KING Who, Will, young Browne? God's Mary mother, his father is a  
gallant knight as any these south parts of England holds.

WILL SUMMERS He cannot compare with his son, though; if he were right 100  
Donsal Delphoebus, or the very Knight of the Sun himself, yet this knight  
shall unhorse him.

KING When was he made a knight, Will?

82 O, brave! Cf. 1.4.177.

the ... knighthood a true reflection of  
knighthood; with reference also to Margaret  
Tyler, R.P. and L.A.'s *The mirrour of princely  
deedes and knighthood* (1578-1601), an English  
translation of Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra,  
Pedro de la Sierra and Marcos Martínez's  
*Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros*. See also  
101n.

84-5 call ... in The Prince's tutors are already on  
stage at this point, presumably still hidden  
behind one of the Fortune's stage posts (see  
29); Cranmer and Tye likely step forward at the  
Prince's request.

86 SD \**This edn* follows *Elze* in moving the SD  
down a line so that the Marquess's words act  
as a cue for the King's entrance, much in the  
way of Summers's line 45 (see n.). I add '*and  
Attendants*' as the King exits accompanied by  
'gentlemen'.

92 what make you what are you doing

93 *qui quae quod* the masculine, feminine and  
neuter forms of the relative pronoun 'who',  
'that', or 'which' in Latin

95 in pudding time Cf. Tilley, P634: 'to come  
in pudding time'. 'Pudding time' was the time  
of day when puddings were typically eaten,  
hence the figurative use of the expression to  
mean 'to come at a propitious moment' (*OED*  
n.). Cf. *I Honest Whore*: 'we come in pudding-  
time, for heres the Duke' (5.2.454-5).

97 wont accustomed to

99 holds upholds, affirms

101 Donsal ... Sun A reference, as *Elze* notes, to  
Donzel del Febo, 'the celebrated hero' of *The  
mirrour of princely deedes and knighthood*  
(see 82n.). *This edn* retains *Q1*'s version of  
the name as Summers's mispronunciation  
may have been intentional on Rowley's part.

102 unhorse See 3.2.197 and n.

82 SD] *Elze*; *Enter Crumpt.* | as 83 SP in *Q1* 83 SP] *Elze*; not in *Q1* 84 SD] *this edn* 86 SD] *Elze*; after 85 *Q1*  
*and Attendants*] *this edn* 88 God-a-mercy] (Godamercy); God ha' mercy *Elze* Ay] (I) 90 thought] *om. Qq2-4, Elze*  
93-4] *Somerset*; *prose in Q1* 93 *qui quae*] (*quy que*) 95 has] (ha's) 96 than] (then) 101 Donsal Delphoebus] (*donsal*  
*delphebus*); Donzel del Phebo *Elze*



- WILL SUMMERS Marry, i'th' last action; I can assure you, there was hot  
service, and some on 'em came so near him, they had like to smelt on't. 105  
But when all was done, the poor gentleman was pitifully wounded in the  
back parts, as may appear by the scar, if his knightship would but untruss  
there.
- KING But who knighted him, William?
- WILL SUMMERS That did Ned, here; and he has earned it too, for I am sure 110  
this two year he has been lashed for his learning.
- KING Ha! How? Come hither, Ned. Is this true?
- PRINCE It is, my lord, and I hope your highness will confirm my deed.
- KING Confirm it? God's holy mother, what shrewd boys are these! – Cranmer  
and Tye, do ye observe the Prince? – 115  
[to the Prince] Now by my crown, young Ned, thou hast honoured me;  
I like thy kingly spirit that loves to see  
Thy friends advanced to types of dignity. –  
[to Browne] Young knight, come hither; what the Prince hath done  
We here confirm: be still, Sir Edward Browne. – 120  
[to the Prince] But hear ye, Ned, now you have made him knight,  
You must give him some living, or else 'tis nothing.
- WILL SUMMERS Ay, by my troth, he is now but a knight under *forma papris*,  
for a knight without living is no better than an ordinary gallant.
- KING Well, what will ye give him, Ned? 125
- PRINCE When I have heard of something that may do him good, I will  
entreat your majesty for him, and i'th' meantime from mine own allowance  
I'll maintain him.
- KING 'Tis well said; but for your sake, son Edward, we'll provide for him. –  
Cranmer, see presently a patent drawn, wherein we will confirm to him 130  
from our Exchequer a thousand marks a year.
- BROWNE I thank your majesty, and as I am true knight, I'll fight and die  
for ye.
- WILL SUMMERS Now if your tutors come to whip ye, you may choose  
whether you'll untruss by th' order of arms. 135

104 **action** battle (*OED n.* 7); it was common for  
soldiers to be knighted for heroism  
**hot** characterized by intensity of feeling or by  
pain and discomfort (*OED adj.* 8a, 9). Cf. *CE*:  
'When I am cold, he heats me with beating'  
(4.4.30-1).

105 **smelt** melt in order to extract metal; used  
figuratively here as a pun on 'hot'

106-7 **back parts** backside, buttocks

107 **knightship** a form of address, predating the  
first recorded use in *OED* (1694)

110 **he** i.e. Browne

114 **shrewd** cunning (*OED adj.* 13a)

116 **thou hast** elided, as *thou'st*

118 **dignity** honourable office or rank

122 **living** income

123 **forma papris** 'Forma pauperis' is a Latin term  
meaning 'in the character or manner of a pau-

per'; a legal formula whereby a person  
without means could place himself under the  
protection of a patron. I retain *Q1*'s reading  
on the basis that it is more likely to represent  
Summers's colloquial or inaccurate rendering  
of the expression. Somerset additionally notes  
a pun on *papris* in its suggestion of Browne  
as a mere 'paper-knight'.

128 **maintain** sustain, support

131 **Exchequer** an office of state concerned with  
the administration of royal revenues

**marks** A mark was a monetary unit  
'equivalent in value to two-thirds of a troy  
pound of pure silver or two-thirds of a pound  
sterling' (*OED mark n.*<sup>2</sup> 2a); in Henry VIII's  
time this would have been about 13s 6d  
(*Somerset*).

135 **by ... arms** by the law of arms, in combat

105 smelt] have smelled *Somerset* 107 scar] scars *Somerset* 114-15] *Elze lines* these! / prince? / 114 shrewd] (shrode)  
116] *Elze*; prose in *Q1* SD] *this edn* 119, 121 SDD] *this edn* 121 ye] me *Elze* 121-2] prose in *Somerset* 123 Ay] (I)  
*forma papris*] *forma pauperis* | *Elze* 132-3] *this edn*; *Q1 lines* Maiestie. / ye. /; *Elze lines* am / ye. /

- KING [*to the Prince*] Well, Ned, see ye ply your learning, and let's have no more knights made in this action. – Look to him, Browne; if he loiter, his tutors will have you up for't.
- BROWNE I hope, my lord, they dare not whip me now.
- KING By'r lady, sir, that's doubtful. 140
- WILL SUMMERS If they do, he shall make thee a lord, and then they dare not.
- KING Well, Cranmer, we'll leave ye. When your pupil has done his task ye set him now, let him come and visit us. – On, gentlemen, into the gallery.
- PRINCE  
Heaven keep your majesty. – [*Exeunt the King, Compton and Attendants.*]  
[*to Cranmer and Tye*] Gentlemen, draw near.
- TYE Good morrow to your grace. 145
- PRINCE Good morrow, tutors, at noon? 'Tis good even, is it not?
- CRANMER We saw not your grace today.
- PRINCE O ye quip me cunningly for my truantship, that I was not at my book today; but I have thought of that ye read last night, I assure ye.
- CRANMER We doubt it not, fair prince. – Lords, gentlemen, give leave. 150
- WILL SUMMERS All void the room; there's but scholars and fools.  
[*Exeunt all but Cranmer, Tye, the Prince and Will Summers.*]
- CRANMER I hope your excellence can answer me in that axiom of philosophy I propounded to ye.
- PRINCE I promise ye, tutor, 'tis a problem to me, for the difference of your authors' opinions makes me differ in mine own. Some say *omne animal est, aut homo, aut bestia*, that every living creature is or man or beast. 155
- WILL SUMMERS Then a woman's a beast, for she's no man.
- PRINCE Peace, William, you'll be expulsed else. – And again, some authors affirm that every beast is four-footed.
- WILL SUMMERS Then a fool's no beast, for he has but two. 160
- PRINCE Yet again, Will.
- WILL SUMMERS Mum, Ned, no words; I'll be as still as a small bagpipe.
- CRANMER *Omne animal est, aut homo, aut bestia*, and thus 'tis proved, my lord:  
*Omne animal est rationale, vel irrationale;*  
*Homo est rationalis, bestia irrationalis:* 165  
*Ergo, omne animal homo est, vel bestia.*

138 **have you up** call you to account  
141 **he** Prince Edward  
144 **Heaven** hea'en  
146 **Good morrow ... even** Cf. Tilley, M987: 'the first minute after noon is night'. The earliest record of the proverb dates from 1633.  
148 **quip** make sarcastic remarks  
152 **axiom** principle, maxim  
155-6 **omne ... bestia** Latin, translated by the Prince later in the same line.  
156 **or** either (see also 168)  
157 **a woman's ... man** Cf. *Phoenix*: 'Their wenches, I mean, sir; for your worship knows those that are under men are beasts' (4.10-11).

158 **expulsed** expelled  
162 **Mum ... words** Cf. Tilley, W767: 'no word but mum'; see also 1 Prisoner's words at 2.3.55.  
**as still ... bagpipe** Somerset plausibly suggests that a small bagpipe refers to a bagpipe without any air in it; cf. Tilley, B34: 'he is like a bagpipe, he never talks till his belly is full'. 'Bagpipe' was also used figuratively to mean an inflated and senseless talker, a windbag (*OED* n. 4a).  
164-6 **Omne ... bestia** Latin, meaning: 'every animal is either rational or irrational. Man is rational; beasts irrational. Therefore every animal is either man or beast' (*Somerset*); loosely translated by Cranmer at 167-74.

136 SD] *this edn* 140 By'r lady] (Berladie) 142 his] *this Qq3-4* 144 SD1] *Somerset subst.; Exit. | after 144 Q1* SD2] *this edn*  
145, 146 Good] (God); God *Somerset* 150 Lords,] lords and *Elze* 151 SD] *Somerset subst.* 155 authors'] (Authors); author's *Elze*  
*Omne*] *Omne | Elze* 156 *bestia*] *bestia'* | *Elze* 164-5] *this edn*; prose in *Q1* 164 *rationale*] (*rationalis*) *irrationale*] (*irrationalis*)

- 'Mongst all the creatures in this universe,  
Or on the earth or flying in the air,  
Man only reason hath; others only sense.  
So what is only sensual is not man 170  
But beast, for man both sense and reason hath.  
So every creature, having one of these,  
Is sure or man or beast, and so all beasts  
Are not four-footed.
- WILL SUMMERS That's certain: a louse has six. 175  
CRANMER I beseech your grace.  
PRINCE Away, William.  
WILL SUMMERS Not a word more, as I am William.  
CRANMER For many beasts have wings serving instead of feet, and some  
have horns, of which we thus esteem: *animal cornutum non habet dentes* 180  
*supremos*; no horned beast hath teeth above the roof.  
WILL SUMMERS That's a lie: a cuckold has.  
PRINCE Thrust the fool out of the presence, there.  
WILL SUMMERS Well, *cedant arma togae*; the scholars shall have the fool's  
place. *Exit.* 185  
PRINCE Well, Cranmer, you have made me able to prove a man no beast, if  
he prove not himself so; we'll now leave this. And now resolve me for divinity.  
Cranmer, I love ye, and I love your learning; speak, and we'll hear ye.  
God give ye truth that you may give it me.  
This land, ye know, stands wavering in her faith 190  
Betwixt the Papists and the Protestants;  
You know we all must die, and this flesh  
Part with her part of immortality.  
Tutor, I do believe both heaven and hell;  
Do you know any third place for the soul's abode 195  
Called purgatory, as some would have me think?  
For from my sister Mary and her tutors  
I have oft received letters to that purpose.

167 **this universe** the earth, as the abode of mankind  
(*OED* universe *n.* 4a; first recorded in 1630)

169 Cf. *Valiant Welshman*: 'Beasts onely are the  
subjects of bare sense: / But man hath reason  
and intelligence' (H4<sup>r</sup>).

**Man only** none but man

170 **sensual** disyllabic; endowed with the faculty of  
sensation

172 **every** ev'ry

180-1 **animal ... supremos** Latin, translated by  
Cranmer later in the same speech. Although  
the specific source of this passage is unknown,  
numerous parallels can be found in Aristotle's  
*De Partibus Animalium* (*Parts of Animals*);  
see in particular III. ii and iii, 661<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>.

181 **roof** i.e. of the mouth

184 **cedant arma togae** Latin, meaning: 'let arms  
yield to the toga', i.e. let violence give way to

the law. The expression, deriving from Cicero's  
*De Officiis* (I.77), appears in several texts of the  
period.

186-200 \*The Prince, like the King elsewhere  
in the play, moves between prose and verse;  
the medium is dictated largely by the rhy-  
thm of the text, as well as by *Q1*'s original  
layout.

187 **resolve** determine, settle; used here with doub-  
le object, as per *OED* v. 17b

190 **wavering** wav'ring

192 Metrically short; perhaps spoken with a pause  
after the caesura.

**we ... die** Cf. Tilley, M505: 'all men must  
die' and D142: 'death is common to all'.

193 **her ... immortality** the soul

194 **heaven** hea'en

198 **I have** elided, as *I've*

170 <sup>2</sup>is] *Q2*; in *Q1* 170-1] *Elze*; *Q1* lines beast: / hath: / 173 so] *Elze*; though *Q1* 173-4] *Elze*; prose in *Q1* 179-81] *Elze* lines  
feet, / esteem: / *supremas*, / roof. / 180 *supremos*] (*supremas*) 184 *togae*] (*toge*) 185 SD] (*Exit Will.*) 187-8 And ... <sup>2</sup>ye.]  
*Elze* lines divinity; / learning; / ye. / 189] *Q4* adds *SP* | *Cran.* 194] *Q4* adds *SP* | *Prin.*

- I love ye, Cranmer, and shall believe whate'er ye speak. Therefore, I charge  
ye, tell the truth. 200
- CRANMER How thinks your grace? Is there a place of purgatory, or no?
- PRINCE Truly, I think none. Yet must I urge to you what's laid to me. This  
world, you know, hath been five thousand years still increasing, still  
decreasing, still replenished; how long it will be, none knows but He that  
made it. We all do call ourselves God's children, yet sure some are not. 205  
But think ye, tutor, that the compass of that heaven and hell is able to  
contain those souls so numberless, that ever breathed since the first breath  
was given, without a *tertium* or a third place?
- CRANMER  
Who puts these doubts within your grace's head  
Are like their own belief, slight and unregarded, 210  
And is as easily answered and confuted:  
*Quod est infinitum, non habet finem;*  
*Caelum est opus Dei, opus Dei est infinitum:*  
*Ergo, Caelum est infinitum.*  
That which is infinite hath no end at all, 215  
For that eternity, that everlasting essence,  
That did concord heaven, earth and hell to be,  
Is of Himself all infinite. That heaven and hell are so,  
His power, his works and words do witness it,  
For what is infinite hath in itself no end; 220  
Then must the heavens, which is His glorious seat,  
Be incomprehensible containing Him.  
Then what should need a third place to contain  
A world of infinites so vast and main?

202-8 \*These lines scan as verse only with much elision and the introduction of some short verse lines. It is possible, as per *Somerset* (see t.n.), that the Prince's speech was intended as a combination of verse and prose.

202 **urge** press upon  
**laid** told, put forward (*OED* lay v.<sup>1</sup> 26a). *Q3*'s 'said' also makes sense, but this reading perhaps came about as a result of the compositor's misreading of 'l' as long 's', rather than as a deliberate act of emendation.

203 **five thousand years** A common belief; cf. Calvin, *Institution of Christian Religion*: 'there is lyttell more than fiue thousande yeares passed sins the creation of the worlde' (III.xxi, f. 240').

204 **replenished** 'fully or abundantly stocked' (*OED* adj. 2a)

205 **We ... not** Drawing on the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, whereby only God's elect could achieve salvation.

206 **compass** extent, space (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 8a)

208 **tertium** Cf. *Tarlton's News*: 'yes my good bro-

ther, there is *Quoddam tertium* a third place that all our great grandmothers haue talkt of' (3).

210 **slight** unimportant, unsubstantiated

212-14 Latin, meaning: 'Whatever is infinite has no end. The universe is the work of God; the work of God is infinite. Therefore the universe is infinite' (*Somerset*). Cranmer's exposition of the argument (215-24) may take something from Thomas Aquinas's Commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo*; see especially I.22: 'Whether the universe is infinite by eternal duration'.

217 **concord** create, fashion  
**heaven** hea'en, as at 218

218 A rare heptameter line; perhaps the reason for *Somerset*'s rendering of the speech (excluding 223-4) as prose. It is possible that Cranmer speaks in prose here; however, given the clear scansion of the majority of these lines, the lineation of *Q1* is retained in *this edn*.

221 **heavens** hea'ens

222 **incomprehensible** boundless, limitless

224 **main** of great size (*OED* adj.<sup>2</sup> 1a)

199-200] *Somerset*; *Q1* lines speake, / truth. /; *Elze* lines whate'er / truth. / 201] *Elze* lines place / no? / 202-8] *this edn*; *Q1* lines layd / yeres / replenish't, / it, / not, / hell, / numberlesse, / giuen, / place. /; *Elze* lines none, / me. / years / replenish'd, / it. / children, / that / hell / numberless, / given, / place. /; *prose in Somerset* until 206 (hell), *then lines* numberless / given, / place / 202 laid] said *Qq3-4*, *Elze* 209 SP] *Q2*; not in *Q1* 212-14] *prose in Elze, Somerset* 215-22] *prose in Somerset*

PRINCE

I thank ye, Cranmer, and do believe ye. 225  
 What other proofs have been maintained to me,  
 Or shall be, you shall know and aid me in them.  
 Enough for this time. –  
 [Tye steps forward.] Who's there? Doctor Tye,  
 Our music's lecturer? Pray, draw near.  
 Indeed, I take much delight in ye. 230

TYE

In music may your grace ever delight,  
 Though not in me; music is fit for kings,  
 And not for those knows not the chime of strings.

PRINCE

Truly, I love it, yet there are a sort,  
 Seeming more pure than wise, that will upbraid at it, 235  
 Calling it idle, vain and frivolous.

TYE

Your grace hath said, indeed they do upbraid  
 That term it so, and those that do are such  
 As in themselves no happy concords hold;  
 All music jars with them, but sounds of good. 240  
 But would your grace a while be patient,  
 In music's praise, thus will I better it.  
 Music is heavenly, for in heaven is music;  
 For there the seraphins do sing continually,  
 And when the best was born, that ever was man, 245  
 A choir of angels sang for joy of it.  
 What of celestial was revealed to man  
 Was much of music. 'Tis said the beasts did worship,  
 And sang before the deity supernal;  
 The kingly prophet sang before the Ark, 250  
 And with his music charmed the heart of Saul;

226 **proofs** beliefs set forth as truths  
**maintained** put forward, contended; cf. 'laid'  
 (202)

229-30 Both metrically short and presumably  
 spoken with a pause after the initial caesura.

233 **chime** musical concord (*OED n.*<sup>1</sup> 5). This slightly  
 predates the earliest recorded use in 1608.

235 **pure** Applied mockingly to Puritans (*OED adj.*  
 4a); as Somerset notes, one of the things the  
 Millinery Petitioners asked for in 1603-4 was  
 reformation of music in church.

**upbraid** censure, find fault with

237-40 Cf. *MV*: 'The man that hath no music in  
 himself, / Nor is not moved with concord of  
 sweet sounds, / Is fit for treasons, stratagems and  
 spoils' (5.1.83-5).

239 **concords** agreement, harmony; with a pun on  
 concord as the opposite of discord, dissonance

240 **jars** falls with harsh effect (*OED jar v.*<sup>1</sup> 4)

**sounds of good** perhaps sermons and prayers

243 **heavenly ... heaven** hea'enly ... hea'en

244 **seraphins** alternative form of 'seraphim'; the  
 biblical creatures with six wings, seen in Isaiah's  
 vision (Isaiah, 6.2-3)

245 **the best** i.e. Christ

**ever** e'er

246 **choir ... joy** Cf. Luke, 2.13-14.

247 **celestial** trisyllabic; of or pertaining to heaven

248-9 **the ... supernal** Revelation, 4.8 speaks of  
 four beasts that 'ceased not day nor night' in  
 singing God's praises.

249 **supernal** heavenly, divine

250 **kingly prophet** King David, who sang with  
 'all the house of Israel' before the Ark of the  
 Covenant (2 Samuel, 6.5).

251 **with ... Saul** Cf. 1 Samuel, 16.23: 'David took  
 an harp and played with his hand, and Saul  
 was refreshed and was eased'.

225 do] I do *Elze* 228 SD] *this edn* 228-30] *this edn*; *Q1* lines Tye / ye /; *Elze* lines time. / then prose; prose in Somerset  
 246 choir] (Quire)

And if the poet fail us not, my lord,  
 The dulcet tongue of music made the stones  
 To move, irrational beasts and birds to dance;  
 And last, the trumpet's music shall awake the dead, 255  
 And clothe their naked bones in coats of flesh  
 T'appear in that high house of parliament,  
 When those that gnash their teeth at music's sound  
 Shall make that place where music ne'er was found.

PRINCE

Thou givest it perfect life, skilful Doctor; 260  
 I thank thee for the honoured praise thou givest it.  
 I pray thee, let's hear it too.

TYE

'Tis ready for your grace. –  
 Give breath to your loud-tuned instruments. *Loud music.*

PRINCE

'Tis well. – 265  
 Methinks in this sound I prove a complete age.  
 As music, so is man governed by stops,  
 Awed by dividing notes, sometimes aloft,  
 Sometimes below; and when he hath attained  
 His high and lofty pitch, breathed his sharpest 270  
 And most shrillest air, yet at length 'tis gone,  
 And falls down flat to his conclusion. *Soft music.*  
 Another sweetness and harmonious sound,  
 A milder strain, another kind agreement;

252 **the poet** i.e. Ovid, who, in his *Metamorphoses* (Bk X), tells how the music of Orpheus's lyre had the power to charm all things. The same imagery is used in *Lochrine*: 'That did enchant the waters with his noise, / And made stones, birds, and beasts, to lead a dance' (TLN 284-5).

254 **irrational** trisyllabic; without reason (see 163-74)

255-6 **the ... flesh** from the description of the seven angels in Revelation, 8-9

257 **high ... parliament** the temple, as described in Revelation, 11.1

258 **gnash their teeth** an expression used frequently in the Bible; see, e.g., Psalm 35.16 and Lamentations, 2.16

259 **that place** hell

260 **givest** giv'st; as also at 261

265-6 \*Here, as at 279-80, *this edn* splits a long verse line in *Q1* into a short verse line and a pentameter; in each case the line break is prompted by a change of address. See also 294-5.

266 **prove ... age** experience an entire lifetime (*Somerset*)

267 **governed by stops** Cf. *MA*: 'his jesting spirit, which is now crept into a lute-string and now governed by stops' (3.2.55). Rather than the pressure points of a lute-string, however (as per *MA*), 'stops' in this instance (given the nature of the musical performance in question) would appear to refer to the finger-holes in a wind instrument (*OED n.*<sup>2</sup> 15a); see *Ham*: 'Govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb ... these are the stops' (3.2.349-52).

268 **dividing notes** running patterns of notes

271 **air** tune

272 **falls down flat** drops back down to the opening note of the melody; suggestive also of the sudden ruin that can befall mankind. Rowley puns on 'flat' and 'sharpest' (270).

274 **strain** a specific section of a larger piece of music (*OED n.*<sup>2</sup> 12) or, more generally, a melody (*n.*<sup>2</sup> 13a)

**kind agreement** natural concord

254 beasts] *Q3*; beast *Q1* 258 music's] *Elze*; Musicke *Q1* 259 ne'er] (nere) 260-2] *prose in Somerset* 262 let's] let us *Elze* 263-6] *Somerset lines* <sup>2</sup>your / Methinks / age. / 263-4] *Elze*; single line in *Q1* 264 loud-tuned] *Somerset*; loude tun'd *Q1* SD] after 264 265-6] *this edn*; single line in *Q1* 269 Sometimes] (Sometime) 270-1] *Elze*; *Q1* lines most / gone, / 271 And] om. *Elze* 272 SD] after 272 in *Elze*

- Yet 'mongst these many strings be one untuned, 275  
 Or jarreth low or higher than his course,  
 Not keeping steady mean amongst the rest,  
 Corrupts them all: so doth bad men the best.
- TYE  
 Enough. –  
 Let voices now delight his princely ear. *A song.* 280
- PRINCE  
 Doctor, I thank you, and commend your cunning.  
 I oft have heard my father merrily speak  
 In your high praise, and thus his highness saith:  
 England one God, one truth, one doctor hath  
 For music's art, and that is Doctor Tye, 285  
 Admired for skill in music's harmony.
- TYE  
 Your grace doth honour me with kind acceptance,  
 Yet one thing more: I do beseech your excellence  
 To deign to patronize this homely work,  
 Which I unto your grace have dedicate. 290
- PRINCE  
 What is the title?
- TYE  
*The Acts of the Holy Apostles* turned into verse,  
 Which I have set in several parts to sing;  
 Worthy acts,  
 And worthily in you remembered. 295
- PRINCE  
 I'll peruse them and satisfy your pains,  
 And have them sung within my father's chapel. –  
 [to Tye and Cranmer] I thank ye both. Now I'll crave leave a while  
 To be a little idle. Pray, let our linguists,  
 French and Italian, tomorrow morn be ready; 300  
 I must confer with them, or I shall lose  
 My little practice. So, good den, good tutors. *Exit.*

275-8 Cf. *TC*: 'Take but degree away, untune that string, / And hark what discord follows' (1.3.109-10) and *Whore of Babylon*: 'Set them but one out of tune, alls out of square, / Pull downe the Church, and none can it repaire' (1.1.186-7).

276 <sup>1</sup>**Or** either  
**jarreth** combining inharmoniously with other sounds

**course** set pattern of notes

277 **mean** the central part in three-part music (*OED* n.<sup>3</sup> 8a)

281 **cunning** wisdom, art

289 **homely** plain, unsophisticated (*OED* adj. 2a)

290 **dedicate** i.e. dedicated

292 Tye's *Acts of the Apostles* was printed in 1553, just before Edward's death. The work was indeed dedicated to Edward, but as King rather than Prince.

293 **several** sev'ral

296 **pains** troubles, labour

301 **lose** forget. *Q1*'s archaic 'leese' is indicative of contemporary pronunciation.

302 **good den** a form of salutation; usually 'good evening', but used any time after midday

279-80] *this edn*; single line in *Q1* 280 SD] *after* 280 292 *The ... Apostles*] *not ital.* in *Q1* 294-5] *this edn*; single line in *Q1*  
 295 remembered] *this edn*; remembred *Q1* 296 SP] *Q2*; *not in Q1* 298 SD] *this edn* 300 Italian] *Elze*; Italians *Q1* 301 lose]  
 (leese) 302 good den] (God-den); God-den *Somerset*

CRANMER

Health to your highness, God increase your days:  
The hope of England, and of learning's praise.

[*Exeunt.*]

[5.1]

*Enter BONNER[,] and GARDINER reading.*

BONNER

What have ye here, my Lord of Winchester?

GARDINER

Heretical and damnèd heresies,  
Precepts that Cranmer's wisdom taught the Prince;  
The Pope and we are held as heretics.  
What think'st thou, Bonner, of this wavering age?

5

BONNER

As seamen do of storms: yet hope for fair weather.  
By'r lady, Gardiner, we must look about;  
The Protestants begin to gather head.  
Luther hath sown well, and England's ground  
Is fat and fertile to increase his seed.  
Here's lofty plants! What, bishops and prelates?  
Ay, nobility temporal! But we shall temper all  
At the return of our high cardinal.

10

GARDINER

Bonner, 'tis true, but in meantime we must  
Prevent this rancour that now swells so big  
That it must out or break; they have a dangerous head,  
And much I fear.

15

BONNER

What, not the King, I hope?

GARDINER

'Tis doubtful he will bend, but sure  
Queen Katherine's a strong Lutheran; heard ye not

304 **hope of England** Cf. 3.2.30: 'he is all our hopes'.

5.1 Location: Whitehall Palace, the King's main residence in 1546, at which time Queen Katherine Parr was accused of heresy and treason (see passages from Foxe in Appendix 2).

1 **What ... here** Cf. Dent, W280.2: 'What have we here?'.

3 **Precepts** rules, maxims

5 **wavering** wav'ring; inconstant in resolution or allegiance

6 **As ... storms** Cf. Tilley, S908: 'after a storm comes fair weather'.

7 **Gardiner** Gard'ner

**look about** be wary; proverbial (Dent, L427.1). Cf. the title *Look About You*.

8 **gather head** acquire strength

10 **fat** rich (*OED* *adj.* 9a)

**increase his seed** spread his ideas; continuing the sowing metaphor

11 **Here's lofty plants!** Cf. Tilley, W238: 'an ill weed grows apace'. 'Lofty' is used here to mean both tall and haughty. Possibly, Bonner takes possession of Gardiner's paper and comments on its contents.

12 **temporal** secular, lay; as in Lords Temporal **temper** control, overrule (*OED* *v.* 7), with an obvious pun on 'temporal' and 'temper all'

13 **the ... cardinal** i.e. Wolsey's return from France (see 3.2.225-7 and n.)

15 **rancour** animosity

16 **head** leader

18 **bend** submit, yield (*OED* *v.* 10)

19 **Katherine's** Kath'rine's

**Lutheran** Luth'ran

304 SD] *Elze* subst. | after 304 5.1] *this edn* 0.1, ] *Somerset* 7 By'r lady] (*Berlady*) 9 Luther] For Luther (*conj. Elze*)  
12 Ay] (I) Ay, nobility] And nobles (*conj. Elze*) 16-17] *Elze*; Q1 lines head, / feare. / hope? /; *Somerset* lines break. / fear. / hope? /  
18 he] whether he *Elze* 19 heard] (*hard*)



How in presence of the King and Cardinal,  
She did extirp against his Holiness? 20

BONNER

But had our English cardinal once attained  
The high possession of Saint Peter's chair,  
He'd bar some tongues that now have scope too much.  
'Tis he must do't, Gardiner, 'tis a perilous thing; 25  
Queen Katherine can do much with England's King.

GARDINER

Ay, Bonner, that's the sum of all:  
There must be no queen, or the abbeys fall.

[Enter QUEEN KATHERINE, LADY MARY and Attendants.]

BONNER [*aside to Gardiner*]

See where she comes with the King's sister,  
And from the Prince's lodging; let's salute her. 30

GARDINER [*to Queen Katherine*]

Good morrow to your majesty.

QUEEN KATHERINE Good morrow to my reverend lords of London and of  
Winchester. Saw ye the King today?

BONNER

His highness was not yet abroad this morning,  
But here we will attend his excellence. 35

QUEEN KATHERINE [*to Lady Mary*]

Come, sister, we'll go see his majesty.

LADY MARY

We will attend ye, madam.

QUEEN KATHERINE

Gentlemen, set forward. – Good morrow, lords.

[*Exeunt Queen Katherine, Lady Mary and Attendants.*]

GARDINER

Ill morrow must it be to you or us,  
Conspirators 'gainst men religiöus. – 40  
Bonner, these Lutherans do conspire, I see,  
And scoff the Pope and his supremacy.

BONNER

Let's strike in time, then, and incense the King,  
And suddenly their states to ruin bring.

[*Trumpets sound.*]

21 **extirp** See 3.2.95n.

22 **cardinal** card'nal

23 **Saint Peter's chair** See 1.3.43n.

24 **bar** prevent, prohibit  
**scope** liberty to speak

25 **Gardiner** Gard'ner

26 **Katherine** Kath'rine

27 **sum** gist, essence

28 **the abbeys fall** A reference to the Dissolution  
of the Monasteries (see 5.5.123n.). In reality

the monasteries were destroyed seven years  
before Queen Katherine's marriage to King  
Henry.

34 **abroad** outdoors

39 **ill** wretched; harmful (*OED adj.* 5, 3a)

41 **Lutherans** Luth'rans

42 **scoff** deride, mock

43 **in time** in timely fashion; at an opportune  
moment

**incense** provoke, enrage (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 3b)

21 extirp] (exstirp) 25 do't] do it *Elze* 27 Ay] (I) 28 SD] *this edn*; *Elze subst.* | after 30 29, 31 SDD] *this edn* 31, 32 Good] God  
*Somerset* 32-3] *Elze lines* London / to-day? / 32 reverend] (reverent) 33 <sup>2</sup>of] *om. Elze* 35 excellence] Excellency *Q4* 36 SD]  
*this edn* 38 Gentlemen, set forward] Set forward, gentlemen *Elze* Good] (God); God *Somerset* SD] *Elze subst.* 44 SD] *this edn*

The trumpets sound; it seems the King is coming. 45  
We'll watch and take advantage cunningly.

*Enter the* KING, QUEEN [KATHERINE], LADY MARY,  
BRANDON, SEYMOUR, GREY, *and* DUDLEY.

KING Where's Brandon?  
BRANDON My liege?  
KING Come hither, Kate.  
BRANDON Did your grace call? 50  
KING I'll speak wi' ye anon, I'll speak wi' ye anon. – Come, Kate, let's walk  
a little. – Who's there? My lords of London and of Winchester; welcome,  
welcome. By this your master the Cardinal, I trow, has parted with the  
Emperor, and set a league between the French and him. Mother of God,  
I would ourself in person had been there, 55  
But Wolsey's diligence we need not fear.  
Ha! Think ye he will not?  
GARDINER No doubt he will, my lord.  
KING  
Ay, Gardiner, 'twill be his best policy;  
Their friendship must advance his dignity,  
If e'er he get the papal governance. 60  
DUDLEY [*aside to the other lords*] And that will never be, I hope.  
SEYMOUR [*aside to the other lords*] 'Twere pity it should.  
GREY [*aside to the other lords*] He's proud enough already.  
KING Ha! What's that ye talk there?  
BRANDON  
They say, my lord, he's gone with such a train 65  
As if he should be elected presently.  
KING 'Fore God, 'tis a gallant priest! Come hither, Charles; prithee let me  
lean o' thy shoulder. – By Saint George, Kate, I grow stiff methinks.  
QUEEN KATHERINE  
Will't please your highness sit and rest yourself?

45 \***King** I follow *Elze* in emending *Q1*'s 'Queene'; only the King's (and very occasionally the Prince's and Emperor's) entrances are marked with fanfares.

46 **We'll watch** Yet another possibility for using the Fortune's stage posts as a means of concealment.

51 \*<sup>1&2</sup>**wi' ye** *Q1*'s 'we' is perhaps a contracted form of the expression given in *Q3*: 'we ye', adopted in *this edn*.

**anon** soon, presently

52 **Who's there?** The King's question is prompted by the sight of Bonner and Gardiner. In walking with Queen Katherine it seems the King inadvertently approaches the part of the stage where the bishops have been hiding.

53 **trow** presume

53-4 **has parted ... him** See 3.2.225-6.

58 **Gardiner** Gard'ner  
**policy** course of action

59 **advance his dignity** *Elze*'s conjecture, 'his dignity advance', is persuasive in that it forms a rhyming couplet with the following line. I have, however, retained *Q1*'s reading on the basis that the rhyme might not have been intended in this instance.

61-3 SDD Thus Dudley, Seymour, Grey and Brandon talk amongst themselves (see p. 183).

67 **gallant** showy in appearance; extravagant (*OED* *adj.* 1a, 3)

67-8 **let ... shoulder** Cf. *H8*: 'Enter KING Henry, leaning on the Cardinal's shoulder' (1.2.0.1-2).

45 sound] (sounds) King] *Elze*; Queene *Q1* 46 SD QUEEN KATHERINE] (*Queene*) 51-4] *Elze* lines anon! / there? / <sup>2</sup>welcome! / trow, / set / God! / 51 <sup>1&2</sup>wi' ye] *Q3*; we *Q1* 52 Who's] Who is *Elze* 57] *this edn*; *Q1* lines not. / Lord. / 58 Ay] (I) 60 e'er] (ere) 61, 62, 63 SDD] *this edn* 64 Ha] (Haw) 65-6] *prose in Somerset* 68 o'] (a)

- KING No, no, Kate, I'll walk still; Brandon shall stay mine arm. I'm fat and  
pursy, and 'twill get me a stomach. Sawest the Prince today, Kate? 70
- QUEEN KATHERINE Ay, my good lord.
- KING God bless him and make him fortunate. I tell ye, lords, the hope that  
England hath is now in him. 'Fore God, I think old Harry must leave ye  
shortly; well, God's will be done. Here'll be old shuffling then, ha! Will 75  
there not? Well, you say nothing; pray God there be not. I like not this  
difference in religion. Ay, God's dear lady, an I live but seven years longer,  
we'll take order thoroughly.
- BONNER  
We hear that Luther out of Germany  
Hath writ a book unto your majesty, 80  
Wherein he much repents his former deeds,  
Craving your highness' pardon, and withal  
Submits himself unto your grace's pleasure.
- KING  
Bonner, 'tis true, and we have answered it,  
Blaming at first his haughty insolence 85  
And now his lightness and inconstancy,  
That writ he knew not what so childishly.
- GARDINER  
Much bloodshed there is now in Germany  
About this difference in religiön,  
With Lutherans, Arians and Anabaptists, 90  
As half the province of Helvetia  
Is with their tumults almost quite destroyed.
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
Methinks 'twere well, my royal sovereign,  
Your grace, the Emperor and the Christian Kings

70 **stay** support  
71 **pursy** short of breath (*OED adj.*<sup>1</sup> 1), but also  
perhaps corpulent, unwieldy (*adj.*<sup>1</sup> 2)  
**get ... a stomach** build up an appetite  
73-4 **the hope ... him** Cf. 3.2.31-2 and see n.  
75 **God's ... done** Cf. the Lord's Prayer: 'Thy will  
be done' (Matthew, 6.10).  
**shuffling** evasive dealing or conduct; more  
generally, change  
76 **Well ... nothing** The King evidently waits to see  
if Queen Katherine responds before speaking  
these words.  
78 **take order** take steps, set measures for re-  
form  
**thoroughly** See t.n. for likely pronunciation.  
79-87 See pp. 52-3 on links between this passage  
and Grafton's *Abridgement* (1562). The King's  
answer, published in Latin in 1526, was pub-  
lished in English in 1528.

85 **Blaming** censuring, condemning  
86 **lightness** fickleness, thoughtlessness  
88-92 A reference to the wars of religion in  
Germany and Switzerland (c. 1529-31) in which  
Zwingli, leader of the Reformation in Switzer-  
land, was killed.  
89 **difference** diff'rence  
90 **Lutherans** Luth'rans  
**Arians** adherents of the doctrine of Arius  
(256-336), a presbyter of Alexandria who  
denied that Christ was of the same essence or  
substance with God  
**Anabaptists** a sect of Protestantism which  
grew up in Germany in the early 1520s. Ana-  
baptists rejected the baptism of infants and  
denied state supremacy over religion.  
91 **Helvetia** Switzerland  
94 **Emperor** Emp'ror  
**Christian Kings** See 1.4.304-5.

71 Sawest] (Sawst) 72 Ay] (I) 73-8] *Elze lines* fortunate. / hath, / Harry / done! / not? / not: / religion; / live / thoroughly /  
76 nothing;] nothing? *Elze* pray] I pray *Elze* I like not] I do not like *Elze* 77 Ay] (I) an] (and) years] (yeere)  
78 thoroughly] (thoroughly) 91 As] And (*conj. Elze*)

- Would call a council and peruse the books 95  
 That Luther writ against the Catholics  
 And superstitions of the Church of Rome;  
 And if they teach a truer way to heaven,  
 Agreeing with the Hebrew Testament,  
 Why should they not be read and followèd? 100
- KING Thou sayest well, Kate. So they agree with the scriptures, I think 'tis  
 lawful to peruse and read them. – Speak, bishops.
- GARDINER  
 Most unlawful, my dear sovereign,  
 Unless permitted by his Holiness.
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 How prove ye that, my lord? 105
- KING Well said, Kate; to them again, good wench. – Lords, give us leave  
 a while; avoid the presence there. –  
 We'll hear the bishops and my queen dispute.
- [*Exeunt all but the King, Queen Katherine,  
 Bonner and Gardiner.*]
- QUEEN KATHERINE I am a weak scholar, my lord, but on condition that your  
 highness, nor these reverend lords, will take no exceptions at my woman's 110  
 wit, I am content to hold the argument. –  
 [to Bonner and Gardiner] And first, with reverence to his majesty,  
 Pray tell me, why would ye make the King believe  
 His highness and the people under him  
 Are tied so strictly to obey the Pope? 115
- BONNER  
 Because, fair queen, he is God's deputy.
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 So are all kings, and God himself commands  
 The King to rule and people to obey,  
 And both to love and honour him.

96 **Catholics** trisyllabic  
 97 **superstitions** religious observances or cere-  
 monies thought to be of an idolatrous nature  
 98 **heaven** hea'en  
 99 **Hebrew Testament** the Old Testament  
 101 **So** provided that (see Abbott, no.133)  
 103 **sovereign** trisyllabic; possibly 'dear' is disyllabic  
 104 **his Holiness** the Pope  
 109-11 \*A prose-verse transition, prompted in this  
 instance by Queen Katherine's change of tone  
 and address.  
 109 **I ... scholar** Cf. 5.4.99: 'My puny scholarship'.  
 110 **exceptions** objection, offence; dissatisfaction  
 (*OED* exception *n.* 6a, 6b)

110-11 **woman's wit** woman's intellect. The pro-  
 verb 'The wit of a woman is a great matter'  
 (Tilley, W568) may also be of relevance.  
 111 **hold** engage in, undertake  
 112-15 The argument here highlights the extent of  
 Rowley's alteration of chronology: the King  
 declared himself supreme head of the Church  
 of England under the Act of Supremacy in 1534,  
 almost nine years before he married Katherine.  
 112 **reverence** rev'rence  
 116 **deputy** earthly representative  
 117-19 Cf. Romans, 13.1: 'the powers that be, are  
 ordained of God'. King James's coronation ser-  
 mon was preached upon this text.

95 council] (Counsaile) 97 of] against *Qq2-4*; and *Elze* 101 sayest] (sayst) 101-2] *Elze lines* scriptures, / them: / bishops! /  
 106-8] *Elze lines* wench. / presence, / dispute. / 107 there] *om. Elze* my] the *Q4* 108] *Elze; prose in Q1* SD] *this edn*  
 109-11] *Somerset; Q1 lines* Lord, / Lords, / wit, / Argument: / 110 reverend] (reverent) 111 the] *Q4*; them *Q1* 112 SD] *this edn*  
 113 Pray] *om. Elze* 117 and] *om. Q4*

But you that are sworn servants unto Rome, 120  
 How are ye faithful subjects to the King  
 When first ye serve the Pope, then after him?

GARDINER

Madam, these are that sect of Lutherans  
 That makes your highness so mistake the scriptures;  
 Your slender argument's thus answerèd: 125  
 Before the King, God must be worshippèd.

QUEEN KATHERINE

'Tis true, but pray ye, answer this:  
 Suppose the King by proclamation  
 Commanded you and every of his subjects,  
 On pain of death and forfeit of his goods, 130  
 To spurn against the Pope's authority.  
 Ye know the scripture binds ye to obey him,  
 But this I think: if that his grace did so,  
 Your slight obedience all the world should know.

KING God's mother, Kate, thou'st touched them there. – What say ye to 135  
 that, Bonner?

BONNER

Were it to any but her majesty,  
 These questions were confuted easily.

QUEEN KATHERINE

Pray tell the King, then, what scripture have ye  
 To teach religion in an unknown language? 140  
 T'instruct the ignorant to kneel to saints,  
 By barefoot pilgrimage to visit shrines,  
 For money to release from purgatory  
 The vilest villain, thief or murderer?  
 All this the people must believe you can, 145  
 Such is the dregs of Rome's religiön.

GARDINER

Ay, those are the speeches of those heretics,  
 Cranmer, Ridley and blunt Latimer,  
 That daily rail against his Holiness,  
 Filling the land with hateful heresies. 150

122 **then after him** and then the King

125 **slender** weak, unconvincing; of slight foundation (*OED adj.* 6a, 6b)

126 Cf. 1 Peter, 2.17: 'fear God: honour the King'. The marginal note additionally states: 'Kings be not made equal to God'.

131 **spurn** manifest opposition in a scornful or disdainful manner (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 3)

134 **obedience** Perhaps, as Somerset suggests, a punning reference to Gardiner's *De Vera Obedientia* (1535), to which Bonner wrote a preface. The work supported King Henry's claim of supremacy over the Church.

135 **touched** vexed, irritated (*OED touch v.* 25a)

139–44 A number of these complaints were addressed in Queen Elizabeth I's Thirty-Nine Articles (1563).

140 **an unknown language** i.e. Latin. Cf. *H8*: 'O, good my lord, no Latin' (3.1.42).

146 **dregs** the most worthless parts (*OED dreg n.* 3)

**Ridley ... Latimer** See 3.1.69n.

**blunt** rude, unrefined; uncereemonious (*OED adj.* 4a, 5)

149 **rail** complain

123 sect] (sects) 125 argument's] (arguments) 135–6] *Somerset*; *Q1* lines there, / *Bonner*? / 137 any] any one *Elze*  
 141 T'instruct] *this edn*; Instruct *Q1*; To instruct *Elze* 144 vilest] (vildest) 147 Ay] (I) 148 Cranmer] Of Cranmer *Elze*

QUEEN KATHERINE

Nay, be not angry, nor mistake them, lords;  
What they have said or done was mildly followed,  
As by their articles is evident.

KING

Where are those articles, Kate?

QUEEN KATHERINE

I'll go and fetch them to your majesty, 155  
And pray your highness view them graciously.

KING

Go, fetch them, Kate. – *Exit Queen [Katherine].*  
Ah, sirrah, we have women doctors, now I see!  
Mother o' God, here's a fine world the whilst,  
That 'twixt so many men's opinions 160  
The holy scriptures must be bandied thus.

GARDINER

God grant it breed no further detriment  
Unto your crown and sacred dignity.  
They that would alter thus religiön,  
I fear they scarcely love your royal person. 165

KING

Ha! Take heed what you say, Gardiner.

GARDINER

My love and duty to your majesty  
Bids me be bold to speak my consciënce.  
Unless your safety and your life they hate,  
Why should they daily thus disturb the state? 170  
To smooth the face of false rebellion,  
Proud traitors will pretend religiön;  
For under colour of reformatiön,  
The upstart followers of Wycliffe's doctrine  
In the fifth Henry's days arose in arms, 175  
And had not diligent care prevented them,  
Their powers had suddenly surprised the King.  
And, good my liege, who knows their proud intent  
That thus rebel against your government?

153 **articles** fundamental tenets or beliefs

158 Cf. Foxe: 'A good hearing, quoth he, it is when  
Women become such Clerks' (1132).

**doctors** teachers, instructors

159 **here's ... world** Cf. Dent, *Exclusive*, W872.11:  
'Here's a good world'.

161 **\*bandied** tossed about. Cf. 1.4.119 and see n.

165 **scarcely** too little

168 **Bids** compels, commands (*OED* bid v. 10)

171 **smooth the face** disguise, hide the true intent;  
cf. 3H6: 'And smooth the frowns of war with  
peaceful looks' (2.6.32)

172 **pretend** hide behind

173 **under ... reformation** under pretext of re-  
form. The expression is used in both Foxe  
(899) and Holinshed (845).

174 **upstart** Cf. 1.4.118.

**Wycliffe's doctrine** The doctrine of John  
Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384), an early reformer  
and dissident in the Roman Catholic  
Church, whose followers were known as  
Lollards.

175 **the fifth Henry's** i.e. King Henry V, crowned  
in 1413

153 is] *Elze*; are *Q1* 157 SD] *Somerset*; *Exit Quee*. | *opp.* 156 *Q1* 157-9] *this edn*; *Q1* lines doctors, / whilst, /; *prose in Somerset*  
158 Ah] *Elze*; a *Q1* 159 o'] (a) 161 bandied] *Elze*; banded *Q1* 162 further] (farther) 166 say] doe say *Qq3-4*; do say *Elze*  
168 be bold] hold *Q4* 174 Wycliffe's] (*Wickcliffes*) 175 arose *Elze*; arise *Q1*

KING

Shrewd proofs, by'r lady; and by Saint Peter, 180  
 I swear, we will not trust their gentleness.  
 Speak, Gardiner, and resolve us speedily:  
 Who's the ringleader of this lusty crew?

BONNER

Unless your highness please to pardon us,  
 We dare not speak, nor urge your majesty. 185

KING

We pardon what ye speak; resolve us speedily.

GARDINER

Then if your royal person will be safe,  
 Your life preserved and this fair realm in peace,  
 And all these troubles smoothly pacified,  
 The Queen, dear lord, must be removed from you. 190

KING

Ha! The Queen? Bold sir, advise ye well;  
 Take heed ye do not wrong her loyalty.

GARDINER

See here, my liege, are proofs too manifest;  
 Her highness with a sect of Lutherans  
 Has private meetings, secret conventicles, 195  
 To wrest the grounds of all religiön,  
 Seeking by tumults to subvert the state,  
 The which, without your majesty's consent,  
 Is treason capital against the crown.

BONNER

And seeing, without the knowledge of your grace, 200  
 They dare attempt these dangerous stratagems,  
 'Tis to be feared, which heaven we pray prevent,  
 They do conspire against your sacred life.

GARDINER

Why else should all these private meetings be,  
 Without the knowledge of your majesty? 205

KING

Mother o' God, these proofs are probable,  
 And strong presumptions do confirm your words. –  
 Within there, ho!

180 **Shrewd** having dangerous or injurious consequences (*OED adj.* 4)

**proofs** arguments

181 **gentleness** outward friendliness

182 **Gardiner** Gard'ner

**resolve** determine the facts. The King's plea is repeated at 186.

183 **lusty** insolent, arrogant (*OED adj.* 6)

185 **urge** advise (*OED v.* 2a)

193–9 Cf. Foxe (1131–2), cited in Appendix 2.

193 **proofs** evidence

195 **conventicles** gatherings, assemblies

196 **wrest** distort, pervert (*OED v.* 6a, 6b)

199 **capital** punishable by death (*OED adj.* 3c)

201 **stratagems** devices, schemes

202 **heaven** hea'en

206 **probable** capable of being proved, demonstrable (*OED adj.* 3)

207 **presumptions** suppositions, instinctive feelings

*Enter* COMPTON [*with a letter*].

COMPTON

My lord?

KING

Sir William Compton, see the doors made fast; 210

Double our guard, let none come near our person.

Summon the council to confer with us;

Bid them attend us in the privy chamber.

COMPTON

Here is a letter for your majesty

From Martin Luther out of Germany. 215

KING

Damned schismatic, still will he trouble us

With books and letters. Leave it [*taking the letter from Compton*] and be gone. –

*Exit Compton.*

[*to Bonner and Gardiner*] The villain thinks to smooth his treachery

By fawning speeches to our majesty;

But by my George, lord bishops, if I live, 220

I'll root his favourites from England's bounds.

What writes his worship? [*Reads the letter.*]

GARDINER [*aside to Bonner*]

Now, Bonner, stir, the game is set afoot;

The King is now incensed. Let's follow close

To have Queen Katherine shorter by a head; 225

These heresies will cease when she is dead.

KING

Holy Saint Peter, what a knave is this!

Erewhile he writ submissively to us,

And now again repents his humbleness. –

Bishops, it seems, being touched with our reply, 230

He writes thus boldly to our majesty. –

Gardiner, look here. He was deceived, he says, when he thought to find John

Baptist in the courts of princes, or resident with those that are clothed in purple.

Mother o' God, is't not a dangerous knave?

210 **William** disyllabic

**fast** secure

214 **a letter** written in response to the King's answer (see 84-7)

216 **schismatic** one who promotes or countenances schism in the Church

218 **smooth** cover up, conceal; cf. 'smooth the face' at 171

219 **fawning** flattering

221 **root** drive, remove (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 3a)

**favourites** trisyllabic

**bounds** boundaries, borders

224 **incensed** inflamed with wrath, enraged (*OED* adj.<sup>2</sup> 2)

225 **Katherine** Kath'rine

**shorter ... head** i.e. beheaded

228 **Erewhile** some time ago, formerly

230 Somerset suggests two possible meanings: that Luther was touched (= vexed) by King Henry's reply; or that the role of bishops in the Church was touched (= touched upon, mentioned) in that reply. Both make sense in context.

231-4 \*One of King Henry's clearest switches between the mediums of verse and prose (and back again).

232-4 **He was ... purple** Taken almost verbatim from Grafton's *Abridgement* (1562); see p. 53.

232-3 **John Baptist** i.e. John the Baptist, who baptised Christ (see Matthew, 3.13-17)

233 **resident** present

**those ... purple** bishops

234 **dangerous** haughty, arrogant (*OED* adj. 1a)

208 SD *Enter* COMPTON] Q2; given as 209 SP in Q1 with a letter] this edn 209 SP] Q2; not in Q1 212 council] (counsell) 216-7] prose in Somerset 217 SD1] this edn SD2] opp. 217 Compton] (Compt.) 218 SD] this edn 222 SD] *Elze* 223 SD] this edn 225 Katherine] (*Katherine*) 232-4] this edn; Q1 lines says / the / are / knaue. /; *Elze* lines says, / then italic prose until 'purple.' / then lines knave? /; prose in Somerset 232 when] 'When | *Elze* 233 purple.] purple.' | *Elze* 234 o'] (a)



GARDINER

False Luther knows he has great friends in England, 235  
Else durst he not thus move your majesty.

KING

We'll cut his friends off ere they grow too strong,  
And sweep these vipers from our state ere long.  
No marvel, though, Queen Katherine plead for him:  
That is, I see, the greatest Lutheran. 240  
How is your counsels we proceed in these?

BONNER

'Twere best your grace did send her to the Tower,  
Before they further do confer with her.

KING

Let it be so. Go, get a warrant drawn,  
And with a strong guard bear her to the Tower; 245  
Our hand shall sign your large commission.  
Let Cranmer from the Prince be straight removed,  
And come not near the court on pain of death.  
Mother o' God, shall I be baffled thus  
By traitors, rebels and false heretics? 250  
Get articles for her arraignment ready;  
If she of treason be convict, I swear,  
Her head goes off were she my kingdom's heir. [Trumpets] sound. Exeunt.

## [5.2]

*Enter the PRINCE, CRANMER, TYE, [BROWNE]  
and the Young Lords.*

PRINCE

Cranmer.

CRANMER

My lord?

235 *\*knows* This *edn* follows *Elze* in emending *Q1*'s 'knaues'. This seems to have been either a misreading of the underlying MS or poor memory on the part of the compositor, who had set 'knaue' in the previous line.

*great* powerful, influential

236 *move* incite, provoke

237 *cut ... off* i.e. remove his followers

238 *vipers* villains, scoundrels (*OED* viper *n.* 2)

239 *marvel* surprise

*Katherine* Kath'rine

244–53 *Go ... heir* Cf. Foxe: 'before they departed the place, the king ... hadde giuen commandement ... to consult together about the drawing of certaine articles against the queene, wherein hir life might be touched' (1132).

246 *large commission* i.e. a commission (= authoritative instruction) given 'at large', granting the bishops permission to act at their own discretion (*Somerset*)

247 *straight* immediately

249 *baffled* deceived, hoodwinked (*OED* baffle *v.* 4)

251 *articles* charges

*arraignment* accusation before a tribunal; indictment

252 *convict* i.e. convicted

253 *were she* even if she were

5.2 Location: the Prince's lodging.

0.1–2 *BROWNE ... Lords Q1* does not name Browne specifically, but the dialogue confirms his presence in this scene. The copy-text's '*the young lords*' might perhaps refer to Browne and the Marquess; however, the number of boys required to perform the play allows for the possibility that another of the Prince's unnamed schoolfellows might also have made an appearance (as per Appendix 3b). Since the Marquess does not speak in this scene, his presence is only conjectural and *Q1*'s non-prescriptive wording is retained.

235 knows] *Elze*; knaues *Q1* 239 Katherine] (*Katheme*) 249 o'] (a) 253 heir] (*aire*) SD Trumpets] *this edn* SD Exeunt] (*Exit.*) 5.2] *this edn* 0.1 BROWNE] *this edn*

PRINCE

Where is Francesco, our Italian tutor?

CRANMER

He does attend your grace without, my lord.

PRINCE

Tell him anon we will confer with him. –

5

We'll ply our learning, Browne, lest you be beaten;

We will not have your knighthood so disgraced.

BROWNE I thank ye, good my lord. An your grace would but a little ply  
your learning, I warrant ye, I'll keep my knighthood from breeching.

PRINCE

Faith, Ned, I will. –

[Enter 1 SERVANT with a letter.]

How now, what letter's that?

10

1 SERVANT From your grace's sister, the Lady Mary.

PRINCE

Come, [taking the letter] give it me; we guess at the contents. –

[Exit 1 Servant.]

Cranmer, my sister oft hath writ to me,

That you and Bishop Bonner might confer

About these points of new religiön.

15

Tell me, tutor, will ye dispute with him?

CRANMER

With all my heart, my lord, and wish the King

Would deign to hear our disputatiön.

[Enter 2 SERVANT with another letter.]

PRINCE

What hast thou there?

2 SERVANT A letter from your royal sister, young Elizabeth.

20

[Hands over the letter. Exit 2 Servant.]

PRINCE

Another letter ere we open this!

Well, we will view them both immediately. –

[to Cranmer and Tye] I pray ye, attend us in the next chamber,

And tutors, if I call ye not before,

3 **Francesco** Perhaps one of the 'linguists' referred to at 4.1.299.

4 **without** outside, in another room

9 **breeching** being whipped on the backside (see 4.1.12-60)

11 **Lady Mary** i.e. Princess Mary, later Queen Mary I; not the character Lady Mary

15 **new religion** Possibly Lutheranism is intend-

ed here, or perhaps the reformed religion (i.e. Church of England). Rowley's narrative is problematic in this respect, as the King (despite the fact that the scene is set in the mid-1540s) is still presented as a Roman Catholic.

16 **dispute** discuss the matter

23 **next** adjacent

3 Francesco] (*Franciscoe*) 6 lest] (least) 8-9] *Somerset*; *Q1* lines Lord, / learning, / breeching, / 8 An] (And) 10 SD Enter 1 SERVANT] *Elze subst.* with a letter] *this edn* 12 SD1, 2] *this edn* 18 SD Enter 2 SERVANT] *Elze subst.* with another letter] *this edn* 20, 23 SDD] *this edn*

Give me some notice if the King my father  
Be walked abroad; I must go visit him. 25

TYE

We will, fair prince. [Exeunt all but the Prince.]

PRINCE

What says my sister, Mary? She is eldest,  
And by due course must first be answerèd.

[Reads aloud.] *The blessed mother of thy redeemer, with all the angels  
and holy saints, be intermissers to preserve thee of idolatry. To  
invoke the saints for help —* 30

Alas, good sister, still in this opinion.

These are thy blinded tutors, Bonner, Gardiner,  
That wrong thy thoughts with foolish heresies; 35  
I'll read no further. To Him will Edward pray  
For preservation that can Himself preserve me,  
Without the help of saint or ceremony.

What writes Elizabeth? Sweet sister, thou hast my heart,  
And of Prince Edward's love hast greatest part. 40

[Reads aloud.] *Sweet prince, I salute thee with a sister's love;*

*Be steadfast in thy faith, and let thy prayers*

*Be dedicate to God only, for 'tis He alone*

*Can strengthen thee and confound thine enemies;*

*Give a settled assurance of thy hopes in heaven.* 45

*God strengthen thee in all temptations*

*And give thee grace to shun idolatry.*

*Heaven send thee life to inherit thy election.*

*To God I commend thee, who still, I pray, preserve thee.*

*Thy loving sister, Elizabeth.* 50

Loving thou art, and of me best beloved.

Thy lines shall be my contemplation's cures,

And in thy virtues will I meditate.

26 **Be walked abroad** leaves his private room  
28-9 **She ... answered** Cf. *KL*: 'Goneril, / Our eldest  
born, speak first' (1.1.53-4).

30 **The ... redeemer** the Virgin Mary

31 **intermissers** probably 'mediators'. The word is  
not recorded in *OED*; however, 'intermissers'  
may derive from the noun 'intermission' (first re-  
corded in 1647) or 'intermise' (1612), both  
meaning 'intervention'. Elze's suggestion ('inter-  
cessors') is also possible, though the etymology  
is further removed.

32 **invoke** call upon in prayer

34 **blinded** deluded

35 **wrong** deceive, mislead

36-8 **To ... ceremony** Cf. the sentiments of Eliz-

abeth's letter (41-50), and cf. Queen Katherine's  
speech on the 'superstitions of the Church of  
Rome' (5.1.97).

41 **salute** greet

43 **dedicate** dedicated, devoted

45 **settled assurance** firm guarantee

**heaven** hea'en

47 **shun** avoid, eschew

48 **Heaven** hea'en

**life ... election** As Somerset notes, this can  
mean either mortal life to inherit the throne,  
or eternal life 'to come into salvation' in Christ.

52 **cures** cares, concerns (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1a). *Elze*  
suggests emending to 'cares', but the sense re-  
mains the same.

27 SD] Somerset subst. | after 27; Exeunt Cranmer and Tye. | Elze 30-2] not ital. in Somerset 30 SD] this edn; Reads. | opp. 29 Elze  
The] 'The | Elze 31 intermissers] intercessors (conj. Elze) idolatry. To] Somerset; idolatry, to Q1 32 help —] Somerset;  
help. Q1; help.' | Elze 36 further] (farther) 41-50] roman prose in Somerset 41 SD] this edn Sweet] Sweet | Elze 50 Thy  
loving sister] not ital. in Q1 Elizabeth.] ELIZABETH.' Elze 52 cures] cares (conj. Elze) 53 in] on (conj. Elze)

To Christ I'll only pray for me and thee.  
This I embrace; away, idolatry! –

55

*Enter CRANMER [and TYE].*

How now, Cranmer, where's the King?

CRANMER

Conferring with his council, gracious prince;  
There is some earnest business troubles him.  
The guards are doubled, and commandment given  
That none be suffered to come near the presence.  
God keep his majesty from traitors' hands.

60

PRINCE

Amen, good Cranmer. What should disturb him thus?  
Is Cardinal Wolsey yet returned from France?

TYE

Ay, my good lord, and this day comes to court.

PRINCE

Perhaps this hasty business of the King  
Is touching Wolsey and his embassy.

65

CRANMER

Pray God it be no worse, my lord.

*Enter COMPTON.*

TYE

Here comes Sir William Compton from his highness.

COMPTON

Health to your excellency.

PRINCE

What news, Sir William?

COMPTON

The King expects your grace's company,  
And wills your highness come and speak with him. –  
And, Doctor Cranmer, from his majesty  
I charge ye speedily to leave the court,  
And come not near the Prince on pain of death  
Without direction from the King and peers.

70

75

CRANMER

Sir, I obey ye. God so deal with me  
As I have wished unto his majesty.

- 59 **given** gi'en  
60 **suffered** allowed, permitted  
62 **Amen** so be it  
63 **Cardinal** card'nal  
**returned from France** See 3.2.225-7.  
64 SP *Elze* suggests assigning this and line 68 to Cranmer on the basis that Tye is not on stage. However, it is more likely that Tye's entrance and exit directions are simply lacking in *Q1*.  
65 **hasty** sudden, urgent

- 66 **touching** concerning  
**embassage** mission, deputation; message  
68 **William** disyllabic  
70 **expects** awaits  
72-5 The accusations against Cranmer are treated in Foxe (1694 ff.).  
75 **peers** members of the King's council  
76-7 **God ... majesty** Cf. Luke, 6.31: 'And as ye would that men should do to you, so do ye to them likewise'.

55 SD *Enter CRANMER*] *Elze*; *opp.* 54 *Q1* and TYE] *Somerset* 57 council] (counsell) 61 traitors'] traitor's *Somerset*  
64 SP] CRANMER (*conj. Elze*) Ay] (I) 67 no] not *Qq3-4, Elze* SD] *opp.* 67 68 SP] CRANMER (*conj. Elze*) 69] *Elze*; *Q1*  
*lines* excellencie. / *William?* / excellency] excellence *Elze* 71 come] to come *Qq2-4, Elze*

PRINCE

Cranmer banished the court? For what, I pray?

COMPTON

I know not, gracious lord, pray pardon me;

'Tis the King's pleasure, and trust me I am sorry

80

It was my hap to bring this heavy message.

CRANMER

Nay, good Sir William, your message moves not me;

My service to his royal majesty

Was always true and just, so help me heaven. –

[to the Prince] Only I pray your grace to move the King

85

That I may come to trial speedily,

And if in aught I have deserved death,

Let me not draw another minute's breath. *Exeunt Cranmer [and Tye].*

COMPTON

Will ye go, my lord?

PRINCE

Not yet. We are not your prisoner, are we, sir?

90

COMPTON

No, my dear lord.

PRINCE

Then go before, and we will follow ye;

Your worship will forget yourself, I see. –

[Exit Compton.]

My tutor thrust from court so suddenly?

This is strange.

95

*Enter TYE.*

TYE

The Queen, my lord, is come to speak with you.

PRINCE

Avoid the presence, then, and conduct her in;

I'll speak with her and after see the King.

*Enter QUEEN [KATHERINE].*

QUEEN KATHERINE [to Tye]

Leave us alone, I pray ye.

[Exit Tye.]

PRINCE

Your grace is welcome. How fares your majesty?

100

78 **banished** i.e. banished from81 **hap** lot, duty**heavy** solemn, grievous (*OED adj.*<sup>1</sup> 23)82 **William** disyllabic**moves** affects, troubles (*OED v.* 25b)84 **just** loyal, steadfast**heaven** hea'en

85–8 In Foxe's account, the King is already convinced of Cranmer's innocence at the time of his trial. Rowley, it seems, alters the narrative to allow Prince Edward a more significant role in events.

85 **move** urge, entreat (*OED v.* 31a)90 **We are** elided, as *we're*94 **thrust** expelled, banished84 me] ye *Qq*<sup>3–4</sup> 85 SD] *this edn* 87 aught] (ought) 88 SD *Exeunt*] (*Exit* and *Tye*] *Somerset* 93 SD] *Elze* 94–5] *Elze*; one line in *Q1* 95 SD] *Elze*; opp. 93 *Q1* 98 SD] *Elze* subst.; *Enter Queene.* | after 96 *Q1* 99 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *Elze*

QUEEN KATHERINE

Never so ill, dear prince, for now I fear,  
Even as a wretched caitiff, killed with care,  
I am accused of treason and the King  
Is now in council to dispose of me;  
I know his frown is death, and I shall die. 105

PRINCE

Who are your accusers?

QUEEN KATHERINE I know not.

PRINCE

How know ye then his grace is so incensed?

QUEEN KATHERINE

One of my gentlemen, passing by the presence,  
Took up this bill of accusations,  
Wherein twelve articles are drawn against me; 110  
It seems my false accusers lost it there.

Here they accuse me of conspiracy,  
That I with Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley  
Do seek to raise rebellion in the state,  
Alter religion and bring Luther in, 115  
And to new government enforce the King.

PRINCE

Then that's the cause that Cranmer was removed.  
But did your highness e'er confer with them,  
As they have here accused ye to the King?

QUEEN KATHERINE

Never, nor ever had I one such thought, 120  
As I have hope in Him my soul hath bought.

PRINCE

Then fear not, gracious madam, I'll to the King,  
And doubt not but I'll make your peace with him.

QUEEN KATHERINE

O plead for me, tell him my soul is clear;  
Never did thought of treason harbour here. 125

101 **ill** miserable, wretched (*OED adj.* 5)

102 **Even** e'en  
**caitiff** one in a piteous situation (*OED n.* 2)  
**care** sorrow, anguish

104 **in council** in discussion with his coun-  
cillors. Possibly 'in counsel' (= in secret;  
*OED counsel n.* 5c) is intended here, i.e.  
'the King is secretly planning to dispose of  
me'.

105 **his ... death** Cf. *H8*: 'Wherefore frowns he  
thus? / 'Tis his aspect of terror. All's not well'  
(5.1.87-8).

107 **incensed** enraged

109 **Took up** came across. Cf. *Foxe*: 'the bill of  
articles ... falling from the bosome of one  
of the foresaid counsellors, was found and

taken vp of some godlie person, and brought  
immediatlie vnto the Queene' (1133).

**bill** document, list. The wording here indicates  
that Queen Katherine has the bill in her hands  
as she speaks (see also 112n.).

111 **lost it** mislaid or dropped it

112 **Here** The queen perhaps points to a specific  
item on the bill.

113 **with ... Ridley** Unhistorical, since all three  
perished under Queen Mary I.

114 **raise** stir up, instigate (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 4a)

117 **cause** reason

120 **ever** at any time (*Abbott*, no. 39)

125 **harbour** dwell (*OED v.* 7)

**here** i.e. 'in my heart'; perhaps accompanied  
by an appropriate action. See also 171.

104 council] (counsell) 106] *this edn*; *Q1* lines accusers. / not. / 118 e'er] (ere)

As I intended to his sacred life,  
So be it to my soul, or joy or grief.

PRINCE

Stay here till I return; I'll move his majesty  
That you may answer your accusers presently.

*Exit.*

QUEEN KATHERINE

O I shall never come to speak with him; 130  
The lion in his rage is not so stern  
As royal Henry in his wrathful spleen,  
And they that have accused me to his grace  
Will work such means I ne'er shall see his face.  
Wretched Queen Katherine, would thou hadst been 135  
Kate Parr still, and not great England's Queen.

*Enter COMPTON.*

COMPTON

Health to your majesty.

QUEEN KATHERINE

Wish me, good Compton, woe and misery.  
This giddy, flattering world I hate and scoff;  
Ere long, I know, Queen Katherine's head must off. 140  
Came ye from the King?

COMPTON

I did, fair queen, and much sad tidings bring.  
His grace in secret hath revealed to me  
What is intended to your majesty,  
Which I, in love and duty to your highness, 145  
Am come to tell ye, and to counsel ye  
The best I can in this extremity.  
[*Kneels.*] Then on my knees I dare entreat your grace  
Not to reveal what I shall say to you,  
For then I am assured that death's my due. 150

126-7 **As ... soul** Cf. Cranmer's words at 76-7, 'God ... majesty'.

127 **or joy or grief** either joy or grief. Cf. 1.2.292.

128 **move** urge, entreat

129 **presently** immediately

131-2 **The ... stern** Cf. Proverbs, 20.2: 'The fear of the King is like the roaring of a lion: he that provoketh him unto anger sinneth against his own soul' and Tilley, L308: 'As fierce as a lion'.

136 Metrically short. Possibly, 'Parry' is intended in place of 'Parr': 'Parry' is used twice in *Q1* (see t.ns), though in this instance *Q1* reads 'Parre'. Alternatively, the line begins with three stressed syllables.

139 **giddy** 'circling round with bewildering rapidity' (*OED adj.* 2d); cf. *R3*: 'I fear, I fear, 'twill prove a giddy world' (2.3.5). 'Giddy'

may also refer to the wheel of Fortune, and Queen Katherine's lack of control over her situation (*Somerset*); cf. *H5*: 'giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel' (3.6.26).

**flattering** flatt'ring; suggestive of pleasurable yet delusive beliefs, pleasing to the imagination (*OED adj.* 2a)

**scoff** deride

140 **Katherine's** Kath'rine's

143-7 Taken largely from Foxe (1133), though it was the physician Thomas Wendy rather than Compton who came to help the Queen in her distress (Compton died in 1528).

147 **extremity** time of extreme urgency or need (*OED n.* 7a)

150 Cf. Foxe: 'he stood in danger of his life, if euer he were knowne to vtter the same to any liuing creature' (1133).

129 SD] (*Exit Prince.*) 134 ne'er] (neare) 136 Parr] (*Parre*) SD] *opp.* 136 143 revealed] (reueild) 145 I] *om.* *Qq2-4*  
148 SD] *this edn*

QUEEN KATHERINE

I will not, on my faith; good Compton, speak,  
That with thy sad reports my heart may break.

COMPTON

Thus then at your fair feet my life I lay,  
In hope to drive your highness' cares away. 155  
You are accused of high conspiracy  
And treason 'gainst his royal majesty.  
So much they have incensed his excellency,  
That he hath granted firm commissiön  
To attach your person and convey ye hence, 160  
Close prisoner to the Tower; articles are drawn,  
And time appointed for arraignment there.  
Good madam, be advised; by this I know  
The officers are sent to arrest your person.  
Prevent their malice, haste ye to the King;  
I'll use such means that you shall speak with him. 165  
There plead your innocency; I know his grace  
Will hear ye mildly, therefore delay not.  
If you be taken ere you see the King,  
I fear ye never more shall speak to him.

QUEEN KATHERINE

O Compton, 'twixt thy love and my sage fear, 170  
I feel ten thousand sad vexations here.  
Lead on, I pray, I'll be advised by thee;  
The King is angry and the Queen must die. *Exeunt.*

### [5.3]

*Enter BONNER and GARDINER with the commission.*

GARDINER

Come, Bonner, now strike sure, the iron's hot;  
Urge all thou canst, let nothing be forgot;  
We have the King's hand here to warrant us.  
'Twas well the Cardinal came and so luckily,

157 **incensed** enraged

158 **firm** irrevocable, immutable (*OED adj.* 5a)

**command** order, command

159 **To attach** elided, as *t'attach*. See also 'to arrest' (*t'arrest*) at 163.

**attach** arrest or seize by authority of a writ

161 **arraignment** See 5.1.251n.

164 **Prevent their malice** 'forestall their evil deed' (*Somerset*)

165 **use such means** Cf. 'work such means' at 134.

166-7 **I ... mildly** Cf. Foxe: 'he did not doubt, but ... shee should finde him [the King] gracious and fauourable vnto hir' (1133).

167 **mildly** without severity or anger (*OED adv.* 1a)

168 **taken** arrested

170 **sage** wise, based on sound judgement

171 **vexations** thoughts of distress or despair

173 Cf. the Queen's words at 105.

**5.3** Location: Whitehall Palace.

0 SD **the commission** the written authority to arrest Queen Katherine

1 **strike sure** act confidently, securely

**strike ... hot** Cf. Tilley, 194: '(It is good to) strike while the iron is hot' and cf. *H8*: 'while 'tis hot, / I'll put it to the issue' (5.1.175-6).

2 **Urge** provoke, press upon the attention of (the King)

3 **hand** signature

**here** i.e. on the paper they hold

4 **Cardinal** card'nal

**luckily** opportunely

152 reports] report *Somerset* 162 advised; by this] advised by this: *Elze* 164 haste] (hast) 166 innocency] innocence *Elze*  
170 O] (Oh) 173 SD] (*Exit.*) **5.3**] *this edn* 4 and] *om. Elze*



- Who urged the state would quite be ruinèd 5  
 If that religion thus were alterèd;  
 Which made his highness, with a fiery spleen,  
 Direct out warrants to attach the Queen.
- BONNER  
 'Twas excellent; that cedar, once o'erthrown,  
 To crop the lower shrubs let us alone. 10
- GARDINER  
 Those articles of accusations  
 We framed against her, being lost by you,  
 Had like to overthrow our policy,  
 Had we not stoutly urged his majesty.
- BONNER  
 Well, well; what's now to be done? 15
- GARDINER  
 A guard must be provided speedily  
 To bear her prisoner unto London Tower,  
 And watch convenient place to arrest her person.
- BONNER  
 Tush! Any place shall serve, for who dare contradict  
 His highness' hand? Even from his side we'll hale her 20  
 And bear her quickly to her longest home,  
 Lest we and ours by her to ruin come.
- GARDINER  
 About it, then; let them untimely die  
 That scorn the Pope and Rome's supremacy. *Exeunt.*

## [5.4]

*Enter the KING and PRINCE, the GUARD before them.*

KING

Guard, watch the doors and let none come near us  
 But such as are attendant on our person. –

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>5 <b>urged</b> insisted, affirmed<br/>         7 <b>fiery</b> easily moved to anger (<i>OED adj.</i> 5a)<br/>         8 <b>Direct</b> send<br/> <b>attach</b> See 5.2.159n.<br/>         9-10 <b>that ... shrubs</b> Cf. Tilley, C208: 'High cedars fall when low shrubs remain'. The cedar tree (here representing Queen Katherine) was an Old Testament symbol of royalty.<br/>         10 <b>crop</b> cut off, remove<br/>         12 <b>framed</b> devised, fabricated<br/> <b>being ... you</b> See 'lost it' (5.2.111 and n.).<br/>         13 <b>policy</b> plan, scheme<br/>         14 <b>stoutly</b> resolutely, firmly (<i>OED adv.</i> 3)<br/> <b>urged</b> See 2n.<br/>         16 <b>guard</b> plural; a body of men engaged to preserve the life of the King<br/>         18 <b>watch ... place</b> find a suitable time / location<br/> <b>to arrest</b> elided, as <i>t'arrest</i><br/>         19 <b>Tush</b> Either this is hypermetrical or the line is spoken as a hexameter.</p> | <p><b>serve</b> suffice<br/>         20 <b>Even</b> e'en<br/> <b>hale</b> haul, drag<br/>         21 <b>to ... home</b> i.e. her death. Cf. Tilley, H533: 'He is gone to his long (last) home'.<br/>         22 <b>ours</b> others of our faith<br/>         23 <b>untimely</b> before the natural time<br/> <b>5.4</b> Location: Whitehall Palace; initially in a private room, later (see 128) in the palace grounds. See Appendix 2 for corresponding passages in Foxe.<br/>         0 SD <b>the GUARD</b> The entrance direction here is for 'the guard' plural (see 5.3.16 and n.). The doubling chart in Appendix 3b assigns two mute roles in addition to the speaking role of 1 Guard; however, more men would have been available to take on mute roles if required.<br/>         1 <b>Guard</b> Plural; the King addresses all the guardsmen.</p> |
|---|---|

Mother o' God, 'tis time to stir, I see,  
 When traitors creep so near our majesty.  
 Must English Harry walk with armed guards  
 Now in his old age? Must I fear my life,  
 By hateful treason of my queen and wife?

5

PRINCE

I do beseech your royal majesty  
 To hear her speak ere ye condemn her thus.

KING Go to, Ned, I charge ye speak not for her; she's a dangerous traitor. –  
 [Knocking from within.]

10

How now, who knocks so loud there?

1 GUARD 'Tis Cardinal Wolsey, my lord.

KING

An it be the devil, tell him he comes not here;  
 Bid him attend us till our better leisure. –  
 Come hither, Ned, let me confer with you.  
 Didst ever hear the disputation  
 'Twixt Cranmer and the Queen about religion?

15

PRINCE

Never, my lord; I think they never yet,  
 At any time, had speech concerning it.

KING

O thou art deceived, Ned, it is too certain. – Knocking [from within].  
 Heyday, more knocking? Knock irons on his heels and bear him hence,  
 whate'er he be disturb us. Who is't?

20

1 GUARD Sir William Compton, my liege.

KING Is't he? Well, let him in.

God's holy mother, here's a stir indeed. –

25

[Enter COMPTON.]

Compton, ye knock too loud for entrance here;  
 You care not, though the King be ne'er so near.  
 Say ye, sir? Ha!

3 **stir** move, act

6 **old age** King Henry was fifty-two when he married  
 Katherine Parr; he died just four years later.  
**fear** fear for

11 SD **from within** from within the backstage  
 tiring-house, i.e. from outside the presence chamb-  
 er. See also 20 SD.

13 **An it** elided, as *an't*

14 **till** i.e. not until

**leisure** freedom, opportunity

21 **Heyday** an exclamation denoting surprise; *Q1*'s  
 spelling (see t.n.) may indicate pronunciation

**Knock ... heels** chain him in leg irons; with a  
 pun on 'knocking'

24-8 \**Q1*'s lineation is ambiguous here (see t.n.).  
 Unlike *Elze* and *Somerset*, I view the first line  
 only as prose.

24 **let him in** Since he is able to inform the King  
 who is at the door, 1 Guard is presumably  
 positioned at the back of the stage. This in turn  
 allows him to let Compton in without exiting  
 the stage himself.

25 **stir** commotion, disturbance (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 3)

28 **Say ye** i.e. what say ye

3 o'] (a) 4 creep] (creeps) 6 his] this *Qq2-4* 10-11] *Elze*; *Q1* lines her, / there. / 10 SD] this *edn*; *Knocks*. | *Somerset*  
 12 SP] (*Gard.*) 13 An it] (And it); An't *Elze* 20 SD *Knocking*] this *edn*; *knocks Q1 from within*] this *edn* 21-2] *Somerset*;  
*Q1* lines heeles, / ist? /; *Elze* lines heels / us. / is 't? / 21 Heyday] (Hoyday) on] *Q3*; an *Q1* 23 SP] (*Gard.*) Sir] (S.) my]  
 good my *Elze* 24-8] this *edn*; set as two prose passages in *Q1*, split 24-5 and 26-8; *Elze* lines Mother, / knock / though / Ha! /;  
 prose in *Somerset* 25 here's] Here is *Elze* SD] *Somerset*; after 24 | *Elze* 27 ne'er so near] (neere so neere) 28 Ha] (haw)

COMPTON

I do beseech your pardon for my boldness.

KING

Well, what's your business?

30

COMPTON

The Queen, my lord, entreats to speak with you.

KING

Body o' me, is she not 'rested yet?

Why do they not convey her to the Tower?

We gave commission to attach her presently.

Where is she?

COMPTON

At the door, my sovereign.

35

KING

So near our presence? – [*to the Guard*] Keep her out, I charge ye!

Bend all your halberds' points against the door;

If she presume to enter, strike her through. –

Dare she presume again to look on us?

PRINCE [*Kneels.*]

Upon my knees, I do beseech your highness

40

To hear her speak.

KING

Up, Ned, stand up; I will not look on her. –

[*to the Guard*] Mother o' God, stand close and guard it sure;

If she come in, I'll hang ye all, I swear.

PRINCE

I do beseech your grace.

45

KING

Sir boy, no more; I'll hear no more of her.

Proud slut, bold trait'ress and forgetful beast,

Yet dare she further move our patience?

PRINCE

I'll pawn my princely word, right royal father,

She shall not speak a word to anger ye.

50

KING

Will you pawn your word for her? Mother o' God,

29 **\*your** *This edn* follows *Q3* in emending *Q1*'s 'you'; this seems to be an elision of the expression 'I do beseech you of your pardon' (cf. *Oth*, 3.3.215).

32 **Body o' me** a common oath, seen also in *H8* 'rested' Although 'rested' (= stopped, put to rest) also works here, *Q1*'s meaning seems to be 'arrested'. Cf. *CE*, 4.2.42.

34 **presently** immediately

36 SD **Guard** plural

37 **halberds'** See 3.2.135n.

39 The King may speak this line aloud to himself rather than directly to Prince Edward.

42 **Up ... up** Despite the King's request, it is likely that Edward continues to kneel, perhaps until 53.

43 **it** the door

**sure** securely

46 **Sir boy** Cf. *MA*, 5.1.83–4.

47–8 Cf. *R3*: 'False-boding woman, end thy frantic curse, / Lest to thy harm thou move our patience' (1.3.246–7).

47 **slut** a bold or impudent woman; not necessarily with sexual connotations

**forgetful** heedless, neglectful

48 **move** exasperate, try (*OED* v. 25h)

49 **pawn** give, pledge

29 your] *Q3*; you *Q1* 32 o'] (a) 'rested] (rested) 35] *Elze*; *Q1* lines she? / Sovereigne. / 36 SD] *this edn* 37 halberds'] (Holbeards) 39 on] vpon *Qq3-4* 40, 43 SDD] *this edn* 43 o'] (a) 51 o'] (a)

The Prince of Wales, his word is warrant for a king,  
And we will take it, Ned. – [*to a member of the Guard*] Go, call her in. –

*Enter* QUEEN [*KATHERINE, weeping and kneeling before the King*].

Sir William, let the guard attend without.  
Reach me a chair; all but the Prince depart. –

55

[*Exeunt Compton and the Guard.*]

[*to Queen Katherine*] How now, what, do you weep and kneel?  
Does your black soul the guilt of conscience feel?  
Out, out, you're a traitor!

QUEEN KATHERINE

A traitor? O you all-seeing powers,  
Here witness to my lord my loyalty.  
A traitor? O then you are too merciful!  
If I have treason in me, why rip ye not  
My ugly heart out with your weapon's point?  
O my good lord, if it have traitor's blood  
It will be black, deformed and tenebrous;  
If not, from it will spring a scarlet fountain,  
And spit defiance in their perjured throats  
That have accused me to your majesty,  
Making my state thus full of misery.

60

65

KING

Canst thou deny it?

70

QUEEN KATHERINE

Else should I wrongfully accuse myself.  
Of my dear Lord, I do beseech your highness  
To satisfy your wrongèd queen in this.  
Upon what ground grows this suspiciõn,  
Or who thus wrongfully accuseth me  
Of cursèd treason 'gainst your majesty?

75

KING

Some probable effects myself can witness,  
Others our faithful subjects can testify.

52 **warrant** surety; justifying reason or ground for action (*OED n.*<sup>1</sup> 8a)

53 SD1 **a ... Guard** Likely 1 Guard, who seems (as at 12 and 23) to be positioned nearest to the door. The guardsmen exit the stage as a group at 55.

54 **William** disyllabic  
**the guard** plural

55 **Reach ... chair** Cf. 1.4.150. Compton presumably moves a chair for the King before departing the stage.

57 **black** foul, hateful; evil (*OED adj.* 10). Cf. 65.

60 **witness** prove

63 **ugly** both in nature and appearance

64 **traitor's** Q2's 'trait'rous' is an equally plausible reading.

65 **tenebrous** dark in colour

67 **spit defiance** Cf. *MM*: 'but as she spit in his face, so she defied him' (2.1.82-3) and *R2*: 'I do defy him, and I spit at him' (1.1.60).

**perjured** guilty of perjury, i.e. swearing the truth of something known to be false. Cf. 3.2.128.

69 **state** situation; state of mind

72 **Of ... Lord** 'for the Lord's sake' (see Abbott, no. 169)

73 **satisfy** make atonement or reparation (*OED v.* 2b)

77 **effects** examples (of treasonous behaviour)

78 **can** The repetition of the word in this line may be the result of eye-skip or poor memory on the part of the compositor.

53 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *opp.* 53 KATHERINE ... King] *this edn* 55 SD] *this edn*; *Exeunt all, except Prince.* | *Somerset* 56 SD] *this edn* 58 you're] you are *Qq2-4, Elze* 64 traitor's] (traytors); traitrous Q2; traitorous *Elze* 72 Of] O *Qq3-4, Elze* 78 can] *om. Elze*

Have you not oft maintained arguments,  
 Even to our face, against religiön? 80  
 Which, joined with other complots, shows itself,  
 As it is gathered by our loyal subjects,  
 For treason capital against our person.  
 God's holy mother, you'll remove us quickly  
 And turn me out. Old Harry must away, 85  
 Now in mine age, lame and half bed-rid,  
 Or else you'll keep me fast enough in prison.  
 Ha! Mistress, these are no hateful treasons, these!

QUEEN KATHERINE

Heaven on my forehead write my worst intent,  
 And let your hate against my life be bent; 90  
 If ever thought of ill against your majesty  
 Was harboured here, refuse me, gracious God.  
 To your face, my liege; if to your face I speak it,  
 It manifests no complot nor no treason,  
 Nor are they loyal that so injure me. 95  
 What I did speak was as my woman's wit;  
 To hold out argument could compass it.  
 My puny scholarship is held too weak  
 To maintain proofs about religiön.  
 Alas, I did it but to waste the time, 100  
 Knowing as then your grace was weak and sickly,  
 So to expel part of your pain and grief,  
 And for my good intent they seek my life.  
 O God, how am I wronged!

KING

Ha! Say'st thou so? Was it no otherwise? 105

QUEEN KATHERINE

What should I say, that you might credit me?  
 If I am false, heaven strike me suddenly.

- 80 **Even** e'en  
 81 **complots** plots, conspiracies  
 82 **gathered** deduced  
 84 **remove** i.e. from position, depose. Perhaps murder is also implied (*Somerset*).  
 86 **in mine age** See 6n.  
 87 **fast** secure  
 89 **Heaven** hea'en  
**on ... intent** make my sins known. The forehead reference may stem from the Bible's description of the Whore of Babylon: 'in her forehead was a name written, A mystery, that great Babylon that mother of whoredoms, and abominations of the earth' (Revelation, 17.5).  
 90 **bent** directed, inclined  
 92 **harboured** entertained within the breast (*OED* harbour v. 4); cf. 'harbour here' (5.2.125)  
**refuse** forsake, renounce  
 93 **To your face** an expression of sincerity  
 95 **injure** slander; wrong

- 96 **my woman's wit** Cf. 5.1.110-11 (and see n.).  
 97 **hold out** maintain, engage in  
**compass** No recorded use of the word in *OED* fits the sense; probably, as Somerset suggests, 'compass' = encompass, outwit (see *OED* encompass v. 5). Cf. *MW*: 'have I encompassed you?' (2.2.144-5).  
 98-9 Cf. Katherine of Aragon's words in *H8*: 'I am a simple woman, much too weak / T'oppose your cunning' (2.4.104-5).  
 98 **puny** inferior; inexperienced (*OED* adj. 2a, 3)  
 99 **proofs** arguments  
 100-2 Cf. Foxe: 'I did it rather to minister talk ... to the end your maiesty might with less greefe pass ouer this painfull time of your infirmity' (1133).  
 102 **grief** sickness, disease (*OED* n. 5a)  
 105 **no otherwise** i.e. in no other way  
 106 **credit** believe  
 107 **false** untruthful, hypocritical  
**heaven** hea'en

- KING     Body o' me, what everlasting knaves are these that wrong thee thus!  
 Alas, poor Kate. Come, stand up, stand up; wipe thine eyes, wipe thine eyes.  
 [*Queen Katherine rises.*] 'Fore God, 'twas told me that thou wert a traitor; I     110  
 could hardly think it, but that it was applied so hard to me. God's mother,  
 Kate, I fear my life, I tell ye. King Harry would be loath to die by treason now,  
 that has bid so many brunts unblemished, yet I confess that now I grow stiff;  
 my legs fail me first, but they stand furthest from my heart, and that's still  
 sound, I thank my God. Give me thy hand [*taking her hand*]; come, kiss me,     115  
 Kate. [*They kiss.*] So, now I'm friends again. Whoreson knaves, crafty varlets!  
 Make thee a traitor to old Harry's life? Well, well, I'll meet with some on  
 them, 'Sfoot! Come, sit on my knee, Kate. [*Queen Katherine sits.*]  
 Mother o' God, he that says thou'rt false to me,  
 By England's crown, I'll hang him presently!     120
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 When I have thought of ill against your state,  
 Let me be made the vilest reprobate.
- KING  
 That's my good Kate, but by the Mary God,  
 Queen Katherine, you must thank Prince Edward here,  
 For but for him thou'dst gone to th' Tower, I swear.     125
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 I shall be ever thankful to his highness,  
 And pray for him and for your majesty.
- KING  
 Come, Kate, we'll walk a while i'th' garden here. –  
 Who keeps the door there?

[*Enter COMPTON.*]

- 108 **everlasting** incessant, persistent  
 109 <sup>1</sup>**stand ...** <sup>2</sup>**eyes** Queen Katherine presumably  
 kneels throughout the interchange (at least from  
 56), only standing at the King's request.  
 111 **applied so hard** argued so resolutely, insistently  
 113 **bid so many brunts** withstood so many assaults  
 114 **legs ... first** Somerset suggests that this 'points  
 to gout as Henry's affliction'; see Barrough:  
 'The gout taketh his beginning at the feete,  
 whereuppon ... it proceedeth vpward by litle  
 and litle to the knees' (III.210). Cf. Falstaff in  
 2H4, 1.2.244-6.  
 115 **sound** free from infirmity (*OED adj.* 1a). Cf.  
 Proverbs, 14.30: 'A sound heart is the life of  
 the flesh'.  
 115-16 **kiss me, Kate** Although much of the action  
 of this episode is taken from Foxe ('he sate in  
 his chaire imbracing her in his armes and kiss-  
 ing her' (1133)), Rowley's allusion to *TS*  
 (2.1.328, 5.1.134 and 5.2.186) was almost cer-  
 tainly intentional.  
 116 **Whoreson** i.e. the son of a whore; used  
 commonly (as an *adj.*) as an expression of  
 contempt  
**varlets** rogues, rascals  
 117 **meet with** Elision of the expression 'be meet  
 with' (*OED*, *meet adj.* 3b), i.e. to be revenged  
 upon.  
**some on** See 2.1.28n.  
 120 **presently** without delay  
 122 **reprobate** a person rejected by God; more  
 generally, a degenerate or rogue (*OED n.* 1, 3)  
 123 **\*by the** *This edn* expands *Q1*'s 'byth' for  
 better scansion of the verse.  
**by ... God** an uncommon oath. Cf. *Sir Thomas*  
*Wyatt* (4.1.7).  
 124 **Katherine** Kath'rine  
 125 **For but for** 'if it weren't for'  
 128 **i'th' garden** The actors perhaps made use of a  
 different stage space to indicate the move into  
 the 'garden'.  
 129 **keeps** guards

108 o'] (a) wrong] wrong'd *Q4* 108-9 Body ... Kate.] *Elze lines* knaves / Kate! / 110 SD] *this edn* that] *om. Elze* 114 furthest]  
 (furthiest) 115, 116 SDD] *this edn* 116 Whoreson] (hurson) 117 on] of *Q4*, *Elze* 118 'Sfoot] (Sfoute) SD] *this edn* 119 o'] (a)  
 thou'rt] (th'art) 119-20] *Elze; prose in Q1* 122 vilest] (vildest) 123-4] *Elze; prose in Q1* 123 by the] *this edn*; byth *Q1*  
 124 Katherine] (*Katherne*) 125 thou'dst] (th'adst) 128-9] *Elze; prose in Q1* 128 i'th'] (eth) 129 SD] *this edn*

- COMPTON  
My lord? 130
- KING  
Sir William Compton, here,  
[removing his ring and handing it to Compton]  
take my ring.  
Bid Doctor Cranmer haste to court again;  
Give him that token of King Henry's love.  
Discharge our guards, we fear no traitor's hand;  
Our state, beloved of all, doth firmly stand. 135  
Go, Compton.
- COMPTON  
I go, my lord.
- KING  
Bid Wolsey haste him to our royal presence;  
Great Charles, the mighty Roman Emperor,  
Our nephew, and the hope of Christendom, 140  
Is landed in our fair dominion  
To see his uncle and the English court;  
We'll entertain him with imperial port. – [Exit Compton.]  
[to the Prince] Come hither, Ned.
- Enter BONNER and GARDINER with the GUARD.*
- GARDINER [aside to the Guard]  
Fellows, stay there, and when I call, come forward. 145  
The service you pursue is for the King,  
Therefore I charge you to perform it boldly;  
We have his hand and seal to warrant it.
- 1 GUARD [aside to Gardiner]  
We'll follow you with resolution, sir.  
The Church is on our side; what should we fear? 150
- GARDINER [aside to Bonner]  
See yonder, she's talking with his majesty;  
Think you we may attempt to take her here?

131-3 **take ... love** An adaptation of the chronicles, in which King Henry hands the ring over personally at the time of Cranmer's trial (Foxe, 1693-4); the event is dramatized in *H8*.  
133 **that token** i.e. the ring  
140 **Our nephew** Charles V was nephew to Queen Katherine of Aragon, to whom (at the time of the Emperor's visit to England in 1523) King Henry was still married.  
141 On the omission of this line in *Qq2-4*, see pp. 153-5.

143 **imperial port** great dignity, as befits an Emperor  
144 SD 2 From Gardiner's speech at 151-2, it is clear that the bishops and guardsmen enter out of sight (and thus out of earshot) of the King, Queen Katherine and Prince Edward, hence the asides.  
148 **hand and seal** i.e. both the King's signature and the wax bearing the impression of his heraldic device  
150 **the Church** i.e. the Roman Catholic Church  
152 **take** arrest

131 SD] *this edn* here] *om. Elze* 141] *om. Qq2-4, Elze* 142 To see] Is come to see *Qq3-4, Elze* 143 SD] *Elze; after 138 | Somerset* 144 SD1] *this edn* 145 SD] *this edn* 147 you to] *ye Qq2-4* 149 SP] (*Guard:*) SD] *this edn* follow] *Q2; fellow Q1* 151 SD] *this edn* she's] she is *Elze*

- BONNER [*aside to Gardiner*]  
 Why should we not? Have we not firm commission  
 To attach her anywhere? Be bold, and fear not. –  
 [*aside to the Guard*] Fellows, come forward.
- KING How now, what's here to do? 155
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 The bishops, it seems, my lord, would speak with you.
- KING  
 With bills and halberds? Well, tarry there, Kate,  
 I'll go myself. – [*to Gardiner*] Now, wherefore come you?
- GARDINER  
 As loyal subjects to your state and person,  
 We come to apprehend that traitorous woman. [*Indicates Queen Katherine.*] 160
- KING  
 Ye are a couple of drunken knaves and varlets!  
 God's holy mother, she is more true and just  
 Than any prelate that suborns the Pope,  
 Thus to usurp upon our government.  
 Call you her traitor? 165  
 You're lying beasts and false conspirators.
- BONNER  
 Your majesty hath seen what proofs we had.
- KING Hear you, Bonner? You are a whoreson coxcomb! What proofs had  
 ye, but treasons of your own inventions?
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 O my dear lord, respect the reverend bishops; 170  
 Bonner and Gardiner love your majesty.
- KING Alas, poor Kate, thou thinkest full little what they come for.  
 Thou hast small reason to commend their loves,  
 That falsely have accused thy harmless life.
- QUEEN KATHERINE  
 O God, are these mine enemies? 175

153 **firm commission** strict or unfaltering command  
 154 **To attach** elided, as *t'attach*  
 155 **come forward** As the following part-line makes clear, members of the guard step forward at Bonner's command into view of the King.  
 157 **bills and halberds** See notes to 2.1.62 SD, 2.1.176 and 3.2.135.  
**tarry** wait, stay  
 161 **\*Ye are** I follow *Elze* in expanding *QI*'s 'Y'are' to highlight the natural emphasis of the line.  
**drunken** used here as a general epithet; as Somerset notes, no recorded sense in *OED* fits the context. Perhaps used simply to indicate that the bishops had become drunk on power.  
**varlets** See 116n.  
 162 **just** righteous in the eyes of God (*OED adj.* 10)

163 **suborns** supports, aids (*OED* suborn v. 3)  
 164 **usurp** encroach, infringe  
 168-9 *\*This edn* follows *Somerset* in setting the King's angry outburst as prose. *QI* appears to set as two verse lines (as per t.n.), although the justification of type in the first line obscures the intended layout.  
 168 **whoreson** See 116n.  
**coxcomb** fool; arrogant or vain individual (*OED n.* 3a)  
 171 **Gardiner** Gard'ner  
 172-4 Cf. Foxe: 'Ah poore soule, quoth he, thou little knowest howe euill hee deserueth this grace at thy hands' (1134).  
 173 **small** little, no  
 174 **harmless** innocent (*OED adj.* 3). Cf. 'Harmless Richard' in *2H6* (2.2.27).

153 SD] *this edn* 153-5 Why ... forward.] *prose in Somerset* 155 SD] *this edn* 155] *Elze*; *QI* lines forward. / do? / 157-8] *prose in Somerset* 158 SD] *this edn* 159 SP] (*Gard:*) 160 SD] *this edn* 161 Ye are] *Elze*; Y'are *QI* 163 Than] (*Then*) 165-6] *Somerset*; single line in *QI*; *Elze* lines beasts / conspirators. / 166 You're] (*Y'are*); Ye are *Elze* 168-9] *Somerset*; *QI* lines coxcomb, / inventions? / 170 my dear] dear my *Elze* 171 love] (*loves*) 172] single verse line in *Elze* thinkest] (*think'st*)



GARDINER

We have your highness' hand to warrant it.

KING

Let's see it, then.

GARDINER 'Tis here, my liege. [*Hands paper to the King.*]

KING So, now ye have both my hands to contradict what one hand did. [*Rips paper in two.*]

And now our word again shall serve as warrant

To bear you both as prisoners to the Fleet,

180

Where you shall answer this conspiracy. –

[*to the Guard*] You fellows that came to attach the Queen,

Lay hands on them, [*indicating Bonner and Gardiner*] and bear them to the Fleet.

QUEEN KATHERINE [*Kneels.*]

O I beseech your highness on my knees,

Remit the doom of their imprisonment.

185

KING

Stand up, good Kate, thou wrong'st thy majesty

To plead for them that thus have injured thee.

QUEEN KATHERINE

I have forgotten it, and do still entreat

Their humble pardons at your gracious feet.

KING

Mother of God, what a foolish woman's this! –

190

[*to Bonner and Gardiner*] Well, for her sake, we revoke our doom,

But come not near us as you love your lives;

Away, and leave us. You are knaves and miscreants,

Whoreson caitiffs, come to attach my queen!

QUEEN KATHERINE

Vex not, my lord, it will distemper you.

195

KING

Mother o' God, I'll temper some on them for't. –

[*Exeunt Bonner and Gardiner.*]

176 **hand** signature (on the piece of paper Gardiner hands the King at 177)

179 **word** the King's spoken command as opposed to his signature

180 **the Fleet** See 3.2.195n.

185 **Remit** surrender, relinquish

**doom** punishment (see also 191)

187 **injured** done harm to, especially in relation to the Queen's reputation

188 **at ... feet** The Queen's words here suggest that she remains kneeling, despite King Henry's plea for her to stand (186).

191 **revoke** retract, take back

193 **miscreants** villains, scoundrels (*OED n.* 2); perhaps also with sense 1a: 'heretics', especially given the significance of religion to the bishops' conspiracy against Queen Katherine

194 **caitiffs** wretches, villains

195 **distemper** disturb, upset; affect with distemper, i.e. to render unwell (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 3, 4a)

196 **temper** restrain, curb (*OED v.* 8a), with a deliberate pun on 'distemper'

176 SP] (*Gard.*); *Guard. Q4* 177] *this edn*; *Q1* lines then. / Liege. / SP2] (*Gard.*) SD] *this edn* 178-80] *this edn*; *prose in Q1*; *Elze* lines contradict / again / both / Fleet, / 178 hands] *Q3*; hand *Q1* SD] *this edn* 181-3] *prose in Somerset* 182, 183, 184 SDD] *this edn* 188 forgotten] forgot *Elze* 190 of] a *Qq2-4*; o' *Elze* 191 SD] *this edn* we] we will *Elze* 196 o'] (a) them] *Q2*; then *Q1* SD1] *Somerset subst.*

*Enter* BRANDON.

How now, Brandon?

BRANDON                                      The Emperor, my lord.

KING

Get a train ready, there. Charles Brandon, come,

We'll meet the monarch of imperial Rome. –

[*to the Prince*] Go, Ned, prepare yourself to meet the Emperor, 200

We'll send you further notice of our pleasure. –

[*to the Guard*] Attend the Prince, there. –

[*Exit the Prince, escorted by some of the Guard.*]

*Enter* Cardinal [WOLSEY] and WILL [SUMMERS,  
followed by PATCH, who remains at the door.]

Welcome, Lord Cardinal,

Hath not your tedious journey into France

Disturbed your grace's health and reverend person?

WILL SUMMERS      No, no, ne'er fear him, Harry. He has got more by the 205  
journey; he'll be Pope shortly.

KING      What, William! How chance I have not seen you today? I thought you  
would not have been the hindmost man to salute me.

WILL SUMMERS      No more I am not, Harry, for yonder is Patch behind me. I 210  
could never get him before me since thou conjuredst him i'th' Great  
Chamber. All the horse i'th' town cannot haul him into thy presence, I  
warrant thee.

KING      Will he not come in?

WILL SUMMERS      Not for the world; he stands watching at the door. He'll not 215  
stir while the Cardinal come; then the fool will follow him everywhere.

WOLSEY      I thank you, William. I am beholden to you still.

WILL SUMMERS      Nay, my lord, I am more beholden unto you; I thank your  
fool for it. We have ransacked your wine-cellars since you went into France.

199 **monarch ... Rome** affirming Charles V's position as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. Possibly, 'Rome' was intended to rhyme with 'come' in the previous line.

202 SD2 **some ... Guard** While the order to 'attend the Prince' is evidently spoken to members of the guard, it appears from the repeated instruction at 267 that some of the group remain behind on stage; possibly only one guardsman (perhaps 1 Guard) exits here.

202 SD3.2 Although Patch does not speak in this scene, his presence is indicated by Summers, who draws attention to the fool's position at the stage door (see 209 and 214).

203 **tedious** wearisome, but also disagreeable, troublesome (*OED adj.* 1a, 2)

205 **fear** worry about, fear for

208 **hindmost** last

210-11 **since ... Chamber** See 1.4.192-215.

211 **horse** Summers employs the collective singular, as in 'a troop of horse' or 'the King's horse'.

214 **Not ... world** Apparently a proverbial phrase, unrecorded in Tilley and Dent, but used by a number of contemporary dramatists, including Shakespeare (*LLL*, 2.1.99), Dekker (*Patient Grissil*, 4.2.171) and Marlowe (*I Tamburlaine*, 4.2.125).

215 **stir** move, budge

**while** until (see Abbott, no. 137)

216 Wolsey's tone is undoubtedly sarcastic here.

218 **ransacked** *Q1*'s archaic 'ransackled' presumably reflects Summers's pronunciation.

196 SD2] *Elze*; after 195 *Q1* 197] *Elze*; *Q1* lines | *Brandon?* / Lord. / 200 SD] *this edn* 202 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *this edn*; *Exit Prince*. | after 201 *Somerset* SD3.1] *this edn*; after 201 *Q1* WOLSEY] *this edn* WILL SUMMERS] (Wil) SD3.2] *this edn* 203 your] *Elze*; our *Q1* 204 reverend] (reverent) 205 ne'er] (ne're) 205-6] *Elze*; *Q1* lines got / shortly. / 210 conjuredst] (conjurst) 211 horse] horses *Qq2-4*, *Elze* 214-15] *Elze*; *Q1* lines dore, / come; / where. / 216 beholden] (beholding) 217 beholden] (beholding) Nay] (Na) 218 ransacked] (ransakled); ransackled *Somerset* wine-cellars] (wine-sellers)

- Do you blush, my lord? Nay, that's nothing; you have wine there is able to  
set a colour in any man's face, I warrant it. 220
- KING Why, William, is the Cardinal's wine so good?
- WILL SUMMERS Better than thine, I'll be sworn. I'll take but two handfuls of  
his wine, and it shall fill four hogsheads of thine. Look here, else! [*Pulls a  
handful of gold from his pocket.*]
- WOLSEY *Mort dieu.*
- WILL SUMMERS More devil, is't not? For without conjuring, you could never 225  
do it. But I pray you, my lord, call upon *mort dieu* no longer, but speak plain  
English. You have deceived the King in French and Latin long enough, o'  
conscience.
- KING Is his wine turned into gold, Will?
- WOLSEY  
The fool mistakes, my gracious sovereign. 230
- WILL SUMMERS Ay, ay, my lord, ne'er set your wit to the fool's. Will  
Summers will be secret now and say nothing. If I would be a blab of my  
tongue, I could tell the King how many barrels full of gold and silver there  
was: six tuns filled with plate and jewels; twenty great trunks with crosses,  
crosiers, copes, mitres, maces, golden crucifixes, besides the four hundred 235  
and twelve thousand pounds that poor chimneys paid for Peter-pence. But  
this is nothing, for when you are Pope, you may pardon yourself for more  
knavery than this comes to.
- KING  
Go to, fool, you wrong the Cardinal. –  
But grieve not, Wolsey, William will be bold. 240  
I pray you, set on to meet the Emperor;  
The mayor and citizens are gone before,

- 220 **set ... face** a reference both to the value of Wolsey's 'wine' and to the Cardinal's own colouring complexion
- 223 **hogsheads** large casks for storing liquid; originally of a fixed capacity equivalent to sixty-three wine gallons (*OED*)
- 224 ***Mort dieu*** French for 'God's death', spoken as an oath. Cf. *Edward II* (1.1.89).
- 225 **conjuring** conjuring up, invoking the devil for aid (*OED* conjure v. 5a); see 1.4.188. Rowley may also have played on the alternative meaning of 'conjure' = to plot or plan by conspiracy (*OED* v. 1, 2), thus drawing attention to the Cardinal's underhand activities on the Continent.
- 227 **speak plain English** Here, Summers's affinities with Queen Katherine are made manifest; cf. the Queen's words at 5.1.140.
- 228 **o' conscience** in fairness, in truth
- 231 **ne'er ... fool's** Cf. Tilley, W547: 'Do not set your wit against a fool's'.
- 232 **blab** a revealer of secrets. Cf. 2 *Edward IV*: 'This tongue was never known to be a blab' (14.110).

- 234-6 **six ... Peter-pence** Cf. Wolsey's instructions to Bonner at 1.3.37-41. The treasure contained in the barrels seems to be of Rowley's own invention, though Foxe does make reference to 'xij. great barels full of gold and siluer, to serue the Popes warres' (899).
- 234 **\*tuns** large casks or barrels used to store alcoholic liquids. In the context of Summers's inventory, 'tuns' fits more readily than *Q1*'s 'times', which was perhaps a compositorial misreading of the underlying MS.
- plate** either gold coins / bullion, or gold and silver vessels or utensils
- 235 **crosiers** pastoral staffs of office carried a bishop  
**copes** See 1.3.38n.  
**mitres** the headdresses typically worn by priests or bishops  
**maces** sceptres or staffs of office
- 235-6 **four ... pounds** Cf. 3.2.87, where the figure is given as 'four hundred threescore pounds'.
- 236 **poor ... Peter-pence** See 1.3.39-40n.
- 238 **knavery** dishonesty, trickery
- 240 **grieve** worry, despair; become angry  
**William** disyllabic

219 Nay] (na) 223 hogsheads] (hogges-heads) SD] *this edn* 224 *Mort dieu*] (*Mor dieu*) 226 *mort dieu*] (*Mor dieu*)  
227 o'] (a) 231 Ay, ay] (I, I) ne'er] (ne're) 234 tuns] *Q3*; times *Q1* 235 hundred] (hundreth) 236 pounds] (pound)  
poor] the poor *Q4*, *Elze* 238 knavery] knaveries *Elze* than] (then) 239 wrong] do wrong (*conj. Elze*)

The Prince of Wales shall follow presently,  
 And with our George and collar of estate,  
 Present him with the Order of the Garter. 245  
 Great Maximilian, his progenitor,  
 Upon his breast did wear the English cross,  
 And underneath our standard marched in arms,  
 Receiving pay for all his warlike host;  
 And Charles with knighthood shall be honourèd. 250  
 Begin, Lord Cardinal, greet his majesty,  
 And we ourself will follow presently.

WOLSEY

I go, my sovereign. [Exeunt Wolsey and Patch.]

WILL SUMMERS [Calls after Wolsey.] Fair weather after ye. – Well, an e'er he  
 come to be Pope, I shall be plunged for this. 255

QUEEN KATHERINE William, you have angered the Cardinal, I can tell you.

KING

'Tis no matter, Kate, I'll anger him worse ere long;  
 Though for a while I smooth it to his face,  
 I did suspect what here the fool hath found. 260  
 He keeps, forsooth, a high court legatine,  
 Taxing our subjects, gathering sums of gold,  
 Which he belike hath hid to make him Pope.  
 A God's name, let him; that shall be our own.  
 But to our business: come, Queen Katherine,  
 You shall with us to meet the Emperor; 265  
 Let all your ladies be in readiness. –

244 **George** See 1.4.5n.

**collar of estate** the ornamental gold chain worn by members of the Order of the Garter (see 245n.); from the chain hung the jewelled George

245 **Order ... Garter** the oldest and highest British Order of Chivalry, founded by Edward III in 1348. Members of the order wore a garter of dark blue velvet, edged with gold, just below the left knee.

246 **Great Maximilian** i.e. Maximilian I (Holy Roman Emperor from 1508), Charles V's grandfather

**progenitor** ancestor; political predecessor

247-9 **Upon ... host** Cf. Holinshed: 'the emperour Maximilian came from Aire to the kings campe before Terwine the twelfe of August [1513], wearing a crosse of saint George as the kings souldier, & receiuing of him salarie for service' (821).

247 **the English cross** the George

248 **standard** flag bearing the ensign of a king or nation

249 **warlike** valiant

**host** army, group of followers (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1a)

250 **Charles** the Emperor

251 **Cardinal** card'nal

253 SD Presumably Patch leaves with Wolsey here, thus underlining Summers's words at 214-15.

254 **Fair ... ye** Proverbial (Tilley, W217).

255 **plunged** thrust into hell; cast into difficulty or misfortune (*OED* plunge v. 8b)

257 **ere** before

258 **smooth it** act to conceal knowledge, pretend friendship; use flattering or complimentary language (*OED* smooth v. 9b, 5a). Cf. 2H6: 'That smooth'st it so with king and common-weal' (2.1.22).

260 **forsooth** in truth

**high** powerful, authoritative

**legatine** of or pertaining to a legate. At the time of Campeius's visit in 1518, Wolsey was declared 'legate a latere' and acquired temporary legatine powers; in 1524 he was granted legatine powers for life (Jack, *ODNB*).

261 **Taxing our subjects** Wolsey exercised his powers of jurisdiction to the full and is said to have 'used great extortion, with excessiue taxes and lones, and valuation of euery mans substance' (Foxe, 899).

**gathering** gath'ring

262 **belike** in all likelihood

263 **A God's name** in God's name, for God's sake. Cf. 2.1.56.

253 SD] *this edn*; *Exit Wolsey*. | *after ye*. 254 *Somerset* 254 SD] *this edn* an] (and) 254-5] *Elze*; Q1 lines yee: / this. / 256] *single verse line in Elze* 260 legatine] (Legatine); legatine *Somerset* 262 he belike] belike he Q4 263 A] A' *Elze*



This warlike kingdom's fair metropolis,  
The City, London, and the River Thames,  
And note the situation of the place.

EMPEROR

We do, my lord, and count it admirable.  
But see, Lord Cardinal, the Prince is coming.

15

[*Trumpets*] sound.

*Enter the PRINCE with a Herald before him, bearing the collar and garter,  
the Guard and Lords attending.*

Well met, young cousin.

PRINCE

I kiss your highness' hand, [*Kisses the Emperor's hand.*]

And bid you welcome to my father's land;

I shall not need infer comparisons.

Welcome beyond compare, for so your excellency

20

Hath honoured England in containing you,

As with all princely pomp and state we can,

We'll entertain great Charles the Austrian.

And first, in sign of honour to your grace,

I here present this collar of estate,

25

This golden garter of the knighthood's order,

An honour to renown the Emperor.

Thus as my father hath commanded me,

I entertain your royal majesty.

EMPEROR

True, honoured offspring of a famous king,

30

Thou dost amaze me, and dost make me wish

I were a second son to England's lord,

In interchange of my imperial seat,

To live with thee, fair hope of majesty.

So well our welcome we accept of thee,

35

12 **warlike** valiant, courageous in war (*OED adj.* 1a)  
**metropolis** capital city

14 **situation** Possibly location is meant, or perhaps the layout of London, i.e. the position of the Thames in relation to London's notable structures and buildings.

15 **count** consider, think

16 \***Cardinal** *Q1*'s 'Admirall' is clearly erroneous here. One possible explanation is that the compositor still had the word 'admirable' in mind from the line above.

16.3 **Guard** plural

17 **cousin** Perhaps simply meant as a friendly term of address, as between Summers and Patch throughout 1.4; however, the term also serves as a reminder of the familial tie between the

Emperor and King Henry (see 'uncle' at 6 and 5.4.140n.).

22 **princely ... state** majesty and splendour. *Q3*'s reordering of these words (see t.n.) has little effect upon either sense or metre.

23 **Austrian** Charles V was born in Ghent to Spanish parents, and was not therefore Austrian by birth. He did, however, become Archduke of Austria in 1519.

25 **collar of estate** See 5.4.244n.

26 **golden garter** the ceremonial garter was edged with gold

30 **True, honoured** *Elze*'s reading (see t.n.) is also a valid interpretation.

33 **In ... seat** i.e. in exchange for my position as Emperor

12 kingdom's] *Elze*; kingdom *Q1* 16 Cardinal] *Elze*; Admirall *Q1* 16.1 *Trumpets*] *this edn* sound] marginal SD in *Q1*; om. *Elze*  
17] *Elze*; *Q1* line coosen. / hand, / Well ... cousin.] *SP Emp*: | repeated in *Q1* hand] om. *Q2a*, *Qq3-4* SD] *this edn*  
22 princely pomp and state] state and princely pompe *Q3*; state and Princely pompe *Q4* 25 this] the *Q3a* 30 True, honoured]  
True-honoured *Elze*

And with such princely spirit pronounce the word,  
Thy father's state can no more state afford.

PRINCE

Yes, my good lord, in him there's majesty;  
In me there's love with tender infancy.

*Sound trumpets.*

WOLSEY

The trumpets sound, my lord; the King is coming.

40

PRINCE

Go, all of you attend his royal person,  
Whilst we observe the Emperor's majesty.

*[Exeunt Wolsey, the Guard and the Herald.]*

*[Trumpets] sound.*

*Enter the Heralds first, then the Trumpets, next the Guard,  
then [the] Mace-bearer and Swordbearers,  
then the Cardinal [WOLSEY], then BRANDON, then the KING,  
after him QUEEN [KATHERINE], LADY MARY, and Ladies attending.*

KING

Hold! Stand, I say.

BRANDON

Stand, gentlemen.

WOLSEY

Cease those trumpets, there.

45

KING

Is the Emperor yet come in sight of us?

WOLSEY

His majesty is hard at hand, my lord.

KING

Then, Brandon, sheathe our sword and bear our maces down,

37 **state ... state** Playing on the various meanings of the word: the first instance refers to the King's affluent position or 'estate', while the second refers to the splendour of the Prince's greeting (*OED* n. 15, 16).

**afford** provide

41 **all of you** Since Wolsey and an unspecified number of heralds and guardsmen re-enter with the King two lines later, it seems it is to them that the Prince directs his command. See pp. 191–2.

42 **observe** pay respectful or courteous attention to (*OED* v. 4)

**Emperor's** Emp'ror's

42 SD2 The sheer grandeur of this entry seems intended to match that of Holinshed's account, in which 'the cardinall with three hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of England was

readie to receiue him, and with all honour that might be' (873).

43 **Stand** i.e. to attention

45 **Cease those trumpets** Presumably the trumpeters continue to play as the procession enters and begins to cross the stage.

47 **hard at hand** nearby, in close proximity (see *OED* hard *adv.* 6a and 'hard by'); one of the expressions Sykes deemed 'Rowleyan' (61)

48 This is either a regular hexameter line or a pentameter in which the name 'Brandon' acts as a hypermetrical interjection.

**sheathe ... down** i.e. as a demonstration of peace  
**sword ... maces** Cf. 42 SD2.3, where the singular and plural are reversed; perhaps, as Somerset suggests, this was an attempt on Rowley's part to improve the metre of the line.

39 SD] *trumpets*] (*trum.*) 42 SD1] *this edn* SD2.1 *Trumpets*] *this edn* *sound*] marginal SD in Q1 SD2.3 *the*] *this edn*  
Swordbearers] (*swords*) SD2.4 WOLSEY] *this edn* SD2.5 QUEEN KATHERINE] (*the Queene*)

- In honour of my lord, the Emperor. –  
Forward again.
- BRANDON                      On gentlemen, afore. – 50  
Sound, trumpets, and set forwards.  
[*Trumpets sound as the train moves towards the Prince and Emperor.*]
- PRINCE  
Behold my father, gracious Emperor.
- EMPEROR  
We'll meet him, cousin. –  
[*to the King*] Uncle of England, King of France and Ireland,  
Defender of the ancient Christian faith, 55  
With greater joy I do embrace thy breast  
Than when the seven electors crownèd me  
Great Emperor of the Christian monarchy.
- KING                      Great Charles, the first Emperor of Almain, King of the Romans,  
*Semper Augustus*, warlike King of Spain and Sicily, both Naples, Navarre and 60  
Aragon, King of Crete and great Jerusalem, Archduke of Austria, Duke of  
Milan, Brabant, Burgundy, Tyrol and Flanders,  
With this great title I embrace thy breast,  
And how thy sight doth please, suppose the rest. –  
Sound, trumpets, while my fair Queen Katherine 65  
Gives entertainment to the Emperor. – [Trumpets] *sound.*  
[*to the Emperor*] Welcome again to England, princely cousin.  
We dwell here but in an outward continent,

54-5 After 1521, King Henry's official royal style was 'Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland'; he did not assume kingship of Ireland until 1541.

56 **embrace thy breast** 'greet you' (see also 63)

57 **seven** se'en

**electors** the men responsible for electing a King of the Romans (a title used by German monarchs) who would stand for the position of Holy Roman Emperor; the candidate, if successful, was subsequently crowned by the Pope. Charles V was elected King of the Romans in June 1519, but his coronation did not take place until 1530.

58 **Emperor** Emp'ror

59 **Almain** Germany. 'Emperor of Almain' was not an official title, though Charles was King of Germany from 1519-1530.

**King of the Romans** See 57n., *electors*.

60 **Semper Augustus** Latin for 'forever August', part of Charles V's lengthy style and a reference to Rome's first Emperor, Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus (63 BC-14 AD)

**King ... Naples** Charles became King Charles I of Castile, León, Aragon and Sicily, as

well as King Charles IV of Naples, in March 1516.

**Navarre** an autonomous community in northern Spain. Although from 1520 onwards the arms of Navarre were incorporated into Charles's coat of arms, the Kingdom of Navarre was never under his jurisdiction.

61-2 **King of Crete ... Duke of Milan** Neither title formed a part of Charles's official style.

61 **Archduke of Austria** See 23n.

62 **Brabant ... Flanders** Charles became Duke of Brabant (a duchy of the Holy Roman Empire) and Burgundy in 1506; although not Duke, he also became Count of Flanders in 1506 and Count of Tyrol in 1519.

66 **Gives entertainment to** welcomes, greets. While Holinshed describes how the Queen received the Emperor 'with all the ioy that might be' (873), it must be remembered that the Queen in question was not Katherine Parr, but Charles's aunt, Katherine of Aragon.

68 **outward** existing on the outskirts, in this case of mainland Europe

**continent** the main landmass of a country or kingdom, as distinct from its islands (*OED* n. 4a)

50-1] *this edn*; Q1 lines againe. / forwards. / 51, 54 SDD] *this edn* 54-5] *Elze*; prose in Q1 57 Than] (Then) 59 Almain] (*Almayne*) 62 Milan] (*Millaine*) Tyrol] (*Tyrrell*) 63] *Elze*; part of prose passage in Q1 65 Katherine] (*Katreine*) 66 SD *Trumpets*] *this edn* 67 SD] *this edn*



Where winter's icicles hang on our beards,  
 Bordering upon the frozen Orcadès, 70  
 Our mother-point, compassed with the Arctic Sea,  
 Where raging Boreas sties from winter's mouth;  
 Yet are our bloods as hot as where the sun doth rise.  
 We have no golden mines to lead you to,  
 But hearts of proof, and what we speak, we'll do. 75

EMPEROR

We thank you, uncle, and now must chide you.  
 If we be welcome to your country,  
 Why is the ancient league now broke betwixt us?  
 Why have your heralds, in the French king's cause,  
 Breathèd defiance 'gainst our dignity, 80  
 When face to face we met at Landersey?

KING

My heralds to defy your majesty?  
 Your grace mistakes; we sent ambassadors  
 To treat a peace between the French and you,  
 Not to defy you as an enemy. 85

EMPEROR

Yet uncle, in King Henry's name he came,  
 And boldly to our face did give the same.

69 **icicles ... beards** Cf. *A Shrew*: 'Whiter then are the snowie Apenis, / Or icie haire that gooes on Boreas chin' (TLN 680-1). Boreas (see 72n.) was frequently depicted with his beard and hair spiked with ice.

70 **Bordering** bord'ring; neighbouring  
**Orcades** Latin name for the Orkney Islands

71 **mother-point** 'the point of the compass at which our native land lies' (*Somerset*)  
**compassed** surrounded, encircled (*OED adj.* 2a), i.e. by the Arctic Ocean

72 **Boreas** Greek god of the cold north wind, regarded as the bringer of winter  
**sties** ascends, rises up (*OED sty v.*<sup>1</sup> 1). *Q4*'s alternative reading 'flies' also works well here, maintaining the traditional image of Boreas as a winged god; however, it is likely that the compositor simply mistook the 'ft' ligature of his copy for 'fl' and set accordingly. 'Sties' also better resembles the imagery of other contemporary texts in their depiction of Boreas; cf. *Caesar & Pompey*: 'As when that *Boreas* from his Iron caue ... Comes swelling forth to meet his blustering foe' (TLN 2264-6).

73 **bloods as hot** Hot-bloodedness was regarded as a symbol of passion; the image here is intended

to emphasise the sincerity of the King's welcome to the Emperor as an ally of his kingdom.

74 **We ... mines** Cf. 3.2.91 (and see n.).

75 **proof** 'tested quality' (*Somerset*)

**what ... do** The opposite of Wolsey, who 'was double both in speach and meaning' (Holinshed, 922).

77 **country** trisyllabic (Kökeritz, 292)

78 **ancient league** A probable reference to the 'Holy League' of 1511 by which King Henry joined with Venice, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire against France.

79 **in ... cause** in support of Francis I. Cf. Foxe: 'the Cardinall held with the Emperour, hoping by him to be made Pope: but when that would not be, he went cleane from the Emperour, to the French King' (900).

80 **Breathed defiance** spoke against or in contradiction to; renounced allegiance

82-5 Cf. Foxe, in which Wolsey causes the King's forces 'openly to defie the Emperour' (901). The embassy Rowley refers to here is that of 1527, not that of 1522 (as indicated at 3.2.225-7 and 5.1.53-60).

84 **treat** discuss terms of settlement; bargain, negotiate (*OED v.* 1a)

WOLSEY [*aside*]

Hell stop that fatal-boding Emperor's throat,  
That sings against us this dismal raven's note.

KING

Mother of God, if this be true, we see 90  
There are more kings in England now than we. –  
Where's Cardinal Wolsey? Heard you this news in France?

WOLSEY

I did, my liege, and by my means 'twas done,  
I'll not deny it; I had commissiön 95  
To join a league between the French and him,  
Which, he withstanding as an enemy,  
I did defy him from your majesty.

KING

Durst thou presume so, baseborn cardinal,  
Without our knowledge to abuse our name?  
Presumptuous traitor, under what pretence 100  
Didst thou attempt to brave the Emperor?  
Belike thou meant'st to level at a crown,  
But thy ambitious crown shall hurl thee down.

WOLSEY

With reverence to your majesty, I did no more  
Than I can answer to the Holy See. 105

KING

Villain, thou canst not answer it to me,  
Nor shadow thy insulting treachery!  
How durst you, sirrah, in your embassy,

88-9 Cf. *Valiant Welshman*: 'Some Cannon shot  
ramme vp thy damned throat. / Peace, hell-hound,  
for thou singst a Rauens note' (I2<sup>v</sup>).

88 **fatal-boding** ruinous, doom-laden  
**Emperor's** Emp'ror's

89 **dismal** ominous, sinister (*OED adj.* 2). Cf. *3H6*:  
'Now death shall stop his dismal threat'ning  
sound, / And his ill-boding tongue no more  
shall speak' (2.6.58-9).

**raven's note** The raven was frequently em-  
ployed as a symbol of death and foreboding;  
see Tilley, R33: 'The croaking Raven bodes  
misfortune (death)'.

92 **Cardinal** card'nal

93 **means** authorisation, command

94 **deny it** elided, as *deny't*

**commissiön** order, instruction

95 **him** the Emperor

96 **withstanding** opposing, resisting

97 **from your majesty** i.e. in the name of the King  
(see 86)

98 **presume** undertake without adequate authority  
or permission

**baseborn** of humble birth and parentage; of  
base or dishonourable origin or nature (*OED*  
*adj.* 1, 3). The double meaning is almost cer-  
tainly intended, since Wolsey's father was a  
tavern-owner and butcher (Jack, *ODNB*).

101 **brave** challenge, defy

102 **Belike** perhaps

**level** aim (*OED v.* 1 7d, 7e)

103 **thy ambitious crown** either a reference to the  
papal crown, to which Wolsey so eagerly aspires,  
or a more general reference to Wolsey's head as  
the seat of reason (see *OED crown n.* 19b)

104 **reverence** rev'rence; respect

105 **answer** justify

**the Holy See** the papacy

107 **shadow** mask, conceal

108 **sirrah** a contemptuous form of address in this  
instance

**embassage** mission, embassy

88 SP] (*Card.*) SD] *this edn* fatal-boding] (*fatall boding*) 90 of] o' *Elze* 91 than] (*then*) 92] *Elze*; *Q1* lines *Woolsey?* /  
*France?* /; *prose in Somerset* 95 between] *betwixt Qq2-4, Elze* 104-5] *prose in Somerset* 105 Than] (*Then*) See] (*sea*)

- Unknown to us, stamp in our royal coin  
 The base impression of your cardinal hat, 110  
 As if you were copartner in the crown?  
*Ego et rex meus*; you and your king must be  
 In equal state and pomp and majesty.  
 Out of my presence, hateful impudency!
- WOLSEY  
 Remember, my liege, that I am cardinal 115  
 And deputy unto his Holiness.
- KING  
 Be the devil's deputy, I care not, I;  
 I'll not be baffled by your treachery.  
 You're false abusers of religiön:  
 You can corrupt it and forbid the King, 120  
 Upon the penalty of the Pope's black curse,  
 If he should pawn his crown for soldiers' pay,  
 Not to suppress an old, religious abbey;  
 Yet you at pleasure have subverted four,  
 Seizing their lands, tunnning up heaps of gold, 125

- 109-10 **stamp ... hat** One of a number of articles drawn up against Wolsey and presented to King Henry during the parliament of October 1530 (Foxye, 908; Holinshed, 912). See Appendix 2.
- 109 **stamp** impress
- 110 **base** morally low, dishonourable (*OED adj.* 10b); also with reference to 'base metal'. The suggestion is that Wolsey has diminished the value of the King's coin by defiling it with his own symbolic image. Cf. 98, *baseborn*.  
**cardinal hat** card'nal hat; the red hat worn by a cardinal, symbolic of his office
- 111 **copartner** one with an equal share; in this instance, in monarchical authority. Cf. Foxye, which tells how Wolsey 'thought himselfe equall with the King', becoming 'more like a Prince then a Priest' (899).
- 112 *Ego ... meus* Latin for 'I and my King'. This was the second of the articles drawn up against Wolsey (see 109-10n. and Appendix 2).
- 113 **state ... pomp ... majesty** position, splendour and authority; perhaps used synonymously here
- 114 **hateful** either full of hatred or inspiring hatred in others (*OED adj.* 1, 2a); both senses fit the context  
**impudency** Used here as a noun (unrecorded in *OED*); perhaps a version of 'impudence' (n.), as in Dryden's *Evening's Love*: 'Peace, impudence; and see my face no more' (19; E3<sup>r</sup>). The word was probably intended to rhyme with 'be' and 'majesty' in the previous lines.
- 117 **devil's deputy** Echoing the language of Foxye, in which the Pope is labelled 'the man of Sinne, the sonne of perdition, enemy to Christ, the deuils deputie and lieutenant' (1552).
- 118 **baffled** subjected to public disgrace; deceived, hoodwinked (*OED* baffle v. 1, 4). Cf. 5.1.249.
- 120 **forbid** restrain, exclude; defy, challenge (*OED* v. 2a, 2e)
- 121 **penalty** risk or threat of punishment  
**the ... curse** a solemn form of excommunication (see Foxye, header to 947). King Henry was still Roman Catholic at the time of the Emperor's visit in 1523, but was excommunicated ten years before his marriage to Katherine Parr. Rowley's anachronistic handling of source material is particularly evident here and in the following references to the Dissolution of the Monasteries.
- 122 **he** the King  
**for soldiers' pay** i.e. in order to cover the cost of the King's expensive foreign campaigns
- 123 **suppress** reduce to inactivity; deprive of position or power (*OED* v. 1a). A reference to the Dissolution of the Monasteries: the series of administrative and legal processes of the 1530s and '40s by which King Henry disbanded and appropriated the income of hundreds of religious properties.
- 124 **subverted** demolished, razed to the ground; overthrown (*OED* subvert, v. 1a, 2)
- 125 **tunnning** storing, barrelling

112 *et*] (&) 114 impudency] impudence *Elze* 119 You're] (Y')are)

Secret conveyance of our royal seal  
 To raise collections to enrich thy state,  
 For which, sir, we command you leave the court;  
 We here discharge you of your offices.  
 You that are Caiaphas, or great cardinal, 130  
 Haste ye with speed unto your bishopric;  
 There keep you till you hear further from us.  
 Away, and speak not.

WOLSEY

Yet will I proudly pass as cardinal,  
 Although this day define my heavy fall. *Exit.* 135

EMPEROR

I fear, King Henry and my royal uncle,  
 The Cardinal will curse my progress hither.

KING

No matter, cousin, beshrew his treacherous heart;  
 He's moved my blood to much impatiēce.  
 Where's Will Summers? – 140

*Enter WILL SUMMERS.*

Come on, wise William. We must use your little wits to chase this anger  
 from our blood again. What art thou doing?

WILL SUMMERS I am looking round about the Emperor. Methinks 'tis a  
 strange sight, for though he have seen more fools than I, yet I never saw  
 no more emperors but him. 145

EMPEROR Is this Will Summers? I have heard of him in all the princes'  
 courts in Christendom.

WILL SUMMERS La ye, my lord.

You have a famous fool of me,  
 I can tell ye; 150  
 Will Summers is known far and near, ye see.

126 The seventh article drawn up against Wolsey  
 (see 109-10n. and Appendix 2).

**conveyance** either transportation or cunning  
 contrivance (*OED* n. 2a, 11b)

**royal seal** the King's device, impressed upon  
 wax as evidence of monarchical attestation or  
 authenticity

127 **state** condition of living; social standing (*OED*  
 n. 1a, 14a)

130 **Caiaphas** a Jewish high priest, regarded in the  
 New Testament as Christ's main antagonist; it  
 was Caiaphas who sat as chief priest in the  
 council that 'sought false witness against Jesus,  
 to put him to death' (Matthew, 26.59)

132 **keep** remain, stay

134 **Yet** still

**pass** either stand for, serve as (*OED* v. 43a) or  
 make passage, i.e. on his journey to the bishopric

135 **heavy** solemn, grievous (*OED* *adj.*<sup>1</sup> 23). Cf.  
 'this heavy message' at 5.2.81.

137 **progress** journey

138 **beshrew** evil befall, the devil take (cf. 2.3.86)  
**treacherous** treach'rous

139 **moved** agitated, provoked

141 **wise William** Perhaps drawing on the proverb:  
 'Even a fool sometimes speaks a wise word'  
 (Tilley, F449).

**little wits** Cf. 3.1.81: 'We have but a little wit  
 between us' and *Old Fortunatus*: 'I am out of  
 my little wits to see this' (1.2.109-10).

148-51 \*Lineation here follows *Somerset* in order  
 to clarify the rhythmic structure of Summers's  
 reply. Given the King's response at 152 it seems  
 the rhymes here were intentional.

148 **La ye** an exclamation suggestive of surprise or  
 admiration

130 Caiaphas] (*Caiphas*) 132 till] until *Elze* 135 SD] *om. Elze* 139 He's] (*Haz*); Has *Somerset* 140-1 Where's ... William]  
 single verse line in *Elze* 140] part of following prose passage in *Somerset* Where's] Where is *Elze* SD] *Elze*; after 139 Q1  
 141 We] For we *Elze* 141-2] *Somerset*; Q1 lines William, / this / againe: / doing? /; *Elze* lines William, / chase / doing? / 144 than]  
 (then) 145 no] *om. Qq3-4, Elze* but] then Q4 148-51] *Somerset*; Q1 lines mee, / tell yee, / see. / 148 La] (*Law*)

- KING      Ay, are you rhyming, William? Nay, then I am for ye. I have not  
rhymed with ye a great while, and now I'll challenge ye, and the Emperor  
shall be judge between us.
- WILL SUMMERS      Content, my lord, I am for ye all. Come but one at once,      155  
and I care not.
- KING  
    Say ye so, sir? – Come, Kate, stand by me. –  
    We'll put you to a nonplus presently.
- QUEEN KATHERINE      To him, Will.
- WILL SUMMERS      I warrant you, madam.      160
- KING      Answer this, sir:  
    The bud is spread,  
    The rose is red,  
    The leaf is green.
- WILL SUMMERS  
    A wench, 'tis said,      165  
    Was found in your bed,  
    Besides the Queen.
- QUEEN KATHERINE      God-a-mercy for that, Will; [*handing him money*] there's  
two angels for thee. – I'faith, my lord, I am glad I know it.
- KING      God's mother, Kate, wilt thou believe the fool? He lies, he lies! – Ah,      170  
sirrah William, I perceive an't had been so, you would have shamed me  
before the Emperor. Yet, William, have at you once more:  
    In yonder tower,  
    There is a flower  
    That hath my heart.      175

152 **rhyming** *OED* provides the general meaning 'versifying' (rhyme, v. 1) but does not record any sense pertaining to the construction of witty or deriding rhymes. Cf., though, *Cym*: 'Will you rhyme upon't, / And vent it for a mock'ry?' (5.3.55-6).

155 **Content** 'I am content', 'agreed'. Cf. 3.1.85. **one at once** all together

158 **you** *Q2*'s alternative reading 'him' is also valid, if it is assumed that this line is addressed to Queen Katherine; the reading in *this edn* indicates instead that the King, now backed up by the Queen, turns his attention back to Summers and the ensuing competition.

**nonplus** a state of perplexity or confusion; a standstill. Cf. Tilley, N206: 'He is put to a nonplus'.

162-4 \*As with other examples of Summers's Skeltonics, I follow *Elze* in setting as verse. The King's words, although spoken innocently, have bawdy connotations (see Williams on 'bud',

'rose', 'leaf' and 'green'), perhaps prompting the nature of Summers's reply.

165 **wench** Possibly just 'woman'; however, given the subject matter of Summers's reply, the more meaning-laden sense 'prostitute' is probably intended (*OED n.* 1a, 2).

167 **Besides** other than

173-5 These lines, as Wilson notes (xi), were previously printed in Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy*, with only minimum alteration on Rowley's part (the second line in Puttenham reads 'There lieth a flowre'). However, while Puttenham's narrator records the beginning of the reply ('Within this hower, she will, &c.'), the rest was said to have been presented 'in so vncleanly termes as might not now become me by the rule of Decorum to vtter' (III.225). Whether the rhyme was well known at the time, or whether Rowley supplied his own unsavoury reply, is uncertain.

174 **flower** woman; connoting 'the freshness of virginity' (Williams, 128-9)

152 Ay] (I) Nay] (na) 158 you] him *Qq2-4*, *Elze* a nonplus] *Q2*; an vnplus *Q1* 162-4] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 165-7] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 168-9] *Elze*; *Q1* lines Wil, / thee: / it. / 168 SD] *this edn* 170 Ah] (a) 171 an't] (and't) 173-5] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 174 There is] *Elze*; theres *Q1*

WILL SUMMERS

Within this hour  
She pissed full sour  
And let a fart.

EMPEROR He's too hard for you, my lord; I'll try him one veny myself. What  
say you to this, William?

180

An emperor is great,  
High is his seat;  
Who is his foe?

WILL SUMMERS

The worms that shall eat  
His carcass for meat,  
Whether he will, or no.

185

EMPEROR Well answered, Will. Yet once more I am for ye:

A ruddy lip,  
With a cherry tip,  
Is fit for a king.

190

WILL SUMMERS

Ay, so he may dip  
About her hip  
I'th' tother thing.

EMPEROR He's put me down, my lord.

WILL SUMMERS Who comes next, then?

195

KING The Queen, William; look to yourself. – To him, Kate.

QUEEN KATHERINE Come on, William; answer to this:

What cold I take,  
My head doth ache;  
What physic's good?

200

177 **full** used as an intensive; very, exceedingly  
(*OED* *adv.* 1a)

179 **hard** quick-witted, skilful. Cf. Wolsey's words  
at 3.1.52.

**veny** a hit or thrust in fencing, a wound or blow  
(*OED* *n.*<sup>2</sup> 1a); used figuratively here (as in def-  
inition 1b) to mean a sharp retort. Cf. 2 *If You  
Know Not Me*: 'Then ward your lips well, or  
youle ha the first venney' (scene 12; TLN 1756).

182 **seat** status, position

184–5 Cf. Tilley, M253: 'A man is nothing but  
worms' meat'.

186 **whether ... no** Proverbial (Dent, W400.1),  
where 'will' = want, intend.

188–93 Perhaps a corruption of the proverb 'Free  
of her lips free of her hips' (Tilley, L325). The  
Emperor's words, like the King's at 162–4,  
have bawdy connotations which Summers  
uses to his advantage (see Partridge, 'lip').

188 **ruddy** red in colour, rosy

189 **cherry** again denoting colour, but perhaps also  
hinting at sweetness

191 **dip** plunge in and out; used here with obvious  
sexual reference

193 **tother thing** sexual organs; here, the vagina  
(see Partridge, 'thing'). Cf. 'another thing' in  
*TGV* (3.1.340).

194 **put me down** defeated or humiliated me

196 **look to yourself** be prepared, stay focused

198 **cold** Unlike Somerset (see t.n.), I regard *Q1*'s  
'could' as a variant spelling of 'cold' and thus  
treat this as a modernisation rather than an  
emendation. 'To take cold' was a common  
phrase (see *OED* *cold* *n.* 5b); that Summers  
repeats the word 'cold' in his reply further  
strengthens the case for its inclusion in the  
Queen's opening rhyme.

200 **physic's** remedy's

176–8] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 177 sour] (sower) 179 veny] (venye); venue *Elze* 181–3] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 184–6]  
*Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 184 worms] worme *Qq3–4* 188–90] *Elze*; long verse line in *Q1* 191–3] *Elze*; long verse line  
in *Q1* 191 Ay] (I) 193 I'th'] In the *Elze* 194 He's] (Haz) 196] *Elze*; *Q1* lines selfe; / Kate. / 198–200] *Elze*; long  
verse line in *Q1* 198 What] When *Qq3b–4*, *Elze* cold] (could); could Somerset

WILL SUMMERS

Here's one will make  
The cold to break,  
And warm your blood.

QUEEN KATHERINE I am not repulsed at first, William. Again, sir:

Women and their wills  
Are dangerous ills,  
As some men suppose.

205

WILL SUMMERS

She that puddings fills,  
When snow lies o'th' hills,  
Must keep clean her nose.

210

KING

Enough, good William; y'are too hard for all. –  
My lord, the Emperor, we delay too long  
Your promised welcome to the English court.  
The honourable Order of the Garter  
Your majesty shall take immediately,  
And sit installed therewith in Windsor Castle;  
I tell ye, there are lads girt with that order  
That will ungird the proudest champion. –

215

201 **Here's one** Summers presumably points to the King as 'one' who can cure the Queen by means of sexual intercourse. The use of the word 'make' = mate, match with (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 1) supports this interpretation.

203 **warm your blood** To warm the blood was to rebalance the humours and thus to rid the body of illness. Given the nature of Summers's reply, the expression no doubt refers also to the hot-bloodedness associated with passion and sexual desire.

204 **repulsed** repelled, deterred (*OED* repulse, v. 1b; repulsed, *adj.*); the sense 'disgusted, offended' might also have been intended, though the earliest recorded use in this context is 1816

205 See 'Women will have their wills' (Tilley, W723) and related proverbs (W626, W715).  
**wills** desires

206 **ills** evils

208 **puddings** coarse slang for penises (*OED* pudding, *n.* 9a) or vaginas/wombs (Williams, *Dictionary*, 1107); both can be seen to fit the context here: either Summers implies that the Queen, as a woman, is filled with puddings (= penises) during sexual intercourse, or that women's bodies are filled with, i.e. fundamentally composed of, puddings (= vaginas/wombs).

210 **keep ... nose** Although it fits the context here, the meaning 'to stay out of trouble' or 'to behave properly' is not recorded in *OED* until 1887 (see

nose, *n.*; P1, e (b)). Possibly, as Somerset suggests, the line is a reference to the typical disfigurement of the bridge of the nose that occurs in syphilitics (see also Williams, 218–19), and thus to the tell-tale signs of sexual promiscuity.

211 **William** disyllabic

**y'are** The copy-text form is retained in this instance since the verb 'are' is emphatic.

**hard** See 179n.

212 **Emperor** Emp'ror

214 **Order ... Garter** See 5.4.245n. Charles, nominated to the Order of Garter by King Henry VII in 1508, had in fact been a member of the order for fifteen years prior to his visit to England; on this occasion he did, however, 'ware his mantell of the garter' and sit 'in his owne stall' (Holinshed, 873).

216 **installed** to be invested with an office or dignity by being seated in an official stall. Knights of the Garter were invested in the Garter Throne Room at Windsor Castle.

217 **girt** equipped with the sword of knighthood (*OED* gird, v.<sup>1</sup> 3)

218 **ungird** to divest of, or free from, a girdle; used figuratively here to mean unhorse, disarm. Cf. R2: 'He would unhorse the lustiest challenger' (5.3.19).

**proudest** bravest, most valiant (*OED* proud, *adj.* 6a)

**champion** combatant

[*to the train*] Set forwards, there; regard the Emperor's state. –  
 [*to the Emperor*] First, in our court, we'll banquet merrily, 220  
 Then mount on steeds and, girt in complete steel,  
 We'll tug at barriers, tilt and tournament;  
 Then shall ye see the yeomen of my guard  
 Wrestle, shoot, throw the sledge or pitch the bar,  
 Or any other active exercise. 225  
 Those triumphs past, we'll forthwith haste to Windsor;  
 Saint George's knight shall be the Christian Emperor. *Exeunt omnes.*

## FINIS

219 **Set forwards** The King's words here presumably mark a cue for action on the part of the many actors still on stage. It is likely that the actors would have left the stage in staggered procession so that, by the time the King finishes speaking, only himself, the Emperor and possibly Prince Edward remain in position; these characters then exit together at the play's conclusion, perhaps to the sound of trumpets.

**regard** be mindful of

**Emperor's** Emp'ror's

221-2 Cf. Holinshed: 'the more to honor his presence, roiall iustes and tourneies were appointed,

the which were furnished in most triumphant maner' (873).

221 **steeds** large, courageous horses ridden in tournaments or during state occasions

**girt ... steel** in full armour

222 **tug** contend, compete (*OED* v. 2a)

**barriers, tilt and tournament** See 2.3.161n.

223 **yeomen ... guard** the King's official bodyguards

224 **sledge** i.e. sledge-hammer

**pitch the bar** a form of athletic exercise in which a solid metal bar was tossed through the air

226 **triumphs** tournaments, festivities (*OED* triumph, n. 4)

227 **Saint George's knight** i.e. a knight of England

219, 220 SDD] *this edn* 224 Wrestle, shoot] Shoot, wrestle (*conj. Elze*) 227 Saint George's] (*S. Gorges*) SD] *after* 227



## *Appendices*

## Appendix 1: Timeline of Rowley's life and work

The following timeline includes all aspects of Rowley's life discussed in the Introduction to Samuel Rowley above, both personal and professional. Possible or conjectured movements are marked with an asterisk.

Rowley's name appears frequently throughout the pages of *Henslowe's Diary* from late 1598 onwards. While the evident increase in Rowley's responsibilities within the company is recorded here, the timeline does not include each individual mention of Rowley in the *Diary*; rather, it focuses on those entries that mark specific or defining moments in Rowley's career, either as a playwright or as an actor or sharer. Undated letters such as those written to Henslowe concerning the procurement of and/or payment for new plays (see *Figs. 5–8*) are not included here, since their precise relation to other events – and thus their position in the timeline – is uncertain.

1560–70s	Rowley was born, very likely to parents Mary and Robert Rowley of Ely. Possibly, he attended Pembroke College, Cambridge before moving to London.
*Mid-1580s	Possibly, Rowley authored (or had a hand in) the Queen's Men's play <i>The Famous Victories of Henry V</i> (printed in 1598 but performed in the mid- to late 1580s). He may also have acted for this company.
*Mid-1580s to early 1590s	Rowley may have had some input in the comic additions to Greene's <i>Orlando Furioso</i> . This work could have been undertaken either for the Queen's Men in the late 1580s or for the combined Admiral's/Strange's Men in the early 1590s.
*Early 1590s	Rowley may have co-authored <i>The Taming of a Shrew</i> (printed in 1594), performed by the Earl of Pembroke's Men. It is also possible that he acted for this company before joining the Admiral's Men. Rowley's input in this play may predate his potential work on <i>Orlando Furioso</i> , particularly if the latter were undertaken for the Admiral's/Strange's Men.
*1590s	Possibly, Rowley co-authored <i>Wily Beguiled</i> (printed in 1606). The Epilogue's reference to 'a circled round' indicates that the play (if performed by the Admiral's–Prince Henry's Men) must have been written before the company's move to the Fortune in Autumn 1600.
7 April 1594	Rowley married Alice Coley at St Michael, Crooked Lane. This is the earliest definite mention of Rowley's name in historical records.
*December 1594–January 1595	Perhaps the first appearance of Rowley's name in <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> .
3 June 1597	Rowley performed in <i>Frederick and Basilea</i> .

3 August 1597	The first definite mention of Rowley in <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> : Rowley acted as witness to one of Henslowe's loans.
c. 1598	Rowley performed in <i>The Battle of Alcazar</i> .
8 March 1598	Rowley's autograph signature appears for the first time in a personnel list in <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> . Evidently, he held a prominent position in the Lord Admiral's Men at this time.
16 November 1598	Rowley bound himself as Henslowe's 'covenente Servant' until Shrovetide 1600. From this point onwards, Rowley's responsibilities in the Lord Admiral's Men seem to have increased and his name appears frequently in the pages of <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> . Possibly, the binding contract marked the inception of sharer status.
c. 1600	Rowley performed (or at least helped out backstage) in 2 <i>Fortune's Tennis</i> .
10 July 1600	Rowley's name was included in two separate personnel lists that documented the company's prominent shareholders.
c. 4 April 1601	Rowley wrote to Henslowe about the play <i>The Conquest of the Indies</i> (see Fig. 4).
24 December 1601	Rowley and his co-author William Borne were paid for the play <i>Judas</i> .
c. October 1602	Rowley performed in <i>1 Tamar Cam</i> .
27 September 1602	Rowley was paid for the play <i>Joshua</i> .
22 November 1602	Rowley and Borne were paid for their 'adicyones' to Marlowe's <i>Doctor Faustus</i> .
March 1603– March 1604	Rowley wrote <i>When You See Me, You Know Me</i> , performed at the Fortune c. April 1604.
15 March 1604	Rowley marched alongside a number of his fellow players as part of the King's royal entrance into London.
*Early 1600s	Possibly, Rowley revised the manuscript play <i>Thomas of Woodstock</i> in the first decade of the seventeenth century.
30 April 1606	Rowley's name was included in a licence permitting the Prince's Men to play at the Fortune and elsewhere.
1610	Rowley's name appears in a list of members of the Prince's Household.
*12 October 1610	A Samuel Rowley (very likely this Samuel Rowley) acted as surety with Edward Hide for Hugh Evans and Robert Wakefield of Whitechapel.
*1610–11	A Samuel Rowley (again, likely this Samuel Rowley) was a member of the Middlesex jury panel.
8 November 1612	Rowley and others of Prince Henry's Men were granted livery for Prince Henry's funeral.

11 January 1613	Rowley's name appears in a licence permitting the newly named Elector Palatine's Men to play at the Fortune and elsewhere.
25 March 1616	Rowley and others of the Elector Palatine's Men were on tour in Cambridge. For some reason, they were sent away from Cambridge University and commanded to 'playe noe moore' within a five-mile radius of the city.
*1618	A Samuel Rowley (very likely this Samuel Rowley) was named as constable of Whitechapel.
*1 April 1620	Possibly, Rowley worked as an agent who collected rent for Edward Alleyn (see <i>Fig. 3</i> ).
27 July 1623	Rowley's play <i>Richard III; Or, the English Profit</i> [ <i>Prophet?</i> ] was licensed by Henry Herbert.
29 October 1623	Rowley's 'new Comedy' <i>Hard Shift for Husbands; Or, Bilbo's the Best Blade</i> was licensed by Henry Herbert.
6 April 1624	Rowley's 'new Comedy' <i>A Match or No Match</i> was licensed by Henry Herbert.
23 July 1624	Rowley's will was written.
*1 September 1624	A Samuel Rowley (very likely this Samuel Rowley) acted as foreman of the Middlesex jury.
20 October 1624	Rowley was buried in the parish of St Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel.
4 December 1624	Rowley's will was proved by his wife, Alice.

## Appendix 2: Source material

Rowley's prominent sources are discussed in the Critical Introduction, above (pp. 46–60). The transcriptions below include longer passages from the historical chronicles, as well as the ballad 'Martin said to his Man' and fuller quotations from the *King and Cobbler* chapbook than those included in the commentary to the Edited Text.

The sources are arranged here in the order in which they appear to have been utilised in *When You See Me*. In each case, the corresponding act and scene numbers from this edition are given in bold. Specific line numbers are included where relevant.

### ACT 2

#### *The Pleasant and Delightful History of King Henry 8th. and a Cobler*

In addition to other disguised king plays, the anonymous *King and Cobbler* chapbook seems to have been the inspiration behind the episode of King Henry's night-walk into the City of London (act 2, scene 1; mentioned in act 1, scene 4), as well as its continuation in the Counter prison (act 2, scene 3). Although in his own version of the narrative the comedy of the King's disguised identity is most keenly felt through the character of Black Will rather than the Cobbler, there are enough parallels between *When You See Me* and the chapbook to suggest that Rowley knew of the folktale, or at least some version thereof. The earliest extant edition of the folktale was printed in 1670 (Wing P2530); it is from this edition that the below citations are taken.

#### **[1.4.355–68; 2.1]**

*CHAP. I. How King Henry the 8th. used to visit the Watches in the City, and how he came acquainted with a merry and a Jovial Cobbler.*

It was the Custome of King *Henry* the Eighth, to Walk late in the Night into the City Disguised, to take notice how the Constables [*sic*] and Watch performed their Duty. [...] This he did oftentimes, without the least discovery who he was, returning home to *White-Hall* early in the morning.

(A3<sup>r-v</sup>)

#### **[2.3]**

*CHAP. V. The Coblers Entertainment in the King's Celler; and how he met with his new Friend Harry Tudor, and how he come to know him to be the King.*

(B2<sup>r</sup>)

#### **[2.3.35–139]**

[I]n good faith (added the Cobbler) I am resolved to be Merry with you, since I have the good fortune to meet with you at last. I that you shall, replied the King, we will be as merry as Princes. With that he call'd for a large Glass of Wine, and drank to the Cobbler the King's good Health. [...] When of a sudden several of the Nobles came into the Celler, extraordinary rich in Apparel, who all stood bare to *Harry Tudor*,

which put the Cobler into a great amazement at first, but recovering himself, he lookt more wishfully upon *Harry Tudor*: when presently he knew him to be the King.

(B2<sup>v</sup>–B3<sup>r</sup>)

‘Martin said to his Man’

The third verse of the ballad ‘Martin said to his Man; or, Who’s the fool now?’ is the source for the Cobbler’s words at 2.1.48–51. As noted in the commentary, it is uncertain whether the actor playing the Cobbler was intended to sing or speak these words; either way, it is likely that the words would have been familiar to at least some members of the playhouse audience. The ballad was in circulation before 9 November 1588, when it was entered in the Stationers’ Register to Thomas Orywn (Arber, *Transcript*, vol. 2, p. 506). The earliest extant version, from which the below transcription is taken, is printed in Thomas Ravenscroft’s *Deuteromelia* (1609), STC 20757, D1<sup>v</sup>–D2<sup>r</sup>.

[2.1.48–51]

[First verse laid out under musical notation.]

*Martin* said to his man fie man, fie, O *Martin* said to his man  
Who’s the foole now? *Martin* said to his man fill thou the cup and I the can,  
thou hast well drunken man, who’s the foole now.

I see a sheepe shering corne,  
Fie man, fie:  
I see a sheepe shearing corne,  
Who’s the foole now?  
I see a sheepe shearing corne,  
And a couckold blow his horne,  
Thou hast well drunken man,  
who’s the foole now?

I see a man in the Moone,  
Fie man, fie:  
I see a man in the Moone,  
Who’s the foole now?  
I see a man in the Moone,  
Clowting of Saint *Peters* shoone,  
Thou hast well, &c.

I see a hare chase a hound,  
Fie man, fie:  
I see a hare chase a hound,  
who’s the foole now?  
I see a hare chase a hound,  
Twenty mile aboue the ground,  
Thou hast well drunken man,  
Who’s the foole now?

I see a goose ring a hog,  
Fie man, fie:  
I see a goos ring a hog,  
Who’s the foole now?

I see a goose ring a hog,  
And a snayle that did bite a dog,  
Thou hast well, &c.

I see a mouse catch the cat,  
Fie man, fie:  
I see a mouse catch the cat,  
Who's the foole now?  
I see a mouse catch the cat,  
And the cheese to eate the rat,  
Thou hast well drunken man,  
Who's the foole now?

### ACT 3

#### Holinshed

The following passage from Holinshed – itself taken largely from Hall's *The vnion* (ff. lvi<sup>a-b</sup>) – concerns the marriage between Lady Mary and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk which took place in 1515. As noted in the Critical Introduction, the death threat uttered by King Henry in *When You See Me* does not originate in the historical chronicles and was likely fabrication on Rowley's part. Other deviations from the chronicles are noted in the commentary.

#### **[3.2.173–215]**

At this time was much communing, and verelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calis, and there on the marches of the same, the French king and queene to come and see the king their brother: and for the same iournie manie costlie works were wrought, much rich apparell prouided, and much preparation made against the next spring: but death which is the last end of all things let this iournie. For before the next spring the French king died at the citie of Paris, the first daie of Ianuarie, when he had beene married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure score and two daies whom he so feruentlie loued, that he gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eightene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decaied complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden flux, ouercame in one instant the life, that nature gaue ouer to preserue anie longer. He was a king iust & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found constancie nor stabilitie in either fortune.

[...]

The king of England being aduertised of the French kings death, caused a solemne obsequie to be kept for him in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, with a costlie hearse: at which manie nobles were present. After this he sent a letter to comfort the queene his sister, requiring to know hir pleasure, whether she would continue still in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertised of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, sir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor West, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were sent into France, and comming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the first of that name who was the next heire male of the bloud roiall and of the same line of the dukes of Orleance.

[...]

The councell of France (by the kings appointment) assigned foorth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the queene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himselfe so towards hir, that he obtained hir good will to be hir husband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his sisters good will towards the said duke; and that he meant then to haue bestowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howsoever it was now, he wan hir loue; so as by hir consent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meekelie beseeching him of pardon in his request, which was humblie to desire him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the first staid, but after long sute, and speciallie by meane of the French queene hir selfe, and other the dukes freends, it was agreed that the duke should bring hir into England vnmarried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir secretlie in Paris at the house of Clugnie, as was said. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and houshold stufte deliuered, they tooke leaue of the new French king, and so passing thorough France, came to Calis; where she was honourable interteined, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the said duke of Suffolke. Doctor West (as then nominated bishop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go through with the full conclusion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

(pp. 835–6)

## ACT 5

### Foxe

As noted in the Critical Introduction, parts of act 5 of Rowley's *When You See Me* (scenes 1 and 4, and the latter half of scene 2 in particular) rely heavily upon Foxe's account of the accusations of heresy and treason levelled against Queen Katherine Parr in 1546; indeed, much of the dialogue between the King and Queen is taken almost verbatim from this source. Some of the key players differ in Rowley's account: Bonner, as Gardiner's co-plotter, replaces the Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley, and the part historically played by Doctor Thomas Wendy is shared in *When You See Me* between Sir William Compton and Prince Edward. It should also be noted that the historical King Henry, unlike the King in Rowley's play, was no longer a Roman Catholic at the time of Winchester's (i.e. Gardiner's) accusations.

Foxe's account of '*The storie of Queene Katherine Parr*' (pp. 1131–4), cited only briefly in the commentary, is reproduced here at length. The '*storie*' is divided so as to better highlight parallels between it and the text of Rowley's play.

### **[5.1.93–207 and 242–53]**

About the same time aboue noted, which was about the year after the king returned from Bullein, hee was informed that Queene Katherine Parre, at that time his wife, was verie much giuen to the reading and studie of the holie Scriptures: and that she for that purpose had retained diuers well learned and godlie persons, to instruct her thoroughly in the same, with whom as at all times conuenient she vsed to haue priuate conference touching spirituall matters: so also of ordinarie, but especiallie in Lent euery day in the afternoone for the space of an houre, one of hir said chaplains in hir priuie chamber made some collation to hir and to hir Ladies and Gentlewomen of her priuie chamber, or other that were disposed to heare: in which sermons, they oft times touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. Which things as they were not secretlie done, so neither were their preachinges vnknowne vnto the king. Whereof at



the first, and for a great time, he seemed very wel to like. Which made hir the more bold (being indeede become very zealous toward the Gospell, and the professors thereof) frankely to debate with the king, touching Religion, and therein flatlie to discouer hir selfe: oftentimes wishing, exhorting & perswading the king, that as hee had to the glorie of God and his eternall fame, begun a good and a godly worke in banishing that monstrous Idoll of Rome, so he would throughlie perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England, cleane from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

And albeit the king grew towards his latter ende, verie sterne and opinionate, so that of fewe he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument: notwithstanding towards her he refrained his accustomed maner (vnto others in like case vsed) as appeared by great respects, either for the reuerence of the cause, whereunto of himselfe he seemed well inclined, if some others could haue ceased from seeking to peruert him, or else for the singular affection which vntill a very small time before his death, he alwaies bare vnto hir. For neuer handmaid sought with more carefull diligence to please hir mistresse, then she did with all painfull indeuour applie hir selfe by all vertuous meanes, in all things to please his humour.

Moreouer, besides the vertues of the mind, shee was indued with very rare giftes of nature, as singular beautie, fauor, and comely personage, being thinges wherein the king was greatlie delighted: and so inioyed she the kinges fauor, to the great likelihoode of the setting at large of the Gospell within this Realme at that time, hadde not the malicious practise of certaine enemies professed against the truth (which at that time also were very great) preuented the same, to y<sup>e</sup> vtter alienating of the kings mind from Religion, and almost to the extreame ruine of the Queene and certaine others with hir, if God had not maruellouslie succoured her in that distresse. The conspirers and practisers of her death, were Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Wrisley then lorde Chancellor, and others more aswell of the kings priuie chamber, as of his priuie Counsell. These seeking (for the furtherance of their vngodly purpose) to reuiue, stirre vp, and kindle euill & pernicious humours in their prince and Soueraigne lord, to the intent to depriue hir of this great fauour, which then she stode in with the king (which they not a little feared would turne to the vtter ruine of their Antichristian sect, if it should continue) and thereby to stop the passage of the gospell: and consequentlie, hauing taken awaie hir, whoe was the onelie Patronesse of the professours of the truth, openlie without feare of checke or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed maner, to inuade the small remainder (as they hoped) of that poore flocke, made their wicked entrie vnto this their mischieuous enterprise, after this maner following.

The kinges maiestie, as you haue heard, misliked to be contended withall in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of Religion as occasion serued, the Queene would not stick in reuerent terms and humble talke, entring with him into discourse with sound reasons of Scripture, nowe and then to contrarie. The which the king was so well accustomed vnto in those matters, that at her handes he tooke all in good part, or at the least didde neuer shewe countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appall her aduersaries, to heare and see. During which time, perceiuing hir so throughlie grounded in the kings fauor, they durst not for their liues once open their lippes vnto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behinde her backe: And so long she continued this her accustomed vsage, not onelie of hearing priuate Sermons (as is saide) but also of her free conference with the king in matters of Religion, without all perill, vntill at the last by reason of his sore legge (the anguishe whereof beganne more and more to increase) hee waxed sicklie, and therewithall froward, and difficult to bee pleased.

In the time of this his sicknesse, he had left his accustomed maner of comming and visiting of the queene, and therefore she, according as she vnderstoode him by such

assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to haue hir companie, sometimes being sent for, other somtimes of hir self would come to visite him, either at after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for hir purpose. At which times shee would not faile to vse all occasions to moouie him, according to her maner, zealouslie to proceede in the reformation of the Church. The sharpenesse of the disease had sharpened the kings accustomed patience, so that he began to shewe some tokens of misliking: and contrarie vnto his maner, vpon a daie, breaking off that matter, he tooke occasion to enter into other talke, which somewhat amazed the queene. To whome notwithstanding in hir presence, he gaue neither euill word nor countenance, but knit vp all arguments with gentle wordes & louing countenance: and after other pleasant talke, she for that time tooke hir leaue of his maiestie. Who after his manner, bidding hir farewell sweet hart (for that was his vsuall terme to the queene) licenced hir to depart.

At this visitation chanced the bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, as also at the queenes taking hir leaue (who verie well had printed in his memorie the kings suddaine interrupting of the queen in hir tale, & falling into other matter) and thoughte that if the yron were beaten whilst it was hot, & that the kings humour were holpen, such misliking might followe towards the queene, as might both ouerthrow hir and al hir indeuors: and onely awaited some occasion to renew into the kinges memorie, the former misliked argument. His expectation in that behalfe did nothing faile him. For the king at that time shewed himselfe no lesse prompt and readie to receiue any information, then the bishop was maliciouslie bent to stir vp the kings indignation against hir. The king immediatlie vpon hir departure from him, vsed these or like words: A good hearing, quoth he, it is when Women become such Clearks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine olde daies to be taught by my wife.

The Bishop hearing this, seemed to mislike that the queene should so much forget her selfe, as to take vpon hir to stande in any argument with his maiestie, whom he to his face extolde for his rare vertues, and speciallie for his learned iudgement in matters of Religion, aboue, not onely Princes of that and other ages, but also aboue doctors professed in Diuinitie, and said that it was an vnseemlie thing for any of his Maiesties subiects to reason and argue with him so malapertlie, and greeuous to him for his part and other of his maiesties counsellors and seruants, to heare the same: and that they all by prooffe knewe his wisdom to be such, that it was not needefull for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring moreouer how dangerous and perillous a matter it is, and euer hath beene for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subiectes handes: who as they take boldnesse to contrary their soueraign in wordes, so want they no will, but onely power and strength to ouerthwart them in deedes.

Besides this, that the religion by the queene so stiflie maintained, did not onely disallow and dissolue the policie and politicke gouernment of princes, but also taught the people that al things ought to be in common, so that what colour soeuer they pretended, their opinions were indeede so odious, and for the princes estate so perillous, that (sauing the reuerence they bare vnto her for his maiesties sake) they durst bee bolde to affirme that the greatest subiect in this land, speaking those words that she did speake, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had with indifferent iustice, by lawe deserved death.

Howbeit for his part he would not nor durst not, without good warrant from his maiestie, speake his knowledge in the queenes case, although very apparant reasons made for him, & such as his dutifull affection towards his maiestie, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce giue him leaue to conceiue, though the vttering thereof might thorough her, and hir faction, be the vtter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes safetie, without his maiestie would take vpon him to bee their protector, and as it were their buckler. Which if he would doe (as in respect of his own safetie he ought not to refuse) hee with others of his faithfull Counsellors, could within short time disclose such treasons, cloked with

this cloke of heresie, that his maiestie shoulde easilie perceiue, howe perillous a matter it is, to cherish a Serpent within his owne bosome. Howbeit he would not for his parte willinglie deale in the matter, both for reuerent respect aforesaid, and also for feare least the faction was growne already too great there with y<sup>e</sup> princes safetie to discouer y<sup>e</sup> same. And there withall with heauie countenance and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

These and such other kinds of Winchesters flattering phrases, maruellouslie whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queene, and also to be iealous and mistrustful of his owne estate. For the assuraunce whereof princes vse not to be scrupulous to doe any thing. Thus then Winchester with his flattering words, seeking to frame the kings disposition after his owne pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, & with doubtfull feares hee with other his fellowes, so filled the kings mistrustfull minde, that before they departed the place, the king (to see belike what they would doe) hadde giuen commandement, with warrant to certaine of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certaine articles against the queene, wherein hir life might be touched: which the king by their perswasions pretended to bee fullie resolved not to spare, hauing any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practise to as mischieuous an execution.

(pp. 1131–2)

[5.2.101–73]

[...] The Queene all this while compassed about with enimies and persecutours, perceiued nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellowes: so closely the matter was conueyed. But see what the Lorde God (whoe from his eternall throne of wisdom, seeth and dispatcheth all the inuentions of Achitophell, and comprehendeth the wilie beguillie themselues) did for his poore handmaiden, in rescuing hir from the pitte of ruine, whereinto she was readie to fall vnawares.

For as the Lord would, so came it to passe, that the bill of articles drawne against the Queene, and subscribed with the kings own hand (although dissemblinglie ye must vnderstand) falling from the bosome of one of the foresaid counsellors, was found and taken vp of some godlie person, and brought immediatlie vnto the Queene. Who reading there the articles comprised against hir, and perceiuing the kings owne hande vnto the same, for the sudden feare thereof, fell incontinent into a great melancholie and agonie, bewailing and taking on in such sort, as was lamentable to see, as certaine of her Ladies and Gentlewomen being yet aliue, which were then present about her, can testifie.

The king hearing what perplexitie she was in, almost to the perill and danger of her life, sent his Phisitions vnto her. Who traueilling about hir, and seeing what extremitie shee was in, did what they could for hir recouerie. Then Wendy, who knew the case better then the other, and perceiuing by hir words what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him: for the comforting of her heauie mind, began to break with her in secret maner, touching the said articles deuised against hir, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if euer he were knowne to vtter the same to any liuing creature. Neuerthelesse, partlie for the safetie of hir life, and partlie for the discharge of his owne conscience, hauing remorse to consent to the sheading of innocent blood, he could not but giue hir warning of that mischiefe that hanged ouer hir head, beseeching hir most instantlie to vse all secrecie in that behalfe, and exhorted hir somewhat to frame & conforme hir self vnto the kings mind, saying he did not doubt, but if she would so doe, and shewe hir humble submission vnto him, shee should finde him gracious and fauourable vnto hir.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained: came vnto hir him selfe. Unto whom after that she had vttered hir grieffe, fearing least his maiestie (she saide) had taken displeasure with hir, and had vtterlie forsaken her: he like a louing husband with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased hir carefull mind, that she vpon the same began somewhat to recouer, and so the king after he had taried there about the space of an houre, departed.

After this the Queene remembring with hir selfe the words that maister Wendy had said vnto hir, deuised howe by some good oportunitie she might repaire to the kings presence. And so first commanding hir ladies to conuey awaie their bookes, which were against the lawe, the next night following after supper, she (waited vppon onelie by the ladie Harbert, hir sister and the ladie Lane, who caried the candle before hir) went vnto the kinges bedchamber, whome she found sitting and talking with certaine Gentlemen of his chamber. Whome when the king did behold, verie curteouslie he welcomed hir, & breaking off the talke, which before hir comming he had with the Gentlemen aforesaid, began of himselfe, contrary to his maner before accustomed to enter into talk of Religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the Queene of certaine doubts which he propounded.

(p. 1133)

#### [5.4.56–128]

The Queene perceiuing to what purpose this talk did tend, not being vnprouided in what sort to behaue hir selfe towardes the king, with such answeres resolved his questions as the time and oportunitie present did require, mildelie and with a reuerent countenance answering againe after this maner.

[Marginal note: The Queenes politike submission to the king.] *Your Maiestie, quoth she, doth right well knowe, neyther I my selfe am ignorant, what great imperfection and weaknesse by our first creation, is allotted vnto vs women, to be ordained and appointed as inferiour and subiect vnto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his owne shape and likenesse, whereby he being indued with more speciall gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heauenly things, and to the earnest endeuour to obey his commandements: euen so also made he woman of man, of whom and by whom shee is to bee gouerned, commanded and directed. Whose womanly weaknesse, and naturall imperfection, ought to be tolerated, ayded, and borne withal, so that by his wisdomesuch thinges as bee lacking in hir, ought to be supplied.*

*Sithens therefore that God hath appointed such a naturall difference betweene man and woman, and your Maiestie beeing so excellent in giftes and ornamentes of wisdomes, and I a seely poore woman so much inferior in all respectes of nature vnto you: howe then commeth it nowe to passe that your maiestie in such diffuse causes of Religion, will seeme to require my iudgement? Which when I haue vttered and saide what I can, yet must I, and wil I, referre my iudgement in this and all other cases to your Maiesties wisdomes, as my onely anker, supream head and gouernour here in earth next vnder God, to leane vnto.*

Not so by saint Marie, quoth the king. You are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct vs (as wee take it) and not to bee instructed, or directed by vs.

*If your Maiestie take it so, quoth the Queene, then hath your maiesty very much mistaken me, who hath euer been of the opinion, to thinke it very vnseemly & preposterous for the woman to take vpon hir the office of an instructor or teacher to hir lord and husband, but rather to learne of hir husband, & to bee taught by him. And where I haue with your maiesties leaue heretofore byn bold to hold talke with your*

*maiesty, wherein somtimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I haue not done it so much to maintaine opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your maiesty might with lesse greefe passe ouer this painfull time of your infirmity, beeing intentiue to our talk, and hoping that your maiesty should reape some ease therby: but also that I hearing your maiesties learned discourse might receiue to my selfe some profit thereof. Wherin I assure your maiesty I haue not missed any part of my desire in that behalfe, alwaies referring my selfe in al such matters vnto your maiesty, as by ordinance of nature it is conuenient for me to doe.*

[Marginal note: Perfect agreement betweene the king and the Queene.] And is it euen so sweet hart, quoth the king? And tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friendes wee are now againe, as euer at any time heretofore: and as he sate in his chaire imbracing her in his armes and kissing her, he added this saying: *That it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her owne mouth, then if hee had heard present newes of an hundred thousande poundes in money falne vnto him.* And with great signes and tokens of maruellous ioye and liking, with promises and assurances, neuer againe in any sort more to mistake her, entring into other very pleasant discourses with the Queene and the lordes, & gentlemen standing by, in the ende (being verie farre on the night) he gaue hir leaue to depart. Whom in her absence to the standers by, hee gaue as singular and as effectuous commendations, as before time to the bishop and the Chancellor (who then were neither of them present) he seemed to mislike of hir.

Now then, God be thanked, the kings mind was cleane altered, and he detested in his hart (as afterwarde hee plainelie shewed) this Tragicall practise of those cruell Caiphases: who nothing vnderstanding of the Kings well reformed minde, and good disposition towards the Queene, were busilie occupied about thinking & prouiding for their next daies labor, which was the day determined to haue caried the Queene to the Tower.

(p. 1133)

#### [5.4.145–94]

The daie and almost the houre appointed being come, the K. being disposed in the after noone to take the ayre (waited vpon with two Gentlemen only of his bed chamber) went into the garden, whither the Queene also came, being sent for by the king himselfe, the three ladies aboue named, alone waiting vpon hir. With whom the King at that time disposed himselfe to be as pleasant as euer hee was in all his life before: When suddenly in the midst of their mirth, the houre determined beeing come, in commeth the lord Chancellor into the garden with a fortie of the Kinges Garde at his heeles, with purpose in deede to haue taken the Queene, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whome they had before purposed to apprehend alone, euen then vnto the Tower. Whome then the king sternelie beholding, breaking off his mirth with the Queene, stepping a little aside, called the Chancellour vnto him. Who vpon his knees spake certaine words vnto the King, but what they were (for that they were softlie spoken, and the King a good pretie distance from the queene) it is not well knowne, but it is most certaine that the kings replying vnto him, was knaue, for his answer: yea arrant knaue, beast, and foole, and with that the K. commanded him presently to auant out of his presence. Which wordes although they were vttered somewhat lowe, yet were they so vehementlie whispered out by the King, that the queene did easilie with hir Ladies aforesaide ouer heare them: which had beene not a little to hir comfort, if she had knowne at that time the whole cause of his comming so perfectlie, as after shee knew it. Thus departed the lord Chancellor out of the kinges presence as he came, with all his traine, the whole mould of all his deuise being vtterlie broken.

The king after his departure, immediatlie returned to the Queene. Whom she perceiuing to be verie much chafed (albeit comming towards hir, he inforced himselfe to put on a merrie countenance) with as sweet words as she could vtter, indeuoured to

qualifie the king his displeasure, with request vnto his Maiestie in the behalfe of the lord Chancellor, whome he seemed to be offended withall: saying for his excuse, that albeit she knew not what iust cause his maiestie had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought his maiestie (if the cause were not very hainous) at hir humble sute to take it.

[Marginal note: The Q. maketh excuse for hir enemy.] Ah poore soule, quoth he, thou little knowest howe euill hee deserueth this grace at thy hands. Of my word (sweet hart) he hath beene towards thee an arrant knaue, and so let him goe. To this the queen in charitable maner replying in few words, ended that talke: hauing also by Gods onlie blessing happilie for that time and euer, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloudie and cruell enemies for the gospels sake.

(pp. 1133–4)

### Holinshed

The following passage relates to the accusations made against Wolsey in act 5, scene 5 of Rowley's *When You See Me*. These derive from the articles drawn up against the Cardinal and presented to King Henry VIII during the parliament of October 1530, just short of one month before Wolsey's death. Articles 7, 2 and 4, in that order, are drawn upon in this scene. The articles (minus number 8) are also printed in Foxe (p. 908).

### **[5.5.108–13 and 126–7]**

During this parlement was brought downe to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king against the cardinall, the chiefe wherof were these.

1 First, that he without the kings assent had procured to be a legat, by reason whereof he tooke awaie the right of all bishops and spirituall persons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome, or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego & rex meus*, I and my king: as who would saie, that the king were his seruant.

3 Item, that he hath slandered the church of England in the court of Rome. For his suggestion to be legat was to reforme the church of England, which (as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobum sensum*.

4 Item, he without the kings assent carried the kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperour.

5 Item, he without the kings assent, sent a commission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to conclud a league betweene the king & the duke of Ferrar, without the kings knowledge.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pockes presumed to come and breath on the king.

7 Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not suffer the kings clerke of the market to sit at saint Albons.

9 Item, that he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impouerishment of the realme.

These articles, with manie more, read in the common house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writing sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the king all his mooueables and vnmooueables.

(p. 912)

### Appendix 3: Doubling charts

As discussed in the section on ‘Actors and casting’ (pp. 65–77), two possible doubling charts have been constructed for Rowley’s *When You See Me*: a minimum cast chart (a), which demonstrates how all forty-two speaking roles could have been covered by the twelve adult and five boy actors required to perform the dialogue of the play, and a fuller doubling chart (b) that covers, in addition to the forty-two speaking parts, the numerous mute and supernumerary roles required to perform the play in its entirety. The roles in this second chart are divided between the eighteen adult and five boy actors that come together in the play’s largest on-stage grouping in act 5, scene 5 (see p. 74).

The first of the two doubling charts is self-explanatory. All seventeen actors are listed – adults first and then boys – from the highest total number of speaking lines down to the lowest. The second chart is more complex. It, too, is divided into two sections, separating the adults’ from the boys’ roles; horizontal lines in each table separate out individual actors. Character names marked with an asterisk indicate principal speaking parts, i.e. parts of twenty-five or more lines for adults and ten or more lines for boys, while italicised names indicate mute roles. For each character, the chart documents in which scenes they make an appearance, as well as the number of lines spoken in each scene (an en-dash indicates that the character in question does not appear in a given scene). The number ‘0’ indicates the silent appearance of a speaking role (see, e.g., Gardiner in act 3, scene 1); it is distinguished from ‘*n-s*’ (‘*non-speaking*’), which is used only for mute roles. The far right-hand column provides the total number of lines for each role, plus, in bold, the total number of lines spoken by each actor.

#### 3a. Minimum cast doubling chart (speaking roles only)

##### Adults

1. King = 1,003 lines
2. Will Summers / Black Will = 415 lines
3. Wolsey / 1 Servant = 249 lines
4. Bonnivet / Campeius / Constable / Porter / Cranmer / Emperor = 211 lines
5. Gardiner / Rooksby / Servant = 114 lines
6. Bonner / Cobbler = 111 lines
7. Paris / Patch / Messenger / Tye = 88 lines
8. Compton = 82 lines
9. Brandon / 2 Servant = 80 lines
10. Grey / 1 Watch / 1 Prisoner = 47 lines
11. Dudley / 2 Watch / 2 Prisoner = 36 lines
12. Seymour / Dormouse / 1 Guard = 21 lines

##### Boys

13. 2 Lady / Prince = 202 lines
14. 1 Lady / Queen Katherine = 161 lines
15. Lady Mary = 29 lines
16. Queen Jane / 1 Page / Marquess = 28 lines
17. Countess / Browne = 21 lines

3b. Full doubling chart (both speaking and mute roles)

Table 1: Adult Actors

	Act and scene numbers															Number of lines	
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	4.1	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5		
*King	-	175	-	141	63	-	113	-	136	29	86	-	-	161	99	1,003	
*Will Summers	-	69	-	94	-	-	-	29	42	49	-	-	-	28	29	340	
*Wolsey	94	6	36	23	-	-	-	46	13	-	-	-	-	4	26	248	
Mace-bearer	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
Herald	-	-	-	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
*Black Will	-	-	-	-	49	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	
Attendant (Prince's)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	0	
*Emperor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	43	
																118	
*Gardiner	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	70	-	17	10	-	106	
Herald	-	-	-	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	0	
																106	
Purse-bearer	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
*Campeius	-	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	
*Cranmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	58	-	19	-	-	-	78	
Swordbearer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	0	
																105	
*Bonner	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	39	-	7	4	-	58	
Trumpeter	-	-	-	n-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	
*Constable	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	
Trumpeter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	0	
																88	
*Compton	12	4	-	8	2	6	1	-	1	1	3	39	-	5	-	82	
Herald	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	0	
Herald (re-entrance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n-5	0	
																82	



Table 1: Adult Actors (continued)

	Act and scene numbers														Number of lines	
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	4.1	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	
*Brandon	—	3	—	38	—	10	11	—	9	—	4	—	—	1	3	79
*Bonnivet Trumpeter	8	15	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
*Cobbler	—	—	—	n-s	39	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Attendant (Prince's)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	53
Trumpeter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																0
																78
*Tyne	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	—	4	—	—	—	48
*Patch	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	27
Mace-bearer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																75
Legate	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
1 Watch	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
Porter	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Servant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
1 Servant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Swordbearer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																31
Attendant	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Dormouse	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
1 Prisoner	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Attendant (King's)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	0
Attendant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	0
1 Guard	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Guardsmen (twice)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																21
Dudley	—	6	—	5	—	—	—	—	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	20
Prisoner	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Gentleman	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
Lord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																20

Table 1: Adult Actors (continued)

Actors' roles	Act and scene numbers														Number of lines	
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	4.1	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	
Paris	10	0	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Legate	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Rooksby	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
2 Servant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Guardsman (twice)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	0
Lord Mayor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																19
Attendant	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
2 Watch	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
2 Prisoner	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Messenger	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	1
Attendant (King's)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	0
Attendant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guardsman (twice)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	0
Guardsman (twice)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																17
Seymour	—	8	—	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	15
Keeper	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Gentleman	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
Lord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																15
Grey	—	1	—	7	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	12
Gentleman	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
Lord	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	n-s	0
																12

Table 2: Boy Actors

Actors' roles	Act and scene numbers															Number of lines			
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	4.1	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5				
2 Lady Lady Lady *Prince	-	2 n-s n-s -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - 103 -	- - - -	- - - 70	- - - -	- - - -	- - - 9	- - - 18	2 0 0 200 202		
1 Lady Another Lady Lady *Queen Katherine	- - - -	2 n-s n-s -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - 11 -	- - - -	- - 49 -	- - - 39	- - - -	- - - -	- - 49	- - 11	2 0 0 159 161		
*Lady Mary Page Young Lord	- - -	27 - -	- - -	- n-s -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 - -	- - -	1 - -	- - n-s	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 - -	29 0 0 29		
*Queen Jane 1 Page Marquess Lady attending	- - - -	22 - - -	- - - -	- 1 - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - 5 -	- - - -	- - 0 -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - n-s	22 1 5 0 28			
Countess *Browne Lady attending	- - -	6 - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- 13 -	- - -	- 2 -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - n-s	6 15 0 21		

#### Appendix 4: Location of early modern editions

The table that follows documents the current locations and shelfmarks of the thirty-one known copies of Rowley's *When You See Me*.

<i>Edition</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Current shelfmark</i>
1605 Greg 212 (a) / <i>STC</i> 21417	Bodleian	Mal.829
	Boston Public Library	XG.3975.46
1613 Greg 212 (b) / <i>STC</i> 21418	Bodleian	Mal.186 (6)
	British Library	C.34.e.2
	Worcester College	Plays 4.88
	Huntington	69159
	Harry Ransom Center	Pforz 839
	ThULB	4 Art.lib.XIII, 14
1621 Greg 212 (c) / <i>STC</i> 21419	Bodleian (1)	Mal.830
	Bodleian (2)	Douce R130 (1)
	V&A	Dyce 26 Box 38/6; ref. 8382
	Eton College	S.170. Plays 13 (05)
	Petworth House	Old Plays 14 (04)
	University of Illinois	IUA10737
	Beinecke, Yale	Z77 184cs
	Huntington	69139
	Houghton, Harvard	14433.26.6.2*
	Ohio State University	PR2739 R8 W5 1621
1632 Greg 212 (d) / <i>STC</i> 21420	Bodleian	Mal.214 (8)
	British Library (1)	C.34.e.3
	British Library (2)	C.12.f.2 (1)
	Worcester College	Plays 4.89 (2)
	V&A	Forster 47.E Box 6/11; ref. 7542
	Huntington	69157
	Folger Shakespeare (1)	STC 21420, copy 1, cs163
	Folger Shakespeare (2)	STC 21420, copy 2, cs432
	Clark, Los Angeles	PR2739.R8 W5 1632 *
	University of Illinois	IUA10738
	Newberry, Chicago	Case Y 135.R7972
	Beinecke, Yale	Ih R797 605cc
	Princeton University	RHT 17th-492

### Other copies

Copies of Q1 were once owned by Sir John Harington (c. 1609–10) and by Henry Oxinden of Barham, Kent (c. 1663–5).<sup>1</sup> A copy of Q3 was owned (or at least temporarily in the possession of) William Drummond of Hawthornden who, around 1621, compiled a ‘*Catalogue of Comedies*’ that he had either read or bought; Rowley’s play heads the list.<sup>2</sup> In the 1630s–40s a copy of Q4 was owned by John Horne of Headington, Oxfordshire; after his death, his playbooks passed into the possession of John Houghton of Brasenose College, Oxford, then to James Herne, and finally to the library of Ralph Sheldon at Weston (Warwickshire).<sup>3</sup> None of the abovementioned copies have been located, and it is possible that they no longer survive.

The location of another copy of Q2, once owned by bibliophile Henry Huth (b. 1815–d. 1878), is also currently unknown. The copy in question was sold on the forty-second day of the sale of Huth’s library on 3 July 1918 as lot number 6454; the physical description was given as follows: ‘(some margins cut into), mottled calf extra’. It was bought for £18 by Pickering & Chatto, who also purchased Huth’s ‘fine’ copy of ‘Rowley’s’ *The Noble Soldier*.<sup>4</sup> Presumably the copy is now in a private collection.

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<sup>1</sup> Wiggins, *Catalogue*, vol. 5, entry 1441, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> The list (Hawthornden MS 2060, ff. 122–3) is transcribed in Robert H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), pp. 231–2.

<sup>3</sup> Wiggins, *Catalogue*, vol. 5, entry 1441, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the famous library [...] collected by Henry Huth*, 9 vols. (London: Dryden Press, 1911–20), vol. 7, pp. 1810 and 1981.

## Appendix 5: Bibliographical descriptions and copy-specific information

### 1605 edition (Q1)

Greg 212 (a), STC 21417

#### *TITLE*

When you fee me, | You know me. | Or the famous Chronicle Hiftorie [ligature ‘ft’] |  
*of king Henry the eight, with the* | birth and vertuous life of Edward | *Prince of Wales.* |  
As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince | *of Wales his feruants.* | By SAMVELL  
ROVLY, feruant | to the Prince. | [woodcut mask ornament, extremities measuring 53 x  
40 mm] | LONDON, | Imprinted for *Nathaniell Butter*, and are to be fold | in Paules  
Church-yeard neare Saint | *Austines* [swash ‘A’; ligature ‘st’] gate. 1605.

#### *HALF-TITLE*

[Lace ornament, 94 x 12 mm] | When you fee me, | You know me.

#### *RUNNING TITLES* (divided as per the five sections of Q1; see also Appendix 7)

Sheets A–C: *When you fee me, you know me.* on A1, A2, A3, A4, B1, B2, B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>,  
C1<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>, C3 and C4<sup>r</sup>

*when you fee me, you know me.* on B3<sup>r</sup> and C2<sup>v</sup>

*VWhen you fee me, you know me.* on B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup> and C4<sup>v</sup>

Sheets D–F: *When you fee me, you know me.* on D2, D3<sup>r</sup>, D4<sup>v</sup>, E1, E2, E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup>, F1,  
F2, F3<sup>r</sup> and F4<sup>v</sup>

*When you fee me, you knowe me.* on D1, E4<sup>r</sup> and F4<sup>r</sup>

*When you fee me, you shall know me.* on D3<sup>v</sup>, E3<sup>v</sup> and F3<sup>v</sup>

*When you fee me, you kuow me.* on D4<sup>r</sup>

Sheet G: *When you fee me, | you know me.* throughout

Sheets H–I: *When you fee me, you know me.* throughout

Sheets K–L: *When you fee mee, you know mee.* throughout

#### *COLLATION*

4<sup>o</sup>: A–K<sup>4</sup> L<sup>2</sup>

Leaves 1–3 typically signed (excluding A1 and L2); G and H fully signed.

#### *CONTENTS*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title-page

A1<sup>v</sup>: blank

A2<sup>r</sup>: half-title, initial and start of text

L2<sup>r</sup>: *FINIS.* [swash ‘N’] and ornament, 70 x 11 mm

L2<sup>v</sup>: blank

## TYPOGRAPHY

Sheets A–C:	40–44 lines of small pica type per page Measures of 96 mm and 79 mm.
Sheets D–F:	38 lines (average) of pica type per page Measures of 115 mm and 90 mm.
Sheet G:	38 lines (average) of pica type per page Measures of 156 mm and 87 mm.
Sheets H–I:	38 lines (average) of pica type per page Measures of 156 mm and 87 mm in sheet H; measures of 156 mm and 89 mm in sheet I.
Sheets K–L:	38 lines (average) of pica type per page Measures of 156 mm and 81 mm.

## CATCHWORDS FAILING TO CATCH

A2 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Cump.</i> ] <i>Cum.</i>
A4 <sup>r</sup>	<i>King</i> ] <i>King.</i>
A4 <sup>v</sup>	marry] marrie
B1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>King</i> ] <i>King.</i>
B2 <sup>v</sup>	We] <i>L. Marie.</i>
B3 <sup>v</sup>	<i>King.</i> ] <i>Kin.</i>
B4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Bran.</i> ] <i>Brand.</i>
C1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Pach</i> ] <i>Patch.</i>
C2 <sup>v</sup>	laffe,] lafe
C4 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Gray.</i> ] <i>Gray.</i>
C4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>King:</i> ] <i>King.</i>
D1 <sup>v</sup>	I Wat. God-] I Wat. Godyegodnight
D3 <sup>v</sup>	2. VVatch] 2. Watch.
D4 <sup>r</sup>	Con-] <i>Con.</i>
E1 <sup>v</sup>	But] <i>Enter</i>
E2 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Will.</i> ] <i>VVill.</i>
F2 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Rookesbie</i> ] <i>Rookesby,</i>
F4 <sup>r</sup>	Then] Then
G1 <sup>r</sup>	paines] paynes,
G4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Prince.</i> ] <i>Ile</i>
H1 <sup>v</sup>	: <i>Dud.</i> ] <i>Dud.</i>
H2 <sup>v</sup>	Ye] Yee
I1 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Enter</i> ] <i>Cran.</i>
I4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Comp.</i> ] <i>Compt:</i>
K2 <sup>r</sup>	decei-] deceived

## COPY-SPECIFIC INFORMATION (shelfmarks and press variants in Appendices 4 and 6)

### Bodleian copy

178 x 133 mm, trimmed

Provenance: copy owned by Richard Heber (1773–1833); ‘BIBLIOTHECA  
HEBERIANA’ stamp on first endpaper, plus acquisition note on  
reverse of front board (he paid £4 14s 6d for the copy on 15 August  
1821). Acquired by the Bodleian in 1834; part of Malone Collection.

Binding: bound as a single copy, prior to Heber’s ownership, in velum; holes  
down the inside margins provide evidence of previous stab-stitching

Marginalia: missing SP supplied on G3<sup>v</sup>; pen marks on L1<sup>v</sup> mark Summers’s jests

Other: water staining to top outer corners of sheets A–E; minor rust marks in sheets K and L. Watermarks visible in all sheets but C, E and L.

#### Boston copy

162 x 109 mm, trimmed

Provenance: once owned by Thomas Pennant Barton, whose bookplate appears on the front pastedown. Acquired by the Boston Public Library in May 1873. The note ‘128 – 2.12.6’ may indicate that the copy was previously bought at auction, as lot number 128, for £2 12s 6d.

Binding: bound singly in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century between sturdy marbled boards with a dark red leather spine

Other: Severely cropped throughout. Watermarks visible in all sheets but A, C, I and L.

#### 1613 edition (Q2)

Greg 212 (b), STC 21418

#### *TITLE*

WHEN YOY SEE ME, | You know me. | Or the famous Chronicle Hiltorie [ligature ‘ft’] of king | *Henrie* the Eight, with the birth and vertuous life | of EDVVARD *Prince of Wales*. | *As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince of Wales | his fervants*. | By SAMVELL ROVVLY, fervant | to the Prince. | [woodcut of Henry VIII, 88 x 97 mm] | AT LONDON, | ¶ Printed for *Nathaniell Butter*, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules | Church-yard neare *S. Austines* [swash ‘A’; ligature ‘st’] gate. 1613.

#### *HALF-TITLE*

[Lace ornament within border, 105 x 19 mm] | When you fee mee, | You know mee.

#### *RUNNING TITLES*

*When you fee me, you know me.* [swash final ‘e’]

#### *COLLATION*

4<sup>o</sup>: A–L<sup>4</sup>, signed on first three leaves of each gathering (excluding A1)

#### *CONTENTS*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title-page

A1<sup>v</sup>: blank

A2<sup>r</sup>: half-title, initial and start of text

L3<sup>v</sup>: *FINIS*. [swash ‘I’ (first occurrence); swash ‘N’] and lace ornament, 87 x 12 mm

L4: blank

#### *TYPOGRAPHY*

38 lines (average) of pica type per page

Sheets A–D: measures of 104 mm and 157 mm

Sheets E–L: measures of 95 mm and 157 mm



## CATCHWORDS FAILING TO CATCH

B4 <sup>r</sup>	<i>La. Mary.] Lady Mary.</i>
C4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>VWill.] Will.</i>
D4 <sup>v</sup>	<i>2 Watch.] 2 VWatch.</i>
E1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Enter] ¶ Enter</i>
F1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>toge-] together</i>
F3 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Comp.] Comp</i>

## COPY-SPECIFIC INFORMATION (shelfmarks and press variants in Appendices 4 and 6)

### Bodleian copy

173 x 124 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: copy bequeathed by Edmund Malone (received by the Bodleian in 1821)

Binding: rebound singly in August 1927 between brown boards with dark brown leather spine

Other: title-page cropped so that only 'AT LONDON' is fully visible; the date '1613' is supplied by hand. Some signatures and catchwords cropped. Watermarks visible in sheets A, H, I, K and L.

### British Library copy

170 x 121 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: MVSEVM BRITANNICVM stamp (in use from 1753–1836) on A1<sup>r</sup> and orange BRITISH MUSEUM stamp (in use from 1768–1944) on L3<sup>v</sup> indicate that the copy was donated to BL between 1768 and 1836

Binding: bound singly in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century in an armorial binding; red cover boards with identical gilt decoration and emblem on front and back panels. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.

Other: slightly cropped at the head. Watermarks visible in all sheets but F and I.

### Worcester College copy

189 x 128 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: unknown, but in the possession of Worcester College Library by the early twentieth century

Binding: rebound singly in the early twentieth century by C. H. Wilkinson, the then librarian of Worcester College; dark brown half-calf binding with colourful, feathered boards

Marginalia: the name 'Robert' is written in ink alongside the title-page woodcut and the names 'Richard Skynner' and 'Andrew Cashe' appear alongside the text on C2<sup>r</sup> and K4<sup>v</sup> and on H2<sup>r</sup>, respectively; on C2<sup>r</sup> the note 'His Books 1617' is written next to Skynner's signature. On I2<sup>v</sup> Elizabeth's letter to Prince Edward (5.2.41–50) is written out in full (see *Fig. 12* on p. 141), and a number of line drawings and patterns appear in sheets K and L.

Other: some repair work to title-page and to leaves B3 and L4. Watermarks visible in all sheets but A and L.

#### Huntington copy

176 x 125 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: once owned by Robert Hoe (bookplate on front pastedown); acquired by Henry E. Huntington in 1912. The note '6/6/-' evidently represents the price paid for the copy.

Binding: bound singly in the early twentieth century by T. Aitken (note on endpaper). Goatskin binding with intricate gilt tooling; each leaf edged in gold.

Other: title-page slightly cropped at the foot, affecting the imprint. Some minor repair work evident throughout; more extensive work on leaves B2 and D1. Many leaves heavily stained. Watermarks visible in all sheets but L.

#### Harry Ransom Center copy

169 x 119 mm, trimmed (title-page trimmed at 175 mm x 119 mm and folded horizontally along the imprint to prevent overhang)

Provenance: once owned by John L. Clawson (bookplate on front pastedown); sold as lot number 688 in the sixth session of the Clawson sale on 24 May 1926. Now a part of the Carl Howard Pforzheimer (1879–1957) Collection.

Binding: rebound singly in the mid-nineteenth century by Riviere & Son. Dark brown morocco with gilt lettering on front cover board and spine; leaves edged with gold.

Other: slightly cropped at the foot throughout, obscuring some signatures and catchwords; some damage to leaves A3 and A4. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### ThULB copy

187 x 140 mm, trimmed

Provenance: owned by historian Johann Andreas Bose (1626–1674), who became Professor of History at the University of Jena in 1656; purchased from Bose's widow for 2,000 Thalers in 1675/6 by the Saxon-Ernestine Dukes for use in the Academic Library

Binding: bound singly in a wrapper of thin card, stitched together with fine string

Other: pages in this copy have not been beaten flat – the small hillocks produced by the type indicate that the sheets were printed inner forme first. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### 1621 edition (Q3)

Greg 212 (c), *STC* 21419

#### *TITLE*

WHEN YOV SEE ME, | You know me. | Or the famous Chronicle Hiftory [ligature 'ft'] of king | *Henrie* the Eight, with the birth and vertuous life | of EDVVARD *Prince of Wales*. | *As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince of Wales | his feruants*. | By SAMVELL ROVVLY, feruant | to the Prince. | [woodcut of Henry VIII, 88 x 97 mm] |

AT LONDON, | ¶ Printed for *Nathaniell Butter*, and are to be fold at his fhop in  
Paules | Church-yard neere S. *Austines* [ligature ‘st’] gate. 1621.

### HALF-TITLE

[Lace ornament within border, 105 x 19 mm] | When you fee mee, | You know me.

### RUNNING TITLES

*When you fee me, you know mee.* [swash ‘e’, second occurrence] on A3<sup>v</sup>

*When you fee me, you know me.* [swash ‘e’] on A3<sup>r</sup>, A4, B3, B4, C3<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>, D3<sup>r</sup>, D4<sup>v</sup>,  
E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup>, F3<sup>v</sup>, F4<sup>r</sup>, G3<sup>r</sup>, G4<sup>v</sup>, H3<sup>v</sup>, H4<sup>r</sup>,  
I3, I4<sup>r</sup>, K3<sup>r</sup> and K4<sup>v</sup>

*When you fee mee, you know mee.* [swash ‘e’, second occurrence] on all other leaves

### COLLATION

4<sup>o</sup>: A–L<sup>4</sup>, signed on first three leaves of each gathering (excluding A1)

### CONTENTS

A1<sup>r</sup>: title-page

A1<sup>v</sup>: blank

A2<sup>r</sup>: half-title, initial and start of text

L3<sup>v</sup>: *FINIS*. [swash ‘I’ (first occurrence); swash ‘N’] and lace ornament, 92 x 13 mm

L4: blank

### TYPOGRAPHY

38 lines (average) of pica type per page

Sheets A–D: measures of 104 mm and 157 mm

Sheets E–L: measures of 95 mm and 157 mm

### CATCHWORDS FAILING TO CATCH

B4<sup>r</sup> *La. Mary.] Lady Mary.*

C4<sup>r</sup> wele] weele

D3<sup>v</sup> *King.] King*

E1<sup>v</sup> *Enter] ¶ Enter*

E2<sup>r</sup> *Enter] Enter,*

E3<sup>r</sup> wine] Wine

F3<sup>r</sup> *Comp.] Camp.*

### COPY-SPECIFIC INFORMATION (shelfmarks and press variants in Appendices 4 and 6)

#### Bodleian copy (1)

171 x 128 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: like the Bodleian’s copy of Q1, this once belonged to Richard  
Heber (acquisition note on first endpaper, plus price ‘1.11.6’); it  
later became a part of the Malone Collection

Binding: bound either before or while in Heber’s possession in dark green  
morocco with marbled boards; gilt tooling on covers and spine

Other: slightly cropped at the head, affecting some running titles; damage to leaf L3, obscuring text in places. Watermarks visible in all sheets but A and L.

#### Bodleian copy (2)

177 x 125 mm, trimmed

Provenance: copy once belonged to Francis Douce (armorial bookplate on endpaper and acquisition note on front pasteboard: 'Major Pearson's sale, April 1788, lot 3932. Bt by Douce for 7/6d'); acquired by the Bodleian upon Douce's death in 1834

Binding: bound with a copy of *The Noble Soldier* (1634), presumably under the assumption that both texts were authored by Rowley. Pre-nineteenth-century binding. Brown half-calf with marbled boards; gilt tooling and lettering on spine.

Other: title-page slightly cropped at the foot; other pages slightly cropped at the head, affecting some running titles. Two engraved images are glued on to the front pasteboard, perhaps depicting character types from the plays (one is a jester). Watermarks visible in all sheets but L.

#### V&A copy

173 x 125 mm, trimmed

Provenance: bequeathed by the Reverend Alexander Dyce (*d.* 1869)

Binding: rebound singly in the early to mid-nineteenth century while in Dyce's possession; brown calf with gilt tooling. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.

Marginalia: a pencil note on the front endpaper reads: 'collated perfect – A Dyce'; another note in Dyce's hand on L4<sup>v</sup> cites a line from the play: 'God ye godnight & twenty, sir' and provides its position in the text ('D3')

Other: cropped at both head and foot, affecting some running titles and catchwords; imprint severely cropped so that only 'AT LONDON,' is fully visible. Much discolouration (especially sheets G and I) and evidence of repair work on title-page. Watermarks visible in all sheets but L. Erroneously listed in the National Art Library catalogue as a copy of the 1605 edition.

#### Eton College copy

178 x 121 mm, trimmed; gathering L (see 'Binding') trimmed at 168 x 121 mm; lacks L4

Provenance: bequeathed by Anthony Morris Storer (*d.* 1799), book collector and previous student of Eton; acquired by Eton College in 1800

Binding: bound in the eighteenth century as part of a volume of five plays (the last of the five). Mottled calf, with gilt decoration on covers and spine. A blank leaf is inserted between leaves A1 and A2, and gathering L is taken from a (presumably now lost) copy of Q2 and bound in erroneously before gathering K.

Other: slightly cropped at the foot, affecting some catchwords; imprint severely cropped so that only the first line remains. Cropping also at fore-edge, affecting text in sheet B. Some evidence of repair work. Watermarks visible in sheets B, D, F, H, I and K.

#### Petworth House (National Trust) copy

180 x 125 mm, trimmed

Provenance: copy owned by George O'Brien Wyndham, the third Earl of Egremont of Petworth House (1751–1837)

Binding: bound in the late seventeenth century as part of a larger volume of ten play quartos (fourth in volume). Bound in sprinkled calf with a double gilt fillet frame and gilt centrepiece, depicting the earl's coronet. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.

Other: title-page cropped at the foot, so that final line of imprint is missing; severe water staining throughout. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) copy

173 x 118 mm, trimmed

Provenance: once owned by the Reverend Henry Cunliffe (1826–1894), Vicar of Shifnal in Shropshire (diamond-shaped bookplate on front pastedown). The pencil note '15 My 47 Stonehill' on the second endpaper presumably represents the sale of the copy.

Binding: rebound singly in the late nineteenth century by Riviere. Red mottled half-calf binding with gilt decoration on spine and in corners.

Other: trimmed throughout at an angle; severely cropped at the foot, affecting signatures, catchwords and imprint. Minor repair work evident on A1 and L1. Brown staining throughout sheet F; paper damage in sheet I, obscuring some text. Watermarks visible in all sheets but K.

#### Beinecke copy (Yale)

176 x 130 mm, trimmed; lacks title-page (see 'Other') and L4

Provenance: bookplates on the front pastedown indicate that the copy was owned by Edgar F. Leo (dates unknown) and John Camp Williams (1859?–1929); purchased by Yale for the Albert H. Childs (1961) Memorial Collection

Binding: bound singly in the early twentieth century by Riviere. Brown calf with gilt decoration; all leaves edged in gold.

Marginalia: throughout, a hand in pencil has added signatures to all unsigned pages

Other: extensive repair work evident throughout gathering A (A2 in particular); some damage to paper in sheets E and L. Watermarks visible in all sheets but L. The title-page is taken from a copy of Q2.

#### Huntington copy

Leaves separated, trimmed and inlaid into a larger book, measuring 219 x 169 mm; lacks L1 and L4; L3 mutilated (see 'Other')

Provenance: owned by actor John Kemble (1757–1823), and then – in 1821 – by William Spencer Cavendish, the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790–1858); bought at auction by Henry E. Huntington in January 1914

Binding: bound singly in the early nineteenth century by MacDonald, in mottled red calf with decorative gilt tooling

Marginalia: a note in Kemble's hand appears on D2<sup>v</sup>, alongside the episode of the King's night-walk; ink has smudged, so only 'and' is legible

Other: title-page severely cropped at the foot, affecting the imprint; other pages cropped at the head, affecting running titles (also a result of the copy having been inlaid). Leaf L3 is mutilated so that a large portion of the bottom right-hand corner is missing. Extensive repair work evident throughout sheet L (especially to L3, where missing text is pencilled back in); minor repair work to sheet K. Watermarks visible in all sheets but K and L.

#### Houghton copy (Harvard)

172 x 121 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: acquired by means of the Charles Minot (class of 1828) fund

Binding: rebound singly on 12 June 1905 by McNamee of Cambridge, MA in brown morocco with black, white and magenta marbled boards. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.

Marginalia: very faded writing on the title-page in what appears to be a seventeenth-century hand reads: 'Will. Summers – Tarleton; [?] – Archer[?]'. Further marginalia on A2<sup>r</sup> over the opening SD reads: 'Card. Tho. Wolsey a sonne[?] of Ipswich'; the same hand adds 'Card' before the opening SP '*Woolfey*'. Another reader has picked out one of Summers's rhymes ('In yonder tower ...') by writing '{ }' in the margin. Along the side of H3<sup>v</sup>, an early reader has practised his/her signature, but only a few letters are clear enough to read; the more modern signature of one Charles Deane appears on two of the front endpapers.

Other: title-page cropped at the foot, affecting imprint; minor repair work to leaves A1 and A2. Watermarks visible in all sheets but K.

#### Ohio State University copy

174 x 123 mm, trimmed; lacks title-page and L4

Provenance: copy contains the nineteenth-century bookplate of John Duerdin, as well as the signature of John Genest, dated 1827. In early 2012 it was in the possession of rare books collector Aaron Pratt; sold to the Ohio State University later that year (now a part of the Stanley J. Kahrl Collection of Renaissance and Restoration Drama).

Binding: bound singly in the 1820s; half-calf binding with marbled boards

Marginalia: nineteenth-century ink inscription detailing the play's title and author on recto of front endpaper; a more formal hand provides a list of dramatis personae on the verso

Other: slightly cropped at the head, affecting some running titles; trimming at fore-edge affects text on A2<sup>v</sup>. Watermarks visible in all sheets but K.

#### 1632 edition (Q4)

Greg 212 (d), STC 21420

#### *TITLE*

WHEN YOV SEE ME, | *You know* [swash 'k'] *mee*. [swash 'e', second occurrence] |  
Or the famous Chronicle Hiftorie [ligature 'ft'] of King | HENRY the Eight, with the

birth and vertuous | *Life of EDVVARD Prince of Wales.* | As [swash ‘a’] *it was played by the High and Mighty Prince of Wales his* | *Servants.* | By SAMVEL ROVVLY, Servant to the Prince. | [woodcut of Henry VIII, 88 x 97 mm] | LONDON | Printed by B. A. and T. F. for Nath : [swash ‘N’] *Butter,* and are to be fold at his | fhop in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, neare St. *Auftins* [swash ‘A’; ligature ‘ft’] Gate. | 1632.

#### HALF-TITLE

[Lace ornament, 100 x 23 mm] | VVHEN YOV SEE ME, | You know me.

#### RUNNING TITLES

*When you fee me, you know mee.* [swash ‘e’, second occurrence] on A2<sup>v</sup>, A3<sup>v</sup> and A4<sup>v</sup>

*When you fee me, you know me.* [swash ‘e’] on A3<sup>r</sup> and A4<sup>r</sup>

*When you fee mee, you know mee.* [swash ‘e’, second occurrence] on all other leaves

#### COLLATION

4<sup>o</sup>: A–L<sup>4</sup>, signed on first three leaves of each gathering (excluding A1 and A3; ‘B2’ mistakenly printed as ‘B3’)

#### CONTENTS

A1<sup>r</sup>: title-page

A1<sup>v</sup>: blank

A2<sup>r</sup>: half-title, initial and start of text

L3<sup>v</sup>: rule, FINIS. and lace ornament, 96 x 11 mm

L4: blank

#### TYPOGRAPHY

38 lines (average) of pica type per page

Sheets A–E: measures of 107 mm and 157 mm

Sheets F–G: measures of 100 mm and 157 mm

Sheets H–I: measures of 98 mm and 157 mm

Sheets K–L: measures of 100 mm and 157 mm

#### CATCHWORDS FAILING TO CATCH

A3<sup>v</sup> *King]* *King.*

B4<sup>r</sup> *La. Mary.] Lady Mary.*

C4<sup>r</sup> *we’le]* *weele*

E1<sup>v</sup> *Enter.] Enter*

E2<sup>r</sup> *Enter]* *Enter,*

E3<sup>r</sup> *wine]* *Wine*

H4<sup>v</sup> *Gard]* *Gard.*

K3<sup>r</sup> *Bran]* *Bran.*

#### COPY-SPECIFIC INFORMATION (shelfmarks and press variants in Appendices 4 and 6)

##### Bodleian copy

172 x 129 mm, trimmed

Provenance: copy bequeathed by Edmund Malone (received in 1821)

- Binding: rebound singly in October 1929 between brown boards with dark brown leather spine. An extra leaf is inserted between A1 and A2, on the back of which is a list of dramatis personae (not in Malone's hand).
- Marginalia: poor inking on G3<sup>v</sup> has led an early reader to write over a number of words. Several handwritten numbers appear at the top of F2<sup>r</sup>, but their meaning is not apparent.
- Other: carelessly trimmed; severely cropped throughout at the head, affecting running titles. Minor repair work evident on E1; paper damage on H4 obscures some of the text. Watermarks visible in all sheets but I.

#### British Library copy (1)

- 170 x 126 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: as per the BL's copy of Q2 (above), the 'MVSEVM BRITANNICVM' and 'BRITISH MUSEUM' stamps (on A1<sup>r</sup> and L3<sup>v</sup>, respectively) indicate that the copy was acquired between 1768 and 1836
- Binding: bound singly in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century in an armorial binding; ribbed red cover boards with gilt decoration. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.
- Other: title-page cropped at the head and fore-edge; some running titles and catchwords cropped in later gatherings. Some evidence of repair work on title-page and on leaf A2. Watermarks visible in all sheets but D.

#### British Library copy (2)

- 174 x 124 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: orange 'BRITISH MUSEUM' stamps on A1<sup>r</sup> and L3<sup>v</sup> indicate that the copy was donated to BL between 1768 and 1944
- Binding: bound with a copy of *The Noble Soldier* some time during the reign of George III (1738–1820). Red half-calf with red cover boards and decorative gilt tooling. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.
- Other: title-page cropped at the head; some running titles and catchwords cropped in early gatherings. Dark staining on L3 makes text difficult to read in places. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### Worcester College copy

- 174 x 123 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: unknown, but in the possession of Worcester College Library by the early twentieth century
- Binding: bound in the early twentieth century by C. H. Wilkinson, the then librarian of Worcester College Library, with a copy of Drue's *Duchess of Suffolk* (Rowley's play precedes Drue's); dark brown half-calf binding with colourful, feathered boards
- Other: cropped at the foot throughout, affecting some catchwords. Paper heavily stained in a number of gatherings. Watermarks visible in all sheets but D.

#### V&A copy

- 177 x 132 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: bequeathed by John Forster (*d.* 1876)



- Binding: rebound singly in the mid-nineteenth century while in Forster's possession; red half-calf binding with boards covered in thick, textured green-grey paper. Evidence of previous stab-stitching.
- Marginalia: a note on the second front endpaper, dated March 1816, reads: 'J. Mitford. / 1815' and provides some basic information on Rowley and the play; on the second back endpaper, the same hand transcribes lines from *When You See Me* – particularly Summers's jests, which are listed as 'Songs' – and provides page numbers for each ('X's in the body of the copy indicate transcribed lines).
- Other: title-page very slightly cropped at the head. Watermarks visible in all sheets but D.

#### Huntington copy

- 177 x 128 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: owned by Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736–1803); acquired by Henry E. Huntington in the early 1910s
- Binding: rebound in the nineteenth century in light brown calf, with elaborate tooling on each cover; tooling includes an enlarged detail from Egerton's armorial bookplate
- Other: leaves in gathering C slightly cropped at the head, affecting some running titles; repair work evident on title-page and on leaf D2 (the latter quite extensive). Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### Folger Shakespeare Library copy (1)

- 175 x 137 mm, trimmed; lacks L4
- Provenance: armorial bookplate of F. A. Marshall (dates unknown) on front pastedown. An undated cut-out, possibly from an auction catalogue, is glued onto the final front endpaper; it provides the number '1152' (possibly a lot number) and the price £3 15s. Another acquisition note, dated 3/7/90, appears on final endpaper with the price £5.52[?].
- Binding: rebound in the eighteenth century in sprinkled brown calf, with gilt tooled decorations at each corner; leaves edged in gold
- Marginalia: numerous notes and markings throughout, including the expansion of SPP and the addition of missing (and pointing out of misplaced) SDD – almost as if marking up for a performance. Also a number of suggestions for corrections.
- Other: running titles slightly cropped in early gatherings; repair work evident on the title-page down the spine edge, where paper appears damaged from the cords of a previous binding, and on leaves B1 and B3. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### Folger Shakespeare Library copy (2)

- 169 x 129 mm, trimmed
- Provenance: unknown
- Binding: copy disbound, but with remnants of board still visible down the spine edge. Binding cords still in place at bottom, just about holding the gatherings together (with the exception of L, which is loose).

- Marginalia:** a number of 'X's mark particular lines of text, from G4<sup>r</sup> through to H1<sup>r</sup>; these relate to the Latin passages in 4.1 and the characters' various interpretations of them.
- Other:** severely cropped at the foot, affecting the imprint, signatures, catchwords and some text; slightly cropped at the fore-edge, affecting text in early gatherings. Large water stain throughout G–I. Watermarks visible in all gatherings.

#### Clark copy

181 x 133 mm, trimmed

- Provenance:** owned by William Andrews Clark Jr (1877–1934), who bequeathed his library to UCLA. Pencil notes on L4<sup>v</sup> suggest that the copy was bought on 4 July 1926 at Marcham, Oxfordshire.
- Binding:** rebound singly in half red morocco with red cloth-covered boards
- Marginalia:** numerous pencil notes throughout gatherings A–D and the first three leaves of E, commenting on and in many cases seeking to improve the text by correcting errors; the same hand provides comment on the metre and syllabification of a number of lines, perhaps suggesting that the text was being marked up for performance.
- Other:** Watermarks visible in all sheets but D.

#### University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) copy

175 x 120 mm (title-page 173 x 120 mm), trimmed; lacks L4

- Provenance:** once owned by Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736–1803); a stamp on A1<sup>v</sup> – 'DUPLICATE Bridgew<sup>r</sup>. Liby.' – suggests that it was acquired after what is now the Huntington copy (see above). An acquisition note on the verso of the third front endpaper reads '30 Jan 46 Barry'.
- Binding:** rebound singly in the early twentieth century by the French Binders of Garden City, New York; mottled red calf with gilt tooling
- Other:** some repair work evident on title-page down spine edge; text often poorly inked. Watermarks visible in all sheets.

#### Newberry copy

173 x 118 mm (with some minor variation in later gatherings), trimmed; lacks L4

- Provenance:** unknown, but in the possession of the Newberry Library by the very early twentieth century. The price £5 5s is noted on front pastedown.
- Binding:** rebound singly in the early twentieth century by Blackwell; dark brown mottled calf, with no tooling or embellishment on covers
- Other:** severely cropped at the head and foot throughout and slightly cropped at the fore-edge, affecting the imprint, signatures, catchwords and running titles, as well as the text itself; pages seemingly trimmed at an angle. Minor repair work evident on title-page at spine edge, with more extensive (and seemingly hasty) work in gatherings I–L (particularly leaves I1 and I2). Watermarks visible in all sheets.

Beinecke copy (Yale)

175 x 131 mm, trimmed; lacks L4

Provenance: unknown, but seemingly in the possession of Yale University by 1 October 1942 when it was examined by library staff (slip of paper on back pastedown); now a part of the Albert H. Childs (1961) Memorial Collection. Pencil note on pastedown gives price '\$125.00'.

Binding: bound singly in the early to mid-twentieth century by Riviere & Son; mottled red calf with elaborate gilt decoration on covers and spine

Other: slightly cropped at the head, affecting some running titles; minor repair work evident on title-page and on leaves F1 and K1. Small portion of the title (at the top) in facsimile. Very uneven inking throughout, with heavy, blotchy ink in the inner formes of B and F in particular, and very pale ink (sometimes barely visible) in the outer formes of B and D. Watermarks visible in all sheets but K.

Princeton University copy

176 x 132 mm, trimmed; lacks G2–G3 (see 'Other') and L4

Provenance: copy includes bookplates of George Buchan Simpson (1820–1892); Willis Vickery (*b.* 1857), whose books were sold by the American Art Association in 1933; and Robert H. Taylor (Princeton graduate in 1930, *d.* 1985). The copy was acquired by Princeton University from the library of Doris L. Benz upon her death in 1984; it was bought at auction on 16 November that year. Now a part of the Robert H. Taylor Collection of English and American Literature.

Binding: bound singly by J. B. Brechin of Dundee in 1874, presumably while in the possession of Dundee-based collector G. B. Simpson. Bound in red, willow-grained calf with gilt border decoration; all leaves edged in gold.

Marginalia: on A2<sup>r</sup> someone has begun writing out a sum, with '19–16–0' above '8–12–0' and a further '8' in the shillings column under a horizontal rule; on B2<sup>r</sup> the misprinted signature (see 'Collation', above) is corrected in pencil by a different hand

Other: some evidence of repair work on leaves F3, K1, K2 and I4; wax marks evident throughout gathering C and heavy water staining in gatherings I and L. An inky thumb-print appears over the catchword on leaf F2. Watermarks visible in all sheets but D and G. Leaves G2 and G3 are taken from a (presumably now lost) copy of Q3.

## Appendix 6: Press variants

Each of the four early modern editions of Rowley's *When You See Me* exhibits a number of press variants. The majority of these reflect corrections made either by the pressman or (more likely) by the compositor. Some, however, represent accidents at press, such as loose or pieing type, and are not therefore indicative of conscious intervention on the part of printing-house personnel. Such variants are set apart from the others and further information is provided where necessary. For each variant, the relevant signature is given, as well as the position of the text in this edition; the uncorrected and corrected states of each variant are provided and the copies divided accordingly. The abbreviations RT, SD, SP and CW denote a running title, stage direction, speech prefix and catchword, respectively.

### Press variants in Q1

#### Inner C

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
C3 <sup>v</sup>	1.4.230	[SP and text] <i>Ling. Well</i>	[SP and text] <i>King. Wel l</i>
		<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian	<i>Copies:</i> Boston Public Library

#### Outer I

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
I2 <sup>v</sup>	5.2.143	secret	secret
		<i>Copies:</i> Boston Public Library	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian

Two further variants are evident in Q1: in the outer forme of sheet B and in the inner forme of sheet I. Both constitute accidents at press. In the Bodleian copy, the word 'I' that heads the twelfth line of text on B1<sup>r</sup> (1.2.110 in this edition: 'I am sure') is slipping out of the measure; it is printed at a forty-five degree angle to the text and is positioned much lower than the rest of the line. In the Boston copy the text-line is intact. Possibly the accident occurred at an early stage in the process and was later rectified, suggesting in turn that the Boston copy contains the corrected state of the forme. However, it is also

possible that the Boston copy exhibits an early state, printed before the accident took place. The second variant can be found on I3<sup>v</sup> (5.4.20 in this edition), where the SD ‘*knocks.*’ (as it appears in the Bodleian copy) reads ‘*knock*’ in the Boston copy, with a faint mark inked to the bottom right-hand corner of the word. Again, it is difficult to determine which copy contains the earlier and which the later state of the forme.

#### Press variants in Q2

##### Outer H

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
H4 <sup>v</sup>	5.1.170	distrube	disturbe
		<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian, ThULB	<i>Copies:</i> British Library, Worcester College, Huntington, Harry Ransom Center

##### Outer K

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
K4 <sup>v</sup>	5.5.17	highnesse,	highnesse hand,
		<i>Copies:</i> Worcester College	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian, British Library, Huntington, Harry Ransom Center, ThULB

#### Press variants in Q3

##### Outer B

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
B2 <sup>v</sup>	1.2.183	mee, but	mee, but
B2 <sup>v</sup>	1.2.184	i'the	i'th
		<i>Copies:</i> Huntington	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Malone), Bodleian (Douce), V&A, Eton, Petworth, Illinois, Beinecke, Houghton, Ohio

### Outer E

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
E1 <sup>r</sup>	2.1.157	boye	boy
E1 <sup>r</sup>	2.1.182	peace or	peace, or
E1 <sup>r</sup>	2.1.182	they	them
E2 <sup>v</sup>	2.3.0 SD	[SD] <i>Enter the</i>	[SD] <i>Enter, the</i>
E2 <sup>v</sup>	2.3.27	brough	brought
E3 <sup>r</sup>	2.3.42	nights' or	nights, or
E3 <sup>r</sup>	2.3.49	there	ther's
E4 <sup>v</sup>	2.3.130	carried	Cannon
E4 <sup>v</sup>	2.3.131	breake	break
E4 <sup>v</sup>	2.3.162	bare the	beare thee
		<i>Copies:</i> Eton, Huntington, Houghton	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Malone), Bodleian (Douce), V&A, Petworth, Illinois, Beinecke, Ohio

### Inner G

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
G4 <sup>r</sup>	4.1.151 SP	[SP] <i>Wi ll.</i>	[SP] <i>Will .</i>
G4 <sup>r</sup>	4.1.152	Exellence	Excellence
		<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Malone), Petworth	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Douce), V&A, Eton, Illinois, Beinecke, Huntington, Houghton, Ohio

### Outer L

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
L1 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.24	grace	Grace
L1 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.25	the	this
L1 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.25	estate	Estate
L1 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.30 SP	[SP] <i>Empe.</i>	[SP] <i>Emp.</i>
L1 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.30	off-spring	Off-spring
L2 <sup>v</sup>	5.5.129	offices	Offices
L2 <sup>v</sup>	5.5.135	fall,	fall.
L2 <sup>v</sup>	5.5.139	bloold	blood
L2 <sup>v</sup>	5.5.146	is	Is

L3 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.157	[Visible spacing type]	[No visible spacing type]
L3 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.198	What	When
L3 <sup>r</sup>	5.5.210	nose,	nose.
		<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Douce), Huntington, Illinois, Ohio	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian (Malone), V&A, Petworth, Beinecke, Houghton

The Eton College copy is excluded in this instance, since it is lacking its original gathering L (see Appendix 5).

#### Press variants in Q4

#### Outer B

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
B1 <sup>r</sup>	1.2.95	No	No,
B1 <sup>r</sup>	1.2.98	buried [upturned ‘i’]	buried [corrected ‘i’]
B1 <sup>r</sup>	1.2.101	and [upturned ‘a’]	and [corrected ‘a’]
B2 <sup>v</sup>	1.2.180	eyther,	eyther I,
B2 <sup>v</sup>	1.2.196	[loose line of text]*	[stable line of text]
B3 <sup>r</sup>	1.2.237	Queene [upturned ‘n’]	Queene [corrected ‘n’]
B4 <sup>v</sup>	1.2.325	camst	cam’st
B4 <sup>v</sup>	1.3.4	Fherefore	Therefore
B4 <sup>v</sup>	N/A	[CW] And [loose text]*	[CW] And [stable text]
		<i>Copies:</i> British Library (2), Huntington, Folger (1), Illinois	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian, British Library (1), Worcester College, V&A, Folger (2), Clark, Newberry, Beinecke, Princeton

\*The loose line of text mentioned here on B2<sup>v</sup> is that which reads: ‘I beseech your Grace command the foole forth of the’. In the Illinois copy, all that can be seen is ‘[...] command the foole fo’, followed by an ink smudge where the ‘r’ should be and the letter ‘t’ at an angle to the rest of the text. The Folger (1) and British Library (2) copies present intermediate states of this variant: the former reads ‘[...] command the foole forth o’ and the latter ‘[...] command the foole forth’. Significantly, the line is intact in the Huntington copy (which is in an otherwise uncorrected state), suggesting in turn that this may be the earliest of the four copies. Possibly, it was the increasing severity of this

press-accident – and thus the compositor’s need to rectify it – that prompted the other corrections in this forme. The variant catchword on B4<sup>v</sup> demonstrates the same pattern of deterioration: in the Illinois copy it is absent altogether, while in the Folger (1) and British Library (2) copies only the ‘n’ and the edge of the ‘d’ are visible; the word appears in full in the Huntington copy.

#### Inner F

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
F2 <sup>r</sup>	N/A	[CW] Lound	[CW] Sound
		<i>Copies:</i> British Library (2), Folger (1)	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian, British Library (1), Worcester College, V&A, Huntington, Folger (2), Clark, Illinois, Newberry, Beinecke, Princeton

Significantly, this is the only variant in the forme – the playtext itself remains the same in all thirteen extant copies.

#### Outer H

<i>Sig.</i>	<i>In this edition</i>	<i>Uncorrected state</i>	<i>Corrected state</i>
H1 <sup>r</sup>	4.1.209	doubtes	doubts
H1 <sup>r</sup>	4.1.229	Lectorer	Lecturer
H2 <sup>v</sup>	5.1.21	holinesse	Holinesse
H4 <sup>v</sup>	5.1.150	Fillin g	Filling
H4 <sup>v</sup>	5.1.156	gratiously	graciously
H4 <sup>v</sup>	5.1.160	somany	so many
		<i>Copies:</i> Worcester College, Huntington, Folger (2), Clark, Beinecke	<i>Copies:</i> Bodleian, British Library (1), British Library (2), V&A, Folger (1), Illinois, Newberry, Princeton

There are a number of other variants evident in Q4, all of which constitute accidents at press. These can be found respectively on E2<sup>r</sup> (the progressive pieing of the catchword ‘Enter’), K2<sup>v</sup> (the progressive pieing of the catchword ‘Call’), and K3<sup>v</sup> (where the gap between the first ‘r’ and the ‘o’ of the word ‘Emperour’ is larger in some copies than it is in others).



## Appendix 7: Q1 headline analysis<sup>1</sup>

Using a methodology similar to that proposed by Randall McLeod, I have used transparencies to conduct a detailed headline analysis of Q1 *When You See Me*.<sup>2</sup> Since all headlines in the Boston copy are severely cropped, the information below necessarily derives from the Bodleian copy (Mal. 829), the sole witness to the patterns of headline recurrence in this edition.

The following table highlights the differing patterns of recurrence seen across the five printers' sections of Q1 (see Bibliographical Introduction, above). The half-sheet L, most likely imposed using the work and turn method of half-sheet imposition (pp. 143–4), is set slightly apart from the main table. An asterisk (\*) next to a headline indicates that only a part of the headline was re-used, with some movement or replacement of running-title text as well as the spacing type that surrounds and justifies it; a hash (#) indicates that the same running-title text was used, but that the spacing type used to justify it was altered, either intentionally or accidentally; and a cross (†) indicates that, although the same headline was used, some textual change has been made to the running title concerned, with no significant change in spacing or justification. In no instance is the labelling of the headlines intended to imply the order in which they were set and/or imposed.

Sheet	Outer forme				Inner forme			
	1 <sup>r</sup>	2 <sup>v</sup>	3 <sup>r</sup>	4 <sup>v</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup>	2 <sup>r</sup>	3 <sup>v</sup>	4 <sup>r</sup>
A	TP	a	b	c	blank	HT	d	e
B	f	a*	g	h	d	e	b#	c
C	h	g	f	i	c	e	d	b#
D	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q
E	r	s	o	t	u	q†	p	n#
F	r	s	o#	t	u	q†	p#	n#
G	v	w	x	y	w	v	y	x
H	z	2a	2b	2c	2a	2b	2c	z
I	2d	2e	2f	2g	2e	2d	2g#	2f
K	2h	2i	2j	2k	2l	2m	2n	2o

	1 <sup>r</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup>	2 <sup>r</sup>	2 <sup>v</sup>
L	2m	2p	2q	blank

TP: title-page; HT: half-title

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the running titles, see the bibliographical description of Q1 on p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Randall McLeod, 'A Technique of Headline Analysis, With Application to Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, 1609', *SB*, 32 (1979), 197–210. McLeod labels this method 'photocollation' (p. 203).

As seen in the table above, certain patterns of recurrence begin to emerge within the different sections of the text. In the opening section (A–C), two skeleton formes were used to print sheet A. It seems likely that the inner forme of sheet B was imposed next, for both headlines used to impose the inner forme of sheet A, headlines *d* and *e*, were reused, along with headlines *b* and *c* from the outer forme of sheet A (the only alteration occurs in headline *b*, in which the text of the running title seems to have shifted slightly to the left). The outer forme of sheet B takes the remaining headline from outer A (headline *a*) and adds three new headlines: *f*, *g* and *h*. As with headline *b* in the inner forme of this sheet, there is some alteration to the running-title text of headline *a*: while the ‘*you know me*’ part of the running title was reused, the ‘*When you fee me*’ part was not, and it is likely that this portion of the text pied, either as the compositor removed the headline from the wrought-off forme or as he went to impose it around new letterpress. The pattern of headline recurrence becomes more obvious in sheet C, where all four headlines from inner B were reused in inner C, and where all but one of the headlines used for outer B were reused in outer C.

A similar method of imposition can be seen in section two (sheets D–F). Two skeletons were constructed for sheet D, one for the inner forme and one for the outer forme. Three of the headlines from inner D were reused in inner E, with some modifications (headline *n* appears more indented on E4<sup>r</sup> than on D1<sup>v</sup>, and the upturned ‘*n*’ of ‘*know*’ on D4<sup>r</sup> was rectified before the reappearance of the headline on E2<sup>r</sup>); the fourth headline from inner D (headline *o*) was reused in the outer forme of sheet E, along with three new headlines: *r*, *s* and *t*. Possibly, headline *u* was imposed around the type-pages of inner E before inner D was removed from the press. The imposition of headlines in sheet F was comparatively straightforward, with all four headlines from inner E recurring in the same relative positions in inner F, and all four headlines from outer E recurring in the same relative positions in outer F. The only differences occur in headlines *o* and *p*, in which running-title text appears slightly more indented on sheet F than on sheet E. The appearance of headline *q*(†) on F2<sup>r</sup> is identical to that on E2<sup>r</sup>.

A different method of imposition was employed in section 3, for only one set of four headlines was used to print both the inner and outer forme of sheet G. Although the relative positions of the headlines appear to have switched between formes, this arrangement could have come about if pages were imposed as follows:

3 <sup>v</sup>	4 <sup>r</sup>
2 <sup>r</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup>

*Inner forme*

4 <sup>v</sup>	3 <sup>r</sup>
1 <sup>r</sup>	2 <sup>v</sup>

*Outer forme*

Thus 1<sup>v</sup>=2<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>=1<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>=4<sup>v</sup> and 4<sup>r</sup>=3<sup>r</sup>. Given the arrangement of headlines in this sheet, it is possible that sheet G was imposed using a single skeleton forme. As Blayney shrewdly points out, however, ‘four bones do not make a skeleton’ – in other words, just because the same four headlines appear in the same relative positions does not necessarily mean that the whole skeleton structure was reused.<sup>3</sup> The possibility therefore remains that a second skeleton forme was constructed, and that the four headlines (v, w, x and y) were simply transferred from one forme to the other.

Section 4 (sheets H–I) also sees the use of a single set of four headlines to complete both formes of each sheet. In the case of sheet H, it is clear that more than one skeleton was used, for the relative positions of the four headlines in the inner and outer formes are not the same. On first glance, sheet I seems a more plausible candidate for one-skeleton printing, since the headlines follow the same pattern of recurrence as seen in sheet G. What disproves the hypothesis in this instance, however, is the modified justification of running-title text that is evident between I3<sup>v</sup> and I4<sup>v</sup> (the text is more indented on the former than on the latter). This shift in spacing most likely occurred during the transference of the headline from the wrought-off forme to the imposing forme – such movement could not have occurred had the skeleton remained locked tightly in position on the chase.

Sheet K in section 5 marks a return to the two-skeleton printing that characterises the earlier sheets of Rowley’s play. Eight new headlines were constructed for imposition around the inner and outer formes of this sheet, and only one of these, headline 2*m*, made its way from sheet K onto the half-sheet L.

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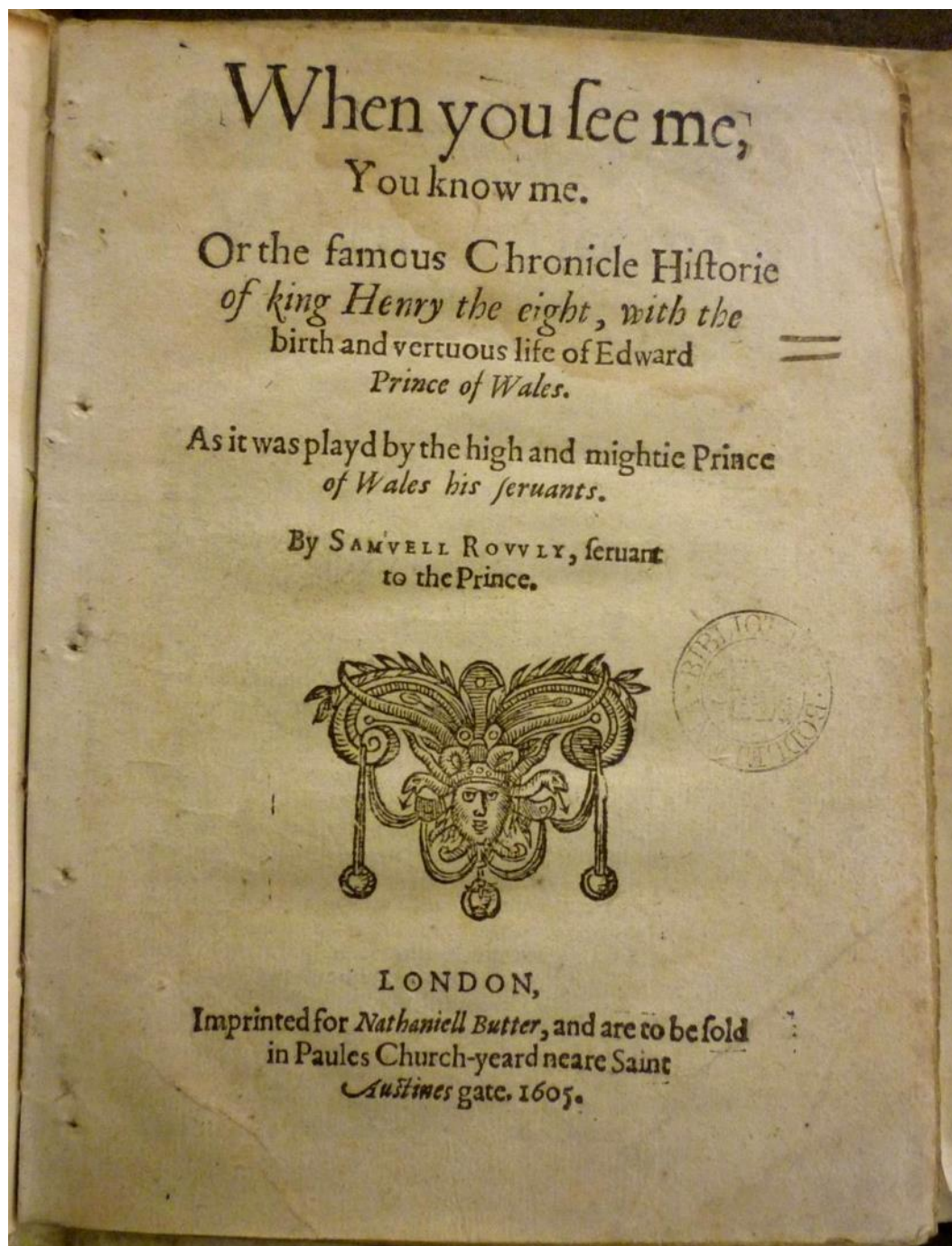
Combined with other aspects of the text, as discussed in the Bibliographical Introduction above, the various patterns of headline recurrence evident in Q1 *When You See Me* further highlight the disruption at specific moments in the text’s production. This not only significantly strengthens the case for shared printing, but also demonstrates the different methods of imposition employed by the text’s printers.

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and their Origins, Vol. 1: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982; rpt 2007), p. 125.

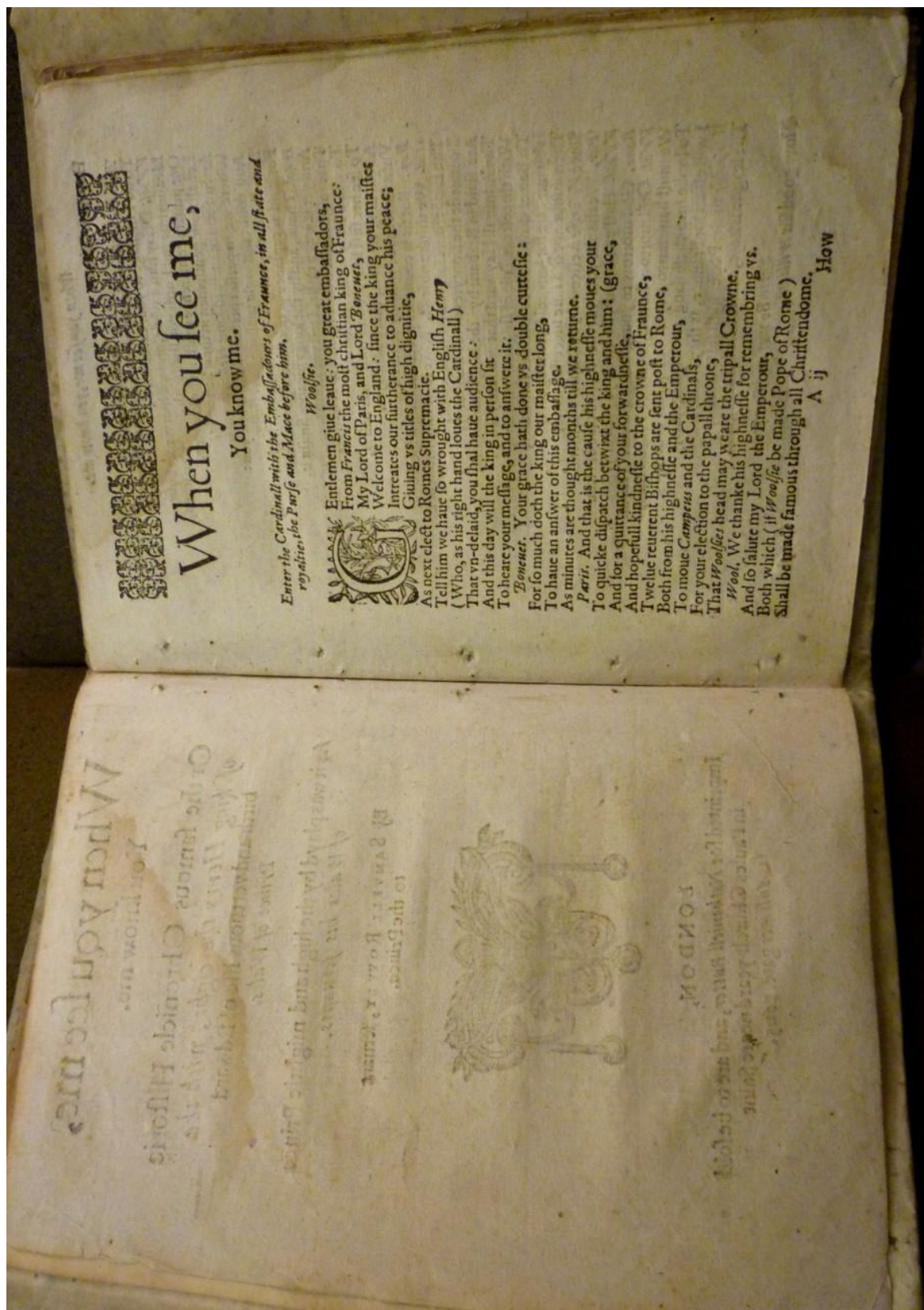
Appendix 8: Photographs of the copy-text

The following photographs of Q1 (Bodleian copy, Mal. 829) are reproduced here by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The final blank page (L2<sup>v</sup>) is not included.



Title-page, A1<sup>r</sup>





A1<sup>v</sup>–A2<sup>r</sup>; TLN 1–32; 1.1.1–29 in this edition



How now Bonner.  
*When you see me, you know me.*

*Enter Bonner.*  
**Bon.** Sir *William Campton* from his highnesse comes,  
To do a message to your excellencie,  
**Wool.** Delay him a while, and tell him we are busie,  
Meane time my Lords you shall with draw your selues,  
Our priuate conference must not be knowne,  
Let all your gentlemen in their best array,  
Attend you brauely to king *Henries* court,  
Where we in person presently will meeete you:  
And doubt not wele preuaile successefully.  
**Bon.** But hath your grace yet moued his highnesse sister,  
For kind acceptance of our Soueraignes loue.  
**Wool.** I haue, and by the kings meanes finisht it,  
And yet it was a taske, I tell yee Lords,  
That might haue bene imposed to *Henriet*,  
To win a Lady of her spirit and yeares,  
To see her first loue around with siluer hair-s,  
As old king *Lewes*, that beedrilly es,  
Vnfit for loue, or worldly vanities,  
**Bon.** But tis is countries peace the king respects,  
**Wool.** We thinke no lesse, & we haue fully wrought it,  
The Emperours forces that were leuied,  
To inuade the frontiers of los Burgundy,  
Are staide in Brabant by the kings command,  
The Admirall Hayward that was lately sent,  
With three score saile of ships and pinnaces,  
To batter downe the townes in Normandy,  
Is by our care for him, cald home againe:  
Then doubt not of a faire successefull end,  
Since *Woolfe* is effectuall your Soueraignes friend.  
**Par.** We thanke your excellencie and take our leques,  
**Wool.** Hast ye to court, he meeete ye presently.  
**Bon.** God morrow to your grace. *Exeunt. (Ten in.)*  
**Wool.** God morrow Lords, goe call Sir *William Campton*,  
We must haue narrow eyes, and quick conceits,  
To looke into these dangerous stratagems:  
I will effect for France, as they for me,  
If *Woolfe* to the Popes high state arraine,  
The league is kept, or else he e breakt againe.

*Enter Bonner and Campton.*  
Now good Sir *William*,

*When you see me, you know me.*

**Camp.** The king my Lord intricates your reuerent grace,  
There may be had some priuate conference,  
Betwixt his highnesse and your excellencie,  
Before he heare the French Embassadors,  
And will you haften your repaire to him.  
**Wool.** We will attend his highnesse presently,  
**Bonner**, see all our traine beset in readinesse,  
That in our state and pompe pontificall,  
We may passe on to grace king *Henries* court.  
**Camp.** I haue a message from the Queene my Lord,  
Who much commends, & humbly thanks your grace,  
For your exceeding loue, and zealous prayers,  
By your directions through all England sent:  
To inuocate for her sound prosperous helpe,  
By heauens faire hand in child-bed passions.  
**Wool.** We thanke her highnesse that accepts our loue,  
In all Cathedrall Churches through the land,  
Are Masse, Derges, and Professions sung:  
With prayers to heauen to blesse her Maiestie,  
And send her ioy, and quick deliuey:  
And so Sir *William* do my duty to her,  
Queene *Lane* was euer kind and courteous,  
And alwaies of her subiects honoured.  
**Camp.** I take my leaue my Lord.

*Exit.*  
**Wool.** Adew good knight weele follow prefauldy,  
Now *Woolfe* worke thy wittes like gaddes of Steele,  
And make them playable to all impressions,  
That King and Queene and all may honour thee:  
So toild not *Cesar* in the state of Rome,  
As *Woolfe* labours in the affaires of Kings:  
To make a passage into *Italie*.  
So must we beare our high pitch *Eminence*  
Till we haue got the papall diadem:  
And to this end haue I composd this plot,  
And made a League betwene the French and vs,  
With Ladie *Mary* Royall *Henries* sister,  
That he in peace complotting with the Emperour  
May plead for vs within the Courts of Rome:  
Wherefore was *Alexander* fame so great.

A 3.  
*Buy.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

But that he conquered and depoyed Kings,  
And where doth *Woolfe* faile to follow him,  
That thus commaundeth Kings and Emperors,  
Great Englands Lord haue I won with words;  
That vnder culloure of aduising him,  
I ouerrule both Counsell, Court, and King:  
Let him commaund, but we will execute,  
Making our glorie to out-shine his fame  
Till we haue purchast an eternall name.

*Enter Boner.*

Now *Boner*, are those proclamations sente  
As we directed to the Sherrifes of London,  
Of certayne new deuised Articles,  
For ordering those brothelles called the Stewes?

*Bon.* They are readie my Lord, and the Shrieue attends for them;

*Wol.* Dispatch him quickly, and halte after me;  
We must attend the Kings high Maiestie.

*Sound Trumpets. Enter King Harry the Eighth, Queene Iane bigge with Child, the Cardinall, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, Duddie, Graye, Compton, the Ladie Marie, The Countesse of Salisburie attending on the Queene.*

*King.* Charles Brandon, Duddie, and my good Lord Gray,

Prepare your selues, and be in readinesse,

To entertaine these French Embassadors,

Meete them before our royall Pallace Gate:

And so conduct them to our Maiestie.

We meane this day to giue them Audience.

*Dud. Gray.* We will my Lord.

*Brand.* Let one attend without.

And bring vs word when they are coming on:

*King.* How now Queene Iane (Mother of God) my loue

Thou wilt neuer be able to sit halke this time:

Ladies, I feare shee wake ye, yer be long,

Me thinks she beares her burthen verie heauily,

And yet good sister and my honored Lords,

If this faire houre exceede not her expect:

And passe the callender of her accounts,

Shce will heare this Embassage, Iane wilt thou not?

*Q. Iane.* Yes my deere Lord, I cannot leaue your sight.

So long as life retains this Manton?

In whole sweete looks bright, foueraightyes in Thronde,

That make all Nations loue and honor thee,

Within thy frame sits A wfall Maiestie,

Wretched

*When you see me, you know me.*

Wrethe din the cuted furrowes of thy browe:

Admird and feard enen of thine enemies;

To be with thee, is my felicitie.

Not to behold the state of all the world,

Could winne thy Queene, thy sickle vniwildie Queene,

To leaue her Chamber, in this mothers state.

But fight of three vnequall potent ate,

*King.* God a merite *Lare*, reach me thy princely hand.

Thou art now a right woman, goodly, cheife of thy sex;

Me thinks thou art a Queene superlatiue,

Mother, a God this is a womans glorie,

Like good September Vines laden with fruite.

How ill did they define the name of women,

Adding so foule a preposicion:

To call it woe to man, tis woe from man.

If wee it be, and then who dus not know,

That women fill from men receaue their woe.

Ye, h, y loue men for it, but whats their gaine;

Poorer soules no more but trauaile for their paine;

Come, loue thou art sad, call Will *Sommers* in, to

Make her merrie, where is the foole to day,

*Dud.* He was met my Leige, they say at London

Early this morning with Doctor Skelton,

*King.* Hes neuer from him, gee let a grome be sent,

And fetch him home, my good Lord Cardinall:

Who are the cheife of these Embassadors?

*Wol.* Lord *Bonener* the French high Admirall,

And *Iohn de Mazo* reuerent Bishop of Paris,

*King.* Let their welcome be thy care good *Woolfe*,

*Wol.* It shall my Liege.

*Enter Compton.*

*King.* Spare for no cost, *Compton*, what newes?

*King.* Inough, go giue them entertainment Lords,

*Charles Brandon*, heare it thou, giue them courtesie

Inough, and state inough, go conduct them,

*Brand.* I go my Lord.

*Enter Will Sommers booted and spurred, blowing a horn.*

*King.* How now *Will*, what? post, post, where

haue you bene riding?

*Will.* Out of my way old *Harry*, I am all on the spurre,

I can tell yee, haue tidings worth telling,

*King.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

*King.* Why, where hast thou bin:  
know what newes was here at Court.

*King.* Was that your needst way William?  
way to here it, I warrant there is nere a Cundhead kee-  
per in London, but knows what is done in all the Courts  
in Christendome

*Willie.* And what is the best newes there William?  
*Will.* Good newes for you my Lord *Cardinal*, for  
one of the old women Waterbearers told me for certain,  
that last Friday all the belles in Rome Rang backward,  
there was a thousand Derges sung, sixe hundred auc-  
manes said, euery man wald hit his face in holy water, the  
people croffing and blessing themselves to send them a  
new Pope, for the old is gon to purgatory.

*Willie.* Ha, ha, ha,  
*Will.* Nay, my Lord you'd laugh, if't were so indeed, for  
euery bodie thinks if the Pope were dead you gape for  
a benefice, but this newes my Lord is cald too good to  
be true.

*King.* But this newes came a pace Will, that came  
from Rome to London since Friday last.

*Will.* For, was at Billings-gate by Saterdag Mor-  
ning, was a full Moone, and it came vp in a spring tide.

*King.* Then you here of the Embassadors that are come.  
*Will.* I, I, & that was the cause of my ryding to know  
what they came for, I was told it all at a Barbars,

*King.* Ha, ha, what a fooler this is, *Lane*, and what  
doe they say he comes for, Will:

*William.* Marry they say he comes to craue thy aide against the  
great *Turk*, that voves to ouerrunne all France within this fortnight,  
he's in a terrible rage belik, & they say, the reason is, his old god Ma-  
met that was buried ith top on's Church at *Meca*, his Tombe fell  
downe, and kild a Sow and seuen Pigges, whereupon they' thinke  
all swines flesh is new sanctified, and now it is thought the *Turke* wil  
fall to eating of porke extreemely after it.

*King.* This is strang indeede, but is this all.  
*Will.* No there is other newes that was told me, among the we-  
men at a backe house, and that is this, they say, the great Bell in gla-  
slenberic. For has told twile, and that king Arthur and his knights  
of the round Table that were buried in Armour, are alue again, cry-  
ing Saint Gorge for England, and meane shortly to conquire Rome,  
marry

*When you see me, you know me.*

married is thought to be but a mortall,  
*King.* The Embassadors are coming, and heare William see that  
you be silent, when you see them heare.

*William.* He be wile and say little I warrant thee, and therefore till I  
see can come, he goe talk with the Queene, how dost thou lane, sir-  
ra, *Harrie*, thee looks verie bigge vpon me, but I care not, and thee  
bring thee a young Prince, *Will sommers* may hap's be his foole, whe  
you two are both dead and rotten?

*King.* Goe to William, how now *Lane* what gronings  
Goes me th' hast an Angrie soldiers frowne:

*William.* I thinke to *Harrie* thou hast piest her often:  
I am sure this two yerres she has sent vnder thy fladdard.

*Q. Lane.* Good faith my Lord I must intreat your grace  
That with your fauour I may leaue the presence:

*King.* Goe bid the Midwives, and the Nurses war'ght,  
Make hole some fiers and take her from the Ayer,

Now *Lane* God bring me but a chopping boy,  
Be but the Mother to a Prince of Wales

And thou mak't full my hopes, faire Queene adew:  
And may heaues helping hand our ioyes renew:

*Comp.* God make your Maestie a happie Mother,  
*Dad.* And helpe you in your weakelt passions,

With zealous prayer we all will inuocate:  
*Q. Lane.* We thanke you all, and in faire entchange

I take my leaue of your high Maestie,  
God send you highnesse long and happie Reigne,

And to your gracious heart all ioy restore,  
I heare I shall neuer behold you more,

*King.* Doe not thinke to faire Queene, goe to thy bed,  
Let not my loue be so discomforted.

*Will.* No, no, I war'at thee *Lane*, make hast & dispatch this  
That thou must haue another against next Christmas

*King.* Ladies attend her, Counesse of Salisburie, sister  
Vvho first brings word that *Harrie* hath a Son

Shall be rewarded well  
*Will.* I, le bee his surtie: but doe you heare wenches, shee that  
brings

B



*When you see me, you know me.*

Brings the first rydings how soeuer it fall out, let her be sure to say the  
Childs like the father, or els these shall haue nothing to do with you.

*Enter Lord and Embassadors.*

*King.* Welcome Lord-Bornet, welcome Bishop  
Bourcher. Most faire comends great & renowned Henr.

We in the person of our Lord and King, *Will.* have desired you to  
Here of your highnesse, doe intreate a League.

And to recede the former peace.

Held betwixt the Realmes of England and of France,

Of late disordred for some pettie wrongs?

And pray your Maistie to stay your powers:

Alreadie leuied in Low, Burgundie,

Which to maintaine our oaths shall be in gages,

And to confirme it with more surety,

He craues your faire consent, vnto his loue,

And giue the Lady *Mary* for his Queene,

The second sister to your Royall selfe.

So may an heire springing from both your bloods,

Make both Realmes happy by lasting League,

*King.* Wee kindly doe receiue your Maisters loue,

And yet our grant stands stronge vnto his suit,

If that no following censure seeble in:

For we herein must take our Counsaile,

But how soeuer our answer shall be fixt,

Meane time we grant you faire access to worke,

And winne her (if you can) to be his Queene.

Our selfe will second you. Right welcome both,

Lord Cardinal these Lords shall be your Guests,

But let our Treasure wait to welcome them:

Banquet them, how they will, what cheere, what sports,

Let them see *Harry* keeps a kingly Court.

*Ex. Woolf.*

*Wolfe.* I shall my Soueraigne,

*King.* Which draw a while our selues will follow ye.

Now *Will.* are you not decei'd in this Embassage,

You heard they came for aide against the Turke,

*Will.* Well then, now I see there is loud lies told in London.

But als on for their coming, 's to as much purpose as the other.

*King.* And why I pray,

*Will.* Why dost thou thinke thy sister such a foole, so marie such

an o'd *der* *der* *der* he get her with Prince? I, whene ther I, or the

Cardinall prouoe Pope, and that will neuer be a hope.

*King.*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*King.* How knowest thou him to be old, thou neuer sawest him?  
*Will.* No, nor he me, but I saw his picture with ner-a tooth the  
head out, and all his beard as well fauoured as a white frost, but it is  
no matter, if he haue her, he will dye shortly, and then she may help  
to bury him.

*Enter Ladies.*

*1 Lad.* Runne Runne, good Madding, call the Ladies in.  
Call for more Womens helpe, the Queene is sicke.

*2 Lad.* For Gods loue goe backe againe, and warme more clothes:  
O let the wine be well burnt I charge yee.

*Will.* In any case, I cannot drinke it, doost thou heare *Harry*?  
what a coile they keepe: I warrant these women will drinke thee vp  
more wine, with their gossiping, then was spent in all the Condu-  
its at thy Coronation.

*Enter Lady Mary and the Countesse of Salisbury.*

*King.* Tis no matter *Will.* How now Ladies,  
*Lady Mary.* I beseech your grace command the foole  
forth of the pence,

*Will.* Away *William.* you must be gone, her's womens matters in hand

*Count.* Let them speake for then, he not out of the roome, sure,

*Will.* Come, come let's thrust him out, he's not flure else:

Thrust us, pay and ye goe to thumping, sit thrust some of you  
downe I warrant ye:

*King.* Nay, goe good *William.*

*Will.* He out of their company *Harry*, they will scratch worse then

cats, if they catch me, therefore lie hence and leaue them, God boy

Ladies do you heare Madding *Mary*, you had neede to be wary,

my newes is worth a wine-cake, you must play at tennis with old

Saint *Dennis*, and your maiden-head multie at the stake.

*King.* Ha, ha, the foole tells you true (my gentle sister)

But to our businesse, how fares my Queene?

How fares my *Luke*, has she a sonne for me?

To raise againe our kingdomes souerainty

*Lady Mary.* That yettels doubtfull, O my princely Lord,

Your poore distressed Queene lyes weake and sick,

And be it sonne or daughter, deere she buyes it,

Even with her dearest life, for one must dye:

All Womens helpe is past. Then good my Leige,

Resolue it quickly, if the Queene shall lue,

*Ex.*

*King.*

*Will.*

*Lady Mary.*

*Count.*

*Will.*

*King.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

The Child must die, or if it life receives,  
You must your haples Queene off life bereave,  
Ki. You peice me with your newes, run, send for helpe,  
Spend the reuenues of my Crowne for aide,  
To saue the life of my beloued Queene:  
How hap't she is so ill attended on,  
That we are put to this extremity,  
To saue the Mother or the child to day.  
*Counsell.* I beseech your grace resolute immediately,  
Can give good verdit in so sad a choise:  
To loose my Queene, that is my some of blisse,  
More vertuous than a thousand Kingdome be,  
And should I lose my Sonne (if Sonne he be)  
That all my subiects so desire to see,  
I loose the hope of this great Monarchy,  
What shall I doe?

*Lady Marie.* Remember the Queene my Lord:

*King.* I not forget her (Sister) O poore soule,  
But I forget thy paine and miserie,  
*Goe,* let the Child die; let the Mother live,  
Heavens powerfull hand may more children giue:  
Away, and comfort her with our reply,  
*Harry* will haue his Queene though thousand die:  
I know no issue of her princely wombe:  
Why then should I perswade before her life? *Exit. La.*  
Whose death ends all my hopefull ioyes on earth:  
God's will be done for such it is his will,  
For secret reasons to himselfe best knowne:  
Perhaps he did mould forth a Sonne for me,  
And seeing (that sees all) in his creation,  
To be some impotent and coward spirit,  
Vnlike the figure of his Royall Father:  
Has thus decreed, least he should blurbe our fame,  
As Whylome did the first King of my name  
Looke all his Father (the first Henrie) woune,  
He thanke the Heavens for taking such a Sonne,  
Whose within there?  
Enter Compton. My Lord,  
*King.* Goe Compton, bid Lord Selmer come to me,  
The honor'd Father of my wofull Queene  
Now now what newes?

*When you see me, you know me.*

*L. Marie.* We did deliuct what your highnesse wild,  
Which was no sooner by her grace receiued;  
But with the sad report, the second as dead,  
Which caus'd vs stay, alter reuouerie,  
She sent vs backe to intreate your Maiesstie,  
As euer you did take delight in her,  
As you perserre the quiet of her soules,  
That now is ready to forsake this life,  
As you desire to haue the life of ones,  
She doth intreate your grace that she may dye,  
Least both doth perishe in this agonie:  
For to behold the infant suffer death,  
Were endlesse tortures, made to stop her breath,  
Then to my Lord (quoth she) thus gently say,  
The child is faire, the mother earth and clay.  
*King.* Sad messenger of woes; oh my poore Queene,  
Canst thou so soone consent to leaue this life,  
So pretious to our soule, so deere to all,  
To saile our second comfort, well, be it so:  
Ill, be it so: stay, I reuoke my word,  
But that you say helpe not, for she must dye:  
Yet if ye can saue both, she giue my crowne:  
Nay, all I haue, and enter bonds for more,  
Which with my conquering sword with fury bent,  
Ile purchase in the farthest continent,  
Vie all your chiefe skill, make hast away,  
Whilst we for your successe deuoutly pray.

*Seym.* Enter Lord Selmer.

*King.* Ioy be it good Lord Selmer noble father,  
Or ioy, or grieve, thou hast a part in it,  
Thy daughter and my Queene bet now in paine,  
And if I loose, Seym thou canst not gaine,  
*Sey.* Yet comfort, good my Liege, this womans woe,  
Why? tis as certaine to her as her death,  
Both giuen her in her first creation:  
By their first mother, then put sorrow hence:  
Your graces ere long shall see a gallant Prince,  
B iii



*When you see me, you know me.*  
**King.** Be thou a Prophet *Seymer* in thy words,  
Thy loue some comfort to our hopes affords,  
How now.

*Enter two Ladies.*

**Count.** My gracious Lord, here I present to you,  
A goodly sonne: see here your flesh, your bone,  
Looke here royall Lord, I warrant tis your owne.  
**Seym.** See here my Liege, by the rood a gallant Prince.  
**Ha** little cakebread, foregod a chopping boy.  
**King.** Euen now I wept with sorrow, now with ioy,  
Take that for thy good newes, how fares my Queene?

*Enter Mary and one Lady.*  
**Count.** O my good Lord, the wofull, *the wofull*  
**King.** Tell no more of woe, speake, doth she lue?  
What? weepe ye all, nay, then my heart misgiues,  
Resolue me fitter, is the newes worth heauing.  
**L. Mary.** Nor worth the telling, royall Soueraigne.  
**King.** Now, by my crowne, thou dost my royaltie,  
And with thy cloudie lookes eclipsit my ioyes,  
Thy silent eye bewrayes a ruthfull sound,  
Stopt in the organs of thy troubled spite:  
Say, is she dead?

**L. Mary.** Without offence she is:  
**King.** Without offence, saist thou, heauen take my soule;  
What can be more offence to my life:  
Then sad remembrance of my faire Queenes death,  
Thou wofull man, that canst to comfort me:  
How shall I ease thy hearts calamitie?  
That cannot helpe thy selfe, how one sad minute  
Hath raisd a fount of sorrowes in his eyes,  
And beard his age d cheekes, yet *Seymer* sees,  
She hath left part of her selfe, a sonne to me:  
To thee a graund-child, vnto the land a Prince,  
The perfect substatice of his royall mother,  
In whom her memory shall euer lue:  
*Phenix. Laga obit vnto Phenice.*  
*Dolendum seculum phenice nulla truisse diem.*  
One Phenix dying, giues another life,  
Thus must we flatter our extreamest griefe.  
What day is this.

**Cump.** Saint *Edward* euen my Lord,  
**King.**

*When you see me, you know me.*

**King.** Prepare for christning, *Edward* shall be his name,

*Enter the Cardinal, Embassadors,  
Banner and Gardier.*

**Wool.** My Lords of Fraunce you haue had small cheere with vs,  
But you must pardon vs, the times are sad,  
And soerts not now for mirth and banqueting:  
Therefore I pray make your swift returne,  
Commend me to your king, and kindly tell him,  
The English Cardinal will remaine his friend,  
The Lady *Mary* shall be forthwith sent,  
And ouertake ye ere you reach to Douer:  
And for the businesse that concerne the league,  
Vige it no more, but leaue it to my care.

**Bone.** We thanke your grace, my good Lord Cardinal,  
And so with thankfullie we take our leaues,  
**Wool.** Happily speed my honorable Lords,  
My heart, I weare, still keeps you company,  
Farewell to both, pray your king remember,  
My sute betwixt him and the Emperour,  
We shall be thankfull, if they thinke on vs.

**Par.** We will be earnest in your cause my Lord,  
So of your grace we once more take our leaues,  
**Wool.** Again farewell, *Banner* conduct them forth,  
Now *Gardier*, what thinkest thou of these times,  
**Gard.** Well, that the leagues confirmd my gracious Lord,  
Will cause new troubles in our state againe.

**Wool.** Why thinkest thou so?  
**Gard.** I feare false *Luther*: doctins spread so farre,  
I least that his highnesse now ymmaried,  
Should match amongst that sect of *Lutherans*,  
You saw how soone his maiestie was wonne,  
To come the Pope, and Romes religion,  
When Queene *Mary Bullen* wore the diadem,  
**Wool.** *Gardier* tis true, so was the rumor spread,  
But *Woolfe* wrought such meanes sheld her head,  
Tush leate northou whilst *Harz* the doch stand,  
He shall be king, but we will rule the land,  
*Banner* come hither, you are our trustie friend,  
See that the treasure we haue gathered,

**The**



*When you see me, you know me.*

The Copes, the Vestments, and the Chalice,  
The smock pence, and the tributary fees,  
That English chimnies pay the Church of Rome:  
Be barr'd close within the inner seller,  
We send it out shortly to prepare,  
Our swift advancement to Saint Peter's chairs,

Be trustie, and be sure of honors speedily,  
The king hath promised at the next election,  
*Bonner* shall haue the Bishopricke of London,  
*Bon.* I humbly thanke your grace.  
*Wood.* And *Gardner* shall be Lord of Winchester:

Had we our hopes, what shall you not be then,  
When we haue got the Papall diadem.

*Enter Braddon, Dudley, Gray, Seymers, Compton.*  
*Br.* How now Sir *William Compton*, where is the king?  
*Cum.* His grace is walking in the gallery,  
As sad and passionat as ere he was.

*Dud.* Were good your grace went in to comfort him.  
*Bran.* Not I Lord *Dudley*, by my George I weare,  
Vnlesse his Highnesse first had sent for me,  
I will not put my head in such a hazzard.

I know his anger, and his spleene too well.  
*Gray.* 'Tis strange, this humor hath his highnesse held,  
Euer since the death of good Queene *Jane*,  
That none dares venture to conferre with him.

*Enter Cardinal, Sommers, and Patch.*  
*Dud.* Here comes the Cardinal.  
*Bran* I, and two fooles after him, his Lordship is well  
attended still

*Sem.* Lets win this prelate to salute the king.  
It may perhaps woike his disgrace with him.  
*Wood.* How now *Williams*, what? are you here to,

*Wall.* I my Lord, all the fooles follow you, I come to  
bid my cosin *Patch* welcome to the court, and when I  
come to Yorke house, hele do as much for me, will yee  
not *Patch*?

*Pat.* Yes cosin, hey, da, tere, dedell, dey, day.  
*Wood.* What, are you singing fira,  
*Will.* Ile make him cry as fast anon I hold a penny.

*Dud.* God morrow to your grace my Good Lord *Car-*  
*Wood.* We thanke your honour.

*Enter king within.*  
*King.* What *Compton*, *Caren.*  
*Call within.*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Bran.* Harke, the king calls.  
*King.* Mother of God, how are we attended on: who  
waights without.

*Bran.* Go in Sir *Williams*, and if you find his grace  
In any milder temper then he was last night,  
Let's haue word, and we will visit him.

*Cum.* I will my Lord.  
*Wood.* What is the occasion, that the kings so mou'd.

*Bran.* His grace hath taken such an inward grieffe,  
With sad remembrance of the Queene that's dead:  
That much his highnesse wrongs his state and person,  
Besides in Ireland, do the Burkes rebell,

And stout *Pearse* that disclod the plot,  
Was by the Earle of *Kildare* late put to death,  
And *Martin Luther* out of Germanie,  
Has writ a booke against his Maiestie,

For taking part with proud Pope *Innius*,  
Which being spred by him through Christendome,  
Hath thus incens'd his royall maiestie.

*Wood.* Tush, I haue newes, my Lord, to salue that fore,  
And make the king more feard through christendome,  
Then euer was his famous aunccestors:

Nor can base *Luther* with his heresies,  
Backe by the proudest germane potentate,  
Heretically blurre king *Henries* fame:

Who in high fauour of his Maiestie,  
Hath sent *Compten* with a bull from Rome,  
To adde vnto his title this high stile:

That he and his faire posteritie,  
Proclaimd defenders of the faith shall be:  
For which intent the holy Cardinals come,

As Legats from the Emperall court of Rome,  
*Gr.* This newes, my Lord, may somthing ease his mind,  
I were good your grace would go and visit him.

*Wood.* Will, and doubt not but to please him well,  
*Sem.* So, I am glad he's in, and the king be no better pleased then  
he was at our last partings, hele make him repent his fauourlesse,  
*Bran.* No birady, my Lord, how chance you go not to the kings  
fill is too heauie for a foole to stand vnder,

*King.* I was with him too lately already, his  
C I went to him last night,  
altes



*When you see me, you know me.*

after you had left him, seeing him chafe so at *Charles*, here to make him merry; and he gaue me such a boxe on the eare, that strooke me cleane through three chambers; downe foure paire of staires, fell ore fiue barrels, into the bottome of the seller, and if I had not well lickard my selfe there, I had neuer had after it.  
*Bran.* Faith *Will*, ile giue thee a veluet coate, and thou canst but make him merry.  
*Will.* Will ye my Lord, and ile venter another boxe on the eare but ile do it.

*Enter Cumpst.*

*Cum.* Cleare the presence there, the king is com<sup>ing</sup>.  
Gods me, my Lords, what meant the Cardinall,  
So vnexpected thus to trouble him.  
*Gray.* Is the king mou'd at it.

*Enter the king and V'oolse.*  
*Cum.* Iudge by his countenance, see he comes.  
*Bran.* Ile not indure the storme.

*Dud.* Nor I.

*Will.* Runne foole your maister will be feld elfe.  
*King.* Did we not charge that none should trouble vs,  
Pretumptuous priest, proud prelate as thou art,  
How comes it you are growne so saucie fir,  
Thus to presume vpon our patience,  
And crosse our royall thought disturbd and vext,  
By all your negligence in our estate,  
Of vs and of our countries happinesse.

*V'ool.* My gracious Lord.

*King.* Fawning beast stand backe:

Or by my crowne, ile foote thee to the eath,  
Wheres *Brandens*, *Surrey*, *Seymer*, *Gray*,  
Where is your counsell now, O now ye crooch,  
And stand like pictures at our presence doore,  
Call in our guard, and beare them to the Towers,  
Mother of God, ile haue the traitors heads,  
Go hale them to the blocke, vp, vp, stand vp,  
Ile make you know your duties to our state,  
Am I a cyphier, is my right growne stale,  
Am I not *Harry*, am I not Englands king, Ha.  
*Will.* So la, now the watchword is guen, nay and see  
once cry ha, neare a man in the count dare for his head  
speake againe, lye close cosin *Patch*.

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Patch.* Ile not come neare him cosin, has almost kild me with his countenance.  
*King.* We haue bene too familiar, now I see,  
And you may daily with our maiestie:  
Where are my pages there.

*Enter pages.*

*Page.* My Lord.

*King.* Trifle fitt, none to put my garter on,  
Giue me some wine, here shuffe a the tother side,  
Proud Cardinall who follow'd our affaires in Italy,  
That we that honor'd so Pope *Inlinus*,  
By dedicating bookes at thy request,  
Against that vpstart sect of Lutherans,  
Should by that hereticke be banded thus,  
But by my *George*, I sweare, if *Henry* liue,  
Ile hunt base *Luther* through all Germany,  
And pull those feuen electors on their knees:  
Bace laue tie sofe, thou hurst my legges,  
And now in Ireland the Burkes rebell,  
And with his stubborne kernes makes hourelly rodes,  
To burne the borders of the English pale,  
And which of all your counsels helpes vs now,

*Enter Cumpst on with wine.*

*Cum.* Heres wine, my Lord.

*King.* Drinke, and be damnd, I cry thee mercy *Cumpst*,  
I did mislike, thou to come behind me so,  
By holy *Paul*, I am so crooch and vext,  
I knew not what I did, and here at home,  
Such carefull statemen do attend vs,  
And looke so wisely to our common weale,  
For lawlesse rebels do disturbe our state,  
Twelue times this terme, haue we in person safe,  
To beate our subiects lutes determined:  
Yet tis your office *V'oolse*, but all of you  
Well, what would ye say.  
*Will.* Nothing that might displease your maiesty,  
I haue a message from the Pope to you,  
*King.* Then keepe it still, we will not heare it yet,

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*When you see me, you know me.*

Get all of you away, and our presence  
We cannot yet command our patience,  
Reach me a chaire.

*Brach.* Now *Will*, or neuer, make the king but smile,  
And with thy mirthfull toys allay his spleene,  
That we his countesse may conferre with him,  
And by my Honor, he reward thee well,  
Too him good *Will*.

*Will.* Not too fast, I pray, least *Will Sommers* nere bee  
scene againe, I knowe his qualities as well as the best  
an ye: for euer when he's angry, and no body dare  
speake to him, ye thrust me in, by the head and shoul-  
ders, and then wee fall to buffets, but I know who has  
the worst ant: but go, my Lord, stand aside, and stirre  
not till I call yee, let my cosin *Patch* and I alone, and  
hee goe to boxing, wee'll fall both vpon him, that's cer-  
taine: but and the worst come, bee sure the Cardinals  
foole shall pay for't.

*Bra.* Vie your best skill, good *William*, ile not be seene,  
Vnlesse I see him smile.

*Wil.* Where art thou cosin, alas poore foole, he's crept  
vnder the table, vp cosin, feare nothing, the flonuts  
past, I warrant thee.

*Patch.* Is the king gon, cosin?

*Wil.* No, no, yonger he sits, we are all friends now.

The Lords are gone to dinner, and thou and I must  
waite at the kings table.

*Patch.* Not I birlady, I would not waite vpon such a  
Lord, for all the hums in the land, I thought he would  
haue kild my Lord Cardinal, he lookt so terribly.

*Wil.* Foe, he did but iest with him, but ile tell thee cosin  
the rarest tricke to bee reueng'd at passes, and ile giue  
thee this fine silke point, and thou'lt do it.

*Patch.* O braue, obtraue, giue me it cosin, and ile doe  
what so ere tis.

*Wil.* Ile stand behind the post here, and thou shalt goe  
slyly stealing behind him, as hee sits reading yonder,  
and when thou comst close to him, cry both, and wele  
scarre him so, he shall not tell where to rest him.

*Patch.* But will he not be angry?  
*Wil.* No, no, for then ile shew my selfe, and after he sees who tis, hee  
laffe.

*When you see me, you know me.*

life and be as merie as a magge pie, an I thew't bee a m<sup>ay</sup> man  
by it, for all the house shall see him nuggie tines in his armes, &  
dandle thee vp and down with hand & foot an thou wert a footcball,  
*Page.* O fine come cosen, giue me the pynt first, & ile rot so lowd  
that ile make him beleue that the diuels come.

*Will.* So doe and feare nothing, for an thou wert the diuell himselfe,  
hee conure thee I warrant thee, I would not haue such a consoling  
for twentie crownes; but whe he has made way, ile make him merie  
enough, I doubt it not, so now cosen looke to your Coxcomb?

*Page.* Boe.

*King.* Mother of God whats that,

*Page.* Boe.

*King.* Out asse take that and tumble at my feete.

For thus ile spurne thee vp and downe the house.

*Patch.* Helpe cosen helpe:

*Will.* No cosen now he's consoling, I dare not come neere him.

*King.* Who set this rat talle here to trouble me.

*Ex. Comp.* Whole that stands lasting there, the foole ha, ha,

old villaine in christendome, marke good Sir William, because the  
foole durst not come neere himselfe, seeing our anger, sent this fillic  
asse, that we might wreake our royall spleene on him: whilest hee  
stands lasting to behold the last, both blessed La. (*Open*) Ile not leaue  
the foole, to gaine a million, he contents me so, come hether *Will*.

*Will.* Ile know whether ye haue dome knocking first, my cosen  
pach looks pittifully, ye had best bee friends with vs I can tell you,

*King.* Alas, poore pach hold firra ther's an Angell to buy you points  
*Will.* Law Cosin, did not I say he's make much on ye,

I cannot see where I am,  
*Pach.* I cosin but has made such a singing in my head

your feete may fall a dauncing & so saue charges to the  
piper.

*King.* *Will Sommers*, prethee tell me why didst thou send him first,  
*Will.* Because ile haue him haue the first fruits of thy lurie,

how the matter stood with the next that disflurd thee, I knowe  
*King.* But wherefore came ye,  
*Will.* To make thee leaue thy mellancholly and turne merrie man a-

gaue, thou hast made all the Court in such a pittifull case as passes,  
the

C 3



*When you see me, you know me.*

the Lords has attended here this foure daies, and none dares speake to thee, but thou art readie to choppe of their heads fort: and now I feeling what a fretting furie thou continuest in, and euerie one said twol'd kill thee if thou keepst it, pulld eene vp my heart, and vovd to loose my head, but ile make thee leaue it.

*King.* Well *William* I am behoulding to ye. Ye shall haue a new Coate and a cap for this.

*Will.* Nay then, I shall haue two new coats and cap per, for Charles *Brandon* promised mee one before, to performe this enterprise.

*King.* He shall keepe his word *will*, goe call him in, Call in the Lords tell them our spleene is calmbd:

Mother a God we must giue way to wrath,

That chafes our Royall blood with anger thus:

And vif some mirth I see to comfort vs.

Draw neere vs Lords, Charles *Brandon* list to me:

Will *Sommers* here must haue a Coate of you,

But *Patch* has earned it dearest whers the foole?

*Will.* Hees enne creeping as nere the doore as he can,

Heele faime begon I see, and he could get out,

Wouldst thou not cofin?

*Patch:* Yes cofin *Will*, Ild faime be walking, I am a fraid,

I am not as I should be:

*Will.* Come, ile helpe thee out then, dost thou heare my

Lord Cardinall, your foole is in a pittifull taking, hee

finchls terrible.

*Will:* You are too craftie for him *William*,

*King:* So is he *Woolsey* credit me,

*Will:* I thinke so my Lord, as long as *will* liue, the *Cardi-*

*nals* foole must giue way to the Kings foole:

*K:* Well fir bequiet, and my reuerent Lords,

I thank you for your patient suffering,

We were disturbed in our thoughts we sweare,

We now intreat you speake and we will heare,

*Woolf:* Then may it please your sacred Maiestie,

*Campe:* Legate to his holinesse,

Attends with letters from the Court of Rome.

*King:* Let him draw neere, weele giue him Audience,

*Dudley:* and *Gray* Attend the *Cardinall*,

And bring *Campe* to our pience here:

*Dud.* *Gray,* We goe my Lord:

*Enter*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Enter Lords and Legats:*

*king:* *Brandon* and *Seymer*, place your selues by vsa

To heare this mesage from his holinesse,

You reuerent princes pillars of the Church:

*Legats,* Apostolike, how fares the Pope,

*Campe*, In health great *king* and from his sacred lips:

I bring a blessing Apoftolical:

To English *Henrie* and his subiects all:

And more to manifest his loue to thee,

The prop and pillar of the Churches peace:

And grauthe thy loue made plaine to him,

In leamed books gainst *Luthers* heresie,

He lends me thus to greet thy Maiestie:

VVith stile and titles of high dignitie,

Command the *Heralds* and the *Trumpets* forth:

*Seymer:* Gentlemen dispatch and call them in:

*Will:* Lord blesse vs, whats here to doe now

*Campe:* Receaue this Bull sent from his holinesse,

For confirmation of his dignitie

To thee, and to thy faire posteritie.

*Will:* Tis well the Kings a wildower, and he had put

forth your Bull with his hornes forward, ide haue mard

your mesage, I can tell ye.

*K:* Peace *Will:* *Heralds* attend him:

*Campe:* *Trumpets* prepare whilst we allowd pronounce

And in his reuerent name I heare proclayme

*Henrie* the Eight by the grace of God,

King of England, France and Ireland:

And to this title, from the Pope we giue:

*VVoolf:* Sound *Trumpets*, and God saue the *King*:

Receiue it with thanks and reuerence:

In which whilst we haue life, his grace shall see,

Our sword defender of the faith shall be,

Goe one of you salute the Maior of London,

Bid one of you salute the Maior of London,

Proclaime our Tides through his *Trumpets* found,

Goe *Gray*, see it donne, attend him fellowes:

*Gray:*



*When you see me, you know me.*  
Crey. I goe my Lord, Trumpets follow me.

*Exit:*  
**King.** What more Lord Legat doth his holinesse will?  
**Campe:** That *Henry* Ioyning with the Christian King  
Of France and Spaine, Denmark and Portugale  
would send an Armie to assaile the Turke,  
That now invades with warre the Ile of Rhodes,  
Or send twelve thousand pound to be disposed,  
As his holinesse thinks best for their reliefe.  
**Will:** I thought so, I knew twould be a monie matter,  
when als done, now that defender of the faith, the Pope  
will have thee defend euerie thing himselfe and all.

**King:** Take hence the foole.  
**Will:** I, when can ye tel? dost thou thinke any oth Lords  
will take the foole, none here, I warrant, except the  
Cardinals.

**King:** What a knauiſh foolles this, Lords you must beate  
with him, come hether *VVill*, what saist thou to this  
newe tyrell giuen vs by the Pope, speake, ist not  
rare?

**Will:** I know not how rare it is, but I know how deer  
it will bee, for I perceiue will cost thee twelve thousand  
pounds at least, besides the *Cardinals* cost in com-  
ming.

**King:** All that's nothing, the title of defender of  
the faith is worth yee, twice as much, say, is it  
not?

**Will:** No by my troth, dost heare old *Harie*, I am surer,  
the true faith is able to defend it selfe without thee, and  
as for the Popes faith (good faith's) not worth a far-  
thing, and therefore giue him not a penny.

**K:** Goe too firr meddle not you with the Popes  
matters:  
**Will:** Let him not meddle with thy matters then, for,  
and he meddle with thee, he middle with him that cer-  
taine and so farrewell, he goe and meete my little young  
Master Prince *Edward*, they say hee comes to Courte  
to night, he to horsebacke, prethee *Harie* send one to  
hold my stirrup: shall I tell the Prince what the Pope  
has donne.

*King.*

*When you see me, you know me.*

**King.** I and thou wilt *Will*, hee shall be defender of the faith  
(too, one day,  
*Exit.*  
**Will.** No, and he and I can defend our selues we care not,  
For we are sure the faith can.

**King.** Lord Legat, so we reverence Rome and you,  
As nothing you demand, shall be denied:  
The Turke will we expell from Chalkentome,  
Sending stout souldiers to his holinesse,  
And mony to releue distressed *Rhodes*:  
So if you please, passe in to banquetting,  
Goe Lords attend them, *Brandon* and *Compton* stay,  
We haue some businesse to conferre vpon.

*Compt.* We take our leave.

**King.** Most hartie welcome to my reuerent Lords,  
So now to our businesse, *Brandon* say,  
Heare yee no tydings from our sister *Mary*,  
Since her arriuall in the Realme of France?

**Bront.** Thus much we heard my Lord, at *Calais* met her  
The youthfull *Dolphin*, and the Peeres of France:  
And brauely brought her to the King at *Towere*,  
Where he both married her, and crownde her *Queene*.

**King.** Tis well, but *Brandon* and *Compton* list to me,  
I must employ your aide and secrecie,  
This night we meane in some disguised shape,  
To visit *London*, and to walke the round,  
Passe through their watches, and obserue the care  
They say night-walkers, hourly pulle the streets,  
Committing theft, and hated sacrileges:  
Goe *Compton*, goe and get me some disguise,  
This night weele see our Cities government:  
*Compton* shall goe disguise along with me, my  
Our swordes and bucklers shall conduct vs safe,  
But if we catch a knock to quit our paines,  
Weele put it vp, and bye vs home againe.

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To visit *London*, and to walke the round,  
Passe through their watches, and obserue the care  
They say night-walkers, hourly pulle the streets,  
Committing theft, and hated sacrileges:  
Goe *Compton*, goe and get me some disguise,  
This night weele see our Cities government:  
*Compton* shall goe disguise along with me, my  
Our swordes and bucklers shall conduct vs safe,  
But if we catch a knock to quit our paines,  
Weele put it vp, and bye vs home againe.

*Exit.*



When you see me, you know me.

Enter the Constable and Watch.  
Cobler being one bearing a  
Lamb-horne.

Constable. Come neighbours, we have a straight command.  
Our watches be severely lookt into:  
Much theft and murder was committed lately;  
There are two strangers, marchants of the Stillyard  
Cruelly flaine, found floating on the Tennes;  
And greatly are Stewes had in suspect,  
As places fitting for no better use,  
Therefore be carefull and examine all,  
Perhaps we may attach the murderer.

1 Watch. Nay I assure yee master Constable, those stew-  
houses are places of much slaughter and redemption, and ma-  
ny cruell deedes of equitie and wickednesse are committed  
there, for diuers good men loode both their money and their  
computation by them, I assure yee; how say you neighbor  
Prichall?

Cob. Neighbour Capcase, I knowe you're a man of cour-  
rage, and for the merry cobbler of Lime-strete, shol sit as low as  
Saint Faithes, I can looke as high as Paulus: I haue in my  
dayes walke to the stewes as well as my neighbours, but if the  
mad wenches fall to burdering once, and cast men into the  
Thames, I haue done with them; theres no dealing, if they car-  
rie fire in one hand, and water in tother.

Con. Well maisters we are now plac't about the Kings busi-  
(noise)

And I know ye all sufficient in the knowledge of it,

I need not to repeat your charge againe:

Good neighbours, vse your gentlest care I pray,

And if vntruly persons trouble yee,

Call and ile come: so yrs goodnight.

Exit Constable.

1 Watch. God-

When you see me, you know me.

1 Wat. God yegodnight and twentie syr, I warrant yee, yee  
needs not reconcile to our charge, vor some on vs has dischar-  
ged the place this forty yeare I am sure. Neighbours what  
thinke you best to be done?

Cob. Every man according to his calling neighbour, if the  
enemie come, here lyes my towne of Garrison, I set on him as  
I set on a patch, if he tread on this side, I vnderlay him on this  
side, or prick him through both sides, I yerke him, and tricke  
him, pare him and peece him, then hang him vp beth heeles  
till Sunday.

1 Wat. How say yee, by my faith neighbour Prichall yee  
speake to the purpose, for indeed neighbours, euery sensible  
watch-man is to seeke the best reformation to his owne de-  
struction.

2 Wat. But what thinke yee neighbours, if euery man take  
a nap now, eth fore hand eth night, and goe to bed afterward.  
Cob. That were not a milenether, but and youle take bat  
euery man his pot first, youle sleepe like the man eth Moone  
yfaith.

2 Doe yee thinke neighbour, there is a man eth Moone?

1 Wat. I assure yee in a cleare day, I haue sente at mid-  
night.

Cob. Some thinke he's a shepheard, because ons dog, some  
saies he's a baker going to heate his oven with a baunen at  
backe; but the plaine truth is, I thinke he was a cobbler, for yee  
know what the song sayes, I see a man eth Moone, sic man, sic,  
I see a man eth Moone, clouting Saint Peters shoone, sic,  
by this reason, he should be a cobbler.

1 Wat. B; my felkins he faith true, alas, alas, goodman Dor-  
mon, hath euen giuen vp the gost already, tis an honest quiet  
soule I warrant yee.

Cob. It behoues vs all to be so how doe yee neighbour Dor-  
(noise)

Dor. Godspeed yee, Godspeed yee, nay and yee goe a gods-  
name, I haue nothing to say to yee.

2 Lawe yee, his minds ons businesse, though he be nere so  
man maisters to his feuerall stall.

2 Agreed, Godnight good neighbours,  
D 2

Cob. Nay.



*When you see me, you know me.*  
*Cob.* Nay, let's take no leave, ile but winke a while, and see you againe.

*Enter King, and Compton, with bills on his backe.*  
*King.* Come sir *William*,

We may now stand vpon our gaurd you see,  
The watch has giuen vs leave to arme our selues,  
They feare no danger, for they sleepe secure;  
Goe carry those bills we tooke to *Baynards Castle*,  
And bid *Charles Brandon* to disguise himselfe,  
And meet me presently at *Grace Church Corner*,  
We will attempt to passe through all the watches,  
And so I take it, it will be an easie taske,  
Therefore make haste.

*Comp.* I will my Liege.

*King.* The watch-word if I chance to send to ye,  
As the great Stagge of *Bayden* for my name shall bee,

*Comp.* Inough, weele thinke on it.

*Exit.*

*King.* So, now weele forward, soft yonder's light,  
I and a watch, and all asleepe burlatly:

These are good peaceable subiects, heres none  
Beckens to any, all may passe in peace: Ho sirrha.

*Cob.* Stand, who goe's thier?

*King.* A good fellow. Sands a hairous word ethe *King*,  
High way, you haue bene at Noddie, I see.

*Cob.* I, and the first card comes to my hand's a Knaue.

*King.* I am a Coatecar d indeed.

*Cob.* Then thou must needs be a Knaue, for thou art nei-  
ther *King* nor *Queene* (I am sure) But whether goest thou?

*King.* About a little businesse that I haue in hand.

*Cob.* About a little businesse that I haue in hand.

*King.* Then good night, prethy trouble me no longer.

*Cob.* VVhy this is easie enough, heres passage at pleasure.

*King.* VVhat wretch so wicked, would not giue faire words

After the fondest fact of Villaine?

That may escape vaine so easily,

Or what should let him that is so refoild

To murder, rapine, theft, or sacriledge?

I see the Citie are the sleepe heads,

To

*When you see me, you know me.*

To do it, and passe thus vnexamined,  
Stand hee lesse men; what bootes it for a *King*,  
To coyle himselfe in this high state affaires,  
To common Parliaments, and call together

The wisest heads for his subiects peace,

Making statutes for his subiects weale,

That thus neglecting them, their woes increase,

Well weele further on, soft here comes one,

He stay and see, how he escapes the watch.

*Enter Blacke Will.*

*Blacke Will.* So, now I am got within the Citie, I am as  
safe as in a Sanctuary: it is a hard world, when *Blacke Will* for  
a venture of five pound, must commit such petty robberies  
at *Chile-ende*, but the plaine truth is, the Stewes from whence  
I had my quartidge is now growne too hote for me: theres  
some suspicion of a murther lately done vpon two Mar-  
chants of the *Stillard*, which indeede as fure as some fine or  
fixe flabs comes too, I confesse I had a hand in. But mum-  
budget, all the Dogges in the towne must not baite at it,  
I must withdraw awhile till the heate beere ore, remoue my  
lodging, and lye vpon darke nights and mistie mornings.  
Now let me then see, the strongest watch in London inter-  
cept my passage.

*King.* Such a Fellow would I haue meeete withall:

Well overtaken syr.

*Blacke Will.* Shood come before me syr;

What a Duell art thou?

*King.* A man at least.

*Blacke.* And art thou valiant?

*King.* I carry a sword and a buckler ye see.

*Blacke.* A sword and a buckler, and know not me,

Not *Blacke Will*?

*King.* No trust mee.

*Blacke Will.* Slave, then thou art neither Traueller, nor  
Purse-taker; for I tell thee, *Blacke Will* is knowne and fea-  
red though the seuentene Prouinces; theres not a sword  
and

D 3



*When you see me, you shall know me.*

and Buckler man in England nor Europe, but has had a taste of my manhood. I am tole-free in all Cities, & the Subburbs about them: this is my Sconce, my Castle, my Cittadell, and but King Harry, God blesse his Maiestie, I feare not the proudest.

*King.* O yes, some of his guard.

*Blacke Will.* Let his guard eat beefe and be thankfull, giue me a man wil couer himself with his buckler, and not booge and the diuel come.

*King.* Me thinkes thou wert better line at Court as I doe, King Harry loves a man, I can tell ye.

*Blacke Will.* Would thou and all the men hee keepes were hangde, and ye loue not him then: but I will not change my reuenues for all his guardes wages.

*King.* Hast thou such store of lining?

*Blacke Will.* Art thou a good fellow?

*May I speake freely, and wilt not tel the king ont?*

*King.* Keepe thine owne counsell, and feare not,

For of my faith the King shall know no more for mee, then thou telst him.

*O Will.* And I tell him any thing let him hang me: but for thy selfe, I thinke if a farpurse come ith way, thou wouldest not refuse it. Therefore leaue the Court and sharke with me, I tell thee, I am chiefe commander of all the Stewes, theres not a whoore shifts a smocke but by my priuiledge, nor opens her shopp: before I haue my weekly tribute: And to assure thee my valour carries credite with it, doe but walke with me through the streets of London, and let mee see the proudest watch disturbe vs.

*King.* I shall be glad of your conduct sir.

*Blacke Will.* Follow me then, and let tell thee more.

*1 Watch.* Stand, who goes there?

*Blacke Will.* A good fellow: come close, regard them not?

*2 Watch.* How shall wee know thee to be a good fellow?

*Blacke Will.* My names Blacke Will.

*1 Watch.* Oh, God giue yee good nights, good Maister

*Blacke Will.* am.

*When you see me, you know me.*

*2 Watch.* God boye sir, God boye,

I am glad we are so well rid on him.

*Will.* Law sir, you see heres egressle enough,

Now follow me, & you shall see wee haue regresse (backe againe.

*1 Watch.* Hor comes there?

*Will.* Come afore the Constable.

*Will.* What haue ye forgot me to foone? tis I.

*2 Watch.* O, tis M. Blacke Willam,

God blesse ye sir. God blesse ye.

*Blacke Will.* How likst thou now?

*King.* Faith excellent: but prethe tell me, dost thou face the world with thy man-hood, that thus they feare thee, or art thou truly valiant?

*Blacke Will.* Stoothe, dost thou doubt of my man-hood?

Nay then defend your selfe, ile giue you a try all presently, be- take yee to your tooles sir, ile teach ye to stand vpon Inter- gatories.

*King.* I am for ye, theres neere a man the King keepes shall refuse ye: but tell mee, with thou keepe the Kings Acte for fighting.

*Blacke Will.* As ye please sir: yet becaus th art his man, ile ob- serue it, and neither thrust nor strike beneath the knee.

*King.* I am please, haue at you sir. *They fight.*

*1 Watch.* Helpe neighbours, O take ye to your browne Billes, call vp the Constable, heres a peece of chance-meddle ready to be committed: set on good-man Sprichall,

*Will.* Ile ferke them a both sides, yle close neighbour *Dor- mous* keepe the kings peace, I charge ye, helpe M. Constable.

*Will.* Enter the Constable.

*Will.* Keepe the peace, or strike them downe.

*2 Watch.* Sownes, I am hurt, hold I say.

*Will.* Let them not passe neighbours, heres bloodshed drawne vpon one of the Kings Officers.

*Will.* Take away their weapons, and since you are so hot,

Ile fet you where you shall be coole enough,

*Blacke Will.* Sownes the Moones a wayning harlot, with the glimfe of her light I lost his poynt, & mistooke my ward,

had nere brocht my blood ale,

*Will.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

*Con.* pray fir what are you?

*King.* I am the Kings man fir, and of his Guard.

*Con.* More shame you should to much forget your selfe,

As well to keepe his parcell of your oath,

And if a Constable be not present by,

You may as well as he, his place supply:

And seeing yee so neglect your oath and dutie,

Goe bare them to the Counter presently,

There shal yee answer for these misdemeanors.

*2 Wat.* Has broke my head fir, and furthermore it bled;

*Con.* Away with them both, they shall pay thee well ere

they come forth, I warrant thee.

*Will.* I beseech yee fir,

*King.* Neuer in treat man, we shall have baile I doubt it not,

But master Constable, I hope you deeme this favour, to let

one of your watchmen goe of an errand for me, it / pay him?

*Con.* With all my heart fir, heres one shall goe.

*King.* Hold three good fellows, heres an angell for thee, goe

thy way to *Baynard's Castle*, & aske for one *Brandon*, he serves

the Duke of *Stafforde*, and tell him his bedfellow, or the great

flagge of *Bayden* this night is clapt eth Counter, and bid him

come speake with me. Come Constable lets goe, fynd ha make

hast.

*Exit.*

*Cob.* I warrant you fir, and this be all, ide have done it for

halfe the monye well, I must enquire for one *Brandon*, and tell

him the great flag of *Bayden* is eth Counter, but lady I doubt

they be both crasse knaves, and this is some watch-youd be-

twene them: beth masse I doubt hee here come well by his

mony, hees so liberall, well ile forward.

*Exit.*

*Enter Brandon and Compton.*

*Byon.* Syr *William* are you sure it was at *Graces Church*

His Maestie appointed we should meete him?

We haue bin there and must him, whatthinke yee fir?

*Comp.* Good

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Comp.* Good faith I know not.

His Highnesse is too vntuous hold my Lords

I know he will forsake himselfe in this,

Opposing I still against a world of odder,

*Byon.* Good faith tis true, but soft here comes one,

How now good fellow, whether goest thou?

*Cob.* I lyes in my authoritie fir,

To aske you that question.

For I am one of the kings watch, I can tell yee.

*Co.* Then perhaps thou canst tel vs some tydings:

Didst thou not see a good lustie tall bigge set man, passe

through your watch to night?

*Cob.* Yes fir, there was such a man came to our watch to

to night, but none that past through, for he behaved himselfe

so, that he was laid hold on quickly, and now he is forth com-

ming in the Counter.

*Brandon.* And whether art thou going?

*Cob.* Faith fir, has given me an Angel, to doe an errande

for him at *Baynard's Castle*, to one *Brandon*, that serves the

Duke of *Stafforde*, he saye he is his Bed-fellow, and I must tell

him, the great Stags of *Bayden*, is eth Counter.

*Byon.* If thine errand be to *Brandon*, I can saue thee a 1-

hour, for I am the man thou lookst for, wee haue bene see-

king him almost all this night hold thee theres an Angel for

thy newes, ile baile him I warrant thee.

*Exit.*

*Cob.* I thanke you fir, but hees not so soone baylde, as you

thinke for, theres two of the Kings watch has their heads

broke, and that must bee answered for, but alls won to mee,

let them thrust as they will, the Angels has flowne about to

night, and two galls are light into my handes, and these ile

keepe, let him get out as he can,

*Exit.*

*Enter the King in Prison.*

*King.* Hoe *Porter*, whose without there?

*Porter.* Whats the matter now? will yee not goe to bed to

night?

*King.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

**King.** No trust me, twill be morning presently,  
And I haue hope I shall be baillie ere then:  
I prethe if thou canst, entreate some of the prisoners to keepe  
me companie a paire of houres, or so: and weele spend them  
in the route of healthes, and all shall be my cost.  
Say wilt thou pleasure me?

**Port.** If that will pleasure ye sir, ye shall not want for com-  
pany, heres I know that can tend it, they haue hunger and eale  
enough at all times.

**King.** Theres a couple of Gentlemen in the next roome, I  
prethe let them come in, and thers an *Harry Soueraigne* for  
thee.

**Port.** I thank you sir, I am as much beholding to you, as  
to *King Harry* for it.

*Exit.*

**King.** I, I assure thee thou art,  
Well M. Comfortable, you haue made the Counter  
Tis might, the royall Court of *Englands* King:  
And by my crowne I sweare, I would not for  
A thousand pound t'ware otherwife,  
The Officers in Cities, now I see,  
Are like an Orchard ser with feuerall Trees,  
Where one must cherish ones, rebuke the other:  
And in this wretched Counters I perceiue,  
Many playes fast and loose, purchases fauour,  
And without that, nought but miserie,  
A poore Gentleman hath made complaint to mee,  
I am vndone (quoth he) and kept in prison,  
For one of your fellows that serues the King,  
Being bound for him, and he neglecting me,  
Hath brought mee to this woe and miserie.  
Another Citizen theris, complains  
Of one belonging to the *Cardinall*,  
That in his Maisters name hath taken vp  
Commodities, valued at a thousand pound:  
The payment being deferde hath caused him break;  
And so is quite vndone. Thus kings & Lords I see,  
Are oft abused by seruants treacherie.

*But:*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Enter the prisoners.*

But whilst a while, here comes my fellow prisoners,  
**1. Pri.** Wheres this bullic *Grig*, this lad of life, that will  
scowre the counter with right remitt to night? Oh Sir you are  
welcome,

**King.** I thank ye sir, may weele be as great as our word, I  
assure yee. Heere I'orte, thers moony, fetch wine I prethe:  
Gentlemen you cannot bee merry in this melancholy places  
but heres a Lad has his heart as light as his purse. Sirra, thou  
art some mad slave I thinke, a regular companion: won that  
that vies to walke a nights, or so, Art thou not?

**1. Pri.** Harke ethen care, that a good fellow.

**King.** I am right borne I assure thee.

**1. Pri.** *King Harry* loues a man, and thou a woman:

Shall I teach thee some wit?

And tell thee why I met thee here?

I went and set my limbe-twigs, and I thinke

I got some hundred pound,

By a crooked measure at *Coome Parke*:

And now seeing there was watch layde,

And much search for suspicious persons:

I got won as honest as my selfe to arrest me,

By a contrary name, and lay me eth counter,

And here I know thayle nere seeke me,

And so when the heats ore, I am at libertie,

And meane to spend my crownes lustily:

How likst thou this my Bullie?

**King.** An excellent pollicie.

**1. Pri.** But mum, no words: vse it for your self, or

**King.** O sir, feare it not, be merry Gentlemen: I' not this

wine come yet? Gods me, forget our chiefe guest, wheres my

sword and buckler-man? wheres *Blacke will*? how now man,

and be friends.

**Will.** My bloods vp still,

**King.** When tis at highst will fall againe, come handes,

*Blacke Will*, Ie shake handes with thee, because thou carriest

a sword and buckler, yet thart not right Caualiers, thou

knowst not how to vse them, thalte a leaue arme,

**King.** I a good smart stroke,

*E 2*

*Will.*



*When you see me, you know me.*

*Will.* Thou cufft my head indeed, but was no play; thou layest open enough, I could have entered at my pleasure.

*King.* Nay I have stout guard I assure ye.  
*Will.* Childish to a man of valour, when thou shouldst have borne thy Buckler here, thou lettest it fall to thy knee; thou gauest mee a wipe, but was meere chaunce: but had we not bene parted, I had taught ye a little Schoole play I warrant ye.

*Brandon.* What hoe, porter: who keeps the gates there?  
*Porter.* Who knockes so fall?

*Enter Brandon and Compton hastily.*  
*Compt.* Stand by sirrah.

*Porter.* Keepe backe I say, whither wil ye presse amongst the prisoners?

*Brandon.* Sirrah to the Court, and we must in.

*Port.* Why sir, the courts not kept eth Counter to day.

*Brandon.* Yes when the king is there.

*All.* Happinesse betide our Soueraigne.

*Will.* Sownes king Harry.

*1. Pri.* Lord I beseech thee no.

*All.* We all intreat your grace to pardon vs.

*King.* Stand vp good men: be shew ye Brandon for discovering vs, we shall not spend our time so well this moneth.

but theres no remedie now, the worst is this,

The court good fellows must be removed the sooner.

Ye all are courtiers yet. Nay, nay, come forward.

Even now you know we were more familiar.

You see policies holdes not alwayes currant.

I am found out, and so I thinke will you be.

*Goe Porter* let him be removed to *Newgate*.

This place I see is too secure for him.

Weele lend you further word for his bestowin.

*1. Pri.* I beseech your Grace.

*King.* Theres no grace in this, nor none for thee.

*Goe,* away with him.

*Exit Porter and Prisoner.*

*Will.* Sownes I shall to *Tyburne* presently.

*King.* Gentlemen, you that have bene wrongde by my servants and the Cardinals, shall give me neerer notes of it.

*Bath.*

*When you see me, you know me.*

Both what they are, and how much debt they owe yee: Send your petitions to the Court to me.

And doubt not but you shall have remedies: Theres forie Angels, drinke to King *Harries* health; And thinke withall much wrong Kings men may do: The which their maisters nere consent vnto.

*2. Pri.* God bleste your Maiesty with happy life; That thus respects your wofull subiects griefe;

*King.* Where *Black Will*, nay come neerer man, I came neerer you, though yee mislike my play.

*Will.* Beth Lord, your Maiesties the best sword and buckler man in *Europe*, ye lye as close to your wards, carrie your point as fure, that no Fencer comes neerer ye for gallant Fence-play.

*King.* Nay now yee flatter me.

*Will.* For god yee broake my head most gallantly.

*King.* I But was but by chance ye know, but now your heads broke, you looke for a plaster I am fure.

*Will.* And your grace will give me leaue, Ie put it vp and goe my wats presently.

*King.* Nay soft sir, the Keeper wil denie yee that priuiledge,

Come hither sirrha, because y shall know King *Harrie* loues a man, & I perceiue theres some metall in thee, theres two in ie

Angels for thee, marie it shall be to keepe yee in prison still, till we haue further vse for ye. If yee can breake through war-

ches with egres and regres so valiantly ye shall doote amongst your countries enemies.

*Will.* The wars sweet King, tis my delight, my desire my chaire of state create me but a tattord Corporally, and giue me some prebeminence ouer the vulgar hot-shots, and I beat them

Vanguard as ere enierd aginst a Castle wall, break my selfe 7th in two places more, and consume me with the mouth of a dou-

ble culuering, Ie lue and dye with thee sweet King.

*King.* I will be your best course sir, goe take him in.

*Will.* God bleste your maiestie, ile goe drinke to your health.

*Exit.*

*King.* Begone sir, keeper I thanke you for our lodging.

*E 3.*

*Nay.*



*When you see me, you shall know me.*

Nay indeed I doe, I know had ye known vs it had bin better,  
Praise tell the Constable that brought vs hither,  
Gentlemen lets heare from you, & so God morrow,  
Keeper, theres for my fees, discharge the officers  
And giue them charge that none discounter vs,  
Till we are past the citie: in this disguise we came,  
Weele keepe vs still, and so depart againe.  
Once more God morrow you may now report,  
Your counter was on night king *Henries* court,  
Away and leaue vs, *Brandon* what further newes?  
*Bran.* The old king of *France* is dead my Liege,  
And left your sister *Mary* a young widow.  
*King.* God forbid man, what not to soone I hope,  
She has not yet bin married fortie daies:  
Is this newes certaine?

*Bran.* Most true my Lord.

*King.* Alas poore *Mary*, so soone a widow,  
Before thy wedding robes be halfe worne out:  
We must then prepare black funeral garments too,  
Well, weele haue her home, the league is broke:  
And weele not trust her safetie with the *French*.  
*Charles Brandon*, you shall goe to *France* for her,  
See that your traine be richly furnished,  
Of honour, Barriers, Tils, and Tournaments:  
So to retaine her, bare thee like thy selfe,  
An *English* man, dreadlesse of the pouldrell:  
And highly scornig lowly hardinelle.  
*Bran.* I shall my Soueraigne, and in her honour,  
Ile cast a challenge through all the court:  
And dare the proudest Peere in *France* for her.  
*King.* Commend me to the Ladie *Catherine Parry*,  
Giue her this Ring, tell her on Sunday next  
She shall be Queene, and crownde at *Westminster*:  
And *Anne of Cleane* shall be sent home againe:  
Come syrs, weele leaue the citie, and the counter now,  
The day begins to breake, lets hie to court,  
And

*When you see me, you shall know me.*  
Exit.

Enter the Cardinal reading a letter, Bonner is  
his Bishopps Roabet.

*VVol.* My reuerent Lord of *London*,  
Our trustie friend, the king of *France* is dead,  
And in his death, our hopes are hundred:  
The Emperour too, mislikes his praises,  
But we shall crosse him fort I doubt it not:  
And tread vpon his pompe imperiall.  
*Bon.* Your graces letters by *Campeius* sent,  
I doubt not but shall worke your full content.  
*VVol.* I that must be our safest way to worke,  
Monie will make vs men, when men stand out:  
The *Bastard Fredericke* to attaine the place,  
Hath made an offer to the *Cardinals*,  
Of threescore thousand pound, which we will pay,  
Three times thrice double, ere we lose the day.

Enter *Will Summers* and *Patch*.

*Patch.* Come cousin *William*, Ile bring yee to my Lord  
*Cardinal* presently.

*Will.* I thanke yee cousin, and when you come to the court,  
Rebbing you to the King againe, yee knowe cousin, he gaue  
yee an angell.

*Patch.* I but he gaue me such a blow oth ere for it, as I care  
not for comming Ins sight againe while I liue.

*Will.* How now *Patch*, who haue you got there? what *Will*?

*Summers* welcome good *William*,  
*Will.* I thanke your grace, I hard say your Lordship had  
made two new Lords here, and so the two old foolles are come  
to waite on them.

*Bon.* VVe thanke yee *William*.

*Patch.* Your Lordship will be wel guarded, & we follow ye,  
The



*When you see me, you know me.*

The Kings foole, and the Cardinalls, and we are no small  
fooles I assure you.

*Will.* No indeede, my cousin *Patch* here is something too  
square to be set on your shooe, marry and youle weare him  
on your shouler, the foole shall ride yee.

*Will.* A shrewde foole *Banner*, come hither *William*, I haue a  
quarrell to you since our last ryming.

*Will.* About your faire Leman at *Chariton* my Lord, I re-

*Ban.* You speake plaine *William*.

*Will.* Yee neuer knew foole a flatterer I warrant yee,  
*Will.* Well *Will*, he try your ryming wits once more,

What say you to this?

The bells hang high, and lowd they cry, what do they speake?  
*Will.* If you should dye, theres none would cry, though  
your neck should breake.

*Will.* You are something bitter *William*: But come on, once  
more I am for yee. A rod in schoole, a whip for a foole, is al-

waies in season.

*Will.* A halter and a rope for him that would be pope,  
Against all right and reason.

*Will.* Hees too hard for me still, He giue him ouer, come  
tell me *Will*, whats the newes at Court?

*Will.* Marry my Lord, they say the King must be married  
this morning.

*Will.* Married *Will*, to whom I prethee?

*Will.* Why to my Lady *Catherin Parry*, I was once by, when  
he was wooing on her, and then I doubted they would go to-  
gether shortly.

*Will.* Holy Saint *Peter* sheeld his Maieslie,

She is the hope of *Lutherans* heretics

If she be Queene, the Protestants will swell,

And *Cranmer*, Tutor to the Prince of *Wales*,

Will boldly speake against *Romes* Religion,

But Bishops weeke to Court immediately,

And plot the downfall of these *Lutherans*:

You two are Tutors to the Princes *Mary*,  
Still

*When you see me, you know me.*

Still ply her to the *Popes* obedience,

And make her hate the name of Protestant:

I doe suspect that *Lutimer* and *Radi*,

Chief teachers of the faire *Elizabeth*,

Are not sound Catholics, nor friends to *Rome*,

It be so, weele soone remoue them all:

It is better they should dye, then thousands fall.

Come follow vs, *Adanti*, *Trals*, and *Patch*.

*Exit omnes.*

*Will.* Your Lords mad, till he be at the wedding, twas mar-  
uell the King stole so secretly and nere told him on, but all  
one, if he be married, let him play with his Queene to night,  
and then to morrow heele call for me, theres no foole tosh wil-  
full still. What shall we doe coulen?

*Patch.* Hee get the key of the wine-seller, and thou and  
Ie keepe a pottage there to night.

*Will.* VVehave but a little wit betwene vs already coulen,  
and so we should haue none at all.

*Patch.* VVhen our wits be gone, weeel sleepe eth sellor, and  
lye without our wits for one night.

*Will.* Content, and then eth morning weeel but wet them  
with an other cup more, and chaile staue like a rasor all day  
after. Come close goud cuize, let no bodie goe with vs, least  
they be drunke before vs, for fooles are innocents, and must be  
accessarie to no mans ouerthrow.

*Exit.*

Sound Trumpets.

*Enter King, Queene Katherine, Cardinal, Sener, Duddy, Gray,*  
*Enter Campston, crying Hobeyes.*

*King.* VVelcome Queene *Katherine*, seat thee by our side,

Thy sight faire Queene, by vs thus dignified,  
Earles, Barons, Knights and Gentlemen,

Against yee all, weeel be chiefe challenger,

To fight at Barriours, Tilt, and Turnament,

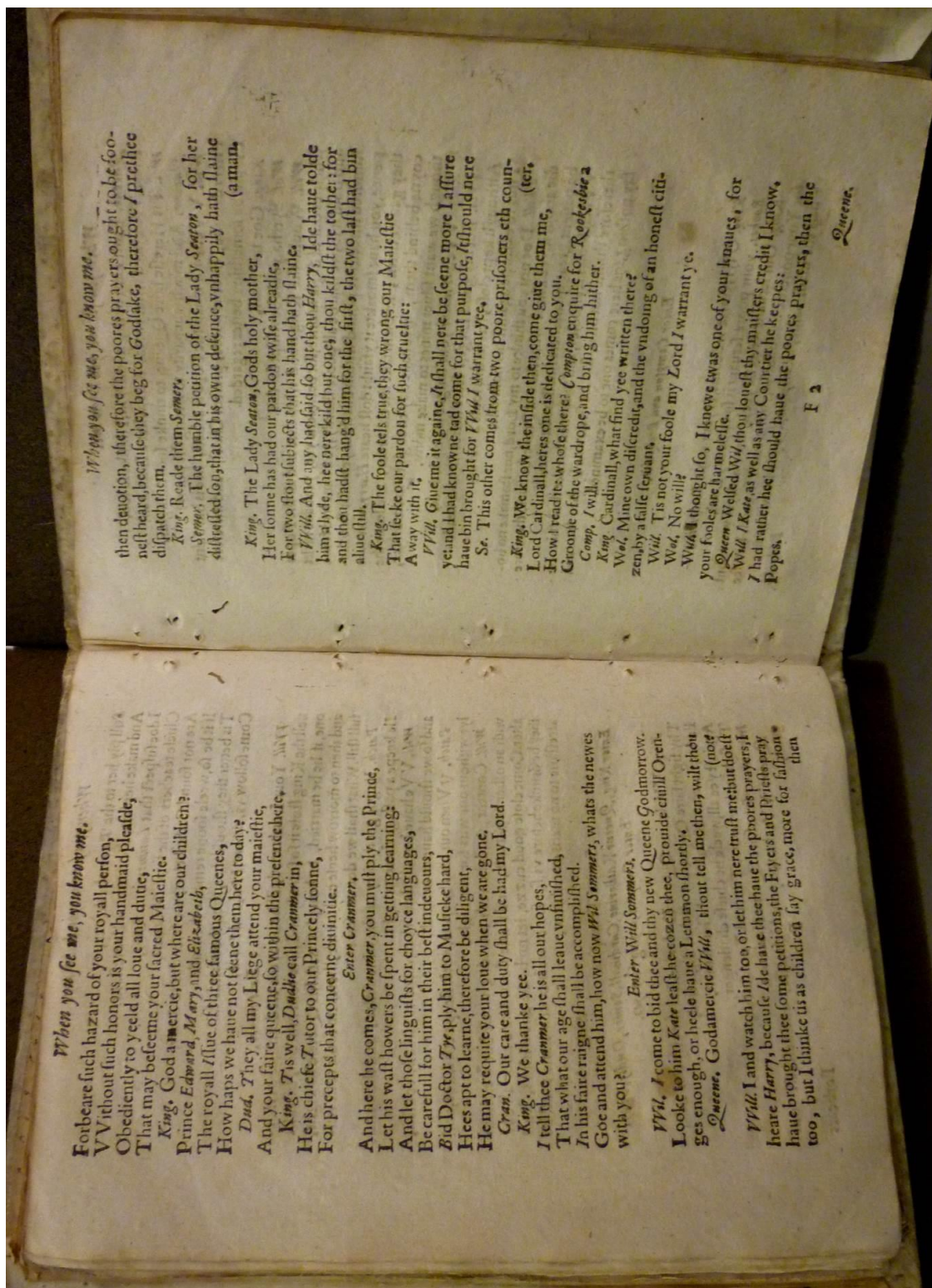
In honour of the faire Queene *Katherine*.

*Queene.* VVe thanke your highnesse, and beseech your  
grace,

F

Forbears





F1<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>; TLN 1534-609; 3.2.8-75 in this edition



*When you see me, you know me.*

*Queen.* Faith I am of thy mind *Will.* I thinke so too.  
*King.* Take heed what yee say *Kate*, what a Lutheran?

*Will.* Tis Heresie faire *Queene*, to thinke such thoughts.  
*Queen.* And much vcharity to wrong the poore?

*Will.* V Vell, and when the Pope is at best, hee is but Saint

*Peters* debutee, but the poore, present Christ, and therefore should be something better regarded.

*King.* Goe too foole.

*Will.* Syrrha, youle be whipt for this.

*Will.* Would the King wood whip thee and all the Popes whelpes out of *England* once, for betweene yee, yee haue rakt and puld it so, we shal be all poore shortly, you haue had foure hundred threescore pound within this three yeare for smoake-pence, you haue smoake it yfaith, dost heare *Harry*, next time they gather them, let them take the chimnies, and leaue the coyne behind them, wee haue day enough to make bricks, though we want siluer mines to make mony.

*King.* V Vell *William* your tongue is priuiledged.

*Will.* But my good Liege, I feare theres shroder heads

Although kept close, has set this foole a worke,

Thus to exstirpe against his holinesse.

*Will.* Doe not you thinke so my Lord, nor stomake no bodie about it: yee know what the old Proverbe saies, therefore

be patient: great quarrellers small credit winnes:

When fooles set fooles, and wise men breake their shinnes: therefore thinke not on it, for I le sit downe by thee *Kate* and

say nothing, for here comes one to be examined.

*Enter Compton and Rookeby.*

*King.* O syr, you're welcome, Is your name *Rookeby*?

*Rookeby.* your poore seruant is so calde my Lord.

*King.* Our seruant we gesse yee by the cloath yee weares, but

for Your pouertie tis doubtful, your credit is so good. Lets see

whats the mans name, ha! *Hopkins*, doe you know the man?

*Rookeby.*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Rookeby, Hopkins?* No my Lord.

*King.* Had you neuer no dealings with such a man?

*Rookeby.* No, if it like your Maieslie.

*King.* No, if it like our Maieslie, gaucie varlett:

It likes not our Maieslie, thou shouldst say no:

It likes vs not, thou yest, for that we know,

You know him not, but he too well knowes you,

And lyes imprisoned slaue, for whats thy due,

*Rookeby.* Sure some enuious man hath misinformd,

*King.* Darst thou denie it still, out-facing knaue,

Mother a God, ile hang thee presently,

Syr, ye lie: and though ye weare the kings cloath,

Yet we dare tell ye so before the king:

Slaue thou dost know him,

He here complains he is vndone by thee,

And the kings man hath caused his miserie.

Yet youle out-face it still, denie, forswear, and lie sir, ha?

*Will.* Not a word more, if thou louest thy life, vntill thou

confesse all and speake faire.

*Rookeby.* I doe beseech your Grace,

*K.* Out periurde knaue, what dost thou serue the

And darste thou thus abuse our Maieslie?

Thinkst thou false theese, thou shalt be priuiledged

Because thart my man, to hurt my people: (nour:

Villaine, those that guard me, shal regard mine ho-

Put off that coate of prooffe, that strong securitie:

Vnder which ye march like a halbertere,

A Seriaunts mace must not presume to touch

Your sacred shoulders with the kings owne writ,

Such priuiledge and strong preuention beare,

Ha, it *Rookeby*?

*Rookeby.* My royall Lord.

*Enter a Messenger in haste.*

*King.* Take that, and know your time to tell your

Mellage: Syr, I am busie.

F 3



*Will.* When you see me, you shall know me.

So, there's one seru'd: I thinke you would take two more with all your heart, so you were well rid on him.

*Roche.* Your pardon good my Liege.

*King.* Ha, pardon thee: I tell thee did it touch thy life in ou, he, more then mine owne displeasure, not the world should purchase it, vnde Cause: Hadst thou neglected this thy dutie to our persons danger: Hadst thou thy selfe against me ought attempted, I might bee sooner wonne to pardon thee, then for a subiects hatefull iniurie.

*Queene.* Let me entreaty our Graceto pardon him.

*King.* Away Kate, speake not for him,

Out of my leuitie I let him live,

Discharge him from my cloath and countenance,

To the Counter to redeme his creditor,

Where he shall satisfie the wimost mite

Of any debt, default or hindrance:

Ille keepe no man to blurre my credite so,

My cloth shall not pay what my seruants owe.

Away with him.

*Exit.* Now my Lord *Cardinal*, speakes not your paper so?

*Car.* Yes my good Lord, your Grace hath showne a patience, to draw forth mine by, I assure your Highnesse,

The punishment inflicted on your man,

Is ment for mine seruants that beares such mindes,

Their Masters thus but serues them in their kindes.

*King.* Wheres this fellow now that brings this newes?

*Will.* He is gone with a flea in his eare: But has left his Message behind with my Lord *Dudley* here.

*King.* And what's the newes?

*Dudley.* Duke *Brandon* my Liege,

*King.* Oh, hees returned from *France*:

And who comes with him?

*Dudley.* His royall wife, my Lord,

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*Dudley.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*King.* Hal! royall wife: whose that?

*When you see me, you shall know me.*

Dares any Subiect mixe his blood with ours, without our leaue?

*Enter Brandon and Mary.*

*Dudley.* He comes himself my Liege to answer it.

*Brandon.* Health to my Soueraigne.

*King.* And our brother king, your Message is before ye sir: off with his head.

*Brandon.* I beseech your Grace giue me leaue.

*King.* Nay you haue taken leaue, away with him, bid the Captaine of our Guard, conuey him to the Tower.

*Brandon.* Heare me my Lord,

Audacious *Brandon* thinkst thou excuse shall serue.

*Lady Mary.* Right gracious Lord,

*King.* Go too, your prayers will scarce saue your selfe,

Durst ye contract your selfe without our knowledge?

Hence with that hare-braine Duke to the Tower I say,

And beare our canelisse sister to the Fleet:

I know sir you broke a Lianet for her,

And brauely did vnhorie the Challengers:

Yet was there no such prize set on her head,

That you without our leaue should marry her.

*Queen.* Oh my Lord, let me intreat for them.

*King.* Tut Kate, though thus I seeme

A while to threaten them,

I meane not to disgrace my sister so:

A way with them. What say ye Lords,

Is he not worthy death for his misdeeds?

*Ben. & Car.* Vnlesse your Grace shall please to pardon him.

*King.* He deserves it then?

*Ben. & Car.* He does my Liege.

*King.* You are knaues and fooler, and ye flatter me?

Gods holy Mother, Ile not haue him hurt, for all your heads:

Deare *Brandon*, I embrace thee in mine armes:

Kind sister, floue you both so well,

I cannot dart another angry frowne

To game a kingdom: here take him *Mary*,

I hold the happier in this English choyce,

*Then*



*When you see me, you know me.*

Then to be *Q. of France*: *Charles*, loue her well.  
And tell on *Brandon*, what the newes in *France*.

*Bran.* The league is broke betwixt the Emperor  
And the yong king of *France*: Forces are mustring  
On either part my Lord, for horse and foote.  
Hot variance is expected speedily.

The Emperor is marching now to *Landerfey*,  
Thereto invade the townes of *Burgondie*.

*King.* God and *S. George*, weele meet his Maieesty,  
And strike a league of Christian amitie.

*Lord Cardinal.* you shall to *France* with speed,  
And in our name salute the Emperor,  
Weele giue direction for your Embassage.

The next faire wind, shall make vs *France* to greet,  
Where *Charles* the Emperor, and king shall meete.

*Exit Omnes.*

*Enter Cranmer, Doctor Tye: and yong*

*Browne, meets them with the*

*Princes cloake and hat.*

*(here?)*

*Cran.* How now yong *Browne*, what haue you  
*Browne.* The Princes cloake and hat, my Lord,

*Cran.* Where is his Grace?

*Browne.* At Tennis, with the *Marquesse Dorset*.

*Cran.* You and the *Marquesse*, draw the Princes  
To follow pleasure, & neglect his booke: (münd

For which the King blames vs. But credite me,  
You shall be foundly paid immediately. (away.

*Brow.* I pray ye good my Lord, call the Prince  
*Cran.* Nay, now ye shal not, whole within there ho?

*Servant.* My Lord,

*Cran.* Goe beare this yongster to the Chappell,  
And bid the *M.* of the Children whippe him well:

The Prince will not learne sit, and you shall smart for it.

*Bro.* O good my Lord, make him ply his booke to morrow,  
*Cran.* That shall not serue your turne, away *Stay.* *Exit.*

So fir this pollicie was well deuilde: Since he was whipt thus  
for the Princes faults,

His

*you know me.*

His Grace hath got more knowledge in a month,  
Than he attained in a yeere before, I am sure you will not  
Doubt the fearefull boy to save his breech, so: at last  
Doth hourly haunt him wherefore he goes.

*Tye.* Tis true my Lord, and now the Prince perceiues it,  
As loath to see him punish for his faults,  
Plays it of purpose to redeeme the boy.

But pray my Lord, lets stand aside awhile,  
And note the greeting twixt the Prince and him,

*Cra.* See where the boy comes and the Kings Foole with  
Lets not be seene, but list their conference,

*Will.* Nay boy, and ye crie youle spoyle your eye sight,  
come, con e trulle vp your hote, you must hold fast your

winde, both before and behind, and blow your nose.  
*Browne.* For what Foole?

*Will.* Why for the mote in thine eye, is there not won  
in't, wherefore dost thou crie else?

*Br.* I pray my Lord, goe call the Prince from the Tennis court.

*Will.* Dost thou cry for that? nay then I smell a Rat, the  
Prince has playd the Trewant to day, and his Tutors has

drawne blood of thy buttocks fort: why boy tis honoura-  
ble to be whipt for a Prince.

*Bro.* I would he would either leade the Tennis court and  
ply his Booke, or giue me leaue to be no Courtier.

*Will.* I, for it be fwrme thy breech lyes ith Hassard a-  
bout it, but looke litle Ned, yonder he comes.

*Enter the Prince, and the yong Marquesse with*

*Marq.* Some Rubbers for the Prince.

*Servant.* Here my good Lord.

*Prince.* One take our Rackets, and reach my Cloake,

*Ma.* Your Grace will say so, though ye over-match me.

*Pr.* Why how now *Browne*, whars the matter?

*Bro.* Your Grace loyces, and will not ply your booke,

and your Tutors has whipt me for it.

*Pr.* Alas poore Ned, I am sorrie for it, I'll take the more

paines



*When you see me.*

paynes, and intreat my Tutors for thee: yet in troth, the lectors they read me last night out of *Virgill* and *Ovid*, I am perfect in: onely I confesse I am something behinde in my Greeke Authors.

*Wil.* And for that speech, they haue declynd it vpon his breech.

*Prin.* And for my logicke, thou shalt winnesse thy selfe I am perfect: for nowe will I proue; that though thou wert whipt for me, yet this whipping was good for thee.

*Mar.* He hardly belecue you my Lord, though Ramus himselfe should proue it: well, *prae.*

*Pr.* Marke my Problem.

*Bona virga facti bonum puerum:*

*Bonum est, te esse bonum puerum:*

*Ergo bona virga, res bona est:* And that's this, Ned.

A good rodde makes a good boy: 'tis good that thou shouldst be a good boy: (*ergo*) therefore a good rodde is good.

*Wil.* Nay be-ladie, the better the rodde is, 'tis the worse for him, that's certaine: but do'st heare me, boy; since hee can proue a rodde to bee so good, let him take himselfe next time.

*Prin.* In troth, I pittie thee, and inwardly I feele the stripes thou barest, and for thy sake, Ned, I'll plem my booke the faster; in the meane time, thou shalt not say, but the Prince of Wales will honourably reward thy seruice, come, *Brown*, kneele downe.

*Wil.* What, wilt thou knight him, Ned?

*Pr.* I will; my father ha's knighted many a one, that neuer shedde drop of blood for him; but hee ha's often for mee.

*Wil.* O braue! hee looks like the myrrour of knight-hood already.

*Enter Crumpe.* Cleave the presence, Gentlemen, the King is comming, reach me my bookes call my

*Pr.* The King? gods me, reach me my knight-hood too.

Tutors in: come *Exeunt*, He confirme thy knight-hood to the King.

*you know me.*

*Enter the King,*

*Mar.* Here bee your Tutors; my Lords, and yonder the King comes.

*Prin.* Healt to your Maiestie.

*King.* Godaniercy Ned; I at your booke so hard, 'tis well, 'tis well; now Bishop *Cranmar*, and good doctor *Tye*, I was going to the gallery, and thought to haue had your Scholler with me, but seeing you'r so busie, I'll not trouble him, come on *Wil*, come, goe you along with me, what make you among the schollers here?

*Wil.* I come to learne my quique quod to keepe mee from the rodde; marre here's one was whipt in pudding time for he ha's gotten a knight-hood about it: looke old Harry, doe's he not looke more furious then he was wont.

*King.* Who *Wil*, young *Brown*, Gods Mary mother, his father is a gallant Knight, as any these fourth partes of England holds.

*Wil.* He cannot compare with his sonne tho, if hee were right *despit delphicus* or the very knight of the Sunne himselfe, yet this knight shall vnhorse him.

*King.* When was he made a knight *Wil*. Marry, in the last action, I can assure you, there was hot fence, and some on vni came to netre him, they had like to smelt out but when all was done, he poore gentleman was pitifully wounded in the back partes, as may appeare by the scarre, if his knightship would but vntuffe there.

*King.* But who knighted him, *William*?

*Wil.* That did Ned here: and he has earned it too, for I am sure, this two yeere he has bin lashe, for his learning.

*King.* Ha, how, come hither Ned, is this true?

*Pr.* 'Tis, my Lord, and I hope your highnesse wil confirme my deed.

*King.* Confirme it, Gods holy mother, what shrode Prince, Ioue by my Crowne young Ned thou hast ho- I like thy kingly spirit that loues to see

Thy friendes aduance to types of dignitie,

G 2

Young



*When you see me,*

Young Knight come hether, what the Prince hath done  
We here confirme, be still Sir *Edward Browne* :  
But heare ye *Ned*, now you haue made him Knight,  
You must giue him some liuing, or else tis nothing.

*Will*. I by my troth, he is now but a Knight vnder *For-*  
*ma papris*, for a Knight without liuing is no better than an  
ordinarie Gallant.

*King*. Well, what will ye giue him *Ned*?

*Prince*. When I haue heard of something that may doe  
him good, I will entreat your Maiestie for him, and th  
meane time from mine owne allowance Ile maintaine  
him.

*King*. Tis well sayd : but for your sake Sonne *Ed-*  
*ward*, wele provide for him ; *Grammar*, see presently a  
Patent drawne, wherein wee will confirme to him  
from our Exchequer a Thousand Markes a yere.

*Browne*. I thanke your Maiestie.

And as I am true Knight, Ile fight and die for ye.

*Will*. Now if your Tutors come to whip ye, you may  
chuse whether youle vnruffle byth order of armes.

*King*. Well *Ned*, see ye pleye your learning, and lets  
haue no more Knights made in this Action, looke to  
him *Browne*, if hee loyter, his Tutors will haue you vp  
for t.

*Browne*. I hope my Lord, they dare not whip me now.

*King*. Berladie Sir, thats doubtfull.

*Will*. If they doe, he shall make thee a Lord, and then  
they dare not.

*King*. Well *Grammar* wele leaue ye, when your pupill  
has done his taske ye ser him now, let him come and visite  
vs : on Gentlemen into the Gallerie.

*Pr*. Heauen keepe your Maiestie.

Gentlemen draw neere.

*Exit*.

*Tye*. God morrow to your Grace.

*Prince*. God morrow Tutors at roone, tis God euen, is  
it not?

*Crab*. We saw not your Grace to day.

*Prince*.

*you know me.*

*Prince*. Oye quippe me cunningly for my Trewantship,  
that I was not at my Bookes to day, but I haue thought of  
that ye read last night, I assure ye.

*Crab*. We doubt it not faire Prince : Lords, Gentlemen  
giue leaue.

*Will*. All voide the rowme, theres but Schollers and  
Fooles.

*Cr*. I hope your excellence can answere me in that axiom  
of Phyllosophie, I propounded to ye.

*Prince*. I promise ye Tutor, tis a Probleme to me, for the  
difference of your Authors opinions, makes me differ in  
mine owne : some say, *Omne animal est, aut homo, aut bestia*,  
that euerie liuing creature is, or man, or beast.

*Will*. Then a womans a beast, for shees no man.

*Pr*. Peace *William* youle be expulst else : And againe  
some Authors affirme, that euerie beast is foure-footed.

*Will*. Then a Fooles no beast, for he has but two.

*Prince*. Yet againe *Will*.

*Will*. Mum *Ned*, no words, Ile be as still as a small bag-

pipe.

*Crab*. *Omne Animal est, aut homo, aut bestia* : And thus tis  
proued my Lord, *Omne Animal, est, rationalis, vel irratio-*

*nale, homo est rationalis, Bestia irrationalis,*

*Ergo omne Animal homo est, vel Bestia :*

Mongst all the creatures in this Vniuerse,

Or on the earth, or flying in the ayre,

Man onely reason hath, others onely sence,

So what is onely sensuall, in not man, but beast :

So euerie creature, hauing one of these, is sure or man, or  
beast : and though all beasts are not foure-footed.

*Will*. Thats certaine a loufe has fixe,

*Crab*. I beleeue y our Grace.

*Pr*. Away *William*.

*Will*. Not a word more as I am *William*.

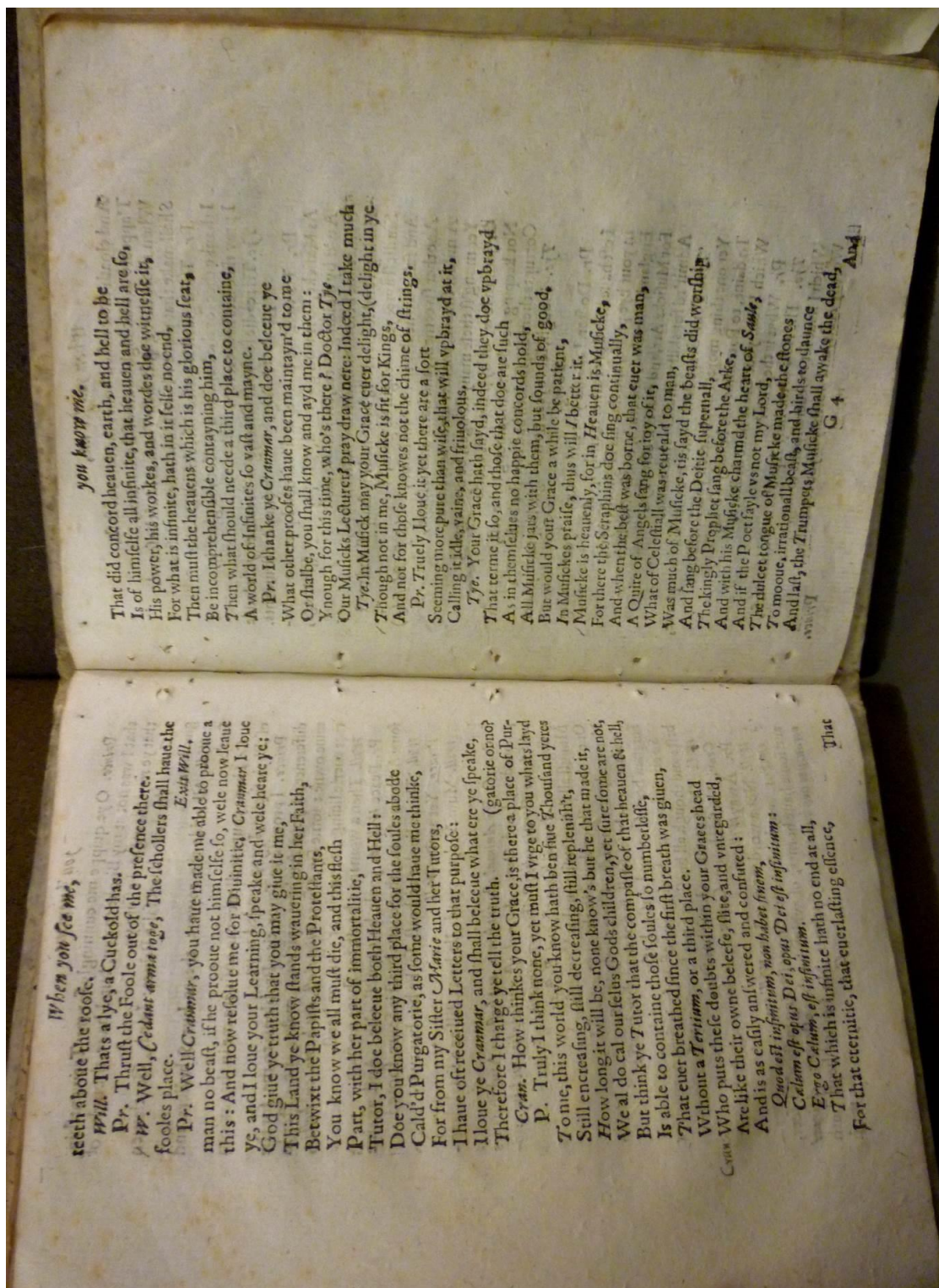
*Cr*. For many beasts haue winges seruing in stead of feet,

and some haue hornes, of which we thus esteeme, *Animal*  
*cornutum non habet dentes supremus*, No hoined beast hath

teeth.

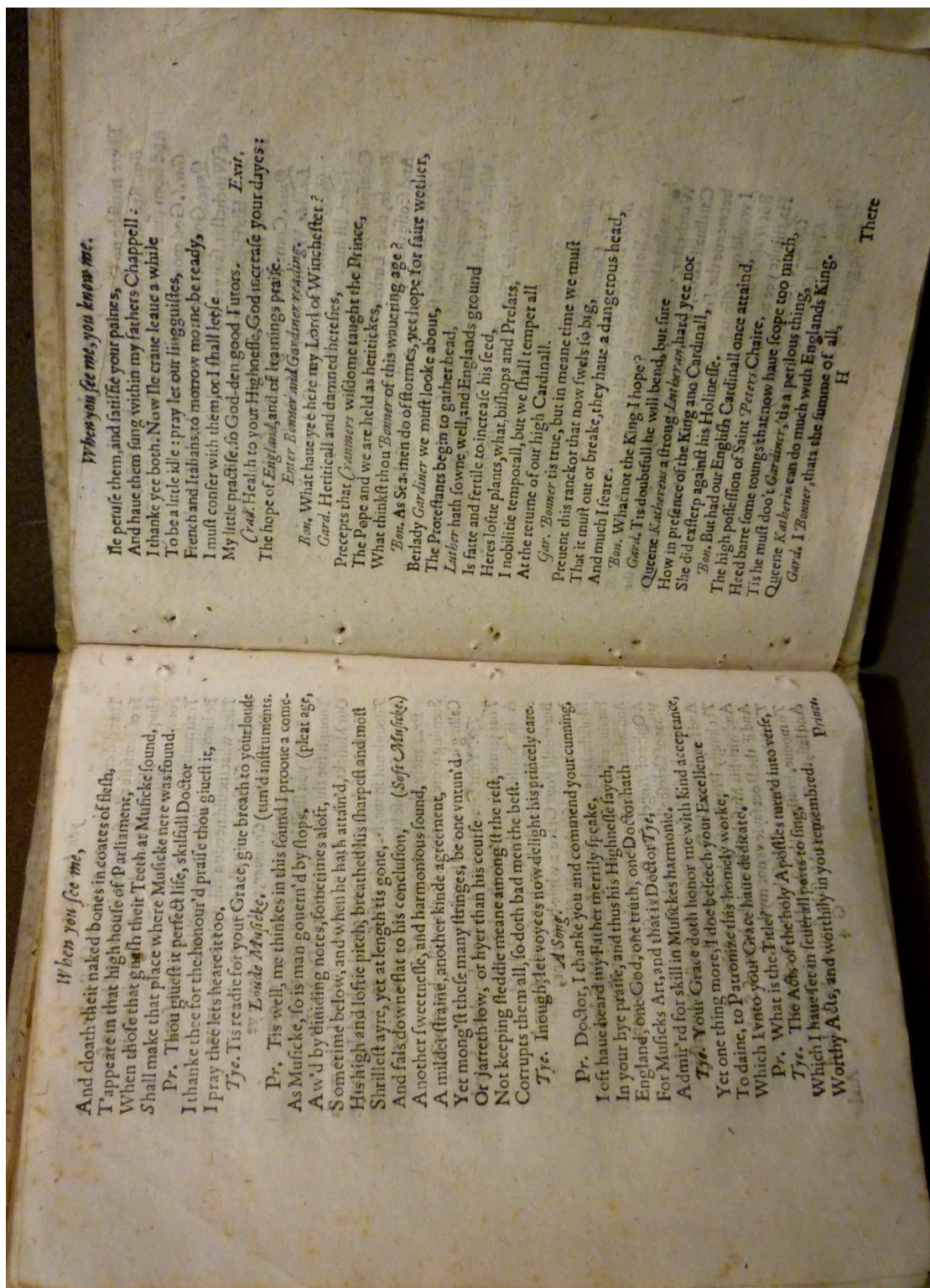
G 3





G3<sup>v</sup>–G4<sup>r</sup>; TLN 1981–2057; 4.1.181–255 in this edition





G4<sup>v</sup>–H1<sup>r</sup>; TLN 2058–133; 4.1.256–5.1.27 in this edition



*When you see me, you know me?*

There must be no Queene, or the Abbies fall,  
*Bon.* See where she comes with the Kings Sister,  
And from the Princes lodging, lets salute her.  
*Card.* God God morrow to your Maiestie.

*Quee.* God morrow to my reuerent Lords of London and  
of Winchester, saw yee the King to day?

*Bon.* His Highnesse was not yet abroad this morning.  
But here we will attend his excellence.

*Quee.* Come sister weele go see his Maiestie.

*La. Ma.* We will attend yee Maiddam.

*Quee.* Gentlemen set forward, God morrow Lords.

*Card.* Ill morrow must it be to you or vs,  
Conspirators gainst men religious.

*Bonner,* these Lutherans do conspire I see,  
And scoffe the Pope and his supremacie.

*Bon.* Lets strike in time then, and incense the King,  
And sodainly their states to ruine bring:

The Trumpets sounds, it seemes the Queene is coming,  
Weele watch and take aduantage cunningly.

*Enter the King, Queene, Lady Mary, Brendon, Semer,  
Gray, and Dudley.*

*King.* Wheres Brendon?

*Bran.* My Leedge.

*King.* Come hether Kate.

*Bran.* Did your grace call?

*King.* Ile speake we anon, Ile speake we anon: Come Kate  
lets walke a litle, whose there? my Lords of London and of  
Winchester, welcome, welcome: by this your maister the  
Cardinall I troe, has parted with the Emperour, & for a league  
betwene the French and him; Mother of God,  
I would our selfe in person had bene there,

But *Wolsey* diligence we needs not feare,  
Ha, thinke yee he will not.

*Card.* No doubt he will be his best pollicie,  
Their friendship must aduance his dignitie.

*King.* I Gardener must aduance his dignitie.  
If ere he get the Papall gouernance.

*Dud.*

*When you see me, you know me?*

*Dud.* And that will neuer be I hope, *Charles* *Charles*  
*Sem.* I were pittie it should.

*Gray.* Hec's proud enough already.

*Bran.* Haw, whats that yee talke there,

As if he should be elected presently.

*King.* Fore-god tis a gallant Priest, come hether *Charles*  
priest let me leane a thy shoulder, by Saint *George, Kate*  
grow hither me thinks.

*Quee.* Wilt please your Highnesse sit and rest your selfe?

*King.* No, no *Kate*, Ile walke still, *Brendon* shall stay mine  
arme, I me fat and purtie, and will get me a stomack; Sawst the  
Prince to day *Kate*?

*Quee.* I my good Lord.

*King.* God blesse him, and make him fortunate, I tell yee  
Lords, the hope that *England* hath is now in him, fore-god I  
thinke old *Harry* must leaue yee shortly; well, Gods will be  
done, heele be old floussing then, ha, will there not; well, you  
say nothing, pray God there be not, I like not this difference  
in religion, Gods deere Lady, and I liue but seauen yeere  
longer, weele take order thoughtly.

*Bon.* We heare that *Luther* out of Germanie  
Hath writ a booke vnto your Maiestie,

Wherein he much repents his former deeds,  
Grauing your Highnesse pardon, and withall,

Submits himselfe vnto your Graces pleasure.

*King.* *Bonner* tis true, and we haue answered it,

Blaming at first his haughtie insolence,

And now his highnesse and inconstancie,

That writ he knew not what so childishly.

*Card.* Much bloodshed there is now in Germanie,

About this difference in religion,

With Lutherans, Arians, and Anabaptists,

As halse the Province of *Helvetia*,

Is with their tumults almost quite destroyed.

*Quee.* Me thinks twere well my royall Soueraigne,

Your Grace, the Emperour, and the Christian king,

Would



*When you see me, you know me.*

Would call a Counsaile and peruse the bookes,  
That *Luther* writ against the Catholickes,  
And superstitions of the Church of *Rome*;  
And if they teach a truer way to heauen,  
Agreeing with the Hebrew Testament,  
Why should they not be read and followed?

*King*. Thou sayst wel *Kate*, so they agree with the scriptures,  
I thinke tis lawfull to peruse and read them, speake Bishops?

*Gard.* Most vnlawfull my deare Soueraigne,  
Vnlesse permitted by his Holynesie.

*Queen*. How proueth that my Lord?

*King*. Well sed *Kate*, to them againe good wench, Lords  
giue vs leaue awhile, anyoide the Presence there, we'll heare  
the Bishops and my Queene dispute.

*Queen*. I am a weake Scholler my Lord,

But on conditiō that your Highnesse, nor the seuerent Lords,  
Will take no exceptions at my womans wit,  
I am content to holde them Argument:

And first with reuerence to his Maiestie.

Pray tell me, why would ye make the King beleue,

His Highnesse and the people vnder him,

Are tyde so strictly to obey the Pope?

*Queen*. Because faire Queene he is Gods Deputie.

The King to rule, and people to obey.

And both to loue and honour him:

But you that are sworne seruants vnto *Rome*,  
How are ye faithfull subiects to the King?

When first ye serue the Pope then after him?

*Gard.* Madame these are that sectes of Lutherans,

That makes your Highnesse to mistake the Scriptures,

Your slender arguments that answered

Before the King, God must be worshipped:

*Queen*. Tis true, but pray ye answer this:

Suppose, the King by proclamation,

Commaunded you, and euerie of his subiects,

To spurne against the Popes authoritie:

Ye

*When you see me, you know me.*

Yee know the Scripture binds yee to obey him,  
But this I thinke, if that his Grace did so,  
Your slight obedience all the world should know.

*King*. Gods-mother *Kate*, thoust toucht them there,  
What say yee to that *Bonnet*?

*Bon.* Were it to any but her Maiestie,

These questions were confuted easily.

*Queen*. Pray tell the King then, what Scripture haue yee,  
To teach religion in an vnkowne language?

Infuist the ignorant to kneele to Saints,

By bare-foote pilgrimage to visite shrines,

For mony to releafe from Purgatorie,

The vilest villaine, theefe, or murderer,

All this the people must beleue you can,

Such is the dregs of *Romes* religion.

*Gard.* I, those are the speeches of those hereticks,

*Crammer*, *Ridley* and blunt *Latimer*,

That dayly rale against his Holynesie,

Filling the land with hatefull heresies.

*Queen*. Nay be not angry, nor mistake them Lords,

What they haue said or done, was mildly followed,

As by their Articles are euident.

*King*. Where are those Articles *Kate*?

*Queen*. Ile goe and fetch them to your Maiestie,

And pray your Highnesse view them graciously. *Exit Queen.*

*King*. Go fetch them *Kate*: a firra, we haue womē doctōrs,

That twist so many mens opinions,

The holy Scriptures must be banded thus.

Vnto your crowne it breedeth no farther detriment,

They that would alter thus Religion,

I feare they scarcely loue your royall person.

*King*. Ha! take heed what you say *Gardiner*.

*Gard.* My loue and dutie to your Maiestie,

Bids me be bolde to speake my confidence,

Vnlesse your lastie and your life they hate,

Why should they dayly thus disturbe the state.

H 3

To



*When you see me, you know me.*

To smooth the face of false rebellion,  
Proude traitors will pretend religion,  
For vnder colour of reformation

The vpstart followers of *Wickliffe* doctrine,  
In the first *Henries* dayes arise in armes;

And had not diligent care prevented them,  
Their powres had sodainely surpris'd the King.

And good my Leige who knows their proud intent,  
That thus rebell against your gouernment,

*King*. Shrode proofes beclady and by saint *Peter*,  
I sweare we will not trust their gentlenesse,

Speake *Gardner* and resolute vs speedily,  
Whole the ring, leader of this lusty crew?

*Bon*. Vnlesse your highnes please to pardon vs,  
We dare not speake nor vrge your maiesty.

*King*. We pardon what ye speake, resolute vs speedily.  
*Gard*. Then if your royall person will be safe,

Y our life preferre and this faire Realme in peace.  
And all these troubles smoothly pacifie,

The Queene deare Lord must be remoued from you.  
*King*. Haw, the Queene, bold Sir aduise ye well,

Take heede ye do not wrong her loyalty.  
*Gard*. See here my leage are proofes too manifest,

Her highnesse with a sect of *Lutherans*  
Haue priuate meetings, secret conuentickells,

To wrest the grounds of all religion:  
Seeking by turnes to subuert the state,

The which with our your maiesties consent,  
Is treason capital against the Crowne.

*Bon*. And seeing without the knowledge of your grace,  
They dare attempt these dangerous stratagemes,

Tis to befeare, which beauen we pray prevent.  
They do conspire against your sacred life.

*Gard*. Why else, should all these priuate meetings be  
without the knowledge of your maiesty?

*King*. Mother a god these proofes are probabell,  
And strong presumptions doe confirme your words,

within there, ho?  
*Enter*

*When you see me, you know me.*

*Enter* Compton. My Lord.

*King*. Sir *William Compton* see the dores made fast,  
Dubble our gard let none come nere our person,

Summon the counsell to confer with vs,  
Bid them attend vs in the priuy chamber,

*Comp*. Here is a letter for your maiesty,  
From *Martin Luther* out of Germany.

*King*. Damned *Seymour* still will he trouble vs  
with bookes and letters, leaue it and be gone: *Exit Compe.*

The villaine thinks to smooth his trechery,  
By sawning speeches to our maiesty.

But by my *George* Lord Bishops if I liue,  
He roote his fauorits from Englands bounds

What writes his worship?  
*Gard*. New *Banner* flir, the game is set a foot,

The king is now incens'd, lets follow close  
To haue Queene *Katherine* shorter by a head,

These heresies will cease when she is dead.  
*King*. Holy saint *Peter* what a knane is this,

Ere while he writ subtilly to vs  
And now againe repents his humblenesse,

Bishops it seemes being toucht with our reply  
He wrights thus boldly to our maiesty,

*Gardner* looke here he was deceaued he says  
When he thought to finde *John Baptist* in the

Cloathes in purple, Mother a god, is not a dangerous knaue,  
*Gard*. False *Luther* knaues he has great friends in England:

Else durst he not thus moue your Maiesty.  
*King*. Weele cut his friends off ere they grow too strong

And sweepe these vipers from our state ere long,  
No manuell though Queene *Katherine* plead for him,

How is your counsell we proceede in these?  
*Bon*. Ware best your grace did send her to the Towre.

Before they further doe confire with her.  
*King*. Let it be so, go get a warrant drawne,

And with a strong gaide beate her to the Towre.  
H 4

Our



*When you see me, you know me.*

Our hand shall signe your large commission,  
Let *Crammer* from the Prince be straight remoued,  
And come not neere the Court on paine of death,  
Mother a God, shall I be bailed thus,  
By traitors, rebels and false hereticks:  
Get Articles for her aignment readie,  
If she of treason be conuict, I sweare,  
Her head goes off, were she my kingdomes aire. *Sound Exit.*

*Enter the Prince, Crammer, Tye, and the young Lord.*

*Prin. Crammer.*

*Cram. My Lord.*

*Prin.* Where is *Franciscoe* our Italian Tutor?

*Cram.* He does attend your Grace without my Lord,

*Prin.* Tell him anon we will conferre with him,  
Weele plic our learning *Bronne* least you be beaten,

We will not haue your Knighthood so disgraht.

*Bron.* I thanke yee good my Lord,

And your Grace would but a little plic your learning,

I warrant yee Ile keepe my Knighthood from breeching.

*Prin.* Faith *Ned* I will: how now what letter's that?

*1. Ser.* From your Graces sister the Lady *Mary*.

*Prin.* Come giue it me, we gesse at the contents.

*Crammer.* my sister oft hath writ to me,

That you and Bishop *Bonner* might contente;

About these points of new Religion,

Tell me Tutor will yee dispute with him.

*Cram.* Withall my hart my Lord, and with the king,

Would daine to here our disputation.

*Prin.* What hast thou there?

*2. Ser.* A Letter from your royall sister, young *Elizabeth*.

*Prin.* Another Letter ere we open this,

Well we will view them both immediatly,

I pray yee attend vs in the next Chamber,

And Iuros if I call yee not before,

Giue me some notice, if the king my Father

Be walkt abroad, I must goe visite him.

*Tye.* We will faire Prince.

*Prin.* What sayes my sister *Mary*? she is eldest, And

*When you see me, you know me.*

And by due course must first be answered,  
The blessed Mother of thy redeemer, with all the Angels &  
holy Saints be intermissors to perserue thee of Idolatrie, to  
inuocte the Saints for helpe.

Alas good sister, still in this opinion,

These are thy blinded Tutors, *Bonner*, *Gardner*,

That wrong thy thoughts with foolish hereties,

Ile read no farther: to him will *Edward* pray

For perseruation, that can him selfe perserue me,

Without the helpe of Saint or cerimonie.

What writes *Elizabeth*? sweere sister thou hast my hart.

And of Prince *Edwards* loue hast greatest part.

Sweete Prince I salute thee with a Sisters loue,

Be steadfast in thy faith, and let thy prayers

Can strengthen thee, and confound thine enemies,

Giue a faile assurance of thy hopes in beauen,

God strengthen thee in all temptations,

And giue thee grace to shun Idolatrie,

Hemen send thee life to subvert thy election,

To God I commend thee, who still I pray perserue thee.

Thy louing Sister *Elizabeth*.

Thy lines shalbe my contemplations cures,

And in thy vertues will I meditate,

To Christ Ile onely pray for me and thee:

This I embrace, away Idolatrie,

How now *Crammer*, where's the King?

*Cram.* Confering with his counsell gracions Prince,

The Guardes are doubled, and commandment giuen,

That none be suffered to come neere the presence,

God keepe his Maiestie from traitors hands.

*Prin.* Amen good *Crammer*, what should disturbe him thus?

Is Cardinal *Welsy* yet returned from France?

*Tye.* I my good Lord, and this day comes to court.

*Prin.* Perhaps this hastie businesse of the King,

Is touching *Welsy* and his Embassage.

*Enter*



*When you see me, you know me?*  
*Crom.* Pray God it be no worse my Lord.

*Tye.* Here comes fir *William Compton* from his highnelle.

*Comp.* Health to your excellencie.  
*Prin.* What newes fir *William*?

*Comp.* The King expects your Graces companie,

And wils your Highnelle come and speake with him,

And dothor *Crammer*, from his Maiestie,

I charge yee speedily to leaue the Court,

And come not nere the Prince on paine of death,

Without direction from the King and Peeres.

*Cram.* Sir I obey yee, God so deale with me,

As I haue wilsnt wnto his Maiestie.

*Prin.* *Crammer* banisht the Court, for what I pray?

*Comp.* I know not gracious Lord, pray pardon me,

Tis the Kings pleasure; and trust me I am sorry

It was my hap to bring this heauie message.

*Cram.* Nay good fir *William*, your message moues not me,

My seruice to his royall Maiestie

Was alwayes true and iust, so helpe me heauen:

Onely I pray your Grace to moue the King,

That I may come to tryall speedily,

And if in ought I haue deserued death,

Let me not draw another minutes breath.

*Comp.* Will yee goe my Lord.  
*Prin.* Not yet, we are not your prisoner, are we fir?

*Comp.* No my dere Lord.

*Prin.* Then goe before, and we will follow yee.

Your worship will forget your selfe I see,  
*Enter Tye.*

My tutor thrust from court so sodainly, this is strange.

*Tye.* The Queene my Lord is come to speake with you.

*Enter Queene.*

*Prin.* Auoide the presence then, and conduct her in,

He speake with her, and after see the King.

*Quee.* Leane vs alone I pray yee.

*Prin.* Your grace is welcome, how fares your Maiestie.

*Quee.* Neuer so ill dere Prince, for now I feare,

Euen as a wretched cattiffe kild with care,

I am acculde of treason, and the king

*When you see me, you know me.*

Is now in counsell to dispose of me,

I know his frowne is death, and I shall dye.

*Prin.* Who are your accusers.

*Quee.* I know not.

*Prin.* How know yee then his Grace is so innocent?

*Quee.* One of my Gentlemen passing by the presence,

Tooke vp this bill of accusations,

Wherin twelue Articles are drawne against me,

It seemes my false accusers lost it there,

Here they accuse me of conspiracie,

That I with *Crammer*, *Latimer* and *Ridley*,

Doo seeke to raise rebellion in the state,

Alter religion, and bring *Luther* in,

And to new government inforce the king,

*Prin.* Then thus the cause that *Crammer* was remoued,

But did your Highnelle ere conferre with them?

As they haue here accus'd yee to the king.

*Quee.* Neuer nor euer had I one such thought,

As I haue hope in him my soule hath thought.

*Prin.* Then feare not gracious Maddam, Ile to the king.

And doubt not but Ile make your peace with him.

*Quee.* O pleade for me, tell him my soule is cleare,

Neuer did thought of treason harbor here,

As I intend to his sacred life,

So be it to my soule or joy or greefe.

*Prin.* Stay here till I returne, Ile moue his maiestie,

That you may answere your accusers presently.

*Quee.* O I shall neuer come to speake with him,

The Lion in his rage is not so flemme,

As *Royall Henry* in his wrathfull spleene,

And they that haue accus'd me to his grace,

Will worke such meanes I neare shall see his face,

Wretched Queene *Katherin*, would thou hadst benee

*Comp.* Health to your Maiestie.

*Quee.* With me good *Compton* woe and miserie,

This giddle flustering world I hate and scoffe,

Ere long I know Queene *Katherins* head must off,

1 a

Came



*When you see me, you know me.*

Came ye from the King?

*Comp.* I did sayre Queene, and much sad tidings bring,  
His grace in secret hath reuicld to me  
What is intended to your Maiesty,  
Which I in loue and duty to your highnesse,  
Am come to tell ye and to counsell ye  
The best I can in this extremitie.  
Then on my knees I dare intreat your grace,  
Not to reuaille what I shall say to you,  
For then I am assurde that deaiths my due.

*Que.* I will not on my faith, good *Compton* speake,  
That with thy sad reportis my heart may breake.  
*Comp.* Thus then at your fayre feete my life I lay,  
In hope to driue your highnes cares away:  
You are accorde of high conspiracy  
And treason gainst his royall maiesty.

So much they haue inuent his excellency,  
That he hath granted firme commission  
To attach your person and conuay ye hence,  
Close prisoner to the Towre, Articles are diawne,  
And time appoynted for arraignment there.  
Good maddame be aduicd by this I know,  
The officers are sent to arrest your person:  
Preuent their malice hast ye to the King.  
He vsf such meanes that you shall speake with him,  
There plead your Innocency, I know his grace  
Will heare ye mildly therefore delay not,  
If you be taken ere you see the king,  
I feare ye neuer more shall speake to him.

*Que.* Oh *Compton* twixt thy loue and my sage feare,  
I feele ten thousand sad vexations here,  
Leade on I pray, Ile be aduicd by thee,  
The King is angry and the Queene must dye.

*Enter Boner & Gardner with the commission.*

*Gard.* Come *Boner* now strike sure the yronus holt.  
Vrge all thou canst, let nothing be forgot.  
We haue the Kings hand here to warrant vs,  
It was well the Cardinall came and so luckely.

*Exit*

Who

*When you see me, you know me.*

Who vrgd, the state would quite be ruined,  
If that religion thus were altered.  
Which made his highnes with a fury spleene,  
Direct our warrants to attache the Queene.

*Bon.* I was excellent, that Ceder once orestrowne,  
To crop the lower shrubs let vs alone.

*Gard.* Those Articles of accusations,  
We fram against her being lost by you  
Had like to ouerthrow our pollicy.

*Bon.* Well well, what's now to be done.

*Gard.* A gard must be prouided speedely,  
To heare her prisoner vnto London Towre,  
And watch conuenient place to arrest her person.

*Bon.* Tush any place shall serue, for who dare contradict  
His highnesse hand, euen from his side wele hale he is,  
And beare her quickly to her longest home,  
Lest we and ours by her to ruine come.

*Gard.* About it then, let them vntimely dye,  
that come the Pope and *Romes* supmacie.

*Enter the King & Prince, the Garde before them.*

*King.* Guard, watch the dores and let none come nere vs,

But such as are attendant on our person:  
When a God tis time to sturre, I see,

Must English *Harry* walke with armed Gards,  
By his old age must I feare my life,

By hatefull treason of my Queene and wife,  
To here her speake ere ye condemne her thus.

*King.* Go too *Ned*, I charge ye speake not for her,  
shes a dangerous traitor, how now, who knocks so loud there.

*Gard.* Tis Cardinall *Wolsey* my Lord,  
Kin, And it be the Deuill tell him he comes not here.

Byd him attend vs till our better leasure:  
Come hither *Ned* let me conferre with you.

Didst euer heare the disputation  
Twixt *Chamner* and the Queene about Religion.

13

*Prin.*



*When you see me, you know me.*  
*Prin.* Neuer my Lord, I thinke they neuer yet,

At any time had speech concerning it.  
*King.* O thou art deceaued *Ned*, it is too certaine, *knocke*;

Hoyday more knocking, knock yrons an his heeles,  
And beate him hence what ere he be disturbe vs, who ist?

*Guard.* *S. William Compton* my Leedge.

*King.* Ist he, well let him in, Gods holy mother, heere's a flur  
indeed, *Compton* ye knock too lowde for entrance here.  
You care not though the king be neere so neere, say ye fir  
haw,

*Comp.* I do beseech you pardon for my bouldnesse.

*King.* Well what's your busines,

*Comp.* The Queene my Lord intreats to speake with you,  
*King.* Body a me, is she not rested yet.

Why doe they not conuay her to the Towre,  
We gaue commission to attach her presently.

Where is she?

*Comp.* At the dore my Soueraigne.

*King.* So nere our presence, keepe her out I charge ye.

Bend all your Holbeards points against the dore,

If she presume to enter strike her through,

Dare she presume againe to looke on vs,

*Prin.* Vpon my knees, I do beseech your highnes  
To heare her speake.

*King.* Vp *Ned*, stand vp I will not looke on her,

Mother a god, stand cloie and gard it sure,

If she come in, ile hang ye all I sweare.

*Prin.* I doe beseech your Grace.

*King.* Sir boye no more, ile here no more of her,

Proud flur, bold traitresse, and forgetfull beaſt,

Yet dare she further moue our patience.

*Prin.* Ile pawne my princely word, right royall father,

She shall not speake a word to anger ye.

*King.* Will you pawne your word for her, mother a god

The Prince of *Wales* his word is warrant for a king, *Enter Queen*

And we will take it *Ned*, go call her in.

*Sir William* let the gard attend without,

Reach me a chaire, all but the prince depart.

How

*When you see me, you know me.*

How now, what doe you weepe and kneele,  
Dus your blacke soule the gyte of conscience feeles,  
Out, out, your a traitor.

*Que.* A traitor, O you all seeing powres,

Here witnesse to my Lord my loyalty

A traitor, O then you are too mercifull,

If I haue treason in me, why rip ye not

My vgly hart out with your weapons poynt,

O my good Lord, if it haue traytors blood,

It will be black, deformed, and terrible;

If not, from it will spring a scarlet fountaine,

And spit defiance in their periurde throates

That haue accus'd me to your maiesty,

Making my state thus full of misery.

*King.* Canst thou deny it.

*Que.* Else should I wrongfully accuse my selfe,

Of my deare Lord I do beseech your highnesse

To satisfie your wronged Queene in this,

Vpon what ground growes this suspicion,

Or who thus wrongfully accuseth me.

Of cursed treason gainst your maiesty.

*King.* Some probable euides my selfe can witnesse,

Others our faithfull subiects can testifie:

Haue you not oft maintained arguments,

Euen to our face against religion:

Which ioynd with other complots show it selfe,

As it is gathered by our loyall subiects,

For treason Cappitall against our person,

Godsholy mother youle remoue vs quickly,

And tume me out, old *Henry* must away,

Now in mine age, lame and halfe bed-rid,

Or else youle keepe me fast inough in prison,

Haw, mistris, there are no hatefull treasons these.

*Queen.* Heauen on my fore-head write my worst intent,

And let your hate against my life be bent,

If euer thought of ill against your maiesty,

Was harbord here refuse me gracions God,

To your face, my ledge, if to your face I speake it.



*When you see me, you know me.*

It manifestes no complos, nor no treason,  
Nor are they loyall that so iniure me,  
What I did speake, was as my womans wit,  
To hold our Argument could compasse it,  
My puny schollarship is helde too weake  
To maintaine proofes about religion,  
Alas I did it but to wait the time,  
Knowing as then your grace was weake and sickly,  
So to expell parte of your paine and griefe:  
And for my good intent they seeke my life,  
O God, how am I wrongd.

*King.* Ha, haist thou so, was it no otherwise.

*Que.* What should I say, that you might credit me,  
If I am false, heauen strike me to day.

*King.* Body a me, what euellasting knaues are these that  
wrong thee thus, alas poore *Kate*, come stand vp stand vp,  
wipe thine eyes, wipe thine eyes, foregod twas told me  
that thou wert a traitor: I could hardly thinke it, but that  
it was appide so hard to me, Godsmother *Kate* I feare my  
life I tell ye, King *Harry* would be loath to die by treason  
now, that has bid so many brunts vblemished, yet I con-  
fesse that now I growe thicke, my legges faile me first but they  
stand furthest from my hart, and chas still found, I thanke my  
God, giue me thy hand, come kisse me *Kate*, so now me  
friends againe, hurion knaues, crafty varlets, make thee a tray-  
tor to oulde *Harrys* life, well, well, ile meete with some on  
them, Sioure come sit on my knee *Kate*, Mother a god he that  
says th'art false to me by Englands crowne ile hang him pre-  
sently.

*Que.* When I haue thought of ill against your state,  
Let me be made the vildest reprobate.

*King.* That's my good *Kate*, but byth many God, *Queene* *Kate*,  
therae you must thanke prince *Edward* here.  
For but for him th'ast gone toth towre I sweare,

*Que.* I shalbe euer thankfull to his highnesse.

And pray for him and for your maiesty,

*King.* Come *Kate* weell walke a while eth garden heere, who  
keepest the dore there?

*Comp.*

*When you see mee, you know me.*

*Comp.* My Lord.

*King.* Sir *William Compton*, here, take my ring,  
Bid Doctor *Cremer* halte to Court againe,  
Give him that token of King *Henric* love,  
Discharge our guards, we feare no traytors hand.  
Our State, beloued of all doth firmly stand:  
Go *Compton*.

*Comp.* I go my Lord.

*King.* Bid *Wolsey* haste him to our royall presence,  
Great *Charles* the mighty Romane Emperour,  
Our Nephew, and the hope of Christendome  
Is landed in our faire Dominion,  
To see his Vnckle and the English Courts:  
Wee le entertaine him with imperiall port:  
Come hither *Ned*.

*Enter Bonner and Gardner with the guard.*

*Gar.* Fellows, stay there, and when I cal, come forward,  
The service you pursue is for the king.

Therefore I charge you to performe it boldly,  
We haue his hand and seale to warrant it.

*Guard.* Wee'll follow you with resolution fir,

The Church is on our side, what should we feare?

Thinke you we may attempt to take her heere?

*Bon.* Why should we not, haue we not firme comission

To catch hir any where be bold, and feare not  
Fellows come forward.

*King.* How now, whats heere to do?  
*Que.* The Bishops it seemes my Lord would speake  
with you.

*King.* With bills and holberds, well, tarry there *Kate*,  
Ile go my selfe, Now wherefore come you?

*Gar.* As loyall subiects to your state and person,  
We come to apprehend that traitorous woman.

*King.* Y are a couple of drunken knaves and varlets,  
Gods holy mother, there is more true and iust,

*King.*

Then



*When you see mee, you know mee.*  
Then my Prelate that Subornes the Pope:

Thus to vsurpe vpon our government?  
Call you her traitor? y are lying beastes and false  
conspiratours.

*Bon:* Your Maiesty hath scene what proofes we had.

*King:* Here you *Bonner*, you are a whorson coxcomb,  
What proofes had ye, but treasons of your owne inven-  
tions?

*Queene:* O my deare Lorde, respect the reverend  
Bishoppes.

*Bonner* and *Gardner* loves your Maiestie.

*King:* Alas poore *Kate*, thou think'st full little what  
they come for;

Thou hast small reason to commend their loves,

That fallily have accus'd thy harmlesse life.

*Queene:* O God, are these mine enemies?

*Gard:* We have your highnesse hand to warrant it.

*King:* Lets see it then.

*Gard:* Tis heere my Liege.

*King:* So, now yee have both my hand to contradict  
what one hand did: and now our word; we shall serve  
as warrant to beare you both as prisoners to the Fleete,  
Where you shall answer this conspiracie.

You fellows that came to attach the Queene,

Lay hands on them, and beare them to the Fleete.

*Queene:* O I beseech your highnesse on my knes,

Remit the doome of their imprisonment.

*King:* Stand vp good *Kate*, thou wrong'st thy Maiesty,

To plead for them that thus have murder'd thee

*Queene:* I have forgotten it, and do still intreate

Their humble pardons at your gracious feet.

*King:* Mother of God, what a foolish woman's this,

Well, for her sake we revoke our doome.

But come not nere, as you love your lives:

Away and leave vs, as you knaves and miscreants,

Whorson Caitiffs, come to attach my Queene!

*Queene:* Vex not my Lord, it will distemper you.

*King:* *Enter Branden.*

*When you see mee, you know mee.*

*King:* Mother a God, Ile temper some on then for't  
How now *Branden*!

*Brand:* The Emperour my Lord.

*King:* Get a traine readie there, *Charles Branden*, come.

We'll meete the Monarke of imperiall Rome:

Go *Ned*, prepare your selfe to meete the Emperour,

Weele send you further notice of our pleasure.

*Enter Cardinall and Wil.*

Attend the Prince there: Welcome Lord Cardinall,

Hath not our tedious iorney into France,

Disturb'd your Graces health and reverent person?

*Wil:* No no, we're feare him *Harry*, he haz got

More by the iorney, heele be Pope shortly.

*King:* What *William*, how chance I have not scene

you to day? I thought you would not have bin the hind-

most man to salute me.

*Wil:* No more I am not *Harry*, for yonder is *Patch*

behinde me, I could never get him before me, since thou

conjur'st him in the great chamber, all the horse in the towne

cannot hawle him into thy presence I warrant thee.

*King:* Will hee not come in?

*Wil:* Not for the world, he stands watching at the

Heele not stire while the Cardinall comes; (dore,

*Wool:* I thank you *William*, I am beholding to you still.

I thank you your foole for it, we have ransacked your wine-

cellers since you went into France: Doe you blush my

Lordina, that's nothing, you have wine there, is able to

set a colour in any mans face I warrant it.

*King:* Why *William* is the Cardinalls wine so good?

*Wil:* Better then thine Ile be sworne, Ile take but

two handfulls of his wine, and it shall fill foure hogges-

heads of thine (looke here else)

*Wool:* *Mor-dieu.*

*Wil:* Mor-dieu! ist not? for without coniuring, you

could never do it: But I pray you my Lord, call vpon

Mor-dieu no longer, but speake plane English, you have

decei-



*When you see mee, you know mee.*  
deceived the king in French and Latine long enough a  
confidence.

*King* Is his wine turned into gold, *Wol?*  
*Wol.* The foole mistakes, my gracious Sovereigne.

*Wol.* I, I my Lord, ne're set your wit to the foole,  
would be a blabbe of my tongue, I could tell the King  
how many barrells full of gold and silver there was fixe  
times filled with plate and Jewells, twentie great trunks  
with Crosse, Crofiers, Copes, Miters, Maces, golden  
Crucifixes, besides the foure hundred and twelve thou-  
sand pound that poore Chimneys paid for Peeter pence.  
But this is nothing, for when you are Pope, you may  
pardon your selfe for more knavery then this comes to.

*King* Go too foole, you wrong the Cardinall,  
But grieve not *Wol(er)*, *William* will be bold:  
I pray you set on to meete the Emperour,  
The Maior and Citizens are gone before,  
The Prince of *Wales* shall follow presently,  
And with our George and collar of estate,  
Present him with the order of the Garter:

*Great Maximilian* his progenitor,  
Vpon his breast did weare the English Crosse,  
And vnderneath our Starred wacht in armes,  
Receiuing pay for all his warlike hostes,  
And *Charles* with knight-hood shall be honored:  
Beginne Lord Cardinall, greete his Maiestie,  
And we our selfe will follow presently.

*Wol.* I go my Sovereigne.

*Wol.* Faire weather after yee:  
Well, and ere he come to be Pope, I shall bee plund'  
for this.

*Queene William*, you have angered the Cardinall I can  
tell you.

*King* Tis no matter *Kate*, Ile anger him worse ere  
though for a while I smooth it to his face: (long)

I did suspect what heere the foole hath found,  
He keepes forsooth, a high Court Legantine, Taxing

• *When you see mee, you know mee.*

Taxing our subiects, gathering summes of gold,  
Which he belike hath hid to make him Pope;

A Gods name let him, that shall be our owne,  
But to our businesse, come *Queene Katherine*,

You shall with vs to meete the Emperour,  
Let all your Ladies be in readinesse:

Go, let our guard attend the Prince of *Wales*,  
Vpon our selfe the Lords and Pensioners

Shall give attendance in their best array,  
Let all estates be ready, come faire *Kate*,

The Emperour shall see our English state.

*Enter Emperour, Cardinall, Mayor,  
and Gentlemen.*

*Wol.* Your Maiesty is welcome into England,  
The king our Master will reioyce to see  
Great *Charles* the royall Emperours Maiesty.

*Empe.* We thank your paines my good L. Cardinall,  
And much our longing eyes desires to see  
Our kingly vnckle and his princely sonne,  
And therefore, when you please I pray set on.

*Wol.* On gentlemen, and meete the Prince of *Wales*.  
That comes forturner to his royall father,  
To entertaine the Christian Emperour:

Meane while, your Maiesty may heere behold  
This warlike kingdome faire *Metropolis*,  
The City London, and the river *Thames*,  
And note the situation of the place.

*Empe.* We do my Lord, and count it admirable:  
But see Lord Admirall, the Prince is coming.

*Enter the Prince with a Herald before him, bearing the  
Collar and garter, the guard and Lords attending.*

*Empe.* Will met yong coosen.

*Prin.* I kisse your highnesse hand,

And bid you welcome to my fathers land;

K 3

I



*When you see mee, you know mee.*

I shall not neede inferre comparisons,  
Welcome beyond compare, for so your excellencie  
Hath honoured England, in containing you,  
As with all princely pompe and state we can,  
Wee entertaine great *Charles* the Austrian:  
And first, in signe of honour to your grace,  
I heere present this collar of estate,  
This golden garter of the knight-hoods order,  
An honour to renewe the Emperour:  
Thus as my father hath commanded me,  
I entertaine your royall Maiestie.

*Emper.* True honoured off-spring of a famous King,  
Thou dost amaze me, and dost make me wish  
I were a second sonne to *England* the Lord,  
In interchange of my imperiall seat;  
To live with thee fine hope of Maiestie,  
So well our welcome we accept of thee;  
And with such princely spirit pronounce the word,  
Thy fathers state, can no more state afford.

*Prince* Yes my good Lord, in him theres Maistly.  
In me theres love with tender infancie. *Sound trumpets*  
*Wool:* The trumpets found my Lord, the King is  
comming.

*Prince* Go all of you attend his royall person,  
Whilst we observe the Emperours Maistly.

*Sound.*  
*Enter the Herald first, then the Trumpets next the  
guard, then Mace-bearer and sword, then the Car-  
dinall, then Branden, then the King, after him the  
Queene, Lady Mary, and Ladies attending.*

*King* Hold, stand I say.

*Brant* Stand gentlemen.

*Wool:* Cease those trumpets there.

*King* Is the Emperour yet come in sight of vs?

*Wool:* His Maiestie is hard at hand my Lord.

*King* Then *Branden*, sheathe our Sword, and beare  
our Maces downe,

In

*When you see mee, you know mee.*

In honour of my Lord, the Emperour:  
Forward againe.

*Brant:* On Gentlemen aforesaid, sound trumpets and  
set forwards.

*Emper.* Behold my father-gracious Emperour.

*Emper.* Wee meete him *Coolen*:  
Vnckle of *England*, King of *France* and *Ireland*, defen-  
der of the ancient Christian faith;

With greater joy I do embrace thy breast,  
Then when the heauen Electors crowned me,

Great Emperour of the Christian Monarchy.

*King* Great *Charles*, the first Emperour of *Almayne*,  
King of the *Romans*, *Semper Augustus*, watlike king of  
*Spaine* and *Cicily* both *Naples*, *Naxos* and *Aragon*, king  
of *Grece* and great *Ierusalem*, Arch-duke of *Austrie*,  
Duke of *Milaine*, *Brabant*, *Burgundy*, *Tyrrill* and *Flan-  
ders*, with this great title I embrace thy breast,

And how thy sight doth please, suppose the rest,  
Sound trumpets, while my faire Queene *Katherine*

Gives entertainment to the Emperour. *Sound.*

Welcome againe to *England* princely *Coolen*,  
We dwell here, but in an outward continent,

Where winters ice-cickles hangs on our beards,  
Bordring vpon the frozen *Orcades*,

Our mother-point, compass with the *Artike* sea,  
Where raging *Boreas* flies from winters mouth,

Yet are our bloods as hore, as where the Sun doth rise,  
We have no golden mines to leade you to,

But hearts of proofe, and what we speake weele do.

*Emper.* We thanke you Vnckle, & now must chide you;

If we be welcome to your Country,

Why is the ancient league now broke betwixt vs?

Breathed defiance gainst our dignity,

When face to face, we met at *Lander*?

*King* My Herolds to desie your Maiestie?

Your grace mistakes, we sent Ambassadors

To treat a peice betwene the French and you,

Not



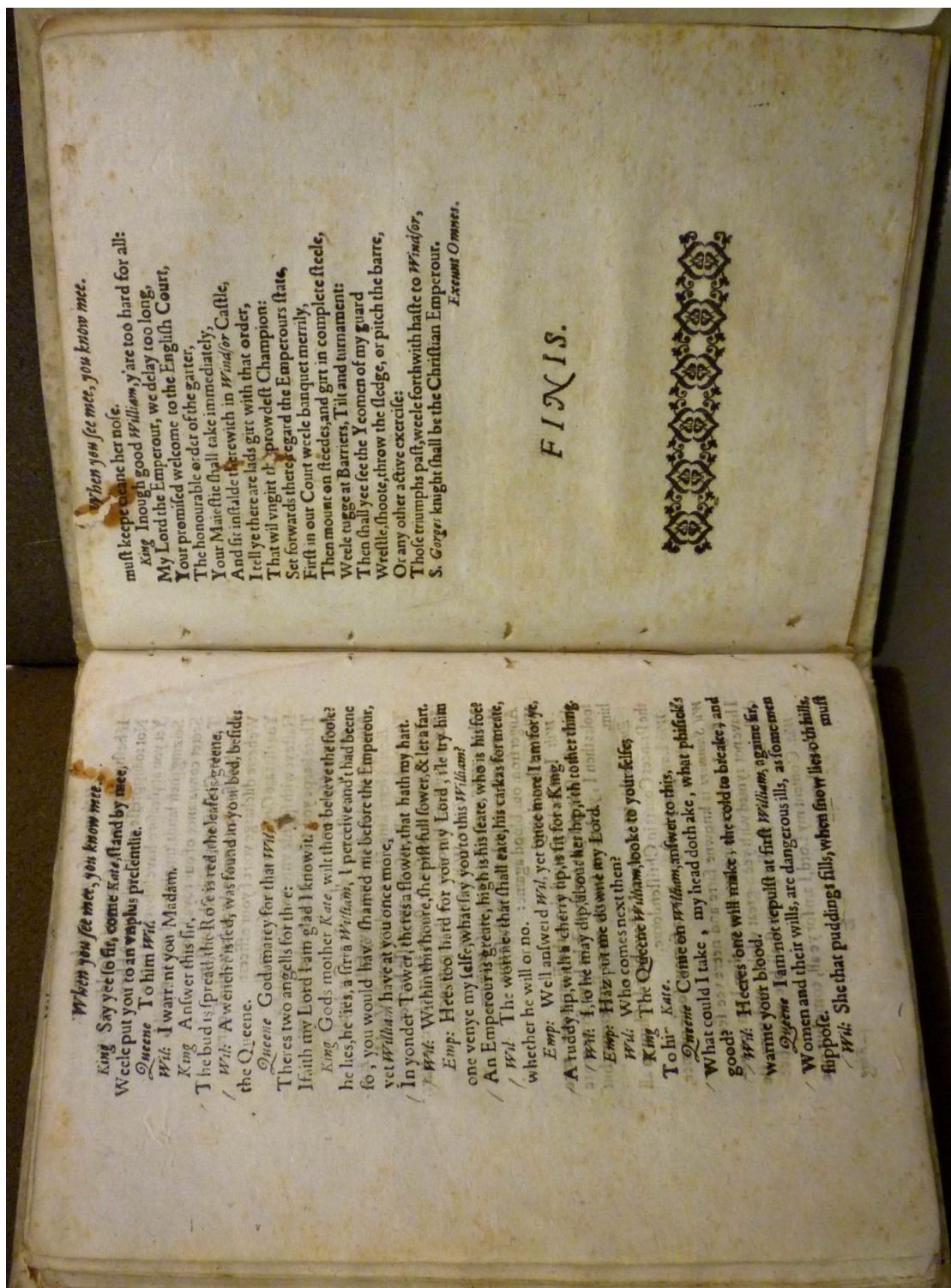
Not to defie you as an enemy.  
*Emp:* Yet Vnckle in king *Henries* name he came,  
 And boldly to our face did give the same.  
*Card:* Hell stop that fall bodding Emperours throte,  
 That sings against vs this difmall Ravens note.  
*King:* Mother of God, if this be true, we see,  
 There are more kings in *England* now then wee:  
 Wheres Cardinal *Woolsey*?  
 Heard you this newes in *France*?  
*Wool:* I did my Liege: and by my meates twas done,  
 He not deny it; I had Commiffion  
 To ioyne a league betwene the French and him,  
 Which he withftanding as an enemy  
 I did defie him from your Maieftie.  
*King:* Duft thou preftme fo, bafe-borne Cardinal,  
 Without our knowledge to abufe our name;  
 Prefumptuous traitor, vnder what pretence  
 Didft thou attempt to braye the Emperour?  
 Behke thou meantft to leuell at a crowne,  
 But thy ambitious crowne fhall hunte thee downe.  
*Wool:* With reverence to your Maieftie, I did no more  
 Then I can answer to the holy fea.  
*King:* Villaine, thou canft not answer it to me,  
 Nor fhadow thy inftulking trechery:  
 How duft ye firra in your ambafage,  
 Vnknowne to vs, ftampe in our royall coine  
 The bafe impreffion of your Cardinal hat.  
 As if you were copartner in the Crowne?  
*Ego & Rex meus:* you and your king muft be  
 In equal ftate, and pompe, and Maieftie:  
 Out of my prefence hateful impudencie.  
*Wool:* Remember my Liege, that I am Cardinal  
 And deputie vnto his holineffe.  
*King:* Be the diuels Deputie, I care not I,  
 He not be baffeld by your trechery:  
 You are falfe abusers of religion,  
 You can corrupt it and forbid the King,  
 Vpon the penaltie of the Popes blacke curfe.

11

When you see mee, you know mee.

If he fhould payne his Crowne for fouldiers pay,  
 Not to fuppreffe an old religious Abbey,  
 Yet you at pleafure have fubverred foure,  
 Seizing their lands, running vp heapes of gold,  
 Secret conuaice of our royall Seale,  
 To raile Collections to enrich thy ftate.  
 For which fir, we command you leave the Court.  
 We here difcharge you of your offices:  
 You that are *Cardinals*, or great Cardinal,  
 Haue ye with feide vnto your Bifhopricke,  
 There keepe you till you heare further from vs:  
 Away and fpeake not.  
*Wool:* Yet will I proudly paffe as Cardinal,  
 Although this day define my heavy fall.  
*Emp:* I feare king *Henry*, and my royall Vnckle,  
 The Cardinal will curfe my progrefle hether.  
*King:* No matter eolefen, beftrew his trecherous Hart,  
 Haz moovd my blood to much impudencie.  
*Enter Will Summers*  
 Wheres *Will Summers*? come on wife *Will*,  
 We muft vie your little wifd, to thafe this  
 Anger from our blood againe:  
*Wile:* I am looking round about the Emperour, mee  
 thinks tis a ftange fight for though he have feene more  
 foolles then I, yet I never faw no more Emperours but  
 him.  
*Emp:* Is this *Will Summers*? I have heard of him in all  
 the Princes Courts in Chriftendome.  
*Wile:* Law ye my lord, you haue a famous foole of mee,  
 I can tell yee, *Will Summers* is knowne faire and neere yee fee.  
*King:* Lare you ryding *Will*, na, when I am for yee,  
 I haue not ryed with yee a great while, and now Ile  
 challenge yee, and the Emperour fhall bee iudge be-  
 twene vs.  
*Wile:* Content my Lord, I am for ye all, come but once  
 alight and hear not what they fay.  
 L  
 King





L1<sup>v</sup>-L2<sup>r</sup>; TLN 3039-95; 5.5.157-227 in this edition

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